THE IMMIGRANT EXPERIENCE IN CANADIAN LITERATURE:

A TEACHING UNIT AND ANTHOLOGY

BY

LEUBA SONIA BAILEY

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment

of the requirements for the degree of

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THE ABSTRACT

The immigrant experience is a pervasive aspect of Canadian literature. Until recent years, not only has Canadian literature dealing specifically with the immigrant experience been overlooked as a distinct theme in anthologies, but also the immigrant strains have been overlooked in high school curricula. This curriculum unit on the theme of the immigrant experience primarily uses an anthology of short genres, and is intended for a period of four to six weeks, out of a Canadian literature course in senior high school.

The viability of the curriculum unit is based on two premises: one, that all Canadians are immigrants to this country, in a literal and a metaphorical sense, and two, that the actual experience as it appears in life becomes the literary experience as it is expressed by imaginative writers.

The actual experience of immigration may be perceived as passing through five major stages: 1. the decision to migrate; 2. the voyage and arrival; 3. settlement; 4. integration, including (a) the rural wilderness or garrison (b) the urban wilderness or ghetto and (c) integration through language; 5. mythologizing, that is, the narration and embellishing of the events of the first four stages. The literary artists who write imaginatively about the actual experience have, over time, interpreted the first four stages in many genres, and more recently, in a search for indigenous myths, they have developed the fifth-stage -- an imaginative creation of immigrant heroes and heroines.

The literary experience has been interpreted in two modes which here have been named the protective and the expansive modes. The protective mode, suggested by this interpretation of the works of Margaret Atwood and John Moss, describes the immigrant mentality as one which has a negative fear of the unknown. Usually from the middle classes, the protective immigrant, therefore tries to transplant the familiar, and seeks out those of similar mind. On the other hand, the expansive mode, suggested by this interpretation of the point of view taken by Douglas Jones and David Arnason, describes the immigrant mentality as one which responds positively to the challenge of the unknown. Usually from the lower classes, the expansive immigrant is attracted to the creation of new forms, and is willing to live without the comfort of like minds.

The thesis analyzes immigrant literature for each of these modes, examples of which are found in all stages and genres of the literary immigrant experience. Because the generational conflict that is part of the integration stage is best illustrated in novels, the thesis therefore briefly discusses a select group of novels to be studied in conjunction with the anthology. The most detailed study, however, is made of the selections of short genres chosen for the anthology. The choices fulfill several criteria -- representation from all five stages of immigrant literary history, from each region and each century of literary history, from all major ethnic groups writing in English, from the development of an indigenous Canadian literary voice.

The important criterion of adolescent interest is a constant factor in all choices. The thesis assumes that the adolescent is highly

interested in his own identity. Through the study of this unit, he may learn that his identity is inextricably bound to that of his immigrant predecessors and contemporaries, and that his search for identity is like the immigrant's search.

It is recommended that the anthology be studied in class, and that the student progress through the consecutive stages and modes. Topics for projects, essays and field-trips are also provided.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The first lecture on the first day of my return to university after a ten-year absence bore the seed of this thesis. Professor Arnason's analysis that night, of the Tory-Vulgar interpretation of Canadian literature has continued to bear fruit. The editing of the text, The Immigrant Experience, the teaching of the unit on the immigrant experience, and, ultimately, the writing of this thesis using a combination of the two, have stimulated my appreciation of Canadian literature, and given me the pleasure of working with a number of people whom I would otherwise never have come to know and appreciate.

I am grateful for the kind and conscientious supervision of Professor Elva Motheral, whose encouragement bore me through; for the support of Professor Keith Wilson whose ombudsman qualities made possible the right combination of courses of study; and to Professor Arnason, who asked me to compile the anthology, and whose editorial abilities cleared away some of the underbrush.

Finally, I am grateful for trees to lean upon: my husband Don, and my children, Monica and Marshall. Don, who believes that my professional work is worthwhile, and proves it in his willingness to invest time in my efforts, is singular among husbands. My two children have helped as best they can, by allowing me free time. Though they now only understand that immigrants are the ones who kept their mother from them, they may come to a new appreciation when they study their mother's book in a Manitoba high school. Finally, I wish to thank the students at Westwood Collegiate who first studied the unit with me, and Mary Maione, my typist.

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Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

Margaret Atwood has observed, "We are all immigrants to this place even if we were born here . . . ."[1] All Canadians, whether first, third or "nth" generation[2] immigrants, are affected today by the impact of immigration upon their society. While Canada is not the only country paying a great deal of attention to immigration, the significance of her preoccupation with it is revealed by the fact that official publications have defined even the "native" peoples as immigrants.[3] The absorption of successive waves of immigrants, therefore, is recognized as central to the shared experiences of Canadians. Throughout Canadian literary history, imaginative writers who reflect the consciousness arising out of shared experiences, have referred in their works to the immigrant experience as a major source of inspiration. They have described both the process of immigration itself and the effects of immigration on later generations. A course in Canadian literature, then, should include

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[1]Margaret Atwood, The Journals of Susanna Moodie (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 62.

[2]This mathematical expression of the generations was first used by A.M. Klein in his "Portrait of the Poet as Landscape." The poet is "nth" Adam giving names and expression to the new Eden.

[3]This assumption of the immigrant origins of all Canadians is illustrated in Merle Storey and Borgny Pearson, eds., The Canadian Family Tree, Canada, Department of the Secretary of State, Citizenship Branch (Ottawa: The Centennial Commission, 1967), p. 7. "Even the Indians and Eskimos, the original Canadians, who are believed to have immigrated to Canada from Asia," are listed in this compendium of origins and accomplishments of Canada's ethnic groups.

the immigrant experience as a basic unit of study.

Of all the Canadian experiences which a student may study, the immigrant experience is among the most likely to strike a sympathetic response in the adolescent. In his transition from childhood to adulthood, the adolescent seeks a personal identity within the context of the external environment. In changing one homeland for another, the immigrant also undergoes a transition which demands that he find a new or different identity. By examining the immigrant experience, the student may gain further understanding of the nature of the search for identity; he may also achieve an appreciation of the nature of literary experience.

Literature is based on experience. Using the raw experience of life, an author creates a refined life-like experience through the processes of his imagination. By studying both the actual experience, that is, an event as it occurs in life, and the literary experience, that is, the author's imaginative interpretation of the actual experience, the student may achieve some understanding of literature itself. With the teacher's help, the student may appreciate how writers create interpretations of actual experience; also he may have the literary experience himself. Using raw materials he has himself discovered, he may create his own literature in research projects and creative assignments.

To term student writing "literature," a broad definition of literature is necessary. To illustrate the variety of literary writing on immigrants in Canada, an equally broad definition of literature is called for. Hence, literature may be defined as an organized, life-like imaginative interpretation of experience. In order to give students

exposure to the variety of genres that describe immigration, an anthology approach is appropriate. Short genres, such as poems, short stories, plays, journals, diaries, and essays would have to be chosen for a representative anthology. A large number of novels dealing with various aspects of immigration have been published, but no one novel deals with the total immigrant experience. Hence, the teaching unit proposed here is comprised of an anthology to be taught along with a collection of novels.

Though the background analysis of literature about the immigrant experience in chapter three refers freely to both short and long works, the selections for the anthology analyzed in chapter four are confined to short works only, for the reason that a detailed investigation of immigrant novels for teaching purposes opens a new field entirely. The study of the novel as a genre is a major undertaking. So too is the study of shorter genres. In order to simplify the study of a variety of short works, chapter three isolates some standard literary concepts common to shorter genres. These concepts are included in the analysis of the anthology selections in chapter four, but their presence or absence from each selection is not of greater importance than the relevance of the selection to certain aspects of the immigrant experience. In other words, the purpose of the anthology is to deal primarily with experiences from which literature is created, and secondarily with devices by which literature is written.

In any study of the actual experience of immigration, certain patterns emerge which give an ordering of events common to the experiences of all immigrants. This ordering may be divided into five stages, the sum

of which may be called "the immigrant experience." The first four stages are: 1. the decision to leave the motherland, 2. the passage to the new land and arrival, 3. settlement, 4. integration, including life in a garrison or ghetto, and integration through language. The first four stages are concerned with physical and psychological dislocation, and take place in a single lifetime; the fourth stage of integration may also take place over many generations. The original emigrant's background and his attempts to integrate leave an indelible, though receding, mark on every succeeding generation of descendants born in this country. The interpretation of these markings, recorded by literary artists, folk story-tellers, and historians, has flowered to such an extent, that a fifth stage of the immigrant experience emerges.

In the past, Canadian writers set their creations at various locations along the continuum suggested in the first four stages. Being immigrants themselves or first or second-generation children of immigrants, early writers gave a sense of immediacy to the immigrant experience which a contemporary audience still perceives. More recently, writers have put the immigrant experience in a slightly different perspective. In a search for indigenous Canadian myths, they have been recreating in literature the lives of immigrants, especially of their own ancestors. The immigrant's personal struggle within his own lifetime, and the long-term effects on his descendants has become the subject of many myth-like poems and stories. This fifth and final stage of the immigrant experience may be called "mythologizing."

In the student anthology, the five literary stages correspond with these five stages of the actual immigrant experience. As the student

progresses through the anthology, he may experience vicariously the process of immigration itself. His understanding of immigrants, his ancestors, the nature of literary creation, and the search for identity thereby, may be broadened. Above all, he may achieve a greater understanding of how he is personally related to these time-locked people and concepts.

Such an organization into five stages makes a teaching unit both meaningful and manageable; it offers selections that create both scope and sequence. A choice of literary samples from all ethnic groups demonstrates that all Canadian families, because of their immigrant origins, share a common heritage in the experiences of immigrant predecessors. A proper definition of "ethnic" includes those earliest arrivals such as the French and the English, and recent arrivals, such as the Vietnamese. The extent to which all ethnic groups may be included in a unit of study is determined by the availability, in English, of literature about the immigrant experience. Those groups which have been here the longest have had the greatest opportunity to explore, through the imagination, their experience of this country. The most recent arrivals have had not only less time to accumulate a literature; they have had also to create works in the language and thought patterns of the country of their birth. Expressions of the Canadian experience in languages other than English comprise a rich ore that has yet to be mined. In the meantime, Canadians are possessors of a wealth of writing in English by artists who have found the immigrant experience a compelling one.

Representation of most ethnic groups writing in English provides scope; selections from all periods in literary history gives sequence.

The study of the history of immigrant literature highlights an essential problem in all Canadian literature -- to find a literary voice that is distinctly Canadian. In the anthology, selections from early writers show the influence of the prevailing literary style in the mother culture on writing in Canada. Modern pieces show to what extent a native voice has been expressed. The division of the anthology into five stages allows for further observations of style. The selections in any one stage alone, chosen from a variety of literary periods, demonstrate how different authors at different times responded to similar situations.

Though some of the dimensions of style may be illustrated, they are not the main concern of the anthology. The criterion of student interest is of greater importance. Adolescents are more interested in relating literature to their own experience of life than in the study of the development of style. The five stages of the immigrant experience which relate to their own experience offer a suitable scheme of organization.

Two major critics have organized their works in a manner which would not be appropriate to a classroom unit of study: John Moss in Patterns of Isolation,[4] and Margaret Atwood in Survival.[5] An adolescent student would find organization of a teaching unit based on either work too historically based, and its author's definition of an immigrant too

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[4]John Moss, Patterns of Isolation (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1974).

[5]Margaret Atwood, Survival; A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature (Toronto: House of Anansi Press Limited, 1972).

specific. In their study of Canadian literature, these critics have established categories which correspond to periods in Canada's historical development. In Patterns of Isolation, John Moss divides his analysis of the "mentality of exile" into four stages which "correspond to a series of metamorphic stages in the country's historical development; a process which . . . should not be confused with historical improvement."[6] The four stages are garrison, frontier, colonial, and immigrant. Margaret Atwood divides her book historically into chapters on explorers, settlers, families influenced by settlers in their background, and immigrants. In both works, the label, immigrant, is applied to only most recent arrivals, or those who followed the explorers and early settlers. Such a narrowing of definition has created difficulties particularly for Atwood[7] and would create unnecessary obstacles for a high school student. At this level, it is preferable to offer a course which, while it does not ignore the passage of time, emphasizes the commonality of experience over time. This teaching unit, therefore, compresses the immigrant experience into a single, comprehensive unit, and refers to all newcomers and their descendants as immigrants.

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[6] Moss, p. 12.

[7] In Survival, Atwood placed settlers, explorers, and grandfathers in separate categories. This categorization creates some confusion. She admits that "it is even possible for people from the West to remember grandparents who were settlers." Nevertheless, she confines her definition of grandparents to "those who took over from settlers, inherited whatever had been built." (p. 134) She also admits that the pattern of influence of grandfathers on the second and third generations may be applied to immigrant novels. "What is said about three generation novels here can also be applied to another variety of the genre, the 'immigrant' novels treated in Chapter Seven." (p. 133) In other words, a settler may not be a grandfather, but a grandfather may be an immigrant.

A third critic, Douglas Jones, neither divides his work historically, nor defines his immigrants specifically; he is more concerned with descriptions of mentality and patterns of imagery. Jones' Butterfly on Rock[8] differs from the works of Moss and Atwood in another important way -- he holds what may be termed an "expansive" point of view, whereas Moss and Atwood may be said to prefer a "protective" one. Together, both points of view may be incorporated into a five-stage approach.

A protective immigrant is one who thinks that the motherland holds the real values in a genuine culture. The colonial cultural off-shoot is inferior, therefore, to the mother culture. He finds the new land full of "violence and savagery"[9] and seeks solace in a static middle-class garrison society. An "expansive" immigrant, on the other hand, does not prize the motherland as the centre of values; he finds his experiences in the new land to be of equal authenticity and value. The new land's "fertility and variety"[10] challenge him. He is eager to cut his ties with the old land, and establish roots by integrating into the new. Usually, though not always from the working classes, he believes that Canada offers equal opportunities for all immigrants to advance themselves.

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[8] Douglas Jones, Butterfly on Rock: A Study of Themes and Images in Canadian Literature (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970).

[9] Ibid., p. 88.

[10] Ibid., p. 88.

The very titles Patterns of Isolation and Survival, imply a protective or defensive point of view. Moss's posture is explicable; the study of isolation is the study of being cut off from something, or, as Moss put it, "in exile." He defines exile as a "physical and social dislocation" and asserts that "the patterns of its presence in the Canadian novel are primarily sociological."[11] Similarly, Atwood defines her central motif, "survival," in terms of protection against or a "preoccupation with the obstacles to that survival."[12] Her four victim positions, by definition, describe the underling fighting against the dominator. Atwood's thesis is much influenced by the ideas of her mentor, Northrup Frye, who in 1965 first "provisionally" proposed the idea of a physical and psychological "garrison," a concept which his students leapt upon with avidity.[13] Professor Frye's seminal statement distinguished two themes in Canadian literature; the comic theme of "satire and exuberance" and the tragic theme of "loneliness and terror."[14] The central Canadian tragic theme, which he described as "the indifference of nature to human values,"[15] has profoundly influenced his

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[11] Moss, p. 11.

[12] Atwood, p. 33.

[13] Northrup Frye, "Conclusion to a Literary History of Canada" (Ed. Carl F. Klinck); republished in Frye's The Bush Garden: Essays on the Canadian Imagination (Toronto: House of Anansi Press Limited, 1971), p. 225.

[14] "Preface to an Uncollected Anthology," ibid., p. 166.

[15] Ibid., p. 171.

protegés, Atwood in particular, and the nature of Canadian literary criticism in general.

Moss, Atwood and Jones have used Frye's term "garrison" to explore the responses of Canadian writers to an indifferent and hostile land. They define garrison mentality as the mind's response to the threat of what is wild in nature and bewildering to the human psyche. A garrison mentality perceives psychological barriers in the city, and a garrison culture creates physical ramparts in the wilderness. In contrast to Atwood who minimizes it, Jones expands on the power of the acceptance of nature's indifference and hostility. In fact, Jones anticipates the defensiveness of Atwood's thesis. He asks, "Is sheer survival to be [the] principal aim? Is survival in itself the supreme virtue and justification of the individual existence?"[16] Jones believes one must do more than just survive. Having faced terror or annihilation, one must learn to "love" that which threatens.

> Let us affirm an order, but let us not make of the Law a garrison against life, a garrison that would know nothing of guilt, doubt or the defeat of inevitable death. Let us order and celebrate the world in a language that can comprehend its imperfections and yet find it good.[17]

In Survival, Atwood cites only a "few moments"[18] in Canadian fiction which fit into her "position four," the position which most resembles Jones' positive admonition:

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[16] Jones, p. 94.

[17] Ibid., p. 178.

[18] Atwood, p. 63.

> What does Nature look like from Position Four? Well, it isn't the Divine Mother -- that is, it isn't all-good -- and it isn't Nature the evil monster.... it exists as a living process which includes opposites: life and death, "gentleness" and "hostility."[19]

Instead, she finds more examples of Position Two:

> "Nature is hostile and is out to get me" can mean also "I feel small, helpless and victimized."
>
> You can easily see how the Position Two feeling that Nature is a huge powerful hostile enemy against whom man will lose can turn into the will to lose.[20]

All three critics have detected an ambivalence in the newcomer's attitude toward the new land. Moss uses the terms "double vision" or "bifocal vision" as a metaphor to describe his observations of ambivalence. To extend Moss's metaphor -- an immigrant population, threatened by the wilderness, keeps one eye on the forms and values of the Old World and one eye on the New; the resulting tensions are enough to make an entire nation wall-eyed. Each critic has resolved these tensions to a certain extent by opting for a specific point of view in his or herwriting. Moss and Atwood's "protective" and Jones' "expansive" points of view correspond to the protective or expansive attitudes of immigrants toward this country. Both actual and literary immigrants usually favor one position or the other, but they may also hold both simultaneously.

In an editorial in the Journal of Canadian Fiction, David Arnason has identified two traditions to which these two points of view correspond. The protective immigrant is in the "Tory" tradition; the

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[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid., p. 62.

expansive immigrant is in the "vulgar tradition." Arnason argues that the recognition of the Tory tradition by Frye and Atwood are "true only about one aspect of English Canadian experience, and they are not at all true about the French Canadian experience."[21] His editorial has helped create a balance in Canadian literary criticism; the two corresponding points of view proposed here offer a balance which recognizes two schools of criticism. In addition, the two points of view balance the design of the curriculum for the teaching unit.

The best kind of curriculum design incorporates a balanced point of view. In the presentation of a topic as sensitive as immigration, it is imperative that both positive, or expansive, and negative, or protective, attitudes toward Canada be brought out. Jones' position that both positive and negative must be accommodated is preferable to Moss' and Atwood's negative positions. Moss' tone is carefully modulated; Atwood's is almost consistently anguished, or as she herself describes it, "morbid and neurotic."[22] Her comments on immigrants, for example, demonstrate the one-sidedness of her approach. In "Canadian 'immigrant' fiction," she argues: "The characters don't think they are coming to a promised land; as a rule they come to get away from bad conditions somewhere else, but they are not travelling towards anything." Later, she adds, "Canada stands always ready not only to manufacture and export failure but to attract it and provide for it an

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[21]David Arnason, "Two Traditions, editorial," Journal of Canadian Fiction, Vol. II, No. 2 (Spring, 1973), p. 2.

[22]Atwood, p. 111.

appropriate setting," ... and again, "The Canadian experience for immigrants seems programmed for failure."[23]

Though Atwood's research is in the same areas as Jones' and Moss', she seems more concerned with plot outlines than outcomes; that is, she constantly describes the characters' defeat, and neglects to mention that in their defeat, they have advanced the battle in the search for themselves. It is not, as some of her critics have suggested, that she has not read enough, but that she has not done enough with what she has read.

If, in a school setting, Atwood's "victim" thesis were expounded as the interpretation of Canadian literature, the teacher would be doing irreparable harm to his students. Enough has been done to convince young people that they are pale shadows of first the British, and now, the Americans, that they are victim-citizens of a country willing to allow foreign agencies to define or, even worse, to ignore its special identity.

It is too easy for Canadians to allow others to give them their identity. Fears that life may be meaningless, that they do not in fact know themselves, are painful for them. For the immigrant, they are excruciating. He needs to define his personal identity in a new context. As Marcotte put it, "to build a new country, one must re-invent man."[24] The immigrant's definition of self, therefore, is the Canadian's

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[23] Ibid., pp. 151, 157 and 158.

[24] Jones, p. 11.

definition of self. The immigrant's quest for self-knowledge is a paradigm of the Canadian's quest, whether it is undertaken on a personal or national scale. The search for identity, common to the new immigrant, to the established Canadian citizen, and to the adolescent student, is revealed in literature about the immigrant experience. The five stages and two points of view in the immigrant experience, as they have been outlined here, contribute to that search.

Chapter Two

THE ACTUAL IMMIGRANT EXPERIENCE AND THE LITERARY IMMIGRANT EXPERIENCE

Literature is based on experience. It is important, therefore, that both the actual experience as it exists in life, and the literary experience as it is interpreted through the imagination of the writer, be examined. The actual and the literary experience may be seen to pass through the five distinct stages which have been outlined. The first four stages of the actual experience are examined in this chapter, followed by an analysis of the four stages of the corresponding literary experience. A fifth stage which exists not so much in life as in the imagination is also proposed and examined.

THE ACTUAL IMMIGRANT EXPERIENCE

The first stage of the actual immigrant experience, the emigrant's decision to emigrate, is based on his assessment of the old society and his understanding of the new society. His decision is much influenced by the large body of immigration propaganda, or by letters from immigrant friends and relatives. In regarding the propaganda, or communicating with representatives from Canada, an emigrant formulates a vision of the new land which is central to his interpretation of all ensuing experiences. A "protective" immigrant predicts that the new land will be hostile and threatening; an "expansive" immigrant predicts it will be welcoming and kind.

In the journey to the new land which is the second stage of the immigrant experience, the voyage can be of two different kinds. A modern immigrant even of limited means, and an early immigrant of substantial means enjoy a comfortable crossing; in former times; however, those with fewer resources suffered more, especially when the only means of transportation was by boat. Accounts such as those described in the chapters entitled "Storm and Misery" and "Cholera and Ship Fever" from Edwin C. Guillet's The Great Migration: The Atlantic Crossing by Sailing Ship Since 1770 [1] vividly describe how immigrants faced death in their nightmarish crossing over to the new world. In 1847 for example, of the 100,000 people who left the British Isles, "sixteen per cent died during the passage in quarantine, or in hospital"[2] once they had arrived. There were few instances where a spirit of compassion prevailed among passengers or among the crew. Instead, the unfortunate voyagers faced poor sanitation in cramped steerage quarters, verminous food, robbery, degradation, and even enslavement. The two percent of the population who could afford cabin accommodation availed themselves of the comforts and amusements found today on a modern ocean liner, including a tour of the lower classes' deck, if their stomachs were strong enough to withstand the odour from those who were often cooped up below deck for as long as one month or more.

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[1] Edwin C. Guillet, The Great Migration: The Atlantic Crossing By Sailing Ship Since 1770 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1937).

[2] Ibid., p. 91.

The modern immigrant is seldom faced with degradation, except, perhaps, at the hands of immigration officials who assess the immigrant's desirability, but, rich or poor, he still must make a voyage which transfers him from a society he knows into one which may be totally unlike his own. These voyages from old land to new have the characteristics of a journey of "transcendance" as described by Carl Jung:

> One of the commonest dream symbols for ... release through transcendance is the theme of the lonely journey or pilgrimage which somehow seems to be a spiritual pilgrimage on which the initiate becomes acquainted with the nature of death. But this is not death as a last judgment or other initiatory trial of strength; it is a journey of release, renunciation, and atonement, presided over and fostered by some spirit of compassion....
>
> ... In the first part of life, when one is still attached to the original family and social group, this may be experienced as the moment of initiation at which one must learn to take steps into life alone.[3]

A kind of death of the old land, and even of the old self, occurs en route to the new land. For the expansive immigrant, the possibilities of a new self are heartening; for the protective immigrant, taking on a new country means the sacrifice of the old, a sacrifice he is unwilling to make. The latter immigrant prefers to keep the old alive, and brings, as part of his mental baggage, ways of transplanting the old.

At the third stage, that of settlement, preconceived notions of the new country are put to the test. The expansive immigrant,

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[3] M.-L von Franz, "The Process of Individuation," Man and His Symbols, Part 3, ed. Carl G. Jung (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1964), pp. 151-52.

optimistic that he may create new forms in the new land, approaches his venture with confidence, and begins to create anew. He also accepts what he considers the ideas and behaviors of the adopted country. But because it is impossible to effect a complete change in a single lifetime, even though he is willing to leave behind the old ways, he does not achieve total assimilation in his lifetime. His descendants complete the changes he began. The protective immigrant, on the other hand, whose departure is usually marred by a deep ambivalence, continues to regard the new land with ambivalence. Though one of the reasons for his departure from the old country may have been dissatisfaction with social norms, he regards the new country as barbaric. He immediately seeks out his own ethnic, economic, or social group for reinforcement of his opinions.

In the days when settlement of the land was the chief purpose of immigration, the land itself seemed to issue a challenge. In response to that challenge, the protective immigrant felt he had to impose his own order on the chaos of the wilderness; he sought the comfort of forts, garrisons, and, later, of towns. A comparable modern immigrant, finding himself as foreigner in a strange land, seeks the area of the city which has most of the amenities he would find at home, or social groups where he will meet "his own kind." To these areas of the modern city have been given the unfortunate name of "ghetto." The third stage of the immigrant experience includes establishment, in modern times, in a ghetto, and in former times, in a garrison. The expansive immigrant does not necessarily feel a need to live in such

communities. He survives almost alone in the land, undaunted by a lack of company or of boundaries.

Nevertheless, both expansive and protective immigrants must come to terms with facets of life in Canada that are determined by the community. In the fourth stage, integration, both types of immigrant face similar problems. Formerly, an immigrant had to clear land, to establish himself financially, and often to learn the language. The modern immigrant faces more complex problems. In her study, Immigrants in Canada, Edith Ferguson names problems common to both skilled and unskilled immigrants.

> They face new rules and conditions with regard to education, health services, social services, housing, transportation, wage laws, property laws, banking, the political system, and many other matters. The new country has different community services, different habits, customs and social values.[4]

The greatest tool for overcoming these problems still is, of course, the mastery of the language. Ferguson cites a study which underscores the difficulty of learning the meaning of objects which are not the same as the objects in the mother country. On intelligence tests, Italian students scored lower than need be because of their lack of familiarity with objects in Canada.[5] Because immigrants cannot "name"

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[4]Edith Ferguson, Immigrants to Canada: Social Problems in Canada (Toronto: Guidance Centre, Faculty of Education, University of Toronto, 1974), p. 19.

[5]"One Toronto school was over 90% Italian. Each year the children in Grade two were given a simple test requiring them to match words with pictures. Nearly all missed the same question. They knew the word 'bread' but did not recognize the pictured loaf of bread because it was not the same as the Italian loaf." Ibid., p. 23.

things properly, they are sometimes regarded as inferior by those more acquainted with the language or with the surroundings. Their lack of facility with language keeps them in isolation. Until they have become fluent, or until they have children who will translate for them, they remain "protective" immigrants, always seeking those of their own group with whom they may communicate.

Often immigrant parents insist that their children learn two languages, that of the old country, and that of the new. These parents hope that in the language will be preserved the habits of thought of the motherland. They fear that children who learn only the language of the new land will not be "protected" from the new environment by the mores of the old. Children who not only learn one language, but also break away from the norms of behavior of the old country create a painful gap between first and second generations. Sometimes, disagreements over behavior, which are determined simply by the difference in generations, are blamed on the influence of North American society over the immigrant's children.

Two other areas may be a source of divergence between old and young generations: attitudes toward education, and convictions about intermarriage. In the modern urban setting, climbing the educational ladder may be a means of "making it," just as acquiring large homesteads would have been in an earlier period. In both instances, conflict between generations is bound to be encountered by families in which the children attain either more educational advantages or greater wealth than their parents.

Intermarriage between different ethnic, or ethnically-based religious groups is not as great a source of friction as it once was, for more marriages are taking place across ethnic lines. In the present decade, most Canadian families can point to a member who has married outside the family's own ethnic background. Nevertheless, the tensions of intermarriage can be dramatic. They could also be dramatized. Canadian audiences would appreciate a play in which the scenario resembles that of "Romeo and Juliet." Rival ethnic groups in Toronto or Vancouver could be substituted for the Montagues and Capulets, just as was done for New York in "West Side Story."

Objections to intermarriage, as well as to other ethnic intermingling, are based on long-held stereotypes which often have economic status as their base. John Porter, in his monumental study of social class and power in Canada, states that the "charter groups," that is, the English and the French, have always maintained their foremost economic position, or "entrance status."[6] These charter groups have had the power to assign status:

> ... There develops gradually a reciprocal relationship between ethnicity and social class. A given ethnic group appropriates particular roles and designates other ethnic groups for less preferred ones. Often the low status group accepts its inferior status. Through time the relative status positions, reinforced by stereotypes and social images ... harden and become perpetuated over a very long time.[7]

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[6] John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press, 1965), p. 60.

[7] Ibid., p. 63.

The kind of stereotyping to which Porter refers is a significant factor in Canadian life. In a study of immigrants, therefore, it is necessary to discuss stereotyping, and to make the connection between economic status and ethnicity on which stereotyping is based. The current discussion of the Federal government's green paper on immigration has brought to the fore some of Canada's worst ethnic stereotyping connected to economics.

In the presentations to the committee, illiberal views against the poorer immigrant, which, in healthier economic periods, would have been regarded as embarrassing, are once more being promoted. These views are remarkably similar in tone to the views expressed during another period of duress, the First World War. At that time, Andrew Drummond wrote:

> Looking back over the past, especially in the light of the present war, we can see that many mistakes were made in our methods of attracting immigrants into Canada, and in the character of the people we have allowed to come. Our anxiety to increase the population by additions from abroad, has not been accompanied by that careful selection which meant a more substantial development of the country. It was most important to encourage the educated Anglo-Saxon to come to our shores, as being imperial in his ideas, as making the best type of law abiding citizen, and as being progressive in the work he undertakes. And yet, in the past decade or more, we have welcomed the arrival from Austria, the Balkan States, Southern Russia, and Southern Italy, of hundreds of thousands of foreigners who are largely uneducated, have moral and social standards somewhat different from ours, and have raised among us racial religious and educational problems. They have found places as navvies in railway, canal and other construction, and, since the war began, in munition and other factories, whilst some have taken, indifferently, to farm life, but with large numbers of them who are still here, it is a question whether they can be regarded as permanent residents of Canada, and how far they will contribute, in even a moderate degree, to the national life and progress.[8]

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[8]Andrew T. Drummond, "State Directed Emigration to the Overseas Dominions -- A Policy for the Imperial Government after the War," Queen's Quarterly, Vol. 24 (1916-17), p. 296.

From time to time, Canadian writers have been guilty of a stereotyping almost as pernicious as Drummond's. Their lapsing into the use of stereotypes is not as significant, however, as their contribution to the Canadian "life and progress" through literature based on immigrant themes. Writers who have immigrated, and children of immigrants who owe their inspiration to the immigrant experience of predecessors, have contributed a rich reflection on this singular aspect of the total Canadian experience.

All four stages of the actual immigrant experience described here have been reproduced through the imagination of these literary artists. The fifth stage, mythologizing, has little correspondance to actual experience, except in the historical narration of tales about immigrant predecessors. This final stage exists most significantly in the mind of the artist in the internal world of the imagination. Each of the five stages as they have been expressed in literature are examined in the following section.

THE LITERARY IMMIGRANT EXPERIENCE

The Decision

Canadian writers have frequently described an ambivalence in the immigrant's decision to leave the mother country. He regards it as a centre of culture, or as a centre of corruption, or both. A protective immigrant, believing that the mother country is the container of the finest aspects of his culture, anticipates that Canada will be

culturally unseasoned. An expansive immigrant, assessing the old country as corrupt, usually predicts that Canada, being young, will not be as corrupt. When a single immigrant holds both view simultaneously, he wants both to leave and to stay.

In works where religious or economic persecution are stated as the impelling factors for leavetaking, the ambivalence is quickly resolved into a determination to emigrate. Several writers have described Europe, for example, as a place from which to escape. To Mordecai Richler, Adele Wiseman, and Henry Kreisel, it is the land of the holocaust, where the extermination of Jews is a horror that will haunt the characters even into the new land. Rudy Wiebe's Mennonite leader Deacon Block, leaves Russia to escape religious persecution. Morley Callaghan refers to Hunky's Polish parents who were put to death in Germany, presumably for religious or political reasons.[9]

The expansive immigrants in these stories are hopeful that the new land will allow them a freedom of action they had never before enjoyed. They believe that they will have not only the right to worship as they please, but also the right to advance themselves financially. A large body of promotion literature which instilled these hopes is still

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[9]Most of Richler's works deal in one way or another, with this theme. Adele Wiseman's The Sacrifice (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada, 1956) and Henry Kreisel's The Rich Man (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1961) also describe persecution of Jews. The two other works referred to are Rudy Wiebe's Peace Shall Destroy Many (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, New Canadian Library, 1962) and Hugh Garner's short story, "Hunky," Canadian Short Stories, ed. Robert Weaver, Second Series (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 23. The popular recent editions of these works have been used here and wherever possible elsewhere.

available for examination. Valuable more as rhetoric than as literature, a reading of promotion pamphlets illustrates how forcefully an expansive immigrant would be convinced to take an optimistic outlook. "Free lands for the millions" persuaded many emigrants to exchange economic oppression for independence.

Margaret Laurence explores the effects of economic persecution in Britain and in Canada in her most recent novel, The Diviners.[10] The problems of the Scottish crofters, who were expelled from their land by "wicked" landlords, brought them to Manitoba, where the Scots, in turn, set up a pecking order in Manawaka. Similar injustices in land-holding are exposed by Alexander McLachlan, who, believing that

> poetry should ennoble the reader ... strove to ... elevate the minds of that uneducated class of struggling men -- the class to which he himself belonged -- ... to hew out in the Canadian wilds a better society for man.[11]

A survey of the titles of some of his poems will suggest his convictions as a writer of expansive immigrant poetry: "The Genius of Canada," "The Man Who Rose from Nothing," "Young Canada: or Jack's as Good as His Master," "Hurrah for the New Dominion," "Old England is Eaten by Knaves."[12]

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[10]Margaret Laurence, The Diviners (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974).

[11]Alexander McLachlan, The Poetical Works of Alexander McLachlan (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), from E. Margaret Fulton's Introduction, p. viii.

[12]"Old England is Eaten by Knaves" is a section from the long poem, The Emigrant, by McLachlan. Ibid., p. 4.

Poetry as propaganda in his time was, and in some quarters still is, regarded by many as an honest pursuit. Elizabeth MacLeod, from Prince Edward Island, writes to convince Britains to settle in that area, beginning her exhortation:

> OH! ye who suffer ills untold
> Upon the ground you tread!
> Whose children pine from want and cold,
> And cry in vain for bread,
> Fold not your hands o'er cruel fate,
> Nor weep with blinded eyes;
> Look onward! peace and plenty wait
> Aneath our western skies.[13]

The modern reader is skeptical of propaganda, and of poetry as propaganda. The modern prospective immigrant may also be skeptical of government promises. Brian Moore illustrates that attitude in the priest's humorous sermon to Ginger Coffey's class at school:

> There's always one boy--Father Cogley said--always one boy who doesn't want to settle down like the rest of us. He's different, he thinks. He wants to go out into the great wide world and find adventures.... Ireland isn't good enough for him, it's got to be England or America or Rio-dee-Janeero or some place like that. So what does he do? He burns his books and off he runs. And what happens? Well, I'll tell you. Nine times out of ten that fellow winds up as a pick-and-shovel laborer or at best a twopenny penpusher in some hell on earth, some place of sun and rot or snow and ice that no sensible man would be seen dead in. And why? Because that class of boy is unable to accept his God-given limitations....[14]

In desperation, despite the doubts of those they left behind, many poor immigrants decided to come to Canada:

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[13] Elizabeth Stuart MacLeod, Carols of Canada (Charlottetown: John Coombs, 1893), p. 33.

[14] Brian Moore, The Luck of Ginger Coffey (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, New Canadian Library, 1960), pp. 17-18.

> With the quick rush of panting human waves
> Upheav'd by throbs of angry poverty,
> And driven by keen blasts of hunger from
> Their native strands - so stern, so dark, so dear![15]

One of Canada's most famous immigrants, Frederick Philip Grove experienced poverty in Europe. In fact, he bases most of his novels on the attempts of his heroes to gain economic superiority, which some of them witnessed in the European countries of their origins. A few of his characters not only aspired to the wealth of their European superiors, they also bore with them resentments which they applied to those in Canada who had greater wealth. Grove points out the irony in the statement of Mrs. Grappentin, a German Mennonite immigrant in Fruits of the Earth. She resents the success of the pioneer, Abe Spalding; "I can't stand the sight of the great and rich. It wasn't to see them that we came to this country." "Right, Mrs. Mother," her son opines. "We came to get rich ourselves."[16]

The attitudes expressed by working-class characters who are expansive immigrants may suggest that discontent with the old world was based solely on class; this is not entirely true. In Under the Ribs of Death, Mr. Hunyadi, a lower-class janitor-cum-watchmaker, lives by the values of the old world, even if it means that his family has bologna, while his "landsmann"[17] boarders, who never pay their rent, eat real

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[15] Isabella Valancy Crawford, "Malcolm's Katie," Nineteenth-Century Narrative Poems (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, New Canadian Library, 1972), p. 166.

[16] Frederick Philip Grove, Fruits of the Earth (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, New Canadian Library, 1965), p. 88.

[17] John Marlyn, Under the Ribs of Death (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, New Canadian Library, 1957), p. 31.

meat. He holds to Kropotkin's philosophy of "mutual aid,"[18] but his son, Sandor, sells out to the selfish materialist ideals of the new world.

Some lower-class protagonists clearly retain the old world values; others attempt some statement of superiority in the old world setting. For example, in The Viking Heart, Laura Goodman Salverson unabashedly, judges the Icelander as equal to the Englishman. Her archetypal figure of the wise old man, Sjera Bjarni, says, "England now is grateful for her Norman blood.... In England the Norman characteristic is still unsubmerged. So it will be with us here. Our children will be Canadians but our Norse nature will remain unchanged."[19]

Nevertheless, there does seem to be a correlation between class and attitude: the working class may be said to be expansive, the middle class -- protective. Among the middle-class protective immigrants in Canadian fiction, the relationship to England is expressed in proud terms. Lorne Murchison, the hero of The Imperialist,[20] endeavors to strengthen the Imperial connection with Canada through stronger trade ties. The citizens of the community which he represents hold a similar emotional tie to the mother country, but they are not willing to manifest their affection for England any more than would a

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[18] Ibid., p. 26.

[19] Laura Goodman Salverson, The Viking Heart (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, New Canadian Library, 1975), p. 37.

[20] Sara Jeanette Duncan, The Imperialist (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, New Canadian Library, 1961).

mature child who has moved away from home. Therefore, Lorne is almost rejected by his electorate. Moss described Lorne as a "colonial exile,"[21] whose exile is "a state of mind." According to Moss, a "colonial" is exiled within his own country; an "immigrant" is exiled in the colonies. He singles out the remittance man as a example of an immigrant in exile.

Seldom admired by their creators, remittance men are described as weak and simpering, rootless and ambitious. They seem to be fond of making speeches, and writing letters and articles. Hesketh's speech in the schoolhouse satirizes his misunderstanding of England's relationship to Canada:

> He dilated on the pleasure and satisfaction it had been to the people of England to receive this mark of attachment from far-away dominions and dependencies, on the cementing of the bonds of brotherhood by the blood of the fallen, on the impossibility that the mother country should ever forget such voluntary sacrifices for her sake, when, unexpectedly and irrelevantly, from the direction of the cloakroom, came the expressive comment -- "Yah!"....He had a trenchant sentence to repeat to them which he thought they would take as a direct message from the distinguished nobleman who had uttered it. The Marquis of Aldeburgh was the father of the pithy thing, which he had presented, as it happened, to Hesketh himself. The audience received it with respect--...but with apprehension: there had been too many allusions to the nobility for a community so far removed from its soothing influence. "Had ye no friends among the commoners?" suddenly spoke up a dry old fellow...
>
> A week later Mr. Hesketh was concernedly accosted in Main Street by a boy on a bicycle.
>
> "Say, mister, how's the dook?"
>
> "What duke?" asked Hesketh, puzzled.
>
> "Oh, any dook," responded the boy, and bicycled cheerfully away.[22]

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[21] Moss, p. 64.

[22] Duncan, p. 116.

A kind of self-supporting remittance man, Alfred Bowles, in Morley Callaghan's "Last Spring They Came Over" expresses his opinions through journalism.

> The night editor took a fancy to him because of the astounding puerility of his political opinions. Alfred was always willing to talk pompously of the British Empire policing the world and about all Catholics being aliens, and the future of Ireland and Canada resting with the Orangemen.[23]

Alfred Bowles eventually returns to England. Other self-supporting "protective" immigrants who had always intended to remain here have voiced sentiments like those of Hesketh and Bowles. Their estimation of Canada is based on unfavorable comparisons with institutions in the mother country.

Many references to foreign institutions, of a religious, political and cultural nature, may be found in Canadian literature. A few may be cited here, as examples of the attitudes of protective immigrants. In the late eighteenth-century, William Fermor reported back to the "Earl of _____" that "nothing would so much contribute to diffuse a spirit of order, and rational obedience, in the colonies, as the appointment ... of bishops.[24] In the middle of the twentieth century, Francois Hertel also claimed religious ties with the mother country; he deplores the lack of "French" religiosity in his fellow

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[23]Morley Callaghan, "Last Spring They Came Over," Canadian Short Stories, First Series, ed. Robert Weaver (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1960), p. 156.

[24]Francis Brooke, The History of Emily Montague (London: T. Dodsley, 1769), now available from (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, New Canadian Library, 1961), p. 168.

French-Canadians. In his poem, "To the Holy Martyrs," in which Hertel addresses Brebeuf and his Brothers, he cries out that "we have ceased being French, to become only Canadian...."[25]

British political institutions which are much lauded in Canadian constitutional history, have been praised by Canadian authors. In his narrative poem, about the United Empire Loyalists, "The U.E. - A Tale of Upper Canada," William Kirby delivered a paean to British justice.

> England alone, behind whose bulwarks ran
> The vestal virtues, and the hopes of man,
> From first to last, maintained the holy cause
> Of justice, liberty and social laws.[26]

Kirby wrote the poem in 1846 as a tribute to the "patriotic ... example" of the Loyalists.[27] In 1904, Sara Duncan created characters who saw no difficulty in a double patriotism to England and Canada. "...(O)ne saw in Octavius' Millburn's talk the phenomenon of patriotism in double bloom, flower within flower."[28]

Finally, in the matter of artistic institutions, many Canadians have revered and still do revere Europe as the vortex of the world.

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[25]Francois Hertel, "To the Holy Martyrs," The Poetry of French Canada in Translation, ed. John Glassco (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 102.

[26]William Kirby, "The U.E. - A Tale of Upper Canada," Nineteenth-Century Narrative Poems, ed. David Sinclair (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, New Canadian Library, 1972), p. 87.

[27]Nineteenth-Century Narrative Poems, Kirby, p. 81.

[28]Duncan, p. 51.

Though Susanna Moodie published in the Literary Garland, and though Frances Brooke attempted to imitate the epistolary style of her friend, Samuel Richardson, in The History of Emily Montague, both women regarded Canada as a backwater. Several modern fiction writers such as Morley Callaghan,[29] John Glassco,[30] and Gabrielle Roy,[31] send their heroes to Europe where they live in exile from both native and European artistic traditions.

Many Canadian readers may find these allegiances acceptable, of course, because they acknowledge that Europe is Canada's progenitor. But when an immigrant from Canada's parallel break-away nation, the United States, shows similar dual allegiances, teeth begin to grind. Harvey Wheeldon, an American colonialist in Fruits of the Earth, challenges Abe Spalding's leadership:

> though naturalized in Canada, [Wheeldon] remained at heart a citizen of the United States, and considering the ways of the country of his birth the best in the world, felt it incumbent upon him to keep alive the tradition or fiction that the Yankee is more progressive than any one else on earth.[32]

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[29]Morley Callaghan, "Now That April's Here," Morley Callaghan's Stories (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1959), p. 121.

[30]John Glassco, "Memoirs of Montparnasse," The Evolution of Canadian Literature in English: 1914-45 (Toronto: Holt-Rinehart and Winston of Canada Limited, 1973), p. 244.

[31]Gabrielle Roy, The Hidden Mountain (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, New Canadian Library, 1974).

[32]Grove, p. 162.

The Voyage and Arrival

There are only a few reflections of the actual crossing or voyage to Canada in Canadian literature, but, as has been suggested in the first section of this chapter, the effects of the break from the old country are profound. Some of the sensations of passage through a Jungian ritual death have been captured in two poems about ocean crossings. Thomas D'Arcy McGee's "Ode to an Immigrant Ship" implores the ship not to "tremble beneath the weight of (its) anxious human freight." He compares the ship to a "space-defying soul," or a "comet ... entered on her chosen path."[33]

The same sense of the release of souls into a kind of death-in-space prevails in Arthur Stringer's poem, "The Exiles." In the unsettling space of the ocean, the anxious voyagers observe the "paling waves,/the widening path." The shoreline disappears into a "steel-dark and boiling wake" and the sight of land is replaced by "some wandering plume of smoke along the sea-line ...." The enveloping dark and "cold alien stars" blur the passengers' sense of location. The poet does not resolve the tension of the embarkation with promises of a glorious arrival. Even the familiar sound of the "Old World tunes" die away, and the passengers huddle together as the "lonely shadow"[34] plunges into further darkness at the poem's conclusion.

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[33]Thomas D'Arcy McGee, "Ode to an Emigrant Ship," The Poems of Thomas D'Arcy McGee (New York: D. and J. Sadlier, 1869), p. 93.

[34]Arthur Stringer, "Exiles," A Woman at Dusk and Other Poems (Indianapolis: The Bobbs Merrill Company, 1928) pp. 124-126.

The voyage paintings of William Kurelek[35] are reminiscent of this poem by Stringer. Sketched from the perspective of the crow's nest, the passengers are mere dots on deck, and the distant horizon, or lack of a horizon altogether, are a wistful reminder of the presence of death in all departures. Kurelek believes in reconciliation with the forces for the destruction of the human spirit. A recent poem, Letter of the Master of Horse, by Gary Geddes explores this kind of reconciliation in an extended monologue. The master of horse describes his dispatch from Spain with "the whole street covered in flowers." Forced by a mutinous crew to jettison the horses in mid-Atlantic, and put in the stock on arrival, he asks:

> What is the shape of freedom
> after all? Did I come here
> to be devoured by insects, or
> maddened by screams in the night?

Despite his imprisonment, he sees beauty in the instruments of his death; as the chips fall about the feet of the carpenter fashioning his wooden harness, he describes them as "beautiful...yellow petals." He feels kinships with the "hapless"[36] horses just as the narrator in "Bridie's Ship Rat" by Gail Robinson feels friendship with a ship rat, and offers it a "sacrament of biscuit and tallow."[37] These contemporary writers are

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[35]These paintings are contained in private collections, and have not been published in a single volume. One example of such a painting is "First Sight of Halifax #2", William Kurelek, in Westward to Canaan, Joan Forman (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, Limited, 1972), p. viii.

[36]Gary Geddes, Letter of the Master of Horse (Toronto: Oberon Press, 1973), p. 18.

[37]Gail Robinson, "Bridie's Ship Rat", from Grain, vol. III, no. 2.

reconciled to the journey, and learn to love their tormentors in a manner that Douglas Jones extols. Perhaps Geddes and Robinson are showing a maturity of perception that indicates a ripening in the nation's psyche.

Earlier expansive works seldom show little love for the tormentor in the middle of the journey; greed for land, yes, but not love. In the novel, Sons of the Soil, by Ilya Kiriak, the immigrants stare out the train window and question, "Is there no limit to Canada?" They reason that, however bleak the current landscape, their part of Canada will be better.

> "... Our destined place is more attractive."
> "In our allotment the fences are made of sausages (kowbassa), the roofs of bacon," Solowy jested. "All we need to do is lie back and eat our fill, and when thirsty we shake a birch tree and wait for the beer and wine to fill our cups."

These Ukrainian peasants are shocked to find that they are on their own. No one tells them what to do:

> "There isn't a 'lord' here to do your thinking for you, Toma. That's your trouble. But you might as well get used to it. If we want lands free of lordships we've got to take risks. What did you expect anyway, homesteads waiting for us ready-made? We have just got here!"

Though they acknowledge that they need to act, they are stunned to immobility by the strangeness of the city. The women try to goad their men to action:

> "Why do you sit there like an owl on its perch?" Kalina scolded Pavlo. "Are you expecting manna from heaven? ...."
> "I'm sitting here waiting for your Paradise," retorted Pavlo, in deep voice full of reproach.[38]

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[38] Illia Kiriak, Sons of the Soil (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1959), pp. 11 & 17.

It is to be expected that anyone holding an extreme vision of the future would have to adjust that vision; the expansive mentality has more difficulty in adjusting. The optimistic fall a little harder than the pessimistic rise.

Settlement

Three Canadian novels bear out the expansive view of the land, each with a different definition of land. Each can be interpreted as a search for Eden and for Eve. In Frederick P. Grove's Settlers of the Marsh, the land is the soil itself, the unbroken land of the Interlake region on which Neils Lindstedt hopes to build an Eden that would not have been possible in Europe. "In Sweden it had seemed to him as if his and everybody's fate had been fixed from all eternity. He could not win out because he had to overcome, not only his own poverty, but that of his ancestors to boot...."[39] In Under the Ribs of Death,"land" is "real estate" or property. Sandor Hunyadi's vision of Eden lies not in the streets of North Winnipeg where he lives among "battered houses with scabrous walls,"[40] but in River Heights, where "comfort, wealth, and beauty" were manifest in homes that were "spacious, all light and air. That cost money, he reflected." Duddy Kravitz' idea of land is also real estate -- a piece of the wilderness to exploit, but his dream is based on a misconception. When his grandfather said, "A man without

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[39]Frederick Philip Grove, Settlers of the Marsh (1925; rpt. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, New Canadian Library, 1965), p. 39.

[40]John Marlyn, pp. 74 and 69.

land is nothing,"[41] he partially meant, "A man without a land (a homeland, such as Israel) is nothing." Driven by his materialist goals to acquire his property, Duddy alienates his Grandfather and all others who love him.

As in other Richler novels, the hero manipulates his girlfriend while achieving his goals, and eventually casts her off so that she does not share his gains. In Duddy Kravitz, the hero's girl friend, Yvette, voluntarily withdraws from him after Virgil's death. In Settlers of the Marsh and Under the Ribs of Death, the Eve figures are essential to their immigrants' visions. The children they may bear will sink family roots which will establish the heroes in Eden. When Ellen is unwilling to marry him, Neils marries Clara, a kind of alternate dark Eve, a Lilith figure. Clara, who embodies the decadence of the city, does not fit his image of an Eve to grace Neils' Eden. After murdering Clara, and serving a prison term, Neils marries Ellen and reestablishes himself on land which has prospered, indifferent to its owner's travails. "The farm grew according to laws of its own."[42]

In fact, Neils is possessed by his vision of the land. In breaking his homestead, Neils became a slave of his own labour. "Neils became more and more prosperous. But the farm owned him; not he the farm...."[43] Similarly, Sandor's property owns him, not he his

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[41]Mordecai Richler, The Apprenticeship of Duddy Kravitz (1959; rpt. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, New Canadian Library, 1969), p. 49.

[42]Settlers of the Marsh, p. 116.

[43]Ibid.

property; he compromises himself in many ways in order to achieve financial security. But he keeps Mary aloof from his financial machinations; she remains a cardboard figure bearing the child who comforts Sandor after his losses in the Depression.[44]

The belief that children will carry into the future the original immigrant's intention for his "land" is strongly expressed in expansive immigrant literature. Robert Stead uses a child's wisdom in asking a rhetorical question, "Who Owns the Land?" After several voices lay claim -- Duke, Common Man, Statesman, Farmer, Indian and "the Over-Rich," -- a child's voice replies:

> No man can make a grain of sand:
> How can he say he owns the land.[45]

Out of the mouths of babes comes doggerel! But Stead does make a point, -- the commonly held notion that the land is God's. In Canadian literature if God owns the land, it follows that the first sacrament man celebrates is the cutting of a tree -- a sacrament that creates a bond between man and the land:

> 'Twas a kind of Sacrament
> Like to laying the foundation
> Of a city or a nation.[46]

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[44] A fuller analysis of these themes is made in my article "The Search for Eve and Eden," which will be published in an upcoming edition of Classmate.

[45] Robert Stead, "Who Owns the Land," Songs of the Prairie (Toronto: William Briggs, 1911), page not noted.

[46] Alexander McLachlan, "The Emigrant," Nineteenth Century Narrative Poems, p. 131.

It is ironical that the cutting of a tree both joins the immigrant to, and cuts him away from, his past. In chopping down trees to build a new civilization, he lessens the likelihood he will return to the old. William Murdoch's drinking song offers cheer to those who are homesick for the past. He suggests that cutting a tree is a tonic for homesickness and an act of faith in the future:

> Come hearties, a bumper let's drain,
> And pledge the downfa' of hame sickness;
> We've gallantly rode o'er the main,
> Then why should we sink 'neath such weakness?....
>
> Let each take his axe by the heft,
> And chaunt while the forest he's cleaving,
> There's toil in the land we have left,
> And toil is the land that we leeve in.[47]

While she affirms the pioneer's faith, Isabella Crawford sees a darker side to the sacrament of tree-cutting:

> The throbbing music of the bold, bright Axe--
> The steel tongue of the Present and the wail
> Of falling forests - voices of the Past.[48]

Her trees "wail" because their death makes way for "mills" of industry, possibly the "dark Satanic mills" which English pioneers hoped to escape. In cutting away the forests, pioneers made room for cities; but urban and industrial man's commitment to materialism replaced the original bond with the land. This betrayal of the bond is beautifully expressed in Dorothy Livesay's poem, "Pioneer."

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[47] William Murdoch, "Song of the Emigrant," Poems and Songs by William Murdoch (Saint John: Barnes & Company, 1860), p. 115.

[48] Isabella Crawford, "Malcolm's Katie," Nineteenth Century Narrative Poems, p. 167.

He laboured, starved and fought:
In these last days
Cities roar where his voice
In lonely wilderness first sang out praise.

He sits with folded hands
And cries to see
How he has ravaged earth
Of her last stone,
Her last, most stubborn tree.[49]

Pioneers believed that tree-cutting was for the benefit of the community. Many expansive early immigrant pioneers held that industry was also a communal service. In Yellow Briar, for instance, Mrs. Marshall regards industry as a "social service," which

> had a greater duty than piling up wealth to ruin the lives of the money-grabbers themselves.... In pioneer life, people knew little of competition, but they tasted the sweets of neighbourly cooperation. The idea of gouging a neighbour with a high price because he finds himself short-taken in his supplies would have been shocking to the mind and feeling of Nancy Marshall. To her way of thinking, men successful under modern business methods should face a grand jury.[50]

The concept of sharing one's property naturally irks "protective" immigrants like Susanna Moodie who barely tolerates her neighbours' borrowing of her goods. It is to Mrs. Moodie's credit, however, that she divines the reason for the forthrightness of her neighbours who came to "borrow."

> They think they can debase you to their level by disallowing your claims to distinction; while they hope to exalt themselves and their fellows into ladies and gentlemen by sinking you back

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[49] Dorothy Livesay, "Pioneer," Collected Poems: The Two Seasons (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1972), p. 53.

[50] Patrick Slater, The Yellow Briar (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1966), p. 136.

> into the only title you received from Nature--plain "man" and "woman." Oh, how much more honourable than their vulgar pretensions!
>
> I never knew the real dignity of these simple epithets until they were insultingly thrust upon us by the working-classes of Canada.[51]

Arabella Fermor's attitude toward the immigrant peasants she encounters is less charitable: "nature is here a bounteous mother, who pours forth her gifts almost unsolicited: bigotry, stupidity, and laziness, united, have not been able to keep the peasantry poor."[52] The quotations from these two women summarize two important aspects of the expansive point of view -- that is, everyone is equally, only "man" and "woman" in the new land, and nature is generous to those who wish to use her. These expansive statements are made by women who are, in fact, protective immigrants. Though their egalitarian sense helps them appreciate the point of view of an expansive immigrant, their own experience of the fearful elements of life in Canada forces them to protect themselves.

Integration: The Garrison-Ghetto

In her imaginative interpretation of Susanna Moodie's protective consciousness, Margaret Atwood attributes to Mrs. Moodie

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[51] Susanna Moodie, Roughing it in the Bush (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, New Canadian Library, 1962), p. 140.

[52] Frances Brooke, p. 33.

phantasmogoric fears of the wilderness. The heroine suffers from dislocation; she is unable to "chart her mind":

> my mind is a wide pink map
> across which move year after year
> arrows and dotted lines, further and further,...[53]

These lines bespeak another of Northrup Frye's seminal phrases, "Where is here?"[54] This question is asked in all facets of Canadian literature, not just in interpretations on the immigrant experience; however, the basis for the question may be found in the experiences of the earliest explorers and settlers of the land. Their fear of the wilderness, of its space, cold, and wild animals, has provided images that permeate all Canadian literature.

Some writers who were themselves immigrants have created images which reflect these fears of the land. Standish O'Grady calls Canada's vast spaces a "... barren waste; unprofitable strand,/Where hemlocks brood on unproductive land,..."[55] Others have responded with a deep sense of mourning for the familiar land they left behind. Among writers who are not of the charter groups, the themes of the "alien" in exile is a popular one. Perhaps the reason for this is that they are immigrants who have recently arrived in Canada, and feel keenly

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[53]Margaret Atwood, "The Immigrants," The Journals of Susanna Moodie (Toronto: The Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 33.

[54]Northrup Frye, The Bush Garden, p. 220.

[55]Standish O'Grady, "The Emigrant (Winter in Lower Canada)," The Book of Canadian Poetry, ed. A.J.M. Smith (Toronto: W.J. Gage Limited, 1943), p. 72.

their loss of a mother country. Their poems are dominated by a spirit of melancholy which has no doubt been reinforced by their experience of wars and shifting allegiances. In several of the poems translated from European languages in Canadian Overtones and Volvox, the subject of loss is within the motherland. Others, such as this one by Pavel Javor, have Canada as the setting:

> To the bottom of the well
> has fluttered from the tree
> the ruddy maple leaf.
> Oh, God, when shall I calm
> a heart that endlessly
> is tight with grief?[56]

Through some of these poems runs a current of deep disappointment with the land, such as this one written by Siburbjorn Johannson who settled in Manitoba in 1889 at the age of 50 and died 15 years later. His uprooting late in life must have been especially disheartening.

> I never knew what Death's grim hand
> To starving mortals meant
> Until from out my native land
> It gave me banishment.
>
> With half my life-time thrown away,
> In exile I must toil,
> And rest, when ends my human day,
> In this cold, alien soil.[57]

Another immigrant, Jose Pachecho, recently arrived from Mexico, expresses an ironic ambivalence toward his country:

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[56] Pavel Javor, "The Exile," Volvox: Poetry from the Unofficial Languages of Canada - - - in English Translation, ed. J. Michael Yates (Port Clements: The Sono Nis Press, 1971), p. 199.

[57] Siburbjorn Johannsson, "Emigration to Canada," Canadian Overtones, ed. Watson Kirkonnel (Winnipeg: Columbia Printers, 1935), p. 16.

> I don't love my motherland. Its abstract brilliance
> is ungraspable.
> But (bad as it may sound) I'd give my life
> for ten of its places; certain people,
> ports, pine woods, fortresses,
> a ruined city -- grey, monstrous --
> several figures in its history,
> mountains
> (and three or four rivers).[58]

Having lost the motherland, and being lost in the new land, protective immigrants attempt to conquer nature with a determination not uncharacteristic of Western culture in general. While Western man has admired nature's beauty and bounty, he has also regarded it as a prize to be sought, like an anthropomorphized creature, to be conquered, tamed, and held at bay. The response of the garrison mentality to what is wild in nature and bewildering in the psyche is to build physical ramparts, or psychological barriers. These walls keep out the wilderness, but they also keep the inhabitants within. A garrison culture ironically gives strength to endure the wilderness, coupled with a righteous intolerance of those who do not live within the stronghold.

Jones and Atwood argue that the church is the backbone of the garrison culture, in particular, the Presbyterian church, which, in their view, is dominated by a God of right order and wrath. They point to Jason Currie as a striking example of Presbyterian righteousness. A Scottish immigrant with a strong sense of class differences, he tries to prevent his daughter, Hagar, from marrying Bram Shipley.

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[58] Jose Emilio Pachecho, "High Treason," Volvox, p. 77.

Bram is an unkempt suitor, in Jones words, an "authentic" creature of nature,[59] and in Laurence's words, a member of the "untribe."[60] In accordance with her conditioning, Hagar denies the passion Bram arouses in her. With no hope of transplanting the middle-class culture of the town in Bram's wild and drought-ridden farm, she flees to the West coast, where she finally reconciles herself to the unpleasant aspects of nature the garrison culture taught her to avoid. At the turning point in her life, in a symbolic communion by the sea, she becomes a queen of nature, adorning herself with a crown of June bugs. Afterwards, she spends the few remaining days of her life attempting to remove the garrison walls with which her father surrounded her in her youth. Hagar learns to accept both terror and beauty in nature. She also learns to accept a representative of the "untribe," Mrs. Jardine.

Such an acceptance implies a total integration of the personality that lessens man's alienation from his true self, and from the land which reflects his unconscious. According to Jones, "until we possess the land . . . we shall never possess . . . our own souls.... the land becomes a symbol of the unconscious, the irrational in the lives of the characters.... The more man sets himself against nature, and her imperfections the more completely he alienates himself...."[61] Such an

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[59] D.G. Jones, p. 37.

[60] Margaret Laurence, uses the expression, "untribe" in her article in George Woodcock's The Sixties: Canadian Writers and Writing of the Decade (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Publications Centre, 1969), p. 13.

[61] Jones, pp. 34 & 7.

acceptance also implies a total integration of the expansive and protective points of view.

It is in a description of an immigrant's attempts to integrate into Canadian society that the dichotomy of the expansive-protective modes of the immigrant experience themselves becomes completely integrated one with another. Because an immigrant does not find a ready-made Canadian national identity into which he may fit, he adopts both the expansive and protective points of view: he believes that he can use the land, or work through Canadian social structures, simultaneously defining himself as a Canadian; at the same time, he finds that the land and its occupants are inhospitable, and that he must return to his own immigrating group for solace, thus linking his own personal identity to his identity in the motherland.

One of the reasons for his difficulty in achieving a distinctly Canadian identity is that the designs of Canadian social structures are to a large extent, imported from the designs of the structures of the two charter groups, the English, and to a lesser extent, the French. When Eastern European and Oriental immigrants arrived, they had to fit into a hierarchy that was already established, and assume an identity that was largely "neo-British." The modern immigrant is also confronted by established social patterns. Moss describes this predicament:

> As the British influx was largely supplanted by the continental European, the nature of the confrontation changed. No longer

> was it the irritating abrasion of two factions within the Empire.... It became the often explosive collision of different, incompatible worlds.... These new aliens faced an unintelligible language, strange customs and stranger laws; an apparent culture vacuum. And despite the newness of such society ... it was not open-ended or unformed or elastic. The host society was not still perceptibly evolving. It was established from the outset as an extension of neo-British Upper Canada. Changes in it away from this displaced norm were largely beyond the newcomer's ability to appreciate. There was no impetus for the non-English-speaking immigrant to participate in a common dream, and in many cases, he was actively committed to oppose assimilation of any sort. He learned the language and laws of his new place--not in order to adopt them but to adapt to them where necessary to protect his alien status.[62]

Here, Moss is arguing in the protective mode. His statements may be criticized on the grounds that the expansive mode can exist simultaneously with the protective. The neo-British dominance which Moss describes is not as static as he says it is. Canadian history documents many biographies of formerly British citizens who, believing that life could be less stratified in Canada, were able to ascend the "social ladder" here more easily than they would have been able to do in England. Furthermore, "third-force" ethnic historians are at present, busily engaged in recording the lives of non-British individuals who did have the impetus to participate in the dream. Partly, these immigrants perceived that British immigrants benefited by changes in the "displaced norm," and partly, they had an incredible faith in the new land. Europeans and Orientals have learned the language and laws in order to integrate through linguistic re-invention and accommodation, and to become naturalized citizens of this country.

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[62] Moss, pp. 91 & 92.

First-generation pioneer immigrants made their attempts to integrate in a confrontation not so much with society as with the land. Their sense of purpose was figuratively ploughed into the soil, their sense of who they were, transplanted in the soil. Their purposes were often so specific, mastery of the land for economic gain, that they became slaves to the soil, and slave-masters to their families. They expected their children would have the same identity and identification with the land. In Yellow Boots, Lilli's father, Mr. Landis, says, "Land comes first, always. That is why I was born, that is why you were born -- to serve the land."[63] Land came first to other immigrant fathers, especially in novels set on the prairies: Fjalsted in The Viking Heart, Amundsen in Settlers of the Marsh, Klovacz in Wild Geese; Block in Peace Shall Destroy Many. Though he is not an immigrant, the patriarchal tyranny of Caleb Gare in Wild Geese[64] is typical of immigrant father-figures. Gare alienates his wife while destroying himself. Amundsen's behavior has similar features which kill his wife as well. Mrs. Fjalsted is almost destroyed, but she takes temporary refuge in madness. Block alienates his daughter and his wife. After working in the fields, in spite of her secret pregnancy, Elizabeth dies giving birth to a child born out of wedlock.

These male visions of Eden turn paradise into purgatory. Just as they take possession of their land, they turn their children into

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[63] Vera Lysenko, Yellow Boots (New York: Bouregy and Curl, 1954), p. 105.

[64] Martha Ostenso, Wild Geese (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, New Canadian Library, 1971).

chattels. Lilli is sold to another farmer as a slave-child, and is not returned to her home until her parents learn she is near death. The children are sometimes, appropriately, reflections of the land themselves. Judith Gare is a creature of the raw interlake country; her consciousness is depicted in several "earth" images in which she throws herself on the ground or lets the wind blow in her hair. But Judith escapes to the city, as does Lilli in Yellow Boots. Lilli's lover in the city, Matthew Reimer, romanticizes the land. Lilli says: "The land -- I hate the land.... The soil and tilling of the soil, Matthew realized, were not romanticized as they were by those who had no intimate acquaintance with pioneering life."[65]

Why are Canadian immigrant farmers described as domineering patriarchs in our fiction? As has been suggested by such critics as Moss, Atwood and Jones, Canadian writers are influenced by the Old-Testament image of God, and hence writers have transferred its image to earthly fathers. These fathers, or Adam figures, either dominate their Eves, or leave them "in dejection."[66] Another suggestion arises out of Lysenko's analysis of peasant cultures. Peasants who are no longer serfs behave like masters when given a chance. When he sees ten-year old Lilli laboring behind her father's plough, McTavish, the school teacher, wonders

> ...how long would it take for these people to work out from their souls the remnants of serfdom, to dispense with

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[65] Ibid., p. 251.

[66] Jones, p. 33.

> those ways of life incompatible with existence in the new country? All the weight of a semi-feudal heritage hung in the balance against Lilli's future happiness.[67]

Peasant cultures are ill-conditioned to accept the refined concepts of personal freedom and individual fulfillment. A search for personal identity demands that freedom. In Kreisel's short story, "The Broken Globe," Solchuk is unhappy that his son left to seek personal fulfillment, and unhappier still that his own flesh would challenge his image of the universe. He argues of the earth that "she is flat and she stands still," even though his educated son is winning honours in geophysical studies of the "curvature of the earth."[68]

On the other hand, in Canadian fiction we may find examples of parents who recognize, as did the Icelander in The Viking Heart, that "There is but one hope, the liberator for the poor. It is education."[69] Children must break away from immigrant parents for that education. In order to gain a better education than their immigrant parents had, the second generation children are forced to move to the city, thus transplanting the original family and ethnic roots in another alien setting.

Several Canadian novels about the search for identity and integration are set in the city. Two of them have roughly similar plot-structures: Under the Ribs of Death and The Bigger Light.[70] Marlyn

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[67] Lysenko, p. 200.

[68] Henry Kreisel, "The Broken Globe," Stories from Western Canada, ed. Rudy Wiebe (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1972), pp. 102 & 92.

[69] Salverson, p. 111.

[70] Austin Clarke, The Bigger Light (New York: Little, Brown, 1975).

dwells on Sandor Hunyadi's attempts to become a Canadian, or as Sandor sees it, to Anglicize himself. Sandor changes his name to Alexander Humphrey, and then to Alex Hunter, each change corresponding with his encounter with middle-class people of Anglo-Saxon origins. Though grateful when his Anglo-Saxon "models" are kind to him, he is ready to suspect them of slights and insults which he guesses are based on his Hungarian birth.

> The thought of how he had suspected Lawson, watching him every time they met for a sign, a tell-tale phrase, or even a smile that might reveal the prejudice he harboured, shamed him. And what was worse, since he had not found a vestige of prejudice against foreigners in this man, was; that he had actually come to believe that Lawson was in some indefinable way inferior to those who harboured such feelings....[71]

Similarly, Boysie Cumberbatch renounces his Barbadian origins, his dialect, and even his calypso records, in order to succeed in what he considers to be Canadian terms. Both heroes are reduced by their experiences into realizing that before they may discover a national identity, they must establish a personal identity. The trappings of identity, Sandor's new names, Boysie's big Buick, three-piece suit, and Judy Collins records are not enough. In spite of what Atwood says, in the process they are chastened and made stronger. They are forced to find values which will support them not only in the new culture, but in any culture.

In novels, in which the characters are from an urban Jewish community, the problem is not so much to find a Canadian identity, as to find a meaning separate from the religious-racial background that

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[71] Marlyn, p. 175.

gives a Jewish person his identity. Moss has observed that integration, for a Jew, means annihilation. When Noah Adler, in Son of a Smaller Hero, contemplates leaving his family in order to have an affair with a gentile, he shows the strain of his break with Judaism: "Oh God, I love them all. Listen, I'm not a Goy."[72] He fears being an outcast. In The Sacrifice, Ralph Knopp becomes an outcast when he drops his religious connections in order to succeed in the financial world.

Jewish immigration was based on the desire to escape violence and persecution in the ghettoes of Europe. In many Canadian fictional works, both Jewish and gentile characters become involved with violence in the process of integrating. Often an immigrant sacrifices a child before his integration is complete. Jones traces patterns of violence back to the influence of the Old Testament image of God's demanding a sacrifice. Moss connects them to cathartic relief from the burdens of the past, by which the conditions of exile have been enforced and endured.[73] An example which illustrates Jones' theory is Adele Wiseman's use of the Old Testament story of Isaac and Abraham. Moss's theory is worked out with reference to The Sacrifice and The Viking Heart. In his analysis of the latter novel, he mentions only Borga Lindal, neglecting Mrs. Hafstein, who suffers a parallel loss. The latter loses a daughter, Lillian, by drowning: The death "made in her grief a first bitter payment toward Canadian citizenship for herself and

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[72]Mordecai Richler, Son of a Smaller Hero (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, New Canadian Library, 1966), p. 97.

[73]Moss, p. 81.

her [other] daughter, [Margaret]."[74] Moss recalls that Borga's brother was killed in her family's flight from the eruption of the the volcano in Iceland, thereby leaving Iceland in a kind of flight from violence; he works out carefully the pattern in Borga's loss of her son, Thor. Alive, Thor would have renewed her Icelandic family by tending the land. In his death, he transplants Borga's soul in Canada. Thor "died that she might find her soul.... This Canada, which had demanded so much of them -- it was her country."[75] Her sacrifice is like Susanna Moodie's sacrifice of her son. She "planted her son in this country/like a flag."[76]

In his study of immigrant exile, Moss attributes to certain ethnic groups a proclivity for violence. Referring to Peace Shall Destroy Many, he cites the schoolteacher's comment on the Mennonite fascination with German violence in the Second World War: "Though Mennonites ... naturally abhor violence, they faintly admire it." Moss quickly adds that "these inclinations are shared with the rest of humanity."[77] Both he and Wiebe are engaging in an unfortunate literary convention, the use of stereotypes.

Writers who have been immigrants have shown an awareness of

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[74]Salvorson, p. 136.

[75]Ibid., p. 325.

[76]Margaret Atwood, The Journals of Susanna Moodie, p. 31.

[77]Moss, p. 94.

stereotyping as it exists in life. Two poets in particular have tried to argue that because of immigrants' sacrifices, they should not be stereotyped. Myra Lazechko Haas insists that because "her kind" participated in European wars on behalf of the Queen, they should not be called "foreigners."[78] She refers to immigrant laborers who built the railroad, or worked in mines, as does Rozsa Pall Kovacs:

> We are not wanted.
> But the mine-shaft gapes for us.
> Magyar muscles strain to the thud of the pick . . .
> And there Satan lurks as we week the vein,
> Battering, cleaving, forcing open
> In naked toil, in everlasting night,
> The gates of infinite treasure.
> All is for thee, young country.
> In vain, reproachfully and coldly,
> Thou turnest away thy face.[79]

In a few works, the sacrifices made by immigrants before and after arrival, and their herculean labours to integrate once they have landed, have been parodied. Whether or not it was Mordecai Richer's intention to parody The Sacrifice with Son of a Smaller Hero, the parallels between the plots are obvious. Influenced by Abraham's accounts of the courage of his forebears, Isaac rushes into the synagogue to save the Torah. He suffers severe burns which eventually kill him. Suspecting that his father's life-savings are hidden there, Alder also loses his life when he rushes into the flaming junk yard

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[78]Myra Lazechko, "Dedication," Peaceful Invasion, W.J. Sisler (Winnipeg: Ketchen Printing Company, 1944), p. 97.

[79]Rozsa Pall Kovacs, "Non-Preferred," Canadian Overtones, p. 69.

office to secure a box. His family later maintain that the box was thought to contain the Torah. In fact, it held only grandfather Melech's old love letters. In both stories, the third generation is not rooted to the new land through sacrifice. Instead, Moses considers yet another immigration to Israel. Noah leaves for England, Richler's actual and metaphorical land of escape.

Richler has always found the immigrant dream of paradise a source of rich irony. On this theme, he has written his own new "Jewish joke."

> Simcha Rabinovitch -- now there's a better Jewish joke than most. Born in a tailor shop on a dark tenement street in Russia, Simcha walked across Latvia and through Russia and down to China ... across to Japan and San Francisco and over the American continent to Montreal, Canada, where his Uncle Hershel had given him another stool in another tailor shop on another dark tenement street. There he stopped, the marathoner arrived, robbed of the dreams that sustained him through all his hiking.[80]

In his short story, "Black Iron Arm," Mort Forer treats the immigrant's dream of paradise in similar wry fashion. As an "expansive" immigrant, Uncle Solomon believed he should never steal another man's job. When he learns that the manager of the five-and-dime where he broke his arm will lose his job if Solomon sues the company as his relatives advised him to do, Solomon accepts the compensation of yet another job with the company. This sacrifice ruins his arm, and he dies. In helping him formulate a decision about the new job, his family offers its opinions. The "learned" Cousins' greed for legal and medical fees win out

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[80] Mordecai Richler, Son of a Smaller Hero, p. 144.

over their concern for their Uncle's health. The relatives reason as follows:

> "Tell me," my [Aunt Jenny of the dress shop] asked.
> "Where are we living, anyway. In the Garden of Eden or in Canada?"
> Clearly this was not the Garden of Eden.
> "Well, then . . . In Canada," she continued, "we must do like the Canadians. Live -- every man for himself. That's how they live."[81]

The black humour illustrated here is the best kind of ethnic joke. It pokes fun not at national characteristics, but at universal foibles. It contains the important element in genuine humour, contrast between the expected and the real. The worst kind of immigrant humour is to be found in the journalese of such writers as Harry Bruce and Hugh Garner. Attempting to put punch into their writing they adopt the crudest forms of address used on immigrants. In an article in which he himself says he is using "garlicky" prose, Bruce refers to Toronto Italians as "Joe Piccininnies."[82] In Garner's Cabbagetown, this conversation is displayed:

> "There's lots of Chinamen pannin' near Boston Bar.... We walked in from Transcona. None of them fuckin' hunkies would give us a lift on the road." The young fellow straightened up and stared at Red. He said, "Don't crack too wise about the fucking hunkies! I'm a fucking hunky myself -- a Polack."
> "That's the trouble in this goddam country, nobody sticks together. The Englishmen hate the Frenchman, an' the two of them hate the Jew, and the Jew hates everybody, and everybody hates the hunkies. The only guy that benefits is the capitalist. He loves to see us all hating each other 'cause it stops us hating him."[83]

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[81] Mort Forer, "My Uncle's Black-Iron Arm," Winnipeg Stories, ed. Joan Parr (Winnipeg: Queenston House, 1974), p. 23.

[82] Harry Bruce, "How Little Italy Beats the Weather," Source unknown.

[83] Hugh Garner, Cabbagetown (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1968), p. 117 .

The Anglo-Saxon community has usually been blamed for having prejudice toward non-Anglo Saxons. But the latter set up their own pecking orders as well. Often they are more hostile to one another than to the immigrants who came before them. Mrs. Plopler thinks that Abraham's family "still hadn't arrived anywhere,"[84] even though they had lived in Canada for five years. Two Belgians, Vandevelde and Gruenther, abuse Stanislaw Szymaniewski, or "Hunky." His bosses have citizenship, and Hunky accepts their abuse and their job because he believes that "in some magic way, [citizenship] would make him the equal of anyone in the country."[85]

A few Canadian writers who are themselves of Anglo-Saxon origins have used non-Anglo Saxons as idealized figures, especially as catalysts in love relationships. Margaret Laurence and Morley Callaghan have attributed to characters of European descent, characteristics which are antithetical to the character of the WASP lovers. The children of immigrants, Anna Prychoda in They Shall Inherit the Earth,[86] and Nick Kozlik and Luke Venturi in A Jest of God[87] and The Fire Dwellers,[88] respectively, regenerate their guilt-ridden Anglo-Saxon partners in love.

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[84] Wiseman, p. 73.

[85] Hugh Garner, "Hunky," Canadian Short Stories, ed. Robert Weaver, Second series (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 23.

[86] Morley Callaghan, They Shall Inherit the Earth (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, New Canadian Library, 1962).

[87] Margaret Laurence, A Jest of God (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1966).

[88] Margaret Laurence, The Fire-Dwellers (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, New Canadian Library, 1969).

Integration through Language

Throughout the history of Canadian literature, the attempts of immigrants to find an identity have been given a voice in the literary artist's search for the right word. At first, the voices were imitative of the artist's motherland. In David Arnason's delineation between the immigrant writer and the emigré writer, he outlines a difference in point of view that roughly corresponds to the difference between an expansive and a protective immigrant, respectively. Arnason says that though the immigrant writer recognizes that his new home is "uncultured and crude," he writes optimistically and with an "energy" that arises out of the new experience, so that he appears to "overwrite." On the other hand, an emigré writer presumes that Canadian culture is "inferior" to his own, and he "mimics" the writers of his former country. Arnason assumes that mimicry involves reduction, not generation, of energy, and the emigré's muse, or "energy" leaves him.[89]

It is impossible to say that at a precise moment in Canadian literary history, Canadian artists found their own voice. This has not prevented Canadians from trying to say so. In 1913, Bernard Muddiman confidently wrote that because of the stature of writers such as Charles Heavysege, D'Arcy McGee, George Murray, George Frederick Cameron,

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[89] David Arnason, "Some Propositions About Canadian Literature," Journal of Canadian Fiction, Vol. III, No. 1 (Winter 1974), pp. 1 & 2.

Charles Roberts, Bliss Carman, Archibald Lampman, Wilfred Campbell, Frederick George Scott, and Duncan Scott, the "age of the immigrant is past."[90] Modern critics would not be so confident that such a list proves 1913 to be a turning point. They are confident today, however, that they can trace the thread of development of that voice. Tracing the development of a native voice would take an entirely separate thesis, but a few images of the artist's sense of language, place and identity, can be mentioned here, with particular regard to the immigrant experience.

Images of the search for the word or the name permeate modern Canadian poetry. The subject of many such poems is the artist's interpretation of the experience of the earliest explorers. In the poet's imagination, the explorers must have been overcome by Canada's vastness. Having discovered lakes, they "left [them] without a name."[91] Described by Atwood, later settlers are totally disoriented; Atwood's Moodie is a "word in a foreign language."[92] Atwood says that Moodie's words are meaningless in the new context:

> (asked the Indian
> about the squat thing on a stick
> drying by the fire: Is that a toad?
> Annoyed, he said No no,
> deer liver, very good.[93]

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[90] Bernard Muddiman, "The Immigrant Element in Canadian Literature," Queen's Quarterly, Vol. XX (April 1913), pp. 407, 414, & 415.

[91] George Frederick Scott, "The Unnamed Lake," in Survival, p. 115.

[92] Margaret Atwood, "Disembarking at Quebec," The Journals of Susanna Moodie, p. 11.

[93] Ibid., "First Neighbours," p. 14.

Even the simplest natural objects have to be renamed. Atwood intends a second level of meaning, that of the poet's search for genuine expression of the Canadian experience. The search itself has a double bond; because the tradition is historically young, the poet must fearfully venture alone without "maps;" for the same reasons, the poet can rejoice in the creation of the unpredictable --

> in this area where my damaged
> knowing of the language means
> prediction is forever impossible[94]

Mythologizing

Northrup Frye has said that "the central myth of mankind is the myth of lost identity: the goal of all reason, courage, and vision is the regaining of identity."[95] In losing their former identity which they associated with their foreign motherlands, immigrants have tried to find identity once more in Canada. Watson Kirkonnel, an historian who, more than anyone in Canada, has documented and translated into English, literature written by immigrants, has recognized . . they are involved in a transition that contains the elements of Frye's central myth; the search for identity. "In the sporadic poetry of a generation of [uprooted newcomers] in transition, we may, if we will, glimpse the

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[94]Atwood, "First Neighbours," p. 15.

[95]Jones, p. 140.

inner world of its painful metamorphosis."[96]

Canadian writers may not define "myth" as specifically as Frye does;[97] they would be more likely to define myth in terms of developing a legend based on actual experience. They do seem to write as though they agree, however, with Frye's definition of the function of myth: "literature is conscious mythology; it creates an autonomous world that gives us an imaginative perspective on the actual one."[98] Our writers have panned the raw experience of immigrants and found there the nuggets which can create indigenous myths through the sluices of an "imaginative perspective." They have cast their own ancestors' search for identity in the mold of stories and poems, and plays. They have "mythologized" immigrant achievements and failures to heroic or mock-heroic proportions.

It may be said, therefore, that the fifth stage of the immigrant experience, "mythologizing," is based on the first four stages. Artists who mythologize "our ancestors" use everything in the immigrant experience, from the decision to emigrate to the integration of later generations. In so doing, artists are participating in the fifth stage themselves.

The fifth stage involves a looking back upon our immigrant past;

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[96] Watson Kirkonnel, A Slice of Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967), p. 81.

[97] Northrup Frye, The Bush Garden, p. ix. Frye's definition of myth: "the structural principle of the poem itself.... integral meaning presented by its metaphors, images and symbols."

[98] Ibid., p. 235.

the act of reflecting that experience in literature is always an act of hindsight. Saying that this creative act does not correspond to life at present, means that it corresponds to life, only as art corresponds to life. In other words, the artist's act of putting his immigrant story on paper, or an immigrant film on celluloid is the only act with which the fifth stage corresponds to a specific event in life.

Margaret Laurence has remarked that all Canadians are our ancestors.

> Beyond your great-grandparents, the ancestors become everybody's ancestors. They're kind of a diffuse, anonymous lot who [sic] you sometimes see in the old family albums and wonder who they were, but you have no means of knowing. It all becomes myth at that point.[99]

One of the corollaries of this statement -- that we share ancestors -- is that we are also all descendants of immigrants. Furthermore, we are "nth" generation participants in the immigrant experience because we are absorbing those myths of our ancestors which our artists and historians are creating for us. In our attempt to find personal "present-tense identity," we are looking to the past. When we attempt to foster a sense of national identity, in our schools, we should be studying the works that contain those myths.

One of the earliest poets to mythologize the immigrant experience is Alexander McLachlan. In his preface to the poem, "A Backwoods' Hero," McLachlan describes the conditions under which Canadian heroes were made:

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[99] Margaret Laurence, Conversations with Canadian Novelists, Part One, ed. Donald Cameron (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1973), p. 113.

> Canada is prolific in heroes of its own; men who venture into the wilderness, perhaps, with little save an axe and a determined will, and hew their way to independence. Almost every locality can point to some hero of this kind, who overcame difficulties and dangers with a determination, which, in a wide sphere, would have commanded the admiration of the world. Energetic, inventive, sleepless souls, who fought with wild nature, cleared seed-fields in the forest, built mills, schools and churches where, but a few years before, naught was heard save the howl of the wolf and the whoop of the Indian. Who gathered, perhaps, a little community of hardy pioneers around them and to which they were Carpenter, Blacksmith, and Architect, Miller, Doctor, Lawyer and Judge, all in one.[100]

The poet praises the hero's individualism, but he places his hero firmly within the community; the hero even refuses an invitation to go to Ottawa.

> Tho' styled by some "The Autocrat,"
> He paid as small regard to that
> As to the summer flies....
>
> Tho' many a person said
> He was the man who should be sent
> To rule our rabble Parliament...
> And here he lies at rest![101]

It could be argued that this hero's unwillingness to leave the group makes him a "protective" immigrant with a garrison mentality, but his "expansive" outlook, which is really McLachlan's own point of view, seems to make this immigrant function in both modes.

Canadian religious heroes in particular have been depicted in the context of their religious group. Father Brebeuf and his companions have inspired poems in praise of their group effort, but poets have,

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[100] McLachlan, The Poetical Works of Alexander McLachlan, p. 278.

[101] Ibid., p. 211.

at the same time, expressed a skepticism about the martyr-priest's role. To Scott, they are half-savage, half priest;[102] to Savard, they were pastoral shepherds to whom modern priests refer in order to "fleece" their modern flock of its money.[103] The mock-heroic element in our literature may spring from a national bent toward self-deprecation; or it may be a part of our reaction to "loneliness and terror" in the face of nature -- Frye's central tragic theme. Whatever it may be, we do have other poems that treat our heroes seriously. Keith Wilson and Elva Motheral have compiled many of these poems which show admiration for their subjects in The Poets' Record.[104] Jacques Cartier, Henry Hudson, and Samuel Hearne are three of the well-known Canadian explorers whose exploits are described in this book.

Two major contemporary writers, Margaret Laurence and Al Purdy, have chosen to mythologize their own anonymous ancestors. Jones has observed, "One of the characteristic preoccupations of contemporary poets is a concern to possess, or to re-possess, the actuality of their childhood, of their father's or grandfather's world."[105] Working on these themes, Laurence and Purdy prize their ancestors as patriarchal

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[102] Scott, Selected Poems, p. 89.

[103] Felix-Antoine Savard, "Saints of the Land," Poetry of French Canada, p. 67.

[104] Keith Wilson and Elva Motheral, The Poets' Record: Verses on Canadian History (Winnipeg: Peguis Publishers Limited, 1975).

[105] Jones, p. 171.

heroes who settled "the country of defeat,"[106] whose steadfastness and pigheadedness "left a place to stand on."[107]

In consciously mythologizing their ancestors, they have reproduced their idiom of speech. For Laurence, the idiom came automatically:

> I remember when I wrote The Stone Angel what a terrific surprise it was to me to realize that I was actually writing a lot of Hagar's speech in the idiom of my grandparents' generation -- which was, I may say, an idiom which I didn't even know I remembered until it came back to me with her, and I knew it was right. It was like tapping a part of your head that you didn't know was there, and it was all there.[108]

Purdy may have contrived his idiom, but his poetry flows in a natural colloquial rhythm. For example, Purdy's grandfather's voice describes the empty wilderness:

> Not now boy not now
> some other time I'll tell ya
> what it was like
> the way it was
> without no streets
> or names of places round
> an nothin but moonlight boy
> nothin but that[109]

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[106] Al Purdy, Cariboo Horses (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1965), p. 74.

[107] This fragment from Purdy's "Roblin Mills" was quoted by Laurence as a favorite line that "summed up [her] feelings about [her] grandfather's generation and the generation of Hagar in Stone Angel. Clara Thomas, "A Conversation About Literature: An Interview with Margaret Laurence and Irving Layton," Journal of Canadian Fiction, Vol. 1, No. 1 (Winter, 1972), p. 69.

[108] Laurence, in Conversations with Canadian Novelists, p. 113.

[109] Purdy, Cariboo Horses, p. 105.

Laurence uses the colloquial when her patriarchs deliver their Presbyterian axioms. Hagar hears her father saying:

> "You'll never get anywhere in this world unless you work harder than others, I'm here to tell you that. Nobody's going to hand you anything on a silver platter. It's up to you, nobody else. You've got to have stick-to-itiveness if you want to get ahead. You've got to use a little elbow grease."
>
> I tried to shut my ears to it, and thought I had, yet years later, when I was rearing my two boys, I found myself saying the same words to them.[110]

Laurence is impressed by the fact that parents do repeat the speech of their parents to their children. She realizes that people do become caught in a kind of genetic conditioning. To find release from grand-parental domination she has written stories about her own grandfather, such as A Bird in the House. A constantly recurring image in her work is "the house," the house being a physical symbol of the mind's imprisonment. Anne Herbert has also expressed a fear of ancestral influence in the image of a house. In the polished mirrors of her consciousness,

> There is always someone dead behind the quicksliver
> Who soon covers your reflection
> And clings to you like seaweed,
>
> Shapes himself to you, naked and thin,
> Pretending that his long, barren shiver is love.[111]

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[110] Margaret Laurence, The Stone Angel (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1964), p. 13.

[111] Anne Hebert, "Ancestral Manor," Canadian Anthology, C.F. Klinck and R.E. Watters, eds. (Toronto: W.J. Gage and Company Limited, 1955), p. 300.

Whether the emotion be admiration, resentment, or fear, the responses of literary artists to the actual immigrant experience have shown that throughout Canadian literary history, a consistent and consecutive pattern has emerged -- the two modes, and the five stages, as they have been developed in this chapter. Though these stages are described most inclusively in novels, they are also illustrated in shorter works.

Several shorter works which illustrate this literary framework are chosen for the anthology in chapter four. The following chapter proposes a theory of literary creation which may be applied to the literary immigrant experience, and hence, to the actual immigrant experience. The same theory is then applied to the teaching of the adolescent student.

Chapter Three

THE IMMIGRANT EXPERIENCE AND THE STUDY OF LITERATURE

Literature is any organized life-like imaginative interpretation of experience. The preceding chapter dealt with only the latter part of the definition, "the imaginative interpretation of experience." It examined the actual event of immigration, and the imaginative response of Canadian writers to their perception of the event. There remains a need for a discussion of the first part of the definition. A clarification of what is meant by "organized and life-like" in literature requires a brief interpretation of the nature of aesthetic experience. Furthermore, it is necessary to examine the connection between literature, the aesthetic experience, and the student. The relationship among the three will determine the value and appropriateness of literature.

The aesthetic experience is essentially the same as ordinary experience. I.A. Richards has maintained that the aesthetic experience is

> closely similar to many other experiences, that they differ chiefly in the connections between their constituents, and that they are only a further development, a finer organisation of ordinary experiences, and not the least a new and different kind of thing.[1]

At first glance, it would appear that a line of reasoning based on Richards' premise suggests that no special qualities may be attributed

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[1] Ivor A. Richards, Principles of Literary Criticism, Fifth Edition (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1934), p. 14.

to artists. Further examination of his Principles of Literary Criticism reveals that he does delineate differences between artists and what may here be called the ordinary citizen.

The same stimuli confront both artist and citizen alike. Both perceive in an event a degree of detail that is linked with their physical faculties and their past experience; the artist has better recall. Both possess imaginative capacities to colour this detail; the artist is concerned to use his imagination in a way that will communicate his responses to others. Unlike the citizen who is most often content with a disorganized and unrecorded verbal response, the artist seeks a refined ordering of words that will communicate both the event and his emotional response to the event.

In ordering his interpretation of experience for the purpose of communication, the artist must refer to stimuli that are common to his experience and to the experience of his reader. He must also relate that experience in a fashion that is not as chaotic as life is. Northrup Frye states the problem aptly in The Educated Imagination: "To bring anything to life in literature, we can't be lifelike; we have to be literature-like."[2] In Anatomy of Criticism, his statement is repeated more clearly: "Literary shape cannot come from life; it comes only from literary tradition and so ultimately from myth."[3] By "myth," he means

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[2]Northrup Frye, The Educated Imagination (Toronto: CBC Learning Systems, The Hunter Rose Company, 1963), p. 37.

[3]Northrup Frye, Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays, "The Archetypes of Literature," Criticism: The Major Texts, Enlarged Edition, Ed. W.J. Bate (New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich, Inc., 1970), p. 634.

the "integral meaning presented by metaphors, images and symbols" or the "structural organizing principle of literary form."[4]

Frye's criticism has centred on works that are supremely well organized, works that are most frequently termed "masterpieces." His criteria for quality are so exacting that only masterpieces will bear his kind of analysis. He has not confused quality, however, with value. The quality of a work lies in the extent to which it is organized; the value of a work lies in its presentation of a social vision. In other words, less-structured works may express social vision. "That's why," Frye reasons, "it's important for Canadians to pay particular attention to Canadian literature, even when the imported brands are better seasoned."[5] Whether or not it is true that all Canadian works are less seasoned, it is true that when Canadians study their own works, they acquire a knowledge of the cultural heritage they share. Only with this knowledge will they find the literature of a genuine education.

Neither Frye nor Richards assumes that the value of a work rests in the work itself. Rather, they suggest that value is achieved by the interaction between the reader and the work. The better a reader has been trained, the better he will be able to discern structures that give quality, and social vision that liberates. Though they both state that value is not contained in the work, they firmly assert that

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[4]Frye, The Bush Garden, p. ix.

[5]Frye, The Educated Imagination, p. 53.

literature and the arts have no equal as training grounds for the mind. The essence of Frye's statement about literature, "No matter how much experience we may gather in life, we can never in life get the dimension of experience that the imagination gives us,"[6] is repeated in Richards' statement about the arts, "The arts record the most important judgments we possess as to the values of experience."[7]

These two statements made by Frye and Richards have important ramifications for educators. If literature gives to its reader "extra dimensions" of experience as no other medium can, then it is imperative that the student have a wide exposure to the written word. He must be encouraged to become engaged with the writers, to seek out the writers' insights and to combine them with his own. This engagement places a faith in the accumulated experience of both the writer and the student. John Dixon has observed that

> pupils with their own experience of the role of spectator have the power, then, to draw from the artist and thinker new insights into life. When it speaks to them like their own work, the mature writer's poem or story or philosophizing helps to give new order and meaning to parts of their own experience.[8]

The insights gained from literature offer new approaches to life which the adolescent seeks. At the period in his development when he is deciding what is of value, he should be presented with an art form that records the most important judgments we possess as to the value of experience.

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[6] Ibid., p. 42.

[7] Richards, Principles of Literary Criticism, p. 32.

[8] John Dixon, Growth Through English (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 30.

Frye has noted that the literature a society "produces, at every stage, tends to be rhetorical, an illustration or allegory of certain social attitudes."[9] Such a statement suggests that all literature is propaganda. In the broadest sense, that is true. From a reading of a well-composed work, it is possible to divine the attitudes and values that reflect a certain period. Frye has also said that literature is "conscious mythology."[10] In this case, he defines "myth" in a different sense from his first definition of myth as "the structural principle of a work." This second definition of myth refers to literature which is written "in order to persuade us to accept existing social values."[11] This kind of myth is found most frequently, says Frye, in "popular literature" or literature in which the immature writer is not sufficiently detached from his subject. In such literature, the individual usually fulfills himself within the community. But when the mature writer conquers his "rhetorical impulses," "an ironic or realistic literature becomes fully possible. This new kind of detachment of course often means only that the split between subject and object has become identified with a split between the individual and

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[9] Frye, The Bush Garden, p. 231.

[10] Ibid., p. 235.

[11] Ibid., p. 235.

society."[12] Frye gives as an example of the writer's objectivity, Earnest Buckler's The Mountain and The Valley.[13] Buckler's protagonist, David Canaan, is detached from rural maritime society. Buckler's point of view is also detached from the characters he creates. A less mature writer, Alexander McLachlan, places his heroes within the society of the Ontario backwoods, and he assumes their point of view completely.

In the narrow sense of the study of literature in the classroom, it is also true that literature is propaganda. Teachers of literature, more than most other subject-area teachers, are concerned with the study of contemporary values and attitudes in contemporary literature, and with a search for eternal values through a study of literary history. They recognize the necessity to educate students to be part of society, but their drawing of the boundaries of "society" vary. Some educators include national boundaries in their definition of society. Glyn Lewis, at the International Conference at Dartmouth College, pointed out that "with all due respect to the child, society has its claims too; its nature and needs must be considered. It properly seeks to incubate its values, secure his loyalty, and promote national unity.... The child himself needs not only adventure but security. He needs the feeling of shared experience...."[14]

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[12] Ibid., p. 231.

[13] Ernest Buckler, The Mountain and the Valley (1952; rpt. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, New Canadian Library, 1961).

[14] Herbert J. Muller, The Uses of English: Guidelines for the Teaching of English from the Anglo-American Conference at Dartmouth College (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1967), p. 34.

In Canada, the quest for security within the national community is a problem of major concern. The conflict between ethnic groups or between provinces, such as Quebec and Ontario, which are dominated by one particular ethnic group, creates a tension which may be likened to whirling discs within a huge circle, each disc threatening to fly off from the large circle, through its own centrifugal force. The education system is part of the machinery that keeps the discs circulating in orbit. Within a school system, students gain a knowledge of the composition of the national society and a tolerance for its disparate elements. Within the literature curriculum, the study of the immigrant experience exposes the student to the commonalities of experience, giving him a security that enables him to bear these conflicting tensions.

This security will not necessarily be achieved in a six-week unit of study. As Richards has pointed out, satisfied impulses must be accumulated over a long period of time before there is a change in attitude. All this suggests that Canadian literature should be offered throughout the school years. Only in the later years of school, however, will a true sense of historical perspective be developed.

In his mature school years, a student realizes that personal, national, and universal values are one and the same thing. That realization, according to J.N. Hook, justifies the usefulness of an historical approach, especially for the mature student.

> The usefulness lies in the fact that the basic concerns of man have always been essentially the same (e.g. survival, relationships with others), and we can learn about these concerns by

observing how our ancestors coped with them. The past, that is, enlightens the present.[15]

This kind of curriculum design coincides with the observations made by teachers and psychologists of the link between level of maturity and level of interest. Margaret Ryan has schematized the maturing of student interest in correspondence with types of novels. She says that the least mature students prefer emphasis on plot with physical and, later, psychological conflict. At a mid-level of maturity, they prefer works about character development -- first in stereotypes, and later with "fully realized individuals, showing a complexity of personal motives for action." The most mature can discern "values of immediate concern, and later, values of fundamental concern to all human beings."[16] In other words, the most mature prefer to read for "theme."

Ryan's thematic approach is appropriate not only to the novel, but also to other genres. William H. Evans and Jerry L. Walker, in New Trends in Teaching English in Secondary Schools, outline a procedure for teaching literature which centres on theme. This thematic approach is based on the New Criticism that arose from I.A. Richards' criticism. The New Criticism assumes that every piece of literature has its own intrinsic structure. A student is taught first to

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[15] J.N. Hook, The Teaching of High School English, Fourth Edition (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1972), p. 170.

[16] Margaret Ryan, Teaching the Novel in Paperback (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1963), p. 2.

analyze individual selections, and, later, to make generalizations based on the analysis. This inductive method of teaching encourages students to "hypothesize about the relationships among the particulars and the whole."[17] In the "structure as recurrent theme" variant of the New Criticism method, the cohesive element in a unit of study is discovery of the similarities of relationships. In immigrant literature, the similarity of relationships is found in the five stages of the theme, the immigrant experience. In addition, the "structure as recurrent theme" approach assumes that the content or the theme may be expressed through various "modes (romantic, comic, tragic, or ironic) and various forms (plays, poems, short stories).... The student's job is to [discover] that any piece of writing which claims to be literature deals in some way with the same content... His study proceeds from an understanding of the particular elements in a single work to an understanding of the common elements in various genres [and] modes ...."[18]

In a thematic study unit on the immigrant experience, then, a student can begin in one genre or form, and progress through other forms, searching for the theme that binds the unit together. As he finds variations on the theme, he further studies other genres which have similar characteristics to the first genre he studied. This approach has its

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[17] William H. Evans and Jerry L. Walker, New Trends in the Teaching of English in Secondary Schools (Chicago: Rand McNally & Company, 1966), p. 38.

[18] Ibid., p. 40.

merit: it emphasizes content first and form second. The study unit proposed here does the same: the theme or content in the immigrant experience is of first importance; the forms or genres in which it is expressed, are secondary. Nevertheless, it must be stressed that both are required.

Too heavy an emphasis on one or the other threatens the balance of any course in literature. A one-sided emphasis also threatens English teachers. At the Dartmouth Conference, for example, "a joint Anglo-American paper suggested that the English curriculum might be designed in terms of experience rather than knowledge." Apparently, conference participants reacted to the paper as if it were "dynamite."[19]

No such dichotomy between "experience" and "knowledge" need exist. While a student studies the works on the immigrant theme, tracing out the five stages which unify it, he simultaneously studies the forms and techniques used by the writers. In Hook's terms, the "sociopsychological" and the "analytical" approaches "overlap."[20] Furthermore, as was suggested in chapter one, this unit of study compares the forms and the techniques in Canadian literary development. It does not, as the New Critics suggest be done, study a single work without reference to historical or biographical information.

Assuming that in the preceding ten years, a student has acquired some knowledge of form, the teacher isolates elements of

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[19] Muller, p. 81.

[20] Hook, p. 194.

narration, such as plot and characterization in the following related forms: beginning with the short story, she traces the relationship of the forms of the folk tale, the epistolary letter, the familiar and formal essay, and the one-act play. Imagery could be discussed in any of these prose genres, but it is taught more effectively in poetry. In studying Canadian poetry in particular, considerable reference to the Imagist movement is valuable, partly because the Imagists concentrated solely on the image, and partly because the American Imagist movement influenced Canadian poetry. D.G. Jones comments that

> The current influence of American poetry on the younger generation of Canadian poets is not merely a fad, but stems from a common conviction. [Some Canadian poets] share a common distrust of conventional forms, rhythms, diction, and imagery, and a common desire to explore and articulate those aspects of their experience that are ignored or denied or simply distorted by the traditional matrix of language. Here is the reason for the continuing vitality of imagism....[21]

This distrust of conventional forms has led many Canadian writers to an exploration of the colloquial. In modern works, colloquial syntax and rhythm have become acceptable poetic language, though colloquial voice used by lesser-known early Canadian writers is still held in disrepute.

Related to voice is point of view. In early writings about immigrants, being rhetorical in nature, the author assumes almost total identification with his heroes. This is particularly true of expansive literature where the characters fulfill themselves within the

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[21]Jones, p. 168.

community. In more recent works, the mature Canadian writer looks back upon the immigrant experience with a detachment that, as Frye says, make ironic and realistic fiction possible. The teacher may illustrate changes that have occurred in the handling of point of view by referring to the significance of dates of publication. She may also illustrate another historical aspect of point of view -- the fact that because the author has found a basis for narration in oral and formal history, he therefore frequently places himself within the story as a character who collects or purveys these histories. This kind of "second-hand" story telling requires skillful narrative technique.

As the student understands these techniques and forms, he should be able to use some of them in order to produce his own interpretation of experience -- in fact -- his own literature. His vicarious responses to the experience of the immigrant in his own reading are at a pre-critical or chaotic stage, until they become organized in a coherent fashion that is determined by choice of form. To believe that a student is capable of a literary effort called literature is partly an act of faith, and partly an interpretation of Richards' outline of the aesthetic experience. If the student is capable of organizing his responses properly, he can write literature.

The problem in getting students to write has been often that they think literary language is not the language they use, and that the writer's language is uncommonly effete. They also regard literature as a refined art, unconnected to their lives, because it is not based on an experience to which they may relate their own experience. An exploration

of what is deemed poetic or literary language in Canadian literature, and a study of the experience of immigration as it relates to them in their own country should help to correct their misapprehension. Surely, one of the greatest benefits of teaching Canadian literature is that students discover a relationship between literature and their lives.

Student-writing assignments, therefore, should involve investigation of immigrants' experiences by further reading of literature outside the classroom anthology, in the school library, and research outside the school, in, for example, archives, museums, interviews with immigrants, or with grandparents. Collecting his own materials gives another dimension to the student's own involvement. Both inside and outside of the school, nevertheless, the objective is to have the student return to a form of expression suitable to the materials he has discovered.

The student's literary expression of his own accumulated experience enables him not only to order his unorganized responses in a manner which communicates, but also to achieve a social vision of his own country. His vision or definition of Canadian identity helps him to tolerate his country's own frequently unharmonious elements, and to appreciate the Canadian elements which differ from other countries. At the same time, while he learns, through the thematic approach, that the forms of literary expression contain many of the same elements, he may begin to realize that the values held in his own country are also held universally.

Chapter Four

THE ANTHOLOGY

There are two major considerations that dominate the choice of selections for a textbook anthology: the curriculum principle of scope and the principle of sequence. The choice of works on the immigrant experience as it is expressed in Canadian literature fulfills the requirement of scope when it represents all ethnic groups, all provinces, and all short literary genres. At the same time, the choice of works fulfills the requirement of sequence when it represents all historical periods, both in setting, and in the date of publication of the works themselves. An additional consideration of sequence of an anthology is the ordering of the works, as they are indicated in the table of contents. Presumably, teachers work through a well-organized text, from beginning to end. A table of contents for this anthology is given in Table I (pages 88-91 below). The following discussion of that table of contents forms the basis of the introduction to this chapter on the anthology.

The inclusion of selections here from most major ethnic groups, from almost all provinces, and from all short genres, gives scope. The choices reflect, to a high degree, the proportion of representation from different countries in Canada's ethnic make-up. Based on current, or ancestral, origins, half the literary immigrants are of British origin. Some, such as the Loyalists, were of mixed origins, though predominantly British; others, such as Nowlan's and Brewster's ancestors, were probably British. The other charter group, the French, is next highest, though

somewhat under-represented here because of the scarcity of English translations. For several reasons, no attempt has been made to correlate actual immigrant numbers with literary numbers. First, this anthology represents all immigrants to Canada since the earliest settlement. The proportions of immigrants from different countries have been in a state of flux, except for the constant high numbers of British and French. Second, the selections were made for other than just ethnic considerations: they were chosen to represent the five stages -- 1. The decision, 2. The voyage and arrival, 3. settlement, 4. integration, 5. mythologizing -- and the two modes -- the expansive, and the protective. Third, just as it is now often impossible to guess the specific origins of Canadian citizens, it is difficult, in some literary selections, to pin-point the ethnic group involved. This is particularly true in the stage of mythologizing, where distinctions are purposefully blurred and ancestors are viewed as "communal."

In Canada, to apply the principle of scope to curriculum choice, is to represent all provinces. Two provinces which usually do not fare too well in any selective process have been omitted here, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland. One selection from each which might have been used, are "The Immigrant's Appeal," by Elizabeth Stuart Macleod[1] and a letter from Richard Whitbourne[2] to James I in 1622, persuading him to send

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[1] See above, p. 26.

[2] Richard Whitbourne, Westward Hoe for Avalon in the New Found Land, ed. Captain T. Whitbourne (Exmouth: Publisher not given, 1870). Richard Whitbourne was a 17th century propagandist; Avalon, a name reminiscent of "Arcadie," was a colony in Newfoundland during the reign of James I. Whitbourne argued that the island had "abundant heapes of nourishments."

settlers to Newfoundland. Both were discarded. Macleod's is of insufficient literary merit, and Whitbourne's -- an historical, not a literary document, written in the old style of English script -- is too difficult to decipher.

There appears to be an imbalance in the numbers of works from each genre. The preponderance of poetry reflects the fact that Canadians have been prolific in the writing of poetry. However, as with the examination of ethnic representation, the point must be made that choices were made on the basis of the content and quality of the works themselves, not just on the basis of genre. There are fewer short stories than poems. Depending on the typeset of the page, there may be as many pages of stories as of poems. Of course, the considerations of theme, literary devices, and arrangement are more significant than the number of pages the poems and stories occupy.

Before this century, the "letter" contained many elements similar to the modern short story. Two examples of the letter are included to show this relationship. Other reasons for their inclusion are developed in the analysis of the letters themselves, later in this chapter. The folk tale is also an early form of narration, almost as old as man himself. The modern use of this form shows how enduring it is. The personal essay is kin to the folk tale, and the sample given here shows that kinship. It can also be compared, in purpose and diction, to the sample of the formal essay. Finally, there are three reasons for the presence of only one drama. Lack of space in an anthology is one; printing of plays involves a great waste of space between speeches. A dearth of good quality drama that would appeal to adolescents and that is about the immigrant

experience, is another. A third reason is connected with the approach taken to drama in high schools. Many teachers trained in drama are not impeded by a lack of scripts. They use novels, short stories, and plays, in addition to historical documents, as in the "Reader's theatre" approach. This approach would be suitable to the study of the immigrant experience contained in this anthology. Family and ethnic conflicts, for example, are both fundamental to the immigrant experience and a rich source for "creative drama."

As well as the principle of scope, the principle of sequence is illustrated in the table of contents. The selections are made from almost every period in Canadian history. In the early period of exploration, those who kept journals and diaries were not likely conscious of literary quality. Their writings, Northrup Frye has observed, "...are as innocent of literary intention as a mating loon."[3] Only one selection for the anthology was written in the 17th century, but two are set at that time. There is small representation according to publication date, from the 18th century and 19th century -- two from each -- but six are set in those centuries, especially at the mid-19th century, when immigration was at a high point.

It is interesting to postulate a correlation between actual immigration and appeal of the subject for literary creations. In the 1930's when immigration was drastically reduced because of the economic conditions, there was less literary concern with the subject, and there

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[3]Northrup Frye, The Bush Garden, p. 214.

are only two selections set at that time. The "forties" and "fifties" show an increase both in settings and publication dates, but the astounding increases are in the "sixties" and "seventies." These decades show a remarkable surge of interest in the immigrant experience. This can probably be accounted for by two factors. One is that since centennial year, many Canadians have felt an intense desire to define, once again, the meaning of their national identity. As suggested in previous chapters, the immigrant's search is the Canadian's search, and literary artists are returning to their roots for inspiration. At least five of the selections published during or after 1967, cover the time span of Canada's first one hundred years. Second, increased affluence, especially in the form of Canada Council grants to presses, has increased the publication of this material.

Another aspect of the principle of sequence as reflected in these selections is their suitability for the adolescent reader. Though students will read works written before their own young lives began if those works are entertaining enough, they prefer to read contemporary literature. Over half the publication dates are from after 1965. A teacher should not have to make this point, but, if students bring up the argument of "modernity," she can be ready with that valuable statistic. This thesis is not intended to be a statistical analysis, but assuming that the anthology is a representative historical sample, the observations made above are worthwhile.

It cannot be presumed, unfortunately, that students will have the knowledge of Canadian history that will enable them to see the relationship between the sequence of the anthology, and historical events.

Moreover, appreciation of the development of the native Canadian voice is probably beyond the grasp of a student who rarely differentiates between the voices of Marvell and Masefield in other English curricula. Therefore, wherever necessary, the analysis of anthology selections offers historical information needed for the interpretation of the work, and, less often, for the interpretation of the native voice. Also connected to knowledge of history, is the student's study of what is the actual and what is the literary in the immigrant experience. Several projects or essay topics are proposed which require student research into particular ethnic groups or particular historic occasions, as well as into literary criticism, Insofar as it is possible, these projects are worked into the narrative of the chapter, but, wherever they obtrude, they are kept in the footnotes.

The first, and longer, section of this chapter includes a discussion of the manner in which each selection represents each stage of the literary experience. The first three stages, the decision, the voyage and arrival, and settlement, remain the same, but part of stage four, integration, has been subtitled "The Rural Wilderness/The Garrison" and "The Urban Wilderness/The Ghetto" to show the progression of integration from rural to urban settings that has occurred in the actual immigrant experience (with some exceptions, of course, especially in the present day, when immigration is made predominantly straight into urban settings). It is impossible to say that a selection represents one stage only; it may belong in two consecutive stages, or in such diverse stages as the decision and mythologizing. Literature simply does not fit the procrustrean bed teachers tuck it into.

Nonetheless, the twin beds of the expansive and protective modes are filled whenever the characteristics of their type of immigrant appear. So that the reader does not get lost in the immigrant hotel corridors of this thesis, the characteristics of the expansive and protective modes are recapitulated in Table II. The subject of the sentence fragments in Table II is generally the expansive or the protective immigrant. In stage five, mythologizing, the two modes are combined, and therefore, relocated in the chart. The process of mythologizing is then outlined separately from the modes. Following the two tables, an analysis of each selection, stage by stage, completes this chapter.

Most of the anthology selections may be found in the recent text book publication, The Immigrant Experience[4]. The excisions which were made for the publication are in the Appendix. Other selections which were either left out of this text for lack of space, or which were found after the text was published, have also been included in the Appendix.

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[4]The Immigrant Experience, ed. Leuba Bailey, "Themes in Canadian Literature," General ed., David Arnason (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada limited, 1975).

As much as possible, the footnotes in the remainder of this chapter reveal the sources in the most available editions, usually paperback. Where reprint acknowledgements have been given in the frontispiece of the source books, they are given in the footnote.

Each source is given only one footnote, with inclusive pages. All further references in this chapter are from those pages.

TABLE I

The Immigrant Experience:
Anthology Selections

Title of Selection	Date of Publication	Ethnic Group	Setting	Genre
I The Decision				
Gully Farm - Mary Heimstra	1955	English	England, 1903	Short story
Christie's First Tale of Piper Gunn - Margaret Laurence	1974	Scottish	Scotland, 1811	Folk Tale
The Fever of Immigration - Susanna Moodie	1852	English	Ontario, 1832	Formal Essay
To Cordelia - Joseph Stansbury	1783	Loyalist	Nova Scotia, 1783	Poem
II The Voyage and Arrival				
Further Arrivals - Margaret Atwood	1970	English	Ontario, 1932	Poem
Immigrants - John Colombo	1973	English	Ontario, 1831	Poem
Emigrants - Walter Bauer	1968	Sicilian	Mid-ocean, the 1950's ?	Poem
Calgary Station - Isabel Mackay	1930	Mixed	ca. 1930	Poem

TABLE I continued

Title of Selection	Date of Publication	Ethnic Group	Setting	Genre
III Settlement				
Letter 49, History of Emily Montague - Frances Brooke	1769	English	Quebec, mid 18th century	Letter
Colonial Set - Alfred Bailey	1973	French	Quebec, 17th century	Poem
Letter from Port Royal - Marc Lescarbot	1606	French	Nova Scotia, 1606	Letter
Young Canada, or Jack's as Good as His Master - Alexander McLachlan	ca. 1861	Scottish	Ontario, 1840-1861	Poem
The Well of Dunrea - Gabrielle Roy	1957	"Ruthenian" and French	Manitoba, 1900?	Short Story
IV Integration				
A. The Rural Wilderness/The Garrison				
In the Wilderness - Al Purdy	1965	Doukhobor	British Columbia, ca. 1963	Poem
Brothers - William Valgardson	1973	English & Indian	Manitoba, ca. 1950's	Short story
What Do I Remember of the Evacuation - Joy Kogawa	1974	Japanese	British Columbia, 1942	Poem

TABLE I continued

	Title of Selection	Date of Publication	Ethnic Group	Setting	Genre
	120 Miles North of Winnipeg - Dale Zieroth	1971	German	Manitoba, 1914	Poem
	east to west - George Bowering	1968	Chinese	Alberta, 1867-ca. 1967	Poem
B.	The Urban Wilderness/The Ghetto				
	Back Door - William Paluk	1965	Ukrainian	Manitoba, 1940's	Play
	Wedding in Toronto - Austin Clarke	1971	Barbadian	Ontario, 1960's	Short story
	Bambinger - Mordecai Richler	1969	Jewish	Montreal, 1940's	Short story
	Anglosaxon Street - Earle Birney	1939-1942	English & others	Toronto, 1940's	Poem
C.	Integration Through Language				
	A Class of New Canadians - Clark Blaise	1973	American, French & others	Montreal, 1960's	Short story
	The Laundress - Einar Paul Jonsson	1920's?	Icelandic	Winnipeg, 1920's?	Poem
	Mrs. Fornheim, Refugee - Irving Layton	1969	Jewish	Montreal, 1950	Poem
	A pinch or two of dust - Alden Nowlan	1974	Scottish	New Brunswick, 1970's	Poem

TABLE I continued

Title of Selection	Date of Publication	Ethnic Group	Setting	Genre
V. Mythologizing				
Roots - Alden Nowlan	1971	Not stated	Nova Scotia, 1880-1971	Poem
Grandfather - George Bowering	1971?	English	Canada, ca. 1867-1967	Poem
Great-Aunt Rebecca - Elizabeth Brewster	1969	Not stated	Maritimes, ca. 1867-1967	Poem
Tzigane Days - Barbara Ursell	1974	Roumanian	Saskatchewan, 1950's	Personal Essay
Ancient Lineage - Morley Callaghan	1929	British	Ontario, 1920's	Short story
Summer Acres - Anne Wilkinson	1951	British	Ontario, ca. late 19th and early 20th century	Poem
Transformations - Miriam Waddington	1972	Diverse	Timeless	Poem

TABLE II

The Expansive Mode	The Protective Mode
I The Decision	I The Decision
1. Attracted by the unknown.	1. Prefers the known.
2. Challenged by the wilderness' fertility and variety.	2. Predicts the wilderness will be hostile and savage, animals - wild.
3. Believes propaganda promising prosperity.	3. Is skeptical of propaganda.
4. Considers Motherland not the centre of culture. Believes experiences in new land will be authentic.	4. Considers Motherland and has real values in genuine culture.
5. Is generally of lower class.	5. Is generally of middle class.
II Voyage and Arrival	II Voyage and Arrival
1. Is sustained throughout voyage by possibility of new life.	1. Is plagued throughout voyage by self doubt.
2. Shows optimism in first perceptions.	2. Threatened by space and darkness in first perceptions.
3. Is willing to venture alone.	3. Transplants community.
III Settlement	III Settlement
1. Expresses joy in labour as member of working class.	1. Assumes privileged position of life at Home.
2. Organizes life into new social forms.	2. Transplants social customs, such as festivals.
3. Perceives land as fertile. Establishes Edenic world.	3. Perceives land as cold and chaotic. Establishes order with garrison.
4. Respects Indian.	4. Thinks Indian hostile.

TABLE II continued

The Expansive Mode	The Protective Mode
IV Integration	IV Integration
A. The Rural Wilderness/The Garrison	A. The Rural Wilderness/The Garrison
1. Loss of innocence in Edenic world. Perception of land modulated.	1. Protection sought from institutions, especially legal system.
2. Children establish roots in the land.	2. Children taught birthright from Homeland.
3. Sacrifice to obsession for land.	3. Only partial loyalty to new land achieved by sacrifice.
B. The Urban Wilderness/The Ghetto	B. The Urban Wilderness/The Ghetto
1. Willing to venture into undefined areas of city.	1. Lives within defined areas.
2. Family transitions encouraged over the generations.	2. Family transitions resisted.
3. Religious-ethnic affiliation not firmly held.	3. Religious-ethnic changes threaten cultural annihilation.
4. Ethnic distinctions played down.	4. Ethnic distinctions considered important.
5. Upward mobility and financial success starts move toward the protective mentality.	5. Some breakdown of social barriers toward those not of protective grouping.
C. Integration Through Language	C. Integration Through Language
1. Facility with new language desired.	1. Facility with new language avoided.
2. Advances through education.	2. Entrenchment of social position through education.
3. Poet's function: to produce new poetic language.	3. Poet's function to reproduce language of "Home."
4. Naming new objects, and personal choice of names significant.	4. Old names, having no connotation, produce disorientation.

TABLE II continued

V Mythologizing:

1. Native voice found.
2. Idiom of ancestor reproduced.
3. Lost identity found in grandparents' world.
4. Original immigrant, both protective and expansive, subject of literary expression.
5. Myth exaggerates actual immigrant experience.

The Decision

The first chapter of Mary Heimstra's novel, Gully Farm,[5] provides an excellent introduction to the ambivalence of the protective-expansive mentality. Mother and Father Pinder are characterized as complete opposites in temperament. Mother, the protective emigrant, prefers the settled garden that is England, its cultivated flowers, small enclosed farms, and ivy-covered stone houses -- in short -- civilization. She has no desire to move from her tamed pastoral home to a place where she might have to cope with untamed wilderness, and frightening animals. Her desire to protect what she has, combined with her innate skepticism, creates a verbal counterpoint to her husband's statements. When Mr. Pinder, for example, says:

> It must be fair wonderful.... The grass touches the horses' bellies, and practically everything's free. There's all the meat you can eat: deer, elk, prairie chickens, rabbits, grouse. All you have to do is shoot them. And if you want to fish you just throw a line into a lake, and the fish stun one another trying to grab your bait. You can build your own house and barn, too. It won't cost you a thing.

-- she invokes the protection of British law which forbids such free actions: "What about the gamekeepers?" Mary Heimstra reveals how difficult it is for a person of this mentality to leave behind family graveyard plots, never to walk again on the streets where ancestors trod.

A true expansive emigrant, Father Pinder is not daunted by untamed fields or animals. His own English fields, he believes, are small and

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[5]Mary Heimstra, Gully Farm (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, Limited, 1955), pp. 4, 5, & 3.

infertile; in Canadian fields, the wheat grows "as tall as a man" and "even the small fields are half a mile long." In England, coal may be full of cinders, but in Canada, the wood is free. He wants a better life for his children in a land where, he has been led to believe, ownership is not monopolized.

An additional conflict between protective and expansive mentalities is found in the portrayal of two minor characters, Uncle Sam, and the Man from Manitoba. Heimstra suggests that Uncle Sam once held expansive views, and had attempted to become a "colonial" soldier in India. Through bad luck, he was unable to seek his fortune there, and his disappointment influences his attempt to intervene in his sister's departure. But the pull from the Man from Manitoba is too strong, as the rest of the novel bears out. The family does move as part of the Barr colony to the area around Lloydminster.

The Man from Manitoba is described in legendary terms, as a kind of healthy Johnny Chinook, a walking advertisement for the invigorating climate:

> Big and loose-jointed, he looked as if he had been out in a high wind and hot sun for a long time. His red hair was always rumpled, and his eyebrows, bleached to a pinkish shade, stood on end. Red freckles spattered his face and his big ears, and his eyes looked like the pond on a cold, windy day. The backs of his broad hands were also freckle-blotched, and hair the colour of his eyebrows grew between them. While Dad milked the solemn cows he leaned against the end of the stall and talked in his flat, monotonous voice that seemed to come partly from his nose.

His "string of words" is like a cord that pulls the family across the Atlantic.

The reluctance of another immigrant group, the Scottish Crofters

sponsored by Lord Selkirk, is also overcome by a voice, -- the voice that speaks best to the Scottish, the bagpipe. In "Christie's First Tale of Piper Gunn," Margaret Laurence's own use of language captures the event in a voice that reflects the sentiments of a lowly garbage collector who can rise to eloquence when he describes his ancestral past. Through this tale, taken from The Diviners,[6] Christie Logan, the Manawaka garbage collector, explains to his ward, Morag Gunn, that, though her status in the town is poor, she comes from a proud and influential line. Laurence uses poetic license to describe the stalled departure. There was, in fact, a "Gunn" among the Selkirk settlers, but the only evidence available here indicates that Angus Gunn was not the piper who piped them on board. In addition, though the highland clearances brought misery, they also had beneficial results. Laurence, however, describes the Duchess of Sutherland and her tacksmen [sic] as evil creatures. They represent the kind of exploitation in the old land from which the settlers had to flee. The "Bitch-Duchess" as she is called by Christie, "sowed the darkness and reaped gold" because "sheep...pay better than folk." The tacksmen drive the people from "their homes which they had lived in since the beginning of all time."

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[6]Margaret Laurence The Diviners (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1974), pp. 40-42.

In another novel about the Selkirk settlers, by Wemyss Cavaick, Uprooted Heather (Vancouver: Mitchell Press Limited, 1967), p. 144, the crofters are piped aboard by a character named "Gipsy." Angus Gunn appears elsewhere in the novel, but not at this particular moment. It is interesting to note that the author's first name is also Margaret Laurence's maiden name.

The pull of the known holds the protective immigrants back from the unknown:

> Better to die on the known rocks in the land of their ancestors, so some said. Others said the lands across the seas were bad lands, filled with the terrors and the demons and the beasts of the forest and those being the beasts which would devour a man as soon as look at him.

Interpreted by Laurence for myth-making purposes, Piper Gunn is superhuman, able to persuade first by insult, and later by playing his pipes. In a stirring passage, his beautiful and brave wife and he lead the way to the ship; Gunn, in effect, makes the decision on behalf of the crofters. The obvious comparison of the crofters to the children in "The Pied Piper of Hamelin" emphasizes the fear and innocence of these peasants.

It was in anticipation of the heedless following after strong leadership, or the pull of unscrupulous propaganda, that Susanna Moodie published Roughing It In the Bush[7] in 1852. She hoped that her publications would allow the English middle-class reader to make an intelligent and informed decision about Canada. A reading of late 19th-century and early 20th-century promotion literature (a project students might enjoy in an archives) reveals little change in propaganda writing techniques. In fact, there is a remarkable similarity in diction between the kind of hyperbole Mrs. Moodie uses in her "Introduction to the First Edition,"[8]

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[7]Susanna Moodie, Roughing It In the Bush (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1962).

[8]All quotations here are taken from the "Introduction to the First Edition" of the New Canadian Library edition only, pp. ix-xviii.

and the passages in Sons of the Soil and "The Decision."[9] Mrs. Moodie's prose rings with sarcasm for the emigrant's gullibility:

> Men who had been hopeless of supporting their families in comfort and independence at home, thought that they had only to come out to Canada to make their fortunes; almost even to realize the story told in the nursery, of the sheep and oxen that ran about the streets, ready-roasted, and with knives and forks upon their backs. They were made to believe that if it did not actually rain gold, that precious metal could be obtained, as is now stated of California and Australia, by stooping to pick it up.

In order to prevent the spread of such attitudes, Mrs. Moodie cautions middle-class emigrants to take note that they will be beyond the "protective influence of the wise and revered institutions of their native land." She states that her class have been trained for neither the rigours of Canada's physical climate, filled with "rust and smut," nor educated for the social climate where servants behave with "saucy familiarity." Still, Mrs. Moodie concedes, should the emigrant decide to come, out of duty or necessity, he may through hard labour achieve "independence and content, not homesickness and despair." These elitist and egalitarian views pervade the entire work, and a complete reading of Roughing It In The Bush for these points makes a worthwhile related assignment. It would be useful at the same time, to make comparisons with the advice given by her sister, Catherine Parr-Traill, in her book, The Canadian Settler's Guide.[10] Students have been known to

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[9] See above, p. 35, and p. 97.

[10] Catherine Parr-Traill, The Canadian Settler's Guide (1955; rpt. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, New Canadian Library, 1969), and The Backwoods of Canada (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1966). A student might enjoy writing a promotion pamphlet of his own for a contemporary immigrant.

enjoy particularly trying out some of Mrs. Parr-Traill's recipes for survival in the backwoods amid "coarse fare and rude shelter."[11]

In "To Cordelia,"[12] Joseph Stansbury also described the "climate rude" and "sordid shed of birchen bark" in his half-hearted invitation to his wife to join him in Canada. Exiled from the United States for his Loyalist sympathies in 1783, he lived in Nova Scotia for two years before being allowed to return to New York. He realized that with six children Cordelia would not enjoy exposure to the weather and the lowly mode of life in exile, and he urges her to decide to join him only if she is so "indifferent" that "hope has left [her] like a painted dream." The tone of despair in "To Cordelia" is common to the "exile" poems discussed with reference to protective immigrants in chapter three. Reasons for emigration vary, but the protective sense of loss is universal. Specific literary material about the Loyalists is surprisingly scant, considering that they are among the most established and educated English-speaking immigrants Canada has known. A collection of short stories, Township of Time,[13] by Charles Bruce, and Thomas Raddall's "A Harp in the Willows"[14] describe the difficulties

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[11] Introduction, Roughing It In The Bush, p. xviii.

[12] Joseph Stansbury, "To Cordelia," The Book of Canadian Poetry, ed. A.J.M. Smith (Toronto: W.J. Gage, 1943), pp. 66 & 67.

[13] Charles Bruce, Township of Time (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada, 1959).

[14] Thomas Raddall, "A Harp in the Willows," At the Tide's Turn and Other Stories (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1959), pp. 37-53.

experienced by these immigrants who felt more loyal to the institutions of their motherland than to those of the new land, the United States. A student could undertake to read these stories as a project.

The Voyage and Arrival

Whether it be of the Loyalists, or of any other emigrating group, students engaged in studying the immigrant experience may benefit from an inter-disciplinary approach. With some knowledge of history, they may discover how a literary artist selects, heightens, re-arranges, and falsifies the material he has taken from the historian. Several student projects proposed in this chapter make comparisons between the actual and the literary experience of various ethnic groups or individuals. Usually the literary experience is studied first. There are, however, some exceptions to this approach. Where the actual experience itself can be simulated in the classroom it can take precedence. The "voyage" is one of these actual experiences which can be studied before the literary one.

Historical research can prepare the students to lead a simulated voyage, but these students should keep their information about the conditions of passage to themselves until the experience is completed. After a careful reading of Guillet's The Great Migration, especially Chapter 9, "Storm and Misery," and Chapter 10, "Cholera and Ship Fever,"[15] the leaders re-arrange the classroom furniture in the manner of the hold of

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[15]Guillet, The Great Migration, pp. 67-98.

a 19th-century sailing ship. Their fellow students, in the meantime, prepare passports with an assumed "identity" culled from remnants of their own family past, and bring with them any documents or artifacts they may have to show to their classmates. After spending up to three hours confined in a crowded classroom with "authentic" food, drink, boredom, and claustrophobia, students appreciate the deprivation and discomfort that many of their ancestors must have suffered. When they have written compositions which pose the difficulties of a one or two-month passage, the leaders who did the research give their reports. The actual conditions of crossing are frequently more astounding than anything imagined by the students, and their surprise interests them in a discussion of the voyage poems.

"Further Arrivals,"[16] Margaret Atwood's poem interpreting Susanna Moodie's voyage in 1832, is a vivid description of the emigrant's journey. The crossing is described as a "long illness," for the poet refers both to sea-sickness, and to the cholera epidemic which struck many emigrants at that time. For Atwood, the disease is a symbol of the old civilization. This symbol itself is the only indicator of an expansive attitude. Apart from this one allusion to decay, the poem is written in a protective mode. Mrs. Moodie is uneasy about giving up her "civilized distinctions." She is terrified of the hostile landscape and the uncivilized behavior of the lower-class immigrants who throw off their clothes. Her fears are described in metaphors which reflect the landscape:

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[16]Atwood, The Journals of Susanna Moodie, pp. 12 & 13.

My brain gropes nervous
tentacles in the night, sends out
fears hairy as bears....
                    hears
malice in the trees' whispers.

She feels that if she had "wolf 's eyes" she could see through the "large darkness" of her "own ignorance." The darkness is comparable to the "unknown" in Jung's "voyage of transcendance." But Mrs. Moodie is unwilling to initiate a confrontation with her "self" just as she avoids a confrontation with nature: she says, "I refuse to look in a mirror." Like the other common reflective symbol in Canadian literature, the lake, the mirror provides no sense of her identity. Totally disoriented, she loses her sense of reality: "Whether the wilderness is/ real or not/ depends on who lives there." Mrs. Moodie's civilized "garrison" mind cannot define this first experience of Canada. The ambiguity in this line suggests that the wilderness might be real for others -- for the Indian who lives there, perhaps, or for expansive immigrant who is not threatened by it.

Atwood wrote this powerfully evocative poem out of Moodie's description of her arrival in Chapter one of Roughing It In the Bush, "A Visit to Grosse Isle." Other poems in the Journals rise out of Moodie's later experiences. A reading of both works is a profitable assignment for a discerning student who may find many images of dislocation and lost identity.

By contrast, William Lyon Mackenzie's description of the arrival of emigrants from Bristol, only a year earlier than Moodie, shows no awareness of their having been through the same agonies. But then, Mackenzie was making a prose diary entry which John Robert Colombo has

forced into a poem.[17] Mackenzie puts little poetic pressure on his language. Colombo's "found" poem is, therefore, a cool understatement:

> ...few among them will forget
> being cooped up below deck
> for four weeks
> in a moveable bedroom,
> with 250 such fellow-lodgers
> as I have endeavoured to describe.

Perhaps a protective emigrant tries to ignore the conditions on board ship. Walter Bauer's Sicilian "Emigrants"[18] comfort themselves by transporting an entire community on board the ship:

> They sat on deck the "Argentina"
> as if by the well in their village and chatted
> as though there were no ocean ...
> The boat was for them a slowly moving
> San Cataldo.

Bauer ironically points to the ignorance of these expansive immigrants with their "macho" dreams of conquering "Montreal (which none of them knew)."

The arrival of other ethnic groups is described in a poem by Isabel Ecclestone Mackay -- "Calgary Station."[19] With a camera-like eye, Mackay first pans the station platform:

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[17]William Lyon Mackenzie, "Immigrants," arranged by John Robert Colombo, published as The Mackenzie Poems (Taken from The Oxford Anthology of Canadian Literature, ed. Robert Weaver and William Toye), (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1973), pp. 77 & 78.

[18]Walter Bauer, "Emigrants," trans. Henry Beissel, Volvox, p. 82.

[19]Isabel Ecclestone Mackay, "Calgary Station," Complete Poems of Isabel Ecclestone Mackay (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1930), pp. 47-50. See appendix p. 153.

Dazzled by sun and drugged by space they wait
These homeless people, at our prairie gate;
Dumb with the awe of those whom fate has hurled,
Breathless, upon the threshold of a world!

In the third verse, her narration becomes as unfair and selective as photographers often are: "(Mark you the furtive eye, the listening ear!)" Each subsequent verse zooms in for close-ups of a sample from each ethnic group -- a "dark-haired" and "handsome" Italian, a "stolid Russian," a Pole from "the breed which conquers," a "jaunty" Englishman, a Scot who "[craves]...the heather's purple glow," and an "Irishman, who, when he sees the Green, [t]urns that his shaking lips may not be seen...." The poem is obviously an excellent springboard for a discussion of stereotyping of ethnic characteristics. It also reveals attitudes to the old and new countries which are simultaneously expansive and protective. The two Slavic representatives are perceived as subjugated in the homeland, and desirous of freedom in the new; the homesick Italian woman is already planning to return to Italy a wealthy woman; the three British types refer lovingly to the symbols of the homeland, the heather and the harp, but realize that their children will have a better chance in Canada. Mackay packs away her camera for the final verse. Some, she says, will fail, some will prove citizenship through sacrifice in "glorious war," but, she believes, the children will know "but one land." Their parents' bitterness will be "...gone and in its stead/ [n]ew understanding and new hopes..." will emerge. "Calgary Station" is optimistically sanguine. Nevertheless, for the anthology, its inclusion does strike a balance against the negative protective attitudes expressed in Atwood's "Further Arrivals."

Settlement

Mackay's poetry illustrates some of the turn-of-the-century gropings for a language in a new land; Atwood's poetry shows a mature writer who has found that language, in Arnason's terminology,[20] "a Canadian writer." Frances Moore Brooke's prose demonstrates how the "emigré writer's" energy is soon spent. Desirous of imitating the epistolary novels in vogue at that time, Brooke published her novel, The History of Emily Montague in 1769. Her diction is contrived and controlled; her careful coquettes show little awareness of the Quebec landscape, except to picnic upon it, or to acquire it as real estate. The romances are carried on as though the lovers were on country estates in England. Their return home to complete their affairs is not surprising in the least. Students may find it interesting to compare this novel to later romantic English novels, or to Canadian realist fiction.

These observations do not intend to deny to Brooke's writing a stylized vitality. Her letter from Arabella Fermor to Miss Rivers[21] entertains with irrespresible good spirits. Arabella's descriptions of clothing and courting customs show the lively concern of these colonizers to "be jovial lest the blood freeze in [their] veins." Furthermore, her concern for the cold coined some pithy phrases that haunt Canadians yet:

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[20] See above, p. 58.

[21] Frances Moore Brooke, "Letter 49," The History of Emily Montague (London: T. Dodsley, 1769; rpt. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, New Canadian Library, 1961), pp. 90 & 91.

"I suppose Pygmalion's statue was some frozen Canadian gentlewoman, and a sudden warm day thawed her," and

> I no longer wonder the elegant arts are unknown here; the rigour of the climate suspends the very powers of the understanding; what then must become of those of the imagination? Those who expect to see
> "A new Athens rising near the pole",
> will find themselves extremely disappointed. Genius will never mount high, where the faculties of the mind are benumbed half the year.

The debate over the last statement still rumbles on in Canada, for its citizens still persist in believing that all good talent goes elsewhere. Students could debate Fermor's epithet, bringing into play their thorough knowledge of American culture.

The winter parties Arabella Fermor describes have, of necessity, pre-occupied both English and French colonizers who preferred to go insane from drink rather than from cold and homesickness. A.G. Bailey's poem, "Colonial Set,"[22] describes a "fête" where spirits are kept high with drink. A participant voices a longing to be home again, where the holiday is celebrated elegantly.

> How I long to be
> in Normandy.
> The carriages are waiting at the door.
> The ladies lie in laces at the fête
> Festin à tout manger
> to gobble up
> the choicest viands of the cuisinier...

While spirits are warmed within the garrison, -- outside, creatures of the wilderness wait in "brittle silence." Bailey refers to Indians, wolves, beavers and cariboo as the outsiders to this party.

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[22]Alfred Goldworthy Bailey, "Colonial Set," Thanks For a Drowned Island (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1973), p. 36.

Hence, the title "Colonial Set" means a "set" or clique." The word "set" could also refer to the frozen condition of the more ancient creatures on the evolutionary scale -- "Animaculae, [which] shrivel and die in their sacks." In Bailey's poetry, water symbolizes dislocation from, and connection with, the past. The Frenchmen in the fort are "frozen" in history, surrounded by a frozen wilderness, older than French culture. This poet is no "emigré" giddy with "brandy thickened to the consistency of oil."[23] Bailey, a mature Canadian writer, has found his voice:

> blood from the heart's core
> checking the arteries,
> clogging the burden of the veins,
> congealing stagnant lusts in an inland pool.

The strength of nature's winter hostility in this protective immigrant poem, is in direct contrast to a summer letter written by an early explorer and companion to Champlain, Marc Lescarbot. Lescarbot had not yet spent a winter in Canada when he wrote this letter from Port Royal in 1606. Canada's first poet and playwright, his letter is probably the first literary expression of the Edenic vision of Canada, a concept central to the expansive mode. With his friend and client, Jean de Biencourt, Sieur de Poutrincourt, he wanted to prove the worthiness of the Annapolis Basin for agriculture in order to obtain a monopoly from Henry IV. He joyously lists the abundance of fruits and fish, and marvels at the ease with which crops are produced:

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[23]Frances Brooke, The History of Emily Montague, Letter 49.

> Some time ago the savages left lying about some grains of wheat, oats, peas, and beans, which had been given them, and although these had fallen accidentally and on untilled soil, yet they have grown most successfully, and the grains are goodly and ready for grinding, as we saw for ourselves at the spot where the savages' encampment stood.
>
> ....the Earthly Paradise could not be more delightful than these regions.[24]

Lescarbot's enthusiasm is echoed in the poem, "Young Canada, or Jack's as Good as His Master,"[25] by Alexander McLachlan. Whereas Lescarbot wanted to advance an agricultural economy, McLachlan wanted to advance those who would labour in it. Conscious of class differences, though not totally free of prejudice ("And Jew or Turk if He'll but work"), McLachlan's is the voice of Adam, exulting in his Eden:

> I love this land of forest grand!
> The land where labour's free;
> Let others roam away from home,
> Be this the land for me!....
>
> Our aristocracy of toil
> Have made us what you see--
> The nobles of the forge and soil,
> With ne'er a pedigree!

His rollicking poem abounds with energy. He "over-writes" because, as Arnason put it, he has the "vulgar" enthusiasm for the possibilities of

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[24]Marc Lescarbot, The History of New France, Vol. III, trans. W.L. Grant (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1911), pp. 525-526. This area of Nova Scotia had been called "Arcadie" on an anonymous map, dated, either 1574, or 1585. "Arcadia" was an area of the Peleponnesus whose inhabitants were famed for their "virtue, piety, kindness, and hospitality"; hence the word became a metaphor for "paradise." Ernest Hatch Wilkins, "Arcadia in America" (Philadelphia: The Proceedings of the American Historical Society, vol. 101, No. 1, February, 1957), page numbed not noted.

[25]Alexander McLachlan, The Poetical Works of Alexander McLachlan, p. 207.

expression in his adopted land.[26] Adolescent students, who respond to any expression of irrepressible spirits, would find his other poems both enjoyable and easy to understand. An examination of The Poetical Works of Alexander McLachlan or of any of the works of Robert Stead,[27] a poet who writes in the same vein, makes a suitable project for a student whose expectation of poetry has been conditioned by large helpings of Service or Burns.

A short story which most completely develops the myth of the Edenic world is Gabrielle Roy's "The Well of Dunrea."[28] Roy's father, who was an immigration agent for the C.P.R., plays a dual role of God and man to his "Ruthenian children" who occupy Eden. "Lost River" is so perfect that the reader immediately suspects that some sin will destroy its perfection.

The author uses the elements of earth, fire, air, and water to underpin her interpretation of the expulsion from Eden. The earth is that part of the prairie desert turned into a lush oasis by water. Fire is the chastening prairie fire sent by God, and driven by His wind. Water promotes growth of Eden, and also cleanses Mr. Roy when he is lodged in the well and undergoes a ritual death in the midst of fire, earth and air.

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[26] See above, p. 12.

[27] For example, Robert Stead, "Hustlin' in My Jeans," The Empire Builders (Toronto: The Musson Book Company Ltd., 1923), pp. 47-50. See appendix, pp. 154 & 155.

[28] Gabrielle Roy, "The Well of Dunrea," Street of Riches (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, New Canadian Library, 1957), pp. 73-86. See appendix for excisions, pp. 156 & 157.

The settlers trust their God-like Mr. Roy's horticultural advice. Trees thrive near the expanding river, protection against the "worst enemies,... fire and drought." The moist earth produces flowers and gardens that fulfill his promise of plenty. The Ruthenians even show they are becoming Canadianized when they address God and the government as though they were one entity. "If you please, Mr. Government, do us the great honor..." beg the well-trained "silent" women. Mr. Roy is pleased by his people's gestures of submissiveness. He rationalizes their homage to him: "The slaves of other days were certainly happier than their masters. Contentment is not necessarily the servant of justice." In other words, he believes these immigrants will be happier if they give up their free will. If they do so, they return from being expansive immigrants, capable of creating their own forms of civilization, to protective immigrants who look to others for direction.

But free will allows for temptation, and that creates problems for every body. The temptation in this agrarian Eden myth is not lust for the body, but greed for material gain. The sin is to place possessions before everything else. Faced with the loss of their material possessions, the peasants exercise their free will and disobey Mr. Roy's command to give them up. Jan Sibulesky commits the sin of pride by usurping the role of God (as has Mr. Roy). He is Adam acting with a combination of faith and reason. According to his conditioning, he believes that icons and hymns can defy fate. He marches into the burning chapel and is killed.

Of course, in Christian terms, the sacrifice of Sibulesky "saves" the peasants when, seeing him dead, they panic and flee. But they are

not saved in the sense that they renounce their greed for material possessions. They "...[weep] for their dear houses, their oaken chests, their chests full of fine linen...."

Roy's comments on her father's hindsight are the most fascinating part of this garden of Eden myth. At the time he was involved in creating his Eden, he believed that obedience from the Ruthenians was mandatory. After the fire, however, he wondered if he had committed the traditional sin of pride, first, in believing that he alone should rule Eden, and, in a sense, in creating the illusion that he had as much power as God. Furthermore, it was irrational of him to tell his people that the fire was "the wrath of God." Had he not said this falsehood, Sibulesky would not have been killed. "All his life my father believed that there had lain his crime: to have interpreted God, in a sense to have judged Him."

Gabrielle Roy's traditional Catholic interpretation notwithstanding, one could make an ironical interpretation of Mr. Roy's predicament. If God and Mr. Roy are alike, then, "God's pity on God."[29] Eden is too large and important a property for even God to manage, and Adam and Eve should not act as though they can control Eden.[30]

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[29]This sentence concluding Margaret Laurence's richly ironic novel A Jest of God, which treats two immigrant groups, the Scottish and the Ukrainian, could be studied in seminars.

[30]See above, pp. 36-38. This theme of the independence of the land from man's ambition is important to two immigrant novels, Settlers of the Marsh, and Under the Ribs of Death. Both novels could be studied within the framework of the Garden of Eden myth in seminars with students.

Integration

A. The Rural Wilderness or The Garrison

The central irony of the expansive-protective dichotomy is that the expansive immigrant wants to acquire land in the hope that he will achieve the wealth that the protective immigrant already possesses. In striving for this goal, he falls prey, then, to the ills which beset all acquisitive persons. Al Purdy admires the attempts of the Doukhobors to resist the temptation of material goods in his poem, "In the Wilderness."[31] The "Sons of Freedom," or "Spirit Wrestlers," is the most radical group among the Doukhobors, and has persisted in their expansive belief in the promise made to them that their practice of puritanism, pacifism, and communism will be upheld by the government. They therefore rejected compulsory education, conscription, and private land ownership. Resisting many attempts to coerce them, they have expressed their disagreement through such means as arson and nudism. One of the reactions of government has been the imprisonment of so-called "terrorists."

In the case of the Jews, integration for this religious sect is "tantamount to annihilation."[32] Purdy admires its show of resistance to

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[31] Al Purdy, "In the Wilderness," The Cariboo Horses (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1965), pp. 35-38.

[32] John Moss, Patterns of Isolation, p. 83. Of the few plays available on the immigrant experience, W.O. Mitchell's The Devil's Instrument is one that treats the theme of ethnic identity and religious annihilation. Tempted by an older breakaway brother, who says the colony has no "truth, beauty, or freedom," a young Hutterite leaves the colony. This play would have appeal to adolescents, who understand very well the desire to break away from family groups. (Toronto: Playwright's Co-op, Copyright, Mr. W.O. Mitchell, 3031 Roxboro Glen Road, Calgary, Alberta, 1974).

integration, but he realizes he is an outsider. He says: "But I am not one of them/ I am not one of these people/ nor do I wish to be--." From his detached vantage point, in the ditch on the side of the road, he is poet, press, and historian; he reports and interpets, selects, heightens, and falsifies. Purdy compares their march[33] to the Biblical story of the Jews wandering in the wilderness. The many parallels he draws between the two events mythologize the Doukhobors' pursuit of lost identity as the Biblical account did for the Jews. This journey has its prophets: Verigin, Big Fanny, Elasoff, Podmoroff; false prophets: Lebedoff; and martyrs: young Podmoroff and Fanny.[34] Their nearly year-long pilgrimage is turned into forty days and forty nights. The Pillars of fire, by "Day and by Night," are the police and prison lights. Purdy evolves hunt images out of the police persecution. In the company of "...swaying mooses of municipal/officials" who have set up "...by-laws for snares and/deadfall regulations to trap them...," the police are "continually hovering." Light images connected with the hunt images contrast to the dark setting.

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[33]In order to protest the imprisonment of the Sons of Freedom at Agassiz prison, "Big Fanny " (Florence Storgeoff [sic]), with a council of thirteen women, led a peaceful, eleven and one-half month pilgrimage from Krestova to Agassiz, arriving in time to join a hunger strike with the prisoners. She died one month after the march and was buried on the mountain that overlooks the pilgrim's camp near the prison. Most of the information about Doukobors given here is taken from George Woodcock and Ivan Avakumovic, The Doukhobors (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1968).

[34]Peter Verigin is the Doukhobors' first spiritual leader. John Lebedoff, a deposed leader, was accused of extorting confessions at a conspiracy trial in 1962. Unable to identify Elasoff and Podmoroff, I asked Purdy who says in the final line, "Remember their names...." He could not remember who they were!

The mounties are described as "luminous"; the Doukhobor husbands are "incendiarist" and the nephews, "incandescent." They have "...bright illusions of extraordinary freedom...."

The poet thinks that their expression of freedom, the act of disrobing, is misinterpreted by society. In a tangential fantasy, he imagines the Doukhobors as nightclub strippers "changing" and asks if they can change their identity to suit the larger society. Purdy reasons that, like himself, the public would have a prurient interest, and, he imagines, the strippers' bathwater would be sold as relics. Thus stared at, they would want to "sprout wings and fly/handsome as an actor playing Icarus/toward the cold sun truth." But the "nay-sayers" are rooted in two wildernesses: the rural one on the Hope-Princeton highway, and the urban one in the Canadian social and legal structure.

The rural wilderness in the story, "Brothers,"[35] by W.D. Valgardson, is the physical wilderness of a fish camp on Lake Winnipeg. Here, "white" Indian and white immigrant share a common struggle for land and for identity. The immigrant is an English remittance man who has been unable to find employment in the city. As Alex' remittance has run out, the city becomes unbearable and he retreats to the North where he loses his urban skills of being able to "deal decisively with others." He retains certain tokens of his English identity: a picture of the Queen hangs in the kitchen, and his Aunt sends him Peek Freans from home every Christmas.

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[35] W.D. Valgardson, "Brothers," Bloodflowers (Toronto; Oberon Press, 1973), pp. 34-52. Students may read other "immigrant" stories in the same publication.

He believes fiercely in free enterprise. The arrival of a fellow countryman who has "gone native" upsets his protective equanimity. It appears Thomas has not only given up his English accent, but he also is married to a Cree woman, and has reduced himself to the kind of poverty free enterprisers scorn in Indians on welfare. Alex resents the fact that Thomas correctly predicts he will be hospitable. "'Why did he say I would give him a job?' Alex demanded. 'He said you were both Englishmen.'" replies Thomas' daughter.

The children, Lulabelle and Everett also intrude on Alex's garrison, eventually making their way into his living quarters. Lulabelle is all but offered as a prostitute. She is used by her father to gain further favors from Alex, just as her mother obtains cigarettes from workers of Icelandic descent whom Alex employs. When he is tempted by Lulabelle, Alex no longer feels he can hypocritically control his men with threats of prosecution for statutory rape. They, in turn, have little fear that the law will protect the Métis girl. These behaviors are a paradigm of the settlement and exploitation of the land once held by Indians. The pecking order is clear: immigrant land-owner on top, immigrant labour in the middle, and former Indian land-owner at the bottom.

The illness of the second child, Everett, creates the crisis of the story. Alex tries to refuse his "brother," Thomas, any further favors. Alternately violent and obsequious, Thomas offers a frightening analysis of Alex' refusal:

> You've got no right to talk that way to me. I'm a white man just like you are. I know what you think. You think you're better than me. Well, you aren't. You're just the same as I am, living up here all the time. You're one of us. You're not one of them anymore.

Of course, the "us" refers both to Thomas' social position which has been compromised by his marriage, and to all Canadians who have stained their past with the takeover of Indian land. Alex bravely claims that "it could have been worse" when, after Everett dies, Thomas and his family steal away with $100.00 worth of goods. Alex has been given worse -- his own sense of identity has been shaken.[36]

Alex is forced to wrestle with his conscience, and behaves with a fair degree of nobility of spirit. He does not come to love the intruder who threatens his own garrison in the wilderness, but he does achieve a kind of reconciliation with Thomas' presence.

In literature about the treatment of the Japanese in World War Two, a similar sort of reconciliation is arrived at. There are several works available from which students could effectively take readings for a tape recording.[37] The choice of Joy Kogawa's "What Do I Remember of the

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[36]For a lighter treatment of the "remittance man," see the poem "The Son of Marquis Noddle" by Robert J.S. Stead, Songs of the Prairie (Toronto: William Briggs, 1911), pp. 52-57. See appendix, pp. 158 & 159.

[37]Two selections in Skookum Wawa, ed. Gary Geddes (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1975), are suitable for taping and analysis: Dorothy Livesay's documentary poem for radio, "Call My People Home," pp. 231-244, and Beverley Mitchell's short story which could be dramatized with voices, "Letter from Sakaye." pp. 218-230. See also, Hilda Gynn-Ward's "propagandist tract" against the Chinese, The Writing on the Wall, Intro. by Patricia Roy, from the series, "The Social History of Canada, ed. Michael Bliss (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974). Roy describes the work as a "penny dreadful... [which] sought to persuade white British Columbians to be vigilant lest greedy politicians sell them out to the Orientals and endeavoured to 'awaken those unbelievers in Eastern Canada who still wonder why the West is crying out on its knees for new immigration regulations," p. vi.

Evacuation"[38] is suitable for the anthology because it uses the voice of an adolescent looking back on an event vaguely remembered. The poem could serve as another model for poetry assignments based on "recall of childhood" which are proposed later in this chapter. Kogawa's recall of the event is as vague as one's recall of a rumour or dream, but her emotional conviction about the traumatic experience is strong and clear. She "...hear[s] there were people herded/ Into the Hastings Park like Cattle...." and that "....families were broken up/ Men were forced to work." Her remembrance of her ostracism is vivid:

> ...Lorraine
> And her friends spat on us...
> And I prayed to the God who loves
> All the children in his sight
> That I might be white.

Dale Zieroth's grandfather also experienced internment in a prison camp for Germans near Brandon during World War One. As did the Doukhobours, the Japanese and the Germans found that the rural wilderness contains the social and legal elements of the urban wilderness. In his poem, "120 Miles North of Winnipeg,"[39] Zieroth explains that in an expansive mode his grandfather loved the wilderness:

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[38] Joy Kogawa, "What Do I Remember of the Evacuation," A Choice of Dreams (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974), pp. 54 & 55. Also see another work from the child's viewpoint: Takashina, A Child in Prison Camp (Montreal: Tundra Books, 1973). See appendix, p. 160.

[39] Dale Zieroth, "120 Miles North of Winnipeg," Mindscapes, ed. Ann Wall (Toronto: House of Anansi Press Limited, 1971), p. 31. See appendix, p. 161.

> .... Spring was always greener
> than he's known and summer had
> kid-high grass with sunsets big
> as God. The wheat was thick,
> the log house chinked and warm.

His children made the transition from being "hunters" to being "readers"[40] and he was even "somewhat liked" by suspicious neighbours. But the war made him an "alien" from land and family.[41] In both these cases, the sacrifice of the Japanese and German "enemy aliens" does not seem to have integrated the prisoners themselves. The poetry written about their imprisonment, however, seems to integrate the young generation.

B. The Urban Wilderness or The Ghetto

The changes that occur in families over the extended stage of integration are sketched in George Bowering's "east to west."[42] The poem moves from taming the rural wilderness in the Canadian north-west, to taming the urban wilderness in Calgary's urban renewal. The grandfather, Ho Ling, helped build the C.P.R.,[43] to save enough money for a laundry.

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[40] Ibid., "The oldest could hunt, the youngest/ could read."

[41] See also in Mindscapes, "Detention Camp, Brandon, Manitoba," and "Father." See appendix, p. 162.

[42] George Bowering, "east to west," rocky mountain foot: a lyric, a memoir (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1968), pp. 64 & 65. See appendix, pp. 163 & 164.

[43] A useful related poem is Frank Scott's "All the Spikes But the Last," Selected Poems (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1966), p. 64. The "Ned" addressed is the poet's friend, Edward J. Pratt, author of "Towards the Last Spike", a long narrative poem describing the building of the C.P.R. Donald Smith, because he risked his personal fortune to build the C.P.R., was allowed the honour of driving the first spike. Those

His son, Ho Chin, performs the second-generation jump by joining the "right" organizations. His membership in the Presbyterian church seems a total rejection of his heritage, but his memberships in the "Chinese Masonic Lodge," and the "Chinese Nationalist League weekend ski club," help him retain his ties with his ethnic group. Ho Lem, the third generation, eradicates one important tie with the past; he ironically votes to relocate "for political advantage," the tracks his grandfather helped to build.

These shifts in family fortunes and social status reflect Canada's historic economic development. Many families have suffered from these shifts no less than they have gained from them. To acquire a Canadianized identity is, to some extent, to fit into an Anglo-Saxon norm.[44] The

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43 cont'd. who subsidized the contract for the building of the C.P.R. received such generous returns as 25,000,000 acres of land, 24 miles deep, on either side of the railway. No coolies were given land.

In 1881, 17,000 Chinese coolies were brought to Canada to aid the completion of the C.P.R. Their industriousness and the cheapness of their labour threatened the white working man, and their desire to live in separate ghettoes made many Canadians suspicious of them. Discriminatory acts were perpetrated against them, and finally, in 1923, the Chinese Immigration Act, or Chinese Exclusion Act, reduced immigration to almost zero for the next 18 years. Using the poem as a starting point, the students might consider the connection between economic needs and immigration. The source of most of this information is Foon Sien, "Chinese Origin, People of," Encyclopedia Canadiana (1968), Vol. 2, 355-357.

44 See Allan Smith, "Metaphor and Nationality in North America," Canadian Historical Review, Vol. 51, No. 3 (1970), 247-275. Section II of this long essay is a model of argument. The introductory paragraph suggests the difference between the ideal and the real in political metaphors. Paragraphs 2 and 3 explain the ideal concepts of the "melting pot" and the "mosaic" respectively. Then in three paragraphs for each metaphor, Smith relates the ideal to the real situation. One could diagram the argument for student discussion and debate. See also, John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic, Chap. II "Class, Mobility, and Migration," and Chap. III, "Ethnicity and Social Class," (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), pp. 29-103.

transition away from the family ethnic group is sometimes both demeaning and revealing. In the play, "Back Door," by William Paluk,[45] both families party to an impending marriage hold stereotyped expectations of the "other side's point of view." Only embarrassment, goodwill, and a "lost letter" save the match.

Anna Novak expects that Halia, her youngest, will marry a good Ukrainian boy like the baker, Peter Kritiuk, as all her other daughters have done. She is alarmed that her daughter loves an "Anglo-Saxon," Henry Smith. When she finds that she likes the boy, she sets about teaching him a quick geography lesson about the Ukraine, and considers that he could have his name changed to "Smithkowsky" to make him more acceptable. She quietly decides to be her own emissary from her ghetto to Henry's. Her customs immediately clash with those of the Smiths. Anna uses a back door as a sign of humility, and, probably, because she has lived in a tradition where "front" doors were kept closed to keep the "front room" warm. The Smiths save the back door for service or for informal occasions. The results are predictable. Anna is mistaken for a cleaning lady by Mrs. Smith, and leaves, feeling rebuffed. Only after phone calls, tears, and recriminations, do the young couple become reconciled to each other, and to each other's parents. Mrs. Smith turns out to be well-meaning. Anna's feelings are assuaged by the advice she reads in her father's long-lost letter:

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[45]Used with permission of the author, William Paluk, 6 Oriole St., Winnipeg, Manitoba, 1974.

> You climb higher and higher till you [sic] young feet carry you to top of mountain. And only you can see new distant pasture land, green and beautiful ..., [C]limb high as you can. I old and must stay below."

The grandfather's advice in the old country refers to his age; in the Canadian context, it also refers to social status. Halia may "move up" through marriage.

Another wedding among immigrants is described in "Wedding in Toronto"[46] by Austin Clarke. Here the ghetto is comprised of Barbadian blacks and "poor white" Canadians. The blacks sponsor a party for the marriage between their own Henry, and his bride, Agatha, a Jewess, presumably white. Expansive immigrants, the Barbadians practise the social virtue of tolerance by inviting everyone -- friends, their lovers, and total strangers. The host, Boysie, optimistically presumes that Agatha's parents, who didn't come to the service, may yet arrive, a day late. Other guests conclude that the parents' absence shows the prejudice of whites, towards blacks -- prejudice which they claim they do not feel towards whites, though their statements reveal the contrary:

> "...[Y]ou are seeing the ways o' white people this lovely autumn day. The ways o' white people. They would kill their own flesh-and-blood just to prove a point.

The lyrics of the calypso song sung by "Mighty Sparrow" make ironic commentary on the conversation. The Barbadians say that the

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[46] Austin C. Clarke, "Wedding in Toronto," When he was free and young and he used to wear silks (Toronto: House of Anansi Press Ltd., 1971), pp. 80-89. For a project, a student can read the remainder of these stories, along with The Bigger Light.

whites are "savages; man they're damn uncivilized!"; Mighty Sparrow's lyrics reply: "...they treat me like a savage..." The Barbadians are proud of the wedding; Mighty Sparrow sings: "Anytime we meet, man-to-man, it's blood and sand!"[47]

Their protective pride even extends to the Barbadian police, who, they argue, would never break up a man's wedding:

> What kind o' place, what sort o' country is this? It never happened in Barbados, and it never could. Imagine a police in Barbados, coming into a man's house, during a party, and a wedding party at that, to tell that man he making too much noise! Man, that policeman's arse would be stiff with lashes...

The assembled guests feel superior to Agatha's parents, Canadian police, beatniks, "(This is a wedding. Not any old damn party with beatniks."), and finally to the white woman who phoned to complain to the police. As the guests depart, it is probably this woman who hisses, to Agatha, "You white bitch! You white trash!" -- an ironic statement about herself.

Each of Clarke's ironies is designed as an inversion of the usual social stereotypes white Canadians hold against blacks. Another inversion is portrayed by the master of the turnabout, Mordecai Richler. His story, "Bambinger,"[48] reverses the typical interpretation of the heart-sore refugee. A protective immigrant, Bambinger makes a great show of propriety. He assiduously appears to avoid all the North American

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[47]Margaret Laurence refers to the mixture of Scots and Ukrainians as "oil and water," in A Jest of God, p. 65.

[48]Mordecai Richler, "Bambinger," The Street (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1959, rpt. Manchester: C. Nicholls and Company Limited, Panther Books, 1969), pp. 80-86.

influences that might contaminate him. He oppresses the young Richler with his admonitions against cigarettes, coffee, bad table manners, poor grammar, thin clothing, and comics. His prison camp experiences have conditioned him to think that any power figure is a Fascist: "... Superman was a glorification of fascism...." When he discovers that his long-lost wife and child are still alive, he accumulates a few sticks of furniture, and saves money by working overtime. Young Richler is not impressed. His doubts about Bambinger are well-founded, he gleefully discovers. Bambinger's family drown in a ship-wreck en route to Canada, and two weeks later, he discovers Bambinger, unmournful, with another woman.

Richler, the author, sees through the sham of Old World protective immigrants. Their European morals, he asserts, are not necessarily superior to those in Canada. Nor is the converse true. The boy is intolerant and unfeeling -- a smart Alex. Bambinger's assessment of his character is shrewd: "You've been deprived of a lot. You've suffered a good deal. Haven't you? Little bastard."[49]

Richler's characters inhabit the Jewish ghetto of St. Urbain Street in Montreal. Earle Birney has described another protective lower-class ghetto in Toronto, "Anglosaxon Street,"[50] This poem is a

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[49]This short story bears comparison with Marlyn's more serious treatment of the same subject in the first chapter of Under the Ribs of Death. The author praises the father's willingness to support the parasitical landsmann boarders, and criticizes the boy's intolerance of them. Richler's "cock sure" anti-heroes appeal to adolescent students. His The Apprenticeship of Duddy Kravitz (1959; Andre Deutsch Limited; rpt. Toronto: McClelland Stewart Limited, New Canadian Library, 1969) is an enjoyable novel for seminar studies.

[50]Earle Birney, "Anglosaxon Street," Collected Poems (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975), pp. 74-75.

brilliant working out of the mock-heroic style in a "mock" Anglo-saxon diction. Each implied assertion of heroism is countered with a mock-heroic slur. Just as Picts, Jutes, and Angles might have performed acts of heroism to meet the invaders, this neighbourhood has been "...with care denuded of nigger and kike/ No coonsmell rankles..." The residents "...swear[ing] hatedeeds on Huns/ profiteers politicians pacifists Jews..." in other words, anyone not like them. The daily battles are, for the housewife, to "vanquish the housefly...", for husbands to wage "...dire handplay/ in sewertrench or sandpit..." and for children to "...[leap] Commandowise into leprous lanes." Pride in race is ignored in nightly assignations in "lanenooks." The lovers are "careless of Saxonry." A detailed analysis of the elements of Anglo-saxon diction is not necessary here.[51] This is an outstanding expression of Birney's ingenuity and training, and its inclusion in the anthology is imperative, despite its unkind treatment of this ghettoized lower-class scene.

Clark Blaise also writes with ingenuity about another class, "A Class of New Canadians."[52] This class could refer to the classroom in which the main character teaches, or, more broadly, to a certain type,

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[51]For a thorough discussion of Birney's use of "Anglo-Saxon metres and alliterative patterns," see Richard Robbillard, Earle Birney (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1971), pp. 25 & 26.

[52]Clark Blaise, "A Class of New Canadians," A North American Education: A book of short fiction (Don Mills: Paperjacks, General Publishing Co. Limited, 1973), pp. 3-15.

such as a socio-economic group. Furthermore, to have "class" means to have "taste." Norman Dyer is proud of his "tasteful" decision to move from the U.S. to Canada. A "semi-permanent, semi-political exile," he compiles an impressive list of Canadian experiences which show his taste and awareness of the cultural and political scene.

> Since leaving graduate school and coming to Montreal, he had sampled every ethnic restaurant downtown and in the old city, plus a few Levantine places out in Outremont. He had worked on conversational French and mastered much of the local dialect, done reviews for local papers, translated French-Canadian poets for Toronto quarterlies, and tweaked his colleagues for not sympathizing enough with Quebec separatism. He attended French performances of plays he had ignored in English, and kept a small but elegant apartment near a colony of émigré Russians just off Park Avenue. Since coming to Montreal he'd witnessed a hold-up, watched a murder, and seen several riots. When stopped on the street for directions, he would answer in French or accented English.

As a teacher of English to new Canadians, Dyer, like Mr. Roi, is an "omniscient and benevolent" god to his students. Some give him the reverence he demands. The French-Canadians' childlike attitude toward him are Blaise's expression of both the Quebecois' disadvantages and their faith that those who know English will get ahead. His other students who are not native-born do not express the same faith in language and country. Weinrot, a well-travelled, multi-lingual immigrant claims "Two years in a country and I don't learn the language means it isn't a country."

Dyer thinks that any dissatisfaction is their fault. "If they'd just break out of their little ghettoes," he complains, a complaint that could be applied to him. Miguel Mayor actually does show initiative -- he wants to leave for the United States because he thinks

his language is good enough. Dyer is astounded and hurt. In the way that Roy betrayed Sibulesky, Dyer lies to Mayor; he says that Mayor's letter of application, which is really badly written, needs only one minor change, thereby sabotaging Mayor's chance to leave. There are several reasons for Dyer's actions. First, he will not betray his expansive belief in the "superiority" of Canadian over American culture. He cannot accept the implication that his "Eden" is inadequate. Second, his personal superiority as god to his students has been attacked:

> For an instant Dyer felt that his student was mocking him, somehow pitting his astounding confidence and wardrobe, sharp chin, and matador's bearing against Dyer's command of English and mastery of the side streets, bistros, and ethnic restaurants.... It was as though a superstructure of exploitation had been revealed, and Dyer felt himself abused by the very people he wanted so much to help.

Finally, he dislikes Mayor's easy assumption that anyone has a right to the clothes which make the man. Dyer himself feels not quite ready for the Holt-Renfrew elegance which Mayor seems to have bought right off the rack. Mayor has somehow to "deserve those clothes, that touching vanity and confidence."

C. Integration Through Language

Blaise's short story fits both into the ghetto section and into this section on "integration through language." It illustrates one important aspect of integration -- the immigrant's need to acquire facility with language to advance himself.[53] To know the difference between "to

[53] A useful student project is to visit a language learning centre for non-English speaking immigrants. The student can report on his experience there and combine it with a reading of Mary Ashworth, Immigrant Children and Canadian Schools (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1975).

put something on" and "to put somebody on" is to exhibit a savoir faire that is greater than the ability to choose clothes wisely.

Whether choosing clothing, or choosing a name, these trappings of identity are mentioned in some of the selections in this anthology. Valgardson's Thomas named his children Lulabelle, and Everett, names "...filled with Southern mansions and orange blossoms," which are "incongrous" to their environment, and perhaps reveal Thomas' dreams for his children's future. Kogawa, on the other hand, uses her name as a threat. She prints it in Japanese to defy the children who taunt her. Bowering's Ho Lem shows he has overcome some pronunciation hurdles; he can pronounce the name, "Calgary/with no trouble."

The absence of verbal facility, or disinclination to learn a second language, deepens the immigrant's isolation. Einar Paul Jonsson's poem, "The Laundress,"[54] bespeaks the isolation in which unilingual immigrants have lived; an Icelandic laundrywoman "kept reaching for the language/ that got lost in her life," by singing Icelandic hymns. She sang the same hymns as she lay dying, but the prayers at her funeral were in English. In Layton's poem, "Mrs. Fornheim, Refugee,"[55] the poet wishes his immigrant student an afterlife in which she may practise "Shakespeare's tongue" with an "Englishwoman to talk to,/ an unruffled

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[54]Einar Paul Johsson, "The Laundress," trans. Michael Patrick O'Connor and Throvaldur Johnson, Volvox, p. 191. See appendix, p. 165.

[55]Irving Layton, "Mrs. Fornheim, Refugee," Selected Poems (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1969), p. 8. See appendix, p. 165.

listener,/ and green words to say to her." These two poems could be given to the class as "sight poems" and their parallels brought out in questions.

The other important aspect of the immigrant's search for language -- the poet's metaphorical search for the "right word," can be introduced with Frank Scott's important poem, "Laurentian Shield."[56] The face of the landscape is a metaphor for the search for poetic language. The Laurentian shield is "inarticulate and arctic,...empty as paper." Scott identifies the poet's function -- to fill that blank paper. The phrase "a language of flesh and of roses" suggests a tension between the softness of flesh and the hardness of the granite. The poetic language must be both soft enough to be human, and hard enough to withstand the critical test.

Scott links the development of language (the search for a "technic") to exploitation for economic purposes (search for technology). As the poem progresses, inarticulate "pre-words" become a "cry," then a "command," and later a "drone." Finally a "note" is sounded; Scott predicts that "a language of life,/ And what will be written in the full culture of occupation/ Will come, presently, tomorrow...." From the earth, the

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[56]Frank R. Scott, "Laurentian Shield," Selected Poems, pp. 38-39. Lysenko has linked language to exploitation. She lists the first words a working-class immigrant learns; "job, boss, greenhorn, yard, wheelbarrow, ticket, shop, boarding-house, pail, breaker, shanty, pipe, coffee, factory, laid off." This ordering cleverly suggests the hardship involved in integrating through employment. Vera Lysenko, Men In Sheepskin Coats (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1947), p. 91. See appendix, p. 166.

poetry and the culture will be born.

A less complex exploration of the same metaphor appears in Alden Nowlan's "A pinch or two of dust."[57] The actual soil Nowlan holds in his hand comes from Culloden. His ancestors, "magnificent fools," were "ploughed into/ the compost bed of history...." Nowlan states that the poet's purpose is to give a body to this soil through poetry:

> --this soil not only between
> but within
> my fingers, a part of
> the very cells that shape this poem.

This reference to Nowlan's ancestral roots leads the student to an examination of his own, and of all Canadian's ancestral roots in "mythologizing."

Mythologizing

It is in the study of his own family "myths" that a student may become most actively engaged in creating a personal literature. If he can learn his own family's "actual experience" and transpose that information into a literary composition, he will have come to understand part of the nature of literary creation. The passage of time will have created a natural selection of events, even for students in the class who have arrived in Canada recently. The student himself makes further selections on which he may base his literary creation. He may collect family stories, with detailed information about particular events, or

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[57]Alden Nowlan, "A pinch or two of dust," I'm a stranger here myself (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1974), p. 57. See appendix, p. 167.

artifacts, such as photographs or heirlooms.[58] With these starting points, his own imagination will help him to create the "autonomous world that gives [him] an imaginative perspective on the actual one."[59]

The use of a concrete object, such as a photograph, is a stimulant to poetry or short story writing. The strength of the student's emotional involvement with what the photograph reveals (or does not reveal) affects the strength of his language within the poem. He may describe the object itself, its place in time, and its effect on him. Alden Nowlan's poem, "Roots,"[60] is a good model for the organization of such a literary effort. First the composition of the photo itself is described in concrete terms: thirty men including his great-grandfather, stand alert beside two teams of horses in a logging camp. Nowlan's great-grandfather's face reveals little: he could be a mild woodsman, or a violent killer of the sort who would take part in lynchings.

The men are self-conscious of the occasion. The poet speculates on the effect of time on these men. The phrase "time exposure" ripens as he works through a series of allusions to time and death. The clenched teeth seem to smother, as if the men are dying. Their blinking eyes seem closed "black slits" because, ironically, they are still full of

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[58]The Family Folklore Program, Smithsonian Institution, Division of the Performing Arts, January, 1976, compiled a list of questions young people can ask about their families. This list is published in the Winnipeg Tribune, "The Mini Page," Weekend Supplement, July 24, 1976, p. 8. See appendix, p. 168.

[59]See Frye's statement above, p. 61.

[60]Alden Nowlan, "Roots," Between tears and laughter (Toronto: Clarke Irwin Publishing Company, 1971), pp. 115-116. See appendix, pp. 169 & 170.

life-reflexes. Nowlan compares their eyes to those of dead men, propped open for a photograph after a lynching. The "black box" of the camera has captured in time, an ancestor who seems "...so old/ as to almost stand/ outside of time." The poem ends with the poet's personal reactions. The allusions to death give the poet a figurative place in the poem, and, in the photograph:

> It amazes me, thinking:
> he must have been at least fifteen years
> younger than I am that day the winter sun
> lapped up and locked into a small black box
> this infinitesimal portion of his soul.

Once the student has been engaged in his own kind of "mythologizing" he may appreciate other examples of the process which illustrate its characteristics. The first characteristic is that the immigrant or pioneer subject is made to appear "larger than life." George Bowering's "Grandfather "[61] and Elizabeth Brewster's "Great-Aunt Rebecca"[62] are the subjects of two poems in which their personal strength is a prominent feature. "Grandfather" left home at the age of eight and became a child labourer in England, till, at the age of twelve, he made the voyage to Canada alone. He progressed westward from Ontario and his march across the continent is likened to the experiences of John Bunyan and Saul of Tarsus. Like Paul Bunyan, he "strode" through churches, provinces, and wives. Like Saul, he sees the light somewhere near Brandon, and spends

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[61]George Bowering, "Grandfather," Fifteen Canadian Poets, ed. Gary Geddes (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 220 & 221. See appendix, p. 171.

[62]Elizabeth Brewster, "Great-Aunt Rebecca," Selections from Major Canadian Writers, ed. Desmond Pacey (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited, 1974), pp. 146 & 147.

the remainder of his life striking terror with his sermons. At the end of his life, he strikes children with his crutches, as he had been struck with an "anabaptist cane" in his youth.

Aunt Rebecca's strength is in her devotion to family traditions, and, hence, to the labour that keeps a family intact. She is "soft as silk, and tough as that thin wire/ They use for snaring rabbits." Her childbearing practices includes the teaching of "soft" manners, and religion, but the labour necessary to family survival made her tough. Brewster recalls a selection of her teachings in a language that captures the simple idiom of a pious and purposeful woman:

> She had taught them one by one to memorize
> "The chief end of man is to know God",
> And she had also taught them to make porridge
> And the right way of lighting a wood fire
> Had told the boys to be kind and courageous
> And the girls never to raise their voices
> Or argue with their husbands.

Little of her strength shows in the poet's most recent recollection of the woman who sits quietly in a corner. But the present does not matter to poet or to great-aunt. The past seems more real to both: Brewster wishes that she too could be a pioneer; the great-aunt relives her pioneer life in day-dreams.

The admiration that Bowering and Brewster demonstrate for their grandparents' world is related to a second characteristic of mythologizing -- that is, the contemporary's desire to "...re-possess, the actuality of ... [his] father's or grandfather's world."[63] Barbara Ursell does this very

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[63]Al Purdy tries to contain his "cage of ancestors" in his narrative poem, In Search of Owen Roblin (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1974). A student essay can be written on this topic, "Purdy's Cage of Ancestors."

thing in her personal essay, "Tzigane Days."[64] The author states at the outset that her grandparents and parents "lived closer to myth" than her generation has done. This is partly because they created their own myths about themselves before coming to Canada from Roumania. These myths gave them a strong sense of who they were. The great grandmother had been a gypsy, so the girls of the family used this ancestor as a "license to behave more freely and largely than others." The grandfather was "by all counts unusually gifted in working with animals," so the young men rode horses bareback, "disdaining saddles." Ursell's grandmother, pregnant, when bucked from a horse, ran "nonchalantly after the frightened horse, unscathed by the fall, unborn child more than intact, probably enjoying the acrobatics."

Some exaggeration, characteristic of mythological tales, is present here, of course.[65] For Ursell, the stories engendered a belief in the heroic and mythical. She claims that as a Canadian school child, she "had never heard of Mount Olympus or the ancient Greeks, but [she] knew good myth when [she] heard it." They also gave a perspective to her life, and a "shape" to her writing. In the repetition of family stories, and the ritual of family gatherings with their monumental feasts and traditional music, she learned to appreciate the "shape" of

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[64]Manuscript used with permission of author, Barbara Ursell, 2226 McTavish Street, Regina, S4T 3X2, 1974. See appendix, pp. 172-182.

[65]Students may examine the use of exaggeration and metaphorical hyperbole in all the tales inserted into Margaret Laurence's The Diviners. These include Métis, as well as Scottish tales.

an event; hence, the shape of her essay.

Lest the student feel overcome with enthusiasm for the pursuit of his legendary past, or overwhelmed with such outlandish praises for "old, dead people," who must have been human after all, Morley Callaghan's story, "Ancient Lineage"[66] is offered as an antidote. Excessive love of family accomplishments, as Callaghan proves, is a stultifying influence on personal growth. (An expansive immigrant could have told him that!) At the time he wrote this story, 1929, Callaghan was much concerned with the debate over the effect of heredity and environment. His story argues the point that if heredity were supreme, then Hilda Rower should have been a fine leaf on the family tree. Instead, she is a large plain, snobbish woman, with a "virginal mincing sway to her large hips...." None of the initiative of her pioneer ancestors shows in her actions, except in her selling the Rower history for money. Her satisfaction in this exchange is intense, and Callaghan compares it to a sexual release. "That big woman in her own way had been hot stuff. ...[a] woman, whose ancient lineage had taken the place of a lover in her life,..."

Hilda Rower is a modern example of the garrison mentality. She lives, significantly, across from the Presbyterian church. Mr. Flaherty,

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[66]Morley Callaghan, "Ancient Lineage," Morley Callaghan's Stories (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada, 1967), pp. 158-163.

the young man from the historical society who comes to buy her wares, is not received until he can prove his credentials through the screen door. The walls of her "front room" are hung with "framed photographs of dead conservative politicians." She responds to Mr. Flaherty's interest in her family tree, which has been "all looked up" by a brother, but she shows not the slightest interest in Mr. Flaherty's hint that the Flaherty's were "kings of Ireland." When her mother shows a natural willingness to talk about what she remembers of the town seventy years before, Hilda cuts her off. She prefers to show Mr. Flaherty her own written history of their pioneering family. Miss Rower has mythologized her own heritage from the dead past to sustain her own life.

Authors have sometimes treated the land, as well as the immigrant and the pioneer, in mythological terms. Anne Wilkinson's surrealistic poem, "Summer Acres,"[67] personifies her family acreage. Wilkinson's body merges with the landscape's body. Both their voices speak simultaneously, as parts of their disjointed and component parts emerge and float out of ancestral experience. "My eyes are wired to tha willow/ That wept for my father,/ ...My ears are tied to the tattle of water/ That ecoes the vows of ancestral lovers..." and so on. The double voice reveals pride in the strength, honour, and virtue of the men and women who preceded Wilkinson. Through the magic medium of poetry, the poet and her ancestors combine with the land to witness each passing event.

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[67]Anne Wilkinson, "Summer Acres," Canadian Anthology, eds. C.F. Klinck, and R.E. Watters (Toronto: W.J. Gage and Company Limited, 1955), pp. 423-424.

If they can be located in any one place, more than another, it is in the trees: "...the trees and the family are temples/ Whose columns will tumble, leaf over root to their ruin." The red blood of the ancestors and of the maple trees are one. She "hail[s] [her] fathers, sing[s] their blood to the leaf." Her song of praise is her poem, so, in a curious way, all the elements of landscape, ancestors, poet, and poem are combined.

The poet's location for the poem, "Transformations,"[68] is not in the land, but, rather as a traveller above it. Miriam Waddington states that her poetic purpose is to create poetry from the landscape: "I will compose/ my songs to gold-eye tunes/ send them across the land/ in smoke-spaces, ice-signals...." Located above the land, she moves with ease from continent to continent, from Russia to Gimli, in daring imaginative leaps through space. She roams through time, from the day of Henry Hudson, to the present, but does not promise she will return: "...when he comes home/ I will come home too...." Her poem is an appropriate conclusion to this study unit; she is all immigrants in one body, all time in one poem, all heritages in one "flowering."

Waddington's poem signals the stopping point of the imaginative thrust of this anthology. Moving from diverse and particular immigrant individuals, the anthology reaches through ethnic groups to the single prototypic immigrant. In the process, polarities and ironic ambivalences

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[68]Miriam Waddington, "Transformations," Driving Home (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 9. See appendix, p. 183.

are melded into the patterns of the expansive and protective modes. Finally, in the press of time, the anthology superimposes decade upon century, showing that the stages of immigration are constant, though the literary styles that illustrate them differ.

Chapter Five

CONCLUSIONS AND SPECULATIONS

"The Immigrant Experience in Canadian Literature," is a teaching unit worthy of study at the high school level. Within the wide area of the teaching of Canadian literature, this thesis shows that immigrant literature of sufficient quantity and quality exists.[1] It also demonstrates that this literature may be interpreted in two contrasting and complementary modes, the expansive and protective, and five different stages, the decision, the journey and arrival, settlement, integration both in the garrison/ghetto and through language, and mythologizing. The characteristics of each of these structures have been outlined in chapter four in Tables I and II. In this chapter, some observations are made regarding quantity and quality. Suggestions for further research are also proposed. The thesis concludes with a discussion of the value of this teaching unit.

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[1]The provincial Departments of Education which approve literature courses select works from literature which are deemed both exemplary of the various facets of literature and appropriate to the adolescent student. The rationale varies for the groupings of these works into courses, but the criteria for their approval demands that the course typify an area of sufficient quantity and quality.

A unit of study on the immigrant theme in Canadian literature, which this writer helped to prepare, and the textbook, The Immigrant Experience, which this writer edited, have been officially approved by the Manitoba Department of Education for the Grade Eleven literature course. In both instances, their preparation was guided by Prof. David Arnason, curriculum consultant to the Manitoba Department of Education, and General Editor of the Macmillan series, "Themes in Canadian Literature. See Annotations of Recently Approved Textbooks & Lists of Supplementary" Materials, 1976-77, Department of Education, Province of Manitoba, p. 3.

The selections discussed in chapters two and four illustrate the breadth of material possible for teaching the immigrant experience. Chapter four chooses samples from most major ethnic groups, with heavy emphasis on the charter groups, particularly the English. Chapter two amplifies the representation from all ethnic groups in chapter four, and, as well, indicates works referring to additional ethnic groups.[2] As has been noted in chapter one, the scarcity of translations into English precludes the possibility of a complete portrayal of the literature from non-English speaking groups. More and more, however, the best recognized works of these groups are being published.[3] The existence of great numbers of non-English presses[4] in Canada suggests that there must be an authorship of works about the immigrant experience which many of the readership, being immigrants, appreciate.

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[2]The Germans, Scandanavians, Icelanders and Jews, for example, are not as well represented in the anthology as they are in chapter two with the analysis of the novels of Grove, Ostenso, Salvorson, Richler, and Wiseman.

[3]Throughout the writing of this thesis, this writer continued to discover immigrant writing in translation, usually published by small presses. One recent publication which represents the work of a minority ethnic group published in a small press is The Sound of Time: An Anthology of Canadian-Authors (Lethbridge: Canadian-Hungarian Authors' Association, 1974).

[4]A list compiled by the New Canadian Publications organization gives 131 non-English or non-French newspapers. Mr. Eric Ratzlaff, President of the Canadian Ethnic Press Association, estimates that about 200 such presses produce publications at regular intervals, twenty of these in Winnipeg alone, and about fifty in Ontario. Since back issues are stored in the archives in Ottawa, Mr. Ratzlaff also suggests that they are available for research.

The compilation and translation of this literature is a massive enterprise, one which has already been undertaken by such scholars as Watson Kirkonnel. The research and translation necessary to glean this area of Canadian literature provides theses topics for many future generations of scholars.

Authors using languages other than English and French began to write about immigration just before the turn of the twentieth century, when non-English speaking groups began to migrate to Canada in large numbers. This thesis encompasses the development of immigrant literature in Canada, beginning in 1606 and continuing to the present. The derivative quality of early writings, contrasted to the indigenous quality of contemporary writings demonstrates the present maturity of the Canadian literary voice. To compare this literary maturation with adolescent maturation -- the squeaks and cracks in the voice of the adolescent colony, sometimes child-like and dependent on the mother country, have stabilized into the consistent depth and resonance in the voice of a fully adult and independent nation. Such a comparison might be made to introduce the adolescent student to the difficult concept of the "maturing native voice." He understands that the development of his own voice is inevitable, though it cannot be hurried.[5] He also appreciates that the maturing of a voice is imperative to the acceptance of the adult by other adults. Analogously, the acceptance of Canadian literature by

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[5]If that fails, the teacher might make a visual comparison between a Kreighoff landscape, for example, and an Emily Carr landscape, asking the students why the former seems "European," and the latter, "Canadian."

other world literatures partly depends on recognition of her literary maturity.

Because of the student's brevity of acquaintance with other world literatures, the topic of the maturing voice in immigrant literature cannot be dealt with extensively in the classroom; nor is it treated extensively in the thesis. Rather, it can, and has become the subject of another area of research. Much Canadian literary criticism in general is concerned with the definition of a truly Canadian voice. This criticism indicates that as the voice emerges, the quality of the literature improves.

In a comparison between the literature of the expansive and protective modes, it is apparent that, of the two, the literature in the protective mode is frequently of higher quality. A chain of argument supports this observation. The writers of protective literature, being mainly from the middle classes, are often from better educated backgrounds in their homelands, than are expansive immigrants, who are often of peasant stock. The protective immigrant writers, therefore, understand the elements of good writing, especially the important element of point of view. They appear to have realized that the writer must maintain some objective detachment from his heroes, whereas the expansive immigrant sometimes indulges in sentimental subjective attachment to his heroes.

Furthermore, works written in the protective literary mode have appeared more frequently in anthologies than expansive ones, partly because of their quality, and partly, one suspects, because of another important factor -- the location of publishing companies in the East. Until recently, the critical material in Canadian literature has emerged

from a kind of Eastern publishing mentality which thinks that patterns suitable in Ontario must suit all of Canada. These publishing companies have frequently behaved like the moneyed, "cultured" protective immigrant who believes it is his prerogative to establish his patterns on the "uncivilized." The protective positions assumed in their publications have been received as definitive by Canadian teachers who buy their texts. Margaret Atwood's popular book, Survival, has formed the basis for many curricula. Her biases have an Eastern orientation, with regard to the immigrant in particular.[6] John Moss has largely ignored the literature that has arisen from recent immigration of minority groups to the West, and to urban Eastern Canada, for that matter.

Since the publication of Survival and Patterns of Isolation, however, a trend is emerging which may countervail against the protective

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[6]See above, footnote no. 7, p. 7. Her "grandfathers" and "immigrants" are kept separately, for in the East they are separate. In the West, they share many of the same characteristics. Atwood says she realizes this, but she still keeps them separate. On one occasion she compares the "three-generation family novel (1. grandfather-settlers, 2. parents, 3. children) to the "three-generation" immigrant novel. She concedes at this point that immigrant novels might be more positive in outlook. Perhaps she recognizes an expansive point of view here:

> ....The first generation in the immigrant novel is typically seen as having more charm and wisdom or vitality, or culture suavity, than its WASP [one presumes she means Ontario--] counterpart; the second-generation has more energy -- it really fights for success -- and the third generation is given a better chance for a full human life.

Later is the same paragraph, she says "The positive qualities of the three immigrant generations are certainly not seen as deriving from Canada; they come instead from the European past." Had Ms. Atwood given more recognition to these positive qualities, she would have realized that an expansive or "position four" mode of interpretation can be found in immigrant literature more frequently than she credits.

mode of literary interpretation. With the current mood of cultural nationalism, one aspect of that trend is that more poems and stories are being written in the expansive mode. Unwilling to see their country as a victim, literary artists are expressing their "raised consciousness" in works, such as the two discussed below, which confidently assume a Canadian identity separate from any mother or father country. It may be that this expansive trend creates a kind of sixth stage to the immigrant experience, or it may be that it is only another part of mythologizing. Two characteristics which put it outside the confines of the framework of this five-stage thesis, at least, are 1. that it describes immigration within the native country, Canada, and 2. that it is concerned with the earliest stage, the voyage, symbolically interpreted in an expansive mode as a positive experience. The second characteristic may of course, indicate that the whole five-stage process is merely cyclical.

Two recent works indicate the possibility of such an additional stage, Matt Cohen's novel, The Disinherited,[7] and David Helwig's narrative poem, Atlantic Crossings.[8] Cohen describes the search through three generations for roots that can support the hero in urban contemporary society. Cohen writes: "...with Richard [Erik's father] dead and the farm sealed off from him, [Erik Thomas] is truly marooned in the city...." To shore up his disintegrating consciousness, Erik reads the diaries of

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[7]Matt Cohen, The Disinherited (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1974).

[8]David Helwig, Atlantic Crossings (Toronto: The Coach House Press, 1976).

his grandfather whom he calls "the poet." Their language and content affect the young man; he finds that his grandfather also felt out of place:

> Our ship was one of twelve & when we came across the ocean in this apostolic convoy we were like an army of the dispossessed. We had thought ourselves better than our nomad ancestors who had wandered to Europe from Mesopotamia & Africa, but now we too were disinherited & forced to seek out a new world; & so we closed the circle on our past.[9]

Seeking the same break with the past, Erik decides to "emigrate" to Edmonton. This kind of internal migration is found in many contemporary and earlier works.[10] Internal migration, like external migration, usually indicates a dissatisfaction with conditions in one region, and a belief that these conditions may be improved by a move to another region of the country.

Cohen and Helwig use the voyage in similar ways. Erik's grandfather is martyred by the ship's crew for the sexual favours he offers a sailor, in order to rescue him from a deadly illness, yet for his generosity to the sailor, and to his companion woman-of-the-street, he is sainted by Cohen. Helwig's four heroes also love the unloveable. A monk-companion to St. Brendan, a slave trader, a female-companion to Karlsefni the Viking, and even Colombus himself all explore "the depths and possibilities of pain"[11] and find beauty. The saintly companion of Brendan says of the voyage:

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[9]Matt Cohen, The Disinherited, p. 212.

[10]The contemporary plays by David French about Maritimers migrating to Toronto, such as Leaving Home (1972) are pertinent here. Early works by authors such as Robert Stead, The Homesteaders (1916), Philip Grove, A Search for America (1927) and recent works by authors such as Margaret Laurence, The Stone Angel (1964) and A Jest of God (1966) explore this internal migration.

[11]David Helwig, Atlantic Crossings, back cover.

> our eyes purified
> were capable of everything
>
> and the crystal island came
> out of the sky or sea
> to where we waited
>
> we came close to it
> looking inward forever
> to the centre or centres
> through long arcades
> and sheets of light[12]

Though the voyagers go through sacrifice and suffering, they do not root themselves in the new land they find so good; Karlsefni's companion says:

> This is a good land, but we will never
> life [sic] in safety. They [the Indians] will come, and death
> with them. We will load the ships and return.

The point of view expressed in these two works is like Jones' exhortation to love that which threatens.[13] In their voyages of transcendance, these immigrants undergo a death of the old self. In so doing they reveal the sensibility of artists who are willing to accept the darkness.

The quality of these expansive pieces of literature is not likely to be disputed. Further research by someone well-acquainted with contemporary literature would certainly produce other fine examples.[14]

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[12] Ibid., p. 16.

[13] See above, p. 10, Jones, Butterfly on Rock.

[14] I am indebted to Robert Enright who has brought many of these poems to my attention. His analysis of immigrant poetry will soon appear in the Resource Guide to Canadian Literature, soon to be published by the Canadian Writers' Union under the Writers' Development Trust, and on whose curriculum committee we both have served.

At any rate, a greater accumulation of evidence must be gathered before a sixth stage is proven, and, therefore, some time will pass before such an addition would be included in this course on the immigrant experience.

Another recent aspect of this hypothetical sixth stage of internal migration that might be included at present in a course on the immigrant experience is the phenomenon of the Indian as emigrant from the reservation to the city. A leading Indian spokesman has unknowingly echoed some of the themes of the actual Indian experience which have been expressed already as signature lines in the literary immigrant experience. In the program, "Our Native Land," Vern Belcourt, of the American Indian Movement, said: "We are sovereign and colonized.... A man without land is nothing.... We must go back to our spiritual roots...."[15] It is doubtful that Mr. Belcourt would recognize that Indians and immigrants share common goals and problems, whether in actual or in literary terms, but the similarities cannot be denied. Problems with identity and transition are at least as complex and difficult for the immigrant as they are for the Indian.

The inclusion of the Indian both as modern immigrant, and as original host to the early immigrant, testifies once again to the amplitude of the immigrant experience in literature. It also hints at the variety of approaches which may be taken to this teaching unit. If the Indian were used as a starting and finishing point in the immigrant experience, the presentation of the progression of teaching materials

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[15]This is an approximate quotation from a program on February 7, 1976. Transcripts are not available from the C.B.C.

might be quite different from the five-stage approach. The impact of the new man on the old continent and its inhabitants would emphasize the frontier and integration, and would play down the importance of the decision and voyage stages.

Another approach is through the related social sciences -- the study of migration in geography, and of specific ethnic groups in history -- a curriculum plan that is already established in some schools in Manitoba. Working into literature through geography and history can de-emphasize the literary side, however, and the sociopschychological[16] side which is, after all, only part of literature, might unfortunately predominate.

Alternatively, if a purely literary approach were taken, through the study of traditional literary devices, genre by genre, the student might then lose something of value by failing to associate the actual experience with the literary one he is studying. The use of media can supplement this avenue to give veracity to literary experience, and to develop appreciation of other art forms, such as films and tape recordings.[17]

A personal contract approach, whereby a student undertakes to find out about all these aspects, can be the entire assignment for the study unit. As has been shown by the breadth of material in this thesis, however, each student would need a great deal of guidance to unearth the

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[16] See above, Hook, p. 77.

[17] The bibliography at the conclusion of The Immigrant Experience includes a list of tapes and films.

wealth of material available. In order to insure that he appreciate the entire actual and literary experience, through all stages, ethnic groups and time periods, not to mention the expansive and protective modes, the teacher would be kept busy indeed, in the attempt to individualize student contracts.

The approach implicit in this thesis, then, is deemed by this writer to be satisfactory. The teacher presents most of the anthology materials in class, making ample use of the suggested framework of the stages and modes. She uses historical examples from the actual experience, and refers to literary history for the literary experience. Films, tapes, reader's theatre, and classroom voyages enliven the lecture method. Further experiences outside the schoolroom -- in archives, museums, trips to "ethnic ghettoes" and interviews with modern immigrants -- serve to broaden the perspective on the actual experience, and demonstrate that the process of immigration is continuous. Students are offered individualized projects, but of manageable proportions, as suggested in the topics given in chapter four. Whenever seminars on novels are held or research projects presented orally, the class then shares in the accumulation of actual and literary material. The variety of topics is so diverse that no student need repeat, in one classroom, another student's research.

The seminars on novels help to minimize one weakness of the anthology approach. Short genres rarely include a discussion of some of the important themes of the immigrant experience found in "three-generation" novels, and outlined in chapter two. A description of the generation gap created by the distance between the conditioning of the

original immigrant, and the conditioning of his descendants, or of settled Canadians, demands an entire novel. The story, "Bambinger," and the play, "Back Door" illustrate this gap, but patterns of resistance from the third generation are absent. "The Well of Dunrea" shows the conditioning of immigrants to authority figures, but it does not show the effect on children as well as do the novels about children enslaved to father landowners. The families are often rooted to the land in immigrant novels. The prose story "The Decision," and the poems "Calgary Station," "What do I remember of the evacuation," and "120 miles north of Winnipeg" hint only vaguely that the child's integration takes place through sacrifice, but the novels directly state that the sacrifice roots the immigrant family to the land.

A closing criticism of this thesis is that chapter four does not explore the language conditioning that is reproduced in characters' speech patterns in the anthology. This would be an easier task in the novel which, after all, contains more speech per se, and which does not have as many diverse ethnic groups represented as the anthology does. At least half of the anthology selections contain examples of speech patterns influenced by ethnic group patterns. No one but a zealous linguist and literary scholar qualitifies as a researcher in this topic, either in this anthology or elsewhere, but he or she might be challenged by it.

In spite of certain reservations regarding the anthology, there rests in this teaching unit as a whole, a collection of works of both quality and value. Quality is proportionate to the degree of organization in a work; value is proportionate to its expression of social

vision.[18] As a student examines the intricacies of the anthology, novels, and related assignments, he may realize that artistic expression of the actual literary experience requires a high degree of organization. His appreciation of the imaginative literary process may enhance his own literary achievement and increase his ability to assess the achievement of other writers. The purpose of the study of immigrant literature in high school is not, in the main, to make students critics, but it is to acquaint them with the knowledge that makes critical appreciation possible.

The well-tempered critic or student is aware of the social vision from which national literature arises. To conclude, as the thesis began, with Margaret Atwood:

> The tendency in Canada, at least in high school and university teaching, has been to emphasize the personal and the universal but to skip the national or cultural. This is like trying to teach human anatomy by looking only at the head and the feet.[19]

The preceding chapters help to cure this lamentable misunderstanding of cultural anatomy. They explore one of the most significant themes in Canadian literature. They illustrate that the perennial creation of literature about immigration is as assured as the arrival of strangers at our gates.[20] They testify that the national reception has been both

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[18] See above, p. 72.

[19] Margaret Atwood, Survival, p. 15.

[20] This is a reference to the title of J.S. Woodsworth, Strangers within our gates: or Coming Canadians, The Social History of Canada, ed., Michael Bliss (1909; rpt. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972).

friendly and hostile. They caution that the health of the organic cultural body is threatened when any one part dominates another.

But the teaching unit embraces the feet and head, the personal and universal, as well as the national and cultural. At any one stage in the design, the student may begin to associate his life with the life of an immigrant, his search with the immigrant's search. He may also discover that the same search for identity has lasted over time and distance. His own body is only one atom in the national body, his voice only one voice. He is, nonetheless, blended and distinct, a part of the immigrant experience.

APPENDIX

CALGARY STATION
--Elizabeth E. Mackay

...From every land they come to know but one--
The kindly earth that hides them from the sun--
But, in their places, children live, and they
Turn with glad faces to a common day.
Of every land, they too, but one land claim--
The land that gives them place and hope and name--
Canadians, they, and proud and glad to be
A part of Canada's sure destiny!
What if within their hearts deep memories hide
Of lands their fathers grieved for, till they died?
The bitterness is gone and in its stead
New understanding and new hopes are bred,
With wider vision which may show the world
Its cannon dumb, its battle-flags close furled!
--Dreams? We may dream indeed, with heart elate,
While a new Nation clamors at our gate!

Hustlin' in My Jeans
--Robert Stead

YES, I'm holdin' down the homestead here an' roughin' it a bit,
It seems the only kind o' life that I was built to fit,
For it's thirty years last summer since I staked my first preserve,
An' I reckon on the whole I've prospered more than I deserve;
An' my friends kep' naggin' at me for to quit this toil an' strife,
An' to settle in the city for the balance of my life,
An' I ain't compelled to labor--I've some mortgages and liens--
But I'm happier when I'm hustlin' on the homestead in my jeans.

I've tried to loaf an' like it, an' I've tried to swell about
Where the boozey run to red-eye an' the greedy run to gout,
An' I've tried to wear a collar an' a fancy fly-net vest,
An' I've tried to think it pleasant just to sit around an' rest;
An' I've tried to look important--though I'd nothing' on my mind,
An' to strut about with others who were similar inclined;
I've mingled in society an' peeked behind the scenes--
An' I'm happier when I'm hustlin' on the homestead in my jeans.

Then I got the lust for roamin', an' I rummaged round the earth,
An' I got a big experience an' correspondin' girth,
But the more I roved an' rambled the less I cared to live,
An' I only kep' on goin' cause I'd no alternative;
I learned through tips an' tickets an' the jostle of the train
That there's nothin' pulls your heart-strings like the wheat-smell in the rain,
An' I bid good-bye to Fashion an' her social kings an queens,
An' I filed my second homestead an' I bought a pair of jeans.

'Course it's sometimes kind o' lonely on the pr rairie here alone,
When the night-time settles round you an' your thoughts are all your own,
An' old faces flit before you like a flock o' homin' birds,
An' your heart swells with emotion that no man can put in words,
An' you ponder on the Why-for, the Beginnin', an' the End,
An' you know the only things worth while are Family an' Friend--
From the trifles of existence your better judgment weans,
An' you get the right perspective on the homestead--in your jeans.

There are days the sweat-drops glisten on this sun-burned hand of mine,
There are nights the joints go creakin' as I crawl to bed, at nine,
But I hear the horses stampin' and the rap o' Collie's tail,
An' it minds me of the Eighties an' the Old Commission Trail--
Of the days we pledged our future to a land we hardly knew,
An' the men whose brave beginnings made prosperity for you;
There are men now great an' famous I remember in their teens,
An' they made their start by hustlin' on the homestead, in their jeans.

There are times when most folks figure that their life has been a blank;
You may be a homeless hobo or director of a bank,
But the thought will catch you nappin'--catch you sometime unawares--
That your life has been a failure, and that no one really cares;
That the world will roll without you till the Resurrection morn,
An' that no one would have missed you if you never had been born;
An' I give you my conclusion--all that livin' really means
Is revealed to those who hustle on the homestead in their jeans.

Some day I reckon I'll cash in an' file another claim
Where the wicked cease from troublin' an' the good get in the game;
Where the pews are not allotted by the fashion of your dress,
An' the only thing that figures is inherent manliness;
Let me feel a neighbor's hand-clasp when I am called to part,
An' let the prairies hold me, as they have held my heart,
An' find a sunny hillside where the water-willow screens,
An' plant me on the homestead where I hustled--in my jeans.

The Well of Dunrea
--Gabrielle Roy

His is strange life, so beautiful upon occasion, yet so hard and exacting, my father kept locked from our curiosity. He never said much about it, either to my mother or to me, even less to our neighbors. But he did talk about it to Agnes, on the syllables of whose name his voice lingered lovingly. Why and at what moment did he unburden so much of his heart to this young daughter of his who was already oversensitive? She long kept as her own secret what my father had certainly told her not without considerable reticence. One evening she began repeating it to us....Perhaps it was because we had just been complaining that Papa was none too companionable. "He was, indeed...he was....Oh! if only you knew!" protested Agnes. And it was another strange thing that, while he was still alive, we spoke of my father in the past tense, perhaps thinking of another aspect of his personality, long since disappeared.
...and that was precisely the word he used - a paradise.

....He had to traverse ten miles of scrub, of swamp, of bad lands, constantly swept by the wind, to reach Dunrea. And suddenly there came into view well-shaped trees - aspens, poplars, willows - grouped in such a way that they seemed to constitute an oasis in the bareness of the plain. A little before arriving at this clump of greenery you could already hear, my father said, water flowing and gurgling. For among trees, so verdant and so healthy, almost hidden beneath them, ran a shallow little stream called the "Lost River." Could it indeed have been Papa - so close-mouthed and sad - who had furnished Agnes with all these details? And why her? No one but her? "Is it surprising that Papa so deeply loved this Lost River?" said Agnes. "Just think: he himself had created it, in a sense."
...God create all creatures free, beasts as well as men?"

....But how were we to know what God wished us to do with the so many little lives committed to our care? thought Papa, and he had said this to his Dukhobors, that one must not too greatly rack one's brain over this subject, that the important thing was not to mistreat any animal. None the less, the Dukhobors remained tortur ed by the idea that they must not infringe any of God's wishes...and they set free their flocks; which meant that they had to drive them out of their stables and pens.

The poor animals, upset and troubled, wanted to return to their captivity. But they were prevented. The snow came. The animals found nothing to eat; they almost all perished; in the spring only a handful - and they no more than fearful skeletons - came back toward the dwellings of men. Thus among the Dukhobors the young children suffered a series of illnesses for lack of milk. Among the Mennonites it was folly of another sort. Many were the misfortunes in Saskatchewan in those days...and almost always through excess of good will, through eagerness to understand God perfectly.

And why was Dunrea alone spared? The men there were well behaved, true enough; they believed in God. Perhaps, even, they believed that God loved them better than He loved the Dukhobors and the Mennonites; this notion apart, they seemed to dwell in wisdom.

...and now this Czech was working in a mine.

....When Agnes told us this, we understood why Papa hated all lies, and even lies by admission; why he suffered so much because Maman dressed things up a bit; but that is another story.

...God's gentle hand would ever weigh heavily upon them.

....Delicate and sweethearted as she was, how could Agnes have kept to herself so long the spectacle she at least described to us? In those days, Papa had told her, prairie fires were always smoldering somewhere in Saskatchewan. This province, so lacking in rainfall and so windy, was truly the land of fire. So dry was it that the sun alone, playing on straw or a bottle shard, could set the prairie aflame! And if the slightest active breath of air should then make known its presence, at once the fire began to run like the wind itself. Now the wind in this part of the world was already a furious, mad thing, which beat the harvests to the ground, uprooted trees, and sometimes tore the roofs from buildings. Yet satanic as it was, it still left behind it the grasses cropped close to the soil, some living thing. But behind the fire, there remained nothing save the carcasses of young fawns, of rabbits pursued by the flames, overtaken by them, sometimes fallen dead in full flight....And for a long time these carcasses poisoned the air, for in the place where fire had passed, even the birds of prey took care not to come to eat the eyes of the dead animals. This was a not uncommon sight in many areas of Saskatchewan, and a man's heart could little bear to see a ruin so complete.

... - in Dunrea - there was also a desert.

....Papa said that then, in this absence of life, he had seen Agnes, come to wait for him as she always came to meet the tram that brought our father back from Winnipeg. He said that he had seen her at the trolley stop, at the end of our short Rue Deschambault, and that close to her stood our old collie dog, which always accompanied Agnes. Such was the vision that in the end had penetrated so far to find Papa, in his quiet; regret at seeing the child and her dog futilely waiting day after day, for weeks and months - here was what brought his dead soul back to life. "Go home, you and the dog - back to the house!" he had tried to tell Agnes. And this word "house," which his lips pronounced, none the less only awakened an extreme astonishment in the depths of his brain. "The house! Whose house? Why houses?..." And again he tried to persuade the stubborn child, standing at the street corner, despite a cold wind, and shivering, to go home. "There's no use waiting for me; I'm already dead. Don't you understand? To be dead is to have no more love - at last!" But Agnes answered Papa in the bottom of the well: "You'll come back; I know it...maybe even in this next tram...."

And Papa had been startled at hearing himself speak; the sound of his voice had made him understand that he was not dead. Because of the child at the end of the street, he made an enormous effort to fasten himself with the rope to the wall of the well. He had fainted.

"THE SON OF MARQUIS NODDLE"
--Robert J.S. Stead

He is brand-new out from England, and he thinks he knows it all--
  (There's a bloomin' bit o' goggle in his eye)
The "colonial" that crosses him is going to get a fall-
  (There's a seven-pound revolver on his thigh).
He's a son of Marquis Noddle, he's a nephew of an earl,
In the social swim of England he's got 'em all awhirl,
He's as confident as Caesar and as pretty as a girl--
  Oh, he's out in deadly earnest, do or die.

They will spot him in the cities by the cowhide on his feet--
  (They were built for crushing cobblestones at 'ome)
And the giddy girls will giggle when they see him on the street--
  (There's a brand-new cowboy hat upon his dome).
He has come from home and kindred to the land beyond the sea,
To the far-famed land of plenty, to the country of the free,
But he can't forget he owns it from Cape Race to Behring Sea--
He is coming just as Caesar would to Rome.

When his pile is getting slender he'll go looking for a job,
  (And he thinks he ought to get it, don't cherknow)
But he finds that he must mingle with the common city mob
  (How can they think that he would stoop so low?)
So he hikes him to the country, where the rustics will be proud
To salute him when they meet him, and to whisper, nice and loud,
"He's the son of Marquis Noddle,--you would know him in a crowd"--
They will pay him there the homage that they owe.

In the little country village he will manufacture mirth--
  (For it's there they take the measure of a swell)
They will soon proceed to teach him that he doesn't own the earth
  (With a quit-claim on the sun and moon as well).
They will show him that the country isn't altogether slow,
And that they can travel any pace that he's a mind to go;
He will be a right good fellow till they run him out of dough--
  Oh, it is a tale of merriment they tell!

So to keep his bones together he goes working on a farm,
  (Where they get up at a little after two)
Where they think to take him down a peg will not do any harm,
  (And they sleep when there is nothing else to do).
Where they work him like a nigger nearly twenty hours a day,
And they don't disguise the fact that they consider him a jay,
And he eats so much and sleeps so much he isn't worth his pay--
Oh, it doesn't matter that his blood is blue.

He decides to do a season as a cowboy in the West,
  Where they call a man a boy untill he's dead
And he tries to walk a-swagger with a military chest,
  (And he isn't overslept or overfed).
They will set him breaking bronchos, thought it's little to his mind;
With many new-learned epithets he'll perforate the wind--
How can he know the boys have stuck a thistle on behind?
  He will end the exhibition on his head.

They will fill him full of liquor that'll frizzle his inside,
  (In the cooler he can square it with his God).
He will spend his nights in places where the demi-monde reside,
  (in the morning he'll be minus watch and wad).
They'll abuse him as a youngster, they will mock him as a man,
They'll make his life a thorny path in every way they can,
Till he curses his existence and the day that it began,
And he wishes he was rotting in the sod.

He will write long tales to England, tales of bitterness and woe,
  (They will print 'em in the papers over there).
He will tell them pretty nearly everything he doesn't know,
  (And they'll take it all for gospel over there).
He will tell them that the country isn't fit for gentlemen,
That any who escape from it do not come back again,
He is handy with his language and he wields a bitter pen--
  To the truth of each assertion he would swear.

He's a growler, he's a growser, he's a nuisance, he's a bum,
  (And the country hasn't any room for such)
And they class him in the papers as "European scum,"
  (They would rather have the Irish or the Dutch).
He's the butt of every jester, he's the mark of every joke,
He is wearing borrowed trousers--he has put his own in soak--
He's a useless good-for-nothing, beaten, buffeted, and broke,
  And of sympathy he won't get overmuch.

. . . . . .

In a dozen years you'll find him with a section of his own,
  (He had to learn his lesson at the start)
With a happy wife and children he is trying to atone--
  (For he loves the country now with all his heart).
He's a son of dear old England, he's a hero, he's brick;
He's the kind you may annihilate but you can never lick,
For he played and lost, and played and lost,
  and stayed and took the trick
In a world of men he'll play a manly part.

What Do I Remember of the Evacuation
-- Joy Kogawa

What do I remember of the evacuation?
I remember my father telling Tim and me
About the mountains and the train
And the excitement of going on a trip.
What do I remember of the evacuation?
I remember my mother wrapping
A blanket around me and my
Pretending to fall asleep so she would be happy
Though I was so excited I couldn't sleep
(I hear there were people herded
Into the Hastings Park like cattle.
Families were made to move in two hours
Abandoning everything, leaving pets
And possessions at gun point.
I hear families were broken up
Men were forced to work. I heard
It whispered late at night
That there was suffering) and
I missed my dolls.
What do I remember of the evacuation?
I remember Miss Foster and Miss Tucker
Who still live in Vancouver
And who did what they could
And loved the children and who gave me
A puzzle to play with on the train.
And I remember the mountains and I was
Six years old and I swear I saw a giant
Gulliver of Gulliver's Travels scanning the horizon
And when I told my mother she believed it too
And I remember how careful my parents were
Not to bruise us with bitterness
And I remember the puzzle of Lorraine Life
Who said "Don't insult me" when I
Proudly wrote my name in Japanese
And Tim flew the Union Jack
When the war was over but Lorraine
And her friends spat on us anyway
And I prayed to the God who loves
All the children in his sight
That I might be white.

120 Miles North of Winnipeg
- Dale Zieroth

My grandfather came here years ago,
family of eight. In the village,
nine miles away, they knew him as
the German and they were suspicious, being
already settled. Later he was
somewhat liked; still later
forgotten. In winter everything
went white as buffalo bones and
the underwear froze on the line
like corpses. Often the youngest
was sick. Still he never thought
of leaving. Spring was always greener
than he'd known and summer had
kid-high grass with sunsets big
as God. The wheat was thick,
the log house chinked and warm.
The little English he spoke
he learned from the thin grey lady in
the one-room school, an hour away
by foot. The oldest could hunt, the youngest
could read. They knew nothing of
the world he'd left, and forgotten,
until 1914 made him an alien and
he left them on the land he'd come to,
120 miles north of Winnipeg.

Detention Camp, Brandon, Manitoba
- Dale Zieroth

On the morning of the fourth day,
two men were missing. Later, brought
back, they talked for a while
of some part of summer they'd seen,
then they were quiet, turned bitter,
even a little crazed: these received
no letters from the outside and spoke now
of nothing they wished to return to.
Bodies at night would moan, asleep
with others somewhere who dreamt
of them. The sunrise on the wall
became a condition, the sunset a way
of counting days. The prisoners carried
these things close to their bodies.
This my grandfather came to know
before leaving.

He did not celebrate his homecoming.
His wife was older, his children
came to him less. Even the sky
was not as blue as he'd remembered,
and the harvest, three-quarters done,
reminded him too often of wasted
time, of war in Europe. Winter
came too quickly that year and
next spring the turning of the earth
held no new surprises.

east to west
- George Bowering

Ho Lem
again alderman in Calgary,
smiling celestial of ward action,
a good deal
fatter than
Ho Ling,
1883,
bent-legged pioneer,
Yang Tse muscles bent
in slave labour to the
master steel

CPR - binding East to West
slab after slab laid down
thru Rocky Mountains
steel bent by will
and bending

till Vancouver
& steel-pushers left
along the track

Ho Ling in Calgary,
houseboy, kitchen help,

instant adaptability
of coolee brain

saving Kanadian nickels
buying pioneer shack
later dusty Calgary's
first laundry

beside Chang
Kanadian Restaurant
:specialty bacon 'n' eggs
served by fifteen Chinese waiters

one of which died,
Old Chang

leaving savings, $100
to Presbyterian hospital with no beds
for old Chinamen.

Ho Chin,
1931,
removed long queue,
entered Presbyterian church,
wheeled Christian punctual
vegetable wagon
behind aged Indian horse

exploded venerable imported fireworks
along Bow River
on his father's New Year

entered Chinese Masonic Lodge,
Chinese Nationalist League,
weekend ski club.

Ho Lem,
1963,
pronounces "Calgary"
with no trouble,
wears white ten gallon hat
a $100 suit
of political advantage,

votes for relocation
of city railroad tracks.

MRS. FORNHEIM, REFUGEE
--Irving Lyaton

Very merciful was the cancer
Which first blinding you altogether
Afterwards stopped up your hearing;
At the end when Death was nearing,
Black-gloved, to gather you in
You did not demur, or fear
One you could not see or hear.

I taught you Shakespeare's tongue, not knowing
The time and manner of your going;
Certainly if with ghosts to dwell,
German would have served as well.
Voyaging lady, I wish for you
An Englishwoman to talk to,
An unruffled listener,
And green words to say to her.

THE LAUNDRESS
--Einar Paul Jonsson

She worked as a housemaid, then as a laundress
in small town Winnipeg, full of emigres speaking
every language except her own: she was Icelandic
and as she worked she sang the old Icelandic hymns
and songs: the songs had all her joy, they brought
all her peace. She kept reaching for the language
that got lost in her life. She could never speak it
again, though it always measured her breath.

Late one summer, as she lay dying, she sang again
the Icelandic hymns, sang in her mother tongue,
an other tongue for us; and as we lay her
in a foreign grave, we, who know no Icelandic,
who know then almost nothing of what she loved
and lived by, say our prayers over her in English.

Translated from the Icelandic
by Michael Patrick O'Connor
and Thorvaldur Johnson

LAURENTIAN SHIELD
--Frank R. Scott

Hidden in wonder and snow, or sudden with summer,
This land stares at the sun in a huge silence
Endlessly repeating something we cannot hear,
Inarticulate, arctic,
Not written on by history, empty as paper,
It leans away from the world with songs in its lakes
Older than love, and lost in the miles.

This waiting is wanting
It will choose its language
When it has chosen its technic,
A tongue to shape the vowels of its productivity.

A language of flesh and of roses.

Now there are pre-words,
Cabin syllables,
Nouns of settlement
Slowly forming, with steel syntax,
The long sentence of its exploitation.

The first cry was the hunter, hungry for fur,
And the digger for gold, nomad, no-man, a particle;
Then the bold commands of monopoly, big with machines,
Carving its kingdoms out of the public wealth;
And now the drone of the plane, scouting the ice,
Fills all the emptiness with neighbourhood
And links our future over the vanished pole.

But a deeper note is sounding, heard in the mines,
The scattered camps and the mills, a language of life,
And what will be written in the full culture of occupation
Will come, presently, tomorrow,
From millions whose hands can turn this rock into children.

A pinch or two of dust
--Alden Nowlan

- The dust being from Culloden, Scotland where, in a battle fought in 1746, the last of the great Celtic societies was extinguished.

A friend has given me
a pinch or two of dust,
an ounce at most of soil
from a field where our ancestors,
his and mine, were ploughed into
the compost bed of history, a people
who had outlived their gods,
the last of the old barbarians
destroyed by the first of the new,
magnificent fools who threw
stones and handfuls of earth
at the gunners until they themselves
became part of that earth and thereby
made it theirs for ever,
their blood indistinguishable now
from it, their blood contained
in this pinch or two of dust
as in my body and the body
of the friend who gave it
--this soil not only between
but within
my fingers, a part of
the very cells that shape this poem.

Family Folklore Program, Smithsonian Institution, Division of Performing Arts, January, 1976.

1. What do you know about your family's last name? Do you know where it came from? Do you know its meaning?

2. Are there any first names that are passed on from father to son or from mother to daughter?

3. What stories have come down to you about your parents, grandparents or other ancestors?

4. Do you have any famous characters (good or bad) in your family's past?

5. How did your parents and grandparents meet and marry?

6. How has history affected your family? For example, how did your family do during the depression?

7. Are there any stories about how a great fortune was lost or almost made in your family?

8. Does your family hold reunions? Are there any traditional foods, customs or activities?

9. What other people (friends, household help) have become a part of your family?

10. Is there a family cemetery or a family plot? Who is buried there?

11. Does your family have any heirlooms or anything else of value?

12. Does your family have any photo albums, scrapbooks, slides or home movies?

Roots
--Alden Nowlan

I've seen my great-grandfather only once.
He was pointed out to me
as the fourth man from the left in a photograph
of about thirty men and two teams of horses
posed in front of a logging camp in the 1880's.
You find the same kind of picture
in histories of the west: a posse
come back with the bodies (they used to prop up the dead
with their eyes still open and pretend
to be holding them at gunpoint).
And I seem to remember
similar pictures of the Serbian army
during the First World War; my great-grandfather
even wore a sort of Slavic blouse
and the same kind of moustache.
There are also pictures
of white men after a lynching.
Nobody is smiling
because these were time exposures
and if you must keep your face still
it's safest and simplest
to shut your mouth, although best
not to clench your teeth because then
you may start to imagine
you're smothering, take a deep breath
and spoil everything;
and their eyes are black slits
because it's impossible
to keep from blinking once you try not to.
Though I don't believe they'd have smiled
even if that had been mechanically feasible.
It was a ritual, then, this picture taking:
the photographer down from Halifax,
a city man in a starched collar and a derby hat,
who put a black hood over his head and sometimes
set of an explosion at the crucial moment.
They knew
this was an instant
that could be held
against them.

So they look very tough and their hands are free
or grip peaveys or axes.
                    I get the feeling
my great-grandfather is trying to convince somebody
he'd use that axe on a man if he had to.
He holds it the way those Serbs held their rifles.
And I have no doubt
he'd have joined a manhunt
or helped with a lynching,
would have thought it unmanly
to have done otherwise.
                    Or maybe it's only
that he's proud of the axe,
maybe he was an axeman like his grandson, my father,
who could make the tallest tree
fall where he wanted it, aim its tip at a spot
no bigger than a fig
of chewing tobacco, and hit it.
I read the histories of countries
and his time seems like yesterday
but because he was human
and my own, he seems so old
as to almost stand
outside of time.
                It amazes me, thinking:
he must have been at least fifteen years
younger than I am that day the winter sun
lapped up and locked into a small black box
this infinitesimal portion of his soul.

Grandfather
--George Bowering

Grandfather
Jabez Harry Bowering
strode across the Canadian prairie
hacking down trees
and building churches
delivering personal baptist sermons in them
leading Holy holy holy lord god almight songs in them
red haired man squared off in the pulpit
reading Saul on the road to Damascus at them

Left home
big walled British town
at age eight
to make a living
buried his stubby fingers in root snarled earth
for a suit of clothes and seven hundred gruelly meals a year
taking an anabaptist cane across the back every day
for four years till he was whipped out of England

Twelve years old
and across the ocean alone
to apocalyptic Canada
Ontario of bone bending child labor
six years on the road to Damascus till his eyes were blinded
with the blast of Christ and he wandered west
to Brandon among wheat kings and heathen Saturday nights
young red haired Bristol boy shoveling coal
in the basement of Brandon college five in the morning

Then built his first wooden church and married
a sick girl who bore two live children and died
leaving several pitiful letters and the Manitoba night

He moved west with another wife and built children and churches
Saskatchewan Alberta British Columbia Holy holy holy
lord god almighty
struck his labored bones with pain
and left him a postmaster prodding grandchildren with crutches
another dead wife and a glass bowl of photographs
and holy books unopened save the bible by the bed

Till he died the day before his eighty fifth birthday
in a Catholic hospital of sheets white as his hair

TZIGANE DAYS

by

Barbara Ursell

In my mother's day, people lived closer to myth. Now, when I hear their stories, the stories are like myth to me. My mother's life has become my myth, although I have long since lost that early naive point of view I had when I first listened to her tales.

My mother and her sisters did not think of themselves as simple farm girls who were rather poor and had not much education. They were beautiful young women, handsome young women, and many men came to court them. They had sparkling black eyes, and shiny black hair, either long or "bobbed," that they washed in rainwater, and they had the dash and swagger of young gypsy girls. Indeed, there was a story that their grandmother was a gypsy herself, but no one knew anymore whether it represented literal truth. She had been called "tzigane," the gypsy, but whether this was because she was actually a gypsy, or simply because she had qualities then considered gypsy-ish, no one could remember for certain.

But whatever the realities of her birth, it was the tzigane's existence in their past that helped flesh out the girls' grand opinion of themselves; the presence of such an ancestor seemed to grant them licence to behave more freely and largely than others. It would seem to them that they could not behave otherwise, having gypsy blood.

Besides being beautiful and graceful, these young women were strong. They milked cows and it did not demean them. They could walk or run for miles. They could ride skilfully on the bare backs of their horses, disdaining saddles. Sometimes they did "Roman" riding, like their equally strong and handsome brothers, standing gaily on the backs of their prancing mounts. They rode five miles to the neighbours' to pick up the mail; they thought nothing of riding twenty miles in an evening to go to a dance.

Their names were heroic old Biblical names, like Rachel and Esther and Ruth, and they had the clear, fearless eyes such names demand. They sometimes wore men's denim shirts and jeans and hunted ducks. Other times, they sewed themselves beautiful dresses to wear to dances, gay daring dresses, with yards and yards of peplums and flounces and ruffles. They made these dresses straight from their fantasies, store-bought patterns being unknown to them. They would ride off to the dances in their jeans, and change into their beautiful dresses when they arrived, and would dance all night, square dances and polkas and waltzes and fox trots and charlestons.

My mother used to ride a black and white pinto, named Snake because there was a black marking in the shape of a snake on his near flank. He was small and light and was said to be "part Arab." He was also ornery and demonic. My grandfather got him from the gypsies, and as in all gypsy horse stories, the animal performed beautifully when the gypsies were showing him, but became completely intractable once safely sold to his unsuspecting new owners. His two main faults were baulking and running away (that is, with a rider on his back; he never ran away all by himself).

Frequently, he would demonstrate both his unwelcome talents in a single afternoon. He might go very nicely in the morning, until the rider would become entranced with Snake's light, surefooted gallop and would begin to forget all Snake's former sins and think what a nice horse he was really. The rider would begin to defend Snake in his mind, and would remind himself to mention to people how really well the little horse had gone that day. But sometime during the afternoon, all this would suddenly end. Just as the rider would begin to feel a definite companionship or at least partnership between himself and the horse, Snake would abruptly and callously terminate that partnership. He would do this by just stopping quite abruptly and refusing to go on. At first the rider would not take it seriously, and would coax and cajole. Gradually this would give way to bitter curses as the rider began to grasp the extent of the horse's betrayal. Curses might give way to actual blows. All methods were equally unavailing, for when Snake did not <u>wish</u> to go, he

did not go. Only when the rider had been reduced to a sweating, frustrated hater of horseflesh, and only when Snake began to think to himself that the old home barn might be a nice place to go, would the wicked Snake consent to take his rider anyplace. But the moment he decided to go, he became as unswerving (quite literally) in his purpose as he had been before. He would head out (usually for home) with his rider (usually my mother) clinging desperately to his back, hands locked in his flying mane, fortunately always remembering to keep her head way down as Snake shot through the barn door at a dead gallop, stopping fairly sedately at his stall at the far end.

Runaway horses seem to have been an almost everyday affair in those days--fraught with great drama and danger, yet almost to be expected. Once my aunts Ruth and Rachel (little girls of eight and eleven then) were coming home from school in a "democrat," driving a sturdy, middle-aged Shetland pony. My mother rode alongside them on Snake. Suddenly the Snake decided to run away at top speed for home. Scout, the Shetland pony, not to be outdone, bolted after him, and little Ruth lost the reins. Their teacher, Mr. Grey-Owen, just a few months out from England, was leaving the one-room schoolhouse and saw the runaway democrat with the two little girls. He ran to the school barn, sprang athletically upon his unsaddled bay gelding, and chased after them. In classic film style, he overtook the galloping horse, caught its bridle, and brought the buggy to a safe stop. This brave and handsome young man proceeded to comfort the girls, who were

delighted with their romantic adventure. In those days, you could expect your horse to run away with you, and equally, you could expect some handsome young hero to rescue you. My mother, of course, simply rode her horse home. She was much too heroic herself to require rescuing.

If my mother and her sisters were heroic, the others around them were no less so. Their parents had come to Saskatchewan as children, from a small Roumanian village that had increasing numbers of people on a finite quantity of land. In the new country, they seemed to gain stature from the land they possessed, which was in their terms a magnificent estate. My grandfather liked to hunt, and always kept at least two greyhounds. The family album is dotted with pictures of my grandfather looking rather stately but dashing, posed with two greyhounds. He built my grandmother a large garden, where he cleverly made strawberries and gooseberries and currants (black, red, and Missouri) grow in the dry prairie soil. He coaxed up around the garden a windbreak of tall willows that thrived as though he had somehow convinced them they were really growing alongside a stream. He carried the sick lambs home and fed them milk from a bottle and made them well.

My grandmother too lived up to the heroic standard. She bore seven children. Once, when she was pregnant with the last, she was riding and her horse stepped in a gopher hole and fell head over heels. Her horrified children watched her fall, and then, as the dust cleared, saw her run nonchalantly after

the frightened horse, unscathed by the fall, unborn child more than intact, probably enjoying the acrobatics. When any of the girls wanted a special dress with more flounces and festoons and peplums than even they could manage, they did the housework, while my grandmother whomped up the special dress for them. She could also cook flaky, fragile Roumanian pastries, similar to strudel, which were rolled out paper thin on a table, and old country dishes like cabbage rolls. She grew a garden, canned her own vegetables, made her own butter and cheese and laundry soap, baked bread and pastries, sewed shirts and jeans and dancing dresses, spun the raw sheep's wool and knitted socks and mitts and sweaters and elegant white wool dresses. And no one was ever surprised to see her suddenly mount a horse and ride off with her hair streaming behind on the hot prairie wind.

They were not surprized, because they were neither so jaded nor so vulgar as to doubt the possibility of heroism. They would have been surprised at our surprise.

My grandparents were apparently married when they were about sixteen--there was always a general reluctance to discuss this question with the grandchildren, partly, I suspect, because they were no longer exactly sure how old they had been, and partly because they didn't want us thinking <u>we</u> could marry at such a tender age. Sure, it had worked for them, but even out in the hills, they made it clear, things had changed. At first, they had worked another man's sheep ranch, working for a share of the profits. Later they had their own small sheep

ranch near Avonlea, in country known locally as "the Badlands." These lands were bad because they were rocky and dry and grew only enough grass for sheep. My grandfather was by all accounts unusually gifted in working with animals. He must have been an observant worker, learning from the ranchers he worked for as a boy and young man. He had only gone to school for two years in the old country, yet he loved to read newspapers and magazines in both English and Roumanian. He also read the Star Weekly and the Western Producer and occasionally the Western Horseman. He loved to read articles about President Tito, and to learn about how things were being handled now back in the old country.

After about ten years of sheep ranching, they had begun to be prosperous. Gardens, children, and sheep flourished, and the spring shearing had been the largest yet. The accumulation of ten years of work was lost when fire destroyed the big old barn that contained all the work animals and fleeces from the shearing. There was a great deal of mystery about the fire, which some believed to be the work of a former friend; this was confirmed by a seer in the old country whom my grandparents consulted, but the suspect fled to Alberta and no action was ever taken. But that is another story.

The family was back to working for shares, but after many years worked its way back to independence. When I was a child, their ranch had grown to ten sections, and they gradually switched from sheep to cattle raising, and settled in to stay in what looked like a final home. Here each of the sons and daughters passed from childhood to adulthood with very little of what is now

referred to as adolescence, and in what seems to have been an almost idyllic atmosphere of peaceful co-operation. My mother would sometimes reproach my brothers and I when we quarelled; never had such rancour existed when she was a girl between brothers and sisters. Neither had it ever been necessary for her mother or father to spank or slap a child. Never; it had never been necessary. I found this hard to believe, for like all the children I knew, I was sometimes spanked, and usually unfairly as far as I was concerned. I would sometimes question the rightness of my mother's spanking us when it had seemingly been so foreign to her own childhood, but my mother seemed convinced that children had degenerated since she was a girl. Although I was properly skeptical, intimations of the heroic past did sometimes strike me poignantly when I imagined my mother working and playing happily among her brothers and sisters. The things they had to do seemed so much more important than the things I and my fellows had to do. What they did was serious and fruitful work--they cooked and cleaned and rode on horses to bring the cows home; they milked cows and tended sheep, and every spring they rode out on horseback, with the help of all their neighbours, to round up the stock for branding. Beside all this, the city ways seemed hopelessly trivial. I had never heard of Mount Olympus or the ancient Greeks, but I knew good myth when I heard it.

All my early years I visited the ranch on every school holiday I could and even stayed on into school days when my

parents would let me. I think I was trying to recapture, though only half believing in, the idyllic past my mother had created for me.

The nicest times at the ranch were the summer Sundays when the whole family would gather at my grandmother's house, even the married daughters and their families from "town." Even in the haying season, work would be dropped as everyone headed for grandma's big kitchen or front room. Everyone who came brought something to eat. One aunt baked gigantic angel food cakes, while another made rich yellow cakes and spice cakes. In the morning, people made huge piles of stuffing and prepared chickens for the oven. Someone brought a great bowl of potato salad and pitchers of thick sweet cream. Someone brought a casserole of cabbage roles in tomato sauce. Someone brought sour cream. Dozens of cobs of corn were cooked, and all through the dinner, children would keep count of the number of cobs they had eaten, comparing scores with all their cousins, overcome with wonder at the plenty of it and at their own prowess. And there were always potatoes and gravy and sometimes chicken noodle soup full of the tiny egg noodles my grandma was so proud of. If anyone was still hungry at the end of this feast, grandma could usually discover a saskatoon pie someplace in her storeroom. And out the window, as you were eating you could see the pretty, clear view of rolling hills, sloughs, and sweet prairie grass. If you looked at the right time you

might see a car come over the top of the hill and you could make the first guess about who the newcomer might be.

After dinner kids would go out to play or to ride horses and most of the adults would sit around on the big front step. After their dinners had settled some of them might ride horses too, especially the "town" ones, who wanted to show that they still could. Then somebody might get out a guitar and begin singing some country song. Somebody else would get out a fiddle, and then an accordian would be miraculously produced. More people would start singing. Bottles of beer would appear. Children would start drifting back in. The fiddler would throw in a reel for variety and some people would dance to it. Some young cousin would then discover that he had his harmonica on him and would sheepishly bring it out and begin adding a few little embellishments to whatever his aunts and uncles were playing. After a while he would yield to their entreaties to give them a little tune, and for a while everybody would be accompanying him. After more singing, a few more reels, and a lot more beer, my grandpa would get out the wooden flutes that he made himself and play wierd convoluted Balkan-sounding songs and dances. It was all very spontaneous and ritualistic.

I can't remember exactly how it ended. The littlest children were gradually put to bed as they began to fall asleep on their feet. I guess something similar happened to me a little later. Some people would have to drive back to town,

and that would help the evening to wind down slowly. Everybody seemed to get a tiny bit sleepier when the sun had finally set and the coal oil lamps had to be lit. Energy was renewed with more or less continuous supplies of tea, coffee, milk, cake, doughnuts, pie, poppy-seed rolls, cinnamon buns, and whatever else grandma might have on hand in the way of refreshments. The evening always had a nice shape to it, and everybody seemed to know that shape beforehand, and the children gradually learned the shape too and learned the many small actions and feelings that helped to make the shape. And although everyone really knew what the shape was, they also had the feeling that almost anything might happen, and were always surprised at what did happen.

TRANSFORMATIONS
--Miriam Waddington

The blood of my ancestors
has died in me
I have forsaken the steppes
of Russia for the prairies
of Winnipeg, I have turned
my back on Minneapolis
and the Detroit lakes
I love only St. Boniface
its grey wooden churches
I want to spend my life
in Gimli listening to the
roar of emptiness in the
wild snow, scanning the lake
for the music of rainbow-
skinned fishes, I will compose
my songs to gold-eye tunes
send them across the land
in smoke-spaces, ice-signals
and concentrate all winter
on Henry Hudson adrift
in a boat, when he comes home
I will come home too and
the blood of my ancestors
will flower on Mennonite bushes

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VITA

NAME OF AUTHOR: Leuba Sonia Bailey

PLACE OF BIRTH: Canora, Saskatchewan, Canada

DATE OF BIRTH: September 17, 1940

UNDERGRADUATE AND GRADUATE SCHOOLS ATTENDED:

University of Saskatchewan (Saskatoon)
University of Saskatchewan (Regina)
University of Minnesota
University of Manitoba

DEGREES AWARDED:

Bachelor of Arts, 1961, University of Saskatchewan (Saskatoon)
Bachelor of Education, 1965, University of Saskatchewan (Saskatoon)

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

High school teacher: Regina, Saskatchewan, 1962
Didcot and Faringdon, England, 1964
Winnipeg, Manitoba, 1968-1976
President: Manitoba Association of Teachers of English, 1974-1975
Editor: The Immigrant Experience: Themes in Canadian Literature
Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1975

AWARDS AND HONOURS:

General Proficiency Gold Medal: Grade Twelve, Canora Composite High School
Faculty of Education, Graduate Assistantship, University of Manitoba, 1973-74, 1974-75