

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA
THE INDIAN IN THE CANADIAN NOVEL IN ENGLISH
IN THE PERIOD 1860-1918

by

NORMAN J. WILLIAMSON

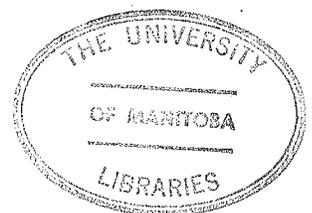
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the University of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements
of the degree of

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INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

The object of a reading project which I began in 1972 was to discover to what extent the Canadian novelist had used the Indian as subject material.

When the amount of the material to be covered became clear, I chose to limit the time period for the purpose of this study. The novels used in the study are therefore all from the period 1860 to 1918, since it was during this period in the history of North America that the Europeans created the confederacy they called Canada, and consolidated their hold on the land. It was a time when the "Imperial" faith flourished in Canada.

The Canadians, as these Europeans could now be called, held the land with fortified garrisons which in time were linked by a railway that ran from sea to sea. While they held these garrisons, however, the Canadians were still for the most part surrounded by the virgin land and its inhabitants. The novels of the period often reflected the cultural conflict which occurred because of this historic situation.

In discussing author Charles William Gordon, who portrayed the cultural conflict between the native people

and the Canadians, critic Edward A. McCourt says that Gordon was "paradoxically ironic" in his approach. However, this paradoxical irony can be demonstrated to be the view from McCourt's time, and not an intention of the author. Indeed, irony was seldom the fort e of the Canadians of the period.

Further, with regard to Ralph Connor, Edward McCourt says: "Ralph Connor was a humanitarian, a man who despised cruelty and oppression in every form. In an age when, as Lytton Strachey has it, imperialism was a faith as well as a business, his confidence in the generally beneficent nature of the white man's rule was no doubt reassuring to his readers in Eastern Canada and the old country."¹ It became clear to me in the reading for the thesis that Ralph Connor was not alone in this humanitarian-based approach to the conquering of a people; for it was a military age in Canada, particularly west of old Canada. On the plains of Western Canada, the garrison mind of the Canadian psyche was a physical as well as a mental phenomenon. It is Ralph Connor who provides the most vivid picture of that age with his portrayal of a North West Mounted Police post: ". . . at a little trail that led to the left he paused, noted its course toward the flaunting flag, turned into it, then struggled up the rocky hillside till he came to the wooden shack, with a deep porch running

¹Edward A. McCourt, The Canadian West in Fiction (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1970), p. 33.

round it, and surrounded by a rustic fence which enclosed a garden whose neatness illustrated a characteristic of the British soldier."²

How similar this description is to the description of the garden in Andrew Marvell's lines from Upon Appleton House to my Lord Fairfax:

His warlike Studies could not cease;
But laid these Gardens out in sport
In the just figure of a Fort;
And with five Bastions it did fence,
As arming one for ev'ry Sense.

.....

When in the East the Morning Ray
Hangs out the Colours of the Day,
The Bee through these known Allies hums,
Beating the Dian with its Drumms.
Then Flow'rs their drowsie Eylids raise,
Their Silken Ensigns each displayes,
And dries its Pan yet dank with Dew,
And fills its Flask with Odours new.

.....

These, as their Governour goes by,
In fragrant Vollyes they let fly; ³

This basic philosophy is elaborated:

²Ralph Connor, The Patrol of the Sun Dance Trail (Toronto: The Westminster Co. Ltd., 1914), p. 9.

³Andrew Marvell, Upon Appleton House to my Lord Fairfax in The Poems of Andrew Marvell (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1952), pp. 89-90, 11. 284-298.

'Within this holy leisure we
 'Live innocently as you see.
 'These Walls restrain the World without,
 'But hedge our Liberty about.
 'These Bars enclose that wider Den
 'Of those wild Creatures, called Men.
 'The Cloyster outwards shut its Gates,
 'And, from us, locks on them the Grates.

(p. 83, 11. 97-104)

In the novels of this later age, the Indian and half-breed are always outside those gates.

In Canada, as in America and Europe, the Indian was often viewed synonymously with nature. Lionel Stevenson provides the following consideration of the subject in 1889, in speaking of the English critic Theodore Watts-Dunton:

"His argument was that Canada, lacking the old world's spirit of antiquity, cannot compete in the department of poetry which deals with the life of man, but that in the other department dealing with the life of nature, Canada is in a favoured position And he suggested that through the medium of the Indian this treatment of nature could be accomplished with particular effectiveness."⁴ This was an excellent literary opportunity; but reality imposed itself on the novelist.

⁴Lionel Stevenson, Appraisals of Canadian Literature (Toronto: Macmillan, 1926), pp. 171-172.

Douglas Leechman refers to the colonialists as a whole, including the Canadians, when he notes: "While the philosophers were insisting that the Indians must be Noble Savages, a very different idea of them was being formed in the minds of the settlers in the New World."⁵ The differing view included nature, even without the Indian, for its brooding greenery could retake a homestead in a few seasons or its vast plains could swallow a man looking for a lost cow. Thus the novelists' creations were more often founded on the real fear produced by a garrison occupation of the wilderness than a poetic view of the subject.

There was another fear that manifested itself in the period, perhaps older and more profound. It was the fear of native women by the hearth-bound Canadian women. Synonymous with the Canadian heart were the prudish laws of conduct of the period--laws which did not appear to frustrate the Indian women. The Indian woman's freedom was at times condemned by male as well as female novelists with such ferocity that it is clear the fear was embodied in jealous hatred.

It can be said that the majority of the novels that use the Indian as subject matter deal with a conflict of some aspect of the natural wilderness with the forces of

⁵Douglas Leechman, "The Indian in Literature," Queen's Quarterly, Vol. L. (1943), p. 159.

civilization. The outcome of the battle is presented in the novel as pre-destined, and the reader's interest relies upon the affirmation of his or her belief in Canada.

In the matter of criticism, I have avoided viewing any of the novels along aesthetic lines, for in order to get a representative sample, there is not space for proper critical comparison. This in no way means that there is not material for such criticism; for a single example, a comparison of the use of "heads" in The Chicamon Stone and The Isle of Massacre would readily develop into an interesting study of animism as part of a study in myth criticism.

CHAPTER I

THE MORAL LANDSCAPE

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One of the more dominant features of the novels of the period is the presence of the moral landscape at the core of many of them. In Canada's west, where the garrison rather than the natural frontier of the wilderness was the pattern of settlement, the image of the garden was strong. In western Canada, the settlement was completely surrounded by the wilderness and its inhabitants. This image created by the pattern of settlement in Canada recalls the "garden" used in English literature, by poets like Milton and Marvell, as an allegory for the human condition. Canadian authors saw these physical manifestations of those earlier poetic visions of the garden as affirmations of the reality of the moral landscape.⁶

The walls of the garden were the military forces of the crown and the social traditions of civilization. Within these protective walls, the garden flourished. The garden's

⁶See Stanley Stewart's The Enclosed Garden (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966), for an excellent study of this image's connection to the poetry of the seventeenth century.

main attributes were an ordered cultivation of the land and a devotion to the Canadian principles of imperialism. Beyond the walls there was a salient patrolled by the forces of the Empire. This buffer zone was inhabited by the "Tame Indians"-- Indians who had become subservient to the inhabitants of the garden. Half-breeds were often trapped in this salient. Only when they chose to align themselves with the force of the wilderness did they move from this zone. Beyond this salient lay the wilderness, untamed and rebellious.

Through the principle of progress inherent in the concept of the moral landscape, it was believed that the garden must be expanded by the industry of the inhabitants who were committed to the spread of God's influence. Because Satan was in rebellion against God's--and the white man's-- order, his agents, whose natural habitat was the wilderness, would do all in their power to impede the process. In the following discussion, the term "garden" will consequently refer to the manifestations of Canadian civilization, while "wilderness" will refer to the regime of Satan in the forests and on the plains.

The Canadians developed an artistic manner in which to describe the historical facts of their existence. As with all the peoples of the world, there grew up among them an origin myth to explain their history and to project future goals by way of prophecy. As migratory people with roots in

Europe, they fell back on ancestral images. An example of the emergence of an origin myth can be found in Margaret Brown's My Lady of the Snows:

through break in foliage, the gleam of tomohawk, the fleet of moccasin, the white spirit of Manitou, the blackrobed priest and greyrobed nun fleeing before the coming of civilization, as Tannhauser, the doomed knight, had fled through the gloom and snow; and then back, further back, were the indefinite groups and forms of many banded [sic] bands, wild, indistinct, undisciplined as they had been before the coming of Arthur. . . .⁷

There have been comparisons of the Indian to the Trojans in European and colonial writings; for example Thomas Morton in his New English Canaan of 1637. Margaret Brown began her theory with the supposition that the Indian was literally a degenerate Greek. She then argued that the divine purpose of Canadian civilization was to re-create the glory of man on the North American continent. The cause of the degeneration of North American man was the presence of a malevolent force in the land. For the social Darwinists, this force had prevented the Indian from advancing himself. Brown, like other writers of the day, imaged this force in the

⁷Margaret Adeline Brown, My Lady of the Snows (Toronto: William Briggs, 1908). pp. 150-151. All further references to this work will be made in parentheses in the text.

chaos of the wilderness. The reader recognized the force as an evil one, for in the moral landscape the wilderness and the garden cannot be allowed to mingle.

While the majority of Canadian readers agreed with this line of thought, there were apparently enough people questioning its values to enable co-authors C. Mercer Adam and Ethelwyn Wetherald to come to the defence of the concept of the moral landscape. In their defence, they chose to label this apparently Rousseauistic thinking, which questioned the morality of nature, with the epithet Byronic. In a propagandistic manner, it linked the philosophy of Rousseau with the popular image of the licentious Byron: "with our tame domestic lantern, let us endeavour to throw a little prosaic light over the details of a scene that has been irradiated by the imagination of a Byron."⁸

While Adam and Wetherald advocate marriage as the natural outcome of love, they carefully point out that marriage is viewed as part of the system of order in the garden. In combining love and social order in the state of matrimony, An Algonquin Maiden becomes an interesting combination of liberal thought and class stratification. The evidence is

⁸G. Mercer Adam and Ethelwyn Wetherald, An Algonquin Maiden (Montreal: John Lovell & Son, 1887), p. 10. All further references to this work will be made in parentheses in the text.

weighted in favour of the garden, for it was never the intention of the Victorian novelist writing these affirmative novels to present unpopular views.

At the apex of the Canadian society portrayed in An Algonquin Maiden is Lady Maitland. Her husband is the Crown's representative in Canada. While she is personally the highest aristocrat in Canada, she has been forced to move down a level when she married for love, since her status previous to marriage was more aristocratic than her husband's. In the levels below Lady Maitland are found the military, e.g. the Commodore and the widow of General de Bercgy, and the farmers, e.g. the Dunlops. Various servants represent the lowest level of Canadian society. Within this last level the black cook⁹ holds the lowest position. It becomes clear that while all the other characters of the novel have by birth or action taken a place in the Canadian social structure, the Indian has not. The Indian of the novel is not inferior to the "nigger". He simply does not exist within the walls of the garden.

The garden was often represented in physical terms in the novels being examined, usually as domesticated nature,

⁹There is a comparison here to the crew of the Pequod in Herman Melville's Moby Dick. There, the negroes Pip and Fleece hold the lowest rank in the multi-national crew. They are the cook and the cabin boy.

a farm. One of the best portrayals is the following one from
An Algonquin Maiden:

Rose Macleod opened her casement window fronting the east, and looked out upon the myriad tender tints. . . . the gray walls of the Commodore's home on this side were hung with climbing plants, and as his pretty daughter leaned out of her chamber window, a dewy branch of roses, loosened from its fastening, struck her softly on the cheek. The touch gave her a thrill, delicate, keen--a pleasure, sharp as pain. . . . The morning glories were all awake. She could see their wealth of tender bloom outspread upon the rugged heap of rocks, warm with sunshine, that separated between a corner of the flower--smothered turf and the dark shadow of the almost impenetrable woods. (p. 66)

This piece contains the major physical elements of the moral landscape.

In it, nature has been domesticated by the military.¹⁰ The setting faces the east, from whence the European civilizing force has come.¹¹ It also contains a virgin. However, the garden is in Canada, for the woods still remain a brooding ring just beyond the control of the garrison. This garden environment provides the majority of the readers of the day, who were female, an interesting possibility of achieving the thrill of a delicate orgasm without having to submit to the

¹⁰See page 4 of this paper for Andrew Marvell's poetical description of such a state.

¹¹The east is also where God planted his garden in Eden.

unbridled passion of a man, and especially of the wild man of the woods. Here within the protection of the garden, then, is the Christian alternative to nature, virginity.

In the beginning of An Algonquin Maiden, the hero, Edward Macleod, in his youthful blindness views the wilderness of this "brave new world" (p. 13) in a manner contrary to the accepted view of the moral landscape. There he views H  l  ne, his white fianc  e, through prejudiced eyes: "The pure pure curves of the white camellias reminded him of H  l  ne. She herself was the rare product of choicest care and cultivation-- the flower of an old and complex civilization. The fancy pleased him at first, and then woke in his mind a certain vague disdain. What place had hot house plants, either human or otherwise, in this wild new land" (p. 44)

The sharply-drawn distinction between the garden landscape and the natural wilderness is so ingrained in the minds of authors of the period that there are times in their novels when they may appear to contradict their belief in the rightness of their version of the landscape. Lieut.-Col. Butler, in Red Cloud, the Solitary Sioux, uses phraseology that could be called poetic in his description of the "vast unbroken dominion of nature"¹² which was the great plains

¹²Lieut.-Col. William Butler, Red Cloud, the Solitary Sioux (London: Sampson, Low, Marston, Searle & Rivington, 1887), p. 32.

before the plow. Although the wilderness was evil it had an attraction that drew the European to it, and in spite of himself his feelings were sympathetic toward it. However, Butler later calls that same dominion "a great waste".

(p. 149) The author's common sense has overridden the poet in him, and he is of the same view as the authors of An Algonquin Maiden. While a romantic might glorify the wilderness in the futile attempt to persuade the dominant race to preserve it, Butler knows that the wilderness must pass. What he provides is a feeling of loss, a nostalgia which is one of the bases for the stereotype of the "vanishing Indian", the only Indian who can exist in the "garden". Butler's hero says of Red Cloud as they part:

"Think of you!" I said, speaking half aloud my thoughts. "Yes, that I will. Whenever the wind stirs the tree-branch, or rustles the reeds and meadows--wherever the sun goes down over distance of sea or land--in the moonlight of nights, in the snow of long winters, you will be near me still."

At a bend in the trail he turned to look back: it was but a moment, and then the mountain path was vacant, and I saw him no more. (p. 322)

Just as it is possible to portray the stereotype physical images of the moral landscape, so it is possible to stereotype the physical characteristics of the men and women who are part of that landscape. In many ways, the characteristics which emerge are reactions to the apparent characteristics

of the wilderness. These individuals, as they move into the wilderness, carry in their accoutrements and manners minor garrisons. Agnes Laut, in Lords of the North, provides one of the best portraits of such an individual in her hero, Rufus Gillespie. Gillespie takes pride in the fact that he has not taken up the native custom of wearing moccasins (as have all the other white men who of necessity must travel in the frail-walled birch-bark canoe). Gillespie's cleanliness is further evidence of his ability to retain the mores of civilization in spite of the atavistic pressures of the wilderness. Cleanliness is of course high on the list of ideal characteristics of the godly Canadian: "It was a tin basin with a large bar of soap--actual soap. There must still have been some vestige of civilization in my nature, for after a delightful half hour's intimate acquaintance with that soap, I came round to the groups of men rehabilitated in self-respect."¹³

Thus the reader, who is well aware of this requirement of cleanliness by the civilized inhabitant of the moral landscape, clearly knows the position of the Algonquin chief who sat "very grave, very dignified, very far from being immaculately clean." (An Algonquin Maiden, p. 47) The reader

¹³ Agnes A. Laut, Lords of the North (Toronto: William Briggs, n.d.), p. 102.

also understands the disgust of Edward Macleod at the Indian maiden Wanda's dirty shoulder and soiled fingers. At this point in the novel, Edward is at last seeing Wanda's reality clearly. She is not a beautiful wild flower, but "a coarse weed, whose vivid hues he might admire in passing, but which he would shrink from wearing on his person." (p. 198)

In this same book, because the chieftain has been placed in the outer ring of the moral landscape, his criticisms of the institutions of Canadian white civilization become affirmations of their positive nature. To the author of the period, there was a direct line between the manners and accoutrements of the individual and his moral condition; for all these were dictated by his position in the moral landscape. The chieftain verbally attacks the major institutions of the inner ring--capitalism, industry, agriculture, Christianity, and finally the seat of personal discipline, Victorian motherhood. In his attack on the Canadian mother, the Indian points out that: "'they are strange, unnatural creatures. In times of anger they attack their helpless little ones, talking in a harsh voice, pinching, beating, slapping them, doing everything but bite them!'" (p. 48)

The reader of the day knew, however, that from the values instilled by the loving hand of a Canadian mother,

there grew the leaders of the institutions which maintained the garden. This training produced a particular type of leader. Allan Dunlop is portrayed by Adam and Wetherald as the perfect Canadian politician. To the modern reader he is another contradiction of that age: he is "a radical, but of a moderate type; . . . too loyal a man to . . . overturn the constitution and make a republic out of a colony, . . . too judicious and right minded to affirm that the administration of the province was wholly evil and corrupt" (pp. 168-69)

All such leaders are portrayed as first, being loyal to the crown, and second, progressive in their views of the need to exploit the land. The most powerful affirmation of a Canadian leader's ability is often portrayed by contrasting his leadership to that of a leader of the wild men. In the novel, where this contrast is part of the plot construction, the leadership of the wild man is always in opposition to civilization.

Authors of the period frequently used the "Riel" figure in such displays of demonic leadership. For example, Hulbert Footner uses the same basic plot line of insurrection against Canada in both Jack Chanty and The Fur Bringers; and in both novels the villain leader is a "Riel" figure. The "Riel" figure is a half-breed whose rebellion against

Canadian civilization is first furtive, then open and violent. The half-breed because of his Indian blood can never exist within the walls of the garden. The best he can expect from total obedience to the ways of civilization is the role of servant in the salient. When in revolt the half-breed is always brought to defeat by the righteous violence of the Canadian chieftains. Usually the prime indication that any character has the characteristics of the "Riel" figure is his presumptuous claim to equality with Canadians. In The Fur Bringers, Footner describes such a character, Gordon Strange, in the following manner: "The better men among the natives, such as Tole Grampierre, have pride of their own, but they never presume to the same footing as the white men. Strange, however, talked as one gentleman to another."¹⁴

In Footner's Jack Chanty, Strange's literary twin Jean Paul Ascota adopts the same attitude: "Vassall was not a particularly sympathetic figure to Jack [Chanty], but the sight of the white man stewing while the Indian [Ascota] loafed was too much for his Anglo-Saxon sense of the fitness of things."¹⁵

¹⁴Hulbert Footner, The Fur Bringers (Toronto: Hodder & Stoughton, n.d.), p. 66.

¹⁵Hulbert Footner, Jack Chanty (New York: Grosset & Dunlop, 1913), p. 54.

There exists the same presumptive arrogance in the Indian chiefs who are in conflict with Canadian expansion. Ralph Connor provides such a character in the Sioux chief in The Patrol of the Sun Dance Trail:

"Halt there, chief! Don't move or you die!"
The Indian turned to see Cameron covering him with two guns. At once he relaxed his tense attitude and, drawing himself up, he demanded in a voice of indignant scorn: "Why you touch me? Me Big Chief! You little dog!"

As he stood, erect, tall, scornful, commanding, with his head thrown back and his arm outstretched, his eyes glittering and his face eloquent of haughty pride, he seemed the very incarnation of the wild unconquered spirit of that once proud race he represented.¹⁶

In this scene, Ralph Connor appears to be softening his condemnation of the chief. Connor is indicating that the chief does not have a grasp of the reality of the times. He is now in a submissive position in a European colony, a menial in the garden and no longer a being of the wilderness, and will not accept this reality. While Connor realizes that the chief must be defeated, he wishes the reader to pity the once-proud warrior in his inevitable doom.

In this novel, the righteous anger that defeats the enemy of the garden is in the hands of the Canadian military.

¹⁶Ralph Connor, The Patrol of the Sun Dance Trail (Toronto: The Westminster Co. Ltd., 1914), p. 77.

In the west, it is the North West Mounted Police. Both W. A. Fraser and Ralph Connor grant the prerogative of righteous violence to this force; however, both authors have difficulty resolving the need to use violence with the morality of its actual use. This is a difficulty which arises when the sensitivity of the artist comes into conflict with the propaganda of affirmation that his society expects of him. It is not a new problem peculiar to Canada. For example, the English poet Marvell sets out to resolve it in his landscape poem "Upon Appleton House," dedicated to his benefactor General Fairfax.

In The Patrol of the Sun Dance Trail, Connor's hero Corporal Cameron is a fighting machine--two guns and two fists on the right side of Canadian justice. There is something less than civilized, however, in his character as presented in the following quotation: "Cameron's face was gray, with purple blotches, and distorted with passion, his eyes were blazing with fury, his manner one of reckless savage abandon." (p. 303) It is perhaps questionable that the reader saw this description as at all negative; rather he could see in this characterization the rage of the British lion. When taken in context with Connor's overall view toward the Sioux chief, however, it is apparent that Connor is troubled by the inevitable result of N.W.M.P. justice and the men who wield it.

While W. A. Fraser was a strong advocate of the force as a controlling factor in the west, he also appears to be troubled by the nature of the N.W.M.P., particularly in their relationship to the Indian. What he questioned was the superman myth which was becoming widely accepted among members of the force in the growing imperialistic atmosphere of late nineteenth-century Canada. In one scene in his novel, The Blood Lilies, Fraser places the "legendary" N.W.M.P. methods of approach to a situation involving Indians under the humanizing scrutiny of humour. Two members of the N.W.M.P. force are about to attack the Indian tipi where they are sure their quarry Wolf Runner is lurking. But he is not there; only Wolf Runner's squaw is in the tent: "As they stood shoulder to shoulder with only the flap of a lodge between them and their quarry, a dog gave a long dismal howl. The captain sprang for the opening with eager haste. In its doorway his charge carried him into the arms of Wolf Runner's ponderous squaw with such fierce impact that they were both sent sprawling backward in the recoil. The sergeant whipped out his gun, thinking the Indian was making an escape" ¹⁷

Both Fraser and Connor accept the inevitable historic

¹⁷W. A. Fraser, The Blood Lilies (Toronto: William Briggs, 1903), pp. 122-23.

fact that the Canadians will dominate the aboriginal people in that larger landscape which encompasses white men and red. Both believe in the moral correctness of this destiny, but both question some of the methods used by the institutions of the garden. Fraser advocates the isolated concentration camp system to save the Indian from himself and the exploitative methods of the Canadians. Fraser's and Connor's criticism of things Canadian, however slight it really is, does set them apart from authors like Adam and Wetherald and Butler; but they do not reach the objectivity of Clive Phillips-Wolley in The Chicamon Stone, to be discussed later.

At this point, we will turn from the relationship between the military arm of Canadian government and the Indian, to the relationship of that government itself to the Indian. Of all institutions in the Canadian garden, government is the most powerful advocate for its own existence. In The Blood Lilies, W. A. Fraser points out that the Indian struggles to exist; he also shows the two major reasons why the Indian cannot exist within the framework of Canadian society. The reasons are alcohol and government-sponsored acculturation, which is trying to make the wild man into a gardener.

Governor Hodge in The Blood Lilies represents the Great White Mother and her apparently benevolent attitude toward her native children. From his position of ascendancy, Hodge can clearly understand the limitations of the minds of

the wild men; due to these limitations, the Indians lack the ability to care properly for their offspring. When faced with the possibility of Wolf Runner's squaw loving her son: "It seemed [to Governor Hodge] an idea of extreme grotesqueness that an Indian, or even more so, a squaw, should have a troubled heart over anything but food or work or killing."

(p. 203) Hodge chooses to send the son of Wolf Runner to a government residential school where he is to become an Indian missionary for the Canadians. However, once the boy is there, he sickens and ultimately dies from his illness (which is portrayed, if not named, as consumption.) In the novel, Fraser's premise is that contact of this kind with the government of the white endangers the survival of the Indian.¹⁸

In My Lady of the Snows, Brown's use of the Indian in relation to the Canadian moral landscape is similar in some ways to W. D. Lighthall's in The Master of Life. They both use the Indians primarily as an example to clarify their

¹⁸It is interesting to compare W. A. Fraser's theory with that of Duncan Campbell Scott. Scott's contention was that the Canadian government, which "determined that the race should be saved", (Duncan Campbell Scott, The Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada, The Canadian Institute of International Affairs, August 1931, p. 1) found it necessary that "the Department of Indian Affairs . . . deal with the whole life of the people" (p. 4). There is a difference in the views of these Canadian writers. However, the result is the same. The Indian would no longer be a problem. Fraser would have isolated him and protected him like a wild animal, and Scott, the head of Indian Affairs, would have de-Indianized him.

own personal political philosophies which are outside the actual historical relationship of the Indian and the Canadian. Both Brown and Lighthall advocate strong government in Canada to defend the country from the threat of chaos, i.e. the wilderness encroaching on the garden.

By applying the popular Canadian stereotype of the degenerate Indian, Brown hoped to bring to bear all the prejudice against the republican-minded minority in Canada's political scene. In the eyes of the Canadian imperialist, republicans could not fit within the framework of the true garden. The Canadian imperialist believed that it was the institutes of class stratification inherent in the imperialist social structure which provided the order in the Canadian moral landscape. The mob rule of the republic could readily be equated to the lack of rule among the Indians who only followed a leader if it took their fancy to do so. Both are akin to the mob in the novel itself.

The imperialists were federalists. However, not all the federalists were imperialists. Brown was primarily an imperialist; Lighthall was primarily a federalist who accepted imperialism as a cohesive factor to add strength to a strong central government. Lighthall's use of the Indian in The Master of Life resulted from a determination to bring as close to home as possible the concept of social evolution. It was his intention to prove that civilization, i.e. the garden, was more than the simple change in subsistence from hunting to

farming. His emphasis was not on the historic proximity of the indigenous Indian population (which might be a factor in the history of Canada), but rather on the Indian as an excellent subject through whom to portray the barbaric level of the evolving species homo sapien. The world of The Master of Life is an ideal social Darwinistic world with enough historic fact to give credence to its claim to realism.

In the beginning of The Master of Life, two groups of people are introduced: the Hochelagans, who are townsmen and gardeners, and the Algonquins, who are the hunters, the wild men of the woods. The Hochelagans are portrayed as having the ideals and philosophies of a young civilization. Under a chief whose function is to maintain peace, their council makes democratic decisions. For all their aesthetic concepts and good intentions, they are attacked and defeated by a combined force of wild men of the woods and degenerate townsmen. They are saved from total destruction by the self-sacrifice of the peace chief. The people lose everything else, however, and are driven into exile. Thus the reader is led by Lighthall to realize that the concepts of the agrarian landscape and its material attributes are not enough to maintain it in the face of the encroaching wilderness. Indeed, these alone result in war and bloodshed, for they are recognizable weakness--recognizable particularly to the degenerate townsmen who are prepared to remain stagnant in their social evolution. The sign of their stagnation is

their tendency to make war on other townsmen to gain personal wealth and national prosperity, rather than to evolve internal industrial means to the same end.

Lighthall points out that three things are required in order that the agrarian landscape maintain itself. First, there must be an intellectual-spiritual ideal. To Lighthall, this ideal is the concept of a Canada. Secondly, there must be a strong political leader who can unite the people. Finally, there must be a military leader who will stand as the bulwark of defence against the encroachment of the wilderness.

In The Master of Life, it is the Hochelagan Hiawatha who discovers the philosophical ideal. The ideal is peace through unity, a confederation of peoples. His philosophy is based on the rational assumption that war is a negative function of man. In his enthusiasm, he sets out to stop war by explaining his concepts to the people. In time, he realizes that he cannot bring about the confederacy by using the logic of reason. He then joins forces with Dekanaweda, the politician. Dekanaweda tells Hiawatha: "henceforth thy labor is done. Our Father the Divine has given it to me to move the councils as the East wind bends the poplars. Stay thou in the lodge and I will go out and lead the nation into

thy House of Friendship".¹⁹ With Dekanaweda's silver tongue at work, all the nations of the Oroquois join except the nation at the heart of their lands, the Onondaga. The leader of this people is Atotarho, the ultimate warrior. He is the epitome of the military leadership required by an agrarian culture if it is to survive. Following is Lighthall's first description of him:

Before the entrance sat [Atotarho] . . . watching the exercises of the young men, each emulous of his approbation. A giant over seven feet in height But the force and size of his body seemed minor beside the thunder which dwelt in the arches of his brow, in the dark, storm-cloud and sleeping lightning of his eyes, the organized hypnotism which compelled obedience Most astonishing was the horrible adornment with which he was toying--a mass of hissing, black snakes, which coiled and twisted around his neck . . . an ornament which rendered his appearance quite other than human and drowned the fearsomeness of his mien. (pp. 118-119)²⁰

¹⁹W. D. Lighthall, The Master of Life: A Romance of the Five Nations and of Prehistoric Montreal (Toronto: The Musson Book Co., n.d.), p. 208.

²⁰In another of his books, The Young Seigneur (by Wilfrid Chateaucclair [pseud.], Montreal: Drysdale, 1888), Lighthall repeats his belief in physical readiness as a prime requirement for the ideal young Canadian.

The foundation must be the Ideal Physical Man. We must never stop short of working until, --now, do not doubt me, sir, --every Canadian is the strongest and most beautiful man that can be thought. . . . Physical culture must be placed on a more reasonable basis, and made a requisite of all education We require a military term of training, compulsory on all young men, for its effect in straightening the person and strengthening the will. We must have a nation of stern, strong men--a careless people can never rise; no deep impression, no fixed resolve, will ever originate from easy-going natures. (pp. 127-128)

Atotarho is of course more than a force for destruction: "Though pride of battle was the passion of that breast, and though contempt for pain and for cowardice made him seem the cruel tyrant, his was not solely a physical predominance. A clear mind dwelt in that brow, and thought worked within it for the welfare of the nation." (p. 225) Hiawatha places the ultimate leadership of the confederacy in the hands of Atotarho. Thus Lighthall proves that prophet, politician, and war chief are needed to unify the people. However, it is the war chief who becomes the principal power; it is he who fills the place of Awitharoa, the peace chief.

However, this concept of military leadership is not necessarily being applied directly to Canada by Lighthall. These Indians are at a barbaric stage of evolution and are constantly surrounded by forces which threaten immediate disaster. Canadian civilization in Lighthall's time was much further evolved. The time had come when the politician was more properly the leader. As it is pointed out by the degenerated townsmen, though, the military must be prepared at all times to assume leadership to protect the nation.

The novel ends with a short historic epilogue in which Lighthall clarifies the role of the Indian in Canadian history. He says of the League: "[It] was the bulwark which protected them [the Dutch and English] during years of weakness and prepared the way for the spread of British principles of North America." (p. 261) It appears that Lighthall places the

Indians of the League firmly within the salient of the garden. However, once they complete their roles as designed by the "outer consciousness", they must inevitably vanish from the scene.

A number of novelists of the period utilize the Indian as servant to the white hero when he ventures into that zone of influence just beyond the garden wall that I have termed the salient. These characters are often based on the historical figures of Christianized Indians, who went forth to carry the word of the white god to the heathen. The family of Chief Big Sail, in Joseph Allen's The Making of a Canadian, is an excellent representation of this group. A fine Christian, he speaks good English and thinks only positive thoughts about Canada and Canadians. He has two sons, Ryerson and Wesley, both of whom are in college in preparation for their missionary work among the wild men of the Canadian North-West. Big Sail has two daughters, Victoria and Minnie, who, being graduates of eastern seminaries, are well read and sing beautifully. The Big Sail family entertain the white hero in their multi-roomed home beside Love Sick Falls. The falls have an appropriate legend attached to them. Within the home, the wall paper runs to pink and white, and beds to snow white. Within the plot structure of this novel, the purpose of Big Sail is to be an influential aide for the business enterprises of the Canadian hero.

It is characteristic of the novelist of the period

to portray the Indian character solely within the purpose he is to fulfill in the plot. Therefore, there is a lack of depth to many such characterizations; many characters suit their roles too well. Villainous characters, such as Diablo in Lords of the North, and the Sioux in The Patrol of the Sun Dance Trail, are restricted to their role so much that they tend to lose human reality. In the case of Ralph Connor, the struggle between the human reality of the Indian and the role he must play in the novel is most interesting. In Allen's The Making of a Canadian there is no struggle, as there is none in Hulbert Footner's works. However, Connor had an understanding of history and the Indian people that grew from personal experience. It is these realities which impose themselves upon the bias required of him as a churchman and a Canadian. Thus the imagination of the writer forces him to portray the Sioux chief in a not totally evil light, and the N.W.M.P. officer Cameron in a not totally sympathetic light. But these subtleties are lost in the Victorian desire to educate, which is the purpose of the novel. Toward that end, the Sioux is evil and Cameron is good.

The use of an Indian in the role of servant was not the invention of the Canadian novelist after 1860. The semi-domesticated Caliban in Shakespeare's The Tempest is probably one of the earliest uses of the native of the western hemisphere in that role. In American literature, James Fenimore Cooper used the Indian in domesticated roles in the Leather-

stocking Tales (1823-1841). One example is found in The Prairie, when the Pawnee Indians replace Natty Bumppo's dead hound, Hector. However, there is a difference between these unacculturated natives and Big Sail's family. These wild ones are controlled by the near-mystical powers of Bumppo and Prospero. They function outside the garden of their masters' origins. In contrast, Big Sail and his family function within the salient of Canadian society.

It is in her novel Child of the Tide that Mrs. Ednah D. Cheney provides one of the best portrayals of the "good servant" Indian of the salient. Child of the Tide might be depicted as a Canadian version of the Dick Whittington tale. The young hero sets out to gain financial success and in the end becomes lord mayor. Billy Paddle's role is quite obvious. When the part-Indian, part-Negro Billy first enters the career of the hero Johnny, Johnny believes that "Billy Paddle and his boat [are] the instruments designed by Providence to enable him to accomplish this end."²¹ The end in question is Johnny's own success. Because Johnny is too proud to beg, Billy Paddle must beg for food for both of them.

²¹Ednah D. Cheney, Child of the Tide (Boston: Lee & Shephard, 1875), p. 105. All further references to this work will be made in parentheses in the text.

In order to start in commerce, they "skim the pot" or salvage flotsam and jetsam from the ripple currents of the Atlantic sea coast using Billy's boat. In time, through his personal perseverance and his belief and practice of the philosophy embodied in Poor Richard's Almanac, Johnny is able to obtain passage to the mecca of North American commerce, Boston. Upon their arrival in the city of American civilization, Billy Paddle's usefulness reaches an end. Johnny begins "to fear that Billy would be ill fitted to make his way there, . . . in the steady occupation of the city." (p. 137) The "time had come for their lives to part. . . . they could not walk together through the world." (p. 139) Billy then returns to Nova Scotia where he falls on hard times. When he has learned the great secrets of success in Boston, the hero returns to Nova Scotia where he marries and becomes the tycoon mayor of his city. As the novel ends, the now dying Billy Paddle is discovered by the hero and brought into his home. There the death of the good servant is described by Cheney in the following manner: ". . . and ere autumn came again the form of the poor outcast was tenderly laid in earth, beside the father's grave, but not until in his true friend's home, he had seen the smile of the new-born babe." (p. 209) The gentle reader of the period, with a tear in the eye, could quite readily imagine the childless good servant in the last agony of his blood line finding joy in the perpetuation of that of his master's.

Cheney's attitude toward the character Billy Paddle has one of its bases in historical fact. There were historical figures by the hundreds who aided the exploitation of the land by the white man. They became part of Canadian popular history. In Manitoba, Peguis is such a character. There grew around these concepts of the good servant a variation that was linked to the motif of the vanishing Indian. In this, the vanishing Indian performs one useful task before he passes from the scene; he redeems himself from his blood and gains a place in the memory of the superior white race. This concept is at work in Child of the Tide, Red Cloud, the Solitary Sioux, The Master of Life, and The Chicamon Stone.

There is an example in Canadian literature in which an entire tribe is portrayed in the role of the good servant. This occurs in Ralph Connor's Corporal Cameron. In this novel, the only tribe that can be trusted to protect the property of the white man are the Stoney Indians. They are located at Morley, Alberta under the guidance of their Methodist missionary. It is interesting to note that Morley is in the mouth of the railway right-of-way into the Rocky Mountain pass. Connor describes these friendly guardians of the mountain gate in the following manner:

On the grassy glade, surrounded by the sentinel pines, the circle of dusky worshippers kneeling about their campfires lifted their faces Heavenward and their hearts Godward in prayer, and as

upon those dusky faces the firelight fell in fitful gleams, so upon their heart, dark with the superstitions of a hundred generations, there fell the gleams of the torch held high by the hands of their dauntless ambassador of the blessed Gospel of the Grace of God.²²

This portrayal of the Stoney by Connor is quite different from James Fenimore Cooper's portrayal of the "good servant" Pawnee in The Prairie. For example, Cooper's Pawnee remain wild men, while Connor's Stoney are under the influence of acculturation. As well, the Stoney have capitulated to the Canadians, while the Pawnee are loyal only to Natty Bumppo.

In the novels of the period, the use of the Indian as good servant is less prevalent than the use of the Indian as wild man. However, the technical problems involved in portraying any Indian in a favourable light in the novels of the period make this type of character an interesting study.

At this point, I would like to move from the larger institutions of the moral landscape to the more personal interests of the Canadian reader, and how these reflect the attitude towards the Indian of those within that landscape's framework. It is apparent that the majority of the readers of

²²Ralph Connor, Corporal Cameron (Toronto: Hodder & Stoughton, 1917), p. 262. All further references to this work will be made in parentheses in the text.

the popular Canadian novel were female. When the author John McDougall refers to his "gentle reader," he does so with the realization that the Canadian male of the period was fully occupied in the exploitation of the new land. It is to the women of the middle classes that he is speaking. I do not contend that the novels were not read by men: I mean that the reading of the popular novel was not part of the Canadian male's role. The two main social considerations of the "gentle readers" of Canada were whiskey and manners. In the novels of the period, the Indian is portrayed negatively in both these areas. Adam and Wetherald give one of the clearest descriptions of the etiquette expected of males. In the following quotation from An Algonquin Maiden, Rose Macleod has been thrown from a horse. Allan Dunlop reaches her first: "His sensibilities and sympathies were exquisitely quick and fine. Catching up an end of the unfortunate riding habit, he twisted it closely about the helplessly exposed little feet--an act of delicacy which received a faint glance of grateful recognition before she lapsed into utter unconsciousness." (p. 83)

William Kirby, in The Golden Dog, puts the Indian attitude toward women into a broader perspective: "The gallantry of Frenchmen to the sex was a thing unintelligible and absurd in the eyes of the red men, who, whatever shreds of European ideas hung loosely about them, never changed their original opinions about women; and hence were incapable

of real civilization."²³

To expose this lack of manners in discounting the Indian was a formidable weapon for two reasons. First, the Indian's stereotype attitude toward the female, which was based on tangible historic reality, would be disagreeable to the Canadian female population. The Indian's lack of proper deportment would disgust the proper middle-class home makers. The rising number of women's rights advocates would be angry both at the type and amount of work expected of Indian women, and at the exclusion of Indian females from the major political functions of their society. The Indians made ideal examples of male chauvinism. Indeed, there were few villains in Canada who could raise the wrath of both Canadian sisterhoods like the Indian buck.

The second and a most active movement in the parlours of the period was temperance. In Canada, Trotter's Life Pictures from Rum's Gallery was as much in demand as that old favourite, Ten Nights in a Bar Room, which was played by local actors and actresses as far west as Portage la Prairie in the summer of 1884. In the novels of the period, the drinking habits of the Indian were a good focus for proving his uncivilized nature. For example, Butler uses the drinking

²³William Kirby, The Golden Dog, (Toronto: The Musson Book Co. Ltd., n.d.), p. 287.

motif to portray tribal leadership in a disparaging light, as well as to provide a rationale for the use of the active verb "vanishing" when describing the native people: "The Wolverine was clutching in his bony fingers the fatal fire-water, which, more than war, hunger, or exposure, has destroyed the red man's race over the wide continent of North America." (Red Cloud, p. 87) This rationale locates the doom of the people in their own intemperate weakness. Perhaps this was more acceptable to the author as a creator of Canadian popular history than depopulating factors such as smallpox, syphilis, and the genocidal tendencies inherent in colonization.

Agnes Laut echoes the standard views on intemperance in her description of debauchery. (This is Rufus Gillespie's account of a landing place on the western canoe routes of the fur trade): "Presently the natives drew off to a fire by themselves, where there would be no white man's restraint. They had either begged or stolen trader's rum . . . and were eager for one of their mad boissons". (Lords of North, p. 79)²⁴

²⁴A similar use of this image of intemperance can be found in Edgar Allan Poe's tale, The Journal of Julius Rodman, where Poe provides the image of intemperance as a racial characteristic of the French Canadian who through implication is portrayed on the Indian side of the wilderness. In the popular image of American literature, the French Canadian is part Indian.

Intemperance is the key to Fraser's philosophy of isolation. Fraser's own voice can be heard in the words of the hammer of God, the Rev. Bruce: "He knew that liquor was the one accursed thing carried in the van of that western civilization. To the breed and the Indian, it was absolute poison: a poison with the fatal fascination of the loco plant." (Lilies, p. 86) Fraser provides an example of the unique Indian problem of intemperance, which involves the Indian Wolf Runner. When he and another Indian drink about an inch of whiskey, they provide the reader with proof of the racial difference in toleration of alcohol: "The whiskey that was still in the flask would not have affected a strong white man: but the two red men became babbling children under its influence." (p. 137) Fraser's solution to the Indian problem is based on the supposition that the Indian cannot leave whiskey alone if he can get it. Therefore he must be isolated from it.

The final consideration of this chapter on the moral landscape is how the authors of the period provide final solutions to an Indian problem in Canada. It can be said with conviction that to the writers of the period, there was no place for the Indian as wild man inside the frame of the Canadian garden. Lighthall saw the extinction of the Indian as part of the Providential evolution process. Both Joseph Allen's The Making of a Canadian and particularly Gilbert Parker's The Translation of A Savage provide the

possibility of character transmission through education. However, these authors are dealing with individuals, or at the most, a small group rather than the race as a whole. Contrarily, W. A. Fraser believes in native isolation. In this solution, he can be compared to the American author, William Gilmore Simms who argues in The Yemassee:

"We differ, Mr. Matthews, about the propriety of the measure, for it is utterly impossible that the whites and Indians should ever live together and agree. The nature of things is against it, and the very difference between the two, that of colour, perceptible to our most ready sentinel, the sight, must always constitute them an inferior caste in our minds. Apart from this, an obvious superiority in arts and education must soon force upon them the consciousness of their inferiority. When this relationship is considered, in connexion with the uncertainty of their resources and means of life, it will be seen that, after a while, they must not only be inferior, but they must become dependent. When this happens, and it will happen with the diminution of their hunting lands, circumscribed, daily, more and more, as they are by our approaches, they must become degraded, and sink into slavery and destitution. A few of them have become so now: they are degraded by brutal habits, --and the old chiefs have opened their eyes to the danger among their young men, from the seductive poisons introduced among them by our traders. They have begun, too, to become straitened in their hunting grounds. They lose by our contact in every way; and to my mind, the best thing we can do for them is to send them as far as possible from communion with our people."

"What! and deny them all the benefits of our blessed religion?"

"By no means, sir. The old apostles would have gone along with, or after them. Unless the vocation of the preacher be very much changed in

times present from times past, they will not, therefore, be denied any of the benefits of religious education."²⁵

Fraser uses the entire text of The Blood Lilies to develop and prove the same theory.

The solutions provided by the majority of authors leave the European blood lines of the Canadian race intact. It is the poet-historian Sir Charles G. D. Roberts who provides a solution which violates the concept of racial purity. In The Forge in the Forest Roberts creates a number of relationships which ultimately will produce multi-blooded individuals as the Canadian people. These relationships are as follows: The hero of the novel, Jean de Mer, a French Acadian, is at the time of the tale a widower. His first wife was a French Penobscot half-breed who bore him a son Marc. De Mer falls in love with the heroine Mizpah, who is a New England widow. Mizpah's sister Prudence is linked romantically to Marc. In this solution, the major loss is the loss of pure blood. The requirement of this loss for the solution is emphasized by an incident that occurs in the novel. Mizpah kills a pure-blooded Micmac by shooting him in the back. Jean de Mer tells her: "'Good

²⁵William Gilmore Simms, The Yemassee, ed. Joseph V. Ridgely (New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1964), pp. 302-03.

soldier! Good comrade!' . . . 'You have killed Little Fox, the blackest and cruellest rogue on the whole Shubenacadie. Oh, I tell you, you have done a good deed this day!'"²⁶

This is an interesting approach, for the "good deed" is the sacrifice of a pure-blooded Indian by an Anglo-Puritan to save a French Catholic.

Only W. A. Fraser provides a solution which does not destroy the Indians as a people. The irony of this is that in spite of his liberal intentions, he would treat them as something other than human. In this lies the crux of the entire literary presentation of the Canadian Indian problem, for there is no solution that does not violate some ideal of Christianity. All solutions as presented by the authors of the period preserve the agrarian, civilized part of the moral landscape. The garden is the haven for the survival of the Canadian people. What happens then is that all these novels provide rationales by which the dominant group, larger and stronger, can disinherit the smaller one, with the illusion of having a right to do so, by a right other than the basic law of the jungle. It is interesting to find many authors of this period using a most elaborate extension

²⁶Charles G. D. Roberts, The Forge in the Forest (New York: Grosset and Dunlop, 1896), p. 190.

of the Darwinistic view of the survival of the fittest to justify colonialism. In the final analysis, these novels are all historically correct; the Canadians are the fittest, for they have taken the land. However, there are the seeds of national guilt in these literary rationalizations of the harsh truths of history.

CHAPTER II

IN THE BLOOD

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As became apparent in the discussion of the Indian's relationship to the moral landscape, there was a tendency toward concepts of racial superiority among the works of the period. This is especially evident in the presentation of non-Canadian characters, particularly the non-whites. Many of the authors provided their characters with recognizable traits by linking superiority to colour. At the apex of this colour stratification were the white heroine and/or hero. Very often, these were portrayed as blond and blue-eyed. Considering the period as a whole, the most favoured physical characteristic of the hero group is blue eyes. Hulbert Footner, in Jack Chanty, provides an interesting example of the use of the hair-eye colour combination to provide a heroic male image: ". . . and the waves of [Jack Chanty's] thick, sunburnt hair showed half a dozen shades ranging between sienna and ochre. As to his face . . . a bounding vitality was its distinguishing character . . . He had bright blue eyes under beautifully modelled brows." (p. 4)

At the opposite end of the colour chart are the dark people, the Indians. Phillips-Wolley, in The Chicamon Stone,

uses the darker colouring of the Indian to add to a description of the mountain witch hunters: ". . . their red brown faces, their glittering eyes, and harsh black hair, looked beast-like and terrible in the glow, and their stealthy, silent movements were more suggestive of beasts of prey than of men."²⁷ Once more the Indian is fitted to an image developed in an earlier period of English literature, the image of the dark-skin burned under the sun of God's justice.²⁸

Interestingly enough, when the authors of the period portray an Indian woman in an emotional relationship with a white man, she is provided with physical characteristics which are in closer proximity to those of the white female. A standard technique is to give her lighter skin tones than the "average" Indian squaw. This effect is often suggested by introducing the fact that she has a white ancestor, thus creating the interesting variations which often occur when Canadian authors use the character of Indian ancestry in the novel: for in the males, mixed blood is usually a negative characteristic. In the novels where Indian women

²⁷Clive Phillips-Wolley, The Chicamon Stone (London: Smith, Eder & Co., 1900), pp. 44-45. All further references to this work will be made in parentheses in the text.

²⁸Stanley Stewart describes this particular image in the chapter "Shade" in The Enclosed Garden.

have relationships with white men, it is necessary that they have some white blood in order that the reader will accept the possibility of their having the "human" emotion of love instead of the animal passion of lust. Thus it is necessary for Parker, Footner, Roberts and Lighthall, for example, to add white blood to their Indian maidens in order to maintain the "credibility" of their plots.

Synonymous with the dark skin of the Indians is their blood-lust. In the novels of the period, this blood-lust is portrayed by individuals or groups who are usually identified by emphasis on tribal name. This is understandable for two reasons: first, certain tribal names such as Iroquois or Sioux were associated with particularly bloody encounters between colonial whites and Indians, and therefore could be expected to add dramatic effect; second, the greatest danger from the Indians came when they were in large cohesive numbers. The tribal alliance was the strongest cohesion recognizable to the whites. In the following passage, for example, Butler has chosen to place a single individual within the definition of the negative attributes of his tribe: ". . . but the Saulteaux belonged to a tribe long at deadly enmity with the Sioux nation, and he also inherited much of the cowardly ferocity of his own tribe. . . [they] never scrupled to obtain trophies which they could not win in war, by the aid of treacherous surprise or dastardly night attacks." (Red Cloud, p. 139.)

Butler places great emphasis on the difference between tribal man and the individual outside tribal influence in Red Cloud. Here it is a confederacy of individuals, an Anglo, a Celt, and Indians, which wards off tribal assaults. In such novels, when there are numbers of tribal Indians, they are often described as packs of the family Canidae. In this manner, the writer easily relates the Indian to the ancient European fear of wolves. Agnes Laut describes an incident at the skirmish at Seven Oaks which involved Indians and a white man. The narrator is the hero Rufus Gillespie: "I saw Laplante across the field, covered with blood, reeling and staggering back from a dozen red-skin furies, who pressed upon their fagged victim, snatching at his throat like hounds at the neck of a beaten stag. [At a show of strength by the whites] . . . the wretched cowards darted back just as I have seen a miserable pack of open-mouthed curs." (Lords of North, p. 336)

Furthermore, W. A. Fraser includes the French Canadian, interestingly enough, in the following description of the racial struggle of Canadian history: "Noises like the howl of a wolf-pack filled the shack; half-breed and Indian and Frenchman sprang forward to pull down Cameron as wild dogs might have reached for the life of a bull moose." (Lilies, p. 113)

All these descriptions are constructed to reveal the animal nature in the blood of the Indian. In the tribal

state, he is little better than a wolf in a pack. As an animal, it is his nature to strike for blood. Once perceived as a wild vicious beast, the Indian becomes a natural danger in conquering the wilderness. In order to tame the land, the white man must eliminate the natural Indian.'

Of all the writers of this period, John McDougall is the one who is most inclined to describe the Indian in a favourable light. However, even he accepts the fact that blood-lust is a part of the nature of his hero, White Buffalo. The key to McDougall's attitude is in the statement he makes to his "gentle readers": "Today we deprecate such actions, in theory, we see it is wrong, so did White Buffalo in heart. Even then he felt that all this was wrong. Nevertheless, you and I, my gentle reader, being thus tested, might now go and do likewise."²⁹

A closer consideration of the novel reveals the following additional point. The unchristianized White Buffalo in his relationships with the other men perverts the golden rule. He says: "'We can do even unto them as they have done to our people.'" (p. 63) From this statement, the

²⁹ John McDougall, Wa-pee-moos-tooch, or White Buffalo (Calgary, n.p., 1908), p. 11. All further references to this work will be made in parentheses in the text.

philosophy of the unbaptized spreads throughout the novel. No matter what the good intentions of White Buffalo and his people are, they are doomed to failure, for they do not act with the spiritual knowledge of Christianity.

However, McDougall's view of the Indian is one of the most reasonable that I discovered among the authors of the period. It should also be pointed out that McDougall's setting is before the advent of the white man on the prairie, and consequently there is no conflict of interests in his novel except between the savages.

With the exception of McDougall's novel, which is wholly placed in the pre-European historic period of Canada, there is not one novel in which the blood of the Indian remains inviolate. That is to say, during the course of any novel, the Indian characters of any importance will in one way or another cease to be what they were at the outset of the novel. Either they die out as a people, are inbred to the dominant Europeans, or through acculturation are assimilated.

This fact is not necessarily viewed in any negative way by the dominant Canadian culture. The possibility of extinction of the native race at the hands of the colonialists had its acceptance in the philosophy of the motherland, behind its colonial policy. Consider the Englishman Sir Thomas More's view of the rights of the colonizing Utopians: "For [Utopians] count this the most just cause of war, when

any people holdeth a piece of ground void and vacant, to no good nor profitable use, keeping others from the use and possession of it."³⁰ There is a general acceptance of this philosophy as a historical inevitability in the novels of the period. When the Indian exhibited what may be termed a "dog in the manger" attitude toward his birthright, it was assumed that it was because of his corrupt blood. For some Canadians, depopulation by slaughter was an alternative which was more acceptable than the possibility of biological assimilation, which would add the pollution of native blood to the white race. In this regard, the argument against inter-racial marriage is an important function of Adam and Wetherald's An Algonquin Maiden.

Part of the construction of the garden were rules governing proper sexual relationships. As marriage was the only acceptable outcome for relationships between the sexes, all relationships in the novels had to be concluded in marriage or in complete separation. The usual reason for separation

³⁰Thomas More, Utopia, Notes by J. H. Lupton (Oxford, 1895).

was the Indian blood of one of the sexual partners; in the majority of cases, the Indian blood was in the female of the pair.³¹

The liberal attitudes of the new country made cross-class marriages for love possible, while they were still frowned upon in England. As shown in An Algonquin Maiden, these rebellious couples were sent "off to Canada. . . that better country, where the lives and loves of those to whom fate has been cruel are graciously spared." (p. 94) In Canada, however, the ideal marriage was the type which mated equals. In An Algonquin Maiden, the hero Edward is a true-blooded Anglo, his father Anglo-Scotch, his mother English. The heroine, Hélène, is Protestant French. Theirs is the prototypical Canadian marriage, its offspring the ideal Canadians in the minds of the authors. Indeed, this marriage is provided with mystic sanctification through the sacrifice of the maiden Wanda. The nature of her death adds to the probability that it functioned as part of the intervention

³¹The American novelist James Fenimore Cooper provides two views of miscegenation in his novel The Prairie. First is that of science: "'I am indisposed to matrimony in general, and more especially to all admixture of the varieties of species which only tend to tarnish the beauty and to intercept the harmony of nature.'" (p. 342) The second is that of the common American: "'Would ye disgrace color, and family, and nation, by mixing white blood and red, and would ye be the parent of a race of mules," (p. 388)

of God. It should be clearly pointed out that in the relative terms of the novel, this God might be called an Anglo-Canadian, rather than distinctly an Englishman. It becomes apparent that the maiden was but a tool of God in His lesson to Edward about the true nature of His manifest destiny for Canada. Edward and H el ene react in the following way to the dead Wanda: "And so, with clasped hands, they bent together and kissed the beautiful still lips. . . . Their love founded upon death had suddenly become as mysterious and sacred as the life of a child whose mother perished when she gave it birth." (p. 235)

No Canadian with an understanding of his obligation to the establishing of the garden could consider marrying an Indian. The mere thought of condoning this indecent act drives Philemon Wright into a wild rage in Bertha Carr-Harris's The White Chief of the Ottawa. Machechawa, the Indian chief, has just asked Wright for the hand of his daughter. The following is Wright's reaction: "For a moment there was silence in the room. The White Chief's face grew dark. The veins of his temples began to swell with rage. In a burst of passion, he said: 'My child become your slave! Never! Never! . . . no white woman would be happy to work like a

squaw or to suffer as much!"³² This rule is so well accepted by the novelists that I have not found a single instance where the hero is married to or comes to marry a full-blooded Indian. The other circumstance, that of the heroine's marrying a native Indian, extends itself also to the debarment of half-breeds.

While there are exceptions in minor characters, the half-breed male is reserved for villainous roles. Nevertheless, an interesting exception to this rule is Agnes Laut's distinction between the French and Scots half-breed. This distinction probably grows out of the historical roles played by both groups in the Canadian territories in 1870 and 1885. The Métis or New Nation refused to capitulate to Canadian expansionism, while the Scots and English half-breeds, for the most part sold their services to the military forces who came to consolidate the Canadian claims. It is one more of the continuing contradictions of the period which must be coped with, but which generally can be explained in historic terms. Agnes Laut describes the differences between the half-breeds in the following manner: "One was the wild man, the Ishmaelite of the desert, the other, the tiller of

³²Bertha Wright Carr-Harris, The White Chief of the Ottawa (Toronto: William Briggs, 1903), pp. 44-45. All further references to this work will be made in parentheses in the text.

the soil, the Israelite of the plain." (Lords of North, p. 145)

Adam and Wetherald voice the general Canadian understanding of the half-breed psyche: "Invariably, with the mixture of blood comes the warring of diverse emotions, the dissatisfaction with the present life, the secret yearning for something better, the impulse toward something worse." (Maiden, p. 51) This concept of bad blood arising from cross-breeding is so strong in these authors' minds that they consider Wanda a half-breed, though a full-blooded North American Indian, because her mother is Huron and her father Algonquin. This can be understood to be a rationale of the superiority of the town-dwelling Huron over the Algonquin hunters. In the novels of the period, dissatisfaction is the cross of the half-breed, colour his stigma, and arrogance his way of reflecting both.

As has been stated previously, when Indian women were portrayed in relationships with white men, they were inevitably found to have white blood. When compared in these same novels to the white heroine, however, they are portrayed as wild women of the woods. As such, they are a threat to the domestic hearth of civilization. The comparison of the love of a Canadian woman, who is naturally domestic, and the blood lust of a wild woman, is at the core of An Algonquin Maiden. The love of the Canadian maiden, H el ene, is portrayed as that of the virgin heart:

A maiden's heart, like a summer night, knows and loves its own secret. All through the mysterious deep hours of sleep it holds the secret closely wrapped in darkness, pure as the dew on the grass, innocent as the little leaves in the forest, glorious as the countless stars of heaven. Sometimes, and soon enough, the dawn will come. . . . and the white mists of maidenliness will be warmed with heavenly radiance. But after sunrise comes the day-- the long prosaic day of duty and denial, of work and its reward. (p. 143)

In contrast to H el enes love for Edward, Wanda the wild woman does not have the capacity for love, and so can only lust for him. The reader of the day knew from the outset that the hero Edward could never love Wanda, but was entangled by a bestial attraction to a wild animal in the fever of lust. Wanda is literally in heat. Again and again the authors refer to the bestiality of Wanda. She in turn is called a "little beast", a "little brute", a "dog", and a "sort of animal". Rose, Edward's sister, refers to Wanda in the following manner: ". . . it isn't as though she were a civilized creature. You don't seem to grasp the fact that she's only a wild thing of the woods." (p. 189)

Writers of the period used animal terms to describe both male and female Indians, but when they are using these terms to describe the female Indian, the form is much more definite. In The Chief Factor, Gilbert Parker completely dehumanizes the Indian woman, Summer Hair, by denying her a God-granted soul. In a short passage, he provides the most

devastating piece of prejudicial comment in the entire gamut of propaganda perpetuated in the novels of the period. It is devastating in its reflection on the Indian people, but far worse, in its unconscious self-denunciation of the state of the culture which created and condoned the use of such prejudice as descriptive characterization of any member of the human race: "For he [the H.B.C. factor] saw that strange plumbless flooding of the eye, which is as deep as the soul itself-- and even an Indian woman has a soul: or had one in an antique time."³³

Stereotype Indian maidens who are rejected by the white hero tend, if not totally suicidal, to die in one way or another. I believe there may be a "dog in the manger" motivation working in this plot structure that relates to the anti-crossbreeding concepts of the moral landscape. Having once loved a white man, the Indian maiden, always a half-breed, would be despoiling her white blood if she were used by an Indian. Thus to keep the aesthetic concept of the race pure, she must die, ideally in a canoe and preferably over a waterfall. However, any context with water seems to be acceptable. Wanda's death in An Algonquin Maiden fits this pattern.

³³Gilbert Parker, The Chief Factor (London: Isbister & Co. 1893), p. 198. All further references to this work will be made in parentheses in the text.

While there is an undercurrent of the threat of red rape in the last example, it is not a subject utilized to any extent by the authors of the novels under consideration. The closest any writer gets to sexual intercourse between Indian male and white female is a marriage proposal in The White Chief of the Ottawa. Direct reference to the possibility of rape was outside the literary conventions of the period. Agnes Laut does use the female captive motif with Mrs. Hamilton in Lords of the North. The fate worse than death that Mrs. Hamilton is in danger of, however, is being made the servant of the villain Iroquois Diablo's squaw. But there was a great deal of use of what was understood by the "gentle reader". When Mrs. Hamilton is first captured and is in the hands of an Iroquois, that fact is titillating enough to make red rape imminent, regardless of what the author might not write in the novel.

When Agnes Laut contrasts her central female characters of Indian and of white blood, she uses the interesting motif of statuary. She contrasts the aesthetic coolness of white marble to the fire-case heat of bronze. Rufus Gillespie, hero of Lords of the North, describes the heroine Frances Sutherland in the following manner: "I warrant there was not a young man of the eight crews, who did not regard that marble-cold face at the prow of the leading canoe, as his own particular guiding star, and the white face beneath the broad brimmed hat . . . was as serenely unconscious of us

as any star of the heavenly constellations." (pp. 132-33)

When he comes face to face with the chief's daughter, squaw to Diablo, the Iroquois villain of the novel, Rufus turns to stare: ". . . into the hideous, angry face of a big squaw who was glaring at me. The creature was one to command attention. She might have been a great, bronze statue, a type of some ancient goddess, a symbol of fury, or cruelty." (p. 46)

Frances Sutherland represents the proper civilized female who has total control over the fires of passion by virtue of her superior mentality. Her actions in the novel are coolly preconceived and carried out with precision and conscious courage. It is assumed that she chooses to love Rufus Gillespie after proper consideration. Diablo's squaw is woman without control--destructive and evil. Her actions are done at the height of passion, done in blind obedience to her master Diablo's wishes. She dies in battle at the hands of another savage. It is interesting that Laut could use a daughter of the 1812 settlers to represent the image of Victorian propriety, for they were for the most part highland crofters not versed in the English etiquette of the latter part of the nineteenth century.

Two authors depict their Indian women within the realm of humanity; however, in both cases, they significantly do not deal with cross-race sexual relationship. Those authors are John McDougall and W. A. Fraser. In McDougall's

White Buffalo, the heroine Nagos, wife of the hero White Buffalo, kills her captor for reasons that are not generally prescribed as being within the capacity of a woman of Indian blood: "'I will kill this man.' She thought of White Buffalo, she thought of her wifhood, of her honour, and her whole being was fired to brave all things to save these if possible." (p. 225) This portrayal of the loving wife is in opposition to the Adam-Wetherald description of Wanda's inability to love. Nagos is thinking clearly and coolly of these things as she rides the horse behind her captor. She strikes and kills the man for philosophical as well as emotional reasons, far different from those of Diablo's squaw.

W. A. Fraser also creates a character in Wolf Runner's squaw, The Ugly One, which is contradictory to the then-current view that affectionate motherhood was the sole prerogative of the white race. Fraser describes the mother's reaction to the sending of her only child to residential school by the white governor. She sits before her cooking fire, ". . . and misery came and sat at the fireside, and mocked her till she cried aloud in anguish after the foolish manner of Indian women who love their children more than sleep." (Lilies, p. 192) Of course, Fraser knew every reader understood that any good white mother also loves her children more than sleep. Fraser has used the appearance of "sole prerogative" to break down the original prejudicial belief. However

positive these portrayals of women of Indian blood may be, they can be in no way construed as an acceptance of these women by author or reader as suitable inhabitants of the garden. The character must not be isolated from the overall purpose of the novel.

As part of the negative attitude toward the characteristics of the Indian female, there is a tendency towards creating Amazonian characteristics in the white heroine. At one time or other in the novels of the period white heroines out-paddle, out-shoot, and out-ambush Indians, either male or female. Examples of this type of heroine are Molly in The Micmac, Polly in The Fur Bringers, and Mizpah in The Forge in the Forest.

To conclude this chapter on the blood, I would like to discuss Gilbert Parker's The Translation of a Savage, in which an Indian woman makes the journey from the wilderness into the garden. Once within the garden, Lali is no longer Indian. The focus of this metamorphosis is the attitude of the heroine Lali toward her husband. In its time, this change of attitude would be considered the liberation of a woman.

Frank Armour, the hero, or perhaps the anti-hero, marries the savage Lali as a revenge upon his family, and sends her to England. At this point in the novel, Parker points out that whatever Armour's reason for marrying her, Lali "married him because she cared for him after her heathen

fashion."³⁴ Here Parker has conceded to the Indian woman the ability to love. It is probable that this is why Lali must be provided with a white man in her ancestry. If so, there is an inherent belief that the ability to love is carried genetically in the blood of the race.

Upon her arrival in England, Lali comes under the tutelage of the hero's brother Richard, and the process of metamorphosis begins. In time she learns to ride, dress and converse with the deportment of a Victorian lady. Her metamorphosis is shown to be complete by the time she realizes that she had been married for revenge. Her decision when she comprehends this fact is that of a Victorian matron: "She would prove to him that it was she who had made the mistake of her life in marrying him." (pp. 107-08)

This is certainly not the blood lust of a wild woman, but rather the view of a civilized female. "She had only one object--to triumph over her husband grandly as a woman righteously might." (p. 153) When her triumph is complete, there can be no doubt that Lali Armour is no longer a simple Indian woman subservient to a master-husband. Her triumph is realized when Frank Armour arrives in England and

³⁴Gilbert Parker, The Translation of a Savage (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1893), p. 17. All further references to this work will be made in parentheses in the text.

seeks his conjugal bed. Lali answers this male chauvinism in the following manner: "'I am very tired,' she said. 'I would rather not talk to-night.' The dismissal was evident." (p. 172)

The overriding attitude of the authors of the period toward the significance of the blood is that moral and intellectual capability or the lack of it, was transferable in a race from one generation to another through the blood line. This belief apparently grew out of observation. It was true that sons of intellectual fathers were often intellectual. It was also true that after the Industrial Revolution the British whites were, as a nation, technologically in advance of the peoples whose lands they coveted. Add to this the belief the British had in the superiority of their moral and political system, and the result was the belief in racial superiority.

For this reason, references to the blood of native peoples had to render them as inferior to Canadians; in this way, it complied with the concepts of the moral landscape. In order to utilize Indian women in the roles of lovers and wives, it was necessary to have their blood lines enriched by transfusions of white blood.

Here the outstanding rebel was Sir Charles G. D. Roberts, the "animal man" who gave personality traits to the animal characters in his stories, and advocated inter-marriage between races. Perhaps it was his personal view of animals

which helped formulate Roberts' liberal view of inter-marriage. There is another interesting thing that takes place in his novel The Forge in the Forest, a kind of racial tolerance which disputes the generally accepted Canadian view of blood characteristics. In each case where there exists a negative character of a particular racial or ethnic group, there exists somewhere else in the novel a sympathetic characterization of a member of the same group. The novel is a constant reminder of the wisdom of the saying "there's good and bad in all of us." In the novel, there are good and bad Indians, both coming from the Micmac tribe. Both the hero, Jean de Mer, and the villain, the Black Abbé, are Catholic. The ship's captain, who worships money and is a coward, is a New Englander; but so is the heroine Mizpah. With his view of inter-marriage and his chaotic views of social stratification, Sir Charles G. D. Roberts could not be placed in the same category of usage of the Indian for subject material as the more traditional Canadian writer.

CHAPTER III

THE SHAMAN BATTLE

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From time to time when the authors of the period created a character, particularly an Indian character, they often included personality traits which manifested themselves in apparently supernatural powers. Those individuals in the novels of the period, both Indian and European, whose ability to manipulate the actions of others comes from influences beyond the physical world, might best be described in primitivistic terms as having shamanistic powers.

While there are examples of such powers possessed by Europeans in The Chicamon Stone and The Forge in the Forest, the shaman figure is more often Indian. The source of the shamanistic power in Indians is by definition satanic. The authors of the period did not wish to give the impression that they were condoning a belief in such power; therefore, while describing the results of shamanistic power, they inevitably provide the reader with a rational alternative to believing in the diabolically miraculous. For example, when the lovers are lost in the bog in The Micmac, the Micmac, Jack Labrador, discovers them and saves them when all else has failed. Julian, the other blood Micmac, has

called him a "son of a devil" (p. 14), alluding to Labrador's mysterious powers. There are hints made, however, that Labrador is more than familiar with the killer bog, since he has often traversed it. The author may have provided one of the more interesting double explanations of shamanistic power in another incident. When Tina, the "other" woman, goes looking for Jack Labrador in order to obtain his help in finding the lost lovers, she thinks: "If Jack had a stupid fit, she could never make him understand her, and perhaps he would never go if he did." (p. 210) This is an interesting passage, because it provides two distinctly different possibilities for the reader: First, the stupid fit could simply refer to the ignorance of the Indian; second, it could refer to a characteristic of an individual who has the power, a sign recognizable in Europe. The rational explanation was important to the readers, for they considered themselves to be rational people; however, it was the other possibility that appealed to their romantic imaginations.

It is interesting to note that the author John McDougall uses the new technical terminology of western Canadian development to describe the ancient powers of the shaman's medicine: "medicine that reached out from him who was fortunate enough to possess it, and, like wireless telegraphy, flew through space and met the enemy afar and paralyzed his sense and limb, so that he became the easy

victim of his foe." (Buffalo, p. 12)

Regardless of his apparently liberal approach, McDougall was writing within a faith which stated that supernatural manifestations did not exist outside the actions of its own pantheon. Therefore, in his eyes, any actual manifestation of shamanistic power by an Indian was the result of Satan's influence.

McDougall apparently was not happy with a totally negative view of the Indian peoples' religion. His appeal is for paternal tolerance. As an alternative to the probability of satanic interference, therefore, he provides the option of self-delusion on the part of the Indian. For example, here is McDougall's description of the shamanistic ceremonial: "[He was] the one who acted death, the man who intoned his creed, and chanted his hymn, and under the influence of his own intensity, having possibly hypnotized himself, and gone into a trance, and thus for the time was like one who is dead, and then his spirit went afar into the unknown and again in due time came from thence, and re-occupying what had seemed to be his inanimate body." (p. 13)

For all the explanations given by McDougall, the detail in which he deals with apparently mystic powers could lead one to conclude that in spite of his rational inclinations, this Canadian had a nagging suspicion that the Indian had powers apparently long lost to his own people.

In other novels of the period, the conflict remains

a simple external war between good and evil. In An Algonquin Maiden, shamanistic power is an element of the landscape beyond the garden. The Indian maiden Wanda is the utiliser of this shamanistic power. She is portrayed, as has been stated previously, as bestial. It is her animal lust and physical beauty which first attract the hero Edward. He chases Wanda in the forest until, "Hot, irritated, and tired, Edward returned home, nor did he observe that in this fruitless chase,³⁵ one of the pure buds that H  l  ne had given him had fallen from his breast, on which he had pinned it, and had been rudely crushed beneath his heel." (p. 45) In his hot haste, Edward tramples the flower buds given him by H  l  ne. These buds represent the true gift of pure love of the Canadian maiden.

Although H  l  ne is the heroic representation of Canadian domesticity, the authors do not choose to have her love defeat Wanda. There is a plausible reason for this. If the source of Wanda's power is Satan, then no moral woman could defeat it without God's help. By the manner in which the struggle is portrayed, it appears that the authors felt

³⁵The symbolism of the chase or deer hunt in European culture is sexual. In Man and his Symbols, edited by Carl G. Jung, the art of a German painter, Cranach, and a traditional medieval English folk song are given as examples of the use of the symbol.

that it would be more dramatic if their god challenged Wanda's power directly through a divine act. First, there comes a warning from the Canadian god when Wanda and Edward meet alone in the forest: "Then came the loud patter of rain on the leaves overhead, accompanied by a heavy crash of thunder. 'The Great Spirit is angry,' murmured the young girl, her eyes dilating and her breasts heaving." (p. 63) While Wanda believes that she recognized the voice of her god (Satan), the reader realizes that it is in fact the voice of God.

Edward ignores the warning of his god and becomes more entangled in his lust for Wanda. As lust is the highest emotion of which Wanda seems capable she responds in kind. There finally comes a time when, lost in the web of eroticism, Edward sneaks out of his father's house like a thief to flee into the wilderness with Wanda, but God will not allow him this folly. God obtains Edward's attention by hitting him upon the head with a tree felled in the storm. Wanda's spell is broken and Edward, lying wounded, calls for H el ene. In the minds of the authors, there seems to be no discrepancy between the climax of the novel and their stated argument that domesticity would win out. In their eyes, the domestic nature of true Canadian love is under the direct protection of God.

W. D. Lighthall uses the concepts of supernatural powers in a different manner in The Master of Life. In this

novel, the struggle is between the true and the false prophet within the culture of a nation. The war of the prophets reaches a climax in the novel at the point where the Onondaga people must join the league in order that the confederacy succeed. The true prophet, Hiawatha, has learned that rational explanation is an ineffective weapon against the false prophet Hiteria. Hiteria and his false-face society control the townsmen through fear, tricks and rites de passage. It is important to note, however, that Hiteria has no actual mystic powers as does Hiawatha. Hiteria is a fraud. In the final struggle, Hiteria's tricks are exposed by the warrior chief Atatarho. It is Atatarho who drives the false prophet through the bowels of the earth and finally casts him from the highest precipice: "Now Atotarho's soul swelled with the sense of a greatness it had never yet known, most glorious to the chief, to whom earthly battle was too small a sphere, was this battle with the great Black Ones and all their magic powers, in their own dwelling in the bowels of the world." (p. 240) Thus it is the militant head of government, rather than the spiritual guide of the people, who casts out false prophets in Lighthall's world.

This is very different from Adam and Wetherald's method of exorcising the demonic power; nonetheless, they could concede actual satanic power to Wanda, for they include the devil in their pantheon. Lighthall on the other hand,

does not acknowledge the existence of Satan. In his pantheon, there exists only the "superpersonality". Thus only those who truly hear the voice of outer consciousness, such as Hiawatha or Quenhia, the virgin, could have power.

Ralph Connor, like Adam and Wetherald, grants the power of beguilement to the shaman in The Patrol of the Sun Dance Trail. In this novel, the shaman is the Sioux, an outsider, not really a Canadian Indian. Nonetheless, when he speaks to the Indian people, his power is apparent: "A spell held them fixed. The whole circle swayed in unison with his swaying form as he chanted the departed glories of those plains and woods, lord of his destiny and subject only to his own will. The mystic magic power of that rich resonant voice. . . swept the souls of his hearers with surging tides of passion." (pp. 190-91)

Ralph Connor does not weaken the character of the Sioux by presenting rational alternatives to the mystic power of his persona. Nor does he have him do juggler's tricks to hold the respect of the people. Connor's portrayal is far more sympathetic than those of Lighthall or Adam and Wetherald. But it is not a positive portrayal. The Sioux is evil, for he wishes to lead the Indians out of the concentration camps and against the Canadian garrisons. The white hero, Corporal Cameron, voices his fear of the outcome, for he knows "that the whole situation held possibilities of horror unspeakable in the revival of that ancient savage

spirit." (p. 193)

Corporal Cameron is a member of the North West Mounted Police. At the time of Connor's writing, there existed a legend that a single member of the force could control thousands of plains warriors. Connor assumes that under "normal" circumstances, this type of power was a reality. Nevertheless, the people, under the abnormal influence of the shaman, are a cohesive force for evil. Thus Cameron cannot walk into the camp to arrest the Sioux chief, "to put a stop to their savage nonsense and order them back to their reserve with never a thought of anything but obedience on their part." (p. 193) Connor's solution to the threat of the shaman is to isolate him from the people. The single Sioux is ambushed by the N.W. M.P. and defeated by the righteous fists of Corporal Cameron. The force acts in the name of God and are His tools of justice. But far more interesting is the ritualistic manner in which the warrior hero destroys the false prophets.³⁶

It is the archetype of the casting out of Satan by the archangels that reoccurs in these final battle scenes between the hero and the Indian villain. Hubert Footner

³⁶Footner also uses this ritualistic destruction in The Fur Bringers. Gordon Strange falls in this manner as does Ascota in Jack Chanty.

provides one of the more graphic descriptions of the scene of the final act when his hero Jack Chanty faces the evil Jean Paul Ascota on the Canadian mountain: "On the side of the river, the rock they were on ran up and ended in a row of jagged points like the jaw of a steel trap, [or the jaws of hell] overhanging a well nigh bottomless void." (p. 307)

From this height Jean Paul acts out his fate and the hero cuts his epitaph on the mountain, which Footner has named Mount Darwin.

Clive Phillips-Wolley provides a shaman battle that is distinctly different from all the others mentioned in this chapter. In the others, there is a confrontation of sides; on one the Indian and Satan, and on the other the Canadians, and God. The results of this battle were always a foregone conclusion, for all these novels in which the shaman battle took place are novels written to affirm the status quo. They are in fact forms of political-religious propaganda. The conflict in The Chicamon Stone, however, is between two shamans who represent ancient peoples, the Celts and the Indians; they represent a barbaric state of man which must pass before the coming of colonial European expansion--an expansion defended on the basis of social Darwinism. The ironic tone of the novel nevertheless raises a question about the manifest "right" of the process of social Darwinistic progress.

To go back a little, both Clive Phillips-Wolley's

first books on Canada, Snap and Gold, Gold in the Caribou, are novels of affirmation. In them there is the same moral struggle of the colonial peoples to take and hold the land. In these novels, Clive Phillips-Wolley puts forth the idea that colonial expansion was controlled by reason and humanitarian foresight. This feeling is definitely not present in The Chicamon Stone; nor is it an appeal for a sympathetic view of the Indians as a race. Phillips-Wolley's ironic view includes the Indian in the same human situation as the white. To do this, he separates the Indians as a people from nature; they are also alienated by human characteristics from harmony with the forces that surround them. As intruders, they are subjected to destructive forces they cannot control. In his total acceptance of the Indian as a normal human being in this novel, Clive Phillips-Wolley further sets himself apart from the general philosophy of the period.

As aliens in the land, both white and Indian must struggle with the physical and psychological powers of nature. The difference between most Indians and most whites is that the Indians are better survivors, for they have been there longer, and have learned something. Such learning ability, however, has nothing to do with race.

Phillips-Wolley portrays the nature of the west coast of Canada as a great slope running irregularly from the primeval sea at the land's edge to the golden ridge at the roof of the world. At one level of this multi-levelled

novel, movement from sea to mountain top can be viewed as a social Darwinistic representation of the evolution of man. Because there are various levels of consciousness in this work, it far excels in artistry the majority of the novels of the period which rely on a readily discernible plot line to carry their subtle and not-so-subtle propaganda.

The two shamans in the world of the novel are Siyah Joe, an Indian, and Sandy Bill, a Scot. The narrator is an Anglo-Canadian. It is through the eyes of the narrator that the reader sees the shaman battle. The narration is ironic for the reader constantly sees what the narrator, from his bias, cannot.

The novel begins with a beautiful description of the domination of the land by the sea. The location is the Pacific port of Wrangel: "Today the sea knocks at the door of its houses, which, being waterlogged, lean heavily away from their foundations, whilst a green moss creeps over everything, and in the square . . . stands a huge wooden saurian, put there, men say, as a totem by the Indians; crawled there, I think, as the forerunner of the beasts of the deep which are to come and possess the place tomorrow." (p. 2) As he moves through this world, the narrator is asked by a sea captain: "'Doesn't it strike you that the world looks a bit younger here, more uniform and void than elsewhere?'" (p. 20) It is in this world of the sea that the

narrator first encounters Sandy Bill. In contrast Bill's adversary Siyah Joe is of the Stikene Mountains.³⁷

Sandy Bill is described as a "squat red-headed fellow with a furtive blue eye". (p. 4) This description fits the stereotype of the Pictish Celt, a stereotype which finds its European beginning in the Roman descriptions of colonization of the British Isles. While the use of the blue eyes in the villain rather than the hero is a reversal of the Canadian literary tradition, its use here conforms to the ancient sign of supernatural power. These blue eyes of Sandy Bill are important in proving his role as shape changer. At one time in the novel, the narrator looks him full in the face and does not recognize him. Completely at home in the world of the sea, it is probable that Sandy Bill's power comes from the realm of Llyr.³⁸

³⁷ It is interesting to note that all the major geographic locations used by Phillips-Wolley in his novel are actual locations in north western British Columbia.

³⁸ Llyr, the Celtic god of the sea, was of the Tuatha de Danane. These gods are considered by many to be the historical colonizers of Ireland. If this was known by Clive Phillips-Wolley, and by his use of Celtic material it is highly probable, there are further implications at work; for Sandy Bill as a colonizer attacks Siyah Joe as the Tuatha de Danane attacked the Irish aborigines. In the novel, as in Ireland, when the battlers exhausted themselves, the Englishmen took the land.

In the initial stages of the development of the novel, Siyah Joe is not a shaman, but he has characteristics which set him apart from the ordinary. He is alone amongst his tribesmen, having neither kinsmen nor influential friend in his tribal society. As an individual, Siyah Joe is not committed to the superstitious fears of his people; therefore he hunts in the land of Tahltan, the forbidden land of the devil's stone. It is here that he discovers the golden ridge at the roof of the world. Thus the highest point of man's evolutionary travel is also the location of economic wealth for those who arrive. This region is recognized by the mountain people as an area of evil to be avoided. When Siyah Joe moves into this area, he is called a witch by the tribal rulers and witch hunters are sent out to destroy him. Driven before the witch hunters, Siyah Joe flees down the mountain to the sea.

At the level of the sea, the European colonialist discovers that Joe knows the location of the golden ridge at the roof of the world, for he has brought out a sample. But he will not reveal its location, because he fears that "the miners [would] spoil the tribal hunting grounds."

(p. 22)³⁹ Ironically, although he has attempted to save them, he is driven off the mountain by his fellow tribesmen. His tribesmen are as blind to reality as the narrator who grabs and runs. Once upon the edge of the sea, Siyah Joe is caught between the destructive impulses of Indian and European.

Clive Phillips-Wolley divides the Europeans of the novel into two groups: the aggressive seekers of wealth, led by Sandy Bill, and the passive attainers of wealth, led by the narrator. The passive attainer of wealth is the representative of the British Empire who, like the white hero of Red Cloud, need only be English, and there to gain an Empire by divine destiny. The gift will be given to him out of the hand of the aboriginal man.

It is at the level of the sea that Siyah Joe joins forces with the narrator and promises to show him the mother of gold. It is their intention to move up the slope again; however, nature in the form of the winter season traps them in the lowlands.

³⁹ It would be tempting at this point to state that Clive Phillips-Wolley was a conservationist years before it became part of popular Canadian thought. In fact, this is probably not far from wrong, for Phillips-Wolley was in the hydraulic mining areas of the gold fields and had seen the destruction to the land wrought by this method of mining. Along with the denuding of the mountain slopes for shaft timbers, mining fits in with the view of the grab-and-run tactics of the imperialist narrator.

In these lowlands washed by primordial seas, life is held in little regard, blood is spilled to maintain traditions whose roots are lost beyond the memory of time. Ironically the blood debt is the prime mode of justice; so there exists a constant circle of blood.

The Kula Kullah are lowlanders. In The Chicamon Stone they attack fellow lowlanders the Tshimsians. They spill the blood of the Tshimsians that they have captured in the ritual called the Potlatch. Siyah Joe is a kinsman of the Tshimsians, and although a mountain man, is drawn into the circle of blood. It was important to Phillips-Wolley that the reader understand that fate, not will, was the prime mover of all the characters of the novel. It is for this reason that he takes specific pains to describe the events that lead Siyah Joe to become a shaman.

Clive Phillips-Wolley portrays Siyah Joe as being totally in the hands of fate by showing Joe dreaming of his fate. When he awakes, Joe tells the narrator: "'Joe's Koutsmah wake. Joe see the head there very plain, and he know the the [sic] face; only now Joe forget', and he pressed his hand to his forehead." (p. 169) By a constant use of the "head" symbol, the author shows an ironic reference to the lack of free will on the part of his characters.

Upon their destruction of the Tshimsians, the Kula Kullahs are aware of the next step in the unending pattern": "none of the Kula Kullahs slept much. Vengeance follows

murder; and these men knew, by instinct as well as by experience, that the slow feet had begun already to travel their way." (p. 146)

After the raid, the Kula Kullah had placed the heads of their victims upon stakes facing out to the sea. During the inevitable counter-raid by the Tshimsians, the Kula Kullah chief stands among the heads and fights the Tshimsian warriors to a standstill. It is then that Siyah Joe acts; he attacks the chief single-handedly. The chief is stronger, however, and is about to kill Siyah Joe: "and then the wind changed, and, swinging as a vane swings, the ghastly heads of Orrah turned slowly round, and their dead eyes looked down on the Kula Kullah's face. My friends say that of course the great brute burst a blood vessel in his struggles, or died, as such men will, in a fit. So be it, but let me believe as the men of Orrah believe--and that is not their belief." (pp. 180-181)

After the counter-raid, Siyah Joe and the narrator become aware of strangers among the Tshimsian. These all claim to be witch hunters from Siyah Joe's tribe, but Siyah Joe recognizes only two of the three as fellow tribesmen. The third is "an Indian, much bent and swathed in blankets." (p. 131) Siyah Joe senses who this third man is, but the narrator does not recognize the shape changer Sandy Bill.

In an ensuing trial instigated by Sandy Bill, Tatooch the witch hunter blinds Siyah Joe. Then, having been given

the information he needs by the witch hunter, Sandy Bill spares the lives of Siyah Joe and the narrator and begins the long journey to the roof of the world.

Following the departure of Sandy Bill, Phillips-Wolley provides a graphic portrayal of the psychological and mystical process by which an individual commits himself to the role of shaman. As I stated earlier, Siyah Joe until this point in the novel was not a shaman. At this point he becomes a shaman, not primarily to take revenge, but to play out his role in the blood cycle as revealed to him in his dream; by doing so, he seeks to gain death. To obtain this end, he obtains the primordial power of the shaman at its most vital source, the sea. It is there that the narrator finds him, "sitting, where at high water the sea almost wet his feet--a rock upon a rock--as rigid, as dumb, and as storm-scarred as the stones amongst which he sate [sic]; and here he remained for the rest of our stay upon the island." (p. 198) When he has passed through the initial state, he achieves the power and he tells the narrator: "'Bill wait for Joe at the Chicamon Stone.'" (p. 269)

Now both shamans race for the roof of the world. Sandy Bill must use all his power to survive the hellish mountain world caught in the death-throes of winter. There he is seen by the narrator struggling against the ice and water during the break-up of a river; ". . . and in the

middle of the tumult, springing wildly from cake to cake, was a lonely figure. If it had been the devil the little floes could not have treated him worse: as he touched them they dissolved beneath his feet. . . . but he would not drown, and when I last saw him, he was still setting his puny strength against the raving wind and the grinding treacherous ice." (p. 266)

When Siyah Joe reaches the ridge at the top of the world he discovers that Sandy Bill has not reached the ridge and he must conjure him there. The narrator sees and hears him at work, and describes the process in the following manner: "Whilst we tried to sleep he would sit blindly staring into space and talking to the man he was to meet. Over and over again I caught the same words, until it seemed to me as if he were rehearsing a part of a play". (p. 283) At last Siyah Joe succeeds in the conjuring and the time of battle has come. "'The snows move and the new moon has come,' said the blind savage, as if he had seen it. 'Joe goes now. The white medicine-man waits for him,' and without another word he picked up a great stake and went out into the night." (p. 285)

While the blind Indian searches through the night for his adversary, the whites crouch in a gully, unnerved by the vivid contrast of the calm moonlit sky and the terrifying thunders of the spring avalanches. They are afraid of what the narrator calls "one of Nature's carnivals". (p. 285)

When the terror of the night passes, the whites go out onto the ridge. There the narrator discovers Siyah Joe talking to what at first appears to be a boulder lying in the snow, then a bodyless head. It is the head of the shaman Sandy Bill trapped to his neck in the snow;⁴⁰ it is the head of Siyah Joe's dream. As the narrator approaches, Sandy Bill is trying to beguile Joe in an attempt to save his life:

'Give me life! For God's sake give me my life.'
 It almost seemed as if the cry came from the little black boulder in the snows.
 'Tkve, Tkve, Life. It is the cry that the Ahts make on the shore in the night. But life is not good for the blind. Can the medicine man give back the sight he took away?'
 'I can; so help me God, I can.'
 It was the boulder that spoke.
 'White man's word Bill.'
 'White man's word Joe.'
 The Indian laughed again

(p. 289)

Before Joe can strike, an avalanche carries both to their doom.

With Bill and Joe gone, the golden ridge of the

⁴⁰The head symbol also links Sandy Bill to Bran, one of the Children of Llyr who was also beheaded. Sandy Bill, like this Celtic god, also bridged a torrent and finally Sandy Bill is portrayed as a disciple of Satan. Bran was made monarch of the infernal region.

Chicamon Stone is revealed to the narrator, and he says:
 "I was standing upon the price of men's lives--almost the only god that men worship nowadays--the ugly, gleaming metal for which men will give up the spring sunshine, and all that makes life worth living. . . . We had, without seeking it at the last, staked Siyah Joe's reef." (p. 294)

It has become clear that in his use of the shaman battle, Clive Phillips-Wolley has departed from the usual approach of that period's Canadian novelist, which tended to affirm the righteousness of the garden. Here there is no winner. Good has not triumphed over evil. Here the protagonist does not create a garden. He abandons the land after mining the gold.

Having taken out the mother of gold, he converts it into the Consuls, the heart and soul of imperial colonialism.⁴¹ Then he is able to say: "anyone who mentions mining or business is shown to the door by my servant with surprising alacrity, and I am able to dwell outside the roar of London, and live the country life which dear Mother Nature meant for her children, in sober quiet." (p. 295)

⁴¹The Consuls was a type of public investment pool--the funds being used by the British Government to back corporations generally in the colonies. Initially it was a high-risk investment. However, with the establishment of the Empire, it became a guaranteed return.

In all this, there is no criticism. In its brave attempt at impartiality, the novel stands alone among the novels of the period. The departure of this work from the acceptable form of the majority of Canadian novels of this period adds to its artistic merit. It is the novel's artistic merit which brought me to pay so much attention to The Chicamon Stone. The bias the book contains is the bias of the narrator. We the readers are expected now, as then, to see beyond the narrator's jaundiced eye. Any impulse to rationalize the colonization of the land is destroyed in the irony of the novel's conclusion. Nor does the author offer an answer. This was not a popular book in its day. Today it is a difficult book to find.

In their approach to the use of shamanistic powers in the portrayal of their Indian characters, Canadian authors of the period fall into two major categories, with the usual exceptions to the rule. The categories are: those who provide their shaman with actual supernatural power which they attribute to the negative forces of their own pantheon. These authors include Connor with the Sioux chief, and Adam and Wetherald with Wanda. The second group leave open the possibility of mystic power being derived from other than satanic sources. However, the option of self-delusion or deception by trickery is usually clearly indicated. Authors

in this group are McDougall and Carleton.

The exceptions are Lighthall and Phillips-Wolley. To Lighthall all shamanistic attributes are traceable to the ability to understand the will of the super-personality. Clive Phillips-Wolley's portrayal of shamanistic powers comes from an understanding of the ancient Celtic myths and an excellent understanding of the psychology of the west coast natives.

CHAPTER IV

THE TRANSFER OF LAND

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Upon the completion of the military conquest of the land and the affirmation in the minds of Canadians of their right to the land, there remained a sense of loss, a need for atonement. A number of Canadian authors of the period created a way by which atonement could be achieved without material loss. The way was to emphasize the nostalgic view of the vanishing Indian. Americans had been doing the same thing by writing many novels and plays incorporating the title "Last of the . . . ". One of the techniques by which Canadian authors of the period created the sense of nostalgia was through Indian oratory. Usually it is in the speech of a headman, and always it is with the sense that he represented his people. In this "speech" the Indian recalls his "natural" state before the coming of the white man. Red Cloud describes the Indian within nature in the following manner: "while yet the forest and the plains were his home he knew all these things better than did the birds or beasts; he knew when the storm was coming; the day and the night were alike to him when he travelled his path" (p. 165)

During such "speeches" the orator generally describes

the way it was before the white man with the implication that the Indians were conquered by a superior race. The Indian who makes the "speech" never demands rights; rather the speech is a plea for charity for his people. The "speech" presents the image of the supplicating Indian so often portrayed kneeling before the Columbuses, Champlains, and other various pilgrims with their flags and crosses.⁴²

In The Blood Lilies, W. A. Fraser provides one of the best examples of the ritual speech:

There was something fearfully tragic in Wolf Runner's rhetoric as his own words lashed him to articulate fury. Slowly enough he began to speak. 'Once my people, the Wood Cree, were a mighty tribe, to be a Cree was to be a chief. . . . My people were as the leaves of the forest, they were as the grass of the plain and our children were as the yellow star-flowers that greet the eye everywhere. The prairie thronged with buffalo, and the buffalo were sweet eating, and made us strong, and we were happy; But the Palefaces came among us, and what is my tribe now-- what are the Crees? The Palefaces took our lands, and our horses, and our women, and the braves of my tribe are as squaws, and work as squaws. And even now they are lean fed like famished wolves, and our women are unchaste as the white women (pp. 241-42)

⁴²Examples of this "speech" can be found in An Algonquin Maiden (p. 47), The Translation of a Savage (p. 146), and The White Chief of the Ottawa (p. 13), among others.

While the mouth is Indian, the sentiments are always those of the author and his society. In Fraser's case, it is a plea that white segregate Indian from the cause of his problems for the sake of Christian charity. Thus the Indian could salve the nagging conscience of the white by submitting to the nostalgia and accepting the coppers of charity-- coppers which were to maintain institutions and associations for the "betterment of native peoples".

The pioneer capitalist, the rugged individualist driving his blade of progress through the wilderness, however, has never had to worry about these moral or philosophical problems. His rights were legal. They had been purchased and were iron bound and wax sealed. Philemon Wright is such a stalwart; Bertha Carr-Harris' novel The White Chief of the Ottawa is a testimonial to his success in becoming one of the first of the Ottawa Valley barons.

When Wright first arrives in the valley, he is confronted by the chief of the indigenous Indians, who inquires of his intent. Wright informs the Indian that: "'the great father who lives on the other side of the water and Sir John Johnson of Quebec, have authorized us to take this land. . . ." (p. 9) However, Wright is a just man who knows law, and he tells the interpreter: "'We shall pay them thirty pounds if they will produce a deed or title to the lands.'" (p. 10)

While Wright's economic orientation to the Canadian

reality gave him a simplistic view of Canada's future (which he felt was safe in his hands), not all Canadians could be satisfied with this. What these people needed was a psychological transfer of the land from the vanishing species to their hands before the last real Indian was gone. Some found comfort in the North American continuity of a European-based origin myth. By integrating the geographic reality of Canada into the popular history of a European nation--England in particular--the Canadian author might be able to reduce the impact of the Indian upon the manifest destiny of the British Empire. This is the intention of the work in the vision of Fernwylde in My Lady of the Snows.

through break in foliage, the gleam of tomahawk, the fleet of moccassin, the white spirit of Manitou, the blackrobed priest and grey-robed nun fleeing before the coming of civilization, as Tannhauser, the doomed knight had fled through the gloom and snow; and then back, further back, were the indefinite groups and forms of many banded bands, wild, indistinct, undisciplined as they had been before the coming of Arthur, and then a clearer vision of something that had been, of something with the form of Camelot. (pp. 150-151)

The implication of the vision is to simplify the impact of the Indian in Canadian history to a memory already losing its clarity.

Lighthall also uses the mythic possibilities of the continuity motif in The Master of Life. He provides his

Indian villagers with many Greek characteristics.⁴³ These are Spartan rather than Athenian in philosophy. An example is the role of the Hochelagan woman as explained by one of them: "'We women incited them to go, and if any held back we offered out pots to boil, the gathering of wood, the hoe, and a woman's skirt--thus we told our scorn. . . .'" (p. 48)

Lighthall, unlike the author of My Lady of the Snows, provides an explanation of the land transfer; however, it does not involve the Indian as owner of the land in any way. Lighthall makes it clear that the Indians of the League were actually a protection designed by the outer consciousness for the benefit of the continuity of the evolution of the English. As Lighthall puts it: "the League was the bulwark which protected [the British] during years of weakness and prepared the way for the spread of British principles in North America." (p. 121)

While all the foregoing novels have approached the subject of land transfer as part of their use of the Indian as subject matter, Butler's Red Cloud is totally committed to the ritualistic transferal of the land. In this novel,

⁴³This is not new. Thomas Morton and Roger Williams were occupied with this in seventeenth-century New England.

the narrator is an Anglo-scot. The hero and his domesticated Celtic lackey travel to North America and proceed via the American frontier to the high plains of the "North West Territories" of Canada. It is upon the frontier that they meet Red Cloud. It is he who declares the heir apparent to be in a proper state of readiness: "'You are the first white man I have ever met who came out to this land of ours with the right spirit. You do not come to make money out of us Indians: you do not come to sell or to buy, to cheat and to lie to us. White men think there is but one work in life, to get money in life, to get money. . . . If you like,' he went on, 'to learn the life of the prairie, I will teach it to you.'" (pp. 39-40)

The hero soon learns to survive the nature of the land. Two major obstacles must be removed, however, in order that the inheritance can come about. The first obstacle is the tribesmen. Butler portrays the tribesmen as ignorant herds of dangerous creatures. This first obstacle is overcome by a confederacy of individuals under the leadership of Red Cloud. The confederacy consists of Red Cloud, the hero, the Celt lackey, a Cree, an Assiniboine, and an Iroquois. Of this confederacy, Red Cloud tells the Iroquois: "'We are now, . . . quite independent of everyone. We have here supplies which will last us for the entire winter and far into the next year. . . . If you decide to join us, even for a while, you will live as we do.'" (p. 141) There is

probably a parallel between this confederacy and the tribesmen on the one hand and the confederation of Canada and the union of the United States of America on the other. Butler viewed Republicans as a mass without individuality. Only in the natural stratification of the Empire could one truly know who one was. The second obstacle to the inheritance was the false claim of the free fur traders. The free traders are represented in the novel by McDermot, the Red River fur merchant. He is the monopolist's nightmare, for he trades without the Crown's blessing. But his greatest crime is his desire to have the Indian retain title to the land and trap the furs for his trade.

When the hero has overcome the obstacles in his quest, the final ritual can be performed. Red Cloud takes the hero into the reaches of the mountains to a mystic dale called the Golden Valley. There Red Cloud reveals to the hero a mother of gold quite similar to the Chicamon stone and tells him: "'A white man without that yellow stone is like an Indian who has no buffalo. Take it, my friend.'" (p. 370) The hero's reaction to this gift is based on that philosophy now called "the white man's burden". He enunciates: "And yet I was not elated at the sudden change in my fortunes. I saw that the end of my wild life had come. I saw the future, with its smoke of cities, its crowds chained to the great machine called civilization, pulling slowly along the well-beaten road." (p. 321)

There are obvious similarities between the final scene of Red Cloud and that of The Chicamon Stone. Here, however, the tone is far from ironic.

Finally, the last gesture is made by Red Cloud as with his own hand, he packs the gold for the hero. The Indian reaches the height of mystic destiny in Canadian culture in the conclusion of the novel. In a total invocation of the nostalgic myth of the vanishing Indian, Butler integrates the Indian with nature in the memory of the white race. The hero says of Red Cloud, "'I think of you!, . . . 'Yes, that I will. Whenever the wind stirs the tree-branches or rustles the reeds and meadows--wherever the sun goes down over distance of sea or land--in the moonlight of nights, in the snows of long winters, you will be near me still.'" (p. 327)

When the Indian at last relinquishes his demonic right to the land, he is immediately released from the grip of the powers of Satan. He can now be nostalgically identified with the garden. His memory recalls nature before it became the dominion of the fallen angel. By becoming its history, he now becomes Canadian.

CONCLUSION

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Lionel Stevenson has stated that: "Since Richardson's time the Indian's role in Canadian fiction has been a minor one. Apparently the dramatic elements, which we have found effectively used in poetry, have not appealed to anyone as valuable for the more sustained effort of a novel."⁴⁴ The problem with Stevenson's statement is that it is not specific.

If his judgment is based on percentages, then he is right. The number of novels using Indians compared to the number written is small. In the period from 1860 to 1918, however, at least eight deal with the Indian in major roles. They are: The Master of Life, An Algonquin Maiden, The Translation of a Savage, The Blood Lilies, The Isle of Massacre, Wa-pee-moos-tooch, or White Buffalo, The Forest Lily, and The Chicamon Stone. There are at least eight more in which the Indian is antagonist, and five more in which the Indian's role of wild man of the wilderness is imperative to the plot. An example of this

⁴⁴Lionel Stevenson, Appraisals of Canadian Literature (Toronto: Macmillan, 1926), p. 183.

last type is Love in Manitoba.

While the number remains small when compared to the total, the extensive use of the Indian as subject matter in the works of Parker, Kirby, Service, Lighthall, Roberts, Fraser and Connor, (all considered to be major Canadian writers of their day), would seem to indicate that the term minor is undesirable in reference to the role played by the Indian in the literature of the period.

The position which the Indian held in the Canadian world view made it impossible for him to play a role within the society of the garrison, and he was therefore restricted in the positions he could hold in a novel. With the exception of Parker's The Translation of a Savage, the Indian was not found as a major character in society novels or novels of manners so prevalent during the period covered by this study.

When the subject of man against nature in the Canadian existence arose in a novel, however, the Indian was usually introduced. The importance of the role he played might be only as background colour or as an embodiment of the antagonistic wilderness.

While not all the titles of that period, or of any period of Canadian literature are readily available, (some copies exist only in the Library of Congress, and one or two have disappeared from public depository), with perseverance they can generally be found. The problem seems to lie in the

lack of bibliographical categorization. For example, very few appear in the chapter entitled "The Indians in Literature" in Rhondenzer's text Canadian Literature in English, which is an accepted major source for studies of Canadian literature.

Two critical views that were available on the subject were the works of Doug Leechman and Hirano Keiichi. In his work for a master's and Ph. D. in Ottawa, part of which was edited for Queen's Quarterly in 1943, Leechman points out quite accurately the anthropological errors created by European colonialism in its literature. However, in its general terms of reference, it does not mention a single Canadian novel--adding, I am afraid, to the Canadian myth of "our" Indians being better treated even in literature.

In 1962, Hirano Keiichi compared the Canadian Indian to the Ainu of Japan, then wrote them off as having nothing to contribute to Canadian literature. These were the major contributions to the critical journals for a number of years. To some extent, in general terms, there has been more interest in the last five years or so (an example being Dorothy Livesay's "The Native People in Canadian Literature," published in 1971 in The English Quarterly.)

By utilizing the Reading for Thesis Course provided by the English Department, I was able to check every Canadian novel published during the period 1860-1918 that was available

through the Elizabeth Dafoe Library. Much credit must be given to the reference and inter-library loan staff of the library for their excellent help in tracking down and obtaining some of the rare items.

As I read the novels that contained Indian characters, I discovered that certain themes began to emerge--themes such as the "garden" and the "transfer of land". Stereotypes such as the "Riel villain" appeared repeatedly. When these concepts had established themselves, I then sought out the best examples to portray them in the present paper. In this way the paper is the product of the reading course, rather than the reading being research for the arguments of the thesis.

In this way, I have gone back to the authors' works to write a primary source paper. It is a reintroduction to the novels of this period in the development of Canadian literature.

The extent to which the Indian was used in these novels would appear to indicate that a more extensive study of the part they play in the Canadian novel should be carried out. There is a clear indication that they have been used often enough to enable a closer study of the relevance of their role in the development of Canadian literature.

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