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Scottish Romanticism and its impact on early Canadian Literature

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Philosophy

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Abstract

This research considers the impact of Scottish romanticism on the construction of literary identity in the Canadas prior to Confederation (1867). I argue that early Scottish dominance in literary Canada, and similarities faced by both countries in defining a sense of self—including participation in a wider empire (or Union), populations divided by language and religion, and the need for a distinct identity in the face of a dominant neighbour to the south—all contributed to a tendency on the part of Canadians to look to Scotland as a model. Through an examination of early Canadian literature and on-going British constructions of the colony, the thesis considers the manner in which Scottish romantic strategies of literary nationalism are deployed and manipulated in the process of articulating a Canadian identity. Particular attention is paid to the works of John Galt and Major John Richardson, while tropes examined include the construction of landscape and settlement narratives, stadial histories, the historical novel, national tale and the depiction of a national history, and the manipulation of a romanticised Scottish military past in constructing Canadian history.

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1 'Originate a History': Considering Scottish Influence on Canadian Literary Identity

In 1858, Thomas D'Arcy McGee, a future Father of Canadian Confederation, declared to the inhabitants of British North America that '[e]very country, every nationality, every people, must create and foster a national literature, if it is their wish to preserve a distinct identity.'¹ In a series of articles published in 1857-58 in his Montreal periodical, the *New Era*, McGee thus proposed the concept of a distinct and unified Canadian national literature, and defended its worth, even prior to Confederation.² McGee had long been aware of the power of print culture to shape identity. As a teenage immigrant in Boston, he wrote for and eventually edited the *Boston Pilot* from 1842-45.³ Daniel O'Connell was impressed with the 'inspired utterances of a young exiled Irish boy in America' and McGee was offered the editorship of the Dublin *Freeman's Journal*.⁴ Returning to Ireland, McGee's politics grew fiercer, and he became associated with the Young Ireland movement, leaving the *Journal* to edit *The Nation*. McGee was heavily involved in attempts to foster a national literature in Ireland, producing two histories for the Library of Ireland. After the failed rebellion of 1848, McGee fled Ireland for America, and in the next decade established the *New York Nation* and the *American Celt* (11). During a tour of British North America, however, McGee found the Irish to be more fully integrated and accepted in society; he later described Canada as 'a peaceful Province, which has done [the Irish] no wrong, but where alone, in North America, their race has always had the fullest recognition.'⁵ In 1857 McGee moved to Montreal at the invitation of the local community to found a new journal, the *New Era*.⁶

¹ Thomas D'Arcy McGee, 'Protection for Canadian Literature,' in *Towards a Canadian Literature*, ed. by Douglas M. Daymond and Leslie G. Monkman, 2 vols (Ottawa: Tecumseh, 1984), I, pp. 43-45, p. 43.

² Carl Ballstadt, 'Thomas D'Arcy McGee as a Father of Canadian Literature,' *Studies in Canadian Literature/Études en littérature canadienne*, 1:1 (1976)
<<http://journals.hil.unb.ca/index.php/scl/article/view/7827/8884>> [accessed 16 July 2012].

³ Henry J. O'C. Clarke, *A Short Sketch of the Life of the Hon. Thomas D'Arcy McGee, M.D.* (Montreal: John Lovell, 1868), p. 10.

⁴ [Matthew Russell], 'The Death and Letters of D'Arcy McGee,' *The Irish Monthly*, 17:187 (January 1889): 1-8, p. 2; Fennings Taylor, *Thos. D'Arcy McGee: Sketch of his Life and Death* (Montreal: John Lovell, 1868), p. 9.

⁵ Thomas D'Arcy McGee, *The Irish Position in British and in Republican North America: A Letter to the Editors of the Irish Press Irrespective of Party*, 2nd edn (Montreal: M. Longmoore, 1866), p. 15.

⁶ Robin B. Burns, 'D'Arcy McGee and the Economic Aspects of New Nationality,' *Historical Papers/Communications historiques*, 2:1 (1967): 95-104, *Érudit*
<<http://id.erudit.org/iderudit/030670ar>> [accessed 12 November 2012], p. 97.

McGee's politics had changed drastically over his life—as a youth in Boston he had supported the Fenians and American annexation of the Canadas. In his journal, and numerous public orations, McGee now championed Canadian unification. Throughout his career in Canada, McGee promoted a vision of Canada as 'one great nationality, bound, like the shield of Achilles, by the blue rim of ocean'.⁷ In achieving this concept of the nation, McGee encouraged Canadians to 'create a state and originate a History, "which the world will not willingly let die"'.⁸ Indeed, Confederation was to be valued precisely because union would 'give a distinct historical existence to British America'.⁹ While McGee's changing views famously culminated in his characterisation of Young Ireland as 'politically [...] a pack of fools; but [...] honest in our folly,'—an outburst that would lead to his assassination—his plans to foster a unified Canadian nation and identity used many of Young Ireland's tactics, including the encouragement of a national literature and a focus on history.¹⁰

McGee's consistent emphasis on uniting differing factions and areas in the Canadas underscores the fragmentary nature of society in British North America in the period. Colonial outposts were isolated and scattered throughout the North American frontier. When Britain acquired Lower Canada at the conclusion of the Seven Years' War, its colonial holdings covered a wide geographical area populated by First Nations and Metis people, French *habitants*, British immigrants, and the inhabitants of the American colonies, all of whom had recently been pitted against each other. Even within the British population, regional and religious identities and national ties often trumped a collective identity. As British North America established itself, such an identity began to take shape. The American Revolution, and the War of 1812, provided the inhabitants of British

⁷ Thomas D'Arcy McGee, 'Constitutional Difficulties Between Upper and Lower Canada' in *Speeches and Addresses, Chiefly on the Subject of British American Union* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1865), 154-176, p. 175.

⁸ Thomas D'Arcy McGee, 'Intercolonial Relations and the Intercolonial Railway' in *Speeches and Addresses, Chiefly on the Subject of British American Union* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1865), 68-82, p. 82.

⁹ Thomas D'Arcy McGee, *Two Speeches on the Union of the Provinces* (Quebec: Hunter, Rose, 1865), p. 10.

¹⁰ [Thomas D'Arcy McGee], 'The Hon. Thomas D. McGee's Twenty Years' Experience of Irish Life in America,' *Freeman's Journal and Daily Commercial Advertiser* (Dublin, Ireland) 98, 17 May 1865, 4 pages, p. 4. David A. Wilson has analysed Irish reactions to this speech. See 'Thomas D'Arcy McGee's Wexford Speech of 1865: Reflections on Revolutionary Republicanism and the Irish in North America,' *The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies*, 26:2-27:1 (Fall 2000-Spring 2001): 9-24, JSTOR [accessed 26 February 2011].

For a thorough consideration of McGee, including his politics and assassination, see David A. Wilson, *Thomas D'Arcy McGee: Passion, Reason, and Politics, 1825-1857* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008) and *Thomas D'Arcy McGee, Volume 2: The Extreme Moderate, 1857-1868* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011).

America with a collective enemy and a common cause. More crucially for the boosters of Confederation, the conflicts also provided a history of military action and remembered heroism.

In 1841, in the wake of rebellions in Lower Canada and Lord Durham's Report, Upper and Lower Canada were united as the Province of Canada, while the maritime provinces remained independent. In the following decade, Canada, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick and Newfoundland all gained responsible governments, 'dependent on and responsible to the majority' in the provincial parliament.¹¹ The recently founded colonies of British Columbia and Vancouver Island also offered the new possibility of a united colony spanning the continent. In 1859, a delegation to London raised this possibility before Parliament, but little progress was made. Continued regional tensions led to on-going political strife in the province of Canada, while Britain encouraged a union of the maritime provinces, to be discussed in Charlottetown in 1864.¹² Canada asked to send representatives to discuss the province's joining the proposed union. Following the Charlottetown and Quebec conferences of 1864, the provincial governments debated the issue. In July of 1867, Canada East and West, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick entered into Confederation as the Dominion of Canada. Manitoba entered Confederation in 1870, British Columbia the following year and Prince Edward Island in 1873. Alberta and Saskatchewan would be established in 1880, and entered Confederation in 1905, while Newfoundland remained staunchly independent until 1949. The gradual unification process means that questions of national identity are necessarily vexed in this period.

Thomas D'Arcy McGee, explaining his acceptance of British rule in Canada but not Ireland, focused on the need for liberty, stability and absolute equality before the government.¹³ In promoting Confederation, McGee sought to transcend racial, regional and religious boundaries. He recalled the First Nations confederacies, reminded French-Canadians that the colonies had once been united and emphasised the ability of Catholics and Protestants to live amicably (*Two Speeches* 11, 25). His insistence on the development of a national history, and his cultivation of and contribution to a national literature, would

¹¹ W[illiam]. R. Brock, *Britain and the Dominions*, British Commonwealth Series I (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, [1951] 2011), p. 212.

¹² For details see E[dward]. C[hichester]. Bolton and H[orace]. H[ervey]. Webber, *The Confederation of British North America* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1866); John Hamilton Gray, *Confederation: or, The Political and Parliamentary History of Canada, from the Conference at Quebec, in October, 1864, to the Admission of British Columbia, in July, 1871*, 2 vols (Toronto: Copp, Clark, 1872).

¹³ Thomas D'Arcy McGee, 'The Future of Canada' in *Speeches and Addresses Chiefly on the Subject of British-American Union* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1865), 83-93, p. 87.

also provide a space in which British North Americans could develop a new collective identity. McGee's belief in the power of national literature to mould identity had its basis in the development of romantic nationalism at the end of the eighteenth century. Although defining Scottish romanticism is difficult, the defining characteristic of this literature was its deliberate cultivation of a Scottish national and cultural identity in the wake of the Union. This thesis takes as its central theme the influence of a Scottish model, particularly the development of a Scottish romantic identity, on British North American and Canadian attempts to develop a similar literature and articulate a national—or even provincial—identity.

British North America was established as a settlement colony, rather than as one of the exploitative colonies viewed by British colonists as places of sojourn.¹⁴ Thomas Rolph wrote in 1841 of Canada as a 'refuge' compared to the instability of the Indies.¹⁵ British colonies in the West Indies and Caribbean attracted a professional class, 'most of whom had no intention of spending the rest of their days in the tropics,' and were therefore anxious to make a fortune and return to Britain.¹⁶ India was seen in much the same light, and prior to 1833 the British East India Company restricted travel into the country.¹⁷ Emigrants to Canada, and settler colonies like Australia and New Zealand, by contrast, viewed their relocation as permanent, while 'colonial administrators' aimed to 'build in Canada an "overseas extension" or a replica of British society.'¹⁸ While there are a number of similarities between the colonisation of Canada and Australia, a few key differences make direct comparisons problematic. Although both colonies needed to deal with vast spaces and hostile climates, the landscapes differed considerably. Canada's settlement by the English and the French, and Australia's origins as a penal colony also impacted their

¹⁴ For a detailed consideration of sojourner society in the West Indies, see Alan Karras, *Sojourners in the Sun: Scottish Migrants in Jamaica and the Chesapeake, 1740- 1800* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992).

¹⁵ Dr Thomas Rolph, *A Descriptive and Statistical Account of Canada: Shewing its Great Adaptation for British Emigration: Preceded by an Account of a Tour through Portions of the West Indies and the United States*, 2nd edn (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1841).

¹⁶ T. M. Devine, *Scotland's Empire 1600-1815* (London: Allen Lane, 2003), p. 230.

¹⁷ P. J. Marshall, 'British immigration into India in the nineteenth century', in *European Expansion and Migration: Essays on the Intercontinental Migration from Africa, Asia and Europe*, ed. by P. C. Emmer and M. Mörner (New York: Berg, 1992), pp. 179-196, p. 185.

Andrew Mackillop has written on Scottish sojourners in Asia. See Mackillop, 'Europeans, Britons and Scots: Scottish Sojourning Networks and Identities in Asia c.1700-1815,' in *A Global Clan: Scottish Migrant Networks and Identity Since the Eighteenth Century*, International Library of Historical Studies 36, ed. by Angela McCarthy (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2006), pp. 19-47.

¹⁸ Daiva Stasiulis and Radha Jhappan, 'The Fractious Politics of a Settler Society: Canada,' in *Unsettling Settler Societies: Articulations of Gender, Race, Ethnicity and Class*, SAGE Series on Race and Ethnic Relations Volume 11, ed. by Daiva Stasiulis and Nira Yuval-Davis (London: SAGE Publications, 1995), pp. 95-132, p. 97.

individual development. Nevertheless, authors in both colonies adopted similar stratagems to make sense of their situations, particularly reliance on the Gothic.¹⁹

Sir John Seeley, examining the history of the British Empire, viewed the settler colonies as bound to Britain by ‘community of race, community of religion, community of interest.’²⁰ Even Seeley, however, had to admit that ‘people cannot change their abodes, pass from an island to a continent, [...] from an ancient community to a new colony, [...] without changing their ideas and habits and ways of thinking [...]. We know already that the Canadian [...] is] not quite like the Englishman’ (15). While *The Expansion of England* glosses over Scottish contributions to the Empire, Seeley’s patronising comparison of Maori discontent to the manner in which ‘the Highland Clans gave us trouble’ inadvertently reveals Scottish history as a closer parallel to events in the colonies (56). Given such similarities, the emphasis on continuity with the mother country, and the need of British North Americans to cultivate a new, hybridised identity in the wake of emigration, the turn to a Scottish model makes sense.

Indeed, while Seeley omits the crucial role of the Scots from his narrative of empire, it is this imperial Scottish connection that links Canada and Caledonia. Scotland had maintained a distinct national identity with the Union, and Scottish military participation meant that Scots participated heavily in the British conquest and construction of British North America. Upon arrival in British North America, Scots drew on tactics developed to pacify the Highlands to similar effect against the alien terrain and the First Nations.²¹ Meanwhile, the Scottish national turn in literature and its deliberate cultivation of both a glorious history and identity and of a narrative of union reflected the need for such things in British North America. These parallels made adopting Scottish methods of identity construction a reasonable proposition.

McGee was not alone in his conception of literature as the nurse of unity and identity. While he was advocating a Canadian national literature, across the Atlantic the National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights (NAVSR) was campaigning on behalf of Scottish identity. Graeme Morton notes that the NAVSR’s chairman was Irish,

¹⁹ See Gerry Turcotte, *Peripheral Fear: Transformations of the Gothic in Canadian and Australian Fiction* (Brussels: P.E.I Peter Lang, 2009). The Scottish influence in Australian letters is considered in Chris Worth, “‘A centre at the edge’: Scotland and the early teaching of Literature in Australia and New Zealand” in *The Scottish Invention of English Literature*, ed. by Robert Crawford (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 207-24. For identity construction in the twentieth century, see Annie E. Coombes, ed., *Rethinking Settler Colonialism: History and Memory in Australia, Canada, New Zealand and South Africa* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006).

²⁰ Sir J[ohn]. R. Seeley, *The Expansion of England: Two Courses of Lectures* (London: Macmillan [1883, 1895] 1914), p. 13.

²¹ See section 3.3, particularly pp. 71-75.

while its secretaries, the Grant brothers, were natives of Kent: the country of one's birth mattered less than the country of one's allegiance.²² This view differed from the Eurocentric concepts of defining nationality by race, which was entrenched in contemporary theories of empire and nation.²³ Such fluid associations would prove crucial in establishing national identity in the North American colonies, where hybrid identities prevailed. The Association, founded in 1853, attracted a broad support base by eschewing 'politics' in favour of 'Scottish rights.'²⁴ These rights, however, need not be achieved by dissolving the union, as 'union—provided it be union and not domination' was considered beneficial.²⁵ The Association's intent was to highlight practices inconsistent with the Act of Union and detrimental to Scotland. Among the apparently frivolous behaviours to which it objected was the misuse of Scotland's heraldic emblems, a practice that gave England a visual advantage (10). Combating this allowed the NAVSR to claw back a space for Scotland, no matter how small: an effective strategy which ensured that Scotland's sovereignty within the union was acknowledged—in a minor way—on a daily basis.

The second half of the nineteenth century saw the rise of a number of European concepts of the nation, many of which made their way across the Atlantic. Matthew Arnold's humanism held a great deal of sway in anglophone Canada, while critics such as de Staël, Taine, Brunetière, and Sainte-Beuve enjoyed currency in both anglophone and francophone Canada. Canadians, like D'Arcy McGee and François-Xavier Garneau, also struggled to 'generate consensus, if not enthusiasm, for a coherent "idea" of Canada,' what McGee termed a 'common mental stock'.²⁶ In 1882, the Breton scholar Ernest Renan emphasised the power of the 'common will,' the population's 'present day consent, the

²² Graeme Morton, 'Ethnic Identity in the Civic World of Scottish Associational Culture,' in *Ties of Blood, Kin, and Country: Scottish Associational Culture in the Diaspora*, ed. by Tanja Bueltmann, Andrew Hinson and Graeme Morton, Guelph Series in Scottish Studies 1 (Guelph: Centre for Scottish Studies, 2009), pp. 33-50, p. 36.

²³ British examples of this racialised identity include Seeley and Charles Dilke's work on 'Greater Britain.' See Charles Wentworth Dilke's *Greater Britain: A Record of Travel in English-Speaking Countries during 1866 and 1867*, 2 vols (London: Macmillan And Co, 1868).

²⁴ Tanja Bueltmann, 'Scottish Right Vindicated: Identity and Nationalism in Mid-Nineteenth Century Scotland,' bachelors thesis, Universitat Bielefeld, May 2005, p. 54.

²⁵ P. E. Dove, *The National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights: Address to the People of Scotland and Statement of Grievances* (Edinburgh: Johnstone and Hunter, 1853), p. 1.

²⁶ Andrea Cabajsky, 'Occupation, Assimilation, Partnership: Canadian Literature in English and French, 1769-1899,' in *Reading the Nation in English Literature: A Critical Reader*, ed. by Elizabeth Sauer and Julia M. Wright (London: Routledge, 2009), pp. 186-200, p. 186; Thomas D'Arcy McGee, 'The Mental Outfit of the New Dominion,' in *Towards a Canadian Literature*, ed. by Douglas M. Daymond and Leslie G. Monkman, 2 vols (Ottawa: Tecumseh, 1984), I, pp. 74-89, p. 75.

desire to live together'.²⁷ Although Renan was perhaps best known in Canada for his problematic statements on the language and civilisation of the First Nations, rebutted by Abbe Cuoq in *Jugement erroné de M. Ernest Renan sur les langues sauvages*, reviews and citations in periodicals indicate his work was read in both French and English and was widely available.²⁸ While he discounted the First Nations population, Renan viewed French Canada as a bastion of civilisation, a place where 'old Canadians [...] travel a hundred leagues on horseback, just to hear French spoken'.²⁹ This Canadian adherence to francophone language and culture illustrates Renan's description of popular consent as obtained through the cultivation of national heritage as, '[c]ommunity of interest brings about trade agreements, but nationality has a sentimental side [... based in part on] the fact of sharing, *in the past*, a glorious heritage and regrets' (Renan 19-20). Joep Leerssen notes that, for Renan, nationality is thus 'a social choice rather than an anthropological category'.³⁰ In *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson writes that 'nation-ness, as well as nationalism, are cultural artefacts of a particular kind'.³¹ The influence of print culture and the interaction of the imperial tradition with the New World setting combine to create a distinctive sense of community—and therefore of collective identity. This thesis considers the manner in which pre-Confederation Canadians made use of Scottish romantic constructions of national identity to begin constructing such an 'imagined community' in British North America (Anderson 25).

In a 'Song' included in the Caledonian Society of Toronto's 1900 *Selections from Scottish Canadian Poets*, Robert Boyd of Ontario addresses Scotland, voicing a longing for:

.....some minstrel sweet [to] arise,
To sing as thy ain Robin sang,
To paint the fears, the hopes, the joys,
Of those that live our woods amang

²⁷ Ernest Renan, 'What is a nation?' trans. by Martin Thom, in *Nation and Narration*, ed. by Homi K. Bhabha (London: Routledge, 1990), pp. 8-22, p. 19.

²⁸ Under his philological system, Renan classified the First Nations as incapable of civilisation: 'Imaginer une race sauvage parlant une langue sémitique ou indo-européenne, est une fiction contradictoire'. This can be contrasted to Matthew Arnold's view that the loss of Celtic languages was a necessary product of and aid to 'modern civilization.' See Renan qtd [Abbe Jean-André Cuoq] N.O., *Jugement erroné de M. Ernest Renan sur les langues sauvages* (Montreal: Typographie D'eusèbe Senegal, 1864), p. 3; Matthew Arnold, *On The Study of Celtic Literature* (London: Smith, Elder, 1867), p. 12.

²⁹ Ernest Renan, 'Lecture Before the Alliance for the Propagation of the French Language, February 2, 1888,' *Recollections and Letters of Ernest Renan*, trans. by Isabel F. Hapgood (New York: Cassell, 1892), 182-198, p. 195.

³⁰ Joep Leerssen, *National Thought in Europe: A Cultural History* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), p. 228.

³¹ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. edn (London: Verso, 2006), p. 4.

Or Watty Scott. [...]

.....
 A' would be right that now is wrang
 With this dear land of Canada.³²

The Dominion is characterised as a land in need of a national 'minstrel.' Boyd's gesture towards Scott and Burns highlights their assumed fitness, not simply as generic literary models, but also as particularly apt templates for those poets of 'our woods' seeking to articulate the Canadian experience. In doing so, Boyd also replaces the poets Burns had hailed as Scottish national bards, '[Allan] Ramsay [...], and poor Bob Fergu[s]son,' with the better known Scott and Burns himself.³³ In 1808, Scott had mused in *Marmion* about the power of Scottish song on the shores of 'wild Ontario's boundless lake, / Where heart-sick exiles, in the strain, / Recalled fair Scotland's hills again!'³⁴ Now, rather than simply repeating the emigrant's songs, they can be transformed into a form suited to the Dominion. The desire for a national minstrel presupposes not only an invested audience but also material on which to ground the work. By invoking a bardic figure, Boyd legitimises Canadian history and experience. In suggesting Burns and Scott as models, Boyd highlights the historical links between Scotland and Canada, as well as the need for a unified vision of the past and, perhaps, parallels between Canada and the Borders and Lowland Scotland as model pastoral locations.

Boyd's turn to Burns is supported by an early and widespread adoption of the Ayrshire bard as a model by poets of the Canadas. Robert Burns was seen as a primary literary model even by authors of non-Scottish backgrounds. While Burns also enjoyed popularity in America, the pervasive nature of Burns' influence, Waterston argues, 'would differentiate all early Canadian literature from contemporary work in the United States,' while Michael Vance notes that it was the 'Scots dialect poetry' to be found in Canadian publications that most clearly indicated 'the impact of the Scots on emerging Canadian literary culture.'³⁵ A. J. M. Smith sees the influence of Burns as impacting the content as well as the form of such early poetry, with texts emphasising 'reality, homeliness, good

³² Robert Boyd, 'Song,' *Selections from Scottish Canadian Poets, [...] Published under the Auspices of the Caledonian Society of Toronto*, ed. by Daniel Clark, Rev. William Clark and George Kennedy (Toronto: Imrie, Graham & Company, 1900), p. 55, ll. 25-32.

³³ Robert Burns, 'General Correspondence,' in *The Works of Robert Burns, with Life by Alan Cunningham* (London: T. Tegg; C. Daly, 1840), pp. 585-747, p. 634.

³⁴ [Sir] Walter Scott, *Marmion; A Tale of Flodden Field* (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable; London: William Miller, and John Murray, 1808), ll. 3.9.16-18.

³⁵ Elizabeth Waterston, 'The Lowland Tradition in Canadian Literature,' in *The Scottish Tradition in Canada*, ed. by W. Stanford Reid, *A History of Canada's Peoples* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), pp. 203-31, p. 207; Michael Vance, 'A Brief History of Organized Scottishness in Canada,' in *Transatlantic Scots*, ed. by Celeste Ray (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2005), pp. 96-119, p. 104.

sense and humour' rather than the 'distracting or sentimental' focuses of 'Shelley or Byron, Poe or Tennyson.'³⁶ Moreover, authors like the emigrant Alexander McLachlan presented their texts as participating in both Canadian and Scottish traditions.³⁷ Even self-reflexively Scottish texts demonstrate a degree of hybridity through 'the infiltration of the imported "poetic" language by local [Canadian] dialect forms.'³⁸ The standard Habbie, and the use of Scots, was often adapted specifically for a local Canadian context, as in case of William Murdoch of Nova Scotia, or his contemporary Alexander Glendinning of Ontario, whose 'Epistle to the Laird of Davington & Mr. W. Elliott, Kirkhope,' provides an account of his journey across the Atlantic and new life in Canada composed in a traditional format.³⁹

This emulative strain in nineteenth-century Canadian poetry, focused on Scottish convention and language and the Canadian folk, is completely at odds with the contemporary American response to Burns, based on an 'appreciation of Burns [which refused] to grant Burns either his Scottishness or his "peasantness."'⁴⁰ For American authors, Burns was prized as a fellow radical and republican, an agitator against British authority.⁴¹ As Carol McGuirk has investigated, Burns was (often literally) a spectral figure to American authors including Longfellow, Hawthorne and Oliver Wendell Holmes (138). Burns became the subject of, and not the model for, American texts. As Crawford notes, Burns himself was subsumed into the 'American vernacular tradition.'⁴² Recent

³⁶ A. J. M. Smith, 'Colonialism & Nationalism in Canadian Poetry Before Confederation,' *Proceedings of the Canadian Historical Association*, 23:1 (1944): 74-84, *Érudit* [accessed 12 November 2010], p. 80.

³⁷ A detailed consideration of McLachlan can be found in Edward J. Cowan, 'Alexander McLachlan: The "Robert Burns" of Canada', *Robert Burns & Friends: Essays by W. Ormiston Roy Fellows Presented to G. Ross Roy*, ed. by P. Scott & K. Simpson (Columbia, SC: Scottish Literature Series, 2012), pp. 131-149.

³⁸ Elizabeth Waterston, 'Regions and Eras in Ontario Poetry', *Canadian Poetry Studies/Documents/Reviews*, 18 (Spring/Summer 1986) <<http://www.uwo.ca/english/canadianpoetry/cpjrn/vol18/waterston.htm>> [accessed 10 October 2010].

³⁹ William Murdoch, 'Epistle to Hugh M'Donald, Esq., Glasgow, Author of "Rambles round Glasgow, &c."' in *Poems and Songs* (Saint John, NB: Barnes and Company, 1860), pp. 89-96; Alexander Glendinning, 'Epistle to the Laird of Davington & Mr. W. Elliott, Kirkhope,' *Rhymes by Alexander Glendinning. Sometime of Eskdalemuir, Dumfriesshire, Scotland. Vol I* (London, ON: Free Press Printing Co., 1871), pp. 44-58.

⁴⁰ Carol McGuirk, 'Haunted by Authority: Nineteenth-century American Constructions of Robert Burns and Scotland,' in *Robert Burns and Cultural Authority*, ed. by Robert Crawford (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1997), pp. 136-158, p. 147.

⁴¹ Although, as Gerard Carruthers notes, this is not necessarily true of the early American reception of Burns. See Carruthers, 'Burns's Political Reputation in North America,' in *Robert Burns and Transatlantic Culture*, ed. by Leith Davis, Sharon Alker and Holly Faith Nelson, Series in Transatlantic Culture (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 87-98, p. 91.

⁴² Robert Crawford, 'America's Bard,' in *Burns and Transatlantic Culture*, ed. by Davis, Alker and Nelson (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 99-116, p. 106.

criticism, particularly Leith Davis, Sharon Alker and Holly Faith Nelson's examination of Burns and the transatlantic, has focused attention on Burns' influence.⁴³ In any case, Burns and Scott carry an associative power beyond their texts. The authors themselves become totemic, each representing an aspect of Scottish national life. This can be seen in the inclusion of allusions to Burns in Thomas Faed's images of emigrant life. In Faed's depiction of Canadian settlement life, *Sunday in the Backwoods* (1858), a portrait of Burns hangs on the wall of an emigrant's shanty, illuminated by a single beam of light.⁴⁴ The emigrant community, meanwhile, gathers around a patriarch who 'reads the sacred page,' a configuration that recalls Burns's 'The Cotter's Saturday Night.'⁴⁵ When first on show, Faed displayed beside the painting the text of a fictional emigrant's letter home, peppered with Scotticisms and indicating difficulty in the new county (Ruskin n.224).⁴⁶ Like the Scottish cotter, the Canadian backwoodsman employs devotion to combat hardship.⁴⁷ While the family is pictured at prayer, Burns's presence serves as an indicator of national identity in the same manner as the boy's kilt. These visual reminders ensure the spectator associates the figures not only with Canadian backwoodsmen, but also specifically with a sentimental tradition of the nostalgic Scottish emigrant.

⁴³ See particularly Carole Gerson and Susan Wilson, 'The Presence of Robert Burns in Victorian and Edwardian Canada,' in *Burns and Transatlantic Culture*, ed. by Davis, Alker and Nelson (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 117-130.

⁴⁴ For an analysis of Victorian diasporic imagery, including this painting, see Robin Nicholson, 'Lochaber No More—Landscape, Emigration and the Scottish Artist 1849–1895', *Nineteenth Century Art Worldwide*, 7:1 (Spring 2008) <<http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/index.php/spring08/111-lochaber-no-more-landscape-emigration-and-the-scottish-artist-1849-1895-by-robin-nicholson>> [accessed 14 November 2010].

⁴⁵ Robert Burns, 'The Cotter's Saturday Night,' *The Poems and Songs of Robert Burns*, ed. by James Kinsley, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), I, pp. 148-51, l. 118.

⁴⁶ John Ruskin, 'Academy Notes, 1859,' in *Academy Notes, Notes on Prout and Hunt and Other Art Criticisms, 1855-1888, The Works of John Ruskin*, ed. by E. T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, Library Edition (London: George Allan; New York: Longman, Green, and Co, 1904), XIV, p. 224.

⁴⁷ This parallel is heightened by Faed's earlier piece, 'The First Letter Home from the Emigrant' (1849), which echoes 'The Cotter's Saturday Night' and associated illustrations, particularly John Massey Wright's version (1842), by repeating the grouping, but replacing the Bible with the emigrants' letter. See W[illiam]. Howison and Thomas Horsburgh, engravers, after Thomas Faed, 'The First Letter from the Emigrants,' 1850, engraving, Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, Cambridge, MA, R9147 <www.harvardartmuseums.org> [accessed 23 January 2011] and J. Rogers, after John Massey Wright, *The Cottars Saturday Night*, 1842, engraving, Robert Burns Birthplace Museum, Ayr, 3.8121 <http://www.burnsmuseum.org.uk/collections/object_detail/3.8121> [accessed 17 December 2012].

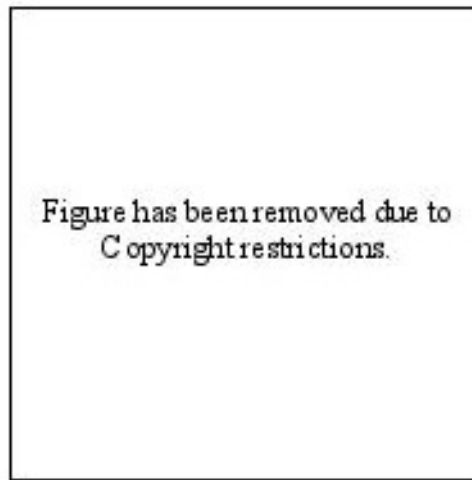


Figure 1: Thomas Faed, *Sunday in the Backwoods*, 1858, oil on canvas, Wolverhampton Art Gallery, OP193, ©WAVE



Figure 2: Thomas Faed, *Sunday in the Backwoods*, detail, Wolverhampton Art Gallery, OP193, ©WAVE



Figure 3: Robert Nasmyth, *Robert Burns, 1759-1796. Poet, 1787*, Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, PG 1063

While interest in Burns gained strength as the poet's centenary approached, the network of Scottish societies in the Canadas had nurtured such cultural links for years. As Scottish associations were founded in British North America from the 1830s onwards, they provided a new space to engage with both Scottish and Scottish-Canadian texts. In 1835, the St Andrew's Society of Montreal sent off to Scotland for transparencies of Robert Burns, Walter Scott, and 'a highland Chief in full costume.'⁴⁸ In 1859, the year of the Burns Centennial, the Caledonian Society in Toronto offered a prize for poems in "Broad

⁴⁸ A *Summary of the First Fifty Years Transactions of the St. Andrew's Society of Montreal* (Montreal: McQueen & Corneil, 1886), p. 7.

Scots” on the theme of “The Emigrant” (Vance 104). In New Brunswick, a provincial MP, James Brown, anonymously submitted ‘The Deil’s Reply to Robert Burns’ for the Burns Centennial Celebration.⁴⁹ The poem was published in Scotland’s *Greenock News* and the *Scottish-American Journal* (Vessey 2).⁵⁰ Thirty years later, the Toronto St Andrew’s Society provided monetary support to Alexander McLachlan, the poet popularly called the Burns of Canada, while subscriptions were raised among Scottish-Canadians in his honour.⁵¹ Even those authors who published outwith the shelter of the Scottish associations were welcomed, as in A. J. Lockhart’s response to John Imrie, designating him ‘Guid brither o’ the Scottish heart an’ tongue, / Sae fraught wi’ Burns’ an’ Ramsay’s tuneful lore’.⁵² Bell notes that as the century progressed and emigrant Scots acclimated to the new Canadian society, they simultaneously clung to their Scottish national identity, resulting in ‘the [high] number of colonial editions of Burns that were produced from the 1870s on, as well as the volume of Scots vernacular poetry being written and read by second and subsequent generation immigrants who had never in their lives spoken the language.’⁵³ The years following Confederation, then, seem to show a heightened awareness of Scottish identity within the Dominion.

The *Scottish Canadian Magazine*, in circulation from 1890-1913, also offered a medium for publication.⁵⁴ Within the societies and social networks meant to enhance

⁴⁹ Maxwell Vessey, ‘Hon. James Brown’s Verses Won Second Award,’ *The Daily Gleaner*, [1935], 2 pages, p. 1. Provincial Archives of New Brunswick <<http://archives.gnb.ca/Irish/Databases/Letters/Documents.aspx?culture=en-CA&file=MC295/MS8/2&letter=01>>. The Brown family’s manuscript copy includes a running glossary of Scots terms. See James Brown, ‘The Deil’s Reply to Robert Burns,’ 20th February 1864, recopied February 1903, 6 pages, Provincial Archives of New Brunswick <<http://archives.gnb.ca/Irish/Databases/Letters/Documents.aspx?culture=en-CA&file=MC295/MS8/1&letter=01>> [both accessed 5 November 2010].

⁵⁰ In 1879, *Notes and Queries* republished a claim that the poem was ‘found in an emigrant’s chest in manuscript in the province of Nova Scotia, and [...] supposed by many to have been written by Burns himself.’ See D. Whyte, *Notes and Queries* 237 (22 March 1879): 237.

⁵¹ *Annual Report of the Saint Andrew’s Society of Toronto, 1887-1888* (Toronto: John Murray, 1889); W.T. Begg, David Boyle, E. H. Dewart, A. Hamilton, and George Kennedy ‘Biographical Sketch,’ in *The Poetical Works of Alexander McLachlan* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1900), 17-28, pp. 18-19.

⁵² Arthur John Lockhart, ‘To John Imrie, On Reading Some of His Songs,’ *The Birds of the Cross and Other Poems* (Winterport, ME: Printed for the author by C. M. Lougee, 1909), 126-27, ll. 1-2.

⁵³ Bill Bell, ‘Print Culture in Exile: The Scottish Emigrant Reader in the Nineteenth Century,’ *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of Canada*, 36:2 (1998): 87-106, pp. 100-101.

⁵⁴ G. Ross Roy analyses some of these texts in ‘We are Exiles From Our Father’s Land: Nineteenth-Century Scottish-Canadian Poets,’ in *The Immigrant Experience*, ed. by Catherine Kerrigan (Guelph: University of Guelph Press, 1992), pp. 111-28. Shannon O’Connor considers concerns of class and gender in the *Scottish Canadian* and the *Canada Scotsman*. See O’Connor, ‘The Scottish-Canadian Community in Toronto: Class, Gender & Identity, 1871-1914,’ Paper presented at the 2008 History on the Grand Symposium, Cambridge, Ontario, 1-26 <<http://www.cambridge.ca/relatedDocs/The%20Scottish->

Scottish solidarity, these openly derivative poems were praised and solicited; collections of such poetry appeared in 1898 and 1900.⁵⁵ Campbell's 'Preface' notes 'interest [...] throughout the Dominion on the subject of Scottish Canadian poetry.'⁵⁶ Daniel Clark's introduction invokes romantic images of the 'melancholy' Scot, drawing on a century of stereotypes of pining Scottish emigrants, declaring that 'Scottish songs have had no equal in the recorded history of the world.'⁵⁷ As for Scottish Canadians, they are 'so permeated with the literature of Scotland [...] that they are almost instinctively led to some extent to adopt' its features (Clark xiv). The models cultivated so assiduously and deliberately by early Scots-Canadian poets are now considered inborn attributes. Clark acknowledges his selections to be of a varying poetic standard, but all worthy in some way. By prioritising explicitly national content over literary merit, such publications 'helped to produce deficient literature.'⁵⁸

As with the Scots, Irish emigrant settlers in Canada tapped into a network of contacts and societies.⁵⁹ In contrast to Irish settlement in America, Irish emigration to Canada peaked in the years prior to the Famine—the majority of Irish-Canadians were Protestants, and as they settled throughout the Canadian frontier, they established Orange Lodges.⁶⁰ A number of these individuals were Scots-Irish immigrants, though as Akenson notes, many were Anglican, rather than Ulster Presbyterians.⁶¹ The Orange Order not only served to '[articulate] a basic cultural identity,' but also provided emigrants with a network

Canadian%20Community%20in%20Toronto_Class%20Gender%20and%20Identity%201871_1914%20by%20Shannon%20OConnor.pdf> [accessed 15 April 2011].

⁵⁵ John Thorburn, *The St. Andrew's Society of Ottawa 1846-1897: Sketch of the First Half Century* (Ottawa: Haldane, 1898), pp. 18-23; See also Clark, Clark and Kennedy's *Selections from the Scottish Canadian Poets* (1900).

⁵⁶ William Campbell, 'Preface,' *Selections from Scottish Canadian Poets*, ed. by Clark, Clark and Kennedy, pp. iii-iv, p. iv.

⁵⁷ Daniel Clark, 'Introduction,' *Selections from Scottish Canadian Poets*, ed. by Clark, Clark and Kennedy, pp. v-xix, p. viii-ix.

⁵⁸ Michael Fry, *The Scottish Empire* (East Lothian: Tuckwell Press; Edinburgh: Birlinn, [2001], 2002), p. 465.

⁵⁹ Thomas D'Arcy McGee, perhaps the most famous (or infamous) Irish-Canadian of the nineteenth century, felt 'a rooted horror' of the both Protestant and Catholic links to the 'secret societies' which lay beneath these networks. See McGee, qtd. David A. Wilson, 'A Rooted Horror: Thomas D'Arcy McGee and Secret Societies, 1845-68,' *The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies*, 31:1 (Spring 2005): 45-51, JSTOR [accessed 26 February 2011], p. 45.

⁶⁰ Cecil J. Houston and William J. Smyth, *Irish Emigration and Canadian Settlement: Patterns, Links and Letters*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press; Belfast: Ulster Historical Foundation, 1990).

⁶¹ Donald Harman Akenson, *Small Differences: Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants, 1815-1922* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1991), n. 219.

and a space for ‘conviviality’ (Smyth and Houston 180-81, 184).⁶² Even as it did so, the presence of the lodges also reinforced popular support for empire unionism.⁶³ Well-placed Orangeman like Ogle Gowan, the Upper Canadian politician and Grand Master of the Grand Orange Lodge of British North America, were not above easing fellow members’ title to land.⁶⁴ The Order’s influence spread beyond the Irish community. As Houston and Smyth note, ‘So successful was the Orange Order in British North America that it moved beyond its ethnic roots: by the end of the nineteenth century about one-third of all English-speaking Canadian adult men belonged to it.’⁶⁵ Notably, while Orangeism flourished in Canada, it remained comparatively weak in America.⁶⁶ For the Catholic Irish, an equivalent network was organised primarily through the Church and associated societies such as the Hibernian Benevolent Society, founded in Montreal in 1823, and its short-lived associate, the Society of the Friends of Ireland, founded in 1828 to support O’Connell’s Catholic Association.⁶⁷ Membership in these associations, particularly the HBS, was rendered problematic by their associations with political radicalism. The SFI had founded *The Irish Vindicator* in December of 1828 as a mouthpiece; when the paper ran into financial difficulties, it was purchased by the *patriotes*, renamed *The Vindicator*, and used to unite French and Irish Catholics in Montreal during the lead-up to the 1837 Rebellion (Jackson 91-92). Brian Clarke notes, ‘the Hibernians, wittingly or not, were a front for the Fenian Brotherhood’ in Toronto during the 1860s.⁶⁸ Although both Scottish and Irish associational culture flourished in this period, the Scottish cultural groups managed to

⁶² Acknowledgement of transatlantic Orange links is seen in ‘The Orange Emigrant’s Lament,’ which notes, ‘They tell me I go to a nation / Where I’ll meet Orange brothers sincere.’ See William Archer, ‘The Orange Emigrant’s Lament,’ in *The Marching of the Lodges: A Poem*; (Dublin: James Forest, 1869), pp. 121-122, ll. 9-10.

⁶³ Allison O’Mahen Malcolm, ‘Loyal Orangemen and Republican Nativists: Anti-Catholicism and Historical Memory in Canada and the United States’ in *The Loyal Atlantic: Remaking the British Atlantic in the Revolutionary Era*, ed. by Jerry Bannister and Liam Riordan (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), pp. 211-251, pp. 214-215.

⁶⁴ Donald Harman Akenson, *The Irish in Ontario: A Study in Rural History*, Carleton Library Series, 2nd edn (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1999), pp. 172-173.

⁶⁵ Houston and Smyth, *Irish Emigration* p. 181. For a fuller account, see also Houston and Smyth, *The Sash Canada Wore: A Historical Geography of the Orange Order in Canada*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980).

⁶⁶ William J. Smyth and Cecil J. Houston, ‘Transferred loyalties: Orangeism in the United States and Ontario,’ *American Review of Canadian Studies*, 14:2 (1984): 193-211.

⁶⁷ James Jackson, ‘The Radicalization of the Montreal Irish: The Role of “The Vindicator,”’ *The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies*, 31:1 (Spring 2005): 90-97, JSTOR [accessed 23 January 2012], p. 91.

⁶⁸ Brian P. Clarke, *Piety and Nationalism: Lay Voluntary Associations and the Creation of an Irish-Catholic Community in Toronto, 1850-1895*, McGill-Queen’s Studies in the History of Religion 12 (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1993), p. 170.

avoid the revolutionary stigma, however undeserved, with which Irish associations were troubled.

While the institutionalised Scottishness of cultural associations, and Burns-inspired Scots poetry flourished in the years following Confederation, their popularity obscures the wider influence of Scottish Romantic thought on earlier articulations of identity in the Canadas. This thesis draws on pre-Confederation Canadian writing, British conceptions of the Canadian colonies, and aspects of visual culture to consider how the Scottish experience and model mediate early Canadian constructions of the landscape and its inhabitants, and the articulation of a unifying 'national' history. In the process I rely heavily on recent transatlantic scholarship and conceptions of romantic nationalism. Despite widespread acknowledgement regarding links between Scotland and Canada, and recent critical interest in Canada as part of a broader British transatlantic exchange, relatively little scholarly attention has been paid to their literary links. This thesis aims to help redress this imbalance.

Discussions of transatlantic cultural and literary links between Britain and North America have tended to focus on Anglo-American cultural relations. Some texts, such as Andrew Hook's *From Goosecreek to Gandercleugh*, and Susan Manning's *Fragments of Union*,⁶⁹ examine Scottish-American literary links and provide a useful point of comparison. Jenni Calder's recent *Lost in the Backwoods* examines North American links with Scotland, including a consideration of literature.⁷⁰ In contrast, despite (or perhaps because of) widespread acknowledgement of Scottish literature's influence on Canadian texts, there is only one book-length study specifically devoted to these literary relationships. Elizabeth Waterston published *Rapt in Plaid: Canadian Literature and the Scottish Tradition* in 2001, 'a study of the influence on Canadian literature of certain Scottish writers' which argues that 'Scottish attitudes and experiences have played a disproportionate part in developing a Canadian tang in literature and life.'⁷¹ While this text filled a rather glaring gap in knowledge, it remains unsatisfactory. As Waterston admits, her text is 'also a memoir of [her] own encounters with those writers, as a teacher,

⁶⁹ Andrew Hook, *From Goosecreek to Gandercleugh: Studies in Scottish-American Literary and Cultural History* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1999); Susan Manning, *Fragments of Union: Making Connections in Scottish and American Writing* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002). See also Manning's *The Puritan-Provincial Vision: Scottish and American Literature in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990). William R. Brock's *Scotus Americanus: A Survey of the Sources for Links between Scotland and America in the Eighteenth Century* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1982) is also helpful.

⁷⁰ Jenni Calder, *Lost in the Backwoods: Scots and the North American Wilderness* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013).

⁷¹ Elizabeth Waterston, *Rapt in Plaid: Canadian Literature and the Scottish Tradition* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), p. vii.

researcher, and editor,' and it is these personal encounters that she emphasises, rather than scholarly critique of the texts in question (vii, 10).

Scholarly examination of the depiction of Scottish influence within works of Canadian fiction, while discussed on a specific basis in analyses of individual works, is also less common than might be assumed. One such examination is given in Daniel Coleman's *White Civility*, which seeks to articulate a 'literary [... and] cultural endeavour' concerned with 'the formulation and elaboration of a specific form of whiteness based on a British model of civility. By means of this conflation of whiteness with civility, whiteness has been naturalised as the norm for English Canadian cultural identity.'⁷² Within his wider examination of British-inflected civility, Coleman's consideration on the trope of the Scottish orphan includes a nuanced analysis of the portrayal of Scots in Canadian literature. Edward Cowan has worked on the creation of a myth of 'Scotch-Canadian identity' and approached the issue in that way; Michael Vance and others have also commented while working more broadly on Canadian identity.⁷³

While considerations of Scottish-Canadian literary links are relatively scarce, recent scholarship examining interactions and associations between Scots, particularly Scottish Highlanders, and First Nations and Amerindian peoples, provides a helpful starting point in considering the relationship between Scotland and the Canadas. Colin Calloway bases his consideration of these links on the apparently parallel 'historical experiences' Highland Scots and First Nations peoples confronted 'as tribal peoples living on the edges of an empire and confronting historical currents at work on both sides of the Atlantic'.⁷⁴ Michael Newton's *We're Indians Sure Enough: The Legacy of the Scottish Highlanders in the United States* (2001), though focused primarily on American materials and experiences, provides a much-needed examination of Gàidhlig material in North America. More generally, James Hunter, Lucille Campey and Celeste Ray all trace historical links between Scots and the Americas.⁷⁵

⁷² Daniel Coleman, *White Civility: The Literary Project of English Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), p. 5.

⁷³ Edward Cowan, 'The Myth of Scotch-Canada' in *Myth, Migration and the Making of Memory: Scotia and Nova Scotia c.1700-1990*, ed. by Marjory Harper and Michael Vance (Halifax, NS: Fernwood, 1999), pp. 49-72 and 'The Scots' Imaging of Canada,' in *A Kingdom of the Mind: How the Scots Helped Make Canada*, ed. by Peter E. Rider and Heather McNabb (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2006), pp. 3-21; Michael Vance, 'Powerful Pathos: The Triumph of Scottishness in Nova Scotia,' in *Transatlantic Scots*, ed. by Celeste Ray (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2005), pp. 156-179.

⁷⁴ Colin G. Calloway, *White People, Indians, and Highlanders: Tribal People and Colonial Encounters in Scotland and America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 10.

⁷⁵ James Hunter, *A Dance Called America: The Scottish Highlands, the United States and Canada* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 1994); Campey focuses on regional emigration. See Lucille H. Campey, *An Unstoppable Force: The Scottish Exodus to Canada* (Toronto: Natural Heritage

Approaching transatlantic interactions from a different angle, Tim Fulford and Kate Flint, working on the problem of the ‘transatlantic Indian,’ both consider the manner in which Britons, emigrants and the aboriginal community participated in and reacted to the discourse of the savage. Fulford, in particular, ties this discourse to British literary culture, examining not only Romantic uses of the trope of the noble savage, but also First Nations responses to and manipulations of such images.⁷⁶ Such transatlantic exchanges demonstrate the influence of popular literature in disseminating a specific cultural identity. This thesis integrates this articulation of First Nations identity into a wider discussion of the British-Canadian stadial model, which comes into play following the Conquest of Canada in 1760.

Consideration of direct Scottish-Canadian literary connections may be found in recent work on nationalism and the historical novel, specifically the Canadian historical novel, and the work of Andrea Cabajsky. Characterising the historical novel as a notably ‘problematic genre’ in Canadian writing, Cabajsky’s work often focuses on the motivations underlying the composition of these texts.⁷⁷ Cabajsky’s doctoral dissertation, “‘Transcolonial circuits’: historical fiction and national identities in Ireland, Scotland, and Canada,” examines ‘the flow of ideas and literary techniques between’ those countries, and between the distinctive literatures of English and French Canada.⁷⁸ Her central argument—the influence of ‘the precedent-setting fictions of Scotland and Ireland’ on Canadian historical fiction—makes Cabajsky the only critic to consider the direct influence of Scottish Romanticism beyond Scott and Burns at any great length (ii). Cabajsky’s focus, however, remains fixed on the Irish and Scottish historical novel and national tales which leaves a great deal of material unexplored and ignored.

While English influence on French Canadian literature is not often apparent, Walter Scott is an exception to the rule. Considerations of his impact on Franco-Canadian texts are found in Cabajsky’s ‘The National Tale from Ireland to French Canada: Putting Generic Incentive Into a New Perspective’ and in Eva-Marie Kröller’s ‘Walter Scott in America,

Books, The Dundurn Group, 2008) among others. Celeste Ray considers the evolution of modern North-American Scottish links. See Ray, ‘Scottish Immigration and Ethnic Organization in the United States,’ in *Transatlantic Scots*, pp. 48-95, and *Highland Heritage: Scottish Americans in the American South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001).

⁷⁶ Tim Fulford, *Romantic Indians: Native Americans, British Literature, and Transatlantic Culture, 1756–1830* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

⁷⁷ Andrea Cabajsky, ‘Historical Fiction and Changing Ideas of Canada,’ in *National Plots: Historical Fiction and Changing Ideas of Canada*, ed. by Andrea Cabajsky and Brett Josef Grubisic (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2010), vii-xxiv, p. viii.

⁷⁸ Andrea Cabajsky, “‘Transcolonial circuits’: historical fiction and national identities in Ireland, Scotland, and Canada,” unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of British Columbia, 2002 <<https://circle.ubc.ca/handle/2429/13301>> [accessed 20 November 2010].

English Canada and French Canada: A Comparison.’⁷⁹ Cabajsky’s emphasis on comparing the historical fiction of French and English Canada highlights the fact that the ‘long overdue process of reconsidering [...] early Canadian historical fiction is impeded by the number’ of ‘pivotal’ works in both languages that remain ‘untranslated and are thus [...] studied independently of one another.’⁸⁰ While Cabajsky’s on-going comparative analysis is particularly useful in this research, she works within a much wider timescale and her focus is not purely on Scottish aspects of Canadian literature.

Cabajsky’s work, and that of her colleagues, builds on examinations of the Canadian historical novel by Carole Gerson and Dennis Duffy in the 1980s.⁸¹ Gerson’s *A Purer Taste* (1989) is crucial for situating the Canadian historical novel. Gerson first provides a thorough introduction to nineteenth-century Canadian publishing and literacy, before examining the political and national uses of historical fiction, as it was ‘taken for granted [...] that one of the primary purposes of a national literature was the fostering of patriotism’.⁸² In a particularly insightful moment, she notes that the ‘English Canadian writers were quick to find in French Canada a New World counterpart to the folklore, history and local colour of Scott’s fiction’ (71). Such parallels meant that the considerations of identity and stadial improvement used in the mother country were easily applied in the colonies.

While these earlier considerations of the historical novel help to situate early Canadian national texts, this thesis, and Cabajsky’s approach, owe a greater debt to considerations of Romantic nationalism in Peter Womack’s *Improvement and Romance* (1989), Robert Crawford’s *Devolving English Literature* (2000), and particularly Katie Trumpener’s *Bardic Nationalism: The Romantic Novel and the British Empire* (1997).⁸³ Trumpener states that:

⁷⁹ Andrea Cabajsky, ‘The National Tale from Ireland to French Canada: Putting Generic Incentive Into a New Perspective’, *The Canadian Journal of Irish Studies*, 31:1 (Spring 2005): 29-37, JSTOR [accessed 3 February 2011], and Eva-Marie Kröller’s ‘Walter Scott in America, English Canada and French Canada: A Comparison,’ *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature*, 7:1 (Winter 1980): 32-46.

⁸⁰ Andrea Cabajsky, ‘Historiographical Revision and Colonial Agency: Napoléon Bourassa’s *Jacques et Marie*,’ in *ReCalling Early Canada: Reading the Political in Literary and Cultural Production*, ed. by Jennifer Blair and others (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2005), pp. 73-90, p. 73.

⁸¹ Dennis Duffy, *Sounding the Iceberg: An Essay on Canadian Historical Novels*, (Toronto: ECW Press, 1986).

⁸² Carole Gerson, *A Purer Taste: The Writing and Reading of Fiction in English in Nineteenth-Century Canada*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), pp. 4, 36.

⁸³ Peter Womack, *Improvement and Romance: Constructing the Myth of the Highlands* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1989); Robert Crawford, *Devolving English Literature*, 2nd edn (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000); Katie Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism: The Romantic Novel and the British Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997).

this book represents an attempt to develop a kind of literary history that historicizes, explicates and thereby circumvents this divide [between English and British], to develop a mode of literary-historical analysis in which literary form itself becomes legible as a particularly rich and significant kind of historical evidence, as a palimpsest of the patterns, transformations and reversals of literary, intellectual, and political history (xv).

In doing so, Trumpener raises questions about transatlantic and transcolonial currents in nineteenth-century literature, and specifically in relation to Canadian literature. Within this framework, Trumpener finds that ‘the cultural nationalism of the peripheries’ influences not only romantic-era ‘scholarship and literary production’ but also ‘notions of collective and individual memory’ (xi). As this peripheral nationalism is exported to the colonies, it is deployed to strengthen imperial ties. These rising colonial ideologies are implicated in ‘colonial tilt,’ a ‘collective amnesia whereby Scottish and Irish settlers misplace in transit their age-old anti-English, anti-British and anti-imperial hatreds’ (253). This forgetfulness is the ‘cornerstone’ of the imperial project, allowing ‘British ethnic strife’ to be ‘sublated into a new utopian community’ (253, 256). While Seeley presented the colonies as an expanded Britain, Trumpener reads them as Britain made whole.

I argue that both British colonial forces and the emigrant community made use of tropes grounded in the Scottish romantic experience to construct British North America and ultimately a distinct Canadian identity. I will first examine John Galt as an intermediary figure between romantic Edinburgh literati and the physical and literary construction of the Canadas, particularly Upper Canada. Galt’s dual roles as novelist and as colonial administrator afforded him a unique opportunity to shape the colony in different ways. The intersection of those roles in Galt’s North American novels, *Lawrie Todd* (1830) and *Bogle Corbet* (1831) is important and the novels’ treatment of nature and settlement, and the development of national cultures in North America are explored. Further arguments are thematic. Chapter three examines the construction of landscape through the use of the sublime, military topographies and narratives of settlement. Chapter four traces the influence of stadial histories on conceptions of race, and the construction and interaction of communities and identities within British North America. In chapter five, the portrayal of these communities in the historical novel and national tale is considered, as is their role in the creation of a ‘Canadian’ national history. Concluding with an account of the romanticised Scottish military past which British North American authors build into their constructed Canadian history, this thesis demonstrates there is a pervasive Scottish influence on early Canadian constructions of identity, because the Scottish model, in particular, provided early Canadians with an example of a country

cultivating a distinct national identity while simultaneously remaining part of a larger union, and its literature helped bring this about.

2 John Galt and Canada

2.1 North America in Galt's Early Work

In considering early articulations of British North America and its landscape, the life and works of John Galt, the Scottish novelist and politician, can act as a useful case-study by bridging the gap between British representations of the Canadas—particularly those of romantic Edinburgh's literati—and the work of early Canadian-born authors. Galt's opinions on the country, and his depiction of the Canadian wilderness and settled communities, anticipate and echo wider trends: Galt's construction of a sometimes malignant nature dovetails with British attempts to subdue it, his portraits of the First Nations hint at stadial theory, and his depictions of the attempt to establish communities emphasise the need for a myth of shared origins. Galt's unique position linking Scottish literature and the settlement of the Canadas, and his use of themes central to this thesis in his New World texts, make him an ideal candidate as a case study due to his transcolonial perspective. In examining these issues, this chapter situates Galt's North American novels within their historical context, and considers his role in articulating an early British North American identity. Particular attention will be paid to Galt's accounts of settlement rituals and their reproduction in the wider community. In doing so, I aim to elucidate Galt's participation in a wider narrative of colonisation.

Galt, born in Greenock in 1779, was a trained lawyer who held, at various points, positions as clerk, businessman, editor, and lobbyist.¹ Galt also pursued a parallel career as an author, publishing his first poem in 1802 and continuing his literary activities until his death in 1839. Of his prodigious output, the most well known are probably the so-called Scottish novels, including *Annals of the Parish* (1821). Though his work was widely read, Galt's financial situation remained precarious, and he routinely took up alternative occupations. In 1820, Galt was asked to become a 'paid lobbyist' on behalf of the Canadian claimants who had been ruined in the War of 1812.² Galt would later memorialise this experience in Mr Selby of *The Member* (1832), a claimant whose livelihood the war destroyed, and who dies without receiving justice, while his family is

¹ Galt's tendency to take on multiple projects began young. While a youth in Greenock, Galt was simultaneously involved in organising a literary society, a volunteer fighting force, and the public library, even as he clerked for James Miller and Co. See Galt, *The Autobiography of John Galt*, 2 vols (London: Cochrane and M'Crone, 1833), I, pp. 32, 39, 41, 45.

² George Sheppard, "The Most Puzzling Question": War Losses Politics,' in *Plunder, Profit, and Paroles: A Social History of the War of 1812 in Upper Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Press, 1994), 208-243, p. 211.

saved from ruin only by the use of a *deus ex machina*.³ Frustrated, and sensing opportunity in the inefficiency of this process, Galt became a leading figure behind the creation of the Canada Company.⁴ In August 1826, Galt was sent to evaluate the Company lands in Upper Canada. By November 1826, when Galt arrived in Canada as the Company commissioner, he believed he would never write again, having found a new calling (*Autobiography* II 5).⁵ Galt's entitled attitude—and some poor decisions—resulted in the termination of his employment in 1829. Galt returned to Britain in debt and was promptly imprisoned. Among the works he produced in jail were *Lawrie Todd* (1830) and *Bogle Corbet* (1831), his North American novels. While these texts have generally been considered hackwork, they are also among the earliest novels intended for the British public based on first-hand experience of the Canadas, particularly of Upper Canada.

Ian Gordon, a leading figure in Galt studies, believes that '[there] are two John Galts. Sometimes they merge. Generally they are kept well apart.'⁶ This divide between Galt as author and Galt as businessman has led to a curious bifurcation in his reputation. Literary scholars have tended to 'hurry rapidly' over Galt's political connections, preferring to focus on his novels.⁷ For his role in Canadian settlement, Galt is 'cherished' by 'the Continent [sic] of Canada' and the 'Province of Ontario' as '[his] name is embedded in their history,' or so one Scottish scholar, professing a lack of distinct knowledge regarding Galt in Canada, notably claimed.⁸ While Galt separated his literary and political endeavours, critics on both sides of the Atlantic have furthered the divide.

³ [John Galt], *The Member: An Autobiography* (London: James Fraser, 1832), pp. 132, 135-36, 204-214.

⁴ For an overview of the Company, see Robert C. Lee, *The Canada Company and the Huron Tract, 1826-1853: Personalities, Profits and Politics* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2004) and Hamilton Baird Timothy, *The Galts: a Canadian Odyssey: John Galt, 1779-1839* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977).

⁵ Indeed, in 1833, after the publication of both North American novels, one French critic expressed surprise that Galt had not produced any novels while in North America, given the availability of subject matter. Isidore Lebrun wrote, 'M. John Galt, connu à Londres par des romans estimés, n'a rien composé quand il est devenu surintendant de la compagnie des terres, dans le Haut-Canada. Et pourtant Pokahontas est une héroïne plus digne que Atala, immortalisée par le génie.' See Lebrun, *Tableau statistique et politique des deux Canadas* (Paris: Treuttel et Würtz, 1833), CIHM no. 37216, p. 268.

⁶ Ian A. Gordon, 'Galt and Politics,' in *John Galt: Reappraisals*, ed. by Elizabeth Waterston (Guelph: University of Guelph, 1985), pp. 119-128, p. 119. See also Ian A. Gordon, *John Galt: The Life of a Writer* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1972) p. 72. In his preface, Gordon also notes the 'double persona' of Galt the novelist and Galt the businessman (vii).

⁷ James Leatham, *John Galt, the First of the Kailyarders, a Neglected Man of Genius, and Why* (Turris: The Deveron Press [1920]), 8 pgs, p.3.

⁸ Thomas W. Hamilton, F.S.I., *John Galt: The Man, his Life and Work, Being the John Galt Lecture for 1946 Delivered before the Society on 22nd November 1946*, Papers of the Greenock Philosophical Society (Greenock: "Telegraph" Printing Works, 1947), p.26.

Gordon asserts that ‘Canada left a deep impact on [...] Galt’s [political] “other life.”’ However, he also claims that its ‘impact on his writings was curiously unimportant’ (*Life of a Writer* 72). This claim is problematic, particularly in light of Gordon’s stated purpose—to examine all of Galt’s work—not only the popular theoretical biographies. After all, the political and financial crisis provoked by his dismissal by the Canada Company led directly to Galt’s willingness to write to a publisher’s ‘[order].’⁹ Galt’s New World novels function as a literary bridge between the artificially constructed North America of much British Romantic work and a more realistic portrayal drawing on lived experience.¹⁰ Furthermore, the impact of Galt’s Canadian experience on his emigrant North American novels results in the articulation of a distinct national identity within these texts, and prefigures distinctly Canadian literary themes. These texts also show a sharp distinction in Galt’s colonial writing following his time as a colonial agent. This chapter will briefly sketch Galt’s texts on colonisation written prior to 1827, before moving to *Lawrie Todd* and *Bogle Corbet*, and focusing on Galt’s exploration of the North American landscape, his attempts at articulating a national character and the role of the colonies in *Bogle Corbet*.

Critical lack of interest in Galt’s Canadian texts and experience has obscured the fact that the New World featured on a minor but pervasive level in Galt’s work even prior to his association with the Canada Company.¹¹ The treatment of North America in these early texts provides a basis for comparison with his later work. Galt’s first fictional

⁹ John Galt, *The Literary Life and Miscellanies of John Galt*, 3 vols (Edinburgh: William Blackwood; London: T. Cadell, 1834), I, p. ii.

¹⁰ Galt’s experience was also put forth in nonfictional form, as he provided information for Andrew Picken’s *The Canadas: Comprehending Topographical Information Concerning the Quality of the Land in Different Districts and the Fullest General Information: For Use of Emigrants and Capitalists, Compiled from Original Documents Furnished by John Galt, Esq* (London: Effingham Wilson, [1832], 1836).

¹¹ One of his early publications was an 1807 ‘Statistical Account of Upper Canada,’ based on information related to Galt by his relation John Gilkinson. See *Philosophical Magazine*, 29:113 (October 1807): 3-10. Galt’s Scottish novels also include North American elements: the American War is lightly touched on in *Annals of the Parish* (1821), and the Malcolm boys have American links, while Mr Cayenne, the Virginia planter, greatly impacts the community. *The Provost* includes the drunken Robin and the ‘randy’ tinkler Jean, who incites a riot, both of whom have been with the Army in America. See [John Galt], *The Provost* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood; London: T. Cadell, 1822), pp. 101, 239. *The Steam-Boat* also included a tale told by the ‘Decalion of Kentucky’ of his survival of a deluge in his hometown. See [John Galt], *The Steam-Boat* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood; London: T. Cadell, 1822), 106-117, pp. 109, 116. Colonel Meiklevain of *Eben Erskine* (1833) fought at Bunker Hill. Mr. Coball, who brings Charles Bayfield to Mr Rupees, is from America. See [John Galt], *The Last of the Lairds* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood; London: T. Cadell, 1826), p. 205. James Walkinshaw, in *The Entail*, intends to go to America, a scheme of which his uncle approves, saying that it will make him ‘a wiser and a better man.’ See John Galt, *The Entail; or, The Lairds of Grippy*, 3 vols (Edinburgh: William Blackwood; London: T. Cadell, 1823), II, pp. 80, 100.

America appeared in his 1815 play, *The Apostate, or, Atlantis Destroyed*.¹² The drama details the ruin of the Atlantines, an indigenous people based on Amerindians, after the introduction of Antonio, a shipwrecked European, into their society (347).¹³ A Christianising force, Antonio becomes the ‘Creative genius of [this] rising world,’ which contains ‘unknown scenes / Of inland seas and forests infinite’ (310). His entrance into the idyllic Atlantine world introduces not only the trappings of civilisation, but also European corruptions such as crime and adultery, which eventually destroy the Atlantine people despite Antonio’s positive intentions. Despite the advent of ‘temples, prisons, knowledge, arts,’ the priest Orooko recognises that there is no method ‘to purge our tainted tribes, / From these new sins that [Antonio] hast brought with them’ (321). Notably, Antonio introduced the concept of slavery, and the Atlantine king finds that Antonio’s lessons have made him ‘cunning that I may be cruel’ (331, 336). European influence has destroyed all that was honourable in the Atlantine civilisation.

While Galt’s 1815 *Atlantis* paints an idealised picture of a lost American golden age, personal knowledge of the continent shapes the slightly more nuanced account of the New World as represented by the Atlantines that appeared in *Friendship’s Offering* (1831). This carried a reworked prose version of *Atlantis Destroyed*, now called ‘The New Atlantis,’ recalling Francis Bacon’s colonial utopia.¹⁴ In this version, Galt prefaced the tale with an account of North American native ruins at odds with Amerindian culture, perhaps the product of ‘a rude people under the tuition of an extraordinary mind’ (217). While *Atlantis Destroyed* generally evoked Alexander Humboldt’s depictions of South American landscapes, ‘The New Atlantis’ drew specifically on his exploration of Mexican archaeology. Unlike Humboldt, however, Galt relies on the assumption that higher civilisation in North America could only be the product of European intervention.¹⁵ Galt attributes this assumption of European superiority to ‘curious notions’ held by the Indians themselves (217). Despite a plot identical to that of *Atlantis Destroyed*, the action now occurs in ‘the savannahs and table land between the Mississippi, the Missouri, and the

¹² Jeffrey Cass discusses this play in relation to contemporary dramas in ‘John Galt, Happy Colonialist: The Case of “The Apostate; Or, Atlantis Destroyed,”’ in *Romanticism and the City*, ed. by Larry H. Peer, Nineteenth-Century Major Lives and Letters (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 43-54.

¹³ [John Galt], *The Apostate; or, Atlantis Destroyed. A Tragedy in Five Acts*, in *The New British Theatre, a Selection of Original Dramas*, [ed. by John Galt], 4 vols (London: Printed for the Proprietors, by A. J. Volpy. Published by Henry Colburn; Edinburgh: G. Goldie; Dublin: J. Cumming, 1814), IV, 305-483 [383], p. 347.

¹⁴ John Galt, ‘The New Atlantis: An American Legend,’ in *Friendship’s Offering: A Literary Album, and Christmas and New Year’s Present, for 1831* (London: Smith, Elder, and Co., 1831), 217-229.

¹⁵ Nigel Leask, *Curiosity and the Aesthetics of Travel Writing, 1770-1840* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 269.

Pacific Ocean' (217). The text followed the plot of its predecessor, and ended with 'the Indians [...] abjur[ing] civilization forever' (229).

In July 1838, Galt rewrote the play's opening as a poem, which he published in the American periodical *The Knickerbocker*, again published under his own name and now titled *The Atlantines: A Romance of America*. The text also carried a short introductory poem, informing readers that in 'your wild sylvan land' he had 'without fancy, trace[d] / The old memorials of a perish'd race.'¹⁶ This introduction firmly situates Galt's text within North America and implies the veracity of its depiction of Amerindians. These texts are of interest due to their publication both before and after Galt's sojourn in North America—all three versions of *Atlantis Destroyed* are deeply critical of colonisation's impact on native peoples. In Galt's original, there are no positives to outweigh the evils of European influence in Atlantis, especially since Europe, unaware of its existence, will also never be able to exploit the country's riches. The entire tragedy is pointless. Both reworked versions, however, rather than hinting at a vaguely mythical New World, instead firmly situate the Atlantines in America. While the loss of native innocence ought to be acknowledged, the implication of Galt's revisions is that early North American Amerindian encounters with Europeans have already removed them from a state of nature, eliminating a possible source of colonial guilt. Both reimaginings of the Atlantines date from after Galt's North American experiences. These texts, then, not only situate the action in an identifiable rather than a mythical land, but also indicate possible benefits of colonisation even as it drew on popular tropes of the vanishing native. Galt's reworking of the text mirrors his growing involvement in British emigration.

More conventional imaginings of the New World occur in Galt's early novels. Mr Grant, the returned Canadian in Galt's novel of fashionable Edinburgh, *Glenfell* (1820), is an adaptation of the General in *Auld Reekie, or a Mistake in Edinburgh*, one of Galt's earlier dramas. Of particular importance is the notion of the man who deliberately plays up stories of his times in 'the wilds of America,'¹⁷ a trait of both characters. Grant, however, had been 'five and thirty years, in the wilds of Upper Canada' rather than America.¹⁸ In *Glenfell*, Galt introduces a subplot—a young man on the verge of bankruptcy whose home Grant rents—seemingly for an excuse to flesh out Grant's character by allowing him greater space in the narrative. Where the General of *Auld Reekie* was a one-dimensional

¹⁶ John Galt, 'The Atlantines: A Romance of America,' *The Knickerbocker, or New-York Monthly Magazine*, 12:1 (July 1838): 63-69, p. 63.

¹⁷ John Galt, *Auld Reekie, or, A Mistake in Edinburgh*, in *The Literary Life and Miscellanies of John Galt*, III, 189-238, p. 198.

¹⁸ [John Galt], *Glenfell; or Macdonalds and Campbells. An Edinburgh Tale of the Nineteenth Century* (London: Printed for Sir Richard Phillips And Co., 1820), p. 191.

jokester, Grant spends most of his time remembering the Canadian landscape (an inversion of his own extreme homesickness and recollections of Scotland while away) and fulfilling his role as a Highland patriarch. While in Canada, Grant's memories of Scotland are '[holy],' but upon his return Grant remarks that 'Scotland is so changed since I left it, that I feel myself a stranger in my native land' (192, 196). Galt's characterisation of Grant's shifting identity is noteworthy: although the narration consistently depicts him as a Highland gentleman, Grant refers to himself as a 'wild man of the woods' and 'a savage, who has spent the best part of his days in the woods of America' (222, 227). The narrative paints him as an eccentric Highland laird, but Grant attempts to lay claim to identities as both backwoodsman and laird at once. While Galt's North American texts employ first person narration, in *Glenfell* an urbane and semi-omniscient narrator is the one 'interacting' with the returned emigrant, resulting in a clash of perspectives.

Grant's own descriptions of Canada, but for a deliberate tall-tale regarding the size of its bees, are simply reminders of its isolation (271-72). He speaks of 'the dark woods beyond the ocean, when I was alone beside the lake' and 'the lonely wilds and wastes afar off in the desert [sic] of Kedar, of Canada I should say' (232, 293). Galt's reference to psalm 120 emphasises the isolation of the emigrant from society. The narration provides more details, but they are mere stock images of 'vast sylvan wildernesses around the lakes,' 'remote forts in [...] Indian countries' and references to the scale of the wilderness (193). In *Glenfell*, Galt utilises stereotype and vague generalisation to create an image of the New World that contrasts sharply with the details of everyday life in Edinburgh. As in *Atlantis Destroyed*, little is shown of the New World apart from its essential contrast to European life. At this point, Galt's depictions of North America are noticeably shallow and inauthentic.

2.2 North America: Galt, Nature, and Settlement

In Galt's North American texts, by contrast, the authenticity of his account becomes a driving force. *Lawrie Todd*'s Preface states explicitly that its 'subject is more important than novels commonly treat of' and goes on to say that an 'authentic' depiction of 'the rise and progress of a successful American settlement, cannot but be useful to the emigrant who is driven to seek a home in the unknown wilderness' (I iv-v). *Bogle Corbet* was intended to 'show what a person of ordinarily genteel habits has really to expect in emigrating to Canada,' its fictional format meant to render those truths more palatable and to 'lighten the anxieties of those whom taste or fortune prompts to quit their native land,

and to seek in the wilderness new objects of industry, enterprise, and care' (I iii-iv). As Kenneth McNeil notes, the text was 'a "guidebook" in which statistical account and narrative serve the same goal'.¹⁹ Even *Bogle Corbet*'s epigram, 'Truth severe by fairy fiction dressed[.]' furthers Galt's presentation of the text as an authentic articulation of settler life. While in North America, Galt had purchased the manuscript memoir of Grant Thorburn, a Scottish emigrant to America.²⁰ Galt converted the tale of a pious young Scottish nailmaker who emigrated to New York, suffered a series of misfortunes and eventually became a prosperous seed-merchant and founder of settlements into a thinly fictionalised version, in which the protagonist returns to Scotland a wealthy man, publishing the new text as *Lawrie Todd*.

Unlike Galt's Scottish novels, published anonymously, Galt affixed his name to *Lawrie Todd*. The novel was a success on both sides of the Atlantic, running through multiple editions. The publishers duly commissioned a second North American novel, and *Bogle Corbet* was published in 1831.²¹ The text detailed the 'rigmarole life' of an unlucky Glasgow merchant.²² The hapless Corbet is born on 'Plantagenet estate, in Jamaica,' and returns to Scotland as a child following the deaths of his parents (I 4).²³ When a budding career as a weaver is destroyed by his unwittingly abetting the Weaver's Revolt, Corbet is employed in his guardian's warehouse and then becomes a businessman (I 52, 60). Bankruptcy prompts his relocation to Jamaica, but it is in his final emigration—to Upper Canada, an 'asylum across the Atlantic'—that Corbet eventually establishes himself as the successful founder of a community, only to discover that he remains unsatisfied (I 8, 221). Like Todd, he returns to Britain, but it is with despair. *Bogle Corbet*, then, can claim to be not only a Canadian text, but also a meditation on colonisation.

¹⁹ Kenneth McNeil, 'Time, Emigration and the Circum-Atlantic World: John Galt's *Bogle Corbet*,' in *John Galt: Observations and Conjectures on Literature, History and Society*, Transits: Literature, Thought & Culture, ed. by Regina Hewitt (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2012), pp. 299-321, p. 304.

²⁰ Galt, *Literary Life*, I, p. 283, and John Galt, *Lawrie Todd; or, The Settlers in the Woods, Revised, Corrected and with a New Introduction, Notes, etc.*, 2nd edn (London: Richard Bentley; Edinburgh: Bell and Bradfute; Dublin: Cumming; Paris: Galignani, 1832), pp. vi-vii.

²¹ *Bogle Corbet* (unlike *Lawrie Todd*) went through only one edition despite good sales. *Bogle Corbet*'s continued appeal and availability later in the century must therefore remain open to question. By 1864 W. H. G. Kingston would conflate *Lawrie Todd* and *Bogle Corbet*, while J. H. Millar, in 1903, remarked that 'Some people have read *Laurie Todd* [sic], [...] but no one living (so far as I am aware) has read *Bogle Corbet*.' See W. H. G. Kingston, *The Log House by the Lake: A Tale of Canada* (London: SPCK; New York: Pott, Young & Co., 1864), p. 9; Millar, *Literary History of Scotland* (London: TF Unwin, 1903), p. 549.

²² John Galt, *Bogle Corbet; or, The Emigrants*, 3 vols (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, [1831]), I, p. 1. For a plot summary see Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism* p. 278.

²³ Galt's use of 'Plantagenet' may refer to British tyranny over the black slaves on said plantation.

In comparison to the vague depictions of Canada in *Glenfell* or *Auld Reekie*, Galt's North American novels are based on his personal experiences in Upper Canada. Even Galt's dealings with the unfortunate Scottish settlers of the Topo Colony in Columbia, who found themselves stranded in Guelph, are echoed in Bogle Corbet's remarks on unscrupulous foreign land agents and the necessity of emigrant groups remaining together for survival (*Corbet* II 118, 129).²⁴ Indeed, the Canada Company itself received its own share of opprobrium, and was branded a 'cruel seducer' of naïve emigrants.²⁵ These novels were explicitly intended as emigrant guides, written in a period when such texts abounded. Despite the abundance of information and descriptions available to the public, British conceptions of Canada remained hazy, as one of Galt's friends proved after the novelist's death. While Galt was in Canada, he recalled, he had 'mixed [Galt] up in my mind with furs, and Washington Irvine [sic], and the "Rough Notes" of Sir George Head'.²⁶ Canada was conflated with both the United States and South America. *Lawrie Todd* and *Bogle Corbet* act as a counterweight to such vague notions, incorporating Galt's own experiences along with information gleaned from his reading and from discussions with other colonists. Galt's intention was to be as authentic as possible in his depiction of settlement life, and his lived experience is stamped upon the texts.

While Galt's experience shapes his novels, the impact of Galt the Canada Company Commissioner is written on the landscape of Ontario.²⁷ John Galt's own place in the mindspace of nineteenth-century Ontario, or Upper Canada, is easily seen in poetic tributes to Galt as the city of Guelph's founder. Local poet James McIntyre bypasses Galt's literary work entirely, declaring that:

John Galt and Doctor Dunlop witty
They located and planned the city
Of Guelph, and they cut the first tree down,
The stump was the centre of the town.²⁸

²⁴ For an overview of the Topo Colony, see Hans P. Rheinheimer, *Topo: The Story of a Scottish Colony near Caracas, 1825-1827* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, Ltd, 1988). For Galt's role, see Timothy pp. 109-115.

The colonists' own view can be found in a letter to the *Glasgow Herald*, describing their plight and begging that 'all Scotchmen will take pity on us' as they are 'in danger of our lives.' See 'Scotland,' *Glasgow Herald*, Monday 22 January 1827, 4 pgs, p. 4.

²⁵ Rev. Patrick Bell, qtd. Marjory Harper, *Emigration from North-East Scotland: Willing Exiles*, 2 vols (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988), I, p. 200.

²⁶ 'John Galt. A Literary Retrospective by a Middle Aged Man,' *Bentley's Miscellany*, 18 (1845): 285-292, p. 288.

²⁷ Witness the naming of a shallow Abbotsford due to proximity to the home of 'one Walter Scott, who came, of all places in the world, from Selkirk' (Galt *Autobiography* II 92).

²⁸ James McIntyre, 'Galt and Dunlop,' *Poems of James McIntyre* (Ingersoll, Ontario: Office of *The Chronicle*, 1889), p. 57.

The text celebrates Galt's colonial accomplishments, with particular attention paid to the felling of this tree. By incorporating the stump into his plan, Galt declares mastery over the Canadian natural world and absorbs it into the new, built, landscape. A. E. Treleaven provides a different interpretation, envisioning 'Noble Galt and Dunlop [...] within a pathless wood' before:

Galt struck the monarch of the wilds,
With strong manhood's earnest might;
Dunlop, Prior and the wood men fell'd
It, on that thrice-honored night[.]²⁹

Rather than the triumph over Nature, Treleaven emphasises the nature of the struggle. The men begin in a wood, 'pathless' and at a disadvantage; the 'monarch of the wilds' requires at least four men to be subdued. While Treleaven engages in Victorian hyperbole, his articulation of Galt's moral and physical strength also engages with traditional conceptions of positive colonial virtues: brute strength, perseverance, and community mindedness.³⁰

The fascination of these Victorian Canadians with Galt's ritual combat with nature is no accident. It is precisely what Galt intended, as he was 'determined [the founding ceremony] should be so celebrated as to be held in remembrance, and yet so conducted as to be only apparently accidentally impressive' (*Autobiography* II 54). Galt left no fewer than seven separate accounts of the founding of Guelph, each of them highly ritualised.³¹ While certain details, such as a meeting at the shanty of 'an Indian, who had committed murder,' and Tiger Dunlop's cross-cultural dancing of a Highland Fling while garbed in a First Nations blanket, are not always reproduced, the ceremonial tree-cutting is always present, including the accounts in *Lawrie Todd* and *Bogle Corbet* (*Autobiography* II 56). Galt took pains to orchestrate this struggle for his fellow settlers, deliberately cutting the tree on St George's Day. By choosing to honour the patron saint of England, and 'the king's name day,' Galt emphasises fidelity to the mother country (*Autobiography* II 56). More striking is his choice of ritual action: Galt transforms what would otherwise be a mundane reality of settler life into a moment of high significance.

Galt's *Autobiography* records that he 'struck the first stroke. To me at least the moment was impressive,—and the silence of the woods, that echoed to the sound, was as

²⁹ A. E. L. Treleaven, 'Guelph's Fiftieth Anniversary. A Poem,' (Guelph: Harold Storm Printing Establishment, 1877), 4 pgs, lns 2, 4, 9-12.

³⁰ D. M. R. Bentley examines personality traits valued by settlers, particularly the preference for physical strength over accomplishment or intellectual prowess, in 'Large Stature and Larger Soul: The herculean hero and narrative in Canada', in *The Gay]Gray Moose: Essays on the Ecologies and Mythologies of Canadian Poetry 1690-1990* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press 1992), 217-234, p. 221.

³¹ Nick Whistler, 'Galt's life and autobiography,' in *John Galt: Reappraisals*, ed. by Elizabeth Waterston (Guelph: University of Guelph, 1985), pp. 44-56, p. 53.

the sigh of the solemn genius of the wilderness departing for ever' (II 59). When the tree came down, it was with 'a crash [...] as if ancient Nature were alarmed at the entrance of social man into her innocent solitudes with his sorrows, his follies, and his crimes' (*Autobiography* II 59). Galt's destruction of the tree, then, not only begins the physical clearing of the woods, but is an attempt at symbolic cleansing as well. Man's actions banish 'the genius of the wilderness.' In this account, it is man whose presence contaminates nature, much as in *Atlantis Destroyed*. The ceremony of cutting the tree is in *Lawrie Todd* more openly ritualised, beginning with a procession 'at sunrise' and 'a flourish of all the tin horns of the settlement.'³² Todd describes the ceremony itself:

When we reached what was destined to be the centre of the town, the axemen or choppers cleared the brush or underwood from around a large tree, and the cannon being properly placed, the old gentleman took an axe and struck the first stroke, upon which the seven cannon were fired three times. I struck the second, and so it went round, until the tree fell with a sound like thunder, banishing the loneliness and silence of the woods for ever (II 59).

These cannons had been dragged 'upwards of seven miles' for the purpose (II 58). This is a solemn occasion, the planning of which was noticed by the inhabitants for two days prior to the event (*Todd* II 57). In this version, however, the entire settler community plays a role in bringing down the tree, rather than the officials who performed the honour for the Canada Company. As it is throughout Galt's accounts of settlement life, community cohesion is promoted.

Todd's description of the falling tree prefigures Galt's later account of the Guelph maple. Like the vanquished 'genius,' the woods' 'loneliness' is 'banished.' It is perhaps significant that no such detail is included in *Bogle Corbet*. Corbet places less emphasis on the ceremony itself, noting that 'after we had felled the first tree, I proceeded pretty much according to the plan in which Mr. Lawrie Todd and his friend Mr. Hoskins did with Judeville' (III 37). By referring the reader back to *Lawrie Todd*, Galt is not only able to include a cross-textual reference, but he is also able to create a sense of continuity for this ritual—and so it ceases to be associated specifically with any single community. The lack of grandeur associated with this description of the ceremony itself is compensated for through Corbet's oration to the community. Corbet 'collect[s] the whole association, young and old, wives and mothers, around me,' and tells the parable of the 'bundle of sticks,' to whom unity gives strength, reminding them that 'by beginning with a town, you follow the course of Nature, but in scattering yourselves abroad in the forest, you become, as it were, banished men' (III 36). This speech is effective, and at the appointed time, he 'was met by

³² John Galt, *Lawrie Todd; or, The Settlers in the Woods*, 3 vols (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley, 1830), II, p. 58.

all the emigrants assembled, with axes on their shoulders, and several of the bigger boys with spades, ready to accompany me' (III 36). Galt's bundle of sticks also carries overtones of a lictor's *fasces*, a classical symbol of authority, and one adopted by the Scottish Inns of Court. Galt, trained as a lawyer, would have been aware of this significance. The *fasces* served as a reminder of the continued use of Scots law following the Union. Corbet's bundle of sticks may carry an echo of this power, highlighting both Corbet's ability to set out community standards and the desire to keep those standards separate from American influence.

Galt focuses on the felling of trees, in stark contrast to the planting or decorating of Trees of Liberty. In 1765, the first liberty tree was decorated as an expression of American freedom from British colonial overreach.³³ Arthur Schlesinger provides a detailed account of Trees of Liberty before and during the American Revolution.³⁴ This American symbol of republicanism was taken up in France. From France, the practice spread to Scotland, where it became caught up in the radical movement.³⁵ Such images were widespread, and one poem, 'The Tree of Liberty' published in 1838, has been controversially attributed to Burns, though also claimed by Mackenzie.³⁶ Mona Ozouf has examined the history and associations of Trees of Liberty at length. French Liberty Trees were noteworthy for being deliberately planted, rather than simply given the designation.³⁷ Ozouf also considers the trees' social role, as their placement 'in the middle of the village square' would '[weld]

³³ The liberty tree is associated with Thomas Paine's employing the Biblical exhortation to 'lay the axe to the root' and eradicate sin—or in Paine's case, governmental tyranny. For North American settlers, such statements could be taken two ways. See Thomas Paine, 'Liberty Tree,' *Miscellaneous Poems* (London: R. Carlile, 1819), pp. 10-11, and *Rights of Man: Being an Answer to Mr. Burke's Attack on the French Revolution* (London: Printed for J.S. Jordan, 1791), p. 33.

³⁴ Arthur M. Schlesinger, 'Liberty Tree: A Genealogy,' *The New England Quarterly*, 25:4 (Dec. 1952): 435-458, JSTOR [accessed 12 February 2011].

³⁵ Henry W. Meikle, *Scotland and the French Revolution* (London: Frank Cass & Co Ltd [1912] 1969), p. 97. For more recent scholarship on Scotland and the French Revolution, see Bob Harris, *The Scottish People and the French Revolution*, *The Enlightenment World: Political and Intellectual History of the Long Eighteenth Century* 6 (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2008).

³⁶ While 'The Tree of Liberty' is now generally acknowledged as Burns' work, its authorship has been a source of dissent amongst Burns scholars since its first publication. Carruthers and Paton provide a good history of the controversy, which they attribute less to 'the political tone of the poem, and considerably more to with the lack of literary merit shown in most of the eleven stanzas,' and put forward Alexander Geddes as another possible author (247, 253). See Gerard Carruthers and Norman R. Paton, 'Did Robert Burns write "The Tree of Liberty"?' in *Fickle Man: Robert Burns in the 21st Century*, ed. by Johnny Rodger and Gerard Carruthers (Dingwall, Rosshire: Sandstone Press, 2009), pp. 242-256. For a more general examination of the Liberty Tree and its (lack of) effect on British poetry, see William Ruddick, 'Liberty Trees and Loyal Oaks: emblematic presences in some English poems of the French Revolutionary period,' in *Reflections of Revolutions: Images of Romanticism*, ed. by Alison Yarrington and Kelvin Everest (London/New York: Routledge, 1993), pp. 59-67.

³⁷ Mona Ozouf, trans. by Alan Sheridan, *Festivals and the French Revolution* (Cambridge, MA/London: Harvard University Press, 1988), pp. 244-47, 251.

together' the people—a 'teacher of equality' and witness for the community as it grew (257). While this could function as a social stabiliser, the trees' association with political radicals made them singularly unsuitable for the conservative Galt's fictitious enclaves.³⁸

Although ritual felling is fully described in *Lawrie Todd*, in *Bogle Corbet*, the actual tree felling is somewhat overshadowed by Corbet's ceremonious repetition of the parable of the bundle of sticks, advocating community over American individualism. The distinction between Galt's communities—both terrestrial and fictional—and their American counterparts America can be illustrated with reference to James Fenimore Cooper's contemporary novel *Lionel Lincoln* (1825). In Cooper's text, a British aristocrat, living in America and in love with an American, must choose his allegiance. To sway him, American patriots take him to view the stump of the Liberty Tree in Boston, vowing that though '[British] axes have succeeded in destroying the mother plant, [...] her scions are flourishing throughout a continent!'³⁹ To pass the stump without paying your respects was 'wicked' (Cooper I 169). Lincoln, who cannot act against his country and eventually returns to England, reacts with mild befuddlement to this American demand that he revere the memory of a tree. Being completely committed neither to American republicanism nor to British colonial ideals, Cooper's hero would likely have reacted similarly to the tree felling of *Lawrie Todd*. While the Liberty Tree was taken up by France, and then by Scottish radicals, the individual tree had a particularly powerful symbolic function in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century American society.

The Liberty Tree had resonance in late eighteenth-century Canada. Galt's ritual provided a viable alternative for overtly non-republican representations of literary community, spreading beyond Galt's fictionalised Guelph(s). Alexander McLachlan's 1861 poem *The Emigrant* relies heavily on Galt's ritualised tree felling. McLachlan, himself a Scottish emigrant, makes use of many Scottish literary models, but his use of Galt—and Galt's North American novels—is striking, and readers in both North America and Britain would be expected to notice the parallels. Part four, 'Cutting the First Tree,'

³⁸ Bogle Corbet had also been disastrously caught up in the politics of radical weavers—Stockwell's inhabitants would never dare erect a Liberty Tree. Grant Thorburn, Galt's model for Lawrie Todd, however, was interested in and met Paine. A fictionalised account of this, paraphrased from Thorburn's autobiography and signed 'G.T.' is attributed to Galt, though Thorburn thought the author might have been his brother. See Grant Thorburn, *Forty Years' Residence in America* (Boston: Russell, Odiome & Metcalf, 1834), pp. 90-92, 220; [John Galt] G. T. 'Tom Paine. Extracts from the Notes of an Observer,' *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 26:159 (November 1830): 90-92.

³⁹ James Fenimore Cooper, *Lionel Lincoln, or the Leaguer of Boston*, 3 vols (London: John Miller, 1825) I, p. 169.

reveals McLachlan's emigrant community working together to fell the tree, an act that was 'a kind of sacrament; / Like to laying the foundation, / Of a city or a nation'.⁴⁰

McLachlan, unlike Galt, is realistic in his description of the effort involved in overcoming an ancient tree. The speaker admits that the group of former British skilled workers 'were awkward at the axe, / And the trees were stubborn facts' (ll. 4.27-28). Only when hope is lost does the tree at last come down. The emigrants react 'With the consciousness of might; / And we cheered as when a foe / Or a tyrant is laid low' (ll. 4.81-83). John 'the orator' addresses the crowd, hailing the emigrants as 'Invaders of the ancient woods, / These dark primeval solitudes,' encouraging perseverance, and claiming that 'From the felling of a tree, / Greater consequences rise / E'en than when a Caesar dies!' (ll. 4.89-90, 116, 138-40). Following this speech, 'John the teacher' gives his fellows 'a parable,' condemning vice and crass capitalism, concluding:

Each for all, and all for each,
Is the doctrine that I preach;
Mind the fable of the wands,
'Tis a fact that always stands;
Singly we are poor and weak,
But united, who can break (ll. 2.13; 4.158, 219-24).

McLachlan, then, incorporates the more detailed description of the founding of Judiville in *Lawrie Todd* with Bogle Corbet's exhortations regarding the 'bundle of sticks.' The felling, and the subsequent speeches, set the tone of the settlement's future. McLachlan synthesises Galt's foundation rituals, and the popularity of his own text may have helped to ensure that tree-felling as a ritual retained currency even as *Lawrie Todd* and *Bogle Corbet* lost their audience.

Beyond the political overtones of the tree felling, the ceremony was also, quite simply, an attack on the forest. Kevin Hutchings has described an established 'metaphysics of North American forest-hating,' that may be linked to notions of savagery.⁴¹ In 1812 Galt himself wrote that he considered communities in the process of being built as 'in the savage state.'⁴² This distaste for the natural environment is based primarily on the presence of forests, which were taken to indicate a lack of civilisation in North America. By the late eighteenth century, European methods were taming forests. The forest could under certain conditions act a civilising force, but these were woods planted and controlled by

⁴⁰ Alexander McLachlan, *The Emigrant*, ed. by D. M. R. Bentley (London, ON: Canadian Poetry Press, 1991), ll. 4.33-36.

⁴¹ Kevin Hutchings, 'The Forest and the City: Savagery and Civility in the British Atlantic World,' *Wordsworth Circle*, 41:3 (Summer 2010): 164-67, p. 165.

⁴² John Galt, *Cursory Reflections on Political and Commercial Topics, as Connected with the Regent's Accession to the Royal Authority* (London: C. J. Barrington, 1812), p. 87.

enlightened Europeans, particularly the Germans, whose pioneering *Forstwissenschaft* resulted in the displacement of the untamed forest by an 'ideal forest whose random and natural variables were reduced to a minimum.'⁴³ In Robert Burns's 'The Humble Petition of Bruar Water to the Noble Duke of Athole,' the waterfall's 'highest [wish]' is the cultivation of 'tow'ring trees / And bonnie spreading bushes' for the encouragement of songbirds and the delectation of 'shepherds' and 'musing bards'—an environment that will take the falls from sublime to pastoral.⁴⁴ Another text considers the implications of clearance. The 1791 'Verses on the Destruction of the Woods Near Drumlanrig,' lamented 'cruel man[']'s' destruction of the woods, but this is linked to the trees' pastoral associations, as 'the cot is bare and cauld, / Its leafy bield for ever gane, / And scarce a stunted birk is left'.⁴⁵ The woods, cleared with mercenary intent, present a possible analogue to the exploited and cleared colonies, but ultimately in neither case is the tamed Scottish wood comparable to the Canadian wild.⁴⁶

Sir Walter Scott also contributed to the debate on forestry in Scotland, publishing reviews of associated texts in 1827 and 1828 in *The Quarterly Review*. At the same time, Scott 'planted extensively throughout the grounds of Abbotsford, meticulously recording the process in his planter's journal, titled in a mock-scientific plantsman's manner *Sylva Abbotsfordiensis*'.⁴⁷ Susan Oliver, who finds in Scott's correspondence an 'abiding interest in forestry' and 'continuous fascination with arboricultural practice', focuses on the implications of his discussion of 'waste lands' (587-88). Scott's 1827 review of Robert Monteith's *The Forester's Guide*, entitled, 'On Planting Waste Lands,' sets up a dichotomy between the Old and New Worlds. As Oliver points out, the term 'waste lands' was a 'means of describing those parts of the North American landscape that remained free of white European domination' and had formed part of the early American rhetoric justifying the seizure of Native American land (589). Moreover, Scott argues against the

⁴³ Robert Pogue Harrison, *Forests: The Shadow of Civilization* (Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 122.

⁴⁴ Robert Burns, 'The Humble Petition of Bruar Water to the Noble Duke of Athole,' in *The Canongate Burns*, Andrew Noble and Patrick Scott Hogg (Edinburgh: Canongate Classics, 2003), pp. 278-81, ll. 34-36, 39, 53, 66.

⁴⁵ Robert Burns, 'Verses on the Destruction of the Woods Near Drumlanrig,' in *The Canongate Burns*, ed. by Andrew Noble and Patrick Scott Hogg (Edinburgh: Canongate Classics, 2003), pp. 981-86, ll. 29-31, 45. William Wordsworth also noted his outrage at the 'beggared and outraged' landscape. See 'Sonnet (Composed at — Castle.)' in *Poems, in Two Volumes*, 2 vols (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees and Orme, 1807), p. 28, l. 8.

⁴⁶ While Henry Mackenzie claimed this poem as his own work in the style of Burns, Scott and Hogg find reason to discount his claim (*Canongate Burns* pp. 783-784).

⁴⁷ Susan Oliver, 'Planting the Nation's 'Waste Lands': Walter Scott, Forestry and the Cultivation of Scotland's Wilderness,' *Literature Compass*, 6:3 (2009): 585-598, *Wiley Online Library* [accessed 3 October 2011], p. 594.

use of the supposedly Scotch fir, ‘an inferior variety, brought from Canada not more than a century ago,’ and championing instead the ‘native plant of the island,’ the larch and the oak.⁴⁸ While Scott makes his argument out of nationalistic (and possibly scientific) grounds, it also has the effect of barring the encroachment of the wild New World trees into the civilised forests of Britain. While reviewing Sir Henry Steuart’s *The Planter’s Guide* in ‘On Ornamental Principles and Landscape Gardening,’ he laments the loss of the beautiful and ‘artificial’ gardens of previous centuries, and praises forests.⁴⁹ The forests Scott is concerned with, however, are aristocratic deer-parks, maintained by ‘old feudal barons’ who ‘plant[ed] their parks’ and ‘[cut] paths and glades through them’ (312). He praises Steuart’s ability to create the effect of wilderness, and then examines his methods of doing so (323). Although Scott appreciates the plantation of an apparently wild forest, it is nevertheless as artificial as the gardens he praises.

Galt’s attitude towards the forest and Nature has a different quality, especially in his North American texts.⁵⁰ Ian Campbell sums up the alien nature of British emigrants’ encounters with North American nature by comparing arrival at a Canadian port with landing on ‘the surface of the moon.’⁵¹ The Gáidhlig epithet for Canada, ‘Tír nan Craobh,’ or ‘Land of the Trees,’ provides some indication of the power of the Canadian forest to evoke a sense of difference from the mother country. Lawrie Todd, whose eponymous novel is subtitled ‘The Settlers in the Woods,’ is terrified by the skeletons of burnt trees and the ‘hideous [...] evil prophecies’ of ‘a screech owl’ (I 191, 243). In *Bogle Corbet*, in particular, trees are often ascribed a stultifying and isolating effect (III 40-41, 125, 188, 218).⁵² The woods present an obstacle to cultivation and colonisation, but more

⁴⁸ [Sir Walter Scott], ‘ART. VIII.-*The Forester’s Guide and Profitable Planter*./On Planting Waste Lands,’ *The Quarterly Review*, 36:72 (October 1827): 558-600, ProQuest [accessed 23 April 2011], pp. 574, 580.

⁴⁹ [Sir Walter Scott], ‘ART. I.-*The Planter’s Guide; or a Practical Essay on the best Method of giving immediate effect to Wood, by the removal of large Trees and Underwood; being an attempt to place the Art on fixed Principles, and to apply it to general Purposes, useful and ornamental*/On Ornamental Principles and Landscape Gardening,’ *The Quarterly Review*, 37:74 (March 1828): 303-344, ProQuest [accessed 23 April 2011], p. 307.

⁵⁰ The difference was perhaps best put by William Blake, who in 1799 noted that ‘The tree which moves some to tears of joy is in the Eyes of others only a Green thing which stands in the way.’ See Blake, ‘Letter to Rev Dr Trusler, 23 August 1799’ in *Blake: Complete Writings with Variant Readings*, ed. by Geoffrey Keynes, 2nd edn, repr. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, [1925, 1966], 1972), pp. 793-794, p. 794.

⁵¹ Ian Campbell, “Dependents of Chance,” in *John Galt: Reappraisals*, ed. by Elizabeth Waterston (Guelph: University of Guelph, 1985), pp. 109-118, p. 110.

⁵² An 1841 examination of Galt in the Montreal *Literary Garland* characterises Galt as a Scottish author who engaged in Canadian politics. ‘*Laurie Todd*’ is mentioned as one of his works; *Bogle Corbet* is ignored. One of the few remarks that may have some bearing on these texts is a mention of Galt’s felicity in describing ‘forest scenes.’ See A. R., ‘Retrospective Reviews—No. IV. John Galt,’ *Literary Garland*, 3:6 (May 1841): 263-272, p. 271.

importantly they represent a darker aspect of settler life. In a chapter aptly titled ‘Depression,’ Corbet notes that:

in the liveness of the silent woods, a feeling has often been infused into me, at morning, noon, and evening, and at night, which has made me think myself hateful to my species, while I could only recall the remembrance of incidents that ought to have made them hateful to me (III 58).

This depression is a product of the landscape itself. Corbet later remarks that ‘the demon that haunts the new settler in the forest had none abated in its native malignity’ (III 173). The forest is itself a threat to the colonists’ mental well-being. A century later, critic Northrop Frye would find in Canadian literature:

a tone of deep terror in regard to nature [...] It is not a terror of the dangers or discomforts or even the mysteries of nature, but a terror of the soul at something that these things manifest. The human mind has nothing but human and moral values to cling to if it is to preserve its integrity or even its sanity, yet the vast unconsciousness of nature in front of it seems an unanswerable denial of these values.⁵³

While Nature may not be an active participant in this fostering of terror and depression, it is its source. Galt’s ritual felling of these trees, then, provides a crucial victory over a perceived malignant force.

The supernatural has a role to play as well, whether by its presence or by its conspicuous absence. While Lawrie Todd scoffs that ‘[t]he people on this side of the Atlantic have no ancestors,’ he anticipates Catharine Parr Traill’s admission that Canada lacks ghosts, as it has no history (*Todd* III 251).⁵⁴ At times Galt appears to agree with this view. He writes to James Hogg in 1828 that ‘It is a terrible pity that you have never seen a Canadian forest. [...] One remarkable thing in the American woods is their entire freedom from fairies and all sorts of hobgoblins’.⁵⁵ While Galt implies that the Canadian wilderness is free from the British supernatural, he also evokes negative associations of the forest through his use of ballad tropes, speaking of settlers, who ‘when they reach their intended locations in the wood, [...] like the innocent babes, wander for a time up and down, and then die or stray away, they know not whither, and are heard of no more’ (*Corbet* III, 49, 57). The lack of supernatural knowledge—and the remnants of British folk tradition—further add to the settler’s perception of the otherness of the Canadian woods. Todd and Corbet’s European fear of the woods is also a marker of their own first-generation

⁵³ Northrop Frye, ‘Conclusion,’ *Literary History of Canada: Canadian Literature in English*, ed. by Carl F. Klinck (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), pp. 821–49, p. 830.

⁵⁴ Catharine Parr Traill, *The Backwoods of Canada: Being Letters from the Wife of an Emigrant Officer*, The Library of Entertaining Knowledge (London: Charles Knight, 1836), p. 153.

⁵⁵ John Galt to James Hogg, qtd. Mrs Mary. G. Garden, *Memorials of James Hogg* (Paisley/London: Alexander Gardner, 1885), p. 173.

immigrant status. Englishwoman Susanna Moodie, detailing her own fears of the woods to a Canadian, was told: ‘Ghosts! There are no ghosts in Canada! [...] The country is too new for ghosts. No Canadian is afraid of ghosts. It is only in old countries, like your’n, that are full of sin and wickedness, that people believe in such nonsense’ (*Roughing It* II 13). To be a Canadian, it is intimated, is to have a different relationship with the landscape.

Bogle Corbet’s first introduction to North America—his ‘baptism as a Canadian’—is his sea journey and entrance up the St. Lawrence (Ashton 98). Galt’s depiction of this journey showcases what Waterston calls ‘Galt’s obsessive fear of disaster on water’ (‘Annals of New World Parishes’ 58). *Lawrie Todd* had also examined the sea-voyage, but Corbet’s version is decidedly darker. Emigrants sit in a ‘leaky’ ship, wrapped in blankets as if ‘in winding-sheets’ due to ‘squalls and storms, rattling hail and dumbfalling snow’ (II 252). The danger of the North is symbolised by the ship’s narrow escape from an iceberg (II 55-57). Katie Trumpener reads this event as ‘[a]n ominous, frozen embodiment of North America threaten[ing] to crush [the settlers], before shattering into tiny pieces, rent by its own furious instabilities’ (283). Even after the peril posed by the iceberg itself is passed, the fragments continue to endanger the ship (*Corbet* II 257). This early indication of the dangers of instability is later recalled by Corbet’s insistence on maintaining community cohesion. Further down the river, Corbet, dreading shipwreck, invokes the island of Anticosta and ‘the cannibalism of necessity’ (II 263). The wreck of the *Granicus* in 1829 in the Gulf—and the conditions that forced civilised Englishmen to consume their fellows—was public knowledge, and the emigrants have an ‘old newspaper’ detailing a similar story onboard (II 260).⁵⁶ The Canadian waterscape is thus implicated in the negative power of the landscape, while also highlighting the destructive nature of unbridled individualism. The Anticosta cannibals are British windigos—civilised men transformed into something horrific by the influence of the North. Frye compares entry into Canada via water to being swallowed alive by a whale (Frye 276). John Galt’s description of Bogle Corbet’s journey, written a century previously, is eerily similar. Galt clearly anticipates later trends in the depiction of the Canadian landscape.

⁵⁶ Brief mentions of Anticosta are found in histories and topographical texts, such as Joseph Bouchette’s *The British Dominions in North America* (1831), as well as more specialised texts such as Henry Wolsey Bayfield’s *Sailing Directions for the Gulf and River of St. Lawrence* (1837); Sir Richard Henry Bonnycastle provided grisly details of ‘beams [...] literally hung like a butcher’s stall, with human carcasses [sic].’ See Bonnycastle, *The Canadas in 1841*, 2 vols (London: Henry Colburn, 1841), II, p. 250. The American William L. Stone used the wreck of the *Granicus* as the basis for a short story. See Stone, ‘The Dead of the Wreck,’ [reprinted from the *Atlantic Souvenir*, Philadelphia 1831], *Kaleidoscope; or, Literary and scientific mirror*, 11:551 (18 January 1831): 226-227; and 11:552 (25 January 1831): 233-234, *ProQuest* [accessed 4 May 2011].

Having survived their journey into Canada, his settlers are still forced to confront potential danger of the North American waterscape on a regular basis. The residents of both Judiville and Stockwell exploit water-power and construct mills (*Todd* II 10-11, 283-85; *Corbet* III 249-258). They also find themselves dealing with all the natural disasters Galt believed emigrants should expect, including catastrophic floods and drowning (*Todd* I 213, 315; III 275; *Corbet* II 303). The emphasis laid on prospective catastrophes is integral to what Halliwell deems Galt's 'negative portrayals [as...] overlays of authenticity' (5).⁵⁷ The willingness to consider the negative—and to dwell on it—signals Galt's intent to present an unvarnished and realistic portrait of settlement life.

Of particular interest in this context is Galt's treatment of Niagara Falls. While Galt's wider work reveals something of a preoccupation with the Falls, he also refuses to give way to the common rhetoric of the sublime.⁵⁸ Even as he utilises the scale of the North American landscape, and the Romantic construction of the continent furthered by Humboldt, Galt also deflates popular notions of sublime Niagara through Bogle and Urseline Corbet's disappointed reactions to the falls (III 224, 229).⁵⁹ Corbet provides a prosaic account and uses the Falls as an excuse to examine and compare British, Canadian and American personalities (III 235-36, 239-45). Instead of an unmediated encounter with nature, Galt's characters explicitly engage in the rising trend of Niagara tourism.⁶⁰ During this episode, Galt continues his elision of First Nations people from the settlement narrative, despite their presence in the area—and their prominence in the Niagara tourist 'contact zone' with its resultant 'spectacle of race.'⁶¹ The divorce between the imagined

⁵⁷ Kevin Halliwell, 'John Galt and the paratext: the discourse of authentication in North American emigration literature,' *The Star Project* <[www.star.ac.uk/media/2310/galt¶text%20-%20e-texts%20\(star\).doc](http://www.star.ac.uk/media/2310/galt¶text%20-%20e-texts%20(star).doc)> [accessed 5 February 2011], p. 5.

⁵⁸ For Galt on Niagara, see [John Galt], 'The Apocalypse of St Colm,' *Efforts. By an Invalid* (Greenock: Printed for the author, by John Mennons & Co., 1835), 13-30, ll. 48.3, n.29; John Galt, *Autobiography* II, pp. 8, 98, 317; John Galt, *Poems* (London: Cochrane and M'Crone, Waterloo Place, Pall Mall, 1833), p. vi.

For a nuanced exploration of the history of Niagara Falls in literature and art, see Elizabeth McKinsey, *Niagara Falls: Icon of the American Sublime* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

⁵⁹ See 3.1 for a consideration of the Canadian sublime.

⁶⁰ For Niagara tourism in the early nineteenth century, see Kevin Hutchings, 'Romantic Niagara: Environmental Aesthetics, Indigenous Culture, and Transatlantic Tourism, 1776-1850,' *Symbiosis: A Journal of Anglo-American Literary Relations*, 12:2 (October 2008): 131-47. See also Patricia Jasen, 'Romanticism, Modernity, and the Evolution of Tourism on the Niagara Frontier, 1790-1850,' *Canadian Historical Review*, 72 (1991): 283-319. Jasen provides a more detailed examination in *Wild Things: Nature, Culture and Tourism in Ontario, 1790-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995).

⁶¹ Karen Dubinsky, 'Vacations in the "Contact Zone": Race, Gender and the Traveler at Niagara Falls,' in *Nation, Empire, Colony: Historicizing Gender and Race*, ed. by Ruth Roach Pierson, Nupur Chaudhuri, with the assistance of Beth McAuley (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), pp. 251-269, p. 262.

Niagara and the commercialised reality can be seen in Mrs Corbet's opinion that the Falls would be improved through the addition of 'a tasteful Chinese summer-house' (III 235). The demotion of the Falls to a mere 'tea-urn' and 'extravagant waste of water,' while an opportunity to assert Mrs Corbet's extreme pragmatism, is also a deliberate nod to human control over an alien—if sublime—landscape (III 224, 245).

In 1965 Northrop Frye put forth the 'garrison mentality' as a defining trope in Canadian literature, in which '[s]mall and isolated communities surrounded by a physical or psychological "frontier", [... and] provide all their members have in the way of distinctively human values [... are] confronted with a huge, unthinking, menacing, and formidable physical setting' (Frye 830). Margaret Atwood's landmark *Survival* (1972) extended the concept and figured Canadian identity itself as dogged survival in the face of an actively murderous Nature: the nation is a 'collective victim'.⁶² Early examples of these tropes figure in *Lawrie Todd* and *Bogle Corbet*, but are far more concentrated in the latter. Galt had visited and enjoyed America, but spent the majority of his time in North America in Upper Canada. Although much of the geography and the nature of the settlements established were common to both countries, Galt's description of America must be filtered through the Canadian landscape. *Lawrie Todd*, though set in America, was 'this Canadian experience in fiction.'⁶³

Galt's depiction of nature and landscape, then, is applicable to both countries, and his use of the negative aspects of settler life also adds to what Halliwell refers to as a 'veneer of authentication' in these texts, particularly in *Bogle Corbet* (4). This same negative portrayal, Elizabeth Waterston hints, may account for *Bogle Corbet*'s comparative lack of success, as 'Galt's contemporaries in Canada didn't want to hear the truth as he told it.'⁶⁴ While *Lawrie* is optimistic, *Bogle* is downcast, and the change in tone intensifies the negative aspects in *Bogle Corbet*. This is noticeable primarily as Galt's depiction of the landscape shifts from merely hazardous to overtly malignant. Similarly, while P. H. Scott reads *Lawrie*'s settlement activities as ensuring he is 'never alone [... or] struggling to achieve isolated survival,' Corbet's own position of authority and desire to build a close-

⁶² Margaret Atwood, *Survival: A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature* (Toronto: Anansi Press, 1972), p. 32.

⁶³ Charles E. Shain, 'John Galt's America,' *American Quarterly*, 8:3 (Autumn 1956): 254-263, JSTOR [accessed 10 March 2011], p. 257.

⁶⁴ Elizabeth Waterston, 'John Galt's Canadian Experience: The Scottish Strain,' *Studies in Scottish Literature*, 15 (1980): 257-262, p. 261. In an earlier article she notes that Galt's 'dour realism' when dealing with Scotland 'constituted his appeal in Canada' as it reminded Scottish settlers of home, but that very realism was less appreciated when it described everyday life in the new country ('Lowland Tradition' 213).

knit community cannot erase his own sense of isolation.⁶⁵ Elements of what become hallmarks of Canadian writing are evidenced in *Bogle Corbet*, but not in *Lawrie Todd*. As Ashton notes, ‘Bogle Corbet [...] views Nature [...] as a constant threat’: this renders him a truly Canadian character (101).

‘Fire in the Forest,’ a poem Galt published in 1839, discusses other dangers of the Canadian wilds. Galt opens by comparing ‘sad emigrants’ to a ‘plant transplanted from its native bed, / [...] find[ing] fresh vigour in another soil,’ while foreshadowing that ‘the forest’s twilight shade’ and winter result in ‘dangers’ and ‘grave[s in] the greenwood.’⁶⁶ Such language ensures that the subsequent descriptions of the beauty of prelapsarian ‘Canadian bowers’ ring hollow (l. 49). As winter approaches, admiration gives way to anxiety and ‘[terror]’ (l. 82). Galt’s description of an ensuing—perhaps inevitable—fire is merciless. Of interest, however, is the fire’s cause. While Galt deliberately characterises the forest and the Canadian winter as hostile and threatening forces within the poem, the blaze itself is kindled by ‘sparks’ from a ‘cigar’ lit at the settler’s fire by a ‘sullen savage’ (ll. 86, 88, 93). The peril, then, arises not from malignant Nature alone, but from a combination of natural forces (wind, timber), interactions with the First Nations, and negative European influences in the form of the immigrants themselves.

Fires occur in both North American novels. *Lawrie Todd* survives two fires, one at his store and one at Babelmandel, a ‘scene of horror’ where ‘the woods were on fire’ and his home destroyed (I 115, 216-20). In *Bogle Corbet*, too, the titular character evinces a morbid interest in house-fires, and a destructive house-fire spurs him to emigrate (I 134; II 164). In Canada, his wife continues to entertain ‘a constant fear of a wooden house on fire,’ especially after the ‘ignipotent’ hired boy Sam joins the Corbets in Canada and ‘set[s] the woods on fire’ (III 151, 188). These conflagrations are for the most part the result of human negligence, but again they leave the settlers to the mercy of Nature—Todd, for instance, must chase away wolves as he wakes his daughter in the aftermath of the blaze (*Todd* I 226). While not so explicitly articulated as in Galt’s poem, these incidents underscore how the danger represented by nature is never completely negated; outside influences allow it to take hold. Fire is a double threat—first in its occurrence, and then for the vulnerability that follows in its path.

⁶⁵ P. H. Scott, ‘The Development of Social and Economic Theories in Selected Fiction of John Galt,’ MLitt thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1985, p. 89.

⁶⁶ John Galt, ‘Fire in the Forest,’ *The Demon of Destiny, and Other Poems* (Greenock: W. Johnston and Son, 1839), p. 69-72, ll. 1-3, 18-19. This poem anticipates Susanna Moodie’s famous description of an 1837 fire in *Roughing it in the Bush; or, Life in Canada*, 2nd edn, 2 vols (London: Richard Bentley, 1852), II, pp. 161-165.

Threats inherent in the Canadian landscape went beyond the physical. If Galt felt the North American landscape to be free of British spirits, the extent of his knowledge of First Nations ideas about the landscape is difficult to gauge. Galt's North American novels contain surprisingly few First Nations interactions—particularly given the texts' explicitly didactic element. In *Lawrie Todd*, 'Indians' are mentioned only as a point of comparison with uncultivated backwoods children, while *Bogle Corbet* includes 'A Tale of Quebec,' which dealt with First Nations involvement at the Siege of Quebec and the Plains of Abraham, and which Corbet attributed to a pair of schoolboys travelling to Montreal (*Corbet* I 231; *Todd* II 275). The tale was in fact his sons' work. It must be stressed that this tale is a recounted history, about an event completed before Corbet actually set foot on Canadian soil. This paucity of First Nations material in the texts must be intentional, particularly given Galt's 1831 assertion in *Fraser's Magazine* that life 'is sufficiently trying to the weaver and the artisan trying to pass, even now, with his family into the wild and silent forest, although the Indian no longer exists there as an enemy sworn to hatred.'⁶⁷ Galt's *Autobiography*—and his position with the Canada Company—indicates that he did interact with the First Nations. His children played with them, supposedly within hours of arriving in Canada, in 'the wild wood unseen', and Galt's relationship with Joseph Brant was such that he turned to Galt for advice on dealing with a British breach of promise (*Autobiography* I 98, 283-293). Galt's earlier work, moreover, does make use of the First Nations, albeit mostly in the form of comparisons.

Popular literature—and Galt's work on the *Life of Benjamin West*—would have ensured that Galt possessed a conception of the First Nations as Noble Savages.⁶⁸ His later texts concerning the First Nations, all printed in *Fraser's Magazine*, are curiously divided along national lines, but these are explicitly historical tales, rather than the contemporary fiction of the novels. 'The Hurons: A Canadian Tale,' published in the periodical's first issue, pits the 'Indians' against the invading French.⁶⁹ While both sides are engaged in battle, it is the French who deliberately burn 'the squaws and papooses of the Indians' and, when attempting to decimate the Huron forces, do so as 'the undaunted courage and the bold expedients with which the unconquerable Hurons had fought [...] fired [their] French emulation' (91, 93). The tale invokes Brant and praises the Hurons' wisdom and daring in war (90). 'The Early Missionaries, or the Discovery of Niagara' is concerned primarily

⁶⁷ John Galt, 'American Traditions', *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*, 2:9 (October 1830): 321-28, p. 321.

⁶⁸ This trope is discussed in 4.1.

⁶⁹ John Galt, 'The Hurons.—A Canadian Tale,' *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*, 1:1 (February 1830): 90-93, p. 90.

with landscape, not war, and while it is designated as being in the ‘American [Tradition],’ it concerns a Canadian scene.⁷⁰ Galt’s ‘American Traditions’ texts were meant to preserve ‘stories of the Indian wars’ (‘American Traditions’ 321). They characterise the First Nations as ‘cunning’ and bloodthirsty, if also motivated by the betrayal of unscrupulous Europeans (‘American Traditions’ 321, 325). While Galt draws on local legends for these tales, the difference in his treatment of British or American allied natives is noticeable.

The malignity of the woods, as addressed by Bogle Corbet, would make sense to readers convinced of Indian savagery if linked to the direct threat that hostile First Nations posed to the settler. British popular culture had for a century included numerous depictions of hostile and bloodthirsty Amerindian peoples.⁷¹ The reality was somewhat different. The British and the Six Nations Confederacy had been allied throughout the American Revolution and the War of 1812, but an influx of Loyalist refugees following both conflicts ate away at First Nations lands. After the War of 1812 ‘reduced Amerindian strength, [...] Britain altered its treaty terms,’ buying lands more cheaply.⁷² In the first years of the nineteenth century, controversy arose as to whether the Mohawk people actually owned their land, while in 1825, the Canada Company was given land ‘from Indian territory’ (Surtees 118). Such attitudes forced First Nations into ever smaller territories, and eroded faith in previous agreements. Tensions must have existed, but the settlers posed a far greater threat to the Six Nations than vice versa.

Galt does not identify the First Nations with the forest, though he does endow them with a deep understanding of the environment, as shown in the boys’ tale in *Bogle Corbet*. Instead, it is the alien woods themselves, and not the humans within, that threaten the settlers. This authorial decision also lessens the right of the displaced First Nations to the lands settled upon by Todd and Corbet. *Bogle Corbet* includes two references to ‘the Indians, who have the best right to the land’ and European ‘usurpation of the wide and wild domains of the aborigines,’ but this is ‘atone[d]’ for by the introduction of science in ‘communication’ and ‘conveyance’ (III 47, 219). Eliding the First Nations in his emigrant novels allows Galt to eliminate challenges to colonialism. Indeed, a similar manoeuvre occurs in his construction of French-Canadians. While Montreal is often mentioned in its

⁷⁰ John Galt, ‘American Traditions.--No. II. ‘The Early Missionaries; or, the Discovery of Niagara,’ *Fraser’s Magazine for Town and Country*, 4:19 (August 1831): 96-100, p. 96

⁷¹ For a discussion of this, see Troy Bickham, “‘I shall tear off their scalps, and make cups out of their skulls’: American Indians in the eighteenth-century British press” in *Native Americans and Anglo-American Culture, 1750-1850*, ed. by Tim Fulford and Kevin Hutchings (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 56-73.

⁷² Robert J. Surtees, ‘Land Cessions, 1763-1830,’ in *Aboriginal Ontario: Historical Perspectives on the First Nations*, ed. by Edward S. Rogers and Donald B. Smith, Ontario Historical Studies Series (Toronto: Dundurn Press, Ltd, 1994), pp. 91-122, p. 112.

capacity as a port, the presence of a French population does not make itself felt outside a reference to ‘genial Canadians—the simple, contented progeny of Jean-Baptiste, the best disposed and bred commonalty in the world’ (II 270). Though the narrative is careful to confine French Canada to the city and ‘a stripe of villages [whose] cultivation did not reach to any considerable extent on either side’, nevertheless Corbet is surprised by the appearance of ‘a denser population than I had previously conceived any part of the continent of America yet exhibited’ (II 268).⁷³ While the First Nations are completely elided, French-Canada is carefully minimised and constricted. Galt enjoyed a positive personal relationship with the Six Nations, but nevertheless makes use of familiar stereotypes to portray the American Indians when they appear in his popular work. Similarly, his refusal to depict or engage with the First Nations in his North American novels results in a lack of realistic portraits of them or their beliefs in his most widely read New World texts. While ‘The Hurons’ is more balanced, it focuses purely on conflict, thereby automatically engaging European preconceptions of the First Nations.

Galt’s association with Brant, and his own writing, indicates some level of acquaintance with indigenous culture and First Nations beliefs, including tree felling as part of the Huron myth of origins as well as the Algonquian myth of the windigo. The windigo, an insatiable Northern cannibal spirit with a heart of ice, could possess people, making them windigo themselves. Cannibalism could also lead to the transgressor becoming windigo. Those vulnerable to windigo possession included men isolated in the forest—a description that could fit many settlers. Indeed, the influence of landscape on the windigo echoes the European reports of the *Granicus* survivors. European knowledge of the windigo became far more widespread at the end of the nineteenth century, after news reports of men suffering windigo psychosis circulated. Current conceptions of the windigo—including that popularised by Algernon Blackwood in 1910, who explicitly linked the windigo with the malign Canadian landscape—are based on such reports.⁷⁴

The concept of the windigo was recognised in Galt’s time, but how extensively is difficult to tell.⁷⁵ Records from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries note that the first

⁷³ Consider this in light of Galt’s sympathetic discussion of Lower Canada and French Canadians in ‘Colonial Discontent,’ *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*, 26:156 (September 1829): 332-337, and in ‘Canadian Affairs,’ *Fraser’s Magazine for Town and Country*, 1:4 (May 1830): 389-398.

⁷⁴ Algernon Blackwood, ‘The Wendigo,’ in *The Lost Valley and Other Stories*, ([North Hollywood, CA]: Aegypan, 2006), pp. 74-136.

⁷⁵ The European predisposition to view the inhabitants of the New World as cannibalistic came in the 1490s, when Columbus claimed the Caribs to be anthropophagous (Seth 52). This association became dominant in European discourses of savagery. As Vanita Seth writes, ‘Cannibalism maps the European imagination onto the social geography of the New World,’ (53). Thus, the Algonkian belief in windigos would play directly into a pre-existing stereotype.

settlers to come into contact with people believed to be windigo were the French.⁷⁶ The windigo was then absorbed into French-Canadian folklore.⁷⁷ The widespread acceptance of the windigo does not seem to have been similarly transmitted to Anglophone North America, which was obviously aware of the idea but less comfortable engaging with it. One glossary of native words lists the windigo as a ‘Giant.’⁷⁸ The 1825 *Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter’s River* gives a short example of a native woman who, having killed and consumed her husband and children, was put to death in 1811, as the Ochekkamega ‘shar[e] in the common belief, that those who have once fed upon this flesh, always hunger for it.’⁷⁹ Robert Tanner’s 1830 captivity narrative describes the ‘Weendegoag. Cannibals,’ as an ‘imaginary race [...] of gigantic dimension and extremely given to cannibalism.’⁸⁰ Tanner, however, believes the Weendegoag to be confined to ‘an island in Hudson’s Bay’ (316). The windigo also makes an appearance in Longfellow’s 1855 *Song of Hiawatha*, when the hero is urged to ‘Cleanse the Earth of all that harms it, / [...] / Slay the monsters and magicians, / All the Giants, the Wendigoes’.⁸¹ A suppressed canto, ‘The Wrestling of Kwasind,’ dealt more fully with windigos, as Kwasind deliberately seeks out and fights them.⁸² Longfellow, while he speaks of Kwasind coming upon ‘the five Wendigoes / [...] / Eating in the dirt and ashes / Fierce as famished wolves in Winter’ and refusing their offer of food, never overtly names the windigos cannibals, instead characterising them as ‘cruel giants’ (Moyne & Ward 175, 177). While Longfellow makes use of the windigos, they remain characterised as the inhabitants of another land.

See Seth, *Europe’s Indians: Producing Racial Difference, 1500-1900* (Durham/London: Duke University Press, 2010).

⁷⁶ Shawn Smallman, ‘Spirit Beings, Mental Illness, and Murder: Fur Traders and the Windigo in Canada’s Boreal Forest, 1774 to 1935,’ in *Ethnohistory*, 57:4 (Fall 2010): 571-596, p. 574.

⁷⁷ William Henry Drummond, the Canadian dialect poet known for his habitant poems, included among them ‘The Windigo,’ which gives a representative French-Canadian conception of the windigo. See Drummond, ‘The Windigo,’ *Johnnie Courteau and Other Poems* (New York/London: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1901), pp. 67-76. For the windigo in French-Canadian folklore, see Carolyn Podruchny, ‘Werewolves and Windigos: Narratives of Cannibal Monsters in French-Canadian Voyageur Oral Tradition,’ in *Ethnohistory*, 51:4 (2004): 677-700.

⁷⁸ Arent Schuyler de Peyster, ‘Words Selected From the Ottawa and Chippewa Languages’ in *Miscellanies by an Officer*, ed. by J. Watts de Peyster (Dumfries: Printed at the Dumfries and Galloway Courier Office, by C. Munro, 1813), xviii-xx, p. xix.

⁷⁹ William H. Keating, *Narrative of an Expedition to the Source of St. Peter’s River, Lake Winnipeg, Lake of the Woods, &c. Performed in the Year 1823*, 2 vols (London: Geo. B. Whittaker, 1825), II, p. 231.

⁸⁰ John Tanner, *A Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner (U. S. Interpreter at the Sault de Ste. Marie)*, ed. by Edwin James, M.D. (New York: G. & C. & H. Cargill, 1830), p. 316.

⁸¹ Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, *The Song of Hiawatha* (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1856), p. 6.

⁸² Ernest J. Moyne and Robert S. Ward, ‘The Origin and Development of Longfellow’s *Song of Hiawatha*: Introductory Note: Longfellow and Latin America’, *Journal of Inter-American Studies*, 8:1 (January 1966): 156-182, JSTOR [accessed 12 February 2011].

The threat of the windigo—and of the forest—is highly localised. Further windigo accounts are found from the 1860s onward. While Galt chooses to interpret the Canadian woods as empty, they are in fact just as haunted as those in Britain. In Upper Canada, the threat is unacknowledged—and perhaps unknown.

In 1833, *Blackwood's* carried Galt's short story, 'Scotch and Yankees. A Caricature.'⁸³ In the same year, to raise funds to send his sons to Canada, Galt published *Stories of the Study* (*Literary Life* I 343-44). This collection of short stories included 'The Lumberer,' detailing one man's life in Canada, which contains numerous similarities to *Lawrie Todd* and *Bogle Corbet*. As in *Bogle Corbet*, Derwent, the narrator of 'The Lumberer,' describes a perilous passage on the Gulf of St Lawrence.⁸⁴ In this version, the ship carrying the emigrants sinks, resulting in the narrator being swept out to a 'miserable village,' likely in Newfoundland, where he is employed to catch the cod (298-99). Derwent eventually makes his way to Quebec, where he is 'cruelly taken in' and sent to work on the Ottawa River (302). Derwent's account of life on the Ottawa, including the perils of ice, falling trees, bears, the isolation of the bush, and of lumbering itself, follows (307, 312-13). Galt's description of Quebec includes forests, the Lake Saint Louis, and the 'celebrated' Chaudière Falls: all of the hallmarks of Upper Canada are recounted using Lower Canadian analogues (307). Derwent's perseverance is rewarded, and he becomes a shopkeeper 'sixty miles beyond Montreal' (315). Ending his account on a note of triumphant colonialism, Derwent informs the reader that 'I am now the owner of several mills and large tracts of land, and am convinced that any person, if industrious, can and will succeed in Canada' (319). Galt thus implies that his advice is valid throughout British North America, as the pattern followed by Bogle Corbet in Upper Canada is here applied in Lower Canada, with similar successful results.

⁸³ The short story was based on a 'little dramatic piece' Galt wrote in New York (*Autobiography* II 111). See [John Galt], 'Scotch and Yankees. A Caricature,' *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 33:203 (January 1833): 91-105 and 33:204 (February 1833): 188-198. This was republished under its original title as 'An Aunt in Virginia' in *The Howdie and Other Tales*, ed. by William Roughead (Edinburgh/London: T. N. Foulis, Ltd, 1923), 38-110.

⁸⁴ John Galt, 'The Lumberer,' *Stories of the Study*, 3 vols (London: Cochrane and M'Crone, 1833), II, 290-319, pp. 294-98.

2.3 Galt and the Articulation of National Character

Due to their similarities in timing, form, and subject matter, namely ‘critiqu[ing] and romanticiz[ing] the plight of dislocated Scots,’⁸⁵ *Lawrie Todd* and *Bogle Corbet* are often compared. Rather than mere comparative readings, however, the texts ought to be taken together, as *Lawrie Todd* and *Bogle Corbet* may be considered ‘the archetypal American and Canadian,’ in Todd’s case despite a refusal of American citizenship (Ashton 45, 88). Just as with the depiction of the landscape, *Lawrie Todd* need not be read as a purely American text, but as part of Galt’s overall characterisation of North America. Snodgrass considers Galt’s:

unique positioning as a member of the Scottish literati while simultaneously a member of the growing British colonial expansion in North America, a kind of dual citizenship that allowed him to more accurately portray Scots at home and abroad, and a duality which Scott and the other Blackwoodians were unfamiliar (207).⁸⁶

Ashton echoes this conception of Galt’s duality, while claiming him for Canada, as ‘[w]hen referring to Americans Galt often seems to regard himself as Canadian, or at least as a Scotsman in his adopted country, Canada’ (7). This view of Galt as Canadian is, stereotypically, based on a comparison to the Americans. The context of national and international interaction here takes on heightened importance. Elizabeth Waterston has been criticised for attempting to ‘appropriate *Bogle Corbet* for Canadian literature’ by divorcing the novel’s third volume, set in Canada, from the context of the other two.⁸⁷ This is particularly important in light of Galt’s own characterisation of the text as ‘a Glasgow tale’ in a letter sent to David Macbeth Moir prior to its publication: while explicitly intended as a Canadian emigrant guide, Galt clearly meant the novel to be read the text as a complete entity—the Glaswegian and Jamaican episodes remain important.⁸⁸ While

⁸⁵ John Charles Joseph Snodgrass, ‘Narrating Nations, Negotiating Borders: The Scottish Romantic Novel in Blackwood’s Circle,’ unpublished doctoral thesis, Texas A & M University, May 1999, p. 204.

⁸⁶ Galt’s position in North American letters can be paralleled with that of his fellow Blackwoodian, Thomas Pringle, in South Africa. Pringle himself had a Canadian connection through his support of the young Susanna Strickland’s early works. For a note on this relationship, see Damian Shaw, “Daddie” Pringle? Further Light on the Relationship Between Thomas Pringle and Susanna Strickland-Moodie (and Mary Prince),’ *Quarterly Bulletin of the National Library of South Africa*, 64:2 (April-June 2010): 76-83, p. 74.

⁸⁷ Robert J. Graham, ‘Galt’s *Bogle Corbet*: A Parable of Progress,’ *Scottish Literary Journal*, 13:2 (November 1986): 31-47, p. 42. This is also Katie Trumpener’s complaint (*Bardic Nationalism* 278).

⁸⁸ David Macbeth Moir, *Biographical Memoir of John Galt* (Edinburgh: Printed by Ballantine and Hughes, 1841), p. lxxxix.

Waterston's approach does undermine the novel's colonial implications, and, as Graham notes, to some extent the examination of 'man's relationship to society,' it does not invalidate her claims regarding the text's Canadian content (43).⁸⁹ Of particular importance is her observation that *Bogle Corbet* is the 'first major work to define Canadianism by reference to an American alternative.'⁹⁰ What then is this American alternative?

In Lawrie Todd, Galt sketched an image of the stereotypical American—albeit one who appealed to readers on both sides of the Atlantic. Grant Thorburn, whose manuscript Galt had adapted, became a minor celebrity himself on the strength of the novel's popularity.⁹¹ Todd was not even the first American in Galt's fiction—that distinction belongs to Mr Cayenne, the vulgar and entrepreneurial Virginian of *Annals of the Parish*. Americans such as Cayenne were products of Galt's pen prior to his transatlantic travel. Galt's interactions with actual Americans, however, allow for a more developed portrait. For instance, during Lawrie's process of Americanisation, the Vermont merchant (and Todd's uncle by marriage) Zerobabel Hoskins acts as a kind of mentor—he is the prototypical American, 'the type of character,' as Edward Cowan writes, 'that virtually every Scottish immigrant aspired to be' ('Scots' Imaging' 11). Ruth Aldritch sees Hoskins as 'proof that the Yankee had become a definite comic literary type' by the time Galt wrote *Lawrie Todd*.⁹² Ironically, Hoskins 'is not altogether an invention, as the model existed in the person of [Galt's] friend Philemon Whright [sic] of the township of Hull in Lower Canada' (*Todd* 2nd edn 449). Despite this success in character building, Shain feels that 'Galt's success with Scotch types only emphasizes his inability to draw Americans' (260).

⁸⁹ P. H. Scott, too, sees 'social comment,' and not 'character and incident' as *Bogle Corbet*'s redeeming features (95).

⁹⁰ Elizabeth Waterston, 'Introduction,' in John Galt, *Bogle Corbet*, ed. by Waterston (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1977), 1-7, p. 2.

⁹¹ In 1833, Thorburn identified himself as 'the very identical Laurie Tod [sic]' to Adam Fergusson. See Fergusson, *Practical Notes Made during a Tour in Canada: and a Portion of the United States, in 1831* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood; London: T. Cadell, 1832), p. 21. Later that year, *Fraser's Magazine* carried Thorburn's original MS, and noted in December an upswing in his celebrity. See O.Y., 'Mr. Thorburn's MS.—The Original "Lawrie Todd",' *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*, 8:42 (June 1833): 668-681 and 8:43 (July 1833): 55-63; 'Gallery of Literary Characters. No. XLIII. Grant Thorburn, the original "Lawrie Todd,"' *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*, 8:48 (December 1833): 700. In 1834, Thorburn published his autobiography in London as *Forty Years' Residence in America; or the Doctrine of a Particular Providence Exemplified in the Life of Grant Thorburn (the Original Lawrie Todd)*, Seedsman, New York – and included an introduction by Galt (London: James Fraser, 1834), v-vii. The American edition, in contrast, omitted Galt's introduction and any allusion to the novel, and included *Lawrie Todd* among a list of 'scraps and mutilated extracts' published previously. See Thorburn, *Forty Years' Residence in America* (Boston: Russell, Odiome & Metcalf, 1834), p. 3. Thorburn subsequently adopted Laurie Todd as a pseudonym, and his further publications also exploited the connection.

⁹² Ruth I. Aldritch, *John Galt*, Twayne's English Authors Series 231 (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1978), p. 278.

While Hoskins and Todd are both stereotypical and self-professed Americans, the world they inhabit is less clearly defined.

The question of language is also tied to the question of national identity, particularly in British North America. In 1829, John MacTaggart writes that in Montreal ‘[s]ome of the unthinking Scotch ape the manners of the [English], and are termed *Canadianized Scotchmen*. A good deal of the Yankee mannerism runs through the whole’.⁹³ In 1836, the Rev. Alexander Mathieson condemned emigrants who ‘would fain conceal that they are Scotchmen’.⁹⁴ These Scots are anglicised in the Canadas, and not in Britain. Similarly, Andrew Shiels, a Scottish emigrant and Nova Scotia poet, remarked in 1831 that:

to a native of Scotland, there is a striking change apparent [...] connected with almost everything in Nova Scotia. The most prominent feature is the language—a sudden change from the vernacular tongue of an outlandish borderer, to pure English, is (at least was to me) rather an awkward transit.⁹⁵

Canada in this sense embodies negative aspects of both British and North American cultures. On the subject of language, MacTaggart continues, ‘[t]he Scotch brogue here [in Lower Canada] is not only considered vulgar, but highly offensive’ (42).⁹⁶ Cowan notes this disapproval may be rooted in the widespread power of Scots in Montreal at the time (11). To English ears, however, Canadian English remained uncouth. The English Mrs Moodie, who disliked ‘Canadian Yankee’ speech, is consistently assured that she ‘[does not] quite understand our language yet’ due to her inability to comprehend Canadian idioms (*Roughing It* I 90, 267). Prior to her departure for Canada, she recalls an English friend’s report of a Canadian recruiting agent’s speech: ‘he had a shocking delivery, a drawling vulgar voice; and he spoke with such a twang that I could not bear to look at him or listen to him. He made such grammatical blunders that my sides ached laughing at him’ (*Roughing It* I 59).

In 1857, the Rev. A. Constable Geikie first spoke of ‘Canadian English’ as a separate dialect, but albeit one ‘corrupt[ed]’ by ‘lawless and vulgar [American linguistic]

⁹³ John MacTaggart, *Three Years in Canada: An Account of the Actual State of the Country in 1826-7-8*, 2 vols (London: Henry Colburn, 1829), I, p. 32.

⁹⁴ Qtd Sarah Katherine Gibson, “‘In Quist of a Better Hame’: A Transatlantic Lowland Scottish Network in Lower Canada, 1800-1850,” in *A Global Clan: Scottish Migrant Networks and Identities Since The Eighteenth Century*, ed. by Angela McCarthy (London/New York: Tauris Academic Series, 2006), pp. 127-149, p. 128.

⁹⁵ Andrew Shiels, ‘Preface,’ *The Witch of the Westcot; A Tale of Nova-Scotia, in Three Cantos; and Other Waste Leaves of Literature*, (Halifax: Joseph Howe, 1831), i-iv, ECO [31 March 2011], p. ii.

⁹⁶ In 1847, The Rev. Proudfoot saw Scots language and identity as an obstacle to further growth, noting, ‘we are too Scotch—our habits, our brogue’ (qtd in Fry *Scottish Empire* 216).

innovations.⁹⁷ Indeed, he associates it with ‘negro patua,’ ‘Chinese pidgeon English’ and the utterly alien ‘Huron and Chippeway’ (353). A decade later, William Canniff pointed out the inescapable influence of the American Loyalists on Canadian English.⁹⁸ Unlike Geikie, he remarks that ‘for a people far removed from the source of pure English, [...] they have a very correct mode of speaking, the criticisms of English travellers to the contrary, notwithstanding’ (363). This characterisation is striking, as Canniff worries about a decline in Upper Canadian educational standards, particularly in remote areas, where, while the older generation ‘could write a bold signature, and express himself in writing a letter, intelligibly, the offspring [...] could do nothing of the kind’ (364). Susanna Moodie, in *Life in the Clearings*, declared that while Canada ‘has before her the experience of all other nations, it becomes an act of duty and real *patriotism* to give to her children the best education that lies in her power’ and noted that British North American access to books was on the rise.⁹⁹

Written and spoken English, then, are politicised identity-markers in the Canadas as in Scotland. This impact of language on settler identity is particularly striking in Galt’s work. His Scottish novels are famed for their use of vernacular Scots, but it poses a problem in the North American novels. A contemporary Canadian critic laments Galt’s use of ‘strange and uncouth words’ in the periodical *Literary Garland* (271). Frykman, meanwhile, remarks that Galt’s language changes in *Lawrie Todd*, as he is:

sparing in his use of Scotticisms, as if he were afraid that such things might not be pleasing to a prospective English public and to government authorities. The careful balancing he had maintained in his earlier stories in providing for the interest of both Scottish and English readers is less in evidence here.¹⁰⁰

Galt’s glossary in *Lawrie Todd* includes both Scottish and American expressions, ‘Yankeyisms’ highlighted by ‘italics’ (*Todd* III 317). Galt’s introduction underscored his attempts at using ‘language characteristic of the supposed narrator’; Lawrie’s transatlantic speech patterns mark him as Other, no matter which side of the Atlantic he is on (*Todd* I

⁹⁷ Rev. A. Constable Geikie, ‘Canadian English. Read Before the Canadian Institute,’ 28th March, 1857’ *The Canadian Journal of Industry, Science and Art: Conducted by the Committee of the Canadian Institute*, NS 2 (1857): 344-355, pp. 345, 353.

⁹⁸ William Canniff, *History of the Settlement of Upper Canada (Ontario): With Special Reference to the Bay Quinté* (Toronto: Dudley & Burns, 1869), p. 363.

⁹⁹ Susanna Moodie, *Life in the Clearings versus the Bush* (London: Richard Bentley, 1833), pp. 85, 285.

¹⁰⁰ Erik Frykman, ‘John Galt’s new world novels,’ in *John Galt: Reappraisals*, ed. by Elizabeth Waterston (Guelph: University of Guelph, 1985), pp. 9-16, p. 13-14.

ii). This use of American dialect and sentence construction is also seen in Galt's later short stories.¹⁰¹

Bogle Corbet, by comparison, remains a stereotypical narrator with 'no individual mannerisms of place or voice' (Aldritch 129). Unlike Todd, Corbet's language remains static. He speaks perfect English, but easily understands the Glaswegian accents of his fellow settlers. Of his childhood mentors, Corbet remarks that time in 'the West Indies' and 'the service' had impacted their speech, giving them 'the ability to speak in a manner intelligible to Christians, for it was not then the fashion to consider Scotch as a classical language and worthy of acquiring, to enable all the world to understand the works of the Border Minstrel' (I 28). When reduced to using the Scots term 'greeting,' Corbet regrets that English has 'no adequate phrase' (I 244). Bogle Corbet's deliberate distancing of himself from Scotticisms may be the product not only of an upwardly-aspiring youth, but also of his time in Canada.

Critics have assailed *Bogle Corbet* on numerous counts, most alleging that it is simply a poor effort. One of the few counter-arguments to this is that of Martin Bowman, who reads the text as a twist on Galt's theoretical biographies by 'integrating the conventions of the sentimental romance,' Bogle Corbet's literary model, 'into a book which is the antithesis of that mode.'¹⁰² Bowman characterises the text as 'a study of a mediocre man who frankly realizes his limitations. [...]. The power of the book [...] lies in the fact that the failure tells his story in his own terms' (66). Reading the text in this manner requires paying attention to Corbet's methods and tone. Corbet's linguistic and stylistic decisions emphasise his conservative outlook, and his obvious ambivalence to nature—indeed, to his situation in general—adds a menacing quality to those descriptions that were less powerful in *Lawrie Todd*. In the same way, the construction of the Yankees, and of American society, takes on a darker edge in Corbet's narrative due to his own unease. The constant temptation America represents is an active threat to the security of Corbet's nascent Canadian society, and his descriptions of Americans are sharper than those of Todd. While the Americans of *Lawrie Todd* care little about their neighbours to the north, Corbet and the people of Stockwell are all too aware of America.

¹⁰¹ Galt's 'The Lost Colony. Extract from the narrative of Captain Lampet, of Salem, Mass.,' in *The Lady's Magazine and Museum*, 3:1 (July 1833): 17-22 is a good example of this, as is 'Scotch and Yankees.'

¹⁰² Martin Bowman, "Bogle Corbet and the Sentimental Romance," in *John Galt: Reappraisals*, ed. by Elizabeth Waterson (Guelph: University of Guelph, 1985), pp. 63-71, p. 66.

Erik Frykman touches briefly on Galt's literary influences in 'John Galt and Eighteenth Century Scottish Philosophy: Some notes on the intellectual background of Galt's Scottish Stories, being the John Galt Lecture for 1953 delivered before the Society on 11th December, 1953,' *Papers of the Greenock Philosophical Society* (Greenock: "Telegraph" Printing Works, 1954), p. 3.

Cross-border awareness in *Bogle Corbet* is most clearly seen in the case of James Peddie, the radical weaver who becomes convinced that ‘prospects are better in the States’ (III 20). Bogle remarks that many new emigrants are vulnerable and ‘most easily seduced to believe a fair tale’ (III 22). Months later, in a chapter entitled ‘The Repentant Prodigal,’ Peddie and his son return, ‘fatigued’ and ‘poor,’ and professing the opinion that ‘a man may be more comfortable among his auld friends than worried to death by clishmaclavering new ones, that are aye argol-bargoling; and so, [...] hae come back to the King's dominions, which is the next thing to a native land’ (III 206-210). Canada is described as a subsidiary Britain, the ‘next best.’ This view fits neatly into the nineteenth-century United Empire Loyalist mindset of Upper Canada, and is drastically at odds with Lawrie Todd’s willingness to compare America favourably with Britain (*Todd* II 7-9). Reflecting on his interactions with Peddie, Bogle descants upon the ‘vague animosity’ of returned emigrants towards America, though he charitably admits that they may not be the best character-witnesses for the country, and laments the emigrant ‘desire to be shifting and roving’ (*Corbet* III 211-212). The qualities that make for an attractive colonist are a mixed blessing to New World officials. Bogle Corbet never clearly defines what it is to be Canadian—perhaps he is unsure himself—but he knows what Canadians are not. The border provides a psychological as well as a topographical barrier to these emigrants who value a continued sense of British community and identity over American riches and republicanism. Ashton posits that ‘[i]n Bogle, John Galt has created with seemingly prophetic power the essential Canadian anti-hero [...] more acted upon than active’ (Ashton 93). Galt’s *Bogle Corbet* thus provides the first articulation of a distinctively passive Canadian identity as contrasted with an American identity, and a link between the imagined ‘Canadas’ of British texts and the authentic experience provided by a native author.

After his return to Britain, Galt produced a great deal of literature related to colonisation. Though much of this interest was motivated by financial concerns, Galt remained emotionally attached to Canadian colonial projects. Ian Gordon notes that Galt continued to check the Canada Company’s stock into 1831 despite his alienation from the Company itself (*Life of a Writer* 103).¹⁰³ Letters on the subject of ‘Canadian improvement’ were sent by Galt from Greenock and published in *The Cobourg Star* and *Newcastle Commercial and General Advertiser* from December 1836 to March 1837.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰³ Aberdein describes a failed attempt to create a land company in New Brunswick in 1831-32. See Jennie W. Aberdein, *John Galt* (London: Humphrey Milford; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936), pp. 174-176.

¹⁰⁴ Tim Sauer, *A Descriptive Bibliography of the Works of John Galt* (Guelph, ON: [1998], October 2004)

His *Demon of Destiny*, a collection of poetry published in 1839, includes poems on Canadian topics. 'Ode, suggested by the ignominious attack on Canada by a gang of Thieves and Burglars' reacts to the Rebellions of 1837, while in 'Canadian Recollections,' Galt remembers 'walk[ing] the greenwood' in Canada, fearing the future but 'assured, however late / That Time would be my advocate.'¹⁰⁵ Galt's 'Ode' emphasises Canada's colonial status; it is addressed to 'Britannia, glory of the Earth' and compares British subjects abroad, 'to law submissive still' and dwelling safe in 'fenced pastures,' to 'th'unbridled' 'careering' madly through 'forest wilds.'¹⁰⁶ Only poor health prevented Galt from permanently emigrating to Canada to live with his sons (Hamilton 25). Galt's own evaluations of his life highlight the importance of his Canadian venture, and these are also often the accomplishments dwelt on by Canadian scholars.

Despite this, both of Galt's colonial novels conclude with the return of the eponymous emigrant to Great Britain, despite the creation of a successful settlement.¹⁰⁷ Todd claims patriotism as his motivating factor for returning; Corbet has no such illusions (*Todd* III 198-200). Much like the narrator of 'The Metropolitan Emigrant,' he has found himself unequally matched with the land. While 'The Metropolitan Emigrant' has been proven a misattribution, that text's fitting into Galt's returned pattern is also noteworthy, and possibly why its authorship went unquestioned. No matter how deeply invested Galt—or his characters—are in the New World, they cannot remain. Regardless of their original intentions to become settlers, they are in fact mere sojourners.

<http://www.lib.uoguelph.ca/resources/archival_&_special_collections/the_collections/digital_collections/john_galt/galt_bibliography> [accessed 12 November 2010].

¹⁰⁵ John Galt, 'Canadian Recollections', *The Demon of Destiny, and Other Poems* (Greenock: W. Johnston and Son, 1839), p. 91, ll. 3,15-16. This text also contained 'Fire in the Forest,' discussed above.

¹⁰⁶ John Galt, 'Ode, suggested by the ignominious attack on Canada by a gang of Thieves and Burglars', *The Demon of Destiny*, (Greenock: W. Johnston and Son, 1839), p. 94, ll. 1,13-16.

¹⁰⁷ Earlier texts also featured returning emigrants; Grant in *Glenfell* represents another returned Canadian, while *The Last of the Lairds* (1826) includes Mr Rupees, the returned nabob. Nabobs also feature in *The Provost* and *Annals*. Mr Hickery of *The Provost*, too, is 'a stranger, having, at an early age, espoused his fortune, and gone to Philadelphia in America [...] [came] home and settl[ed] among us, with a power of money, (some said eleven thousand pounds)' (193-194). These emigrants, however, are of Henry Brougham's type, having always intended that their time abroad would ultimately result in the enjoyment of a fortune in Scotland.

3 'The dark Canadian wild': Framing the Wilderness

3.1 Landscape, the Sublime, and the Picturesque

As settlement texts, Galt's constructions of North America and its landscape followed a familiar course. Preoccupation with an unsettling natural world evinced by Galt and fellow settlers remain associated with Canadian identity. In clearing towns and settling, Galt's colonists attempt to assert control over an implicit threat. In 1947, anticipating Frye's garrison hypothesis, Wyndham Lewis mused that 'this monstrous, empty habitat must continue to dominate this nation psychologically.'¹ Frye's hypothesis, and its successor, the malevolent nature of Margaret Atwood's *Survival*, continue to impact Canadian criticism. Osbourne sees this 'well-worn trope' as a consequence of the country's 'excess of geography and deficiency of history'.² While preoccupation with the landscape is familiar ground in Canadian literature, it plays a crucial role in the formation of identity and in the way these identities are presented both to Britain and within Canada in the years prior to Confederation. Galt's icebergs, forests and backwoods settlements are one aspect of an expansive and established consideration of British North America. From the Conquest until Confederation, discussions of the British North American landscape and wilderness focused on the dual tropes of the sublime and the picturesque, aesthetic categories that could, at a basic level, re-inscribe a hostile and unknown landscape (and its inhabitants) in a manner that rendered it somewhat controlled and comprehensible.

Hugh Blair defined the sublime as 'a degree of awfulness and solemnity' distinct from the merely 'beautiful'.³ Edmund Burke, as Cosgrove puts it, 'appropriated' the sublime by inflecting a 'subtle but significant change' which 'render[ed]' the sublime as 'the common property of all people'.⁴ Burke's sublime was produced by 'hav[ing] an idea of pain and danger, without actually being in such circumstances [...] Whatever excites

¹ Percy Wyndham Lewis, 'Canadian Nature and its Painters,' in *Wyndham Lewis on Art: Collected Writings 1913-1956*, ed. by Walter Michael and C. J. Fox (London: Thames and Hudson, 1971), pp. 425-29, p. 429.

² George S. Osbourne, "'Grounding" National Mythologies: The Case of Canada,' *Espace et culture*, ed. by Serge Courville and Normand Séguin (Sainte-Foy: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1995), pp. 265-274, p. 267.

³ Hugh Blair, *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres*, 3 vols (Basil: James Decker, 1801), I, p. 53.

⁴ Denis E. Cosgrove, *Symbolic Formation and Symbolic Landscape* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, [1984], 1998), p. 227.

this delight, I call *sublime*'.⁵ Burke's sublime, linked specifically with 'astonishment' and human incomprehension, is well-suited for colonial representation (95). The Picturesque, on the other hand, as defined by William Gilpin, consisted in '*such objects, as are proper subjects for painting*'.⁶ This process 'aestheticized the natural'.⁷ As Richard Knight wrote, the process of creating a picturesque landscape was predicated on 'conceal'd design; / To adorn, arrange;--to separate, and select / With secret skill, and counterfeit neglect'.⁸ Gilpin's 'self-conscious make-believe' in emphasising the 'undiscovered' nature of picturesque sites is another aspect of the artificial natures of such landscapes.⁹ While images of the colonies might include aspects of picturesque aesthetics, the lack of an external control problematised them. Such views, unlike those in Gilpin's tours, had not been deliberately cultivated for the 'voyeuristic consumption of landscape'.¹⁰

Gilpin's picturesque was also focussed on the 'indistinct,' whether the product of the atmosphere or a far horizon.¹¹ This sense of the indistinct was particularly relevant in the construction of the Canadas; the continent was, literally, too large to comprehend. As Frye notes, there remains an element of 'terra incognita in Canadian consciousness'.¹² This notion of the unknown or indistinct was useful in the construction of the Canadas as a British colony. These lands, in the manner of colonies from Scotland to Peru, had been rendered as voids in the cartography, eliding native presence. Such blanks invited scientific exploration and discovery. The popular taste for picturesque scenes furthered these constructions. As William Blake notes, 'the Foundation of Empire is Art & Science [...]

⁵ Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful, the Third Edition* (London: R. and J. Dodsley, 1761), p. 85.

⁶ William Gilpin qtd. Malcolm Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque: Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain, 1760-1800* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1989), p. viii.

⁷ Ann Bermingham, *Landscape and Ideology: the English Rustic Tradition, 1740-1860* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1987), p. 28.

⁸ R[ichard]. P[ayne]. Knight, *The Landscape: A Didactic Poem*, 2nd edn (London: W. Bulmer and Co., 1795), ECCO [accessed 27 March 2012], ll. 1.3-6.

⁹ John Whale, 'Romantics, explorers and Picturesque travellers' *The Politics of the Picturesque: Literature, Landscape, and Aesthetics Since 1770*, ed. by Stephen Copely and Peter Garside (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 175-195, p. 177.

¹⁰ Tim Fulford, *Landscape, Liberty and Authority: Poetry, Criticism and Politics from Thomson to Wordsworth*, Cambridge studies in eighteenth-century English literature and thought (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 117.

¹¹ William Gilpin, *Observations, Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, Made in the Year 1776, on Several Parts of Great Britain Particularly the High-lands of Scotland* (London: R. Blamire, 1789), I, p. 11; *Observations, Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty, Made in the Year 1772, on Several Parts of England, Particularly the Mountains and Lakes of Cumberland and Westmoreland* (London: R. Blamire, 1786), I, p. 11.

¹² Northrop Frye, 'Sharing the Continent,' *Divisions on a Ground: Essays on Canadian Culture*, ed. by James Polk (Toronto: Anansi Press, 1982), pp. 57-70, p. 59.

Empire follows Art & Not Vice Versa as Englishmen suppose.¹³ By depicting Canadian terrain as a conventional landscape and engaging with new territories under the guise of scientific discovery, the British established control over the territory and rendered it a fit partner in empire.

Edward Said notes that utilising ‘such [...] categor[ies] is not so much a way of receiving new information as it is a method on controlling what seems to be a threat to some established view of things’.¹⁴ The Canadian landscape, although nominally under British control, was nevertheless wild and populated, at the time of the Conquest, by two alien peoples. By engaging with it through these methods, specifically those that had proven useful in the re-imagination of Scotland following Culloden, British and British-Canadian authors attempted to convert the land into a proper imperial subject. The influence of romantic tourism and the depiction of the Highlands is visible not only in travel accounts of the Canadas, but also in the language and landscapes employed by both promoters of emigration and, particularly, in the depictions of settlers themselves. Such tours relied on a series of approved views, highlighted the sublimity of the landscape and provided examinations of the apparently backwards inhabitants. The very process of touring furthered the opening of the supposedly wild landscape.

The role of the picturesque in constructing popular conceptions of Canada—especially the *habitants* of Lower Canada—is of particular significance. As Smith remarks, ‘buildings, landscapes, peoples, costumes and even customs deriving from distant or little-known countries were so frequently called picturesque that the terms became virtually interchangeable.’¹⁵ The picturesque acts as a distancing technique. While *habitant* communities could be read as part of the ‘sentimentalized [...] old order,’ and a reminder of the British countryside, their alien features ensured they did not ‘fully resembl[e]’ the ideal (Bermingham 70).¹⁶ As ‘the picturesque landscape was precisely the opposite of the landscape produced by the agricultural revolution,’ it was valued for being behind the times (Bermingham 66). Theories of the picturesque prized such scenes precisely because of their inevitable decay. Price, in particular, notes that time inclines the picturesque to

¹³ William Blake, ‘Annotations to Sir Joshua Reynolds’s *Discourses*,’ in *Complete Works*, ed. by Geoffrey Keynes, 2nd edn repr. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, [1925, 1966], 1972), pp. 445–479, p. 445.

¹⁴ Edward W. Said, ‘Imaginative Geography and its Representation,’ in *Orientalism: Western Concepts of the Orient* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, [1978], 1991), 49–72, p. 59.

¹⁵ Bernard Smith, *The European Vision and the South Pacific*, 2nd edn (New Haven: Yale University Press, [1960] 1989), p. 201.

¹⁶ Colin M. Coates, ‘Like “The Thames towards Putney”: The appropriation of landscape in Lower Canada,’ *Canadian Historical Review*, 74:3 (1993): 317–43, p. 319.

‘deformity.’¹⁷ In viewing French-Canadian landscapes through a picturesque lens, travellers and settlers were not only remarking on the novel and quaint appearance of such sights, but also participating in framing such societies as both backward and fated to be improved by the British, reading contemporary stadial theories into the landscape itself.

A second trait impacting the sublime/picturesque views of Canada was the problem of forests. Both the sublime and the picturesque are aesthetics explicitly predicated on control: while the profusion of trees is encouraged, that cultivation requires a specific approach. The forested Canadian landscape problematised these considerations, offering forests that differed greatly from the British ideals.¹⁸ While Gilpin protests that the ‘picturesque traveller is seldom disappointed with *pure nature*,’ this could occur when the imagined sublime and picturesque landscapes could not be properly mapped onto reality (*Three Essays* 56).¹⁹ Indeed, both Gilpin and Knight explicitly recognised that the Canadian landscape posed a problem when constructed via such categories. Knight, concerned primarily with scale, warned his audience not to:

expect, where Niagara roars,
And stuns the nations round Ontario's shores,
To find such true sublimity display'd,
As in rich Tiber's broken, wild cascade.
Oft have I heard the silly traveller boast
The grandeur of Ontario's endless coast
Where, far as he could dart his wandering eye,
He nought but boundless water could descry
.....
.....the rude gazer ever thinks to find
The view sublime, where vast and unconfined (*Landscape* ll. 2.124-131, 154-155).

Knight explicitly speaks against the immediate categorisation of such images as sublime. Gilpin, too, admits that ‘woods, [...] would lose their effect round [too] vast an area’ and that the ‘idea of a wild country, in a natural state, however picturesque, is to the generality of people an unpleasing one’ (*Forest Scenery* II 166, 122).²⁰ Nevertheless, characterising James King as a ‘voyager to the northern seas,’ Gilpin examines his description of river travel in the North West Territory (*Forest Scenery* II 167). King’s version denigrates the

¹⁷ Uvedale Price, *Essays on the Picturesque, as Compared with the Sublime and the Beautiful* (London: J. Mawman, 1810), I, p. 204-205.

¹⁸ See the discussion of forestry in 2.2, pp. 40-42.

¹⁹ William Gilpin, *Three Essays: On Picturesque Beauty, on Picturesque Travel, and on Sketching Landscape: To which is Added a Poem on Landscape Painting* (London: R. Blamire, 1792), p. 56.

²⁰ William Gilpin, *Remarks on Forest Scenery, and Other Woodland Views*, 2 vols (London: R. Blamire, 1794), II, pp. 166, 122.

landscape as ‘romantic’ but ‘uninteresting’ (qtd *Forest Scenery* II 167-168). Gilpin, by contrast, seizes on King’s description, musing that ‘It is hardly possible, in so few words, to present more picturesque ideas of the horrid, and savage kind’ (*Forest Scenery* II 168). While Gilpin delights in this a scene of ‘picturesque horror’ he laments that King ‘has no conception, that a scene so savage could present any other ideas, than such as were disgusting’ (*Forest Scenery* II 168). Gilpin inverts the usual view, refusing to accept King’s reading of the scene. Both King’s and Gilpin’s remarks, however, illustrate the tension regarding depictions of the New World. The managed terror of the sublime and the carefully maintained wilds of the picturesque did not translate directly onto an authentically wild environment too vast to be artificially maintained. Nevertheless, the language and visual tropes of these categories allowed for a mental modification and control over the Canadas, while on-going clearance and settlement began to exhibit a similar topological control. This chapter will consider how Enlightenment and Scottish romantic considerations of landscape and the wilderness impacted the depiction of the Canadian natural world.

3.2 Early Constructions of Canadian Landscapes

Although the Americas had entered European consciousness in the late fifteenth century, the region that would comprise North America remained on the fringes of the British imagination. In 1492, Columbus had discovered Hispaniola in the Caribbean, inciting a global land-grab as the Spanish realised the potential of these new lands. Subsequent depictions of South America emphasise fertile soil, a mild climate, and the alien nature of the inhabitants, consistently depicted as ‘cannibals.’²¹ The colonial project was clear. It was, in the words of Hernán Pérez de Oliva, to ‘unite the world and give to those strange lands the form of our own.’²² European interest in this project led to widespread publication of narrative accounts, maps, and imaginative landscapes. Implicit in Pérez de Oliva’s statement is the type of ‘strange land’ desired: a gateway to the markets of Asia or exploitable natural resources.

²¹ Hugh Honour, *The New Golden Land: European Images of America from the Discoveries to the Present Time* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1975), p. 7.

²² Pérez de Oliva qtd. John Huxtable Elliott, *The Old World and the New*, rev. edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 15.

Sixteenth-century England notably failed to establish viable long-term colonies in the Americas, and therefore few specifically English accounts exist.²³ John Cabot had been commissioned by the English in 1496, and made land in what is now Newfoundland in 1497. Although the English were quick to realise the potential of the Grand Banks fishery, the island itself went unexplored, with the permanent settlement at Ferryland on the Avalon Peninsula not established until 1623.²⁴ Frobisher's 1577 search for the Northwest Passage turned up a hostile climate where:

In place of odiferous and fragrant smells of sweet gums, and pleasant notes of musical birds, which countries in more temperate zones do yield, we tasted the most boisterous boreal blasts mixed with snow and hail in the months of June and July, nothing inferior to our intemperate winter (qtd Honour 16).

A century later, Henry Kelsey, posted with the Hudson's Bay Company, wrote a verse description of the territory focused on the 'Cold', the landscape, and the animal life.²⁵ He notes the presence of 'Buffilo' and 'Bear' and describing the Northwest Territories as 'This wood is poplo ridges with small ponds of water / there is beavours in abundance but no Otter / with plains & ridges in the Country throughout' (ll. 67, 68, 77-79). These depictions of Canada as a vast waste with a hostile climate, with an emphasis on animals useful to the fur trade, echo tropes established in French exploration narratives that became specifically linked with the popular concept of Canada.

English exploration focused primarily on the more hospitable lands to the south. John White, one of the failed Roanoke settlers, had been sent specifically 'to draw the description of the place,' and his images, focusing primarily on the Algonkians, were included in Thomas Harriot's *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (1590).²⁶ European demand for the text helped to inspire the publication of a series by De Bry featuring illustrated 'narratives of Europeans' and their encounters with people and places in America; unlike White's images, the newer illustrations were based on invention or other illustrations, leading to a 'rich, though inauthentic repertoire of colonial

²³ Gavin R. Hollis, 'Introduction: "What country friends is this?"', in 'The Absence of America on the Early Modern Stage,' unpublished doctoral thesis, The University of Michigan, 2008, pp. 1-31.

²⁴ Rev. Charles Pedley, *The History of Newfoundland: From the Earliest Times to the Year 1860* (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts & Green 1863), p. 21.

²⁵ Henry Kelsey, 'Henry Kelsey his Book being the Gift of James Hubburd in the year of our Lord 1693', in *Early Long Poems on Canada*, ed. by D.M.R. Bentley (London: Canadian Poetry Press, 1993), l. 7.

²⁶ Thomas Harriot, *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (New York: Dover Publications, [1590], 1972), p. 41.

landscapes'.²⁷ After the establishment of Jamestown in 1607, Plymouth in 1620 and the Massachusetts Bay Colony in the 1630s, these locales entered into English consciousness, but there was little information available about the land beyond the thirteen American colonies.

Scottish colonisation in Canada began with Sir William Alexander's settlement in 1621. Alexander, attempting to attract prospective immigrants, described New Scotland as possessing 'good meadows and arable ground' and catalogues the trees and beasts to be found at Port Royal.²⁸ This enticement does not appear to have worked, as a new class of baronet had to be developed, which title was granted solely on providing six emigrants to Nova Scotia.²⁹ In 1632 the land reverted to French control, though it was regained in the Treaty of Utrecht. A second Scottish colony was established in New Jersey in 1683, while the abortive Darien scheme to establish a colony in Panama failed in 1699, provoking a crisis leading to the first Treaty of Union in 1707. At that point the American colonies and New Jersey became British colonies.

While some English descriptions of the more northerly colonies existed, the accounts of Canada most likely to be read in Britain were the narratives of Cartier (1545), Champlain (1603, 1613), the Jesuit fathers, and the Baron de Lahontan (1703). These narratives, describing aspects of the topography, flora, wildlife and First Nations provided some notion of a land in the north, characterised by Cartier as the 'land God gave to Cain'.³⁰ The primary interest of these texts, like most contemporary colonial narratives, was not the country itself but its native inhabitants and their lives. Similarly, European audiences were interested in exploitable resources. In both literary and visual depictions of the terrain of this New World, the narratives did not omit the alien fauna of Canadian colonies. In his 1620 edition, Champlain included a wide selection of aquatic and terrestrial animals. Of particular note was the inclusion of animals important to the burgeoning fur trade, including the beaver and the muskrat. Dickenson has noted that Champlain's depictions, too, are those of a 'resident' (72). These are realistic and recognisable images.

²⁷ John E. Crowley, *Imperial Landscapes: Britain's Global Visual Culture, 1745-1820* (New Haven/London: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for British Art by Yale University Press, 2011), p. 29.

²⁸ Sir William Alexander, *An Encouragement to Colonies* (London: William Stansby, 1624), *EEBO* [accessed 6 September 2011], pp. 16-19.

²⁹ Michael Brander, *The Emigrant Scots* (London: Constable, 1982), p. 24.

³⁰ Jacques Cartier, *The Voyages of Jacques Cartier*, trans. by Henry Percival Biggar, ed. by Ramsay Cook (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 9-10.

The focus on cartouches of native flora and fauna, like the portrayal of blank space in maps, helps to elide First Nations presences in the New World, even when other aspects of the text acknowledge their presence. In ‘On Poetry,’ Swift remarks that:

Geographers, in *Afric*-maps,
With Savage-Pictures fill their Gaps,
And o'er unhabitable Downs
Place Elephants for want of Towns.³¹

The lack of established European-style civilisations is a lacuna that requires some sort of placeholder. In Swift’s references to Africa, the exotic—and ivory producing—elephant is foregrounded. In maps of Canada, it is the animals of the fur trade, particularly the beaver. Such cartographic associations makes sense, as Canada’s ‘boundaries were largely determined by the fur trade.’³²

In 1698, De Fer’s map of America included a cartouche depicting a Canadian landscape populated by industrious anthropomorphised beavers. De Fer’s image occurs in a wider context celebrating French colonial possessions and their contributions to the coffers of the Empire. The English mapmaker Hermann Moll, himself an ardent promoter of British interests in his images, reproduced the image in his ‘Map of the Dominions of the King of Great Britain’ in 1715.³³ The image would be further cemented in the European mind by the Dutch mapmaker Henri de Châtelain’s borrowing of De Fer’s beavers for his map in the *Atlas historique*.³⁴ The image became a cultural touchstone, emphasising the Canadian colonies’ apparent lack of civilised populations and natural riches of trees and pelts. This scene would be even more effective in the context of De Fer’s original map, which included depictions of a number of native peoples from throughout the French empire. The beavers alone inhabit a landscape devoid of humanity. De Fer’s beavers, moreover, are set against the background of Hennepin’s falsified construction of Niagara Falls. The image is thus doubly fictive. Nevertheless, such images played a conspicuous role in popular conceptions of Canada. That the image carried cultural currency is clear from Lahontan’s instructing his reader to ‘cast their eyes upon the great map of America,

³¹ Jonathan Swift, *On Poetry: A Rhapsody* (London/Dublin: S. Hyde, 1734), *ECCO* [accessed 24 March 2012], ll. 176-179.

³² Harold Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, [1930], 1999), p. 393. See also William Beinart and Lotte Hughes, ‘The Fur Trade in Canada,’ in *Environment and Empire*, Oxford History of the British Empire Companion Series (Oxford: Oxford University Press, [2007] 2010), 40-57.

³³ Hermann Moll, ‘A New and Exact Map of the Dominions of the King of Great Britain on ye Continent of North America,’ (London, 1715), map, Norman B. Leventhal Map Center, Boston Public Library <<http://maps.bpl.org/id/14002>> [accessed 12 March 2012].

³⁴ [Henri Châtelain], *Carte tres curieuse de la Mer du Sud...* (Amsterdam, [1719]), map, Norman B. Leventhal Map Center, Boston Public Library <<http://maps.bpl.org/id/m8654>> [accessed 12 March 2012].

drawn by the Sieur de Fer, and engraved at Paris in the year 1698' to gain an understanding of the 'instinct and wonderful capacity of beavers'.³⁵ These French exploration texts, particularly those of Lahontan, were published in numerous translations in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Prior to the conquest of Quebec in 1759, despite small pockets of English settlement, Canada remained both linguistically and culturally alien.

In 1704, when John Dennis's play *Liberty Asserted* opened in London, it was the first fictional depiction of Canada. The drama set its action 'at Agnie in Canada', but gave no real impression of the colony or landscape.³⁶ It remained a 'generic colonial terrain,' in which details of the New World plucked from French exploration narratives mingled with 'figures from contemporary Turkish dramas'.³⁷ Despite Dennis's lack of detail, his use of the French transliteration 'Agnie' rather than the English 'Mohawk' provided the text with a cultural and geographic specificity, emphasising Canada's position as a French possession. *Liberty Asserted* gained popularity due to its anti-French stance, was 'performed the record number of 11 times in its first year' and revived during the 1715 rebellion 'to stimulate antipathies'.³⁸ John Lenton's music for the drama included 'jigs, a hornpipe, a rigaudon' and a "'Scotch Malancholly Aire.'" ³⁹ This music carries pastoral associations, and would thus have implied a specific, and northern, imaginative landscape—one with which English audiences were familiar. Instead of emphasising the alien nature of North America, Lenton's pieces draw on European influences to remind audiences of the on-going civilisation of French Canada by the English, and to highlight the imagined connections between North Britain and this new territory. This association would also have drawn on the contemporary debate regarding what Penny Fielding denotes 'northerliness,' indicating that associations between Scotland and Canada may predate the Seven Years' War.⁴⁰

³⁵ Baron de Lahontan, *New Voyages to North-America, Reprinted from the English Edition of 1703*, ed. by Rueben Gold Thwaites, 2 vols (Chicago: A. C. McLurg and Co, 1905), I, p. 8.

³⁶ John Dennis, *Liberty Asserted, A Tragedy* (London: Printed for George Strahan; and Bernard Lintott, 1704), ECCO [accessed 30 July 2011], p. v.

³⁷ Matthew E. Duques, 'Connected Genres and Competing Nations: From Lahontan's *New Voyages* to John Dennis's *Liberty Asserted*,' unpublished masters thesis, Vanderbilt University, 2008, pp. 2, 20.

³⁸ Geoffrey S. Holmes, *British Politics in the Age of Anne*, 2nd edn (London: The Hambledon Press, 1987), p. 24; See John Doran, "Their Majesties' Servants": *Annals of the English Stage, from Thomas Betterton to Edmund Kean*, 2 vols (London: William H. Allen & Co., 1864), I, p. 272.

³⁹ Kathryn Lowerre, *Music and Musicians on the London Stage, 1695–1705* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), p. 344.

⁴⁰ Penny Fielding, *Scotland and the Fictions of Geography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 14.

Dennis's inspiration included Lahontan's accounts of the New World, which continued to shape British constructions of the colony as the century progressed. Indeed, Dennis's preface gives a barebones account of the situation:

Canada is a vast Tract of Land in Northern America, on the Back of New England and New York. As New England and New York and the Country about them belong to the English, a considerable part of Canada is possess'd by the French; and as the English and French divide the Country, they divide the Natives. The most considerable Nation of Canada, next to the Iroquois, are the Hurons, who are friends to the French. But the Five Warlike Nations of the Iroquois are our Confederates (v).

The synopsis, like the play itself, presents Canada as a vast blank space, on which identity is conferred through relations with a European power. This description, Dennis notes, is intended 'for the sake of those who have never read either Hennepin or La Hontan' (Dennis v). Exploration narratives, such as the French accounts which inspired Dennis, and later those of Hearne (1795) and Mackenzie (1801), however, were both more popular and more detailed than the early fictional representations of the colony, providing British readers with an image of the Canadian landscape and the First Nations. These accounts, while adding detail to existing depictions of the country, ultimately reinforce Voltaire's 1753 condemnation of Canada as 'pays couvert de neiges et de glaces huit mois de l'année, habité par des barbares, des ours et des castors.'⁴¹

In 1802, *The Edinburgh Review* provided an explanation for the popularity of these exploration narratives for over a century:

There is something in the idea of traversing a vast and unknown continent, that gives an agreeable expansion to our conceptions; and the imagination is insensibly engaged and inflamed by the spirit of adventure, and the perils and the novelties that are implied in a voyage of discovery.⁴²

North America, and particularly Canada, is characterised as an empty space, 'vast and unknown,' in which a 'voyage of discovery' may take place—and it is this very lack of familiarity that drives its popularity. While these narratives provided such scope for imagination, not all accounts of North America avoided 'speculation [... that] appears to be fact' (Fulford *Romantic Indians* 63). Indeed, even factual accounts could be subject to editorial embellishment.⁴³

⁴¹ [François-Marie Arouet de] Voltaire, *Essai sur les mœurs et l'esprit des nations et sur les principaux faits de l'histoire, depuis Charlemagne jusqu'à Louis XIII*, Oeuvres complètes des Voltaire 18 ([Kehl]: De l'Imprimerie de la Société littéraire typographique, 1784), III, p. 349.

⁴² 'Article XXII. *Voyages from Montreal, on the River St Lawrence...*' *The Edinburgh Review*, 1:1 (October 1802): 141-58, ProQuest [accessed 20 August 2011], p. 1.

⁴³ Ian S. MacLaren has shown that Hearne's infamous description of the massacre at Bloody Fall in *A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean* (1795) was an attempt to add Gothic interest to the text. See MacLaren, 'Samuel Hearne's Accounts of the

Placing emphasis on the Canadian landscape as a vast and essentially empty waste—a swathe of black space on a map—is a typically imperialist move. This emptying of the landscape minimised First Nations claims to the land, both by undercutting their presence and history and by implying a squandering of resources. If the native peoples could not properly exploit their land, then those who could make use of it—the Europeans—had the right and the obligation to ensure that resources were not wasted. The Canadian wild was thus a space where the European imagination met with a moral imperative. As J. B. Hartley notes, such mappings ensured that ‘the wilderness was tamed on paper before the wilderness itself had been encountered.’⁴⁴

3.3 Military Topographies

While Canada had been of minimal interest when a French possession, it gained prominence with the British public as the North American stage for the Seven Years’ War. The British press had followed the war since the first stirrings of unrest, prior to its official outbreak, in 1756, and ‘plotted Wolfe’s military fortunes’ throughout the hostilities, to the Plains of Abraham in 1759, the Conquest of Quebec in 1760, and the 1763 Treaty of Versailles.⁴⁵ As early as 1754, Horace Walpole echoed growing interest in the colonies when he entered into ‘a new study: I read nothing but American voyages, and histories’.⁴⁶ The return to Britain of soldiers who had ‘follow[ed] the hero that goes to Quebec’ meant that for the first time many Britons might hear personal accounts of Canada.⁴⁷ The image of Canada formed by these accounts remains vague, a list of battleground and fort locations. Wolfe’s heroic death on the Plains of Abraham and the conquest of Quebec changed that attitude forever, bringing interest in British North America to a fever-pitch, and giving rise to numerous tributes. Walpole describes the public reaction to the news amidst the celebrations: ‘They despaired—they triumphed—and they wept—for Wolfe had

Massacre at Bloody Falls 17 July 1771,’ *ARIEL: A Review of International English Literature*, 22:1 (January 1991): 25-51, 36-37.

⁴⁴ J. B. Hartley, ‘Power and Legitimation in the English Geographical Atlases of the Eighteenth Century,’ in *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography*, ed. by Paul Laxon (Baltimore/London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), pp. 109-148, p. 144.

⁴⁵ Philip Lawson, *The Imperial Challenge: Quebec and Britain in the Age of the American Revolution* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1989), p. 8.

⁴⁶ Horace Walpole to Richard Bentley, 3 November 1754, in *The Letters of Horace Walpole*, Earl of Orford, ed. by Peter Cunningham, 9 vols (London: Henry G. Bohn, 1861), II, p. 402-403.

⁴⁷ Ned Botwood qtd. ‘Ante-Revolutionary Ballads,’ in *The Historical Magazine and Notes and Queries Concerning the Antiquities, History and Biography of America*, 2:6 (June 1858): 164-165, p. 165.

fallen in the hour of victory.⁴⁸ Such was the focus on Wolfe and his sacrifice that ‘the gallant behaviour of the army at Quebec’ was obscured.⁴⁹ Tributes both literary and political are omnipresent in the months following the battle. The Scottish Jacobite James, Chevalier de Johnstone, a former aide-de-camp to Murray who had fought for the French, remarked sourly on the insincerity of this hysterical public grief for Wolfe in his *Dialogue in Hades*.⁵⁰ Public images of Wolfe as a martyr to the British cause had imbued Quebec, and Canada as a whole, with a new sentimental importance for the British public. Quebec’s official incorporation as a British colony a year later inspired newspaper histories of the settlement, provoked a flurry of descriptions and depictions of the land in popular magazines, and, of course, supplied an opportunity to indulge in memorialising the General anew. Throughout the decade following Wolfe’s death, he continued to inspire artists and authors. While Wolfe’s military prowess had helped to win British territories in North America, his death and subsequent talismanic power as both martyr to and icon of the British imperial drive was infinitely more useful to the British than the acquisition of a relatively unwanted colony.

The ongoing strife in North America inspired a great deal of interest, both military and civilian, in Canadian topography and landscape. The public was aware of the basic concepts of the country, namely ‘tractless woods’ and ‘Canadian cold.’⁵¹ Stereotypes, such as this description of Quebec were available:

frozen climates, and to Artic skies;
.....
In vain the precipice, the rolling flood,
The craggy mountain, and the gloomy wood,
The rugged rock, the steep and thorny cliff,
Oppose the progress of the British chief.⁵²

The landscape here, however, is simply a catalogue of natural features that might impede British colonisation. Indeed, this landscape, despite actively resisting invasion, has been forced under British control. The sublime and savage nature of the Canadian landscape can

⁴⁸ Horace Walpole, *Memoirs of the Reign of George II*, 3 vols, 2nd edn (London: Henry Colburn, 1846), III, p. 219.

⁴⁹ ‘Extract of a letter from an officer at Quebec to his friend in Holland,’ *Scots Magazine*, 24 (December 1762): 694-695, *ProQuest* [accessed 23 September 2011], p. 694.

⁵⁰ James, Chevalier de Johnstone, *A Dialogue in Hades: A Parallel of Military errors, of which the French and English Armies were Guilty, during the Campaign of 1759, in Canada* (Quebec: Printed at the “Morning Chronicle” Office, Published under the auspices of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, 1887), p. 4.

⁵¹ AB Portal, ‘An Ode on the Old Year,’ *Universal Chronicle and Westminster Journal*, 3:100 (23 February 1760): 71, *ProQuest* [accessed 13 March 2012], l. 19.

⁵² ‘Quebec: An Hero-Elegiac Poem on the Conquest of that Place, and the Death of General Wolfe,’ *Newcastle General Magazine* (December 1759): 635-36, *ProQuest* [accessed 19 March 2012], ll. 51-66.

also be taken as a reflection on the inhabitants of Canada. This description of a sublime landscape and its presumably nobly savage natives is generically colonial, and could as easily be applied to the Highlands of Scotland. The British desired a more specific depiction of their colonial acquisitions.

This public clamour for depictions of the colonial landscape was a relatively new trend—prior to the mid-eighteenth century landscape art was undeveloped in Britain, and visual representations of its colonies rare, although the 1720s had seen a few townscapes of the large American ports.⁵³ Illustrations of popular early French accounts had had an anthropological focus on the First Nations inhabitants and an ‘emblematic and static’ quality.⁵⁴ As Crowley notes, ‘few images nominally of colonial New France purported to show how its landscape actually looked.’⁵⁵ Both professional cartographers and off-duty soldiers produced views of the country to supply the new demand.⁵⁶ These maps and sketches were often recast to provide visual representations of the sublime landscapes found in accounts of the colony, and then sold in Britain. Artistic training at the Royal Military Academy in Woolwich helped to ‘standardize the representation of the new British realms overseas [... allowing] stay-at-homes to understand visual reports from remote realms’ (Crowley ‘Visual Empire’ 295).

The influence of military topographies, moreover, trickled into other media as well. In February 1750, the *Gentleman’s Magazine* published not only a letter describing the mild experience of winter in Halifax and an image of the area’s botanical specimens, but also a description of ‘The porcupine from Hudson’s Bay,’ and an illustration of that animal, plucked from George Edwards’s *A Natural History of Uncommon Birds* (1743).⁵⁷ In

⁵³ John E. Crowley, ‘A Visual Empire: Seeing the British Atlantic World from a Global British Perspective,’ in *The Creation of the British Atlantic World*, ed. by Elizabeth Mancke and Carole Shammas (London/Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005), pp. 283-303, pp. 283, 295. See also Crowley *Imperial Landscapes* 142.

⁵⁴ Victoria Dickenson, *Drawn from Life: Science and Art in the Portrayal of the New World* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), p. 131.

⁵⁵ John E. Crowley, “‘Taken on the Spot’: The Visual Appropriation of New France for the Global English Landscape,” *Canadian Historical Review*, 86:1 (March 2005): 1-28, p. 3.

⁵⁶ J. Russell Harper, ‘British Army Topographers in Eastern Canada,’ *Painting in Canada: A History*, 2nd edn (Toronto/Laval: University of Toronto Press; Les Presses de l’Université Laval, [1966], [1977], 2000), 47-55.

⁵⁷ ‘Halifax in Nova Scotia, Dec. 7, 1749,’ *Gentleman’s Magazine*, 20 (February 1750): 72, ProQuest [accessed 14 March 2012]; ‘Explanation of the Plate of Nova Scotia PLANTS, by a Person that drew them on the Spot; illustrated by a very eminent English Botanist,’ *Gentleman’s Magazine*, 20 (February 1750): 73, ProQuest [accessed 14 March 2012]; ‘The PORCUPINE from Hudson’s Bay,’ *Gentleman’s Magazine*, 20 (February 1750): 80. See also George Edwards, *A Natural History of Uncommon Birds, and of Some Other Rare and Undescribed Animals, Quadrupedes, Fishes, Reptiles, Insects, etc.*, 7 vols (London: Printed for the Author, by the College of Physicians, 1743), I, p. 52-[Plate] 52 ff.

July of that year, the *Magazine* printed a plan of Halifax.⁵⁸ The plate depicted a typical military map, but also included a porcupine based on Edward's image—which also seems somewhat influenced by Lahontan's beavers—as well as butterflies, a musk beetle, and the ensign of Nova Scotia. Depictions of the natural world, while referencing earlier visuals, thus also become linked to the military mapping of the landscape.

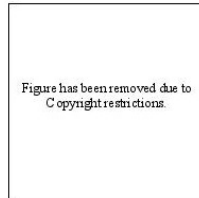


Figure 4: Baron de Lahontan, 'Frontispiece,' 1703, *New Voyages to North-America*, Reprinted from the *English Edition of 1703*, ed. by Rueben Gold Thwaites, 2 vols (Chicago: A. C. McLurg, 1905)

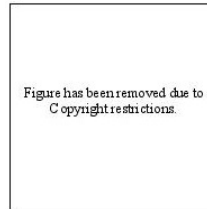


Figure 5: George Edwards, 'The Porcupine from Hudson's Bay,' *A Natural History of Uncommon Birds*, 7 vols (London: Printed for the Author, by the College of Physicians, 1743), I [Plate] 52 ff

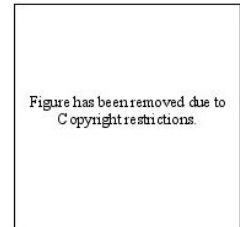


Figure 6: [Moses Harris], 'Halifax Town & Harbour, A Plan of the Harbour of Chebucto and Town of Halifax,' *Gentleman's Magazine*, 20 (July 1750): [Plate] 295

Perhaps the most influential of these Royal Military Academy instructors was the water-colourist Paul Sandby. Sandby, who taught draughtsmanship at the Academy from 1769 to 1799, instructed a generation of British topographers. Sandby's picturesque style had a tremendous effect on the public perception of Scotland and the Highlands.⁵⁹ Sandby's style echoed William Gilpin's picturesque, focusing on 'irregularity, contrast, roughness, variety, use of light and shade, novelty, and pictorial organization.'⁶⁰ It was specifically meant to be 'rougher than the beautiful, but not so overwhelming as the sublime.'⁶¹ Sandby had originally been sent to the Highlands as a military surveyor in 1747, and was 'the first [...] professional artist [...] to explore in the course of his work the more northerly and westerly parts of the country and to leave behind a reasonable visual

⁵⁸ [Moses Harris], 'Halifax Town & Harbour, A Plan of the Harbour of Chebucto and Town of Halifax,' *Gentleman's Magazine*, 20 (July 1750): 295.

⁵⁹ He had published his picturesque images of the Scottish Highlands eight years before Gilpin (Crowley *Imperial Landscapes* 44).

⁶⁰ Alexander M. Ross, *The Imprint of the Picturesque on Nineteenth-Century British Fiction* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1986), p. 4.

⁶¹ William Gilpin qtd. Hermione de Almeida and George H. Gilpin, *Indian Renaissance: British Romantic Art and the Prospect of India* (Aldershot/Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005), p. 190.

record of his travels.⁶² He was thus, as Crowley notes, an ‘artist of conquest’ (43). The purpose of his work, and that of his compatriots, was ‘not so much to invent as to inform.’⁶³ Sandby’s images provided Britons with a previously unknown and alien landscape in Scotland, and his linkage of topographical specificity with picturesque detail thus had a direct impact on British conceptions of their neighbours to the North. As Sandby also produced well-known views of Wales and of English castles, the distinctive style of his prints created a sense of unity in the depictions of different British kingdoms. Hervey Smyth, Thomas Davies, George Heriot, and James Pattison Cockburn are among the early Canadian topographers taught by Sandby and his contemporaries at the Academy. They would apply his training in their representations of Canada, thereby linking the newly-colonised landscape with one that was familiar to many Britons.

British interest in Canada remained high in the decades following the Seven Years’ War, and collections of etchings such as *Six Views of the Most Remarkable Places on the Gulf and River St Lawrence* (1760) and *Six Views of North American Waterfalls* (1768) were well-received.⁶⁴ The *Scenographia Americana* (1768) was the first attempt at a ‘comprehensive’ visual representation of Britain’s American holdings, reprinting these earlier series along with those by other artists.⁶⁵ Such images familiarised an alien landscape, while their military associations recalled details with which British audiences were familiar from newspaper accounts of the fighting. More importantly, by representing British colonial landscapes ranging from Quebec to New York to Havana in a similar style, the *Scenographia Americana* emphasised not only the size of the British empire, but also the ties of the colonies to the mother country. Following the American Revolution, scenes of colonial American cities also enjoyed a vogue in British periodicals, as they indulged in a moment of nostalgia for the halcyon days of the 1760s.

⁶² Jessica Christian, ‘Paul Sandby and the Military Survey of Scotland,’ in *Mapping the Landscape: Essays on Art and Cartography*, ed. by Nicholas Alfrey and Stephen Daniels (Nottingham: University Art Gallery/Castle Museum, 1990), pp. 18-22, pp. 19, 21.

⁶³ Bernard Smith, *Imagining the Pacific in the Wake of the Cook Voyages* (New Haven, Conn/London: Yale University Press, 1992), p. 27.

⁶⁴ The *London Chronicle* of January 27-29 1761 remarks on the publication that day of ‘SIX elegant VIEWS of the most remarkable Places in the River and Gulph [sic] of St. Laurence, from the Originals drawn on the Spot by Captain HERVEY SMITH, Aid de Camp to the late General WOLFE; engraved by Mess. CANOT, SANDBY, Elliot, and Others’ including ‘The Falls of MONTMORENCI, and the Attack made by General Wolfe, July 31, 1759.’ See *The London Chronicle; or Universal Evening Post*, 9:639 (27-29 January 1761): 99, *Gale: British Newspapers 1600-1900* [accessed 14 September 2011].

⁶⁵ Stephen J. Hornsby, *British Atlantic, American Frontier: Spaces Of Power In Early Modern British America* (Lebanon, NH: University Press of New England, 2005), p. 216.



Figure 7: William Elliott, engraver, after Hervey Smyth, 'A View of the Falls of Montmorenci and the Attack Made by General Wolfe on French Intrenchments near Beauport--31 July 1759,' engraving, *Six Elegant Views of the Most Remarkable Places in the Gulph and River St Lawrence*, (London: Thomas Jeffreys, 1760), © Trustees of the British Museum

Smyth's image captures the contemporary trend for the colonised landscape, adding a martial element to an image of one of Canada's most well-known sights.

These North American views were not simply the recreation of British landscapes in America. They were, instead, adapted for a new landscape that emphasised the untamed nature of the continent. As Bruce Robertson notes, 'panoramic compositions can be found in European scenes, but in [North] American views the landscape looms larger, the figures become smaller. This change in proportion would have struck the eighteenth-century eye forcefully.'⁶⁶ In addition to issues of scale, the 'fundamental difference between wilderness and wild scenery' was also a variable.⁶⁷ These are precisely the issues raised by Gilpin and Knight regarding the suitability of the sublime and picturesque for the Canadas. Despite the gulf between European and North American landscapes, these military topographers and artists, such as George Heriot, make 'self-conscious' efforts to 'match the American

⁶⁶ Bruce Robertson, 'Venit, Vidit, Depinxit: The Military Artist in America,' in *Views and Visions: American Landscape before 1830*, ed. by Edward J. Nygren and Bruce Robertson (Washington, D.C.: The Corcoran Gallery of Art, 1986), pp. 83-103, p. 85.

⁶⁷ Edward J. Nygren, 'From View to Vision,' in *Views and Visions*, ed. by Nygren and Robertson (Washington, D.C.: The Corcoran Gallery of Art, 1986), pp. 3-82, p. 32.

landscape with European picturesque conventions' (Robertson 95-96). Such an approach 'constituted an aesthetic embrace of the territory that complemented the imperial political declaration of its British ownership.'⁶⁸ Indeed, '[i]n the context of an American-settled imperial frontier, the visualization of an English-like landscape was a colonizing act in itself.'⁶⁹

W. J. T. Mitchell bluntly connects this gaze to 'the violence and evil written on the land, projected there by the gazing eye [... and] inextricably connected with imperialism'.⁷⁰ In relation to the prospect view, he perceives 'Empires mov[ing] outward in space as a way of moving forward in time; the "prospect" that opens up is not just a spatial scene but a projected future of "development" and exploitation' (17). American art historian Alfred Boime traces a similar 'magisterial gaze' in the frontier visions of American Manifest Destiny, with once crucial difference: the 'systematic projections of the unlimited horizons as a symbol of America's futurity'.⁷¹ While the British gaze subjugates what it encompasses, American views seem more interested in 'searching for new worlds to conquer.'⁷²

The interest in visual topographies and illustrations of Canada also engendered poetic topographies in the second half of the eighteenth century, all of which sprang from existing military topographies. They include Thomas Cary's *Abram's Plains* (1789), J. Mackay's *Quebec Hill* (1797), and, somewhat later, Cornwall Bayley's *Canada* (1805). These early poems are primarily meant to encourage or discourage emigration and introduce the Canadian landscape to a British audience. As D. M. R. Bentley remarks, the 'long poem participated in the colonization of Canada' (*Gay/Grey* 119). These poems, and their characteristic imperial gaze, produced the image of a colony that would be rendered docile under British rule. Indeed, *Abram's Plains*, by its very title, invokes the memory of the battle forty years previous and British conquest. Cary opens with an address to 'Thy plains, O Abram, and thy pleasing views,' which the poet proceeds to detail (l. 1). The

⁶⁸ I[an]. S. MacLaren, 'The limits of the picturesque in British North America,' *Journal of Garden History*, 5:1 (January-March 1985): 97-111, *Taylor & Francis Online* [accessed 22 March 2012], p. 98.

⁶⁹ J. I. Little, 'Canadian pastoral: promotional images of British colonization in Lower Canada's Eastern Townships during the 1830s,' *Journal of Historical Geography*, 29:2 (2003): 189-211, p. 193.

⁷⁰ W. J. T. Mitchell, 'Imperial Landscape,' *Landscape and Power*, 2nd edn (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, [1994], 2002), 5-34, p. 29.

⁷¹ Alfred Boime, *The Magisterial Gaze: Manifest Destiny and American Landscape Painting, c. 1830-1865* (Washington, D. C./London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), p. 26.

⁷² Alfred Boime, 'Cultural Inflections of Slavery and Manifest Destiny in America,' *Art in an Age of Civil Struggle 1841-1871, A Social History of Modern Art 4* (Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press, 2007) 403-470, p. 452.

power of the British gaze to articulate the landscape is shown by the speaker's struggle to see with 'aching eyes,' and thus to describe, British holdings 'fading' beyond the horizon (ll. 424-27). The landscape remains unable to be fully catalogued, but its new British character is assured.

Cary's Quebec is both 'bleak' and pastoral: Cary celebrates its river systems, towns, landscapes and fertile soil, concluding 'such are thy blessings peace! superior far / To specious conquests of wild-wasting war.'⁷³ As he elaborates on the treasures found in Quebec, Cary does not omit reference to the riches of the fur trade, emphasising the colony's commercial value (ll. 196-210). Turning to the 'spot where Wolfe resign'd his breath,' Cary further strengthens the British claim to Quebec through the General's sacrifice and describes the movements of the British troops (l. 282). As MacLaren notes, 'The initial siege is prized clearly for the contentment and refinement it has made possible.'⁷⁴ Cary's poem exploits both landscape and recent history, using the techniques of earlier British constructions of the colony to present Canadians with a detailed and sympathetic image of 'Our infant world', stressing its importance to the greater Empire (l. 220). Mackay's *Quebec Hill*, conversely, describes for a London audience 'a country [...] remarkable for its romantic scenery, and the vicissitudes of extreme heat and intense cold' that render it unbearable for Europeans.⁷⁵ The alien nature of the colony is expressed in its apparent lack of history, and the inability to fit poetic description to the landscape (ll. 1.40-51).

Where Cary celebrates the social and economic opportunities afforded to Britain, Mackay provides a catalogue of its dangers, from wildlife, to the First Nations to disease (ll. 1.61-92). Montreal may be a city that 'join[s]' 'commerce' with 'the gifts of Nature,' but the land itself seems no inducement to remain (ll. 1.146-48). Idealised descriptions of civilised First Nations and 'gay' villages are undercut by the reality of lazy and drunken natives and the Catholic nature of the villages' inhabitants (ll. 1.231-50). The settlement seems rotten at the core: 'groundless hopes, and airy views deceive, / Ye know how chang'd your prospects still appear, / When you, like me, examine them more near' (ll. 296-98). The second half of the poem, focusing on winter, is even blunter. The horrors of a Canadian winter are described in detail as debilitating even to the prepared First Nations

⁷³ Thomas Cary, *Abram's Plains*, ed. by D. M. R. Bentley ([London, ON: Canadian Poetry Press, 1986]) <http://www.uwo.ca/english/canadianpoetry/longpoems/abrams/abrams_plains.htm> [accessed 7 January 2012], ll. 10, 50-51.

⁷⁴ I[an]. S. MacLaren, 'The Pastoral and the Wilderness in Early Modern Canada,' *Landscape Research: Journal of the Landscape Research Group Ltd*, 14:1(Spring 1989): 15-19, p. 17.

⁷⁵ J. Mackay, 'Preface,' *Quebec Hill*, ed. by D. M. R. Bentley, ([London, ON: Canadian Poetry Press, 1988]) <http://www.canadianpoetry.ca/longpoems/Quebec_Hill> [accessed 3 January 2012].

(ll. 2.63-80). Mackay eventually admits that ‘tis Britain I prefer’ and resolves to return ‘from realms remote, where men with beasts contend’ (ll. 2.186; 2.205). Although describing the same scenes and history as Cary, to Mackay the particular pressures of survival in Canada outweigh the economic benefits of the colony. Mackay’s unsympathetic rendering of the *habitants* and First Nations also reinforces John Barrell’s warning regarding the prospect view, that ‘some comprehend, others are comprehended.’⁷⁶ Mackay, in synthesising and describing the Canadian landscape and its existing population, portrays them according to his own bias.

Cornwall Bayley’s ‘Canada. A descriptive poem, written at Quebec 1805,’ provides a prospect view of the colony at Quebec, as influenced by both the poet’s acquaintance with Thomas Moore and recent British victories. While the text is of less poetic merit than those of Cary or Mackay, Bayley introduces a note of humour into descriptions of ‘Lawrence[’s ...] oozy bed’.⁷⁷ Though covering the same ground as his predecessors, the poet begins to move away from a description of the Canadian wilderness based on the terrifying and sublime. Bayley’s examination of Canadian history begins with the antediluvian, and includes the conquests prior to Britain, again widening the scope of the earlier poetic narratives (ll. 137-154). Bayley’s consideration of geological processes also echoes a growing trend towards considerations of mineralogy and the use of natural science to comprehend the Canadian landscape and history.⁷⁸ The land itself is depicted as desiring exploitation of its natural resources, ‘wo[oing]’ ‘the ploughshare’ ‘in vain’ (ll. 41-46). Canada’s wildlife—and equally ‘wild Indians’—are thus portrayed as guilty of neglecting an opportunity (l. 69). In Bayley’s hands, conquest by France and subsequently Britain for the purpose of improvement becomes the fulfilment of the continent’s destiny. The empty spaces on the map are beginning to be filled.

The military influence on the depiction of the landscape is not restricted to these overt topographies, or to purely British texts. It also plays an important role in the construction of Canada in John Richardson’s *Wacousta*, often considered Canada’s first

⁷⁶ John Barrell, ‘The Public Prospect and the Private View: The Politics of Taste in Eighteenth Century Britain,’ in *Landscape, Natural Beauty and the Arts*, ed. by Salim Kemal and Ivan Gaskell, Cambridge studies in philosophy and the arts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, [1993], 1995), pp. 81-102, p. 90.

⁷⁷ Cornwall Bayley, ‘Canada. A Descriptive Poem, written at Quebec 1805, with Satires—Imitations—and Sonnets,’ ed. by D. M. R. Bentley ([London, ON]: Canadian Poetry Press, [1990]) <http://www.canadianpoetry.ca/longpoems/bayley/canada/canada_a_poem.htm> [accessed 8 January 2012], l. 38.

⁷⁸ For examples, see Helen Dewar, ‘Old World Conventions and New World Curiosities: North American Landscapes Through European Eyes,’ *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association / Revue de la Société historique du Canada*, 14:1 (2003): 45-63, *Érudit* [accessed 22 March 2012], pp. 50-53.

novel and a seminal Canadian text. Richardson's landscape is, in many ways, a 'space' whose Canadian narrator attempts to imbue with a sense of 'place' through the provision of a new, specifically national 'content' that nevertheless remains within the wider British imperial framework.⁷⁹ The novel's first chapter is effectively a travelogue, meant to situate the British reader within a landscape that is both alien and no longer extant. This echoes Scott, whose project, particularly in *Waverley* (1814), was to recreate an image of the sublime Highlands that were disappearing. Waverley, journeying northwards, is fully aware of 'the romance of his situation'.⁸⁰ In Scott's novel, the narrator provides his protagonist with guides for context, informs the reader of such necessities as Fergus Mac Ivor's heritage, and the reader's growing impression of Scotland proceeds from Waverley's own experience. Richardson's travelogue, however, is problematic. His narrator is not following a predestined path, but is already present somewhere in the vicinity of Detroit and must articulate it to his presumably British audience. From his very opening, however, Richardson's narrator progresses in fits and starts, first heading for 'cursory remarks, illustrative of the general features of the country' before breaking off, pondering whether 'perhaps it will better tend to impress our readers with a panoramic picture of the country.'⁸¹ Such a picture is given, referencing the 'Canadian Boat Song' of the *Noctes Ambrosianae* as 'a composition which has rendered the "rapids" almost as familiar to the imagination of the European as the falls of Niagara themselves' (1832 I 5).

The progress is structured as an almost imperial gaze, echoing earlier constructions of Canadian topography. E. Ann Kaplan specifically defines the gaze as 'active,' a distinction it is important to note in Richardson.⁸² While the narrator of *Wacousta* actively seeks the proper way to introduce the terrain of the novel, in *The Canadian Brothers*, he has arrived at a deliberate and explicit fashioning of the reader as 'spectator', gazing out over vast North American panoramas.⁸³ Richardson details the exact position of this imperial 'spectator': at Amherstburg, 'stand[ing] on the elevated bank of the magnificent river of Detroit, and about a mile from its point of junction with Lake Erie' (I 2). His gaze then pans to 'the view to the right': 'the thinned forest [...] an infinitude of dingy half-

⁷⁹ Peter J. Taylor, *Modernities: A Geohistorical Interpretation* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999), p. 97.

⁸⁰ Sir Walter Scott, *Waverley; or, 'Tis Sixty Years Since*, 3rd edn, 3 vols (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable and Co; London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1814), I, p. 247.

⁸¹ [Major John Richardson], *Wacousta, or, The Prophecy: A Tale of the Canadas*, 3 vols (London: T. Cadell; Edinburgh: W. Blackwood, 1832), I, pp. 1-3.

⁸² E. Ann Kaplan, *Looking for the Other: Feminism, Film, and the Imperial Gaze* (Routledge, 1997), p. xviii.

⁸³ Major John Richardson, *The Canadian Brothers; or, The Prophecy Fulfilled. A Tale of the Late American War*, 2 vols (Montreal: H. H. Armour, 1840), I, p. 3.

blackened stumps,’ ‘wigwams of the Indians,’ Turkey Island and the ‘tumuli’ of the First Nations, ‘the American island of Gros Ile’ (I 3). As *Wacousta*’s description of a bygone and still British Detroit progresses, Richardson emphasises the isolation of the garrisons and the political tensions of the day, ending with ‘the isolated fort of Michillimackinac, the last and most remote of the European fortresses in Canada’ (1832 I 13). As Richardson continues his descriptions of the area in 1763 and 1832, he links them by claiming:

there are few modern Canadians, or even Americans, who traverse the “Bloody Bridge,” especially at the still hours of advanced night, without recalling to memory the tragic events of those days, (handed down as they have been by their fathers, who were eye-witnesses of the transaction,) and peopling the surrounding gloom with the shades of [...] mangled and headless corpses (1832 I 22).

While this grisly link invokes horror, Richardson’s invocation of both imagined ghosts and historical eyewitnesses emphasises the timeframe between the frame narrative and the events of the novel. The bridge thus serves as an example of the literary picturesque, a *là* Scott. As Walker puts it, ‘To the picturesque preoccupation with landscape, Scott grafted a fascination with history as manifest in the land.’⁸⁴ The history of the attack of Michillimackinac is specifically associated with the terrain on which the battle occurred.

This focus on the past and return, however, also invokes imagery of the gothic revenant or ghost. The ghosts Richardson imagines at the bridge have not yet met their end at *Wacousta*’s opening, but his focus on the revenant is echoed in *The Canadian Brothers*, when Gerald Grantham:

could not avoid lingering near a spot, which, tradition had invested with much to excite the imagination and feeling. It was familiar to his memory, (for he had frequently heard it in boyhood,) that some dreadful tragedy had, in former days, been perpetrated near this bridge (I 183).

While Richardson’s *Wacousta*-narrator speaks of a specific tradition of ghost tales, Grantham is unaware of it. Nevertheless, the site itself maintains some element of power over him. Similarly, the new garrison at Detroit is constructed on ‘the ruins of one of the old English forts of Pontiac’s days’ (II 47). The history of the Canadas is being built up, but the colony’s bloody early history—exacerbated by Richardson’s plot—and the threat represented by the landscape cannot be expunged. Instead, they must be incorporated into the foundational myths of the country. Unlike the literal ghosts of many gothic texts, for Richardson the threat of the landscape and of history is the ghost that Canada cannot escape.

⁸⁴ Eric G. Walker, *Scott’s Fiction and the Picturesque*, Mellen Studies in Literature/Jacobean Drama (Lewiston, NY/Queenston, ON/Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, [1983]), p. 21.

Scott was known for his detailed descriptions, and was careful to make use of the sublime and the picturesque in his construction of the Scottish landscape.⁸⁵ Richardson's descriptions of the landscape enforce the novel's garrison mentality; Lecker makes clear that '[w]ilderness in *Wacousta* is not [...] the antithesis of the "garrison culture," but the very stuff out of which that culture is made.'⁸⁶ The very sparse nature of the description has a purpose. When Richardson does describe his country, though, those descriptions are 'well-executed.'⁸⁷ Duffy highlights Richardson's 'painterly ways of observation,' and observes that 'Richardson's regard for the picturesque carries a moral implication beyond that of a connoisseur's stance: the picturesque serves as a way of composing oneself in the face of bewildering events.'⁸⁸ This is true, but the visual construction of both Canada and the Highlands grew expressly from military topographies, as discussed previously. While both Scott and Richardson make use of picturesque description, the underlying martial element to these images must be remembered.

3.4 Fictions of Discovery and Settlement

Even as the general public in Britain—and the colonies—was engaging with and consuming depictions of Canada, longstanding tropes of the deadly climate, vast and wooded landscape, and the alien wildlife associated with the country were recycled and reconsidered. The most prevalent trope in early depictions, despite consistent attempts to address the issue by boosters of Canadian immigration, was the terrifying Canadian climate.

James Thomson's *The Seasons* (1730), perhaps inevitably, exercised a particular fascination for the poets of pre-Confederation Canada. Of the four seasons, 'Winter' was invoked most often. Thomson's 'Preface' described the impact of Nature:

I know no Subject more elevating, more amusing; more ready to awake the poetical Enthusiasm, the philosophical Reflection, and the moral Sentiment,

⁸⁵ Beth S. Wright, 'Seeing with the Painter's Eye': Sir Walter Scott's Challenge to Nineteenth-Century Art' in *The Reception of Sir Walter Scott in Europe*, ed. by Murray Pittock (London/New York: Continuum, 2006), pp. 293-312, p. 302-305.

⁸⁶ Robert A. Lecker, 'Patterns of Deception in *Wacousta*,' *Journal of Canadian Fiction*, 19 (1977): 77-85, p. 83.

⁸⁷ 'Wacousta; or, The Prophecy—a Tale of the Canadas,' London *Athenaeum* (29 December 1832): 837-838, *ProQuest* [accessed 14 December 2010], p. 838.

⁸⁸ Dennis Duffy, *Gardens, Covenants, Exiles: Loyalty in the Literature of Upper Canada/Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), pp. 50-51.

than the *Works of Nature*. Where can we meet with such Variety, such Beauty, such Magnificence? All that enlarges, and transports, the Soul?⁸⁹

The poet posits a specific and important role for the landscape. Thomson's 'Winter' put forward a sublime view of the season's power, with the poet invoking 'kindred Glooms! / Congenial horrors'.⁹⁰ This depiction of the sublime, as Glickman notes, 'predate[d] Burke [... and] was far more influential in popularizing the new conception of terror as a salutary experience.'⁹¹ Thomson's descriptions of 'Summer' and 'Winter' are both given to 'a presentation of extremes, the superlatives of the tropics and polar regions.'⁹² Irlam remarks that Thomson's 'excursions into a fictive global geography are thus both a defensive and an aggressive strategy, seeking to consolidate the sense of a privileged domestic space [...] while neutralizing the claims to privilege that other places might make'.⁹³ Popular accounts of Canada's harsh climate may be influenced by Thomson's depiction of the death of the Swain in 'Winter' (ll. 276-321). Interestingly, Thomson's descriptions of 'dangers [...]' endemic to the *torrid* zones in "Summer" are appropriated and assigned to Canada by poets such as Mackay and Oliver Goldsmith the Younger: a transference that might explain the appearance of tigers in Campbell (Glickman n. 167-68). Murray Pittock has written of Thomson's transformation of the pastoral 'away from the theme of dispossession towards one of settled unity'.⁹⁴ The depiction of the vast and alien landscapes of Celtic Britain, an 'internal exotica,' distinct within Britain, prefigures the construction of Canada as distinct within the Empire (Pittock 63). The poet, moreover, emphasises the need for continued Scottish improvement.⁹⁵ Thomson thus provides not only a model with which to engage with Canada's landscape and climate, but also with its colonial position. Bentley notes that Thomson's treatment of waterfalls is echoed in early Canadian narrative texts, a move that maps Thomson onto the landscapes considered quintessentially North American (*Mimic* 31). Indeed, Thomson's 'Winter' resonates throughout Canadian literature; it even serves as an epigraph for the first Canadian novel, Beckwith Hart's *Nun of Canada*, while in his

⁸⁹ James Thomson, 'Author's Preface, prefixed to the second edition of Winter,' *The Poetical Works of James Thomson*, 2 vols (London: Allan Bell and Co., 1837), I, xvii-xxiv, p. xxi.

⁹⁰ James Thomson, 'Winter,' *The Poetical Works of James Thomson*, 2 vols (London: Allan Bell and Co., 1837), I, 135-168, ll. 5-6.

⁹¹ Susan Glickman, *The Picturesque and the Sublime: A Poetics of the Canadian Landscape* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998), p. 41.

⁹² Alan Dugald McKillop, *The Background of Thomson's Seasons* (Hamden, CT: Archon Books, 1961), p. 131.

⁹³ Shaun Irlam, 'Gerrymandered Geographies: Exoticism in Thomson and Chateaubriand,' *Modern Language Notes*, 108:5 (December 1993): 891-912, JSTOR [accessed 14 March 2012], p. 895.

⁹⁴ Murray Pittock, *Scottish and Irish Romanticism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 62.

⁹⁵ James Thomson, 'Autumn,' *The Poetical Works of James Thomson*, 2 vols (London: Allan Bell and Co., 1837), I, 93-134, ll. 910-28.

Preface to *Abram's Plains*, Cary remarks on his fondness for Thomson (Cary 'Preface' iii-iv).⁹⁶ This link with Thomson's 'Winter' is useful, as Canada's own place in the British imagination also seemed to be as a space of 'snows' and 'cold.'⁹⁷ Thomson, too, constructs landscape by means of an imperial gaze. Even within Britain, the privileged spectator constructs his world from atop 'the height from whose fair brow / The bursting prospect spreads immense around / [... his] eye excursive roams.'⁹⁸ Thomson's 'Liberty,' too, explicitly conceives of the British empire as 'the dear prospect! O majestic view' before elucidating Britain's fated conquest of 'other worlds,' girding them with a 'golden chain'.⁹⁹ Amongst these yoked worlds is a recognisable land which 'to the poles approaching, rise[s], / In billows rolling into Alps of ice' ('Liberty' ll. 4.414-415). This construction of the North American Arctic merges concepts of the European North with the stereotypes of North America.

While the British public was being introduced to North American scenes through such poetry, the most influential depiction of Canada in fiction at mid-century was Frances Brooke's epistolary novel *The History of Emily Montague* (1769). Brooke had lived in Quebec as the wife of the garrison chaplain in 1763, and drafted the novel during her second stay in Quebec in 1765-67, 'revising and expanding' the text after returning to Britain in 1768.¹⁰⁰ By the time *Emily Montague* was published, Brooke had achieved fame in Britain and France as the author of *The History of Lady Julia Mandeville* (1763) and was known as a protégée of Samuel Johnson.¹⁰¹ Drawing on Brooke's own Canadian experiences, her text valorises the British military presence in Quebec. The novel's depiction of post-Conquest Quebec thus participates, in its own way, in the construction of military topographies of early Canada, and represents the new colony to its British masters. The novel's epistolary format is particularly helpful in this regard: as the characters enter into in a web of transatlantic correspondence, providing loved ones in London with on-going accounts of the colony, they actively seek to engage with British questions and

⁹⁶ See Thomson, *Winter* ll. 583-87.

⁹⁷ 'The Winter,' *Weekly Miscellany; or, Instructive entertainer*, 15:385 (12 February 1781): 480, *ProQuest* [accessed 13 March 2012], l. 13; 'Gibraltar. Written by a Lady, and sung there 7 May 1792, at a Ball and Supper given to his Royal Highness Prince Edward, on leaving that place to go to Canada,' *European Magazine, and London Review*, 35 (May 1799): 333, l. 22.

⁹⁸ James Thomson, 'Spring,' *The Poetical Works of James Thomson*, 2 vols (London: Allan Bell and Co., 1837), I, 1-36, lns 947-953.

⁹⁹ James Thomson, 'Liberty,' *The Poetical Works of James Thomson*, 2 vols (London: Allan Bell and Co., 1837), II, 77-200, ll. 4.382, 438.

¹⁰⁰ Mary Jane Edwards, 'General Introduction,' in Frances Brooke, *The History of Emily Montague*, ed. by Mary Jane Edwards, CEECT 1 (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1985), xvii-lxxi, p. xxxvi.

¹⁰¹ A translation of *Julia Mandeville* by Matthew Anthony Bouchaud was in its third edition by 1764.

concerns, and to provide helpful descriptions. Brooke's settlers come to Canada with notions of its being 'wilder' than America, and expecting that they shall be lords over 'bears and elks' while cultivating the land and raising 'order and beauty [...] from chaos' (I 2-3). Fitz remarks on the text's 'definitive New World, and uniquely Canadian, ambience'.¹⁰² Brooke does not simply portray the colony, but takes pains to distinguish it from its American neighbours. Once in Canada, her characters constantly refer to the picturesque *habitants* and the sublime landscapes of 'wild magnificence' that equally 'char[m] and astonis[h]' (II 74-75). Brooke's descriptions, of both beauty spots and Quebec City, are vivid enough to have gained the text fame not as a novel but as a travel guide through at least the 1830s. Such popularity paralleled the manner in which Scott's poetry was often viewed as a tour guide relation to the Highlands.

Brooke's characters also express an early version of the nineteenth-century struggle to master and beautify Canadian scenery. Brooke's continuous descriptions of Canadian winter scenes, of the stultifying effect of Quebec's climate to '[congeal]' thought (II 215), and Brooke's explicit admission of her inability to 'give [...] the least idea' of the true intensity of the Canadian winter indicate British inability to exert control (II 71). When not ice-bound, the land is explicitly described as both beautiful and possessing 'astonishing' 'quickness of vegetation' even as the land remains 'snow-covered,' factors which make enduring the winter worthwhile (III 41). Arabella imagines herself and Emily civilising Lake Champlain together:

trying who had the most lively genius at creation; who could have produced the fairest flowers; who have formed the woods and rocks into the most beautiful arbors, vistles, grottoes; have taught the streams to flow in the most pleasing meanders; have brought into view the greatest number and variety of those lovely little falls of water with which this fairy land abounds; and shewed nature in the fairest form (III 101-102).

Meanwhile, their husbands, more prosaically, would be 'clearing land, raising cattle and corn' (III 102). The topography of the 'fairy land' is thus to be transformed into useful fields and examples of the controlled sublime advocated by Gilpin and Knight, rather than the untamed wilderness of the colonial frontier. As Rivers notes, 'Canada has beauties, but they are of a different [and inferior] kind' (III 156). Ironically, upon their return to Britain, Rivers and Emily, although they miss the 'magnificent scenes' of Canada, engage in the same activities as they had envisioned performing in Quebec, creating a pastoral

¹⁰² Earl E. Fitz, 'The First Inter-American Novels: Some Choices and Some Comments,' *Comparative Literature Studies*, 22:3 (Fall 1985): 362-376, JSTOR [accessed 19 September 2011], p. 366.

‘paradise,’ and ‘raising oaks’ to ‘bear the British thunder to distant lands’ (IV 54-55). The British landscape is thus itself partially transformed into a means for further colonisation.

Julia Beckwith Hart’s *St Ursula’s Convent; or, The Nun of Canada* (1824), the first novel written and published in Canada, is also set in Quebec. Despite the text’s Canadian nature, it is curiously devoid of local content—an authorial move that may reflect the province’s role in the text. Canada, crucially, functions as a land of exile: the family of Monsieur de St Louis are ‘banished to Canada’.¹⁰³ As Gerry Turcotte puts it, the country is a ‘neutral borderland for outcasts’ (98). Carol Gerson goes further, arguing that European characters and situations are simply ‘impose[d] [...] on the Canadian landscape’ (23). Beckwith Hart’s construction of Canada relies primarily on reference to picturesque habitant customs and Catholicism; topographical description is rare and limited to ‘a delightful grove of trees, situated on a rising ground, commanding a lively prospect of hill and dale, river and rill,’ characterisations of Quebec as ‘arcadian,’ and a statement that the ‘delightful scenery presented to our view while sailing down the St Lawrence, cannot certainly be surpassed by any spot on the globe’ (II 96-97, 105). Her protestations of a Canadian identity appear awkward—the country has no identifying features beyond vague gestures towards an established French Canadian picturesque.¹⁰⁴ Hart does not even draw on established cliché; her Canada is empty. As in Brooke’s novel, Canada is ultimately a land abandoned, albeit with reluctance, in favour of a return to France and Britain.

Literary descriptions of North America in the early nineteenth century are inextricably linked with Thomas Campbell; Robert Crawford sees his work as ‘help[ing] to consecrate the American landscape for literary use’ (*Devolving* 129). Campbell, like the majority of his compatriots, knew of North America and its denizens through travelogues and histories rather than personal experience. His only contact with the First Nations was through Major John Norton, with whom he was singularly unimpressed. Americans, however, reacted extremely strongly to his texts, particularly to *Gertrude of Wyoming* (1809). While Canadian poets do not necessarily imitate Campbell in the same way, they nevertheless react to his depictions of North America. *The Pleasures of Hope* (1799) contains a famous description of the Great Lakes region:

Come, bright Improvement!.....

every wild explore,

¹⁰³ [Julia Beckwith Hart], *St Ursula’s Convent; or, The Nun of Canada*, 2 vols (Kingston, Upper Canada: Hugh C. Thomson, 1824), I, p. 1.

¹⁰⁴ Hart is not alone in this lack of detail. Mary Lu MacDonald notes a number of such cases in both English and French Canadian literature. See MacDonald, ‘The Natural World in Early Nineteenth Century Canadian Literature,’ *Canadian Literature*, 111 (Winter 1986): 48-65 <<http://canlit.ca/site/getPDF/issue/111>> [accessed 28 October 2010], pp. 49-50.

Trace every wave, and culture every shore.
 On Erie's banks, where tigers steal along,
 And the dread Indian chants a dismal song,
 Where human fiends on midnight errands walk,
 And bathe in brains the murderous tomahawk;
 There shall the flocks on thymy pasture stray,
 And shepherds dance at Summer's opening day;
 Each wandering genius of the lonely glen
 Shall start to view the glittering haunts of men,
 And silence watch, on woodland heights around,
 The village curfew as it tolls profound.¹⁰⁵

A similar emphasis on American dangers is seen in *Cora Linn*, where Campbell admits Niagara's power but suggests its sheer sublimity and might have a '[b]arbarian' quality in comparison to the refined sublime of Scotland.¹⁰⁶ Campbell creates a vision of the New World that is possibly more murderous than the typical view of Canada. Nevertheless, improvement, he intimates, will transform 'human fiends' into productive members of society and tame a landscape soon to be filled with 'the glittering haunts of men.' The *genus loci* is seen still preferring the 'woodland heights,' but the settlements are now villages complete with 'thymy pastures' and pastoral dances. The terror of the landscape—represented by the bloodthirsty nature of the native people and animal life—can be remade in the image of Britain.

This emphasis on the wild and the association with the predators of southern climes is not new. Voltaire speaks of the contemporary theories that the native inhabitants of America were descended from Japanese and Chinese colonists, who brought jaguars with them (III 302). Voltaire's remarks illustrate a strand of thinking that linked the unknown wilderness of the New World with the Orient. As for the animals themselves, Voltaire describes them as 'le plus grand des animaux féroces du Nouveau-Monde. Il est le lion ou le tigre de l'Amérique, mais il n'approche des lions et des tigres de l'ancien monde ni pour la grandeur, ni pour la force, ni pour le courage' (III n.302). The jaguar is thus accepted as a threat, but denied any of the positive associations such as accompanied other large cats. In 1770, Oliver Goldsmith's *The Deserted Village* had described 'new-found worlds,' and specified the Southern United States through reference to 'wild Altama.'¹⁰⁷ Goldsmith details 'the various terrors of that horrid shore': 'blazing suns,' 'matted woods where birds

¹⁰⁵ Thomas Campbell, 'The Pleasures of Hope,' in *The Pleasures of Hope, with Other Poems*, 6th edn (Edinburgh: Mundell and Son; London: Longman and Rees, and J. Wright, 1802), pp. 3-99, ll. 1.321-34.

¹⁰⁶ Thomas Campbell, 'Cora Linn, or the Falls of the Clyde. Written on Revisiting it in 1837,' in *The Poetical Works of Thomas Campbell*, ed. by Rev. W. A. Hill (London: Edward Moxon, 1851), pp. 359-360, ll. 27-33.

¹⁰⁷ Dr. [Oliver] Goldsmith, *The Deserted Village, A Poem* (London: W. Griffith, 1770), ll. 372, 344.

forget to sing,' 'poisonous fields, with rank luxuriance,' 'vengeful snakes,' 'tigers wait[ing] their hapless prey, / And savage men more murderous still than they' (ll. 347-56). Campbell's tigers and Indians clearly draw on this tradition. The American Charles Brockden Brown, meanwhile, published his Gothic novel *Edgar Huntly* in the same year as Campbell's *Pleasures of Hope*. As an American, Brown saw 'the perils of the western wilderness' as 'more suitable' fodder for literature than 'Gothic castles and chimeras.'¹⁰⁸ His construction of this wilderness, however, drew heavily on established tropes of the New World, utilising both romantic images of 'craggy eminences and deep dells,' and a stereotypically desolate and deceptive landscape (I 223).¹⁰⁹ The narrative even includes a panther attack (II 40-48).¹¹⁰ Brown's negative image of Pennsylvania furthered imagery of the New World as inherently dangerous and alien.

Such images maintained currency in the popular conception of North America, including Canada. In 1803, a British poet, echoing Goldsmith's vision of the New World, specifically relocated it to Canada. He imagines 'some mountain's woody head / Canadian wilds [...] / Where savage tigers prowling tread / And savage men more fierce than they.'¹¹¹ The Canadas, themselves covering a vast territory and adjacent to the frozen Northwest, were thus subject not only to associations with the harsh winters of Quebec, exacerbated by public interest in the Arctic, but also constructions of the Americas as a jungle, with the unhealthy associations of that climate as well. The negative overtones in considerations of North American fertility and abundance influence the discussion of the characteristic Canadian forest.

A specifically Scottish Romantic construction of Canada—and one that draws on these associations—is found in Mary Brunton's *Self-Control* (1811). This moral novel features a bizarre climax in which the heroine, the pious Highlander Laura Montreville, is abducted and taken to Quebec by auxiliaries of her crazed former suitor Hargrave. Although Laura manages to escape her captor once in Canada, and to survive a daring plunge down the Falls of Montmorenci in a birch bark canoe, it is Brunton's depiction of the landscape that is noteworthy.¹¹² As the land of Laura's forced 'exile,' it is at first

¹⁰⁸ The Author of Arthur Mervyn, *Wieland*,--Ormand, &c.[Charles Brockden Brown], 'Preface,' *Edgar Huntly, or Memoirs of a Sleep-walker. A Novel*, 3 vols (Philadelphia: H. Maxwell, 1799), ECCO [accessed 4 May 2011], I, p. 4.

¹⁰⁹ Similar construction of the land is seen in Brown's *Ormond; or, The Secret Witness* (1799) and *Wieland; or, The Transformation* (1798).

¹¹⁰ Compare to Knight, *The Landscape* ll. 1.53-54.

¹¹¹ Ithacus, 'To The New Moon,' *Poetical Register*, 2 (January 1803): 27-33, *ProQuest* [accessed 13 March 2012], ll. 13-16.

¹¹² Mary Brunton, *Self-Control*, Standard Novels 15 (London: Henry Colburn and Richard Bentley; Edinburgh: Bell and Bradfute; Dublin: Cumming, [1811], 1832), pp. 485-486.

forbidding, 'woods impervious to light,' 'marshy ground, rank with unwholesome vegetation' and a 'sad luxuriance' of trees (471-472). Laura's first encounter with the First Nations is as abettors of her abduction, albeit kind ones, and her first experience with the fauna a rattlesnake, while the atmosphere of 'primeval stillness [...] fixed as in death' is itself ominous (472-473). Her Indian captors, however, also provide the means for her escape, the landscape takes on a new beauty, and 'wild ducks' and 'foxes' show themselves as she flees (484-485). Alyson Bardsley remarks that '[t]he landscape of Canada cannot provide Laura the almost magical refuge of the wilds of home, but it can nevertheless provide almost equally magical compatriots and partisans.'¹¹³ The country at first appears threatening, and is never the 'Paradise' that Laura equates with Scotland, but it is not as malevolent as Laura originally imagines.¹¹⁴

While Brunton's novel has had a mixed critical reception, it was popular and went through four editions between 1811 and 1812, and was reprinted in Britain and America until 1852. Jane Austen wrote of her difficulties in acquiring a copy of the novel in 1811.¹¹⁵ In 1813, she pronounced it 'an excellently-meant, elegantly-written Work, without anything of Nature or Probability in it. I declare I do not know whether Laura's passage down the American River is not the most natural, possible, everyday thing she ever does' (Austen 278). A year later, responding to criticism of *Mansfield Park*, Austen wrote:

I will redeem my credit [...], by writing a close Imitation of "Self-Control" as soon as I can;—I will improve upon it;—my Heroine shall not merely be wafted down an American river in a boat by herself, she shall cross the Atlantic in the same way, & never stop till she reaches Gravesent [*sic*] (Austen 282-83).

Austen's 1815 satiric 'Plan of a Novel,' too, is a 'recognizable reduction to formula' of *Self-Control*.¹¹⁶ While Austen's remarks are partially motivated by jealousy over Brunton's sales figures, they also indicate that *Self-Control*'s North American plot, despite its oddity, was both popular and recognisable. Brunton herself was aware of the plot's problems. In 1811, she responded to Mrs Izett's criticisms by admitting that:

¹¹³ Alyson Margaret Bardsley, "Romantic Caledon" or "Sister Kingdom": The Ambivalence of Cultural Nationalism in Scottish Romantic Writing,' unpublished doctoral thesis, University of California Berkeley, Fall 1997, p. 92.

¹¹⁴ The early descriptions of Canada as marshy and forbidding forest are reminiscent of Dante's Hell, which may be intended as a contrast to the 'Paradise' of Scotland. Lisa Wood reads the incident as Laura's 'spiritual reawakening'. See Wood, *Modes of Discipline: Women, Conservatism, and the Novel after the French Revolution* (USA: Bucknell University Press, 2003), p. 133.

¹¹⁵ Jane Austen, *Jane Austen's Letters*, ed. by Deirdre Le Faye, 3rd edn (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, [1995], 1996), p. 186.

¹¹⁶ Kathryn Sutherland, 'Jane Austen and the invention of the serious modern novel,' in *The Cambridge Companion to English Literature 1740-1830*, ed. by Thomas Keymer and John Mee (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp. 244-262, p. 257.

[t]he American expedition, too,—though [...] the best written part of the book,—is more conspicuously *a patch*, than any thing else which [the novel] contains. Though I do not see the outrageous improbability with which it has been charged, I confess that it does not harmonize with the sober colouring of the rest. We have all heard of a ‘peacock with a fiery tail;’ but my American jaunt is this same monstrous appendage tacked to a poor little grey linnet.¹¹⁷

Brunton’s admission of the episode’s oddity heightens interest in its composition. In 1889, Annie Raine Ellis, discussing *The History of Emily Montague*, notes that Frances Brooke ‘appear[s] to have touched the fancy of better novelists who read it in their ‘teens,’ and ‘suspect[s] that a well-meaning but very tiresome novelist, Mrs. Brunton, borrowed from “Emily Montague” for her novel of “Self-Control.”’¹¹⁸ The vague nature of the Canadian landscape in *Self-Control* makes addressing this claim difficult, but Brunton could easily be responding to the popularity of *Emily Montague* when she cast about for a suitably wild location. Such insinuations could more conceivably be made regarding *Harriot Stuart*, as the heroine is abducted by Amerindians in the employ of her white lover who nevertheless treat her well.¹¹⁹ Certainly, the inclusion of the North American landscape as both a ‘test of faith’ as well as ‘melodramatic effects [... reminiscent of] the gothic novel’ incorporates elements of captivity narratives.¹²⁰ *Self-Control*’s fantastic elements, therefore, seem to draw on tropes and images of the New World produced in earlier accounts, particularly novels.

Brunton’s contemporary, Ann Cuthbert Knight, provides a realistic counterweight to this melodrama in her 1815 poem *A Year in Canada*. In it, Knight assumes the role of ‘Trans-atlantic muse,’¹²¹ recalling and describing her experience in Canada from her home on ‘Scotland’s dark-brown heath.’¹²² The *Eclectic Review* conceived of the poem as a series of ‘reflections’ on Canadian ‘scenery,’ ‘seasons’ and manners.¹²³ The *Colonial Journal*

¹¹⁷ Mary Brunton qtd. Alexander Brunton, ‘Memoir,’ in *Emmeline. With Some Other Pieces by Mary Brunton, to which is Prefixed a Memoir of her Life* (Edinburgh: Manners and Millar; Edinburgh: Constable and Co.; London: John Murray, 1819), v-cxxi, p. xlviii.

¹¹⁸ *The Early Diary of Frances Burney 1768-1778*, ed. by Annie Raine Ellis, 2 vols (London: George Bell and Sons, 1889), I, p. 274.

¹¹⁹ Susan K. Howard raises this similarity. See Howard, ‘Identifying the Criminal in Charlotte Lennox’s *The Life of Harriot Stuart*,’ *Eighteenth-Century Fiction*, 5:2 (January 1993): 137-152 <<http://digitalcommons.mcmaster.ca/ecf/vol5/iss2/2/>> [accessed 20 August 2011], pp. 143-46.

¹²⁰ Kay Schaffer, *In the Wake of First Contact: The Eliza Fraser Stories* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 50.

¹²¹ ‘Art. XIII. A Year in Canada; with other Poems. By Ann Cuthbert Knight,’ *The British Critic*, NS6 (1816): 92-94, *ProQuest* [accessed 3 February 2012], p. 93.

¹²² Ann Cuthbert Knight, *A Year in Canada and Other Poems* (Edinburgh: Printed by James Ballantyne & Co. for Doig and Stirling; London: Baldwin, Cradock and Joy, 1816), II. 5.16.9.

¹²³ ‘Art. XIII. A Year in Canada, and other Poems. By Ann Cuthbert Knight,’ *The Eclectic Review*, NS4 (1816): 404, *ProQuest* [accessed 3 February 2012].

read it as a '[sketch of] the route from Montreal to the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and from the Gulf to Montreal and Glengary [sic]'.¹²⁴ These summations are correct, but none give a full picture. Knight's poem does contain a topographical element and depictions of the *habitants* reminiscent of earlier poems, but it specifically chronicles a year in the country. Throughout the text, Knight draws on and engages with both contemporary romantic texts and the militaristic, topographic impulse of the previous century to present a comparatively nuanced and realistic vision of the colony. Descriptions that echo those of her Romantic predecessors, denoted by Bentley as 'Thomsonian tableaux,' are nevertheless altered to include distinctly Canadian details.¹²⁵ While these scenes are recognisable to the reader, they not only highlight a continued cultural continuity, but also the inescapably alien (if fertile) nature of the land. The poet does not deny the inherent wilderness or sublimity of the Canadian landscape, but this wilderness presented as being tamed and controlled. Knight's notes and descriptions of the winter are deployed to counter continued British perceptions of the deadly Canadian climate (n. 88).



Figure 8: [Cruikshank?], *The Emigrant's Welcome to Canada*, print ([London]: O. Hodgson, [c.1820s]), Library and Archives Canada, Acc. No. 1970-188-2056 W.H. Coverdale Collection of Canadiana.

This caricature, depicting the fertile 'Grass Land' beneath '900 feet of snow,' plays on popular conceptions of Canada's climate.

The on-going preoccupation with the Canadian winter was exacerbated by recent accounts and depiction of explorations in the Northwest and the Arctic. Accounts by

¹²⁴ 'Notice of a New Poem, entitled, "A Year in Canada,"' *The Colonial Journal* No. I (April 1816): 9-12, p. 9.

¹²⁵ D. M. R. Bentley, 'Introduction,' in Ann Cuthbert Knight, *A Year in Canada*, ed. by Susan Birkwood ([London: Canadian Poetry Press, 2004]) <http://www.canadianpoetry.ca/longpoems/a_year_in_canada/introduction.htm#4> [accessed 4 February 2012].

explorers such as Mackenzie and Samuel Hearne proved popular,¹²⁶ while the artists who accompanied these expeditions produced ‘sketches and watercolours [which] were duly engraved and published in England, and contributed to the ever-growing popularity of books of travel.’¹²⁷ Just as in the Canadas, such travel accounts engaged with contemporary aesthetic ideals of the picturesque and sublime in order to visualise the new territories. These accounts provided the British with the image of contemporary explorers like Hearne or Mackenzie literally inscribing British dominion onto a wilderness that was both extremely hostile, and rich in exploitable resources. Such inscription had a specific commercial purpose: as Hearne writes, he was instructed that should a natural feature be ‘likely to be of any utility, take possession of it on behalf of the Hudson’s Bay Company by cutting your name on some of the rocks, as also the date of the year, month, etc.’¹²⁸

In exploring the regions, Britain also established control in a field long occupied by the French. Having taken possession of the Canadas, it was clearly imperative that British expertise should equal that of the former possessors. Prior to Confederation, the Canadas properly consisted of Upper and Lower Canada, and considerations of these were sometimes accompanied by reflections on their sister colonies Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island. Due to growing knowledge of North America, the focus on opening the polar region was often mapped onto the Canadas proper.¹²⁹ Such mappings were helped by the narrative journeys of explorers like Mackenzie, who began his text in Montreal. By following the St Lawrence, Mackenzie created an imaginative association between the arctic landscape and the more familiar sights of Lower Canada. Popular conceptions of the Canadas as frozen were thus vindicated. The entire region could be portrayed as possessed of a single climate, as in a poem of 1821, in which ‘Canadian wastes of snow, / Sullen in wintry guise appear.’¹³⁰ Canadians and promoters of emigration

¹²⁶ Hearne’s account alone was reprinted in Dublin (1796), and published in abridged form in Philadelphia (1802), as well as translated into French (1799), German (1797), Swedish (1798), Dutch (1798) and Danish (1802).

¹²⁷ Angela E. Davis, *Art and Work: A Social History of Labour in the Canadian Graphic Arts Industry to the 1940s* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1995), p. 39.

¹²⁸ Samuel Hearne, *A Journey from Prince of Wales Fort to the Northern Ocean* (London: A. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1795), p. xxxviii; see also Alexander Mackenzie, *Voyages from Montreal, on the River St Lawrence, through the Continent of North America* (London: T. Cadell, 1801), p. 349.

¹²⁹ The arctic landscape and the Inuit people exercised a particular fascination. See, for example, James Montgomery, ‘A Voyage Round the World,’ *Mirror of Literature, Amusement, and Instruction*, 11:292 (5 January 1828): 10-11, *ProQuest* [accessed 13 March 2012], ll. 37-45; Emily Clark, *The Esquimaux, or Fidelity*, 3 vols (London: Printed at the Minerva Press for A. K. Newman and Co., 1819); A Lady, *A Peep at the Esquimaux; or, Scenes on the Ice*, 2nd edn (London: H. R. Thomas; Dublin: Westley and Tyrell, 1825).

¹³⁰ ‘Lines. To the Memory of a late distinguished character,’ *Edinburgh Annual Register*, 14 (January 1821): 366-368, *ProQuest* [accessed 13 March 2012], ll. 85-86.

attempted to temper such perceptions, and authors such as Brooke made efforts to be even-handed, but popular belief in the Canadas as a frozen country proved difficult to dispel.

Even as texts depicting of the Canadas proliferated, the deliberate construction of the province as empty continued, thereby encouraging further emigration and colonisation. Gaile Macgregor sees a second aspect to this. While travellers might be able simply to respond to terror in the landscape by classifying it as sublime, Canadians ultimately ‘recoil’ from the wilderness to such an extent that it is completely emptied of meaning and becomes ‘tabula rasa, neutralized’.¹³¹ Rather than an intentional construction of the colony as blank for imperial purposes, the construction of the land as empty by settlers may be one coping mechanism for dealing with the rigours and sheer scale of the North American—and specifically the Canadian—landscape. An empty landscape, devoid of meaning, is at least not malevolent. The tourist or military sojourner is free to savour his sublime terror, or to revision the landscape as a picturesque sketch. The settler, faced with the grim reality of survival, has no such luxury. Considerations of the land as an imperial blank to be filled, and of settler recoil, can be traced in constructions of the Canadas.

British poetry and prose of the 1830s underscores this relatively blank landscape. Stories and articles in *Chambers Edinburgh Magazine* speak of disgraced men ‘lost to the world in the recesses of the Canadian wilderness,’ ‘unoccupied lands [... with] boundless scope,’ the ‘magnificent scale’ of the landscape.¹³² Other texts engage with more specific tropes. David Vedder’s emigration ballad ‘Jeanie Ballantyne’ invokes images of ‘western forests free’ in contrast to forced clearance and improvements in the Highlands.¹³³

Vedder’s Highlanders envision themselves:

seek[ing] a cottage-home,
In the dark Canadian wild.
We’ll fire the pristine pine,
And we’ll chase the bounding roe,
And we’ll urge the slipp’ry sledge,
Over trackless mounds of snow;
.....
we shall build a bower of bliss
Far from the haunts of men (ll. 71-118).

¹³¹ Gaile Macgegor, *Wacousta Syndrome: Explorations in the Canadian Langscape* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), pp. 71-72.

¹³² ‘The Defaulter,’ *Chambers’s Edinburgh Journal*, 111 (15 March 1834): 49-50, *ProQuest* [accessed 13 March 2012], p. 49; ‘Emigration. Prince Edward Island,’ *Chambers’s Edinburgh Journal*, 20 (16 June 1832): 156-57, [accessed 16 March 2012], p.156; ‘A Traveller’s Tale,’ *Chambers’s Edinburgh Journal*, 284 (8 July 1837): 185-86, *ProQuest* [accessed 16 March 2012], p. 185.

¹³³ [David Vedder], ‘Jeanie Ballantyne.-A Ballad,’ *Tait’s Edinburgh Magazine*, 2:13 (January 1835): 16, l. 6.

The tropes of Canadian wilderness are seen as paralleling Highland life, while a wild existence in Canada is painted as preferable to continuing in Britain. While Upper and Lower Canada were distinguishable in climate and culture, such depictions construct the provinces as a homogenous mass of ice and forest. *The Canadian Girl; or, The Pirate of the Lakes. A Tale of the Affections* (1838), although it stakes a specific geographical claim to the landscape surrounding Lake Erie, nevertheless also partakes in more general clichés. It opens among the ‘sublime wildernesses of Upper Canada’ complete with luxuriant fauna, ‘majestic trees, ‘boundless woods,’ a ‘lake [...] silent to awfulness,’ and, by way of contrast, ‘spots of fairy-like beauty.’¹³⁴ Amongst ‘wild forest and hills,’ a minor character is killed by a ‘snowdrift,’ freezing to death in ‘ocean-like snow’ falling like ‘a hurricane’ that buried him and his horse in ‘graves of snow,’ an indication of the negative possibilities of the climate (379-380). *The Canadian Girl*, too, invokes European sublimity for a comparison point for the Canadian wilds. A trip in Italy allows the characters to enjoy ‘hills and valleys little less romantic and sublime than those of the majestic country we had left [Canada],’ while in Canada a beautiful hill is given the name Arthur’s Seat (375, 422). This hill is a ‘noble crag [...] with an admirable bird’s eye view’ of a farm, a ‘sublime pinnacle’ from which was seen ‘rising ground, clothed with trees, that nodded their majestic tops to every wind; on the left, the gentle ascent was odoriferous with fruit-trees; and opposite to the spectator was reared a rugged elevation of granite’ (42). Where in Scotland such a view presents the city of Edinburgh, the Canadian version exhibits an orchard. In time, the New World may begin to approach the old.

Travelogues, and emigrant guides and narratives all promoted specific—at times opposing—views of the colonies. By the 1830s, the market was flooded with such narratives. Whether promoting the colony as an extension of Britain, as a land of plenty, or a dream cruelly sold to gullible emigrants, these depictions continued to frame the landscape through narratives of adventure and discovery similar to those popularised in the previous century. Such language emphasised both the scale and the untamed nature of the Canadian wilderness. T. W. Magrath’s *Authentic Letters from Upper Canada* (1833), an emigrant guide with a focus on gentlemen’s sports, reprints letters from correspondents not only remarking on the scenery, ‘like a gigantic and brilliant picture’ and the obligatory comments on ‘these drowsy woods,’ but also the retiring nature of ‘deer, bears, wolves, &c.’ which are rarely seen outside ‘their secluded haunts’.¹³⁵ While the emigrant guides

¹³⁴ The Authoress of *The Jew’s Daughter*, etc. etc. [Mary Bennet?], *The Canadian Girl; or, The Pirate of the Lakes. A Tale of the Affections* ([London]: J. Bennet, Jun, [1838?]), pp. 1-2.

¹³⁵ T. W. Magrath, *Authentic Letters from Upper Canada*, ed. by Rev. T. Radcliff (Dublin: William Curry, Jun. and Company; London: Simpkin and Marshall; Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1833), pp. 77, 187, 238-239.

had a specific stake in discussing the adaptation of the natural landscapes,¹³⁶ travelogues, in particular, had less ideological stake in their construction of the colony, and tended to fall back on romantic cliché. E. T. Coke, for instance, indulges in typically sublime and romantic descriptions of well-known beauty spots, and stock images such as ‘the stark and impenetrable wall of the dark forest.’¹³⁷ Coke also views the Canadian forest in autumn in a specifically picturesque mode: ‘as if some painter, in a freak of fancy, had dabbed his brush into all the different hues of his color-box, and rubbed each on the paper carelessly and thoughtlessly, yet without arrangement had produced a most perfect picture’ (417). George Head, in 1829, pays particular attention to the privations of the Canadian winter, particularly in Lower Canada, describing instances of being ‘incrusted [...] in a coat of ice; [...] as much like an armadillo as a human being’.¹³⁸ A typical description of Head’s excursions amongst the ‘sylvan panoramas’ of Canada is that which he provides of the St Lawrence:

foaming rapids, the heavy roaring of the waters, the huge slabs of ice ripped from the summits of the rocks, whose black desolate looking points formed a striking contrast with the overpowering whiteness of the snow;--all of these were objects which irresistibly rivetted the attention. One beheld, as it were, with all the accompaniments of nature’s sublimity, a contest of the two elements, wherein every inch of ground was furiously disputed (iii, 168).

These sublime landscapes were deeply impressive to British tourists, who revelled in their power and evinced discomfort that the ongoing ‘ravag[e] of improvement’ might ‘tortur[e]’ them, even as they promoted this mastery of the landscape.¹³⁹

Anna Brownell Jameson’s *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada* (1838) have attracted attention both for her depiction of the Canadian landscape, and her acidic commentary on Canadian social and political life in the days preceding the 1837 Rebellion. She publishes, originally, because ‘[w]hile in Canada, I was thrown into scenes and regions hitherto undescribed’.¹⁴⁰ Jameson’s use of ‘thrown’ indicates her own sense of the situation

¹³⁶ See K. Kelly’s remarks in ‘The Transfer of British Ideas on Agriculture to Nineteenth Century Ontario,’ in *The Settlement of Canada: Origins and Transfer. Proceedings of the 1975 British-Canadian Symposium on Historical Geography*, ed. by Brian S. Osbourne (Kingston, ON: Queen’s University, 1976), pp. 70-93, particularly pp. 73-76.

¹³⁷ E. T. Coke, *A Subaltern’s Furlough: Descriptive of Scenes in Various Parts of the United States, Upper and Lower Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, during the Summer and Autumn of 1832* (London: Saunders and Otley, 1833), pp. 294, 355.

¹³⁸ George Head, *Forest Scenes and Incidents, in the Wilds of North America* (London: John Murray, 1829), p. 159.

¹³⁹ Lieut. Francis Hall, *Travels in Canada, and the United States, in 1816 and 1817* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1818), p. 121.

¹⁴⁰ Mrs [Anna Brownell] Jameson, *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada*, 3 vols (London: Saunders and Otley, 1838), I, p. xi.

as alien. Her assertions that the country is ‘undescribed’ also allow her to map her own impressions onto the land, and to associate her experience in Northern Ontario with the accounts of previous explorers. Although Jameson comes to love aspects of the country, Canada remains, at base, a colonial outpost, as seen in her never entirely revised opinion of Toronto as ‘mean in appearance, not thickly inhabited, and to me, as yet, an unknown wilderness,’ carved from a ‘mere swamp’ (I 12, 16). The constant recollection of Toronto’s swampy origins recall the earlier associations of the Canadian landscape with that of the unhealthy American savannas, while conceptions of Toronto as a ‘fourth or fifth rate provincial town’ itself echo Arabella’s characterisation of Quebec as a ‘third or fourth rate county town in England’ in *Emily Montague* (Jameson I 98; Brooke I 205).

Regarding the forested landscape and efforts to master it, Jameson gives way to the Canadian cliché, mouthing banalities regarding the ‘seemingly interminable line of trees [...] the boundless wilderness around; the mysterious depths amid the multitudinous foliage where foot of man hath never penetrated’ (II 114). Her infamous remark that ‘the Canadian settler *hates* a tree, regards it as his natural enemy’ fits into the ongoing figuring of settlement at war with nature (I 96). In winter, despite living within the heart of Toronto, she feels herself ‘imprisoned by this relentless climate’ (I 171-172). Following Jameson’s return to Britain, she wrote a friend in ‘that far-off New World’ that the colony ‘looms in my imagination dimly descried in far space, a kind of *ultima Thule*’.¹⁴¹ Physical separation from the colony seems to induce a similar mental one. Indeed, Canada becomes imaginatively linked with Thule, the ‘vague’ and ‘uncertain’ conception of Shetland, a shadowy concept that marked the extent of British territory, ‘involved in darkness, whilst its shores were washed by a boisterous ocean’.¹⁴² While Jameson produced a detailed account of the colony, Canada itself remains unreal.

Settlers in the colony were not afforded Jameson’s opportunity to leave and forget. Of Canada’s settlement texts, perhaps the best known are the productions of the Strickland sisters, Catharine Parr Traill and Susanna Moodie, whose careers stretched throughout the nineteenth century. After emigrating in the early 1830s, both produced accounts of settlement life for both Canadian and British readerships, drawing on publishing connections in London while also constructing a literary coterie in Upper Canada and contributing to the nascent Montreal literary culture. While it is Moodie who is most often studied, Traill’s constructions of Canadian landscape and settlements predate her sister’s—

¹⁴¹ Anna Brownell Jameson, qtd. Geraldine Macpherson, *Memoirs of the Life of Anna Jameson* (London: Longmans, Green, & Co, 1878), p. 141.

¹⁴² Samuel Hibbert, *A Description of the Shetland Islands* (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable and Co.; London: Hurst, Robinson and Co., 1822), pp. 102-103.

and, in one case, her own emigration. In 1826, she published *The Young Emigrants: or, Pictures of Canada*, based on communication with friends ‘who emigrated to America in 1821’.¹⁴³ This text contained a number of tropes with which both Traill and her sister would engage throughout their careers.

Traill’s construction of the landscape draws heavily on popular conceptions of the ‘wilds of Canada,’ describing it throughout as ‘bold,’ ‘striking,’ ‘picturesque,’ ‘sublime,’ ‘desolate,’ ‘majestic’ (5, 6, 35, 36, 97, 117). Specific landscapes, particularly the passage from Newfoundland and the Falls of Montmorenci are ‘inconceivably grand; [...] inspir[ing] a feeling of awe’ and leaving characters ‘pale with terror’ (34, 42). The true purpose of the emigration, though, is not simply to gawp at the landscape, but to settle and ‘clear the land from the forest trees that have encumbered it since the earliest ages of the world’ (5). The necessity of such clearances is shown by the ‘confin[ment]’ of the settler’s views to ‘forest’ or ‘lake’ (62). The settlers not only clear a farm, but also plant an ornamental garden, for which they solicit British seeds (62, 113). In their deliberate clearance of the ‘confining’ trees, genteel settlers seeking to recreate a British landscape in the New World are forced to invert what Tom Williamson denotes the British ‘landscape of exclusion.’¹⁴⁴ While in Britain, planting trees was seen as adherence to ‘the established order,’ and gardeners like Capability Brown had deliberately ensured that ‘all the land visible from the house belonged to the owner’s domain’, in Canada such a situation seems untenable (Williamson 128).¹⁴⁵

An obsessive focus on clearance and managing the landscape is found as well in Traill’s most famous work, *The Backwoods of Canada* (1836). Traill begins her narrative as a tourist, lamenting missed opportunities to visit Canadian beauty spots, and being unimpressed by promised sublime landscapes, leaving her ‘half angry at these pretty-behaved quiet rapids’ (33). She is clearly participating in the existing framework of Canadian landscape, with sublime aspects and dark woods. However, as the Traills ‘get reconciled to [their] Robinson Crusoe way of life,’ in ‘our Canadian wilds’ they leave a firm imprint on the initially threatening wilderness (1, 23). Traill’s use of the possessive is telling. She has ceased to function as a traveller, becoming a resident, and her interaction with the landscape changes accordingly. While the landscape is itself uncontrolled, it is under British dominion and is owned by the Traills. Clearing a farm amidst the ‘almost

¹⁴³ [Catharine Parr Traill], *The Author of Prejudice reproved, The Young Emigrants: or, Pictures of Canada* (London: Printed for Harvey and Darton, 1826), p. iii.

¹⁴⁴ Tom Williamson, *Polite Landscapes: Gardens and Society in Eighteenth-Century England* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), p. 107.

¹⁴⁵ Alfred Boime, ‘English Art in the Napoleonic Era,’ *Art in an Age of Bonapartism 1800-1815, Social History of Modern Art 2* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 97-198, p. 146.

awful stillness,' they hope to transform this 'forest wild' into 'fruitful fields,' echoing the expectations of colonists as early as Brooke (111, 126). Just as Hearne and other explorers had inscribed British dominion over the Northwest and the Canadas into the land itself, settlers bring their individual farms under similar mastery. As they alter the face of the landscape, Traill also colonises it imaginatively, declaring herself a 'floral godmother,' bestowing 'names of my own choosing' 'according to inclination or fancy' on new, 'nameless' plants (143-44). When planning her garden, she is 'anxious' to 'cultivate some of the native fruits and flowers, which, I am sure will improve by culture' (143). Unlike the widespread mastery of prospect views, Traill is engaging with the wilderness on a more granular level. The wild landscape of the Canadas is thus slowly but surely given a British gloss.

Traill actively engages, not only with critiques of the climate and forest, but also of the varied flora and fauna. In response to claims regarding the inferiority of the perfume of Canadian blossoms, she professes herself:

half inclined to be angry when I admire the beauty of the Canadian flowers, to be constantly reminded that they are scentless, and therefore scarcely worthy of attention; as if the eye could not be charmed by beauty of form and harmony of colours, independent of the sense of smelling being gratified. To redeem this country from the censure cast on it by a very clever gentleman I once met in London, who said, 'the flowers were without perfume, and the birds without song,' I have already discovered several highly aromatic plants and flowers (91).¹⁴⁶

A similar remark on the unexpected perfume of Canadian blossoms is found in Magrath (78). Similarly, she attempts to set the record straight regarding birdsong: while it would be 'untrue' to regard it as superior, Traill wishes to speak on 'behalf of [Canada's] feathered vocalists' (173). Such slurs can be traced at least to Goldsmith's birds who 'forget to sing.' While Traill offers a voice in support of Canadian wildlife, she does not fully deny the charges, merely weakening them. The British landscape remains the ideal.

Such idealisation is also seen in the importation of British flora. Although Woodhead remarks on the ecological problems raised by nineteenth-century imports of European plants, Traill, like many of her contemporaries, was anxious for plants from home.¹⁴⁷ She reminds her mother, 'do not forget to enclose flower-seeds' and 'long[ed] to introduce them' (149-50). Despite her insistence on the beauty and utility of native flora, Traill still wishes for that of her own country. The imposition of Old World structures is

¹⁴⁶ Bentley suggests that this encounter may actually be a reaction to Isaac Weld's *Travels (The Gay) Grey Moose*, p. 167_.

¹⁴⁷ Eileen Woodhead, *Early Canadian Gardening: An 1827 Nursery Catalogue* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998), p. 52.

not enough. Gardens must not be imitated, but specifically recreated, with additional Canadian improvements. Indeed, both Traill and Magrath express a wish to export particularly lovely aspects of their new environment to the more fitting setting of Britain, where they might be better admired (Magrath 78). Colonial life has clearly overcome Knight's warnings that gardeners ought to view 'foreign plants with caution' (Landscape 3.41). Magrath also remarks on the familiarity of certain plants, and his active role in remaking his environment:

Many of your garden plants grow wild here, tiger lilies, magnificent turncap and scarlet lilies, ladies' slippers, columbine, marygolds, and various others; [...] I have planted three thousand trees, [...] to conceal our offices, and for ornament: for in truth the trees about us of natural growth are far from pleasing in their appearance (116).

Like Traill, Magrath sees the landscape as something to be shaped and controlled. Not only ought trees to be cleared, but properly ornamental trees ought also to be replanted. Indeed, his correspondent Thomas Radcliff notes that while clearing his farm, he left 'a belt of ornamental timber' (Magrath 152).

Traill later published an official emigrant's guide, in which she considers the rapid change in the Canadas, where 'old settlers and their children have seen the whole face of the country changed. They have seen the forest disappear before the axe of the industrious emigrant; they have seen towns and villages spring up where the bear and the wolf had their lair'.¹⁴⁸ Traill consistently recalls the province's status as an 'infant' civilisation, such as when she remarks that her first settlement was 'in those days was almost the Ultima Thule of civilization,' and characterises it as a land of opportunity (*Female Emigrant* [222]). Traill here echoes Jameson's comparison of Canada to Thule, but crucially relegates this imagined similarity to the past. A similar circumstance occurs in her *Canadian Crusoes* (1852), whose Canadian child protagonists view their country as '*terra incognita*—a land of mystery' that even comes to stand for their father's mythical 'Highland' homeland.¹⁴⁹ As the children derive mastery over the landscape, they lay claim to it in a more fundamental way, declaring '[t]his is our country' (*Crusoes* 304). In these accounts personal growth, and the maturity of the settlement, strip the landscape of a measure of its terror.

The replanting of trees allows settlers to exert a sense of mastery over the land, while also engaging in behaviour associated with respectable gentility in the motherland

¹⁴⁸ Mrs C[atharine]. P[arr]. Traill, *The Female Emigrant's Guide, and Hints on Canadian Housekeeping* (Toronto, C[anada]. W[est].: Maclear and Company, 1854), p. 29.

¹⁴⁹ Catharine Parr Traill, *Canadian Crusoes: A Tale of the Rice Lake Plains*, ed. by Agnes Strickland, illus. Harvey (London: Arthur Hall, Virtue & Co, 1852), p. 132.

(Williamson 128). British interest in the management of trees on estates is exported and applied to the clearing of the Canadian forests more generally. Traill, expecting ‘hoary giants almost primeval with the country itself’ discovers ‘a want of picturesque beauty in the woods’ (112). Specifically, it boasts no ‘appearance of venerable antiquity’ or ‘ancient spreading oaks [...] patriarchs of the forest’ (113). The trees are ‘doom[ed]’ to ‘premature decay’ (113). Assigning the trees such a lack of history may be a way of assuaging guilt that they must be ‘extirpated’ (57). In semi-cleared areas, by contrast, trees, though ‘inferior in size’ are nevertheless ‘more picturesque, growing in groups or singly, at considerable intervals, giving a sort of park-like appearance to this portion of the country’ (61). The cleared areas are thus not only made useful but beautiful, and the sense of having destroyed an ancient forest is minimised by frequent references to trees falling naturally. While Traill is not afraid of invoking images of prelapsarian landscape, she tempers them with similar reminders.

Susanna Moodie, even more than Traill, popularised the images of the bush and the clearings. Such terms and their accompanying construction of settler life as a war with nature had been in use for years, and can be seen in Galt and Dunlop’s own accounts, but it was Moodie who ensured that the contrast of the bush and cleared settlements would be well-known. The first, and most famous, of Moodie’s Canadian texts was *Roughing It in the Bush: or, Forest Life in Canada* (1852). Among the many aspects of settler life Moodie complains of, the constant struggle with the bush seems the worst. *Roughing It in the Bush* was not Mrs Moodie’s choice of title; it was an editorial decision by Bentley, and the text engages with experiences beyond the titular subject.¹⁵⁰ Nevertheless, when Moodie published a second book on settler life the next year, she deliberately requested that it be titled “‘The Clearings versus the Bush or Life in Canada’—a sequel to *Roughing it* etc’, a request that was honoured as *Life in the Clearings Versus the Bush*.¹⁵¹ The two texts—and their titles—explicitly set up a dichotomy within the Canadian landscape. Contemporary depictions of the bush drew heavily on constructions of the forest as a place of gloom, like those found in Galt’s *Bogle Corbet*.¹⁵² While Moodie protests her own ‘total ignoran[ce]’ regarding life in Canadian ‘towns and villages’ at the time of writing *Roughing It* in

¹⁵⁰ John Thurston, *The Work of Words: The Writing of Susanna Strickland Moodie* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1996), p. 370.

¹⁵¹ Susanna Moodie to Richard Bentley, 1853, in Susanna Moodie, *Letters of a Lifetime*, ed. by Carl Ballstadt (Toronto: University of Toronto Press [1985], 1993), p.130.

¹⁵² The trope of the gloomy forest transcended language. The most famous Gàidhlig example is John Maclean’s ‘Oran do dh’Ameireaga’. See Iain MacIlleathain [John Maclean], ‘Oran do dh’Ameireaga “A Song to America,”’ in *Caran an t-Saoghail The Wiles of the World: Anthology of 19th Century Scottish Gaelic Verse*, ed. and trans. by Donald E. Meek (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2003), pp. 64-73.

Clearings, this does not in fact fit the timing of the publications (*Clearings* xi). While she herself characterises the first text as ‘melancholy,’ she continues to harp on the ability of the bush to leave men ‘beggared and ruined’ (*Clearings* vii, x). Her emphasis on such a reading of the colony is a deliberate strategy. Even Traill, generally optimistic, remarks on the debilitating mental affects of the bush, admitting that the positive impact of ‘a [cleared] space of this kind in the midst of the dense forest imparts a cheerfulness to the mind’ unimaginable to those unfamiliar with bush life (*Backwoods* 196).

The impact of such scenes—and the emigrant’s inability to properly express this impact—are both clear in her account.¹⁵³ This difference is made particularly stark when the distressed, depressed denizen of the backwoods grows into a kindly tour guide, pointing out ‘every spot worthy of note’ as Moodie does following her relocation (*Clearings* 5). Moodie’s opening strategy, too, is to invite the reader to view Canadian prospects: ‘[w]ould that you could stand with me on that lofty eminence and look around you! The charming prospect that spreads itself at your feet would richly reward you’ (*Clearings* 8). Moodie thereby draws on the imperial gaze, linking the colony with the motherland, but she also infers the difference between the bush and civilisation. There can be no such prospects in the backwoods.

Images of the cleared and the wild landscape were not only promoted outwith the colony by such accounts, but also internalised by Canadians. Frye’s garrison mentality carries its echo. A noteworthy example of this internalisation is found in Charles Lyell’s account of his North American tour. Regarding the fog off of Newfoundland, he remarks that:

Looking at the dense fog from the intermediate sunny regions, we could hardly be dissuaded that we were not beholding land, so distinct and well-defined was its outline, and such the varieties of light and shade, that some of our Canadian fellow-passengers compared it to the patches of cleared and uncleared country on the north shore of the St Lawrence.¹⁵⁴

Later, while on a cleared farm in Upper Canada, Lyell notes that the ‘view was bounded on every side by a dense wall of dark wood’ (I 26). Unlike the constant westward movement of American expansion, Canadian clearance maintains a sense of isolation and enclosure. The image of the bush settlement, hemmed in by the forest, may have such power precisely because it mirrors the geography of the country itself. As Northrop Frye writes, ‘in Canada, wherever one is, the frontier is a circumference. Every part of Canada is shut off

¹⁵³ Elizabeth Thompson, ‘Illustrations for *The Backwoods of Canada*,’ *Studies in Canadian Literature*, 19:2 (1994): 31-56 <<http://journals.hil.unb.ca/index.php/SCL/article/view/8202/9259>> [accessed 27 April 2012], p. 31.

¹⁵⁴ Sir Charles Lyell, *Travels in North America*, 2 vols (London: John Murray, 1845), I, p. 2.

by its geography' ('Sharing the Continent' 58). Complete clearance and accessibility, complete knowledge and mastery of the landscape, are ideals that cannot come to fruition.

As the Canadas were reshaped and improved throughout the nineteenth century, constructions of the landscape continued to straddle the line between the rising, cleared metropolis and the menacing wild. This sense of unease is particularly apparent in the popular *Canadian Scenery Illustrated* (1842). This collection featured a series of views by W. H. Bartlett, accompanied by H. P. Willis's generally unrelated narrative. Bartlett already enjoyed a reputation for picturesque landscapes and architectural detail. He had published *Picturesque Antiquities of the English Cities* in 1836, and *American Scenery* had been published with Willis in 1840. The Canadian scenes were thus part of a much wider trend, and echoes of Bartlett's portrayals of Britain, in particular, are visible in his depictions of Canada. These very similarities, however, highlight the peculiarities of the Canadian illustrations. Bartlett believed 'the study of topography [...] makes every country [...] an object of interest'.¹⁵⁵ Landscape and the manner of its portrayal therefore take on a particular slant under his pen.

Willis opens his narrative with a consideration of Canada as a 'magnificent link in the colonial chain with which England has encircled the world,' and immediately moves to a detailed consideration of the 'aboriginal inhabitants' of the country.¹⁵⁶ Willis then turns his attention to the history of colonisation in the Canadas, and more recent political and social history. He accomplishes this with a minimum of descriptive or topographical information, focusing instead on the colony and its British associations. In the first volume, particularly, Bartlett's images can appear random, not always positioned logically. Landscapes may appear in the midst of discussions on a separate theme, and the scale and treatment of the scenes can vary.

Bartlett's 119 plates throughout *Canadian Scenery* are tinged with a sense of unease. Of these plates, the vast majority involve bodies of water and woods. Despite Bartlett's reliance on imported tropes and the strong presence of visual clichés, the scenes he presents are geographically specific. Though part of a wider project emphasising the vastness of the colony—and thus the power of the British empire—Bartlett's images show a partial shift away from the construction of the country as a blank. The oft-maligned Canadian climate, interestingly, is minimised in his depictions. Only two plates depict the frozen landscapes of the Canadian winter. Bartlett's selection includes some tamed,

¹⁵⁵ [William Henry Bartlett], 'Autobiography of John Britton,' *Sharpe's London Journal*, 12 (July 1850): 214-220, *ProQuest* [accessed 24 March 2012], p. 214.

¹⁵⁶ H. P. Willis, *Canadian Scenery, Illustrated in a Series of Views by W. H. Bartlett*, 2 vols (London: Published for the proprietors by George Virtue, [1840] 1842), I, p. 1.

controlled landscapes, many with elements of the picturesque, and a number of self-consciously sublime wilderness scenes depicting deadly rapids and devoid of human figures. A number of scenes unintentionally emphasise the struggle between wilderness and British civilisation for mastery of the Canadian landscape. Images of cities and towns are often surrounded by a more familiar wilderness. The depiction of outposts and rising towns includes realistic, rickety buildings surrounded by the waters and forests of Canada. Indeed, this dedication to picturesque architecture could lead Bartlett to portray the aspects of colony as rougher and more backward than they were.

Perhaps most telling are the depictions of individual settlements. The second volume of *Canadian Scenery* aligns Willis and Bartlett more obviously, opening with Willis's description of actual scenery and moving on to travel and emigrant accounts of the country. Bartlett's images, already compelling, thus take on an additional power of association. Plates like 'A Settler's Hut on the Frontier,' 'Dann's Clearing (Eastern townships),' and 'A First Settlement' all placed the British emigrant in the bush, and invoked the hardships that were now a commonplace in the writings of authors like the Strickland sisters and the countless emigrant guides of the period.

'View from the house of R. Shirreff, Esq (Ottawa River)' depicts a scene of a very different kind. Rather than the expected rude dwellings of the bush, the plate's title indicates a higher standard of living. Shirreff is a gentleman. The image depicts the veranda of a colonial stately home, where a young girl gazes out into the river. While the extreme isolation of the rough settlement prints is not present, Shirreff's home is still clearly located on the forested banks of the Ottawa River, apart from others. The image retains a tinge of isolation. A similarly problematic plate is 'Bridge at Bytown, Upper Canada (fallen in).' Unlike some of the bridges Bartlett depicts, the Bytown bridge appears sturdy enough, and cuts a swathe through the landscape, directing the eye. The built environment clearly has an effect. The surrounding wilderness, however, relies heavily on the imagery of the sublime. The woods and waters of the foreground are clearly distinct from the bridge. The parenthetical 'fallen in' is also noteworthy. While Bartlett's parentheticals primarily provide geographic specificity or the view from which a scene was taken, this one indicates the structure's disappearance back into the landscape. The rapids of the River Ottawa can claim at least one victory.

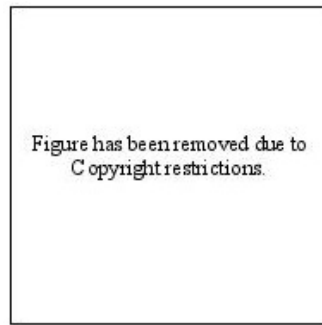


Figure 9: W. H. Bartlett, 'View from the house of R. Shirreff, Esq,' in H. P. Willis, *Canadian Scenery*, 2 vols (London: George Virtue, [1840] 1842), II

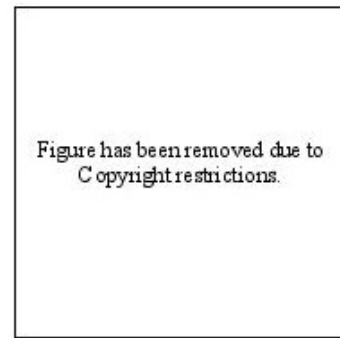


Figure 10: W. H. Bartlett, 'Bridge at Bytown, Upper Canada (fallen in),' in H. P. Willis, *Canadian Scenery*, 2 vols (London: George Virtue, [1840] 1842), II

A second element that becomes clear when examining Bartlett's Canadian scenes is the pervasive presence of British military forces in the Canadas. Whether flirting with society women at the base of Wolfe's monument, striding through colonial cities, working with the *habitant* community or simply ambling through a landscape for scale, the distinctive kilts and shakos of the British officer are omnipresent. While settlers struggled to clear the bush and topographers sought to articulate it, the British government maintained a standing force in its colony. As Lyell noted upon visiting Upper Canada, the colony offered a distinct 'resemblance [...] to a garrison' (II 121). While popular guidebooks emphasised 'scenes of military glory' in ages past, the presence of such troops ensured the continuing association of the Canadian landscape with military topographies and British might.¹⁵⁷ Bartlett's Canadian scenes enjoyed great popularity on both sides of the Atlantic, and were also used on highly popular pottery consumed throughout the Empire.¹⁵⁸ Indeed, the images' popularity in the colonies themselves speak to the manner in which imperial constructions of the colonies had been internalised. As Auger notes, the Canadian middle classes sought specific images of their own country: 'panoramas dynamiques composés de forêts, de montagnes et d'eau.'¹⁵⁹ This movement mirrored the development of a 'virtual topography' in Britain in the previous decades.¹⁶⁰ As Fulford remarks, these images:

¹⁵⁷ *The New World in 1859, Being the United States and Canada* (London: H. Bailliere, 1859), Part 3, p. 7.

¹⁵⁸ Elizabeth Collard, *The Potters' View of Canada: Canadian Scenes on Nineteenth-Century Earthenware* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1983), pp. 44-45.

¹⁵⁹ Christian Auger, 'À la recherche du pittoresque dans l'Estrie,' *Cap-aux-Diamants: la revue d'histoire du Québec*, 33 (1993): 59-62, *Érudit* [accessed 21 March 2013], p. 59.

¹⁶⁰ Fulford, 'Virtual Topography: Poets, Painters, Publishers and the Reproduction of the Landscape in the Early Nineteenth Century,' *Romanticism and Victorianism on the Net*, 57-58, (February-May 2010): 1-31, *Érudit* [accessed 28 February 2012], p. 3.

virtually connected a new public, in their confined urban and suburban lives, with the topography they saw on their annual holidays. In so doing, they popularised domestic tourism and helped change attitudes to landscape: increasingly, it could be consumed as a series of two-dimensional pictures. A place, and the social habitus that made the place what it was, was reduced to scenery—to views to look at from a distance by passing tourists who travelled in search of scenes they saw in books (‘Virtual Topography’ 7).

Just as in Scotland, where this reduction of the landscape to views had converged with the opening of a supposedly wild land through tourism and the writings of popular authors like Scott, the rise of the Canadian view marks a shift in the impact of the picturesque. It ceases to be a means of exerting control over the unknown and instead packages the country for consumption.

By 1882, George Monro Grant opened *Picturesque Canada* by asserting that representing the fledgling country’s ‘characteristic scenery [...] would not only make us better known to ourselves and to strangers, but would also stimulate the national sentiment’.¹⁶¹ Grant’s remarks indicate not only the desire for a more cohesive ‘national sentiment’ in the wake of Confederation, but also an ongoing inability to comprehend the country, even on the part of Canadians. The methods with which an external imperial force exerted mastery over and represented the landscape are used in the construction of a national image—and, perhaps, a national myth. The Canadian wilderness, as Frye notes, is never completely conquered, only shifted, and the trope of the North thus remains in play both in home-grown and outside depictions. John Buchan, Scottish-born Governor General of Canada, invokes this image of the wild and untameable North in *Sick Heart River* (1941), as did the English Algernon Blackwood in *The Wendigo*. Less malevolent, but no less insistent depictions of the primacy of the wilderness to the Canadian identity are found in the constructions of Canadian nationalism after the First World War: in the paintings of the Group of Seven, the arguments of Canada First and the verse of the Confederation Poets.

The various tropes associated with the Canadian landscape from its earliest descriptions thus continued to influence how both British and British North American authors constructed the landscape in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Many of these voices, too, maintain a transatlantic link, or an awareness of a wider British audience. The consistent construction of the landscape as *terra nullus* invites improvement by a civilising (British) population while also destabilising First Nations claims to a history or ownership of these supposed wastes. From the Conquest through to Confederation, as pacification of the wilderness through military and fictional depiction progressed, the

¹⁶¹ George Monro Grant, ed., *Picturesque Canada*, 2 vols (Toronto: Belden Bros., 1882), I, p. iii.

representation of the process as natural and inevitable mirrored the stadial construction of Canadian settlement.

4 Stadal Histories and the Construction of Canadian Communities

4.1 Enlightenment Stadalism and the Noble Savage

While the topographers of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries constructed British North America as a blank space to be conquered and shaped, prose accounts were unable to elide whole populations so seamlessly. Exploration narratives and settlers' accounts all contain descriptions of previous settlements: the transient camps and tumuli of the First Nations and the quaint villages and churches of the Catholic *habitants*. These depictions, however, follow conventions designed to ensure British superiority and justify colonisation. In such accounts, the inhabitants of the colony themselves mirror its landscape: both must be conquered, civilised and thus remade by British hands.

Constructions of the Canadian landscape as a wilderness to be tamed, and the British use of cultivation as a justification for colonisation, were inherently linked to the social theory of the eighteenth century. 'Conjectural' histories, as Dugald Stewart termed them, aimed to highlight 'the underlying principles and perversions of natural laws operative in history' through a comparison of societies, while stadal theory focused on a process of societal 'change through successive stages.'¹ By applying stadal theories to their own society, British North Americans not only found justification for the continuance of colonial activities but also a positive parallel in the history of the Highland Scots. As the Highlands were brought under British control, Highland culture was represented not as an alternative to but an enhancement of British culture, specifically the British past. A similar process underpins the treatment of the *habitants* and First Nations in British and Anglo-Canadian depictions of Canada. This chapter will consider how Scottish Enlightenment theories of stadalism impacted the development and application of a specifically Canadian stadal narrative, as well as touching on the representation of Americans as examples of stadal regression.

Primitivism had a long history prior to the advent of conjectural histories.² The French philosophers of the eighteenth century popularised the idea of the Noble Savage,

¹ Karen O'Brien, *Narratives of Enlightenment: Cosmopolitan History from Voltaire to Gibbon* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 133.

² Stelio Cro provides a history of this trend. Cro, *The Noble Savage: Allegory of Freedom* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfred Laurier Press, 1990).

bolstered by travel accounts of New France.³ Accounts such as that of Lafitau's *Moeurs des Sauvages Américains, Comparées aux Moeurs des Premiers Temps* (1724), which compared the 'ancients' and the 'Indians' would also influence leading figures of the Scottish Enlightenment to employ the trope in examining and criticising contemporary British culture, and casting light on the primitive past.⁴ Adam Smith, in the *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759), argued that the existence of aboriginal people in the Americas could be seen as 'empirical evidence' of previous stages of human civilisation by constructing a conjectural history, or 'hypothetical sketch[es] of how a society develops'.⁵ The stadial, or four-stages theory, as articulated by Smith, posits 'four distinct states which mankind pass thro': hunters, shepherds, agriculture and commerce.⁶ These ideas were more fully developed in the *Wealth of Nations*. Smith's history thus shifted the development of racial difference from climate to 'human agency'.⁷ Such ideas were echoed by theorists like William Robertson, whose *History of America* (1777) noted that 'mode of subsistence' influenced the 'laws and policies,' and 'institutions' of a society.⁸ The stadial theory, therefore, is intimately bound up with conceptions of a tamed landscape and its accompanying commercial and material culture. As Kevin Hutchings notes, stadialism 'grounded racial and cultural identity in nature [...] and in history'.⁹ Such correlations helped to link British colonisation not only with the cultivation and improvement of the land itself, but also with the 'civilisation' and thus the 'improvement' of its inhabitants. British North American reliance on stadial theory allowed colonists to define and comprehend different aspects of national and cultural identity.

Smith's conjectural histories were predicated on what David Hume denotes as 'the constant and universal principles of human nature.'¹⁰ Other theorists, such as Robertson,

³ Ter Ellingson, *The Myth of the Noble Savage* (Berkeley/Los Angeles: University of California Press, Ltd, 2001), p. 390.

⁴ While many of Lafitau's conclusions were deemed 'unsound,' his methods and emphasis on evidence play a key role. See David L. Blaney and Naeem Inayatullah, *Savage Economics: Wealth, Poverty and the Temporal Walls of Capitalism* (London: Routledge, 2010), p. 32.

⁵ Troy Bickham, *Savages Within the Empire: Representations of America in Eighteenth Century Britain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), pp. 178, 184.

⁶ Adam Smith, *Lectures on Jurisprudence*, ed. by R. Meek, D. Raphael and P. Stein (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1978, reprinted Indianapolis: Liberty Press, 1982), p. 14.

⁷ Roxann Wheeler, *The Complexion of Race: Categories of Difference in Eighteenth Century British Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), p. 183.

⁸ William Robertson, *The History of America*, 3rd edn, 3 vols (London: W. Strahan, T. Cadell; Edinburgh: J. Balfour, 1780), ECCO [accessed 25 January 2013], II, p. 111.

⁹ Kevin Hutchings, *Romantic Ecologies and Colonial Cultures in the British Atlantic World, 1770-1850* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2009), p. 36.

¹⁰ David Hume qtd. Christopher Berry, *Social Theory of the Scottish Enlightenment* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), p. 69.

took a slightly different approach. As explained in his *History of America*, Robertson sees the ‘history of the human mind’ as paralleling that of civilisation (II 50). He writes:

As the individual advances from the ignorance and imbecility of the infant state to vigour and maturity of understanding, something similar to this may be observed in the progress of the species. [...] In the early ages of society, while the condition of man is simple and rude, his reason is but little exercised, and his desires move within a very narrow sphere. Hence arise two remarkable characteristics of the human mind in this state. Its intellectual powers are extremely limited; its emotions and efforts are few and languid. Both these distinctions are conspicuous among the rudest and most unimproved of the American tribes (II 88).

The ‘rude American tribes’ are seen to care for neither past nor future (II 84, 126). Such behaviour stems from ‘the intellectual powers of man in the savage state [being] destitute of their proper object,’ and this limited understanding leads to ‘indolence’ and ‘vacancy’ (II 96-97). Robinson supports this argument by pointing to a lack of ‘abstract’ language (II 93). In fact, the native mind, to Robertson, is equivalent to that of ‘a mere animal’ (II 85).¹¹ Such people are not capable of an exchange of ideas. Native culture, moreover, emphasises ‘independence’ leading to ‘hardness of heart and insensibility’ (II 214). Not only are the languages, and thus minds, of the natives undeveloped, and therefore not suitable to sympathised with, but they also actively avoid such interaction. In the context of popular theories, which posited sympathy as closely correlated with civilisation, Amerindians thus appear not only alien but also scarcely human. Such theories explicitly infantilise and degrade their subject. Elements of this infantilising turn are then used against the alien populations they describe. While the First Nations are the most common target of such rhetoric, British depictions of the *habitants* also fit Robertson’s criteria.

Smith’s publication in 1759, just as Britain gained a new colony peopled by the supposedly savage First Nations, indicates cultural investment in not only gaining a clearer knowledge of these civilisations, but also using that information to shed light on European civilisation. These texts formed part of a wider cultural discourse on the First Nations. Despite the widespread impact of such depictions, few of the Scottish Enlightenment authors who described native culture and imagery had any personal experience of aboriginal people. David Hume had attempted to see North America, while Adam Ferguson had visited America as part of the 1778 Carlisle Peace Commission, but does not appear to have interacted with natives.¹² Enlightenment theorists made up for this lack by

¹¹ Despite this, as Fulford remarks, ‘Robertson’s [text] became the standard reference work about Indians for several generations’ (*Romantic Indians* 41).

¹² Colin M. Coates, ‘The Iroquois of the Scottish Enlightenment: Scottish Readings of Aboriginal Society in the Eighteenth Century,’ in *Canada From the Outside In: New Trends in Canadian*

mining travel narratives for relevant details to support their arguments (Fulford *Romantic Indians* 42-48). They might also have encountered Peter Williamson of *French and Indian Cruelty* fame, who ran, as Fergusson called it, ‘*Indian Peter’s* coffee-room’ in Edinburgh, which was known as a ‘famous house for the [Edinburgh] literati and lawyers’.¹³ This lack of primary experience left conjectural histories—and the accounts they were based on—open to incorporating the misconceptions and outright falsehoods found in some of these texts. Scottish Enlightenment characterisations of Amerindian peoples thus ‘shaped and were shaped by popular British views of Indians’ (Bickham *Savages* 172).

These armchair anthropologists also had their conceptions supplemented by the visits of Amerindians to Britain. The visit of the Four Mohawk Kings in 1710 had inspired the great authors of the day, as well as the authors of ballads and broadsides. Joseph Roach has shown that ‘every detail’ of this visit ‘constituted an item on a diplomatic agenda.’¹⁴ The Mohawks were not only given introductions to English culture, but also deliberately presented to the public and followed continuously by ‘a Mob’ (162). First Nations and Amerindian representatives visited a number of times in the 1760s to present complaints, while the Mohegan Rev. Samson Occom toured Britain in 1766, and Scotland the following year, to preach and raise funds for the SSPCK Moor’s School.¹⁵ Later visitors, such as John Norton in 1815, inspired mixed reactions amongst the literati.¹⁶ Norton, despite his carefully constructed appearance as a Cherokee chieftain, had been raised in Dunfermline and had his wife and son educated by Christian Johnstone in Scotland. While his claim to First Nations identity and culture was genuine, his appearances as a ‘savage’ were deliberate and premeditated. As might be expected, both exploited natives and pseudo-Amerindians were also to be found in British cities, capitalising on popular

Studies/Le Canada vu d’ailleurs: Nouvelles approches en études canadiennes, eds. Pierre Anctil and Zilá Bernd (Brussels: P.I.E. Peter Lang S.A., 2006), pp. 189-202, p. 190.

¹³ Robert Fergusson, ‘The Rising of the Session,’ *The Edinburgh Magazine, or Weekly Amusement*, 19 (Thursday 11 March 1773): 371, l. 42; William James Coupar, *The Edinburgh Periodical Press: Being a Bibliographical Account of the Newspapers, Journals, and Magazines Issued in Edinburgh from the Earliest Times to 1800*, 2 vols (Stirling: E. Mckay, 1908), I, p. 138.

¹⁴ These outings included cultural activities as well as ‘appearances at court, [...] a military review, [and] at the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.’ See Joseph R. Roach, *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), pp. 161-166.

¹⁵ Alden T. Vaughan, *Transatlantic Encounters: American Indians in Britain, 1500-1776* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 247; Margaret Connell Szasz, *Scottish Highlanders and Native Americans: Indigenous Education in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007), pp. 198, 208.

¹⁶ Thomas Campbell, *Life and Letters of Thomas Campbell*, ed. by William Beattie, 3 vols (London: E. Moxon, 1849), II, p. 51.

interest.¹⁷ Peter Williamson, already infamous, was known to '[go] through the different ceremonies and manners of the savages' in 'compleat dress' for an audience.¹⁸ At the same time, institutions like London's Canada Club, while it provided a network for 'ignored and undervalued' Canadians in Britain, also fostered a set of stereotypes of Canada as a land of 'Indians' and *voyageurs*.¹⁹ As Burke notes, visiting 'British businessmen were presented, not with an urban, modernizing Canada, but with a Canada that many Montrealers and Torontonians had never seen, and which visiting businessmen were unlikely to encounter' (186). Even an institution meant to support Canadian identity employed this image of a wild and exotic Canada, much as the Highland Society promoted a sentimental and idealised version of the Scottish past.

These philosophical accounts, and the influence of such trans-Atlantic visitors, contributed to a rise in fictional depictions of North America and its inhabitants—including Canada—at the century's end.²⁰ Some, like the writings of Ann Grant of Laggan, Charlotte Lennox, and Charlotte Smith, drew on personal experience, but a growing number relied on second or third hand information, such as John Leyden's descriptions of the Cherokees and their 'wattled wigwams'.²¹ Smollett's *Humphry Clinker* (1771), for instance, features Obadiah Lismahago, a Scot 'wounded, maimed, mutilated, taken and enslaved,' much in the manner of Williamson, in North America.²² Lismahago recounts the tortures he was subjected to by the Miamis, the savagery of his wife, the 'accomplished squaw' Squinkinacoosta, and his own adoption as 'first warrior of the Badger tribe' (167-169). Christopher Flynn notes that he has 'no trouble moving from civil captive to savage

¹⁷ For instance, Anne Lister recalls seeing 'Esquimaux Indians' who were 'shewn by a young man' formerly of the Hudson Bay Company in the 1820s. See *The Secret Diaries of Miss Anne Lister*, ed. by Helena Whitbread (London: Virago, [1988], 2010), pp. 364-65.

Joshua David Bellin traces the continuation of this trend in the 1840s in 'The savage tour: Indian performance across the Atlantic,' in *Native Americans and Anglo-American Culture, 1750-1850, The Indian Atlantic*, ed. by Tim Fulford and Kevin Hutchings (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 241-255. See also Kate Flint, *The Transatlantic Indian 1776-1930* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009).

¹⁸ Qtd in William Roughead, *Rascals Revived* (London: Cassell & Company Ltd., 1940), p. 19.

¹⁹ Kathleen Burke, 'Canada in Britain: returned migrants and the Canada Club,' in *Emigrant Homecomings: The Return Movement of Emigrants, 1600-2000*, ed. by Marjory Harper (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), pp. 184-196, p. 184.

²⁰ For a detailed survey, see Robert Bechtold Heiman, *America in English Fiction 1760 to 1800: The Influences of the American Revolution* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 1937). See also Richard Frohock, *Heroes of Empire: The British Imperial Protagonist in America, 1596-1764* (Newark, NJ: University of Delaware, 2004).

²¹ John Leyden, *Scenes of Infancy, Descriptive of Teviotdale* (Edinburgh: Printed by J. Ballatyne, for T. N. Longman and O. Rees, London; sold by Manners and Millar, and A. Constable, Edinburgh, 1803), ll. 4.131-158.

²² [Tobias Smollett], *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker. By the Author of Roderick Random*, 3 vols (London: W. Johnston and B. Collins, 1771), ll, p. 158.

husband, drawing on his Celtic proximity to barbarism,' but that the return to civility is not quite so easily accomplished.²³ Lismahago exists as a liminal figure between Britain and the alien America. His border-crossing is facilitated by his Scottish nationality: as discussed previously, the Scots were felt to have a particular sympathy for and similarity with the First Nations. The character's transatlantic identity is made more problematic by Lismahago's status as a representative of Scotland in Smollett's account of the four kingdoms—colonial ties become implicated in considerations of unity, not only between the colony and the mother country, but also within Britain itself.

Perhaps the most influential depiction of the First Nations, of all of the Scottish Enlightenment texts, was Adam Ferguson's model of Smith's stadial society in *Essay on the History of Civil Society* (1767).²⁴ Ferguson declared that the First Nations allowed civilised societies—and the Scots, in particular—to 'behold, as in a mirour [sic], the features of our own progenitors' (80). This assumed association between the Celtic past and the Amerindian present would help to forge a sense of kinship—at least on the part of the Scots—between Celtic immigrants and North American Indians. This perceived kinship was often predicated on a number of external factors such as 'dress, language, and social structure,' but, as Colin Calloway makes clear, similarities are more easily seen in 'their historical experiences as tribal peoples living on the edges of an empire' and 'confronting [the same] historical currents' (Calloway 10).²⁵ Sympathy between the Scots and the First Nations is a noticeable historical phenomenon in the eighteenth century, though whether it was caused by actual similarities or simply Scottish belief in those similarities is impossible to determine.

Ferguson's 'mirour' theory and the imagined Scottish-Native link would become a commonplace on both sides of the Atlantic. Popular authors like Sir Walter Scott routinely compared the First Nations to the Highlanders in matters of pride, savagery and tribal loyalty.²⁶ Such comparisons, particularly when read by an audience with no personal

²³ Christopher Flynn, *Americans in British Literature, 1770-1832, A Breed Apart* (Aldergate/Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008), p. 92.

²⁴ Adam Ferguson, *An Essay on the History of Civil Society*, ed. by Fania Oz-Salzberger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 80.

²⁵ See also Bickham, *Savages Within the Empire*; Newton, *We're Indians Sure Enough*; Tom Bryan, *Twa Tribes: Scots among the Native Americans* (Edinburgh: NMS Enterprises, 2003); Tom F. Cunningham, *The Diamond's Ace: Scotland and the Native Americans* (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 2001); and James Hunter, *Glencoe and the Indians* (Edinburgh/London: Mainstream Publishing 1996 repr. 1998).

²⁶ [Sir Walter Scott,] *The Author of Waverly, Ivanhoe: A Romance*, 3 vols (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable & Co., 1820), I, p. vi; 'Two Drovers' in *Chronicles of the Canongate, Second Series*, 2 vols (Edinburgh: Cadell & Co, 1827), I, p. 348; *Rob Roy*, 3 vols (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable and Co.; London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1818), III, p. 26; *A Legend of Montrose, Tales of My Landlord, 3rd Series*, 4 vols (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable and Co,

experience of either group, relied heavily on popular stereotype. A striking application of this theory was Robert MacDougall's 1841 Gàidhlig emigrant guide, which assured Scots of the similarities between contemporary Gael and Indian in dress, speech, and even the women's 'undulating gait, like the Highland women who are used to carrying the creel.'²⁷ MacDougall's remarks indicate the acceptance of such parallels not merely by the British public, but by the specific Highland communities invoked. MacDougall's insistence on these similarities, particularly as regards speech and oratory, stems from Enlightenment arguments.

James Macpherson's Ossianic texts were perhaps the most widely read texts to come out of this tradition, and his depictions of supposedly primitive speech would themselves be reflected in subsequent constructions of Amerindians, particularly in regard to their oratory, throughout the nineteenth century.²⁸ Macpherson's Ossian, 'last of all his race,' represented a lost Scottish culture, but also became a highly influential model of sublime eloquence. Hugh Blair's critical dissertation on Macpherson, and his *Lectures on Rhetoric*, remark on the apparent antiquity of an 'American style' of rhetoric.²⁹ The ancient bard himself, as Margaret Rubel notes, was considered a 'natural man, simple and straightforward, sentimental and fair, not cunning or brutal, and though not religious as yet, nevertheless behaving as if he somehow already knew [Protestant] moral norms'.³⁰ The figure of Ossian, then, was uniquely suited to providing a sympathetic model for the First Nations. In the year MacDougall published his guide, Patrick Macgregor argued that 'Raynal[']s Canadian Indians' and even depictions of Tecumseh himself were reminiscent of Ossianic 'Caledonians'.³¹

The First Nations and Amerindians of North America, then, are consistently invoked in the development of stadial theories. Such theories prove crucial to the

1819), III, p. 194; *The Monastery: A Romance*, 3 vols (Edinburgh: Constable and Co, 1820), I, p. 99; *Rokeby: A Poem* (Edinburgh: John Ballantyne and Co, 1813), II. 3.2.1-14.; *Waverley II*, p. 225; *Heart of Midlothian*, *Tales of My Landlord, Second Series*, 4 vols (Edinburgh: Archibald Constable and Company, 1818), IV, pp. 96, 179, 220.

²⁷ Robert MacDougall, *The Emigrant's Guide to North America*, ed. by Helen Thompson, trans. by David Livingston-Lowe (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 1998), pp. 31-32, 39-40.

²⁸ For the specific influence of images of the First Nations on Macpherson, see Helen Carr, *Inventing the American Primitive: Politics, Gender, and the Representation of Native American Literary Traditions, 1789-1936* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1996), pp. 60-68.

²⁹ Blair, *Lectures on Rhetoric* I, 131; [Hugh Blair], *A Critical Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian, the Son of Fingal* (London: T. Becket and P. A. De Hondt, 1763), ECCO [accessed 29 April 2013], p. 2.

³⁰ Margaret Mary Rubel, *Savage and Barbarian: Historical Attitudes in the Criticism of Homer and Ossian in Britain, 1760-1800* (Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1978), p. 52.

³¹ Patrick Macgregor, *The Genuine Remains of Ossian, Literally Translated, with a Preliminary Dissertation by Patrick Macgregor* (London: Smith, Elder and Co, 1841), p. 69.

cultivation of a Scottish romantic narrative of the past, and to the negation of Scottish identity within the Union. In the wake of the Conquest of Canada, and particularly following the establishment of the Canadas in 1791, British inhabitants of the colonies began to apply such theories and develop a localised stadial narrative. While the landscape itself had been rendered understandable and improved through the application of military topographies, stadial narratives would assist in rendering the colony's inhabitants equally intelligible and developing a British North American history.

4.2 Developing the Canadian Stadial Narrative

In 1771, twelve years after Wolfe fell in taking Quebec, Benjamin West exhibited his representation of the death of Wolfe at the Royal Academy. This was not the first painting of Wolfe's death—nor would it be the last—but it was West's image that caught the imagination of Britain. Myrone notes that this is at least in part due to West's canny reading of public mood, producing a 'consumer-oriented adaptation of the conventions of epic art'.³² Despite breaking with convention in the portrayal of national heroes, West's 'radically new visual form' nevertheless 'reinforced an artistic and imperial status quo.'³³ West's fallen General is supported by his aides; groups of spectators cluster around the scene. By incorporating a mix of individual 'portraits' of officers, including (the absent) Simon Fraser and Hervey Smyth, with 'types,' such as the Amerindian crouched in the corner and an American ranger, West created a 'vision of British imperial assimilation, extending even across the boundaries of race, or at least taming the savage by its powers of sentiment' (Myrone 110). In 1766, George Cockings had imagined Wolfe deliberately designating his army as 'Britain's troops; [...] from *Old England*, / *Caledonia* and *Hibernia* drawn.'³⁴ In West's *Death of Wolfe* the General became a force for unity not only within the Four Kingdoms but also within the Empire as a whole. The image was widely disseminated—West painted four copies for different patrons, including the King, while William Woollett produced the well-known engraving in 1776. This engraving was then

³² Martin Myrone, *Bodybuilding: Reforming Masculinities in British Art 1750-1810* (New Haven and London: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 2005), p. 108.

³³ Douglas Fordham, *British Art and the Seven Years' War: Allegiance and Autonomy* (Philadelphia/Oxford: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010), p. 238.

³⁴ George Cockings, *The Conquest of Canada: Or, The Siege of Quebec; A Historical Tragedy of Five Acts* (London: Printed for the Author, 1766), ll. ll.1.73-74.

reproduced in multiple media, from pottery to needlepoint.³⁵ The *Death of Wolfe* would become ‘the most reproduced piece of art in the eighteenth century.’³⁶

The widespread influence of West’s image is perhaps best seen in its use, a decade after it first appeared, as a template for French and American portraits of their own Generals killed at Quebec. François-Louis-Joseph Watteau, in an attempt to capture the unifying power of West’s image, imports palm trees and Tahitians onto the Plains of Abraham to invoke France’s remaining colonies. Lest anyone mistake his model, he not only echoes West’s composition but also includes ‘a tiny reproduction of the central part of West’s image in the background of the print’ (MacNairn 152). John Trumbull’s *The Death of General Montgomery at Quebec* (1786) also echoes West’s composition. This is perhaps to be expected, as Trumbull had travelled to London to ‘improve his natural turn to the Pencil’ under West, and the *Death of General Montgomery* was painted in West’s studio.³⁷ Trumbull records that West ‘encouraged me to persevere in the work of the history of the American Revolution’ and ‘recommended [the paintings] be engraved [... and thus] more widely diffused’ (Trumbull 93-94). West’s remarks indicate approval on his part of Trumbull’s use of his model to figure American heroes. The *Death of Wolfe*, while still an international symbol of Britain, was now also a model for any nation looking to commemorate a hero.

³⁵ Alan MacNairn, *Behold the Hero: General Wolfe and the Arts in the Eighteenth Century* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1997), pp. 156-57.

³⁶ Dan Snow, *Death or Victory: The Battle for Quebec and the Birth of Empire* (London: HarperPress, 2009), p. 408.

³⁷ I. W. Stuart, *Life of Jonathan Trumbull, Senior, Governor of Connecticut* (Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1859), p. 593; John Trumbull, *Autobiography, Reminiscences and Letters of John Trumbull, from 1756 to 1841* (New York: Wiley & Putnam; New Haven: D. L. Hamlen, 1841), IV, p. 93.

David Bindman notes that certain of the American history scenes Turnbull painted in London—though not *Death of Montgomery*—‘[highlight...] the heroism of both sides’. See Bindman, ‘Americans in London: Contemporary history painting revisited,’ in *English Accents: Interactions with British Art, c. 1776-1855*, ed. by Christiana Payne and William Vaughan (Aldershot/Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2004), pp. 9-28, p. 15.

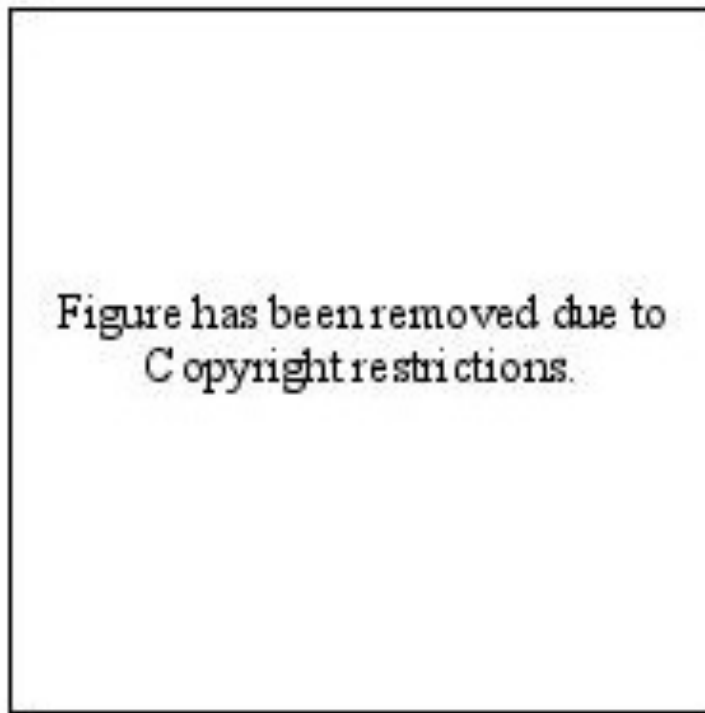


Figure 11: Benjamin West, *The Death of Wolfe*, 1770, oil on canvas, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, 8007 <<http://www.gallery.ca>>

While West's image fulfilled its function as an icon of British identity, it also serves as an example of the stadial model in progress. The pensive native, part of a wider crush of interested individuals, sits on the ground. An American ranger leans over him, himself not as tall as his British fellows. Both the First Nations figure and the ranger, moreover, display native associations through some aspect of their apparel. The Mohawk's



Figure 12: Juste Chevillet, after François-Louis-Joseph Watteau, *Mort du Marquis de Montcalm*, 1783, engraving, Canadian War Museum, Ottawa, Beaverbrook Collection of War Art CWM 19940056-004 <<http://www.warmuseum.ca>>



Figure 13: John Trumbull, *The Death of General Montgomery in the Attack on Quebec, December 31, 1775*, 1786, oil on canvas, Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Trumbull Collection 1832.2 <<http://artgallery.yale.edu>>

inclusion at this moment—and his interest in the proceedings—can be read as an indication of continuing advancement. Indeed, as Stephanie Pratt makes clear, the inclusion of a Mohawk in West's image (and of the Oneida Col. Lewis in Trumbull's) was 'not supported by contemporary accounts.'³⁸ Thus First Nations figures (and, in West's case, the Scot Simon Fraser) are invoked to symbolise whole populations in a depiction of a united Empire, whose constituent groups all recognise the worthiness of the fallen hero. The moment, as memorialised by West, is one in which each of Britain's populations can recognise a shared history.

While the British conceptions of their own superiority ensured the construction of a society predicated on the stadial model, more explicitly Canadian models attempted to include all aspects of colonial society. Ann Cuthbert Knight's depiction of Canada in the years following the War of 1812 is one such example, focusing on issues of identity. In 1815, Knight published *Home*, an extended meditation on the titular theme. Knight examines notions of home and country, and issues of British exile and diaspora throughout the Empire, including the recent invasion of Canada. Her preface refers to the text's composition 'at the moment of danger and enthusiasm, when the resolution of its inhabitants seemed fixed, and the fate of the province yet doubtful'.³⁹ Knight paints a stereotypical image of British North America for her British audience, one where: 'matchless lakes through giant forests flow, / And dusky hunters guide the light canoe' (67).

Knight's First Nations, the 'dusky hunters,' are heavily stereotyped. She muses on:

... Columbia's eldest child!

.....
 Fierce instinct gives what science never taught: --
 Say, can ye lull the warrior to repose,
 When near his hut the fire of battle glows?
 Go first, while tempests o'er th' Atlantic sweep,
 Bind its wild waves, and bid the billow sleep!
 And if with fierce extremes his bosom glow,
 A gen'rous brother, but a fiend-like foe (70).

These natives are Noble Savages such as might be found in any contemporary text. Her treatment of the War is a reproach addressed to the Americans, chastising their overreach and pondering the possibility of 'Indian ravage o'er your borders' having 'rous'd [their]

³⁸ Stephanie Pratt, *American Indians In British Art, 1700-1840* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2005), p. 92.

³⁹ Ann Cuthbert Knight, *Home: A Poem* (Edinburgh: Printed by J. & C. Muirhead, and sold by Archd. Constable & Co.; London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1815), p. 3.

fury with the scent of blood' (71). While they maintain some sense of savage nobility, Knight's language carries bestial implications. *Home* figures Canada and its natives in well-known images, and constructs the colony as the site of invasion—a British home menaced without by the Americans and within by the shadow of native betrayal. *A Year in Canada*, by contrast, focuses on Canada alone and ventures beyond stereotype in its depictions of the First Nations, and of the colony itself. Perhaps the most important aspect of her figuring of the country—and its developing civilisation—are her descriptions of Canada's inhabitants: the Scottish settlement at Glengarry in Upper Canada, the *habitants*, and a generic band of First Nations.

Knight sets up a peculiarly Canadian stadial model, with her fellow Scots at the top, the First Nations at the base, and the *habitants* sandwiched between. This construction presents a vision of progress and the rise of a British North American identity. Bentley notes that each group is introduced through the sound of their approach: the blows of an axe, the 'sound of industry' preceding the 'presence of the Scottish emigrants,' while the First Nations announce their presence with a 'shout' and the *habitants* with a 'hymn' (Introduction). The Glengarry community, busily clearing the woods, are shown in Highland garb and making time for traditional songs and dances (ll. 1.9.3; 1.13.7; 1.14.9). Knight's description, while it draws on and merges prevailing imagery of the nostalgic Highland emigrant and the industrious Lowland settler, is noteworthy as the first poetic depiction of the internationally known Glengarry settlement. This community is actively subduing a hostile landscape with brute strength, fire, and fences (ll. 1.10.1-4). Their suitability as emigrants is reflected by Knight's belief that their offspring will remain loyal to their British heritage, but also love the new land (ll. 1.12.1-4). While its Scottish ancestry is stressed, the Glengarry settlement is a bastion not of Scottish but British identity in the colony. By introducing the Glengarry settlers first, Knight not only sets their achievements as a benchmark, but also highlights their civilising of their surroundings in a relatively short period of time.

Such zeal is in direct contrast to the attitude of the Lower Canadian *habitants*, who are introduced after both the industrious Scots and the more exotic First Nations. Knight's *habitants* are characterised in a manner reminiscent of those in *Emily Montague* and early accounts:

Pleased as he views the moon's nocturnal rays,
He knows not, dreams not, man of mortal birth
Has e'er explored the planet's mystic maze,
Measured the sun's bright orb, or spann'd the earth;
And as at wintry eve, or festal day,

The song, the game amuse his simple mind,
 He joins the dance, he joins the choral lay,
 To thoughtless mirth or vacant ease resign'd,
 Sighs for no scene more gay, no pleasure more refined (ll. 2.26.1-10).

This is the *habitant* as a dreamer, 'simple,' and hedonistic. Tellingly, the description itself could also be pulled from Robertson's descriptions of the First Nations. Knight's construction of the *habitants* as 'vacant' and indolent carries an implicit accusation of stadial regression, adopting native habits rather than maintaining European values. While the *habitants* have made some improvements to the land, from a British perspective they appear mired in the past and unproductive. This view echoes the problem of Catholicism in the text. While the Christian religion of the *habitants* is a sign of their increased civilisation, and Knight specifically speaks against religious bigotry, her diction betrays her (ll. 2.22.1-2.23.9). The ceremony is Catholic, and thus the softly 'chaunted hymn' and 'murmured prayer' 'invade' the ear of the presumably-Protestant audience (ll. 2.21.7-9). The *habitants*, at ease in a society influenced by a Catholic and European past, cannot act as agents of change and civilisation themselves—they must be galvanised by Britain, as represented by her Scottish colonists.

Despite a sympathetic view of the First Nations and a level of distaste for the *habitants*, Knight's history of Canada follows European custom: 'The country's history, or at least its agricultural history, seems to begin with the landing of the French; its agricultural improvement with the takeover by the British' (Bentley Introduction; ll. 4.5.1-4.6.9). This view is somewhat at odds with Knight's pointed remarks to the Americans in *Home*, reminding them of the First Nations' prior claim to the land. *A Year in Canada* presents a landscape irrevocably altered by British improvements. The topography of the First Nations has been swept away, and with it their history and claims to the land. Knight's First Nations are a traditionally nomadic, 'roving' band, but they are shown travelling a European road (ll. 2.7.2; 2.7.5). Given Knight's own emphasis on the concept of home, the First Nations of the text are remarkable for existing outwith that structure, not necessarily of their own free will. They appear uncannily like the urban exiles and indigents of Britain as described in contemporary texts: this European revision of Canadian history has written the native peoples into the closest analogous role. This is emphasised by Knight's focus on the European materials in their clothing: 'muslin,' 'tinsel,' 'silk,' 'beaver [hats],' and by their attempts to approach the British narrator as a possible customer for handicrafts (ll. 2.9.3-4).

If Knight's depiction of the effect of colonisation on the First Nations is somewhat ambivalent, the text holds out hope that both of the ruder peoples of Canada can improve:

though the *habitants* would not, in Knight's view, hold their own against European forces, they are acknowledged for fighting in 1812 (ll. 2.27.1-9). The poet implies that continued contact, and the example of hard-working British expatriates, may spur the *habitants* to industriousness and a more civilised lifestyle. Similarly, by harking back to the Druids, Knight recalls the supposed ancient Celtic past and its similarities to the natives of Canada, thus providing a roadmap for the possible civilisation (and reintegration) of the First Nations:

See! 'tis the frantic Druid's lurid smile,
Mark the wild native,—cheerless and alone,
The ties of civil life and all its joys unknown!
Rise, sons of Doubt!—the sacred page denied,
Say 'These are beings of ignobler race.'
Go with Expediency's presumptuous pride,
And sweep the savage tribe from Nature's face!
Truth sought the land, and Industry, and Art,
And Social Order in her train appear'd;
Reason the soul, and Rapture claim'd the heart,
Her guarded banner bright-eyed Freedom rear'd,
And Learning trimm'd her lamp, and Fancy's harp was heard (ll. 2.18.7-2.19.10).

Such imagery belongs to the wider discourses on the development of civilisation. Knight's reflections on the rise of a society in Britain, valuing 'Industry,' 'Art' and 'Order,' implies that the same is occurring, or will occur, in British North America.

4.3 The First Nations

In 1816, a year after Knight published her poem in Britain, the Scottish-Cherokee Major John Norton kept a journal as he travelled from Upper Canada to 'the Country of the Cherokees,' in which he described 'the present situation of the Aboriginal Tribes' and their 'History, to the present time'.⁴⁰ Norton's narrative refers multiple times to stadial possibilities. Considering the history of the Amerindians, he compares them to the 'Scythians' as:

there being among them also nations of hunters who have not yet attained the habits of pastoral life, nor the industrious habits of the husbandmen, induce us more readily to suppose the Ancestors of the Americans to have been of such nations, than of those that were civilized: for had they, [...] known any useful arts, it is not likely that they would have suffered them to fall into oblivion (83).

⁴⁰ Major John Norton, *The Journal of Major John Norton, 1816*, ed. by Carl F. Klinck and James J. Talman, 2nd edn rev. by Carl Benn, Publications of the Champlain Society 72 (Toronto: The Champlain Society, [1970], 2011), p. 3.

While his reference to Scythian ancestry may be an attempt to link the First Nations to the Celts, Norton's designation of the pastoral and agricultural as more useful than hunting indicates an acceptance of stadial norms. An early consideration of 'our people,' moreover, notes that 'while they could gain any thing considerable by hunting, they would hardly submit to continual labour' but that as a result of their absence, their children were attaining 'skill in managing the affairs relative to Agriculture,' particularly those who had also 'been instructed in Christianity' (10-11). Norton's 1818 translation of the Gospel of John into Mohawk, and his (unfortunately lost) translation of Scott's *Lady of the Lake* into the same tongue indicate his priorities: an understanding of British culture is clearly necessary for survival.⁴¹ The generational shift among the Cherokee, as described by Norton, could be plucked from any of the conjectural histories. While Norton appears delighted with this change, his self-conscious protestations of native identity, and his desire to take down the history of the First Nations communities he encounters, imply some level of discomfort with the loss of aboriginal identity and culture inherent in stadial progress. Similarly, by translating *The Lady of the Lake*, he not only pays homage to Scott, but also turns about the usual British discourse of the wilds of America and the Noble Savage, by giving a First Nations consideration of the romantic Highlands and the exoticised Gael.

The constant invocation of the First Nations in Enlightenment conjectural histories, and the comparisons to the Highlanders, directly impacted both British and settler views of the native people they encountered in the wake of the Conquest. British ingenuity had conquered and opened the Highlands, whose inhabitants had thus been civilised. If the First Nations were truly so similar to the Scots, then they too would be assimilated. Longmore's famous description of Tecumseh as:

Want[ing] but the polish'd mind
 Civilization's wand supplies,
 To make him mighty midst mankind,
 When Learning by its magic power,
 Like the bright sun-beam of the sky,
 With genial influence, every hour
 Brings nature to maturity⁴²

⁴¹ Thomas Scott to Walter Scott, *Familiar Letters of Sir Walter Scott*, ed. by David Douglas, 2 vols (Edinburgh; David Douglas, 1894), I, 344; [Norton, John.] *The Gospel According to Saint John (In the Mohawk Language)/Nene Karighyoston Tsinihorighhoten ne Saint John* (New-York: Printed for the American Bible Society (D. Fanshaw, Printer), 1818).

⁴² [George Longmore], *Tecumthe, A Poetical Tale*, in *Tales of Chivalry and Romance* (Edinburgh: James Robertson & Co; London: Baldwin, Cradock & Joy, 1826), pp. 75-177, ll. 3.684-690.

is heavily influenced by this line of thought. The First Nations chief lacks only British 'polish,' an attribute that will 'mature' the supposed primitive. Longmore asserts this would make him mighty 'midst mankind', brushing racial categories aside. Instead, Tecumseh enters into the wider civilised world. Such a movement, however, first requires the annihilation of the First Nations as a distinct people. The inevitability of this occurrence added an anticipatory nostalgia to interactions with the First Nations. While a supposed First Nations song culture had been present in British culture before Blair's *Dissertation*, this pre-emptive nostalgia may explain the intense interest in native death-songs that developed in this period.⁴³ While references to 'ananas,' 'tygers' and Spanish colonists in Joseph Wharton's 1756 'The Dying Indian' indicate a South American setting, North American death-songs were at least as popular.⁴⁴ Indeed, as Flint remarks, the image of the First Nations themselves became associated with the 'Romantic tendency to fetishize the ruin' (37). Native individuals, like Ossian, function as living ghosts within a British North American space.

Adam Kidd's *Huron Chief* (1830) is one of the many Canadian texts which position a First Nations character as an Ossianic figure. Kidd, however, foregrounds this link by utilising a quote from 'Ossian' (tellingly, not Macpherson) as the epigraph to his book: 'Where are our Chiefs of old? Where our Heroes of mighty name? / The fields of their battles are silent—scarce their rocky tombs remain!'⁴⁵ This quotation is particularly apt: as European settlement decimated First Nations populations and eroded Native cultures, they also changed the topography itself and mapped a colonial history over that which existed previously. While authors like Galt and Richardson acknowledged First Nations archaeological sites in their texts, such sites were nevertheless subsumed into a new cultural narrative and assigned new, European associations. Kidd's *Huron Chief*, by approaching the sympathetic European narrator, is attempting to forestall this cultural

⁴³ For examples, see William Wordsworth, 'The Complaint of a Forsaken Indian Woman' in *Lyrical Ballads, with a Few Other Poems* (London: J. and A. Arch, 1798), pp. 191-196; Schiller, 'Canadian Death-Song', *London Examiner*, 736 (1822: 10 February): 94-95, *ProQuest* [accessed 13 March 2012]; F H, 'Songs of the Affections', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 25:151 (April 1829): 498-500; 'LYRA GERMANICA, or, Specimens of the German Lyric Poets. No VII. Canadian Death Song', *Kaleidoscope; or, Literary and Scientific Mirror*, 7:325 (19 September 1826): 88, *ProQuest* [accessed 13 March 2012].

A characteristic American example is Philip Freneau's 'The Dying Indian, or, Last Words of Shalum.' See Freneau, *The Poems of Philip Freneau: Written Chiefly during the Late War* (Philadelphia: Francis Bailey, 1786), pp. 349-352.

⁴⁴ Joseph Warton, 'The Dying Indian,' *Biographical Memoirs of the Late Revd. Joseph Warton, D. D...: To which are Added, a Selection from his Works*, (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1806), 156-157, ll. 3-4, 8.

⁴⁵ Adam Kidd, *The Huron Chief, and Other Poems* (Montreal: Printed at the office of the Herald and New Gazette, 1830).

oblivion. Such an approach, too, also gestured to stadial traditions in which an untamed and primitive landscape is associated with a similarly untamed population.

Michelle Holmgren remarks on the similarities of *The Huron Chief* to the Gaelic sources, such as the *Acallam na Senórach*, ‘exploited’ by Macpherson, particularly as seen in the meeting between the Huron chief and the narrator, who ‘like a member of the monastic culture founded by St. Patrick, sets down in writing the oral heritage of the pagan culture whose decline he not only witnesses but unwillingly assists.’⁴⁶ Kelly McGuire also examines the interaction between oral culture and the literary in *The Huron Chief*, thereby illuminating the text’s engagement with a key issue of Scottish Romantic minstrelsy.⁴⁷ Kidd attempts to mediate between the European literary and the First Nations oral tradition, whether by introducing new rhythms and meters to represent First Nations speech or by claiming that his first draft was written ‘on the inner rind of birch bark, during my travels through the immense forests of America’ and that the poem ‘made such an impression on the Indian warriors to whom it has been communicated, that it will shortly be translated into their respective tongues, by SAWENNOWANE, and other Chiefs’ (x, xii).⁴⁸ Kidd’s use of new meters, rather than traditional concepts of First Nations oratory, adds a new dimension to the construction of First Nations speech.⁴⁹ His claims to have ‘personally collected’ the ‘Tales and Traditions of the Indians’ also helps to place him within the tradition of collectors beginning with Ramsay and Macpherson and continuing on with Scott and Hogg (Kidd xii). While he draws on the traditions of this British tendency, Kidd’s text lays claim to a specifically British North American identity, furthered by his choice to publish in Montreal and his glorification of First Nations culture. This is no *Tea Table Miscellany* or curated collection of national songs. Instead, Kidd mimics the alien nature of First Nations oral culture while mediating it for an Anglo-Canadian audience. Kidd’s experience among the First Nations may be authentic, but his text itself is the product of the developing Canadian consciousness.

⁴⁶ Michele Holmgren, ‘Ossian Abroad: James Macpherson and Canadian Literary Nationalism, 1830-1994,’ *Canadian Poetry: Studies/Documents/Reviews*, 50 (Spring/Summer 2002) <<http://uwo.ca/english/canadianpoetry/cpjrn/vol50/holmgren.htm#8>> [accessed 14 January 2012].

⁴⁷ Kelly McGuire, ‘Effacing “Mem’ry’s Page”: the Agon between Orality and Literacy in Adam Kidd’s *The Huron Chief*,’ *Canadian Poetry: Studies/Documents/Reviews*, 46 (Spring/Summer, 2000) <<http://www.uwo.ca/english/canadianpoetry/cpjrn/vol46/mcguire.htm>> [accessed 14 January 2012].

⁴⁸ His remark mirrors Norton’s translation of Scott’s *Lay of the Last Minstrel* into Mohawk, but while Norton wished to civilise the Mohawk, Kidd’s text is subversive in its attack on the European.

⁴⁹ He was nevertheless willing to spread more traditional uses, as shown by his forwarding of Edward Walsh’s translation of a war-song to the *Dublin University Magazine*. See Z. [Adam Kidd], ‘Indian Poetry,’ *Dublin University Magazine*, 2:10 (October 1833): 390.

While Kidd denigrates British colonial activities, Major John Richardson's construction of the First Nations includes a great deal more ambivalence. Richardson's *Tecumseh* (1828), his first foray into presenting Canadian scenes to a British audience, valorises the native hero even as he draws on the competing characterisations of the First Nations as both noble savages and monsters. The text, whose portrayal of the First Nations is almost schizophrenic, adapts Campbell's famous comparison of his villain, Brant, to a 'mammoth' for his heroic yet savage Tecumseh, a 'reeking warrior' scalping American 'spoilers'.⁵⁰ Unlike Longmore's chief, Tecumseh here is shown to be bloodthirsty, tearing through ranks of the enemy. It is noteworthy that in his later Canadian edition, Richardson replaced 'spoilers' with 'white-men,' and 'reeking warrior' with 'dusky Warrior', emphasising the conflict between races, rather than countries and thus distancing Tecumseh from his British allies. Moreover, Richardson references 'Gertrude of Wyoming' in the notes of his poem, comparing Campbell's adaptation of the death of Logan to the death of Tecumseh's son, a reference that again refers to the portrayal of Brant as bloodthirsty and uncivilised (n. 122). Richardson's use of Campbell as a model is appropriate, given their similar goals of presenting a historical episode in verse and their focus on First Nations-settler interactions. Echoes of Campbell are also visible in the ominous opening of Kidd's *Huron Chief*.

After *Tecumseh* was published in London, a Canadian prospectus described the text as an 'Epic Poem' and Richardson as both 'Historian' and 'panegyrist,' personally known to Tecumseh.⁵¹ The text opens with the words 'In truth', and Richardson's 'Preface' stresses that the poem is not 'a mere work of imagination' (l. I.1.1; vi). Two years later, Richardson's *Eight Years in Canada* would reproduce a letter praising the poem for its depiction of the truth, 'not always to be found even in an epic poem, founded on facts' (230). Monkman points out that the focus of the poem on 'conflict between political entities' echoes the formulae of Scott's metrical romances.⁵² In combining such claims

⁵⁰ An English Officer [Major John Richardson], *Tecumseh; or, The Warrior of the West: A Poem, in Four Cantos, with Notes* (London: Printed for R. Glynn, 1828), ll. 1.30.1, 7-8.

⁵¹ 'Appendix A. Prospectus for the First Edition,' *Tecumseh; or, The Warrior of the West, A Poem, in Four Cantos*, ed. by Leslie Monkman ([London, ON: Canadian Poetry Press, 1992]) <<http://www.uwo.ca/english/canadianpoetry/longpoems/Tecumseh/APPENDIX.HTM>> [accessed 5 January 2012].

⁵² Leslie Monkman, 'Introduction,' *Tecumseh; or, The Warrior of the West*, ed. by Monkman, ([London, ON: Canadian Poetry Press, 1992]) <<http://www.uwo.ca/english/canadianpoetry/longpoems/Tecumseh/introduction.htm>> [accessed 5 January 2012].

with assertions of the inevitability of First Nations decay, Richardson consigns the First Nations to the historical record.

He is working from a pervasive and long-standing trope, which celebrates the Other even as it elides them from the narrative.⁵³ Richardson mourned the ‘fast approaching extinction, as a race, of the first lords of this soil—gentlemen of nature, whose very memory will soon have passed away, leaving little or no authentic record behind them, of what they once were.’⁵⁴ Richardson not only employs the image of the vanishing Indian, but also the particular trope of the suicidal leap. While such leaps were common in American considerations of natives, Richardson decouples this suicide from its usual romantic subplot.⁵⁵ Instead, the suicide is directly tied to concepts of the vanishing Indian. Richardson writes of:

this interesting Indian, who [...] gloomily anticipated the period when violence should supersede consiliation, and the extermination of the red man be fully completed. But though grieved and seeing the whole of his tribe depart with feelings of anguish not to be expressed, he was resolute of soul and refused to leave the familiar scenes of his boyhood [...] almost forgetting from desuetude the sounds of his own native tongue. [...] The melancholy of his nature increased; and, [...] he finally gave way to despair, and terminated his noble sorrows by throwing himself from a high rock into the valley.⁵⁶

The First Nations character himself ‘anticipate[s]’ the loss of his people, and destroys himself rather than see it come to pass. Richardson’s use of this anecdote to introduce an unrelated tale regarding the American Revolution links the establishment of a settler culture with violent cultural destruction, rather than assimilation.

Anticipation of the disappearance of the First Nations was not limited to the interactions of the British and the natives. In 1830, Michel Bibaud published the first volume of French Canadian poetry.⁵⁷ It included ‘Les grands chefs,’ a celebration of famous natives. Bibaud did not limit his scope—the first chief discussed is Montezuma.

⁵³ Fiona Stafford, *The Last of the Race: The Growth of a Myth from Milton to Darwin* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994). See also Renee L. Bergland, ‘Diseased States, Public Minds: Native American Ghosts in Early National Literature,’ in *The Gothic Other: Racial and Social Constructions in the Literary Imagination*, ed. by Ruth Bienstock Anolik and Douglas L. Howard (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co, 2004), pp. 90-103.

⁵⁴ Major John Richardson, in *Tecumseh and Richardson: The Story of a Trip to Walpole Island and Port Sarnia* (Toronto: Ontario Book Company, 1924), p. 70.

⁵⁵ Werner Sollors, *Beyond Ethnicity: Consent and Descent in American Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, [1986], 1987), 114-115.

⁵⁶ Major Richardson, ‘Captain Leslie; or, The Generous Foe. A Tale of the Revolutionary War,’ *Major Richardson’s Short Stories*, ed. by David R. Beasley (Penticton, BC: Theytus Books, 1985), pp. 81-96, pp. 81-82.

⁵⁷ Isidore Lebrun, ‘Épîtres: satires, chansons, epigrammes, et autres pièces de vers,’ *Revue encyclopédique: ou Analyse raisonnée des productions les plus remarquables dans la littérature, les sciences et les arts*, volume I (Paris: Burea de la Revue encyclopédique, 1831): 529-32, p. 530.

Bibaud celebrates ‘ces enfans de la simple nature’ as ‘Des hommes éloquents, / Des négociateurs, des héros et des sages.’⁵⁸ Despite the apparent worthiness of his subjects, he fears these names from ‘notre histoire’ will disappear (lrs 1-2). Given his subject, Bibaud appears to be speaking not as a French-Canadian, but as a European, and the Great Chiefs of his poem are those who interact with—and almost always assist—white colonisers. One chief is portrayed in the process of being civilised:

Avec les Canadiens, parfois
Avec les enfants de la France
S'il porte l'épée ou la lance
Contre les Iroquois,
Ne le croyons point lâche et traître à sa patrie:
Non, Ouréhonharé chérit sa nation,
Même avec passion;
Mais il la voudrait voir hors de sa barbarie (ll. 49-56).

The native figure fights ‘avec les Canadiens’ and ‘[c]ontre les Iroquois.’ Bibaud’s text highlights the association of the native with French Canada, particularly their martial alliance. As this movement occurs, the poem invokes nostalgia for the loss of a warrior loyal only to his people even as it celebrates his conversion to Christianity. Bibaud’s anxiety to preserve selected natives in the collective memory speaks to the overarching belief that those he describes will one day disappear.

4.4 The *Habitants*

While the First Nations had played a role in stadial narratives from an early point, the British North American colonies presented an extra hurdle in the progress of British civilisation in the form of the *habitants* and remnant Acadian population. These descendants of French colonists, as European Christians, clearly enjoyed some measure of civilisation in the eyes of the British. Nevertheless, they were also a conquered people, and their Catholic religion and lack of sophisticated agricultural techniques allowed them to be slotted into the existing stadial model as an intermediary stage. This positioning provided an immediate justification for the British conquest of the Canadas. Even prior to the expulsion of the Acadians and the conquest of Quebec, the playwright John Dennis had imagined a voluntary adoption of British virtues not only by the First Nations, but by the French-Canadians as well (5.10, pp. 63-64). Such a scenario indicates some consideration on the part of the British that the French colonists lacked such virtues.

⁵⁸ M[ichel]. Bibaud, ‘Les grands chefs,’ *Épîtres: satires, chansons, epigrammes, et autres pièces de vers* (Montreal: Ludger Duvernay, 1830), pp. 115-121, ll. 5, 15-16.

Following the Conquest, British conceptions of their French-Canadian subjects were more carefully separated from their former French rulers. As the British grew more secure, the *habitant* place in the narrative of conquest became clear. Frances Brooke's *Emily Montague* helped to further British use of stock imagery of the simple *habitant*—an image characterised by Crowley as 'metonymic' with Quebec ('Taken on the Spot' 118). Brooke's characterisation of the *habitants* themselves is generally negative. They are 'idle,' 'proud,' and fond of dance and music—descriptions that could be lifted from contemporary British descriptions of Highlanders—but are also guilty of the French sins of vanity and coquetry (I 42, 127-128). The newly colonised population is thus constructed as similar—and thus more easily understood and subdued—to a previous British conquest. These descriptions, too, echo those of the Hurons within the text, clearly highlighting the native and French-Canadians' subordinate status in newly British Quebec (I 72, 16). Brooke's characters, moreover, interpret these similarities as an example of partial stadial regression. William Fermor believes 'there is a striking resemblance between the manners of the Canadians and the savages [...] brought about, not by the French having won the savages to receive European manners, but by the very contrary—the peasants having acquired the savage indolence' (III 106). Although not reverting to a more 'savage' state, the *habitant* potential for industry and progress has been retarded by Huron influence.

Considerations of the interactions between the *habitants* and First Nations were not limited to Brooke's William Fermor. *All's Right at Last; or, The History of Miss West*, a 1774 novel written for British circulating libraries, while derivative, goes a step beyond Brooke by allowing French-Canadian characters agency and a voice in the text. In one instance Lucy Santemore muses on her heritage:

Everlasting dancers are we Canadians. No wonder, with all the wildness of the Indians, and the vivacity of the Parisians, so blended in our composition. My family, in particular, have a mixture of both, with very little of the English gravity to moderate either. I have been told that my great, great grandmother was a Squa [sic].⁵⁹

Lucy, usually preoccupied by frivolities of dress and gossip, attributes her personality to her background. Fictional Canadians like Lucy inhabit the cities; the *voyageurs*, like their British compatriots the backwoodsmen, routinely interact—and intermarry—with the First Nations. Contemporary accounts highlight these interactions.⁶⁰ As Matthew Cocking remarked in 1772, 'it surprises me to perceive what a warm side the Natives hath to the

⁵⁹ *All's Right at Last: or, the History of Miss West*, 2 vols (London: printed for F. and J. Noble, at their respective Circulating Libraries, 1774), I, p. 219.

⁶⁰ John M'gregor, *British America*, 2 vols (Edinburgh: William Blackwood; London: T. Cadell, 1832), II, p. 572.

French Canadians'.⁶¹ These relationships led the British and Anglo-Canadians to associate both of the conquered populations. As late as 1830, Pierre de Sales Laterrière protested that 'the Canadians are, although of French extraction, not French, nor even Iroquois, nor Germans, nor English, nor Scotch, nor Yankees, but [...] assuredly, *Canadians*'.⁶² The defensive response to the leap from French to Iroquois implies that this might be the immediate reaction of the Anglo-Canadian audience. Such associations with the supposedly savage First Nations may also exacerbate British condemnations of *habitant* landscapes. Descriptions of the *habitants* themselves are generally positive, but descriptions of their homes and farms are tinged with disapproval. The condemnatory language used to describe *habitant* homes begins to taper off in the 1830s. Hugh Murray's *Encyclopaedia of Geography*, for instance, notes the positive effects of British housekeeping on *habitant* hygiene.⁶³ The farms themselves, however, in Lord Durham's opinion, remain 'slovenly'.⁶⁴

If the association of *habitant* and First Nations resulted in social friction, it was not consistently found in the literature. Despite their inferior social status, Brooke's French-Canadians happily accept and socialise with English garrison society throughout the text. Brooke's novel provides the British public with a sanitised Quebec, complete with happy colonial subjects and picturesque views. It is, as Robert Merrett puts it, a work of 'propaganda'.⁶⁵ Brooke's generic view of the *habitants* would be picked up and expanded upon by artists, including James Peachey in the 1830s and Cornelius Krieghoff in the 1850s. Krieghoff, 'the first "popular" artist in the Canadian art scene,' specialised in genre paintings of stereotyped *habitants* that sold well with 'English-speaking merchants and British soldiers,' and inspired numerous imitators.⁶⁶ A century after *Emily Montague*'s

⁶¹ Matthew Cocking, 'An Adventurer from Hudson Bay. Journal of Matthew Cocking, from York Factory to the Blackfeet Country, 1772-73,' ed. with Introduction and Notes by Lawrence J. Burpee, *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada/Délibérations et mémoires de la Société royale du Canada*, 3S2 (May 1908): 90-121, p. 119.

⁶² A Canadian [Pierre de Sales Laterrière], *A Political and Historical Account of Lower Canada: Aith Remarks on the Present Situation of the People, as Regards their Manners, Character, Religion, &c. &c.* (London: William Marsh and Alfred Miller; Edinburgh: Constable & Co., 1830), p. 112.

⁶³ Hugh Murray, 'British America', *The Encyclopædia of Geography: Comprising a Complete Description of the Earth, Physical, Statistical, Civil, and Political* (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown and Longman, 1834), 1302-26, p. 1317.

⁶⁴ [John George Lambton], The Earl of Durham, *The Report on the Affairs of British North America. Presented to Her Majesty* (London: J. W. Southgate, 1839), p. 15.

⁶⁵ Robert Merrett, 'The Politics of Romance in *The History of Emily Montague*,' *Canadian Literature*, 133 (Summer 1992): 92-108 <<http://canlit.ca/site/getPDF/article/7670>> [accessed 20 September 2011], p. 93.

⁶⁶ J. Russell Harper, *Kriehoff*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), p. xi. See also David Karal, *André Biéler: At the Crossroads of Canadian Painting* (Saint-Nicholas, Quebec: Presses Université Laval, 2007), p. 42.

publication, Kreighoff's images tapped into and reinforced the same 'infantilization' of the French-Canadians present in Brooke's novel.⁶⁷ Indeed, depictions of the immature and childish *habitant* appear more prevalent than similar representations of the First Nations.

A similar attitude is found in *Abram's Plains*, as Cary addresses the *habitant* 'swains', advising them to be 'thankful' and 'grateful' for their colonised state (Cary ll. 434-450). This admonishment implies that the influence of the British, and particularly the Anglo-Canadian readership for whom the poem was published, would lead the *habitants* to acknowledge their improvement in the wake of the Conquest. The British 'loyal sufferer[s]' of Upper Canada, on the other hand, are also acknowledged as the recipients of 'British magnanimity' and seen planting settlements, in an echo of Quebec's progress (ll. 65, 68). A 1761 parody of Horace's *Ode* 2.16 replaces the warlike Medes and Thracians longing for leisure with 'Ease is the wish too of the sly Canadian, / Ease the delight of bloody Caghnawagas'.⁶⁸ The *habitants*, nevertheless, while not as active as the British, are generally portrayed as genial and relatively harmless in the early years of the nineteenth century. As John Lambert puts it, they live in 'happy mediocrity,' raised by association with the British above the 'sluggish' Acadians of the American territories.⁶⁹ Sir Archibald Alison provides a similar description, which notes the particularly positive effects of Scottish influence.⁷⁰

British conceptions of *habitant* idleness and gullibility are tied to their status as Catholics. The possible dangers of French Catholicism in Canada had long been a concern, both in British North America and in Britain. The Quebec Act of 1774, which not only allowed for the tolerance of Catholicism but also restored Canadian laws in Lower Canada and removed mentions of Protestantism from the oath of loyalty, had resulted in Protestant anger and a *habitant* population less easily absorbed into the British-allied population of

⁶⁷ Daniel Francis, *National Dreams: Myth, Memory and Canadian History* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pump Press, [1997], 2003), p. 92. For an example of Krieghoff's work, see Cornelius Krieghoff, *Breaking up of a Country Ball in Canada, Early Morning (The Morning after a Merrymaking in Lower Canada)*, 1857, oil on canvas, Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto, The Thomson Collection <<http://www.ago.net/agoid68839>> [accessed February 7 2012].

⁶⁸ [Captain Morris], 'The following Burlesque of Horace's *Otium divos*, was written at the Mohawk-Castle, in the year 1761, by the Elder CAPTAIN MORRIS, and sent to his friend Lieutenant Montgomery, afterwards a General Officer in the American service, and killed at the siege of Quebec,' *Monthly Magazine, and British Register*, 1:1 (February 1796): 55, ProQuest [accessed 13 March 2012], ll. 5-6.

⁶⁹ John Lambert, *Travels through Canada, and the United States of North America, in the Years 1806, 1807, & 1808*, 2nd edn, 2 vols (London: C. Cradock, 1814), I, pp. 149-50.

⁷⁰ Sir Archibald Alison, *History of Europe from the Commencement of the French Revolution in M.DCC.LXXXIX. to the Restoration of the Bourbons in M.DCCC.XV*, 19 vols, 7th edn (Edinburgh/London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1852), XIX, pp. 77-79.

Upper Canada.⁷¹ While the Act helped to ensure French-Canadian loyalty to the British crown, it was received badly by the populations of British North America and the Thirteen Colonies.⁷² Such animosity ensured that the *habitants* were viewed as alien and as a threat to the new society. The passing of the Act also undermined popular sentiment regarding the British colonisation of Quebec. Colonisation had been justified as a means of civilising the *habitant*, in part through the introduction of British laws and freedoms. The Quebec Act was seen to restore power to the *seigneurs*, ‘from whose dominion [the *habitants*] have been so happily free for the past fifteen years.’⁷³ The effects of the Act, then, are read as a possible cause of stadial regression in Quebec.

A popular example of such concerns is found in Charlotte Lennox’s *Euphemia* (1790), in which the captive Briton Edward Neville is educated by the Jesuit fathers in Quebec, possibly with a view to his own eventual ordination. Once returned to his family, Neville must be retrained in order to make a ‘good Protestant out of a very indifferent Roman Catholic,’ and his mother suspects a deliberate ‘design of making a Jesuit of him.’⁷⁴ Such an occurrence would have partially mirrored the life of Esther Wheelwright, Mother Superior of the Urselines in Montreal.⁷⁵ Catholicism is presented as a direct threat to Protestant beliefs, and thus also to British power. The continued influence of the Church, and the British resentment of that power, is seen in the popularity of a subgenre of gothic texts concerning Canadian convents. Two of the most influential such texts, the *Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk* (1836) and *Lorette: The History of Louise, Daughter of a Canadian Nun* (1832), were both in fact American.⁷⁶ Though popular in Canada, such

⁷¹ For a detailed history of British actions regarding Catholics in Canada, see Peter M. Doll, *Revolution, Religion, and National Identity: Imperial Anglicanism in British North America, 1745-1795* (Cranberry, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2000).

⁷² For example, Ezra Stiles, principal of Yale, produced a map of the colony that depicted ‘The Bloody Church’ overwhelming Protestants ‘despised by the Parent State’. See Matthew H. Edney, ‘The Irony of Imperial Mapping,’ in *The Imperial Map: Cartography and the Mastery of Empire*, ed. by James R. Akerman (Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press, 2009), pp. 11-45, pp. 34-36.

⁷³ [Charles Maseres], *The Canadian Freeholder: In Two Dialogues between an Englishman and a Frenchman, Settled in Canada: Shewing the Sentiments of the Bulk of the Freeholders of Canada Concerning the Late Quebec-Act...*, 3 vols (London: B. White, 1777), ECCO [accessed 16 June 2012], I, p. 6.

⁷⁴ Charlotte Lennox, *Euphemia*, 4 vols (London: printed for T. Cadell, 1790), IV, pp. 221-22.

⁷⁵ Ann M. Little, ‘Cloistered Bodies: Convents in the Anglo-American Imagination in the British Conquest of Canada,’ *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 39:2 (Winter 2006): 187-200, Project MUSE [accessed 18 June 2012], pp. 190-91.

⁷⁶ Of the American fear-mongering regarding Catholicism, the majority of texts were set in Canada. Rebecca Reed’s popular *Six Months in a Convent* (1835) was set in Charleston, but this was a fictionalised account of the burning of the Ursuline convent in Charleston the previous year. See Jeanne Hamilton, ‘The Nunnery as Menace: The Burning of the Charlestown Convent, 1834’, *U.S. Catholic Historian*, 14:1 (Winter 1996): 35-65, JSTOR [accessed 18 June 2012].

novels deliberately incited ‘hatred of Catholicism’ and played directly into religious fear in the years leading to the Rebellion.⁷⁷ Nevertheless, Canadian texts tended towards the condemnation of the Church in a more pragmatic manner.⁷⁸ Rather than descriptions of terror and moral decay as imagined by the Americans, Anglo-Canadian perceptions of the problems posed by *habitant* Catholicism lay in its power to impede the progress of civilisation, the possibility of divided loyalties and the influence of the convent schools.

Religion was not the only threatening aspect of *habitant* society. George Longmore’s *The Charivari* (1824) provides a British perspective on a different aspect of French-Canadian life.⁷⁹ As Carl Klinck notes, charivaris were ‘as indigenous as anything relating to the white man in Canada could be: the folk custom of interrupting the nuptial bliss of an incongruously matched couple by a noisy serenade had roots and branches among the French people of the lower province’.⁸⁰ Contemporary reviewers were of a similar mind, with the *Canadian Review* writing that it was necessary to ‘approve of the effort which has thus been made to rescue so curious a trait from the ravages of time and the superstitious oracles of oral tradition.’⁸¹ As Longmore’s narrator explains, ‘this hurly-burly now,—yclept / *Charivari*’ was ‘imported here about / The time Jacques Cartier, came across th’ Atlantic’ (*Charivari* ll. 1145-46; 1154-55). The different attitudes towards *habitant* and First Nations traditions evinced in Longmore’s poem, and responses to it, are noteworthy. To British-Canadian society, the *habitants* are picturesque, but they—and their traditions—lack the sublime element associated with the First Nations. Even as he preserved this quaint native custom, however, Longmore also veils a political point. The charivari has long been associated with the carnivalesque and the temporary overthrow of social order. In the wake of the upsets in 1837, ‘political charivaris’ would become increasingly common.⁸² Such revelry always included the possibility of violence. The text

⁷⁷ Jennifer Blair, ‘The Knowledge of “Sex” and the Lattice of the Confessional: The Nun’s Tales and Early North American Popular Discourse,’ in *ReCalling Early Canada: Reading the Political in Literary and Cultural Production*, ed. by Jennifer Blair, Daniel Coleman, Kate Higginson and Lorraine York (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2005), pp. 173-210, p. 174.

⁷⁸ Ingram describes a stand of Gothic anti-Catholicism in England. See Philip Ingram, ‘Protestant Patriarchy and the Catholic Priesthood in Nineteenth Century England,’ *Journal of Social History*, 24:4 (Summer 1991): 783-797, *Oxford Journals* [accessed 1 June 2012].

⁷⁹ [George Longmore], *The Charivari: or, Canadian Poetics: A Tale, After the Manner of Beppo* (Montreal: Printed for the publisher [Joseph Nickless], 1824). Levi Adams’ *Jean Baptiste, A Poetic Olio in Two Cantos* (Montreal: s.n. 1825) also depicted a charivari.

⁸⁰ Carl F. Klinck, ‘*The Charivari* and Levi Adams,’ *Dalhousie Review*, 40 (1960): 34-42, p. 34.

⁸¹ ‘The Charivari, or Canadian Poetics,’ *The Canadian Review and Literary and Historical Journal*, 1:1 (July 1824): 183-201, *ECO* [accessed 12 November 2012], p. 187.

⁸² Allan Greer, *The Patriots and the People: The Rebellion of 1837 in Rural Lower Canada* (Toronto/Buffalo/London: University of Toronto Press, [1993, 1996] 2003), p. 218.

reflects the half-jesting manner in which *habitant* society, and its potential for serious disruption of the social order, was viewed by English Canadians.

Lord Durham's report describes the rebellions of 1837-38 thus: 'I expected to find a contest between a government and a people: I found two nations warring in the bosom of a single state: I found a struggle, not of principles, but of races' (7). Assimilation had obviously not yet been achieved. It is interesting to note that the very willingness of the supposedly idle French Canadians and their 'sparks of independence' to agitate was itself attributed to 'close contact' with the British.⁸³ In many accounts of the post-Rebellion period, *habitants* are presented as a side-lined community, who will either assimilate or, like the First Nations, disappear. In the meantime, they serve as a quaint set-piece in the wider drama of Canadian affairs, as seen in *The Canadian Nun*, in which the behaviour of the *habitants* amuses American tourists.⁸⁴ Later considerations of French Canada, such as those of Thomas D'Arcy McGee, continued this trend, or ignored the *habitants* entirely, focusing instead on the historical interest of the original French explorers.⁸⁵ Tellingly, McGee, while celebrating the writing of Thomas Moore's famed *Boat Song*, itself inspired by the songs of *voyageurs*, manages to completely elide French-Canadian influences from the text.⁸⁶

4.5 American Society and Stadial Regression

A crucial aspect of stadial progression is the possibility of regression. While First Nations influences were perceived as stalling *habitant* progress, there was a worse possibility. As Patricia Jasen puts it, 'Europeans [experienced a] haunting fear that their superiority and dominance were not assured, and that civilized humanity could slip back into more savage ways' (*Wild Things* 15). Having achieved a state of civilisation, constant attention was required to ensure no backsliding occurred, and the North American colonies were in a precarious position. The Seven Years' War and the American Revolution produced a number of attacks—and rumoured atrocities—on both sides, as the French, British and Americans not only exploited their First Nations allies but also began to adopt their methods (Bickham *Indian Atlantic* 56-73). Similar considerations can be seen in the

⁸³ Charles Roger, *The Rise of Canada from Barbarism to Wealth and Civilisation*, 2 vols (Quebec: Peter Sinclair, 1856), I, p. 110.

⁸⁴ 'The Canadian Nun,' *Court Magazine and Belle Assemblée*, 2:6 (June 1833): 286-89.

⁸⁵ Thomas D'Arcy McGee, 'Jacques Cartier' and 'Jacques Cartier and the Child,' *Canadian Ballads, and Occasional Verses* (Montreal: J. Lovell; Toronto: W.M. C. F. Caverhill, 1858), pp. 12-16.

⁸⁶ Thomas D'Arcy McGee, 'Thomas Moore at St Annes,' *Canadian Ballads* (Montreal: John Lovell, 1858), pp. 42-43.

morbid fascination with white settlers who chose to embrace First Nations life in the captivity narratives, or in the construction of characters like Lismahago. As the nineteenth century progressed, Canadian constructions of the Americans also display these sentiments, as American rejection of British rule was read as a deliberate regression from a more civilised state. This belief appears at least partially founded on British constructions of American culture. Rather than the climate, or the youth of the country, the negative aspects of the American national character are often ascribed to her political system. Thomas Moore found in America ‘a close approximation to savage life, not only in the liberty which they enjoy, but in the violence of party spirit and of private animosity which results from it’ and ‘maturity in all of the vices, and all of the pride, of civilization while [...] still remote from its elegant characteristics.’⁸⁷ Later authors concurred in this assessment: Fanny Trollope would assert that Americans had ‘contrived, by their political alchemy, to extract all that was most noxious both in democracy and slavery and had poured the strange mixture through every vein of the moral organization of their country.’⁸⁸ The American was consistently represented as ‘more savage and plac[ing] less value on human life’.⁸⁹ British North America could then be constructed as a civilised foil. The nascent Canadian identity, existing within but distinct from the colonial British identity, was most threatened by the presence of her powerful neighbour. Those desiring to shape the identity of British North America, therefore, needed to negate this threat, often by interpreting America as regressive and uncivilised.

Major Richardson, in particular, was fascinated by this concept of stadial regression as embodied by America. While Richardson’s *Tecumseh* drew on his Ossianic views of the First Nations, it also opened with an American perspective (ll. 4.20.1-5). The earliest mention of the First Nations in the text, as Groening notes, ‘describe[s] Tecumseh and the defence of British Canada in precisely the same language he uses in *Wacousta* to dramatise Pontiac’s attempts to overthrow the British presence’.⁹⁰ While the descriptions of Tecumseh himself as both noble and bloodthirsty renders his characterisation problematic, the depiction of the Americans has been inverted by the text’s end. Tecumseh is killed, and

⁸⁷ Thomas Moore, ‘Preface,’ *Epistles, Odes and Other Poems* (London: James Carpenter, 1806), vii-xii, p. ix.

⁸⁸ Mrs. [Fanny] Trollope, *Domestic Manners of the Americans*, 4th edn (London: Whittaker, Treacher & Co.; New-York: Reprinted for the booksellers, 1832), pp. 153-154. See also Basil Hall, *Travels in North America, in the Years 1827 and 1828*, 3 vols, 3rd edn (Edinburgh: Robert Cadell; London: Marshall & Simpkin, 1830).

⁸⁹ Carolyn Conley, *Certain Other Countries: Homicide, Gender, and National Identity in Late Nineteenth-Century England, Ireland, Scotland, and Wales* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2007), p. 59.

⁹⁰ Laura Smith Groening, *Listening to Old Woman Speak: Natives and AlterNatives in Canadian Culture* (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2004), p. 79.

his corpse mutilated by souvenir-hunting Americans. Richardson's note remarks that the Americans 'absolutely tore the skin from off his bleeding form, and converted it into razor-straps!!! [...] many Kentuckian Americans have I heard boast of having obtained a part of the warrior's skin' (n.134). The Americans not only violate the rules of civilised warfare, emulating stereotypically savage behaviour, but also deliberately dishonour the corpse of a noble—and British-allied—foe.

Richardson's Americans, unlike their British compatriots, are thus clearly susceptible to stadial regression. The poem concludes with the narrator imagining a future where 'conscience-stricken' Americans hear their 'offspring' 'proclaim[ing] [Tecumseh's] worth,' a choice that signals the possibility of re-civilisation (ll. 4.66.6-8). Richardson's description of this atrocity is remarkable for relying on a metatextual element. Between Tecumseh's mutilation, as:

Forth from the copse a hundred foemen spring,
And pounce like vultures on the bleeding clay;
Like famish'd blood-hounds to the corse they cling
And bear the fallen hero's spoils away:
The very covering from his nerves they wring,
And gash his form, and glut them o'er their prey —
Wild hell-fiends all, and revelling at his death,
With bursting shrieks and pestilential breath (ll. 4.52.1-8)

and Tecumseh's subsequent metamorphosis to 'a lifeless, loathsome mass,' Richardson deploys an entire stanza composed of nothing but dashes to signal mute disbelief (ll. 4.53.1-8; 4.54.4). The civilised British-Canadian narrator has no words for the actions of his fellow Christians—a distance that serves as the poem's most overt moment of anti-American sentiment. *The Canadian Brothers*, meanwhile, portrays America as the enemy, figured primarily by the traitorous and cannibalistic Desborough, son of Wacousta and Ellen Holloway, and his daughter Matilda Montgomerie, a 'vampire and sorceress' (1840 I 238-39). The demonic traits of the First Nations enemies in *Wacousta* are here mapped onto the Americans of 1812, behaviours that are the more upsetting for the characters' Anglo-Saxon, and thus supposedly civilised, heritage. The text 'goes beyond reflex anti-Americanism'—a movement precipitated by the knowledge of a 'common ancestry sundered by history'.⁹¹

Richardson's American texts, by contrast, abstain from linking Americans with regression. Richardson's 1851 novella, *Westbrook the Outlaw; or, The Avenging Wolf*, is a case in point. Westbrook, a rapist, voyeur and murderer, is born Canadian, but is 'one of

⁹¹ Dennis Duffy, *A World Under Sentence: John Richardson and the Interior* (Toronto: ECW Press, 1996), p. 115.

those wayward and restless spirits—half American, half British—who acknowledged allegiance to neither government, but were too glad, as disappointment, ambition or interest impelled them, to espouse the side of either’ (*Westbrook* 1). He is thus painted as a Canadian Desborough. Driven from his Upper Canadian community for his crimes, Westbrook ‘found employment as a spy to a marauding irregular American force’ attacking the border in 1814 (*Westbrook* 69). Even his American employers, however, are sickened by his depravity and remark, after hearing his final confession, ‘Thank Heaven! You are not one of us—not an American’ (*Westbrook* 72). Crucially, he is seen as unfit for either society. Instead, he is assigned a bestial identity. Rather than simply becoming American, stadial regression renders him inhuman. Given Richardson’s twin emphasis on the possibility of regression and the inevitable extinction of the First Nations, there is no sense that those who undergo stadial regression become noble savages. They sink, instead, into an inhuman state.

While Richardson presents a consistent depiction of American regression, he was far from the only author to indulge in such belief. Galt’s *Bogle Corbet* highlights the seductive (and ultimately destructive) power of the American emphasis on the individual versus the collective, while Susanna Moodie describes her neighbours as ‘semi-barbarous Yankees’ (*Roughing It* I 212). Although representations of American regression, particularly in the political arena, are at least partially attributable to envy of American prosperity, such a depiction also served to bolster the on-going cultivation of the Canadian stadial narrative and associated visions of British North American history.

Constructions of Canadian society in the years prior to Confederation employ stadial theory not only to justify British dominion over the colony and its peoples, but also to account for the social groups within British North America, and to look forward to the (supposedly) inevitable unified empire of the future. Just as the British had laid claim to the land itself and reshaped the landscape, the *habitant* and First Nations might in future adopt British practices. While this future was to be greatly anticipated, the unique history and population of the Canadian colonies attracted contemporary interest. As had occurred in Scotland, the sanitised and ‘improved’ colony was offered for public consumption. Tourists and visitors demanded encounters with *habitants*—particularly *voyageurs*—and the First Nations as part of an authentic experience (Jasen 64). *Canadian Scenery* designated the First Nations as ‘the picturesque in human life,’ while *M’Culloch’s Gazetteer* proclaimed the *habitant* ‘present[ed] the spectacle of an old, uneducated,

stationary society in a new and progressive world'.⁹² In the years following Confederation, participation in native-inspired outdoor sports or donning a blanket coat would become an expression of a generic Canadian identity.⁹³ Popular conceptions of the First Nations and *habitants* as quaint populations within the empire were spread further in the form of the popular historical novel. As British North Americans recognised themselves as a society culturally removed not only from their southern neighbours, but also from the mother country, popular fiction offered a space in which to articulate a national history. Maria Edgeworth and Sir Walter Scott, among others, provided the model for narratives that sought to reconcile colonised and colonising cultures.

⁹² W. H. Bartlett, *Canadian Scenery*, I, p. 108; J. R. M'Culloch, 'Canada,' *M'Culloch's Universal Gazetteer: A Dictionary, Geographical, Statistical, and Historical, of the Various Countries, Places, and Principal Natural Objects in the World*, 2 vols (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1843), I, 526-535, p. 528.

⁹³ Eileen Stack, "'Very Picturesque and Very Canadian': The Blanket Coat and Anglo-Canadian identity in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century," in *Fashion: A Canadian Perspective*, ed. by Alexandra Palmer (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), pp. 17-40.

5 The National Tale and the Historical Novel

5.1 The Rise of the Historical Novel

The use of a stadial model, as discussed in the previous chapter, allowed both Britons and British North Americans to justify British dominance in the Canadas and to construct a specific social hierarchy. In conceptualising British North American society this way, assimilation and improvement of the supposedly less civilised populations became a national concern. Social and political divides within the colony were also brought to the fore. While the distinct populations produced by this model could survive alongside each other, tensions remained high. Legal restrictions, too, kept the ‘improvement’ of the *habitants* from being easily achieved. Though Upper and Lower Canada, as well as the Atlantic colonies, were all controlled by the British Crown, the implementation of the Quebec Act (1774) had ensured that Lower Canada remained both culturally and legally distinct from its sister colonies. Such British accommodation of their French Canadian subjects led to tension—particularly with neighbouring Upper Canada—contributing to the uprisings of 1837–38. In 1839, Governor General John Lambton, Lord Durham’s *Report on the Affairs of British North America* highlighted this situation, and expressed the view that the rebellions were the product, not of conflicting ‘principles, but of races’ (139). In the view of the Governor General, only ‘legislative union’ and French-Canadian assimilation through ‘subjecting the Province to the vigorous rule of an English majority’ could restore ‘tranquillity’ (139). Such a majority was critical to Durham’s plans for the Canadas, and the Report was forceful in its calls for British immigration to swell the population of anglophone Upper Canada (129). Lambton explicitly compared the situation to British history, remarking that the:

experience of the two Unions in the British Isles may teach us how effectually the strong arm of a popular legislature would compel the obedience of the refractory population; and the hopelessness of success would gradually subdue the existing animosities, and incline the French Canadian population to acquiesce in their new state of political existence (139).¹

Durham’s language reveals an overtly English bias, with the Irish and Highland Scots compared to the ‘refractory’ French-Canadians, ‘compel[ed]’ and ‘subdue[d]’ by ‘the hopelessness of success.’ While Durham clearly sees the popular parallels between the unification of Britain and the Canadas, his diction implies a refusal to indulge in a fantasy

¹ Others, including John Galt, had noted this similarity earlier, though Galt is more nuanced in his comparison. See [John Galt], ‘Canadian Affairs,’ p. 389.

of reconciliation and union. His focus is instead on the reality of political union. Moving beyond the benefits of curtailing French-Canadian disaffection, Lord Durham envisioned the eventual union of all the British North American colonies, not only Upper and Lower Canada, as crucial to maintaining imperial power in North America in the face of American encroachment. He maintains that:

to prevent the extension of this [American] influence, can only be done by raising up for the North American Colonist some nationality of his own; by elevating these small and unimportant communities into a society having some objects of a national importance; and by thus giving their inhabitants a country which they will be unwilling to see absorbed even into one more powerful (141).

Again, in Durham's eyes union is a political necessity for 'small and unimportant communities' rather than an ideal. Nevertheless, he articulates the need for a sense of nationalism amongst British North Americans. In 1841, Lord Durham's successor Charles Thomson oversaw the Union of the Canadas, resulting in the Province of Canada. Two decades later, in the face of continued threats from the United States, both from the American Civil War, and later from Fenian raids over the border, the British North America Act joined the Province, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick together as the Dominion of Canada.

In the wake of the Union of the Canadas, and Confederation, the British North American colonies, while ostensibly unified, lacked the sense of a shared history present in the United States. Unification through legislation rather than martial means, though it had resulted in minimal bloodshed, had also failed to foster camaraderie or a foundational myth along the lines of the American Revolution. Popular sentiment among Anglo-Canadians turned to the need for unity with their Canadian compatriots. Both the French and Anglo-Canadians felt the need for a coherent national history, and turned to the popular models of the national tale and the historical novel for inspiration and 'a matrix from which indigenous patterns of folklore and history could be developed,' although the resulting histories varied greatly (Kröller 'Walter Scott' 40).

The nineteenth century saw Great Britain attempting to establish a sense of identity, accomplished in part through the production of national literature. The 1707 Act of Union had officially unified Scotland and England, and over the ensuing century Scots learned to navigate between both nations.² Ireland, for her part, entered Great Britain with the Act of Union 1801. The Union of Three Kingdoms created the need for a truly British concept of

² For an analysis of literature's contribution, see Leith Davis, *Acts of Union: Scotland and the Literary Negotiation of the British Nation, 1707-1830* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998).

the nation, but it also fostered a culture in which individual identity was often liminal. Scots and Irish also engaged in a process of nation building within the wider Union. In Ireland, this process was informed by the national tale, which emerged as a way to engage with and counteract what Ina Ferris terms the ‘internal disequilibrium’ of Britain following the Unions.³ British North America, fluctuating between a marginal or central role in the emergent empire and internally divided, was also in need of a coherent narrative.

The national tales of both Sydney Owenson and Maria Edgeworth share a basic interest in the possibilities of political union through gender dynamics. In Owenson, this is accomplished by employing the marriage plot, which allowed for an imaginative legitimisation of power and of identity through the use of a ‘complicated political reconciliation process’ involving some level of ‘countercolonization’ (Trumpener 137). Edgeworth, however, often only ‘[flirts] with the theme of intermarriage’.⁴ Scottish national tales, such as Susan Ferrier’s *Marriage* (1818), at times take a differing point of view. Ferrier’s text involves a failed marriage between a Scot and an Englishwoman and a reconciliation plot concerning their daughters, each raised by a different parent. Ferrier’s heroine, Mary Douglas, having been born of two nations, must also undergo ‘defamiliarisation’ to become culturally hybrid.⁵ While Mary is the product of two cultures, and raised in Scotland, her eventual bridegroom, Col. Lennox, is her opposite: like her, born of both nations, ‘half of a [Highlander],’ but raised on his mother’s ‘perfectly English’ estate.⁶ Their marriage does not end in British union, instead producing a partial re-inscription of the marriage plot while at home. While these national tales were popular in both Britain and the colonies, it was Walter Scott’s modelling aspects of his work on Owenson that provided these tropes with the widest possible audience. British North American authors, however, also display an interest in constructing hybrid identity, as will be discussed in the case of Catherine Parr Traill.

North America, and particularly Canada, also functioned as a space for displaced national feeling, as in the ‘Canadian Boat Song’ of the *Noctes Ambrosianae*, which draws on a Canadian setting and model to support Scottish national identity. In this example, Canada is a land ‘as Scotch as Lochaber,’ where an emigrant population and its

³ Ina Ferris, *The Romantic National Tale and the Question of Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p.13.

⁴ Robert Tracy, ‘Maria Edgeworth and Lady Morgan: Legality Versus Legitimacy,’ *Nineteenth-Century Fiction*, 40:1 (June 1985): 1-22, JSTOR [accessed 13 February 2012], p. 10.

⁵ Juliet Shields, ‘From Family Roots to the Routes of Empire: National Tales and the Domestication of the Scottish Highlands,’ *English Literary History*, 72:4 (Winter 2005): 919-940, Project MUSE [accessed 15 February 2013], p. 933.

⁶ [Susan Ferrier], *Marriage. A Novel*, 3 vols (Edinburgh: William Blackwood; London: John Muray, 1818), II, pp. 227-228.

descendants (*Blackwood's* 393) affirm their primary Scottish identity and lament their displacement in Gàidhlig:

From the lone shieling of the misty island
Mountains divide us, and the waste of seas —
Yet still the blood is strong, the heart is Highland,
And we in dreams behold the Hebrides:
*Fair these broad meads — these hoary woods are grand;
But we are exiles from our fathers' land.*⁷

Following in this tradition is Alexander Glendinning's 'Awa wi' Scarboro's muddy creeks,' a Lowland version of this sentiment. Glendinning, like Moir's anonymous Gaels, gives a cursory glance to Canada's 'muddy creeks' and 'fields of pine,' admitting that this 'land o' wheat's a goodly land, / But yet it isna mine.'⁸ The emigrant recounts a 'pleasing dream' of 'the auld country,' but then 'awoke in Canada / Four thousand miles frae hame' (ll. 23-24, 31-32). National identity remains firmly fixed.

A similar attitude is found in early national tales and historical novels, which include brief mentions of North America as a place of necessary emigration, and thus a (usually dismissed) alternative to the proposed identity.⁹ Perhaps the most famous of these is Christian Johnstone's *Clan-Albin* (1815), in which the establishment of a successful North American colony allows emigrants to support those remaining in Scotland.¹⁰ Such offhand mentions thus involve North America, albeit in a limited way. In Susan Ferrier's *Inheritance* (1824), her heroine Gertrude is discovered not to be the true Countess of Rossville, but the child of Marian La Motte, herself the daughter of a Scottish emigrant and her 'French Canadian' husband, and Marian's American husband.¹¹ Lewiston, the 'odious American,' is a caricature of the British views of America: ill mannered, 'savage,' and willing to impersonate a dead man and [sell] his daughter (III 202, 294, 307). In referring to him primarily as 'the American,' Ferrier establishes a firm critique of America in

⁷ [John Wilson and David Macbeth Moir (?)], 'Noctes Ambrosianae, No XLVI,' *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, 26:156 (September 1829): 389-404, p. 400, ll. 7-12. Ironically, if the text has a precursor, it is not Gàidhlig at all, but the Irish poet Thomas Moore's 'A Canadian Boat Song, written on the River St Lawrence' of 1806, itself inspired by the songs of the French-Canadian *voyageurs*.

⁸ Alexander Glendinning, 'Awa wi' Scarboro's Muddy Creeks,' *Rhymes by Alexander Glendinning, Sometime in Eskdalemuir, Dumfriesshire, Scotland, Vol I* (London, ON: Free Press Printing Co., 1871), pp. 39-41, ll. 1-4.

⁹ See, for example, Lady Morgan [Sydney Owenson], *The O'Briens and the O'Flahertys: A National Tale*, 4 vols (London: Henry Colburn, 1827), I, p. 9; Lady Morgan, *O'Donnel: A National Tale*, 3 vols (London: Henry Colburn, 1815), III, p. 202.

¹⁰ [Christian Isobel Johnstone], *Clan-Albin. A National Tale*, 4 vols (Edinburgh: Macredie, Skelly and Muckersy; London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown; Dublin: John Cumming, 1815), IV, p. 76.

¹¹ Susan Ferrier, *The Inheritance*, 3 vols, 2nd edn (Edinburgh: William Blackwood; London: T. Cadell, 1825), III, p. 244.

comparison to Britain. La Motte, by contrast, acted as Gertrude's 'nurse,' teaching the child 'many an old Scotch song' and deliberately inculcating a British identity (I 325). While Gertrude loses her supposed aristocratic identity, through her uncle Adam Ramsay's designating her heir and 'mistress of [his Scottish estate] Broom Park,' and marriage to her supposed cousin Lyndsay, who inherits her former title, Ferrier ensures Gertrude remains culturally Scottish (III 294-5, 358-59). As North America already functioned, in some way, as an implicit alternate for periphery British nationals, such a model could be transferred to the New World.

Both American and British North American society saw in the historical novel and romance the opportunity to imagine a national history, but reacted to Scott's ideologies in very different ways. American opinion was split.¹² While Scott was read widely throughout the country, republicans rejected his conservative politics. James Fenimore Cooper, widely considered 'the American Scott,' considered Scott 'servilely submissive to the great' and remarked that his works were 'replete with dangers' to an American audience, as 'if [Scott] is right our [political] system is radically wrong'.¹³ Southern society, by contrast, found Scott's imagined romantic past aligned with conceptions of 'Southern chivalry,'—a condition Mark Twain dubbed 'Sir Walter Scott disease' and upon which he blamed attitudes leading to the American Civil War.¹⁴ Indeed, Rigney notes that these attitudes were part of an attempt to differentiate Southern culture from its Northern counterpart prior to the War (113-14). The British North American reaction avoided both extremes. Scott was equally popular with both francophone and anglophone audiences, and, as Linda E. Connors notes, British North American publications include no 'negative reviews' or 'negative comments about him personally.'¹⁵ While Scott's conservatism and support of the monarchy would have appealed to the Tory loyalist tendencies of Anglo-Canadians, there was no aping of chivalric society as in the American South (Gerson 79). The overall focus on stadial Enlightenment thought in North America resulted in a reading of Scott that remained conservative. Though French-Canadian audiences did not react quite so

¹² A nuanced account of Scott's popularity and reception in the United States is beyond the scope of this chapter. For an examination of these issues, see Andrew Hook, 'Scott and America,' in *From Goose Creek to Gandercleugh*, pp. 94-115.

¹³ [James Fenimore Cooper], 'Literary Notices. Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott, Bart. By J. G. Lockheart,' *The Knickerbocker*, 7:4 (October 1838): 349-366, p. 352; [James Fenimore Cooper], *Gleanings in Europe: England. By an American*, 2 vols (Philadelphia: Carey, Lea, and Blanchard, 1837), I, p. 207.

¹⁴ Ann Rigney, *The Afterlives of Walter Scott: Memory on the Move* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 119. As Rigney notes, the Southern reaction was not due to heightened 'influence' but rather to a mesh with 'cultural politics' (119).

¹⁵ Linda E Connors and Mary Lu MacDonald, *National Identity in Great Britain and British North America, 1815-1851: The Role of Nineteenth-Century Periodicals* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), p. 163.

positively to Scott's British imperialism, conservatives like Philippe Aubert de Gaspé could read his respect for rank as an analogue of French-Canadian respect for the *seigneurs*.

In the years directly preceding Confederation, the historical novel and the national tale transcended language barriers in the Canadas. Popular novels like *Les Anciens canadiens* (1863) and *Antoinette De Mirecourt* (1864) were translated and proved popular in both languages. This chapter aims to examine the differing manner in which anglophone and francophone Canadians employed popular tropes of historical novels and national tales—particularly the marriage plot—in considering issues of national identity and assimilation.

5.2 The Historical Novel in English Canada

Durham's report, detailing the interactions (or lack thereof) between francophone and anglophone inhabitants of British North America, recorded a dearth of personal alliances. He focuses on marriage, remarking that '[d]uring the first period of the possession of the colony by the English, intermarriages of the two races were by no means uncommon. But they are now very rare' (18). If rare in fact, they remained numerous in fiction. By the middle of the nineteenth century British Canadian fiction, at least, regarded intermarriage as a literary commonplace, usually in the form of an anglophone paterfamilias with a French-Canadian wife, as in the 1846 story 'The Sisters,' where the francophone character's assimilation is indicated by her 'educat[ion] in England.'¹⁶ The emphasis on intermarriage as a method of union draws on a popular literary trope to produce a narrative of assimilation. Robert Tracy, examining the use of marriage in Owenson and Edgeworth, examines the inherent 'uncertainty' in 'the Glorvina solution—the intermarriage/assimilation' trope (10). In Upper Canadian texts, the focus, as in British counterparts, is on the articulation of a shared past and the use of the marriage plot to bring together divided peoples.

Permutations of the marriage plot are present in Canadian literature even prior the popularity of the national tale. Frances Brooke's French-Canadian widow, Mme Des Roches, in *The History of Emily Montague*, prefigures women such as *Waverley*'s Jacobite Flora MacIvor, or the First Nations Magawiska of *Hope Leslie* (1827), and Oucanasta of *Wacousta*. Mme Des Roches's worth, unlike the heroines of future marriage plots, stems not from her ability to legitimise the British presence in Quebec, but from her similarity to the industrious, emotionally aware English, rather than to Brooke's stereotyped *habitants*.

¹⁶ EE, 'The Sisters: A Tale of the Canadas,' *The Literary Garland*, 4:1 (January 1846): 34-40, p. 35.

Mme des Roches is thus presented as a potent threat to the titular Emily's romance with Rivers, although Brooke's refusal to provide her French-Canadian character with a voice foreshadows her ultimate inability to win him.

The childless Mme des Roches also vows that she will 'never marry, nor enter into an engagement' (III 132-133). Therefore, while the British characters who dreamed 'seeing *the human face divine* multiply around [themselves]' in Canada eventually return to England to settle and establish families, des Roches, a native of this explicitly 'fertile' country, herself remains sterile and alone, cut out of the marriage-plot (I 3; III 190). Although she is 'in treaty with some Acadians to settle them' in land previously untenable due to 'the incursions of the Indians,' Mme des Roches will not herself contribute to the rising multicultural society at Quebec (I 189). A similar if later example is found in Julia Beckwith Hart's *St Ursula's Convent* (1824). This text presents an intermarriage, but one whose effect on the Canadas is negligible, given that the pair involved are of French and English, rather than French- and English-Canadian extraction, and, like Rivers and Emily, return to Europe. Despite initial intentions of colonisation, these early novels both paint Canada as a place in which to sojourn rather than to settle.

While the vast majority of intermarriages in Canadian texts concern French and British partners, a minority deal with unions with the First Nations or Americans. Unlike unions between French and English-Canadians, such marriages could be read as either positively or negatively effecting society. Their nonfictional counterparts carried with them a host of both legal and cultural issues. In the 1790s, Isaac Weld referred disparagingly to the common intermarriage between *habitants* and First Nations, and noted a corresponding lack of unions with the British.¹⁷ Acts passed in mid-century, and the Indian Act of 1876, would ensure that marriage to anyone other than a fellow native would act as 'a primary mechanism of involuntary enfranchisement [loss of First Nation status] for Aboriginal women' while any white woman who married a native would themselves become legally aboriginal.¹⁸ Reflecting such social attitudes, and anticipating such legislation, the novels and short stories of Major Richardson engage in openly failed marriage plots between Euro-Canadians and First Nations or Americans. In Richardson's hands such unions are

¹⁷ Isaac Weld, junior, *Travels through the States of North America, and the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, during the Years 1795, 1796, and 1797*, 4th edn (London: John Stockdale, 1900), pp. 315-316. Sylvia Van Kirk, however, notes that the historical record does not necessarily bear out such claims. See Van Kirk, 'From "Marrying-In" to "Marrying-Out": Changing Patterns of Aboriginal/Non-Marriage in Colonial Canada', *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*, 23:3 (2002): 1-11, *Project MUSE* [accessed 24 March 2013], p. 2.

¹⁸ Debra Thompson, Nation and Miscegenation: Comparing Anti-Miscegenation Regulations in North America, Canadian Political Science Association 80th Annual Conference 4-6 June 2008 <<http://www.cpsa-acsp.ca/papers-2008/Thompson.pdf>> [accessed 16 March 2013], pp. 10-11, 13.

sterile, or, in an inversion of Celtic concepts of legitimising rule through marriage to the land, the British colonial male never contemplates marriage to the First Nations representative of the continent. While she may long for it, he sees no legitimising force in such a union.¹⁹ This attitude also aligns with Richardson's repeated assertions that the First Nations were a race on the edge of extinction, pushed to the margins by white expansion. Through their desire for unification, his native characters actively (if unintentionally) contribute to the ultimate destruction of their people. Richardson's French Canadians, on the other hand, while excluded from any marriage plots and concepts of union, are also able to maintain their identity and culture.

In *Wacousta*, Frederick de Haldimar, his cousin Madeline, and the Ottawa Oucanasta form a doomed love triangle. Oucanasta, hopelessly in love with Frederick, nevertheless accepts that 'an Indian girl could never hope to be the wife of a handsome chief of the Saganaw' even as she saves both him and his family (1832 II 184-85). Oucanasta's reward for her loyalty and aid is survival into a virginal middle age, in which she and her brother cosset and teach First Nations customs to de Haldimar's offspring, a fate which ensures Ottawa culture may survive, even if the people do not (1832 III 371). In *The Canadian Brothers* (1840), the thoroughly corrupt Matilda Montgomerie, representative of America, seduces, but does not wed, the Canadian Gerald Grantham, as Rothenburger notes.²⁰ Grantham's escape mirrors Canada's military success. Two of Richardson's short stories, 'Ampata! A Tale of Lake George' and 'Captain Leslie; or, The Generous Foe' also make use of a failed marriage plot to present both the destruction of native culture and national distinctions between Canada and the United States.

'Ampata!' first published in the New York *Sunday Mercury* in 1852, returns to the Canada of 1755. In this tale, the eponymous Ampata, much like Oucanasta, is a First Nations girl who sacrifices her personal happiness, and later her life, to return Major Mordaunt, the British officer with whom she is infatuated, to his white lover, Almira. Richardson constructs Ampata as an Oriental beauty: seventeen years old, of 'a bright copper colour,' and possessed of 'eyes [...] that] would remind one of the famed beauties of the east'.²¹ A North American odalisque, she is introduced 'reclining on a couch of sweet scented herbs, covered with skins' (*Short Stories* 60). Time in Quebec, moreover, has

¹⁹ This view would change in the late nineteenth century, when the Indian Office considered intermarriage as the best way to integrate First Nations and settler-Canadian society.

²⁰ Sunnie Rothenburger, 'Beyond the Marriage Metaphor: Nation, Violence, and the Fallen Woman in *The Canadian Brothers*', *Studies in Canadian Literature*, 33:1 (2008): 1-25 <<http://journals.hil.unb.ca/index.php/SCL/article/view/11207>> [accessed 20 October 2011], p. 17.

²¹ John Richardson, 'Ampata! A Tale of Lake George,' in *Major Richardson's Short Stories*, ed. by David R. Beasley (Penticton, BC: Theytus Books, 1985), pp. 53-80, p. 60.

provided her with a grasp of the French language (*Short Stories* 61). Ampata's description, which associates her with not only Oriental sensuality but also the gothicised Catholicism of French Canada, is somewhat at odds with the virtuous Almira, who had 'foresake[n] [sic] the comforts of a home in England, for the wilds of America' out of filial duty (*Short Stories* 55). Yet Ampata is also an innocent, the 'child of nature' in Mordaunt's eyes (*Short Stories* 64).

Mordaunt's European virtues lead Ampata to prefer his company to that of her own people. When she confesses her love to Mordaunt, however, she shows an innate understanding of the problematic situation: her fantasies revolve not around open intermarriage, but a life of complete isolation in the wilderness, cut off from both Huron and British society (65). Neither could be fully accepted by the other's world. When gently rebuffed by Mordaunt, she accepts, in the manner of Oucanasta, 'a poor Indian maid' and 'The great white chief' are not a match and helps to ensure his escape (*Short Stories* 66). Unlike Oucanasta, Ampata cannot survive into a sexless old age. Instead, she is wounded during a raid for Mordaunt's sake, cut down by the tomahawks of her own community (*Short Stories* 77). The First Nations maid dies in the British camp, her wound staunched by the uniform coat of a 'dead [British] soldier,' pronouncing a benediction on Mordaunt (*Short Stories* 78, 80). The First Nations threat is countered—Ampata lives on only in memory, while Mordaunt and Almira marry and settle in New York. Ampata's acceptance by and symbolic inclusion within British culture can come only as she lies dying, and, presumably, rejected by the Hurons.

'Captain Leslie' takes on a different version of the failed marriage plot, examining the relationship between the wounded and dying Scottish Captain Leslie, son of the Earl of Leven, and his nurse, the American Matilda Clarendon. Richardson describes how Leslie 'removed from his little finger a brilliant, which he placed on her wedding finger' (*Short Stories* 93). This declaration of intent can go no further, for the next day Matilda 'saw borne to the silent tomb the remains of him [...] who, had God spared him, might have been her husband, even although the foe of her native land' (*Short Stories* 94). Leslie's death neatly precludes any treasonous action on Matilda's part, but unlike in the other texts, both parties consider it an option. The very feasibility of such a marriage makes Leslie's death inevitable. 'Captain Leslie,' while it portrays those on both sides of the conflict favourably, also ensures that the union between Briton and American can never come to fruition. The two countries must remain separate.

While Richardson was publishing his stories for an American audience, Catherine Parr Traill was at work on *Canadian Crusoes: A Tale of the Rice Lake Plains* (1852), a juvenile novel that draws heavily on the concept of national and cultural union within

Canada. The novel's plot concerns a group of cousins, the children of emigrants, who lose their way and must emulate the colonising behaviours of their parents in order to survive. Traill's text, like *The Canadian Brothers*, shifts its focus from the emigrant generation to those who were born in the colony and thus can claim a Canadian identity first and foremost.

Although Traill relied on contemporary source material, she deliberately cast her tale as a historical novel, set in the years directly following the Conquest. A Highland soldier, Duncan Maxwell, wounded 'in the famous battle of Quebec' weds his French-Canadian nurse, 'though a foreigner and an enemy' (*Crusoes* 3). Their children, raised in the backwoods alongside their French-Canadian cousins, easily straddle the cultures of both parents: the text's heroine, Catherine Maxwell, is introduced singing 'snatches of some old mountain song, such as she had learned from her father' and then 'some gay French tune' (12). Depictions of Catherine throughout the text emphasise her positive qualities, primarily those associated with the Scots: industry, courage, and tenacity (149). Her marriage to her dreamy, 'giddy' cousin Louis Perron at the close of the novel re-enacts her parents' union (28).

Traill's text not only stresses the importance of reconciliation and union between British and French communities in Canada, but also between settler society and First Nations, and between warring First Nations groups. Like Oucanasta and her American counterpart Magawiska, the Mohawk Indiana employs her knowledge of the land and its inhabitants to aid white settlers. Rather than being discarded after she has been of use, however, Traill's native girl is accepted into settler society. Indiana's introduction to the adult Maxwells—and thus wider society—with Hector Maxwell 'half-leading, half-carrying' her to his father directly parallels her introduction to the titular *Crusoes*, 'half-led, half-carried' on Hector's arm after being saved from death at the hands of the Ojebwas [sic], descriptions which emphasise cooperation, but also her dependence (164, 348).

When they first encounter the Mohawk girl, the children rename her Indiana, after a 'negress,' a decision that underscores her foreign nature—and therefore her assumed inferiority (173). This construction of the First Nations character as alien is furthered by references to her 'Eastern' behaviour (180). Indiana, as a biddable and exotic female, thus carries associations of the Oriental feminine. She is, moreover, the 'last living remnant' of her tribe (228), a deliberate reference to the trope of the disappearing native. Such characterisations emphasise the perceived gulf between European and aboriginal characters, and establish Indiana herself as less of a character than a conglomeration of clichés. Despite this, it is Indiana's knowledge of First Nations culture, and her pride as a female 'brave,' that allows the Maxwell children to enter into a 'covenant of peace and

good-will' with the Ojebwa and to establish peace between that tribe and Indiana herself, as the sole survivor of the enemy Mohawks (201, 331). Following this reconciliation, Indiana rejects an offer to wed an Ojebwa and returns to the camp with Catherine (341). Indiana at this point ceases to be viewed purely in terms of her utility or as Other. Hector admires her precisely for her First Nations attributes, particularly her 'acts of heroism' (341). Although Indiana, already a convert to Christianity, must be baptised before they wed, her absorption into European society need not be total. Just as the Maxwell children appear to combine the positive aspects of both French and British cultures, Traill implies that the coming generation will do the same with the First Nations and the Europeans. This anticipates a growing trend in late nineteenth-century Canadian historical novels, which '[attempt] to include the native heritage of wilderness skill and adaptation to the Canadian climate within their national identity [...] by including characters and marriages of mixed race'.²²

Despite Traill's narrative of union, she proves unable to discard racial stereotypes. The *habitant* Louis is consistently described as a dreamer and somewhat feckless, and his irresponsibility is the catalyst for the children's misfortune (39-40). The First Nations, meanwhile, appear as primitives capable of cannibalism and extreme cruelty (207-210, 299). In contrast, the Highlander Duncan Maxwell is 'stern, steady, persevering, cautious', and his children take after him (5). Traill describes this rising generation as industrious and speaks with approval of the 'lively intelligent Canadian girl' (172). The text's illustrations make use of national costume to emphasise differences within the group. Hector is always clad in a kilt, while his cousin Louis resembles a typical *habitant*. Indiana presents an interesting case. On her first introductions, she seems alien in costume and appearance. Future illustrations, however, reveal that even in that first image she is depicted with less of the obvious indicators of First Nations identity Harvey bestows on fellow native characters. By the final image, Indiana is indistinguishable from the Maxwells. She appears truly hybridised. Despite Traill's somewhat fluctuating considerations of race and ethnicity, the Maxwells, as children of a racially, if not religiously, mixed marriage, are portrayed as eminently capable. As a group, the children build a series of homes from 'wigwam' to farm, 're-enact[ing] a narrative of cultural evolution,' that clearly progresses through the stages of civilisation.²³ Rather than falling into the existing stadial hierarchy, however, Hector, Catherine, Louis and Indiana work through the different stages together.

²² Elizabeth Hedler, 'Stories of Canada: National Identity in Late-Nineteenth-Century English-Canadian Fiction,' unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Maine, 2003, p. 193.

²³ Andrew O'Malley, 'Island Homemaking: Catharine Parr Traill's *Canadian Crusoes* and the Robinsonade Tradition,' in *Home Words: Discourses of Children's Literature in Canada*, ed. by Mavis Reimer (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2008), pp. 67-86, p. 80.

Canadian Crusoes thus opens a space for the re-inscription of a new, unified national identity over the previously divided one.

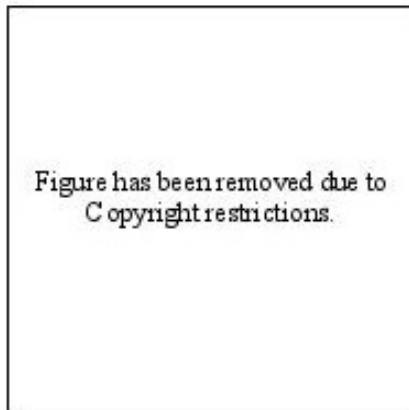


Figure 14: Harvey, 'Hector Rescuing the Indian Girl,' in Catherine Parr Traill, *Canadian Crusoes: A Tale of the Rice Lake Plains*, ed. by Agnes Strickland, (London: Arthur Hall, Virtue & Co, 1852)

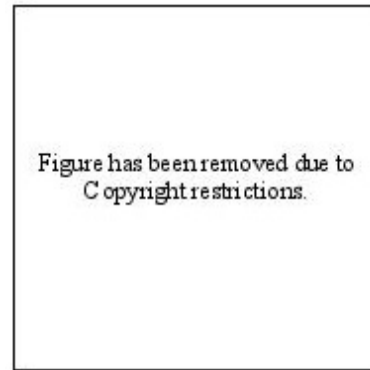


Figure 15: Harvey, 'Return Home,' in Catherine Parr Traill, *Canadian Crusoes: A Tale of the Rice Lake Plains*, ed. by Agnes Strickland, (London: Arthur Hall, Virtue & Co, 1852)

While Indiana's garb remains unchanged, her appearance in the second image is not discernibly native; she is indistinguishable from the others. This outward change in appearance mirrors her character arc.

Having established a national history, Traill also endeavours to stress the text's authenticity through the use of paratexts and local history. She makes use of copious footnotes and appendices in order to support her tale and to provide her British audience with a more realistic sense of her Canadian setting. Traill's use of paratexts indicates some level of involvement with the usual trappings of the national tale. Unlike a number of early Canadian historical novels, Traill's intended audience was outwith the colonies. Agnes Strickland's preface specifically targets a juvenile audience, particularly recommending the novel to future colonists (ix-x). One note, describing 'the Canadian partridge' directs 'young readers to the finely arranged specimens at the British Museum (open to the public)' (n. 37). The audience, then, is explicitly assumed to be in the mother country. Elaine Freedgood notes that paratexts like this also create 'ruptures' within the text, and draw attention to the wider colonial framework.²⁴ Traill's choice of title, explicitly marking the text as a Robinsonade, associates her juvenile novel with the 'part do-it-yourself guide and part ideological blueprint for establishing colonies' utility of *Robinson*

²⁴ Elaine Freedgood, 'Fictional Settlements: Footnotes, Metalepsis, the Colonial Effect', *New Literary History*, 41:2 (Spring 2010): 393-411, p. 399, 404.

Crusoe.²⁵ While Traill advocates a new, unified concept of Canadian history and identity, then, she addresses it not to present Canadians but to future colonists. *Canadian Crusoes* proved popular both in Britain and America, and so likely had good circulation within Canada, but it did not enjoy a Canadian edition.²⁶ Traill's novel, then, represents a deliberate effort to cultivate a sense of national identity as predicted in Lord Durham's *Report*, through a focus on British immigration and the assimilation and integration of both French-Canadians and First Nations into a nascent, British-identified, population.

5.3 Reworking Walter Scott: French Canadian Historical Novels

While Anglo-Canadians were constructing narratives of assimilation and union, French Canadians were also embarking on a flurry of literary activity. One of Durham's pronouncements in 1839 was the opinion that French Canadians were 'a people with no history and no literature' (132). The province's inhabitants, nettled by this barb, immediately set out to prove him wrong. The years following the *Report*'s publication saw the establishment of literary and historical societies and periodicals in Canada East, and an explosion of histories, novels, and collections of poetry and legend, as well as Garneau's magisterial *L'Histoire du Canada*, a text which celebrated French Canadian virtue and valour (1840-1852).²⁷ Among the products of this were the French-Canadian historical novels of the pre-Confederation period. While Anglo-Canadians attempted to construct a coherent and inclusive account of the Province's history, their francophone counterparts busied themselves with cultivating an overtly national account of Lower Canadian history.

Despite this, French Canadians relied on tropes and methods taken from Scott and the national tales. Just as Durham had compared his proposed union with the British Acts of Union, Franco-Canadians saw a further parallel—one between Scott's tales of imperial union and the union of the seigneurial French Canada and Anglo-Canada. The popular mania for Scott's novels did not bypass Quebec; periodicals carried excerpts and reviews of his work from the early years of the nineteenth century. Pirated and imported copies

²⁵ Bill Overton, 'Countering "Crusoe": two colonial narratives', *Critical Survey*, 4:3 (1992): 302-310, p. 302.

²⁶ For publication history, see Rupert Schieder, 'Editor's Introduction,' *Canadian Crusoes: A Tale of the Rice Lake Plains*, ed. by Schieder, CEECT 2 (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, [1986], 1995), xvii-lv.

²⁷ Joseph MacNamara provides a detailed examination of Garneau's influence on later French Canadian historical novels. See MacNamara, 'Fact or Fiction: *L'Histoire du Canada* and its Impact on French Canadian Novels,' unpublished masters thesis, Concordia University, 1993, pp. 63-89.

could be found in English almost as soon as they were published in Britain, and almost all of the novels were easily available in translation by mid-century.²⁸ While Scott's novels were popular throughout the century, critics including Andrea Cabajsky have noted that a plagiarised and thinly veiled version of *Kenilworth* (1821), published serially in *Le Nouveau monde* by Frédéric Houde as *Le manoir mystérieux*, in 1880, went apparently unnoticed until 1914.²⁹ Scott was extremely popular, and, as David M. Hayne puts it, 'in spite of the fact that French-Canadian historical fiction was encouraged by a growing sense of national identity, it was to an English model that the early novelists turned' (165).

Philippe-Ignace Aubert de Gaspé, publishing *L'influence d'un livre*, 'le premier roman de mœurs canadien' in 1837, insisted that Lower Canada and its inhabitants were a fit subject for a novel despite the difficulties posed because 'Le Canada, pays vierge, encore dans son enfance, n'offre aucun de ces grands caractères marqués, qui ont fourni un champ si vaste au génie des romanciers de la vieille Europe'.³⁰ His narrator invokes 'Le rusé Dousterswivel' of Scott's *The Antiquary* (1816) as an analogue of the alchemist hero Charles Armand, but one who endeavours to find riches not 'dans les ruines des monastères' but 'sur les rives des lacs, dans les cavernes les plus sombres et au fond de la mer' (89). The ruins of Europe—and the past with which they are associated—are replaced by the landscape of Lower Canada. Although primarily a novel of manners, Aubert de Gaspé's text 'est historique comme son titre l'annonce' and celebrates the country, depicting *habitant* superstition and folklore in a manner reminiscent of Scott's antiquarian tendencies (iii-iv). Aubert de Gaspé establishes a tradition of French-Canadian letters on which future authors could build.

In 1846-1847, Pierre-Joseph-Olivier Chauveau published his novel *Charles Guérin: roman de mœurs canadiennes* anonymously in the *Album littéraire et musical de la revue canadienne*. The text follows the conventions of the *roman du terroir*.³¹ Set in the recent past of the 1820s, the novel examines the fortunes of the heir to a *seigneurie* whose

²⁸ David M. Hayne, 'The Historical Novel and French Canada,' unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Ottawa, 1945, pp. 70-71.

²⁹ Andrea Cabajsky, 'Plagiarizing Sir Walter Scott: The Afterlife of *Kenilworth* in Victorian Quebec,' *Novel: A Forum on Fiction*, 44:3 (Autumn 2011): 354-81, p. 355.

³⁰ Ph[ilippe-Ignace]. A[ubert]. de Gaspé, junr, *L'influence d'un livre. Roman historique* (Quebec: William Cowan et fils, 1837), p. iv.

³¹ The genre developed primarily from Patrice Lacombe's 1846 *La Terre paternelle*, and remained in vogue for nearly a century. The *roman du terroir* focuses on the importance of agriculture and the land to French-Canadian identity, as emigration and industrialisation were thought to lead to the loss of both Catholic faith and the French language. See Mireille Servais-Maquoi, *Le roman de la terre au Québec* (Quebec City: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1974).

unfortunate entanglement with an Anglo-Canadian loses him his birthright.³² Chauveau's text openly condemns the consequences of attempting to unify French and English Canadians. In recovering from his fall, rather than emigrate, Guérin proposes to build a community where his people will not be exploited, but 'nous ferons une nouvelle paroisse et nous la modèlerons d'après nos goûts' (339). Like other *romans du terroir*, the text portrays the establishment of a new French-Canadian society as the best method of cultural survival. The novel was republished in book form—this time under Chauveau's name—in 1853, indicating on-going interest. If Aubert de Gaspé had attempted to preserve folk tradition, Chauveau's text foregrounded concepts of cultural survival.

While such texts helped to establish the fledgling French-Canadian novel tradition, the first French-Canadian historical novel took a more practical approach. Philippe-Joseph Aubert de Gaspé, last *seigneur* of Saint-Jean-Port-Joli and father of the author of *L'influence d'un livre*, was descended from a hero of 1759 on his father's side, and Madeline des Vercheres on his mother's.³³ Although a staunch supporter of the old system, Aubert de Gaspé married Suzanne Allison, daughter of the Protestant Justice of the Peace, and served as official translator to the Governor General in 1812 and Sheriff of Quebec until 1822 (Curran 22-24). Forced by insolvency to leave Quebec and return to Saint-Jean-Port-Joli, Aubert de Gaspé was imprisoned in 1838, and remained there until 1841. In later years, Aubert de Gaspé's membership in L'Institut Canadien du Québec led to his involvement with the growing Quebec literary movement and brought him into the sphere of Casgrain and Garneau, among others. Aware of Aubert de Gaspé's interest in and knowledge of local history, they encouraged him to write his memoirs. *Les Soirees canadiennes* brought out two excerpts from de Gaspé's writing in 1861, both later included in *Les anciens canadiens*. Aubert de Gaspé published what is generally acknowledged as the first French Canadian historical novel, *Les Anciens canadiens*, in 1863. Aubert de Gaspé indicates that the blame for his novel belongs to:

sur quelques-uns de nos meilleurs littérateurs, qui m'ont prié de ne rien omettre sur les mœurs des anciens Canadiens. 'Ce qui paraîtra insignifiant et puéril aux yeux des étrangers, me disaient-ils, ne laissera pas d'intéresser les vrais Canadiens, dans la chronique d'un septuagénaire, né vingt-huit ans seulement après la conquête de la Nouvelle-France.'³⁴

³² Pierre J. O. Chauveau, *Charles Guérin: roman de mœurs canadiennes* (Montreal: John Lovell, 1853), CIHM no. 48457, p. 23.

³³ Verna Isabel Curran, 'Philippe Joseph Aubert de Gaspé: His Life and Works,' unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Toronto, 1957, p. 11.

³⁴ Philippe Aubert de Gaspé, *Les anciens canadiens* (Quebec: Desbarats et Derbishire, 1863), p. 7.

Scott's influence is clear throughout *Les anciens canadiens*. Aubert de Gaspé's novel aims to articulate the history of his country while also preserving its legends and way of life in a manner reminiscent of Scott's project. While Roy tempers Casgrain's claims that Aubert de Gaspé translated all of the Waverley novels for his own use, he would certainly have been familiar with them, as they were widely available in Montreal.³⁵ Aubert de Gaspé's construction of the *habitant* peasants, in particular, seems to draw on Scott's model. The d'Haberville family's garrulous servant José, who acts as a vehicle for Aubert de Gaspé's insertion of French Canadian legends and songs into the text, is explicitly described as 'Semblable au Caleb Balderstone, de Walter Scott, dans sa "Bride of Lammermoor," il était très-sensible à tout ce qu'il croyait toucher à l'honneur de son maître' (37). Aubert de Gaspé's reference to *Lammermoor* here is telling; as Sherry Simon notes, there are similarities in plot structure and the use of 'internal translation.'³⁶ In *Lammermoor*, moreover, Scott flags dialogue as an indication of character. Aubert de Gaspé's choice to represent José as the only character who consistently uses a local dialect, adds an additional element of interest. He becomes the archetypal *habitant*.

Other touches also show Scott's influence. The d'Haberville family's habit of naming all dogs Niger is compared to 'fermier Detmont de Walter Scott' and his Pepper (329-330). This is clearly a reference to Dandie Dinmont of *Guy Mannering* (1815). Raoul d'Haberville's scholarly bent and tendency to lard his sentences with Latin tags is reminiscent of Erasmus Holiday of *Kenilworth*, but also of Jonathan Oldbuck and the Baron of Bradwardine. The elderly madwoman, Marie, 'la sorcière du domaine,' who prophesies the destruction of New France, carries echoes of Meg Merrilies when she warns Jules against 'les plaines d'Abraham' and counsels Archie:

Garde ta pitié pour toi, Archibald de Locheill: la folle du domaine n'a pas besoin de ta pitié! garde-là pour toi et tes amis! garde-là pour toi-même lorsque contraint d'exécuter un ordre barbare, tu déchireras avec tes ongles cette poitrine qui recouvre pourtant un cœur noble et généreux! Garde ta pitié pour tes amis, ô Archibald de Locheill! lorsque tu promèneras la torche incendiaire sur leurs paisibles habitations: lorsque les vieillards, les infirmes, les femmes et les enfants fuiront devant toi comme les brebis à l'approche d'un loup furieux! Garde la pitié; tu en auras besoin lorsque tu porteras dans les bras le corps sanglant de celui que tu appelles ton frère! Je n'éprouve, à présent, qu'une grande douleur, ô Archibald de Locheill! c'est celle de ne pouvoir te maudire! Malheur! Malheur! Malheur! (155, 158).

This prophecy, ignored as the ravings of a madwoman, comes to haunt Archie.

³⁵ Pierre-Georges Roy, *A travers les Anciens Canadiens de Philippe Aubert de Gaspé* (Montreal: G. Ducharme, 1943), pp. 204-205.

³⁶ Sherry Simon, 'The True Quebec as Revealed to English Canada: Translated Novels, 1864-1950,' *Canadian Literature*, 117 (Summer 1988): 31-43, p. 37.

An epigraph to chapter twelve quotes the two stanzas of ‘The Border Widow’s Lament’ as sung by Davie Gellatley in *Waverley* (Aubert de Gaspé 200; *Waverley* III 226-27). In Scott’s novel, Waverley hears the song as he returns to find Tully-Veolan ravaged by the war. Gellatley’s lament for a ruined home here introduces the chapter in which Archie, forced by the dictates of honour to obey his superior officers, is forced to set fire to the homes of the *habitants*, including that of the d’Haberville family. While the epigraph agrees with the tone of the chapter as a whole, it also introduces an element of irony. ‘The Border Widow’s Lament’ is deployed in a situation where it is a Highland Scot who causes the depredations.

A similarly ironic use of poetry occurs in Archie’s quotation of Macpherson at a crucial point, as he stands on a hill, gazing at the home he has been ordered to burn. At last, he ‘répéta, en soupirant, avec le poète écossais: “*Solma [sic], thy halls are silent. There is no Sound in the woods of Morven. The wave tumbles alone on the coast. The silent beam of the sun is on the field*”’ (207). Switching to French, ‘l’idiome qu’il affectionnait,’ Archie then apostrophises his absent friends, describing in a suitably Ossianic tone the silent rooms, dying echoes, dim sun, and murmuring waves of Saint-Jean-Port-Joli (207). Archie’s use of the opening of ‘Lathmon’ recalls the events of the poem: ‘Lathmon, [...] made a descent on Morven, and advanced within sight of Selma, the royal residence. Fingal arrived in the mean time, and Lathmon retreated to a hill, where his army was surprised by night, and himself taken prisoner.’³⁷ In repeating the words of the bard, and adapting them for his own situation, Archie takes on the guise of Ossian. In this instance, however, he is also the invading Lathmon. Aubert de Gaspé’s hero hopes for a reprieve—capture would ensure he need not betray the d’Habervilles. Unfortunately for Archie, the person who interrupts his musings is not an enemy, but his commanding officer, who enforces the decree.

While Scott’s use of extensive explanatory notes served to emphasise the antiquarian nature of Scott and his fictional editors throughout the *Waverley* novels, in Aubert de Gaspé’s hands they introduce a subversive narrative into what is already a self-confessedly antiquarian text. Although primarily concerned with providing historical detail, documenting Aubert de Gaspé’s sources, or, as in his inclusion of the legend of La Corriveau, the acknowledgement of deliberate anachronism, the notes also voice a more pointed critique of the British and of Protestantism than is found in the body of the novel. The notes thus introduce a dialogic element into the text. Although included in Georgiana

³⁷ [James Macpherson], ‘Lathmon; A Poem,’ in *Fingal, an Ancient Epic Poem, in Six Books: Together with Several Other Poems, Composed by Ossian the Son of Fingal* (London: T. Becket and P. A. de Hondt, 1762), 228-240, ECCO [accessed 5 May 2013], p. 228.

M. Pennê's 1864 translation, *The Canadians of Old*, Thomas Guthrie Marquis's republication of the Pennê translation as *Seigneur d'Haberville: A Romance of the Fall of New France* (1929) cut a number of the paratexts. Sir Charles G. D. Roberts' well-known translation, both under its original title of *Canadians of Old* (1890) and later as *Cameron of Lochiel* (1905), omitted the notes completely. While de Gaspé's work indicates clear respect for Scott as an author, he employs many of Scott's tricks and similarities in presentation in order to destabilise issues of union within the text.

Of particular note is Aubert de Gaspé's careful distinction between the English and the Scots. 'Archibald Cameron of Locheill, fils d'un chef de clan des montagnes d'Ecosse et d'une française', is consistently described as Scottish, rather than British (16).³⁸ He is the son of a Jacobite, and his conquered status is seen to pain him (17, 51). At one point, he even warns the d'Habervilles to 'défiez-vous des Anglais' (187). Upon reaching adulthood, however, Archie 'fait sa paix avec le gouvernement britannique, était rentré dans sa patrie et avait obtenu une lieutenance dans un régiment recruté par lui-même parmi son *clan* de montagnards écossais' (203). Following his enlistment, Archie does appear to change his thinking and identify with the English at times, and terrified *habitant* children refer to him as 'Monsieur l'Anglais' (202, 204). Nevertheless, in accepting his commission with the English, Archie is also forced to act against the dictates of his conscience. When Jules allies himself with the British sovereign following the Conquest, he places himself in the same situation (348). Both characters are forced to align themselves and undergo some process of assimilation.

Aubert de Gaspé, in his guise as narrator, generally draws a distinction between the enemy 'Anglais,' and the acceptable 'Ecosais' (202). Aubert de Gaspé also admits that the Scots, unlike the Irish, have in the present come to accept their position as 'partie intégrale, maintenant, d'un des plus puissants empires de l'univers, n'a pas eu lieu de déplorer sa défaite. [...] les Ecosais, jouissent en paix de leur prospérité.' (17-18). Aubert de Gaspé's choice of a Scottish protagonist is drawn partially from his family history, but also appears influenced by the parallels between the Scots and the Canadiens as conquered peoples. Aubert de Gaspé's Scots have become an integral part of the British empire; given no better option, French-Canadians too should strive for a similar place.

While the traditional marriage plot is disrupted by Blanche d'Haberville's refusal to wed a conqueror and 'donner l'exemple d'un double joug aux nobles filles du Canada', her

³⁸ See 6.3, p. 189 for a brief consideration of the implications of Lochiel's name and allegiance.

brother Jules feels no such compunctions (387).³⁹ Indeed, Blanche approves of Jules' plans, explaining that his martial exploits on behalf of France remove any stigma such a mixed marriage might entail, and assuring him that 'tu as payé noblement ta dette à la patrie, et tu peux te passer la fantaisie d'épouser une fille d'Albion!' (387). Such intermingling, in fact, is seen to be positive in light of the need for future cooperation:

Il est naturel, il est même à souhaiter que les races française et anglo-saxonne, ayant maintenant une même patrie, vivant sous les mêmes lois, après des haines, après des luttes séculaires, se rapprochent par des alliances intimes (387).

Jules duly imports an English wife, who is assigned generic positive qualities and is remarkable primarily for pouring tea for José: as Aubert de Gaspé's paratexts disclose, 'Les anciens Canadiens détestaient le thé' (n.410). As Dieter Meindl remarks, '[t]he novel, while explicitly promoting intercultural relations, scores a French-Canadian victory in the domain of marriage.'⁴⁰ The text ends with pensive young Arché d'Haberville, Lochiell's namesake, being praised by his father as 'Tu es bien le fils de ta mère, et le digne filleul de ton parrain' (357). Similarly, Uncle Raoul sees in him 'le bouillant courage des d'Haberville, avec la ténacité et l'indépendance des fiers insulaires dont il est issu par sa mère' (357). Though raised as the heir of a diminished *seigneurie*, Arché nevertheless is also valued for combining the best aspects of French and British national characters.

While Acadian and *habitant* society were distinct, following the publication of Longfellow's *Evangeline* (1846), a number of authors from Quebec found new inspiration in the Acadian Expulsions of the previous century. The British, in an attempt to quell Acadian support for the French during the Seven Years' War, deported the Acadian population of the maritime provinces, breaking up families and communities and resulting in a diaspora population in both France and America. The first Lower Canadian author to utilise the Expulsion was Dr Charles de Guise, of Kamoraska, who published *La cap au diable: Légende canadienne* in 1863.⁴¹ De Guise's novella examines the fortunes of a family separated by the destruction of Acadia. The text employs the embodied landscape of the national tale, reflecting the madness of Mme St Aubine, who believes her family dead. Although primarily a Gothic text, de Guise's text is also interesting in its treatment of

³⁹ Aubert de Gaspé provides a historical footnote regarding 'Une demoiselle canadienne, dont je tairai le nom, refusa, dans de semblables circonstances, la main d'un riche officier écossais de l'armée du général Wolfe.' (n. 407)

⁴⁰ Dieter Meindl, 'North American Novels About the Seven Years' War: Comparing Cooper, John Richardson, and Aubert de Gaspé', in *North American Encounters: Essays in U.S. and English and French Canadian Literature and Culture*, Erlanger Studien zur Anglistik und Amerikanistik Bd. 3 (Münster /Hamburg/London: LIT Verlag, 2002), pp. 95-107, p. 106.

⁴¹ Ch[arle]s. deGuise, M.D., *La cap au diable: Légende canadienne* ([Ste Ann de la Pocatière]: Firmin H. Proulx, 1863), CIHM no. 23046.

history. The novella includes multiple bitter recriminations against the English, calling the Expulsion an act motivated by ‘l’orgueil britannique’ (9), and lamented as ‘les Anglais avaient accompli leur acte odieux de vandalisme et d’implacable vengeance!’ (13). When it comes to the actual events, de Guise prefers not to meddle with the details. Instead, he quotes long sections from respected historians. The Expulsion, therefore, appears so traumatic that it is ‘unnarratable’ (Cabajsky *Unsettled Remains* 13).

A different treatment is found in the work of Napoléon Bourassa, son-in-law of Louis-Joseph Papineau. His *Jacques et Marie: souvenir d’un peuple dispersé* first appeared in the *Revue canadienne* in 1865-1866. Like de Guise, Bourassa chose to focus on the Acadian expulsion. His chosen title makes a specific claim, reinforced by the immediate comparison of the Acadians to the scattered Trojans in his Preface, equating ‘victimes des Grecs ou des Anglais’.⁴² The reference to the Trojans recalls both Virgil’s *Aeneid* and those texts, like Longfellow’s *Evangeline*, which paralleled the classical epic with the situation of the Acadians. To certain readers, such a parallel might also have echoed Jacobite sympathies, particularly as expressed by Scott’s Baron of Bradwardine in *Waverley*.⁴³ The *Aeneid* had acted as a ‘stable code’ for Jacobites since the late seventeenth century.⁴⁴ As such, the *Aeneid* already carried associations with a community displaced by the British government. Such allusions emphasise the cultural devastation involved in the Expulsion. Unlike the conquered *habitants* who still enjoy their communities, albeit under British control, the Acadians have been deliberately scattered. Bourassa recalls a childhood in which ‘je me rappelle seulement avoir vu les enfants de l’exil’ (6). Bourassa effectively ‘dit en prose que ce Longfellow avait raconté en vers’.⁴⁵ The plot itself follows a similar plan of separation and reconciliation, although Bourassa’s tendency to linger on grotesque imagery is more evocative of Major Richardson than Longfellow. Of particular notice however, is Bourassa’s complete rejection of the prospect of union and the future under British rule within the world of the novel.

⁴² Napoléon Bourassa, *Jacques et Marie: souvenir d’un peuple dispersé* (Montreal: Eusebe Senecal, 1866), p. 5.

⁴³ See Bruce Stovel, ‘Waverley and the Aeneid: Scott’s Art of Allusion,’ in *Jane Austen & Company: Collected Essays*, ed. by Nora Foster Stovel (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2011), pp. 55-74; and Chris Ann Matteo, ‘Spolia from Troy: Classical Epic Allusion in Walter Scott’s *Waverley*,’ *Literary Imagination*, 9:3 (2007): 250-269, *Oxford Journals* [accessed 14 May 2013], for a consideration of Bradwardine’s allusions.

⁴⁴ Murray G. H. Pittock, ‘James Macpherson and Jacobite Code’, in *From Gaelic to Romantic: Ossianic Translations*, ed. by Fiona Stafford and Howard Gaskill (Amsterdam/Atlanta: Rodopi, 1998), pp. 41-58, p. 47.

⁴⁵ Leon Theriault, ‘L’Acadie des 1736 à 1990, synthèse historique,’ in *L’Acadie des Maritimes*, ed. by Jean Daigle (Moncton: Université de Moncton, 1993), pp. 45-92, p. 55.

Jacques et Marie, like *Les anciens canadiens*, includes a French-Canadian girl being offered the hand of a British (Scottish) soldier. Cabajsky traces the parallels between the experience of Horatio in *The Wild Irish Girl* and Lt Gordon in *Jacques et Marie* (Transatlantic 82-83). Bourassa's text, however, not only rejects the possibility of British-Acadian union, but even that of co-existence. Unlike Blanche d'Haberville, Marie Landry cannot live in peace with the beloved enemy. She flatly refuses Lieutenant George Gordon's suit, telling her father 'J'aurais dû pourtant penser, [...], que vous n'accepteriez pas cet échange de votre petite fille contre votre liberté, cette alliance étrangère, cet isolement honteux dans le malheur commun' (176). Marie would prefer deportation to such a union. The proposed intercultural marriage would be a betrayal of the entire community, and Gordon must be rejected in favour of an Acadian bridegroom. Maurice Lemire interprets this overt rejection of the standard marriage plot as French-Canadian 'revanche psychologique'.⁴⁶ While Aubert de Gaspé's novel is ultimately in favour of reconciliation and looks to the future, Bourassa can barely bring himself to have Landry forgive the English prior to his death (296). As Bourassa remarks that just as Virgil 'a chanté [...] les origines merveilleuses de Rome; moi, je vais narrer celles de mon village,' the novel is not only concerned with considerations of nationality generally, but specifically an origin story for the community (8).⁴⁷ Bourassa's project thus flatly denies the possibility of union. The French-Canadian texts, although they make use of similar literary models to those used by anglophone authors, have a fundamentally opposed attitude to integration. Even Aubert de Gaspé views intercultural unions as a necessity for survival, rather than a positive outcome. While Scott's historical novels aimed to create a narrative of union, French-Canadians familiar with his work apply the same techniques to undercut the possibility in their own.

While the difference in orientation between francophone and anglophone authors and audiences appears vast, it was not insurmountable. A number of texts were translated for a wider readership, and in some cases, these translations became more popular than their originals. One author of such texts was Rosanna Mullins Leprohon, who had a foot in both worlds as an Irish-Catholic married to a French-Canadian. A prolific contributor to English-language publications in Montreal, Leprohon published two novels focused specifically on the impact of the Conquest, *The Manor House of de Villeraie* (1859) and *Antoinette De Mirecourt, or Secret Marrying and Secret Sorrowing. A Canadian Tale*

⁴⁶ Maurice Lemire, *Les Grands Themes nationalistes du roman historique canadien-français* (Laval, Quebec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1970), p.169.

⁴⁷ For a detailed examination of Bourassa's use of Virgil, see Irena Trujic, 'Jacques et Marie, souvenir d'un peuple dispersé: le modèle virgilien de Napoléon Bourassa,' *Tangence*, 92 (2010): 83-93, *Érudit* [accessed 13 May 2013].

(1864). *The Manor House*, written a century after the Plains of Abraham, not only provided a sympathetic French-Canadian perspective on the Conquest to the English audience of the Montreal *Family Herald*, but also established a precedent of historical fiction dealing with the Battle of Quebec.⁴⁸ While *The Manor House of de Villeraï* draws on Scott's influence and, like *Les anciens canadiens*, concludes with its heroine (also named Blanche) choosing a single life at her family seat, *Antoinette de Mirecourt* instead focuses on the possibility of reconciliation and union in the wake of the Conquest (Waterston *Rapt* 75).

Before turning to *Antoinette De Mirecourt*, which provides a midway point between anglophone calls for assimilation and francophone isolationism, it may prove useful to examine the translator's note to the first French edition of *The Manor House*. Bellefeuille remarks on the possibility that historical fiction will alter the truth in the name of generating interest, but praises Leprohon's historicity, writing: 'Il a toujours su conserver l'histoire dans sa plus parfaite intégrité, dans sa plus entière vérité. Il a puisé aux sources les plus pures, et a reproduit avec une scrupuleuse fidélité les faits si bien racontés par les Bibaud, les Garneau, etc.'⁴⁹ In Bellefeuille's opinion, those who read with 'attention' will learn from the novel (v).⁵⁰ As Kathleen O'Donnell notes, descriptions of battles in the Seven Years' War from *The Manor House* 'correspond closely' with those given by Garneau in his *Histoire du Canada*.⁵¹ As Leprohon's text was published in 1859, a year prior to Andrew Bell's problematic translation of Garneau's history, 'shaped [...] to meet the reasonable expectations [...] of Anglo-Canadian readers', she must have referred to the original.⁵² Leprohon is invested in ensuring that her novels, if not entirely even-handed, strive for balance and accuracy, to the point that they are acknowledged—by French Canadians—as a source of historical knowledge. This focus on historical accuracy appears drawn from Scott's model.

⁴⁸ Lorraine McMullen and Elizabeth Waterston, 'Rosanna Mullins Leprohon: At Home in many Worlds,' in *Silenced Sextet: Six Nineteenth-Century Canadian Women Novelists*, ed. by Carrie MacMillan, Lorraine McMullen and Elizabeth Waterston (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992), pp. 14-51, pp. 33, 35.

⁴⁹ E. L. de Bellefeuille, 'Note de Traducteur,' *Le Manoir de Villeraï: roman historique canadien sous la domination française*, Par Madame J. L. Leprohon (Montreal: Les presses de Plinguet et cie, 1861), i-vi, p. vi.

⁵⁰ Bellefeuille's relationship with Leprohon, as her husband's nephew, may have influenced this opinion.

⁵¹ Kathleen M. O'Donnell, 'The Heroine of *The Manor House of De Villeraï*,' *Studies in Canadian Literature/Études en littérature canadienne*, 10:1 (1985): n. page.
<<http://journals.hil.unb.ca/index.php/scl/article/view/8030/9087>> [accessed 15 August 2012].

⁵² Andrew Bell, trans. *History of Canada: From the Time of its Discovery till the Union Year 1840-41: Translated from L'Histoire du Canada of F. X. Garneau, Esq*, 2 vols, rev. 3rd edn (Montreal: Richard Worthington, 1866), I, p. vii.

Leprohon begins *Antoinette de Mirecourt* by offering up her ‘essentially Canadian’ text to ‘every true Canadian’ (vi). Her background—and the novel’s success in both English and French—removes the political overtones of such a phrase. The novel draws on contemporary views of Montreal to parallel the situation at the Conquest, opening with a discussion of post-Conquest society in ‘Montreal, such as it existed in the year 176-, some short time after the royal standard of England had replaced the fleur-de-lys of France’ (9). The flirtatious matrons of Montreal have little opposition to the presence of gentlemanly British officers (14-16). After refusing the advances of Louis Beauchesne, a man of good prospects and ‘the same race and creed’ as herself, Antoinette weds rakish, Protestant Audley Sternfield (92). After entering into the titular ‘secret marriage,’ Antoinette realises that ‘cold calculation’ prompted his suit (235). Her second husband, Col. Evelyn, proves himself the more virtuous, in part through his acceptance of Antoinette following her ruin (364). His primary virtue, however, lies in his religious background: like Antoinette, he is a Catholic (43). Leprohon’s novel thus accepts and celebrates aspects of the union of French and British Canada, even as she also stresses the primacy of religion and cultural similarity.

Contemporary anglophone reviewers stressed the novel’s ‘Canadian’ content and, in one case, Leprohon’s British-Canadian background.⁵³ In comparison, Bellefeuille, reviewing *Antoinette*, expressed his doubt that ‘un seul gouvernement indique une seule nation’ and takes his aunt to task for her use of intermarriage, as even a Catholic Englishman ‘ce n’est pas tout ce que je desire voir dans l’epoux d’une de mes jeunes compatriotes’ (Blacklock 30). While the novel was clearly popular in translation, going through two translations and five editions by the turn of the century, Leprohon’s account of a balanced Franco-British union remained unpopular with French-Canadian nationalists.

In Mary Jane Edward’s reading of the novel, Col. Evelyn and Antoinette are ‘meant to symbolize the union of the old and new orders in Canada.’⁵⁴ Carl Murphy takes this argument further, stressing the importance of the free choice of marriage partner in this reading.⁵⁵ Considerations of free choice and consent are particularly important given the context of the novel’s composition in the midst of on-going debates regarding union, either through Confederation or annexation to the United States. Murphy views Sternfield’s

⁵³ Deborah Blacklock, ‘Consistency in the Canadian Canon: The Reception History of Rosanna Leprohon’s *Antoinette de Mirecourte* and William Kirby’s *The Golden Dog*,’ unpublished masters thesis, Simon Fraser University, 1993, p. 19.

⁵⁴ Mary Jane Edwards, ‘Essentially Canadian,’ *Canadian Literature*, 52 (1972): 8-23, p. 20.

⁵⁵ Carl Murphy, ‘The Marriage Metaphor in Nineteenth-Century English Canadian Fiction.’ *Studies in Canadian Literature/Études en littérature canadienne*, 13:1 (1988): n. pages.
<<http://journals.hil.unb.ca/index.php/SCL/article/view/8073/9130>> [accessed 15 June 2012].

treatment of Antoinette during their marriage as ‘attempted colonization.’ In this view, the union of the two provinces moves beyond colonisation to a more equal relationship of mutual support and respect. Leprohon, belonging to both British and French Canadian society, is able to draw together both societies by acknowledging them as equals, a task which neither Traill nor Aubert de Gaspé quite manages.

Both anglophone and francophone inhabitants of British North America employed tropes of personal and political union drawn from the national tale and historical romances in working through the possibility of reconciliation. While Ferrier’s *Marriage* advocated for a hybridised British identity, and Traill worked through an idealised racial unification of all three of Canada’s populations, a realistic reconciliation narrative such as *Antoinette De Mirecourt* required a hybridised author. While these texts provide possible models for interaction, a coherent national identity as described by Durham would also necessitate a consideration of the colony’s past and the historical process.

In the years following Confederation, the historical novel would gain in popularity, leading to the publication of a number of texts including *The Chien D’Or* (1877), *Hemlock: A Tale of the War of 1812* (1890), *The Seats of the Mighty* (1896), and *The Span O’ Life* (1899), as well French-Canadian works such the novels of Joseph Marmette. Popular themes for these post-Confederation historical novels were the Conquest of Quebec and the War of 1812. The Canadian military past was a popular touchstone in fiction, poetry and song, and political thought. Shifting their emphasis from the Conquest to 1812 allowed Canadians to focus on the cooperation of British-Canadians, French Canadians, and their First Nations allies in repelling invasive American forces. United Empire Loyalism, as Kaufmann notes, permeated the Canadian ‘popular consciousness’.⁵⁶ Given this emphasis on ‘Canadian’ martial exploits, it is unsurprising that these accounts were often linked with earlier British achievements.

⁵⁶ Eric Kaufmann, ‘Condemned to rootlessness: The loyalist origins of Canada’s identity crisis,’ *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics*, 3:1 (December 1997): 110-136, *Taylor & Francis Online* [accessed 23 February 2012], p. 124.

6 Constructing a Canadian Military Past

When Alexander Muir composed his ‘Canadian national song’ in 1865, he not only looked forward to a day when the ‘Dominion’ would stretch across the continent ‘from Cape Race to Nootka Sound,’ but also situated that future in the context of the British-Canadian military tradition.¹ Muir’s anthem invoked the ‘days of yore’ when ‘Wolfe the dauntless hero came / And planted firm Old England’s flag / On Canada’s fair domain’ as well as the exploits of ‘our brave fathers’ at ‘Queenston Heights and Lundy’s Lane’ (1). By Confederation, British North America’s military history was accepted by the population as one of the cornerstones of a cohesive identity. The Canadas, as seen earlier, were the product of British conquest and had been represented—both to its inhabitants and the mother country—through military topographies. The colony’s population and sense of identity was fundamentally impacted by this military orientation. Early considerations of Canadian identity, such as those in *Abram’s Plains*, embraced Upper Canada’s status as both colonised and coloniser. Depictions of settler society also displayed a martial bent: colonists engage in war with nature to clear the land and raise settlements, while attempts to establish a British North American identity are constructed as figurative (and often literal) battles with the First Nations, the *habitants*, and later the republican United States.

Despite this common orientation, the provinces remained divided. Constructing a mythical national past provided a structure around which to base a shared notion of identity. By engaging with the British and colonial past, Canadians could construct a narrative to unify the provinces while also distinguishing the Dominion both from other British colonies and from the ever-present threat of assimilation with the United States. The Conquest and the War of 1812 provided battles fought on home soil and valiant but doomed Generals, both of which served as fodder for nationalist plots. Authors also exploited the history of the mother country. A number of texts directly link the Plains of Abraham in 1759 (or subsequent battles) to the 1745 Rebellion and Culloden through ties of blood and friendships amongst soldiers: the events of the Scottish past thus not only impact but also set in motion those of the Canadian present. Such connections allowed British North Americans to demonstrate both their allegiance to the mother country, and to emphasise Canada’s descent from the British military past, even as they argued for a new ‘Canadian’ sense of identity. This chapter aims to consider the precedence given to military histories of British North America, and the manner in which that past is

¹ Alexander Muir, ‘The Maple Leaf Forever. A Canadian National Song!’ (Toronto: Published for the author, 1867), 3 pgs, p.1.

constructed and represented to the public through the construction of a historical genealogy beginning with the Rebellion of 1745 and continuing through the Conquest and the War of 1812. In examining how a shared national history is constructed, the effect of those histories and their ultimate purpose may become clearer.

6.1 Culloden and the Conquest

Considerations of the Canadian military past begin not with the Conquest itself, but with the battle of Culloden in 1746. British imperial power in, and emigration to, the colonies stemmed from the consequences of events in Scotland. Despite initial fears over Scottish loyalty in the wake of the rebellion, the British army found Highlanders—including former Jacobites—to be ideal troops. The value placed on Highland soldiers and the emphasis on their recruitment can be seen in an advertisement for men, stating that ‘no Lowlanders are to be received into the regiments’ raised by Fraser or Montgomery.² While the soldiers themselves were viewed as an asset, the culture that produced them was still suspect. The Disclathing Act of 1746 had denied civilian Scots the right to wear the kilt or own weapons. The Act created widespread resentment throughout Scotland—not only among Highland Jacobites but also among Lowlanders and Whigs caught up in the English reaction to the ‘45.³ The Highlanders’ willingness to enlist may have been influenced by the fact that ‘service in the British army was the only means by which a Highlander could bear arms and wear the garb of his ancestors.’⁴ The promise of land at the end of a soldier’s career was a further incentive.⁵

As the Highland regiments continued to recruit, their exploits became well known. The image of the Scottish veteran of Quebec became a contemporary trope, and Burns’s ‘Son of Mars’ in ‘auld red rags’ who recalls that ‘my leader breathed his last, / When the bloody die was cast on the heights of Abram’ picked up on popular accounts of the

² ‘The Monthly Chronologer,’ *London Magazine, or, Gentleman’s Monthly Intelligencer*, 26 (January 1757): 41-42, *ProQuest* [accessed 1 September 2011], p. 42.

³ Silke Stroh remarks on Gàidhlig poetic responses to the Act. See Stroh, *Uneasy Subjects: Postcolonialism and Scottish Gaelic Poetry* (Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi, 2011), pp. 130-135.

⁴ Stephen Brumwell, *Redcoats: The British Soldier and War in the Americas, 1755-1763* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 274.

A detailed (if biased) account of the Highland regiments in Canada is that of Col. David Stewart, in *Sketches of the Character, Manners, and Present State of the Highlanders of Scotland; With Details of the Military Service of the Highland Regiments* (1822).

⁵ Andrew Mackillop, *More Fruitful than the Soil: Army, Empire, and the Scottish Highlands, 1715-1815* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000), 130-67.

Highland soldiers' 'spectacular feats of courage and tenacity' (Brumwell 265).⁶ Despite this, contemporary commentators generally downplayed the Culloden-Quebec connections.⁷ The battlefields of Canada were seen as a space in which to mend some of the scars of the Acts of Union, as the Seven Years' War provided common ground and an opportunity for the Highland Regiments to prove themselves crucial to the success of the British imperial project. The verse of George Cockings, in particular, not only describes the fall of Quebec, but also consistently invokes solidarity between 'English, Scotchmen, and Hibernian'.⁸ A common cause converts these factions, at least temporarily, into friends and allies. When Britain officially took Canada into the Empire, the 'British troops [who] marched into Montreal' were preceded by 'the pipers of three Highland regiments' (Thompson 23). Two years later, the London *Briton* carried a sharp retort against those critics who tarred all Highland soldiers as Jacobites, as 'the survivors have since literally washed away their offenses with their blood; witness their bones now bleaching in almost every corner of the globe.'⁹ The North American stage was one of many opportunities afforded to the regiments to prove their loyalty (or atone for past offences), and united previous combatants under a single banner.

A decade following Culloden, General James Wolfe and Highland regiments all found themselves on the field, but in Canada Wolfe commanded his erstwhile enemies the Scots.¹⁰ Wolfe himself was keenly aware of the situation, infamously remarking to Captain Rickson in 1751 that the Highlanders are 'of use [in Canada]; they are hardy, intrepid, accustomed to a rough country, and no great mischief if they fall. How can you better employ a secret enemy than by making his end conducive to the common good?' (Wright 69). Despite this attitude and an ugly shared history, Wolfe was well-liked by his Scottish troops, who 'would have gone thro' fire and water to have serv'd him.'¹¹ Meanwhile, the

⁶ Robert Burns, 'The Jolly Beggars. A Cantata,' in *The Canongate Burns*, eds. Andrew Noble and Patrick Scott Hogg (Edinburgh: Canongate Classics, 2003), 571-94, ll. 15, 29, 33-34.

⁷ Douglas Hill, however, remarks on this 'tasteless irony.' See Hill, *The Scots to Canada* (London: Gentry Books, 1972), p. 13.

⁸ George Cockings, *War: An Heroic Poem from the Taking of Minorca by the French, to the Raising of the Siege of Quebec, by General Murray* (London/Portsmouth: Re-printed and Sold by Daniel Fowle, [1760], 1762), ll. 1.158-161, 438; 6.21-22.

⁹ 'To the Briton,' *The Briton* (London, England) June 19, 1762; Issue IV, (London: Printed for J. Coote): 20-24, p. 23

¹⁰ For Wolfe's descriptions of Culloden, see Robert Wright, *The Life of Major-General James Wolfe* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1864), pp. 84-7, 179.

¹¹ James Thompson, *A Bard of Wolfe's Army: James Thompson, Gentleman Volunteer, 1733-1830* eds. by Earl John Chapman & Ian Macpherson McCulloch, (Montreal: Robin Brass Studio, 2010), Anecdote 7, p. 188.

Jacobite Chevalier Johnstone fought under Montcalm as that officer's aide-de-camp.¹² Johnstone's accounts are noteworthy for his inclusion of detail, but also for his situation after the Siege of Quebec—he described his fear that his Jacobite history would be used against him when detained by Britons, although these worries proved unfounded (*Memoirs* 341-344).¹³ The memory of Culloden Moor appears to have lost its sting.

Wolfe's trek above Quebec and the moment of his death is often transformed into a synecdoche for the Seven Years' War or the establishment of a British population in Lower Canada. Even those texts, like M'Mullen's *History of Canada* (1859), which begin not with the moment of Conquest but with a focus on the lands' native inhabitants, nevertheless boast of how 'Wolfe stood with his invincible battalions on the Plains of Abraham, the battle-field which gave a new empire to the Anglo-Saxon race.'¹⁴ While the Conquest is a crucial moment in the colony's military history, its continued power stems from its association with the death of General Wolfe, and the emotional impact of his sacrifice. Although James Wolfe's outsized influence on the public mind, both in British North America and in Britain itself, has been alluded to in previous chapters, his impact in North America deserves a bit more attention. Following his death in Quebec, the British public seized on Wolfe as a national hero, and British colonists did likewise. Throughout the colonies, tributes were written and memorials erected. Wolfe's memory remained so potent in North America that the rebellious Americans attempted to adopt Wolfe as an icon during the Revolutionary War, as Alan MacNairn has noted (212-23). Hugh Henry Brackenridge is particularly known for this American reclamation of the General. Brackenridge invoked Wolfe's ghost in an attempt to create specifically American heroes: in *The Battle of Bunkers-Hill* (1776) the protagonist, Joseph Warren, dies 'like Wolfe,' echoing a 1776 funeral oration that had ranked Warren as more worthy of praise than the

¹² James, Chevalier de Johnstone, *Memoirs of the Rebellion in 1745 and 1746* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1820), p. 341.

In 1748, 'Le chevalier de Johnstone, [...] s'était vu forcé d'accepter une commission d'enseigne dans un détachement d'infanterie de marine destiné pour le Cap-Breton.' See Francisque Michel, *Les Ecossais en France, les Français en Écosse*, 2 vols (Londres: Trübner & cie, Paternoster Row, 1862) II, 449.

¹³ While the accounts are helpful, Johnstone's accuracy has been called into question. See 'Art. IV. Memoirs of the Rebellion in 1745 and 1746,' *British Review, and London Critical Journal*, 17:33 (March 1821): 106-138, *ProQuest* [accessed 28 September 2011], p. 107. Francis Parkman felt the *Dialogue in Hades* to be of 'substantial historical value.' See Parkman, *Montcalm and Wolfe* (New York: Collier Books, [1881], 1962), p. 416. Johnstone also left an account of the fall of Louisbourg, in which he asserts that 'Fortune constantly fought for the English,' and French 'blunders' were only 'auxiliaries'. See Johnstone, *The Campaign of Louisbourg, 1750-'58* (Montreal: Published under the auspices of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec, 1867), p. 22.

¹⁴ William M'Mullen, *The History of Canada. From its First Discovery to the Present Time* (Brockwell, C[anada].W[est]: John M'Mullen, Publisher, 1859), p. 165.

General, 'for while he died contending for a single country, you fell in the cause of virtue and mankind.'¹⁵ The dramatist mediated Perez Morton's tribute by yoking Warren to Wolfe's star rather than attempting to surpass him.

Brackenridge's *Death of General Montgomery* (1777) expresses a view of the Plains of Abraham with which both the British and Loyalists would agree. The eponymous General remarks to his companion as they journey towards Montreal that:

It seems to me, Macpherson, that we tread
The Ground of some romantic fairy land
Where knights in armour, and high combatants
Have met in war. This is the plain where Wolfe,
Victorious Wolfe, fought with brave Montcalm;
And even yet, the dreary, snow-clad tomb,
Of many a hero, slaughter'd on that day,
Recalls the memory of the bloody strife.¹⁶

Wolfe's death has, in a way, sanctified the field, not in the name of national pride but of honour. Wolfe is linked, significantly, with the knights of '[romance].' By associating him with 'fairy' and 'knights in armour,' Brackenridge removes Wolfe from recent history and instead raises him to a mythic level. In associating Wolfe with the otherworldly, especially while addressing an individual called 'Macpherson,' Brackenridge recalls James Macpherson's *Fingal*, particularly as this scene echoes Swaran's hopes that 'the children of the north hereafter may behold the place where their fathers fought' and travellers identify their tombs.¹⁷ Similarly, references to 'knights' and 'romance' recall criticisms of *Fingal* as a 'Knight-Errant' and *Temora* as 'Gaelic-epic or romance.'¹⁸ Brackenridge's celebration of a national hero refers back to, and thus draws authority from, a Scottish national epic. Wolfe maintains an imaginative power over the mind of Montgomery, his former fellow officer, and Macpherson, too, later announces his desire not only to fall nobly in battle, but also to be remembered. He muses:

One day, it may be mine, in the green earth,
To lie, while the young warrior, visiting,
The solitary spot, and bless my fame,
And say, Macpherson, I could die with you.
For my ambition, is to die like Wolfe,

¹⁵ Jason Shaffer, *Performing Patriotism: National Identity in the Colonial and Revolutionary American Theatre* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), p. 156.

¹⁶ H[ugh]. H[enry]. Brackenridge, *The Death of General Montgomery, in Storming the City of Quebec. A Tragedy* (Norwich: J. Douglass McDougall, 1777), ECCO [accessed 16 September 2011], 1.2.1-8.

¹⁷ [James Macpherson], 'Fingal: An Epic Poem,' in *Fingal, an Ancient Epic Poem, in Six Books* (London: T. Becket and P. A. de Hondt, 1762), 1-85, pp. 78-79.

¹⁸ Dafydd Moore, 'The Reception of *The Poems of Ossian* in England and Scotland,' in *The Reception of Ossian in Europe*, ed. by Howard Gaskill (New York: Thoemmes Continuum, 2004), pp. 21-39, p. 26.

Wept by his country, and by many a bard,
Of silver-tongue, high-storied in his urn' (Brackenridge 2.1.48-54).

For Macpherson, himself a future martyr to American independence, a noble but unheralded death is no longer enough—public outpourings of the type dedicated to Wolfe become something to which soldiers aspire. Moreover, he echoes Montgomery's association of Wolfe with the mythic and romantic through his invocation of 'a bard.' The bard is no mere versifier, but the chronicler of national memory.¹⁹ By addressing a character called Macpherson in close proximity to the invocation of the 'bard,' Brackenridge also reminds his audience of the term's Celtic associations and particularly of James Macpherson's popular Ossianic texts. Such associations hearken back to Wolfe's imagined role as a link between Highlanders and Britons.

Earlier similarities with Ossian are thrown into relief when 'an awful sober shade' identified as 'the GHOST of General WOLFE' enters to attack the 'unrighteous aim of British power' (4.2.286, 32-21). Hugh Blair's *Critical Dissertation* noted Ossian's use of 'departed spirits', and that 'the ghosts of departed heroes frequent the fields of their former fame' (116). Addressing the living in the manner of an Ossianic ghost, Wolfe re-enacts the behaviour of ancient British heroes on North American soil. While Brackenridge fashions him as an Ossianic spirit, he is not the only author to employ Wolfe's ghost as a 'posthumous American sympathizer' (Schaffer 163). In 1774, Major General Charles Lee, remarking on Wolfe's 'greatness of soul,' lingers over his supposedly republican virtues: he was 'passionately attached to the liberties of his country, and mankind' while also 'particularly an enemy to large standing armies.'²⁰ While Thomas Paine's first effusions on Wolfe are wholly in favour of the British Empire, by 1775 he too portrays Wolfe as feeling kinship with the Americans, in *A Dialogue between General Wolfe and General Gage in a Wood near Boston*.²¹ This use of a British hero to inflame American patriotism not only points to Wolfe's continued relevance even beyond the Empire in the decades following his death, but also underscores the Revolution's status as a civil war, with both sides struggling to control a shared hero.

¹⁹ The choice of 'bard' may also function as a coded reference to Thomas Gray, author of both 'The Bard' (1757) and 'Elegy Written in a Country Churchyard,' (1750) which Wolfe famously read prior to his death.

²⁰ Charles Lee, *The Life and Memoirs of the Late Major General Lee* (New York: Richard Scott, 1813), pp. 123-124. Lee's support of an 'American' Wolfe is intriguing, as within two years he had betrayed the American cause.

²¹ Thomas Paine qtd. W. T. Sherwin, *Memoirs of the Life of Thomas Paine: With Observations on his Writings, Critical and Explanatory* (London: Published by R. Carlile, 1819), pp. 23-24; Paine, 'A Dialogue between General Wolfe and General Gage in a Wood near Boston,' in *The Writings of Thomas Paine*, ed. by Moncure Daniel Conway, 4 vols (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1894), I, 10-13.

While the Americans were co-opting Wolfe for their own purposes, the General continued to play a unifying role within the British Empire. Benjamin West's inclusion of Simon Fraser in his depiction of Wolfe's death was fanciful, but there was a kernel of truth behind it. James Wilton's Westminster Abbey memorial to Wolfe was not finished until 1773, after West's painting debuted, but had been in progress from 1760 (Myrone 27). In Wilton's sculpture, Wolfe is supported by a grenadier, while a Highlander 'leans against his pike' and gazes at the dying General (Myrone 106). Although native 'Canadians' and other soldiers appear in Wilton's plans, they were omitted from the monument itself (Myrone 106). That the Highland figure survived this culling—and was included in the plans from at least 1765—testifies to the public perception of Wolfe's bond with the Highland soldiers under his command (Myrone 28). Wolfe was extremely popular among his men, particularly with the 78th Highlanders. Tributes to Wolfe can be found in Gáidhlig poetry commemorating the regiment, indicating not only the extent to which his soldiers esteemed the General, but also the manner in which the posthumous cult of Wolfe transcended linguistic barriers to unite Britons. One song written to commemorate the regiment's return to Britain also describes Wolfe's death supported by the Highlander Macpherson, emphasising this Scottish connection:

Alas, what happened! though ye won the day, Wolfe, the noble commander,
was lying on the field. Young John Macpherson! [...], thy conduct was manly
in front of need: In thy strong arms didst thou clasp the illustrious man when he
received the sore wound that no surgeon could heal.²²

Such images of Wolfe's demise also highlighted the military's role as a unifying force for Britain, bringing together individuals from formerly warring factions. A similar lament attributed to Iain Campbell, a veteran of the war, is found in collections from both Rannoch and Inverlochy, which, as Michael Newton remarks, 'demonstrates that it was a popular song that became genuinely rooted in the community':

The flowing blood of our renowned General
Was soaking into the grass
And it was a terrible loss,
Though it is a great tale to tell.²³

Campbell's poem not only provides an account of Wolfe's death which had strong similarities to popular English reports, but also imagines the General foreseeing that in England 'a chapel will be built for me / As a lasting memorial / To heroism and great

²² 'An Deigh Quebec,' *The Poetry of Badenoch*, trans. and ed. by Thomas Sinton (Inverness: North Counties Publishing Company, 1906), pp. 477-79, p. 479.

²³ Michael Newton, *We're Indians Sure Enough: The Legacy of the Scottish Highlanders in the United States*, (Auburn, NH: Saorsa Media/Windhaven Press, 2001), pp. 130-131, 135.

deeds' (Newton 136). It is possible that this 'chapel' refers to Wilton's memorial in Westminster Abbey, thus providing Wolfe's tacit approval to the Highlander's prominent placement therein.

James Wolfe, as the Hanoverian officer apparently beloved by his former foes, serves posthumously as a figure of British reconciliation. Benjamin West, in associating the General with the First Nations people in his famous painting, also transforms him into a bridge between supposedly civilised and savage cultures.²⁴ Wolfe's death on Canadian soil created a strong emotional tie between Britain and her colony, and those soldiers who survived also gained a certain imaginative power. In the future, linking Culloden and Quebec would become a powerful and positive manifestation of Canadian identity, particularly following the War of 1812. By the outbreak of hostilities with America, Culloden no longer figured primarily in the public eye as an instance of treason towards Britain, but had been recast as the last stand of a dying culture, now subsumed into and enriching both the British people and the British state, as the militarised Highland regiments remained the only sanctioned wellspring of Highland identity. It also provided a tragic and romantic past which could be held up against the conquered French and exiled Acadians of the British North American colonies.

The ramifications of the Seven Years' War in the intervening decades had led to a sea change in notions of identity in the American colonies. Britain and France had fought four wars in a century on American soil, which had taken a heavy toll on the American colonists' finances and manpower. British concessions, such as the return of Fort Louisbourg in 1748, distressed those who saw the territory as purchased with colonist blood.²⁵ The thirteen American colonies resented having to support British expansionary wars, an attitude heightened by the taxations and perceived injustices of the years preceding the American Revolution. The British government, itself in debt from Pitt's spending during the war, found itself attempting to administer and incorporate a relatively unwanted territory inhabited by francophone Catholics and the First Nations (Taylor 433). It believed it had no choice but to increase British garrisons in Quebec and raise American taxes to pay for them. The relative prosperity of the Americans, and the previously lax colonial policies, justified such actions in British eyes, while the Americans resented the new imposition. As Taylor notes, 'the conquest of Canada deprived the mainland colonists and the British of a common enemy that had united them in the past' (438). Fred Anderson

²⁴ See the consideration of West's *Death of Wolfe* in 4.2, pp. 116-19.

²⁵ Alan Taylor, *American Colonies: The Settlement of North America to 1800*, The Penguin History of the United States (London: Allen Lane The Penguin Press, 2002), pp. 423-24.

has remarked that ‘both the French and British empires in America had been most successful before the Seven Years’ War.’²⁶

The newly settled British inhabitants of Upper and Lower Canada, and the independent colonies in the Maritimes, however, held more distinctly Loyalist opinions. Nova Scotia and the Maritimes, like Quebec, could not survive without British trade and protection—and, as Elizabeth Mancke notes, had been conquered later and therefore had no experience of lost autonomy within the British Empire.²⁷ At the war’s end, Britain had settled Quebec with a population of British soldiers, primarily Highlanders.²⁸ Such immigrants not only maintained loyalty to the Crown, but also felt kinship to the Catholic French-Canadians.²⁹ Quebec also had a separate colonial government. These differences were sharpened by the outbreak of the Revolution, as American Loyalists swelled the population of the province, adding to the Anglophone presence in Quebec and necessitating the foundation of New Brunswick in 1784, and as a second wave of soldier-settlers arrived.³⁰ The foundation of the American Republic in 1783 formalised the distinctions between the American states and British North America.

6.2 1812: ‘Brock and his brave volunteers’

If the Seven Years’ War had provided a space for reconciliation within Britain and the foundation of Upper and Lower Canada, and the American Revolution severed the United States from the remaining British North American colonies, it was the War of 1812 that began to define the nature of British North America. It served, in Cecilia Morgan’s words,

²⁶ Fred Anderson, *Crucible of War: The Seven Years’ War and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1754-1766* (London: Faber and Faber, 2000), p. 742.

²⁷ Elizabeth Mancke, *The Fault Lines of Empire: Political Differentiation in Massachusetts and Nova Scotia, ca. 1760-1830* (New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 66.

²⁸ David Dobson, *Scottish Emigration to Colonial America, 1607-1785* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1994), pp. 185-86, 192. See also Mary Beacock Fryer, *King’s Men: The Soldier Founders of Ontario* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1980).

²⁹ While tensions remained between these groups, it appears that religion provided some common ground. See J. M. Bumstead, ‘Scottish Catholicism in Canada, 1770-1845,’ in *Creed and Culture: The Place of English-speaking Catholics in Quebec Society, 1750-1930*, ed. by Terrence Murphy and Gerald Stortz, (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1993), pp. 79-99. Bumstead notes that the French made a point of attempting to minister to the spiritual needs of these invading Catholic forces, despite a ‘linguistic’ and ‘liturgical gulf’ while recruiting more suitable priests (89).

³⁰ P. A. Buckner, ‘Making British North America British, 1815-1860,’ in *Kith and Kin: Canada, Britain and the United States from the Revolution to the Cold War*, ed. by C.C. Eldridge (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1997), pp. 11-44, p. 12.

as a ‘crucible in which concepts of loyalty and patriotism were forged.’³¹ The War of 1812 unified the inhabitants of British North America against a common enemy and provided for the development of specific national virtues. J.C.A. Stagg remarks on the developing ‘link between loyalty and incipient nationalism’ during and after the War.³² While much of the literature focuses on Upper Canadian experiences, *habitant* Lower Canadians also fought alongside British colonists against invading American forces.³³ Perhaps most crucially, as Canadians produced narratives of the War of 1812, the role of the local militia came to play a role disproportionate to that found in the historical record.

Over the course of the ensuing century, the Canadian ‘militia myth’ would take on a new importance. It was ‘evolutionary,’ and eventually had an insidious effect on the country’s military preparedness.³⁴ As early as 1812, organisations like the Loyal and Patriotic Society of Upper Canada were soliciting help, from both Canadians and Britons for those loyal Canadians whose ‘gallant exertions in defence of their country’ had led to the loss of income and destruction of property.³⁵ In the aftermath of the war, the inhabitants of the Canadas, particularly the Tories of Upper Canada, began to engage in historical revisionism. While the British army was acknowledged for its role, Canadians ‘limned provincial civilians in arms as a brave band of stalwart heroes’ even in the face of contrary evidence.³⁶ British North America was now characterised—not only by her inhabitants but also by Britons—as ‘the asylum of those brave men who risked their lives to maintain the unity of the British empire.’³⁷ In the wake of such accounts, loyalism, and some level of anti-American feeling, became assumed to be a defining national trait. Widespread adoption of such ideas was furthered by the fact that, as M. Brook Taylor notes, post-

³¹ Cecilia Louise Morgan, *Public Men and Virtuous Women: The Gendered Languages of Religion and Politics in Upper Canada, 1791-1850* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), p. 23.

³² JCA Stagg, *The War of 1812: Conflict for a Continent* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), p. 9.

³³ While the participation of French-Canadian militia in the war is not in question, Sean Mills raises questions regarding their response. See Mills, ‘French Canadians and the Beginning of the War of 1812: Revisiting the Lachine Riot,’ *Histoire sociale/Social History*, 38 (2005): 37-57 <<http://pi.library.yorku.ca/ojs/index.php/hssh/article/viewFile/4291/3489>> [accessed 10 September 2012].

³⁴ Akenson, *The Irish in Ontario* pp. 135-37; James A. Wood, *Militia Myths: Ideas of the Canadian Citizen Soldier, 1896-1921* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2010), p. 11.

³⁵ Troy Bickham, *The Weight of Vengeance: The United States, the British Empire, and the War of 1812* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp. 150-51.

³⁶ Reginald C. Stewart, *Civil-Military Relations during the War of 1812* (Santa Barbara: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2009), p. 94.

³⁷ James Strachan, *A Visit to the Province of Upper Canada in 1819* (Aberdeen: James Strachan, 1820), p. 35.

Confederation Canadian ‘national historians’ were often ‘essentially Upper Canadian historians in masquerade.’³⁸

Adam Burwell’s *Talbot Road* (1818) provides a useful example of the early development of this myth. At war’s outbreak, ‘Caught by surprise, our infant country lay / In hopeless plight, a seeming certain prey,’ with the result that ‘Industry’s nervous arm was quite unstrung’.³⁹ As the war progresses:

.... a dauntless spirit r[o]se,
That could the doubtful, wavering breast inspire,
And light the lukewarm heart with martial fire.
Then, soon foregoing fear, and false alarms,
Our woodland heroes seiz’d defensive arms,
And stood at call, when duty should command,
A numerous, brave, and patriotic band (ll. 374-80).

Burwell’s notes indicate that this ‘spirit’ is in fact ‘Major General Sir Isaac Brock.’ The Upper Canadian settlers, fired by his example, take on their patriotic ‘duty.’ Later texts, such as James K. Liston’s *Niagara Falls* (1843) continue the theme, suggesting that ‘Britain was engaged with half the world,’ while her Canadian colonists remained ‘All uninstructed in the use of arms, / And striving ’gainst the oaks and pines.’⁴⁰ The role played by the British forces, then, is deliberately minimised, while the voluntary and untrained nature of the militia becomes the narrative’s focus. In describing Lundy’s Lane, Liston pits ‘brave Canadian loyalty’ and a handful of ‘British troops’ against the massed invading army of the ‘Star-stripes’ (ll. 467, 478, 499). Both the Americans and British North Americans developed a militia myth during the War of 1812. The Americans developed a similar mythology, but while their militia ideal was based in republican virtue and the rejection of a standing army reminiscent of those in Europe, in Upper Canada loyalty was instead popularly attributed to self-defence and heroism, while becoming entwined with concepts of loyalty and empire as the century progressed (Akenson *Irish in Ontario* 135).⁴¹ The outsized impact of the militia at the iconic battle of Queenston Heights also added to this popular perception, as did incidents such as John Strachan’s public praise of the militia. In asserting that ‘it will be told by the future Historian, that the

³⁸ M[artin]. Brook Taylor, *Promoters, Patriots, and Partisans: Historiography in Nineteenth-Century English Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), p. 231.

³⁹ Adam Hood Burwell, *Talbot Road: A Poem*, ed. by Michael Williams, ([London, ON]: Canadian Poetry Press, [1991]) <<http://www.canadianpoetry.ca/longpoems/Talbot%20Road/>> [accessed 7 October 2012], ll. 351-52, 365.

⁴⁰ James K[nox]. Liston, *Niagara Falls. A Poem in Three Cantos* (Toronto: Published for the author [by J. H. Lawrence], 1843), CIHM no. 42593, ll. 341-46.

⁴¹ For a consideration of the American militia, see C. Edward Skeen, *Citizen Soldiers in the War of 1812* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1999).

Province of Upper Canada, without the assistance of men or arms, except a handful of regular troops, repelled its invaders, slew or took them all prisoners,' Strachan directed public thought.⁴² Further, this show of strength would reflect the wisdom of the mother country's continued protection (Strachan 366).

As the militia myth developed, only a few figures could be ranked with the 'brave volunteers.'⁴³ These included General Isaac Brock and Tecumseh, both of whom came to serve as synecdoches for their respective armies. In 1812, the Canadian press depicted 'the man Brock' as a 'terror' to the American enemy.⁴⁴ Such a depiction detracts from Brock's military career, instead helping to align him with the militia myth. Following his death on Queenston Heights, however, Brock was transformed into a martyr along the lines of Wolfe. Canadian press coverage included tributes and minute discussions of the funeral arrangements (Errington n.217). Accounts of his last moments were widespread, and reports of his last words eventually changed from 'push on, my boys, never mind me' to the iconic 'push on the brave York Volunteers!'⁴⁵ Again, Brock takes on an iconic role while also lending support to the militia myth. The power of Brock's image is epitomised by hagiographic reports that when reinterred beneath his memorial, Brock's remains were yet 'perfect' and not 'decompo[sed]' some twelve years later.⁴⁶ If Wolfe's death had 'hallowed' the Plains of Abraham, Brock himself is presented as sanctified. Moreover, his death and its supposed links to the militia myth meant that this hero could be considered, not only as British, but as Canadian. Just as Wolfe had served to link the supposedly savage and civilised elements of the army, Brock now bridged the divide between the British and their colonists. Brock's monument in St Paul's, although described by one American tourist as 'singular,' is in fact clearly predicated on West's depiction of Wolfe, as 'his corse reclines in the arms of a British soldier, whilst an Indian pays him the homage to bravery and humanity'.⁴⁷ Indeed, as Bruckner notes, within Canada Brock's memorial outstripped anything dedicated to Wolfe (10). In 1859 Charles Sangster, celebrating the

⁴² [John Strachan], 'Appendix: An Exhortation pronounced after the sermon...' in *The Report of the Loyal and Patriotic Society of Upper Canada* (Montreal (Lower Canada): Printed by William Gray, 1817), 363-69, p. 365.

⁴³ Roger Conger Clute, 'The Monument at Queenstown,' *The New Dominion Monthly* (August 1870): 20, l. 13.

⁴⁴ Elizabeth Jane Errington, *The Lion, the Eagle, and Upper Canada: A Developing Colonial Ideology* (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), n. 217.

⁴⁵ 'General Brock,' *The Aberdeen Journal*, no. 3392, January 13, 1813, 4 pgs, 2, *Gale: British Newspapers 1600-1900* [accessed 10 October 2012]; Robert Christie, *The Military and Naval Operations in the Canadas, during the Late War with the United States* (Quebec: s.n., 1818), CIHM no. 51257, p. 83.

⁴⁶ John Symons, ed., *The Battle of Queenston Heights: Being a Narrative of the Opening of the War of 1812* (Toronto: Thompson & Co, 1859), pp. 22-23.

⁴⁷ 'St Paul's Cathedral,' *Boston Monthly Magazine*, 1:6 (November 1825): 322-23, p. 323.

memorial's inauguration, proclaimed the Canadas 'one voice, one people, one in heart' and the monument an 'homage [...] / to his—to their—immortal dust.'⁴⁸

The Shawnee leader Tecumseh, also associated with Brock, is often invoked as an example both of the stereotypical noble savage and as a representative First Nations ally to the British. He serves as a foil for the General as 'the British Indian hero of the last war; a spirit congenial to that of our own Brock,' a 'Napoleon among the Indians of the West.'⁴⁹ George Longmore's poem, *Tecumthe*, typifies Tecumseh as 'untutored nature's child' (l. 144). Nevertheless, Francis Hall, in describing Tecumseh, highlights his bravery compared to British reluctance, as embodied by Prevost's behaviour following the death of Brock (*Travels in Canada* 228). Anna Jameson saw clearly that despite British boasts to the contrary, 'he became the ally of the British was not from friendship to us, but hatred to the Americans' (II 240). As late as 1870, the *New Dominion Monthly* highlighted his death as 'one of the great events in our history.'⁵⁰ A remark by Dr Walsh concerning the appearance of the First Nations is enlightening: 'The figure of the Indian warrior in the foreground of West's picture of the Death of General Wolf, gives a good idea of [native appearance]. Such a figure was the Shawonese warrior, Tecumseh.'⁵¹ Walsh was personally acquainted with Tecumseh, and for him to refer to so celebrated a figure in this way is interesting. Tecumseh, while he has a history beyond his association with Brock and Prevost, is primarily remembered as a comparison point for the two generals, and depictions of Brock and Tecumseh sharing a 'David-and-Jonathan bond' become increasingly popular in the latter half of the century (Coleman 59). In the myth of Brock and 1812, Tecumseh functions in much the same way as West's unnamed Iroquois witness—as a placeholder for an entire people.

Both Brock and Tecumseh are also noteworthy as, like Wolfe, they captured the American imagination. Brock received the respect due to an honourable foe.⁵² Tecumseh, meanwhile, was painted as both a savage and a saint. American interest in his death was

⁴⁸ Charles Sangster, 'Brock,' *Hesperus, and Other Poems and Lyrics* (Montreal: J. Lovell; Kingston: J. Creighton, 1860), p. 84, ll. 1, 14-15.

⁴⁹ C. Stuart, Esq, *The Emigrant's Guide to Upper Canada; or, Sketches of the Present State of that Province* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, 1820), p. 269; George Henry Hume, *Canada, as it is: Comprising Details Relating to the Domestic Policy, Commerce and Agriculture, of the Upper and Lower Provinces ... Especially Intended for the Use of Settlers and Emigrants* (New York: William Stodart, 1832), CIHM no. 45100, p. 129.

⁵⁰ 'Mounted Rifles our best Protection against Invasion,' *New Dominion Monthly* (March 1870): 10-17, p. 15.

⁵¹ 'Memoir of the late Edward Walsh, M.D.: Physician to his Majesty's Forces with Notices of the Canadian Indians, &c.,' *The Dublin University Magazine*, 3:13 (1834): 63-80, ProQuest [accessed 11 October 2012], p. 76.

⁵² Solomon van Rensselaer, *A Narrative of the Affair of Queenston: In the War of 1812* (New York: Leavitt, Lord, & Co; Boston: Crocker & Brewster, 1836), Appendix No. 2, p. 77.

particularly high. Richard Emmons's *Fredoniad* (1827), for instance, emphasised the gulf between the bloodthirsty 'monster' George Proctor and his 'savage' ally who nevertheless protests 'Cold in blood, Tecumseh never killed.'⁵³ These American texts also had an audience on both sides of the border: the Montreal *Literary Garland* advertised the recent publication of George Colton's *Tecumseh, or the West Thirty Years Since* in 1842, averring that Tecumseh 'should be a household name in Canada' and promising a review 'when the volume has found its way to Canada'.⁵⁴ Tecumseh came to stand for the archetypal loyal savage on both sides of the border.

In 1840, in the aftermath of the Rebellions of the 1830s, Major John Richardson published *The Canadian Brothers; or, The Prophecy Fulfilled*, drawing on his experience in the War of 1812. As a boy of 15, he had joined the military and served under Brock—indeed, he reports that Brock obtained his commission.⁵⁵ Richardson saw action in all of his regiment's engagements, and was held prisoner by the Americans for a year at the War's close. The events of the war proved a defining point in Richardson's life, and he produced a number of fictional and nonfictional accounts. These included *Eight Years in Canada* (1847) and his *War of 1812* (1842), a text he hoped would be read as the war's definitive history. Although fictional, *The Canadian Brothers* was unique in its original dedication to the king, a mark of favour not usually awarded to 'works of fiction.'⁵⁶ This royal exception was made on account of its 'historical character,' albeit only the content of a single chapter (1840 I x).⁵⁷ Richardson's application for this recognition despite the novel's apparent unsuitability is a marker of not only the man's flair for constant self-promotion, but also the importance he assigned to the novel itself. It is as much a historical document as his histories.

Richardson's obsessive focus on the War of 1812 stemmed not only from his fear that his fellows might be forgotten, but from the negative implications of such historical amnesia. He opened his *War of 1812*, meant 'for the use of Schools in Canada' by lamenting how 'few young men of the present generation [...] are at all aware, except by vague and inaccurate report, of the brilliant feats of arms, and sterling loyalty displayed by

⁵³ Richard Emmons, MD, *The Fredoniad: or, Independence Preserved. An Epick Poem on the Late War of 1812*, 4 vols (Boston: William Emmons, 1827), I, II. IX.175; IX.187

⁵⁴ 'Our Table, *Literary Garland*, 4:6 (May 1842): 291-92, p. 292.

⁵⁵ Major [John] Richardson, *Eight Years in Canada* (Montreal: H. H. Cunningham, 1847), p. 22.

⁵⁶ The King's death necessitated a change in dedicatees to Col. Harvey. See Major Richardson, 'Preface,' *The Canadian Brothers* I, p. ix.

⁵⁷ The usual practice was that works of fiction were not of sufficient weight to be dedicated to the monarch. Richardson's suggestions of possible modes of defence in the event of a future attack, included in the *Canadian Brothers*, was sufficient—in a time of heightened awareness of the border—for courtiers to waive the stipulation.

their immediate progenitors.’⁵⁸ Moreover, the ‘common bond of good fellowship’ between French and British Canadians in the period now required ‘revival’ (1812 2). This was deemed problematic in light of the country’s recovery from the Rebellion of 1838, ‘a severe shock which [...] has deeply tested its general attachment and fealty to the British throne’ (1812 1). An understanding of the military past, then, was considered crucial to the continued development of Canadian national and imperial identity, as well as promoting better relations between British- and French-Canadians.

Wacousta had dealt with a pre-Revolutionary Canadian past. Richardson now looked to the succeeding generation. Perhaps the most important consequence, in Richardson’s writing, is the conception of Canada as a distinct nation, and his marked change from the use of ‘Canadian’ in *Wacousta* to denote the *habitants*, to its application in *The Canadian Brothers*. After 1812 the *habitants* are afforded only a hyphenated ‘French-Canadian’ identity in Richardson’s work. The term has been completely usurped by the emerging Anglo-Canadian society from which Richardson himself hailed. Despite his alleged interest in promoting British-*habitant* relations, Richardson’s focus within the novel is clearly on defining an Anglo-Canadian identity—his *habitants* are largely ignored and markedly Other.

The Canadian Brothers, in fact, opens with British officers reluctant to trust Canadian subordinates, and the enraged response of their Canadian counterpart, revealing a widespread assumption of colonial inferiority on the part of the British (I 22-23). Richardson, with his years of military experience, would have been acutely aware of such attitudes. Indeed, the colonial officer Grantham indulges in a fantasy in which, ‘[t]he "Canadian" as he imagined he had been superciliously termed, would be the first to reap for Britain's sons the fruits of a war in which those latter were not only the most prominent actors, but also the most interested’ (I 28). Richardson’s diction here is illuminating, both in the young man’s belief in the British officer’s ‘supercilious[ness]’ and his inclusion of the ‘Canadian[s]’ among ‘Britain’s sons.’ The Canadians, although fiercely loyal to the Empire, are also developing a distinct identity and acknowledge their investment in the colony.

In Richardson’s hands, General Brock himself attempts to put down the anti-Canadian line of thinking, remarking that ‘if [...] the mere circumstance of their having received existence amid these wilds can make them Canadians, they certainly are Canadians; but if the blood of a proud race can make them Britons, such they are’ (I 22). This statement may derive from Richardson’s respect for Brock, but it also highlights

⁵⁸ Major [John] Richardson, *War of 1812. First Series. Containing a Full and Detailed Account of the Operations of the Right Division of the Canadian Army* ([Brockville]: 1842), p. 1.

Brock's liminal identity. Like Wolfe before him, Brock was beloved by his soldiers and died in support of the Canadas, a popular martyr. Like Wolfe, too, Brock's own loyalty was to Britain, although Canadians claimed him for their own.⁵⁹ The General defends the Canadians, but not because of their own intrinsic worth or skill, focusing instead on their British ancestry. Indeed, even as he supports Grantham, he transforms him into a 'Briton.' Grantham's Canadian identity is associated with the 'wilds' and set aside. Nevertheless, all Canadian characters in the text are referred to by the narrator, each other, and often by the British as 'Canadians'. Only the General, and on one occasion an American, consider them as 'Brittainers' (I 210). Richardson's Canadian officers, born after the establishment of the British within Canada, represent the first generation of British North Americans to rely on such an identity. Indeed, while the use of 'Canadian' to designate Anglo-Canadians in 1812 is not anachronistic, it was still more commonly used to designate the *habitants*. Richardson's use of the term deliberately links these first, United Empire Loyalist Canadians to the Anglo-Canadians of Richardson's day.

While the novel is remarkable for Richardson's bloody and lifelike depictions of battle, in which the First Nations, and often the Canadians, work together with the terrain to defeat the Americans, they do not serve the plot but rather serve as occasions for Richardson to relive both real and imagined scenes at the front. As in his histories, Richardson uses the War as a didactic tool for British and Canadian pride. This culminates in the scene in which Canadian soldiers force the Americans to surrender or jump from Queenston Heights as:

hemmed in on both sides—the rifles of the militia and Indians on one hand; the bayonets of the British force on the other—the Americans had no other alternative than throw down their arms or perish to the last. Many surrendered at discretion, and those who resisted were driven at the point of the bayonet, to the verge of the terrific precipices which descend abruptly from the Heights of Queenston. Here their confusion was at the highest—some threw down their arms and were saved, others precipitated themselves down the abyss, where their bodies were afterwards found, crushed and mangled in a manner to render them scarcely recognizable even as human beings. It was at the moment when the Americans, driven back by the fire from the wood, were to be seen flying in despair towards the frowning precipices of Queenston (II 224).

The Americans 'surrender,' destroy themselves, and 'despair,' while the Canadian militia works hand in hand with the landscape, the British and the First Nations to achieve their

⁵⁹ Brock's opinion of Canada is revealed in a letter home: 'my nominal appointment has been confirmed at home, so that I am really a brigadier. Were the 49th ordered hence, the rank would not be a sufficient inducement to keep me in this country. In such a case, I would throw it up willingly.' See General Brock to his brothers, 5 September 1808 qtd. Ferdinand Brock Tupper, *The Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock, K. B.* (London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co, 1847), p. 72.

aims. Richardson, not content with describing a battle for which he was not present and moving the battle from October 1812 to October 1813 as it was ‘necessary to the action of the story’ yet somehow did not ‘interfere with historical fact’, also describes the catastrophic effect of falling from the Heights on the American corpses (I xii; II 227). Such gruesome details serve to fix the event in the mind of the reader.⁶⁰

Richardson’s manipulation of history also shows a movement away from Old World history and identity to New World. The heroes of his North American texts are no longer the British soldiers, veterans of Old World battles, but Canadian-identified figures like Brock and Tecumseh. Indeed, Richardson’s depictions—here and in his nonfictional accounts—enter the historical record, particularly as regards the death of Tecumseh. For this reason, it is worthwhile to note that Richardson’s nonfictional accounts also included fictionalised incidents. Although he constructs the same history in the two separate spheres of historical fiction and the historical memoir, in both Richardson manipulates the past in order to render it both palatable to his audience and to heighten dramatic effect. This reasoning underlies his changing of details like the date of Queenston Heights and justifying Imperial-Indian alliances in *The Canadian Brothers*. Richardson’s almost hagiographic accounts of Brock and Tecumseh, and his obsessive insistence on chronicling the War, ensure that while he plays with the concept of Canadian identity in his novels—and prefatory pieces—Canadian identity is firmly associated with British military imperialism in his histories. Ultimately, both the novels and his histories point towards an idea of Canada based heavily on the concept of brotherhood through shared military exploits while remaining part of the wider British empire. Subsequent British North American authors shared a similar view.

William Kirby, an outspoken United Empire Loyalist, was keen to support popular taste for the War of 1812. His *The U.E.* (1859), an epic of Upper Canadian settlement, linked the Rebellions of the 1830s to both the War of 1812 and the American Revolution. Like Richardson, Kirby presents Canada and America as fundamentally opposed cultures, a clash of unrestrained freedom versus stability and tradition. Canadian-born Hugh’s defection to the United States, however, is foreshadowed by his rejection of British-Canadian values and desire to ‘be free’ rather than obey ‘the laws.’⁶¹ From considerations of citizenship to excuses for war, the American craving for individual liberty and wealth is consistently contrasted to Canadian communal solidarity and order. Kirby intimates that

⁶⁰ Not all Canadians glorified this course of action. James Lynne Alexander denounces it as unbecoming in *Wonders of the West*. See A Canadian, *Wonders of the West or, A Day at the Falls of Niagara* (s.l.: s.p. 1825), CIHM no. 53908, ll. 342-46.

⁶¹ William Kirby, *The U.E.: A Tale of Upper Canada* (Niagara: s. n., 1859), ll. 4.10.7-8.

the ‘Gallic’ nature of the rebels in 1830s Lower Canada is a fluke; the real danger lies with the Americans who deliberately ‘fan [...] Gallic fire’ (ll. 11.25.7-12). American political philosophy itself poses a threat to British North American identity.

Kirby’s Upper Canadian history is noteworthy for its significant focus on the military aspects of Loyalism, and its inclusion of the major events of the British North American military past. Kirby begins his celebration of the British military in Canada with tributes to Wolfe’s victory, acknowledging the origins of Anglo-Canadian identity (ll. 2.10.1-10). Ranger John’s personal history encompasses his part as a Loyalist in the American Revolution, and dwells heavily on the War of 1812. The Ranger provides accounts of 1812, particularly the Battle of Lundy’s Lane, while the narrator invokes Chateaugay and Stony Creek and describes Queenston Heights (ll. 7.19.7-16; 10.7.1-10.9.16; 2.25.14-16; 3.14.5-24; 10.21.1-18). It is Kirby’s narrator, rather than John, who provides detailed accounts of British bravery. These depictions focus on the loyalty of the Canadian forces and the power of such histories to stir ‘the true Canadian’s pride’ and ‘make strong the hand / Of each defender of the Forest Land’ (ll. 10.7.7; 10.21.17-18). The poem includes a clear didactic element and adherence to the militia myth.

Kirby’s treatment of the Rebellion magnifies its importance to mirror earlier Loyalist battles. The text’s treatment of the Rebellion of 1837 identifies civil wars as the ‘upas tree of death,’ an Oriental image that not only serves to distance such urges from the British settlers but stresses the Southern nature of the USA (ll. 4.30.21). Despite his celebration of United Empire Loyalist identity and the extension of the Loyalists’ history to the Rebellions, Kirby also opens ‘Loyalist’ identity for the rising generation. As Dennis Duffy notes, within the poem, ‘Loyalism’ becomes a ‘talismanic term, set free from its historical and socio-political roots [...] a state of mind equated with loyalty itself’ (Duffy *Gardens, Covenants* 32-33). The English emigrant Walwyn, who never actively fights for his new country, and the Loyalist warrior Ranger John, are equally faithful to the British crown and identity, and are both seen as emblems of ‘the old U.E.’ (ll. 12.35.6). Kirby’s narrative thus sets out loyalty as a defining trait of British North America. Although military history forms the background of the plot, the events themselves are secondary to the Loyalist society they produce.

War itself, in fact, is shown as a possible cause of stadial reversion. Ranger John inverts expectations as a white man who takes on barbaric First Nations characteristics, scalping his enemies, engaging in near cannibalism and willing to take a tomahawk to his son for American loyalties, but who is celebrated rather than denounced (ll. 4.20.7; 4.21.13-16; 12.30.1). His mix of European and Native dress proclaims him ‘perhaps, to native tribes allied,’ an equivocation that mirrors Kirby’s reluctance to characterise John as

either settler or First Nations (ll. 3.23.4-8). Descriptions of John's seven-year campaign of revenge stress its bloodthirsty nature and the Ranger's alliance with and acceptance by the First Nations. Kirby excuses the behaviour, noting the Ranger's 'just and kind' nature, but admitting that 'Fate had warped his noble mind' (ll. 3.24.9-10). Ranger John's self-description could easily be ascribed to Reginald Morton:

... revenge alone, my spirit craved.
I donned the costume of the Indian race,
And with the war-paint hideous stained my face,
Then drew the hatchet and the scalping knife,
And never, never, spared a rebel's life (ll. 4.11.14-18).

In the Ranger, a degenerate Briton's behaviour is seen as a justified, if barbaric, action against a demonic American enemy, itself equally willing to scalp Loyalists and burn children alive (ll. 4.10.23-24; 4.19.6). The tomahawk, and not a British sword or musket, will be handed down as '[t]h' eternal tokens of our loyal race,' like the 'Indian yell' John teaches Walwyn's son Eric (ll. 12.32.6; 9.25.11-12). Kirby's use of the tomahawk is not new; the *Counter Manifesto* referenced 'the old tomahawk of the refugees, which has been preserved in our families, along with the fire-side traditions' (14). The First Nations, conversely, who once 'shook the hatchet' now sell 'venal trinkets' and '[beg] of the scornful white a little bread' (ll. 2.17.2-4). The tomahawk, then, ceases to be a sign of native savagery and power, instead symbolising the ferocity with which the United Empire Loyalists are willing to defend their attachment to the mother country. This very ferocity, however also seems to distinguish British North Americans as a people from their British counterparts.

6.3 Conclusion

Echoes of Culloden and the Jacobite rebellions feature in a number of pre-Confederation texts. As discussed in earlier chapters, both Jacobite and Hanoverian veterans of the 1745 rebellions found themselves on the Plains of Abraham years later. Depictions of the Canadian military past played up these tendencies. William Coffin, in his history of the War of 1812, remarks on Scottish settlers whose ancestors fought at Culloden 'whose instincts of loyalty were such, that regardless of names, genealogies, or dynasties, they looked to the principle, and whether it was for James, or whether it was for George, struck heartily'.⁶² Such sentiments were felt to be widespread, particularly given the heavy Scottish presence in the British army. The Scot John Wilson's story 'The

⁶² William F. Coffin, *1812; The War and its Moral: A Canadian Chronicle* (Montreal: John Lovell, 1864), p. 91.

Shealing' also linked the Rebellions of '15 and '45 with the Conquest of Canada, but from a British perspective, as Lewis Cameron returns to Scotland as a 'pensioner' and recalls his time serving with Wolfe.⁶³

To the settlers and inhabitants of the Canadas, as with those in Britain, Culloden and the Jacobites retained emotional currency. The Nova Scotian periodicals of the 1790s reprinted the *Literary Magazine's* biography of Bonnie Prince Charlie.⁶⁴ Historical accounts and tales referencing the battle and its aftermath are found in the fledgling periodicals of the 1820s and '30s.⁶⁵ As Culloden's centenary approached, poems and stories like 'Culloden' and 'A tale of the Scottish rebellion' could be found in popular literary magazines.⁶⁶ Such interest was not limited to Anglophone Canadians: in 1841 the Montreal *La coin de feu* carried at least two tales concerning Culloden and the Jacobites.⁶⁷ Rather than simply invoking the battle, a handful of texts attempt to tie it into the Dominion's history.

While participation in and enmities formed by the 1715 and 1745 Rebellions trigger the events of *Wacousta*, *Les anciens Canadiens* also boasts links to Culloden. The d'Habervilles are only too happy to shelter a Jacobite orphan. Archibald Cameron's orphaned status, lack of funds, indeed, his very presence in the colony, all stem from his father's participation at Culloden and subsequent exile and death. The character shares a name with Dr Archibald Cameron, brother to Donald Cameron of Lochiel and the last Jacobite to be executed. Archie's attempts to be merciful carry some echo of the romanticised Dr Cameron, 'perfectly unacquainted with the military Art,' whose 'humane conduct' allows him to be painted as a martyr to an unscrupulous English power.⁶⁸ The

⁶³ [John Wilson], 'The Shealing,' *Lights and Shadows of Scottish Life: A Selection from the Papers of the Late Arthur Austin* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood; London: T. Cadell, 1822), pp. 369-390, 373, 382.

⁶⁴ 'The Life of Charles Edward Stuart,' *The Nova-Scotia Magazine and Comprehensive Review of Literature, Politics and News*, 5:1 (January 1792): 3-14; first published in the *Literary Magazine and British Review*, March 1790, *ECO* [accessed 15 October 2012].

⁶⁵ Col. John M'Donnell, 'A narrative of the early life of Colonel John M'Donnell,' *The Canadian Magazine and Literary Repository*, 4:22 (April 1825): 305-22, 4:23 (May 1825): 385-99, *ECO* [accessed 12 November 2012]; 'The Curse of Scotland,' *Cabinet of Literature*, 1:12 (September 1839): 366-67; 'The Widow and her Son,' *Cabinet of Literature*, 1:12 (September 1839): 381-83.

⁶⁶ G.M.R., 'Culloden,' *The Amaranth*, 1:4 (April 1841): 108, *ECO* [accessed 15 October 2012]; 'Culloden,' *The Amaranth*, 2:12 (December 1842): 382, *ECO* [accessed 15 October 2012]; K.O.H., 'A tale of the Scottish rebellion,' *The Literary Garland*, NS1:12 (December 1843): 540-46.

⁶⁷ [Leon]. G[ozlan]., 'Rosemary,' *La coin de feu*, 1:42 (4 September 1841): 657-42; 1:43 (11 September 1841): 673-683, *ECO* [accessed 10 October 2012]; 'La Serin Jacobite,' *La coin du feu*, 1:21 (10 avril 1841): 332-36, *ECO* [accessed 10 October 2012].

⁶⁸ *An Historical Account of the Life, Actions and Conduct of Dr. Archibald Cameron, Brother to Donald Cameron of Lochiel, Chief of that Clan...* (London: M. Cooper; W. Reeve; C. Sympton, 1753), p. 15.

effect of Cameron's descent on the text is underscored by de Gaspé's choice to echo Thomas Campbell's 1802 poem 'Lochiel's Warning.' Not only is Archie, like the chieftain, a Cameron of Lochiel, but he, too, makes the choice to 'trust not the tale' of a seer, in his case the old *habitant* sorceress.⁶⁹ While the chieftain is warned against the 'fire-shower of ruin' and the possibility of his home as nothing but 'the blackness of ashes,' Archie Cameron himself becomes the instrument of fire (ll. 33, 39). Derivative texts emphasise this link: a dramatic adaptation of 1864 is entitled 'Archibald Cameron of Lochiel ou Un épisode de la guerre de Sept Ans au Canada,' while the second edition of Roberts' translation was published as *Cameron of Lochiel*, complete with an introduction stressing that its hero was 'not a Canadian, but a Scotch exile sojourning in Canada,' ostensibly to press the text's merits as a work of 'fiction' rather than a 'memoir'.⁷⁰

In 1847, Tiger Dunlop published his *Recollections of the American War*. Unlike Richardson, who published both a history and fiction, Dunlop's text is a memoir meant both to 'instruct [and] amuse.'⁷¹ He provides a history of his commander, Donald McB, 'born in the celebrated winter of 1745-46, while his father [...] was out with Prince Charles Edward' (6). After enlisting originally in France, 'the American revolution breaking out, and it being pretty apparent that France and Great Britain must come into hostile collision,' his father persuaded him to enlist in Scotland to avoid 'fighting against his country and clan' (8). After a long career in the British Army, McB found himself in Quebec. Dunlop, in serving under him, thus also participates in a military lineage. While McB disappears from Dunlop's narrative, his history is also the first anecdote Dunlop includes after their arrival in Quebec. His history, and that of many soldiers like him, thus enters the historical record.

While de Gaspé's Archie Cameron never has children, his influence on his godson Archibald d'Haberville, the reader can assume, will maintain an emotional, if not genetic, link to the Scottish military past. A similar move is found in Catherine Parr Traill's *Canadian Crusoes*, which takes pains to note that Duncan Maxwell, fighting at Quebec, also had a link with both Culloden and Wolfe, however tenuous. As his son Hector explains, Maxwell had been tutored by:

⁶⁹ Thomas Campbell, 'Lochiel's Warning,' in *Gertrude of Wyoming and Other Poems*, 3rd edn (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown; Vernor, Hood and Sharp; and J. Murray, 1810), pp. 135-142, l. 74.

⁷⁰ Lucie Pagé, 'Centre de recherche en civilisation canadienne-française,' *L'Annuaire théâtral: revue québécoise d'études théâtrales*, 17 (1995): 229-240, p. 230-31; Philippe Aubert de Gaspé, *Cameron of Lochiel*, trans. by Charles G. D. Roberts, new edn (Toronto: The Copp, Clark Company, Limited, 1905), p. i.

⁷¹ Dr [William] Dunlop, *Recollections of the American War 1812-1814, with a Biographical Sketch of the Author by A. H. U. Colquhoun* (Toronto: Historical Publishing Co, 1906), p. x.

the son of his brave colonel, who knew a great deal about the history of the Stuart kings, for our colonel had been with Prince Charles, the young chevalier, and fought by his side when he was in Scotland; he loved him dearly, and, after the battle of Culloden, where the prince lost all, and was driven from place to place, and had not where to lay his head, he went abroad in hopes of better times [...] and our colonel, after a while, through the friendship of General Wolfe, got a commission in the army that was embarking for Quebec, and, at last, commanded the regiment to which my father belonged (*Crusoes* 66).

Duncan Maxwell, then, is linked through his colonel with both Culloden and General Wolfe. Hector's recounting of the tale to his cousins suggests the beginning of a familial tradition, in which well-known aspects of history—the Stuart monarchy, Culloden, the subsequent peripatetic existence of certain Jacobites—are directly tied to the personal and familial. The aftermath of Culloden is also positioned as the driving force behind emigration to Canada, not only for Maxwell, but also in the case of his superior officer. Maxwell's military connections are raised again in the form of the family dog, portrayed as searching for and protecting the lost children: 'faithful old Wolfe, [...] named by their father after the gallant hero of Quebec' (110). The family's other dogs are 'Bruce and Wallace' (351). While all are named for Scottish military heroes, it is Wolfe who participates in, protects, and is eventually buried in the children's rising new settlement. Such personalised histories allow the new generation to incorporate them into a new concept of identity.

Although this emphasis on a lineage of Jacobite supporters is found in early Canadian fiction, it also found its way into the political arena. William Lyon Mackenzie, the radical who helped incite the rebellions of the 1830s, particularly prided himself on his Jacobite heritage and 'descent from a rebel race'.⁷² Mackenzie, in support of the rebellions, drew on figures from the Scottish past, invoking Burns and Bonnie Prince Charlie (Lindsey 212). His descriptions of the soldiers in the garrison at Kingston assumes that a majority of the troops would be Scots, and that they would therefore refuse to 'sabre their countrymen' or 'disgrace his name and the regiment he belongs to by increasing the widows and orphans of Canada' (Lindsey 212). He later compared those who helped him flee the Canadas in the wake of the Rebellion to the 'poor and gallant Scotch Highlanders' who aided Charles Stuart (Lindsey 399). A Toronto publication played off such popular genealogies, satirising the Conservative politician Jean-Charles Chapais as the descendant of a Scottish 'chappie,' who 'sought and found his fortune in Lower Canada, in the year 1746, having been implicated in the rebellion of 1745.'⁷³

⁷² Charles Lindsey, *William Lyon Mackenzie, Edited with Numerous Additions by G.G.S. Lindsey*, The Makers of Canada (Toronto: Morang & Co., Limited, [1908] 1911), pp. 36, 318.

⁷³ 'Some account of the new ministry,' *The Grumbler*, NS 2:20, 4 pgs, (6 April 1864): 3.

In the wake of Confederation, such links acted as a popular trope. Indeed, Eva-Marie Kröller finds in de Gaspé's Cameron the 'literary prototype of a Jacobite character who appears in a number of nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century historical novels in Canada' and which 'contribut[e] to formulate a distinctive Canadian voice' by attempting to balance 'the multiple loyalties of the characters involved'.⁷⁴ Agnes Maule Machar, writing a 'prize tale' for the *Canadian Monthly* in 1874, ties Culloden to Queenston Heights in the form of Marjorie MacLeod, daughter of a Colonel serving under Brock.⁷⁵ Marjorie is self-consciously, affectedly Scottish and 'a thorough Jacobite' (105, 111, 113, 117). Her interactions with the Colonel link Brock's army not to individuals on the field or history, but instead prevailing, romanticised notions of a Highland past. When the Americans declare war, she sings for General Brock, at his request, 'Flowers of the Forest,' 'Scots Wha Hae' and 'Land of the Leal' (162-63). Machar stresses that the final two songs share a tune, perhaps because the air is 'Hey tutti taiti,' which Robert Burns asserted was 'Bruce's march at the Battle of Bannockburn.'⁷⁶ All three tunes thus carry a martial implication. Machar, born a generation after Brock's demise, attempts to link the 'electric effects' of such music on the audience to the impact of the 'tidings of war' (162-3). One L.G., meanwhile, focused on a narrative of reconciliation in *Jessie Grey* (1870), depicting the granddaughter of an emigrant 'Glasgow laddie' who fought under Brock with 'patriot fire,' and her interaction with elderly Granny Bernard, the daughter of a French veteran of 1759, who spins children tales of 'young, heroic Wolfe' and 'brave Montcalm.'⁷⁷ In an echo of the subverted marriage tropes considered in chapter five, Granny Bernard is in fact childless. Instead, unification is achieved through a balanced transmission of history.

A flurry of texts with Jacobite links at the century's end may be attributable to the Stuart exhibition of 1888 and the subsequent rise of neo-Jacobitism.⁷⁸ A Jacobite subplot sets in motion the primary events of Gilbert Parker's *The Seats of the Mighty* (1897). Through a complicated series of events, the hero's possession of the Jacobite letters ultimately leads directly to Wolfe's decision to fight on the Plains of Abraham and thus to

⁷⁴ Eva-Marie Kröller, 'Jacobites in Canadian Literature,' *Canadian Literature*, 94 (Autumn 1982): 169-172, p. 170.

⁷⁵ A[gnès]. M[au]le. M[achar]., *For King and Country: A Story of 1812* (Toronto: Adam, Stevenson, & Co, 1874), p. 152.

⁷⁶ Robert Burns, 'Burns's Remarks on Scottish Songs with Anecdotes, &c,' in *The Works of Robert Burns, with Life by Alan Cunningham* (London: T. Tegg; C. Daly, 1840), pp. 518-80, p. 555.

⁷⁷ L.G., *Jessie Grey; or, The Discipline of Life* (Toronto: J. Campbell, 1870), ECO [accessed 16 October 2012], pp. 4, 30-32.

⁷⁸ Robin Nicholson, *Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Making of a Myth: A Study in Portraiture, 1720-1892* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2002), pp. 123-25.

his death.⁷⁹ Rather than make use of Wolfe's historic links to Culloden, Parker invents a newer and more dramatic one. Jacobite links become a badge of supposed historicity. In R. M. Ballantyne's *The Buffalo Runners* ([1898]) a blunderbuss used by a sailor's 'great-grandfather at the battle of Culloden' is employed in a buffalo hunt.⁸⁰ Ballantyne's tossing in such a detail extends such genealogies from the central provinces of Quebec and Ontario to the rising Red River settlement. While it links the deliberate destruction of the bison (and thus First Nations Plains culture) to the destruction of the Highlanders at Culloden, it also invites scepticism regarding such claims of provenance and descent and underscores the widespread nature of such claims.

John Talon Lesperance's *Les Bastonnais* (1877) follows the military fortunes of one such immediate descendant in Roderick Hardinge, son of 'an officer in Fraser's famous Highland regiment' and veteran of the 'battle of the Plains of Abraham' who had settled with his fellow officers in Lower Canada.⁸¹ Lesperance specifies the liminal culture of this settlement, as these settled Scots:

While retaining many of the best characteristics of their origin, [...] have thoroughly identified themselves with their new home, and by intermarriage with the French natives, have almost completely lost the use of the English language. [...] Roderick [...] was twelve years of age when he landed in Canada, and thus grew up as a child of the soil. [...] From the circumstances of the times, the French language was almost more familiar to him than the English (84).

Throughout the text, Hardinge demonstrates this dual identity. The threat posed by the American Revolution has him 'buckling on his father's sword', but his choice of regiment is telling (85). As the narrator remarks:

[t]he remnants of Fraser's Highlanders, with other recruits, were formed into a regiment, called the Royal Emigrants, under Colonel Allan McLean, and we should naturally have expected that Roderick would have joined it, but for some reason or other, he did not do so. He took a regular commission in a regiment of Quebec militia (85).

Hardinge implicitly rejects the 'Emigrant' identity. French-Canadians refer to him as 'a British officer [...] who is really a Canadian and speaks French like ourselves' (121). As a soldier, Hardinge identifies himself as 'the representative and custodian of British power in Canada in the hour of a dread crisis' (10). He clearly embodies aspects of all three

⁷⁹ Gilbert Parker, *The Seats of the Mighty: Being the Memoirs of Captain Robert Moray, Sometime an Officer in the Virginia Regiments, and afterwards of Amherst Regiment*, (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1897), pp. 283, 356.

⁸⁰ R. M. Ballantyne, *The Buffalo Runners: A Tale of the Red River Plains* (London: James Nisbet and Co., [s.d.]), p. 138.

⁸¹ John Lesperance, *Les Bastonnais: Tale of the American Invasion of Canada in 1775-76* (Toronto: Belford Brothers, 1877), p. 84.

identities. Hardinge's eventual participation in a marriage plot with Zulma Sarpy, a French Canadian, ultimately resolves the problem of Hardinge's national identity, while Zulma's *habitant* friend Pauline weds an American (96). Lesperence concludes his novel with reference to the couples' shared granddaughter, thus ensuring the 'blood' of British-Canadian, French-Canadian and American 'mingled together in one' (369).

The development of this hybrid identity, and its military origins, are explored over the next decade. *The Lord of Lanoraie*'s (1898) eponymous narrator in Quebec recalls his pride in a father who fought for the Stuarts at Culloden and died with Wolfe, and his own decision to emigrate to 'this far land for which our kin / Had bled, [...] And mingled ties of blood with those / Whom erst they conquered as their foes', while Maud Ogilvy's *Marie Gourdon* (1890) traces the fortune of descendants of 'adherents of the young Pretender' who had then fought in the Conquest of Quebec and remained in Lower Canada after the regiment was disbanded.⁸² These texts take up the implications of intermarriage between Highland Catholics and their *habitant* counterparts as the first step towards an assimilated identity. Marshall Saunders's *Rose À Charlitte* (1898) involves a similar manoeuvre, with the Scottish-descended Vesper Nimmo's desire to 'make restitution' for his great-grandfather's involvement in the Acadian Expulsion resulting in an eventual marriage to an Acadian woman, a seasonal return to Nova Scotia and a new generation of mixed heritage.⁸³ In this case, rather than a gradual process of union, the national reconciliation is deliberate. Unlike Parker or Ballantyne's texts, such plots do reflect Canadian history. While they may reflect the same engagement with a wider imperial tendency, they have been more neatly assimilated into the historical narrative.

By focusing on the possible links between the defeat of the Jacobites at Culloden and subsequent Canadian military encounters, authors were not only able to make use of the mystique surrounding the events of 1745, but also to draw comparisons with the Union of England and Scotland with the 1841 Union of the Canadas and Confederation. In the period between Confederation and the First World War, authors such as Charles Mair and Sarah Anne Curzon popularised the loyalist conceptions of War of 1812 as they found national heroes in Brock, Tecumseh and Laura Secord. In the late twentieth century, Margaret Laurence and Alastair MacLeod reconsidered ancestral links to Culloden, while

⁸² Richard Griffin Starke, *The Lord of Lanoraie* (Montreal: John Lovell, 1898), *ECO* [accessed 1 September 2012], p. 27; Maud Ogilvy, *Marie Gourdon: A Romance of the Lower St Lawrence* (Montreal: John Lovell and Son, 1890), *ECO* [accessed 30 August 2012], p. 20.

⁸³ Marshall Saunders, *Rose À Charlitte: An Acadian Romance* (Boston: L. C. Page and Company, 1898), p. 24.

Alden Nowlan made a similar move in his poem 'A Pinch of Dust.'⁸⁴ Canadian national heroes, in the figures of Wolfe and Brock, link colonial military experience to previous instances of military glory. Relationships between Wolfe and his Highlanders, Brock and Tecumseh, raised wider issues of cultural interaction and popular notions of stadial theory, while playing into developing myths of Canadian loyalty and patriotism.

This thesis opened with a consideration of Thomas D'Arcy McGee and his belief in the necessity of developing a national literature. Soon after McGee arrived in Canada, he issued an invitation in the Montreal *New Era*: 'Come! Let us construct a national literature for Canada, neither British nor French, nor Yankeeish, but the offspring and heir of the soil, borrowing lessons from all lands, but asserting its title throughout all!'⁸⁵ McGee envisions a literature that is distinctive, blending and reshaping the influences of its constituent cultures. In casting an eye over foregoing arguments, it would appear that British North Americans were willing to take up McGee's challenge. This thesis has attempted give an account of the ways in which Scottish tropes and constructions of literary nationalism serve as a model for early articulations of identity in British North America. In doing so, it has examined the manner in which Romantic Scottish attempts to mediate topography through mapping and literature provides a crucial basis for British North American control over the natural world, both in the physical landscape and in the public mind. Popular emphasis on the landscape and wilderness in British North America links the process of rendering the country fathomable with civilisation and the right to settle. This thesis has considered the impact of said process on the development of a distinctly (British-) Canadian stadial model, and the manner in which constructions of the Canadas' populations contribute to the development of notions of union and cultural survival. The influence of national tales and historical novels provide a structure with which Canadian authors could interrogate and disseminate these ideas. As the colony aged and grew into a nation, a focus on national history provided disparate groups with a shared mythos. This final chapter has considered how that shared history is intertwined with romanticised elements of Scottish history. It participates in a growing critical interest in considering Scottish romantic texts and authors such as Robert Burns and John Galt in a transatlantic and global context. The Scottish model adapts well to Canadian use precisely because of its attention to national (imperial) unity, as well as to a distinct identity. In providing early Canadians with a roadmap with the process in which an unknown landscape populated by distinct and separate communities could develop a sense of

⁸⁴ Alden Nowlan, 'A Pinch of Dust,' *I'm a Stranger Here Myself* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1974), p. 57.

⁸⁵ Thomas D'Arcy McGee, qtd. in David A. Wilson, *The Extreme Moderate*, p. 26.

communal identity, Scottish romantic ideas are deeply entrenched in early Canadian identity.

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