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**‘A World for Women’:
Fictions of the Female Artist in
English-Canadian Periodicals, 1840-1880**

by
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Thesis submitted to
the School of Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
Ph.D. degree in English literature

University of Ottawa
Ottawa, Canada

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Abstract

Positioned somewhere between literary history and gynocriticism, this thesis proposes a new way of viewing the years 1840-1880, the forty-year period that the *Literary History of Canada* charts as a steady, decisive, and necessary movement away from “a world for women”—away, in other words, from early, woman-tainted periodicals like *The Literary Garland* and toward the incipient “serious fiction” of the yet-unborn *Week*, itself prefigured by the establishment of the all-male Royal Society of Canada in 1882. By reclaiming instead of ridiculing, and validating instead of devaluing, this study overturns the patriarchal impulse of the Modernist epitome, advocating instead a gynocentric appreciation of women whose contribution to nineteenth-century Canadian periodical writing cannot be overlooked, either statistically or qualitatively. Towards this goal, the dissertation raises up woman-authored fictions of the female artist figure—female *Künstlerromane*—as a viable and revelatory genre of women’s writing in nineteenth-century Canada. The *topos* of the female artist emerges, in the course of four chapters, as a self-consciously fraught site in which tensions of literary agency and critical reception struggle both inside and outside the particular historical moment of an individual work’s publication. An introductory section focuses on various interpenetrations of gender and genre, mapping critical responses to the *Bildungsroman* and *Künstlerroman* according to both non-feminist and feminist paradigms and assumptions, and noting the limited attention paid to Canadian texts in these genres. Chapter two outlines how the earliest woman-authored artist fictions published in Canada concerned male rather than female artists, yet worked subversively within a male paradigm. Of interest in this regard are several serialized stories from the 1840s and ’50s by Eliza Lanesford Cushing (in *The Literary Garland*), Mary Eliza Herbert (in her own editorial venture, *The Mayflower; or Ladies Acadian Newspaper*), and two anonymous—and likely female—authors (in *The Mayflower* and *The Anglo-American Magazine*). Chapter three shifts the usual critical focus from Susanna Moodie’s *Roughing It in the Bush* to her little-known serialized novel, “Rachel Wilde; or, Trifles from the Burthen of a Life” (1848). By viewing Moodie in her roles as both writer and editor of *The Victoria Magazine*, the venue in which “Rachel Wilde” appeared, the chapter explores her polemicization of the embryonic growth of a female artist. Chapter four recuperates Louisa Murray’s contribution to post-Confederation Canadian literature by means of her serialized novel “Marguerite Kneller: Artist and Woman,” published in 1872 in the first volume of *The Canadian Monthly and National Review*. By proposing a gendered aesthetics of compromise, and by taking issue, intertextually, with the British literary tradition, this work uncovers the extent to which Murray continued and augmented the literary “sorority” that earlier women like Cushing, Herbert, and Moodie had helped to foster. As writers, as editors, and as creators of a kind of representatively autobiographical agency in their fictions of the female artist, such women made valuable contributions to the heterogeneous project that would become increasingly defined, in the later nineteenth century, as “Canadian literature.” The *Literary History*’s damning epithet, “a world for women,” thus becomes reconstituted, in the course of this thesis, as a more accurate critical insight. Which is to say, ironically but justifiably much of the world of nineteenth-century periodical fiction in Canada can indeed be considered “a world for women.”

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Preface

Rescued from time: excavation, reclamation.

Donna E. Smythe in *Re(Dis)covering Our Foremothers* (1990)

The last two decades of Canadian literary scholarship have witnessed exciting movements in the direction of reclaiming nineteenth-century literature in Canada. Though the legacy of literary Modernism is a tenacious one, and Modernism's bias against Canada's early literary heritage continues to enjoy, in this apparently post-Modern literary climate, an uncanny critical cachet, many scholars have committed their best efforts to projects of "excavation" and "reclamation," as Donna Smythe puts it in the epigraph above. In doing so they have followed the leads (though not always the prescriptions and practices) of such academics as Lorne Pierce (Ryerson Press), Michael Gnarowski (Golden Dog Press), and Malcolm Ross (The New Canadian Library). The Centre for the Editing of Early Canadian Texts (CEECT), for example, under the general editorship of Mary Jane Edwards, has published careful scholarly editions of many previously out-of-print and corrupt texts. The Canadian Poetry Press, under the editorship of D.M.R. Bentley, has almost single-handedly recuperated a large body of early poetry into the Canadian literary canon. In 1990, Lorraine McMullen began a feminist project of similar scope, namely the restoration of "Canada's lost heritage of women writers." The scholarship and commitment of the essays included in *Re(Dis)covering Our Foremothers: Nineteenth-Century Canadian Women Writers* (1990) make that volume a true "manifesto," an inspiring "call for the action that is needed" to rewrite and reinterpret Canadian literary history along gendered lines (McMullen,

“Introduction,” *Re(Dis)covering* 4). The volume subsequently begat two series of recuperative publications: the Early Canadian Women Writers Series (Tecumseh Press), which presently totals nine works of fiction from nineteenth- and twentieth-century women writers; and three volumes in the Canadian Short Story Library¹ (University of Ottawa Press), including the admirably contextualized *Pioneering Women: Short Stories by Canadian Women, Beginnings to 1880* (1993), *Aspiring Women: Short Stories by Canadian Women, 1880-1900* (1993), and *New Women: Short Stories by Canadian Women, 1900-1920* (1991). Infused with the same spirit as Edwards’ and Bentley’s publications, McMullen’s positioning of early Canadian women writers provides a contextual basis for classroom study and a foundation for future scholarship. Projects such as these—enabled, in part, by the ongoing work of the Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions—have “rescued” a sizable portion of the rich and referential literary culture of Canada’s nineteenth century from a moldering existence in the vaults of academic libraries, as inaccessible and irrelevant as Klein’s zero-garlanded poet, shining “like phosphorus. At the bottom of the sea” (“Portrait of the Poet as Landscape,” l. 164).

Much remains to be done in re(dis)covering the gendered contexts of early women’s writing in Canada. Though the reproduction of selected texts is laudable and necessary, it is not enough. Other texts, as yet unrecuperated in reprint series, cry out for the scholarly analysis that will hasten their inclusion in the evolving canon. As McMullen herself “forewarn[s],” however, such projects are daunting: “the would-be researcher on nineteenth-century women can expect to encounter...challenges” that extend from locating “the barest essentials” of submerged biography, to unearthing

“ephemeral” publication venues, to “reassess[ing]”—often against the critical grain—the importance and contributions of “those few women who remain in the canon” (“Introduction” 2). Though such challenges are made more manageable by newly-available resources (such as the *Index to Pre-1900 English Language Canadian Cultural and Literary Magazines* [CD-rom] and *A Directory of Known Pseudonyms, Initial Sets, and Maiden Names Found in Selected English-Canadian Magazines, Newspapers and Books of the Nineteenth Century* [1993], both compiled by Thomas B. Vincent²), these reference works are themselves “selected” and therefore incomplete. There are no definitive records available to the “would-be researcher” in early Canadian women’s literature. The present thesis, which offers as its main strength the incorporation of a wide variety of archival material, testifies to the frustrations and discoveries, setbacks and rewards inherent in the challenges of primary research and critical reassessment.

By gendering and historicizing the predicament of Klein’s twentieth-century male poet (shining “[a]t the bottom of the sea”), the following chapters enact what has been called, all too pejoratively, a “feminist salvage tactic”³: namely, the raising up of woman-authored fictions of the female artist figure—female *Künstlerromane*—as a viable and revelatory genre of women’s writing in nineteenth-century Canada. As McMullen herself might have predicted, such a task intimidates. Nineteenth-century female artist fictions conjure an absent presence both materially and figuratively in Canada’s literary landscape. Texts preserved almost exclusively on microfilm, authors forgotten, ignored, or ridiculed—these are only two of the material difficulties that accrue to a study of works that, in the end, belong at least partially to the long-reviled subgenre of romance. Not least of the revelations in the present thesis is the tenacity with which certain

derogatory. Modernist-entrenched views—of romance, of periodicals, of the nineteenth century as a training ground for female mediocrity rather than female agency—continue to be articulated, however subtly, by today's scholars. The *topos* of the female artist emerges as a self-consciously fraught site in which tensions of literary agency and critical reception struggle both inside and outside the particular historical moment of an individual work's publication.

In part, this thesis attempts to unpack the paradox that such "historical moments" achieve a curiously ahistorical, apolitical manifestation in the artist fictions of nineteenth-century women writers in Canada. In other words, there is little or no mention in the following chapters of the notable political events, economic exigencies, colonial frictions, copyright debates, and nation-building propositions that moved the colonies from pre-Confederation to post-Confederation—or, as the dates of the thesis might roughly suggest, from the Act of Union in 1841 to the year 1880 in which Calixa Lavallée composed "O Canada" and Charles G.D. Roberts published his talismanic *Orion and Other Poems*. Indeed, when one further considers that the fictions treated herein habitually lack a "Canadian" setting, and that they were published in periodicals that are notorious, in respected literary histories, for being culturally juvenile or at best derivative, there would seem to be scant justification indeed for characterizing such writing as either "Canadian" or "significant."

Quite the opposite is true. To appreciate that truth, however, one needs to acknowledge the extent to which the polite dictates of Victorian-Canadian culture circumscribed nineteenth-century women in Canada. They were denied access to the political realm, they entered late into institutions of higher learning, and they did not

venture into the male-dominated world of colonial newspapers and literary journalism until after 1880. They were, however, permitted the margins: of poetry, of romance, of drama, of fiction. Indeed, the aesthetic realm was one of the few that early women could legitimately occupy. In this imaginative and imagined “space,” women in Canada approximated the literary freedoms of their southerly and trans-Atlantic female neighbours, and did so with far less inferiority than might be supposed. As writers, as editors, and as creators of a kind of representatively autobiographical agency in their fictions of the female artist, these women made valuable contributions to the heterogeneous project that would become increasingly defined, in the later nineteenth century, as “Canadian literature.”

Positioned somewhere between literary history and gynocriticism,⁴ this thesis proposes a new way of viewing the years 1840-1880, the forty-year period that Carl Klinck charted as a steady, decisive, and necessary movement away from “a world for women”—away, in other words, from early, woman-tainted periodicals like *The Literary Garland* and toward the incipient “serious fiction” of the yet-unborn *Week*, itself prefigured by the establishment of the all-male Royal Society of Canada in 1882 (“Literary Activity,” *Literary History of Canada* I, 159, 176). Though I accept Klinck’s pairing of women and literary periodicals, I soundly reject his conclusions. By reclaiming instead of ridiculing, and validating instead of devaluing, the following study overturns the patriarchal impulse of the Modernist epitome, advocating instead a gynocentric appreciation of women whose contribution to nineteenth-century Canadian periodical writing cannot be overlooked, either statistically or qualitatively. Chapters two, three, and four reclaim in historically specific terms the very periodicals that

Klinck's *Literary History* maligns, including *The Literary Garland*, *The Victoria Magazine*, and *The Canadian Monthly and National Review*. In the process, Klinck's damning epithet, "a world for women," reveals itself to be a structure built on shaky foundations. Fractured by its own critical instability, the fictograph becomes reconstituted, in the course of this thesis, as a more accurate critical insight. Which is to say, ironically but justifiably much of the world of nineteenth-century periodical fiction in Canada can indeed be considered "a world for women."

An introductory section, "Re-visioning Genre: Criticism and Articulations of the Artist," launches this dissertation by focusing on various critical interpenetrations of gender and genre—issues that position the claims made in later chapters. In setting out to map a selected history of critical receptions of the *Bildungsroman* and *Künstlerroman* genres, I engage both non-feminist and feminist paradigms and assumptions—a comparative project that heretofore has not been articulated. Along the way, the chapter uncovers two troubling lacunae that further justify the larger project of the thesis: namely, the striking omission of Canadian literature from all but a handful of the broad theoretical discussions, and the nearly wholesale disregard of the nineteenth century in the few Canadian studies that do exist.

As the feminist component of the overview suggests, women authors re-write traditionally male narrative forms in ideologically significant ways. A crucial adaptation is the foregrounding of romantic relationships, which serves as a double marker: first, of gendered expectations about social role and ambition, and second, of the blurring of the distinctions between *Bildungsroman* and *Künstlerroman* that often characterizes women's appropriations of these traditionally male genres. Subsequent chapters of the

thesis pursue connections among *Bildung* (education), *Bild* (aesthetic representation), *Kunst* (art), and *Roman* (novel), discovering in the blended generic form of female *Künstlerroman* an often dissonant relationship between dominant social pedagogy and woman-informed aesthetics and artistic production. In an era that predated women's formal participation in male academies of learning and art, these artist stories direct a keen and empathetic eye towards other types of exclusions—particularly poverty—and might even be said to anticipate the British Arts and Crafts movement of the later 1870s (centred on William Morris) that formally valued and validated art's communal, relational, and domestic possibilities.

Like all genres, artist fictions are dialogic in the Bahktinian sense: written utterances that resonate with all that has come before and all that is yet to come. In this regard, one of the most obvious dialogic elements in artistic fictions by women concerns an often intertextual awareness of the social and literary "patriarchy" against which they define themselves. If, as was true for much of the nineteenth century, genius presupposed masculinity, then a nineteenth-century woman author's regendering of the artist protagonist would enact a rejection of the "essentialist narrative" of the male *Künstlerroman* (Graham, "Calling Quest into Question" n.p.). As outlined in Chapter Two, however, the earliest woman-authored artist fictions published in Canada worked subversively *within* the male paradigm, simultaneously constructing and deconstructing a male protagonist. Often, such works diluted the generic "purity" of the artist story (for which, read "conventional expectations" of plot and character) by deflecting the fiction into the subgenres of romance and fictionalized biography, and by destabilizing the so-called "happy ending." Of interest, in this regard, are several serialized stories from the

1840s and '50s: works by Eliza Lanesford Cushing in *The Literary Garland*, Mary Eliza Herbert in *The Mayflower; or Ladies Acadian Newspaper*, and two anonymous—and likely female—authors in *The Mayflower* and *The Anglo-American Magazine*. (Cushing served as editor in the final year of *The Literary Garland*'s publication; Herbert, a mere nineteen-year-old, single-handedly edited and sustained *The Mayflower* during its ten-month duration.) By “fictionalizing” the biographies of historical male artists, and by foregrounding the gendered tensions of conventional “romance,” these women authors made a metaleptic leap into the as-yet-unclaimed social and fictional territory of female artistic ambition.

If Chapter Two's stories respond, in part, to the specifics of male biography, Chapter Three's serialized novel, Susanna Moodie's little-known “Rachel Wilde; or, Trifles from the Burthen of a Life” (1848), provides a very different kind of intertextuality. Part one of the chapter outlines how, years before the most significant of the British tradition's artist narratives would appear in poetry and fiction, Moodie polemicized the embryonic growth of a female artist by retailoring the “stock Romantic visionary” in the metaphorically soiled clothes of the nineteenth-century's most notorious practitioner of ambition: Napoleon. Part two places this story of dangerous and exiled female genius in the context of its initial publication venue, Moodie's own *Victoria Magazine*. Here I muse on Moodie's possibly deliberate editorial decision to contrast the sufferings and accommodations of “Rachel Wilde” with the hyperbolic male-authored artist narrative that ran parallel to it during the early months of 1848. By shifting the usual critical focus from Moodie's *Roughing It in the Bush* to her lesser-known and often maligned “Rachel Wilde,” I offer an antidote to the various totalizing narratives of Moodie as one-woman garrison (Frye), paranoid

schizophrenic (Atwood), and Old World narcissist (Thurston). Both writer and editor in *The Victoria Magazine*, Moodie exploited at least some of the possibilities of the literary periodical for the purposes of social education and philanthropy in her adopted country.

One historically resonant example of Moodie's mentoring concerns her early encouragement of Louisa Murray, subject of the fourth and final chapter of this thesis. In reclaiming Murray's remarkable (and remarkably forgotten) contribution to post-Confederation Canadian literature, one compelling discovery is the extent to which she continued and augmented the literary "sorority" that earlier women like Cushing, Herbert, and Moodie had helped to foster. Though she preceded the generation of women journalists in Canada who, like Sara Jeannette Duncan, actively participated in a cosmopolitan understanding of literature, Murray envisioned her work as intrinsically linked to that of other writing women, both domestically and outside the borders of Canada. In the prose of a number of decidedly "feminist" essays, and in the fiction of at least two of her six serialized novels, she critiques the literary patriarchy that would suppress, as her first published work of fiction would have it, "'learning and genius in a woman'" ("Fauna" 387). Her serialized novel "Marguerite Kneller: Artist and Woman," published in 1872 in the first volume of *The Canadian Monthly and National Review*, takes issue, intertextually, with the British tradition by consciously rewriting both Keats and Tennyson. And in simultaneously declining either to marry off her heroine or to reify the self-indulgent suicide ending so common to woman-authored portraits of the female artist in British and American nineteenth-century poetry and fiction, Murray accommodates, as it were, a doubly-imported genre to a complex "Canadian" perspective: that of compromise. In doing so, she provides a fitting conclusion to a study that offers, in part, the corrective notion that early writing in

Canada was favourably conditioned and positioned by its social, historical, and literary milieu—and that this atmosphere of sophistication and tenacity speaks powerfully into our own late-twentieth-century project of nationhood.

Chapter One

Re-visioning Genre: Criticism and Articulations of the Artist

Feminist criticism aims to recover the women and the women's voices that have been lost or repressed, but only in such a way as to avoid replicating the structures that brought about that repression in the first place.

Margaret Homans, "Feminist Criticism and Theory: The Ghost of Creusa" (1987)

In describing [the female artist character], her struggles and her visions, we as feminist critics run the risk of prescribing her, and yet failing to name her means failing to know her. We confront this difficulty not by defining the woman artist figure but by identifying many.

Suzanne W. Jones, "Introduction," *Writing the Woman Artist* (1991)

She is a functioning artist, and she is plausible.

Margaret Atwood, "The Paralyzed Artist," *Survival* (1972)

If Anglo-American feminism's ability to critique its own practices can be taken as an indication of its critical coming-of-age, then the evolution of theories of art and the female artist over the last three decades might serve as an apt barometer of this ongoing "critical self-awareness" (Walker, "Anglo-American Feminist Criticism" 40). In the same way that feminist studies as a whole has perceived the problems inherent in reclaiming women by means of patriarchy's conceptual tools (Homans' "replicating the structures...of repression" 172), feminist literary scholars engaged in broadening the generic conception of *Künstlerroman* have recognized the danger of "prescribing" the woman artist character *à la* a female version of male essentialism (Jones "Introduction" 1). Though such prescription was necessary to first-generation feminism's articulations of its *raison d'être*, and defined its approach to many literary texts (including fictions of the female artist), the trend in recent years, as articulated in 1991 in *Writing the Woman*

Artist: Essays on Poetics, Politics, and Portraiture, is to move from the “common denominator” of socially-constructed gender to the myriad ways in which gender is mediated: “by race, class, nationality, ethnicity, motherhood, sexual orientation, and historical era as well as literary movements and theories of language” (Jones 1). In this way, the “diversity” that is feminist studies by definition—by virtue of its ability to borrow from a wide variety of critical discourses and methodologies (Walker, “Anglo-American” 39)—extends itself into a relational and contextual understanding of female artist characters as conceived and written by a wide variety of women authors.

While the above synopsis pertains to Anglo-American feminism—that is, the many feminist critical practices of Britain and the United States—it does not seem to reflect accurately the Canadian scene, at least not in terms of recognizing and theorizing works of female *Künstlerromane*. It may not be entirely specious, for example, to point out that not a single one of the nineteen essays included in *Writing the Woman Artist* is written by a Canadian(ist);¹ neither does any of them concern a Canadian author or work of Canadian literature (though British, American, Latin-American, African-American, Norwegian, and German examples abound). Not even Elizabeth Bishop—whose identity as “Canadian earlier and lesbian later” has been sensitively argued in a recent study by David Jarroway²—is identified as having had a connection to Canada. There are, however, passing references to Canadians, such as the footnote devoted to Emily Carr (212 n.33), the standard invocation of Northrop Frye on mythopoeia and archetype (49), and the inclusion of “Atwood’s Lady Oracle and Laurence’s Morag Gunn” in a list of undifferentiated contemporary English-language artist characters written by women (309). Atwood also merits mention in a footnote—this time for how *Surfacing* and *Lady*

Oracle exhibit, as do various American and British examples, “the water imagery that recurs so frequently in contemporary women’s fiction” (Greene, “Margaret Drabble’s *The Waterfall*” 331 n.37). Though Atwood’s is rather a watered-down representation, so to speak, in this particular collection, she has a remarkable irreducibility in many other studies. Indeed, and as will become clear in a later portion of this chapter, the few sideways glances directed at Canada by Anglo-American feminist critics perceive, in Atwood, a kind of wilderness feminism that they quickly make a byword for the positive direction in which contemporary female artist fictions are moving.

There are several paradoxes inherent in this extra-Canadian alignment of Atwood and female *Künstlerromane*. Not least among them, perhaps, is the fact that while Anglo-American writers and feminists were charting gendered territory in the 1970s, Atwood was creating literary nationalism. In other words, in the decade that included Kate Millett’s *Sexual Politics* (1970) and Adrienne Rich’s radical call for textual “re-vision” as “an act of survival”¹ (1975), Atwood *as critic* was offering her own version of “survival”: a gender-conservative, even gender-inhibiting, vision of Canadians as victims of a mutilated and self-mutilating culture. Her immensely popular *Survival: A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature* was published in 1972,⁴ the same year that Erica Jong’s “The Artist as Housewife/The Housewife as Artist” appeared in *MS* magazine.⁵ The two works seem to have had equally startling effects upon their national populations, if for different reasons. In speaking of *Survival* after an interval of four years, in a fascinating 1976 interview with Linda Sandler, Atwood makes a clear demarcation between the nationalist politics of that text and the appropriative politics (in her view) of a 1970s American “Women’s Lib” movement—“[t]hings aren’t this bad in Canada,” she says in a

contemporary essay⁶—that sought out women writers to condone its “‘feminist’ issues” (Sandler, “A Question of Metamorphosis,” 54). In effect, Atwood takes smug delight in role-playing the anti-academic Canadian nationalist writer (“I don’t have to be plausible to professors: they’re not hiring me”) and essentially agrees with Sandler’s formulation that *Survival* has “political overtones,” but she retreats from the gender issue to such an extent that Sandler herself comments wryly, “‘It’s kind of ironic that feminists saw you as a leading proponent of their cause” (Sandler 53). This is an irony that Carole Gerson would describe, in 1990, as “[d]isappointing[ly]” evident in Atwood’s own editorial practices. Although Atwood claimed to use “historical significance” as the criteria for her inclusion of nineteen early writers in *The New Oxford Book of Canadian Verse* in 1982, she “stopped short of extending her ‘excavationism’ (xxx) to her own sex” (Gerson, “Anthologies and the Canon” 64). Gerson’s is a damning accusation, indeed, to be leveled at a female poet (Atwood) who herself almost single-handedly reclaimed a fellow woman writer, the nineteenth-century Susanna Moodie, as the archetypal Canadian “survivor.” The further irony, however, is notable: none of Moodie’s own poetry is included in Atwood’s *New Oxford* anthology,⁷ but Atwood’s own *The Journals of Susanna Moodie* (1970) is there excerpted,⁸ and the sequence merits its own entry in *The Oxford Companion to Canadian Literature*.

As one particular locus of this curious disjuncture between theory and practice, and as a means of beginning, from a Canadian perspective, the critical overview of genre that will comprise this chapter, I offer a brief re-visioning of Atwood’s *Survival*—a text that does, in fact, deal overtly with the project of Canadian artist fiction, and does so by means of a strangely tacit conflict between gender and the conservative agenda of Anglo-

American Modernism as practised in Canada. Though much out of favour in the current critical climate, Atwood's "thematic guide" can be seen to connect in significant, if unexpected, ways to the present study. *Survival* both proves and disproves her contention, in the interview with Sandler, that she is "'a feminist in the broad sense of the term," though not necessarily a writer of "'feminist issues'" (Sandler, 54). As such, and in a roundabout way, *Survival* might very well stand as one of the earliest—if not *the* earliest—"feminist" Canadian approaches to the subject of female artist fiction in Canada.

In an opening section titled "What, Where, and Why is Here?"—a direct, if somewhat altered, allusion to the Frye quotation included in her "Preface"⁹—Atwood asks the central question that propels her thematic study: "'What do writers write about?'" (14). By way of answer, she turns to the paradigmatic male artist novel of the twentieth century, which she identifies by name: "James Joyce's *Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*" (15). The flyleaf of Stephen Daedalus' geography book, says Atwood, contains "a fairly exclusive list of everything it is possible for a human being to write about and therefore to read about" (15), but of course, gender is not among the salient categories. Atwood's point, at this juncture, is that Joyce acknowledges nationality-as-a-function-of-identity in a way that Canadian literature does not, or has not up to the present of her study. That "gender" could be an equally "fundamental organizing category of human experiences and of the creation of knowledge" (Godard, "Structuralism/Post-Structuralism: Language, Reality, and Canadian Literature" 32) does not seem to occur to Atwood the critic except as it provides an opportunity for a brand of obfuscating humour: hence, the early joke: "Chapters Nine and Ten cope with two representative figures—the

Canadian Artist, who is usually male, and the Canadian Woman, who is usually female...” (41). When Atwood actually turns to the figure of the artist, however, and thus, implicitly, to a consideration of her own craft, something both interesting and understated happens to the submerged component of gender.

“The Paralyzed Artist,” chapter nine of the thematic guide, postulates as typically Canadian the literary incarnation of failure and victimization: the portrait of the artist as “a cripple, mute or castrated man” (184). Male gender is repeatedly, and sometimes graphically, emphasized.¹⁰ Set specifically against Stephen Daedalus in Joyce’s *Portrait*, Atwood’s failed men seem necessarily hopeless, glimpses of a spectral Canadian nationhood: A.M. Klein’s lacunal sea-bottom poet (“Portrait of the Poet as Landscape,” 1948), Sinclair Ross’s Philip Bentley (*As for Me and My House*, 1941), Ernest Buckler’s David Canaan (*The Mountain and the Valley*, 1952), and Graeme Gibson’s Felix (*Five Legs*, 1969, and *Communion*, 1971). Arranged like votive candles around this canvas of generic artistic failure are five specific invocations of E.K. Brown’s “important 1943 essay, ‘The Problem of a Canadian Literature,’” in which Brown had articulated—quite rightly, Atwood seems to suggest—the impossibilities of artistic creation in “a cultural and economic colony” (182). In the course of the chapter, Brown’s essay and the failed male artist portraits mutually illuminate each other, the latter flickering as the realization of the former’s self-fulfilling prophecy.

This correspondence between theory and fiction could be interpreted as Atwood’s straight-forward presentation of proof for her chapter’s (and her book’s) thesis were it not for the temporal frame of the chapter itself. Briefly and implicitly, statements on the first and last pages of the ninth chapter suggest that the male model is dated, out of synch with

“the sixties—things *have* changed” (181), out of step, in other words, with the early heady days of the “full institutionalization” of Canadian literature in “the 1960s and 1970s” in which *Survival* itself made its appearance (Walker, “The Literary Paradigm and the Discourses of Culture” 6). In contrast, then, to the whole project of the ninth chapter—the highlighting of failed male artists from men’s post-World War II texts, each of whom bears out E.K. Brown’s Modernist assertion that colonial Canada’s literature is mediocre and self-doomed—in contrast to these examples, Atwood offers, in her final paragraph, the image of a resilient female artist.

Her example is Del Jordan, from the young Alice Munro’s second novel, *Lives of Girls and Women* (1971)—a book that had won that year’s Canadian Booksellers Award, and would be filmed by the CBC, as a drama, in 1973 (Coldwell, “Alice Munro” 536). Atwood sees Munro’s artist as necessarily inhibited by her Canadian “culture,” but notes, as if in passing and without elaboration, that “the situation is compounded by the fact that the potential artist is a woman” (193). Since it is the national element that Atwood must emphasize, she distorts, somewhat, the ending of Munro’s book by claiming that Del “defies the culture, leaves it, and survives to become an artist” (193)—hence, the repudiatory, Joycean/male paradigm from *Portrait*. However, in strictly “Canadian” terms, and in comparison to the male-authored texts around which *Survival*’s ninth chapter is built, Del provides Atwood with “a more recent treatment”—and perforce, a gendered and political one—of the theme of artistic achievement. Del, of the rather humbly titled *Lives of Girls and Women*, becomes Atwood’s specific foil to David Canaan, of Buckler’s *The Mountain and the Valley*—the latter a novel in which (as one present-day Canadian scholar puts it) “David’s struggle to ascend the mountain

recaptures the moral exertion associated with Bunyan's 'Hill of Difficulty' in *Pilgrim's Progress*, the mountainous terrain in Herbert's 'The Pilgrimage,' and Dante's Purgatorial climb" (Bond, "Mountain" 523). David dies on the top of the mountain. Atwood explains, having experienced an epiphany "of Entremont, the Valley, and the people in it, in all their complexity and limitation"; his final thoughts, she says, are that "this, all along, was what he ought to have been writing about" (193). Del, by contrast, knows that her subject matter must be "the centre of her own experience" (193), namely the small town to which she (re)turns, artistically, possessed with a "'crazy, heartbreaking'" desire to render its delusions and loveliness (193).

With remarkably proleptic (or anachronistic) implications for the fourth and final chapter of this thesis, Atwood notes that "[a]s in Tennyson and the Bible, 'mountain' is the place of vision: 'valley' the scene of ordinary life" (186). Though Atwood does not proceed to do so, her pairing of Buckler's and Munro's artists easily allows us to gender the dichotomy. If the "mountain," as an image, represents for literature the same male / moral imperative that it does for religion (and here one might invoke Bond's reference to "the 21 narratively significant mountains mentioned in Scripture" [523] alongside the visionary mountains of Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Wordsworth's *The Prelude*, and Ruskin's *Modern Painters*), then the lofty artistic vision that Buckler's male artist fails to "realize" is precisely the one that Del captures and redeems: the communal, the vital, the relational. "The vision," says Atwood, in the sentences that close her ninth chapter,

is much like Buckler's, much like Klein's, but the speaker does not die and she does not regard herself as maimed or invisible. She is a functioning artist, and she is plausible. (193)

Not usually at a loss for words, and perhaps quite simply surprised at how far she's come from the subject of "The Paralyzed Artist," Atwood ends her commentary here. Her next chapter will go on to discuss female characters in terms more thematically comfortable to her ("Ice Women vs Earth Mothers: The Stone Angel and the Absent Venus"), but here, in chapter nine, for a brief moment, she presents the Canadian imagination with a crucial variation on an old gendered theme. Without either apology or explanation to E.K. Brown and the Modernists, she dares to theorize the female artist, in and for Canadian fiction.

There exists, regrettably, no thorough-going historicization of twentieth-century critical responses to the genres of *Bildungsroman* and *Künstlerroman*, and thus no careful and comparative map of how these genres incorporate gendered concerns into their narratology, nor how the larger cultural resonances of genre respond to and accommodate extra-textual systems of social and literary production. Much of what follows provides a series of analytical histories of criticism—non-feminist, feminist, and Canadianist, respectively—about the genres so often classified by their German names, *Bildungsroman* and *Künstlerroman*. My necessarily selective survey of these histories (no Introduction could supply an exhaustive rendering) is intended to provide a theoretical background for the specifically Canadian-based chapters which comprise the body of this thesis. Such histories, with their numerous rehearsals of critical positions, are, I believe, both engaging and essential. This one highlights trends and agendas in literary scholarship over a period of sixty years, and demonstrates, by means of telling silences, the extent to which many such

agendas have ignored or underestimated the relationship of gender to genre. The overview also operates as a negative indicator of international scholarship's attention to the Canadian canon. When one considers that the enterprise of women's literature in Canada is essentially "under erasure" in these studies—invoked only in footnotes or as an exoticized alternative to the real problems of literary life elsewhere—the need to increase Canlit's awareness of such ignorance would seem to approximate, in "survivalist" terms, the literary "activism" that Lorraine McMullen calls for in *Re(Dis)covering Our Foremothers* (4).

When feminists describe the long exclusion of the "female" from traditional generic categories, they have typically chosen metaphors like the iron fence, the ladder, the money market, the law: women have been barred out, bottom-runged, short-changed, declared deviant. Such metaphors, it must be said, are evocative by themselves, striking in pairs, but decidedly melodramatic in a cluster. The feminist moment for melodrama has passed, and fresh metaphorical eyes—to extend Adrienne Rich's notion of "re-vision"—have opened onto the historical and cultural circumstances that complement the study of gendered priorities in women's writing.

With considerations of exclusion and accommodation equally in mind, this study undertakes to commit two (not unknown) genre transgressions in the name of elucidating female artist fictions written by women in Canada. The first (which I will elaborate in some detail) is to allow the terms *Bildungsroman* and *Künstlerroman* a seemingly paradoxical freedom: to see them as genres that are at once historically specific to Germany's literary culture, and—in Martin Swales's terminology—broadly "taxonomic," "heuristic tool[s]

which mak[e] possible the comparison of a number of texts that stand in no readily identifiable historical relationship to one another" (161). Such definitional freedom is not without its detractors, the genre purists. The inherent advantage to a doubled vision, however, is precisely that of detecting residues of generic change over place and time (to paraphrase Bakhtin) and thus of making "comparison" possible on a number of levels: for instance, among Canadian texts of a given era, and among Canadian and non-Canadian texts of a given era. Milton Wilson, in a 1959 essay about Canadian poetry, indicated the potential fruitfulness of an inquiry into the transformational fact of genre in Canada, a place renowned for its unformedness, its process: "When a Canadian poet writes a melodrama, an idyll, a birthday ode, an elegy, what happens to the traditional settings and images? If they survive, what adjustment (if any) has preserved them? If they change, what has changed into what?" ("Recent Canadian Verse" 200). Such questions are as fascinating as they are essential to our steadily evolving understanding of literary cultures in Canada.

But one must add, as Wilson did not in 1959, the crucial component of gender to the nationalist argument for generic transformation, thus making the reevaluation of gender and genre cooperative projects. If it is true, as Godard claims broadly, that "[w]omen and men have different perceptions of experiences within the same event" ("Structuralism/Post-Structuralism" 32-33), it would seem to follow that their approaches to writing and the use of genre would participate in that difference. A British example serves to make the case clearer. In the "Author's Notes" that follow the 1969 edition of *The Four-Gated City*, Doris Lessing classifies her novel as follows:

This book is what the Germans call a *Bildungsroman*. We [British] don't have a word for it. This type of novel has been out of fashion for sometime. This does not mean that there is anything wrong with this kind of novel. (655)

Lessing's remarks, in their clearly British context, proclaim both the Germanic specificity of the *Bildungsroman* and her own unapologetic, taxonomic appropriation of a term/genre that seems to adhere to another context, another era. Her linked repetition of the word "this" calls attention to her woman-authored text and its female protagonist, thus anachronistically challenging the notion, so tentatively argued by John H. Smith years later, that "female *Bildung* [is] a contradiction in terms" ("Cultivating Gender: Sexual Difference, *Bildung*, and the *Bildungsroman*" 220). In 1978, Martin Swales used another of Lessing's novels to dispute the male-gendered delimitation of *Bildung*. Swales defends the applicability of the German *Bildungsroman* to "novels concerned with women's search for identity" (*The German Bildungsroman from Wieland to Hesse* 165). "The difficulties attendant upon the heroine's quest for self-knowledge and self-realization," he claims in the final pages of his study, "are not simply those of outward obstacles—an uncomprehending husband, economic dependence...The obstacles facing them have to do with the terms and parameters of human cognition" (165).

It is plain that an understanding of the roots of a given genre, tempered and challenged by feminist attentions to subjectivity and to the varying contexts of production and reception, can conceivably yield rich insights into individual texts. This belief relies, in large part, on Bakhtin's spacious conceptualization of genre as a field of potential rather than a closed system. Genre provides "a relative stability," a "'given,'" but it does not "exhaustively define" its members or dismiss the unique, modifying capacity of each new work—which, after all, is "the 'created,'" the significant "something new" that allows the genre to adapt and change (Morson and Emerson, *Mikhail Bakhtin: Creation of a Prosaics* 89). Genres resonate over time and place: "each act of speech and literary work uses the

resources of the genre in a specific way in response to a specific individual situation” (Morson and Emerson 89). Each new work is, as it were, always “oriented toward the response of the other (others),” like a “rejoinder in dialogue”; as such, the work constitutes a true “link in a chain of speech communication” (Bakhtin, “The Problem of Speech Genres” 76). In turn, the work itself is anthropomorphically “remembered” in the particular genre’s “genre memory” (Morson and Emerson 89). Seeing the “female” in genre, it might be said, is analogous to seeing the workings of time in place—the “epochs of becoming” that Bakhtin praises in Goethe’s life and writings (Bakhtin, “The Bildungsroman and Its Significance in the History of Realism” 28). To see the female in genre is almost, literally, to re-member literary history.

In 1965 Northrop Frye made the provocative claim that a country’s literature is a kind of “imaginative continuum” wherein “writers are conditioned in their attitudes by their predecessors, or by the cultural climate of their predecessors, whether there is conscious influence or not” (“Conclusion” 361). Such an interpretation of literary continuity suggests (as does T.S. Eliot’s idea of “tradition”) that the past of literature continues actively in the present, forecasting and accommodating new works in a changing panorama. Frye proceeds to suggest that literary continuity somehow charts national character, past and present: “what is important in Canadian literature ... is the inheritance of the entire enterprise. The writers of Canada have identified the habits and attitudes of the country, as Fraser and Mackenzie have identified its rivers” (“Conclusion” 361). This view of literature as enmeshed with the history of place is one that Bakhtin found in Goethe’s lifeworks: the belief that the past has a visible, active and necessary place in the present, and that historical time consists in the interpenetration of human creativity and particular, localized events.

Bakhtin locates in the *Künstlerroman*—specifically in Goethe’s prototypical *Wilhelm Meister’s Apprenticeship* (1795-6)¹¹—a site where Goethe’s proto-existentialist view of history overlaps, it might be said, with Frye’s speculative one of literary influence. Here, says Bakhtin, are the beginnings of the Enlightenment awareness that biographical and historical time are interwoven, and that fiction about the simultaneous emergence of a hero and his epoch is rich, complex, and dynamic. If (to re-phrase Frye) literary continuity is a conversation between past and present that illuminates self-in-time, the *Künstlerroman* might well be thought of, in a Bakhtinian sense, as a particular, defining utterance within that conversation: about subjectivity, about place, about art.

Genres do not dialogue only with their pasts; they must adapt to the contextual demands of their present in order to be propelled into a future of relevance. As such, the second “genre transgression” of this study involves articulating what literary critics have often only tacitly admitted: namely, the existence of a nearly hybrid fictional form that fuses the historical and social concerns of the *Bildungsroman* genre with the aesthetic and psychological ones of the *Künstlerroman* genre. It may well be that Canadian women’s artist fictions blend the classical *Bildungsroman*’s search for elusive selfhood and its ironically simultaneous accommodation to community with the more pan-national *Künstlerroman*’s exploration of aesthetics in the tension between being and doing, “art” and “life.” Such a view would seem anathema to a critic of Randolph P. Shaffner’s generic persuasion (*The Apprenticeship Novel: A Study of the “Bildungsroman” as a Regulative Type in Western Literature with a Focus on Three Classic Representatives by Goethe, Maugham, and Mann*, 1984). Shaffner rigidly rejects a generic link between the *Bildungsroman* and the *Künstlerroman* (a link which I will explore below, in the

formulations of non-feminist and feminist critics alike). After seriously undermining the *Künstlerroman*'s very claim to the status of "fiction,"¹² he categorizes the artist's development as a rather stunted version of the *Bildungsroman* apprentice's—saying, in effect, that the artist's focus on profession cancels out the man's (the gender is clearly masculine) life unfolding within an organized plot. Such a claim takes on a rather muddled hue when one accepts, as Shaffner does implicitly, that "[t]he artist tradition in Germany stems from Goethe's fragmentary [*Theatralische*] *Sendung*" (121n.46), a work which was the draft version of *Wilhelm Meister* and which some critics claim is the more immediate and engaging for its hero's youthful aesthetic exuberance and pursuit of an acting career (abandoned in Goethe's final version). By denying the validity of liminal spaces between genres, and, in the process, studiously ignoring female fictions of the developing woman / artist, the structuralist Shaffner has no categories for the following possibility: namely, that it is precisely the unresolvable epistemological tension between profession and person, public and private, which compels a continual compromise/ing in the genre(s) of the apprentice/artist novel. Shaffner would reserve that sort of "reconciliation" (14) for a happy few: the pure of genre.

I. Non-Feminist Approaches to the *Bildungsroman*

North American critical enquiry into the *Bildungsroman* genre is generally acknowledged to have begun with Susanne Howe's *Wilhelm Meister and His English Kinsmen: Apprentices to Life*, published by Columbia University in 1930 (the year after Virginia Woolf's *A Room of One's Own* appeared in England) and reissued in 1966. Howe's study cannot be called feminist; nevertheless, it creates, in instances like its brief overview of the life and work of

Geraldine Endor Jewsbury (1812-1880), a small but important critical space for the discussion of *Bildungsromane* about a female “apprentice.” Amongst a series of other apprentice-novels from the 1840s, Howe rates Jewsbury’s *The Half Sisters* (1848) as the period’s most “interesting” twist on the Goethean “life-journey” motif; Jewsbury’s work provides “fresh material” for the old theme through its “passionate interest in the position of women” (251). Howe is sufficiently sensitive to the demands of the mid-nineteenth-century reading audience on a female author to describe the ending of *The Half Sisters*—in which the actress Bianca sacrifices her career upon marriage—as Jewsbury’s necessary “concession to her public” (250). Although Howe does not make the connection explicitly, she seems to link apprenticeship with career for the woman protagonist: Bianca is an artist. As such, Howe may be incorrect in her claim that *The Half Sisters* provides “the only woman apprentice in fiction” until Hardy’s tragic women at the century’s end (252). Working backwards, one could cite George Sand’s *Consuelo* (1844), Germaine de Staël’s *Corinne* (1807) (which seems to reverse the Goethean pattern of chronological development in that Corinne is destroyed, in part, by interiority, by the *Bildungsroman*’s goal of self-cultivation), and Frances Brooke’s *The Excursion* (1777) (which predates *Wilhelm Meister* by almost twenty years and thus might actually be said to have initiated the *Künstlerroman* genre, in obscurity). Notwithstanding, Howe demonstrates an admirably bold interest, for 1930, in the feminist potentialities of all such novels when she claims that *The Half Sisters* constitutes “a feminist document...of immense interest” in its day and in her own (251).

Feminist concerns, however, are submerged in the current of Howe’s ambitious purpose, which is first to elucidate the literary-intellectual European environment that begat the *Bildungsroman*, and then to trace the genre’s transmutations throughout nineteenth- and

early twentieth-century British literature. Sketching a panorama of influences (including the concept of “the ‘Virtuoso,’ the man who makes living an art,” developed by Shaftesbury in England), Howe claims with authority that the *Bildungsroman* arose from “a German reshaping of eighteenth-century ideas current in Europe” and assumed its recognizable parameters under the uniquely German preoccupations of Goethe, to whom the genre owes its literal genesis:

...with Goethe this idea of *Bildung* took an especially comprehensive sweep....An earnest, conscientious introspection which we do not meet with in England or France, enters into Goethe’s ideas of *Meisterschaft*: ‘Let everyone ask himself for what he is best fitted, that he may develop himself zealously for this, and by means of it. He may regard himself as an apprentice, then as a journeyman, and finally, but only with great caution, as a master.’¹³ (24)

Howe’s definition of *Bildungsroman* relies implicitly on this Goethean notion of process—of the organic development of a consciousness that aims to perfect in itself the social orientation so dear to Herder, Lessing, and Shaftesbury: namely, that “Art and life are one, and the greatest of the arts is the art of living” (Howe 50). Howe strongly favours the restraint and objectivity that adhere to Goethe’s organic concept of *Bildung*. Her bias causes her on more than one occasion to lament that—largely as a result of Carlyle’s idiosyncratic English translations, which underrated the organicity in *Wilhelm Meister’s Apprenticeship* (1824) and gave undue emphasis to “the worship of sorrow idea” in *Wilhelm Meister’s Travels* (1827), (Howe 89)—Goethe’s *Bildungsroman* ideal was unable substantially to influence later British writers in the genre. Although she is keenly aware of the turbulence of the period she is elucidating for Germany and England (“Two languages and literary traditions, and two national cultures during a complicated period of their history” [7]), Howe seems, in the final analysis, somehow dissatisfied with the development of the *Bildungsroman* in England. For example, she sees Benjamin Disraeli’s theme of the self-

absorbed “progress of the Genius, the poetic temperament” in *Contarini Fleming* (1832) not as heralding a new genre in English fiction—namely, the *Künstlerroman*—but rather as providing a “very much diluted” version of Goethe’s vision of harmonious self-culture (192, 201). As such, Disraeli figures in Howe’s schema primarily because he provides a “transition stage” between the conscious borrowing from Goethe represented by Bulwer-Lytton and the radical transformation of the *Bildungsroman* theme by later nineteenth-century British writers—those who “hardly realized where [the theme] came from, so completely had it dissolved in and become a part of Victorian thinking” (201).

If Howe regrets the English *Bildungsroman*’s divergence from its German predecessors, Jerome Hamilton Buckley, in *Season of Youth: The Bildungsroman from Dickens to Golding* (1974) celebrates that difference.¹⁴ Indeed, in a footnoted reference to Howe’s work, Buckley acknowledges that his study focuses almost entirely on novels that Howe had rejected because of her rigid adherence to a “restricted definition of the term [*Bildungsroman*]” (286 n.19). Accordingly, he resurrects works by Dickens, Meredith, George Eliot, Butler, Pater, Hardy, Wells, Lawrence, Joyce, Maugham, and several others. Buckley counters what he sees as a German-inspired predilection for literary categories (such as *Entwicklungsroman* and *Erziehungsroman*) with avowed British expansiveness: although he accepts Howe’s definition of the “pure” *Bildungsroman*,¹⁵ he claims that the genre in England has typically placed more emphasis on “a young man’s general growth” than on a “specific quest for self-culture” (13). Buckley’s critical pliancy, however, does more than simply use the term *Bildungsroman* as a convenient organizational framework.¹⁶ As Martin Swales says in 1978, Buckley highlights (albeit inadvertantly) important differences between the German and British *Bildungsroman* traditions: namely, the greater

British allegiance to plot, realism, and linearity of growth; and the British novel's tendency to articulate obstacles to the protagonist's development that are "socially"-based, as opposed to German tradition's "ontologically"-based impediments (34-35). Buckley describes a certain bloodlessness in the German tradition; Swales claims that Buckley—and perhaps the English *Bildungsroman* tradition as a whole?—simply underestimates the genre's potential for irony and elusiveness, for what Swales cleverly calls "consistently sustained irresolution" (35). Swales's focus on the ironic potential of the *Bildungsroman* meshes with my own conceptualizations of compromise and accommodation in nineteenth-century women's writing in Canada, as will be explored in subsequent chapters of the present study.

What Swales does not detect in Buckley's study is the following claim, never before or since articulated so explicitly: namely, that the English *Bildungsroman* involves in its practice and thus necessarily in its definition a melding of the genres of *Bildungsroman* and *Künstlerroman*:

...the English *Bildungsroman*—I now use the label in its broadest sense as a convenient synonym for the novel of youth or apprenticeship—has also frequently been a kind of *Künstlerroman*. Its hero, more often than not, emerges as an artist of sorts, a prose writer like David Copperfield or Ernest Pontifex, a poet like Stephen Dedalus, an artisan and aspiring intellectual like Hardy's Jude, a painter like Lawrence's Paul Morel or Maugham's Philip Carey. Insofar as the word *Bildung* itself is related to *Bild* and *Bildnis*, it may connote 'picture' or 'portrait' as well as 'shaping' or 'formation'; and the *Bildungsroman* may then typically become what Joyce's title promises, *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, or rather, as Joyce develops his material, a study of the inner life, the essential temper, of the artist in his progress from early childhood through adolescence. (13-14)

Buckley does not account for this generic melding either culturally or literarily; his criticism, unfortunately, lives and dies by a kind of modified (auto)biographical approach by which he explains the prevalence of the *Künstler* theme in English fiction: "In such novels, as

certainly in Joyce's, the 'artist' in question is often not far removed from the novelist, or at least from the novelist as he remembers himself to have been in his formative youth" (14).

The marked use of masculine pronouns in this last sentence is no accident: in both its conception and its choice of examples, Buckley's study decidedly privileges the male sex. Despite the book's appearance in 1974, during a militant period in Anglo-American feminist literary criticism, Buckley lists, as "principal characteristics" of the *Bildungsroman*, situations that could never apply to women's fiction contemporary with his chosen texts. His book's revered place in the relatively small canon of critical works about the English *Bildungsroman* makes its exclusion of female experience all the more volatile a subject for feminist critics. In 1983, Elizabeth Abel, Marianne Hirsch, and Elizabeth Langland admonished Buckley for a paradigm that blatantly and automatically excluded female experience. In their collective Introduction to *The Voyage In: Fictions of Female Development* (discussed below), they make their gender-based objections abundantly clear: nineteenth-century women, they claim, are unable to "leave home for an independent life in the city," as Buckley's model suggests, not only because they are frequently tied to the "domestic sphere" but also because they do not "sever family ties as easily as men." Heroines are not socially permitted the "two love affairs or sexual encounters, one debasing, one exalting" which Buckley considers requisite for a *Bildungsroman* hero (Buckley 17); it nearly goes without saying that "[e]ven one such affair, no matter how exalting, would assure a woman's expulsion from society," be she fictional character or nineteenth-century author (Intro 8).¹⁷ Buckley's chapter on George Eliot's fiction does little either to modify or to redeem his patriarchal agenda. In addition to "[n]eglecting the social conditions that thwart Maggie [Tulliver]'s development" and attributing the failed ending of *The Mill on the*

Floss to Eliot's "overidentification with her protagonist" (Intro 9), Buckley makes repeated mention of Marian Evans's alleged lack of beauty—an insinuation that offends in the very terms of its presentation.

Building on the models of Howe and Buckley, comparative literature critic Franco Moretti achieves a New Historicist twist on earlier *Bildungsroman* criticism by probing the interrelations between Continental and British fiction. In *The Way of the World: The Bildungsroman in European Culture* (1987), Moretti loosely defines the *Bildungsroman* as a novel of youth—since youth effectively symbolizes, from Goethe's time onward, "modernity's dynamism and instability" (5). The *Bildungsroman*, says Moretti, exists as a genre throughout the nineteenth century until the final novels of George Eliot, which demonstrate that "the biography of a young individual" no longer stands as "the most meaningful viewpoint for the understanding and the evaluation of history" (227). In the meantime, Moretti claims, "youth" in a symbolic sense is put to different plot uses¹⁸ in nineteenth-century novels by British and Continental writers, and can be shown to reveal inversely proportional attitudes to historical change and narrative development. Unlike Martin Swales, Moretti aligns the German and British *Bildungsroman* traditions.¹⁹ In Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister* and in the typical English *Bildungsroman*, he claims, "youth" must always give way to "maturity" by means of the protagonist's accepted and stable adherence to pre-established rules and laws; according to what Moretti calls the British "'classification principle,'" such fiction describes a teleological, unself-conscious process that ends, "happily," in a socially-ratified marriage. By contrast, in French *Bildungsromane*, as in French culture before and after the Revolution, mobility and metamorphosis are prized over static self-identity; according to the Continental "'transformation principle,'" such

fiction describes an impulse toward open-ended narrative and self-consciousness, often escaping moral bounds to become a story of adultery (7-8). Moretti easily prefers the fluidity of the French model. In contrast to Buckley's Anglo-centrism, he sees the English *Bildungsroman* from Fielding to Dickens as "one long fairy-tale with a happy ending, far more elementary and limited than its continental counterparts" (213). Interesting from a feminist point of view is Moretti's reticence to investigate the "happy"/marriage ending from the literary-historical perspective of female characters. Indeed, his study is a rather curious paragon: it is framed by great female writers in the British tradition—Jane Austen (English imitator of Goethe) and George Eliot (reviver of "issues characteristic of the continental *Bildungsroman*" [214]), yet it does not engage the gender issues at stake in either writer's work. In the cutting, if perhaps overstated, opinion of critic Rita Felski in *Beyond Feminist Aesthetics*, Moretti's perceptive study is "marred by a severe case of gender-blindness" (211 n.25).

II. Non-Feminist Approaches to the *Künstlerroman*

The seminal work of literary criticism to date about the fictional artist, Maurice Beebe's *Ivory Towers and Sacred Founts: The Artist Hero in Fiction from Goethe to Joyce* (1964), has achieved in recent years a measure of disfavour akin to Jerome Hamilton Buckley's for its gender-exclusiveness. It skilfully defines and elaborates a central tension in *Künstlerromane* over two centuries in Western literature, namely the artist's struggle to accommodate the exigencies of both art (represented by the image of the Ivory Tower) and life (represented by the Sacred Fount); nevertheless, and perhaps more as a consequence of

era than erudition, in terms of both subject matter and social context Beebe proceeds as if “unaware of the considerations of gender for the form” (Jones, “Introduction” 2). One early feminist voiced her objection in the language of myth-criticism: when female characters are dropped into the Ivory Tower and Sacred Fount equations, they lose both their autonomy and their artistry. “Confined by one or the other traditions,” they are left with the sorry choice of becoming either “decorative ornaments” on “ivory pedestals,” or “erotic, earthy, or hellish” caricatures (Stewart, *A New Mythos* 14). Constance Marie Perry and Mary Amanda Mecke, writing dissertations in 1983 on female artist characters in American and British fiction respectively, each independently criticized Beebe on another count: the “alienation” that he and other critics ordain for the artist tradition in fiction. Early on in his text, Beebe stresses the “similarity” of artist fictions, citing the recurrence of a passive, introspective, often “divided”²⁰ male hero who spreads his filmy artistic wings only after having “sloughed off the domestic, social, and religious demands imposed upon him by his environment” (6). With obvious reference to Joyce’s *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man*, Perry argues for a gendered difference in the way that male and female protagonists “experience and evaluate the claims of love, life, God, home, and country” (“Adolescence, Autonomy, and Vocation” 9). Mecke, citing Virginia Woolf and Doris Lessing as examples,²¹ claims that “women writers insist that artists must belong to a community, both as artists and as women” (“‘So Hard to Write’” 11-12). This is a claim that has both biographical and literal resonance in nineteenth-century artist fictions by Canadian women, as further chapters will elaborate.

There are telling similarities between Beebe’s repudiatory formulation-cum-definition of artist fiction and Buckley’s male-centred claims for the apprenticeship

novel/*Bildungsroman* (cited above). Both critics elevate their male models to the status of “archetype” (Beebe 6), tacitly condoning the literary relegation of female characters to such uncreative roles as sexual devourer and suffocating muse;²² as a consequence, neither makes much room on his theoretical stage for female experience, female difference. Not until Beebe is nearly half way through his literary history of the *Künstlerroman* does he refer faintly to Madame de Staël’s *Corinne* (1807), apologetically admitting that this guidebook in the guise of a sentimental romance (Beebe’s epithet) “deserves brief attention as the first of the ‘art novels’ to achieve wide recognition and to serve as a model for the genre” (71).²³ A recent English edition of *Corinne, or Italy*, translated and edited by Avriel H. Goldberger (1987; 1991), places de Staël’s novel firmly at the forefront of a tradition of female artists in literature;²⁴ Beebe, however, ends his two paragraph summary of de Staël’s novel with the speculation—only partly justified by the novel itself—that “Corinne’s unhappy love affairs” indicate that the “artistic temperament” is “in natural conflict with womanly desires and duties” (72). More judicious about George Sand’s *Consuelo* (1844), Beebe nevertheless subsumes the novel’s gender-related conflict in its larger struggle between melodramatic reality and sentimentalized mysticism—terms which themselves hint at Sand’s (perceived) feminine effusiveness.

Irrespective of its gender myopia, however, Beebe’s scholarship is encyclopedic. Over three chapters, he traces his persuasive account of the development of the *Künstlerroman* genre: its inception in the works of Goethe and Rousseau, and in “the ‘personal’ or ‘confessional’ novel that flourished on the Continent from 1785 to 1869”; its development of “the Sacred Fount tradition,” an outgrowth of Romanticism first popularized by the early Victorians and rekindled in novels between 1880 and 1920; and its shift to “art

as religion—the Ivory Tower tradition,” as manifested primarily in the works of Edgar Allen Poe and the French Symbolists post-1850, and in the Aesthetic movement in England during the late nineteenth century (vi). Providing a generic preamble that identifies fictionalized artist types as far back as Imlac in Johnson’s *Rasselas* (1759) and the banished poet in Plato’s Republic, Beebe considers Benjamin Disraeli’s *Contarini Fleming* (1832) to be the first portrait-of-the-artist novel in English²⁵ (22, 80), although he ranks Dickens’ *David Copperfield* (1849-50) as the first major literary achievement in the genre (88). By the 1920s, Beebe maintains, “both the artist and the adolescent had become hackneyed subjects of fiction” (4). In the four chapters which conclude his book, Beebe addresses the works of Honoré de Balzac, Henry James, Marcel Proust, and James Joyce. He argues that the artist fictions of these writers are the most satisfying ever written because they achieve a “balance” or “reconciliation” between the Ivory Tower and Sacred Fount traditions (vi, 66). As might be expected, many critics—especially feminists—who consider Joyce and James to be bastions of Ivory Tower detachment, dispute Beebe’s “reconciliation” thesis with evidence and energy.

Beebe’s solidly New Critical criticism manages a tidy compromise on the question of autobiography in artist fictions, and will serve in the present study as a partial model for balancing authorial trivia with created work. Beebe defends his academic study of the *Künstlerroman* for two related reasons: first, that a fictional portrait of the artist, much like a letter, a memoir, or a preface, “helps us to understand the novelist who wrote it”; second, that an extended study of the genre both illuminates individual works of artist fiction and “enables us better to understand the artist in general” (4-5). The biographical fascination of such statements would seem to foreshadow Beebe’s collapsing of fiction into biography in

his chosen texts, but it does not. Unlike Jerome Hamilton Buckley, who decries the biographical fallacy in his *Season of Youth* (1974) and then proceeds to employ it as a critical tool, Beebe does not equate author with creation. With the exception of his treatment of Beaudelaire and the Symbolists, artist fictions emerge in his study as imaginatively, rather than literally, autobiographical. He offers the following example which contrasts the creating author with the created one:

The fact that the 'I' is analyzed through fiction rather than through autobiography suggests at least a degree of removal that we do not find in the spontaneous lyric outbursts by [artist] characters portrayed in the works. ...The short lyric of Romantic yearning which Stephen Dedalus in Joyce's *Portrait* composes almost spontaneously is mediocre at best, but the novel in which Stephen appears is a modern classic partly because Joyce, like the authors of the confessional novels, achieved detachment from self in his treatment of his autobiographical hero. (56-57)

Beebe's observations about the creative process—summarized in the concept of authorial "detachment"—constitute a familiar, if dusty, opinion about why critics need not engage the separate genre of autobiography in a discussion of the artist novel.

In 1961, several years prior to *Ivory Towers and Sacred Founts*, Gerald Jay Goldberg offered an overview of "The Artist-Novel in Transition," having been influenced by Beebe's Ph.D dissertation.²⁶ Without unduly emphasizing (auto)biography, Goldberg cites the "confession" as the original generic tree from which stem "two discernible, though sometimes overlapping, types of fiction, the *Bildungsroman* and the *Künstlerroman*" (12). Goldberg's initial means of differentiating between the two forms takes surprising account, for its day, of gender. He maintains that while the *Bildungsroman* describes "a young man who is an apprentice to life," the *Künstlerroman* "does not necessarily deal with a young man; it is primarily identified by its artist-hero" (12). Up until the revisionist work of feminist scholars on such figures as Germaine de Staël,²⁷ Goldberg offered the sole—and all

too brief—critical allusion to the *Künstlerroman*'s having taken root in English soil in the fiction of eighteenth-century "lady writers":

Many of them, in order to raise the status of the art they practised, endeavoured to achieve what might best be termed cultural *bon ton* by sprinkling poetry in their prose. Initially these poems, drawn largely from the works of Shakespeare and Pope, have little organic relationship to the novels in which they appear, serving primarily to 'beautify' the surface of the work, or at best, to point a moral. Subsequently, however, they are woven more closely into the fabric of the story; they become original pieces, purportedly the work of the heroine, and illustrate her sensibility. Thus, the first artists who appear in British fiction are, like Maria Villiers in [Frances Moore Brooke's novel of 1777] *The Excursion*, daughters of Clarissa rather than sons of Lovelace, exponents of morality as well as metrics, and, above all, insiders rather than outsiders. (12)

By "insiders" Goldberg means protagonists who are both socially committed and "humanitarian" in their impulses; in a conflict between the demands of art and the responsibilities of life, they—like Benjamin Disraeli's author-hero in *Contarini Fleming* (1832)—invariably choose life (12).²⁸ Artist characters whose morality is neither "expedient nor idiosyncratic" populate British artist fiction, Goldberg contends, from its inception in the writings of lady novelists until the last quarter of the nineteenth century (13).

What follows, says Goldberg, is the ascendancy of an artist fashioned by the Decadents, the Symbolists, and the cult of self: an "outsider," alienated by choice. This new artist is indifferent to the very pulse of his (the gender is clearly masculine) historical moment: the thematic devices of "Bohemian life, isolation, exile, and suicide" can be seen to chart his disillusionment and estrangement in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century novels (Goldberg 13).²⁹ An increasingly withdrawn character, this fictional artist champions self-expression over social good, heeding—or perhaps heralding—the turn-of-the-century aesthetic of art for art's sake. Goldberg sees this character as profoundly representative, and

gives significant symbolic and cultural weight to the perceived shift in Anglo-British artist fiction “from morality to amorality, from the social responsibility of the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to the estrangement of our own self-conscious, highly introspective age” (26). While the figure of the alienated artist effectively reflects the shift to modernism thus defined, it serves as only a partial mirror—a glass in which feminists do not perceive either themselves or their literary sisters.

During the past twenty years feminists have taken issue with the critical tradition to which Buckley and Beebe belong, challenging its patriarchal paradigms by uncovering, in the history of women’s fiction, genres with a gendered twist: *Bildungsromane* and *Künstlerromane* reflective of female experience. Laura Sue Fuderer’s *The Female Bildungsroman in English: An Annotated Bibliography of Criticism* (1990) lists one hundred and thirty-three critical studies (published between 1972 and 1987) of “a new or at least revised genre, the female bildungsroman, the novel of the development of a female protagonist” (1). Fuderer subsumes the female *Künstlerroman* in the larger “female bildungsroman”—an approach common to feminist critics, who see (perhaps unconsciously) an essential symbiosis between the two genres in women’s fiction. Recurrently in the criticism, the largely unstated argument of feminists is that women’s fictions do not separate the growth of the artist from the growth of the person. One might say that in contradistinction to genre purists like Randolph Shaffner (who contrasts the *Künstlerroman*’s use of art as “an aesthetic and self-contained objective” with the *Bildungsroman*’s concept of art as “a partial means to a comprehensive end” [14]), feminist

critics see women's fictions as fusing development with aesthetics with politics with social context. "Art" cannot be separated, in other words, either figuratively or literally from experience, from the shapings of life in process. Feminists thus contend that women's developmental fictions about women strive toward the same goal of "reconciliation" that Shaffner sees as confined to the pure (and decidedly male) *Bildungsroman* (14).

The intertwined genres of female *Bildungsroman* and *Künstlerroman* can be seen to have a further historical importance in the development of feminist criticism. Assuming a certain weight of generalization, I characterize this development, and the metamorphosis it engendered in feminist treatments of *Bildungsromane* and *Künstlerromane*, as follows: a movement from early feminist tendencies to privilege psychological and mythological approaches (often irrespective of cultural and historical concerns) to the more recent feminist impulse to eschew prescriptive, exclusionary positions in favour of a female aesthetics "informed by gender rather than wholly determined by it" (Jones, "Introduction" 15). Other than Fuderer's above-mentioned annotated bibliography, which is necessarily abbreviated and non-analytical, no extended attempt has yet been made to sketch feminism's response, over the past two decades, to the important genres of female *Bildungsroman* and female *Künstlerroman*.³⁰ The following overview will provide such an outline. By no means more than a summary of major articles and trends, it demonstrates that feminist literary criticism in America has shaped a definable critical tradition around the developing female protagonist in women's fiction—a character who is often (although not always) an artist figure.

III. Feminist Approaches to the *Bildungsroman*

“Discussions of the female bildungsroman,” says Fuderer, “began to appear in the critical literature in the early 1970s, when critics recognized its rise as a reflection of the contemporary feminist movement” (2). Ellen Morgan, writing in 1972, originated the much-quoted statement that the female *Bildungsroman* comprises “the most salient form for literature influenced by neo-feminism”;³¹ like neo-feminism itself, Morgan claimed, the genre treats woman as “a creature in the process of becoming, struggling to throw off her conditioning, the psychology of oppression” (“Humanbecoming” 183-85). Agreeing that the newly-discovered genre was—in Morgan’s terms—a female “recasting” of a male form (183), feminist critics eagerly sought out contemporary examples that proved its distinctiveness. Critic Joan Reardon, for example, writing in post-Cixousian 1978,³² celebrates the extent to which female reproductive physiology provides the structural and thematic basis of Erica Jong’s radical *Fear of Flying* (1973).³³ Reardon effervesces that Jong’s novel about writer-heroine Isadora Wing is “To date...the most compelling statement” of growing up female in America (“*Fear of Flying*” 318): “a distinctly female idiom” (306) that uses and abandons pious Beatrices and clueless Alice-in-Wonderlands and ultimately defies a male literary tradition which—in Isadora’s words—is “written with sperm, not menstrual blood” (Jong 24 qtd. in Reardon 306). Less militant but equally positive, Bonnie Hoover Braendlin maintains in 1979 that the “secular feminist bildungsroman” of the mid-1970s evinces “[a] revitalization of the picaresque mode” of the older *Bildungsroman* genre and emerges as a unique “expression of modern woman’s frustrating, painful, but ultimately successful journey to freedom” (“Alther, Atwood” 19).

However, some early feminists, including Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar (1979), refused to see the female *Bildungsroman* genre as a tarmack for feminist dreams of literary escape. They claimed that the runway had already been paved, so to speak, and that the female *Bildungsroman* was necessarily grounded by patriarchy's monologism, not jet set by *différence*.³⁴ Susan J. Rosowski's 1979 article, "The Novel of Awakening," was one of many to move the critical discussion towards the psychology of gender. She characterizes the essential difference between nineteenth-century male and female *Bildungsromane* as one of gender-determined plot shape: whereas the male *Bildungsroman* or apprenticeship novel describes an outward movement toward self-fulfilment through integration into society, the female version, the "novel of awakening," describes an inward movement toward self-knowledge. Rosowski's formulation is essentially a negative one: the new-found knowledge of the female protagonist leads not to contentment but rather to a perceived "disparity" between itself and a male-natured world: the work ends in solitary defeat—"an awakening to limitations" (313). Elaine Martin's 1983 study of French and German novels continues the feminist discourse that perceives plot shape as representative of gendered imperatives. "[I]n novels with a female hero," says Martin, "a linear quest means confrontation with society, and that in turn means 'defeat'..." The bildungsroman-apprenticeship novel emerges in Martin's study as a horizontally linear, male form: the initiation-awakening model counterposes as a vertical, female version (51-52). It is worth observing here that none of the nineteenth-century Canadian *Bildungsroman* selected for analysis in the subsequent chapters follows the awakening model, though it would be adding critical blindness to historical oversight to deny any of them a female aesthetic.

By the 1983 publication of *The Voyage In: Fictions of Female Development*, edited and introduced by Elizabeth Abel, Marianne Hirsch, and Elizabeth Langland, Anglo-American feminism's critical investment in the female *Bildungsroman* was on firm scholarly ground. In general, the collection succeeds admirably in its attempt to "integrat[e] gender with genre" and thus to identify "distinctively female versions of the *Bildungsroman*" (Abel *et al.*, "Introduction" 5). By using various critical approaches to illuminate a multi-national selection of women's fiction, the collection indeed renders "an expansive rather than an exclusive picture of a female tradition" (Abel *et al.*, Intro 18). Interestingly, however, like many American critical enterprises before and after it, the volume effectively ignores Canadian content, both in choice of fiction and in citing of critics—with the exception, not surprisingly, of Northrop Frye.

In its careful Introduction, *The Voyage In* augments Rosowski's³⁵ and Martin's categories—male *Bildungsroman*/apprenticeship novel versus female novel of awakening—to make what has since become a key distinction between two narrative structures common to novels of female development. The chronological "apprenticeship" version, the Introduction observes, is essentially modelled on "the linear structure of the male *Bildungsroman*" in its continuous development of a protagonist from childhood to maturity. The "awakening" model, by contrast, typically unfolds in "brief, epiphanic moments" that allow the mature female protagonist to enact both internal emotional changes and (less often) external social ones, such as the rejection of parental or marital authority (12).³⁶ Such categories—apprenticeship and awakening—continue to be useful means of distinguishing differences in plot, theme, and characterization in female *Bildungsroman* and *Künstlerroman* genres. As will be discussed below, more recent feminist criticism tends

toward problemmatizing these categories by means of such extenuating factors as nationality and historical era.

Given the feminist climate of the early 1980s, it is unsurprising that a work like *The Voyage In* would be primarily influenced by theories of gender difference, especially feminism's long-delayed revisionist psychoanalysis.³⁷ Marianne Hirsch's contribution to the volume is both interesting and typical in its peering into origins, into "the pre-Oedipal phase" of female development, for a female alternative to the linearity of male plots: namely, "fusion, fluidity, mutuality, continuity and lack of differentiation" (Hirsch 26, 27). The creation of such a paradigm is "problematic," in Rita Felski's words, on several counts.³⁸ Hirsch's article is predicated on an examination of the "Confessions of a Beautiful Soul" narrative embedded in Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*. She assigns the fragment what must be seen as a disproportional symbolic weight, offering the curiously-reasoned argument that "[b]ecause Goethe's novel is generally considered the prototype of the *Bildungsroman*, it is important to find in it a paradigm for female *Bildung* as well as for male" (26). Without even so much as acknowledging previous Goethe scholarship (which often interprets the Beautiful Soul narrative as a clearly negative exemplar³⁹), Hirsch proceeds to laud a common gender stereotype of the male tradition—"the selflessness that is demanded of women" (31)—as if it were the clever pre-Oedipal strategy of an autonomous female character.⁴⁰ When Hirsch subsequently turns this paradigm upon three nineteenth-century women's novels (one American, one French, and one British), she finds "gender to be even more fundamental than national tradition in determining generic conventions" (27): each of the heroines dies in a state of unassuaged spiritual dislocation, as had Goethe's Beautiful Soul. Significantly, Hirsch's circumscribed model of the female *Bildungsroman*

also shuts down the possibility of a distinctive *Künstlerroman* genre for nineteenth-century women. In contrast to a male protagonist who embraces “the solution of art” as an antidote to death, “the story of the female spiritual *Bildungsroman*,” Hirsch claims definitively, “is the story of the potential [female] artist who fails to make it” (28).

The Voyage In is perhaps most insightful when providing an analysis of its own critical practice. Abel *et al.* see their book’s collective “reformulation” of the *Bildungsroman* as yet another link in a long critical tradition of expanding the genre: “first beyond the German prototypes, then beyond historical circumscription, now beyond the notion of *Bildung* as male and beyond the form of the developmental plot as a linear, foregrounded narrative structure” (“Introduction” 13, 14). At the close of the volume, Sandra Frieden’s discussion of post-World War II women’s fiction in Germany turns a clear eye to the past as her feminist revisionism intersects with the original German context of the *Bildungsroman*: “When we use a traditional term such as *Bildungsroman* or autobiography in a new or expanded sense, we are necessarily recognizing a changed function for a genre which was historically adapted to other needs” (316). It is perhaps symptomatic of feminism’s still nascent commitment to historicity in 1983 that Frieden’s article would relegate to an endnote its most useful reflection on the nature of “origins” in a literary work:

...the unique circumstances within each country, the literary-historical boundaries within which each author writes, the literary-critical climate confronting each new book, and the varying factors of literary production and distribution in each country’s book market lead to works which show the influence of their origins. (356 n.16)

Although such concerns do not constitute the primary critical agenda of *The Voyage In*, they nevertheless emerge, in articles like Frieden’s, as signposts for future voyages.

Throughout the 1980s, as feminism became increasingly conscious of contextualizing its critical practice, discussions of the female *Bildungsroman* tended to shift

in two significant ways. First, broadly psychological studies gave ground to literary-historical ones; second and accordingly, definitions of the genre expanded beyond “neofeminist” novels of the 1970s to include nineteenth-century works and to accent nationalist implications of women’s developmental fiction. Depending on the texts chosen for discussion, these implications were accorded different emphases. During the first half of the decade, Margaret K. Butcher and Susan Gardner explored the significance of women writers’ colonial experience to stories of female development. Butcher’s article, “From *Maurice Guest* to *Martha Quest*: The Female *Bildungsroman* in Commonwealth Literature” (1980), makes the startling claim that the female *Bildungsroman* of colonial countries constitutes the “new and viable identity” of the old male genre which “has outlived its usefulness and become virtually defunct in the European context” (261).⁴¹ Of interest from a Canadian perspective is Butcher’s pairing of Lessing’s *The Golden Notebook* (1962) with Laurence’s *The Diviners* (1974). By means of these two novels—which are unquestionably *Künstlerromane*—Butcher outlines how the “thematic variant” of femaleness, explored by the writer-protagonists in various forms of journal-writing and eventually in fiction, actually constitutes “a change of form”: a “portrait of the artist as a young woman” that renders both fragmentation and reconciliation (261). Butcher claims—with telling but unexplored implications for the study of Canadian literature—that the emergence of the female *Bildungsroman* in colonial countries is one of the earliest assertions of a sense of national tradition. In “*My Brilliant Career*: Portrait of the Artist as a Wild Colonial Girl” (1985), Susan Gardner is less positive and more polemical, revealing how mainstream literary feminists like Elaine Showalter and Patricia Meyer Spacks have “relegate[d] colonial writers to a cultural periphery” (26).⁴² Oddly, however, rather than elucidating Miles Franklin’s *My*

Brilliant Career (1901) by means of socio-cultural arguments specific to Australian colonial women. Gardner plunges instead into myth criticism and delineates an archetypically female, nonlinear “green world.”⁴³ Her approach, modelled, in part, on studies by Annis Pratt and Ellen Moers,⁴⁴ is ironically at least as “ahistorical” as that for which she so roundly criticizes Spacks (26).

As if to signal a widening of American neo-feminist vision, the later 1980s saw a burgeoning of interest in the nineteenth-century contexts of women’s writing in America. In their 1987 article, “The Female Bildungsroman in Nineteenth-Century America: Parameters of a Vision,” Eve Kornfeld and Susan Jackson select Louisa May Alcott’s *Little Women* (1868) as their paradigmatic female *Bildungsroman*⁴⁵ and argue that this brand of popular American fiction for young girls presents a “matriarchal society,” a mildly subversive “feminine utopia” with the image of the dutiful mother at its heart (70).⁴⁶ Beverley R. Voloshin’s “The Limits of Domesticity: the Female *Bildungsroman* in America, 1820-1870” (1984) sees both subversion and status quo in the genre. Her article echoes earlier work by Nina Baym⁴⁷ in both its particular time period and its locating of the female *Bildungsroman* within nineteenth-century America’s equivocal cult of domesticity.⁴⁸ Voloshin’s texts, many of them highly successful in their day, are almost exclusively apprenticeship stories about young orphan⁴⁹ heroines eager for education and career “until the happy marriage at the conclusion of the novel” disabuses them of such notions (284). These novels, says Voloshin, manifest not “a moderate and pragmatic feminism” as Baym contends (Voloshin 301n.2),⁵⁰ but rather a deep ideological conflict in America during the middle decades of the nineteenth century. While domesticity advocated a serene division between “male” and “female” spheres of influence—between business (often associated

with acquisitiveness and amorality) and the home (a place of stabilizing love and moral probity)—the liberal democratic ideology of “natural rights theory” urged that independence and political and economic freedoms were also the prerogative of women (Voloshin 284). In the face of such tension, claims Voloshin, the genre of the American female *Bildungsroman* effectively came to an end in 1870 when “the conflict between domestic dependency and female autonomy...[could not] be entirely recontained by the marriage ending” (293). Augusta Jane Evans’ novels constitute Voloshin’s farewell examples of the female *Bildungsroman* genre; significantly, these works are *Künstlerromane*, featuring artist heroines whose rejection of their successful writing careers for marriage is either wildly ambivalent or ironically complicitous.⁵¹

In the midst of such historical-nationalist studies, one finds generalist accounts of the female *Bildungsroman* that are nevertheless deeply coloured by the postmodern awarenesses of the 1980s. Rita Felski, in *Beyond Feminist Aesthetics: Feminist Literature and Social Change* (1989), tackles two decades of the feminist movement in an attempt to expose the impossibility of a single unifying feminist theory. Towards the goal of reading texts in their contexts, she examines in separate chapters two “representative genres” of neofeminist fiction—the “confession” and the “novel of self-discovery”—which describe not opposite impulses but rather “points on a continuum” (83-84). Felski both retains and augments the categories designated in *The Voyage In* by sub-dividing the novel of self-discovery into two components: the “feminist *Bildungsroman*” and the “awakening” model (126-127). Justifying in advance her seemingly “reductive” argument,⁵² Felski links her categories to “two dominant movements” within feminism: “liberal and socialist feminism” (which embraces the feminist *Bildungsroman*) and “romantic individualism” (which leans toward

the awakening model) (127). Although Felski seems to follow the practice of an earlier generation of feminists in her focus on neofeminist “emancipation” stories, she does depart from the purely thematic to address the narratological. Her concern is with genre’s creation of unmediated and mediated subjectivity; with the clash of the personal and the political for post-1970s women, and with fictional ways of portraying such tension. Admitting her bias for hermeneutics over structuralism, she nevertheless claims that “only an approach which links formal and thematic analysis to a theorization of frameworks of reception can remain sensitive to the historical specificity of feminist literature as a cultural product” (84). This laudable combination of New Criticism and Reception Theory would benefit, it must be said, from a greater reliance on textual evidence. While her categories are well-defined, they are also sparsely populated.

Felski’s book echoes her earlier inquiry into neofeminist genres (“The Novel of Self-Discovery: A Necessary Fiction?” [1986]) in putting an interesting—albeit debatable—nationalist spin on narrative frameworks. She argues that in the United States, where feminism is widely supported, the feminist *Bildungsroman* genre prevails and, in its liberal socialism, “frequently integrates a narrative of individual self-development into a panoramic representation of the broader social world” (*Beyond* 141). By contrast, the romantic awakening model predominates in Germany, where feminism has been marginalized into “a distinctive student and alternative subculture” and where, since 1968, German feminism has celebrated a subjective return to nature, to “authentic inwardness,” along with the larger tradition of West German literature (141, 149-50). In Canada, Felski argues, “national as well as gender boundaries” are tied to the experience of an Atwoodesque “celebration of wilderness:” here the neofeminist awakening model

achieves national and cultural significance by serving to demarcate a pristinely wild Canada from a dissolute and encroaching America (*Beyond* 149). Says Felski:

...the celebration of wilderness, of 'nature as monster' in [Atwood's] *Surfacing* and [Joan Barfoot's] *Gaining Ground*, can be read as the celebration of a distinctive cultural identity in the face of the homogenizing and imperialistic tendencies of an American culture which is identified with the most negative aspects of modernity (*Beyond* 149).

Though this reading is perhaps more sophisticated than earlier ones (which, for example, had used *Survival*'s "Basic Victim Positions" as an interpretive tool for Atwood's own novels⁵³), its misprisions and cultural romanticism seem to go unnoticed by subsequent feminist critics.⁵⁴ Thus in 1990 Susan Fuderer merely remarks, about Felski's contributions, that nationalist-based inquiries into the female *Bildungsroman* genre are all too rare, and that "further elaboration" of the correlations between cultural differences and literary form "is in order" (6).

IV. Feminist Approaches to the *Künstlerroman*

It is a fascinating commentary on the homogenizing power of early feminist ideology that the first feminist studies devoted exclusively to the female artist figure/female *Künstlerroman* genre were acutely historical—arguing out of carefully researched socio-literary contexts rather than broadly psychological paradigms—and were never published. In 1974, at the University of Alberta, Diane Filby Gillespie submitted a dissertation that eschews polemical generalizations by observing a small group of contemporaneous writers within their "common social and aesthetic milieu" ("Female Artists" 4). Her astute discussion of the female artist fictions of May Sinclair, Dorothy Richardson, and Virginia Woolf is rooted firmly in these writers' shared British context of early twentieth-century

suffragism and experimentation in various art media.⁵⁵ One year later, at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Linda Susanne Pannill offered a keenly contextualized examination of “The Artist-Heroine in American Fiction, 1890-1920” (1975). Her dissertation is rich in contemporary evidence⁵⁶ of the social and intellectual “paradoxes”⁵⁷ that attended the woman artist-aspirant—whether author or character—and she argues cogently that American women writers between 1890 and 1910 used “the traditional female stereotype of woman as vessel” as both socially-condoned justification and privately-empowering means for portraying female artistic genius (Abstract n/p). Marsha Stanfield Bordner’s exploration of “The Woman Artist in Twentieth-Century Fiction” (Ohio State U. 1979) takes a less rigorous, pan-national view of the twentieth-century female artist’s ability to integrate her art and her womanhood (a feminist application of Beebe’s central notion of the art/life dichotomy for the artist). Bordner divides the eighty years of her study into three intervals: a period of absolute but somehow implausible success for women artists (1900-1929), a period of repression and failure (1930-1978), and a period of increasingly balanced creative accomplishment (1960-1970s).⁵⁸ Divorced from their nationalist contexts, Atwood’s *Surfacing* (1972) and *Lady Oracle* (1976) wander into the psychological mire of category two, while Laurence’s *The Diviners* (1974) “best characterizes” the optimism of category three (17).

With the publication in 1979 of Grace Stewart’s *A New Mythos: The Novel of the Artist as Heroine, 1877-1977*, feminism enjoyed its first extended contribution to the art-versus-life debate. Responding to the critical paradigms of its day, *A New Mythos* compels eighteen female *Künstlerromane* to challenge the supposed universality of the artist-hero (ie., Stewart’s rendition of the male monomyth, à la Joseph Campbell and Otto Rank⁵⁹), and

to yield up, in the process, their distinctively female myths. Brushing aside all contextual intrusions (nationalist, social, historical), Stewart zeros in on recurring themes and images of isolation, entrapment, flight, and monstrous rebirth, and often couches her argument in velvety parallelisms: “Whereas the typical mythic hero destroys the minotaur, marries the heroine, and assumes the throne, the heroine must accept the demon, reject the hero, and live in misery if she is to retain her identity as an artist” (178). In a study that is, finally, astoundingly pessimistic (“None of these novels depicts a self-made, fully integrated human being, artist and woman” [180]), Stewart offers only the Demeter-Persephone myth as a tenuous toehold: every women, after all, experiences the abiding complexities of the mother-daughter relationship.⁶⁰ Stewart claims a small share in the perpetuating of this “new mythos” but admits that her book prompts many questions. Indeed, her rather apologetic conclusion—in which she acknowledges the limitations of her structural/thematic study and calls for an “historical approach” to female artist fictions—may well be her work’s most useful contribution.⁶¹

Premised on a series of gendered generalizations similar to Stewart’s, Linda Huf’s *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Woman: The Writer as Heroine in American Literature* (1983) examines six American female *Künstlerromane* from 1855 to 1963. Though the individual chapters themselves are closely contextualized, Huf’s introduction responds to Beebe’s *Ivory Towers and Sacred Founts* by creating five of her own essentialist categories. In her schema, the writer-heroine is the opposite of the (perceived) shy, introspective masculine stereotype: she is fiery, plucky, rugged. Much of this character’s energy is consumed in “smashing...the man-forged manacles on her sex,” and in battling society’s disapproval (10). This character wrestles equally, however, with her own “inner foes,” the

demons of a ruling conflict that effectively splits her between gender and career, female “selflessness” versus artistic “selfishness” (5). To augment the sense of struggle, a sexually conventional (and usually blonde) foil often provides—Huf claims—“a Martha...to the heroine’s Mary,” a domestic woman character whom Huf denigrates as typically “inferior” in artistry and duly quiet and “self-effac[ing]” (7). There is no room in Huf’s formulation, in other words—as there is in Louisa Murray’s serialized novel, “Marguerite Kneller: Artist and Woman,” in chapter four of this thesis—for a successful artist heroine who chooses the retirement of the domestic realm. If Huf’s fiery females do embrace relationship, they are predictably destroyed, like the heroine of Phelps’ *The Story of Avis*, by “marriage and motherhood...the enemies” of artistic women (57). The unmitigated selfishness of husbands, Huf suggests, contributes in large part to the recurrent images of monsters, entrapment, and flight found in each of the six novels—images that had haunted Stewart’s study with equal tenacity. It is a gracious gesture to feminist tradition that in speaking of Stewart and Huf years later, Suzanne Jones, editor of *Writing the Woman Artist* (1991), would declaim these critics as merely “too categorical at times” and hail their gender-consciousness-raising efforts as “la[ying] the foundation for subsequent work, including the essays in this volume” (3).

In 1981, Susan Gubar accepted Stewart’s challenge to approach the question of female artist fiction in an historical fashion. “The Birth of the Artist as Heroine: (Re)production, the *Künstlerroman* Tradition, and the Fiction of Katherine Mansfield” briefly outlines the stunning intrusion of nineteenth-century medicine into the sphere of women’s gynecology, and develops Virginia Woolf’s suggestion (in *A Room of One’s Own*) that the twentieth-century advent of women’s control over their reproductivity correlates not

only with their increased literary and social productions in the modernist period but also with an expanded valuation of motherhood as option rather than imperative (20-21).⁶² Gubar's argument, although absorbing, suffers a mild case of what might be called subtext syndrome. Convinced of the relationship between "antisepsis, anaesthetics, and aesthetics" in fiction where "women artists play a prominent role as characters" (25), Gubar nevertheless avoids examples of the *Künstlerroman* genre in her analysis. She cites the insufficiency of "the *Künstlerroman* conventions fashioned by male writers" to address the agendas of nineteenth-century women, then suggests that by tracing a transition period in women's *non*-artist fiction (as the precursor to the full-fledged female *Künstlerromane* of the modernist period) one can uncover a "critique of the [male] genre constituting an anti-tradition of [women's] own" (26). One has to stretch a bit to accept Gubar's claim that Katherine Mansfield's oeuvre of *non-Künstlerromane* is thematically representative of two full generations of female artist fiction (American, New Zealand, and British, pre-modernist and modernist).⁶³ Nevertheless, the argument manages to hold. Gubar traces, in other modernist women's artist fiction, the three "shifts in perspective" that she finds predominant in Mansfield's work—shifts that "reshape the *Künstlerroman*" according to positive images of creativity (39).⁶⁴ Gubar's subsequent claim that the female *Künstlerroman* experienced a negative trend (a post-war decline in feminism, 1930s to 1960s) followed by a positive one (a resurgence of the "utopian imperative" of the modernists, late 1960s to early 1980s [51]) echoes the findings of Marsha Stanfield Bordner's earlier unpublished thesis on American women's artist fiction (discussed above). As in Bordner's work, Atwood's *Surfacing* heroine makes a brief appearance in Gubar's argument—this time as the puissant discoverer of the "transformative power of the female body" (51).

Rachel Blau DuPlessis's "To 'bear my mother's name': *Künstlerromane* by Women Writers" (1985) is written in direct response to the models of mother-daughter relationship proffered by Stewart and Gubar. After tracing a number of nineteenth-century British and American female artist fictions in which "the either-or ending of love versus marriage" gloomily prevails (88),⁶⁵ DuPlessis offers a twentieth-century option that provides both generational continuity and success: a "thwarted mother bequeaths her ambition to [her] child, and that emergent daughter becomes...the main character of the twentieth-century *Künstlerroman*" (91). The argument has compelling synthetic force, but questionable supportive data. None of DuPlessis' examples actually fits her model (except perhaps her strange explication of Atwood's *Surfacing* [1972]); she admits that many of her artist-daughters are "either displaced by some generations or are not the biological daughters of the mothers they seek" (98-99). It becomes clear that DuPlessis' real agenda is itself displaced onto the mother-daughter preoccupation. As her detailed analysis of Lessing's *The Golden Notebook* (1962) suggests, she is primarily concerned with the way in which "the female artist counters the modernist tradition of exile, alienation, and refusal of social roles—the *non serviam* of the classic artist hero, Stephen Dedalus" (101). DuPlessis locates in the fictional art work of the female protagonist a women's poetics that is ethical, community-oriented, and artisanal (as opposed to a men's poetics that is aesthetic, solipsistic, and masterpiece-obsessed). She argues that the twentieth-century female artist continues the spirit and intent of her artisanal mother's artistic impulse, and simultaneously "present[s] a radical oppositional ethics criticizing dominance" (104). As subsequent chapters of my thesis will prove, however, nineteenth-century women's artist fictions in Canada had already employed the kinds of narratological approaches to exile and artisanal

community that DuPlessis sees as the product of a specifically twentieth-century mother-daughter relationship.

This relationship, so affirmed by DuPlessis, could not have a more pointed antithesis than Ursula R. Mahlendorf's psychoanalytic readings of the artist fiction of Kate Chopin and Sylvia Plath in *The Wellsprings of Literary Creation: An Analysis of Male and Female "Artist Stories" from the German Romantics to American Writers of the Present* (1985). Mahlendorf's book, forthrightly offered as an "interdisciplinary endeavour" to link the study of literature with that of the sciences,⁶⁶ demonstrates the extent to which contextualized psychoanalysis can reveal surprising depths in literary works too often treated exclusively as static artifacts rather than as the shaped responses of human creativity to experience. Mahlendorf uses an overtly psychoanalytic approach to examine creativity in the *Künstlerromane* of seven authors. Five of these are German men, contributors to or inheritors of the tradition of German Romanticism; the remaining two are Chopin and Plath, American women separated by seventy years of history and yet seemingly battling the same nemesis in their fiction: the figure of the mother.⁶⁷ Appropriating an observation from Elaine Showalter's study of two hundred and thirteen women writers in *A Literature of Their Own* (1977), Mahlendorf claims that "the crucial, complex, and doubly dangerous relationship in the woman artist stories is that to the mother figure/mother figures" (148). Chapter three of the present study, which focuses on Susanna Moodie's "Rachel Wilde" (1848), challenges Mahlendorf's claims by demonstrating that a narratological antagonism to "mother figures" can have a representatively social, rather than prescriptively autobiographical/psychoanalytic, function in woman-authored artist fictions. Rachel's female nemeses—including, but not limited to, her mother—are representative, or at least

suggestive, of women's collusion in the mid-nineteenth century suppression of female genius.

The most recent Anglo-American feminist book-length exploration of female artist fiction (as mentioned at the beginning of this chapter) is *Writing the Woman Artist: Essays on Poetics, Politics, and Portraiture* (1991), edited and introduced by Suzanne W. Jones. That the book's omission of Canadian content has offended some Canadian feminists seems evident from Sherrill Grace's unfavourable review in *Canadian Literature* (Summer 1993), in which she notes that the collection is weighted too heavily toward American examples.⁶⁸ This rather large flaw aside, however, the collection manages an impressive scope and a dynamic theoretical range. Just as Abel's collection had expanded the parameters of female fictions of development in 1983, so Jones's volume moves the study of female artist fictions beyond the restrictions of conventional form (the English-language novel) and predictable content (the art-versus-life dilemma). The collection's sincere desire to deconstruct confining definitions, and to escape the binary forms of dialectics, is acknowledged in Jones's final comment: women writers who create female portraits of the artist "share in making problematic old oppositions between procreativity and creativity, romantic passion and artistic desire, process and product, theory and practice, women and men, woman and artist" (17).

It is precisely the posing of such oppositions that Pamela Caughie interrogates in her penetrating essay, "'I must not settle into a figure': The Woman Artist in Virginia Woolf's Writings," one of three essays in the final section of Jones's volume.⁶⁹ Caughie offers that feminists have for too long concentrated their efforts on the presence of particular characteristics or "features" in women's writing (such as discontinuity and fluidity), rather

than on the ways in which such features are the effects of certain decisions made by writers. Features of writing, Caughie claims, depend on the system in which they are given value: many feminist values, she continues, derive essentially from a Modernist system. Certain forms of feminist aesthetics, for example, are premised on a Modernist notion of the correspondence between art and life; thus, they cannot truly claim revisionist status. Rather than ask whether or not an artist character is “successful” (a question of pure character development), Caughie suggests that critics might more usefully employ the strategy of examining the *method of telling* which an author employs for and in a certain place and time. Caughie offers that provisionality (what my study calls “accommodation” or “compromise”) often acts as an aesthetic strategy of women’s writing, rather than just a “feature” of it. Such narratological theories are germane to the continued study of artist fiction, and are explored throughout this thesis.

V. Canadian Approaches

In turning from the multifarious Anglo-American critical traditions of artist fiction to their nearly absent counterpart in Canada, one feels in danger of leaping to some desperate conciliation (such as counting up the number of Atwood references in the Anglo-American studies). Simply put, no critical “tradition” of Canadian female artist fiction has been identified. With the exception of a handful of published and unpublished assessments, and the small critical industry that has sprung up around Margaret Atwood’s early novels, the artist figure in Canadian fiction—irrespective of gender—has led a relatively undisturbed shelf life. Moreover, the few extended critical studies that do exist demonstrate little awareness of each other, and often choose dissimilar texts to illustrate their paradigms. The

critic who attempts to construct a “history” of such studies must impose an arbitrary design on what is essentially a nebulous array of positions: towards art and the creative process, towards nationality, towards gender.

The 1970s can be fairly generalized as a period of cultural cheerleading amongst literary critics in Canada, a climate that encouraged thematic criticism to see in the fictional artist a means of tracing an evolution (be it positive or negative) in Canadian literature. Margaret Atwood’s chapter in *Survival*, “The Paralyzed Artist,” undoubtedly stands as the most important and familiar articulation of the theme, and thus has merited further attention in this chapter. Lionel Wilson’s *The Artist in Canadian Literature* (1976)—a pastiche of poetry, stories, plays, essays, interviews, and pop journalism optimistic about the “plight” of the artist in Canada—is more a colourful thematic showpiece than a serious critical inquiry.⁷⁰ It is indeed unfortunate that every academic study of Canadian artist fiction in the 1970s remains unpublished. Pierre Cloutier’s M.A. thesis, “The Function of the Artist in Five English Canadian Novels” (1971), uses the artist-as-exile theme to emblemize a “maturing” artistic sensibility in Canada. A yawning gap in Cloutier’s choice of texts, however (the period 1900-1950), makes the continuity of his argument problematic.⁷¹ Einhard Kluge’s “The Figure of the Artist in Modern Canadian Fiction” (1972) chooses a more equitable spread of texts across a similar time period; nevertheless, it relies in a prescriptive way on Maurice Beebe’s tower/fount dichotomy and type-casts the fictional Canadian artist as a figure in perpetual conflict with both society and nature. In 1977 Carrie MacMillan Frederick takes an intrepid—if disappointingly insular—approach to tracing “Patterns of the Artist in English-Canadian Fiction” over two centuries in Canada.⁷² Her second chapter is by far her best; it recuperates several post-Confederation artist novels

which to this day remain accessible only on microfiche.⁷³ In “Motive for Metaphor: Art and the Artist in Seven Canadian Novels” (1978) J.A. Wainwright blatantly defies thematic criticism by abjuring any treatment of nationality or “*Canadian* elements” in his chosen texts (xxi). His dissertation focuses (with questionable success) on the aesthetics, psychology, and efficacy of artistic creation, asserting the belief that “the artist of quality will transcend national borders, both physical and psychic” (xxi). Finally, it needs to be noted that gender is not a pivotal issue for critics of Canadian artist fictions in the 1970s: texts by women, if included at all, constitute a decided and silent minority.

Significantly, during the late 1970s and throughout the 1980s academic attention shifted from the *Künstlerroman* genre to the *Bildungsroman*—and feminist attention to fiction by and about Canadian women increased accordingly. Heather M. Ballon’s M.A. thesis, “The Bildungsroman in Recent Canadian Fiction” (unpublished, 1977), is a workmanlike thematic study of love, death, time, and growing up; five of its seven texts are by women, two of which qualify as examples of artist fiction (Munro’s *Lives of Girls and Women* [1971] and Laurence’s *A Bird in the House* [1970]). Ballon’s “Introduction” remarks astutely that “[t]he development of the artist is a theme which runs through a number of bildungsroman in Canadian literature and is a thesis in itself” (3). Connie Bellamy’s “The New Heroines: The Contemporary Female Bildungsroman in English Canadian Literature” (unpublished, 1986) treats women’s fiction exclusively and sensitively; although not identified as such, four of the six novels in her study comprise obvious and important examples of twentieth-century artist fiction in Canada (Munro’s *Lives* [1971] and *Who Do You Think You Are?* [1978], Laurence’s *The Diviners* [1974], and Atwood’s *Lady Oracle* [1976]). Bellamy’s dissertation makes too strong a case for the

female *Bildungsroman*'s being exclusively a creation of the 1970s; however, hers is the only previous study that troubles to define the *Bildungsroman* genre in an historical fashion, briefly citing both German and English "traditions." In 1980, Gordon Philip Turner makes a psychological foray into "The Protagonist's Initiatory Experiences in the Canadian Bildungsroman, 1908-1971," and his study includes novels which, again, fall under the rubric of female artist fictions: Vera Lysenko's *Yellow Boots* (1954) and Munro's *Lives of Girls and Women* (1971).

With the exception of my own localized M.A. study of L.M. Montgomery's "Emily" trilogy (1991), critics in the 1990s have tended to explore Canadian artist fiction with increasing attention to its role in the larger contexts of international literary and social movements. Such widening of vision is not always as illuminating as it promises to be. David Williams' *Confessional Fictions: A Portrait of the Artist in the Canadian Novel* (1991) is an erudite post-modern work, yet in its eagerness to engage the larger issue of aesthetics in the Canadian artist novel, it subsequently reads its chosen texts through the prescriptive lenses of an imported literary tradition: late nineteenth-century British Aestheticism and Decadence. While the book does not purport to trace "a 'tradition' of the artist-novel in Canadian fiction" (39), Williams's implicit thesis is that artist fiction in Canada is a decidedly twentieth-century phenomenon that grew out of British Aestheticism-cum-Modernism (5). His examples correspond to this temporal frame, and are organized into three categories: "fictional autobiographies" (by F.P. Grove, Robertson Davies, and Margaret Laurence), Modernism's "concretization of Pater's idea of the autonomy of art" (in Sinclair Ross's *As For Me and My House*, Ernest Buckler's *The Mountain and the Valley*, and Gabrielle Roy's *The Road Past Altamont*), and the postmodern artist novel,

(including Alice Munro's *Who Do You Think You Are?*, Robert Kroetsch's *Badlands*, and Timothy Findlay's *Famous Last Words*). Williams's prescriptive approach not only forces him to ignore any nineteenth-century examples of artist fiction in Canada but also requires that he interpret his chosen texts according to the Modernist (Joycean) paradigm of the artist as solitary repudiator of influences⁷⁴—a model, it might be said, that does severe disservice to at least two of Williams' chosen women-authored texts about female artists. As Alison M. Lee (in somewhat more strident language) puts it in the opening line of her 1992 review, "David Williams's *Confessional Fictions* is a confusing, sometimes infuriating book" ("Confessions and Confusions" 36).

Williams' imported and aestheticized "male" vision for Canadian artist fiction is more than answered by the critical abundance of articles treating Margaret Atwood's female and "feminist" portraits of the artist. As in many of the Anglo-American studies, *Lady Oracle* tends to focus the discussion. In an article in *Studies in Canadian Literature* in 1978 ("Margaret Atwood's *Lady Oracle*: The Artist as Escapist and Seer"), a footnoted connection is made between *Lady Oracle*'s "muted" but hopeful ending and *Survival*'s contention that one is best "'to write from the [centre] of one's own experience' than 'from the periphery of someone else's'" (177). A cross-section of other articles over the last two decades reveals critical interest in Atwood's interrogation of secrecy, role-playing, and alienation (Susan McLean's "*Lady Oracle*: The Art of Reality and the Reality of Art" [1980]); in her use of goddess figures (Roberta Sciff-Zamaro's "The Re/Membering of the Female Power in *Lady Oracle*" [1987]), and in her incorporation of intertextual allusions (Julie Fenwick's "The Silence of the Mermaid: *Lady Oracle* and *Anne of Green Gables*" [1992]). As might be expected, more recent articles apply feminist theory to Atwood's artist

narratives, as in Christian Bök's "Sibyls: Echos of French Feminism in *The Diviners* and *Lady Oracle*" (1992) and Martha Sharpe's "Margaret Atwood and Julia Kristeva: Space-time, the Dissident Woman Artist, and the Pursuit of Female Solidarity in *Cat's Eye*" (1993)."

A broader placement of Canadian artist fictions internationally is achieved in Christine Hamelin's post-colonial feminist dissertation, "Gender Mapping Genre: Studies in Female *Künstlerromane* (unpublished, 1994). Hamelin's work represents the sole assessment to date of artist fiction by and about women in Canada, and is a theoretically sophisticated study. However, its shared emphasis on Australia's and New Zealand's female artist fictions necessarily limits its scope to two recently-canonized twentieth-century Canadian writers of very different eras: L.M. Montgomery (the "Emily" trilogy of the 1920s) and Jane Urquhart (*Changing Heaven*, 1990). While this gesture of recuperation is a positive one (after all, Hamelin could have chosen better-known works by Atwood, Munro, or Laurence instead), her study must be seen as somewhat circumscribed by its ideology: specifically, its articulation, in the Introduction, of a reductive view of Canada's nineteenth-century literature. Employing Atwood's *The Journals of Susanna Moodie*, astonishingly, as a historical document about "the prevalence of...unresolved doubts and deep uncertainties" in nineteenth-century Canadian writing, Hamelin follows an unnuanced line of post-colonial argument, claiming that the literary culture of Canada's previous century conformed to "European conventions" and thus necessarily incorporated "romantic national myths that may in fact reinforce colonization" (33). On the basis of such generalizations, Hamelin proceeds to a series of unproven and indeed unprovable conclusions: among them, the oddly-articulated notion that "Canadian writers in the Victorian period were not particularly

iconoclastic,” and the related and oddly-mitigated criticism that “[w]hile their work often gave voice to a regional or a national identity, they tended to reflect received British social structures rather than questioning them” (34). When Hamelin describes the “very different situation [that] existed in the [late] Victorian period [1890s] in Australia” (34), her criteria, after Sheridan, might be as easily applied to the woman-authored artist fictions that were beginning to appear in Canadian periodicals as early as the 1840s: namely, an inclusion of “subversive elements” within the fiction, a “questioning [of] the dominant ideology of masculinity and femininity,” and a “working within and against the narrative conventions of popular romantic fiction” (Sheridan 57, qtd. in Hamelin 35). Indeed, the following chapter of this thesis will explore these very same criteria of gender and genre with reference to Canada’s early nineteenth-century women writers.

Several key omissions can be discerned from the above history of Canadian critical approaches to artist fiction. One of the more obvious involves gender over time and place. No study, as yet, has attempted to chart female artist fictions of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Canada; similarly, no study has looked in detail at the nineteenth century. The latter charting might involve not only some of the tantalizing possibilities raised by thematic criticism (Cloutier’s theme of the artist-as-exile, for example, which relates to MacMillan Frederick’s discussion of post-Confederation artist fiction) but also a blending of the insights gleaned from twenty years of feminist approaches to the interlaced genres of *Bildungsroman* and *Künstlerroman*. I would add to this critical complexity a consideration of the venue and mode of a given work’s publication. Briefly, the fictions treated in subsequent chapters of this thesis appeared only in magazines, and often were serialized. Several of them achieved novel length, but never appeared as novels. Such works were

materially affected by several factors: the often-ephemeral nature of nineteenth-century magazine publishing (a story by Mary Eliza Herbert, for example, was necessarily left unfinished when *The Mayflower* folded in 1852); the often miscellaneous nature of a magazine's content (as seen in the publication of Parisian fashions and crocheting tips alongside poetry and fiction); and the various complexities of writing and editing involved in the inherently discontinuous mode of literary serialization. Finally, and proceeding from the previous observation, it is clear that socio-cultural contexts are utterly lacking in many previous studies of artist fiction in Canada. This omission can begin to be addressed, in the present thesis, by means of a socio-cultural feminist approach that places its chosen works in their various contexts—national, historical, feminist, theoretical, aesthetic, even international. Such a methodology will enact and augment, in a Canadian context, the much-needed “historical approach” to the question of female artist fiction that Grace Stewart called for in the concluding chapter of her *A New Mythos* (181).

From an ideological perspective, I am aware that the gendered and almost “thematic” nature of the following study has a certain precariousness in a poststructuralist climate that often considers such preoccupations suspect. Poststructuralists have long objected to the intrinsic subjectivity of texts that are concerned—as artist fictions are concerned—with the self-knowledge of a central protagonist. Perhaps that objection can best be defused by the rhetorical question posed by Andreas Huyssen in 1984: “doesn’t post-structuralism, where it simply denies the subject altogether, jettison the chance of challenging the *ideology of the subject* (as male, white, and middle-class) by developing alternative and different notions of

subjectivity?" Huyssen implicitly answers his own question in the affirmative, noting that postmodernists have countered the Modernist notion of the "death of the subject" through developing "new theories and practices of speaking, writing and acting subjects." An examination of how "codes, texts, images and other cultural artifacts constitute subjectivity," says Huyssen, "is increasingly being raised as an always already historical question...It is certainly no accident that questions of subjectivity and authorship have resurfaced with a vengeance in the postmodern text. After all, it does matter who is speaking or writing" ("Mapping the Post-Modern" 264).

Much of feminist literary criticism is committed to the "alternative and different notions of subjectivity," in Huyssen's words, that poststructuralism would bulldoze: witness the reconstructive impulses of the last decade of feminist studies in the United States, and the parallel movement toward improving textual visibility and reforming the canon—pioneered by Lorraine McMullen and Sandra Campbell, Carole Gerson, Helen Buss,⁷⁵ and others—in Canadian feminist literary criticism. Victoria Walker calls such feminist critical practices "transformational" ("Anglo-American" 39). Huyssen himself considers feminism to be one of the "phenomena" that will "remain constitutive of postmodern culture for some time to come" ("Mapping" 270).⁷⁶ My project participates both ideologically and literally in these endeavours of postmodern critical culture.

The following chapters of this dissertation concern literature produced by white, primarily middle-class women, most of whom were immigrants to Canada. After Huyssen, and in an attempt to critique my own feminist and literary-historical practices, I offer glimpses into the interiority of these early women writers in Canada, and into the complex worlds they imagined and literalized in their fiction.

Chapter Two

Periodicals, Place, and the Romance of Art: Women Writing the Male Artist

It is interesting to ponder, for early women writers in Canada, the implications of Benedict Anderson's observation that "in the modern world everyone can, should, will 'have' a nationality, as he or she 'has' a gender" (*Imagined Communities* 14). If sex, as a characteristic of self-definition, is determined from birth, the same irrevocability cannot be claimed for nationality. While undoubtedly a set of relationships one is "*born into*" and which are "typically settled in a place" (Williams, "The Culture of Nations" 180), nationality, for Anderson (and ultimately for Williams, too¹), rather unfolds over time, embracing a larger, lived sense of community that reflects, and is inflected by, native as well as non-native members. Within the borders of a defined country, and in relation to other defined countries, such reinflection can have symbolic potential. For instance, when Paris-born Germaine de Staël titled her 1807 female artist novel *Corinne, ou Italie* (*Corinne, or Italy*) she did so unambiguously: the connection between the woman and the country is absolute, indeed sublime. As the Roman lord Prince Castel-Forte remarks at Corinne's coronation at the Capitol, "Corinne is the common bond shared by her friends; she is the impulse, the interest of our life;...she is the image of our beautiful Italy" (Book II, 25). This complex intermeshing of woman and country proves fatal to the fictional Corinne's happiness (while yet in girlhood, her artistic precocity is judged by her prospective father-in-law to be too foreign, too boldly Italian, to suit the conservative Englishness of his son, the young Lord Nelvil), and the novel's championing of a peaceable female genius was to prove equally contentious for de Staël herself. Although

immensely successful on its publication. *Corinne* incensed Napoleon Bonaparte, presumably because it blatantly omitted any reference to the French emperor, his armies, and his victories in Italy, despite its being set contemporaneously with his conquests (Goldberger, "Introduction," xxxii). *Corinne* won from the emperor only a renewal of de Staël's exile from her beloved Paris.² It may not be too speculative to argue that both the political punch of the novel and the celebrity of its artist-heroine are byproducts of two related conditions: namely, de Staël's secure sense of both her gender and her nationality. As a woman cultured in the intellectual *salons* of pre-Napoleonic France, she freely researched, probed, and critiqued what she considered to be the defining—indeed, antithetical—cultural attitudes of Italy and England. Ultimately, the novel speaks as much of de Staël and France as it does of Corinne and Italy.

But what of a country that is not yet a country, a geographical space composed of colonial provinces, each with its discrete regional interests? To what sense of nationality would women writers in the British North America of the 1840s and 1850s have clung, be they immigrant or native? And how would they—if at all—have conceived of the female artist in their fiction? To broach these inherently feminist questions is to attempt to understand the "cultural artifacts" of "nationality, or...nation-ness" in their Canadian application. To do so we must, in the words of Benedict Anderson once again, begin to view the nation as an "imagined community." All communities, says Anderson, are *imagined* in that "the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion." This connectedness, which in the distant past would have expressed itself as direct kinship, is, for the disembodied entity of nation, rather a "deep,

horizontal comradeship.” Essentially, it is a fraternity of imagination, a shared frame of reference within “finite, if elastic, boundaries, beyond which lie other nations” that differ from one’s own.³ If, as Anderson argues, “[c]ommunities are to be distinguished...by the style in which they are imagined” (*Imagined Communities*, 15-16), we surely benefit from studying the extant fiction that stands as a testament to the incipient national imagination of Canada’s pre-Confederation era. As in de Staël’s great *Künstlerroman*, the omissions, political or otherwise, are as important as the content. By focussing specifically on artist texts by mid-nineteenth-century women—the social restrictions on whose gender would perhaps have made them feel the equivalent of an unformed nation, or, at best, of its open potential—we can go some way toward determining the kinds of possibilities these women imagined for themselves and for the emerging nation they inhabited.

(Although it is tempting, I decline to wield, in this chapter, the “extratextual lever” of history [Langbauer, *Women and Romance*, 23]. There are effectively as many dangers in the New Historicist-inspired yoking of historical events—which are themselves retrospective constructions—and works of literature as in completely divorcing such works from their lived contexts. To posit, then, more than a speculative connection between the stories addressed in this chapter and the series of profound political and economic changes experienced by the British colonies of North America between 1841 and the early 1850s would be precarious at best. There simply are no references here to the union of Upper and Lower Canada, Britain’s economic abandonment of the colonies, the establishment of Responsible Government, or the cultural fall-out of the annexation movement [see Appendix A]. At worst, the imposition

of such “historical” events upon the texts in question would constitute a recapitulation of colonial self-deprecation: an admission that this literature has value only to the extent that it reflects the national, primarily British, milieu in which it was created.)

The following exploration ventures a connection between two phenomena that the 1840s and 50s saw simultaneously emerge from their respective obscurities: women writers, and their favoured medium, the literary magazine. I am inclined to see this coalition as a fortuitous response to the male-dominated British North American newspaper press, a world mildly interested in instructional literature,⁴ but primarily animated by “partisan politics,” obsessive economics, and loomingly influential editorial personalities (Cross, *Free Trade*, 15).⁵ With the grim exception of obituaries, women’s lives and activities were “rarely chronicled in the public press” (Errington, *Wives and Mothers*, xi).⁶ Unsurprisingly, women held no practical sway in the colonial newspaper world until the late 1880s when journalism began to be pioneered—by Agnes Maule Machar, Sara Jeannette Duncan, Kit Coleman, and others—as a viable female profession (Freeman, “Every Stroke Upward,” 43). Of the relatively few books issued by men or women during the middle decades of the century, most were published by and for the British abroad. Those few publications that “issued from a Canadian press” usually did so “at the expense of the author” (Moodie, “Introduction” to *Mark Hurdlestone* 289), and thus must be seen as representative of an economic elite. It becomes clear that selections from the colonial magazines offer not only a more broadly-drawn picture of women’s participation in the creation of Canadian literary culture, but also, potentially, a more equitable one. Literary magazines, after all, were contributed to and—at least in theory—patronized by all classes of people in the Canadian provinces.⁷ While it is true that

"Canadian periodicals remained essentially local until developments such as the building of the railways made possible the production and much wider distribution of truly national publications" in the post-Confederation era. it is equally true that, in the historical evolution from newspapers to magazines, "the literary journal was the first specialized genre to appear, and it played a major role in the creation of a Canadian cultural consciousness" (Distad and Distad, "Canada," 65-66, 75).

If indeed, as Carole Gerson postulates, Modernist-influenced anthologists progressively filtered out nineteenth-century women's fiction by construing it as triply "marginal" (a "marginalized sex working in a marginalized genre in a marginalized colonial culture" ["Anthologies and the Canon" 59]), the same adjective cannot be used of the position of women within the writing and publishing culture of nineteenth-century Canada itself. That women were somehow minor contenders, and that fiction was construed as a "lesser" genre, cannot be substantiated by even the most basic evidence at hand. Nowhere is this more evident than in the magazines, a venue in which women's participation was welcomed and crucial. Gerson offers compelling statistics to prove the "high level of activity among women writers" in such magazines. According to a "page count of work by identified authors," women produced "70 per cent of the fiction" (as well as "55 per cent of the poetry") in *The Literary Garland* (1838-51), "30 per cent of the fiction" (as well as "52 per cent of the poetry") in *The Canadian Monthly and National Review* and its successor, *Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly* (1872-82), and "29 per cent of both poetry and fiction" in *The Week* (1883-96) ("Anthologies and the Canon" 58). Two factors unaccounted for in Gerson's "page count" might readily increase this statistical representation: namely, the fact that many women chose to write either

anonymously, under a pseudonym, or by signing in initials (thereby disguising their gender), and the fact that “fiction,” as a category, does not incorporate the essay, a popular magazine form, and one frequently contributed by women.

The important alliance between literary magazines and women writers has yet to be fully explored. Gerson admits that the “omission of periodicals, including...literary magazines” constitutes the “major gap” in her 1994 study of *Canada's Early Women Writers: Texts in English to 1859* (5). Whereas Gerson seems to view magazine publishing in the 1840s as having been a kind of interim literary activity for women, allowing them to “hone their craft, establish their audience, and gather their resources” before offering their writings in book form in the 1850s (11), I view it as a venue that women in the Canadian colonies deliberately cultivated as their own. Gerson briefly highlights the importance of various journals that “were edited by women and were very hospitable to women writers” (5)—a publishing phenomenon firmly linked to the middle decades of the nineteenth century—but she draws no conclusions from this observation. The present study will expand Gerson’s commentary, arguing that literary magazines in British North America and later confederated Canada were also evidently receptive to the particular genre of women’s fiction that delineates the struggles of an artist hero. That artist fiction was written and published by women like Eliza Lanesford Cushing, Mary Eliza Herbert, and Susanna Moodie, who successfully (if briefly) edited major periodicals based in Montreal, Halifax, and Belleville respectively, suggests the thematic and perhaps covertly “national” importance of this self-conscious genre. This is not to suggest, of course, that such women or their artist fictions were pervasive, or that they must be considered “representative...of the totality of women’s labouring activities” in the

colonies.⁸ Rather, my intent is to explore how the publication of artist fiction in the broad social venue of the literary magazine opens a window into the role of early Canadian women writers as “pioneers in both gender and genre in an emerging country and in an evolving literary form” (MacMullen and Campbell, “Introduction,” *Pioneering*, 6).

The present chapter attempts less to forge explicit connections than to explore the imaginative literary space suggested by artist stories published in three different magazines, each from a particular colonial region: Montreal’s *Literary Garland* (1838-51), Halifax’s *The Mayflower, or Ladies Acadian Newspaper* (1851-52), and Toronto’s *Anglo-American Magazine* (1852-55). I offer that in the six women-authored fictions addressed below—works by Eliza Lanesford Cushing, Mary Eliza Herbert, and two anonymous authors—the absence of traditional markers of “nationhood” (politics, war, economics) is offset by a gendered, transgressive, even threatening contextual locus: the self-conscious “world for women” (to borrow, again, Carl Klinck’s satirical epithet⁹) of romantic artist fiction. This is a territory not *ahistorical* so much as *counterhistorical*.

It is, indeed, in the 1840s and early 1850s that the earliest examples of such female-authored artist fictions appear. Tellingly, one looks in vain for a Canadian *Corinne*. With the exceptions of Susanna Moodie’s “Rachel Wilde” (1848), which is the subject of the following chapter, and several other women-centred fictional pieces of the 1850s which are briefly incorporated into the present chapter, the earliest stories feature a male artist hero around whom peripheral female characters orbit in a complex array: timid muses, patronized lovers, unconventional independents, resourceful helpmeets. While it would be folly to suggest a politico-national allegory for such positionings (male artist as Britain, female characters as colonies), a gendered social significance informs

both the content and the *discontent* of these stories. Artist fiction, by definition, is representatively autobiographical, and as Carrie Macmillan Frederick remarked in 1977, “the portrayal of the artist within the fiction reflects a statement by [her] creator on the conditions of the artist in [her] particular time and place” (n.p.).¹⁰ While an understandably ambivalent sense of “nationality” likely explains the dearth of North American settings among the woman-authored fiction addressed below (of the six stories that comprise this chapter, only one gestures—obliquely at that—toward the British North American space its writer occupied¹¹), the other striking omission, the paucity of autonomous female artist characters, attests to a more insidious gender-based reality: the imposing nature of conservative forces at work in Victorian-Canadian society, and their subsequent taboo on female agency.

The Victorian characteristic that McMullen and Campbell have labelled the “social endorsement of restriction of the possibilities for women” (“Introduction,” *Pioneering*, 3) held compelling ideological sway over Europe and North America. As far back as 1822, Stendhal had written in his *De L'Amour* a wry proscription against the writerly female:

Do you want to make an author out of a woman?...I say...that a woman must never write anything but posthumous works...For a woman under fifty to get into print, is submitting her happiness to the most terrible of lotteries; if she has the good fortune to have a lover, she'll begin by losing him.

(qtd. in Moers, *Literary Women* 178)

Stendhal (happy to publish his own self-titled “souvenirs d' égoïsme”¹²), was reacting to the legacy of de Staël's unrequited Corinne, yet the spirit of his condemnation was echoed by American male critics about the artist fictions of their own women writers. Literary women were unnatural, unfeminine, unwifely; they transgressed the self-

sacrificing ideology of the age, the “Cult of True Womanhood.” So named by late twentieth-century feminist scholars, this social phenomenon “celebrated submissiveness, piety, and passivity as the ‘genius’ of the female,” and encouraged a woman’s absolute devotion to the domestic sphere, wherein she practiced her vocation of “purifying and restoring fallen Man,” a creature sullied by contact with the acquisitive outside world (Dickenson, “Introduction,” xvi). “By the 1840s,” says Donna Dickenson, “the American Female Reform Society...had over five hundred branches” in the United States: a moral majority indeed (“Introduction,” xxv). A true woman could not both attend to her virtuous mission and engage in an extra-domestic career. Writing, with its perks of financial and personal independence, amounted to a selfish neglect of duty, an ignominious pursuit of autonomy. Such a career was not only suspect but openly ridiculed. In the *American Whig Review* of 1851 an illustrative distillation of public opinion appears: the demand of a fictive male character that all lady writers be “‘obliged by law to send a half dozen shirts and knitted stockings along with every contribution they make to a magazine’” (Huf, *A Portrait* 28).

In the equally conservative British North American provinces of the 1840s and ‘50s, the rhetoric of true womanhood that had been, prior to 1840, “still largely a *prescription* of desired behaviour” (Errington, 236),¹³ began to assume the status of rigid social dictum. Within literary magazines that printed artist fiction, a fascinating dialogue ensued. Running parallel to the stories themselves were articles about education for women, female conduct, and women’s position in society. As on the Continent and in America, fear spoke into the rupture occasioned by writing women. At one extreme we find claims of moral bankruptcy (ironically mitigated by admissions of popularity and

success¹⁴), as in an unsigned article about “Georges Sand” in *The Literary Garland*: “No writer...since the days of Rousseau and his ‘Heloise,’ has done so much harm as Georges Sand, or has tended more to demoralize society at large” (February 1849, 63). More typical articles, by both men and women, expressed concern about the unwomanliness, the lack of marital possibilities, the egocentrism of a literary career. Many were the writers who, like T.S. Arthur of Halifax, castigated “the little world of self,” reminding a woman that she was “not designed, by her Creator, to live for herself alone” (“Advice to Young Ladies,” *The Mayflower*, May 1851, 20). Toronto’s *Anglo-American Magazine* editorialized that “...woman’s true social position is that summary of human happiness—HOME.”¹⁵ In its relentless rhetoric of the “true,” the article continued:

It is true greatness to be useful...[I]f to cast time, and talent, and might into one self-sacrifice, be to deserve the appellation of great—then to all this may woman claim a far truer title than can man. (“Woman’s Social Position,” June 1853, 573).

In keeping with the long-standing tradition of “useful” female education supported and promulgated by Upper Canadians (as Errington has documented) in the first half of the nineteenth-century,¹⁶ *The Anglo-American’s* article goes on to condemn the newest trend of “fashionable education” that teaches such trifles as how “to enter a room gracefully—to dance superbly, to speak with an Italian accent—and to be quite at home in all the notes of the gamut” (575).¹⁷ Arguing instead for a “liberal education,” the article’s author ends with a careful approbation of both “mental cultivation” and “literary pursuits” for women. Clearly, however, the author intends that these activities will direct “time, talent, and might” towards the twin goals of domestic and religious service: “...let the education [and, by extension, the literary products] be such as will ever shed affection over home, and inspire the feeling and hopes and happy influences of religion” (575). It

was into this narrow ideological channel, bordered by domesticity on one shore and religion on the other, that nineteenth-century women writers routinely sailed their literary craft.

How did literary women themselves respond to such restrictions? Most resorted to a necessarily schizophrenic endorsement of the conservative status quo while they continued to pursue their writing careers. In 1845 the American writer Margaret Fuller, a woman “concerned with the position of the talented woman” (Goldberger, “Introduction,” xlix), urged that fiction was not, finally, the purview of her own sex: women were more naturally muses than artists, more suited “to inspire and receive the poem, than to create it” (*Woman in the Nineteenth Century*, 75).¹⁸ A parallel Canadian opinion is provided by Mary Anne Madden Sadlier, an Irish immigrant who resided in Montreal for fifteen years (1844-1859), moved to New York City (1860), and eventually ended her life back in Montreal (1885-1903).¹⁹ In the December 1845 “Our Table” section of *The Literary Garland*, the editors print an extract from the Preface to “M.A.M.”’s [Sadlier’s] first collection of stories.²⁰ In all apparent sincerity, the young and as-yet-unmarried Sadlier here admits that financial need has forced her into the “perilous craft” of authorship. She then describes for potential readers the hazards of a female life lived “in the arena of Literature”: “It is foreign to a woman’s nature...to move in the uncongenial glare of public fame’—hers are, or should be, the quiet shades of retirement, and woe to her who steps beyond their boundary, with the hope—of finding happiness” (from *Tales of the Olden Times*, *The Literary Garland* 576). Sadlier elaborates the nature of this “woe” by quoting from an unnamed “fair young Poetess”

(probably L.E.L.), a writer whose appearance on the “hemisphere of Literature” had been followed, tellingly, by her “vanish[ing] forever from our sight”:

“Yet, genius, yet—thou art a fearful thing—
Madness—a broken heart—an early grave—
These are thy portions—” [576]

Such dire words, however, prove more conventional than sincere. Ironically but predictably, as Liz Szabo points out, “Sadlier’s lifestyle and her writing, like that of [Harriet Beecher] Stowe and most other female domestic novelists, were in stark opposition.” Szabo notes that “[a]lthough Sadlier preached that women should stay home and tend to their families, she produced sixty books, [translated at least sixteen French novels and religious works], edited a weekly newspaper, ran a business, and was far more famous than her [publisher] husband.”²¹ Also striking is the life-long friendship between Sadlier and fellow Irish writer Darcy McGee, whom she had met in 1850 (McMullen and Campbell, “Mary Anne Sadlier,” 78). Although Sadlier’s portion of their correspondence has been lost, McGee’s letters to her are preserved in the National Archives of Canada and attest to their shared interests, including a “national poetry” for Ireland, and the novel of emigration.²² Following the “crushing blow” of the Irish-patriot’s murder, Sadlier “edited a collection of McGee’s poetry in 1869 in tribute to his memory” (Szabo, “My Heart Bleeds,” 1-4). One has the sense that Sadlier, while certainly exceptional in many ways, was not perhaps atypical of women writers of her era and place.

Sadlier’s domestic “boundary,” beyond which a happy woman should never venture (though she routinely did), amounts, one might say, to its own imagined community. She and other literary women seem to have defined the borders of this psychic space only to transgress them in the very act of definition: a transgression that

linked them imaginatively, if not always personally. With little scope for associating themselves with a broader political and economic community, and largely denied an extra-domestic application of power and authority,²³ it is little wonder that small numbers of talented women approached authorship as a vista of possibility, carefully censoring their fiction's social scope while expanding its romantic imaginings. While cognizant that the home, the all-consuming life of domesticity, was in a pervasive social sense the "country" to which mid-nineteenth-century women belonged, the "nationality" with which they contended,²⁴ these women writers may well have found, in the magazine culture of British North America, a surrogate abode, a berth of potential.

I. Love, Modernism, and Women's Magazines

When Carl Ballstadt clears an historical space for early nineteenth-century periodicals in *The Search for English-Canadian Literature* (1975), he makes a compelling distinction between realism and romance, as observed in the policies of the male editors of several Montreal-based magazines of the 1820s. Ballstadt describes the strong editorial bias of two influential men, David Chisholme and A.J. Christie, who, in addition to feeling that imaginative literature was "inappropriate to a new country," actively promoted "practical and educational" writing that would "take inventory of a new country, to begin the process of naming and familiarizing" ("Introduction" xvii). In the Chisholme-edited *Canadian Magazine and Literary Repository* (1823-25)—taken over by Christie when Chisholme left to edit the *Canadian Review and Magazine* (1824-26)—one discerns the editors' decided preference for, as Ballstadt would have it, "realistic rather than fanciful

or polite literature” (xviii), a bias that seems to have permeated several other periodicals of the time, including John Kent’s York [Toronto]-based *Canadian Literary Magazine* (April-June 1833). When Ballstadt then turns to a discussion of John Gibson, editor of *The Literary Garland* during all but its last two years,²⁵ he notes both the pendulum swing toward “elegance and politeness” that Gibson’s sometimes “precious” policies represented, and the *Garland*’s “outstanding run of thirteen years of publication from 1838 to 1851” (xix, xx). Intriguingly, for reasons that perhaps include his own Modernist bias, Ballstadt stops short of making the crucial observation that is suggested by these two comments and indeed proven by the history of early periodical publishing in Canada. That observation is the following: English-language periodicals that attempted to be instructional and realistic *folded*, but the polite and genteel *Literary Garland*—characterized, I might add, by its particular, and obviously astute, focus on women and romance—*endured*.

Until recently, literary historians have tended to vilify *The Literary Garland* (see Appendix B) rather than acknowledge it for what it was: the “only successful magazine of the pre-Confederation period,” and “Canada’s first English-language magazine to achieve anything like longevity” (Francis, “Literary Magazines,” *OCCL*, 456; Distad and Distad, “Canada,” 76). During its thirteen-year tenure, five other literary journals sprang up and died prematurely.²⁶ Begun in politically volatile Montreal during the 1838 Rebellion, when “our country was torn by factions, and bleeding under the wounds of an unnatural warfare,”²⁷ the *Garland* could congratulate its readers, two years later, as being “almost the only representatives of the *published* literature of our country” (“To Our Readers,” November 1840, 573-74).²⁸ No doubt part of the *Garland*’s success lay in the

fact that it was the first and only magazine, prior to 1850, to pay its contributors (McMullen and Campbell, "Introduction," *Pioneering*, 2; MacDonald, "English and French," 223). That a monthly publication could provide writers with reasonable remuneration for over a decade testifies to the profound support of its subscribing audience—an audience that, contrary to past critical notions, was enlightened, literate, and discriminating, if also colonial. In its day, *The Literary Garland and British North America Magazine* (its full title as of January 1847²⁹) represented to its audience a vibrant publishing enterprise, not a moribund derivative one. Distad and Distad note the magazine's "innovative" featuring of "lithographic illustrations and engraved musical scores," as well as the "large amount of original Canadian material"—in addition to American and British imports and translations from French and German—"that appeared in its pages" (76-77). Irrespective of perceived literary quality, the magazine's historical importance stands. It bodes well for the maturing of our critical consciousness that scholars now view the *Garland* as a "landmark literary magazine" that "played a significant role in the development and promotion of Canadian letters" (McMullen and Campbell, "Introduction," *Pioneering*, 15; Distad and Distad, "Canada," 76-77).

For earlier generations of predominantly Modernist critics, however, *The Literary Garland* has served as a figurative whipping post for its conjoining of the very elements that undoubtedly contributed to its success: woman and romance. This is abundantly clear in Carl F. Klinck's scathing assessment of the literary milieu that birthed the *Garland*. "It was a world for women," says Klinck, "invincible ladies" who, in their deplorable penchant for "[s]entimental romance," were engaged in "beguiling their sisters with wishful excitement, captivating menfolk by delicate attitudes, teaching good conduct

by suggesting and deploring seduction, and thus delaying the rise of *serious fiction*” (“Literary Activity...I,” 159, emphasis mine). These are the words of a committed Modernist (if not precisely a misogynist),³⁰ but their critical seedtime matured long before, growing up alongside Fielding, Meredith, and the so-called rise of the novel. There is an implied evolutionary relationship between romance and the “serious fiction” that, in Klinck’s words, it “delays”: romance is prior, primitive, somehow narcissistic.³¹ The relationship is not unlike the one often posited between the sexes. Klinck would no doubt concur with generations of male critics that romance depends on a “feminine sensibility.” From the tone of his commentary, one might readily infer that “[r]omance’s faults—lack of restraint, irrationality, and silliness—are also women’s faults” (Langbauer, 27, 78). Klinck’s problem with the *Garland’s* women-authored fiction, after all, is not that it condones “‘searching after truffles’” and “‘spectre mongering’”³² (Ballstadt, “Introduction,” xix), but rather that it constitutes “sentimental romance”—that generic beldam committed to “beguiling,” “captivating,” and the art of “seduction”: in a nutshell, committed to the representation of *love*.

In the November 1851 issue of Halifax’s *The Mayflower, or Ladies Acadian Newspaper*, a fascinating article in defense of love’s centrality to women—specifically literary women—appears from the pen of an American writer, a Miss Augusta Browne.³³ Miss Browne’s “Artistic Associations” begins as a proscriptively moral, even blatantly racist diatribe,³⁴ and ends as an anecdotal commendation of heroic artistic women from history. In between, she performs a strikingly romantic arabesque. By means of a steady purpling of prose, she moves from the idea that art is best shared with a like-minded soul, to the extraordinary claim that (for women) all art has as its ulterior motive the winning

of the affections of “some being preferred above all others” (222). Five years later, this same idea would find a memorably female voice in Elizabeth Barrett Browning’s poetic *Künstlerroman*, *Aurora Leigh* (1856):

We [women] strain our natures at doing something great,
Far less because it’s something great to do,
Than haply that we, so, commend ourselves
As being not small, and more appreciable
To some one friend. (V: 45-49)

As this, and many other eminently quotable passages articulate, the motivation so central to *Aurora Leigh* and to other mid-nineteenth-century female artist narratives is, at least in part, “the poet’s dependence on human love” (McSweeney, “Introduction,” xvi). What intrigues—and potentially accounts for the anti-female vehemence of critics like Klinck—is that such a dependence “has no parallel” in the male models of the artist. It cannot be found, for example, in Wordsworth, in “*The Prelude*’s account of the development of a [male] poet who was early ‘taught to feel, perhaps too much, / The *self-sufficing* power of Solitude’” (McSweeney, “Introduction,” xvi; emphasis mine).

Art, then, in Augusta Browne’s seemingly representative *female* formulation, is effectively both an offering to, and a by-product of, romantic human love:

On the loftiest summit of the heart’s altar, genius offers his gift of love, and though the rich incense be consecrated to one alone, the spirit-love—yet may the multitude also be free partakers in the fragrant perfumes that float from off it. (“Artistic Associations,” 221)

Despite the male gendering of genius here (“*his* gift of love”), Browne provides female-gendered examples to “elucidate our meaning” (221). And, of course, the inclusive pronoun “our” is not merely rhetorical. Browne knows that her *Mayflower* audience is predominantly female, and to them she offers the following autobiographical statement in the guise of a general truth: “We all feel this to be true [ie., that art addresses a beloved],

especially all who have laboured in the pleasant yet toilsome field of *authorship*" (emphasis mine). Browne again reveals something of her own situation by commiserating that "thousands hath endured" with "[p]oor Sappho" the "blighting miseries of inappreciation and neglect." Presumably these suffering "thousands" are themselves artistic women, likewise disappointed in love. As a "correspondent history," Browne offers the closing example of "Properzia Rossi, a celebrated female sculptor of Bologna," who died of unrequited love (222). Ironically, Browne lifts this information, as well as an eleven-line stanza, verbatim from a poem by Felicia Hemans (1793-1835), yet never mentions either Hemans or the 1828 poem, "Properzia Rossi."³⁵ Either Hemans' poem was too well known to require a citation, or Browne preferred not to complicate her point by invoking the shadow of the successful Hemans' own strained marriage.³⁶

As Klinck accuses, love is central to the women-authored stories addressed in the present chapter. What Klinck would not likely appreciate, however, is the extent to which these works cast "history" as the paramour of romance, selectively modulating into "fiction" the particular events of the lives of "real" historical characters. This is no mere bare bones fleshing-out, or slothful sleight of hand. The emphasis in these works on a lived life—the Goethean sense of "life in time" that bedrocks so-called "formal realism" and has long been employed to distinguish the novel from the romance (Langbauer, 21)—is a defining feature of artist fiction, the essential "plot" of the *Künstlerroman*. A novelist like George Meredith would have us believe that such a plot must exist in isolation from the contagion of romance. In his *Diana of the Crossways* (1885) for example, the titular female character is a writer of romances who carries with her not a

history but a *reputation*: a checkered sexual one (Langbauer, 45). The women-authored artist fictions addressed below—which scrupulously manage to adhere to the modest dictates of the Cult of Domesticity—nevertheless implicitly dismiss as nonsense the dichotomy between history and romance that provides such cramped imaginative space for the female (or, for that matter, the female artist). These women authors, rather, seek to expand, to open up, that basic, predominantly male generic structure, that charting of the *Künstlerroman*'s internal history—and they do so by grafting on to it the fraught emotional reality of human relationship, the “sentimental romance” of love.

II. Eliza Lanesford Cushing and the Fictionalizing of Biography

I turn now to specific women authors and their works, allotting them a critical seriousness of inquiry that they long have been denied. One such woman is Eliza Lanesford Cushing (1794-1886),³⁷ the *Literary Garland*'s most prolific contributor (after Susanna Moodie),³⁸ and its editor during its final year (1850-51). To Cushing and her sister, Harriet Vaughn Cheney, a dismissive Carl Klinck attributes (*sans* elaboration) the “Anglo-Bostonian rather than Anglo-Canadian” character of the *Garland* (160), offering sarcastically that these “two Bostonian ladies living in Montreal...were, by a happy chance, daughters of Hannah Webster Foster (1759-1840), one of the earliest exponents of the sentimental novel in America...” (160). In a multiply biased literary world, it would seem, no further justification for disparagement was necessary: like mother, like daughters. Klinck never does mention that Cushing and Cheney founded and edited the first Canadian magazine for children, a relatively long-lived monthly written for girls

aged six to twelve, entitled the *Snow Drop; or, Juvenile Magazine* (Montreal: Lovell and Gibson, 1847-53).³⁹ That this venture was undertaken *after* the deaths of their husbands, when both women were forced to assume the difficult role of family breadwinner, seems particularly remarkable.⁴⁰ Klinck similarly neglects to mention that Eliza Cushing “enjoys the distinction of being the only Canadian woman to author a volume of dramatic pieces during the entire pre-1860 period” (Gerson, *Early Canadian Women*, 17).

Klinck’s definition of “serious fiction” (that which is *delayed by romance*) would surely exclude three engaging stories published by Cushing, under the initials “E.L.C.” in the early 1840s in *The Literary Garland*. These male artist stories represent the first examples of the genre in Canadian women’s writing. “The Artist” (1841), “The Envious Artist” (1843), and “The Violinist” (1845), present the partly truthful, generously embellished biographies of male artists from history. While employing both the archaic language and religious didacticism that Klinck reviled,⁴¹ Cushing nevertheless turns obscure biographical material into fiction that is increasingly aware of its romantic conventions, and increasingly complex in its portrayal of female characters. Correspondingly, her aesthetic ideal shifts from a neo-Classical to a Romantic one. In the first two stories, excellence is a measure of how closely the artist can imitate the past (a revealing trope, perhaps, for Cushing’s own efforts in fictionalizing biography). In the third and much longer narrative, excellence is equal parts gift, spontaneity, and Romantic inspiration (a trope, perhaps, for Cushing’s interpolations). Each of the stories features a romantic plot that unfolds in a non-Canadian setting—typical, though not categorical, for a Cushing narrative (Wagner, “Eliza” 86).⁴² In all three stories, an inescapable and problematic pairing occurs: that of ambition with love.

“The Artist,” published in the December 1841 issue of *The Literary Garland*, concerns the quest of painter Pierre Mignard (1612-95) to win, by means of his art, the twin boons of “fame and Rosalie” (1).⁴³ Following the classic romance structure in which lovers are separated by scheming parents, the story centres on the seemingly impossible test that will prove Pierre worthy of his beloved: “‘When thou canst paint like Guido,” says Rosalie’s father, a Parisian Count, “thou may’s’t ask and obtain the hand of my daughter’” (1).⁴⁴ Forgetting about his “promise...laughingly made” (9), the Count attempts to marry Rosalie to a wealthy young Baron, but she demurs and the chagrined suitor leaves. Soon after, the Count hosts a gala dinner in honour of his newest acquisition, a supposedly genuine Guido from Italy. It is here that Pierre—who had initiated the rumour that he himself was the artist of the painting—gainsays the opinion of the best Parisian art connoisseurs. He declares that the painting of the Magdalen is no Guido, but rather his “own work, an imitation only” (10). As proof, he claims that the painting’s canvas bears the portrait of a Roman cardinal beneath its image of the Magdalen. In a moment of intense public triumph that confirms his genius and wins his bride, he effaces a small section of the Magdalen’s hair to reveal “the red cap of the Cardinal beneath” (11).

Pierre has already painted his imitation Guido when the story begins, so we do not read of his artistic progress, his failures and frustrations along the way. Rather, Cushing’s story conveys its aesthetic ideas by means of a running dialogue between Pierre and his “usurer” friend, Paul Roussard. The savvy money lender is an obvious foil for the silly artist, since Roussard routinely corrects Pierre’s naively haughty refusal of filthy lucre. He asserts that Pierre’s “head is full of romance” when he claims to “care

not for gold"; "Want ever lacks friends," counsels the wry Roussard, "and even genius, if clothed in rags, may lie in the ditch for rich fools to trample on" (2). This seems sound enough advice, especially when one anticipates Cushing's own economic situation (the death of her husband and her subsequent financial exigency) in the droll words of Roussard. Significantly, however, Pierre remains free from the taint of money throughout the story. He takes no gold for his painting, arranging instead with Roussard that the Count be repaid in full the sum he had expended for his supposed Guido. When the financially pure artist ends by marrying the rich Count's daughter, his poor pecuniary situation actually serves to highlight, by contrast, his genius. At the sumptuous wedding banquet, the Count remembers the glowing comments of the connoisseurs, and thinks how they have "rendered him more proud of his alliance, than if [Pierre] had possessed the wealth and rank of [Baron] Desmonville, without those talents, which were an earnest of no common fame" (11). Long before, Roussard had remarked that, for Pierre, fame would serve as "the precursor of wealth—wealth that will place thee above princes: for thou hast the gift of genius" (2). Roussard's words are both literal and figurative; ultimately, they prove prophetic. In contrast to many female artists in stories yet to be written, Cushing's male genius never feels the pinch of poverty.

The characters of Pierre and Roussard are duly important for their views about love and women—views that seem opposite, but which, in essence, partake of the same conservative status quo. In his many conversations with Pierre, Roussard belittles the artist's obsession with Rosalie. He worries that, if left to choose, Pierre "wouldst weakly prefer" the love of his "fair mistress" to the "praise of men." He advises that his friend seek out "a nobler incentive to exertion than the fleeting love of a frail and fickle woman"

(2). In truth, however, Pierre's primary allegiance is by no means clear, and oscillates throughout the story. Although he attributes his motivation to the Italian proverb, "Who feels love in the breast, feels a spur in the limbs," he almost immediately back-paddles in the wake of Roussard's taunting. Rather defensively Pierre asserts that "what thou callest a nobler passion, mingled with my love, and urged me on to the completion of my work"

(2). There is much of the medieval knight in Pierre—both he and Roussard make the comparison—or, perhaps more accurately, of the troubadour. His beloved is a fond self-projection, a means to a self-infatuated end. That end for Pierre coincides exactly with the conservative rhetoric of literary magazines of the 1840s. In his raptures of future happiness, Pierre envisions the "paradise of home," the "blessed retreat," the "haven" which will be "lighted by the smile, gladdened by the voice of love" (3). (Rosalie, one notes, is subsumed within the double synecdoche: *home-retreat-haven* and *smile-voice*.) Likewise, in "Woman," an article by "H." of Montreal (*The Literary Garland*, February 1842),⁴⁵ we read an appeal to men who have "trodden the path of life supported by a guardian angel, encouraged by her attentions, and lighted by her smiles" (135). "H." rhapsodises about woman's inborn capacity to soothe, sympathize, minister, rejoice, purify, endure—always in relation to the central figure of man. The happy ending of Cushing's story is similarly one-sided. It concerns itself entirely with Pierre's "triumph as a lover and an artist," as the story's closing sentence confirms (11). The blunt misogyny of Roussard that had seemed defeated by the union of Pierre and Rosalie is, in reality, merely transmogrified.

A subtle web of images throughout the story confirms the passivity of Rosalie's character. The epigraph from Shakespeare ironically encapsulates the mute muse of

woman, the silent stance of the female non-artist, that Cushing's story inadvertently reveals:

Pol. Masterly done:
 The very life seems warm upon her lip.
 Leon. The fix'ture of her eye has motion in't.
 As we are mocked with art.

[*The Winter's Tale* V.iii: 65-68]

Cushing did not read either agency or gender into her choice of epigraph. Rather, as her own footnote informs us, the epigraph reflects upon the "anecdote...related by several authentic writers" that inspired her story's pseudo-historical plot: "the French artist Mignard...was remarkable for his admirable imitations of the great masters" (1). In other words, just as Shakespeare's Hermione, as living statue, fools her husband and courtiers, so Pierre Mignard's stylized painting fools the Count and his connoisseurs, mocking them with art. Hermione, like Pierre, bides time and chooses the moment of her public revelation and reward. In Cushing's crucially different scenario, however, the woman is not empowered actor but passive pawn. Rosalie ends by becoming, literally, a "guerdon" (2, 8, 10), a transaction in a patriarchal economy between her father and Pierre: "'You have won her...Take her: she is yours'" (11).

That Pierre contributes, throughout, to her passivity, is obvious from the subjects of his paintings. The first is Rosalie herself, physically scrutinized during "long sweet sittings" that fuel Pierre's ardour (3). He wins her to wife by means of his "Magdalen," the redeemed fallen woman that seems to have fascinated the nineteenth century,⁴⁶ and an image of sanitized passion appropriate to the "half child, half woman" who is Rosalie (3). The day before Pierre's public triumph, he accidentally paints "the soft and smiling eyes of Rosalie" on his new work, a figure of the "martial maiden" Clorinda. Upon the

realization, he casts the painting from him “with a laugh” (9). Cushing does not explain Pierre’s mirth, but by contextualizing the literary allusion we can readily see that the juxtaposition of the two women is ridiculous. Clorinda, the armour-clad Persian heroine of Tasso’s epic poem, *Jerusalem Delivered* (1581), not only single-handedly rescues a pair of lovers from the flames of the first Crusade (Book II), but also jousts strappingly with her secret favourite, Prince Tancred (Book III).⁴⁷ Virginal but “lusty,” Clorinda scorns the “arts” of “silly women,” preferring instead to “tilt and tourney, wrestle in the sand,” and chase wild beasts (Book II: stanzas 39–41). As Pierre blots the timid orbs of Rosalie from his painting of the warrior woman, we sense the breach between his professed obsession with love and his triumphant male dominance: Cushing writes that he has “the courage” to blot out his beloved’s eyes (9). Rosalie, ultimately, is mocked with art. Cushing may never have intended such an ironic subtext, may not have been “playing upon the readers’ awareness of the tensions between life and art in the area of marriage and romance” (McMullen and Campbell, *Pioneering*, 10). Nevertheless, Rosalie—a character who never once speaks a word throughout the story—ends as a silent wife, stripped even of the status of a muse.⁴⁸

In apparent contrast to her first artist narrative, Eliza Cushing’s second story describes moral weakness and despair rather than glib success and happiness. “The Envious Artist” (*Literary Garland*, November 1843) takes its trajectory from biographical fact, relating “the history of two brother artists of the sixteenth century,” Annibale and Agostino Carracci, “whose works and whose genius were the boast and glory of their age, but the beauty of whose lives was marred by the cherished indulgence of this unworthy passion,” envy (513). As expected, the story is a highly moral one.

Before describing how Annibale Carracci, “a bitter and sarcastic spirit” (514), ruins both his own life and that of his milder older brother, Agostino, Cushing sets up the moral parameters of her tale. She links the “master passion” of envy with the evil motivations of Milton’s Satan and Judas Iscariot, as well as with the friendships, affections, “trusting hearts,” “flowers of genius,” and general joys that have been “blighted,” “broken,” “repulsed,” “withered,” and “darkened” by envy’s incursion (513). The story that follows describes how the two brothers enter the art school of their cousin, Ludovico Carracci, at the point when painting in Italy had “sunk into the lowest stages of degeneracy” (513). Together they vow to wed themselves to art, but their sacred bond is severed when Agostino marries a beauty named Antonia. She dies in childbirth the following year and the brothers achieve a modicum of reconciliation, opening their own highly influential art academy in Bologna.⁴⁹ Annibale’s persistent envy, however, forces Agostino to enact a series of compromises (giving up painting, moving to another city) that eventually ends with his premature death. Annibale himself dies mentally deranged, after years of loneliness and self-reproach. Cushing emphasizes the historical irony that Annibale’s work has rendered him “the greatest of the Carracci” (514), despite his ignoble nature and “meagre” powers of invention.

Cushing’s aesthetics shift slightly here, from the technical imitation she praised in “The Artist” to that of a more individual, creative reproduction of the past. It is as if she refutes, in this story, the charge of art-as-mere-imitation—an accusation that could reasonably be leveled at her earlier narrative. Paramount now is an aesthetic philosophy of selective, sympathetic, and liberal imitation, the kind of Romantically-infused neoclassical approach advocated by Sir Joshua Reynolds in his *Discourses* to students of

the Royal Academy (1769-1790).⁵⁰ In describing the elder Ludovico Carraci, for example, Cushing argues that his aim was to glean from the masters “every peculiarity worthy of perpetuation, and combine them with a close observation of nature, giving to the whole, as he impressed them on his own glowing canvass [sic], the hue of his individual genius” (513). Likewise, in praising Agostino Carraci, Cushing highlights his “skilful blending” of the traits of Correggio with “the conceptions of his individual genius” (516), and his ability to improve upon the models of the great masters: “his own exquisite engravings were not unfrequently [sic] pronounced more perfect than their originals” (514). Providing an important contrast is Annibale. Though his technical skill is greater, his vision is impoverished by a less erudite intellect, a chafing impatience, and, it would seem, an inability to combine, to blend, to compromise. Thus when Annibale completes his final commission alone, having driven away his brother, poetic justice conspires with history to make the finished Farnese Gallery beautifully executed but poorly conceived.⁵¹ Cardinal Farnese, we are told, rewards Annibale with nothing but “cold thanks” and a “pitiful sum” of money (521). Cushing could not have found a more amenable historical example to manifest her moral code: for Annibale Carraci, envy poisons originality, vision, familial harmony, and even the possibility of fair remuneration.

By far the most intriguing aspect of Annibale’s character is the extent to which Cushing interprets his fraternal envy as a kind of sexual jealousy. The seeds of this emotion are planted by the envied brother himself, early in the narrative. Happy that their shared art has opened the door to a long-denied fraternal closeness, Agostino spontaneously proposes that he and Annibale devote their lives to serving the “glorious

mistress" of art, "renounc[ing] every tie save that which binds us to each other and to her" (516). Annibale agrees, but demands that they exchange rings as a token of their solemn vow. It is Agostino who pronounces this act to be a "marriage to our chosen mistress," and "a double and a holy union" (516). When he himself transgresses the strange pledge, his brother Annibale's passionate language of censure shocks the reader with its intensity, eminently more suggestive of a woman scorned than of a brother rebuffed. In words that "burst passionately from his quivering lips," Annibale accuses his brother of treachery, perjury, base deceit. He casts away Agostino's ring, telling him to "deck with the bauble the hand which you have chosen to clasp instead of mine—mine, which would have led you lovingly on in the path to immortality" (518). Whatever bibliographic sources Cushing might have used, it seems highly unlikely that she would have encountered this anecdote;⁵² indeed, a more probable scenario about envy—whether biographical or fictional—would be one in which Annibale nurses his own secret passion for the woman his brother marries. Why, then, does Annibale's outrage manifest itself as homoerotic, even incestuous, jealousy? One possibility is that Cushing is overemphasizing—perhaps even parodying—an intense, Latinate, brand of male/fraternal friendship. Another possibility is that Annibale is Cushing's covert female character, displaying a displaced rage about patriarchal presumptions and promise-breaking that a "true" woman—including Cushing herself—could not forthrightly articulate in the 1840s.⁵³

There seems little appreciable difference between Agostino's beloved Antonia, with her "downcast eyes and deepening blushes" (515), and Pierre's passive Rosalie. Both women are silent models for painters: literally frozen into art.⁵⁴ Both have a

scrupulously asexual beauty, attracting men by means of their child-like grace, chastity, and serenity. Antonia, however, represents a slight maturing of Cushing's female characterization. We learn her history from Paul Cagliari ("Veronese"), in whose studio Agostino Carracci first sees her modeling as the Madonna in "The Marriage at Cana."⁵⁵ Unlike Rosalie, whose influence symbolically does not extend into the realm of her lover's art, Antonia's visage permeates the subsequent paintings of the smitten Agostino: "angels" and "Madonnas" gaze from his canvases "with her eyes of love" (517). Not exactly a "peasant" (as Annibale later derisively labels her), Antonia is one of the rural poor—another contrast to the pampered Rosalie, although equally as idealized a stereotype. With her father dead and her mother ailing, Antonia resigns herself to selling sewing "[t]o increase their income" (516). This economic imperative is noteworthy, given that Antonia is also an artist, of sorts: Cagliari tells of how he has heard her "pou[r] forth" her "untutored songs" in "wild gushes of melody" (516). The careful Cushing makes little of this detail. She renders Antonia's singing innocuous because spontaneous ("untutored," "wild gushes"), and forges no link between vocal talent and the young woman's economic situation. Not yet, in artist fiction by women, is a female character driven by financial need to ply her art.

But given that Antonia's circumstances appear to be pure interpolation on Cushing's part (only the existence of a son, "Antonio," is borne out in today's biographical accounts⁵⁶), we can argue that the decision to give her an artistic talent is significant. Antonia, twice said to have "bewitched" Agostino Caracci (516, 518), dies young. Her artistic potential dies with her. As such, we might well question if she represents Cushing's awareness of the female artist's precarious position. Does her

artistic vocation, in other words, actually warrant her death? Such an interpretation seems probable, given that womanliness in the artist seems, for Cushing, a decidedly negative trait. Near the end of the story she describes “the timid and shrinking Dominichino,” a student of the Caracci academy, as being forced into the acknowledgement of his wonderful paintings “with a downcast eye, and a cheek glowing with modest shame at the applause he had never hoped to win” (520). The parallel to Antonia’s “downcast eyes and deepening blushes” (515) cannot be fortuitous. Cushing informs her readers that “though” Dominichino later became a master of the Italian school of painters, his “almost womanly timidity followed him through life” (520). Her gendered qualification of his success speaks for itself.

Cushing’s third artist story, “The Violinist,” is at once a more complex portrayal of women and a fascinating example of interpolation on both the romance and biography structures of the earlier narratives. Serialized in *The Literary Garland* between August and December of 1845,⁵⁷ the lengthy story elaborates the life of Italian violinist and composer Giuseppe Tartini (1692-1770). The facts of this artist’s life are that he “gave up the church and the law for music and fencing,” that his best known work is the “*Trillo del Diavolo*” (Devil’s Sonata), and that he “secretly married the niece of the Archbishop of Padua...[fleeing] to Assisi” and living in “Venice, Ancona, and Prague” before returning to Padua (*Chamber’s* 2nd ed. 901). Cushing takes significant liberties with these simple facts. She embroiders on the first, using Guiseppe’s professional dilemma as a springboard into an extended debate between filial duty and the pull of an artistic career. Against the wishes of his unsuspecting parents, who value music as a pastime only, Guiseppe neglects his legal studies and continues to play his violin. (Much later,

his mother dies of a broken heart at her son's deception.) In a moment of public triumph much like Pierre Mignard's, Guiseppe distinguishes himself musically at an impressive gathering organized by the Archbishop of Padua, where he plays his dream-inspired composition, the "Sonata del Diavolo." Here he sees again the Archbishop's beautiful niece, Ianthé, whom he had first met by the romantic ruins of a tower. Commissioned to be Ianthé's music tutor, Giuseppe falls deeply in love with her.⁵⁸ He does not, however, marry her in secret and live clandestinely in numerous cities, as per the historical account. Instead, Cushing introduces a plot twist as interesting in feminist terms as it is predictable in romance ones. An entirely interpolated character, Countess Bertha, the Archbishop's widowed sister and Ianthe's aunt, attempts boldly—and unsuccessfully—to win Guiseppe's love. Delirious with passion, she revenges her spurned affections with a series of clever letters that succeed temporarily in thwarting Giuseppe's union with Ianthé. All ends happily, of course: the young lovers are reunited by chance at an obscure monastery, they marry within the month, and they return to Guiseppe's birthplace to care for his widowed father, the elder Tartini, who duly blesses his son's decision to devote himself exclusively to music. Countess Bertha ends remarried but unhappy, having repeated the mistake of her loveless first union.

Highly Romantic in its aesthetics, this story signals a departure for Cushing. In place of an emphasis on imitation, past masters, and technique, she builds a case for inspiration, individuality, and spontaneity. Music's ethereal quality—as opposed to painting's corporeal nature—allows Cushing to indulge in new tropes for art and the artist. Music is linked repeatedly with heaven, spirit, and soul, in both pan-Romantic and explicitly religious terms. Music speaks directly to nature (as when Giuseppe finds

himself engaged in "a regular duet" with a nightingale), and it both communicates with and uncovers "the living soul of man" (367). When Giuseppe plays his farewell solo in his parents' home before leaving for Padua, his impassioned violin gives "most eloquent utterance to the deep feelings which no language could express" (367). Ironically, Cushing expends much ink in describing how music expresses the inexpressible. Music is not only a force, however; it is also a gift. From the unnamed page boy to Countess Bertha to the Archbishop of Padua, Cushing's characters exhort Guiseppe on moral grounds to take seriously his "gift from God," to develop the "rare talents" bestowed on him, to cultivate "the heavenly inspiration which has been breathed into him by his Maker" (420, 463, 464). In contrast to Pierre Mignard, whose raw ambition is thinly veiled by a discourse of love, the religious imperative surrounding Giuseppe confirms him in his ambitious path while simultaneously rendering that ambition benign.⁵⁹

As in her previous artist narratives, Cushing downplays the realities of artistic life to accord with her rhetoric: in this case, with the Romantic stereotype of the artist as inhabitant of an ideal world of beauty and harmony. By de-emphasizing Guiseppe's technique, Cushing highlights his physical passivity and spiritual efficacy. "Unconsciously" passing hour after hour in a sequestered glade, the violinist runs his fingers over his instrument, giving "instinctive utterance" to the "indwelling harmony of his spirit" (369). In a yoking of artist and art so common in the nineteenth century, Cushing describes Guiseppe's soul as "a finely strung instrument" that is romantically "jarred by the rude contacts of daily life" (370). His outward appearance reflects this inner artistic spirit, again in true Romantic fashion. When readers first meet him, Guiseppe is "rapt" and "in a spell." As if posing for a portrait, his head is thrown back,

“rich brown curls” cluster around his face, his “deep blue eyes” are “upraised with passionate yet melancholy enthusiasm,” and his unbuttoned collar reveals “his white throat, fair and beautiful as that of a young girl’s” (365). Two striking qualities, youth and effeminacy, dominate this physical description of the eighteen-year-old musician. In her previous artist narratives, Cushing had attributed such womanly characteristics solely to her non- or minimally artistic female characters.

That Ianthé combines aspects of Rosalie and Antonia from the earlier narratives signals Cushing’s complex agenda for female characters in “The Violinist.” At the opening of the story’s second installment, Ianthé makes her appearance in the ruined tower as both angel and artist. She parts the ivy that screens the tower window, revealing “a face like one of Guido’s angels.” Moments later she sings, in a “silver voice,” a melody that “h[olds] the music-loving Guiseppe a spell-bound listener” (417). As Guiseppe had been linked figuratively with a stringed instrument, so Ianthé’s voice is nearly instrumental, being of “reed-like sweetness” and calling to mind “the low aerial tones of the wind-harp, when the light breeze gently touches its strings” (419). The stringed wind-harp (or Eolian harp, as in Coleridge’s 1817 poem of the same name) is, of course, a recurrent Romantic image for the mind: “either the mind in poetic inspiration...or else the mind in perception, responding to an intellectual breeze by trembling into consciousness” (*Norton Anthology* 1524 nt.2).⁶⁰ Cushing’s description of both Guiseppe and Ianthé by means of this image links them in sensitivity and in artistic perception. To complicate the picture, Cushing also weaves a covert sexuality into the way each of these characters experiences music. In the language of a seduction, we are told that “by degrees” Guiseppe’s instrument “forsook its case, and responded ravishingly

to his enamoured touch" (369). Ianthé, for her part, displaces her desire onto her instrument: "All delicious harmonies were associated with [Guiseppe], and so she grew to love her guitar with almost childish passion" (468). Cushing carefully qualifies her heroine's emotion as "childish" in an attempt to rescue it from unmaidenly sexual directness. Ianthé must remain both angel and child throughout.

Guiseppe and Ianthé are further linked by their public performances of music, although Cushing takes care to gender-stereotype their responses to success and to each other. Guiseppe performs twice at the Archbishop's gathering; in between, Ianthé is prevailed upon to play guitar and sing. Her uncle initially affirms her talent negatively (she has made "no inconsiderable progress," she is "no contemptible performer" [464]⁶¹), but her skill belies his fond patronizing. Like Guiseppe, Ianthé grows emboldened by the music as she plays it, and her "thrilling voice" wins a "clamour of applause" for its "rare and exquisite sweetness" (464). She makes rapid progress under the formal tutelage of Guiseppe, and the pleased Archbishop foresees that she may soon achieve such excellence as to "bear an important part" in the elite social concerts he gives monthly (468). He even predicts that Ianthé will soon rival "the Signora Victorine, a celebrated vocalist," who had taken Italy by storm (467). The approbation of a powerful male figure like the Archbishop, and Cushing's mention of an "historical" female artist's success (even though "Signora Victorine" herself does not appear to have existed), demonstrate the seriousness with which Cushing approaches the creation of her female artist. Ianthé, however, for all her formal training, nevertheless participates in the same tradition of mandatory female modesty as did the untutored Antonia. Whereas Guiseppe had felt an "almost overwhelming triumph" at his debut, Ianthé blushes at her own "temerity" and

flees from her admirers (423, 465). Her only legitimate power, besides the moment of her performance, is in her gaze: during Guiseppe's solos her "soft glances" oxymoronicallly "penetrat[e] his soul," briefly agitating him. He, by contrast, affects "an air of gay indifference" to her performance, being preoccupied with the proximity of Countess Bertha (465). His lack of reciprocity foreshadows his later behaviour.

Among Cushing's numerous small censures of her male artist, several incidents loom large: all unfold as a result of her deliberate changes to the historical story of Guiseppe Tartini. Cushing makes use of the sentimental novel's epistolary tradition by reproducing several letters in her text. One of these Guiseppe sends to Ianthé, apologizing for his "presumptuous" love and informing her of his imminent departure. Both Guiseppe's letter and his later behaviour (when he surprises the grieving girl in the abbey) are studies in abject male selfishness. He paints for himself a melodramatically lonely future, concerned only that Ianthé never forget his unabating love: when he sees his affection reciprocated, he rejoices that his "exile" will be "solaced" by the thought that he has captured her heart. Rightly, Ianthé signals her "soft reproach," in silent gesture and then in words: "Ah, wherefore rejoice at this!" she tells him (513). He has awakened her sleeping heart into passion, and into passion's subsequent suffering. She does not share his romantic reveling in despair. And neither does she consent to his plan to flout custom and virtue by secretly escaping. He does not propose marriage, after all: only flight. Cushing demands that her female character be treated with greater propriety and respect. As such, Ianthé says "firmly" that she will fly with him only if faced with an enforced marriage: "My hand, no less than my heart, is at my own disposal, and neither, without my own free consent, shall become the property of another" (515).⁶²

Guiseppe, however, has a short and selective memory. He naively believes the coldly-worded, forged letter from Ianthé that Countess Bertha sends to him, and furiously believes Ianthé to be untrue. Cursing “woman’s faithlessness,” he claims (in language that echoes the money-lender, Paul Roussard) “henceforth to shun thy frail and fickle sex” (561). The “trusting” Ianthé, by contrast, dismisses Bertha’s similarly forged epistle from Guiseppe, and never, “in the slightest degree,” doubts his faithfulness (569). Even when she hears of his departure from Padua, the young woman “preserve[s] inviolate, her faith in his truth” (569). While Guiseppe’s bitter doubt is an obvious impetus to the plot—he falls into a fever, returns home to find his mother dead, begins vaguely wandering, and ends up at the obscure monastery—it also casts a long shadow over the story’s “happy” ending. Ironically, Cushing rewards the faithless artist in spite of her own subtext: the story concludes with the laudatory words of Guiseppe Tartini’s historical biographer. Guiseppe’s artistic legacy, and not Ianthé’s interpolated, fictionalized talent, survives as historical fact. Cushing bows to history because she is unable to reimagine it in feminist terms.

Or is she? In Countess Bertha, a woman whose widowhood frees her from the virginal timidity of shrinking violets like Ianthé,⁶³ Cushing creates a startlingly audacious voice. It is the voice—as Ellen Moers would have it—of an impassioned woman, telling her side of a love story “in her own words...because the words of a woman in love must be different from those of a man” (*Literary Women*, 160). By the time we first meet her, Bertha has put behind her “four wretched years of mental misery and suffering” in her first marriage to a miserly count (421). Widowhood has made her “her own mistress,—independent and free to choose for herself” the man who will be her second husband

(467). The intelligent and self-assured Countess regales Guiseppe with witty badinage at their first meeting, and, for the first time in a Cushing narrative, she questions the sincerity of the young man's troubadour-like flattery. (Rightly, for Guiseppe has one eye on young Ianthé.) Throughout the story, Bertha openly encourages the talented violinist to break his "foolish vow" to his parents and to pursue his music (463), whereas Ianthé's only comment reveals her conservative endorsement of filial duty at the expense of art: "'Blessed indeed, must it be to sacrifice even our cherished wishes, for the happiness of tender and doting parents'" (420). Although herself an artist, Ianthé does not verbally express her support for Guiseppe's genius in the frank manner that her aunt does. The Countess yearns towards the artist who is, as she fervently admits, "'the embodied dream of my whole life'" (519).

Whether or not we agree with Countess Bertha's opinion that Ianthé is too prosaic and child-like to respond to Guiseppe's artistic soul, we can appreciate her intrepid championing of marriage based on sympathetic natures. Such a view was not unanimously-held in Cushing's day, if a brief unsigned article in *The Literary Garland* (September 1843) provides any indication. Entitled "Good Qualities of Woman," the piece makes two interconnected claims. The first is that mental powers of analysis and abstract thinking are the purview of man only; in contrast, woman possesses "what must not be called a *defect* in the faculty of abstraction, but rather a graceful negation." Second, claims the article, a "*meet*" companion for a thinking man is "not a spirit of the same order; but a *woman* whose reason is all intuitive" (362). The shrewd and worldly Countess, whose manners are not "ornately incrust[ed] [sic] with domestic instincts" (362), would fail such a test of true womanhood. In a climate that legitimized little more than

woman's "constant and unreasoning wisdom" (362). Bertha is calculatingly passionate. Failing to win the violinist with her own careful version of sexual innuendo,⁶⁴ the Countess deliberately abandons "'the modesty of woman'" and speaks with "the wild and rapid vehemence of desperate passion" (519). Her ardour more than equals Guiseppe's. Its fervor, indeed, recalls that of the "envious artist," Annibale Caracci. The Countess is doubly punished for her unwomanly aggressiveness: not only does Guiseppe snub her, but she rashly marries another rich count (Ianthé's intended suitor) with whom she shares "no sympathy of taste and feeling" (570). Bertha ends fully cognizant of her mistake. Perhaps in spite of herself, Cushing makes this character *more* appealing rather than less by allowing her a fully developed passion, a willful strength, and an ironic self-consciousness. Bertha's complexity refutes the critical claim that Cushing's oeuvre emphasizes "the overriding need [for women] to embrace qualities of self-sacrifice, modesty, self-control, stoicism, and positive maternal feeling—all qualities exalted in the nineteenth-century image of the maiden, wife, and mother" (McMullen and Campbell, 16-17). The Countess is a sympathetic figure precisely because of her iconoclasm.

A more successful example of female influence on male artistry—and one that works subversively within the domain of "acceptable" female behaviour—is an unsigned, but likely woman-authored, biographical story published in the July 1853 issue of Toronto's *Anglo-American Magazine*. "The Sculptor's Career" highlights the artistic endorsement of intelligent women, and rather intrepidly (in an age that was still decades away from William Morris's conception of Arts and Crafts) envisions the domestic as the locus of *male* artistic inspiration. Based on the life of British sculptor John Flaxman (1755-1826),⁶⁵ the story calls to mind Cushing's biographical fiction from a decade

earlier, although there is no evidence to link her with its authorship. (Given the nationalist orientation of the *Anglo-American's* publisher, Thomas Maclear, however, it is likely that the story was written by a "Canadian" resident.⁶⁰) Set in England rather than the France and Italy of Cushing's artist narratives, "The Sculptor's Career" nevertheless recalls Cushing in its fictionalized probing of a perceived pivotal moment in art history: the "infancy" of sculpture in eighteenth-century England ("The Sculptor's Career" 44) as opposed to the "degeneracy" of painting in sixteenth-century Italy ("The Envious Artist," 513). Although "The Sculptor's Career" does not seem to interpolate historical events in the manner of Cushing's biographical fictions, the story nevertheless presents its own clear agenda, its own selectively "fictional" interpretation of history. Through its chosen anecdotes and imagined conversations, the story argues for a grounding of art in the real world of human connection, facilitated by the positive, feminized and feminizing influence of supportive women.

Neoclassicism, undercut throughout the story in part because of its elitist associations, initially focuses the aesthetic tone. The plaster-cast shop that sets the "first scene" of the action displays "casts from the antique [the Niobe, Venus de Medicis, Hercules, Ajax, Achilles] that appealed to the classical tastes." However, says the author, given the "infancy" of art in England, "these were for the few." A much lengthier list follows, of casts that appeal to "less refined and more ordinary tastes." Included here and described with enthusiastic flourish are contemporary national heroes, both military and political: King George II, Lord Howe, William Pitt, and "brave General Wolfe, who had gloriously fallen during that year (we are now speaking of the year 1759) on the heights of Quebec, and with the praises of whose gallantry all England was then ringing" (44).

The implicit disruption of aesthetic hierarchy represented here—in which tastes “less refined and more ordinary” are rhetorically validated in their favouring of the immediate, the contemporary, even (one might say) the relational—has an important affinity with the narrative of sculptor John Flaxman’s artistic choices, specifically his quiet decision to live against the grain of the conservative Academy, as a *married* artist.

Although unsigned, this “true story” of Flaxman unfolds as if written by a woman. Throughout the first three of its four sections (“I—Beginnings;” “II—Progress;” “III—Ruined for an Artist;” and “IV—Success!”) a striking emphasis is placed upon female mentoring of the young sculptor. In the plaster-cast shop at the story’s outset, we meet Flaxman as an invalid child, tenderly cared for by the “patient and watchful” mother who provides him with drawing and reading materials and “springs to do his every little bidding” (44). The author takes an interesting approach here, describing action in the present tense and simultaneously playing the role of a contemporary who recalls having witnessed the scene: “You had but to watch the sparkle of that boy’s bright eye... You had but to observe the rapt interest and enthusiasm...” (44). The seven-year old Flaxman’s infirmity doubly bestows on him the stereotypical mystique of the Romantic young artist: he is a “poetic little invalid” with “the soul of a true genius” (44). Here the author proceeds to the Romantic truism that seems to justify her biographical inquiry and entice her readers: namely, that such an artistic soul is “a mirror” that reflects, to those who would observe, the early, formative influences on mature genius, presumably so that these can be more widely propagated in society.

Although Flaxman’s first mentor is a Reverend Mr. Matthews, whose copies of *Homer* and *Don Quixote* incite the boy to “embody in poetic forms these majestic heroes”

(45), it is Mrs. Matthews, the clergyman's wife, who personally educates the young boy. When he is ten years old (and miraculously no longer in need of crutches), she invites him to her "elegant house" to attend a ladies' party (45). In attendance are three women of such eighteenth-century literary prominence that *Anglo-American* readers likely would have recognized their names immediately: "Mrs. Montague, Mrs. Chapone, and Mrs. Barbauld" (45). Mrs. Montague and Mrs. Chapone moved in the same circles as Dr. Johnson and Samuel Richardson.⁶⁷ Indeed, Hester Chapone (1727-1801) was a protégée of the two literary men, marrying a friend of Richardson's and contributing to issue number 10 of Johnson's *Rambler*. Her best-known work, *Letters on the Improvement of the Mind. Addressed to a Young Lady* (1772), won her the praise of Mary Wollstonecraft⁶⁸ and a position of moral eminence in British letters.⁶⁹ Anna Letitia Barbauld (1743-1825), proficient in Latin and Greek, was well-known in London literary circles, and aside from her voluminous publications,⁷⁰ routinely took in the children of her friends to give them the benefits of the intellectual society she lived in. It is precisely this attitude of *noblesse oblige* that compels Mrs. Matthews to assume responsibility for the education of John Flaxman: "...such as we, who have means and leisure, cannot bestow them better than in carefully fostering what may prove a source of general happiness and blessings" (45). The intelligent, munificent female mentor is thus revealed to be powerful not only in the moral and religious realms of maternal feminism but also in the usual "male" domains of money and culture.

Mrs. Matthews' mentoring of Flaxman throws into relief the artistic men who denigrate his talent. Twice mentioned as "accomplished," Mrs. Matthews discourses on "Homer, Virgil, and Milton," teaches the boy Latin and Greek, and generously bestows

“intellectual culture” upon him (46). The author spares no laurels in her advice that “when the praise of Flaxman is sounded, in justice to her memory, let the name of the good Mrs. Matthews, to whom he owed so much, be affectionately remembered” (46). In stark contrast are the reactions of “Roubilliac, the eminent sculptor,”⁷¹ and “Mortimer, the artist”: the first dismisses Flaxman’s youthful efforts, the second mocks the child (45, 46). London’s exclusively male Royal Academy fares equally poorly, denying the young Flaxman a clearly-deserved gold medal, and later, in the bachelor personage of Sir Joshua Reynolds, heralding the young man’s artistic ruin because of his decision to marry. The author has clear contempt for the hypocrisy of the Academy’s “bigwigs” when they rush to embrace the artist on his triumphant return from Rome (49), and throughout seems to applaud Flaxman’s desire to establish himself independent of the Academy’s auspices (a theme that will occur in Louisa Murray’s much later narrative about a female painter, “Marguerite Kneller, Artist and Woman,” in chapter four of this thesis).

In a similar fashion, the author tackles the issue of Flaxman’s early poverty head-on—a departure, certainly, from Cushing’s biographical machinations. Flaxman is described as abandoning Homer and Milton for any and all work in the figurative “bread and cheese department” (47). Far from there being any stigma associated with such functional work, the author neatly romanticizes Flaxman’s economically-motivated decision to design crockery-ware for Josiah Wedgwood:

It may seem a very humble department of art to have laboured in; but really it was not so. A *true artist* may be labouring in the *highest vocation*, even while he is sketching a design for a teapot or a dinner-plate. Articles which are in *daily use* among *the people*, and are before their eyes at every meal they sit down to, may be made *the vehicles of art education to all*, and minister to their *highest culture*. Even the *best artist* may thus be conferring *a much greater practical benefit* upon

his countrymen than by painting an elaborate picture which he may sell for a thousand pounds to a lord, to be by him forthwith carried off to his country palace, and virtually *hidden* there. (47; emphasis mine)

Underneath the admittedly condescending notion that the masses must have their aesthetic tastes appropriately cultivated lies a validation of the dailiness of art, and of its paired notions of community and domesticity.

Part three of the story, a climax of sorts, plays out the relational implications of artistic domesticity. "Ruined for an Artist" begins with Flaxman's dejected announcement to Ann, his new wife, of Sir Joshua Reynolds' "point-blank" charge that "marriage had ruined me in my profession" (47). The remainder of the section portrays how the loving couple manage to prove the old man wrong. At stake, meanwhile, is the very definition of an artist as put forward by Reynolds himself: namely, that he (the male gender is absolute) must study the models of antiquity, and exclusively devote every waking energy towards the pursuit of art. Ann's response, besides being convincingly rendered ("What! and leave no room, no corner, for the affections? Don't believe him, John; don't be cast down. You are a true artist, and you will be a great one" [48]), proposes a daring compromise. They will "[w]ork and economize," she says, and thereby scrape together the means to travel "*together*" to Italy, to facilitate Flaxman's study of antiquity (48). A remarkable tribute to Ann Flaxman follows, in which the author acknowledges that of all the "estimable women" with whom the sculptor had been "fortunate" enough to meet with in his life, the greatest of these was his wife. She is "friend, fellow-student, companion, comforter, and wife, all in one," possesses a "fine taste for art," and is skilled in Greek, French, and Italian. When the author then goes on to praise Ann's (very nearly superhuman) domesticity, there is some idealization but

none of the cloying rhetoric of a mandatory maternal feminism. The domestic literally welds itself, grammatically, to the artistic and the intellectual: "She could knit and mend as well as draw, and could cook a Yorkshire pudding as deftly as she could read a passage from Racine or Anastasio" (48).

The author's editorializing, in the latter portion of "Ruined for an Artist," displays the links between her major concerns: a sensitivity to issues of equity and remuneration, and a defense of artistic domesticity. After five years of careful economy, the married couple set out for Rome where Flaxman consolidates his reputation. A victim of economic need, however, as the author points out ("Flaxman needed the money" [48]), the sculptor's accomplished classical designs sell to *English* purchasers for a mere pittance. The sense that such deals make "the artist a loser," however, is somewhat palliated by the author's earlier extra-fictional statement about the new availability of Flaxman's classical designs: "we rejoice to see that the illustrations of Homer have recently been made accessible to all classes of purchasers [footnote: "In the *National Illustrated Library*"]" (48). Once again, the emphasis is on the broad communal appreciation of art, its shared enjoyment.

This topic receives a last tender treatment in an anecdote that occurs once Flaxman has triumphantly "return[ed] to England, to show that wedlock had not 'ruined him for an artist'" (48-49). He creates an illustrated birthday book for his devoted wife, filled with forty such gracefully beautiful drawings that the author steps in to editorialize: "We are of the opinion that Flaxman's remarkable genius—his imaginative and artistic qualities—are more vividly exhibited in these and others of his designs than even in his

most elaborate sculptured works" (49). The romantic sphere of domestic life, the author seems to say, gives rise to the greatest art.

III. Mary Eliza Herbert and *The Mayflower's* Romantic World

In moving from this type of biographical fiction (in Montreal's *The Literary Garland* and Toronto's *Anglo-American Magazine*) to a more conventional type of artist "romance" in Halifax's *The Mayflower, or Ladies' Acadian Newspaper* (1851-52), one notices that the preoccupations with female influence, both monetary and psychological, remain. It is worth noting that *The Mayflower* was the creation of Halifax-born Mary Eliza Herbert (1829-72), who holds the distinction of being "the first female editor of a magazine in British North America" (Sutherland, *The Monthly Epic*, 19).⁷² The daughter of "an immigrant Irish blacking manufacturer" (Sutherland 19), Herbert was only nineteen years old when she published the first thirty-two-page issue of *The Mayflower* in May 1851 "[w]ith mingled feelings of pleasure and anxiety" ("Editorial," 28).⁷³ Gwendolyn Davies, in her study of pre-Confederation literary women in Nova Scotia, includes Herbert among those "literary women who transcended the educational, economic, and geographical limitations of colonial society to achieve the publication of their work and to conduct professional literary and editorial careers" ("Dearer Than His Dog" 71). Davies notes that Herbert was an ambitious woman, whose "drive to authorship resulted in her publishing nearly everything she wrote" (85). Although Herbert seems to have had "few contacts with other literary women of the region" (women like May Agnes Fleming of St. John and Mary Jane Katzmann of Halifax), she and her elder poet-sister, Sarah

Herbert, were part of a small coterie of Methodist women who shared a faith as well as an aspiration for authorship (Davies 85).

By any standards, Herbert's initiation of *The Mayflower* was intrepid. In its first issue, she defended the launch of a new magazine in a city that already boasted a host of weekly and tri-weekly periodicals. These periodicals, however, as Herbert noted, addressed themselves primarily to religion, politics, or commerce. Through a magazine "exclusively devoted" to literature, Herbert hoped to appeal to "the intellect" as well as to "the social and relative situations of life"—in other words, to link "communion with the Muses" to her own Methodist, Temperance agenda ("Editorial" 29).⁷⁴ By the third issue of *The Mayflower*, in July of 1851, Herbert was describing her magazine rather differently: as "a monthly Periodical, to amuse the leisure hours of the ladies of the Lower Provinces..." ("Notices of the *Mayflower*" 92). That it was essentially viewed as a women's periodical is apparent from the reviews Herbert printed in the July issue. The *Halifax Sun* reviewer admitted that he had not had time "to look beyond the cover," but he predicted that the contents would be found, in keeping with the Horatian dictum, "interesting and instructive." The *Halifax Chronicle* trusted that "'*The Mayflower*' [would] receive from the ladies of Nova Scotia a support commensurate with its merits," adding that "...the entire community should aid and assist" in developing it ("Notices of 'The Mayflower'" 93). The male editor of the local *Church Times*, however, seems to have disapproved vehemently of Herbert's venture, purportedly criticizing the magazine's aesthetic quality as well as the basic assumption that the Halifax community was sophisticated enough for such a venture. Herbert responded with indignation.

sarcasm, and savvy social psychology, as if to make her detractor's criticisms redound unfavourably on the citizens of Halifax themselves.⁷⁵

Herbert not only published and defended *The Mayflower*; she also wrote much of its content under such pseudonyms as "M.E.H.," "M.," "H.," and "Marion" (McMullen and Campbell, "Mary Eliza Herbert" 139). Irrespective of this bold initiative in both writing and publishing, the *Literary History of Canada* mentions Herbert only in passing, citing her three novels but omitting any reference to *The Mayflower* and her writings in it. Carole Gerson follows suit. Her *Purer Taste*, which relegates to an endnote the names of women editors of mid-nineteenth-century Canadian periodicals, neglects to mention *The Mayflower*, though it does gesture to Herbert's novels.⁷⁶ Thus it is that Gwendolyn Davies provides the only detailed study to date of *The Mayflower* and Herbert's role in it. Even Davies, however, might be said to misrepresent the venture to a certain extent. By decontextualizing Herbert's own words—"the flowery fields of romance"⁷⁷—and making them appear the escapist justification for *The Mayflower* itself, Davies obscures the rationale behind Herbert's choice of title for the magazine.⁷⁸ McMullen and Campbell, building on Davies' primary research, reproduce this faintly damning sentiment in *Pioneering Women* ("Mary Eliza Herbert" 139).

It can hardly be denied, of course, that from the first to the last issues of *The Mayflower*, Herbert commends the female sublimation of self and ambition to duty and domesticity. This theme emerges in her brief introductions to selected articles like Catherine Beecher's 'Suggestions on Education,' (prefaced as "striking and eloquent remarks," May 1851, 7),⁷⁹ as well as in many of her own, often unsigned, contributions. In "Uneducated Woman," Herbert's wrath falls upon the "ignorant mother": a woman

whose maidenly pursuit of “fashionable accomplishments” (such as dancing) at the expense of “solid mental culture” has left her woefully unprepared for wife- and motherhood. Not only does Herbert’s critique reveal something of the vibrant social life of her Halifax society—vibrant enough that she feels compelled to criticize it—but it also shows her advocating women’s attainment of “solid mental culture” as a means of attracting a suitable husband: “The maiden who casts aside her book for the cotillion, will never win the love and esteem of a sensible man” (*The Mayflower*, August 1851, 123). Another unsigned but clearly Herbert-authored piece, entitled “The Wife,” reiterates this belief in the domestic orientation of female education: “‘Knowledge is power’ only when it fits us for the station in which we find ourselves placed. Of all the social, domestic, and personal obligations of the young wife, her husband is the centre...” (*The Mayflower*, January 1852, 238). Herbert, who was neither wife nor mother, clearly used her powerful position as editor of a women’s magazine to champion gender-conservative concerns that did not impinge directly on her own life. Davies, however, has argued that Herbert’s unpublished “manuscript novel, *Lucy Cameron*” reveals a subterranean feminism that actually rails against “marriage as a form of middle-class investment” (“‘Dearer’” 83). No doubt, as Davies conjectures, Herbert withheld the novel for fear of alienating her *Mayflower* readership—“an audience which hitherto had been reassured of the rightness of its world when it read a Herbert story” (85).

Herbert’s religiously-based commitment to Temperance, it must be said, typically renders her writings as stylistically ponderous as they are morally enthusiastic. In the August 1851 issue of *The Mayflower*, for example, she pens an extended editorial called “Works of Imagination.” This piece is an argument for the morally instructive,

“tempering” power of certain kinds of fiction—fiction, essentially, as a substitute for the remedial powers of nature. Herbert creates a fascinating scenario in which a rurally-raised young man comes to “a crowded city” and contemplates taking solace in “the crowded saloon, or noisy bar-room.” Instead, happily, his glance falls upon a book in his room. He begins to read, “—and the hours, which would otherwise have been devoted to noisy mirth and sparkling wine, have passed unheeded and innocently away.” Herbert claims that the work which has thus absorbed her fictive young man is none other than “a work of imagination, whose sole aim was the presentation of right principles, in the most striking and interesting light” (125-26). In her own fiction, Herbert attempted to practise what she preached. The dangers of alcoholism interpose briefly in the romance plot of *Woman As She Should Be; or, Agnes Wiltshire* (Halifax, 1861) when a character relates how an alcoholic is offered a glass of wine at a party and subsequently dies a week later. In keeping with the novel’s morally imperative title, the teller of the anecdote, and implicitly Herbert herself, place blame for the death squarely on the shoulders of the young hostess who had knowingly offered the wine (18, 19). This woman, by implication, has ignored her “mission,” her “high calling,” and chosen to “injure others by [her] example” (14).

Herbert’s own artist narrative, signed “M.E.H.,” appeared as *The Mayflower’s* cover story in its January and February 1852 issues. In this work, titled “Ambrose Mandeville,” the eponymous artist hero is the eldest son of a dissipated absentee merchant and the wife who has been left poor and consumptive by her husband’s vice. Herbert’s Temperance morality fuses here with a predictable romance plot. To earn money for the care of his ailing mother, Ambrose Mandeville leaves his first and only

painting with a bookseller, who then sells the piece on his behalf to a wealthy Miss Laura Clifton. The money enables Ambrose to purchase gifts on Christmas Eve, and thereby to gladden the occupants of his “lowly dwelling, made sacred by the appellation of home” (226). A long digression follows, during which the story of Ambrose’s ill-fated artist uncle is narrated by Laura Clifton’s father. (Years before, in Italy, her father, Mr. Clifton, had been rescued from bandits by Frederick, the artist uncle; the latter, on his deathbed, had recounted his life’s sad tale, and asked a favour of Clifton.) It is an awkward and excessively long monologue, and reads like a piece of stylized prose rather than a spoken account.

Here Herbert’s story abruptly ends, in its “To Be Continued” unfinished state, since *The Mayflower* folded after the February 1852 issue. Without benefit of the extant conclusion, we can nevertheless predict the trajectory of the romance. Ambrose Mandeville and Miss Laura Clifton will marry, and Mr. Clifton will thus be enabled to fulfil his Italian promise by restoring to the ailing Mrs. Mandeville the “few valuables” that had belonged to her brother Frederick (260). More interesting, perhaps, are three points of innovation in Herbert’s published fragment. The first is that, for the first time (or so it seems) in female-authored artist fiction written in Canada, the male artist appears economically disadvantaged (because of his father’s vice), and subsequently recovers because of a wealthy young woman’s interest in his art. The assiduously moral Herbert allows Laura, a “young girl of warm imagination,” to see in the poor artist’s plight a “romantic interest” that is immediately rationalized as altruism: she buys the painting, “glad of an opportunity to assist a fellow creature” (225). The purchase of the painting, in effect, represents Christmas almsgiving rather than art appreciation, as Herbert herself

editorializes: "O, could Laura Clifton have beheld, for a moment, the happiness which her readiness to assist the deserving had conferred...she would have been amply rewarded, and acknowledged that it was 'more blessed to give than to receive'" (227). Herbert's use of the word "deserving" is highly revealing, given that nineteenth-century Canadian communities maintained the "Victorian preoccupation with distinguishing the 'deserving' from the 'undeserving'" when offering aid to the poor.⁸⁰ Such a moralistic agenda, welded to the economic imperative that had occasioned the creation of the painting in the first place, might seem to undermine any attempt to take Ambrose seriously as an artist.

(A more usual plot scenario, beginning in the 1850s—and one that both literalized and romanticized the plight of women writers—is that of an economically-challenged artist *heroine*. Such a character is the young New England woman "Blanche," in Herbert's own "Light in the Darkness: A Sketch from Life," published in 1865 in a bound collection of prose and poetry titled *Flowers by the Wayside*. In this story, Blanche hopes to "secure a livelihood through literature" in order to provide economic sustenance for her mother and ailing brother [Herbert, "Light" 143]. In so doing, as McMullen and Campbell note, Blanche "weld[s] her creative strivings to traditional female values" of sustaining the domestic hearth ["Mary Eliza Herbert" 140]. By story's end, the aptly-named Blanche secures a publisher who also becomes her husband, and her ambition is redeemed unsullied into a traditional romance plot. Readers are left in some doubt, of course, as to whether or not she will continue her writing.)

A second innovation in Herbert's story concerns her promoting of Ambrose Mandeville as a "native talent." Never previously had an indigenous Canadian in his

native country been envisioned as an appropriate subject for an artist narrative. Interestingly, Herbert teases the reader on this point. It is not until the end of immigrant Mr. Clifton's monologue—in effect, the end of Herbert's extent story—that we discover that the main action is set “here,” in Canada, with the implication that Ambrose Mandeville is Canadian-born (260). This revelation casts a whole new light over the story's initial exchange, on a nondescript (Halifax?) street, between Laura Clifton and the bookseller. The latter claims that, “as the production of native talent, [Ambrose's painting] merits, I think, much commendation” (225). Laura responds with patriotic emphasis: “*That* does, indeed, invest it with greater interest” (225). How such sentiments weave themselves through the remainder of the story, and figure in its conclusion, are, unfortunately, unavailable to us.

The third, related innovation in “Ambrose Mandeville” is Herbert's setting of the story in what must be Halifax, and her revelation of that city's stratified social economy. When Laura Clifton, “young and richly attired,” expresses interest in the painting she sees in a shop window, her aunt chastises her with a playful insult based on class bias: “Really, Laura, one would imagine you had just arrived from the country, to see you standing and gazing on it with such a look of admiration: I am quite ashamed of you” (225). Given that the majority of residents in the contemporary Halifax Poor Asylum (1842-1864) were from outside Halifax, in other words, from “the country,”⁸¹ Aunt Maria's words stigmatize on several levels. Laura's well-dressed confidence, however, allows her to counter the jest and insist on inquiring the painting's “value” (225). She buys it for “[f]ive guineas,”⁸² an amount equivalent to £5.25 British,⁸³ or, in the Halifax currency used between 1820 and 1858, approximately £6. Since £1 Halifax currency was

equivalent to \$4.00.⁸⁴ the painting would have been roughly priced at \$24.00—a large sum for a “boudoir” trifle (225). Laura displays her painting that evening in the “spacious drawing-rooms” of her father’s house, before a “select party” of affluent friends (227). The contrast between this opulent life style and the “lowly dwelling” to which Ambrose returns—with its “little parlour” and “frugal meal” (226)—is perhaps an early, and still romanticized attempt at a realistic representation of Halifax.

The truncated version of Herbert’s story offers no meeting, either literal or epistolary, between the two “lovers” it sets up as main characters—a lacuna that might playfully be construed as a symbolic gulf between the very realms that the story attempts to bridge. Ambrose, who should (in a proper romance) represent muse-inspired art and idealized poverty, bows to an economic imperative that ties him to a demur and mundane existence. By contrast, Laura’s easy wealth and economic aggression (she buys the painting, thus laying the groundwork for a potential meeting with Ambrose) place her in a decidedly *unfeminine* position of power, an economically necessary figure to a male artist no longer able to subsist—if ever “he” truly did—on “The self-sufficing power of Solitude” (Wordsworth, *The Prelude*).

Running parallel to “Ambrose Mandeville” in *The Mayflower* during the months of January and February 1852 there appeared another male artist narrative—a dark and exceptionally well-written story titled “Alice and the Angel.”⁸⁵ Its concerns are similarly about powerful, even aggressive, female influence, but its outcome has far more serious implications. This excellent story is regrettably unsigned, and one mires in the realm of speculation as to its authorship. Most probably the writer was a woman, given the female orientation of *The Mayflower*, and considering that the narration, given from a male point

of view, reveals a less than flattering picture of its first-person narrator. (The same explanation could be used, of course, to argue in favour of a male author. Again, however, given the female orientation of the magazine, one might reasonably assume that such a man would wish to distinguish himself from his female co-writers.⁸⁶) What seems quite certain is that the story was not written by Eliza Herbert herself—for reasons philosophical and stylistic. Herbert's sentiments are both more conservative with regard to women, and more radical in terms of Temperance, than those expressed in "Alice." In addition, her fiction writing is far less nuanced and accomplished. "Alice and the Angel" is precisely the sort of stylistically complex and richly evocative story that twentieth-century critics would never expect to find in a "women's magazine." As such, and given what appear to have been Herbert's strongly moralistic editorial convictions, it is significantly to Herbert's credit that the unconventional "Alice and the Angel" appeared in *The Mayflower* at all.

The plot of "Alice and the Angel" recounts the life of Langdon, a wood-carver-turned-sculptor, who inhabits an "old cathedral city" in a country that is likely England (233).⁸⁷ Decended from a long line of wood carvers, Langdon apprentices with his father until ambition urges him to pursue the more prestigious art of stone sculpting. As he completes each new piece, he rather coldly observes the small technical progress it represents before smashing it with an iron hammer. Upon meeting the outspoken Alice Paton of the title, he is "fascinated...against [his] will" and gives her a statue of a greyhound—the first time he had allowed other eyes to view his work (237). (She later breaks the stone dog, by accident.) He pridefully conceals from her his feelings of love, fearing her "scorn and raillery," yet he is repeatedly drawn by glimpses of her underlying

tenderness (236). He decides to carve an angel with her face, spends months perfecting the image (the “crown and recompense” of all his past artistic efforts [267]), then arranges for the angel to be housed in a niche in the cathedral. Alice sees the statue, and that same night, angry at her continued flippancy, Langdon tells her of his love “briefly” and “abruptly” (268); she responds with bantering laughter. Enraged, he goes out into the night with his iron hammer, climbs into the cathedral, and smashes the angel—a symbolic murder. Hurrying his frightened aunt into a coach, he leaves that night for London, where he lives for three years. On the third anniversary of his violent leave-taking, he returns nostalgically to his old house, where he is met by the now “thin and pale” Alice, a shadow of her former self (270). All is made right between them, and a romance ending ensues: Langdon’s one paragraph epilogue reveals that he subsequently makes Alice his wife. When, in later years, he achieves honour in his profession, he claims that he “gave the praise to Alice, who restored to me my hope and spirit when they failed” (271).

Candidly narrated by Langdon himself, with surprising introspection, the story provides its author a double venue. First, it allows her to explore important aesthetic issues in the revelatory voice of the first person. Unlike Eliza Cushing’s visual artists, Langdon imitates “no models.” Relying instead on his memory of books and plaster casts, he chisels “the faces of great men from bygone times.” And whereas Cushing’s characters had avoided any grappling with the problems of producing art, Langdon confesses his feelings of failure, his keen sense of the gap between conception and realization: “looking afterwards upon my work, I saw how I had fallen short of my ideal.” Years later, still lacking the skill he covets, Langdon seems to speak for the woman

writer as much as for the male sculptor when he exclaims, in the story's one passage of highly Romanticized language, "They only know—the patient worshippers of Art how slow and wearisome are all the steps by which her temples are approached! Who shall say how many, holding in their hands divinest gifts, have fallen and fainted by the way!" (233). Narrating his frustrations in the first person, Langdon is unmasked and made vulnerable in a way Cushing never attempted with her male artists.

All this, of course, contributes to the unknown author's design, for her second purpose in the story is to portray the male artist in the act of chastising himself ("A wider knowledge of mankind—a more frequent contact with the world—have made me now, I hope, a better man..." [234]). Ironically, while Langdon's retrospective narration concedes the prideful self-absorption of his artistic youth ("My pride was a kind of madness" [234]),⁸⁸ it is less critical of his damaging response to women. Never does he acknowledge the deception and trauma he inflicts upon his elderly aunt, nor admit that his cruel abandonment of Alice causes a radical change in her character. Indeed, Langdon views his symbolic murder of the angel as an aberration: "I was driven wild with passion" (268). Interestingly, the violence of his action explicitly refutes the moral position (stated by Miss Augusta Browne months earlier, in the previously-mentioned November 1851 *Mayflower* article) that one's proximity to "The Fine Arts" prevents one from wrong-doing.⁸⁹ The author's deliberate injection of realism—the realism of domestic violence—makes her story's "happy" ending ironic, an uneasy reminder of the pervasive allure of conventional romance for female characters, and of the danger of the mid-nineteenth-century's social pressure to meld, as the story's title does, Alice and the Angel.

Given this clear subtext, the reader puzzles over the author's apparent complicity in the conservative agenda of "taming" Alice with suffering before "rewarding" her with marriage. Certainly the creation of Alice's initially witty, ascerbic character seems intentional, and purposefully destabilizing to the male artist. While Langdon admits that love for Alice provides a salutary influence on his character,⁹⁰ he is also "pained," "baffled," "disconcerted," and "embarrassed" before her (237); clearly, she holds the intellectual and rhetorical balance of power. Although beautiful, her attractiveness does not define her, as it had the female characters in Cushing's stories. Indeed, during the aborted proposal scene, Alice becomes physically monstrous in her emotional dominance of Langdon: "She twisted her hands, till the firelight threw strange shapes upon the ceiling, and then turned her face sideways to make a gigantic shadow of her features on the wainscot" (267). Langdon's enraged sense of emasculation leads to his symbolic murder of the angel/Alice.⁹¹ If he enacts the literal meaning of "Iconoclast," methodically smashing the forms that he sculpts (265), Alice emerges as his figurative foil. She too is an image-breaker—a woman who, in word and deed, assails the cherished contemporary belief that the female sex is fashioned merely as man's passive helpmeet.

The story, however—and, by extension, the author herself—does not fundamentally support Alice's iconoclasm. "'Take my advice and do not ask anything about her,'" says Alice's great-aunt when Langdon first inquires about the young woman. Although "'a fine girl, and sensible enough,'" Alice is, according to the old woman, "'a troublesome creature.'" ⁹² The great-aunt blames Alice's rejection of her amorous cousin Edward (whom Alice clearly does not love) on the fact that she has been "'spoiled by schooling': "'Her father must send her to a fine school, talking of making her a

governess, and the like, when they make her unfit for everything; instead of keeping her at home to learn useful things—a plague” (235). The old woman’s rhetoric matches that of the early 1850s era: by pursuing an education, and aspiring to earn a living by it rather than applying herself to “useful things,” Alice has stepped out of her proper sphere.⁹³ She is duly chastised for it. Like the outspoken Princess Ida in Tennyson’s *The Princess* (1850), who fails in her quest to establish an all-female university and succumbs to an arranged marriage, Alice weds her questionable male pursuer and never does fulfill her educational goals. It may be that Alice’s final domestic fate is attributable not so much to her author’s own attitude toward female education as to an allegiance to the agenda of maternal feminism—the agenda to which female education was expected to adhere.⁹⁴

The following chapter explores the initiation into Canadian fiction of the female artist as a fully-developed character—a character, significantly, whose artistry is as dangerous and punishable as Alice’s outspoken confidence. Susanna Moodie’s “Rachel Wilde; or, Trifles from the Burthen of a Life” is both testament and warning: a story of struggle and accommodation in the transgressive space of female ambition.

Chapter Three

Seeing Visions and Dreaming Dreams: The Exile of Art in “Rachel Wilde,” Moodie’s ‘young candidate for fame’

The jumble of history, travels, biography, and poetry, mixed up in her infant mind, produced a strange combination of ideas, and made her see visions and dream dreams....

Chapter I

Ah, blessed, thrice blessed season of youth and innocence—when earth is still the paradise of God, and its crimes and sorrows are veiled from the eyes of the undefiled by the bright angel of His presence. They see not the flaming sword, they hear not the doom of the exile...

Chapter V

The bitter sneer, the sarcastic critique, the scornful laugh, all that could wound the pride and repress the genius of the young candidate for fame, she had to bear in silence, and shroud in the depths of her own heart.

Chapter VIII

Susanna Moodie. “Rachel Wilde, or Trifles from the Burthen of a Life”

When, in January 1848, Susanna Moodie made her “first foray into directly autobiographical fiction” by means of the artist character Rachel Wilde,¹ she embarked upon a project much more ambitious than the conjuring of a “stock romantic visionary to represent her youth” (Thurston, *The Work of Words* 168). Almost without precedents, Moodie’s serialized short story articulated the girl child of genius, for Britain, for the United States, and for her adopted home of Canada. While Moodie had likely encountered—by reputation, if not on the page—the French *Künstlerromane* of Madame de Staël (*Corinne, ou Italie*, 1807) and George Sand (*Consuelo*, 1844),² the first English-language portrait of the female artist had yet to be written. Anne Brontë’s *The Tenant Of Wildfell Hall* appeared in June 1848, concurrent with the penultimate installment of Moodie’s “Rachel Wilde, or Trifles from the Burthen of a Life.” Geraldine Jewsbury’s *The Half Sisters* (favourably mentioned by Susanne Howe in her 1930 study of the

English *Bildungsroman*) also appeared in 1848. Christina Rossetti's neglected autobiographical novella, *Maude: A Tale for Girls*, was written in 1850, two years after "Rachel Wilde," and was to remain unpublished until 1897. *Ruth Hall*, a female artist novel by American journalist "Fanny Fern" (Sara Payson Willis), was scathingly received on its publication in 1855. Elizabeth Barrett Browning's poetic *Künstlerroman*, the "novel-poem" *Aurora Leigh*,³ appeared to critical consternation and popular acclaim in 1856,⁴ eight years after Moodie's "Rachel." Dickens' semi-autobiographical *David Copperfield*, considered by Jerome Buckley to be the first British *Bildungsroman*, was likewise published after "Rachel Wilde," in 1850. Indeed, the nineteenth century's monument to poetic youth, Wordsworth's *Prelude, or the Growth of a Poet's Mind: An Autobiographical Poem*, also post-dates Moodie's "Rachel," appearing after Wordsworth's death, in 1850.⁵ There is no doubt that the climate of Wordsworthian Romanticism influenced Moodie (as it did Barrett Browning and others⁶): she confirms her ideological kinship with "the bard of nature" by nostalgically asserting that "'Heaven lies about us in our infancy'—" ("RW" 183), testament to her belief in the "visionary gleam" that childhood can access, and in the poet's repeated declaration that "The Child is father of the Man."⁷ One is struck, nevertheless, by the extent to which Moodie fuses her own autobiography with the Wordsworthian stereotype to create a bold new argument for women and art. In a literary climate that offered a paucity of fictional models of the developing artist irrespective of gender, Moodie's "Rachel Wilde" audaciously presents the artistic aspirations of a young girl: the Child as mother of the Woman.

Steeped, however, in a tradition in which the first Woman, childlike in innocence, became mother of a sinful humanity through her own transgression, Moodie plays self-

conscious Eve to the literary Adam of Wordsworth by creating in “Rachel Wilde” an astonishingly gendered polemic, a “re-vision” of creativity and woman’s sphere through the turbulent unfolding of artistic character in a female child, aged four to ten, and her subsequent chastisement. As the above epigraphs suggest in their evocative recasting of biblical language and imagery, Moodie was highly aware of the transgressive and isolationist nature of her creation of a female artist-writer. Clear gender lines, drawn by Milton in particular, had firmly assigned naming (and by extension, authorship) to the male sex: “Adam was to be the poet, Eve his muse” (Cooper, *Elizabeth Barrett Browning* 6). And while the ideology of the Romantic era “authorized” the concept of the literary visionary—of, essentially, the author as image of the divine creator—it also firmly “disenfranchised” women from such creation (Cooper 6). Women might play at writing, and possibly “benefit” their “fellow creatures” by it (Ellis, “Poetry” 113)⁸, but they were not to imagine that they—any more than the fallen Archangel or the overreaching Eve—could achieve its summit.⁹ Battling such socially-conditioned “anxiety of authorship” (Gilbert and Gubar, *Madwoman* 49), how much more intimidating, because refractory, to be a woman author and to dare to create a fellow creator, a replica of one’s own hubris—a female artist character? We suddenly see how Moodie’s Rachel Wilde cannot be a “stock romantic visionary,” as Thurston would have it, precisely because there existed no female version of such a character.

A mere decade would change all that, to some extent, with the publication in 1856 of Elizabeth Barrett Browning’s *Aurora Leigh*. No doubt with implied reference to both Milton and Tennyson (the latter had ascended to Poet Laureate in 1850 though Barrett Browning herself had been suggested [Lootens 126]), popular writer Dinah Mulock Craik

would celebrate the poem's appearance as a vindication for literary women: "*Aurora Leigh* has proved that we can write as great a poem as any man among them all" (*A Woman's Thoughts* 84).¹⁰ The critics, however, were not so convinced.¹¹ Indeed, Barrett Browning herself keenly felt, in the 1840s, what Moodie fictionalizes in "Rachel Wilde," namely the sense of operating radically outside the male literary tradition of the prophet-poet.¹² the consciousness of "*I also an exile*" (Barrett Browning, "Preface" 144). "*A Drama of Exile*," included in her 1844 volume, was Barrett Browning's attempt to respond to, even to rewrite, Milton's fifth gospel, *Paradise Lost* (a project that would be attempted by many other English-language women writers throughout the nineteenth century¹³). Here, Barrett Browning said, she desired to write "with a particular reference to Eve's allotted grief," a grief she felt had been "imperfectly apprehended hitherto, and more expressible by a woman than a man" ("Preface" 143-44). Moodie, for her part, pens her own reworking of the "grief" of the Fall in "Rachel Wilde," but the portrait is ideologically at odds with the penitence of Barrett Browning's Eve.¹⁴ Moodie's child-artist grieves—a grief-coloured protest—for what she is denied, not for what she has forfeited. Moodie's heroine, after all, is not only "Rachel" (the mourning mother of Genesis who dies—Eve-cursed—in childbirth¹⁵), she is also "Wilde" (unpredictable nature, untamed, un-Adamic). As the latter, she is both pre- and post-lapsarian, both wildly innocent child of nurturing Nature and wildly rebellious disciple of the "tempting fiend" of artistic immortality ("RW" 235). Moodie negotiates this fraught narrative space through an evocation of childhood's "paradise" and a sympathetic conjuring of both Milton's Satan and the nineteenth century's political equivalent, Napoleon—thus creating a female figure of exile, a girl who is unjustly and unrepentantly outcast, from earliest

childhood, in direct consequence of her hunger for the tree of knowledge, the forbidden apple of art.

That Moodie adheres to the agenda of exile—though occasionally deflecting its import into humour or melodrama—is obvious from the representative epigraphs above. Given her brief Congregationalist turn and otherwise Anglican conservatism, the significant play with which Moodie appropriates biblical language to her purpose is striking.¹⁶ When, in chapter one, the young Rachel’s literary education begins under the tutelage of her father and amidst her older sisters, the breadth of its scope awakens her to visionary insight, making her “see visions and dream dreams” (“RW” 114). The reference here is to Joel 2:28, “Your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions.” Biblically, this passage voices “part of an eschatological prophecy of the outpouring of the Spirit of God at some indefinite future time” (namely Pentecost, as defined in Acts 2:14-21), and its mention of old and young men metonymically signifies that “the spirit of prophecy will extend to all Israel” (Martin, “Old Men” 573). Not only does Moodie consciously re-gender the Joel passage through Rachel (reclaiming, perhaps, the reference to female prophets that frames it¹⁷), but she makes what is essentially a *biblical* argument for the child as prophet of art—all within the context of playful irony, since Rachel’s visions, we are told, “greatly amused the good father and the young sisterhood” (“RW” 114).

In the course of eight chapters, however, this early amusement turns sour. The transgressive persistence of Rachel’s artistic nature is repeatedly punished—reminiscent of the disobedient wives in “Bluebeard”¹⁸—by physical abuse of a Dickensian starkness. There are no fewer than seven specific beatings mentioned, as well as two severe

physical threats, one expectation of “a whipping as a matter of *course*” (Moodie’s emphasis), and one generalized comment on Rachel’s endurance of “the stern brutalizing force of blows, and the insulting abuse of power” (“RW” 212, 234). Significantly, it is the emotional punishment meted out by an older sister—“[t]he bitter sneer, the sarcastic critique, the scornful laugh”—that wounds the “young candidate for fame” most severely (“RW” [2]52). In a striking—even mildly sacrilegious—analogy to Christ’s mother (Luke 2:52), Rachel must “bear [these things] in silence, and shroud [them] in the depths of her own heart” (“RW” [2]52). Unmistakably, however, the “hidden Eden” of her artistic talent has been invaded (“RW” 235). The “doom of the exile” (“RW” 183), Eve-like punishment for what Moodie would later refer to as “the sin of authorship” (*LC* 66), becomes Rachel’s literal fate. In the final paragraph of the story, the suddenly older Rachel leaves England, newly married, to become—as the significantly altered phrase from Exodus would have it—“a stranger and an exile in a foreign land” (“RW” [2]52).¹⁹ We are made to perceive that, aside from the husband whose love is her balm, Rachel’s childhood identity of “stranger and exile” will recapitulate itself in the new land of her emigration.

Rachel’s implied fate was not Moodie’s actual one. At age forty-four, sixteen years after her emigration and decades after she had established herself as an internationally successful writer, Moodie’s choice to revisit her childhood by means of “Rachel Wilde” was first and foremost an artistic decision, not a sympathy plea. This fact has never been adequately acknowledged in Canadian literary scholarship. Rather than approach the text on its own merits, scholarship has progressively refined out, as it were, like so much dross, the formal accomplishments of “Rachel Wilde”: its thematic

innovation, its tonal complexity, its structural effectiveness. Rather than explore how Moodie embraces the “strategy of autobiography,” where “truth and memory are not the same, but not intrinsically exclusive either” (New, *A History*, 257),²⁰ scholars have yoked “Rachel Wilde” pedantically to Moodie’s past. A recent critical treatment, for example, has merely spurred the tired nag of biographical fallacy by means of materialist *exposé*: uncovering the economic and class-bound correlations between Moodie’s narrow life and her “diffuse and plotless” autobiographical fictions (Thurston, *The Work of Words* 103). The implication—which historically has not plagued male authors (Byron, Stendhal, Rousseau, Joyce)—is that a woman’s life has no business in her writing.

When the two do overlap, as in Moodie’s “Rachel Wilde,” or in the publication slyly “edited” by one “Currer Bell” in October 1847, the literary product seems destined to endure charges of “[p]lot failure” and “incoheren[ce]” (Thurston, “Introduction,” xx; Lord David Cecil, *Early Victorian Novelists* 91-93). Today we know Currer Bell’s once-maligned novel as *Jane Eyre*, a monumental achievement of nineteenth-century British fiction, and a work so thoroughly identified with its heroine that most of us are unaware of its revealing (and not merely conventional) subtitle, *An Autobiography*.²¹ The events of a life, even a woman’s life, can indeed inspire great art. Moodie may well have been encouraged by British reports—though not Canadian reviews²²—of *Jane Eyre*’s popularity (the novel warranted a second British edition within two months), but it seems unlikely that in the three month gap between the publications of that work and her own “Rachel Wilde” she could have been substantively influenced by Charlotte Brontë’s novel. We may thus safely consider “Rachel Wilde” to be what the periodicals of the day called an “Original,” and its *Jane Eyre*-like resonances to be a fortunate accident of

history: two contemporary British women, educated in similarly unconventional family circumstances,²³ similarly passionate about injustices perpetrated against gifted girl children, gifted women, like themselves.

Criticism of a long-neglected work like “Rachel Wilde” need not be (in Jane Eyre’s self-reflexive words) “obliged to be plain.”²⁴ In what follows, I will contextualize what formerly has been only re(pro)duced. Each of two sections will explore a tacit or obvious manifestation of exile in Moodie’s text. Part one will offer a “biographical” reading of Moodie’s Romantic child-seer-exile, eschewing Thurston’s reductive insistence on the economic circumstances of Moodie’s childhood in favour of her artistic appropriation of the metaphoric possibilities of Napoleon (his rebellious triumphs and shattering defeat) to shape a narrative of radical artistic growth and development. Indeed, in contrast to the current critical consensus that “Rachel Wilde” proceeds arbitrarily, I will argue that the story uses the motif of Napoleonic genius-in-exile as an elliptical but cohesive structural device. (I leave it to future scholars to uncover how this approach remarkably anticipates Wordsworth’s “autobiographical” response to the French Revolution in his 1850 *Prelude*, and how, like his *Two Part Prelude* of 1799 [a work that remained undiscovered and unpublished until the twentieth century], “Rachel Wilde” unfolds by means of revelatory “spots of time.”) Part two of this chapter will—to adapt Carlyle’s famous phrase—close our *Roughing It* and open our *Victoria Magazine*.²⁵ thereby perusing “Rachel Wilde” in its original publication venue and context. I will argue that “Rachel Wilde” makes *The Victoria Magazine* a site of conspicuous contrast between Moodie’s own fiction of female artistic exile and a contemporary story of male artistic success by Canadian-born writer, Hamilton Aylmer. Exile in “Rachel Wilde.” I

will argue, is Moodie's compromised alternative to death and/or patriarchal hegemony for her female artist character. Moodie, in effect—to borrow Rachel Blau DuPlessis's terminology—"writes beyond the ending" of a traditional female-authored nineteenth-century text by refusing to allow her artist-heroine either the compensatory happy ending of romance or the restful finality of death (*Writing Beyond the Ending*, 1985).

I. Napoleonic Exile: the Dangerous Republican Genius of the Female Artist

At first glance, it may seem merely coincidental that Moodie sets "Rachel Wilde" between the years of 1807 and 1816, a period spanning key years in the military career of Napoleon Bonaparte. It proves impossible, however, to ignore Moodie's pervasive allusions to the Napoleonic wars—as all previous Moodie scholars have done—or to dismiss them as either happy accident or quaint scene-painting. Indeed, and unlike de Staël's *Corinne*, Moodie's "Rachel Wilde" sets up an almost intertextual relationship with the Napoleon myth. The argument that Susan Wells offers about the Napoleonic backdrop of Stendhal's *La Chartreuse de Parme* (1839) might well be applicable to Moodie's "Rachel Wilde": namely, that "history is seen as an occasion for individual self-formation, as an episode in a *Bildung*...Public history and private life, then, become interconvertible, and are treated...as transparent metaphors for one another" ("Self-Cultivation, Political Reaction, and the *Bildungsroman*" 77). The very dating of Moodie's story—and thus, by extension, the age of Rachel herself—is intrinsically tied to the Bonaparte references throughout. Though Thurston mistakenly writes that the story "covers Rachel's life from age six to twelve, from 1809 to 1815" (*The Work of Words*

103), the actual dating of “Rachel Wilde” is much more complicated. To summarize in brief, the story covers Rachel’s life from ages four to ten, from 1807 to 1816. The fact that the mathematics does not add up—that is, that six years of Rachel’s life occurs in the span of nine years—represents one of Moodie’s complicated structural decisions in the story. She deliberately collapses four years into one year—namely, the year in which Rachel is nine years old, in the pivotal “Chapter VIII”²⁶—in order to preserve the dramatic continuity of Rachel’s obsession with Napoleon.²⁷ As the following section will argue, the Napoleonic references that have been ignored by critics have profound structural and thematic significance in Moodie’s story.

The text of “Rachel Wilde” warrants a closer look at Moodie’s larger design, specifically, her ideas of “battle,” both literal and psychological, and her metaphorical appropriation, in Chapter VIII, of the “detested Bonaparte” himself (“RW” 235). The first three chapters of “Rachel Wilde” foreground several groups of British soldiers who have fought, or are about to fight, in wars abroad. The wars, though initially unnamed, are clearly Napoleonic. Because Rachel would not otherwise encounter British soldiers in her remote country setting, Moodie creates the device of a coach-journey. The young Rachel, who is “a sickly, consumptive child” (“RW” 126), travels with Miss Long, a family friend, to “the pretty village of S—[Sandwich], in Kent” (“RW” 128), where, in a more congenial climate, she subsequently spends the next “twelve months” (“RW” 158). En route to Kent, the stagecoach stops in London. (Though Moodie herself was a young woman of sixteen years when she first visited London, in 1819, Rachel is a mere six-year-old during her journey.) The young Rachel watches “[t]he gallant—Highland regiment...marching past to embark for the continent,” and looks out at the “Dragoons”

assembling in a Chelmsford courtyard. “preparatory to their departure for the seat of war” (“RW” 127). In London, a few days later, she sits on the lap of an old Naval officer. He gives her “an account of the battle in which he lost his...leg,” namely the “battle of Trafalgar,” fought in 1805. “Vague ideas of death and destruction flashed into my mind,” Rachel reflects,²⁸ and she remembers her child’s mind pondering (rather humourously, in retrospect) “what a horrible thing it must be, to go to battle and lose our legs” (“RW” 157).

It is no accident that Moodie begins her story by characterizing the artistic Rachel as a visionary in the agreeable biblical tradition of “seer” and “dreamer,” and then, after her sojourns in London and Kent, reintroduces her, in the pivotal Chapter VIII, as a child “battling” those around her—“a stubborn, self-willed, crazy-pated creature,” a child obstinately “unteachable, untaught,”²⁹ a child who, in short order, reveals herself to be a worshipper of Napoleon, “the idol of her imagination” (“RW” 234, 235). Rachel’s growing artistic autonomy can only be figured in revolutionary terms. Moodie makes the connection explicit, part way through Chapter VIII:

‘From the sublime to the ridiculous,’ said the great conqueror, ‘is but a step;’ and the child who revelled in grand conceptions alone with nature, and the solitude of her own soul, was the strangest, most eccentric impersonification of a feminine humanity, that could well be imagined, when among her young compeers. We have alluded to the mighty devastator of the nineteenth century, the great Napoleon, and linked with his name, are woven some of the absurdities and oddities, of Rachel’s desultory childhood. (“RW” 235)

Rachel, as a nine-year-old, is still a visionary, but her constant brooding on “the great mystery of life,” and her desire “to die—if death could answer her questions and solve her doubts,” lend to her character “a sadder, sterner tone” than her dreamy first chapter fancies had intimated (“RW” 234, 235). There is a new seriousness to the visionary now.

an awareness, and a valuing, of her artistic difference: "The consciousness of this gift, formed a new era in the life of Rachel" ("RW" 235). That Rachel's emerging sense of herself as an artist concurs with an explicitly forbidden passion for Napoleon seems ample grounds for arguing that Moodie's story transfers into the realm of transgressive politics the exclusion of the artist figure—an exclusion doubly felt by the child who is an "eccentric" member of "feminine humanity" ("RW" 235). What Rachel cannot voice against the restrictive conventions of her sex, she rails against in the larger—and perhaps more objective—realm of forbidden political allegiances, in which the presumption of an Eve is easily figured as the traitorous hero-worship of a Napoleon.

Although gender is never formally debated in "Rachel Wilde," the function of the story's female characters (with the exception of Rachel's sister and confidante, Dorothea) makes clear the vexed social relationship between women and artistic pursuit. For Virginia Woolf, the fundamentally empowering orientation for a woman writer consisted in "think[ing] back through her mothers" (*A Room of One's Own* 93). This is a phrase that subsequent feminists have employed, sometimes indiscriminately, in an attempt to homogenize female artist fictions according to a utopian plot in which an emerging female artist is enabled by a community of women and inhibited by a conspiracy of men.³⁰ The more fraught tradition to which "Rachel Wilde" belongs, however, is that of the essentially motherless child-hero of de Staël's *Corinne* and of subsequent nineteenth-century fictions—female characters whose nemeses are women and whose mentors are men. Indeed, "Rachel Wilde" symbolically reveals the extent of women's collusion in the socially acceptable suppression of female genius by presenting a surprising version of the "maternal": all of Rachel's physical mistreatment takes place, literally, at the hands of

women (eldest sister, friend of the family, servant girl, governess, mother). It is no coincidence that Rachel's first beating, at the end of Chapter I, follows swiftly upon her production of a non-traditional piece of theatre, thereby setting the pattern for the remainder of the story. Rachel's "interlude in one act...called the '*wood Demon*'" is a dark departure from her earlier poems to flowers, fanciful verses admired by the gardener and her doting father. Here, rather, Rachel herself performs the role of the wood demon—a notably masculine persona. As a peerless Pan, a symbolic Satan "crowned with bits of yew, and poisonous briony,"³¹ Rachel assumes forbidden power. With "frigh[t]ful yells," she rushes from her hiding place to steal away "the terrified child" (her younger brother) of "a brave knight and his lady" (her eldest brother and her sister Dorothea). The play meets its "melancholy termination," however, when Rachel's eldest sister, "Miss Wilde," intervenes, cuffing and shaking the children for making a spectacle of themselves to onlookers in a carriage ("RW" 115).

In the final sentence of this first installment of Moodie's story, readers are told that "the poor wood demon, vanquished in the very moment of victory, returns weeping to the house." This is, decidedly, a deflation of the "happy auspices" of the play's production, so ably described in mock-Romantic rhetoric. ("The month was June, the day, one in which nature appears conscious of her own beauty and revels in the excess of light and loveliness.—The air was full of the warblings of birds, of the scent of flowers, and the music of gentle breezes.") Such an ending is also a sombre and unpromising mood in which to leave Moodie's readers, particularly since the narrator has already assured them that Miss Wilde's violent response to the drama "for a time, check[s] the vivacity of the little Rachel's genius." Had Moodie wished merely to entertain readers

with an amusing catalogue of the products of “Rachel’s genius” (“RW” 115), it seems unlikely that she would have ended her first installment of “Rachel Wilde” on such a defeatist note. As if by design, the final installment of “Rachel Wilde,” chapter IX, again sounds this defeatist note, ending full circle with another chastisement of Rachel by her eldest sister. As with the wood demon incident, this encounter is fraught with tensions between the conflicting spheres of domesticity and literary ambition—between the virtue of retirement and the sin of self-promotion. Searching for “a piece of paper to cover a roasting pig,” Miss Wilde happens upon Rachel’s enthusiastically-penned tale, “Harold of Hohenstein, or the spoilt child.” It is a work that Rachel has secretly written upon “blue paper”—the discovery of which constitutes “a treasure far surpassing” the more domestic contents of the “India chest,” namely “the tarnished [wedding] dresses” of the Wilde family’s female “ancestors” (“RW” 251). When Miss Wilde discovers the tale to be by Rachel—rather than by “a more favoured sister”—she revokes her initial pronouncement that it is “interesting,” and stammers out a condemnation: “That chit, ridiculous; indulge her in making a fool of herself. I wish Papa would put a stop to her nonsense, and if he does not I will. It will just do to cover the pig.” Though another sister rescues the blue paper manuscript just in time, Rachel, the “hapless author,” is deeply wounded at the “injustice” of Miss Wilde’s critique, “tears swelling up in her eyes” (“RW” [2]52). Immediately, the narrative jumps to a final, two-paragraph summary of the adult Rachel’s fate, and readers learn, as if in compensation, that “[t]he world, as umpire, decided on the question of [Rachel’s] capacity, and gave her the meed of praise so long denied by those whom true wisdom and benevolence should have taught the policy of a more generous course.” Despite such apparently unanimous public

approbation, however. Rachel's exile is inevitable. Trading maligned ambition for the stability of love, she ends "toil[ing] in poverty and sorrow...a stranger and an exile in a foreign land" ("RW" [2]52).

"Miss Wilde" is the first—and last—in an exceedingly grim line of female influences that includes Miss Lucy Long (the family friend who reveals herself to be peevish and cruel), and Miss Betsy Long (an elder half-sister of Lucy's in Kent, who regularly beats Rachel with a rod). Though at least two of these women are figures of an emotionally battering patriarchy,³² the narrative generates little sympathy for them, and Rachel claims kinship with none of them. In a clearly Romanticized alignment of nature, poverty, and sympathies, she prefers instead two poor young shepherdesses, and their storytelling grandmother, to any of the more established women of the early chapters. And in Chapter VIII, "[w]hen goaded into pain by the sneers and scoffs of those who knew not of her hidden Eden," Rachel seeks the "'Divine Mother,'" Nature herself, "and on her verdant ever-fragrant bosom, drie[s] her tears" ("RW" 235). Aurora Leigh would turn to Nature because of her "mother want" ("Unmothered babes...had need / Of mother nature" [I: 112-113]), but Rachel's mother is not dead. There are, in fact, three brief references to her. Each of these, however, involves her scolding or inflicting physical punishment on her daughter. We are told that Rachel, in retrospect, views such punishment as having been "ridiculous," and that at the time of their occurrence, the incidents had "pained her exceedingly" ("RW" 236). These clashes are meant to exemplify the unwomanly rebelliousness of Rachel's artistic spirit, and they occur, aptly, in Chapter VIII, the chapter in which Rachel's "romantic love" for Napoleon flowers concurrently with her "consciousness" of herself as an artist ("RW" 235). It is notably

when Rachel's "Bonaparte mania" aggressively invades domestic and religious space that her mother intervenes with punishment for such "treason" ("RW" 236, 237). Rachel writes a birthday poem for her sister, at her mother's request, but "instead of commemorating the happy day in gentle, affectionate milk and water rhymes," she composes "an ode to the great Napoleon, whose early victories had occurred about the same period, and thus was poor Janet merged in the illustrious conqueror: and the only compliment paid to her, was that she had received her existence at this important era" ("RW" 235-36). Rachel receives "a beating from her mother" for this literary effort, and subsequently burns the birthday ode ("RW" 235). Some time later, at church, Rachel is overheard praying vehemently for Napoleon and "the young King of Rome" rather than for the British King and Royal family. Her mother wordlessly and unhesitatingly takes the advice of an old navy captain's wife: "Really Mrs. Wilde, you should punish Miss Rachel—it is very wicked—very wicked indeed, for any one to go to church and pray for our enemies." Rachel is "punished accordingly" ("RW" 237).

It is the purview of men to mentor to or to chastise Rachel intellectually and ideologically.³³ Given her male role models, it comes as little surprise that she claims as heroes not the great women of the ages (as Vanessa MacLeod would, more than a century later, in Margaret Laurence's "The Mask of the Bear"), but, rather, figures whose "rebelliousness" is the essence of their powerful genius: Napoleon (in Chapter VIII) and Milton's Satan (in Chapter IX). It seems no accident that Rachel's father, who is also her preeminent teacher, is glowingly described in Chapter I as "a vigorous and independent thinker, [who] paid little regard to the received prejudices and opinions of the world" ("RW," 113). His method of tuition is equally revolutionary, and, as Klay Dyer argues,

seems to borrow the “pedagogic strategies and techniques promoted by followers of the Swiss pedagogic reformer and philosopher Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827)” (Dyer, “A Periodical” 22). Holding “all public schools in abhorrence,” Mr. Wilde rejects rote learning in favour of discussion and argument. His daughters are allowed to “ransac[k] every book” in their father’s “well-furnished library” (“RW” 114)—a library which, though obviously dated, as Thurston derisively observes of the Strickland library on which Mr. Wilde’s appears to be based (*The Work of Words* 14), nevertheless inspires the children’s “poems” and “dramas,” and contributes to an overall mental cultivation that would have been rarely offered (either in life or in fiction) to young women in the early decades of the nineteenth century.¹⁴ By seven years of age, Rachel has “read Shakespeare,” knows “most of the Iliad of Homer by heart,” and is “ready to do battle for Achilles and his favourite, in opposition to her sister Ann, who always espoused the Trojan cause” (“RW” 114). Her father’s open-book style of Neoclassical education leads his impressionable daughter to “[fall] in love with all the heroes of antiquity” (“RW” 114). Later, in chapter IX, after reading Milton’s “sublime delineation of Satan,” she will “literally [fall] in love with the devil” (“RW” 251).

Mr. Wilde’s broad tutelage, however, reveals itself to be inherently premised on conformity. As a precocious toddler, Rachel had been amusing; as a rebellious, dissenting nine-year-old, she is dangerous. In Chapter VIII, with specific reference to Rachel’s “mad love...for the enemy of her country,” the narrator reveals Mr. Wilde’s frustration and disappointment in the “‘strange girl’” who now “‘fills [his] mind with painful doubts’” (“RW” 236). It falls to his old friend, a man whom Moodie’s narrator chooses to call “Mentor,” to defend Rachel (“My pet lion’s heart is in the right place.”

[“RW” 236]), and to assume the role of educator.³⁵ Part of Mentor’s educationally-advanced “system,” however, is to “cure” Rachel of her “Bonaparte mania” (“RW,” 236). Unaccountably, he proceeds by means of deceit, sending her a bust of Lord Wellington, which, in her naïveté, she takes to be that of her beloved Napoleon. When the ruse is uncovered, Rachel “dash[es] the bust to the ground, and traml[es] it to pieces beneath her feet,” “enraged at having been cheated into paying adoration to a false God” (“RW,” 236). In an extremely mixed message, Mentor wins Rachel’s forgiveness by committing an ideological *volte face*: he gives her money “to buy a Napoleon for herself.” In the marketplace of the unnamed city in which Mentor lives, Rachel insists on buying the “right” Napoleon image, and is mockingly assisted by “a tall soldier of the German legion, then stationed in the city,” who offers an “insult” to her “darling”: “‘Little maid, dis is him, I know Napoleon, by his sulky look’.” As Rachel rushes off, “hugging the emperor to her bosom,” she encounters the son of “a Captain Thompson, who had fought and bled at the battles of Barossa and Vittoria” (“RW,” 236). This loyal son, “a great hater of old Bony, as he sacrilegiously termed the master spirit of the age,” fractures the skull of Rachel’s emperor with a stone.

Although Moodie’s narrator relates the incident with great amusement, and indeed seems almost to join in “the peals of mirth” that greet Rachel’s tearful account of her adventure to Mentor and her family, she ends the anecdote with a significant shift into future time. In a powerful pairing of two rebel spirits—the writerly Rachel and the battle-scarred Bonaparte—she observes that: “The fracture was dexterously healed, and Rachel dried her tears, and for many long years, the bust of Napoleon adorned her writing table” (“RW,” 237). This literal and metaphorical pairing—statue with writing desk,

Rachel with Napoleon—is reinforced in the final anecdote of Chapter VIII, in which Rachel hears of Napoleon’s escape from Elba. She is “busy writing...at a long dining table” when a travelling peddler bursts in with the news. Each of the three speakers in the ensuing exchange reacts passionately and spontaneously:

‘Bony has escaped from the Elbow!’

‘Thank God!’ exclaimed Rachel flinging down her pen, and starting up with a scream of delight. ‘He will be Emperor of France again!’

‘Send that girl to bed,’ said Mr. Wilde, with a frown. ‘she is a traitor to her country.’ (“RW” 237)

Rachel’s next move has all the craft of a “wood demon” who has learned a thing or two about the world, and refuses to pine away with passive tears. She leaves the room as ordered, but hides on the back stairs until the peddler passes out through the kitchen. Then, “springing from her hiding place,” she “implor[es]” him to “tell her all he knew about the escape of Napoleon.” The thrilling information keeps her “on the tip toe of delight” during her own day-long imprisonment in her room, *sans* food and writing materials. Her identification with Napoleon is utter and intoxicating: “‘He was free, he was himself again, and what was the punishment to her?’ [] She lay in a sort of extacy, fighting for him new battles and achieving more astounding conquests” (“RW” 237).

As with the tears of the wood demon, however, at the close of Chapter I, Moodie’s narrator ends on a note of literal and psychological defeat that makes a Promethean martyr out of Napoleon—this despite the fact that he was to live six more years, dying at St. Helena on 5 May 1821, of either liver disease or cancer of the stomach. “Alas!” says Moodie’s narrator, ‘the dreams of [Rachel] the young enthusiast were doomed to be quenched in the blood shed at Waterloo, when the gathering together of the nations, chained the imprisoned eagle to the lonely ocean rock’ (“RW” 237).

Though Moodie's image is perhaps unintentionally conflated (in Hesiod's version, Zeus has Prometheus chained to a rock and sends an eagle to eat his immortal liver, which keeps replenishing itself), there can be no doubt that her Napoleon ends as a tragic hero. Like Aeschylus's Prometheus, the chained Napoleon has mythic grandeur. In the most seemingly ironic of reversals, he is Promethean in two significant ways: as a bringer of light/Enlightenment to a dark world, and, simultaneously, as an archetypal figure of defiance against tyrannical power. The former statement can perhaps be substantiated by history, and, indeed, in a round-about way, it coincides with Goethe's opinion of the Emperor: "Napoleon was a genius, and if he was a dark genius, it was because he incarnated a dark age."³⁶ To cast Napoleon as defiant of tyranny, however, seems hopelessly unjustifiable—was Napoleon himself not the archetypal tyrant?—unjustifiable, that is, until one views it in the cumulative context of Rachel's identification with that "rebelliousness" that gave Napoleon the power to redraw, for all time, the literal and figurative boundaries of ambition. As such, the Napoleon that Moodie *creates* in "Rachel Wilde"—for she does, indeed, appropriate and shape this historical figure to her own (ambitious) ends—is as consciously fictitious as Napoleon's own memoirs from St. Helena, in which he "reinvented" his neo-classical attitudes and "revamped his career" in order to align himself with "the cultural currents of Romanticism" (Broers 273).³⁷ Moodie's Napoleon bears no resemblance to the notorious misogynist of history, the little man who, as Virginia Woolf was to point out, considered women "incapable" of education and insisted "emphatically" on their "inferiority" (*Room* 30, 36). Far from inhibiting female genius (as the French Emperor did, for instance, in

banishing Madame de Staël for her *Corinne*), Moodie's Napoleon becomes an objective correlative for the powerful subversiveness of female artistry.

No one can properly call Moodie a feminist, however: nor would the designation lend her any extra measure of legitimacy. Her sexual politics, when she indulged them, were as fraught and as oscillating as one might reasonably imagine a nineteenth-century woman writer's could be. In June 1829, for example, Moodie pens an admiring letter to popular writer, Mary Russell Mitford, calling her a "sister poetess" under "Eve's dewy star"; the following year, her fourth letter to this writer draws a pointed contrast between a "lady" and a "blue-stocking" (with what unspoken implications for Mitford and for Moodie herself?) while simultaneously having the temerity to offer the older, established Mitford several copies of Moodie's newly-published *Enthusiasm and Other Poems* to distribute among her influential literary friends (letters #15 and #24, *Letters* 33 and 51). In like fashion, Moodie praises the outspoken American writer, Margaret Fuller (whose book is "an interesting record of a woman of great genius"), while in the same breath decrying "the woman's Rights movement, the most preposterous absurdity of the present day" (letter #52 to Richard Bentley, 30 December 1853, *Letters* 144). Whether in a mood to consider herself a member of the "blue stocking fraternity" or not (letter #25, *Letters* 52), Moodie frequently indulged the familiar self-flagellatory topos of the woman writer with references to "the curse of authorship" and the "criminal passion" of her "insatiable thirst for fame" (letters #19 and #25, *Letters* 39, 52).

"The sin of authorship meets with little toleration in a new country," Moodie says in the "Belleville" chapter of her 1853 publication *Life in the Clearings versus the Bush* (66)—a reflection which probably refers to the hostile Canadian reception of *Roughing It*

in the Bush,³⁸ but which Moodie carefully pens as if in response to two anecdotes from her life in the early 1840s, both of which align writing and gender. In the first encounter, a Belleville woman, curious to meet “the woman that writes” (an epithet she uses twice in reference to Moodie), rudely remarks to Susanna’s face that she is “but a humly body,” “a humly person...after all” (*LC* 65-66). In the second incident, two women who have met Moodie express their surprise that she is “just like other people,” to which a third party replies, “I should not have taken her for a blue-stocking at all” (*LC* 66). The implication—which corresponds to the expectations of the Cult of Domesticity—is that there must be a greater discrepancy between the woman and the writer than is evident in Moodie’s case. Clearly, however, Susanna Moodie continued to present a rather formidable spectacle to her Belleville neighbours. Indeed, by her own account, the topic of a lecture given at one particular session of the Mechanics’ Institute was “Great women, from Eve down to Mrs. M—[Moodie]” (*LC* 99). The morning after the lecture, Susanna had been assured, by a “venerable white-haired old man” of Belleville, that the lecturer had said “fine things” of her; nevertheless, the self that pens the anecdote in *Life in the Clearings* seems unconvinced. Moodie had fled the lecture as soon as she had heard its topic (*LC* 99)—and well she might have, given the explicit parallel between herself and Eve, an alignment in which her “sin of authorship” assumes its most glaring metaphorical significance. In an 1854 letter to her British publisher, Richard Bentley, Moodie confides what must have been her subsequent, protective strategy: “I always drop the *profession*, and never allude to *authorship*” [letter #55, *Letters* 149]).

Moodie was not only a woman writer, but a woman writer who actively cultivated political connections. On various occasions in her autobiographical fictions, writing and

politics come together, and their conjunction seems to suggest that Moodie's public political choices produced, in her mind, a burdensome distinction not unlike the one she already consciously shouldered as a woman writer. In the fictionalized account of her sea voyage to Canada, for example (*Flora Lyndsay* 1853), Moodie's own pre-immigration literary involvement with the Anti-Slavery Society of London implicitly receives the castigation of a fellow immigrant, the slave-owning white West Indian woman, Mrs. Dalton. Upon learning that Flora Lyndsay has transcribed a slave narrative, "The History of Mary P—," Mrs. Dalton declares: "From this moment, Madam, we must regard ourselves as strangers. No West Indian could for a moment tolerate the writer of that odious pamphlet" (*FL* 125).³⁹ How much of Susanna's abolitionist past was known to (and approved of by) her Belleville neighbours is unknown, though *Life in the Clearings* makes apparent that racism flourished in the Belleville of the 1840s.⁴⁰ Finally, though, Moodie would have been less damned for her abolitionist leanings than for the political factionalism of her life in Upper Canada, specifically the gradual but absolute shift that she and her husband made from Tory to Reform politics. As Thurston puts it: "In July 1840 [the Moodies] named their sixth child George Arthur [Sir George Arthur, British-appointed lieutenant-governor]; three years later they named their last Robert Baldwin [solicitor-general, champion of responsible government]" (*The Work of Words* 77). The Moodies had come to Belleville in January 1840 under the banner of Imperialist loyalty—a "connection to the old order" so familiar to readers of Susanna's patriotic poems during the 1837 Rebellion—but their politics shifted throughout the 1840s until, as Thurston says, "they ended up with an orientation apparently the opposite of the one they had previously occupied" (*The Work of Words* 74, 75). This was a potentially

volatile situation, especially for the writerly Moodies, who maintained throughout 1847 and 1848 that their own *Victoria Magazine*—the venue in which “Rachel Wilde” appeared—was politically neutral. The Moodies were undoubtedly Reformers by the time *The Victoria Magazine* was first issued in September 1847. Doug Fetherling, in *The Rise of the Canadian Newspaper*, points out the danger of such politics, given that during the late 1830s and throughout the 1840s, “the Tories virtually eliminated the Reform press.” This elimination was often bloody, as in the case of S. P. Hart, publisher of the Reform newspaper, the *Belleville Plain Speaker*, who was hanged for his actions (Fetherling 24; qtd. in Dyer, “A Periodical” 13). How heavily Hart’s politically-motivated murder must have weighed on the minds of the Belleville Moodies can only be surmised.

Is it possible that Moodie, in 1848, fictionalized a young artistic girl’s attraction to Napoleon as an analogue to her own writerly—and political—“rebelliousness”? Many of Moodie’s readers in 1848 would likely remember (and perhaps have participated in) the hostile colonial reaction to Bonaparte, evident, for example, in the ubiquitous anti-Napoleonic epigraphs printed in the first decade of the nineteenth-century in English-language newspapers like the *Quebec Mercury*,⁴¹ and in admonitory articles like “Ambition”—which takes Napoleon as its negative exemplar—in *The Literary Garland* as late as April 1840. Moodie was, then, in a very real sense, “pushing her luck” by sympathetically revealing the traitorous obsession of a heroine whom many readers must have believed was autobiographical. (And in this respect, “Rachel Wilde” is autobiographical. In a letter to her sister, Catherine Parr Traill, in 14 July 1880, Moodie reveals that her “childish admiration of the great Emperor” had just been “destroyed” by

reading Madame de Remusat's memoirs of life at Napoleon's court. Moodie was well into her seventies, then, before being disabused of her French hero. See letter #132, *Letters* 340.) Since no reviews of "Rachel Wilde" exist, and Moodie never refers to the story in her correspondence, it is difficult to hypothesize how contemporary readers would have reacted to its explicit agenda. Would they have sympathized with the misplaced enthusiasm of a naïve little firebrand, seeing in the youthful Rachel the seeds of heroic greatness that Carlyle admired full-grown in Napoleon in 1840 (*On Heroes*), and Blake reaped from Milton's Satan decades before (*The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*)? Conversely, would Moodie's contemporaries have perceived in the "misunderstood child of genius" ("RW" 234) a figure as threatening to the social fabric as the loathed "Corsican elf," Napoleon himself? (*Mercury*, circa 1807, qtd. in Walker, 145). These questions, however intriguing, must remain rhetorical ones.

In 1851—three years after the publication of "Rachel Wilde," two years before the appearance of *Roughing It in the Bush*, and simultaneous with her second work of autobiographical fiction, "Trifles from the Burthen of a Life"—Moodie published one of her most significant and little-known essays, "A Word for the Novel Writers" (*The Literary Garland*, August 1851: 348-51; reprinted in chapter fourteen of *Life in the Clearings versus the Bush* [1853]). Carole Gerson calls Moodie's essay "the most radical position to be found in Canadian criticism at that time" (*Purer* 31)—radical because of its spirited defense of seemingly indefensible subject matter, in a literary climate that preciously guarded its standards of decency. Moodie defends the novels of Charles Dickens and Eugene Sue (the latter was considered by Roseanna Leprohon to be "pernicious" [New, *A History* 78]) precisely *because* these writers bid their readers

to step with them into the dirty hovels of these outcasts of society, and see what crime really is, and all the miseries which ignorance and poverty, and a want of self-respect, never fails to bring about. ("A Word for the Novel Writers" 350)

Moodie's essay is essentially a rallying cry for fiction that incites ameliorative social action, that instructs the rich to "rescu[e]" the "lower classes" whose degradation they have perpetrated ("A Word" 349-50). One can view this plea cynically, as Thurston does, or one can acknowledge, as Gerson does, that despite Moodie's inherent middle-class conservatism, "few mid-Victorian commentators went as far as she and none went further in allowing the novel to wander into the nether regions of human experience." Prior to the concerted defense of literary realism mounted in the 1880s by Sara Jeannette Duncan, Gerson reiterates later in her book, "Susanna Moodie had proven the most radical mid-century Canadian commentator when she argued that social realism was permissible in fiction if directed to moral ends" (*Purer* 32, 52).

A slightly different interpretation of Gerson's comment is possible—one that links Moodie's essay ideologically with the agenda of championing a socially-exiled female artist character in "Rachel Wilde." A literal connection between the essay and the story is signalled by their shared epigraph, which seems to encapsulate Moodie's philosophy of composition:

Fiction, however wild and fanciful,
Is but the copy memory draws from truth—
'Tis not in human genius to *create*—
The mind is but a mirror which reflects
Realities that are—or the dim shadows
Left by the past upon its placid surface,
Recalled again to life.

Critics have seized on the first three lines of this epigraph (with their echo of Aristotelian mimesis) as representative of its meaning; hence Dyer's gloss that "fiction writing to

Mrs. Moodie was a process of description rather than imaginative creation" ("A Periodical" 27). This seems a negative way of stating what Moodie clearly sees as a perceptive and even recuperative act: that of remembering truthfully, of reflecting "Realities that are," and of "Recall[ing]...to life" the "dim shadows" of a too-easily-forgotten "Past." Moodie's metaphorical "mind as mirror" is not, then, a passive instrument but rather an actively discriminating one, and even, perhaps, a somewhat apocalyptic one, in moral terms. Given her overt Christian didacticism in the essay, the metaphor cannot help but invoke 1 Corinthians 13:12, a passage in which the partial sight of this world is contrasted with the fullness of sight and understanding in the next.⁴²

Though the human mind is "but a mirror," this does not mean that it will consistently reflect—that is, reflect on—everything it sees. Moodie's essay, like her story "Rachel Wilde," castigates those who refuse to see and reflect, and champions the telling of "Realities that are," irrespective of their unpleasantness. Just as squalid poverty exists, so too does the socially-sanctioned inhibition of female genius. Both states are unjust, and that injustice must be laid bare, if writers have sufficient courage to do so. In "Rachel Wilde," Moodie's narrator refers countless times to the injustices suffered by Rachel. Conduct towards her is sometimes "outrageous,"⁴³ and she endures "unjust prejudice," and "the mighty pressure of undeserved punishment" ("RW" 185, 234). That Moodie saw a connection between the maligned artist and the victim of poverty is evident from the way in which she similarly describes Nancy, the wicked servant. Though Nancy's craftiness results in a whipping for Rachel, Moodie's narrator speaks a full five paragraphs in the culprit's defense, seeking to expose the social causes of Nancy's evil. We learn that she is "the worst fed, the worst clothed, and the worst lodged" in the Long

household, beaten by the cook and held in contempt by the house-maid. "If she was an artful, dishonest creature," says Moodie's narrator, "she had been rendered so by circumstances over which she had no control." Having never received "a kind word from anyone," Nancy treats others in kind. In a similar protest, in chapter VIII, Rachel balks against her "tyrannical" governess and refuses instruction while her family rebukes and scolds. Although Rachel is sensible of her own obstinacy, she does not yield. Moodie's narrator offers the sympathetic opinion that

had [Rachel] been treated with the least kindness or consideration; had the tenderness of love been tried, instead of the stern brutalizing force of blows, and the insulting abuse of power; the child, who stood aloof, invincible in her wounded pride, had bent to instruction and received the chastisement of her faults, with tears of penitence. ("RW" 234)

Rachel and Nancy are, perhaps, parallel examples of the "outcasts of society" that, in Moodie's "radical" opinion, fiction must represent. Both Rachel and Nancy are "degraded creatures," lacking "self-respect" as much as material prosperity ("A Word" 350). Rachel Wilde, after all, ends as a literal outcast, opting "to toil in poverty and sorrow" with an unnamed spouse, "a stranger and an exile in a foreign land" ("RW" [2]52). It is surely possible that Moodie's class consciousness—arising from her father's loss of economic power and status in her childhood, and her own struggles to escape poverty in the Canadian backwoods—made her more and not less aware, in fictions like "Rachel Wilde," of the plight of the exiled of society. By figuring the exile of an artistic female child as the perverse worship of a Napoleon, Moodie establishes a transgressive political arena in which to play out various injustices—against children, against women, against the artist, and, implicitly, against the poor—in the Victorian society in which she lived and wrote.

II. Contexts, Conjectures, and Comparisons: “Rachel Wilde” in the *Victoria Magazine*

Elizabeth Thompson’s inclusion of excerpts from “Rachel Wilde” in the recently published Canadian Critical Edition of *Roughing It in the Bush; or, Life in Canada* (1852; 1997)⁴⁴ signals, it is hoped, the new seriousness with which scholars are beginning to approach Moodie’s autobiographical fictions. Thompson’s preface makes a compelling argument for an “omnibus approach” to textual compilation—an inclusiveness that in her case is unfortunately prevented by limitations of space and economics (xvi). She claims, for example, that “an ideal critical edition of *Roughing It in the Bush*” would contain not only “Rachel Wilde” (1848) and *Flora Lyndsay, or Passages in an Eventful Life* (1854), but also two “discarded chapters” originally slated for *Roughing It* but subsequently published the following year in *Life in the Clearings Versus the Bush* (1853), namely “‘Michael MacBride’ (left out because of Moodie’s change of heart) and ‘Jeannie Burns’ (held back by the editors)”⁴⁵ (Thompson, “Editor’s Preface” xvi). By means of “sampling” these relatively unknown pieces in her new edition of *Roughing It*, Thompson hopes to position Moodie’s most famous work within “a wider frame of reference” (xvi).

Thompson’s aesthetic demonstrates an admirable expansiveness, one which (she reminds us) echoes Moodie’s own writerly orientation towards “inclusiveness and textual expansion” (xvi). There are, however, problems with her approach as it pertains to “Rachel Wilde.” The first is the prescriptive purpose behind the “Rachel” excerpts included in the “Documentary” section. Thompson has chosen to include only one and a

half of eight chapters of “Rachel Wilde”—all of Chapter I and the first part of Chapter VIII—a sample which amounts, roughly, to one-eighth of the total story. While these excerpts may, indeed, broaden our “sense of the scope of Moodie’s life-writing” (Thompson, “Editor’s Preface” xvi), their truncated presentation forces them to do so by means of extra-textual factors like biography and continuity, not literary merit. Since Thompson omits or stops short of including any of the story’s references to Napoleon,⁴⁶ readers are denied the opportunity to engage Moodie’s larger metaphorical framework. “Rachel Wilde,” then—which directly follows Catharine Parr Traill’s “A Slight Sketch of the Early Life of Mrs. Moodie” (413-15)—becomes illustrative rather than evocative. It informs us of Moodie’s “early adventures in writing” and “her reluctance to leave England” (biography), and in so doing provides a nascent version of the later life-writing of *Roughing It* (continuity). “Rachel Wilde” becomes, in effect, a pleasant tale of a gifted girl. Here its significance ends. Readers need only peruse Thompson’s “Editor’s Preface” in conjunction with her one-eighth sampling of “Rachel Wilde” to conclude, with John Thurston, that the sum of Moodie’s story is her conjuring of a “stock romantic visionary to represent her youth” (*The Work of Words* 168).

Indeed, the very language in which Thompson dubs “Rachel Wilde” a “series,” rather than a fully-realized story or novella, reinforces previously-levelled accusations of “plotlessness” (further exacerbated by the fragmented “samples” themselves), and agrees with the tenor of Thurston’s derogatory claim that Moodie’s pre-*Roughing It* autobiographical fictions constitute “instalments in a serial writing project.”⁴⁷ It may be possible to make this argument for “Trifles from the Burthen of a Life” (1851) and *Flora Lyndsay* (1854), the latter of which incorporates and expands on the former, and

comprises, in Moodie's own words,

...a bundle of droll sketches of our adventures out to Canada and preparations for our emigration and all we met and saw on our voyage. This should have been the commencement of *Roughing It*, for it was written for it, and I took a freak of cutting it out of the MS. and beginning the work at Grosse Isle... (letter #47, *Letters* 130)

It is obvious, however, that "Rachel Wilde"—which nowhere mentions emigration explicitly until its final paragraph and which was not incorporated into the four hundred page *Flora Lyndsay*—is not among the material that Moodie excised from the manuscript of *Roughing It*. We cannot, then, accurately include it in a "serial" grouping of texts. Such a collapsing of the individual work into the collective project mutes the stylistic and structural innovations of "Rachel Wilde." Moodie's only extended treatment of the developing female artist.

Something of the singularity of "Rachel Wilde" may be inferred by means of a brief detour into Moodie's publishing history during the year 1847–48. This period spans the existence of her own periodical, the short-lived *The Victoria Magazine* that she and husband John Wedderburn Dunbar Moodie conceived and edited out of Belleville from September 1847 to August 1848.⁴⁸ Unlike the books that have fashioned her iconic reputation in Canadian literature—particularly *Roughing It in the Bush*, a collaborative effort, we now know, that was specifically conceived for and marketed to a British audience⁴⁹—Moodie's *The Victoria Magazine* was "distinctly Canadian...[p]ublished, edited, circulated, consumed, and partially written in Upper Canada" (Dyer, "A Periodical" 86). Moodie's own reflection, two decades later, was that the magazine "was a success" despite its demise after a single year (letter #78, *Letters* 217). This judgement appears to be borne out by the impressive "List of Subscriber's Names" found in the final

pages of the last volume. A total of 781 subscribers are registered, “(10% of them women).”⁵⁰ All of these would have been required to pay in advance⁵¹ and would have supported the magazine for a second term, according to Susanna herself, had not the dishonesty of the magazine’s proprietor, Joseph Wilson, dissuaded the Moodies from further literary dealings with him (letter #78, *Letters* 217). While circumstances surrounding the magazine’s cessation were likely less transparent than Moodie claimed,⁵² it is clear that her involvement with *The Victoria Magazine* represents a brief but pivotal period in her own writing life and in the literary-cultural history of nineteenth-century Ontario.

The Moodie revealed in the pages of *The Victorian Magazine* conforms to no totalizing narrative. She is not merely “pioneer heroine, one-woman garrison, or paranoid schizophrenic” (Thurston, *The Work of Words* n.p.).⁵³ but rather a multi-faceted human being whose writings attest to simultaneous interests and identities—cultural philanthropist, political cautionary, Romantic idealist, astute business woman, adaptable immigrant, New World realist, educational advocate, keen satirist, and above all, proficient craftsman. We need look no further than the project of *The Victoria Magazine*, one of Moodie’s most neglected endeavours, to “reread, and possibly rewrite, the stories we have made of Mrs. Moodie” (Dyer, “A Periodical” 88). As a means, however, of further revising those multiple narratives, we need to interrogate the *content* of that larger project, in addition to its *context*. We need, for example, to situate Moodie’s roles as writer and editor of *The Victoria Magazine* with specific reference to the fiction she published in it.

“Rachel Wilde” is particularly revelatory in this regard. I posit that Moodie’s

placing of this story in *The Victoria Magazine*, rather than in one of the widely-read popular magazines that had received her work for years, was deliberate and significant. Though we can reconstruct neither evidence nor motivation for such a theory (none of Moodie's extant writing mentions "Rachel Wilde"), we can nevertheless acknowledge certain publication anomalies that, taken together, are suggestive of Moodie's idiosyncratic treatment of this piece. First, "Rachel Wilde" was never reprinted in any other venue—curious indeed, when one considers that Moodie was a prodigious self-recycler who routinely reprinted works throughout her lifetime.⁵⁴ Second, this story was the longest fictional piece (after the reworked "Jane Redgrave—A Village Story"⁵⁵) that Moodie produced during 1847–48, yet it was *not* offered to the remunerative *The Literary Garland*—an economic fact of considerable significance. Moodie, after all, maintained a lively publishing relationship with the *Garland*'s John Lovell before, during, and after the tenure of her own magazine, and, as Dyer reminds us, "[t]he importance of the monies received from her contributions to *The Literary Garland* cannot be understated" (4).⁵⁶

The fact that *The Victoria Magazine* never officially challenged the literary monopoly of the *Garland* was, in large part, a guarantee that Moodie's contributions would continue to be received kindly by the remunerative Montreal journal.⁵⁷ Moodie profited from this amiable business relationship. During the first half of 1847, prior to the inception of *The Victoria Magazine*, the *Garland* published six of the sketches that would later comprise a portion of Moodie's *Roughing It in the Bush* (1852).⁵⁸ During the year-long tenure of *The Victoria Magazine* itself, the *Garland* featured "five of [Moodie's] verse submissions as well as the prose works 'Brian, the Still Hunter'⁵⁹ and the first eight installments of 'Jane Redgrave—A Village Story'" (Dyer, 6). The odd fact

that Moodie did not sell the lengthy "Rachel Wilde" to the *Garland*⁶⁰ (thereby forfeiting the five pounds per sheet that its sale would have earned her⁶¹), and the fact that it was never reprinted for future financial gain, may be related to a third, multi-layered, non-financial consideration: namely, that Moodie consciously envisioned "Rachel" as a generic break with her previous work, a radically new narrative that required, in fact, an entirely fresh venue for its publication. That venue was her own *The Victoria Magazine*.

There is irony as well as truth in such a claim, given that both the summary intention of the magazine ("to eschew all party feelings, and to banish from [these] pages...all subjects, however interesting, that might lead to angry discussion" [*VM* xii.287]⁶²) and the majority of its content (alternately "Scott-inspired" historical romances and more realistic tales of "emigration and New World settlement" [Dyer 29, 34]) bespeak reserve rather than innovation. Ostensibly *The Victoria Magazine* addressed a working-class Canadian audience; in reality it mirrored the "imported British taste" and moral prescriptiveness of the editorial Moodies (Dyer 25, 37). Although they styled themselves, in their final issue, as "literary philanthropists" (*VM* xii.288), the Moodies were in fact less supportive of local talent than this and other printed claims portrayed them to be. Dyer reminds us that "few local writers" found a venue in *The Victoria Magazine*, and then only for short verses; indeed, "[o]nly three submitted prose works⁶³ met the editorial standards established by the Moodies" (38).⁶⁴ No doubt considerations of practicality, financial good sense, and marketing (rather than a dearth of "Canadian" submissions) held sway, since the lion's share of fiction in *The Victoria Magazine* was culled from a pool of material previously published by the three Strickland sisters, Susanna, Agnes and Catherine, all of whom could capitalize on the *cachet* of

being “internationally recognized writers” (Dyer 30). Irrespective of good intentions, *The Victoria Magazine* seems to have been less a venue for local literary talent than a family showcase, featuring several submissions from Susanna’s relatives,⁶⁵ and a host of contributions from her husband and coeditor, J.W. Dunbar Moodie.⁶⁶

Susanna wrote very little new fiction for her periodical, choosing instead to recycle five ready-to-hand stories from the 1820s and 30s.⁶⁷ These she supplemented, in popular miscellany style,⁶⁸ with one previously published poem,⁶⁹ three new verses,⁷⁰ assorted editorial commentary,⁷¹ an essay on “nineteenth-century pedagogy, issues of social stratification, and the politics of education” (Dyer 45),⁷² grimly written “Papers on Practical Jokes,”⁷³ several short “Canadian” sketches that were later included in *Roughing It in the Bush* and *Life in the Clearings*,⁷⁴ brief biographical offerings of a moral nature,⁷⁵ and three new stories. “Rachel Wilde, or Trifles from the Burthen of a Life” “The Quiet Horse: A Domestic Sketch” (VM xii.265-68), and “The Well in the Wilderness: A Tale of the Prairie.—Founded on Facts” (VM iii.54-58). Humour abounds in the purposely mistitled “The Quiet Horse” (“a light tale of a British gentlewoman’s misadventures driving a chaise...” [Dyer 31]), and a comic conclusion ultimately mitigates its class-conscious—and conservatively gendered?—moral that “there is always danger in taking either man or animal out of the sphere, where education and circumstances can alone render him useful” (VM xii.268). At the opposite end of the entertainment spectrum is “The Well in the Wilderness.” Although Dyer fashions an astute argument for the representative nature of this cautionary tale in *The Victoria Magazine*,⁷⁶ it is difficult to commend such a melodramatic transcription as being the apex of fiction “originally written and published by Mrs. Moodie for a Canadian

audience” (Dyer 34).⁷⁷ Moodie herself casts a dubious light on the piece, retrospectively, in a November 1852 letter to her British publisher, Richard Bentley: “These short sketches I know are the most *useful* for a periodical but they *waste the powers of an author*” (letter #46, *Letters* 129).

Clearly, the most developed piece of fiction to issue from Moodie’s pen in *The Victoria Magazine* is “Rachel Wilde, or, Trifles from the Burthen of a Life.” Whether defined as serialized novel, story, or series, it constitutes the *only extended fictional work* that Moodie wrote explicitly for her own periodical. “Rachel Wilde” flavoured most of *The Victoria Magazine*’s brief existence, appearing in seven of its twelve issues (*VM* v-xi, January to July 1848). Strangely, no reviews of *The Victoria Magazine* mention the novel—an indication, perhaps, that its effect on the reading public was either negligible or negative.⁷⁸ There may, of course, be some justification for viewing “Rachel Wilde” as Moodie’s myopic attempt at romantic self-fashioning for the approbation of her Belleville neighbours (Thurston, *The Work of Words* 104), and similar truth in Margot Northey’s contention that “‘Rachel Wilde’ becomes the obvious natural vehicle for Susanna Moodie to use for self-revelation and justification” (“Completing” 119).⁷⁹ Such biographical critiques, however, when divorced from a viable context or reason for self-fashioning/self-justification (such as the Napoleonic context supplied in the previous section of this chapter), do little to unpack a complex and conflicted text. Neither, it must be said, does “Rachel Wilde” handily conform to Dyer’s dichotomous split of *The Victoria Magazine*’s content between Old World romance and New World realism. How, then, might we proceed more productively with this work?

"Rachel Wilde" profits from another kind of internal comparison: namely, with the longest of the three local-authored fictions that the Moodies deemed worthy of publication in *The Victoria Magazine*—a piece which, perhaps not coincidentally, happens to be an artist narrative. In the January 1848 issue, directly preceding the first installment of Moodie's "Rachel Wilde," we read the opening segment of "Alciphron Leicester; or Love and Genius. A Miniature Romance." This story, by local writer Hamilton Aylmer,⁸⁰ ran parallel to "Rachel Wilde" for three months.⁸¹ During its last installment, in March 1848, *The Victoria Magazine* also featured Aylmer's "Address to a Young Poet" (*VM* vii.155), one of several "unexceptional verse pieces," according to Dyer, that saw print in *The Victoria Magazine* (38, nt 32).⁸² The artist theme common to "Rachel," "Alciphron," and the "Address" leads us to speculate that Moodie (who mined the theme of the artist frequently during her publishing life⁸³) consciously promoted artist-related fiction and lifestyles in the venue where she exercised absolute editorial freedom: her own periodical. While her interest in depictions of the artist may merely have coincided with the best writing presented to her during the historical moment that was *The Victoria Magazine*, it is equally probable that her particular thematic interests guided her editorial choices.

This inference gains support from other entries in *The Victoria Magazine*. One rather quirky example is Moodie's January 1848 review of the *Calliopean*, a semi-monthly publication by the young women of the Burlington Ladies Academy in Hamilton, Canada West. Acknowledging that the first number of this new periodical is "highly creditable," Moodie ignores the magazine's opening story-within-a-story in which two young women verbalize their fears about the writing life for women,⁸⁴ but

then goes on to take particular offence to the *Calliopean's* "sweeping censure" of two contemporary women artists, Fanny Ellsler and Jenny Lind, in an article entitled "Modern Idolotry" (*VM* v.119).⁸⁵ Moodie's closing injunction here, to "frankly yield to the artist his due," seems to bespeak her own candid support of women writers in the pages of *VM*—in spite of its ironic but era-appropriate generic use of the masculine pronoun ("his") to gender the artist.

Far from being jealous of her own literary reputation, Moodie's editorial commentary in *The Victoria Magazine* demonstrates an almost maternal support of younger women writers in Canada.⁸⁶ At the end of *The Victoria Magazine's* June 1848 issue, for example, Moodie praises "Ida Beresford" (a story printed in *The Literary Garland* in May of that year) for its depiction of a female character who, "with all her faults...[has] the fascination of a noble frank independence, which genius alone could imagine, and call into existence." Moodie augurs "a bright wreath of fame" for the "Canadian born" author, "[o]ne of the gifted, upon whom fancy smiled in her cradle, and genius marked...for his own" (*VM* x.240). The young author of "Ida Beresford," nineteen year-old Rosanna Eleanora Mullins Leprohon ("R.E.M."), would indeed live up to Moodie's elevated praise.⁸⁷ Even more salutary, in a practical sense, was Moodie's mentorship of the young Louisa Murray. In July 1848 she announced "To Correspondents" that *The Victoria Magazine* had accepted yet another extended artist narrative for publication: Murray's "Fauna, or the Red Flower of Leafy Hollow,"⁸⁸ a "delightful and original tale" which was to "form the leading attraction of the coming year" (*VM* xi.264).⁸⁹ When circumstances forced the cessation of *The Victoria Magazine* in the late summer of 1848, Moodie was unable to print "Fauna" as promised. So

committed was she, however, to “introducing ‘Fauna’ to the Canadian public.” that in 1851 she approached Eliza Cushing, then editor of *The Literary Garland*, to arrange for the publication of Murray’s story in that magazine (letter #41, *Letters* 99). In a subsequent letter to Murray (in which she encloses Cushing’s eager request for “Fauna”), Moodie offsets what she fears will seem “a mere business letter” with the sentiment that “it would afford me great pleasure to be able to render you the least assistance in your literary career...my dear young lady” (13 Jan. 1851, letter #42, *Letters* 99-100). Such examples put specific faces to Moodie’s literary philanthropy at the same time that they attest to her interest in literary depictions of artistic women.

It is difficult to imagine that the astute, self-referential Moodie would not have recognized the built-in possibilities for contrast between hers and Hamilton Aylmer’s artist stories—works that differ profoundly in their narrations of artistic experience. Although the eponymous artist characters Rachel Wilde and Alciphron Leicester share certain thematic elements (youthful dreams of artistic success in old world England, unexpected setbacks, and the experience of emotional and physical exile), their stories differ structurally, tonally, and gender-wise. Aylmer’s decision, for example, to employ a frame narrative, has a bifocal effect on readers that Moodie’s does not.⁹⁰ Given that the frame takes place on a steamboat in the St. Lawrence (the physical equivalent of a dream state?) and that the frame narrator is absorbed in a “romance by Bulwer” just prior to his meeting of Alciphron Leicester (“I had just arrived at the passage which describes the meeting of [Ernest] Maltravers and his first love after the separation of many years...” 108), readers cannot help but suspect that the events to follow will somehow recapitulate the romance plot of Edward Bulwer Lytton’s “badly-travelled” artist hero, *Maltravers*.⁹¹

In fulfilment of such expectations—and contrary to the unpredictable episodic nature of Moodie's "Rachel"—this is precisely what happens. The Alciphron Leicester who boards the steamer at Brockville, "stagger[ing] with extreme weakness" (as presumably befits a young man of his "passion and genius" [108]), tells his story to the frame narrator, who in turn imparts it to us in Alciphron's own voice. The resulting story of Alciphron's life employs, in fine romance tradition, cruel fate as antagonist and conjugal love as outcome. Alciphron, of course, is ultimately reunited with his beloved after a long separation, thereby making his tale a "Miniature Romance" of Bulwer's (as Aylmer's second subtitle, "A Miniature Romance," promises). The link to Bulwer can arguably be taken one metafictional step further: given that the frame narrator has had a "past connexion [sic] with that eminent man," as Alciphron Leicester had had while in England, it may be Aylmer's (prematurely postmodern) intention that we read the entire story of "Alciphron Leicester" as the literal/literary projection of the narrator, a daydream in which he indulges "to beguile the weariness of a steam-boat voyage" ("AL" 108).

There is a rhetorical cleverness to this conscious example of art-imitating-life-imitating-art. There is also, however, a saccharine quality to the story's more overt and overwhelming program: its teleology of triumph. Signposted throughout Alciphron's early narrative are the indications of his later success. At one particularly low point, for example, when his uncle ("a man devoid of all principle") has decided to force the young artist "to leave England, now and forever"—thereby stunting his promising poetic connections with "Moore, MacKay, and other eminent writers," including Bulwer⁹²—Alciphron steps in with the following assurance to the frame narrator/reader: "But as the star that ushers in the day, is often obscured by clouds, only to herald in the night with

greater lustre and brilliancy, so my fame, nearly crushed in its infancy, in the old country, was yet destined to attain a glorious maturity in the New World, under more favourable auspices" (123). Creative astronomy aside, Alciphron's celestial self-regard is off-putting. If his is, indeed, "a tale of success and vigor in the New World" (Dyer 82), it also passes as unpalatable romance—a contrast both to the female-authored fictions addressed in the previous chapter of this thesis and to Moodie's own "Rachel Wilde."

Though the artist hero Alciphron encounters "almost insuperable difficulties" ("AL" 109), they are impediments uniquely external to him: the machinations of fate through unscrupulous persons, rather than the self-generated, alienating transgressions of Rachel Wilde. There is never any question that Alciphron has the right to pursue the vague and as-yet-unnamed "ambition" that seizes upon him at the age of twelve years; he only needs, like a picaresque hero, to find the means ("AL" 109). Though he lacks economic advantage, he does not want for social approbation. Rachel's dilemma, as we have seen, is of another order. Because these experiences of self-perception and exile are categorically different, so too are the respective fictional outcomes for Alciphron and Rachel. The "triumph" of Alciphron—complete with its reward of a dubiously-rendered artistic spouse—is unavailable to Rachel precisely because it is an explicitly male program of artistic success. Although we know regrettably little about Hamilton Aylmer himself, his story's triply male-gendered viewpoint (Aylmer—frame narrator—Alciphron) reveal both his own sense of artistic empowerment and his stereotypical vision of the artistic female. Readers are thereby justified in suspecting that, in printing Aylmer's story contemporaneously with her own "Rachel Wilde," Moodie is both presenting Aylmer's position and disputing it. Moodie, moreover, can be seen to have

acted in this instance as both editor of *The Victoria Magazine* and—in relation to contributor Hamilton Aylmer—as rival, even revisionist, writer.

Aylmer's story makes an assumption about the gendering of artistic triumph that is as fascinating as it is standard for its era: a woman must prove her "genius" (read *vesselship*) through public performance, whereas a man, creator unto himself, has no need of such external validation. As if to illustrate this point formally, much of "Alciphron Leicester" is given over to the narration of the former scenario, female performance. Long before we can form any judgement of Alciphron's poetic talent we meet two female musicians whose artistic mettle must be proved before an audience. At a patriarchally-arranged piano competition, the extensive formal training of Alciphron's cousin Frances is pitted against the "almost self-taught...genius" of Julia Maynard.⁹³ The familiar Romantic rhetoric here, coupled with our knowledge that timid Frances pursues her studies out of "duty" rather than passion ("AL" 112), make the competition's victor a foregone conclusion. Unacceptably heavy-handed, however, is the coincidence that the victor, Julia Maynard, is in fact "the beautiful and mysterious girl who had pledged her everlasting faith" to Alciphron at some previous (and undisclosed) point in the narrative ("AL" 121).

Like the "Venus" to whom she is compared, Julia Maynard clearly holds only representational significance in the story. She is the unreal ideal of Woman, a literary culmination of untrammelled male desire and feverishly purple prose. Her beauty, and to a less-scrutinized extent, her talent, belong in the realm of the "ethereal" ("exquisite proportions," "a miracle of genius and beauty," "unearthly sweetness and grandeur"), yet she is also suitably passive: a natural prodigy who "gaze[s] timidly around" before "her

fairy fingers rus[h] across the ivory keys.” Predictably, her performance of “Lesbia’s song” transforms her into the ideal embodiment of female genius: “never was there a more lovely representative of the *love-sick* Grecian poetess” (“AL” 121; emphasis mine). Julia humbly receives the “laurel crown” from no less a personage than “Listz” himself, who declares her London debut “brilliant and triumphant” and then voluminously pronounces on her illustrious future (“AL” 121). When Alciphron meets her again, near the end of the story, she is making her New York debut—this time as a singer. In her “magnificent apartment,” Alciphron approvingly notes that she is—unlikely as it would seem—reading one of *his own* epic poems (“AL” 149),⁹⁴ and he learns that her earliest musical attempts had been inspired by the amorous urge to “wed” his poems to music (“AL” 150). This pandering to Alciphron’s talent diminishes her own, and makes her, once again, the object of his now autoerotic gaze.

Devoid of any humanizing sense of struggle, Julia’s accomplishments initially seem more a kind of artistic fickleness (composer, pianist, singer) than true talent; an amateur’s good luck rather than the Romantic artistic personality so interestingly problematized in “Rachel Wilde.” We learn, however, that love, not luck, is Julia’s strong suit. Having made but little musical progress under the lifelong tutelage of her aunt, ““a very distinguished composer,”” her association with Alciphron prompts her, suddenly and ardorously, to musical excellence (“AL” 150). Despite the story’s oblique suggestion that Julia reverses the stereotypical artist-muse relationship by taking Alciphron as her muse, the traditional paradigms of gender and chivalric romance conspire to render her literally silent. In a predictable final scene, Alciphron proposes to her—a woman, remember, who has just achieved a glorious American debut—and when

she says nothing in reply, he superimposes his agenda on hers, crowing that “silence is consent” (“AL” 150). Having begun her only speech in the story by decorously admitting, “Leicester....I owe all to you,” the erstwhile female artist ends wordlessly beholden (“AL” 150). As in later, male-authored artist fictions by Hawthorne (*The Marble Faun*, 1860) and Howells (*The Coast of Bohemia*, 1893), Alymer’s Julia ends her pseudo-career by marrying “the more authentic artist” (Huf, *A Portrait* 27).

How authentic he is, however, is a point well questioned. Unwilling to subsist as a school-teacher in Canada, Alciphron packs up for New York and proceeds to enjoy instantaneous literary success in the United States after having pointedly failed to do so in Canada. Perched on a slippery slope of superlatives, he employs minimal skill and negligible effort as the American accolades roll in. He publishes a book of poetry with Harpers and within one paragraph is “placed by unanimous consent, in the first rank of American Poets.” His book requires “[e]dition after edition,” is “quoted and praised by the principal periodicals,” is set to music by professionals and is illustrated by “the most distinguished painters of the age.” Not only does his reputation reverberate back to Europe but he becomes the feature of a statue (“by the great Chantry”⁹⁵), a portrait (“by no less a man than Alston”⁹⁶), engravings (“in every village of the Union”), university degrees, and public dinners. The apparent wish-fulfillment Aylmer projects onto his character does not end here. As a final extravagant laurel, the American President himself endows Alciphron Leicester with a political office. This honour leads to his election as governor of a western State—“a compliment seldom paid to literary fame even in this country” (“AL” 149).

As the culmination of a fantastical catalogue, this final comment underlines not only the prodigiousness of Alciphron's "American *Dream*" (perhaps literally so, given the steam-boat opening on the river border between Canada and the United States), but also the lovely irony that his Old World aspirations toward "literary fame" cannot be suitably remedied (*à la* the subtitle of Moodie's later *Roughing It*) by "life in Canada" ("AL" 149). Alciphron claims that "...in Canada I found it impossible to live by writing, as the country possessed no native literature" ("AL" 148). It is a criticism made retrospectively, from the vantage point of his revered "seat on the Hudson" ("AL" 150), whence he enjoins the frame narrator to join him, as they part on the steamer. Hamilton Aylmer, of course, could boast no such literary cushion, and his story, by default, participates precisely in the creation of "native literature" in an "impossible" colonial venue. The subsequent irony, then, of the injunction against writing in Canada—spoken by the British-born creation of an indigenous Canadian writer and appearing in the non-remunerative *The Victoria Magazine*⁹⁷ for further Canadian consumption—becomes almost too delicious. Some readers of *The Victoria Magazine*, and no doubt Moodie herself, must have relished it.

Moodie's later commentary in chapter seven of *Roughing It in the Bush* provides a revealing gloss on how naming itself reveals possible connections among specious wish-fulfilment, Americanized Canadianism, and the suppression of female voice that Aylmer's narrative seems to champion. In the chapter that describes "Uncle Joe [a "thin, weasel-faced Yankee"] and His Family" (*RIB* 85), Moodie foregrounds the "[s]trange names...to be found in this free country." She is talking about Canada, but her critique of New World appellations is generated by reflection on the "extraordinary name" of

Ammon, son of the American-born Uncle Joe. There is more to Moodie's remarks, here, than a simple critique of the leveling influence of democracy on the frontier. "What think you, gentle reader," says Moodie, parodying British authorial confidentiality, "of *Solomon Sly*, *Reynard Fox*, and *Hiram Dolittle*: all veritable names, and belonging to substantial yeomen? After Ammon and Ichabod, I should not be at all surprised to meet with Judas Iscariot, Pilate and Herod" (87). Moodie's anti-Americanism is clear. The two trilogies of names are derogatory, first in terms of trickery and slothfulness ("Sly," which undercuts the wisdom of "Solomon"; "Fox," which mimics "Reynard"; the eminently self-explanatory "Do-little"), and then in terms of damningly anti-Christian associations ("Judas Iscariot," "Pilate," "Herod"). Forming a bridge and thereby linking the three sets of names in Sam "Slick"-like Americanism and biblical ignominy is the middle group, which suggests the progeny of America: "Ammon" (Uncle Joe's son but also the Ammonite tribe that warred against King David in 2 Sam.10-12) and "Ichabod" (Washington Irving's "Ichabod Crane" but also the biblical cognomen for "inglorious"⁹⁸). Moodie's narrator appears here almost religiously superior to both British paternalism ("gentle reader") and American slickness.

When Moodie then turns to "the female appellations," however, Canada becomes the clear focus of the satire. She contrasts the "old homely Jewish names" that she prefers—one thinks, naturally, of "Rachel," and of Moodie's own name "Susanna"—with those "high-sounding christianities" (that are, of course, unchristian), "the Minervas, Cinderellas, and Almerias of Canada" (*RIB* 87)—to which list we might reasonably add (since its gender is ambiguous) "the Alciphrons." These obviously idealized female names that Moodie mentions (evoking, variously, a goddess, a fairy tale heroine, and,

perhaps, an aristocratic woman) resonate with Alciphron's idealized artistic success,⁹⁹ but also conjure the ethereal quality of that Venus-cum-Sappho, Julia Maynard. When Moodie's *Roughing It* passage goes on to critique the connection between naming and female silence, a fiercer feminist commentary on "Alciphron Leicester" becomes, by implication, clear. Says Moodie,

The love of singular names is here carried to a marvellous extent. It was only yesterday that, in passing through one busy village, I stopped in astonishment before a tombstone headed thus:—'Sacred to the memory of *Silence* Sharman, the beloved wife of Asa Sharman.' Was the woman deaf and dumb, or did her friends hope by bestowing upon her such an impossible name to still the voice of Nature, and check, by an admonitory appellative, the active spirit that lives in the tongue of woman? Truly, Asa Sharman, if thy wife was silent by name as well as by nature, thou wert a fortunate man!

By aligning "the voice of Nature" with "the active spirit that lives in the tongue of woman,"¹⁰⁰ Moodie elevates female speech and consent to the height of Romantic moral rhetoric, thus pitting herself sharply against the "impossible"/"admonitory" "name"/"appellative" of imposed female "*Silence*." Her own "tongue" is firmly in her cheek when she dubs Asa Sharman "fortunate" in his wife's silence. How much more "fortunate" is Alymer's Alciphron Leicester, who suppresses that valued "active spirit" of woman (*RIB* 87), silencing it into the submission of marriage?

It is thus as the icing on a cloyingly rich cake that Alymer's tale concludes with Alciphron's happy marriage to Julia—happy, that is, from the male point of view. The ending reveals the extent of the gulf between Alymer's and Moodie's visions of enfranchisement and success for their respective artists. With Julia's subservience guaranteed by her silence, Alymer's story concludes in the words of the frame narrator (still on the steamer, now in Kingston), praising Alciphron. The narrator vows to "write the story of that illustrious man, as he detailed it to me himself":

...it shows how energy and perseverance will triumph over obstacles apparently unsurmountable [sic]; and talent and genius though at first neglected and undervalued; will ultimately obtain the dazzling crown of fame, wreathed of the immortal laurel that shadows the steep of Parnassus, as well as the wealth and influence that successful genius always commands. ("AL" 150).

By stark contrast, Moodie's Rachel Wilde makes the conscious decision to sacrifice fame and career for marriage and its consequences:

The desire to be loved by one noble heart was dearer to her than ambition, than the applause of the world; and she resigned the tempting wreath it offered her, to follow the adverse fortunes of the beloved—to toil in poverty and sorrow by his side—a stranger and an exile in a foreign land. ("RW" [2]52)

Of the many comparisons that could be made between these endings, perhaps the most remarkable is the contrast between triumph in the former, and resignation (as opposed to failure) in the latter. The laurel wreath, apex of Apollo-blessed artistic success, is figuratively granted to both Rachel and Alciphron,¹⁰¹ but the woman's upward path is blocked, financially as well as emotionally, by the very love she embraces. Though we learn that "the world, as umpire, decided the question of her capacity, and gave [Rachel] the meed of praise" ("RW" [2]52), there is never a point at which Moodie's character can contemplate offering someone her "heart" alongside "a fortune and a glorious and enduring fame" ("AL" 149). Indeed, in sharp contrast to a rarified world of money and power ("the wealth and influence that successful genius always commands" ["AL" 150]), Moodie's Rachel must "toil in poverty and sorrow...a stranger and an exile in a foreign land" ("RW" [2]52), her genius unremunerated. If Aylmer's story enacts a fairy tale ending, Moodie's piece deflates the stereotype. "Rachel Wilde" provides the kind of ambivalent relationship among love, ambition, and economics that recurs in every narrative penned by women about artist characters. Readers might

suspect, indeed, that Moodie chose to print Aylmer's self-styled "Romance" as a pretty foil to her own—and her own sex's—unresolved and realistic dilemma.¹⁰²

The very subtitles of Aylmer's and Moodie's stories encode significant commentary on the domestic and artistic possibilities that they envisioned for artistic females of their era. It is no coincidence that Aylmer provides a "Miniature Romance" between an exquisitely feminine "Love" (Julia Maynard) and an explicitly masculine "Genius" (Alciphron Leicester). Aylmer's self-conscious debt to *Ernest Maltravers*, and his structuring of a frame literally overwritten by other male voices (Alciphron's and the frame narrator's) unsurprisingly points to a privileging of male genius. Despite the story's trained gaze on Julia's performance, her music is rendered figuratively silent and then deftly reinscribed (through a patriarchal interpretation of blushes and tears) as domestic submission. She wields no power, exercises no narrative autonomy. She is, in other words, a suitable woman. Functionally yet another reward bestowed upon the male artist, the compliant Julia disappears from the frame ending, literally written out of the narrator's final tribute to genius.

By contrast, Moodie's deprecatingly subtitled "Trifles from the Burthen of a Life" provides a love ending that both accommodates and challenges the ideal of True Womanhood. As Rachel Blau DuPlessis reminds us, "[u]sing the female artist as a literary motif dramatizes and heightens" certain moral assumptions implicit in Victorian society and its Cult of Domesticity, namely "the already-present contradiction in bourgeois ideology between the ideal of striving, improvement, and visible public works, and the feminine version of that formula: passivity, 'accomplishments,' and invisible private acts" (*Writing Beyond the Ending* 84). It may be, following from DuPlessis, that

the implied gender-deprecation in Moodie's subtitle for "Rachel Wilde" is simultaneously conventional and reactionary (one thinks here of Moodie's British contemporary, Anna Brownell Jameson¹⁰³)—a strategy of subterfuge, in effect, threaded through the fictional portrayal of Moodie's artistic female. As "trifles," her charged reflections on a rebellious girl's artistic formation *almost* become the innocuous stuff of polite women's fiction. And by exploiting the language of Christian self-sacrifice—life as suffering, weight, "burthen," which readily adheres to a narrative of exile—Moodie cleverly reinscribes female ambition *à la* Napoleon as "*Trifles* from the *Burthen* of a Life" (emphasis mine). This was an appellation that Moodie affixed to each of her three autobiographical fictions—works that mention the ambition of writing amidst various domestic circumstances—and a title which, in the early 1850s, she still considered "a novelty" (*Letters* 142).¹⁰⁴ Its freshness for her may, indeed, have resided in her own perceived contrast between its apparent gender-deprecation and its underlying seriousness of content. This same relation of statement to subterfuge is again perceptible in the note of compromise that tonally fixes the ending of "Rachel Wilde." Here Moodie appears to set career and marriage in opposition (Rachel "resigned the tempting wreath...to follow...the beloved"), yet the mitigated choice itself becomes the very bridge that unites, rather than separates, these spheres of identity. Compromise, after all, implies the freedom to choose.

Given the story's prevailing emphasis on physical punishment, misunderstanding, denial, and emotional exile for the female artist, Rachel Wilde tellingly chooses the healing balm of a love relationship. That this involves a joint physical exile reminiscent of the expulsion from Paradise simultaneously acknowledges her literary transgression

and questions the nature of patriarchally-inscribed Paradise in the first place. Inasmuch as Rachel's choice allows her a potentially new identity in a new place, it reveals itself to be more empowered and positive than it first appears. Rachel Wilde's paradise lost, in other words, is more desirable than Julia Maynard's paradise gained. It is also strikingly self-directed. Moodie's perfunctory treatment of Rachel's love interest keeps our attention firmly focused on the female character; thus, the tone of the final paragraph's exile motif strategically avoids both the cosiness of Jane's and Rochester's "new Eden of love at Ferndean" and the "Promised Land of vocation" that would later appear to Aurora and Romney Leigh in the apocalyptic light of an amethyst sunrise (Holberg, "Searching" 138). As if in anticipation of Isabella Valancy Crawford's masterful poem, *Malcolm's Katie* (1884), where Katie vows not to trade her wilderness for Eden "Nor—Max for Adam, if I knew my mind" (vii.40).¹⁰⁵ Rachel willfully chooses a fallen life of imperfection and exile with a(n unnamed) spouse—accommodating, perhaps, rather than sacrificing outright, the artistic rebelliousness of her youth. Perhaps, like Napoleon, Rachel—through Moodie—recreates herself, at the end of chapter IX, according to the expectations of a late 1840s Belleville audience: she becomes, effectively, an Eve cast out, "a stranger and an exile in a foreign land" ("RW" [2]52).

In 1848, in a social climate still ambivalent towards the woman writer (never mind the hubristic depiction of her in fiction), it comes as little surprise that while a male author like Hamilton Aylmer could write openly of "genius" and even "love" as they pertained to a male artist character, the same titular confidence was much delayed in women-authored stories of female artists. Not until 1872—some twenty four years after the appearance of Moodie's "Rachel Wilde"—did Louisa Murray publish her boldly

titled serialized novel in *The Canadian Monthly and National Review*: “Marguerite Kneller, Artist and Woman.” subject of the next chapter of this thesis.

Chapter Four

Love's Labor's Lost to Art's Autonomy: 'Consolation' in Louisa Murray's "Marguerite Kneller, Artist and Woman"

Our wooing doth not end like an old play:
Jack hath not Gill.
(Shakespeare, *Love's Labor's Lost* V.ii.874-75)

Perhaps, reader, you expect me to finish my story by telling you that [Karl Rudorff] there met Marguerite, that they loved each other, were married, and were happy. It may have been so, but I have told my story as far as it was told to me, and have no such happy ending to relate. I own, too, that to me it seems more in accordance with the usual course of events in this unsatisfying world that these two should never meet, or if they met should not recognize each other; but if you, dear reader, are inclined to hold a pleasanter belief, so much the better, and I sincerely hope you may never have any reason to change it.

(Louisa Murray, "Marguerite Kneller, Artist and Woman," Chapter XXI, 526)

So reads the final paragraph of Louisa Murray's serialized novel, "Marguerite Kneller, Artist and Woman" (*The Canadian Monthly and National Review*, 1872).¹ In its direct and self-conscious address to the reader (the only such authorial intrusion in the story), this paragraph adopts the familiar literary convention of the *envoi*, but within a few terse sentences proceeds to challenge both that convention and a circa 1870s conception of the "happy ending" for women—artistic women in particular. In Murray's *envoi* is heard no note of Chaucer's "Taketh the moralitee, goode men" ("The Nun's Priest's Tale," l. 620), for there is no clear lesson, no fixed position of moral certainty at the heart of the socially-volatile subject she has just related: the realization of artistic vocation for women. Murray's *envoi*, rather, substitutes irony for assurance. Just as *Love's Labors Lost* is a comedy that self-consciously ends in partings rather than in weddings ("Jack hath not Gill"),² Murray's story is a romantic fiction that resolutely withholds the

redeeming romance—and thereby affirms its own unorthodoxy. Painter Marguerite Kneller, abandoned by her betrothed lover because of her lack of physical beauty, does not marry—or even meet—Karl Rudorff, the artist whose temperament and vision would presumably match and complement hers (or so readers are encouraged to believe). Though both characters end the story contemplating a visit to pastoral Normandy, their paths do not cross. McMullen and Campbell note that such an ending, “without closure—with the protagonist unmarried—is uncommon for the time, as Rachel Blau DuPlessis’s *Writing Beyond the Ending* makes clear” (“Louisa Murray” 125). As if to evade responsibility for this deliberate transgression against fictional convention, Murray claims to be a mere copyist (“I have told my story as far as it was told to me”), but in the next breath “own”s a frank opinion that aligns her narrative voice absolutely with the story’s ambivalent close. Having simultaneously postulated and deflated the reader’s conventional expectation of the “happy ending” of marriage in “this unsatisfying world,” Murray then offers a tonally ambiguous final sentiment to the now parodically stylized “dear reader”: the “sincer[e] hope” that “a pleasanter belief” will prevail, and further—in an unmistakably admonitory tone—that the reader may “never have any reason to change it.” This is the ending of *Villette* (1853),³ but with a twist. Whereas Charlotte Brontë’s penultimate paragraph—in its ironic rehearsal of all manner of romantically-contrived happy endings—“leave[s] sunny imaginations hope” that Paul Emanuel will miraculously survive the ship-wrecking storm and return to Lucy Snowe,⁴ Murray’s *envoi* foregrounds the insubstantiality of such airy (female) optimism. Both endings critique an outmoded generic convention, but only Murray’s renders a warning about “the contingent realities of women’s lives” (Leighton, *Victorian Women Poets* 64).

The sudden alliance of Marguerite Kneller's fictional world with the reader's "unsatisfying" one, and Murray's implicit claim that the latter impinges on the former, charge us to read the story in the social contexts that shaped it—contexts that include such hotly-debated nineteenth-century topics as women's education, equality, agency, and autonomy. That the final two chapters of the story are titled, respectively, "The Artist's Triumph" and "The Woman's Sorrow" signals the division between profession and gender, success and failure, that is implied in Murray's bold subtitle, "Artist and Woman"—a subtitle that itself echoes, in inverted terms, Elizabeth Barrett Browning's *Aurora Leigh* (1858): "Woman and artist—either incomplete, / Both credulous of completion" (II. 4-5). Murray, like Barrett Browning, points to the rupture in subjectivity but does not exhort a conventional polemic. She does not, like the pseudonymous "Diana" in the April 1870 issue of New Brunswick's *Stewart's Quarterly*, avow that "women *must* make a choice, they *cannot* be first at home and first abroad" ("'Woman's Rights': and a Woman's View of Them" 72).⁵ Indeed, Murray refuses to alight on either "side" of the question of female fulfillment. Her deliberate withholding of the marriage ending, and her own unmarried status, align her both symbolically and literally with the figure of the women's rights advocate—with, for example, the paradigmatic reformer who "loses sight of her vocation as wife and mother, and takes her place as an independent instrument" (Diana 71). Yet Murray also makes use of a uniquely-envisioned strategy in which art's link to life—specifically to romantic fulfillment, the thematic equivalent, for women writers, of the generic blurring of *Künstlerroman* and *Bildungsroman*—is acknowledged, valued, mourned, and incorporated into craft. The result is the literary creation of a particular brand of compensatory contentment. Indeed,

as if in answer to the famous lament of Caroline Heilbrun in 1977 in a chapter on female artist characters titled "The Failure of Imagination."⁶ Murray's serialized novel represents the literary creation of a rare—and probably self-referential—autonomy.

In the poignant final chapter that charts the irrevocable distance between them, Marguerite tells her erstwhile lover, Maurice Valazé, "'I am contented...I have learned to do without happiness'" ("MK" 524). However much this statement seems a melancholy compromise, it articulates a surprisingly autonomous subjectivity for 1872, and a correspondingly fresh aesthetic vision. Louisa Murray's Marguerite Kneller is a woman artist unrequited in love, but, as if in open defiance of a long literary tradition, she refuses to become a "tragic heroine of love" (Leighton 30). Ending her story alive, unmarried, artistically successful, and "contented," Marguerite effectively flouts the most pervasive ideological construction of the female artist in the nineteenth century: the legacy of "Sapphic suicidalism" (Leighton, 39) that stretches from Germaine de Staël's *Corinne* (1807) to Kate Chopin's *The Awakening* (1899). As Angela Leighton argues in *Victorian Women Poets: Writing Against the Heart* (1992), the lovelorn Sappho's leap into the sea from the Leucadian cliff "connects female creativity with death in a pact which the Victorian imagination [found] endlessly appealing" (35).⁷ So it is that de Staël's *Corinne*, Italy's most famous improvisatrice, bodily performs her intoxicating "Last Song" before she dies in dramatic despair from love's betrayal. In like fashion, the sculptress-heroine of Felicia Hemans' "Properzia Rossi" (1828) literally carves her reproachful grief into stone, aligning self and art in a "false Pygmalionism" of "self-conscious 'heroinism'" (Leighton 39). When death comes to the singer at the end of L.E.L.'s *The Improvisatrice* (1824), the repentant Lorenzo broods over her self-

celebratory picture, clearly in love with the sibyl who is now conveniently frozen into art, into “her own Grecian Urn.” In the containment of this frozen posture, the subjective woman artist ironically transmogrifies into objective “artistic property” for the man who has betrayed her (Leighton 61). Though L.E.L.’s “semi-autobiographical ‘A History of the Lyre’” (1828) represents a new “sense of perspective, both technical and thematic, on its ‘mournful history / Of woman’s tenderness and woman’s tears,’” here too the Corinne-like Italian heroine, Eulalie, ends up “dead from despair” (Leighton 65).

This catalogue of Sapphic corpses was not lost on Louisa Murray, who herself wrote extensively about nineteenth-century British women authors. Among her astute and recuperative pieces is a long biographical essay—one might even say a biographical fiction—titled “The Story of ‘L.E.L.’” (*The Canadian Monthly and National Review*, August 1874), a work that appeared two years after the publication of “Marguerite Kneller.”⁸ Perhaps most striking in a comparison of these two pieces is the gulf between the fictional Marguerite and the literary L.E.L. Each of the elements that had apparently fashioned L.E.L. into “‘The Sappho of a polished age’” (130)—flattery, vanity, social vulnerability, romanticized duplicity—are assiduously absent from Murray’s earlier story. Clearly, Murray literally “grew up,” as it were, with the myth of L.E.L., but she refused to reproduce it in “Marguerite Kneller,” her only extended fictional treatment of the female artist. Though overtly charmed by the “spell” of L.E.L.’s poetry and person, and decidedly sympathetic to her tragic end, Murray states her hortatory thesis in no uncertain terms: “How this hapless English poetess came to find her grave on that desolate African shore forms a mournful story—not without a lesson and a warning much like those which Madame de Staël has so powerfully taught in her Corinne” (“The Story”

131). The subsequent didactic content of Murray's essay revolves around the combined evils of intoxicating literary praise and impossible social expectation: splendid and exhausted, the young L.E.L. is as "the poor moth flutter[ing] around the flame," unable to "escape" her fatal fascination with "the glitter and glare that looked so bright" (136). Having been disappointed in love through the machinations of others and her own "false pride," L.E.L. is driven by "paroxysms of nervous pain" to the use of "the strongest narcotics" (138). The rest of her "story" unfolds with the inexorability of tragedy: the poetess' decision to embrace self-exile on the African coast, capriciously married to a Scottish officer of shocking moral character, represents a "voluntary death" that precedes her actual one (139). Though the official cause of her death is given as the accidental overdose of (medicinal) prussic acid, Murray seems dissatisfied with this explanation, and rests rhetorically, on her penultimate page, on the possibility of L.E.L.'s having committed suicide—a "terrible method of escaping from sufferings she had not strength to bear" (145).

As if in recognition of the sweet allure of a self-indulgent death, Murray has her own artist heroine flirt with suicide—and reject it. At the lowest point in the narrative, Marguerite musters the strength to maintain that "[n]o one shall suffer through me, least of all [my father] who alone has truly loved me" ("MK" 436). Though phrased in terms of filial duty, Marguerite's decision proceeds from her rejection of the "narcissistic consciousness of woe" that the Sappho-Corinne paradigm bodies forth in its "aesthetic of tearfulness" (Leighton 43–44). Not only does she reject physical suicide, but she also doubly rejects artistic suicide—first, by abandoning her morbid plan to paint Goethe's tragic heroine, Clara, in "the pale and livid hues of [suicidal] despair" ("MK" 435), and

second, by allowing the music of a passing funeral train to elevate her mind from like despair to the healing balm of service to suffering humanity. After the death of her father, Christian Kneller, Marguerite's filial duty becomes her "Christian" duty to the larger community: the legacy of her dead mother's concern for the poor becomes her own life's secondary mission, a practical compensation akin to art's aesthetic one. As Marguerite tells Maurice in the pivotal final chapter, "I live in another world also...It is a world in which there is much sorrow, much suffering, and sometimes I am able to make that sorrow and suffering a little less. Then I am more than contented—then I feel that life is sweet, and that I have not lived in vain!" ("MK" 525).

Though Murray's invocation of the double-blessedness of Christian service is, in many ways, premised on the conventional middle-class value of female charity, she does not channel this idea into the nineteenth-century Victorian extreme of female piety. When Marguerite refuses to accept Maurice's paternalistic epithet, "Sainte Marguerite" ("MK" 525), it is as if she—along with Murray—is rejecting the whole of the Richardsonian sentimental tradition⁹ that hid women's artistic endeavours beneath such burdensome religious labels as "saint" or "that holy Spirit" (Wordsworth's 1835 tribute to the dead poet, Felicia Hemans).¹⁰ To Maurice's gushing compliment that Marguerite had "always" been "good and unselfish like the angels" and is now more "Sainte Marguerite" than "Reine Marguerite," the heroine replies in a quiet exasperation of words that makes Maurice "wince": "[D]o not call me Sainte Marguerite, Maurice, even in jest. I am no more a saint now than I was a queen in the days of old" ("MK" 525).¹¹ Neither angel, saint, nor queen, she is also not martyr, though the funeral dirge does "[bring] to her mind that great army of martyrs, saints, and heroes, made perfect through suffering" ("MK"

437). Louisa Murray refrains from using her heroine's grief to advance the kind of sacrificial devotional aesthetic that informs, for example, Christina Rossetti's "From House to Home" (1858), a poem that seems to offer a transcendent female alternative to Tennyson's worldly "Palace of Art" (1832).¹² Marguerite suffers, but she does not, like the "Christ-like poet of Rossetti's vision," ecstatically drink down "the bitterness of self-abnegation" in order, finally, to sing (Gilbert and Gubar, *Madwoman* 571-72). True, Marguerite ends her story in double-visioned remembrance of "[h]ere, where the sweetest cup earth can give was offered to my lips, and suddenly snatched away, leaving in its stead a draught as bitter as that other was sweet" ("MK" 526). Her suffering, however, is earth-bound, contemplative, even reassuring: the reader's link to "this unsatisfying world." In such a world, she continues her work: "If I live I must paint" ("MK" 526). She has been an artist from the story's outset, adapting and exceeding male models, steadily welding vision to technique. Never premised on love, art remains her autonomous preserve, accomodating her suffering rather than atrophying under it. When, at story's end, Marguerite wins the Parisian Academy's gold medal, her victory proceeds from her unique, poignant, and courageous painting, "Genius offering Psyche consolation for the loss of Love" ("MK" 521).

One imagines that little could console Louisa Murray herself, were she alive today, for the utter oblivion into which her forty-year career as a published writer has fallen. In each of the fewer than half a dozen biographical-critical articles about her (all of them written by women), the same ominous bell tolls: though "[m]uch admired in her own time," and "prominent in her lifetime," Louisa Murray is "virtually unknown today."

“almost forgotten today” (McMullen and Campbell, “Louisa Murray” 123; Godard, “Louisa Annie Murray” 776). *The Oxford Companion to Canadian Literature*, for example, makes no mention of the woman whom Barbara Godard claims was “the major Canadian prose writer of the 1870s” (776). Godard’s high praise can be substantiated. Despite the “publication difficulties” that “plagu[ed] Murray’s career”—including the accidental burning and loss of manuscripts, and the closure or bankruptcy of periodical and book publishers who had contracted her work—her literary output was prodigious (Godard 776). Between the time of her first published story, in 1851, and her death (at the age of 76) in 1894, she published at least six serialized novels,¹³ two short stories,¹⁴ two long poems and several short ones,¹⁵ at least eighteen essays and commentaries,¹⁶ two substantial reviews of the works of notable Canadian male poets,¹⁷ and a topical description of the Niagara region for George Grant’s *Picturesque Canada* (Toronto: Belden 1882). Her publishing venues included such magazines as *The Literary Garland*, *The British American Magazine*, *The Canadian Monthly and National Review*, *The Nation*, *The Christian Guardian*, *The Maritime Monthly*, *Once A Week* (London, England), and *The Week*. D’Arcy McGee, who shortly before his assassination in 1868 had apparently contemplated establishing a magazine, is said to have “sent Miss Murray a printed prospectus, asking her to become a contributor” (Wetherald “Some Canadian” 335). Though the magazine was never printed, McGee’s interest links Murray with Mary Anne Sadlier (mentioned in chapter two of this thesis), another talented Irish-Canadian immigrant woman author. As further testament to Murray’s warm reception in her adopted country, Henry J. Morgan included her in his *Sketches of Celebrated Canadians, and Persons Connected with Canada* (Quebec 1862). His later *Types of Canadian*

Women and of Women Who Are or Have Been Connected with Canada (Toronto 1903), which reproduces a daguerrotype of Murray, notes that her six serialized novels “all...display intellectual power and marked literary capacity” (205). In 1894, in a notice of obituary in *The Week* entitled “A Loss to Canadian Literature,” Agnes Maule Machar paid tribute to Murray as “one of the best prose writers Canada has yet possessed” (1064).

In contrast to much of the conservative rhetoric of her day on such issues as female education, feminine influence, and female genius, Murray was prolifically outspoken. Three years after the appearance of “Marguerite Kneller,” she published “Scraps about ‘Writing Women’” in *The Nation* (Toronto, 1875). Numerous other essays followed, bearing such titles as “Old Maids, Ancient and Modern,” “A Few Words About Some Literary Women,” “Carlyle’s First Loves,” “Swift and the Women Who Loved Him” (*Canadian Monthly and National Review*, date), “The Story of ‘L.E.L.’” (*Canadian Monthly and National Review*, 1874), “Ophelia” (*Canadian Monthly and National Review*, date), and “Notes on George Eliot’s Life.” In 1889, five years before her death, she published a two-part essay in *The Week*, “The Suppression of Genius in Women,” that McMullen and Campbell claim “anticipates Virginia Woolf’s *Room of One’s Own*” in its attention to “the lack of opportunity or encouragement for women writers” (“Louisa Murray” 125). Godard notes that Murray’s essays “evoked admiring comparison to George Eliot for their intellectual powers,” yet all “plans to publish them in book form failed” (776).

Murray’s breadth of reading in the British tradition by no means caused her to slight the Canadian literary scene: indeed, her knowledge of English literature

undoubtedly sharpened her insight into the possibilities for literary adaptation in a Canadian context. In "The Story of a Christmas Rose," for example (*The Week*, 3 January 1890), she includes a quotation from "a Canadian poetess" in obvious contradistinction to "the English poets." Set "on the shores of a picturesque little bay of Ontario's blue lake...not far from the famous old town of Niagara" (*The Week* 72), "The Story of a Christmas Rose" contains near its end the following commentary:

The cloudless sky was of the deepest blue, studded with stars, and amidst them the moon, nearly full-orbed, rode—*not in her silver car, as the English poets sing,* but in one of the richest golden hue. In the western horizon a glow from the sun's brilliant setting still lingered, and the slender, graceful branches showed against the lovely light, as if painted on the sky, *or rather, as a Canadian poetess has described them,—*

Like branching sea-weeds under amber seas.
Lay traced in clearest, blackest, delicatest
Pencilings against the glow. ("A Story of a Christmas Rose," 74;
emphasis mine)

Though one might, perhaps, question the quality of Murray's Canadian example ("delicatest" is particularly unfortunate), one admires her self-conscious attempt to promote, in her own work, that of her Canadian contemporaries.

A woman-supportive patriot in her social politics as well as in her fiction, Murray penned, in 1889, an open letter to the editor of *The Week* on behalf of the financially-imperiled Sarah Anne Curzon, author of the closet drama *Laura Secord* (1887).¹⁸ Here, in rhetoric that both shames and extols its readers, Murray's "Appeal to Patriotic Canadians" contrasts the British, German, French, and American veneration of heroes with the "painful" Canadian reception accorded to Curzon's record of "the brave deed of a woman in the service of our country" ("Appeal" 362). The penultimate paragraph of the appeal relates how *Laura Secord* had been warmly appreciated by a sewing circle of

young women to whom it was read, and makes its final argument in terms that cleverly acquiesce to the patriotic aspect of maternal feminism:

[A]ll those who, whether they acknowledge woman's rights or not, acknowledge woman's influence, must allow that to inspire the future wives of our young men, with the spirit of patriotism through the teaching of a noble example, is no small contribution towards the making of the nation Canada is yet to be. ("Appeal" 362)

Notably, and largely as a result of the campaign that Murray had "spearhead[ed]," Curzon regained her financial equilibrium and went on to become, in 1895, the first president of the Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto (McMullen and Campbell, "Sarah Anne Curzon" 230).

Given Murray's obvious integrity, her literary visibility (habitually signing her full name to her contributions, unlike many of her Canadian contemporaries who preferred the camouflage of initials or pseudonyms¹⁹), and most tellingly, the esteem in which she was held by many of her contemporaries,²⁰ one would imagine that her position in the Canadian canon would be secure. Such, however, has not been the case. If mentioned at all, Murray is likely to be misrepresented, as in Gerson's use of a single essay ("Democracy in Literature," *The Week*, 2 August 1889) to demonstrate her ostensible high conservatism and inhibiting literary idealism (*A Purer Taste* 58, 75). More likely is the complete omission of this prolific writer. Klinck's *Literary History of Canada* (1965) cites six Murrays in its index, but none of them is Louisa. W.H. New's *A History of Canadian Literature* (1989) refers to the eighteenth-century Governor James Murray but not to the nineteenth-century writer Louisa Murray. The 2nd edition of the *Oxford Companion to Canadian Literature* (1997) devotes a full column to John Clark Murray but nothing to Louisa Murray. Indeed, the majority of reference texts on Canadian literature omit Murray along with such important literary figures as Harriet

Vaughn Cheney, Eliza Lanesford Cushing, Mary Eliza Herbert, and Kit Coleman—to name just a handful.²¹ Unhappily, one is thus forced to conclude, with Judith Zelmanovits, that Louisa Murray is “[a]mong the forgotten Canadian women writers of the nineteenth century” (“Louisa Murray” 39).

It seems only fair to admit, however, that this process of forgetting began even before Murray’s actual death. In an 1894 obituary tribute to the older writer, Agnes Maule Machar laments that Louisa Murray felt “to a great extent ‘forgotten by the world’” in her declining years. This admission is followed by Machar’s pointed observation that greater recognition was due Murray from the literary community to which she had contributed so much:

Considering the leading part she took in our budding literature, and the character her writing gave to our early periodicals, would it not have been a graceful act, had she received from her brothers of the pen—who should scarcely be monopolists, since art knows no distinction of sex—the well-earned honor of being the first lady-member of the Royal Canadian Institute [i.e., the Royal Society of Canada, est. 1882]? If such distinctions are of any value at all, they should, in the first instance, be for those who have borne the burden and heat of the day and won their honors in a fair field with no favor. No doubt such recognition would have cheered that last lonely years of her life, but she has passed beyond the use of such laurels now. (“A Loss to Canadian Literature” 1064).

It is a sad comment on the “monopolism” of gender in Canadian literary history that Machar’s envisioning of a female member of the Royal Society did not become reality for a further fifty-three years: in 1947 Gabrielle Roy became the first woman to be admitted to the Society’s literary ranks. Though Carole Gerson points out the feminine persistence of writers like Machar, Wetherald, Harrison, and Duncan whose productivity was apparently “not...inhibit[ed]” by the formal undervaluing of their contributions, such critical relativism is overshadowed by the force of Gerson’s own previous remark: her

edgy statement (based on a page-long catalogue of masculine names) that the Royal Society of Canada's "literary tastemakers" were "all male of course" (Gerson, *A Purer* 11).

To begin to reclaim Louisa Murray in her context is necessarily to examine the Canadian periodical culture that, during the largest part of her writing lifetime, embraced and validated her works. Machar's obituary observes that prominent among these periodicals was *The Canadian Monthly and National Review* (Toronto 1872-78). "When the *Canadian Monthly Magazine* was first established, and during its whole life," writes Machar, "Miss Murray was one of its most valued contributors, and her charming story, 'Marguerite Kneller,' added grace and dignity to its first volume" ("A Loss" 1063). Indeed, "Marguerite Kneller" appeared in January 1872, in the first number of volume I, and spanned the whole of volume I, concluding in the June 1872 issue. By July 1872, when the first number of volume II appeared, it was clear that *The Canadian Monthly* was on firm ground: "The expense is heavy, but the circulation is large, and its tendency has been steadily upwards" ("Introductory" 1). *The Canadian Monthly* (which was continued under new ownership and editorship as *Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly and National Review* [1878-82]) would prove to be one of the principal literary venues of the last quarter of the nineteenth century in Canada. According to Carl Klinck, the magazine had been "planned by the 'Canada First' group" before its principal supporter, Goldwin Smith, arrived ("Literary Activity...I" 175). As such, *The Canadian Monthly* self-consciously "provided a forum for the best minds of the decade, including a core of artists and writers involved with the 'Canada First' movement" (Francis, "Literary Magazines in English. I," *OCCL* 457). Smith, one of the leaders of 'Canada First,' had

previously founded and/or financed *The Nation* (1874-76), the short-lived *Liberal* (1875), the long-running Toronto *Telegram* (est. 1876), and *The Bystander* (1880-81 monthly; 1883 quarterly; 1889-90 monthly). It was Smith, too, who would help to found the extremely influential Toronto periodical, *The Week: An Independent Journal of Literature, Politics, and Criticism* (1883-96) (Distad and Distad 91-92). Graeme Mercer Adam, who had previously established *The British America Magazine* (1865-66) and the trade journal *Canadian Bookseller and Miscellany* (1865-67), joined forces with Smith in the publication of *The Canadian Monthly*, serving as its founding editor (Distad and Distad 92). In an era when literary remuneration was still rare, Adam paid the magazine's contributors—thus following the practice established decades before by the editor/publisher of *The Literary Garland*, John Gibson (whose widow Adam married and “whose business he thus acquired” [Distad and Distad 92]).

Given the obvious seriousness of *The Canadian Monthly*—its careful pre-planning, its nationalist agenda (“to deal with Canadian question and to call forth Canadian talent” [Francis 457]), and its material valuing of its contributions—the appearance of Louisa Murray’s “Marguerite Kneller” in its first number can hardly have been accidental. In fact, the story may well have been commissioned. In the July 1872 “Introductory” to the second volume, the editor remarks that “[c]ontributions...were obtained with difficulty at first...while the character of the Magazine was unknown” (“Introductory” 1). Clearly, Murray’s story—which spanned the whole six-month period of the first volume—contributed to the formation of that “character,” and helped to encourage the contributions which, by the second volume, had begun to “flow freely in” (“Introductory” 1). Though Carl Klinck denigrates *The Canadian Monthly*’s “thin

showing of *belle-lettres* by native authors” (176), neither he nor anyone else can fully calculate the impact that Murray’s story, premiering in the first number of the first volume of the expressly nationalist *The Canadian Monthly and National Review*, must have had. Set in post-Revolutionary Paris, the story nevertheless bespeaks a (post-Confederation?) Canadian writer’s views: serious views, of the serious artistic potential and hard-won success of a woman artist. As McMullen and Campbell put it, “[i]n narrative line and language, the story, which is shorter and simpler than Murray’s earlier serials, is realistic” (“Louisa Murray” 125). Serious, realistic, penned by a woman, and self-consciously unconventional in its ending, how could this story have seemed—especially to its female readership—anything but the talisman of a new literary era?

Certainly in terms of Murray’s own literary growth, such a view is justified. The following chapter will unpack the themes and variations played out during the course of her writing career—concerns that achieve a particular sophistication in 1872 in “Marguerite Kneller, Artist and Woman.” Part one will demonstrate how this story provides an astonishing rewrite of Murray’s first publication, “Fauna; or, the Red Flower of Leafy Hollow,” which appeared in *The Literary Garland* in 1851. In its reconceptualization of the heroine as psychologically rather than just physically free, “Marguerite Kneller” substitutes noble woman for noble savage, autonomy for wild(er)ness, artistic success for love-lorn suicide. In the process, the latter story rewrites the former’s Romantic (primarily Keatsian) aestheticizing of death. Part two will focus on Murray’s response to “the woman question” as revealed in her portrayals of female education and beauty. By responding both figuratively and literally to Tennyson, and by making wry use of gendered conventions of beauty, Murray’s story critiques a

self-centred male a/Academy, both painterly and poetic. In the process, she suggests a new female conception of ideality. When plain, dark Marguerite loses her betrothed lover Maurice (a fellow painter) to her beautiful, blonde, muse-like sister Claire, the story enacts its own compensatory justice by providing a polemical critique of b/Beauty in its physical and aesthetic realms. Murray ends by offering charitable female domesticity—the nurturing realm in which Marguerite’s talent has been “educated”—as an artistically superior alternative to patriarchal realms.

I. Ennobling the “Wild” Woman: Marguerite, Fauna, and the (re)Construction of Autonomy

On 19 April 1888, an article appeared in *The Week* under the rubric “Some Canadian Literary Women.—III.” It was the third of a four-part series by A. Ethelwyn Wetherald (1857-1940), a woman who herself was a “major figure in the Canadian journalistic and literary scene of the late nineteenth century” (McMullen and Campbell, “Ethel[w]yn Wetherald” 15). Wetherald’s previous two articles had brought “Seranus” (Susie Francis Harrison) and “Fidelis” (Agnes Maule Machar) before *The Week*’s reading public (22 March and 5 April 1888). In this third contribution, she begins by locating her subject, Louisa Murray, within a nearly mythologized, even heroic, Canadian literary past:

Probably some among the readers of THE WEEK can remember the days when the town of Belleville was considered something of a literary centre, inasmuch as within its borders flourished the *Victoria Magazine*, one of those short-lived Canadian periodicals which have had the courage to face fearful odds, and the pain of succumbing to them. Through the kindness of the subject of this sketch I am permitted to transcribe the following portion of a time-worn letter, addressed to her by the editor of the *Victoria Magazine*:— (Wetherald, “Some Canadian Literary Women” 335)

What follows, of course, is Susanna Moodie's "time-worn letter" to Louisa Murray, written thirty-seven years previously in the "literary centre" of Belleville, 13 January 1851. By means of this letter, which held obvious significance for Murray, Wetherald provides a concrete example of the supportive community of women writers that existed in Canada from mid-century onwards. Murray herself was seventy years old at the time that Wetherald's article appeared, and had, by then, established her own network of connections with such literary women as Susie Francis Harrison ("Seranus"), Agnes Maule Machar ("Fidelis"), Sara Anne Curzon, and Ethelwyn Wetherald. Just as Susanna Moodie had been her literary mentor, Murray would in turn mentor a younger generation of Canadian women writers.

In 1849, when only thirty-one years old, Murray had initiated the correspondence with Moodie by sending the older writer her novella-length story, "Fauna: or, the Red Flower of Leafy Hollow," to be published in *The Victoria Magazine*. Murray did not know, at the time, that the magazine had folded in the middle of that year. Eager to help the promising young writer, Moodie subsequently recommended Murray's "'beautiful story'" to Eliza Lanesford Cushing (Godard 776), then editor of *The Literary Garland* (itself destined to become defunct in less than a year, in December 1851). An effective literary agent, Moodie not only obtained Cushing's enthusiastic consent that the story appear in *The Garland*, but—as Wetherald's article notes—she graciously made Murray herself acquainted with that salutary opinion ("'Enclosed you will find a note to me from Mrs. Cushing..."). She also offered Murray practical advice on remuneration, citing her own "'£5 per sheet'" arrangement with John Lovell, publisher of *The Literary Garland* (Wetherald 335).²² In the present of 1888, when *The Week's* article on Murray appeared,

Moodie had already been dead three years, and no doubt Wetherald's heroic rhetoric about *The Victoria Magazine's* having had "the courage to face fearful odds" was at least as much a tribute to an influential literary foremother as a warning about the "poor opinion held by Canadian people of their nation's literature" (Wetherald 335).²³

John Lovell had considered Louisa Murray's "Fauna" an "excellent story,"²⁴ and he subsequently featured it on the cover of every issue of *The Literary Garland* between April and October of 1851.²⁵ Ironically, "Fauna" displaced Moodie's own "Trifles from the Burthen of a Life" (which had begun serialization on the cover of the March 1851 issue), relegating the older writer's story to a less auspicious place in the magazine. There is no evidence that Moodie resented this turn of events; indeed, given her philanthropic bent, she no doubt took a particular satisfaction in having "discovered" a new talent. In any case, "Fauna" seems to have simultaneously introduced and established the young Murray. Wetherald's article tells of how the story was "a good deal noticed when it appeared...It was reprinted in several newspapers, in a New York paper, and in a Belfast (Ireland) journal." Some thirty seven years later, Wetherald would still praise the story's power, opining that "*Fauna*...well merited the attention it received" (335).

Though "Fauna" seems to have appealed to its original audience primarily as a "'vivid romance'" replete with felicitous "descriptions of forest life in Canada" (Wetherald 335), it reads today as a fascinating revelation of mid-nineteenth-century constructions of race, gender, ethnicity, and the Canadian backwoods. Premised on the unromantic contemporary reality of emigration as a flight from poverty to uncertainty (Murray herself had emigrated in 1841, from Ireland to Canada²⁶), the story rewrites

poverty as contingent on fairy-tale reversals of fortune, and ends by presenting to its primarily British immigrant readers a utopia of nostalgic return to an improved Old World past. In the process, however, such nostalgia is, as it were, sullied. By means of the character of Fauna, a young Indian woman, Murray emblemizes the darkly-pulsing disenfranchisement, the inescapably violated utopian desire, of the "New World" native Indians. Although Fauna herself does not appear until chapter nine (that is, the end of the second installment, fully twenty-seven pages into the story), she is clearly the emotional focus—indeed repository—of the story's "otherness." Murray's narrator can neither ignore nor empathize with such passionate alienation, and the story becomes as figuratively contaminated in its narrative sympathy as it is generically miscegenetic in its intertextuality.

Not least striking in "Fauna" is the reflection of Murray's formidable literary knowledge. In addition to dozens of references imbedded in the text, each of the story's thirty-two chapters is prefaced by an epigraph—taken variously from an ancient writer (Sardanapalus²⁷), a Renaissance playwright (Shakespeare, Beaumont and Fletcher, Marlowe, Webster²⁸), a seventeenth-century playwright or poet (Dryden, Davenant, Carew²⁹), a Romantic poet (Byron, Keats, Coleridge, Shelley³⁰), a Victorian poet (Hemans³¹), or some other unidentified source.³² That Murray was "'largely self-educated'" (Fidelis, "A Loss" 1063) and yet produced, at age thirty-three, such a richly intertextual document, today seems at least ambitious, if not extraordinary. Ethelwyn Wetherald, however, normalizes such writing, and in so doing exposes our late twentieth-century underestimation of the sophistication of nineteenth-century Canadian writers and readers. By 1888 standards, Murray's 1851 style was neither forced nor pretentious.

Rather, it appeared “remarkably free and spontaneous, without a trace of affectation on one side or dullness on the other” (Wetherald 335). Murray’s “Fauna,” which today forces a critic to consult all manner of reference texts to track down its myriad allusions, seems to have presented no such exegetical dilemma to its nineteenth-century audience.

Murray had a lifelong fascination with Renaissance tragedy that permeates much of her fiction and lends a distinctive agenda to “Fauna.” As late as 1892, in “Mr. Gray’s Strange Story” (*The Week*, 26 February 1892), we see Murray consciously aligning her narrative with the dark forebodings and fated relationships of the tragic characters of Shakespeare and his contemporaries. In the reprint of “Mr. Gray’s Strange Story” in *Aspiring Women: Short Stories by Canadian Women, 1880-1900*, McMullen and Campbell point out that the tale “evinces the interest in spiritualism current at the time” (125), but they do not discuss the plot’s overt reworking of *Hamlet* in a southern Ontario setting—complete with an epigraph from Act I, scene iv (when Hamlet first sees his father’s ghost), and a love-maddened female character named Celia (for Ophelia) who bolts from the house and is—in Queen Gertrude’s words—“Drowned! drowned!” (Murray, “Mr. Gray’s,” 134; *Hamlet* IV.vii.184). In like fashion, the generic substructure of “Fauna” has been ignored in its two brief critical treatments. The story begins in England as a self-conscious revenge tragedy, with explicit references throughout to *The Duchess of Malfi*, *The Jew of Malta*, *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, *The Maid’s Tragedy* and *Edward II*. The story ends as a dark Shakespearian comedy, with four marriages, two deaths, and a mass re-migration to England, land of recovered wealth. Most of the action takes place, as it were, in an interim New World: a Canadian Forest-of-Arden-cum-Dantesque Dark Wood. What begins, for the victimized British Blachford family, as a Voltairian

experiment in “cultivating the rich primeval soil” of Canada East (“Fauna” 211), ends with the uneasy burial of the passionate Fauna beneath the “dark cedars”³³ of her indigenous Canadian soil. Far from using landscape as a mere descriptive enhancement of “local colour, realism, and atmospheric suggestiveness” (Godard 776), Murray’s iconic identification of a New World wild(er)ness with her main character, the epithetically “wild” *Fauna* (literally, *animal*), signals her racially-motivated, gendered cautions about miscegenation and (un)reclaimable Native savagery.

Fauna is given a “white” education in the home of cultured German immigrants (a locus of “culture and refinement...in the backwoods” that Ethelwyn Wetherald implies was based on Murray’s own immigrant family home on a farm on Wolfe Island, near Kingston [335],³⁴ though which seems in strange contrast to the description of the same, offered in 1986, by a descendent of Murray herself [Zelmanovits 39]³⁵). Fauna’s natural inclination to wander at will in the forest, however, mitigates against white refinements, and the narrator remarks that “[h]er studies, it may be imagined[,] were of a very broken and desultory kind” (“Fauna” 249). In the same way that instinct shuts her out of formal education, Fauna’s “dark blood” damns her to unrequited love. She is passionately attracted to her “brother,” the painter Max von Werfenstein, but she painfully acknowledges that his happiness lies in winning the heart of the blond British émigré, Helen Blachford—a woman who is his mirror image, his culturally incestuous second self. Recognizing the inexorable nature of her fated otherness, and perpetually articulating a xenophobia that must have been, in part, Murray’s own, Fauna’s part in the love triangle becomes self-impaling. Various androgenous, heroic, and violent, she eventually becomes redundant. Her contrived death in the arms of the Max is still a

death, and his honeymoon return to Germany nullifies his fervent final promise to sing over her grave.

The structural device of the love triangle recurs in Murray's later fiction, and almost invariably (though not in "Marguerite Kneller") the rejected woman recapitulates Fauna's sin of overt passion. In "The Settlers of Long Arrow" (1861)—Murray's second published story, which garnered her the admirable sum of thirty pounds from its British publisher, *Once A Week*³⁶—the stylistic and thematic similarities to "Fauna" are obvious. The story is again set in the Canadian backwoods, though Canada West replaces "Fauna"'s Canada East (Zelmanovits 41). A Métis woman named Coral longs for Keefe, who professes to care for her only as a brother would. Keefe, in turn, falls in love with his own ideal Helen—Helen Lennox, whom he rescues from a shipwreck near Long Arrow. After a suitable plot delay, the two marry. Coral turns out to be the daughter of the French Count de Vallette, and is sent off to Quebec City to live with him in "sumptuous surroundings," but she, like Fauna, ends unrequited in love, "d[ying] of a broken heart" (Zelmanovits 41). It is surely such stories that McMullen and Campbell have in mind when they make reference to

the archetypal Indian maiden—a staple of nineteenth-century Canadian literature—...who at story's end dies saving her white lover (conveniently ending the possibility of miscegenation), or who self-effacingly melts into the forest leaving the field to a lily-white maiden ("E. Pauline Johnson," *Aspiring* 145).

In "Mr. Gray's Strange Story" (1892), however, Murray reworks the triangular romance structure with an ostensibly all-white cast—though her doomed chestnut-haired maiden, Celia Morris, notably possesses "a Hebe-like face and form" ("Mr. Gray's" 128-29). Murray's correlative for (perceived) racial otherness would seem to be the personality trait of passionate despair—a stereotypic wildness of female emotion. As such, the

disappointed Celia exchanges "a laughing mouth" for a "wild hysterical laugh" before rushing off to a watery suicide ("Mr. Gray's" 129, 130), and Fauna raves "'wildly'" after her failed attempt at cold-blooded murder ("Fauna" 437). Though she does not actually commit suicide, the passion-spent Indian girl takes to her deathbed, "smil[ing] with...wild sweetness" as she strives to master her "wild heart" ("Fauna" 441, 442).

Judith Zelmanovits offers the interesting but not entirely convincing argument that it is precisely the wilderness settings of "Fauna" and "Settlers of Long Arrow" that lend autonomy to both Indian and non-Indian female characters, eliminating "'forms and conventionalities'" and freeing the women into "'the wild joys of forest life'" (Murray, "Settlers" 568, quoted in Zelmanovits 41). The Métis girl Coral, for instance, perceives that she is considered a "thorough little savage" by those who cannot otherwise account for her "love of the free woods" and her "hatred of what [they call] 'women's work' of dressing and feasting, and gossiping" (Murray "Settlers" 452). While it may be that the Canadian wilderness becomes a metonymic means of "transcend[ing] stereotype" to a certain degree, "offering alternatives to traditional roles" (women as skilful paddlers of canoes, for example³⁷), Zelmanovits herself points out the "paradox" in her argument: "the freedom of the Indian women" in Murray's fiction leads not to "happiness" but to death (Zelmanovits 41). The paradox disappears when we recognize Murray's doomed heroines as the literary product of two competing strains of influence: her vexed sympathy with the displacement of the North American Indians and her predilection for the iconic structures of high-styled tragedy. The Indian women's supposed autonomy of movement and activity reveals itself to be the romanticized flip side of racial displacement and literary stereotype. Because such characters cannot sustain the ironic

tensions of Rousseauian noble savagery in a country that has usurped Eden from its primal inhabitants, they become noble savages of love: wronged women whose racial exoticism conveniently distances their unhappy predicament from the majority of Murray's female readership, and whose suitably romantic sufferings can be assuaged only by death.

In "Marguerite Kneller," by contrast, the triangular romance structure assumes a tonal realism that obviates the grandiose expirations of female characters like Fauna, Coral, and Celia. This change may result, at least in part, from the story's Eurocentric setting: urban Paris, it seems, demands greater verisimilitude of character and event than does wilderness Canada. One senses, however, that the larger agenda behind Murray's story is the generic ennobling of the figure of the unrequited woman. Never is Marguerite aligned with the "witchery" and "wild melancholy" of Fauna; never does her disappointment manifest itself in the "capricious" and "self-willed" isolation of the Indian maiden ("Fauna" 246). Though Marguerite's initial reaction to her lover's betrayal is to turn "pale as a ghost, a wild unearthly light shining in her eyes," her strength lies in her dignity and "self-command": she leaves the room "firmly supporting" her weeping sister—the woman to whom her own fiancé, Maurice, has just revealed his passionate love ("MK" 339). Marguerite bears her pain partly by means of a personal code of noble selflessness. To post-Freudian sensibilities, this code might seem a quasi-maternal duty that nearly approximates repression, but it is perhaps more fruitfully described as a female "emphasis...on relation rather than identity" (Hankins 397). Before allowing herself to be "alone with her grief," Marguerite must kiss, soothe, and

hush her remorse-ridden childlike sister off to sleep, and then indulge her unsuspecting father:

Her father had been surprised and annoyed that Maurice had taken himself off so suddenly without even coming to bid him good-night, and Marguerite had to listen to his half jesting, half earnest complaints, that Italy had spoiled Maurice, and he was not half as good a fellow as he used to be,—and smile and stifle her bitter pain. When supper-time came, she had to sit down at the table and appear to eat, though the sight of food made her sick; to talk, and laugh, and seem gay and at ease, when her heart had been so cruelly bruised and wounded, that no conscious feeling was left but one of hopeless anguish. ("MK" 340)

What ensures narrative sympathy for Marguerite is precisely the fact that the reader is made continuously privy to the "tumult of passionate pain" that struggles beneath her apparently calm exterior ("MK" 340).

It is as if Murray had anticipated the later commentary of J.W. Longley (published in 1873, the year after "Marguerite Kneller" appeared) that "[t]he faithful history of *any* human heart, through all its struggles in life, can never grow wearisome," and that Canadian literature must eschew "the 'blood and thunder' element" ("Fauna"?) in favour of the "tragedy" that lives powerfully within "quiet scenes of industry," "simple incidents," and the "common routine of life" ("Canadian Literature," *Maritime Monthly*, September 1873, 260). The simple struggle of dailiness as a site for literary exploration, however, was not necessarily embraced by all. In one of only three extended prose quotations that Ethelwyn Wetherald was to include in her 1888 article on Murray, we see Marguerite Kneller engaged in an ordinary war of emotions that Wetherald herself seemed to find more alarmingly "pathetic" than sympathetic ("Some Canadian" 335):

Deep tenderness for Claire and jealous bitterness against her; a wild yearning love for Maurice and something that was almost contempt for his fickleness and weakness, contended with each other; and the struggles of wounded pride and slighted love, of anger and pity, of hopeless regret and conscious wrong, were renewed again and again through all that long night. There are dark chambers in

the soul of which only misery holds the keys, and into these poor Marguerite got fearful glimpses now. ("MK" 340: qtd in Wetherald 335)

Wetherald's introduction to the passage had made it unclear whether this quotation was meant to illustrate or to refute her comment that "the weak point in Miss Murray's novels is her character-drawing" ("Some Literary" 335)—a comment that would be forcefully denied six years later by Agnes Maule Machar.³⁸ Similarly, Wetherald's ambiguous wording in the few lines that follow the passage cast into doubt the opinion of Marguerite Kneller that is held by all of the fictional characters in Murray's story, namely that she is "the noblest of women" ("MK" 433). Having set the "lovely" Claire (described in angelic repose) against the "pathetic" Marguerite (described in emotional turmoil), Wetherald observes that "[i]n some of Miss Murray's other novels the chief piece of characterization is a similar contrast between the purity and deep feeling of a noble nature and the barren selfishness of an ignoble one" (335). Readers without full knowledge of Murray's plot might reasonably believe that "ignoble" here refers to Marguerite, rather than to the fickle Maurice (as would seem more likely). Such ambiguity of referents/reference may not be, merely, the result of bad writing on Wetherald's part: it may well signal, indirectly, the combined narrative power and thematic discomfort that parts of Murray's story generate in their bid to ennoble the unrequited female character. As a heroine, Marguerite Kneller clearly bears what Sara Jeannette Duncan was later to call "a translatable relation to the world" ("Saunterings," 28 October 1886, 772), and perhaps that relation still seemed, in Wetherald's 1888, too close for comfort. At the very least, Marguerite's passionate yet reasonable romantic struggle challenges the notion that in nineteenth-century romances "passion's only respectable showing is at death" (Northey, *The Haunted Wilderness* 20).

It seems no accident that in as much as Fauna and Marguerite may be compared as artists, they respectively reflect, in attitude and ambition, the “two faces” associated with novelistic endings: “the inevitability of death” and “the continuity of life” (Calvino, *If On a Winter’s Night* 259). Although Fauna is not the primary artist in the story that bears her name (that distinction goes to Max, a painter of some talent), she is nevertheless repeatedly associated with the inspired production of vocal music. Readers learn early on that while she had been a “desultory” student in other subjects, “in music she made a wonderful proficiency, and took a passionate delight” (249). Comparable, in some sense, to Charlotte Brontë’s creation of Vashti in *Villette* (1853), a novel that post-dates Murray’s story by two years, Fauna appears almost as a New World version of the Corrine-like historical French actress Rachel (Elisa Félix, on whom Vashti was based) who embodied the Romantic aesthetic that art should be “artless, instinctive, personal, peculiar, original, self-consuming” (Brownstein 176). Fauna, like Rachel, is foreign and therefore exotic (Rachel was “a *gamine* from the streets...the daughter of a poor Jewish peddler” [Brownstein 176]); as such, their similar “energy and passion [seem] to express the truth of the Noble Savage” (Brownstein 176).

This romantically-othered “truth” is first evident in Murray’s story during a multinational Sunday service when “the sweet wild musical notes of Fauna” ring exotically—and perhaps even profanely³⁹—beside the “full and powerful” voice of the doctor, the “rich deep tones” of Max, and the “harmonizing voices of...the others who mingled in that hallowed chime (“Fauna” 255). Before Fauna sings again—this time to the very couple, Max and Helen, whose romance is killing her—readers learn the extent to which she, like her literary idol Keats, is “half in love with easeful Death” (“Ode to a

Nightingale" l. 52). As befits one convinced that she (like her people?) is "predestined to an early death," Fauna sings "to a wild and plaintive air those stanzas of Keats, beginning, 'In a drear-nighted December'" (289; 291). The poem, of course, serves as an apt correlative for her own "passèd joy" and "numbèd sense" (Keats, "In..." ll. 20, 23).⁴⁰ Fauna's idolization of Keats proceeds from the romanticized notion that profound disappointment aestheticizes—and thereby justifies—broken-hearted death:

I love to read Keats' poetry, and I love to think about him. He had one master ambition, that of soaring to the lofty height to which the great poets of earth have attained—when denied a title to kindred genius by the world, his dream of life was over,—he died! Happier than those, who live, and live to suffer, their bright visions for ever fled!⁴¹ ("Fauna" 292)

Fauna spends the better part of her narrative in the shadow of a fled vision: that of her imagined romantic union with Max. Despite an attempt to become the puissant *femme fatale* of Keats's "La belle dame sans merci" whom she outwardly resembles ("Her eyes were wild" [l. 16]), Fauna's gun-wielding misses its mark, both literally and figuratively. Indeed, such "desperate actions"—to borrow Gwendolen Harleth's phrase in *Daniel Deronda* (1876)—have decidedly little correspondence to "reality," though they do attempt, stereotypically, to heighten Fauna's already "tragic" appeal.⁴²

Marguerite's weapon of choice is the paintbrush, and in wielding it she achieves a greater (albeit unconscious) vengeance on her faithless lover. But that result comes only six years after her betrayal. First she must "retur[n] to her beloved art" ("Fauna" 437), a decision that initially seems impossible. The day after Claire is married to Maurice, the crushed Marguerite feels figuratively ready to succumb to artistic death-in-life, craving only "[w]ork that will blunt the imagination and stifle the feelings, work that will make me cold, mechanical and insensible as a machine—" ("MK" 436). As if in echo of the

triumvirate “Adieu!...Adieu! adieu!” in the final stanza of “Ode to a Nightingale.”⁴³ Marguerite utters the melodramatic “*Farewell* love and hope and fancy—*farewell* poetry and art; bright visions of ideal beauty and perfection, *farewell!*” (“MK” 436; emphasis mine). Unlike the Keatsian “bell,” however, that returns the ode’s speaker to his solipsistic sorrow (“Forlorn! the very word is like a bell / To toll me back from thee to my sole self” ll. 71-72), Murray has Marguerite hear, “[a]t that instant[,] the bells in the old church...toll[ing] a slow sad funeral dirge” (“MK” 436). This is funeral music of a different order than Fauna’s anticipatory death song, modelled on an aestheticized Keats. The tolling of the bells, and the choir’s inspired singing on a “dark November day,” celebrate instead life in the midst of death, and consolation in the face of despair, “drawing [Marguerite’s] soul away from earth and all its anguish towards that diviner region where passion and pain shall cease and vanish” (“MK” 436, 438). Six years later, Marguerite remembers this experience as a “lesson,” and readers learn that

She had made her own burden light by striving to lessen the burdens that others had to bear. Many a homeless victim of want, many a wretched hope-abandoned outcast found their way to that quiet dwelling, and none ever came there without receiving help and comfort. (“MK” 438)

With the quiet strength of this lived Christianity to sustain her emotionally, Marguerite also prospers economically and artistically. She supports herself entirely by means of her “congenial work, which was not so much work, as the spontaneous language of her being” (“MK” 438). This independent and fulfilling life, a double vocation to the poor and to art, cannot help but reveal itself superior to Marguerite’s former vision of a life with Maurice—a life that she had mistakenly believed would have represented “the noblest destiny earth could give to woman” (“MK” 438). Seven years

after the publication of "Marguerite Kneller," Agnes Maule Machar would likewise urge young women to pursue "an honourable independence" for reasons of both personal nobility and emotional safety:

[E]ven apart from the spirit of self-reliance which would be thus developed, nothing can be a more beneficent resource for a woman, either from the depressing effect of a monotonous life or the crushing force of a keen personal trial....To a woman crushed by a heavy personal grief, nothing can be a greater blessing than a larger interest, whether it be in art, literature, or philanthropic work, which links her still with the world around her, and makes her gradually realize that no life, lived with a worthy end in view, needs to be utterly desolate. ("The New Ideal of Womanhood," *Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly and National Review* [June 1879], 670).

That women's emotional turmoil could be so forthrightly acknowledged and discussed in a public/published forum must have seemed refreshingly strange to Machar's readers. Such might well have been the effect of Louisa Murray's unstereotypical, even "realistic" portrayal of the fictional Marguerite's grief, in 1872. In any case, Murray herself seems aware of her changed stance, and the story provides a site for her literary self-revision. In "Fauna," Murray had made the successful heroine, Helen Blachford, the victim of an ignoble abandonment in England prior to her emigration to the New World and her meeting of Max. Though apparently much in love, Helen had pragmatically "ceased to regret her faithless lover" when she realized his unworthiness (he had fled with the collapse of her father's fortunes in England ["Fauna 217]). The "good and noble" Marguerite, by contrast, does not recover from her abandonment with such practical aplomb. Though her father, her sister Claire, and Maurice himself are all fooled by the "false brightness" of her eyes and flushed cheeks ("which made her as unlike the stereotyped love-lorn damsel as could possibly be"), Marguerite's true feelings prior to Claire's wedding are quite other than they suspect ("MK" 434). Unaware of "the

canker within." Christian Kneller, for example, "smok[es] his pipe in peace," secure in the knowledge that Marguerite is "'not weak and silly like other women. If she gave her heart foolishly, she took it back bravely, when she found the gift was slighted. I can forgive the fellow now, when I find he has planted no thorn in her breast'" ("MK" 434).

"The good Christian" is dead by the time Marguerite achieves artistic success, but Maurice is not, and it is a fitting piece of poetic justice that the latter is made to suffer the consequences of his inconstancy by viewing the poignant painting that solidifies Marguerite's reputation. Prestigiously placed in an important exhibition at the Louvre, Marguerite's large painting and her two smaller drawings (based on Lamartine's *Jocelyn* [1836]) win the gold medal of the Academy, elevating her "suddenly...from absolute obscurity to the highest step on the ladder of Parisian fame" ("MK" 521). Though apparently innocent of the desire for retribution, Marguerite's autobiographical painting cannot help but enact both a personal and an artistic revenge. Upon first beholding "Genius offering Psyche consolation for the loss of Love," Maurice is overcome with emotion. The "thousand remembrances" that "agitat[e] him painfully and chok[e] his voice" correspond to the "thousand familiar touches [that reveal] the painter to him as clearly as the well-known hand writing of a letter reveals the writer's name. Marguerite was the painter, and Maurice had known it from the first" ("MK" 522). In the painting's raw emotional frankness, Maurice cannot help but recognize his own culpability. To add salt to the wound, friend and fellow painter Karl Rudorff further upbraids Maurice, pointing out his shallowness ("this glorious woman might have been yours...you gave her up for a fair face!") and emphasizing how this infelicitous decision had subsequently caused Maurice to exchange "noble aspirations" for "low and trivial aims" ("MK"

522). That Marguerite's goals have remained in the former category is proven and ratified by story's end. All three of her works on display in the Louvre are purchased by the French "King," at the prompting of his daughter, "the artist-princess, Marie",⁴⁴ and this favourable royal judgement is confirmed by "[t]he best critics and *connoisseurs*" of the Parisian art world ("MK" 521). As the envious and abashed Maurice remarks in the final chapter, Marguerite has "suddenly become famous, and...may expect to find the world knocking at [her] door" ("MK" 525).

The painting that so captivates the Parisian art world is both real and revisionist. As allegory, the painting literalizes Marguerite's fraught emotional landscape: in it, a woman stands "at the foot of a steep precipitous mountain" (ambition), urged on by "Genius" to its summit, upon which can be seen a "half illumined, half shrouded" temple (art). Though the woman's "small bare feet" are intent on the rocky upward path, her eyes are "turned away"

gazing with a deep and mournful longing into the lovely valley she was about to leave forever;—the valley where cottage homes and fertile fields and fair gardens were peacefully resting—where quiet days, and happy hearts, and all those soft and gentle delights she was never to know again had their home. ("MK" 522)

To interpret the painting only by means of the psycho-sexual symbolism of loss, however, is to ignore a salient point. Marguerite's painting appears a full six years after her betrayal. Though apparently spontaneous and transparent, the painting actually proceeds from her careful—even carefully-manipulated—artistic re-tooling of Psyche: as mythological character, as female muse, and as intertextual echo of Keats. The first alteration is a revising of the myth itself. Marguerite's painting clearly changes Apuleius' second-century A.D. Latin version in which a long-suffering Psyche ("Soul") is given in marriage to Cupid. By removing the happy marriage ending and replacing it

with her own ending—that is, with the indeterminate closure that Louisa Murray herself deemed most appropriate to “this unsatisfying world”—the artist character Marguerite mirrors her author’s own confident appropriation and transformation of traditional (male) forms. Second, in contrast to her earlier paintings of Prometheus and Apollo, in which male mythological figures (versions of Maurice) had towered over adorning female supplicants (versions of herself, rendered in Claire’s blonde likeness), Marguerite here features a lone female figure as the locus of integrity and emotion. This Psyche is herself associatively triumverate: a physical amalgam of Marguerite and Claire (signalled by the compromise of “golden brown hair” [“MK” 521]), an emotional replica of Marguerite herself, and a visual pointer (by means of the picturesque Normandy-like landscape at which she gazes) to Mère Monica, Marguerite’s faithful nurse and proxy “mother,” the only character to intuit the full extent of her pain.⁴⁵ Mary De Shaver’s *Inspiring Women* (1986) would read this creative bemusing as proof of Marguerite’s—and Murray’s—attempt to resist gender roles by foregrounding a female artist’s polyvalently “female muse[:] a mother-goddess-sister-self” (“Preface” x).

A third and final revolution, so to speak, in Murray’s representational turning of Psyche—and a means by which to compare, again, the stories of “Fauna” and “Marguerite Kneller”—is the intertextual resonance between Marguerite’s painting and Keats’s “Ode to Psyche” (1819; 1820).⁴⁶ In the final stanza of the ode, Keats vows that he will worship this hitherto-ignored goddess by establishing, in “some untrodden region” of his mind, a “fane” in her honour (l. 50), with himself as poet-priest and prophet. Though Murray echoes this archaism for temple (the “crystalline fane” that is art’s shrine [“MK” 521]), she and Keats part company, as it were, on the footpath. In the

heady vision of the Romantic poet. Keats's own "branchèd thoughts" are trees that "Fledge the wild-ridgèd mountains" (ll. 52, 55), but Psyche herself is absent. Indeed, in contrast to Murray's portrait of a rocky ascent and a bare-footed goddess, Keats offers dreamy future indicatives ("shall," "will" "could") of the verdant delights that await his Psyche: "zephyrs, streams, and birds, and bees," and "moss-lain Dryads...lulled to sleep" (ll. 56-57). What seems clear it that it is precisely the promise of Keats's trellised and templated Eden that Murray's Psyche must leave behind in the "lovely valley": "cottage homes and fertile fields and fair gardens...peacefully resting" ("MK" 522).

Murray's Psyche, of course, corresponds not to Keats' Psyche, but rather to Keats himself, as narrator-poet-priest. We are comparing, in other words, not goddesses but gendered literary portraits of the artist. In such a light, it becomes clear that male and female alpine paths to art encounter far different psycho-sexual terrain. Whereas Keats's Psyche is promised "*all soft delight / That shadowy thought can win*" (l. 65), Murray's goddess can only gaze longingly at "*all those soft and gentle delights* she was never to know again" ("MK" 522; italics mine). The gap between "thought" (the male imagination of Keats as poet) and "know[ledge]" (the female experience of Murray's p/Pysche) is unbridgeable. In a final, resounding difference, Keats's Psyche is permitted her Cupid—or rather, he is permitted her, in veiled sexual terms: "a casement ope at night / To let the warm Love in!" (ll. 66-67). Keats's poem, in short, celebrates Psyche not as self-sufficient female "Soul" but as muse-like goddess/lover, a being fully conjurable in her absence and assuredly pliable in her presence. That Murray conceived Marguerite's Psyche in direct contrast to such a vision—as a woman "by [her] own eyes inspired" (to rephrase the ode at line 43), literally holding the hand of Genius and ascending the sharp

rocks to Art's temple—can hardly be denied. That Murray, in the process, exchanged Fauna's indulgent Keatsian death-song for Marguerite's high-styled visionary appropriation of male artistic autonomy is similarly clear, polemical, and impressive.

If, in some respects at least, "Fauna: or the Red Flower of Leafy Hollow" illustrates "the paradigm of the artist manqué," a structure that "allowed women writers in the nineteenth century to exorcise their illicit desires by simultaneously asserting and denying them" (Rose, "The Artist Manqué" 170), "Marguerite Kneller" must be equally representative of the "artist defined": the ennobling of "Artist *and* Woman," as Murray's subtitle would have it, through the integration of vocation and life. If, in Katherine Kearns's formulation, women writers have habitually transferred their lived insecurities onto often failed artist heroines, it is equally true that there are exceptions who, like Murray, are "reconciled to [their] own artistic vocation" and who envision new artistic identities for women, based on that confidence:

Only one reconciled to her own artistic vocation may create female characters who think of themselves as worthy of self-documentation, without a concomitant self-ridicule or a fear of the ridicule of others. And only when the condition of 'artist' is named and accepted can there be a self-acknowledged product—art—derived from it; until the artist herself claims a name for what she makes, the conferring of value by others remains a kind of condescension. (Kearns, "From Shadow to Substance" 193)

The most eloquent language uttered by the otherwise foolish Maurice is couched in his sincere praise of Marguerite in the final chapter of the story, when he comes to congratulate her on her "'great triumph'"—a compliment more "'valuable'" to her than the judgements of "Royalty and Royal Academicians" ("MK" 523). Though she does not care for "the world's praise," he points out that her aims are sufficient without it:

'[Y]ou care for having conquered the difficulties and penetrated the mysteries of art; for having developed your powers and given adequate expression to your

genius. You care for the faculty of seeing and revealing the inner truth and beauty of life and nature to those who would never discover them for themselves.' ("MK" 523-24)

"Yes," Marguerite answers, simply and unpretentiously, and perhaps in the voice of Murray herself. "[T]o strive after these things is the aim of my life" ("MK" 524).

II. 'Learning and Genius in a Woman': Education, b/Beauty and the Male Academy

Marguerite's success, or, in broader terms, female capacity for artistic excellence, is never at issue in Murray's story. That Murray chose to take such ability for granted is part of her achievement, and opens a window onto both her gender politics and her significance in nineteenth-century Canadian letters as an innovator and a role model. Both Godard and Zelmanovits have observed that "a major theme" in Murray's writing career is "the question of women's equality" (Godard 776), and that this theme is first articulated as early as 1851, in "Fauna," by the minor character of Madame von Werfenstein. With face averted, this haughty and unapproachable mother relates to her son Max the tale of how social strictures against "'learning and genius in a woman'" had thwarted her artistically promising youth:

Perceiving in me an early love of knowledge, an inquiring and reflecting mind and a distaste for what [my parents] conceived the only sphere of woman's duties, all their efforts were directed to eradicate or smother this erratic propensity, which they looked upon in a more heinous light than even crime...All books, save a few tiresome and childish lessons on the minor morals of life, were debarred me, pens and paper removed from my reach, and my time incessantly occupied in needle-work, house-hold affairs and as much music, dancing and flower-drawing as would serve (in my mother's words) to set off my charms and get me a husband...Learning and genius in a woman! Oh! acme of iniquity—the horror of one sex, the dread of the other and the never failing sign of a predestined old maid! ("Fauna" 386-87)

Whether or not the final reference to old maidenhood was meant to be sardonically autobiographical (the unmarried Murray was technically in the “old maid” category), Madame von Werfenstein’s description of female education in Germany corresponds to contemporary (that is, 1840s) British and Canadian models: “accomplishment”-oriented and utilitarian in nature.⁴⁷ The description also echoes, of course, the shared plight of de Staël’s *Corinne* and Barrett Browning’s *Aurora Leigh*—female characters whose natural artistic talents endure stultification in a British step-family where “household duties are a woman’s only vocation,” and where a polite smattering of “catechism,” “useful facts,” music, drawing, dancing, and “cross-stich” suffice as female education (*Corinne*, 253; *Aurora Leigh* I: 392, 414, 415, 447). Unlike *Corinne* and *Aurora Leigh*, however, who subsequently revive and resume their artistry, Madame Von Werfenstein never does repossess her art. Her creative impulses, repressed in childhood, wither and calcify in womanhood. In direct correlation, her emotional life suffocates. Having loved and lost a learned young stranger (the result of a “‘crue[l], vil[e]” parental deception [“Fauna” 390]), she becomes deadened to intellectual, artistic, romantic, and maternal impulses. Her enforced marriage to Max’s father is loveless, and their emigration to Canada does not free her into art.

While her “confession” of her life’s history stands as her one generative emotional legacy, both her final injunction (about like-minded marriage) and her son’s subsequent artistic fame reinforce the gulf, for talented women, between ambition and realization, personal vocation and prescribed social role. Like Hamilton Aylmer’s Alciphron Leicester (though without that character’s cloying self-congratulation), Max achieves back in Germany an unparalleled and unrealistic success: “...the highest

honours his contemporaries could bestow, and the prophetic hope of a nobler and loftier fame hereafter, when his name shall be enrolled among earth's greatest and best" ["Fauna" 443]) The contrast between Max and his mother could not, in a sense, be greater. Indeed, in symbolic terms, Madame von Werfenstein is less Max's mother than she is Fauna's—Fauna being the "natural" female child whom the older woman adopts and nurses, literally, unto death. Wild, uneducated, and unrequited, Fauna symbolically continues her "mother's" female legacy of alterity and grief.

Nearly forty years later, five years before her own death, Murray would revisit what she called the "Suppression of Genius in Women" in two articles published in *The Week* (1889). The first essay discusses Charlotte and Emily Brontë (and briefly, George Eliot); the second devotes itself to Dorothy Wordsworth and Jane Welsh Carlyle. That the essays are polemical is signalled in Murray's first wry sentence: "We often hear of the danger of suppressed gout, or suppressed scarlet fever, but seldom the danger of suppressed genius; yet if the one kind of suppression may cause death, or permanent injury to the body, the other is just as likely to cause the decay or distortion of the mind" ("Suppression...I" 280). What follows, after a brief catalogue of literary men who were either lightly or little scarred by social disapprobation (Carlyle, Scott, Wordsworth, Southey), is the gendered re-casting—and complete sobering—of Murray's initial witticism. Among *women* whose "faculties" have been "repressed," thwarted, or "unused," Murray notes that "[m]any proofs of...suffering and its baneful influences are to be found," including the most serious of physical consequences: "mental imbecility, incurable bodily disease, [and] premature death" (280). The latter, she argues, was Emily Brontë's sad fate: her sister Charlotte, hardly more fortunate, made but little protest, in

either fiction or life, against “the conventional subjection of women,” from which she “never really escaped” (280). Murray equates the suppression of genius in such women with the combined lack of objective acknowledgement (by society at large) and sympathetic approval (by friends and loved ones)—a definition that falls neatly in line with twentieth-century feminist discussions about the public/private split in women’s lives.

This split becomes a fatal wound in Murray’s second treatment of “Suppressed Genius” in which the lives of Dorothy Wordsworth and Jane Welsh Carlyle are examined with a barely restrained rage against the famous literary men who destroyed them as artistic women. That both women cherished “what Virginia Woolf called ‘the strange bright fruits of art and knowledge’” (Heilbrun “The Politics of Mind” 254), and yet ended up facilitating, instead, their brother’s / husband’s genius, is glaringly apparent to Murray. Because Dorothy undertook “[a]ll household duties,” “Wordsworth had nothing to do but study Nature’s teachings and cultivate his poetic genius” (295). Because Jane, in Carlyle’s own words, “‘placed velvet between me and all the angularities of existence’—in which [says Murray] were included crowing cocks, barking dogs, piano practisings, and troublesome visitors”—Carlyle’s art flourished (296). Both women end Murray’s cautionary tale “broken” (the word is repeated four times) in spirit and health. Dorothy Wordsworth, who “suffered her genius to be absorbed by the greater genius of her brother” and who did not possess the “safety-valve of literary work” nor the “sustenance of genius” that “the world’s kindred spirits” offered her brother, sunk after his marriage into a “state of living death” (imbecility) that Wordsworth himself conveniently romanticized in poetry: “Her’s is a holy being free from sin, / Inly

illuminated by Heaven's love" ("Suppression" 296). Jane Carlyle, praised in highest terms by Dickens for an unfinished novel she had given him at her death, bypassed her "born vocation" as a writer and suffered the "fatal consequences" of an existence "cabined, cribbed, confined, and deprived of its proper sphere" (296).

Murray's final invocation of woman's "proper sphere"—which borrows its alliterative image of claustrophobia from Shakespeare's *Macbeth*⁴⁸—is an ironic subversion of the nineteenth century's byword for gender conservatism, and it brings the two-part essay full circle to quotations from Shakespeare and Tennyson featured at the beginning of part one. As if to underline that there exist no literary examples to describe great *women* who have fallen from greatness, Murray invokes Hamlet and Ulysses.⁴⁹ Women, then, "endowed with intellectual gifts" but lacking assurance and kindred sympathy, unhappily reprise Hamlet's "'sweet bells jangled, harsh and out of tune'" (from the "O what a noble mind is here o'erthrown!" speech, *Hamlet* I.iii: 158⁵⁰). Along with the aged king Ulysses, women without scope and outlet for their genius "feel as keenly as men, '...How dull it is / To rust unburnished, not to shine in use'"⁵¹ ("Suppression" 280). Thus "we may read in the *Life* of George Eliot how restless, discontented and unhappy she was while her creative powers lay dormant, and the rust of used faculties was eating into her soul" ("Suppression" 280). Tennyson's armorial metaphor here gives indirect heroic resonance to the project of female ambition—a serious project that was all too frequently trivialized in the nineteenth century by means of another Tennyson poem, *The Princess* (1850).⁵² Indeed, on the same page of *The Week* as Murray's second installment of "Suppressed Genius in Women" appears a "Montreal Letter" (by "Ville Marie") in which a resoundingly condescending epithet

from *The Princess* is used with like condescension (or so it would appear). In describing the valedictory speech given at the recent McGill University convocation, Ville Marie states that "In good taste, elevated sentiment, rounded, trenchant periods, and pleasing delivery, this Gold Medalist's farewell to his Alma Mater takes the palm of any similar utterance ever listened to in Montreal, excepting perhaps the valedictory of the first *sweet girl graduate* in McGill last year" ("Montreal Letter" 295; emphasis mine). The offending phrase originates in Tennyson's "Prologue" as the answer given by an unnamed male character to the proto-feminist Lilia, who herself has just proposed the establishment of an all-female university as an antidote to continuing male oppression:

...Pretty were the sight [says her interlocutor]
 If our old halls could change their sex, and flaunt
 With prudes for proctors, dowagers for deans,
 And sweet girl-graduates in their golden hair. (ll. 139-42).

Even the briefest of overviews of contemporary allusions to *The Princess* in Canada reveals the frequent and fraught application of these lines to the continuing project of female education.⁵³

The Princess might easily be viewed as the nineteenth century's rewrite of Shakespeare's *Love's Labor's Lost*, and thus as another era's commentary on the relation of the sexes to questions of knowledge, ambition, and relationship. In both the play and the poem, the project of a gender-segregated academy fails almost as soon as it begins. Shakespeare's play features the pedantic, all-male Academe of the King of Navarre, who, along with three lords, sets out "to prolong life by turning his back on it, forswearing women, liberty, festivity, and rest" for a period of three years (Barton, "*Love's Labor's Lost*" 209). His project topples with the Act II arrival of the Princess of France and her three ladies-in-waiting. Tennyson's poem, by contrast, highlights the "University/ For

maidens” that is conceived by the proud Princess Ida and administered through the help of two widowed ladies (*The Princess* I: 149-50⁵⁴). Its defeat begins in Part II, with the covert arrival of Ida’s betrothed Prince and his two male courtiers, all of whom are disguised as women. The Princess, who has enforced on her young female students a three-year’s seclusion from home and men, offers her University as an environment in which woman can become “equal to...man,” and she exhorts her protégées to “Drink deep,” because “Knowledge is now no more a fountain seal’d” (I: 130; II: 76-77). To every such resoundingly “feminist” sentiment, however, Tennyson’s poem offers a complementary “misogynist” turn: as such, it is hardly surprising that this poem galvanized the conservative element of the nineteenth-century’s response to the vexed issue of “Women’s Rights.”⁵⁵ Today, the poem reads as a fairly standard reinforcement of prevailing mid-century notions of separate spheres, domesticity, and romanticized femininity. As John Killham put it in 1958, Tennyson demands that the reader “share his own belief that a woman’s finest achievement is to respond to the highest claim made upon her—that of true love” (*Tennyson and ‘The Princess’* 186).

It may be that Louisa Murray wrote “Marguerite Kneller” in answer to, or in spite of, Tennyson’s poem. Of the several reasons that might support such a hypothesis, the first is obvious. Murray, like Tennyson, discusses female ambition within the domain of romance and marriage, but she rejects his so-called “happy ending”: the Princess’s explicit denial of female autonomy, and her abandonment of the University for marriage to the Prince. If one considers again Marguerite Kneller’s painting of “Genius offering Psyche consolation for the loss of Love,” the gulf between Murray’s and Tennyson’s heroines reveals itself in the repeated imagery of mountain (ambition) and valley (love).

After modestly granting the injured Prince's sickbed request ("kiss me ere I die" VII: 135), Princess Ida reads to him a "Sweet Idyl" which runs, in part, as follows:

'Come down, O maid, from yonder mountain height:
 What pleasure lives in height (the shepherd sang)
 In height and cold, the splendor of the hills?
 But cease to move so near the Heavens, and cease
 To glide a sunbeam by the blasted Pine,
 To sit a star upon the sparkling spire;
 And come, for Love is of the valley, come,
 For Love is of the valley... (*The Princess* VII: 177-84)

This "Idyl" serves as Ida's formal acquiescence to the Prince's suit. She subsequently descends from lofty intellectual solitude to literally wordless wifehood,⁵⁶ proving, as Alison Booth remarks of another text, that "ambition and erotic plots are presumed to be incompatible for women" ("Incomplete Stories" 116). Murray, however, can be seen to question this supposition at its very heart. Her fictional Marguerite is not, by nature, unfit for love (or, in contemporary terminology, "unsexed" by her ambition); rather, her betrothed lover, and indeed, the larger patriarchy to which he belongs, are incompatible with noble womanhood. Love's labor's lost, in other words, for the same reason it is in Shakespeare's play: the men are not worthy.

There is a complex and necessary leap to be made, here—one that as ably positions Murray's anger at Wordsworth and Carlyle in "Suppressed Genius" as it does her *envoi*'s "unsatisfying world." That leap is, as it were, back into the garden: a critical movement that mimics Murray's post-lapsarian female intrusion into the veiled sanctum of male artistic production—the poetry of her nineteenth-century male "masters." More obvious and more reactionary than her own (self-)revisionary use of Keats is Murray's rewrite of Tennyson, and the patriarchal "Academy" of British poetry itself, by means of the fickle-hearted, panderingly successful, lover-painter Maurice. When Maurice returns

from four privileged years of artistic training in Rome, he falls immediately and madly in love with Marguerite's younger sister, Claire, whose blonde perfection now personifies his painterly ideal of the Beautiful. Maurice's superficiality figures something larger than the character deficiency hinted at from the beginning of the story. In him and in his fellow art students—and indeed, in the nepotistic world of the all-male Academy itself—we perceive an enshrined misogyny that masquerades as the worship of Beauty. As the myopic King of Navarre puts it, in *Love's Labor's Lost*, male genius ("the true Promethean fire") relies not merely on the female, but, specifically, on female "beauty," a text to be read and translated into male accomplishment:

From women's eyes this doctrine I derive:
They are the ground, the books, the academes,
From whence doth spring the true Promethean fire.

...
For where is any author in the world
Teaches such beauty as a woman's eye?
(viii.298-300; 308-309)

Both implicitly and explicitly, Maurice is aligned with a male aesthetic that artfully suppresses women by means of b/Beauty, and a male talent that flatteringly deadens them into art. Tellingly more "troubadour" than painter—and thus representatively aligned with Tennyson, one of the most medieval of Victorian "singer[s]" ("MK" 116)—Maurice's ideal of the Beautiful discovers itself in a version of Tennyson's poetic "garden" ("The Gardener's Daughter" [1842]) and enacts the hollow "fairy tale" of Tennysonian bliss.

From the opening scene of the story, Murray establishes her polemical focus on beauty as an interpretive narrative lens. The decidedly unattractive twenty-four year-old Marguerite Kneller, intent on her copy-work in the "picture gallery of the Luxembourg"

("MK" 28), is unknowingly observed by the two men who will most influence, respectively, her professional and personal destinies. The first man is none other than the historical Eugène Delacroix (1799-1863), a "French painter of high celebrity" ("MK" 28). His gaze, as traced by the narrator, goes first to Marguerite's "sallow complexion" and her generally unprepossessing physical appearance:

Her features were irregular with no beauty of colouring to redeem their want of harmony, and her dress was as plain and unpretending as her person—a grey stuff gown and a black lace handkerchief tied over her black hair...("MK" 28).

As if to gauge the unfavourability of this impression, Murray's next comment is a qualified one: "Yet, after a glance at her work, the great painter thought her worthy of some attention" ("MK" 28).

Having deigned to speak to her, however, the famous painter finds his initial compliment deliciously and silently rebuffed, and so must try once more. She is copying his own painting, "Madame Roland before the Convention," and (again before he has identified himself) Delacroix significantly praises not her technique *per se* but rather her ennobling improvements upon the physical mien of the original painting's "heroine." Only then does he reveal his identity—a revelation that causes Marguerite to drop her brush. The dynamic of the exchange can thus be seen to mitigate against its ostensible purpose (that of elevating Marguerite by means of her proximity to a Great Man), since Delacroix is revealed as both assessing Marguerite physically and toying with her intellectually. Voyeuristically focussed on both characters from a position nearby is "[a] handsome fair-haired young man," Maurice himself.⁵⁷ His interest in Marguerite had been previously aroused by her "absorbed look and manner," and during her conversation with Delacroix, "while every feature was illumined by the inward flame 'brighter than

any light on sea or shore.” Maurice finds her, “for a moment,” “beautiful” (“MK” 28). This scene establishes the three visual/aesthetic tensions that will operate throughout the story: male versus female gazes, ideological versus aesthetic representations of the “heroine,” and Marguerite’s external ugliness versus her internal, art-inspired beauty.

When, in 1888, Ethelwyn Wetherald remarked that Louisa Murray’s “character-drawing” was generally “weak,” tending to emphasize “[f]eatures” over “personality,” she offered only one “exception” to her fairly damning rule:

Nearly all of [Murray’s] men are brave, and with the exception of Marguerite Kneller, most of her women are fair. The tragedy of poor Marguerite’s life lay in her nonconformity to the high standard of beauty which her other heroines maintain. (“Some Canadian” 335)

That Wetherald interpreted Murray’s story as a tragedy of (female) “beauty” rather than a triumph of (female) ambition reveals much about the story’s audience. Indeed, the cult of beauty that earlier Victorians had come to worship in their particular iconographies of the female was so familiar as to have been delineated as a literary commonplace, two years previously, in Sara Jeannette Duncan’s 1886 “Saunterings” column (28 October, *The Week*). Here Duncan, at her anti-romantic satirical best, muses on the passing of “the heroine of old-time,” the classic Walter Scott-delineated fair or dark beauty, the “daughter of the lively imagination of a bygone day” who is “drifting fast and far into oblivion.” Here, in exaggerated fashion, is the “high standard of beauty” that Wetherald (somewhat mistakenly) saw as a feature of Murray’s work:

Having heard of her blue eyes [says Duncan, wickedly], with what zestful anticipation we foreknew the golden hair, the rosebud mouth, the faintly flushed, ethereal cheek, and the pink sea-shell that was privileged to do auricular duty in catching the never-ceasing murmur of adoration that beat about the feet of the blonde maiden! Wotting of her ebon locks, with what subtle prescience we guessed the dark and flashing optics, the alabaster forehead, the lips curved in fine scorn, the regal height, and the very unapproachable demeanor of the brunette!

The fact that these startling differences were purely physical, that the lines of their psychical construction ran sweetly parallel, never interfered with our joyous interest in them as we breathlessly followed their varying fortunes from an auspicious beginning, through harrowing vicissitudes, to a blissful close. (771)

Though, indeed, “[p]erfect beauty distinguishes the heroine of romance,” it is equally true, and particularly so in the case of “Marguerite Kneller,” that “in novels that question romance’s conventions, perfect beauty may very well signal perfect insipidity” (Brownstein, *Becoming a Heroine* 163). Such is the beauty of Marguerite’s sister, Claire, the ugly duckling-cum-swan who remains an intellectual child throughout. Though “blonde” Claire fills the role of “conventional foil” to dark Marguerite (Huf 7), that function is not merely the prescriptive one that Duncan so wittily rehearses and that Linda Huf fashions into an “alarmingly specific” commentary on female artist fictions (Hamelin 24). Rather, Claire becomes, in Murray’s narrative, the literal embodiment of male desire, a muse whose beauty serves the aesthetic “function,” as it were, of a painterly and poetic patriarchy.

The short second chapter of Murray’s story, so ambiguously titled “Something About Maurice,” links this apparent hero’s pleasing physiognomy with his own vanity and the Bohemian self-aestheticizing of his fellow artists. After having primped himself in the mirror (“with a very agreeable sense of satisfaction”), Maurice sets out to visit Marguerite and Claire—but not before the narrator can point out that “[his many physical] advantages were scarcely marred by the careless carriage, the studied negligence of dress and the thick untrained beard and moustache of the modern art student” (“MK” 30). The fact that Maurice’s pleasing physical appearance signals a shared male identity (he is a “modern art student”) throws into even greater relief Marguerite’s isolation by virtue of her “non-conformity to the high standard of beauty”

(as Wetherald puts it). Both are painters, but only Maurice can *physically* claim that distinction. Ironically, it is the saucy young Claire who innocently “reads” appearance by means of a different exegetical criterion: having often observed Marguerite’s “grave” approach to her art, Claire remarks coyly to Maurice “I don’t ever think you will become a great painter...you look too gay” (“MK” 32).

The instability of appearances as an interpretive method provides Murray with a latitude for humour and satire, almost all of which is directed at Maurice and his artistic ilk. Upon first visiting Marguerite’s home, Maurice fancies that the parlour bears her distinctive artistic touch. Noticing, however, the room’s collection of English and German books, he is immediately on guard, since “according to his ideas, some of them were calculated more to puzzle than to enlighten the feminine intellect...‘I hope she is not too much of a *femme savante*,’ thought Maurice” (“MK” 31-32). Murray’s mockery continues as Marguerite—unwittingly, through her frank and pleasant demeanor—dispels Maurice’s fears of a masculinized woman. In a satiric alignment of female appearance and woman’s proper sphere, the narrator notes that Maurice “at once exonerated her from any unwomanly acquaintance with science and philosophy, and even forgot for the moment how little of the beauty he deemed essential to a woman, she possessed” (“MK” 32). More than a little irony is generated, in a later chapter called “Prometheus,” when the narrator reveals the shockingly shallow preoccupations of Maurice’s fellow art students: “hackneyed cant,” “factitious enthusiasm,” “silly pretension,” “reckless mirth and revelry” (“MK” 110). The supposed dangers of feminine exposure to science and philosophy pale in comparison to the Bacchic license of male “education.” As such, the contrast between “grave” Marguerite’s tragic rendering of the Promethean hero on

canvas, and “gay” Maurice’s communal male recapitulation of a Daedalean collision with the sun, adds yet another dimension to the story’s re-visioning of mythologies.

Little changes, it seems, during Maurice’s four years of study in Rome. In contrast to the industrious Marguerite, who, in quiet domesticity, had “not been idle” during his absence (“MK” 337), Maurice’s “genius” develops entirely outside of the narrative, amidst outlandish surroundings. The descriptions (primarily of hearty bantering dialogue and outspoken male chauvinism) are among Murray’s best in the novel, and they create a gendered gulf between male and female opportunities and approaches to art.⁵⁸ In a decidedly masculine painter’s studio—the kind “occupied by foreign art-students who visited the Eternal City in the course of their *Wanderjahre*,”⁵⁹ and strewn liberally with “pistols, stilettos...pipes, tobacco, gourd drinking cups, flasks, books, and bouquets of flowers” (“MK” 239)—Maurice encounters the combined influences of adoring young women and raucous young men. He allows his admiration of Marguerite to be undermined by shallow notions of beauty and “unflattering comments on [her] looks” (“MK” 244), and he thus fulfils the early predictions of Christian Kneller:

he has the true soul of a troubadour, and he ought to have been a singer of songs, instead of a painter of pictures. Like the old Provençal trouvères, he is brave, gay, generous, ready of hand and word, frank, courteous, and gentle; but like them, too, he is light, weak, fickle— (“MK” 116)

Readers are little surprised that Maurice eventually goes on—in Aurora Leigh’s words—to “pursue a sublime art frivolously” (II: 259), thereby joining the ranks of those who have “no higher aims than wealth and praise” (“MK” 110).

How much Murray’s descriptions of male artist life in Rome were culled (since she herself never apparently travelled after her emigration) from her thirty-year friendship and correspondence with British-Canadian painter, David Fowler, seems

impossible to gauge, other than to remark that during a European tour in 1834-35, Fowler had convalesced from smallpox in part by “sketch[ing] extensively in Rome and elsewhere in Italy” (Smith, “Daniel Fowler” 326).⁶⁰ More germane to the story as a whole, perhaps, is the kind of intertextual culling in which Murray so frequently and seriously engaged—itsself a sort of analagous activity to Marguerite’s quiet domestic persistence in art during Maurice’s four-year absence. Chief among these borrowings in “Marguerite Kneller” is Tennyson’s 1842 poem, “The Gardener’s Daughter.” The poem is a dramatic monologue that is stylistically removed from, but chillingly reminiscent of, Robert Browning’s “My Last Duchess” (a work published, coincidentally, in the same year as Tennyson’s). At the end of “The Gardener’s Daughter,” the speaker draws back a curtain to reveal his own portrait of his “first, last love” (l. 271), the eponymous muse-woman who is now dead. However different their conscious motives, the speakers of both monologues “kill” their wives into art. Two additional elements in Tennyson’s poem add contextual resonance to the quotations that Murray borrows from the poem itself: “The Gardener’s Daughter” unfolds within the fiction of a male community of artists (“Eustace” and the speaker are both painters, “Brothers in Art” [l. 4]), and the poem consistently champions the sexually-overpowering aesthetic of Beauty-as-muse (both men marry the women they paint).

That this poem could be described, as recently as 1993, as “a charming construction,” “a happy picture of heterosexual love” (Levi, *Tennyson* 103, 104), shows that perhaps not much has changed in the patriarchal Academy. The similar danger of Maurice’s Roman education is that it instills in him, and communally ratifies, what Karl Rudorff observes to be Maurice’s “type of perfect womanhood”: “soft, yielding, timid,

submissive, with no intellectual light, but such rays as she may borrow from your brightness" ("MK" 243). This "type," in effect, is the antithesis of Marguerite and the realization of a communal male fantasy: variously Claire, the unnamed "gardener's daughter," and the catalogue of artfully aestheticized blonde beauties that Maurice parades before the reader, including "'a Florentine Marchesa,'" "'Petrarch's Laura,'" "'divine Beatrice,'" and "'some lovely nymph or grace...in Venetian pictures'" ("MK" 336). Maurice's first vision of the mature Claire reproduces the effect of Tennyson's poem: like the "gardener's daughter," Claire is dressed in white, holding roses, bathed in light. To the passionate words that fall from Maurice's / the speaker's supplicant lips, Claire, like the gardener's daughter, responds "[s]uffused...with blushes" (337; l. 151). In chapter thirteen, titled, after Tennyson's poem, "Such a Lord is Love, / And Beauty such a Mistress of the World!" (ll. 56-57; "MK" 337), Maurice pours forth his heart to Claire, now fully cognizant that his feeling for Marguerite had not been that of "Love at first sight, first-born and heir to all" ("The Gardener's Daughter" l. 185; "MK" 244).

Maurice's choice in women also decides, in ideological terms, his life's work, and Louisa Murray makes a point of granting Maurice the kind of worldly success that his sold-out career as a portrait painter-cum-flatterer would naturally offer him. But though he can claim to be "the most fashionable artist of his day, the courted companion of men and women of rank, the idol of the drawing-rooms" ("MK" 438), the simple truth is that Maurice paints intellectually limpid Parisian beauties in further objectified, exoticized (and thus thoroughly Victorian) poses: as "the Scandinavian Goddess, Freya...drawn by a troop [of] rein-deer," or "the gipsy heroine of Victor Hugo's great novel with her little pet goat at her feet" ("MK" 519, 520). Having once expected that Marguerite would follow

him, metaphorically, “as faithfully as the happy Princess followed the fated fairy Prince in Tennyson’s musical version of the old story.”

Over the hills and far away,
Beyond the utmost purple rim,
Beyond the night, across the day,
Through all the world (“MK” 245)

Maurice marries instead a vapid woman who literalizes the “beautiful princess in a fairy tale” (“MK” 438). Marguerite, by contrast, more successfully than Shakespeare’s Princess of France in *Love’s Labour’s Lost*, literally enters the ranks of a “forbidden” male Academy, achieving a pinnacle of critical success that is no less commendable for its having being unsought by her. From points equidistant on the horizon as the story begins, Marguerite’s star rises—in quiet domestic obscurity and through patient industry—while that of her fickle betrothed lover, Maurice, steadily descends. With no “formal training,” and no supportive artistic community (other than the periodic approbation of Delacroix), she skilful adapts and exceeds her male models, finally shaming them—perhaps only metaphorically, but shaming, nevertheless, at least one man into self-recognition—in a vision of artistic and personal emancipation that she titles “Genius offering Psyche consolation for the loss of Love.”

In response to the first published critical study of *The Princess*, written by Halifax-born Samuel Dawson and published in Montreal in 1884 (Dawson Brothers Publishers),⁶¹ Tennyson himself wrote a letter that calmly equated ambitious women with “freaks,” and saw in the project of Princess Ida the simultaneous realization of “the burlesque and the tragic” (Dawson, “Preface,” *A Study* viii).⁶² Ambitious women in the world, Tennyson might well have said in so many words, necessarily set themselves up for ridicule and death, and by extension cannot possibly succeed as autonomous beings.

In book two of *Aurora Leigh*, reformer Romney Leigh claims the opposite: women fail at greatness because they are a self-absorbed gender, compassionate in particular matters, but “hard / To general suffering” (II: 198). Because they cannot “weep” for the wider world, they will never shape its course.

...this same world
Uncomprehended by you, must remain
Uninfluenced by you.—Women as you are,
Mere women, personal and passionate,
You give us doting mothers, and perfect wives,
Sublime Madonnas, and enduring saints!
We get no Christ from you—and verily
We shall not get a poet, in my mind.’ (II: 218-25)

Between these two objections, representations of the patriarchy in life and in fiction, stands Louisa Murray. Mere woman as she was, she saw that fiction could be her tool for social change, her sympathetic address to a suffering sorority, her example of and for autonomous womanhood in an “unsatisfying world” (“MK” 526). In the same way that Barrett Browning’s *Aurora Leigh* desires, in part, an aesthetics that will end prostitution, Murray’s Marguerite Kneller strives for an aesthetics that is woman-redeeming and socially-directed. In contrast to the “Sapphic suicidalism” of the nineteenth century’s female artistic failures, Marguerite Kneller accommodates interiority with a wider social vision. In so doing, she looks both backwards and forwards in the history of women’s artist fiction in Canada.

Conclusion

An inescapable conclusion emerges: Canadian literary history will be read very differently when women are re-inscribed in its rolls, for the women express a different vision of Canada and Canadian experience than is conventionally held.

Lorraine McMullen. "Introduction." *Re(Dis)covering Our Foremothers*

Recuperation is an act. It is a pledge but also a plunge: a diving into the wreck, as Adrienne Rich puts it, to find "the wreck and not the story of the wreck / the thing itself and not the myth" ("Diving" ll. 62-63). Recuperation is hard work—much lauded in theory, often avoided in practice. So much must be cleared away (misinformation, prejudice) before one even begins to glimpse what one came for. If one's wreck is the sunken flotilla of women in nineteenth-century Canadian literary history, there is a two-fold purpose to recuperation: to see "the damage that was done / and the treasures that prevail" ("Diving" ll.55-56). The previous chapters have begun such a process. They have employed the "feminist salvage tactic" of raising up female *Künstlerromane* to explore a variety of texts that were published, often serially, in the ephemeral venue of nineteenth-century Canadian magazines. And they have exposed the means by which such texts have come to be forgotten.

What these chapters have "surfaced" with (to invoke both Margaret Atwood and Carol Christ) is the very "conclusion" articulated by Lorraine McMullen in the epigraph above: Canadian literary history must and will be "re-inscribed" by means of the lives and works of early women writing in Canada. That the genre of female artist fiction is central to this reinscription has been demonstrated in different ways by the two surveys that comprise the initial chapters of this thesis. While chapter one has summarized the

vast critical interest that the genres of *Bildungsroman* and *Künstlerroman* have elicited on a broad scale, chapter two has probed the beginnings of women-authored artist fictions in Canada to prove that both in quantity and in quality such publications warrant the critical seriousness of attention that their international counterparts continue to receive. Through the work of Eliza Lanesford Cushing, chapter two has introduced the “fictionalized biography”—a hitherto invisible subgenre—thereby opening up the possibility for a new theoretical perspective on the larger genre of *Künstlerroman*. And by elaborating Mary Eliza Herbert’s role as both editor and writer in her boldly-ventured *Mayflower, or Ladies Acadian Newspaper*, chapter two has revealed that even the so-called ‘flowery fields of romance’ were part of the sometimes fraught female world that nineteenth-century Canadian magazines charted.

Chapters three and four, in their more concentrated focus on two specific practitioners of female artist fiction, have uncovered in the works of Susanna Moodie and Louisa Murray the remarkable interplay between such works and their variously contextualized circumstances of production and reception. Though Susanna Moodie has become a veritable ‘industry’ in Canadian literary culture, her serialized novel “Rachel Wilde” has remained, in A.M. Klein’s words, “a number, an x”—merely one among many of her serial productions. That Moodie’s artist heroine cannot approximate the consolation of Klein’s forgotten male poet—cannot, in other words, be an ‘nth Eve’ in the way that he can be “the nth Adam taking a green inventory / in world but scarcely uttered” (“Portrait of the Poet” ll. 26; 134-35)—leads us towards Moodie’s innovative choice of Napoleon as a metaphor for a young female artist’s “revolutionary self-consciousness” (Tetzeli von Rosador, “Metaphorical Representations” 2). As the final

chapter of the thesis has shown, Louisa Murray's serialized novel "Marguerite Kneller, Artist and Woman" continues and augments Moodie's polemical stance, but does so by means of a complex mesh of intertextuality that rejects the tradition of women-authored Sapphic suicidalism while simultaneously destabilizing the patriarchal enterprise of British literature. Marguerite Kneller's final painting can be seen, in this light, as a gendered version of the 'public triumph' available to the male artists in Cushing's and others' fictionalized biographies—with the caveat that autonomous success, and not public spectacle, is valued by Murray's heroine.

In 1977, more than a decade after Northrop Frye's "Conclusion" in *The Literary History of Canada* had proposed that a country's literature was an "imaginative continuum," Elaine Showalter consciously or unconsciously borrowed the same coinage to describe the perpetuation of a female literary tradition: "when we look at women writers collectively we can see an imaginative continuum, the recurrence of certain patterns, themes, problems, and images from generation to generation" ("The Female Tradition" 273). If the present study can coin its own term from such coincidence, with reference to the resonances of female artist fictions and their early practitioners in Canada, then that term might be (with thanks to Bakhtin) "gender memory." Ethelwyn Wetherald's 1888 article on Louisa Murray stands out as a remarkable instance of such memory, drawing connections, as it does, among three of the women in this study: Eliza Lanesford Cushing, in her capacity as editor of *The Literary Garland*; Susanna Moodie, in her position as philanthropic past-editor of *The Victoria Magazine*; and Louisa Murray, prolific writer and empathetic supporter of other writing women.

In the same way that it has reached back to recuperate, this study also gestures forward in time, toward the grace and durability of the female *Künstlerroman* in twentieth-century Canada. It proposes the tracing of an “imaginative continuum” according to both Frye and Showalter, a historicized vista of female artistic subjectivity in which particular literary works dialogue, in a Bakhtinian sense, within their particular contexts as well as over time. One might begin, for instance, where the present study has left off, in the productive decades of the 1880s and 90s in which Canadian nationalist sentiment flourished and the “New Woman” became both a reality and a figure of scorn. Here, the continuum might highlight female artist fictions like Maud Ogilvy’s *Marie Gourdon: A Romance of the Lower St. Lawrence* (1890), Sara Jeannette Duncan’s *A Daughter of Today* (1894), and Joanna Wood’s *Judith Moore, or Fashioning A Pipe* (1898). In the early decades of the twentieth century, the study might go on to address L.M. Montgomery’s female artist trilogy, the “Emily books” of 1923, 1925, and 1927. From there, it might turn to the autobiographical fictions of Emily Carr and Laura Goodman Salverson in the 1940s and to Vera Lysenko’s little-known *Yellow Boots* (1954)—all of which document a young woman’s accommodation of art and an ethnic past. In the 1970s, such a study would find itself choosing from among the finest examples of writing by Canadian women: Munro’s *Lives of Girls and Women* (1971) and *Who Do You Think You Are?* (1978), Atwood’s *Surfacing* (1972) and *Lady Oracle* (1976), Margaret Laurence’s *A Bird in the House* (1970) and *The Diviners* (1974), and lesser-known works like Audrey Thomas’ epistolary *Latakia* (1979), and Betty Lambert’s horrifying tale of physical abuse, *Crossings* (1979). In the 1980s and 1990s, the continuum could include and conclude with the Linnet Muir sequence of Mavis Gallant’s *Home Truths* (1981), Atwood’s *Cat’s Eye* (1988), Kristjana Gunnars’

The Prowler (1989), and Audrey Thomas' *Graven Images* (1993). But the fullest understanding of these works is contingent upon first the recovery, and second the contextualized analysis of the beginnings of Canadian artist fictions by women in the nineteenth century.

“‘A World for Women’: Fictions of the Female Artist in English-Canadian Periodicals, 1840-1880” has offered a modest and far from encyclopaedic contribution to the burgeoning field of nineteenth-century Canadian literary studies. It remains to continue the project in avenues that are beyond the scope of these chapters: by further theorizing the *Künstlerroman* genre in a Canadian context, by recovering works and authors that this dissertation has omitted for its chosen era, and by extending the study forward. The thesis has been envisioned, throughout, as a partial foundation on which to (re)construct a better, more fully contextualized understanding of Canadian literary history and its practitioners. It is my intention that the representatively significant literary moments that it has highlighted will inspire an ongoing scholarly commitment to “excavating” and “reclaiming” the history of early women’s periodical publishing in Canada, and, more generally, to continuing to probe questions of literary production and textual reception in Canada’s nineteenth century.

Appendix A

In the mid- to late-1840s, the British North American colonies laboured under the depression brought on by Britain's apparent abandonment of them, manifest in the repeal of preferences on colonial products such as timber and wheat, and the British decision, in 1846 (largely as a response to "the failure of the Irish potato crop and the mass suffering it produced" [Cross, "Free Trade" 5]), to embrace world-wide free trade. With the addition of the Americans' "Drawback Act" in 1846 (which removed duties on imports from the Canadas and threatened to drain southward, to ice-free American ports, the entire wheat trade of Canada West), Montreal, with "her vastly expensive canal system," was in a particularly precarious position (Cross, 6). In the midst of plummeting wheat and timber exports came "[t]he final blow, the final indignity": the unloading of the famine Irish—"a pathetic symbol of Britain's long misrule of Ireland"—on Canadian shores (Cross 6). Resentment against the non-nurturing "Mother" country meshed with Britain's own free trade-motivated desire to yield economic and political freedoms to British North America. The result, responsible government, was conceded with the arrival of the Earl of Elgin, Governor-General, in 1847 (Cross 7).

Responsible government was one of two recommendations of the Durham Report, issued in late 1838 (the other was the assimilation-minded union of Upper and Lower Canada into the Province of Canada, which occurred in February 1841¹), and provided one of the few political links between the Canadas and the colony of Nova Scotia. Both Reform governments, which overturned their respective conservative establishments and alienated a host of Tories, were inaugurated in the late 1840s, a full ten years after

Durham's recommendations. Reform became a reality in Canada West in March 1848 and in Canada East in January 1849, operating in a single legislative assembly under the joint leadership of Robert Baldwin and Louis Lafontaine. Joseph Howe, long-time champion of responsible government, saw its inception in his native Nova Scotia even earlier, during the election of 1847. He strongly disagreed, however, with any notion of Nova Scotia's union with the Canadas, an idea implicit in the Durham Report and one that had had currency as far back as John Stachan's 1824 plan to impose unification on the British North American provinces. Exuberantly "patriotic," Howe is said to have exhorted his fellow colonists: "'Boys, brag of your country. When I'm abroad I brag of everything that Nova Scotia is, has, or can produce; and when they beat me at everything else, I turn around on them and say: 'How high does your tide rise?'" (Monet, "The 1840s" 292). Such a comment illuminates the often dimly remembered fact that "[v]ery few ties existed between the Atlantic colonies and the Canadas in the mid-nineteenth century."² Both Halifax and St. John were closer to the ports of Boston and New York than to the Canadas, and winter ice completely severed all Maritime links to the Canadas for several months of every year (Francis and Smith, "Economic Developments" 399). Nova Scotia even had its own, distinctly-valued version of the British pound, known as "Halifax currency." The colony shared none of the broad demographical changes that occurred in the Canadas in the 1840s (among them, huge population increases due to immigration, the inauguration of distinct school systems in Canada East and West, and the establishment of universities in Cobourg, Kingston, and Toronto). As with the larger political policies of responsible government, however, Halifax pledged its support for the concept of reciprocity (the mutual abolition of tariffs between the United States and

British North America), and proceeded to enjoy its economic benefits, once that initiative had been “floated...through on champagne” by the politically savvy Lord Elgin in Washington in 1854 (Cross 14).

Changing attitudes towards the United States proved to be at least as important in forging a fledgling “national” sentiment in British North America as did the advent of responsible government. Politically, the movement advocating Canada’s annexation to the United States sharpened these attitudes to a razor’s edge. In 1849, for reasons economic and linguistic respectively, Montreal merchants forged an unlikely alliance with the radical French *Rouges* in favour of annexation. This shockingly anti-imperialist proposal was countered, initially, by equally extremist anti-American sentiment. Newspapers and church pulpits excoriated America’s bloody birth out of “sinful rebellion,” a darkness made manifest in rampant individualism and in the heinous social practice of slavery (Wise 118).³ Such rhetoric eventually moderated and, in the wake of a “new era of reciprocity and well-being” in the 1850s, the drive towards union with the United States was abandoned (Wise, 133). The foment of the annexation movement, however, coming as it did on the heels of a profound crisis in the relationship between Britain and British North America, proved pivotal. As S.F. Wise puts it, the annexation issue paved the way for Confederation, forcing British North Americans into “a new examination of themselves and their institutions and awaken[ing] the first glimmerings of the idea of a new British North American people” (132).

Appendix B

When Carl F. Klinck maligns *The Literary Garland*'s significance in the creation of a national literature as that of "a parlour game," and rebukes the magazine for having made "only feeble attempts to discover a native norm in content, treatment, or quality" (*Literary History* 161), his mid-1960s nationalist rhetoric criticizes an apple for not being an orange. The "native norm" for literature in English Canada in the 1840s (and indeed for decades before and after *The Literary Garland*'s demise) was British. This seems only natural for a people who viewed themselves, rather problematically, as "*inhabitants* of Canada" but "*subjects* of Britain" ("To Our Readers," *The Literary Garland* Nov. 1840, 573; emphasis mine). Mary Lu MacDonald argues convincingly that "the modern definition of 'national' as 'distinctive' did not apply" to writers and readers of early Canadian periodicals. Rather,

[t]o them, 'national' meant that something was written in British North America, by someone who was a permanent resident, and that the product was as good as anything written in English or French elsewhere...They took pride in being part of metropolitan English and French culture and showed that pride by using the same forms and subject as the linguistic mother countries, gradually *adapting* the subject matter to Canadian use. ("English and French-Language Periodicals" 225, emphasis mine).

As such an articulation demonstrates, and as most early-Canadian literary scholars would readily acknowledge, the "eclectic detachment" that A.J.M. Smith articulated so famously in his introduction to *The Oxford Book of Canadian Verse* (1960) has been with us from the beginning.

The organic connection between the gradual adaptation of continental models and the growth of indigenous literature recurs repeatedly in the editorial sections of *The*

Literary Garland. Amid standard metaphors for literature in a new country (“the dawn which is now breaking,” “an appetite that ‘grows by what it feeds on’” [“To Our Readers” December 1839]) are evolving notions of literature as plant. In the introduction to the second volume in December of 1839, *The Literary Garland*’s editor mixes practical economics with colonial self-deprecation, noting how cheap reprints from abroad make it “only natural that few would stoop to cull the *unassuming* plant our *uncultivated wilds* produce” (“To Our Readers” 2, emphasis mine). Two years later, in the “Our Table” review section of the *Garland*, a tonally different metaphor appears, this time in an extract from the first issue of a Toronto-based political publication (published at the office of the *British Colonist* newspaper at a subscription cost of \$4 per year) entitled *The Monthly Review*. John Waudby, Esq., the *Review*’s editor, evokes here a more positive image of gradual adaptation. While admitting that “Fancy and Fiction” have little place in “the matter of fact, sober, plodding routine of Colonial existence,” he goes on to liken such practices (“exotics”) to European fruit trees—plants which, over several harsh seasons, adapt to their new soil:

So it will be with literature and the arts in our new country. Now they are strangers totally unknown, or introduced and planted but to wave and shiver in the cold blast of our rude climate. Like the transplanted fruit trees, they too may acclimate themselves, and a golden harvest reward the exertions of the fostering hands that cultivated and cherished them. (“The Literature of a New Country,” qtd. in *The Literary Garland*, Feb. 1841, 143)

It is worth noting the manner in which, time and again, British North American editors and publishers searched for self-definition not only by aligning themselves with Britain but also by sharply distinguishing their productions from those of their southern neighbours. Mary Lu MacDonald claims that Canadian publishers considered American periodicals to be “morally and intellectually inferior” but viewed the contents of their

own magazines, "whether written in England or Canada," as "British and therefore superior" (223). Such a sentiment is expressed by the editor of Toronto's *British Colonist* newspaper in his compliment to *The Literary Garland*, 2 January, 1849:

It is pleasing to reflect that we have in the Province even one monthly literary periodical which Canadians may claim as their own, and that its articles are the productions of residents of the country, not inferior in manner and matter to many of the articles which grace the pages of similar periodicals in the British isles, and infinitely superior to much of what appears in some of the publications of the neighboring States. (quoted in MacDonald, "English and French-Language Periodicals" 223)

The rhetoric here is noteworthy in its implied relationships to England and America respectively: "not inferior" (Canada's deference to Britain) versus "infinitely superior" (Canada's supremacy over America); and "articles which grace the pages" (elegant British prose) versus "much of what appears" (pedestrian American content).

That this sense of literary superiority over American models could be discussed in terms of a female character, aggressively and indelicately portrayed by her American author, is the fascinating argument of a reviewer in the December 1844 issue of the *Garland*. In "Contemporaneous American Novelists" a writer identified only as "C.H."¹ eviscerates "our free and enlightened neighbours" for their "cheap publication presses groaning far and wide throughout the land" (550).² Out of the "increasing flood of Cheap Literature" the reviewer pulls several novels, one of which is *Christine; A Tale of the Revolution*, by John H. Mancur. The fictional Christine comes under fire for behaviour that, to the reviewer's mind, bespeaks the worst of American female qualities. C.H. notes that Christine interrupts a political conversation between her father and another older man, "as any other saucy girl, spoiled by a boarding house, and rendered pert by republican notions, would do." In the course of her interruption, continues the reviewer,

Christine reveals a further specifically American trait: that of “mock modesty, where the subterfuge betrays the latent and immodest thought.” Christine’s is a country (the reviewer reminds us) in which “piano legs are dressed in pantalets, and...called ‘limbs’.” Thus the heroine, “formed upon this fashionable model” of ridiculous euphemism, resorts to linguistic gymnastics rather than uttering the word “posterity” (552).³ What emerges, however generalized and satirical, is a portrait of American literary culture in which women are patently immodest and unrefined—characteristics, apparently, of their nation at large. As C.H., after Haliburton, would have it, the author of *Christine* “‘shews up’ his ‘Yankee Notions’ ‘pretty considerably’” (552).⁴

Although C.H. is likely a man, his comments directed at the male author of a female character, the very fact that his assessment of national literary culture could be premised upon the characterization of a *heroine* proves potentially revealing for women-authored fictions in Canadian periodicals. We have little means of determining to what extent the genteel, polite fiction of magazines like *The Literary Garland* (Montreal) and *The Mayflower* (Halifax) provided a morally conservative cultural alternative to the ostensibly profligate cheap popular press of the United States. In the British North American society that was increasingly focused on providing a *finished* (as opposed to a *useful*) education to young women,⁵ there were numerous “boarding schools” in which to “spoil” a young girl, but seemingly few “republican notions” by which to render her “pert.” A number of potentially unanswerable questions present themselves. To what extent—if any—does the literary creation of female characters by British North Americans reflect this period’s conservative (and perhaps anti-American) self-definition? In other words, to what extent do the subordinate female characters in male artist fictions,

fashioned by colonial-minded, paradoxically ambitious supporters of the Cult of True Womanhood, figure qualities that can be named *Canadian*?

Endnotes

Preface

1. The Canadian Short Story Library, presently suspended, was under the general editorship of John Moss.

2. Vincent's *Directory* builds on several checklists and indices of Canadian periodical literature that were compiled, for the most part, in the 1960s and 70s. These include the following: Reginald E. Watters' *A Checklist of Canadian Literature and Background Materials, 1628-1960* (1959; rev. 1972), Mary M. Brown's *An Index to The Literary Garland* (1962), Marilyn G. Flitton's *An Index to The Canadian Monthly and National Review and to Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly and National Review, 1872-1882* (1976), and D.M.R. Bentley's and Mary Lynn Wickens's *Checklist of Literary Materials in The Week* (1978).

3. The term is Linda E. Marshall's, from her review of Marjorie Stone's book, *Elizabeth Barrett Browning* (1995). Marshall states that "[r]ather than raise up *Aurora Leigh* as a woman poet's *Kunstlerroman* [sic]—the feminist salvage tactic practised ever since that submerged work was rediscovered in the 1970s—Stone envisions the poem as it was read by many through the latter half of the nineteenth century: as a work of sage discourse, a polemical, visionary 'modern epic that philosophically addressed some of the most urgent issues of the age' (139)" (Marshall, review, *English Studies in Canada* 487). Though I can appreciate Marshall's distinctions, I do not see a necessary disjuncture between the polemical aims of a female *Kunstlerroman* and the similar objectives of "gynocentrically subverting" the discourse of "the Victorian sage...yet another Promethean avatar...with whom Barrett Browning contended" (487). Both approaches, it seems to me, are metaleptically female appropriations of male-dominated genres and discourses, and thus share the agenda of destabilizing the aesthetic traditions of patriarchy.

4. "Gynocriticism" is Elaine Showalter's term for the study of women as writers. A feminist field of inquiry, gynocriticism studies "the history, styles, themes, genres, and structures of writing by women; the psychodynamics of female creativity; the trajectory of the individual or collective female career; and the evolution and laws of a female literary tradition" (Showalter, "Feminist Literary Criticism in the Wilderness" 248).

Chapter One

1. Z. Nelly Martinez is listed in the "Contributors" section as teaching at "McGill University," but "her work focuses mainly on Spanish-American twentieth-century fiction and deconstruction and feminist criticism" (429).

2. "'O Canada!' The Spectral Lesbian Poetics of Elizabeth Bishop." *PMLA* 113.2 (March 1998): 246. Jarroway points out that although Bishop was not born in Canada, she "was brought to Canada by her maternal grandparents in her first year because of her mother's nervous breakdown" and spent five bucolic years with a loving extended family before being reunited with her mother in Nova Scotia in 1916. Within the year, her mother "fell into an incurable

insanity and Bishop was removed once again," this time to her birthplace in Worcester, Massachusetts. She began writing her poetry a year later, at the age of eight, and remained "fiercely loyal" to Canada throughout her life, as her biographical reminiscences attest (244-45).

3. "Re-vision—the act of looking back, of seeing with fresh eyes, of entering an old text from a new critical direction...an act of survival." Adrienne Rich, "When We Dead Awaken: Writing as Re-Vision," in *Adrienne Rich's Poetry*, ed. Barbara Charlesworth Gelpi and Albert Gelpi (New York: Norton, 1975): 90.

4. In 1989, Earl G. Ingersoll noted that *Survival* "has sold 70,000 copies since it appeared in 1972" ("Introduction," *Margaret Atwood* xii).

5. That Atwood herself read *Ms.* for its literary-feminist insights is evident in her 1976 essay, "Paradoxes and Dilemmas, the Woman as Writer," in which she quotes a long passage by "Cynthia Ozack [sic], in the American magazine *Ms*" (74). Atwood's essay was originally published in *Women in the Canadian Mosaic* (Peter Martin Associates), edited by Gwen Matheson. I quote it as excerpted and reprinted in *Feminist Literary Theory: A Reader* (Cambridge, Oxford: Blackwell, 1986; rpt 1992).

6. See Atwood's "Paradoxes and Dilemmas," 74. This essay comprises the sole "Canadian" content in *Feminist Literary Theory: A Reader*.

7. There are those, of course, who would argue that Moodie's poetry is justly ignored by Atwood.

8. See Atwood's "Death of a Young Son by Drowning" in *The New Oxford Book of Canadian Verse in English* (Toronto: Oxford UP, 1982), 349.

9. Atwood reproduces Frye's famous "Where is here?" from the "Conclusion" to Klinck's *Literary History of Canada* (1965), though she cites it in its less "scholarly"-sounding venue, *The Bush Garden* (1971), sans subtitle. Klinck's *Literary History* is mentioned by name, however, at the beginning of Atwood's third chapter—a detail that would seem, at least in part, to mitigate against her construction of herself as an anti-academic. (See *Survival* 10, 73.)

10. "There are various ways of being mutilated," says Atwood, "...if your balls have been cut off you are a eunuch or a *castrato*" (*Survival* 184).

11. In his study *The Apprenticeship Novel* (1984), genre critic Randolph P. Shaffner claims that "[t]he artist tradition in Germany stems from Goethe's fragmentary [*Theatralische*] *Sendung*," a work which was the draft version of *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship* (121 n.46).

In his *Ivory Towers and Sacred Founts: The Artist as Hero in Fiction from Goethe to Joyce* (1964), Maurice Beebe details the biographical circumstances and critical reception of what he calls Goethe's parallel "artist" novels, *The Sorrows of Young Werther* (1774) and *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship* (1795-96). Beebe claims that although Goethe presents the self-absorbed, self-annihilating *Werther* as a negative exemplar, the novel's irony was misconstrued in its day and led inadvertently to the establishment in fiction of a stereotypically sensitive artist "destroyed by an unfeeling world" (32). *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship*, which Beebe considers more influential in the development of the artist novel tradition, effectively contains "no artist at all": Wilhelm possesses little theatrical talent and even less drive (Beebe 33). His final vocation—as a broadly humanitarian, yet disconcertingly passive, artist of life—enacts an odd "balance between himself and the world"

(Beebe 33, 36). Despite the fact that neither *Werther* nor *Meister* seems to provide a paradigm for artist fiction, Beebe maintains that Goethe inaugurated the *Künstlerroman* form both by casting his heroes as "artists" and by delineating the genre's major tension as "the conflict between art and life" (27). Beebe claims that Goethe's personal and aesthetic ideal for the successful artist—real and fictional—was of someone "midway between" the "Ivory Tower" of self-absorbed commitment to art and the "Sacred Fount" of active participation in the world (38).

Beebe later makes brief mention of Carl Phillip Moritz's novel *Anton Reiser* (1785-90), arguing that the book may be "a more significant portrait of the artist than *Wilhelm Meister*," but adding that *Anton* was undoubtedly "less influential" in the establishment of the artist novel tradition (50).

12. Shaffner firmly downplays the fictional component of the *Künstlerroman*, calling it instead a "specialized subdivision of autobiography, or more generally, biography" (13).

13. Howe's source for this Goethean quotation is listed without date or author as "*Ferneres über Weltliteratur*" (298 n.23).

14. It might be pointed out that Buckley was a Canadian scholar of Victorian Literature at Harvard's Radcliffe College. Margaret Atwood did her graduate work there, and when asked why, in a 1978 interview with Joyce Carole Oates, she gave the following answer:

Because—to trace it back—Canada had not hired one Jerome H. Buckley back in the Depression when he was looking for work. He had gone to the States and had become a leading Victorianist. The Victorian period was 'my period,' and I had won a Woodrow Wilson Fellowship, so I went to Harvard to study with Dr. Buckley. (Oates, "Dancing on the Edge of the Precipice" 78)

Given that Atwood was at Harvard during the early 1960s (1961-63; 1965), and that Buckley's *Seasons of Youth* was published roughly a decade later (1974), she may well have come into contact with his theories on the *Bildungsroman*.

15. Howe defines the *Bildungsroman* as "the novel of all-around development or self-culture" which involves "the more or less conscious attempt on the part of the hero to integrate his powers, to cultivate himself by his experience" (6).

16. In 1981, genre critic Jeffrey L. Sammons wonders testily what, in the end, "[Buckley's] appropriation of the term [*Bildungsroman*] has contributed methodologically to his analyses of the novels" (232).

17. It is worth noting that when Buckley restates his *Bildungsroman* criteria one page later, calling them "principal elements," he shears them of all overt gender-exclusivity: they become "childhood, the conflict of generations, provinciality, the larger society, self-education, alienation, ordeal by love, the search for a vocation and a working philosophy" (18). It is the ease with which he exchanges male for universal that disturbed early feminist critics, and continues to jar today.

18. Moretti claims that plot differences capture "the rhetorical and ideological essence of a historico-narrative culture" (7).

19. One must necessarily add that Moretti's paradigm for the "classical *Bildungsroman*" is derived from a very few works: Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*, Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*, and an oblique reference to one or two other works that would constitute the total genre's grouping of "three or four examples" (229 n.1). Doubtless, Swales and other critics of the German *Bildungsroman*

tradition would question Moretti's claim for the generically representative nature of these few texts.

20. Beebe considers the "Divided Self" to be a characteristic feature of *Künstlerromane*: the artist-protagonist feels within himself a split between the "historical personage" who performs mundane events and the "medium through which the creative spirit manifests itself" (6). Beebe cites Aldous Huxley's satirizing of the concept—which had become stereotypically common in artist fiction by the twentieth century—in his 1920 short story, "The Farcical History of Richard Greenow." Unacknowledged by Beebe is the potentially misogynist subtext of Huxley's choice of a sentimental woman novelist as Greenow's second self—a character "whose gushing bestsellers support, embarrass, and ultimately destroy the man through whom she acts" (Beebe 8).

21. Mecke reproduces a portion of Lessing's 1971 "Preface" to *The Golden Notebook* (1962) which pointedly rejects the idea of the alienated artist as a "monstrously isolated, monstrously narcissistic, pedestaled paragon" (Mecke 13).

22. Repeatedly in Beebe's examples of both the Ivory Tower and the Sacred Fount traditions, women figure as negative impediments to the male artist. "Whether the love is thwarted or consummated," says Beebe, "the artist is somehow annihilated" (55); and later, "[i]t is significant that after Antonio marries Maria [in Hans Christian Andersen's *The Improvisatore; or, Life in Italy*, 1835] we hear no more of his art" (72). In all fairness to Beebe, this paradigm seems one that is not so much imposed from without as prevalent within the fiction—especially in the *femme fatale* motif of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century works (Beebe 98).

23. Beebe never does elaborate either the circumstances of *Corinne*'s critical and public reception or the novel's particular impact on later writers and their work.

24. Goldberger suggests that de Staël's novel had an unparalleled influence on "the thought and lives of women...in the nineteenth century on both sides of the Atlantic." She claims that such important British writers as Charlotte Brontë, George Sand, George Eliot, and Elizabeth Barrett Browning were influenced by the problems particular to the female artist in *Corinne*, and that the lives and works of American women writers such as Margaret Fuller, Lydia Maria Child, and Willa Cather attest to the "almost startling...influence" of de Staël's novel in America ("Introduction" xlix).

25. Beebe proffers several interesting explanations for the "comparatively late emergence" of the artist hero in fiction (22). He makes the historical argument that art was not viable as a "self-sufficient profession" until public interest in the eighteenth-century had liberated it from the subservient status of mere court entertainment; writing about an artist protagonist would not have seemed plausible until then (23). Beebe later refers to the mid-nineteenth-century vogue among French and German Romantic writers of "Bohemian" novels—mildly rebellious works whose popularity "helped to assure an audience for more genuine portraits of the artist" (78). He also offers that Carlyle's translation of Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*, published in 1832, opened up an imaginative avenue for British writers to link the broadly humanitarian "apprenticeship" novel with artistic and aesthetic concerns (79-80).

26. Goldberg makes reference to Beebe's "The Alienation of the Artist: A Study of the Portraits of the Artist by Henry James, Marcel Proust, and James Joyce" (Diss., Cornell U, 1953) in endnote 2, page 26.

27. I am thinking primarily of the following re-visionings of de Staël's *Corinne, or Italy* (1807): Ellen Moers's "Performing Heroism: The Myth of Corinne," in her *Literary Women: The Great*

Writers (Garden City: Doubleday, 1976), and Avriel Goldberger's astute Introduction to her recent English translation of Staël's novel (1987; 1991).

28. Beebe puts the same point this way in *Ivory Towers and Sacred Fountains*: "It is no coincidence that the same novelists who introduced the artist to English fiction introduced also the novel of social purpose" (80).

29. Goldberg sees the Bohemian experience and temperament as prevailing in artist fiction between 1890 and 1930 (14). Defining a very different paradigm from Goldberg's, Canadian Sara Jeannette Duncan adds gender and "New Woman" independence to the Bohemian artist's dramatic peaks and pitfalls in her wry *Künstlerroman, A Daughter of Today* (1894).

Goldberg adopts Maurice Beebe's tower/fount dichotomy in choosing the metaphorical "tower" to symbolize the inner directionality that differentiates the "isolated artist" character from the Bohemian (19). Beginning with Gissing in 1880 (*Workers in the Dawn*), Goldberg sees artist fiction moving towards an increasing separation of the artist from life—a trend which culminates in Stephen Dedalus of Joyce's *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1916). ("Dedalus's odyssey is from life through isolation to art." [Goldberg 19]).

The related theme of exile, says Goldberg, arises as the isolated artist's response to a world whose social framework no longer has a place for him (22). The observation that, for exiled artists, "[e]migration...represents primarily a rejection of what he has left behind and not an acceptance of that to which he is going" (22) has interesting (non)applications to emigrant Susanna Moodie's artist fiction, to be discussed in chapter three of this thesis.

The isolated artist's final solution, most often embraced when "the art-life conflict" becomes unmanageable, is suicide (23). Goldberg does not elaborate on the nature of this conflict. Since he examines no women-authored *Künstlerromane* about female artists, he never suggests a correlation between the art-life dilemma and the particular social pressures exerted in a given era on women.

30. In her Introduction to *Writing the Woman Artist* (1991), Suzanne Jones devotes two pages of synopsis to the question of previous work in the field. She discusses the *Künstlerroman* tradition only, beginning with Maurice Beebe and moving on to Linda Huf, Grace Stewart, and Susan Gubar, all of whose contributions I examine below.

31. Bonnie Hoover Braendlin defines "neofeminism" as "the feminist movement of the nineteen-sixties and seventies." See "Alther, Atwood, Ballantyne, and Gray: Secular Salvation in the Contemporary Feminist Bildungsroman," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* 4.1 (1979): 18.

32. In 1976 Hélène Cixous wrote "The Laugh of the Medusa," a lyrical tribute to the untapped sensuality of women's bodies. Cixous here implicitly invited literary criticism to explore the potentially revolutionary implications of women's "writ[ing] through their bodies." See *New French Feminisms*, ed. Elizabeth Marks and Isabelle de Courtivron (Brighton: Harvester Press, 1981): 256.

33. Reardon points out that Jong's sexually explicit novel is orchestrated around the female menstrual cycle. "The twenty-eight days of the novel," says Reardon, "chart the various biochemical changes, the physical experiences of ovulation and flow as well as the psychological movements of relaxation and tension which explain, at least in part, Isadora Wing's actions" (315).

34. In their discussion of *Jane Eyre* in *The Madwoman in the Attic: The Woman Writer and the Nineteenth-Century Literary Imagination* (1979), Gilbert and Gubar define the female *Bildungsroman* protagonist as an emblematic figure who is engaged in "a story of enclosure and escape"—a life-long struggle against patriarchal oppression which constitutes, in *Jane Eyre*'s terms,

the "difficulties Everywoman in a patriarchal society must meet and overcome: oppression (at Gateshead), starvation (at Lowood), madness (at Thornfield), and coldness (at Marsh End)..." (338-39).

35. Whereas Rosowski had characterized the female *Bildungsroman* plot as tracing an inward, isolated journey, Abel *et al.* perceive an opposite movement: "from the world within to the world without, from introspection to activity" ("Introduction" 13).

36. Abel presents these narrative structures with critical neutrality, but there is the barest of implications that she considers the awakening model the more authentically "female" of the two.

37. In 1981, two years prior to the publication of Abel's volume, Susan Gubar sketched the struggle of feminist psychoanalysis to assert its validity:

...revisionary psychoanalysis...failed to impede the rapid acceptance of Freudian theory after World War I which coincided with the decline of the feminist movement. Experimentation with play in the analysis of children by Melanie Klein, Anna Freud, and Clara Thompson did not lead to a serious revaluation of the importance of the pre-Oedipal bond until very recently. (Gubar, "The Birth of the Artist as Heroine: [Re]production, the *Künstlerroman* Tradition, and the Fiction of Katherine Mansfield" 49)

38. In her *Beyond Feminist Aesthetics: Feminist Literature and Social Change* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1989), Rita Felski fears the triply negative consequences of an argument based on "passivity, withdrawal, and inward development" for women: first, that such a paradigm minimizes the extent to which "social, economic, and ideological barriers...have obstructed women's self-realization in the public world"; second, that the argument is guilty of "idealizing such exclusion rather than acknowledging its crippling consequences"; third, that paradigms of abstract "'feminine' consciousness" cannot account for the shifts in women's fiction—shifts that arise out of the complex "social and material conditions" affecting women in any given age (123).

39. Susanne Howe offers that the Beautiful Soul is clearly bent on morbid introspection, and thus does not represent the balance of spirit and body, passive and active, that is the essence of Goethe's cherished *Humanitätsideal* (56). She states further:

The *Schöne Seele*, [the Beautiful Soul]...was part of the terminology of the ancient mystics and of pietistic German hymn poetry. Wieland, Shaftesbury, Herder, Schiller, all dealt with the phrase and its implication of Platonic spiritual beauty. Rousseau's *Belle Ame* is akin to it. Phyllis, the *Schöne Seele*, is advised by her uncle, who, so Schiller thought, had more of Goethe in him than any other character in the book. He is known simply as *der Oheim* [uncle], and warns her against a too rarefied, introspective, one-sided development, and advocates decisiveness and action—advice which Wilhelm might well take to heart. (*Wilhelm Meister and His English Kinsmen* 54-55)

40. Hirsch's argument runs as follows: that "the selflessness that is demanded of women" urges the female character to adopt a pre-Oedipal pattern of circular spiritual development: "childhood, continuity, inner self, culminating in death" (31, 37). This "plot of inner development," says Hirsch, "traces a discontinuous, circular path which, rather than moving forward, culminates in a return to origins, thereby distinguishing itself from the traditional plot outlines of the *Bildungsroman*" (26).

41. "The *bildungsroman*, as a major form," says Butcher, "may have degenerated into protest novels

(*Lucky Jim*); it has become transformed as the female *bildungsroman* of Commonwealth literature" (260).

42. In its umbrella usage of "British" nationality to represent colonial-born writers, Showalter's *A Literature of Their Own* (1978; 1982) is guilty of "unintended Anglo-American feminist cultural imperialism" (Gardner 25). Patricia Meyer Spacks, in *The Female Imagination* (1975), similarly fails in her "tendency to acknowledge socio-historical factors only to downplay them in favour of an assumed 'female imagination' which sounds ahistorical and innate." At best, Gardner argues, "such a procedure can only yield loose generalizations" (26-27).

43. Gardner does point out, however, that other feminists have already explored one of the most telling dilemmas for Australian women writers: namely, the "colonial-nationalist/feminist conflict" (43).

44. Annis Pratt's archetypal criticism is perhaps most widely known by means of her *Archetypal Patterns in Women's Fiction* (Brighton, Sussex: Harvester, 1982). Gardner cites Ellen Moers's "postlude" in *Literary Women* (London: Women's P, 1978) as being equally of influence to the formulation of her argument about a female colonial "green world" (29).

45. "Alcott's novel," Kornfeld and Jackson claim, "may be seen as a synthesis of the coming-of-age novel, or *bildungsroman* (which is usually male-oriented) and domestic fiction, to form the female *bildungsroman*" (69).

46. Kornfeld and Jackson cite *Five Little Peppers and How They Grew* (1878) by Margaret Sidney, *Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm* (1903) by Kate Douglas Wiggin, and *Anne of Green Gables* (1908) by L.M. Montgomery as other representative examples of the female *Bildungsroman*. The inclusion of Montgomery's novel is curious not only because it deals with an orphaned rather than a mothered heroine but also because of the aplomb with which its Canadian authorship and setting are silently appropriated as "American." In an endnote, Kornfeld and Jackson state that their representative texts are chosen "not only for their literary merit, but also for their popularity with American girls" (75 n5).

The subversive elements said to be present in these texts include the power of women's influence in the home, a power seldom witnessed outside that realm in nineteenth-century America (71); a prior elimination (or an ultimate "feminizing") of male characters in order to render the feminine sphere dominant (71); and a resistance to the marriage ending—if only a covert one, by means of surrounding it with "maudlin, metaphorical, and vague" language (72).

47. See Nina Baym's *Woman's Fiction: A Guide to Novels by and about Women in America, 1820-1870* (Ithaca and London: Cornell UP, 1978).

48. "Domesticity," says Voloshin in an explanatory note, "was a value system opposed to the male ethos of money and exploitation; since women dominated the home, this ideology implied, according to Baym, unprecedented historical expansion of their influence" (300 n.2).

One of the more provocative strands in Voloshin's argument is that the nineteenth-century female *Bildungsroman* in America "betrays a class bias." The marriage ending, with its reintegration of the orphan heroine into society and its providing of social status, marital security, and spousal devotion idealizes domesticity and the home but leaves "the public sphere intact." In contrast to Catharine Sedgwick's *A New England Tale* (1822), with its intent "to mold new social values," later examples of the female *Bildungsroman* genre disturbingly "ratify the values of the expanding middle class," making the home a "showcase and justification for the acquisitiveness of the public domain.

rather than...its balance" (299).

49. As Nina Auerbach would do a year later in her British "Incarnations of the Orphan" (in *Romantic Imprisonment: Women and Other Glorified Outcasts*, 1985), Voloshin reads the orphan protagonist as a metaphor for the society which she inhabits:

...the orphan heroines of the female *Bildungsroman* generally internalize, at least for a time, the values of self-reliance, of liberal individualism, which the dominant culture valued in men. Indeed the orphan is an extreme version of the American individual; she is by definition independent and separate. (Voloshin 298).

50. Voloshin objects to Baym's treatment of "the ideological context" of domesticity as "a static set of values." Rather, she claims, female *Bildungsroman* texts between 1820 and 1870 in America reveal an increasing "resistance to the domestic role" on the part of their heroines (301 n.2).

51. Beulah Benton, heroine of Evans' *Beulah* (1859), is traced through hundreds of pages which detail her financial independence (she supports herself by teaching) and her literary success in the commercial world of men. She is intellectual and also spirited; like her male counterparts, she demands a fee for her published work, thereby contravening "Southern practice" (Voloshin 295). With her marriage, however, Beulah inexplicably sacrifices career and public life to devote herself to a cloistered effort "to save her husband from his unbelief" (*Beulah* 490). In *St. Elmo* (1867), heroine Edna Earl's demise is more unsettling, her loss ironically justified. "Like several architects of the cult of domesticity," says Voloshin, "Edna Earl makes a career out of showing women that they should not have careers" (297). Edna's novel, *Shining Thrones on the Hearth*, is pure patriarchal propaganda, urging women away from all encroachments into the male sphere of influence. Before she marries, Edna's man, like Jane Eyre's, must be duly chastened (he becomes a minister because of her influence), yet his power is never more in evidence than on their wedding day, when he establishes the conditions of their married life:

'To-day I snap the fetters of your literary bondage. There shall be no more books written! No more study, no more toil, no more anxiety, no more heartaches! And that dear public you love so well, must even help itself...You belong solely to me now, and I shall take care of the life you have nearly destroyed in your inordinate ambition.' (*St. Elmo* 562)

Thus Edna falls victim to the dictates of her own sweetly poisoned pen.

52. Felski is fully aware that her argument might be construed as an attempt to skew the literary text into "a mere reflection of particular ideological positions" (127). She counters with the assertion that women's writing and feminist ideology rest on shared "cultural assumptions and frames of reference," which are thematic, structural, formal. What is common, Felski argues, is the "projected liberation of an individual or collective female subject," which results in a variety of "narrative models of emancipation grounded in different conceptions of history and truth" (127). Felski is unapologetic about her preferred model, in which "a process of *separation*" prevails (124); she chooses her multi-national representative texts accordingly. (Atwood's *Surfacing*—in its London: André Deutsch edition of 1972—serves as her earliest example: 122.) Felski claims that "the act of separation" is a symbolic, defining feature of feminist fiction which signals that notions of women's rights and socio-biological emancipation "have become embedded within the discursive frameworks of contemporary culture" (126).

53. See a detailed rendering in "Atwood's Fictive Portraits of the Artist: From Victim to Surfer, from Oracle to Birth," by Judith McCombs (1986). Un-selfconsciously hegemonic, McCombs (writing in the journal *Women's Studies*) identifies herself throughout as an American

speaking to fellow Americans, as the following sentence illustrates:

Survival's quest for national identity through literature may seem, at first glance, shallow, romantic and unreal, to Americans who are unfamiliar with the adjacent country whose economy we dominate and whose culture we and the English are accustomed to supplying. (70)

54. Part of Atwood's satiric point in *Surfacing* is that the so-called "Americans" are actually Canadians.

55. Says Gillespie: "Social emancipation during the period of the English Women's Suffrage Movement and [Imagist- and Vorticist-inspired] aesthetic emancipation during a volatile period of experimentation in many art media, including the novel, meet in the female artist characters of these three writers" (2).

56. Pannill's approach is impressively synthetic. She draws from an astonishing range of primary sources: from contemporary American magazines on culture and science to the fiction and correspondence of such literary figures as W.D. Howells, Henry James, and (the subjects of the dissertation) Ellen Glasgow, Willa Cather, and Mary Austin.

57. Pannill's first three chapters are revealingly titled "The Paradox of Female 'Genius,'" "The Paradox of 'Feminized' Culture," and "The Paradox of Female Experience."

58. Bordner argues that during 1900-1929, a period highly politicized by suffragism, female artist characters are strong-minded and achieve a performative success, yet they tend to lack plausibility: their accomplishments often sink under the weight of stridency and didacticism (ie., in works by Mary Austin, Mary Johnstone, and Radclyffe Hall [20]) or emerge impossibly from an uncompromising credo that exalts the artist while denying the woman (ie., in works by Willa Cather, Virginia Woolf, and Mary Austin [26]). During 1930-1950s, says Bordner, in the wake of what Kate Millet has termed the counter-revolution of feminism, female artist novels attest primarily to failure, to the looming of life over art, to "the kind of missed opportunity and repression documented by Betty Frieden in *The Feminine Mystique* (1963)" (3). During the 1960s and 1970s, however, the genre begins to explore specifically female concerns (sexual, reproductive, romantic) in conjunction with artistic ones, and to strive for a "balance" between art and life (11, 16). These later artists, says Bordner, have "the ability to create rather than merely to perform;" they tend to be characterized as writers rather than as singers and actresses (4-5).

59. One of the problems with Stewart's basic argument is that it conflates unlike categories: male hero/quest with male artist/apprenticeship. Campbell's and Rank's formulations are not specific to the male artist; indeed, active heroism is not generally associated with the highly sensitive, perpetually outcast, even feminized, stereotype of the male artist.

Stewart appears to desire both continuity with, and radical difference from, Campbell's archetypal formulations. She claims, for instance, that the monomyth need only be changed "somewhat" to accommodate a female version, yet she proceeds to suggest radical, indeed opposite, conclusions:

[during] the voyage to the subterranean or subaqueous territory, the heroine often emerges water-logged or weakened to the point of despair. Whereas the hero might be expected to emerge victorious in a battle with demons, the heroine frequently accepts her role as one of them. (109)

60. Stewart subsequently published a truncated version of her Demeter-Persephone argument in

"Mother, Daughter, and the Birth of the Female Artist." *Women's Studies* 6 (1979): 127-45. This article, moreso than its expanded version in *A New Mythos*, reveals Stewart's debt to feminist psychologists and theorists such as Nancy Chodorow ("Being and Doing: A Cross-Cultural Examination of the Socialization of Males and Females," 1971), Pyllis Chesler (*Women and Madness*, 1972), and Susan Brownmiller (*Against our Will: Men, Women, and Rape*, 1975).

61. I include the following long passage from Stewart's conclusion as proof of her insight into the larger historical questions involved in the study of female *Künstlerromane*:

...I have focused on the similarity of structural patterns and images found in the novels of the artist as heroine. Now what is needed is an historical approach that notes variations, details the effect of time or events on these patterns, and shows trends, if there are any. Looking at the dates of the novels examined, for instance, I see that they are clustered in groups—at the turn of the century, in the thirteen years from 1915 to 1928, and in the last fourteen years, 1962-1976. Why is there a void in the 1940's? the 1950's? Do events help or hinder the germination of the novel of the artist as heroine? What is the relationship between events and style or characterization? Linda Pannill focused on this relationship in her dissertation, 'The Artist-Heroine in American-Fiction [sic], 1890-1920.' But a broad perspective is necessary in order to identify individual talent as it emerges in the tradition of the novel of the artist as heroine. (181)

62. In the same year that Stewart's book propounded its new mythos of mother-daughter relationships (1978), Nina Auerbach called for an end to the metaphorical linking of biological reproduction with artistic creativity. Auerbach uses biographical evidence (and a smattering of textual examples) to trace the ambivalence toward, and outright rejection of, motherhood on the part of childless nineteenth-century women writers such as Jane Austin and George Eliot. See "Artists and Mothers: A False Alliance," (1978).

63. Gubar writes that "[Mansfield's] early stories, cries against corruption, reiterate the painful contradictions of production and reproduction in late-nineteenth-century fiction by writers like Rebecca Harding Davis, Olive Schreiner, and Elizabeth Stuart Phelps Ward...Finally Mansfield's later stories, written out of joy, typify the redefinition of women as paradigmatic creators in artist novels of feminist-modernists like Dorothy Richardson, Willa Cather, and Virginia Woolf herself" (27).

64. Gubar claims that three of Mansfield's stories—namely "Prelude" (1917), "At the Bay" (1917), and "The Doll's House" (1921)—"dramatize" the following shifts in the shape of the *Künstlerroman* for women:

...first, domestic disease or sickness *of* home is imaginatively reconstructed as sickness *for* home in what amounts to a revisionary domestic mythology; second, silent female resistance to or retaliation against the male word transforms itself into fantasies of a woman's language; finally, matrophobia, fear of becoming the mother, turns into matrixuality, the erotics of mother and child. Exploring the mother-daughter bond as a release from the solipsism of individual consciousness, these redefinitions effect a change not unlike the one implied by the titles of Margaret Sanger's books: *Motherhood in Bondage*, *The Pivot of Civilization*, *Woman and the New Race*. (39)

65. This either/or choice echoes the central thesis of "Endings and Contradictions," the essay which introduces *Writing Beyond the Ending* (1985). Here DuPlessis avers that nineteenth-century women

writers (British and American) incorporated into their texts the incompatibility of “*Bildung* and romance” for female characters, thereby deliberately choosing a resolution that repressed or sacrificed a heroine’s quest to the finalities of marriage or death (3).

66. Mahlendorf regrets the “purism” that has led literary scholars—“since the beginning of our discipline in the 1880s”—to divorce their findings about literary creativity from those of scientists. “I see my work,” says Mahlendorf, “as a part of the recent interdisciplinary endeavour to end the separation of the study of literature from the study of the natural, physical and social sciences and to make the works concerned with man’s emotions and thoughts accessible and useful to the other sciences of man” (xv).

67. Mahlendorf’s seventh chapter outlines how the sense of “mother” for Chopin’s protagonist Edna Pontellier is split between two essentially antithetical figures: a manipulative professional pianist (the “phallic mother”) and a placid child-bearing wife (the “constraining mother”). When Edna is forced to attend the latter’s particularly traumatic childbirth, her artistic self, at the height of its powers but extremely vulnerable, is annihilated. The “constraining mother becomes the engulfing mother”: her art having failed her, Edna seeks a misplaced fusion with the sea’s maternal elements—and drowns herself (158).

(This chapter begins with a fascinating hypothesis about how Chopin may have come to introduce artist fiction into “the 1880s literary life of St. Louis”: namely, by combining frontier American feminism—and “the tradition of late 18th-century intellectual feminism” about which Chopin’s “French mother’s family” knew a fair amount—with “the tradition of the self-conscious, tormented artist of German Romanticism in its Nietzschean transformation” [149].)

In chapter eight, reading Sylvia Plath’s *The Bell Jar* (1963) as transparent autobiography, Mahlendorf outlines how writer-protagonist Esther Greenwood re-enacts Plath’s own “angry symbiotic relationship with her mother” (201). Because writing (apparently) functioned as a “transitional object” for Plath long after the usual time required for the formation of firm ego boundaries, the permissiveness with which *The Bell Jar* was received caused her to kill herself shortly after its release. Mahlendorf explains Plath’s negative response as follows: “If the audience confirms a work the author knows to be dangerous to her (a work of anger or destructiveness) then the emotions expressed are felt [by the author] to flood the world and must ultimately return to visit their creator—that is, the creator remains open to the harmful emotions of the work” (162; 185).

68. Grace’s further observation that various types of artists (playwrights, film-makers, visual artists) are under-represented in the book seems to suggest that she misconstrues the meaning of “artist fiction” (despite the fact that Jones clearly defines it as *fictional* portrayals of the artist, *Künstlerromane*). As such, Grace’s suggestion that playwright Carol [sic] Churchill be included is misguided; her case for painter Emily Carr, however, convinces, given Carr’s autobiographical artist novels, *The Book of Small* (1942) and *Growing Pains* (1946).

69. Grouped under the rubric “Reconceiving Feminist Aesthetics,” these essays are both enlightening and contentious in their collective effort to dispense with the simplistic—and ultimately hegemonic—formulations of those who would codify female/feminist aesthetics.

70. Lionel Wilson, ed., *The Artist in Canadian Literature* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1976). The collection seems directed at a general readership, and its entries are altered accordingly. On the contents page of the volume, for example, the “Preface” to Stephen Leacock’s fictional *Sunshine Sketches of a Little Town* is astoundingly re-titled “The Autobiography of Stephen Leacock” (n.p.).

The collection is also, in its way, unintentionally ironic—as in such patronizingly solicitous gems as “The Women in Our Literary Life” by William French, from *Imperial Oil Review* 1 (1975).

71. Cloutier chooses a novel from late-nineteenth-century Canada to represent his failed-artist-as-exile pole, promptly skips over four decades, and then claims that the remaining novels of his study, from the 1950s and 1960s, demonstrate a movement toward the successful-artist-as-Canadian pole.

72. In her imposition of rigid patterns on the artist novel in Canada—"the settlement stage (1850s-1920s)," "the rural and small-town stage (1920s-1950s)," and "the urban stage (1950s-present)" (Abstract)—MacMillan Frederick is often forced to commit chronological acrobatics. Her third chapter, for example, ostensibly about the "rural and small town stage," includes two novels published in the 1970s: Percy Jane's *House of Hate* (1970) and Alice Munro's *Lives of Girls and Women* (1971).

Further, since MacMillan Frederic must wring each of her chosen artist characters through a pattern (i.e., rebellion against a conservative family, the pattern in chapter three), she occasionally makes statements that do violence to the importance of memory and place in a particular artist-character's experiences: Del Jordan's aunts, for example, are said to be "a negative influence on the girl" because "[t]hey are manouvering her into devoting her life to yellowed newspaper clippings and insignificant ghosts from the past" ("Patterns" 125). It is, however, precisely the influence of such "ghosts" from Jubilee's past, and Del's artistic efforts to reclaim their ephemerality which emerges as a central theme in *Lives of Girls and Women*.

73. Examples of such recuperated texts include Maud Ogilvy's *Marie Gourdon, A Romance of the Lower St. Lawrence* (Montreal: John Lovell and Sons, 1890); Thad. W.H. Leavitt's *The Witch of Plum Hollow* (Detroit: The Wells Publishing Company, 1892); Maud Pettitt's *Beth Woodburn* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1897); and Joanna Wood's *Judith Moore; or Fashioning a Pipe* (Ottawa: The Ontario Publishing Company Ltd., at the Department of Agriculture, 1898).

74. Such a view can be seen further to mistake a part for the whole, since it considers the "ivory tower" half of Beebe's formulation to be representative of the entire tradition of artist fiction.

75. See Buss's *Mapping Our Selves: Canadian Women's Autobiography in English* (McGill-Queen's UP, 1993).

76. In his influential article "Mapping the Postmodern" (1984), Andreas Huyssen applauds the "whole new dimension" added to the critique of high Modernism by

...the art, writing, film making and criticism of women and minority artists with their *recuperation* of buried and mutilated traditions, their emphasis on exploring forms of gender- and race-based subjectivity in aesthetic productions and experiences, and their refusal to be limited to standard canonizations... (250, emphasis mine)

Chapter Two

1. There is really no contradiction between Williams' claim that "'Nation,' as a term, is radically connected with 'native,'" and his assertion that "an effective awareness of social identity depends [not on legalistic definitions of nationality, but rather] on actual and sustained relationships." See "The Culture of Nations," 180, 195.

2. Bonaparte originally banished de Staël in 1802, upon the publication of her first novel, *Delphine*.

3. In de Staël's *Corinne*, Lord Nelvil's father uses a biological metaphor to describe this sense of boundary. The nation is "one body, a free but indissoluble association that cannot perish until the last one of us [Englishmen] is dead" (330).

4. Carl Ballstadt reminds us of Joseph Howe's 1828 commentary upon the newspaper press, which would be echoed in later years by "[s]everal writers, including McGee, Susanna Moodie, and Anna Jameson":

For very many years the Newspaper Press must be the great medium of instruction to the People, and every Essay on morals or manners, science or literature, which breathes a sound and healthy tone, will be gladly welcomed to our pages. (Howe, "Prospectus," *Nova Scotian*, 3 January 1828, qtd. in Ballstadt, "Introduction," *The Search for English-Canadian Literature*, xix)

5. One thinks readily of the *Globe*, under the editorship of George Brown, Canada West's Reform leader. "The *Globe*'s combination of excellent news coverage and noisy opinions," says Michael Cross, "helped make it Canada's most successful newspaper in this period [1840s] and an important shaper of public attitudes in Canada West." In the late 1840s, Montreal's *Pilot*, under Francis Hincks, provided a "strong voice" for the English of Lower Canada, "helping to turn the tide against annexation" (Cross, 15). The Halifax *Novascotian*, long published by Joseph Howe before continuing under one of his disciples, was a "boisterous" political tool. The New Brunswick *Gleaner*, under its "colourful and cranky" editor James A. Pierce (another Howe protégé), preached its own influential brand of "erratic...liberalism" (Cross, 16).

6. In her study *Wives and Mothers, School Mistresses and Scullery Maids: Working Women in Upper Canada 1790-1840* (1995), Elizabeth Jane Errington notes that "[w]omen are remarkably absent from most accounts of Upper Canadian life and development" (xiii). See Errington's "Preface" for commentary on what she calls the "ritual obituary" used to mark the passing of Upper Canadian women (xiii).

7. The short-lived *The Victoria Magazine* (1847-48), edited out of Belleville by Susanna and John Wedderburn Dunbar Moodie, advertised itself as a "Cheap Periodical for the Canadian People," and ostensibly targeted its readership at "that most numerous and not least respected class of our fellow Colonists—the rural population of the Province." ("To the Public," *Victoria Magazine* I.1, September 1847, n.p.) In reality, however, as John Thurston observes, "[t]he Moodies edited the magazine for readers like themselves, those seeking an imaginative return to England, not naturalized Canadian farmers or recent working-class immigrants" (*The Work of Words* 102). The list of subscribers in the final number of the magazine "is sprinkled with ministers and doctors, members of parliament and military officers, spinsters and widows" (Thurston, 102). Further, it includes members of rival political parties: Robert Baldwin as well as John Beverley Robinson. As Thurston remarks, "[t]he *Victoria Magazine* did not cut across class lines but did straddle the narrow party lines of the late 1840s" (102). Mary Lu MacDonald points out that *The Victoria Magazine*'s subscription list is the only one to have survived from nineteenth-century Canada; thus, "[w]e have no way of knowing whether this list was typical, even for its own decade" ("English and French-Language Periodicals," 224).

8. It is perhaps a writer's ability to imagine herself out of a delimited social reality that implicitly classes her among the "exceptional," in the opinion of Canadian female historians like Elizabeth Jane Errington. Errington's meticulous study of Upper Canadian women, with its exploration of marriage, mothering, "big house" society, domestic servants, the needle trades, and

ladies' academies, argues persuasively for the undervalued colonial contribution of paid and unpaid women's labour: work that inevitably intersected with domestic life (*Wives and Mothers, School Mistresses and Scullery Maids: Working Women in Upper Canada 1790-1840*). Errington notes that the number of Upper Canadian women who actually "went 'out to work' for wages, produced goods for the marketplace, or ran shops and small businesses" was "relatively small (although...undoubtedly greater than has been previously assumed)" (xv). It is perhaps because literary work can be glossed as "wage-earning" and "non-domestic" that women writers do not figure in Errington's study. Certainly, in comparison to their contemporaries, the intelligent, articulate, and relatively aggressive women discussed in the present chapter do emerge as an elite and exceptional group. In writing about non-exceptional women, Errington attempts to avoid the exclusionism of what she calls "compensatory history"—that is, replacing accounts of "'great men" with stories of "prominent women." Her study, then, is both a continuation of and an antidote to scholarly works about politician's wives like Elizabeth Simcoe and canonical writers like Moodie and Traill (xiv). It remains, however, an interesting lacuna that the magazine fiction of women such as those addressed in this chapter is too "exceptional" for a cultural historian like Errington (she includes newspapers but omits periodicals in her footnoted list of exciting new sources as yet untapped in the historical study of nineteenth-century Canadian women), yet this same magazine fiction is simultaneously trivialized and ignored by most Canadian literary historians.

9. And as I elaborate below, Klinck applies this epithet to the milieu that birthed *The Literary Garland*.

10. This overt gesture toward context in Macmillan's claim never does animate her prescriptive analysis. Her thesis, perhaps not atypically for its decade, is evolutionary, dedicated to manifesting "a maturing literary climate in this country" (Abstract, n.p.). The analysis traces the "development" of the artist in Canadian fiction from "failed" (1850-1950) to "successful" (1950-1977), from the battling of "external" impediments ("nature and society") to the conquest of "more internal" ones ("Abstract," n.p.). I have replaced Macmillan's masculine pronouns—which denote both a male artist character and a male author—with feminine pronouns. The latter better represent the emphasis she herself places on woman-authored texts about female artists which, particularly in her second chapter, is not negligible. See "Patterns of the Artist in English-Canadian Fiction," McMaster University, 1977.

11. This story, "Ambrose Mandeville," by Halifax's Mary Eliza Herbert, is written and presumably set in Halifax, one of British North America's oldest and most established cities, yet forces the reader to infer this setting only at the story's unfinished end.

12. The phrase refers to Stendhal's autobiographical writings. See Maurice Shroder, *Icarus: The Image of the Artist in French Romanticism* (4), cited in Huf, *A Portrait*, 160, n.7.

13. Errington points out that the "economic realities" of the lives of Upper Canadian women did not permit them, prior to 1840, to "retreat into the private and leisured world of the home and the hearth." Rather, they tended to work alongside their husbands, whether in field or shop (236).

14. "We need scarcely enumerate them [says the author of this article]; no novels of the present day have excited more general and lasting interest than *Indiana*, *Andre*, *Mauprat*, or *Spiridion*; and these comprise but a fraction of the library for which France—and indeed all of Europe, for her works have been translated into our own and every continental language—are *indebted* to *Georges Sand*" (*The Literary Garland*, February 1849, 63; emphasis mine).

15. The *Anglo-American Magazine* (Toronto, 1852-55) was edited by the Reverend Robert Jackson MacGeorge (1811?-1884), who was apparently "known as the 'Solomon of Streetsville' because of his popular exposure of follies in the *Streetsville Weekly Review*" (Klinck, "Literary Activity in Canada East and West" 165).

16. See Errington's chapter, "Ladies' Academies and 'Seminaries of Respectability': Training 'Good' Women of Upper Canada" in *Wives and Mothers*, 209-32.

17. It would be interesting indeed to know how much the censures of such a comment arise out of the legacy of de Staël's Italian "Corinne," a character whose myriad artistic skills doubtless contributed to the notion of a "fashionable education."

18. Fuller's more complete comment on the subject is as follows:

More native is it to [woman] to be the living model of the artist than to set apart from herself any one form in objective reality; more native to inspire and receive the poem, than to create it. In so far as soul is in her completely developed, all soul is the same; but as far as it is modified in her as a woman, it flows, it breathes, it sings, rather than deposits soil, or finishes work, and that which is especially feminine flushes, in blossom, the face of earth, and pervades, like air and water, all this seeming solid globe, daily renewing and purifying its life. Such may be the especially feminine element, spoken of as Femality. (*Woman*, 75)

19. In the adoption process that is scholarship, it seems that Sadlier has been claimed by both Canada and the United States. McMullen and Campbell include Sadlier in their 1993 collection, *Pioneering Women: Short Stories by Canadian Women, Beginnings to 1880*, yet she is also the focus of a 1995 dissertation by Liz Szabo, entitled "'My Heart Bleeds to Tell It': Women, Domesticity, and the American Ideal in Mary Anne Sadlier's 'Romance of Irish Immigration'" (University of Virginia). Szabo here claims Sadlier as an American writer.

20. This collection, *Tales of the Olden Times: A Collection of European Traditions*, originally appeared in the *True Witness*, a Montreal paper, and was subsequently published by subscription in 1845 under the imprint of *The Literary Garland's* publishers, Lovell and Gibson (Szabo, 1.2 internet).

21. See McMullen and Campbell for a detailed rendering of Sadlier's involvement with her husband's and brother-in-law's Catholic publishing firm, D. and J. Sadlier of New York and Montreal ("Mary Anne Sadlier," 78).

22. According to Szabo, McGee's biographer notes that Sadlier's success with the latter genre had inspired McGee to write his own emigrant novel, a project he was planning at the time of his death ("My Heart Bleeds," 4).

23. Errington reminds us that Upper Canadian women, "[r]egardless of their class or social stature....could not vote [and] married women could not own or control property" (*Wives and Mothers*, 233-34).

24. Such a generalization must, of course, be tempered with the kind of scholarly contextualizing provided by historians like Errington. She makes the following noteworthy observation:

Women in Upper Canada did belong to a distinct female community and to some degree

they did share a common culture that was based on their sex, their gender (as defined by individual men and the state), and similar experiences. But their class, their economic and their social position, the location of their homes, and their time of arrival in the colony also all had a very real impact on their lives and their work....[A]lthough almost all women in Upper Canada performed some kind of 'domestic' work, there were significant variations in exactly what they did, how they did it, and how they felt about it" (*Wives and Mothers*, 239).

25. Gibson died in 1850. He was the brother-in-law of *The Literary Garland*'s printer/publisher, John Lovell (1810-1893), having joined Lovell as co-publisher of the *Garland* after 1842 (MacGillivray, "The Literary Garland," *OCCL*, 454).

26. These journals include the *Amaranth* (New Brunswick, 1841-42), *Barker's Canadian Monthly Magazine* (Kingston, 1846), the *Victoria Magazine* (Belleville, 1847-48), *The Magic Lantern* (Montreal, 1848), and *The Canadian Gem and Family Visitor* (1848-50). As Mary Lu MacDonald observes, "The short life span of literary periodicals in the early nineteenth century was, of course, typical of the genre in other countries as well" ("English and French-Language Periodicals," 224), a point that makes the *Garland*'s success all the more remarkable.

27. Montreal had been in a state of unrest since the latter part of 1837, during which time the *Patriotes* founded their revolutionary *association des Fils de la liberte* ("Association of the Sons of Liberty") and formed the Assembly of the Six Counties, which added renewed vigour to their revolt. A second rebellion, as unsuccessfully organized as the first, occurred south of Montreal in November of 1838. See Fernand Ouellet, "The Insurrections," in *Readings in Canadian History: Pre-Confederation*, 323-27.

28. The editor's use of "country" here must be conservatively viewed as a reference to Upper and Lower Canada (not yet united in 1840), a reference made specific in the later epithet "the twin Provinces" (574).

29. Prior to this date, the magazine's cover reads *The Literary Garland: a Canadian Magazine of Tales, Sketches, Poetry, Music, Engravings, &c. &c. &c.* "Canadian" here, again, likely refers to the province of Canada, as opposed to the January 1847 title in which the *Garland* is heralded as a *British North America Magazine*. What is interesting about the title change in January of 1847 is its unexpectedness: in the editorial that closes the December 1846 volume, the editors make the following, unacted-upon remark about "[t]he Literary Garland, or The Canadian Magazine—the latter designation will shortly, perhaps, become our only title—we like it best—" ("A Word About Ourselves," *The Literary Garland* 4.12 [December 1846]: 572). Could rumours of responsible government in the colonies have urged the editors on to a greater titular ambition for their magazine?

30. The extent to which the involvement of *women* in early Canadian magazines prejudiced the interpretations of Modernist literary critics is an interesting and, as yet, little explored question.

31. See Laurie Langbauer's succinct formulation of this idea in *Women and Romance: The Consolations of Gender in the English Novel*, 14.

32. Carl Ballstadt quotes John Kent as having made these pejorative comments about romance in his "Editor's Address," *Canadian Literary Magazine* I (1833): 2.

33. An internet search for Augusta Browne's name has revealed several interesting pieces of information. The first is the existence of a five-page piece of music, the "Sivori Waltz. Dedicated to Miss Augusta Browne, of Elmira, N.Y. Composed by J. Hilton Jones." The piece, published by William Hall and Son, of New York, is undated, but estimated to have been released somewhere between 1848 and 1858. (See www.lib.unc.edu/music/os4/os4.htm)

At another website, in a genealogical history of the Rhode Island area of New York, a single entry cites the 1859 marriage of "Sophia Augusta Browne, daughter of Hon. Patrick Browne, of the British Island of North Providence," to a Mr. Brown of the influential Rhode Island "Brown" family. The couple produced three children. (See www.rootsweb.com.)

In 1852, the year after "Artistic Associations" appeared in the *Mayflower*, Browne published what appears to be a non-fiction tribute to a younger brother, entitled *Hamilton, the Young Artist*. The subject of this work is Alexander Hamilton Coates Browne (1830-1850). A microform copy of the book, held in the Microbook Library of American Civilization series at UC San Diego, includes "an Essay on sculpture and painting, by Hamilton A.C. Browne," who was likely Augusta's and Hamilton's father. The work was published by Lippincott, Grambo and Co., of Philadelphia, in 1852. (See roger.ucsd.edu/search/aBrowne.+Bruce+end/-17.-1.0/browse)

34. Voicing her objection to negro spirituals in rhetoric that pits rationalism against emotionalism, Browne writes:

With pain we are compelled to admit that both music and painting have been profaned by being made vehicles of conveying unworthy and unholy sentiments. For instance, who, in his rational mind, would, *could*, for one moment, give ear unto the vulgar and oftentimes profane jargon of the negro songs are now exerting so extensive an influence in perverting the taste of the pastime-seeking, were it not for the many truly charming melodies attached? Surely not a creature. (220)

35. This poem was first published in Hemans' *The Records of Woman* (1828). Hemans prefaces the poem with several brief lines of biography about Rossi, which Browne reproduces in her article with a mere change of punctuation. The eleven-line stanza which preceeds part I of the poem ("Tell me no more, no more / Of my soul's lofty gifts! Are they not vain / To quench its haunting search for happiness?...") serves as the quotation with which Browne ends her "Artistic Associations."

36. Felicia Hemans (whose maiden name, coincidentally, was Browne), married in 1812, but six years later, in 1818, her husband went to Italy, and the two "never met afterwards" (*Chambers Biographical Dictionary*, 2nd ed. 1926, 477).

37. The Massachusetts-born Cushing was "already an established writer before moving to Montreal with her husband, Dr. Frederick Cushing, in 1833" (Wagner, "Eliza Lanesford Cushing," 85).

38. Between 1838 and 1850, Cushing published seventy verse, prose, and dramatic works in *The Literary Garland* (Wagner, "Eliza Lanesford Cushing" 85).

39. Distad and Distad make the following comments about the *Snow Drop*: "With typical Victorian rhetoric, it was outspokenly devoted to 'progress and improvement' as well as 'amusement and instruction.' Its relatively long run [seven years] may be attributed to its handsome appearance, considerable appeal to young girls, and absence of temperance rhetoric" ("Canada," 77).

40. Cheney's husband died in 1845; Cushing's, a year later. Anton Wagner describes the latter event, and the economic imperative it engendered: "In 1846 Dr Frederick Cushing [Eliza's husband], then a physician at the Montreal Emmigrant Hospital, died from ship fever while treating immigrants, forcing his wife to support herself through literary work" ("Eliza" 86). This she did while simultaneously founding the *Snow Drop* children's magazine. Eleanor Lay, another American-born woman who took up residence in Canada, managed a similar feat. Faced with widowhood and financial impecunty, she "capably took over her husband's editorial role and ensured the continuation" of the *Maple Leaf* (1852-54), a rival children's magazine. (See "Women in Canadian Literature: Harriet Vaughan Cheney..." www.nlc-bnc.ca/digiproj/women/ewomen3c.htm).

41. Klinck distils the agenda of the *Garland* as that of "build[ing] a better North American world along the lines of evangelical middle-class piety..." His distaste for such a program is palpable: [w]hether these authors began with home thoughts, fashionable manners, foreign history, biblical situations, war, Indians, love, loss, sacrifice, flowers, or illimitable works of God, they ended up with lessons in religious and social propriety. ("Literary Activity in Canada," *Literary History*, 161)

42. Wagner notes the indigenous setting of Cushing's "A Tale of the Richilieu" (*Lady's Book*, July-August 1839) in which "the daughter of a French-Canadian seigneur loses her father, her lover, and her own life in the 1837 rebellion" ("Eliza" 86).

43. Born in Troyes, France, the historical Pierre Mignard worked in Rome from 1636 to 1657, "where he developed a classicizing style much influenced by Poussin." Mignard became a favourite of Louis XIV and achieved success as a court portraitist. "Upon the death of his great rival Charles Le Brun, the king appointed him *premier peintre* as well as director and chancellor of the Academie" (*Chambers Biographical Dictionary*, 5th ed., 1993, 1011).

44. The Italian artist Guido Reni (1575-1642) studied at the influential Carracci Academy in Bologna. His narrative paintings—prestigious and much in demand in his day—took their subjects from history, mythology, and religion. See the LACMAweb site (Los Angeles County Museum of Art).

45. "H." is not identified in Thomas B. Vincent's *A Directory of Known Pseudonyms, Initial Sets, and Maiden Names Found in Selected English-Canadian Magazines, Newspapers and Books of the Nineteenth Century* (Kingston: Loyal Colonies Press, 1993).

46. "And [the] pale Magdalens, holy with the look of sins forgiven, how the divine beauty of their penitence sinks into the heart! Do we not feel that the only real deformity is sin, and that goodness evermore hallows and sanctifies its dwelling place?" From *The Stranger in Lowell*, by J. G. Whittier, quoted in an extract entitled "Virtue Alone is Beautiful," in the Halifax *Mayflower* 1.1 (May 1851): 13. A literary manifestation of the Magdalen image that likely would have been familiar to Cushing in the early 1840s is Felicia Hemans' 1833 poem entitled "Magdalene bearing tidings of the Resurrection."

47. Guiseppe Monteverdi immortalized this literal battle of the sexes in his 1624 madrigal, "Il Combattimento di Tancredi e Clorinda."

48. Cushing's story presents a fascinating opportunity to study the language of inarticulation as it

applies to women. Blushings, gasps, "indistinct words," "bursting sighs," "breathings," "mute, yet eloquent confession[s]," (4), and all manner of near-language animate this story.

49. The Accademia degli Incamminati was established by the two brothers in 1585. The school proposed to reform art by retrieving the classical principles of High Renaissance masters such as Michelangelo and Raphael. Attracting such promising young painters as Alessandro Algardi, Domenichino, and Guido Reni, the academy made Bologna one of the more active and influential of Italian art centres for over two decades. See www.yawp.com/cjackson/carracci_bio.htm.

50. *Discourse XIII, Delivered to the Students of the Royal Academy, on the Distribution of the Prizes, December 11, 1786* is briefly summarized as dealing, in part, with "Art not merely Imitation, but under the Direction of the Imagination" (qtd. in Bate, *Criticism: The Major Texts*, 258).

51. Cushing's footnoted source for this opinion, "an acute writer," claimed that the Gallery constituted "'a work of uniform vigor of execution which nothing can equal but its imbecility and incongruity of conception'" (521). Today, Annibale's ceiling frescoes in the Gallery are considered immensely important in the history of western art, having influenced such Baroque artists as the Italian painter Gian Lorenzo Bernini and the Flemish master Peter Paul Rubens. See www.yawp.com/cjackson/carracci_bio.htm.

52. *Chamber's Biographical Dictionary* provides a group entry for the Carracci family (Ludovico, Agostino, Annibale, Antonio). A single sentence gives the entry's only clue as to the relationship between the two brothers: "[Agostino's] brother's jealousy is said to have driven him from Rome (where they did the frescoes in the Farnese palace) to Parma, where he died" (2nd ed. 1926, 178).

53. At one point in the narrative, Annibale makes a thinly-veiled sexual innuendo that seems more expressive of a woman's concern than of a man's: namely, that of using a woman sexually and then casting her off. "'It is easy to speak of truth and faith,' said Annibale with a gathering frown: 'but when the dew has vanished from the flower its sweetness will be gone, and then the noble Agostino may find it easy to throw the worthless thing away'" (518).

54. One thinks of the smiling, blushing young Duchess of Ferrara in Browning's "My Last Duchess," a poem which appeared in 1842, a year before Cushing's "Envious Artist."

55. This vast painting, completed in 1562-63 and now in the Louvre, is the most celebrated of the works of Veronese (Paolo Cagliari). It contains "120 figures, many of them portraits of contemporaries, with 16th-century details" (*Chambers Biographical Dictionary*, 2nd ed. 1926, 940.) In the centre of the painting are the figures of Christ and his mother Mary. Theirs are the only distinct faces among the throng represented on the canvas.

56. *Chamber's Biographical Dictionary* cites Antonio Marziale Caracci (1583-1618) as being the "natural son of Agostino" (2nd ed. 1926, 178). Cushing herself uses this exact phrase in her story, as if to remind the reader that her account is based on fact. Following her brief description of Antonio, Cushing adds, "[h]e is generally supposed to be the natural son of Agostino" (519).

57. "The Violinist" appeared as follows in the *Garland*: August 1845: 365-71; September 1845: 417-23; October 1845: 463-9; November 1845: 511-19; and December 1845: 561-72.

58. Guiseppe does not know how to play guitar, Ianthé's chosen instrument, when he begins to tutor her. Notwithstanding, Cushing affirms his instinctive musicality by commenting that "tune succeeding to tune was played" (note the passive voice), when he "touch[ed] its strings" (467).

59. Guiseppe reveals his desire for fame in words that echo Pierre Mignard's insistence that money does not concern him: "God knows how valueless is the world's wealth in my eyes,—how uncoveted is the warrior's or the scholar's fame by my soul; but the renown that will associate my name with melodies divine, I earnestly desire" (463).

60. In the February 1842 issue of *The Literary Garland* (some three years before "The Violinist" was published), a poem titled "The Harp and the Poet," by Thomas Powell, Esq., appeared. It clearly links the wind harp to the Romantic notion of poetic inspiration:

The wind, before it woos the harp,
Is but the wild and common air;
Yet, as it passes through the chords,
Changes to music rare.

And even so the poet's soul
Converts the things that round him lie
Into a genial voice of song—
Divinest harmony.

Sweep harp and poet, framed alike
By God, as his interpreters
To breathe aloud the silent thought
Of every thing that stirs. (135)

61. The Archbishop's comments are wonderful examples of *litotes*, a form of understatement in which a thing is affirmed by stating the negative of its opposite. The device is often used for ironic purposes, and through it Cushing emphasizes the irony that the Archbishop cannot forthrightly declare his niece's talent by speaking plainly in the affirmative.

62. Ianthé's words prove true. In an unlikely, romantic turn of events near the end of the story, the Archbishop consents to his niece's desire to wed the violinist—a man inferior in wealth, rank, and influence.

63. "Iantha" is derived from the Greek word "lanthinos," meaning violet-coloured flower. Fittingly, Ianthé's seal is "a violet half hidden beneath sheltering leaves, and surrounded by the appropriate motto, 'I love the shade'" (564).

64. Bertha twice attempts to exalt herself over her rival by means of a ship metaphor. She contrasts Ianthé's "frail bark" with her own "stately vessel" and "ark of safety" (518, 562). In the boat that is her body, says the Countess with repressed sexual fervor, Guiseppe might "freight the precious treasure of [his] love" (518).

65. John R.A. Flaxman, a "delicate, slightly deformed child," was admitted to the Royal Academy as a student in 1769. Although a sculptor, his income came chiefly from the designs he created for the Wedgwood line of tableware. In 1782, he "married a cultivated woman who was his true helpmate for thirty-eight years." His legacy is that he "ranks at the head of English sculptors for inventive power and purity and grace of style" (*Chamber's Biographical Dictionary*,

2nd ed. 1926, 368).

66. In the prospectus for the *Anglo-American*, Maclear "deplored the flood of American magazines which were 'little calculated to form or improve the literary taste' of Canadians. What was needed was a national, literary monthly, written by Canadians for Canadians" (H Pearson Gundy, "Literary Publishing" 196).

67. A brief passage in Fanny Burney's early diary recalls a gathering at which Mrs. Montague commends Burney's *Evelina*, though she has not read it, for its being written by a woman—much to the shared amusement of Dr. Johnson and Burney herself. (See eng.hss.cmu.edu/18th/johnson-burney.txt)

68. Mention of Chapone occurs as an antidote in Chapter V of Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792), which is entitled "Animadversions on Some of the Writers Who Have Rendered Women Objects of Pity, Bordering on Contempt":

Mrs. Chapone's *Letters* are written with such good sense, and unaffected humility, and contain so many useful observations, that I mention them to pay the worthy writer this tribute of respect. I cannot, it is true, always coincide in opinion with her, but I always respect her (Section IV, line 123).

See www.columbia.edu/acis/bartleby/wollstonecraft/5.html.

69. Chapone contributed a substantial amount of biblical commentary to a book which editor J. Ireland hoped would be "serviceable in schools": *Beauties in Prose and Verse: or, the New, Pleasing and Entertaining Collection, Selected from the Most Eminent English Authors...* (Newcastle: T. Angus, 1784).

See www.columbia.edu/acis/bartleby/wollstonecraft/5.html.

70. Best known is Barbauld's fifty-volume series, *British Novelists*, which includes biographical and critical notices. (See www.primenet.com.) One of her earlier works, *Miscellaneous Pieces in Prose*, is footnoted in Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Woman*. (See www.columbia.edu/acis/bartleby/wollstonecraft/5.html.)

71. Louis-Francois Roubillac (1695-1762) was a Lyons-born sculptor who studied mainly in Paris. Prior to 1738 he lived in London, where he spelled his name *Roubiliac*. (Our story combines the two spellings into *Roubillac*.) See *Chambers Biographical Dictionary*, 2nd ed. 1926, 805.

72. "As the first female editor of a magazine in British North America," says Sutherland, "Herbert narrowly beat out Mary Jane Lawson *nee* Katzmann. At twenty-four, Katzmann, the poetical daughter of a German and his New England wife, became the [Halifax] *Provincial's* editor [1852-53]" (*The Monthly Epic* 19).

73. Herbert elaborated her "mingled feelings" as follows: "Pleasure in recalling to mind the many who, eager to encourage native literature, have given their name and influence in [the *Mayflower's*] support,—and anxiety, from a consciousness that the responsibilities devolving on the conducting of such a Periodical are of no ordinary character." In the final line of her "Editorial," Herbert hopes that the "kindness" of her readers will help them overlook "deficiencies that youth and inexperience might have caused" ("Editorial," *The Mayflower* 1.1, May 1851, 28).

74. The *Mayflower* was printed at the Halifax Athenaeum, which was a Temperance press. See Distad, "Canada," in *Periodicals of Queen Victoria's Empire*, 137 n.14.

75. Herbert barbs her pen in describing the *Church Times* editor as a critic of his fellow Haligonians:

His animadversions fall heavily and principally on the citizens of Halifax. They will, doubtless, value his opinion to the full amount of what it is worth, when he speaks of "*the impoverished state of our society*," and of "*the absence of that appreciation of literary effort which has always been the characteristic of Halifax*." Our citizens are under great obligation for this very flattering representation of their pecuniary means and literary taste. It must greatly elevate them in the eyes of the world. ("Notices of the *Mayflower*," vol. 1.3, July 1851, 92).

76. Herbert's three novels include *Belinda Dalton; or Scenes in the Life of a Halifax Belle* (1859), *Woman as She Should Be; or, Agnes Wiltshire* (1861), and *Young Man's Choice* (1869). Of the second of these novels, Carole Gerson remarks that "[t]he deliberate inversion of title and subtitle in...*Woman as She Should Be; or, Agnes Wiltshire*...signals that in such writing the message overrides the medium, subordinating characterization to moral imperative" (*A Purer Taste*, 140).

77. The phrase comes from Herbert's "Editorial" in the first issue of *The Mayflower*, May 1851. 29. The full citation reveals that this isolated comment belongs to a larger, tripartite vision for the *Mayflower*:

But to the lovers of Literature, those who delight to step aside, now and then, from the beaten and dusty paths of life, *to roam a while in the flowery fields of romance,—to hold communion with the Muses,—or to cull additional stores to their scientific knowledge*, a periodical, exclusively devoted to the subject, seemed a desideratum in our Province, and one which, if properly conducted, might prove beneficial to all parties. (emphasis mine)

78. Herbert's original name for her periodical was not the typically derided "floral" appellation "Mayflower," but rather *Arbutus*, the name of an evergreen shrub (also known as the strawberry tree) long cultivated in the south-west of Ireland for ornamental purposes (*OED*). In the first issue of *The Mayflower*, Herbert notes that the title change from *Arbutus* to *Mayflower* "was adopted at the insistence of friends, who thought that the latter term would be more acceptable, as well as more generally understood, than the former;—and that of *Magazine* for *Newspaper* to accommodate Country subscribers with regard to new postal arrangements" ("Change of Title," *Mayflower* 1.1, May 1851, 29). The "mayflower," of course, is the provincial flower of Nova Scotia. In the January 1852 issue, Herbert includes one of her own poems (signed "H") aptly suited to the magazine's name. The poem ironically locates in the indigenous "Mayflower" a "Fit emblem...of those who feel / The scorn of fortune, the contempt of pride: / And who, like thee, for sons of wealth and show, / Are pass'd neglected, or are thrown aside!": See "On Plucking a Mayflower in Full Bloom, Early in the Month of April" (*The Mayflower* 1.8, January 1852, 241).

79. Elder sister of Harriet Beecher Stowe (author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*), Catherine Beecher was a New York-born educationist who lived from 1800-1878. "She became principal of a Hartford seminary and wrote on female higher education and the duties of women" (*Chambers Biographical Dictionary* 1993, 127). The final paragraph of the excerpt from Beecher's "Suggestions on Education" ironically speaks more about what women *cannot* do than about what they are permitted to do:

Though she may not teach from the portico, in her secret retirements she may form and

send forth the sages that shall govern and renovate the world. Though she may not gird herself for bloody conflict, nor sound the trumpet of war, she may enwrap herself in the panoply of heaven, and send the thrill of benevolence through a thousand youthful hearts. Though she may not enter the list in legal collision, nor sharpen her intellect amid the passions and conflicts of men, she may teach the law of kindness, and hush up the discords and conflicts of life... (*The Mayflower* 1.1 May 1851, 7.)

80. Susan E. Houston and Susan L. Laskin write that "Attention focused on the moral character of the poor...rather than on their cold feet or empty stomachs, and prostitutes and juveniles became popular targets of reform." This had the unfortunate consequence of ensuring that "Poverty, especially among the able-bodied, continued to be seen as the by-product of alcoholism and sloth." See "Responses to Poverty, to 1891" (plate 56) and "A Changing Society" in the *Historical Atlas of Canada, Vol II: The Land Transformed 1800-1891*, 134.

81. See the detailed charts included in plate 56, "Responses to Poverty, to 1891," in the *Historical Atlas of Canada, Vol. II*.

82. The guinea, an English gold coin in circulation between 1663 and 1813, has an aristocratic connotation:

The guinea is the ordinary unit for a professional fee and for a subscription to a society or institution; the prices obtained for works of art, racehorses, and sometimes landed property, are also stated in guineas. Otherwise the word is now only occasionally used. (*OED*)

Given the exclusivity of this unit of money, Herbert may be implying an upper class, British-defined aesthetic in her story: the work of art is paid for in "guineas" to the aristocratically-named artist, "Ambrose Mandeville." It is worth bearing in mind, however, that Herbert signals (at the sketch's unfinished ending) that Mandeville is Canadian-born. While Herbert may, then, on one level, be appealing to Old Country readers by means of her eponymous hero, she may also be consciously transplanting, adapting, and indeed subverting the tradition of class-specific names—as may be perceived in Hamilton Aylmer's rags-to-riches British artist hero "Alciphron Leicester" (who achieves wealth and fame in the United States) and in Susanna Moodie's playfully wry commentary (in *Roughing It in the Bush*) on the "strange" and "extraordinary" names to be found among the very ordinary inhabitants of North America. See the following chapter of this dissertation, pages 152-164, and especially 158-160.

83. One guinea is equal to 21 shillings, making 5 guineas worth 105 shillings. There are twenty shillings in a British pound; therefore, 105 shillings is equal to £5.25.

84. See "Nineteenth-century currency and rates of exchange," in "Notes" to the *Historical Atlas of Canada, Vol II: The Land Transformed 1800-1891*, 153.

85. Part one of the story appeared in *The Mayflower* 1.8 (January 1852): 233-37. Part two followed in 1.9 (February 1852): 265-71.

86. Of interest structurally is that the story unpacks itself in two long sections (parts I and II) which are devoid of epigraphs, as opposed to the popular magazine format in which each of numerous short chapters is prefaced by a quotation. This may (or may not) point to a male author who, more confident of his right to write than a female counterpart might be, did not feel the need to prove his erudition by means of epigraphs. Such speculation, of course, is murky territory. Finally, one is thrown back on the resources of interpretation and intuition. In referring to the

unknown author as "she," below. I merely articulate what is essentially a felt sense, a hunch.

87. The country is never named *per se*. When Langdon visits Alice at her Scotch sister-in-law's house, he notices "the Tudor turrets of the mansion" (236). Much later, following Langdon's night of passionate destruction, he and his aunt leave for London, where they live for three years. Langdon remarks that it is "a strange place...after the quiet old city where I had passed my early days so peacefully" (269). Since it takes him well over twelve hours to travel by coach to London from this old city ("We travelled all night long, and I arrived at my destination on the afternoon of the next day" [269]), it would appear that the city is meant to be located in the north of England.

88. Through her male artist's own words, the author critiques the classic model of the repudiatory, solitary artist figure—sixty-four years before James Joyce would definitively articulate it in *A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man* (1916). Langdon describes his youth as a period of self-centredness, admitting that artistic ambition and worship of beauty were the unrivalled preoccupations of his life: "...the sorrow of others did not touch me...I would not give up a moment for the sake of others, or endure the slightest obstacle to my purpose" (234).

89. Miss Browne, convinced that "[t]he Fine Arts carry around them a sacred atmosphere," claims, with conviction, the following:

It were impossible to imbibe purity from impurity, vice from virtue, depravity from holiness, ugliness from beauty, or *plan deliberately a deed of darkness or treachery* [italics mine] while drawing in pure inspiration from an exquisite musical performance or a noble painting. ("Artistic Associations" 220)

90. Langdon's lack of a mother—she dies in his early childhood—allows him an all-too-liberal "freedom from observation" that backfires into selfishness (234). After meeting Alice, Langdon fancies that "passion" (not, interestingly, the unorthodox Alice herself) has reformed him. He describes how he has changed "for the better," "no longer locked up in one purpose—a mischief to the spirit, though that purpose [the pursuit of art] were the purest and the best" (266).

91. When Alice does not meet Langdon's profession of love with suitably blushing timidity, his rhetoric becomes swiftly self-contemptuous. In language that echoes the tenor of Cushing's male characters, he suddenly views his "better" self as the product of mere "weakness" and "effeminacy" (268).

92. An anonymous story titled "Sarah's Venture," which appeared in *The Anglo-American Magazine* in December 1853 (five months after "A Sculptor's Career"), also deals with a fiery heroine. She is described as "over-indulged," "rude and satirical" ("Sarah's" 618, 621). By the end of the story, the young woman—whose writerly ambition, it seems, has been entirely directed toward winning the very man to whom she has directed her worst behaviour—is ultimately redeemed by her marriage to this suitor, the aptly-named Mr. Godfrey Knight.

93. "Public life is the sphere of man; domestic life the sphere of woman. In her own sphere her influence is as great as it is healthful; out of her sphere it is nothing" (Editorial, "Woman's Social Position," *Anglo-American Magazine* [June 1853]: 572-75).

94. A good example of this conservative expectation for female education is the British-born "Mrs. Ellis" (Sarah Stickney), who wrote a number of female conduct books in the 1830s, 40s, and 50s. In the first issue of *The Mayflower*, under the heading "Training of Daughters," Herbert

excerpts a section from Ellis' (mistitled) book, *Mothers of England* (Ellis wrote *The Women of England*, *The Daughters of England*, and *The Wives of England* [1838, 1842, and 1843 respectively] but nothing called *The Mothers of England*.) Ellis here envisions the ideal young woman as being situated in a family where the "fireside amusements" include "occasional reading aloud, from well selected books," and where a dutiful mother can teach her "the beauty of household accomplishments" on the way to making her "a useful and agreeable woman." Revealing her husband-oriented motive for such education, Ellis continues: "...the nearer the education of schools can be made to resemble this, the more likely they will be to make young women, all which the companions of their future lives would desire" (14).

Chapter Three

1. "Rachel Wilde, or, Trifles From the Burthen of a Life," *The Victoria Magazine* v (January 1848): 113-15; vi (February 1848):126-28; vii (March 1848):156-59; viii (April 1848):183-87; ix (May 1848):212-14; x (June 1848):234-37; xi (July 1848):250-52.

2. We know that an English translation of *Corinne* was available by at least 1814-15, since Mary Godwin read it after her first baby (by Shelley) was born. By the early 1830s, Elizabeth Barrett had read *Corinne* three times. Among its other readers were Harriett Beecher, George Eliot, Margaret Fuller (called "the Yankee Corinna" by Emerson and others), and Kate Chopin (known as "the Corinne of St. Louis"). (See Ellen Moers' *Literary Women* 177.) Moers calls George Sand's *Consuelo* "the most famous treatment of the opera singer in nineteenth-century fiction, and every woman of more than ordinary distinction read [it] or at least knew that it was there" (*Literary Women* 190). Elizabeth Barrett mentions it to Robert Browning in their correspondence of 1845-46 (Cooper, *Elizabeth Barrett Browning* 62). Among *Consuelo*'s other known readers were Charlotte Brontë, George Eliot, Queen Victoria, and Willa Cather (Moers, *Literary Women* 190).

3. Barrett Browning herself conceived of the work in this fashion, in a letter to Robert Browning in 1845. See *The Letters of RB and EBB 1845-46*, ed. Elvan Kitner (Cambridge, Mass., 1969), I, 31.

4. Although the first edition of *Aurora Leigh* is dated "1857," it actually appeared on 15 November 1856. Within a month, a second edition was required; by mid-1857, a third edition was in print. The fourth and last edition, revised by Barrett Browning, appeared 11 June 1859. See "Note on the Text," Kerry McSweeney, ed., *Aurora Leigh* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1993), xxxvi-xxxviii.

5. The "Prelude" was not introduced to the public until after Wordsworth's death in 1850. Scholars have established that Wordsworth wrote an earlier "Two-Part Prelude" in 1799, and then enlarged that version, in 1805, into thirteen books. The fourteenth book was added in 1850.

6. See Kathleen Blake's "Elizabeth Barrett Browning and Wordsworth: The Romantic Poet as a Woman," *Victorian Poetry* 24 (1986): 387-98.

7. This final phrase comprises the third last line in Wordsworth's poem, "My Heart Leaps Up" (1807), and serves as partial epigraph for his famous "Ode: Intimations of Immortality" (1807). The latter is the source for Moodie's borrowed line, "Heaven lies about us in our infancy" (l. 66).

and for Wordsworth's argument about the "visionary gleam" (l. 56).

8. Sarah Stickney Ellis, "The Poetry of Woman." In *Guide to Social Happiness* (New York: Edward Walker, 1850), 111-126. Quoted in Tricia Lootens, *Lost Saints: Silence, Gender, and Victorian Literary Canonization* (Charlottesville and London: UP of Virginia, 1996), 64.

9. See Gilbert and Gubar's provocative chapter, "Milton's Bogey: Patriarchal Poetry and Women Readers," in which they outline how Milton's *Paradise Lost* creates a number of deliberate parallels between Eve and Satan: "...it is hard at times for the unwary reader to distinguish the sinfulness of one from that of the other" (*Madwoman in the Attic*, 196).

10. Craik's *A Woman's Thoughts*, which appeared in *Chamber's Edinburgh Journal* from 2 May to 19 December 1857, was "anonymously published and immensely popular" (Showalter, "Introduction" viii, xxiii).

11. Lootens quotes the *Saturday Review's* contention, in 1861, that *Aurora Leigh* "'furnishes...the most conclusive proof that no woman can hope to achieve what Mrs. Browning failed to accomplish' ('Mrs. Browning' 42)." This view is made more specific by William Stigand's statement in the *Edinburgh Review* (1861): Barrett Browning's career provides "'some proof of the impossibility that women can ever attain to the first rank in imaginative composition' (533)." See *Lost Saints*, 129.

12. Carlyle, of course, as much as Wordsworth, contributed to this tradition. See his concept of the "Vates" ("both Prophet and poet" and very specifically gendered as a "Great Man") in "On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History," (1840), *Victorian Prose and Poetry*, edited by Lionel Trilling and Harold Bloom, New York: Oxford UP, 1973, 39-40. We cannot ignore, of course, Milton's equally profound role in the development of this tradition. His relationship to the poet-prophet articulations of Wordsworth and Carlyle is a paternal one—ideologically, if not spiritually.

13. In "Milton's Bogey," Gilbert and Gubar list almost all of the canonical nineteenth-century British women writers, as well as American poet Emily Dickinson, as among those who wilfully "misread" *Paradise Lost* with a view to offering "revisionary critiques." See *Madwoman*, 187-212, and especially 189.

14. See Tricia Lootens' fascinating discussion of how a specifically female, sanctified suffering permeates Barrett Browning's 1844 volume of poems, given that "[s]anctifying literary ambition was already a central project for the poet" (Lootens 122).

15. Rachel, second wife of Jacob, dies while giving birth to Benjamin (Gen. 35:16-19). Her sorrow at the early barrenness of her marriage identifies her, biblically, with Israel weeping for her children who "are no more" (Jeremiah 31:15; also, the massacre of the Innocents in Matthew 2:18). Literary allusions to the weeping Rachel range from Chaucer to Dickens to Melville to Margaret Laurence. See Linda Beamer, "Rachel," in *Dictionary of Biblical Tradition in English Literature*, 651-52.

Linda Huf claims that the name "Rachel" is a favourite choice, among women writers, for their artist heroines (other such names include "Esther," "Hagar," Jo," "Mick," "Thea," "Avis" and "Edna"), and that the name connotes one or more qualities of "Old Testament fortitude, 'mannish' mettle, or heroic transcendence" (*A Portrait*, 8).

16. In her late twenties—that is, approximately eighteen years before the writing of “Rachel Wilde”—Moodie briefly converted from Anglicanism to the more austere practice of Congregationalism. It was a move that cost her much, personally and spiritually, and caused her to question—if not quite to renounce—her writing talent. Moodie’s letter to James Bird, dated 15 April 1830, contains no less than twenty-eight fairly accurately transcribed New Testament passages, each of which attests to the “remission of sins through the blood of the blessed Redeemer” (see *Letters of a Lifetime*, 46–47). It is likely that Susanna knew these passages by heart. Her controversial sketch “Michael MacBride” (in which a dying Irish Catholic is consoled and converted by the narrator’s readings from the Protestant Bible), suggests that her familiarity with the rest of the bible was equally impressive (*Life in the Clearings versus the Bush*, 1853). That she could, in “Rachel Wilde,” turn well-known biblical phrases to literary account in support of a rebellious artist figure, bespeaks not only a relatively free religious conscience in her mid-forties but also an intelligent appeal to the biblically literate members of her reading public.

When Moodie writes her Introduction to the 1871 edition of *Roughing It in the Bush*, her conscious use of biblical language matches the conciliatory tone of her reflections on the adopted country that had caused her grief, pecuniary hardship, but also “some of the happiest years” of her life. That this edition of *RIB* appeared forty years after the original, and that “forty” is a numerologically significant number—Biblical shorthand for “a period of denial or sojourn apart in exile” (including the forty days and nights of the Flood, Israel’s forty years of wandering in the wilderness, Moses’, Elijah’s, and Jesus’ forty days of fasting, the forty days that passed between the Resurrection and the Ascension of Christ, and the Church’s forty days of Lenten observance [Peck, “Numerology” 557])—does not seem to have been lost on Moodie. Contrasting the “then” of the 1830s with the “now” of the 1870s, Moodie employs language that echoes John the Baptist’s preacherly heralding of the Old Testament’s promised Christ, claiming that Canada (as if in transformative anticipation of the Second Coming) is “wholly changed. The rough has become smooth, the crooked has been made straight, the forests have been converted into fruitful fields” (cf. Isaiah 40: 3–4; Mt 3: 3, 9–10); even more apocalyptically, with Canada assuming the status of the new Jerusalem, Moodie states, “We may truly say, old things have passed away, all things have become new” (Rev. 21:4–5) (*RIB*, NCL edition, 528, 529, 533). No doubt, Moodie’s 1871 biblical rhetoric of cultural and industrial progress was calculated—at least in part—to ‘put a new spin’ on the novel that had won her so many negative reviews on its initial publication (cf. “Misrepresentation,” from the *Toronto Examiner*, 16 June 1852, rpt. in *RIB*, ed. Thomson, 463–64).

17. A fuller citation of the passage from Joel reads as follows:

‘After this
I will pour out my spirit on all mankind.
Your sons and daughters shall prophesy,
your old men shall dream dreams,
and your young men see visions.
Even on the slaves, men and women,
will I pour out my spirit in those days...’ (Jerusalem Bible, Joel 2: 28–29)

18. Charles Perrault’s “Bluebeard” (“La Barbe bleu,” included in *Contes de ma mere l’oye* [*Tales of Mother Goose*], published in 1697) might be construed as a pre-Miltonic version of the Fall story, with a murderous misogynist twist. When the last wife of Bluebeard disobeys his absolute ordinance and opens the locked door in her house, she discovers the bloodied bodies of her husband’s former wives—women who, likewise, had disobeyed him. The last wife is rescued from a similar gory fate only by the fortuitous appearance of her brawny brothers, who kill Bluebeard and assure their sister’s financially independent future. Sherrill Grace reads this tale,

and its grim commentary on female curiosity, as "a metaphor for the imagination and...a paradigm of the creative process" ("Courting Bluebeard," 247).

19. Moodie augments this phrase, tellingly, by her addition of the word "exile." The proverbial phrase from Exodus 2:22 reads "a stranger in a strange land" (or, in the Jerusalem Bible translation, "a stranger in a foreign land").

20. New makes these observations about Margaret Atwood's *True Stories* (1981), seeing in this work "the same principle of [autobiographical] artifice" that animates the work of George Bowering (*A History of Canadian Literature*, 257).

21. Q.D. Leavis maintains that "...Charlotte's experiences at the Evangelical school and as governess were transferred to Jane, and Jane's passionate desire for a wider life and richer and fuller experience was, we know, also her creator's." See Leavis' "Introduction" to *Jane Eyre* (Middlesex, England: Penguin, 1966; rpt 1975), 11-12.

22. W.H. New notes that the *Literary Garland* "seemed more concerned with the possible immorality of Jane Eyre the governess than the literary quality of the novel," and points out that the Moodies themselves did not review *Jane Eyre* in their own *Victoria Magazine* ("Introduction" to *The Victoria Magazine*, viii).

23. Reading Elizabeth Gaskell's *The Life of Charlotte Brontë* as an older woman, Susanna's sister Catharine Strickland [Parr Trail] "exclaimed that 'the early days' of the Brontës 'remind[s] me of our own early years'" (qtd. in Thurston, *The Work of Words*, 22).

24. Charlotte Brontë, *Jane Eyre: An Autobiography*, 1847; rpt Middlesex: Penguin, 1966, 1975: 130.

25. "Close thy *Byron*: open thy *Goethe*." Thomas Carlyle, "The Everlasting Yea," *Sartor Resartus* (1833-34), in *Victorian Prose and Poetry*, eds. Lionel Trilling and Harold Bloom (New York: Oxford UP, 1973), 28.

26. "Chapter VIII" is actually chapter seven, since Moodie inaccurately numbered her third and subsequent installments. Her heading system also changed during the course of the story's installments, so that the eight consecutive sections are called the following: "No. I," "No. II," "No. IV," "Chapter V," "Chapter VI," "Chapter VII," "Chapter VIII," and "Chapter IX." In what follows, I quote from the version of "Rachel Wilde" that originally appeared in *The Victoria Magazine*. I do standardize Moodie's heading system by referring to the sections as "chapters," but unlike Thurston and other critics, I retain Moodie's inaccurate numbering system (i.e., I do not refer at all to a chapter III) in order to facilitate maximum correspondence with the *Victoria Magazine* text.

27. A further elaboration of the dating of the story seems necessary. We know that, in chapter II, Rachel is "a child of six years of age" ("RW" 127), and that the "battle of Trafalgar" (1805) has been fought. The old Naval officer who shows Rachel "a large picture which hung against the wall, of the death of Nelson, and the battle of Trafalgar" is probably showing her Samuel Drummond's "The Death of Nelson at the Battle of Trafalgar 21 Oct 1805," completed and published 9 October 1809; thus, Rachel would be six years old in, roughly, 1809. (It must be mentioned, however, that the National Marine Museum in Greenwich, England, contains a whole gallery that is devoted to pictorial interpretations of Lord Nelson, including at least 163 portrayals

of his death. Many of these works, especially several prints, were published within a year of the Battle of Trafalgar, that is, between 1805 and 1806. I consider the Drummond piece to be the closest match to the painting mentioned in "Rachel Wilde" because of the similarity of its title to Moodie's reference. I acknowledge, however, the near impossibility of dating Moodie's "large picture" with absolute accuracy.) We do know, however, that Rachel ends the story as a ten year-old ("Rachel had just entered her tenth year," ["RW" 250]), not as a twelve year-old, as Thurston claims.

The penultimate chapter of the story, chapter VIII, throws several wrenches into both the calculation of Rachel's age and the accurate dating of the story. This chapter tells us that "[a] lapse of five years occurs in Rachel's reminiscences of her early childhood," and that she is now "nine years of age" ("RW" 234). If the five year lapse refers to the duration of time between chapter II (when she is six years old) and chapter VIII (when she is nine years old), then the mathematics does not add up: Rachel would need to be eleven, not nine, as the narrator states. If, however, the five year lapse refers to the gap between Rachel's age at the beginning of the story (in chapter I) and her age of nine years (in chapter VIII), then we can calculate that her age in chapter I is four years. By further deduction, then, the year at the story's outset is 1807. Rachel, therefore, is four years old in 1807 (chapter I), and six years old in 1809 (chapter II). This difference in age seems justifiable, given that Rachel is a very young, prattling child in chapter I, but is old enough to take a coach-journey with a family friend in chapter II.

Chapter VIII continues to complicate matters, as I have mentioned, by collapsing four years into one year (the year that Rachel is nine years old), in order to maintain the dramatic continuity of her obsession with Napoleon. We view this collapse of time through Moodie's six specific references to Napoleon's military movements through Europe, actions that span the years 1812 to 1815: "his unfortunate Russian campaign" ("RW" 235), which took place during the summer and fall of 1812; the battle of "Barossa" (by which Moodie must have meant "Borodino," one of the bloodiest clashes of the 1812 Russian campaign (["RW" 236]); the battle of "Vittoria" ("Vitoria" was fought in 1813 ["RW" 236]); the entry of the "allied armies" into "Paris" (30 March 1814) and the subsequent banishment of Napoleon to "Elba" ("RW" 237); "the spring just preceding the battle of Waterloo" (spring 1815), during which Napoleon escapes from Elba (1 March 1815 ["RW" 237]); and the "blood shed at Waterloo" (18 June 1815).

The above argument, then results in the following chronology: Rachel is four years old in 1807, six years old in 1809, nine years old during the years 1812-15, and, in the final chapter, ten years old in 1816. The three year discrepancy between Rachel's age (she ages six years over the course of the story) and the actual number of years that pass (nine years, 1807-16), is accounted for by the collapse of four years into one, in chapter VIII, which effectively subtracts three years from the nine that pass in the story. Rachel does, then, in a roundabout way, age six years in a six-year time span.

28. Half way through chapter IV of "Rachel Wilde," the narrator self-consciously intrudes into the story in order to engage in a familiar device. The narrator claims that she will "cease to play the editor," and by "turning to Rachel's manuscript, which is now before us," will "give [Rachel's] recollections...in her own words" ("RW" 157). The rest of chapter IV and all of chapter V are related in the first-person voice of Rachel. These two chapters were printed together, as a joint installment, in the March 1848 issue of *The Victoria Magazine*.

In discussing the "formal irregularities" that often occur in female *Kunstlerromane*, Christine Hamelin points out a common generic intersection with "more personal literary forms such as the autobiography or the journal," which facilitates a "weav[ing] together [of the] diverse layers of the female artist-hero's private life" ("Gender Mapping Genre" 30). Moodie's "Rachel Wilde" briefly exhibits this generic melding; L.M. Montgomery's "Emily" trilogy, in the 1920s, makes extensive use of it.

29. Moodie's use of this phrase undergoes a significant transformation in emphasis between chapters I and VIII of "Rachel Wilde." The original quotation, from Walter Scott's *Rokeby* (1813) is the following: "His was minstrel's skill, he caught / The art unteachable, untaught" (I.xxxvi). When Moodie first uses the phrase, in chapter I, she does so in playful reference to Rachel's device of suspending placards of admiring verse around the necks of her favourite flowers: "Ridiculous as this beginning was in the art, 'unteachable, untaught,' there was now, no end to Rachel's attempts at rhyming: all her thoughts whether grave or gay, ran liltng into verse..." ("RW," 115). By the time Moodie reintroduces Rachel in chapter VIII, the phrase has assumed the connotation of stubborn rebelliousness, so that Rachel herself (and not the art of poetry) is "unteachable, untaught": "At nine years of age, we find her battling with a governess...and the poor girl like many an unfortunate, misunderstood child of genius, remains unteachable, untaught" ("RW" 234).

30. Linda Huf is particularly prescriptive on this point, referring to men as "the despots and dunces who drag...down" the female artist—a character who, in turn, must protect herself by "smashing the man-forged manacles on her sex" (*A Portrait* 9,10).

31. The yew tree is "symbolic of sadness" (*OED*). Moodie's "briony" is probably a malapropism for "briery," as in "full of thorns or briers" (*OED*).

32. During her year-long stay with Lucy and Betsy Long, in Kent, Rachel observes that although "Mr. Long...spoilt and humoured me to my heart's content...he was a violently passionate man, and used to storm at his daughters and servants in a way which made my flesh creep" ("RW," 159).

33. This appears to be an autobiographical detail from Moodie's own life, or at least is the narrative that she perpetuates in her fiction and letters. Unlike the eminent position occupied by her father in the thinly veiled fictional portraits that Moodie created throughout her career, neither her mother nor her London-based "aunt" (her father's cousin), Mrs. Rebecca Leverton—whose literary salon Susanna was frequenting by 1827, at age 24—is ever mentioned as an influence. By contrast, Moodie bases the short story "My Cousin Tom. A Sketch from Life" (*British American Magazine* 1 [1863]: 12-20) on her father's eccentric artist-cousin, Thomas Cheesman, who resided in London, and with whom she appears to have had a good deal of contact ("Dear old cousin,—some of the happiest months I ever spent in London were spent in that dirty house in Newman street." [Qtd. in Thurston, *Voyages* 252]). Moodie's letters frequently reflect on the kindness of such men as Thomas Harral (of *La Belle Assemblee*), Thomas Pringle (of *Friendship's Offering* and, in 1830, the *Athenaeum*), and James Bird who shaped and guided her career. Thurston maintains that "[c]onnections with male friends featured in most of [Moodie's] publishing relations" (*The Work of Words* 27). See also Moodie's letter (#55) to Richard Bentley, 26 February 1854, *Letters* 148.

34. In a comment that underscores another biographical resonance between Moodie's life and her creation of Rachel Wilde, Thurston writes of the "progressive" pedagogy of Moodie's father, Thomas Strickland—this despite his "out of date" teaching materials: "The education he gave his elder daughters [ie., Eliza and Agnes] does not conform to what was prescribed even for the majority of their male peers, let alone contemporary females." Thurston admits that "the evidence for Susanna's schooling sketches a less formal picture" (*TWW*, 15); nevertheless, we can infer that the ideologically progressive nature of Thomas Strickland's pedagogy would have remained essentially the same.

35. Moodie writes that

[Mentor] entered into correspondence with [Rachel], and endeavored to call out all the powers of her mind. He stimulated her to study—he taught her to think. He sent her books to read, and made her write her opinions to him of their contents—to mark down the impression they made upon her mind, and the reflections they called forth. Rachel was proud of this correspondence—she entered into it with all her heart and soul; and learned more in one month by pursuing Mentor's system, than she had done for many years. ("RW" 236)

Mentor is, in fact, the second father-substitute to educate Rachel. During her extended visit to Kent, "Squire C—" had "taught Rachel to read, heard her catechism," and listened to her prayers. In Rachel's eyes, he held "the place of the father she had left," but though the Squire shows himself "anxious to adopt her for his own child[.]...Mr. Wilde, would not part with his eccentric little girl, to her rich friend" ("RW" 181). It may or may not be significant to note that Moodie, who lost her own father at age fourteen, was later to refer to her friend and mentor, Thomas Pringle, as "Papa" ("Introduction" to *Letters* 11).

36. This is Michael Broers' paraphrase of Goethe's words, and appears in his book entitled *Europe Under Napoleon 1799-1815* (5). Broers points out how there is a general scholarly disease with the fact that Napoleon was a cultured man, and even an intentional scholarly omission, in various biographies, that Napoleon in fact met with Goethe at Erfurt in 1808. At that meeting, says Broers, the two men

discussed [Goethe's] novel, *Wether*, and some of Voltaire's most politicized writings, including his play, *Mahomet*. Goethe was impressed by Napoleon, intellectually, and by his literary tastes. Those tastes were of a man of the radical Enlightenment who, like Voltaire himself, despised the masses, but opposed the supposed obscurantism of the old order...A few months after their conversation, Napoleon invaded Spain and abolished the Inquisition...Napoleon did not invade Spain because he read Voltaire's *Mahomet*, but his reading of Voltaire influenced how he chose to deal with it, once there. (4)

37. The comments of Napoleon's private secretary, Louis Antoine Fauvelet de Bourrienne, are relevant here. In his *Memoirs of Napoleon Bonaparte* (1836 in translation; rpt 1885, 1892), he makes the following observation:

I am well convinced that none of the writers of [Napoleon's *Memoirs* during his exile at] St. Helena can be taxed with the slightest deception...It appears to me perfectly certain that Napoleon stated, dictated, or corrected all they have published...That they wrote what he communicated must therefore be believed; but it cannot with equal confidence be credited that what he communicated was nothing but the truth. He seems often to have related as a *fact* what was really only an *idea*,—an idea, too, brought forth at St. Helena, the child of misfortune, and transplanted by his imagination to Europe in the time of his prosperity. His favourite phrase, which was every moment on his lips, must not be forgotten—"What will history say—what will posterity think?" This passion for leaving behind him a celebrated name is one which belongs to the constitution of the human mind; and with Napoleon its influence was excessive. ("Authors' Introduction" xxiv)

38. See the last sentence of note 17, above.

39. Susanna Strickland transcribed *The History of Mary Prince...Related by Herself* (25 January 1831) in the London home of her friend and mentor, Thomas Pringle. John Thurston presents a spirited argument for the "hypocrisy of abolitionists" like Moodie, and concludes that *The History*

is a tract that was “shaped and censored into that of a conventional, morally upright example of nineteenth-century womanhood”—“a corporate text,” which “only the Anti-Slavery Society could be said to author” (*The Work of Words* 61). Even if Thurston’s surmise is true, however (and I have no way of proving it false, since no ‘original copy’ of Mary Pringle’s oral narrative exists), I object to Thurston’s out-of-hand dismissal of the essentially radical politics that stood behind Moodie’s membership in the Anti-Slavery Society in the first place. There must have been many detractors who, like the Mrs. Dalton of *Flora Lyndsay*, felt that the Society represented ‘a set of fanatics, who, in reality, are more anxious to bring themselves into notice than to emancipate the slaves’ (*FL* 124). Then again, to add yet another layer of potentially ironic complication, one might well wonder if Moodie’s last phrase (“more anxious to bring themselves into notice than to emancipate the slaves”), penned in a novel that appeared in 1853, twenty years after the fact of her Anti-Slavery alliance, is actually a gentle self-satire, an indictment of her well-meaning but ultimately self-serving younger self.

40. In “Belleville,” the first chapter of *Life in the Clearings*, Moodie relates the story of a young black child’s death by drowning in the swollen waters of the Moira river, and records the contrast between her own response and that of her Belleville neighbours:

A little black boy, the only son of a worthy negro, who had been a settler for many years in Belleville, was not so fortunate as the Irishman’s cow. He was pushed, it is said accidentally, from the broken bridge, by a white boy of his own age, into that hell of waters, and it was many weeks before his body was found...Day after day you might see his unhappy father, armed with a long pole, with a hook attached to it, mournfully pacing the banks of the swollen river, in the hope of recovering the remains of his lost child. Once or twice we stopped to speak to him, but his heart was too full to answer. He would turn away, with the tears rolling down his sable cheeks, and resume his melancholy task.

What a dreadful thing is this prejudice against race and colour! How it hardens the heart, and locks up all the avenues of pity! The premature death of this little negro excited less interest in the breasts of his white companions than the fate of the cow, and was spoken of with as little concern as the drowning of a pup or a kitten. (*LC* 45–46)

41. See Victoria Walker’s excellent discussion of Thomas Cary’s editorial practices in the *Mercury*, in “The Literary Paradigm and the Discourses of Culture: Contexts of Canadian Writing, 1759–1867.” Walker demonstrates how, within a very few issues of its initial publication, the *Mercury* dropped all literary pretense and aesthetic posturing by becoming baldly political in its poetry column. Its acceptable “poems” were exclusively pro-English/Lord Nelson, and pointedly anti-French, anti-Napoleon, and anti-*Canadien* (Quebec’s unilingually French newspaper). See Walker 139, 150.

42. 1 Corinthians 13:12: “For now we see through a glass darkly [Now we are seeing *a dim reflection* (Jerusalem Bible translation; emphasis mine)]; but then face to face: now I know in part, but then shall I know even as also I am known” (King James Version).

43. When Miss Lucy threatens to “whip” Rachel and put her to bed without supper, Rachel response if the following:

Such conduct from Miss Long, appeared outrageous. She who had been all smiles and good humour at — hall. Rachel could scarcely believe her own senses, as she doggedly remained in the half open door, without advancing a step. (“RW” 128)

44. Elizabeth Thompson, ed., *Roughing It in the Bush; or, Life in Canada. A Critical Edition*, by Susanna Moodie, Ottawa: Tecumseh P Ltd, 1997.

45. John Thurston indicates that "Jeannie Burns" was actually published in *Bentley's Miscellany* in 1852 (volume 32: 143-52) prior to its appearance in *Life in the Clearings*. See Thurston, *The Work of Words*, "Bibliography," 241.

46. Since Thompson does not include the early chapters that detail Rachel's coach-journey and subsequent encounters with soldiers in the Napoleonic Wars, she cannot go past a certain point in chapter VIII. As such, she cuts off the chapter one sentence before Moodie launches into the pivotal events that prove Rachel's rebellious genius. The sentence Thompson stops short of including is the following: "We have alluded to the mighty devastator of the nineteenth century, the great Napoleon, and linked with his name, are woven some of the absurdities and oddities, of Rachel's desultory childhood" ("RW," 235).

47. Thurston, "Introduction" to *Voyages*, xxiii. Quoted in Thompson, "Editor's Preface" to *Roughing It*, xiv.

48. *The Victoria Magazine* issued from publisher Joseph Wilson's office on Front Street, in Belleville, at a subscription rate of one dollar per annum (Dyer, "A Periodical" 7).

49. See Thurston's "Roughing It in the Bush: A Case Study in Colonial Contradictions," the seventh chapter of *The Work of Words* 132-66. Thurston notes that "Moodie's is one hand among many involved in the production of this text," and outlines the means by which Moodie and her publisher carefully suppressed, elevated, exoticized, and otherwise altered elements of her text to increase its appeal to her "English audience" (134, 135).

50. This parenthetical comment (apropos of what?) is by W.H. New, "Introduction" to *The Victoria Magazine*, Vancouver: U of British Columbia Library (1968), vii.

51. The "Prospectus of the Victoria Magazine," which appeared in the *Huron Signal*, *Wilson's Experiment*, and the *Cobourg Star*, stated firmly that "The terms of subscription—ONE DOLLAR PER ANNUM—" were "to be paid in advance" (Dyer, "A Periodical," Appendix A 89).

52. See Dyer for a fuller discussion of the literary, political, and personal factors that appear to have played a decisive role in the "demise" of *The Victoria Magazine* ("A Periodical" 10-19).

53. See Dyer's argument about how the last two of these critical interpretations, by Frye and Atwood respectively, have pervaded and substantively influenced the literary reception of Moodie since mid-century ("Relocating *The Victoria Magazine*: Critical Overview and Context," in "A Periodical" 56-84).

54. A quick tabulation of the publications listed in Thurston's "Bibliography" reveals that at least 141 of Moodie's verse and prose works were republished, sometimes more than once (either reprinted verbatim, expanded, reworked, or included in another piece), versus 103 entries, predominantly short poems, that appeared singly (in this latter category I include the compilations *Roughing It in the Bush* and *Life in the Clearings*).

55. This story was first published as "Jane Redgrave: A Village Tale" in *La Belle Assemblée* 3rd series 10 (1829): 53-58, 107-13. Revised and expanded a full nineteen years later, it appeared in the sixth volume of *The Literary Garland* (January to December 1848) as follows: 1-10, 49-58.

97-103, 145-54, 210-21, 251-60, 309-20, 347-58, 395-404, 443-52, 491-500, 539-59. (See Thurston, *The Work of Words*, "Bibliography" 231, 240.).

56. Moodie notes in the 1853 "Introduction" to *Mark Hurdlestone* that her *Garland* contributions brought in "from twenty to forty pounds per annum" (290), an amount necessary to "supplement the approximately 250 pounds that J.W. Dunbar's unsalaried position as Sheriff of Hastings provided" (Dyer, "A Periodical" 5).

57. Moodie, for her part, publicly lauded Lovell's *Garland* at least three times during *The Victoria Magazine's* brief existence, going so far as to print the following explicitly self-deprecatory wish on the occasion of the *Garland's* tenth anniversary: "Long may it continue to bloom and flourish; and to hold, as it has hitherto done, the first place in the periodical literature of the country" (*VM*, vii.168).

58. These sketches include the following: "Old Woodruff and His Three Wives. A Canadian Sketch" (*LG* new series v.13-18 [January 1847]; later appeared as, in part, "Adieu to the Woods," *RIB*); "The Walk to Dummer. Canadian Sketches. No. II" (*LG* new series v.101-9 [March 1847]; *RIB*); "Our Borrowing. Canadian Sketches. No. III" (*LG* new series v.197-205 [May 1847]; appeared as part of "Our First Settlement, and the Borrowing System," *RIB*); "Tom Wilson's Emigration. Canadian Sketches. No. IV" (*LG* new series v.283-86, 293-303 [June and July 1847]; divided between "Tom Wilson's Emigration" and "Old Satan and Tom Wilson's Nose," *RIB*); "Uncle Joe and His Family. Canadian Sketches. No. V (*LG* new series v.363-68, 423-29 [August and September, 1847]; *RIB*).

59. "Brian, the Still Hunter. Canadian Sketches. No.IV" appeared in *The Literary Garland* new series v:460-66 (October 1847); and was subsequently included in *Roughing It in the Bush*.

60. One possible explanation is that the *Garland* had already agreed to publish "Jane Redgrave," (which was long enough to be serialized in each of the twelve months of 1848) and did not wish to double up its featuring of authors by serializing a second Moodie story, "Rachel Wilde," during the same year. Of course, in such a situation, Moodie could have offered "Rachel Wilde" to the *Garland* for publication the following year. She chose not to do so.

61. Moodie names this amount in a "business letter" sent to Louisa Murray on 13 January 1851, stating that it is her standard remuneration from publisher John Lovell (letter 42, *Letters of a Lifetime*, 99). Later, in the 1853 "Introduction" to *Mark Hurdlestone*, Moodie describes the *Garland* as having been a magazine "of large size, with double columns, and in very small type. It required a great deal of writing to fill a sheet" ("Introduction," in *LC* 286). Even if, as Robert L. McDougall supposes, Moodie's "sheet" actually refers to "the *quarto sheet*, which contains eight pages" (*Life in the Clearings*, ed McDougall, "[Editor's Note]" 286), publication of the lengthy "Rachel Wilde" in the *Garland* rather than in the *Victoria Magazine* would obviously have been to Moodie's economic advantage.

62. The Moodies seem to have considered American politics fair game, however, as demonstrated by occasional inflammatory rhetoric about the American Revolution. In what appears to be Dunbar's long review of a book by American writer Mrs. Grant, the following pro-British commentary appears. Notice how Dunbar includes a fairly bald injunction to his fellow colonists to curb any "remote causes" of civil unrest:

[Mrs. Grant's] residence [in her birthplace of Albany, New York] did not extend to that period of anarchy and confusion, when the demons of party strife were let loose:

and humanity and public virtue for a time took flight from a land so richly endowed by nature, with all the elements of future greatness. She relates what she saw, what she knew and what she felt, and her narrative is full of valuable hints respecting the *remote causes* which led to the Revolution; and as in personal enmities, the causes of estrangement and hostility, are generally of more remote origin, than they appear to superficial observers; so in national differences the final separation of colonies may justly be traced to national and personal jealousies.

It is well worth the while of all those who truly love their country more than themselves, to look well to these *remote causes*.

Nations and colonies are made up of individuals, and he knows little of history and human nature who cannot see that kingdoms may be lost, by the petty insolence and tyranny of individuals in power. ("Editor's Table, *Memoirs of An American Lady, with sketches of Manners and Scenery in America, as they existed previous to the Revolution*. By Mrs. Grant, Author of *Letters from the Mountains*.—New York, 1809.—"[VM vi:144; continued in vii.165-67, viii.191-92, and ix.215-16])

63. These three stories, published during the middle months of the *Victoria Magazine's* tenure, include the following: Hamilton Aylmer's "Alciphron Leicester; or Love and Genius. A Miniature Romance" (VM v.108-12, vi.121-25, vii.146-50), Rhoda Ann Page's "The Lost Boy: A Tale of the Burning Plains" (VM v.97-100), and Thomas Page's "The Wolves. A Tale of Western Canada. Founded on Fact" (VM vi.131-36).

64. One of the most significant of these criteria, revealed by Moodie in the 1853 "Introduction" to *Mark Hurdlestone*, was that all authors published in VM be Canadian-born:

Whilst conducting this periodical, we had many opportunities of judging the literary taste and capacity of the public, from the articles that we were constantly receiving for insertion. We had some clever contributions offered to us for the magazine, but they were all, with a very few exceptions, from persons born and educated in the mother country, and could scarcely be ranked under the head of Canadian talent. It was our earnest desire to encourage as much as possible native-born writers, and to make our magazine a medium through which they might gain the attention of the public[.] ("Introduction," in LC, 291)

65. Three historical romances by Moodie's sisters, Catharine Parr Traill and Agnes Strickland, appeared during the tenure of *The Victoria Magazine*. These include Catharine's "The Hunter's Glen" (VM viii.188-90, ix.200-206), and Agnes's "The Court of Solyman" (VM x.217-22, xi.241-45) and "Catherine of Langaster [sic] or the Tournament of Toledo" (VM xii.271-78). The following prose piece and poem, identified as being by Samuel Strickland when they were reprinted in *Roughing It*, appeared in VM under the pseudonym "Pioneer": "Description of a Whirlwind, which passed though the town of Guelph in the summer of 1829" and "The Whirlwind" (VM v.100-101 and 101-102 respectively; rpt in *Roughing It*, chapter xxiv). Another entry by "A Pioneer," in VM ii.45, is titled "The Devil's First and Last Visit. A True Story." Catherine Parr Trail (as "C.T.") and Samuel Strickland (as "Pioneer") also seem to have contributed regularly to VM's frequent charades and riddles (VM v.107, x.223, 233, 237.) Agnes (as "Miss Agnes Strickland") contributes a charade in VM vi.128.

66. Among J.W. Dunbar's substantial contributions to *The Victoria Magazine* are several unsigned, discursive editorial commentaries (see for instance, note 62 above), as well as the following: "The Advantages of Being Ugly" (VM i.18-20, ii.40-45, iii.49-53; rpt in *Scenes and Adventures. As a Soldier and Settler. During Half a Century* [Montreal: Lovell, 1866]); the

poems "Iarl Sigurd. A Ballad from the Norse" (VM ii.25-26, which includes a historical explanation), "To the Woods! To the Woods!" (VM v.117; rpt in *Roughing It*, chapter xi), "Brodir's Fleet in Clontarf Bay" (VM iv.73-77, again with a historical explanation), and "O! The Days When I Was Young" (vii.145-46); the essay "Religion and Loyalty" (VM v.104-107, vi.137-39; rpt in the *Huron Signal* 11 Feb. 1848); the lectures "South Africa and Its Inhabitants: A Lecture delivered at the Mechanics' Institute, at Belleville" (VM vii.159-63, viii.171-75), and "South Africa: Lecture II. Delivered at the Belleville Mechanics' Institute" (VM ix.193-99, x.224-33; both lectures were included in *Scenes and Adventures*, iii-vii); "Papers on Practical Jokes No. IV" (VM ix.208-211; rpt in *Scenes and Adventures*, viii); the essay "Memory" (VM xii.279-83; rpt in *Scenes and Adventures*, xii), and many of the (often bad) puns and jokes that pepper *The Victoria Magazine*.

67. These reprinted stories—whose settings range from Italy to Persia to Germany, and whose plots feature everything from exile and madness to unrequited love and infanticide—include "The Two Fisherman. A Tale of the Coast" (from *La Belle Assemblée*, 1827; rpt VM i.4-10), the satirically anti-Catholic "The Pope's Promise. A Historical Sketch" (LBA, 1828; rpt VM ii.27-31), "The Son of Arminius. A Tale of Ancient Rome" (*Ackermann's Juvenile Forget-Me-Not* for 1830; rpt VM iv.77-82), "Achbor: An Oriental Tale" (*Canadian Literary Magazine*, 1833; *North American Quarterly*, 1834; rpt VM xi.253-56), and "The Native Village" (LBA, 1829; rpt VM xii.283-86). For the initial publications of these stories, see Dyer, Appendix B, 94-96.

68. For discussions of how the literary climate of the 1840s in general, and Moodie's *Roughing It in the Bush* in particular, exemplify the popularity of the miscellany, see W.H. New, *Dreams of Speech and Violence: The Art of the Short Story in Canada and New Zealand* (1987): 34, and D.M.R. Bentley, "Trees and Forest: Variety and Unity in Early Canadian Writing," *Literary Genres / Les Genres littéraires*, ed. I.S. MacLaren and C. Potvin (1991): 19-3; rpt. in *Roughing It in the Bush; or, Life in Canada*, ed. Elizabeth Thompson (1997), 512-23.

69. "The Captive" first appeared in *Friendship's Offering: A Literary Album* for 1831 (184-86), before being reprinted in the *Victoria Magazine* ii.36. See Dyer, Appendix B, 95.

70. "Canada" was featured in *The Victoria Magazine* i.3 and appeared subsequently in the *Cobourg Star* (September 1847), the *Metropolitan Magazine* (1848) and the Introduction to *Roughing It in the Bush* (1852). "The Coming Earthquake" was published in VM v.112, in the *Literary Garland* in 1848, and in chapter fourteen of *Life in the Clearings Versus the Bush* (1854) as "The Earthquake." Two other poems appeared only in VM: "The Nautical Philosophers. A Sketch from Life" (VM iv.88-89), and "The Light of His Soul Has Departed" (VM viii.181). Information about the subsequent publications of these poems is from Dyer, Appendix B 94-95.

71. These selections include (unsigned) reviews of various books and periodicals in the "Editor's Table," as well as "The Dandelion and the Uses to Which it is Applied" (VM i.22; rpt *RIB*), "A Close Cut" and "A Detected Cheat" (VM iv.93), an item regarding the hurricane in Douro, 19 August 1837 (VM v.102-3; rpt *RIB*), and "Chess. From the Persian" (VM viii.181-82; rpt as "Chess," *Bedford's Monthly Magazine* 1877).

72. The essay is revealingly titled "Education The True Wealth of the World" (VM iv.89-92; rpt as "Free Schools—Thoughts on Education" in chapter 3 of *Life in the Clearings*). Dyer makes the following important observation about the character of the Moodies' published views on education: "However liberal [their] call for the democratization of education may have appeared to the contemporary audience, the editorial position established in *The Victoria Magazine* did not

signal the Moodies['] abandoning their basic belief in the need and benefits of social stratification...Mrs Moodie was far from being an egalitarian..." ("A Periodical," 50-51).

73. Susanna Moodie seems to have written the first three of four such offerings in *The Victoria Magazine*, namely "Papers on Practical Jokes. No. I" (VM vi.139-41; rpt in *Bentley's Miscellany* [1853, chapter 34: 299-303]), "Papers on Practical Jokes. No. II" (VM vii.151-54; rpt in *The Odd-Fellow's Offering* [1852] and *Bentley's Miscellany* [1853, chapter 34: 410-16]), and "Papers on Practical Jokes. No. III" (VM viii.177-81; rpt in *Bentley's Miscellany* [1853, chapter 35: 393-99]). See Dyer for the manner in which these tales subvert the comedic expectations of their titles by means of "stern prefatory warning[s]" and a tendency to "foreground the tragic rather than the comic" ("A Periodical," 32-33).

74. Moodie's "Scenes in Canada. A Visit to Grosse Isle" appeared in VM i.14-17, and was extensively reworked for its re-publication in *Roughing It* (1852, chapter 2) and *Bentley's Miscellany* (1852, chapter 32: 300-309). See Dyer for an overview of these significant changes ("A Periodical," 36-37). "Scenes in Canada. No. II. First Impressions—Quebec" was printed in VM iii. 65-68 before being reissued as "Quebec," chapter two of *Roughing It*. "The Trials of a Travel[ling] Musician" appeared as follows: "No. I" (VM i.10-12, signed "W.H.H."), "No. II" (VM ii. 32-35, signed "W.H.H."), "No. III" (VM iii.59-63, unsigned), and "No. III conclusion" (VM iv.84-87, signed "W.H.H."). The first two of these sketches were reissued as "Trials of a Travelling Musician" (*Life in the Clearings*, chapter 5), and the third as "The Singing Master. Trials of a Travelling Musician" (*Life in the Clearings*, chapter 6).

75. These include "Wolsey Bridge" (VM i.12-13), and "A Tale for Teetotallers" (VM i.20).

76. Dyer describes this piece as "a compressed depiction of the hardships, rewards, and internalized fears that many readers of *The Victoria Magazine*, as well as its coeditors, would have recognized as inherent in the trials of emigration" ("A Periodical," 35). "The Well in the Wilderness" subsequently appeared in *The Odd-Fellow's Offering* (1852) and *Bentley's Miscellany* (1853; chapter 33: 318-24).

77. Having affinities with Moodie's own circumstances, the story relates how the Steele family must emigrate due to poor financial circumstances, how they lose two children to Scarlet Fever during their voyage to New York, and how Jane Steele attempts to draw water for her children from the only available well—a swamp in a gloomy Illinois wilderness. Here her husband finds her lifeless body, mauled and partially devoured by a panther. Didactic throughout, the story ends suddenly. The bereaved family heals itself through revisionist history ("their mother's life had been sacrificed to her maternal love") and ultimately buries its wealthy patriarch, Richard Steele, in the church-yard of the now "prosperous village" (VM ii.58).

In a letter to Richard Bentley, 25 November 1852, Moodie relates the unlikely but true circumstances behind "The Well in the Wilderness," a tale she has enclosed for possible publication in *Bentley's Miscellany*:

The facts on which this little sketch, was founded, were told me by a person who knew the younger members of the Steels family; and the story made such an impression on my mind, that during a severe attack of ague, I used to rave about it during the hot fit, and I wanted my daughter to write it down for me to get it out of my head. This I *did*, as soon as I recovered, but it would have been more effective as the *nightmare* of my fever. My dear child has copied it from my blotted M.S. and will copy another of the same stamp, in a few days. (letter #46, *Letters* 129)

78. For a complete reproduction of the reviews and notices of Moodie's periodical, see Dyer's eminently useful "Appendix A: *The Victoria Magazine* in the 1840s: Reviews and Advertisements" 90-93.

79. Susanna may well have felt that she was primarily addressing her Belleville neighbours, and that the publication of "Rachel Wilde" in her own periodical "might...broaden the horizons of the locals so that they could appreciate her" (Thurston, *The Work of Words* 104). Using the subscription list contained in the final issue of *The Victoria Magazine*, Dyer extrapolates that "Belleville provided the foundation of subscriber support with 260 of the 781 subscribers listed, or thirty-three percent of the subscription base" ("A Periodical" 8-9). In the fifth issue of *The Victoria Magazine* (January 1848) the Moodies note that Belleville's population was "about 3,000 souls" (116); thus the ratio of subscribers to inhabitants was particularly high.

80. Aylmer's place of residence, which is indicated after the poems "The Wreath" and "Address to a Young Poet," is "ThurLOW, C.W" (Canada West). (See *VM* iii.64 and *VM* vii.155.) An article in the January 1848 issue of *VM* (directly following the first installment of "Rachel Wilde") describes the "Township of ThurLOW" as being "situated on the North side of the Bay of Quinte, in the County of Hastings, and the District of Victoria, and within fifteen miles of the head of the Bay." The "Town of Belleville," continues the article, is situated on several lots in the first concession of the Township of ThurLOW. (See "Statistics of the Vigtoria [sic] District: ThurLOW-Belleville," by "Z.," *VM* v.116).

81. Aylmer's story was published in *The Victoria Magazine* as follows: new series v (January 1848): 108-112; .vi (February 1848): 120-25; and vii (March 1848): 146-50.

82. Hamilton Aylmer's complete verse publications in the *Victoria Magazine* include "Ilanthe" (*VM* ii.36), "The Wreath" (*VM* iii.64), "Ode. Written on Revisiting Lake George" (*VM* iv.82-3), "Address to a Young Poet" (*VM* vii.155), and "Lamia" (*VM* viii.176).

83. See, for instance, Moodie's poems "The Old Ash Tree" (*La Belle Assemblée* 3rd series 8 [1828]: 23; rpt *Enthusiasm and Other Poems* [EO] 1831, *LG* 1840-41, *LG* 1849); "Love and Ambition" (signed "Z.Z.," *Athenaeum* 16 January, 1830: 29; rpt *Forget Me Not* for 1831); "Fame" (*EO*, 1831), "Fancy and the Poet" (*EO*, 1831; rpt *LG* February 1840: 111), "The Poet" (*North American Quarterly Magazine* 6 [1835]:262; rpt in *Life in the Clearings*, chapter 3), "To the Memory of Dr. Huskins" (included in *Life in the Clearings*, chapter 2) and "Genius," one of her final publications (*Canadian Monthly and National Review* i.4 [April 1872]:353). Discussions of writing and artistic endeavours (and, often, how they are devalued) animate many of Moodie's tales and prose pieces, including "The Picture Lost at Sea" (*Marshall's Christmas Box, a Juvenile Annual* for 1832: 1522-68; rpt as "The Picture" in *The Violet: A Christmas and New Year's Gift* for 1842); "Rachel Wilde, or Trifles from the Burthen of a Life" (see above); "Trifles from the Burthen of a Life" (*LG* new series 9 [1851]: 97-104, 170-77, 228-35, 258-62, 308-14); *Flora Lyndsay, or Passages in an Eventful Life* (1854); her one essay of literary criticism, "A Word for the Novel Writers" (*LG* new series 9 [1851]: 348-51; rpt as part of "Toronto" in *Life in the Clearings* [1853]); and "My Cousin Tom. A Sketch from Life" (*British American Magazine* 1 [1863]:12-20). There are also several incarnations of the artist in *Roughing It*, including, as Thurston argues, "Tom, Brian, and Malcolm" who are each treated in a separate chapter (chapters 4, 10, and 21 respectively) and all of whom strike Moodie as odd beings. Thurston notes that "[a]s exceptions, they hail her from an ideological position she recognizes" (*The Work of Words*, 148).

84. Anna Sonser claims that this story "reveals some of the dissonance underscoring the act of writing as experienced by some of the students at the [Burlington Ladies'] Academy." The plot, as related by Sonser, is the following:

[The character] Maria expresses frustrations and fears about becoming a 'literary lady,' a bluestocking with no marital possibilities. Her scholarly friend, Leonora, intervenes with a story she herself has just finished composing about a young woman who neglected her correspondence with a potential suitor, losing and then winning him back by the strength of her pen. At story's end, Maria is convinced 'of the necessity of being able to compose' (*Calliopean*, 4). The text delivers the positive aspects of composition as an 'important branch' (3) designed to equip a lady with the tools of social and domestic intercourse while uncovering the dangerous aspects of writing that appear both appealing and terrifying at the same time. Maria must reconcile anxieties about ruining her 'constitution' through excessive study believed dangerous to a woman's health while actively resisting the lure of the literary life towards which Leonora may be heading. The perceived power of the pen is necessarily diluted; a suitor may be won through its force, but that strength is then safely co-opted by the bonds of matrimony. ("Literary Ladies and the Calliopean," 372-73)

85. "We are not going to defend opera dancing," says Moodie in reference to Ellsler, "but we can believe, that many follow it as a profession; who would not be inclined to demand the head of a *saint* [ie., John the Baptist], as payment for the performance." In reference to Lind, a modest, "simple-hearted and amiable person," Moodie praises her God-given "gift of song": "...if she wins money and applause, for the public exhibition of her wonderful gift; what heart has been contaminated by listening to her exquisite natural talent? Perfection in any art or accomplishment, will always command applause; and those who withhold it are far more worthy of censure, than those who frankly yield to the artist his due" (*VM* v.119).

86. Carl Ballstadt, Elizabeth Hopkins, and Michael Peterman make a broader, non-gender-specific remark about Moodie's philanthropy, noting that several of her letters

...reveal a Susanna Moodie much concerned with other authors and with the promotion of talent in Canada, an aspect of her personality also evident in her 1853 "Introduction" to *Mark Hurdlestone* where she called attention to the poems of a poor Irishman of Hastings County named Michael Ryan [a section which is omitted in Robert L. McDougall's 1959 edition of *Life in the Clearings*]. Similarly, in editing the *Victoria Magazine* she gave considerable space to aspiring writers such as Rhoda Ann Page (R.A.P.), Hamilton Alymer, and Thomas MacQueen. (*Letters of a Lifetime*, 80)

It is worth noting that Moodie's support of fellow writers harkens back to her late twenties in England, when, for instance, she politely promoted "a sweet little poem" by her friend, James Bird, in a letter sent in 1828 to Frederic Shoberl, editor of the *Forget-Me-Not* annual. After becoming an established contributor to *The Literary Garland*, she felt free to exercise her authorial status for philanthropic purposes. In March of 1847, for example, she importunes John Gibson to print a poem by George William Lovell, "a resident within the Canadas." The piece had appeared in "one of our provincial papers," and Moodie felt it deserved "a wider circulation": "Oblige me by giving this poem a place in the pages of your excellent periodical, and I am certain that those of your readers who have any taste for fine poetry, will feel grateful for having it presented to their notice." Lovell's poem duly appeared in that month's issue of the *Literary Garland*. (See letters #11 and #41 in *Letters* 28-29, 98.) Other writers seem to have valued Moodie's opinion, as when Charles Sangster "favoured" her with a copy of his first book, *The St. Lawrence and the Saguenay* (1856). In her brief letter of thanks, she assures him that "If the world receives [these poems] with as much pleasure as they have been read by me, your name

will rank high among the gifted sons of song" (letter #62, 28 July 1856; *Letters* 166). Moodie's high opinion of Sangster was to prove correct.

87. Rosanna (Mullins) Leprohon published poetry and romances extensively during four decades of her lifetime, including numerous pieces in *The Literary Garland*, the *Boston Pilot*, the *Montreal Family Herald*, and the *Canadian Illustrated News*. Her best known works include *The Manor House of De Villeraie: A Tale of Canada under the French Dominion* (serialized in the *Family Herald*, 1859-60), *Antoinette de Mirecourt; or, Secret Marrying and Secret Sorrowing* (Montreal, 1864), and *Armand Durand; or, a Promise Fulfilled* (Montreal, 1868).

88. The decision to publish "Fauna" interestingly contravenes Moodie's own stated editorial criteria, given that Louisa Murray was born in Ireland, not Canada. "Fauna," however, is set in the Canadian backwoods, and thus would perhaps have mitigated Murray's non-Canadianness. The following chapter of this thesis explores Louisa Murray's artist fiction, including "Fauna," in detail.

89. The complete notice reads as follows:

We have received, and read with the deepest interest, the beautiful story of 'Fauna, the red flower of Leafy Hollow.' Its talented author, has our warmest thanks. We feel proud of the preference she has given to our unpretending little periodical, as the medium through which this delightful and original tale is to be presented to the world. Its insertion will form the leading attraction of the coming year. (*VM* xi.264)

90. Though the majority of the story is rendered in the first-person, the reader knows that, as in *Frankenstein* and other frame tales, this voice is being reproduced and mediated by the frame narrator.

91. *Ernest Maltravers* was published in 1837.

92. Alciphron's rather painful (and possibly ironic) name-dropping refers to two prominent personages in the British literary landscape at the time. Thomas Moore (1779-1852), whose *Irish Melodies* (1807-34) figures later in Aylmer's story, was "in his lifetime...popular as only Byron [was]; but to-day he ranks far below Wordsworth, Shelley, Keats" (*Chambers Biographical Dictionary* 1926: 673). Charles MacKay (1814-89) was an extremely popular song-writer and apparently successful newspaper editor, of whose prose works only *Popular Delusions* (1841) would have been written at the time of Aylmer's story. Mackay's adopted daughter was the popular novelist of the later nineteenth century, Marie Corelli. (See *Chamber's Biographical Dictionary* 1926: 246, 616).

93. The competition is conceived by Frances' father (Alciphron's uncle), who selfishly wishes to see his daughter take the "laurel crown." Julia's mentor is one Henry Russell, who—in the language of nineteenth-century chivalry—"had discovered her in that obscurity, from which it seemed nothing could extricate her, but a special interposition of providence in her favour" ("AL" 112, 121).

94. The epic is "on the discovery of America by Columbus" ("AL" 149)—a subject that is ironic, in context, inasmuch as it figures a kind of double imperialism: one that is imposed upon a country (America) and one that is permissively "written upon" a female body (Julia Maynard).

95. England's Sir Francis Legatt Chantrey (1781-1841) began as a sculptor and wood-carver, but

made his later reputation—and sizable fortune—in portrait statues. “His busts include those of Watt, Wordsworth, and Scott; his statues Sir Joseph Banks.... Sir John Malcolm.... Francis Horner, Pitt, George IV., and the Duke of Wellington; while his head of Satan, and his ‘Plenty’ designs for Sheaf House, Sheffield, and his ‘Penelope’ at Woburn, are examples of his rare treatment of ideal and imaginative subjects.” He was, of course, a member of the Royal Academy. (See *Chambers Biographical Dictionary* 1926: 199.)

96. American painter, Washington Allston (1779-1843), studied art in Paris and Rome (“where he formed a close intimacy with...Coleridge”), but returned to Boston shortly before becoming a member of the Royal Academy. “His pictures are very numerous, the best being the scriptural subjects” (*Chambers Biographical Dictionary* 1926: 25).

97. In their address “To the Public” in the first issue of *The Victoria Magazine*, the Moodies acknowledged that they could not expect many contributors until the magazine had “secured a sufficient circulation to enable the Proprietor to offer them an adequate remuneration for their services.” Nevertheless, added the Moodies hopefully, “any contributions sent in gratuitously will be thankfully received.” (*VM* i.1, September 1847: n.p.).

98. Irving’s “The Legend of Sleepy Hollow,” in which Ichabod Crane figures, was published in *The Sketch Book of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent.*, in 1819-20. Moodie was undoubtedly familiar with this work, and with its paradigmatic American-ness, given that “*The Sketch Book* was the first American work to gain international literary success and popularity. Its unprecedented success allowed Irving to devote himself to a career as a professional author” (“The Sketch Book,” *Encyclopedia of Literature*, 1040). The name “Ichabod” is the biblical equivalent for “inglorious”—from the story in 1 Sam.4: 1-22 in which the Ark of the Covenant is stolen from a defeated Israel, by the Philistines, and a new baby is named (*Ei-chabod*: “Where is the glory?”) in memory of that atrocity. The early American Puritan writer, Increase Mather, penned *Ichabod, or the Glory Departing* in 1701, and Washington Irving showed himself to be aware of the name’s etymology when he wrote, in his “Legend of Sleepy Hollow,” that “the cognomen of Crane was not inapplicable to his person.” (See Jeffrey, “Ichabod,” in *A Dictionary of Biblical Tradition in English Literature* 371.).

99. Surely subliminal, but interesting nevertheless, are the phonetic similarities between “*Almeria*” (the name Moodie chooses in 1853, in *Roughing It in the Bush*) and *Aylmer* and *Alciphron* (names she had encountered three years before, in *The Victoria Magazine*).

100. See Bina Freiwald’s provocative article, “‘The tongue of woman’: The Language of Self in Moodie’s *Roughing It in the Bush*” (in *Re(Dis)covering Our Foremothers*, 155-72), which takes its name from Moodie’s phrase.

101. The only literal crown—given, like Corinne’s, in a public ceremony—goes to Julia Maynard.

102. That dilemma would continue to be fictionalized, as later stories prove. One notable example, which appeared several years after “Rachel Wilde,” is “The Ballet Dancer,” which was published anonymously in *The Anglo-American Magazine* in August 1853 (one month after the anonymous “The Sculptor’s Career,” discussed in the previous chapter). Briefly, this story centres on two young women who are left in penury by the death of their father. The elder daughter, Mabel, forced to find work to support herself and her younger sister Nelly, opts, as a last resort, for “the stage”—a decision that alienates her from the three elderly sisters for whom

she does needlework. Her "shame" is redeemed through a romantic coincidence—the nephew of the three women falls in love with her and marries her—but the elder women, reminiscent of Rachel Wilde's negative "mothers," do not forgive Mabel until she has suffered both her own illness and the death of her beloved sister Nelly. Mitigated in its romance ending, this story is also surprisingly realistic and polemical about gender issues. By revealing the paucity of work opportunities for women ("[g]overness, work-woman, shop-woman—these are nearly all the careers open to the middle class, until we come to the stage" [189]), it underlines the threat of female poverty. In exposing the emotional and physical cruelty of "slop-house" (factory) masters, it underlines women's victimization by men. And in dramatizing how "respectable" ladies shun fellow women who are driven by economic necessity to unconventional professions, it exposes and damns female hypocrisy. The story ends with a feminist-styled final paragraph that makes a didactic comment on society's judgement of female professions—a comment that echoes, in significant ways, Moodie's defense of novel writers:

And Mabel found that what Jane Thorton had said to her, when she came to borrow coals from her slop-working sister, was true. It is not the profession that degrades, but the heart. The most despised calling may be made honorable by the honor of its professors; nor will any manner of work whatsoever corrupt the nature which is intrinsically pure. The ballet-dancer may be as high-minded as the governess; the slop worker as noble as the artist. It is the heart, the mind, the intention, carried into the work which degrades or ennobles the character; for to the 'pure all things are pure,' and to the impure, all things are occasions of still further evil. (195)

103. In her self-styled "'fragments' of a journal" called *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada*, Jameson writes an astonishing "Preface" which claims, in part, the following: "This little book, the mere result of much thoughtful idleness and many an idle moment, has grown up insensibly out of an accidental promise. It was never intended to go before the world in its present crude and desultory form..." (emphasis mine). See Jameson, *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada*, 1838; rpt Toronto: New Canadian Library, 1990, 9.

104. Moodie's three autobiographical fictions include "Rachel Wilde, or Trifles from the Burthen of a Life" (VM, 1848), "Trifles from the Burthen of a Life" (*The Literary Garland*, 1851), and *Flora Lyndsay, or Passages in an Eventful Life* (London: Bentley, 1854). This latter work Moodie had initially called "Rachel MacGregor," with the further suggestion that it be subtitled "'Trifles from the Burthen of a Life'"—in contrast to Bentley's choice of subtitle, 'the Emigrants.' "The ear of the world, is tired of that word emigrant," says Moodie (letter 52 to Richard Bentley, 30 December 1853, LOL, 142.).

105. Isabella Valancy Crawford, *Malcolm's Katie: A Love Story* (1884), ed. D.M.R. Bentley (London: Canadian Poetry Press, 1994).

Chapter Four

1. "Marguerite Kneller, Artist and Woman" appeared serially in the first volume of *The Canadian Monthly and National Review* (Toronto: Hunter, Rose, and Company) as follows: 1.1 (January 1872): 28-33; 1.2 (February 1872): 107-17; 1.3 (March 1872): 239-47; 1.4 (April 1872): 334-43; 1.5 (May 1872): 432-38; 1.6 (June 1872): 519-26.

2. It is commonly pointed out that this unconventional dramatic formula, "Jack hath not Gill,"

stands in contrast to Shakespeare's later self-referential comment on marriage and endings in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. As Puck squeezes love-juice on Lysander's eyes, he affirms that:

Jack shall have Jill;
Naught shall go ill;
The man shall have his mare again,
And all shall be well. (III.ii.461-63)

See Anne Barton, "Love's Labor's Lost," in *The Riverside Shakespeare*, 2nd ed., 209. As George Hibbard observes, "[n]owhere else in all his work [after *Midsummer Night's Dream*] does Shakespeare mention Jack and Jill again, though marriage as the desired and only satisfactory end of loving, and, by implication, of living too...is the normal outcome of his romantic comedies" (Hibbard, "LLL?" [3]).

3. That Murray knew this novel well is evident from her commentary on it in "Suppression of Genius in Women I: Charlotte and Emily Brontë," published in *The Week* vi.18 (April 5, 1889). Also, Murray's own "Mr. Gray's Strange Story" (1892) borrows *Villette*'s ambiguous ship-wreck ending. See McMullen and Campbell's reprint of this story in *Aspiring Women: Short Stories by Canadian Women, 1880-1900*.

4. Brontë's pentultimate paragraph reads thus:

Here pause: pause at once. There is enough said. Trouble no kind, quiet heart; leave sunny imaginations hope. Let it be theirs to conceive the delight of joy born again fresh out of great terror, the rapture of rescue from peril, the wondrous reprieve from dread, the fruition of return. Let them picture union and a happy succeeding life. (*Villette*, 596)

5. *Stewart's Literary Quarterly Magazine, Devoted to Light and Entertaining Literature* was published in St. John, New Brunswick, between April 1867 and October 1872. The editor and publisher for all but its last three issues was its founder, George Stewart, Jr., whose aim was "to evaluate—and still encourage—Canadian writers by the same standards that he applied to the British and the Americans." Stewart's was "the only Canadian magazine of its day to rely entirely on original contributions and one of the few to pay its contributors." The *Quarterly* attracted little fiction, but published poetry by, among others, Charles Sangster and Alexander McLaughlan (Parker, "Stewart's Literary" 774).

6. "[W]ith remarkably few exceptions," says Heilbrun, "women writers do not imagine women characters with even the autonomy they themselves have achieved" (*Reinventing Womanhood* 71).

7. Leighton points out that Tennyson's "Mariana" (1830) and "The Lady of Shalott" (1832) emblematically render female poets as "reclusive and dying," thereby "exploit[ing] the suicide legend of Sappho as a figure for an art 'embodied' in the sensibility of women" (35).

8. Though an essay, Murray herself refers otherwise to the piece, in a final "Note":

Note.—The preceding 'Story' has been collected from so many different sources, so many slight notices and allusions in magazines and other periodicals, besides longer memoirs and sketches of Miss Landon's life, that, as it would have been wearisome to the reader to name all, the writer has thought it unnecessary to name any. ("The Story of 'L.E.L.'" 146)

9. "The first of the major domestic novelists, [Samuel] Richardson had taught reading women on both sides of the Atlantic the virtues which the lords of creation looked to find in their sisters and

sweethearts: sentiment, submission, sacrifice, and long-suffering" (Huf, *Portrait* 20).

10. See Angela Leighton for a fuller explanation of how "[t]he myth of Hemans as 'holy' and 'Sweet', which she had promulgated in her life and works...[was] [o]n the one hand, a calculated self-projection on the part of the poet and, on the other, an invention of the age which needed it" (*Victorian* 8). Hemans, of course, was popular well into the later nineteenth century. In 1873, one year after Murray's story was published, William Michael Rossetti commented that her poetry appealed "'to many gentle, sweet, pious, and refined souls, in virtue of its thorough possession of the same excellent gifts.'" As Leighton points out, "[b]ehind the mild irony" of Rossetti's adjectives "lies the fact that [Hemans] was still being widely read by 'many'" (*Victorian* 13).

11. Murray could not have known Christina Rossetti's sonnet, "In An Artist's Studio" (1856), since it was not published during Rossetti's—or Murray's—lifetime. (Both women died, within months of each other, in 1894.) Nevertheless, the poem has interesting resonances with the critique of female iconography that Murray puts forward in "Marguerite Kneller." "In An Artist's Studio" is "believed to be based on a visit to [Dante Gabriel Rossetti's] studio, and his many portraits of [his mistress] Elizabeth Siddel" (Marsh, *Poems* 433 n.52). The poem can be read as a devastating critique of the male artist's use of the female muse, "Not as she is, but as she fills his dream" (l. 14). The woman ends the poem depleted, if not vampirized ("He feeds upon her face by day and night" [l. 9]). In the meantime, the mirror gives back her various aliases:

A queen in opal or ruby dress,

A nameless girl in freshest summer greens,

A saint, an angel;—every canvas means

The same one meaning, neither more nor less. (Rossetti, *Poems* 52; emphasis mine)

12. I owe this insight to my colleague Mary Arseneau, a professor of Pre-Raphaelite poetry and nineteenth-century British literature at the University of Ottawa.

13. These include "Fauna, or the Red Flower of Leafy Hollow" (published in *The Literary Garland* in 1851), "Settlers of Long Arrow" (published in *Once a Week* in 1861), "The Cited Curate" (published in *The British American Magazine* in 1863), "Marguerite Kneller, Artist and Woman" (published in *The Canadian Monthly and National Review* in 1872), "Carmina" (published in *The Canadian Monthly and National Review* later in 1872), and "Little Dorinn: a Fenian Story" (published in *The Canadian and Monthly Review* in 1873).

14. These include "A Story of a Christmas Rose" (published in *The Week* in January 1890) and "Mr. Gray's Strange Story" (published in *The Week* in February 1892).

15. The better known of the long poems is "Merlin's Cave." It appeared in two lengthy installments (since it runs to more than 500 lines) in the *Maritime Monthly Magazine* in February and March of 1875, and was subsequently reprinted in *The Week* in December 1892 as "Merlin's Cave[:] a Legend in Rhyme." Murray's other long poem is "Forsaken," which was published in May 1872 in *The Canadian Monthly and National Review*. Her short poetry consists of "A Canadian Valentine" (published in *Stewart's Quarterly* in April 1869), and "One Woman's Valentine" (published in *The Canadian Monthly and National Review* in February 1872).

16. Murray was a prolific essayist. See the bibliography at the end of this thesis for a complete list of her publications in this genre. It is worth noting here that the bibliography that I provide for Murray is, to my knowledge, the first complete cataloguing of her works, and includes three

essays that are not included in Thomas Vincent's recent CD-rom (the "Index to Pre-1900 English Language Canadian Cultural and Literary Magazines"). Those essays—"A Few Words about Some Literary Women," "Notes on George Eliot's Life," and "Old Maids, Ancient and Modern"—are attributed to Murray in articles written about her by her nineteenth-century Canadian contemporaries Ethelwyn Wetherald (in 1888) and Agnes Maule Machar (in 1894).

17. These include "Heaveysege's *Saul*" (published in *The Canadian Monthly and National Review* in September 1876) and "The St. Lawrence and the Saguenay [by Sangster]" (published in *The Week* in December 1888).

18. *Laura Secord, the Heroine of 1812: A Drama and Other Poems* was published in 1887 by Robinson (Toronto), but, as Murray's article notes, Curzon herself "undertook the expense of its publication" and became "heavily in debt to her publisher" due to lack of adequate sales (Murray, "An Appeal to Patriotic Canadians," *The Week* 1889: 362).

19. Murray's first published story, "Fauna, or the Red Flower of Leafy Hollow," appeared in *The Literary Garland* as authored "By Miss L.A. Murray" (vol 9.4, April 1851: 145). Judith Zelmanovits maintains that "there is no indication that [Murray] used a pseudonym," but notes that "she did use her initials, L.M., for several articles in the *Week* and for two short poems" ("Louisa Murray" 39). Thomas B. Vincent concurs, citing no pseudonym, but noting that Murray published under the initials "L.M." during the 1870s and 1880s in *The Week* and the *Canadian Monthly and National Review*. By contrast, Agnes Wetherald used at least seven pseudonyms in the 1880s in *Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly and National Review*, including "Smarty," "Doc," "The Judge," and "Lily Cologne." (See Vincent, *A Dictionary of Known Pseudonyms* pp.)

That the use of pseudonyms was endemic can be surmised from an 1877 article in *The Canadian Journal of Science, Literature, and History*, titled "Canadian Noms-de-Plume Identified" (April 1877). Here the writer, a (Mr.?) Scadding, concentrates on "the products of the first clearings" in the "Canadian field of letters" (for example, Professor Daniel Wilson's anagrammatic pen name "Wil. D'Leina"), rather than the workers in the "recently opened spaces" in that field—a distinction which itself indicates a multi-generational use of pseudonyms in Canadian letters. Scadding does, however, admiringly mention the contemporary "Fidelis" (Agnes Maule Machar), a pseudonym which he notes has become "[d]istinguished...in the departments of poetry, of prose-fiction, of metaphysical discussion" and "has won and will retain a place in our nascent literature" ("Canadian" 457).

20. Even before Murray had seriously commenced her publishing career, she was included in Henry J. Morgan's *Sketches of Celebrated Canadians* (1862) in an article that asked, in its first sentence, "Is a true Canadian literary celebrity standing at the head of the list of our female writers [?]" (*Sketches* 94).

21. It is somewhat promising that Sarah Anne Curzon, who was left out of the first edition of *The Oxford Companion to Canadian Literature* (1983), has been included in the second edition of this text (272). However, one of the more celebrated recent critical overviews of Canadian literature, W.H. New's *Land Sliding: Imagining Space, Presence, and Power in Canadian Writing* (1997), displays, in its pre-twentieth-century choices, a disconcerting lacuna. Pilar Cuder-Domínguez describes the gap as follows:

a marked preference for realistic, referential modes...[that] entails an absence of female writers in the first two chapters, if one leaves aside the expected comments on Frances Brooke (as the first novelist), Susanna Moodie and Catherine Parr Traill (as standing for pioneer literature), and Sara Jeannette Duncan (as spokesperson for the superior value of

realism). (Cuder-Domínguez, "Theorizing the Nation" 164-65)

22. Zelmanovits reprints a portion of Moodie's January 13th letter that contains further practical advice to the young Louisa Murray. Curiously, Wetherald omits this comment from her 1888 article:

If remuneration is any object to you, I have named the sum I receive [five pounds per sheet], thinking it might afford you a clue to fix your own terms with Mr. Lovell...In disposing of MS by the sheet, I always reserve the right of copy, as at some future time I may wish to publish such articles in a collective form. ("Louisa Murray" 40)

23. In speaking of the demises of *The Victoria Magazine* and *The Literary Garland*, Wetherald's commentary has a decidedly satiric edge:

These references to the poor opinion held by Canadian people of their nation's literature have by this time a sadly familiar sound, and one cannot doubt that long practice in the art of underrating or wholly neglecting the products of home talent has brought our countrymen to their present admirable proficiency in it. ("Some Canadian Literary Women" 335).

24. Letter from John Lovell, 20 March, 1851 (Zelmanovits 41, 42).

25. Lovell wrote to Murray that although he would have been pleased to accept more of her stories, "for I am convinced that they would add much to the merits of the *Garland*," he was unable to do so: "...the miserable support which the *Garland* receives from the Canadian public will compel me to discontinue its publication at the close of this year." Letter from John Lovell, March 20, 1851 (Zelmanovits 41, 42).

26. Louisa Murray was the eldest of nine children born to an Irish father (who fought with distinction in the Niagara region in the War of 1812) and a Canadian mother (whose own father was Town Major of Halifax). Louisa was born in Carisbrooke, Isle of Wight, where her father was stationed after his marriage. Shortly after her birth, the family took up residence in County Wicklow, Ireland, from whence they emigrated some twenty years later, in 1841, to a backwoods farm on Wolfe Island, near Kingston (Zelmanovits 39).

27. "Sardanapalus," says *Chambers' Biographical Dictionary*, is "the Greek form of Assur-bani-Pal, king of Assyria (669-640B.C.)...With all the ambition but without the genius of his father, he was a generous patron of art and letters, and his reign marks the zenith of Assyrian splendour..." (2nd ed. 1926, 823).

28. Murray quotes from the following sources: *As You Like It*, *Winter's Tale*, sonnets, and *Two Gentlemen of Verona* (Shakespeare); *The Maid's Tragedy* (Beaumont and Fletcher); *Edward II* (Marlowe); *The Duchess of Malfi* (Webster).

29. Murray quotes from *The [Enchanted] Island* ("Dryden and Davenant's curious and extravagant fantasy based on *The Tempest* [and] printed in 1670" [Best and Brightman, "Introduction" xxviii]), as well as from Carew's "The Spring."

30. Murray quotes from *Marino Faliero* and *The Lament of Tasso* (Byron); from *Endymion* (Keats); from *The Ancient Mariner* (Coleridge).

31. Murray quotes from Felicia Hemans' poem "Thekla's Song: or the Voice of a Spirit."

published in the *New Monthly Magazine* in January of 1825.

32 . These unidentified works and writers include the following: *The Lament of the Birds of Passage*. From the German of De la Motte Tonqué, Rose, and Coul Coppagh.

33. This is possibly an allusion to Tennyson's 1855 poem *Maud: A Monodrama*, whose speaker "is haunted by the ghost of a dead girl that he has loved" (Turner 132):

O, art thou sighing for Lebanon

In the long breeze that streams to thy delicious East,

Sighing for Lebanon.

Dark cedar...(xviii: 15-18; Tennyson, *Idylls of the King and a Selection of Poems*, 313)

Obviously, this passage itself invokes the Biblical cedars of Lebanon.

34. Wetherald writes the following:

Mr. Grant Allen, whose early home was in the near neighbourhood of the Murrays, whose intimate family friend he was, recalls in one of his charming papers the impression left on his boyish mind by the atmosphere of culture and refinement that pervaded that home in the backwoods. Here was written *Fauna*...("Some Canadian Literary Women" 335).

35. Judith Zelmanovits quotes the following description of the family home on Wolfe Island. The description is excerpted from an unpublished paper titled "Life of Louisa Murray," written by Louisa Murray's niece, Mary Louisa Murray, in 1923. As of 1986, when Zelmanovits's article was published, all unpublished documents were in the possession of Louisa Murray King (Louisa Murray's grand-niece), in North Andover, Massachusetts:

This island [Woolf Island] was inhabited by a rough class of settlers; sailors and lumbermen chiefly. The only means of communication with Kingston was...a scow...At the ferry landing there were two small taverns and a general store and Post Office where the mail was kept in a tin milk pan for everyone to help himself. These were the only signs of civilization...Here Miss Murray encountered most of the hardships and privations which the early settlers in the backwoods of Canada had to endure...The absence of all congenial society and still more the absence of all access to books were sometimes felt as a privation. (qtd. in Zelmanovits 39)

36. The story appeared in London's *Once A Week*, volume 5, 1861, on the following pages: 421-29, 449-55, 477-85, 505-12, 533-39, 561-69, 589-97, 617-23, 645-51, 673-79, 701-5.

37. For a related, though distinctive argument, see D.M.R. Bentley's "'Breaking the Cake of Custom': The Atlantic Crossing as a Rubicon for Female Emigrants to Canada?" in McMullen and Campbell's *Re(Dis)covering Our Foremothers: Nineteenth-Century Canadian Women Writers* (91-122, and especially 95-96).

38. Of Wetherald's 1888 article on Murray, Machar makes the following observation in her 1894 obituary tribute:

Some years ago, in an otherwise pleasant sketch of her work by a Canadian writer, there appeared a criticism, which, to the present writer, seemed uncalled for and unjust, and which could not have failed to wound [Murray] in a sensitive point, a remark to the effect that her characters were not lifelike and real. How they may have struck others, of course, one cannot say but to the present writer there did not seem any lack of reality about her literary creations, insight into character being one of her strong points...("A

 Loss" 1063-64)

39. In chapter eleven (which is prefaced with an epigraph from Davenant's and Dryden's *The [Enchanted] Island*, beginning "The gentle savage of the wild..."), readers are told that "Of religion, [Fauna] entertained strange and visionary conceptions, the fruit of seeds sown in early childhood, which no efforts could banish from her mind" ("Fauna" 249).

40. In the first two of this poem's three stanzas, Keats imagines a tree and a brook that, in the midst of a "frozen time" (ie., "In drear-nighted December"), "ne'er remember" their summer-time lives, and thus do not sorrow for that lost joy. The third stanza compares the forgetful response of Nature (which itself is founded on the knowledge of springtime's regeneration) with that of men and women, who cannot help but "Writh[e]...at passed joy" (l. 20). See *The Poems of John Keats*, ed. Miriam Allott (London and New York: Longman, 1970; rpt 1989): 287-88.

41. Compare to the last two lines of "Ode to a Nightingale":
 Was it a vision, or a waking dream?
 Fled is that music:—Do I wake or sleep? (ll. 79-80)

42. In George Eliot's novel, Gwendolen Harleth has the following exchange with her mother, Mrs. Davilow:

'I think that a higher voice is more tragic: it is more feminine: and the more feminine a woman is, the more tragic it seems when she does desperate actions.'

'There may be something in that,' said Mrs. Davilow, languidly. 'But I don't know what good there is in making one's blood creep. And if there's anything horrible to be done, I should like it to be left to the men.'

'Oh mamma, you are so dreadfully prosaic! As if all the great poetic criminals were not women! I think the men are poor cautious creatures!'

'Well, dear, and you—who are afraid to be alone in the night—I don't think you would be very bold in crime, thank God.'

'I am not talking about reality, mamma,' said Gwendolen, impatiently. (*Daniel Deronda* 85)

43. These lines read as follows:

Adieu! the fancy cannot cheat so well
 As she is famed to do, deceiving elf.
 Adieu! adieu! thy plaintive anthem fades. (ll. 73-75)

44. This King is undoubtedly meant to be Louis-Phillipe (1773-1850). Prior to his reign from 1830 to 1848, he had fought in the National Guard, "renounced his titles, and assumed the surname Egalite." To avoid arrest, he escaped into Austria, and lived in Switzerland, the United States, and England before returning, on the Restoration, to claim his throne. He was popular in Paris (though not in the court), and under the reign of "le Roi-Citoyen" "[t]he country prospered...and the middle classes amassed riches." Political corruption, reactionary violence, and yet another revolution forced him to abdicate in 1848. He "escaped to England as 'Mr. Smith'," and died there in 1850 ("Louis-Philippe," *Chambers Biographical Dictionary*, 1926, 604).

45. Murray uses Mère Monica's vivid descriptions of the countryside of her childhood to illustrate the truth of the Wordsworthian sentiment that "benign nature... 'Never yet betrayed the heart that loved her!'" ("MK" 435). As Mère Monica tells her "oft-told tale," "a breath of peace

and quietness, as if blown from that simple country life[,] seem[s] to pass over the weary girl's spirit" ("MK" 434). Two years later, in her "Story of L.E.L.," Murray would invoke Nature's same restorative powers, in conjunction with the line from Wordsworth—but this time in more directly didactic language:

A great poet, wise enough to steer clear of the rocks and shoals of passion and self-will, on which so many luckless bards have wrecked their gallant barks, and who found his happiness in peaceful home joys, in quiet duties, and in the love of Nature, that

'Never did betray the heart that loved her,'

has told us, singing of Burns and Chatterton,—

'Poets do begin in gladness,

But thereof comes in the end despondency and madness.' ("The Story of L.E.L."

131)

46. See Keats's "Ode to Psyche" (*The Poems of John Keats* 514-21).

47. See Elizabeth Errington's "Ladies' Academies and 'Seminaries of Respectability': Training 'Good' Women of Upper Canada" in *Rethinking Canada: the Promise of Women's History* (1997).

⁴⁸ That Murray does not signal her Shakespearian source by means of quotation marks may mean that she did not intend to invoke the muderously ambitious, progressively-thwarted Macbeth. Nevertheless, "cabined, cribbed, confined" is that character's memorable response in an exchange with one of the men whom he has charged to murder Banquo and Banquo's son Fleance:

Mur. Most royal sir, Fleance is scap'd.

Macb. Then comes my fit again. I had else been perfect.

Whole as the marble, founded as the rock,

As broad and general as the casing air;

But now I am cabin'd, cribb'd, confin'd, bound in

To saucy doubts and fears. (III.iv: 19-24)

49. In typical Murray fashion, of course, neither quotation is identified. One can only assume that author, title, character, and context would have been familiar to Murray's readership.

50. Murray slightly alters the line from Shakespeare, which reads in the *Riverside Shakespeare's* adoption of the second Quarto text, "Like sweet bells jangled out of time, and harsh." The first Folio's substitution of "tune" for "time" is often considered more felicitous, however, as Murray's memorial reconstruction attests. See *Hamlet, Riverside Shakespeare* 2nd ed., 1209, 1234-35.

51. Murray's wording seems to improve on the original, which is the following:

How dull it is to pause, to make an end,

To rust unburnish'd, not to shine in use! (II. 22-23)

See "Ulysses" in *The Poetical Works of Tennyson*, ed. G. Robert Stange (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1974): 88-89.

52. The popularity of *The Princess*, as John Killham notes, was nearly unparalleled "[f]or over sixty years": in the thirty years that followed its publication in 1847, "[n]o less than seventeen editions appeared in England" (*Tennyson and THE PRINCESS* 5). How many North American editions might have appeared, in pirated and unpirated forms, has yet to be determined.

53. In 1869, in his address to a Mechanic's Institute audience "composed exclusively of ladies" (an address reprinted as "Higher Education for Women" in *The Canadian Journal of Science, Literature, and History*), Toronto's Professor Daniel Wilson redeemed what he saw as the "jest" in Tennyson's lines by discerning "the real beauty of sweet girl-graduates in whom all that most gracefully adapts itself to the retiring virtues and true modesty of womanhood, shall prove perfectly compatible with the highest mental culture" (312). His rhetoric aims at accommodating women's education to maternal feminism (underlined in his later invocation of the Prince's famous speech from Book VII of *The Princess*), but his goal—to establish Ontario's first program of higher education for women—is sincere. The following year, 1870, "Diana"'s scathing article on 'Woman's Rights' in *Stewart's Quarterly* reverts to the original spirit of Tennyson's lines, adding that all Lilia-like "female Socrates"' would undoubtedly "yield the palm when *their* 'Prince' should come, [and] would, with high-souled [Princess] 'Ida' call themselves in very truth, but 'Queens of farce'" ("Woman's Rights" 73). It would appear that Sara Anne Curzon's blank verse comedy, *The Sweet Girl Graduate*, published in Toronto's satirical *Grip* magazine in 1882, was a rare attempt simultaneously to make a feminist political statement and to dethrone, as it were, a despotic literary commonplace. "Written at a time when women were barred from much higher education," note McMullen and Campbell, "the comedy features a cross-dressing heroine who obtains top honours at university, subverting male pretensions to intellectual superiority" ("Sarah Anne Curzon" 229). Two years later, in 1884, the first-ever critical "Study" of Tennyson's *The Princess* was penned and published by Halifax-born Samuel Edward Dawson, of Dawson Brothers Publishers of Montreal. Dawson says nothing of "sweet girl graduates," but much of woman as mother and "priestess" of hearth, home, and "Love" (*A Study* 57).

54. See *The Princess. A Medley*, 1847; 1850. Ed. Andrew J. George (Boston: D.C. Heath and Co. Publishers, 1896; rpt. 1902).

55. A review for 1875 (by E. C. Stedman), displays a typical 1870s claims for "the accord" that the poem apparently represented to a contemporary audience:

...*The Princess* has a distinct purpose,—the illustration of woman's struggles, aspirations, and proper sphere; and the conclusion is one wherewith the instincts of a cultured people are so thoroughly in accord, that some are used to answer, when asked to present their views of the 'woman question,' 'you will find it at the close of *The Princess*.' (qtd. in George, "Introduction" xv)

56. The final words of the inset tale comprise the Prince's imperative proposal:

'Indeed I love thee: come.
Yield thyself up: my hope and thine are one:
Accomplish though my manhood and thyself:
Lay thy sweet hands in mine and trust to me.' (*The Princess* VII:342-45)

57. The image of Marguerite talking to Delacroix but observed by Maurice anticipates, in a literary venue, the gendered commentary of Mary Cassat's painting, "At the Opera" in which an ardent woman is caught in a man's gaze. A visual "quotation" of the Cassat painting was later included by Monet in his "Les Follies" to signal the serious New Woman at the opera; in other words, the presence of intellectual women in public life. (From a lecture by art historian Griselda Pollack, University of Leeds, 24 September 1998, CBC Radio I, 7-10 p.m.)

58. It seems possible that Murray's story, in this regard, served as a model for a short story published two years later in the *Canadian Illustrated News* (15 and 22 January 1876). "The

Musician's Marriage," by Mary Healy, is framed by the lively gossip-session of a group of musicians and a single, outspoken painter. The object of their mirth is the marriage of the great and haughty Camille Saintis, a man who evangelizes, as it were, that "[f]eminine influence is the bane of our modern civilization," yet who, by story's end, has been shown by his demure yet talented wife that "feminine influence" (that is, both the be-musing power of women, and more importantly, their own ability to perform admirably as musicians) is generative as well as generous.

59 Murray's reference is to Goethe's third *Bildungsroman*, namely *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre* (1821-29), the sequel to *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre* (*William Meister's Apprenticeship*, 1796, discussed as a prototype in chapter one of this thesis). Clearly, Murray was aware not only of Goethe's novels but also of the cultural currency of their legacy—a legacy which, it would appear, was considerably watered down by the 1870s.

60. The fact that Murray died a mere two weeks after Fowler is perhaps a more romantically interesting coincidence.

61 The *Dictionary of Canadian Biography's* entry on Dawson details his many important contributions to Canadian literature. These include his thirty-year career in book selling and publishing, his municipal and provincial committee work on education and the arts, his government employment (as queen's printer), his leadership as president or vice-president of numerous boards and societies, and his expertise in policy issues and negotiations on Canadian and international copyright. In his spare time, it would seem, he also produced "a great number of books, articles, essays, and addresses" (278). In recognition of such accomplishments, he was awarded various honours and degrees and was elected to the Royal Society of Canada. His great friend, Duncan Campbell Scott, wrote about him with warm appreciation. Notably, Dawson's wife, "Annie Dawson...was also active in arts organizations, and served as president of the Women's Canadian Historical Society of Ottawa from 1901 to 1903 (278). (See Parker, "Samuel Edward Dawson" 276-78.)

62. "Dear Sir," begins Tennyson's letter to Dawson. "I thank you for your able and thoughtful essay on *The Princess*. You have seen, amongst other things, that if women ever were to play such freaks the burlesque and the tragic might go hand-in-hand" ("Preface" viii).

Appendix A

1. S.F. Wise calls it "a union explicitly designed to submerge and anglicize the French" ("Canadians View the United States," in *God's Peculiar People* 124).

2. Old nationalisms, it would seem, die hard. As premier of Nova Scotia in 1868, William Annand, a disciple of Joseph Howe, voiced his "angry opposition to Confederation" and his support for annexation (Cross, 16).

3. Anti-annexationist George Brown, outspoken editor of the Toronto *Globe*, was particularly vehement about expressing his "personal destestation of slavery," accusing Americans of a kind of "'national hypocrisy'" for denouncing despotism in other countries yet permitting slavery within its own borders (Wise 122).

Appendix B

1. There is a tantalizing possibility that "C.H." is, as Thomas B. Vincent contends, "Caroline Hayward of Rice Lake, Ontario," who published under that initial set during the 1850s in *The Maple Leaf* (a children's magazine, July 1852-December 1854) and possibly in *The Literary Garland* (Vincent's question mark casts some doubt about this latter venue). Given, however, the vehemence and sarcasm of "Contemporaneous American Authors," as well as its date (1844, thus too early for Vincent's claim), I strongly doubt that the piece was written by Caroline Hayward, or any other woman. I would be delighted, of course, to be proven wrong.
2. "We except from this sweeping censure," says C.H., "the Harper Brothers, Carey and Hart of Philadelphia, and latterly the New World Office. But the rest are Vandals of the worst description—Goths, Visigoths—they overrun everything with barbarous mistakes. Their typography is a blur, their ink, smut—their compositors appear to have stood on their heads—and they themselves are cheats—villanous cheats of the worst kind!...Then what do they issue?—Herbert's—Mancur's—Ingraham's, mawkish and contemptible tales; and a thousand others too numerous and too worthless to be mentioned" (550). "America," says C.H. in a final paragraph, "should be ashamed, and with a determined effort, should crash such vile and abominable trash, growing like tares among the wheat—" (553).
3. Complete with C.H.'s scornful italics and parenthesis, here is Christine's offensive comment:
 "Well I *am* sure (we give it after the American style of speaking) rejoined Christine, "our forefathers toiled *very* much for us, on *this very* farm, and knew they should never live to reap the fruits of their labour; and it will be no great hardship if we suffer the evils of war to make *our—those who come after us!!—free and independent!!*" (552)
4. C.H. notes that Christine's inability to utter the word "posterity" reminds one of "the laughable story told by Sam Slick, where Miss Jemima, wanting to tell Sam that her brother was a coxswain, evades that obnoxious cognomen by every possible subterfuge; and at length, rushing from the room, screams out 'Roosterswain!'" (552).
5. See Anna Sonser's revealing article, "Literary Ladies and The Calliopean: English Studies at the Burlington Ladies' Academy (1846-51)," *University of Toronto Quarterly* 64.3 (Summer 1995), 368-80.

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