

MAPPING THE NATION

Exploration and the English-Canadian Literary Imagination

by

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Abstract

Focusing on the texts of James Cook, Samuel Hearne, Alexander Mackenzie, Archibald Menzies, David Thompson, and George Vancouver, *Mapping the Nation: Exploration and the English-Canadian Literary Imagination* argues that exploration writing is a subgenre of travel writing defined by its empirical perspective and function. Incorporated into the English-Canadian literary canon while being disparaged for its lack of literary qualities, exploration writing is used by English-Canadian literary histories, encyclopaedias, and companions to prove an environmentally deterministic developmental thesis of the national literature. The developmental thesis permeates anthologies that offer excerpts of exploration writing and discussions that pertain to the influence of exploration writing on later English-Canadian literature that returns to it. Returning to exploration writing addressing land exploration are Farley Mowat's *People of the Deer* (1952), John Newlove's "The Pride" (1965) and "Samuel Hearne in Wintertime" (1966), Don Gutteridge's *The Quest for North: Coppermine* (1973), Marion R. Smith's *Koo-Koo-Sint: David Thompson in Western Canada* (1976), and Brian Fawcett's "The Secret Journal of Alexander Mackenzie" (1985). Returning to exploration writing addressing oceanic exploration are Earle Birney's "Pacific Door" (1947), *Damnation of Vancouver* (1952), and "Captain Cook" (1961); P. K. Page's "Cook's Mountains" (1967); George Bowering's *George, Vancouver: A Discovery Poem* (1970); Gutteridge's *Borderlands* (1975), and George Bowering's *Burning Water* (1980), Audrey Thomas's "The Man with the Clam Eyes" (1982) and *Intertidal Life* (1984). Each text represents an individual interpretation of exploration writing that operates through genre and forms of return such as allusion, imitation, paraphrase, and quotation.

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Chapter 1

Departure

An exegesis in the name of exigency I offer as a point of departure. On the back of the one-hundred-dollar bank note issued first in “2004” as part of the “*Canadian Journey* series” (“Bank Note”), the Canadian economic imagination has much to say about exploration. If one follows the note’s design from bottom left to top right, one first sees a quotation from Miriam Waddington’s “Jacques Cartier in Toronto” (“The Poem”): “[d]o we ever remember that somewhere above the sky in some child’s dream perhaps Jacques Cartier is still sailing, always on his way always about to discover a new Canada?” Deferring discovery so that exploration is infinitely sustained, the quotation and its translation are positioned below the top left “100” indicating the bank note’s amount: the stuff of dreams indeed. Waddington’s rhetorical question heads a reproduction of Samuel de “Champlain’s map of New France” (1632) (“Library and Archives”). Travelling outward from the map’s lower left corner is an “explorer” (“Explorer Canoe”) canoe; in the lower right corner, over top of and exceeding the map, is a draftsman’s or geometer’s compass, the travelling foot of which points to the right and to the realisation of canoe, compass, and early map: a current map of Canadian territory, courtesy of “Natural Resources Canada” (“New \$100”). The map blossoms from lines of latitude and longitude and is framed, in the upper left, by the “RADARSAT-1,” “an advanced Earth observation satellite that was developed by the Canadian Space Agency to monitor environmental change” (“RADARSAT-1”), and, in the lower right, by an earth receptor dish. The Bank of Canada explains the design as follows: “[a]t the suggestion of Dr. Marc Garneau, President of the Canadian Space

Agency and Canada's first astronaut, the new theme on the back of the bank note celebrates innovation and exploration through mapping" ("New \$100"). Because the celebration is also a historical narration that takes a moment of exploration and transforms it into a certain present, if I take a point from this one-hundred-dollar note at all, it is this: it is always possible "to discover a new Canada." Of course, Canada, like every other nation, was not discovered but imagined.

Following Benedict Anderson's definition of nation as "an imagined political community" (6), *Mapping the Nation: Exploration and the English-Canadian Literary Imagination* studies the ways in which exploration writing is written into the English-Canadian literary canon, often as part of a process of imagining Canada. There are a number of qualifiers in this study—not the least of which is the just-mentioned "often"—for there are neither convenient generalisations nor easy divisions where exploration writing and the English-Canadian literary canon are concerned. Because of the number of qualifiers shaping this study, I have resorted to metaphor. "Departure" here offers my rationale, and so that my framing device encloses and my study has closure, "Return" ends my study-journey with some conclusions.

Not only is the study restricted to the *English-Canadian* literary canon but also focused upon British exploration writing—although French exploration writing (whether in French or in translation) is also part of the English-Canadian canon, as Waddington's poem suggests. When I say *the* English-Canadian literary imagination I do not use the definite article to indicate that there is but one imagination shared amongst Canadians writing in English, nor do I mean to distinguish a particular type of imagination as literary. I mean *the* imagination in an abstracted rather than universalised sense, for

expressions of the imagination might be as diverse as the plural imaginations *ad infinitum*. The abstracted imagination is here literary because it concerns exploration writing and produces the English-Canadian literary canon.

While the *Imagination* and *Nation* of my title acknowledge my debt to Anderson, the *Literary* of my title serves a two-fold function, for not only am I interested in exploration writing as an English-Canadian canonical phenomenon, but I am also interested in expanding the boundaries of what is conceived of as literature by defending exploration writing as such. The impetus for my defence is that a great deal of English-Canadian scholarship misunderstands exploration writing; my defence itself, however, takes me beyond the borders of Canada. Offering a context in which the remainder of the study operates, “A Beginning” is a theoretical and historical recuperation of British exploration writing that sees it as a subgenre of travel writing distinguished by its empirical perspective and function.

“On Origins” turns to Canada and addresses how English-Canadian literary histories, encyclopaedias, and companions misinterpret the empirical perspective and function of exploration writing. They misinterpret in order to remove exploration writing from its literary origins and traditions in order to prove an environmentally deterministic developmental thesis of English-Canadian literature. This thesis paradoxically bestows upon exploration writing a simultaneously canonical and non- or anti-canonical status by positioning it as the non-literary origin of English-Canadian literature. At stake in this positioning are understandings of what defines the nation in time and space.

“Origin Unknown” further addresses the canon-making process by examining anthologies of English-Canadian literature that offer selections of exploration writing.

Because, typically, readers come to selections with no knowledge of their original context, I view both the critical apparatus and the excerpt or excerpts included in the selections as interpretations of exploration writing. Sometimes defined by the developmental thesis of English-Canadian literature, sometimes by narratives of Canadian history, selections, nonetheless, offer a range of interpretations. Exploration writing is seen to have a mimetic function: it affords a view of the past, a geographical prospect, a glimpse of indigenous peoples. Conversely, it is associated with a central literary genre: it becomes an epic, an adventure story, a gothic fiction.

“O, Printed Muse!” examines how scholarship that addresses the relationship between exploration writing and later English-Canadian literature that returns to exploration writing is determined by the developmental thesis of English-Canadian literature and invested in finding a national ethos expressed in exploration writing. Because this scholarship supposes exploration writing to be either historical document or history, it overlooks the meaning of individual texts of exploration writing in favour of making generalisations about exploration writing as a whole. Against this generalising tendency, I establish the context in which my own interpretations of English-Canadian literary texts that return to exploration writing operate. The context is for the three chapters that follow. Beginning with the idea that repetition establishes relationships between literary texts, I argue that meaning between texts of British exploration writing and later English-Canadian literature that returns to it is produced through allusion, imitation, paraphrase, and quotation.

While I address the literary histories, encyclopaedias, and companions comprehensively, the matter of producing readings of the excerpts from the anthologies

and the texts of English-Canadian literature that return to exploration writing necessitated some limitation. I chose to limit my analysis to excerpts and literature addressing exploration writing dealing with exploration beginning in the late eighteenth century: more particularly the texts of James Cook, Samuel Hearne, Alexander Mackenzie, Archibald Menzies, David Thompson, and George Vancouver. I chose texts addressing exploration beginning in the late eighteenth century both because these are the texts most often addressed in literary histories, encyclopaedias, companions, and anthologies, and because these form the largest grouping besides those produced out of the more recent interest in early-nineteenth century Arctic exploration. Limited although my study is, it is by no means comprehensive.

In choosing the late eighteenth century, I not only limited the English-Canadian literature that I addressed but also affected the emphasis of “A Beginning.” Because “A Beginning” serves as a context in which the chapters that follow it operate, when I discuss exploration writing conceptually and historically, I focus on exploration writing of the late eighteenth century and discuss Cook’s, Hearne’s, Mackenzie’s, and Vancouver’s texts in some detail. Because neither Thompson’s nor Menzies’s text was printed during its period, however, I had to consider at what point I might address details of each. As a result, Thompson’s appears in “On Origins” and Menzies’s in “By Sea.”

Taking the perspective that texts of English-Canadian literature that return to exploration writing represent individual interpretive gestures, I produce readings of selected texts by defining them generically and tracing moments of repetition to their exploration writing origins. “By Land” addresses the following texts that return to exploration writing addressing land exploration: Farley Mowat’s long prose work *People*

of the Deer (1952), John Newlove's poems "The Pride" (1965) and "Samuel Hearne in Wintertime" (1966), Don Gutteridge's long poem *The Quest for North: Coppermine* (1973), Marion R. Smith's long poem *Koo-Koo-Sint: David Thompson in Western Canada* (1976), and Brian Fawcett's short story "The Secret Journal of Alexander Mackenzie" (1985). "By Sea" addresses the following texts that return to exploration writing addressing exploration by sea: Earle Birney's poem "Pacific Door" (1947), drama *Damnation of Vancouver* (1952), and poem "Captain Cook" (1961); P. K. Page's poem "Cook's Mountains" (1967); George Bowering's long poem *George, Vancouver: A Discovery Poem* (1970); Gutteridge's long poem *Borderlands* (1975), and Audrey Thomas's short story "The Man with the Clam Eyes" (1982) and long prose work *Intertidal Life* (1984). Disrupting my otherwise chronological approach, "Naval Gazing" is an extended study of George Bowering's historical novel *Burning Water* (1980), which returns to exploration writing that addresses oceanic exploration. This disruption was necessary not simply because of the quantity of scholarly work addressing the novel but because the work is ostensibly interested in what Bowering does with exploration writing but is actually largely interested in theorising about what Bowering does with history. The difference between the ostensible and actual interest points to a perceptual problem regarding exploration writing that is not unlike that of the developmental thesis of English-Canadian literature.

Although Anderson's influence is writ large across my title, Edward Said's influence is no less important because less obvious. His influence pertains to the *Mapping* of my title, for cartographic endeavours are often part of an imperial enterprise. I have, therefore, tried to bear in mind Said's remark that "most of us should now regard

the historical experience of empire as a common one” and observe his dictum: “[t]he task then is to describe it as pertaining to Indians *and* Britishers, Algerians *and* French, Westerners *and* Africans, Asians, Latin Americans, and Australians despite the horrors, the bloodshed, and the vengeful bitterness” (xxiv). Thus, although I address British exploration writing, I have tried to be mindful of the representation of Aboriginal Peoples or persons in all of the texts that discuss, excerpt, or return to exploration writing.

Chapter 2

A Beginning

Although exploration writing is a subgenre of travel writing, it uneasily inhabits travel writing's larger generic space. This uneasiness speaks of a history of ideas, for exploration writing is, unlike travel writing, distinguished as much by epistemology as by style, structure, and content. The epistemology is empiricism, understood as knowledge acquired by accumulating facts from the perceptible—particularly visible—world. It is empiricism, in its purest sense, and that empiricism qualified by rationalism. It manifests as observations of the terrestrial, aqueous, and celestial zones, as natural history notations, and descriptions and enumerations pertaining to social science and science. The inspiration *for* empiricism and travel writing *defined by* empiricism, exploration writing bears the burden of its experience.

To better understand exploration writing, the first question to be asked is, “what is travel writing?” In answering this question, one encounters two problems: the problem of definition and the problem of literary status. Touching upon the problem of definition, Glenn Hooper and Tim Youngs note, “[t]ravel writing [. . .] remains a loosely defined body of literature” (“Introduction” 2). Travel writing remains as such because it is often defined or described by the word *travel* and because it is highly incorporative of other discourses, forms, and genres and, thus, tends to disturb generic distinctions. Moreover, because of travel writing's present popularity, there is a will amongst critics to push the possibilities of its definition.

Part of the impetus for this push derives from figurative conceptualizations of the word *travel*. For example, Tzvetan Todorov begins his discussion of travel writing with

the question “[w]hat is *not* a journey?” and answers, “[a]s soon as one attributes an extended figurative meaning to the word—and one has never been able to refrain from doing so—the journey coincides with life” (287). Moreover, he explains, “journey and narrative imply one another” (287) and, thus, demonstrates one line of logic that permits travel writing to become an all-inclusive category. If “everything is a journey” (287), then all writing is travel writing. Youngs, however, cautions against such logic, which enlarges the definition of travel writing so widely as “to dematerialize travel and to make of it a huge and empty metaphor” (179), and, although by no means cautionary, Todorov concludes his exercise in logic by noting that, because “everything is a journey, [. . .] this ‘everything’ has no specific identity” (287). The implication is that, in order for a definition of travel writing to be meaningful, it should not proceed from all meanings of the word travel.

Conversely, a meaningful definition of exploration writing requires no caution. Although as likely to be defined or described by the words *exploration* or *explore* as travel writing is by *travel*, exploration writing is *not* a study of the temptations of “extended figurative meanings.” Definitions of exploration writing do not proceed from all meanings of the words *exploration* or *explore* but only from those meanings linked to what is tangible, concrete. Movement is no mere abstraction here: exploration is the material actuality of geographical searching. It is “[t]he action of exploring (a country, district, place, etc.); an instance of this” (*OED* 2) and this “action of exploring” is to explore, “to search into or examine (a country, a place, etc.) by going through it; to go into or range over for the purpose of discovery” (*OED* 3. a.). Literal meanings *only* apply.

Although by literal meanings exploration writing seems exempt from travel writing's problem of definition, figurative meanings of travel are only one part of travel writing's problem. The other part of the problem is linked to matters of terminology that speak of the genre's variety. Listing some of the many terms used to refer to travel writing, Jan Borm argues that "their sheer abundance raises the question of what we actually mean by [. . .] *travel writing*" (13). Each term, however, has its particular nuance, and the terms should not cause us to question what we mean by *travel writing* unless they are all used interchangeably or as synonyms for travel writing. Variety of nuance should not be confused with uncertainty of genre.

While some of the terms that Borm lists speak of differences in the media used to convey accounts of travel, others evoke possible stylistic variations; thus, some may be taken as subgenres and some as modulations. Travel *book* suggests an artefact of print culture, whereas travel *narrative* is not fixed to a particular medium of communication. Travel *narrative* might also be distinguished from travel *writing* on the basis of narrative conventions, which, however, in a post-modern age, work to erase the distinctions between *writing* and *narrative*. As, by definition, a narrative is a story, travel *narrative* and travel *story* might be used interchangeably, although *story* could suggest a brief narrative or a colloquial style. A traveller's *tale* might be the anecdotal or short-story version of a travel *narrative*. *Tale* might describe the familiar style in which the brief narrative is communicated, or it might also imply a reader's or listener's suspicion of the veracity of the narrative itself. Travel *journal* and travel *memoir* point to the autobiographical potential inherent in travel writing; *journal* suggests an immediacy of style and *memoir* a reflective quality. *Travels* is the "elliptical" use of the plural *travel*,

according to *OED*, which cites Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language* (1755) for its definition, "[a]ccount of occurrences and observations of a journey into foreign parts' (J.)" (2. c.), and provides, for its "earliest recorded usage" (*OED*) the title of a late sixteenth-century text. *Journeywork* seems to be a modern elliptical construction of travel writing that performs a kind of word game with obsolete understandings of the word journey, which indicates a day and its travel or travail, a day's work or the productions of a day, with, perhaps, the derogatory connotation of inferiority implied. Travel *writing* might include all manuscript, printed, and electronic narratives and non-narratives of travel, whereas travel *narrative*, which would depend upon narrative conventions but not upon the media of written communication, would include oral renditions of travel. Travel *literature* assumes selection criteria and canonicity.

Quite a different study in terminology, exploration writing says much not only about the empty metaphor of travel but also about the relationship between literature and reality. Referring to James Cook's first text as an example, Dennis Porter explains, "*The Voyage of the Endeavour* is without doubt an important form of travel writing, but it is not the kind literary intellectuals usually have in mind when they think about the subject" (117). Following the usual habit of mind, Mary Louise Pratt speaks of "travel and exploration writing" (5). The juxtaposition suggests union, a generic relation, "travel *and* exploration" (emphasis mine), and distinction or chronology, a move from the general to the specific or a change in characteristics, travel *then* exploration, but it also suggests opposition: travel *not* exploration. The reason for the opposition is not so much generic as pragmatic. While travel writing may take an empirical perspective, it is not, unlike exploration writing, assumed to have an epistemological function. This distinction

confers upon exploration writing a special status. Exploration writing is not just any travel writing: it is travel writing that produces knowledge from facts. The distinction also, however, confers upon exploration writing a negative status: that is, exploration writing is not *literary* travel writing *because* it produces knowledge from facts.

In his search for meaning, Borm argues that, because “the *literary* is at work in travel writing [. . .] the terms *the literature of travel*, or simply *travel literature*,” might be used “as synonyms of *travel writing*” but that travel writing “is not a genre” (13). For generic purposes, however, he notes that “[i]n both French and German, one [. . .] distinguishes between the genre *travel book* (*récit de voyage*—*Reisebuch* or—*bericht*) or *travelogue* [. . .] and [. . .] *travel literature* (*la littérature de voyage*—*Reiseliteratur*)” (18-19). Following the French and German practices, Borm would have “*travel book* or *travelogue* as a predominantly (and presupposedly) non-fictional genre and *travel writing* or *travel literature* [. . .] as an overall heading for texts whose main theme is travel” (19). While clearly the French and German practices are precedent, there are two problems with Borm’s proposition.

The first problem is that, in using the terms *travel book* and *travelogue* interchangeably, Borm dismisses the origins and, thereby, the full definition of the second term in preference for its “current looser meaning” (18). As the *OED* indicates, *travelogue* “originated” in the “United States of America.” It is derived from “TRAVEL *n.* + -LOGUE, after MONOLOGUE *n.*” and means, “[a]n (illustrated) lecture about places and experiences encountered in the course of travel; hence a film, broadcast, book, etc., about travel; a travel documentary.” My point here is that, while the *travelogue* may be a “book,” the *travel book* may not be a “lecture” “film” or “broadcast.” Although the

slippage is easily understood, the use of “travelogue” or travelog is more recent and should be distinguished from “log of travel,” often the basis *for* or manuscript form *of* travel writing—particularly exploration writing—in print. *Travelogue* suggests not only new media for accounts of travel but also a new purpose for the travel account: that purpose—performance.

The second and greatest problem of Borm’s proposition is his definition for travel writing. The problem lies with his notion that travel writing “is not a genre” (13) but a “thematic category,” “an overall heading for texts whose main theme is travel” (19). The matter of genre is not insignificant. Genre is not something invented by academics for arcane purposes but is, as Alastair Fowler argues, “a communication system, for the use of writers in writing, and readers and critics in reading and interpreting” (256). He explains that “genre [. . .] makes the expressiveness of literary works possible” (20). Given Fowler’s conception of the function of genre and Borm’s distinction between genre and “thematic category,” the question then to be asked is what does Borm’s “thematic category” communicate?

To understand the communicative work that the “thematic category” does, one must consider that, in the phrase “thematic category,” are the notions of a work’s “central idea” (Cuddon 969) and its grouping or placement in relation to other works. If the “central idea” *travel* is the means by which the “category,” *travel writing*, is defined, I might modify Todorov’s question to suit my purposes and ask “what is *not* travel writing?” for surely at the level of *idea*, figurative conceptualizations of travel come to bear. If travel writing is not a genre but, as Borm suggests, a “collective term” that operates at the level of idea, then it is a term that communicates very little. If, however,

Borm's "thematic category" is not so much a category of *theme* as a category of *travel*, then the matter of grouping points to the circular logic underpinning conceptions of *travel writing* that lie outside of genre.

Borm's argument for categorising real with imaginary travel is speculative, but Philip Babcock Gove's study *The Imaginary Voyage in Prose Fiction* (1975) is bibliographic—and persuasive. What Gove observes is that the distinction between real and imaginary travel "is attested to not by lexicographers and encyclopedists but by authors of fiction and their critics" (5). Considering English, French, and German practices, he argues that the imaginary voyage (or imaginary travel writing) is "a literary genre, as evidenced particularly by its use as a term of classification by literary historians and writers on fiction" (5), and his bibliographic work, which includes his "*Annotated Check List of 215 Imaginary Voyages from 1700-1800*" (subtitle), explores those less-blatant examples of the genre that caused, either purposefully or accidentally, problems of classification. At stake are the distinctions between reality and realism, truth and verisimilitude: that is, the other part of travel writing's problem of definition, spuriously linked to matters of terminology, derives from a desire to push travel writing into the realm of the unreal.

In his study, Gove speaks of the French classification *voyages imaginaires*, which is used to indicate fictional texts that address some form of travel. *Voyages imaginaires* is used in contradistinction to *récit de voyage*. Borm's category *la littérature de voyage*, which "includes works of non-fiction and fiction" (19), would, however, combine the *récit de voyage* and the *voyages imaginaires*. The paradox might be resolved in one of three ways: the category of travel writing is no more than an acknowledgement of the

ready exchange between the *récit de voyage* and the *voyages imaginaires*, the category contests the very notions of non-fiction and fiction upon which the genres depend, or the category reflects the difficulties of classifying some works as either or.

There is no need for me to elaborate upon the historical exchange between the *récit de voyage* and the *voyages imaginaires*, for Percy G. Adams does so in his *Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel* (1983), in which he equates travel writing with “the *récit de voyage*” (ix) and argues that “prose fiction and the travel account have evolved together, are heavily indebted to each other, and are often similar in both content and technique” (279). There is little to be said regarding critical contestation of the assumptions that underpin the categories of non-fiction and fiction except that, while the matter is interesting at the level of *idea*, at the level of practice, the idea tends to lose integrity. Seeing all writing as “text” and, thereby, acknowledging that all writing is constructed goes some way toward contesting the truth/lie and fact/fabrication dichotomies upon which the categories of non-fiction and fiction are predicated, yet the categories remain remarkably secure and, indeed, useful.

In an attempt to circumvent the problems of classification, the editors of the Oxford anthology *Travel Writing 1700-1830* use the term “non-fiction travel writing” (Bohls and Duncan xiii), and Porter uses the term “non-fiction travel books” (5). The problem here is that, if one addresses the idea of “non-fiction travel writing” generically, one must assume that a genre “travel writing” exists (or has existed), and from this assumption, one of two things is possible. One is that within the *assumed* genre must exist (or have existed) non-fictional *and* fictional elements, from which the subgenres developed. The problem with such a possibility is that one must then return to the

question “what is travel writing” or, more precisely, “what is travel?” Another possibility is that one must first determine that the travel writing genre is defined by its fictional status, and then one might use the opposite term as a qualifier. Consider the classification, “fictional autobiography,” in which “fictional” is used to describe the contradiction of a text that is very like autobiography but is not, as autobiography is supposed to be, non-fictional. The problem with considering travel writing as a fictional genre is that the notion works against present-day reader expectations. It is, therefore, more logical to have “travel writing” and “fictional travel writing” (*voyages imaginaires*). In this instance, “fictional” modifies the readers’ expectations, and with the modification comes the creation of a distinct genre—*not* subgenre.

In the case of exploration writing, the negating prefix “non” is assumed. Non-fictional exploration writing would be a redundancy. Moreover, because exploration writing is writing that deals—or *should* deal—in facts, there is no desire to open the subgenre to the imaginary. Rather, there is every desire to restrict it to the real. Fictional elements in exploration writing might be one of three things: anecdotes, errors, or falsities. Because neither figurative nor imaginary conceptions of exploration impinge upon exploration writing as it is understood generically, exploration writing does not suffer from travel writing’s problem of definition.

Travel writing’s problem of definition does not speak of a need for a new definition but rather for understanding in the old the place of fiction. Although J. A. Cuddon uses “travel literature” to indicate a “selection” of travel books and “travel book” to indicate a “genre” that includes “extravaganzas” (or *voyages imaginaires*), much of his entry for travel book is useful for understanding travel writing: a “much varied genre”

produced by both “professional or ‘full-time’” and “occasional writers” (995). From the genre’s variety, Cuddon distinguishes “works of exploration and adventure” and “guides and accounts of sojourns in foreign lands” (995). While the grammatical structure of “guides and accounts” suggests a unit, on the basis of function, the unit should be separated into “guides *for* travel within foreign lands” and “accounts *of* travel in foreign lands” because, whereas an account can be both narrative and descriptive (of Johnson’s “occurrences” and “observations,” respectively), guides are, predominantly descriptive. Cuddon’s entry favours non-fiction, but it includes fiction because it is reflective rather than speculative: travel writing’s problem of definition arises not only from the critic but also the writer, who, while employing the conventions of or excerpting from travel writing, “creates a narrative partly or wholly fake but at the same time so realistic, so much like other books, that he [or she] is able to deceive readers” (Adams, *Travel Literature and the Evolution* 73) and cause difficulty for those who would determine where hyperbole and errors end and hoaxes or fiction begins.

Whether because of the will of critic or writer, the problem of defining travel writing as a genre involves the debate about whether or not non-fiction defines it. One crux of the debate regarding this “defining element” involves the pragmatics of determining non-fiction. Hooper and Youngs speak of “the medieval example of *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville* (c. 1356): uncertainty about the author and what he claims to have visited remain strong” (“Introduction” 2). They also note that “even when we move into what we assume is more historically verifiable terrain – the eighteenth century – problems regarding veracity continue to exist” (2). The other crux of the debate resides in changing concepts of knowledge shifting reader expectations, for even if non-

fiction might be determined according to whether the text, either by traveller, editor, or amanuensis, reflects the travel experience of the traveller to whom the text is ascribed, the non-fiction / fiction dichotomy is a conceptual invention of the nineteenth century.

Thus, if travel writing is to include some works of fiction it would be neither because of figurative nor imaginary conceptions of travel but because of shifting reader expectations. Borm observes that “the degree to which readers presuppose the author of a travelogue [that is, travel writing] to be writing non-fiction varies throughout the history of the genre” (17-8), and Ottmar Ette observes that “[m]any texts that we assign today to fictional literature have been read from the perspective of the travelogue or even *as* travelogue” (25) (a term that the translator of Ette’s text uses interchangeably with *travel writing*). Ette’s point is an important one. For generic purposes, one must be careful to create a distinction between texts “read from the perspective of” and texts read “*as*” travel writing. Texts “read from the perspective of” travel writing are those texts of a genre *other than* travel writing that have travel writing influences, whereas texts once read “*as*” travel writing deserve some consideration, fictional status included—although considering those fictional texts once read “*as*” travel writing as a part of the history of the genre is not the same as concluding that travel writing *presently* comprises fiction and non-fiction.

Concerning the distinction between influence and historical change and considering the question of genre, Jonathan Swift’s *Travels into Several Remote Nations of the World. In Four Parts. By Lemuel Gulliver, First a Surgeon, and then a Captain of Several Ships* (1726) is an excellent point of reference. Written in the manner and style of the travel writing of its time, it makes a critique of travel writing assumptions that does

not work if the text is read “*as*” travel writing. As much about the ideology of travel writing as more recent post-colonial critiques of the genre, Swift’s text not only explores the links amongst perception, imagination, and belief but also explores reader expectations—beginning with the text’s title itself. Important to the discussion of non-fictional categorization, Swift’s text tells its readers, do not be so gullible as to believe everything that you read in travel writing.

A reader’s gullibility implies a writer’s intent to deceive, but deception is not the sole reason for a writer’s flight into fiction. Because it is often difficult if not impossible to determine a writer’s intentions, however, Ette believes that it is better to address “reading functions of the travelogue” (25) (that is, travel writing). He addresses these “reading functions” using Roland Barthes’s expression “*effet de réel*” (Barthes 88, qtd. in Ette 25), which does not mean “‘faithfulness’ to reality” but “is rather coupled to historically effective and changing forms of writing and their ‘credibility’ in a socio-historical and epistemologic-sociological definable audience” (Ette 25-6). Rather than categorize travel writing as non-fiction, Ette would characterize it as comprising those travel accounts that achieve a “reality effect” for a given audience and historical period. After describing the “reality effect,” Ette notes that the effect “is based on an explicit pact with the reader” (26). It is this “pact” in which I am most interested, for while the “reality effect” offers a means of qualifying the definition of travel writing, it presumes that the reader is, indeed, seeking a reality effect and excludes the reader’s desire for the fantastical or incredible. How else might one explain bizarre images of Hottentots and exaggerated descriptions of Patagonians? (Or, conversely, my all-too-real encounters with Yahoos?)

While Ette's "reality effect" permits the critic to acknowledge those texts once read "as" travel writing and, thus, their possible influence on the genre, it does not explain why those texts that are then proved to be fictional are reclassified as imaginary or why the desire to distinguish the real from the "reality effect" persists. Ette too readily dismisses writer intentionality when he assumes that both reader and writer participate in determining the terms and conditions upon which the "pact" that generates the "effect" depends. Given historically changing concepts of knowledge and reader desire for the fantastical, it would be best if we were to consider that the reader first reads the text as the production of an authority or writer; we should, therefore, speak of a "credibility effect"—and heed Gulliver's warning.

Connected to changing concepts of knowledge, the problem of defining travel writing as non-fiction derives from addressing non-fiction as a category of fact. For instance, early modern travel writing collector Richard Hakluyt dispensed with *Mandeville* "without apology" (Parks 175) in the second edition of his collection, *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation* (1599-1600), because he was interested in travel "narratives of the eyewitness" (126) (although he retained his excerpt from Geoffrey Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain* concerning King Arthur's travels in Ireland and northern Europe). While today one might readily dispense with eighteenth-century fiction once read "as" travel writing, not only because the eighteenth century is a period "more historically verifiable" (Hooper and Youngs, "Introduction" 2) but also because it was a period of empiricism, one might *not* wish to dispense with *Mandeville* because *Mandeville* provided travel writing with "a two-part structure that was to be popular until after the great eighteenth-century novels

appeared—one part objective [. . .], one part personal” (Adams, *Travel Literature and the Evolution* 168). Moreover, one might say that it is neither that the readers of *Mandeville* were more credulous than present-day readers nor that they little presupposed travel writing to be non-fictional but rather that they had a conception of travel writing that was not predicated upon categories of non-fiction and fiction, perhaps, rather, was predicated upon concepts of textual authority based in learning instead of experience. As Andrew Hadfield observes of the difference between medieval and early modern travel writing, “what holds the knowledge gained from accounts of the New World together is the rhetoric of the ‘I’/eye-witness, forced to abandon all appeals to a canon of authorities and insist on the unclassifiable newness of the data which can only be described by one who has seen it in person” (83). It is this element of personal experience that is essential for today’s audience. While *Mandeville*’s original audience may have been interested in the truth of the text, today’s audience may be interested in whether or not the text is true, and while fact (even understood as *un fait accompli*) would have been of little concern to *Mandeville*’s original audience, because of the legacy of the empiricist-rationalist enterprise now known as science, fact is the means by which today’s audience would determine whether the text were true.

It is because of the matter of fact, understood as repeatable observation or “datum of experience” (*OED*), that exploration writing suffers not from travel writing’s problem of definition but greatly from its problem of literary status. The problem of travel writing’s literary status is classificatory “ambiguity” (Fowler 11), but as an object of literary criticism lost to literature’s periphery, travel writing has its proponents advocating aesthetics as a means of rescue. Ette argues that it is necessary to “question [travel

writing] texts about their literary proceeding, about their metaphorical and metonymical movements [. . .] to work out the literary [. . .] and to treat the poetical” (29), and Borm argues for examining “the transforming energy of *mimesis*” and “the dynamic role of individual *Style*” (22). While aesthetic arguments such as these offer ways of reading travel writing, they assume that there are fixed qualities that determine what is literary, but seeing travel writing *as literature* requires not a consideration of travel writing’s *qualities* but a reconsideration of conceptions of *literature*.

Fowler explains that “[t]he *materia critica*” of literary criticism “should not be thought of as a group of objects” but rather “the results of reading” (1). Fowler’s contention is that literature is socially-defined and mutable. It is tied to oral, written, and printed texts, which might be valued as much for function or popularity as for aesthetics: that is, literature depends on what we are reading *for*. Moreover, while we may speak of “literature” as a unity, it is a unity that comprises historical understandings, and we must, therefore, acknowledge both its polymorphism and its historical specificity. At one time denigrated, the novel today is not literature because it embraces agreed-upon aesthetic qualities but because it is *read as literature*.

The reason that critics grasp after aesthetics has to do with the ways in which travel writing defies present conceptions of literature. A slight defiance, perhaps, but an interesting one, is the problem of authorship. The problem of authorship particularly affects the exploration subgenre because it is more likely than other travel writing to be the production of “occasional writers” (Cuddon 995), who defy our present conception of *the writer*, who is so either by vocation or volume. The writing of many exploration writers is of such an “occasional” nature that it may be a one-time endeavour from which

only a single work results. Moreover, the work may as often be a composite or the production of a collective as of an “occasional writer.” Germaine Warkentin explains that texts of exploration writing are “‘incremental’ texts, often with several stages of composition of which the daily log is only the first, sometimes with additions by fellow explorers, and often revised by other hands” (*Canadian Exploration* x). While Warkentin’s explanation is accurate, it says more about her own view of exploration writing than it does about what distinguishes exploration writing from other literature, for one might merely substitute “manuscript” or “typescript” for “daily log” and “writers” or “editors” for “explorers” and “other hands,” and one would speak of all literature. That is, “incremental texts” reflects exploration writing’s epistemological function; implicit in the mention of the “log,” which is the first increment, is the idea that exploration writing begins as *not* literature.

While one part of the difficulty of viewing travel writing as literature pertains to the problem of authorship, another part pertains to travel writing’s formal qualities, which contribute to making travel writing, in Cuddon’s words, a “much varied genre” (995). Exploration writing shares travel writing’s formal qualities, which are neither merely a reflection of the diversity of the earth’s places and peoples nor of the authors’ intentions, itineraries, perceptions, and preoccupations but are, rather, the result of the genre’s incorporative propensity and tendency to disturb generic distinctions. Because there is a vogue amongst literary critics for writing that trespasses generic boundaries, travel writing is much celebrated as such. There are, however, two problems with the celebration of trespass: the first, and most significant, is a failure to understand the workings of genre, and the second is moral. As Fowler observes, “[b]oundaries have

always been transgressed, genres have always been combined” (32). Because trespass and combination are communicative functions of genre, it is better to understand that genres are not discrete entities functioning in isolation from each other but rather multi-valent continua. Thus, while a genre can be described, it cannot be delimited. Because the idea of “trespass” is actually a function of genre, I should like here to remove moral judgment—whether positive or negative—and refer to travel writing’s incorporative propensity and its tendency to disturb generic distinctions as *formal eclecticism* and generic modulation respectively. More than simply a reflection of an enduring interest in travels, travellers, and places travelled, travel writing’s historical durability derives, in part, from its formal eclecticism and generic modulation.

Formal eclecticism is the tendency of genres to incorporate other discourses, forms, and genres. I use *formal eclecticism* rather than the popular “hybrid” (Borm 13 and Ette 26) because the popular term is used imprecisely if not incorrectly. Although hybrid has the connotation of “mixture,” the term is biological in origin and refers to the breeding of two animals or the exchange of the genetic information of two plants of *different species*. The species model does not apply to literary genres, which should not be seen as a collection of “classes, but [as] types” (37), as Fowler argues, because they function on the basis of an aggregate of shared characteristics, all of which are not always present and among which there is not one that is always shared. Moreover, genre is imposed (that is, socially constructed) rather than inherent or inherited. If one is to apply the term hybrid to literature at all, then, one ought to apply it only to those cases in which a text is the equally-balanced mixture of two clearly-distinguished, even antithetical forms or genres. To use hybrid in any other way is either to talk of modes of influence

and borrowings, rather than true hybridization, *or* is just a trendy way of saying mixture, which is not meaningful from a generic perspective because, if there is a genre recognized as travel writing, generically speaking, it itself cannot also be a mixture. I should grant, however, that, because travel writing is an eclectic genre, it is a genre more likely to produce a “hybrid,” but it is the individual text and not the genre itself that is hybrid.

While formal eclecticism is not unique to the genre, the genre’s propensity for formal eclecticism is high, and the materials amongst which it selects varied. Ette draws a comparison between the novel and travel writing on the basis that both are able to “include the most diverse literary and non-literary text types and fragments” (26), and he lists some common inclusions: “diary and statistics, images and map material, political treatise and literary narration, philosophical essay and scientific discussion, legend and autobiography, [. . .] geographical disquisition and ethnographic field studies” (26)—to which I would add history. Although I have difficulty with the division of inclusions into “literary and non-literary,” the list of inclusions suggests another way by which travel writing cuts across the non-fiction / fiction divide: that is, by incorporating fictional elements. Because non-fictional inclusions in novels are perceived as part of their fictional construction, fictional inclusions in travel writing should be perceived as part of travel writing’s non-fictional construction.

Generic modulation is based on definitions of genre that are implicit in reader expectations. Although it is only recognized in one way, through similarity, it proceeds textually in one of two ways. If, at some point, a text’s eclecticism favours one discourse, form, or genre, there is an instance of generic modulation. Oppositely, generic modulation can come about because qualities internal to the genre match those of another.

As with its eclecticism, travel writing is only particular in the degree to which generic modulation occurs.

Inclusions are also useful for predicting modulation. For example, because much travel writing employs first-person narration, it is at the level of narrative that travel writing may modulate into autobiography. The modulation can be increased if the external travelling becomes a prompt for introspection or if the justification for the travels is the growth and development of the individual. Just as it is difficult to determine whether some texts belong to the non-fictional or fictional category, in cases of generic modulation there is the difficulty of assigning genre; here, however, preponderance *is* useful. Where travel writing modulates into autobiography, one might determine genre by asking whether the autobiography is constructed around travel or whether the travel is merely an element of the autobiography. There will always, however, be texts that lack preponderance, and these hybrid texts can be read as both genres equally—or as neither.

Another example is adventure, with which exploration writing is sometimes confused. The confusion results because exploration writing often includes chance and risk, and adventure often includes action in the form of travel into regions unknown, but whereas chance and risk are requisite for adventure, chance and risk are accidents of exploration writing. Whereas the unknown is useful for producing adventure's chance and risk, the unknown is essential for exploration writing's enterprise, which is *producing knowledge*. Although exploration writing and adventure are not mutually exclusive, the genre of a text in question might be determined conceptually by purpose decided on the basis of preponderance.

Because literary influence does not recognise borders, travel writing sometimes modulates towards fictional genres—particularly given travel writing reader expectations for the wonderful, unreal, or fantastical. The modulation that results is from the similarity between travel writing and fantasy, imaginary voyages, romance, and utopias. One must bear in mind not only that travel writers read but also that travel writers read travel writing *and* writing that reads travel writing. Thus, perhaps Columbus’s greatest achievement was to have discovered Mandeville, whose “long, amazing defense of the roundness of the earth was one of” his “influences” (Adams, *Travel Literature through the Ages* 44). Mandeville’s “defense” of “how the erthe and the see ben of rownd forme and schapp” relies on “the sterred that is clept Antartyk” (131) and his observations of the star’s elevation taken by “astrolabre” (133) at various southern locales.

Although some of the difficulty of viewing travel writing as literature pertains to its authorship and formal variety, the main difficulty of viewing travel writing as literature is its non-fictional status, but the difficulty of viewing travel writing as literature is not simply resolved by philosophising or pretending away its non-fictional status because the difficulty stems not from its non-fictional status itself but from the way in which its non-fictional status affects how it is read. Ette notes that, although travel writing shares with the novel a propensity for inclusions and has inclusions in common with the novel, travel writing may be distinguished from the novel “through its other historical place within the system of genres, through the position assigned to it in the spectrum of fictional and non-fictional literature, as well as through [. . .] the institutionalization of its reading” (28). To say that one genre may be distinguished from another through its generic relations and its position in respect to the categories of fiction

and non-fiction is to state the obvious; to say that a genre depends upon “the institutionalization of its reading,” however, is to state the essential. In the case of travel writing, “the institutionalization of its reading” derives from interpretations of its non-fictional status (which is bolstered by its non-fictional inclusions and modulations). The inability to see travel writing as literature reflects fairly recent habits of reading that read the non-fictional status—by transposition—as a *non-literary* status. More precisely, the difficulty of seeing travel writing as literature is the result of the tendency to read it as, in Ette’s words, “an empirical, reality-bound document, as *narratio vera*” (28).

With all travel—including exploration—writing, the problem of literary status is connected to definition, problem or not. It is because of our profound reliance on the category of fiction for our understanding of literature that those critics who are interested in travel writing want not only to show that travel writing traverses the boundary between the categories of non-fiction and fiction but also to push that boundary themselves. Because our understanding of literature is entrenched in the category of fiction (particularly the fiction of the realist novel), the “literature” of “travel literature” is the place of leverage that critics use to open the genre to fiction: that is to say that, invested in the debate over travel writing’s non-fictional status is its literary value.

At the periphery of the periphery, the exploration subgenre elucidates travel writing’s problem of literary status because the difference in degree of literary status between travel writing that “literary intellectuals usually have in mind” (Porter 117) and exploration writing depends upon the degree to which each is read as “empirical” or “reality-bound” (Ette 28). Put simply, exploration writing is read as more real and, therefore, less literary than other travel writing because it is predominantly engaged in the

production of facts. Units of the new epistemology of which Hadfield speaks, facts find, in exploration writing, their very provenance. Thus, not only do travel writing reader expectations for non-fiction vary “throughout the history of the genre” (Borm 18) but also *within* the genre itself at different points in history.

The derivation of fact is the development of the British subgenre. Johnson’s and Cuddon’s “account,” understood as to narrate or to document, defines this development, and narrating subsumed to documenting elucidates the empirical perspective and epistemological function that combined answer the question “what is exploration writing?” To begin, there are two strands of British travel account: the one religious, the other mercantilist. The first is both to narrate and to document and the second is to document, to record, even to enumerate. Of the one stream, Cuddon notes that “[o]ne of the earliest extant accounts of an Englishman’s travels abroad are those concerning one Willibald who set out for Rome [. . .] in *c.* AD 718” (997) and progressed to Jerusalem as part of a pilgrimage. As Rome shifted from a centre of religion present to religion past, it became a place of social, political, and historical interest for the British traveller. By the sixteenth century, “[w]ith pilgrimages to the Holy Land and Rome less important for Protestant England, Englishmen found other reasons for going to the Continent—for study, for trade, for picking up new languages and fashions, for diplomatic service” (Adams, *Travel Literature and the Evolution* 51). Studying and acquiring cultural cachet (if not also artefacts) abroad transformed from reasons into an institution, the elitist Grand Tour developed, and the touring sons of nobles turned travel into an individualist enterprise. Surprisingly, the impulse to account seems, at first, lost in the process of religious conversion so that, in “Of Travel” (1625), Sir Francis Bacon could, of those

touring sons, bemoan, “[i]t is a strange thing, that in sea voyages, where there is nothing to be seen but sky and sea, men should make diaries, but in land-travel, wherein so much is to be observed, for the most part, they omit it” (374). The Grand Tourists who mind Bacon and “keep [. . .] a diary” (375), however, might combine the personal or subjective with the impersonal or objective observations typical of seamen’s “diaries.”

Although its existence is evident in Bacon’s remark, of the other stream of travel account Cuddon is necessarily silent because the objective observations of seamen’s “diaries” and the data and descriptions of ships’ logs are remote from conceptions of literature. Cuddon notes, however, that “[i]n the last half of the 16th c. a number of accounts of [British] exploratory journeys began to appear” (997). These accounts did not simply “appear” as a result of British exploration but were woven from the two strands of travel account and typically printed in collections. The most notable of the collections was that of Hakluyt, who produced two editions, *The Principall Navigations, Voiages, and Discoveries of the English nation, made by Sea or over Land to the most remote and farthest distant Quarters of the earth at any time within the compass of these 500 yeares* (1598) and *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation, made by Sea or over land, to the remote and farthest distant quarters of the Earth, at any time within the compass of these 600 yeares* (1599-1600). Hakluyt was not the first to produce a collection of travel writing, but, as Mary C. Fuller notes, “[w]hile Richard Eden and Richard Willes preceded him in issuing edited English collections of voyage narratives, neither Eden’s 1555 collection nor Willes’ 1577 revision of Eden focused as Hakluyt did on narratives of *English* voyages” (147). A translation of a collection of writings pertaining to “the Spanish New World” (Adams 53), Eden’s text

was the first of its kind available in English. More important from a national perspective, however, Hakluyt not only *collected* British writings but also had many printed from manuscript for the first time. A mixture of chronicle-history accounts of travel, travel writing, merchant accounts, diplomatic letters, and settlement and political treatises to suit his interest in the mercantilist and expansionist enterprises, Hakluyt's collection does not solely comprise writings that could be described as exploration writing; nonetheless, Hakluyt made previously unprinted British exploration writing accessible to a segment of the British populace—the reading class that could afford his text. Moreover, in compiling the collection, Hakluyt both implicitly classified the writing in his collection as written in the pursuit of practical knowledge and explicitly encouraged more of the kind of writing that his collection favoured by “soliciting” (Fuller 149) it.

Travel writing is an international genre, and continental connections were essential for Hakluyt, who was prompted by nationalist sentiment to begin his *Principall Navigations*. George Bruner Parks observes that during the early modern period, “[t]he great collections of travel narratives were those of Ramusio, Hakluyt, and de Bry” (161). Italian Gian Battista Ramusio's collection was “the model and the inspiration for Hakluyt's,” and Hakluyt personally influenced the Dutch engraver Theodore de Bry, who, “[i]n 1590 [. . .] published in four languages, Latin, German, English, French” (162) the first volume of his four-volume collection, the first of, as Parks describes them, “the stately illustrated folios of the *Peregrinations*” (163), which formed “the most tastefully and expensively illustrated collection of travels begun before 1600” (Adams 54). Although by no means the first to produce illustrated travel writing, de Bry intended to and did distinguish his collection by the quality of its graphic art-as-document and

established the practice that saw not only charts, maps, and views necessary to navigation but also sketches of plants and animals (human and non-human) as features of exploration writing.

Hakluyt's collection was followed by that of his self-styled literary executor, Samuel Purchas, who produced *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas his Pilgrimes, containing a History of the World in Sea Voyages and Land Travell by Englishmen and others* (1625). Although Purchas included much of Hakluyt's collection within his own, he did not focus on British mercantilist and expansionist interests so much as try to offer a world history of travel. Also unlike Hakluyt, Purchas edited the texts of his collection for what he conceived of as readability: "[w]hen a voyage dwindled to the pattern of a mere log book, Purchas was quite likely to abridge; and dates and positions and sailing distances went by the board" (Parks 229). Hakluyt's is typically read as the better collection by those who, like him, understand its contents as informational documents and who overlook his compilation efforts and admire his lack of editorial intervention in the texts collected.

Fuller explains that "[p]rimary documentation [. . .] was available to Hakluyt largely because both commerce and navigation were intimately involved with the production of written records" (2). By virtue of collection, however, Hakluyt converted records into data. The best proof of the effect of Hakluyt's collection is the foil provided in *Hakluytus Posthumus*: "[w]hen one observer seemed to Purchas to repeat another, one was omitted; and the perspective of two witnesses gave way to the possible bias of one" (Parks 229). Within an empirical system, the catalyst for transforming data into

knowledge is repetition; lack thereof demands more data: the logic of Hakluyt's collection.

Not only did Hakluyt convert records into data by virtue of collection but he also emphasised exploration writing's record-keeping function. Of practical value, the records of commerce and navigation, by virtue of sequence, might sketch a "skeletal" (Fuller 3) narrative, but their concern is with details of transactions and observations of "objects and phenomena" (8). The ship's log was the repository for these records, and Fuller explains that "the task of the [record] writer [was] almost more to transcribe or to copy *from* the world of objects and events rather than to author a text as such" (8). With the expansionist joined to the mercantilist enterprise, exploration writing is, no matter the quality of its narrative, no matter the beauty of its graphics, conceived of as records of reality: the perceptible world measured and made word. Thus, it is exploration *not* travel writing.

Transcription also transforms exploration writing into travel guide. Useful for imperial endeavours, exploration writing records astronomical observations; it makes charts, maps, plans, and views of the geography through which it travels. Fuller explains that "the most simple recording, of a one-to-one correspondence between voyages of the ship and of the pen, even the most neutral transcriptions of bare facts [. . .], reach beyond themselves to become instructions for repetition" (148). Exploration writing is also useful for imperial endeavours because, while its purpose is to take travel and convert it into text to be used for repeatability, its narrative and descriptive emphasis is on the *impossibility* of repeatability: that is, on the *uniqueness* of the exploratory travel. This stance of uniqueness serves the imperialist venture because it makes claims to originality.

With account begins exploration writing's association with reality—understood as the measurable or perceptible made fact by repetition. This association, however, redoubles, returns full-circle, and begins again with Bacon, for Bacon so admired the early modern merchant records, navigational notations, and travel accounts that before telling those nobles' sons to take diaries on their study-tours he charted a new path to knowledge in his *Novum Organum* (1625), “[I]terally ‘The New Instrument’” (Jardine and Silverthorne, note 4, 5). Exploration writing was both Bacon's metaphor and inspiration, for if classical deduction is divorced from the real thing and medieval learning merely the accretion of authority, early modern exploration writing deals in “objects,” “phenomena” (Fuller 8), and newness. Moreover, exploration itself required a new instrument: Bacon explains that, “before the ocean could be crossed and the territories of the new world revealed, it was necessary to have knowledge of the nautical compass” (10). As the compass is to the explorer, so induction is to the empiricist: Bacon argues, “it is absolutely essential to introduce a better and more perfect use and application of the mind and understanding” (11) for the purpose of intellectual discovery because “it would be a disgrace [. . .] if wide areas of the physical globe, of land, sea and stars, have been opened up and explored while the boundaries of the intellectual globe were confined” (69).

A new epistemology for an old form transformed an old message with a new method. The crucible of change: the Royal Society of London for Improving Natural Knowledge (1660) institutionalised Bacon's argument. Advocating the importance of extensive and systematic record-keeping, the Royal Society printed “Directions for Seamen, bound for far Voyages” in its first volume of *Philosophical Transactions* (1665/6).

Written by Robert Hooke, these directions echo the purpose of Bacon's new instrument: "to study *Nature* rather than *Books*, and from the Observations, made of the *Phenomena* and Effects she presents, to compose such a history of Her, as may hereafter serve to build a Solid and Useful Philosophy upon" (140-41). The directions require said seamen to make astronomical observations and observations of direction, location, underwater substrate, tides, water depth, weather, and wind patterns. These observations might take the form of descriptions, enumerations, and measurements, but they are also to take graphic form as "Plotts and Draughts of prospects of Coasts, Promontories, Islands and Ports" (142). Seamen are "to keep an exact *Diary*" of their observations, and copies of their diaries are to be delivered to "the *Lord High Admiral* of England" and "the R. Society" (141). While these observations pertain closely to navigation, in a later issue of the same volume, Robert Boyle offers "General Heads for a Natural History of a Countrey, Great or Small" (1666) to all travellers. These categories of observation, "Heads," are classified under the elements, "*Air*," "*Water*," and "*Earth*" (186) and include all of the above-mentioned observations as well as those pertaining to daylight hours, climate, topography, minerals, metals, soil types, diseases, flora and fauna, and physical descriptions of humans and descriptions of their diets and their customs. In the second volume of the Royal Society's *Transactions* (1667), the first "Directions" are expanded in detail and purpose. As their title suggests, "For Observations and Experiments to be made by Masters of Ships, Pilots, and other fit Persons in their Sea-Voyages" (433), they exhort not only methodical observation but also experimental method for gathering data. The new method emphasised the empirical perspective, as is captured in the more general understanding of "to explore": "to look into closely,

examine into, scrutinize; to pry into (either a material or immaterial object)” (*OED* 2. a.). Most importantly, however, the new method made the empirical perspective an epistemological function: recording not only for keeping but also for knowing.

Eric J. Leed argues that Bacon “legitimated the new science [that] altered, in turn, the form and style of travel books which began to be conceived [of] as a means of [making an] objective description of the world, an inventory of its contents” (178). While the Royal Society’s directions had an impact upon travel writing in general, the effect of the directions upon exploration writing was a shift of predominance rather than substance—a more focused view of function. Pre-dating Bacon’s practical epistemology, inspiring it, and finally incorporating it, thanks to the auspices of the Royal Society, exploration writing returned to its roots in early modern documenting activity—this time with the approved stamp of knowledge-acquisition grounded in reality.

The advocate for exploration writing’s function, the Royal Society was also the arbiter of its style. As a result of the influence of the Royal Society’s rules on style, exploration writing is often subdivided into sequential types that fall before and after the Royal Society’s founding: discovery, *then* exploration. The fallacy of the sequence is the historical view that perceives the differences between early modern and eighteenth-century exploration writing as a difference of experience rather than aesthetics or emphasis: that is, exploration begins where discovery ends. For example, T. D. MacLulich argues that “the fundamental change which had taken place in the activity performed by European geographical investigators” (“The Emergence” 52-3) is reflected in the difference between “‘discover,’ with its connotation of accidental encounter and lack of careful investigation” (51) and “‘explore,’ with its connotations of deliberate and

systematic investigation” (51-2). The distinction is false. Discovery may occur either by chance or method, and, as *OED*’s definition for exploration explains, “the purpose” of exploration is “discovery” (3. a.). The unknown is essential to both.

John McVeagh believes that, because from 1660-1780 the British Empire was concerned with “assimilation and consolidation” (6) rather than expansion, the exploration writing of the period “reflects a reduced sense of wonder” (7). This “reduced sense of wonder,” however, points not to changes in exploration but to a shift in rhetoric. Studying the conservation of elements of the English language from the Anglo-Saxon, Ian Gordon notes that “Humanist Latinity has left its most abiding mark on English in the enormous expansion of vocabulary” (75), rather than in rhetorical flourish, because innovations in the language were tempered by a shift towards a “speech-based” prose that “occurred at the end of the seventeenth century” (31) as a result of the Royal Society’s language reform. As Thomas Sprat explains in his *History of the Royal Society* (1667), the Society exacts from its members “a constant Resolution, to reject all amplifications, digressions, and swellings of style: to return back to the primitive purity, and shortness, when men deliver’d so many *things*, almost in an equal number of *words*” (113). McVeagh’s “reduced sense of wonder” is the result of the Royal Society’s injunction, which institutionalised an objective, plain style, the purpose of which was not to produce a reflection of the world but to create greater correspondence—that is, coincidence—between words and world.

Although Wayne Franklin creates a distinction between discovery and exploration writing, he notes that the distinction does not hold with individual texts but is, rather, conceptual. He says that a discovery text “tends whenever possible to rely on a group of

presentational means in which time plays no crucial role—catalogues, tables, descriptions, discourses, expositions” (21). The rhetoric of discovery is of transcendence or timelessness. By contrast, “[f]or the explorer [. . .] time is an openly accepted fact” (69). He is time-bound and, therefore, engaged in the ordering of events and locations: “[a]ction is the key to this traveler’s language, for he gives to the discoverer’s sense of wonder (which in fact he may share) an edge of calculation and containment” (69). As exploration writing increasingly concerns a series of coordinates linked by movement, Mandeville’s “two-part structure” (Adams 168) becomes a convenient means for separating narration of progress from timeless presentation. Because discovery and exploration writing reflect perceptual modes, the best way to comprehend the error of separating the two is to consider how emphasis on either space or time might shape a text.

More than other travel writing, exploration writing is concerned with travel’s materiality, which will structure—if not interrupt and intrude upon—the text. One way to consider structures is to approach *travel* linguistically. *Travel* might be a journey or, if the journey is by water, a voyage—both of which suggest completion. *Travel* might also be of a part of a journey or voyage, the action or motion of travelling itself. *Travels*, while it might suggest a grouping of two or more journeys or voyages, also suggests the present tense: as in s/he travels. While a unit of exploration writing, a journey or voyage, might tend to follow the structural conventions of narrative more than that of parts, groupings, or series of exploratory travels, nonetheless, a part might satisfy narrative conventions more readily than the whole, and a series or grouping might be organized around a final destination, shared point of departure, or a common goal. A text with a conventional narrative structure of rise in action, climax, and dénouement might have the

point of departure begin the rise in action, the destination act as the climax, and the return to the point of departure as dénouement; conversely, the climax may occur during exploratory travel to or from the destination or even at return to the point of departure.

At its most general, whether noun or verb, travel describes an action or a state of motion. Like all actions or states of motion, travel comprises the repeated intersection of external space and time. Whether space and time are determined by the rate of human movement over terrain during the course of a day or by sophisticated global positioning systems, the bulk of exploration writing is biosphere bound. (The exception is space travel, which was once classified only as imaginary voyage.) Because travel describes an action, the emphasis of exploration writing might be upon the change of space or the passage of time or both, or it might address the intersection of space and time by focusing on sequence or on those moments when space seems fixed and time frozen. By analogy with the travelogue, the structure of exploration writing might be a filmic experience, a slide show—or a single photograph.

Johnson's "[a]ccount of occurrences and observations of a journey into foreign parts' (J.)" (qtd. in *OED*, "Travel, *n*") reflects two of the main modes of expression in exploration writing: "[a]ccount of occurrences" provides narrative and "observations" description. Conceiving of geography as place rather than space, Peter Hulme says, "[t]ravel writing is hardly possible without the description of movement of some sort, but travel writing almost always wants to say something about the places the travel writer visits. Movement and place are always therefore in some tension" (21-22). If exploration writing is less narrative and more descriptive, the points of intersection of time and space may substitute as narrative progress. Conversely, a linear or sequential structure, the very

idea of progress, can be disrupted by reflection, reminiscence, or retrospection. Finally, memory allows for forms of return or even exploratory travel-within-travel as possible structures.

Ette details some structures as conceived geometrically: “[t]he circle [. . .] in which the traveler returns to the place of departure” (39); “[t]he pendulum” or “the commuting between two or several locations” (43); “[t]he line [. . .] from a starting point to a destination point” (43); “[t]he star [. . .] starts from a definite center, which serves as a starting point for a more or less circular journey” (45); and “[t]he jump,” for which there is “neither a concrete starting point nor a concrete destination” (47). My only addition to Ette’s conception of structures would be to modify the idea of the departure and return to the place of departure by noting that while it may be a circle (or loop) it may also be a double line, depending on whether the return route differs from the route out or not. Also, as a geometric conception of travel, the circle encompasses one of the great travel paradoxes, circumnavigation or, as Mandeville calls it, “envirounynge” (135): the paradox is that, by following the earth’s surface, one may travel further and further from the point of departure until one travels nearer and nearer to it.

Before he departed on James Cook’s first voyage of circumnavigation, Sir Joseph Banks responded to the suggestion that “he should do the Grand Tour instead” (Barber 84) by declaring, “[e]very blockhead does that; my Grand Tour shall be one round the whole globe” (qtd. in Barber 84). With this declaration, Banks not only points to the eighteenth century’s interest in travels (written and actual) but also celebrates the joint empirical venture of the Admiralty and Royal Society as the *grandest* of tours. Cook’s first voyage of circumnavigation was to observe the 1769 Transit of Venus for the

purpose of improving upon the measures of the 1761 Transit observations for the determination of “the solar parallax, or the mean distance of the earth from the sun” (Woolf vii). The interest in the parallax expressed the wish for a numerical constant that would “complete the Newtonian system of the world by determining its actual scalar dimensions” (vii) (as well as those of the solar system). Important to practical astronomy, cartography, and navigation, the expeditions to observe the Transit of Venus not only celebrated the paradigm shift from the Ptolemaic to the Copernican worldview but also ushered in a period of heightened natural history interest: “[t]he cause of natural history was considerably advanced when the Transit expeditions were linked with those engaged in the detailed exploration of the world” (197)—as was the case with Cook’s first circumnavigation thanks to the presence of Banks, Fellow of the Royal Society, and Dr. Daniel Carl Solander, a Fellow of the Royal Society who had studied under Carl von Linné or Linnaeus, architect of the system of binomial nomenclature for Earth’s beings.

Although today one might think of natural history as the equivalent of field biology, eighteenth-century understanding of natural history did not depart from Bacon’s early modern understanding, which the Royal Society’s “Directions” follow. Stuart Houston, Tim Ball, and Mary Houston explain that “[i]n the eighteenth century the term ‘natural history’ encompassed both climatology and astronomy as well as the study of animals, plants, and minerals” (14). Included within the kingdom *Animalia*, humans too were fit subjects, and what one might now categorise as observations pertaining to ethnology, ethnography, or anthropology, were also part of natural history. Observations of geologic and geographical features fell within the rubric of natural history too. Distinct from and yet overlapping with natural history observations pertaining to

astronomy and geography, were those observations, measurements, and calculations necessary to navigation and cartography. Thus, exploration writing's empiricism took two forms of expression in the eighteenth century, and these two forms were often either represented in one exploratory enterprise or embodied in a single explorer.

MacLulich argues that Cook's voyages "triggered the process which changed the somewhat vaguely defined class of writings dealing with geographical discovery into a recognizable literary genre, the exploration narrative" (10-11). The reasoning that MacLulich offers is as follows: before Cook's voyages "scientists had made use of the reports of explorers," but "after Cook's voyages the two activities of geographical discovery and scientific observation were firmly united as part of a single process" (11) and, therefore, the writing that emerged from this process "incorporated many new departures in subject, in theme, in style, and in organization" (12) that other writers of exploration wished to emulate because Cook's texts were "popular" (12). MacLulich's reasoning is false. While Cook's voyages had both cartographic and natural history interests, the combination of the two interests preceded Cook: "by 1700" it was common practice to send "scientists on official embassies or voyages of exploration" (Adams 79).

Although a "literary genre, the exploration narrative" did *not* result from Cook's voyages, Cook's voyages affected exploration writing because they were themselves of general interest, and the writing about these voyages that was attributed to Cook satisfied this interest; its popularity, however, lay not in how it departed from previous exploration writing but in how it conformed to reader expectations for travel writing. Expressing, if not establishing, travel writing reader expectations, in February of 1760, in *The Idler* No. 97, Samuel Johnson exhorts, "[e]very writer of travels should consider, that, like all other

authors, he undertakes either to instruct or please, or to mingle pleasure with instruction” (298). Johnson complains of explorers, “sons of enterprize” (300), and Grand Tourists who merely describe the space through which they travel or the things that they see while travelling, “without incidents, without reflection” (299), and he exhorts, “[h]e that would travel for the entertainment of others, should remember that the great object of remark is human life” (300).

Thirteen years later, *An Account of the Voyages Undertaken by Order of His Present Majesty for Making Discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere, and Successfully Performed by Commodore Byron, Captain Wallis, Captain Carteret and Captain Cook, in the Dolphin, the Swallow and the Endeavour* (1773) was printed in London by Strahan and Cadell. The three volumes were edited by John Hawkesworth, and Cook’s first and westward exploratory circumnavigation comprises the last two of the three. “Cook” here is a less-than-seamless composite of the journals of Cook and Banks with commentary by Hawkesworth, whose editorial choices echo Johnson’s exhortation. Besides establishing a general context for the exploratory voyages in his text—Charles the Second’s “design of sending out vessels for making discoveries of countries hitherto unknown” (i)—and a specific one for Cook’s voyage—“it was resolved by the Royal Society, that it would be proper to send persons into some part of the South Sea to observe a transit of the planet Venus over the sun’s disk” (ii)—in his “General Introduction,” Hawkesworth explains that, although he has written the text in the first person, he has taken the liberty to “intersperse such sentiments and observations as [his] subject should suggest” (v). Moreover, in his “Introduction” to the second and third volumes of his work, Hawkesworth explains his reason for combining Cook’s and Banks’s journals by

delicately suggesting that the two are complements as necessary to exploration writing as are the Admiralty and Royal Society to exploring: “[t]he papers of Captain Cook contained a very particular account of all nautical incidents of the voyage, and a very minute description of the figure and extent of the countries he had visited” (xiii), while the papers of “Mr. Banks” included “a great variety of incidents which had not come under the notice of Captain Cook, with descriptions of countries and people, their productions, manners, customs, religion, policy, and language” (xiv). Thus, Cook provides the travel; Banks provides the human interest. Besides including charts, maps, plans, views, and drawings that depict peopled landscape or foreground human activity, a botanical sketch, “branch of the bread-fruit tree with the fruit” (xxxvi), and sketches of items of material culture from Peoples encountered during the voyage, Hawkesworth satisfies his general reader with a brief but useful dictionary, “An Explanation of the Nautical Terms not generally understood which occur in this Work” (xxiii).

In a study of Cook’s journals concerning his three circumnavigations, Cook’s biographer J. C. Beaglehole calls the voyage of the *Endeavour* “the last part of [Cook’s] apprenticeship” (*Cook the Writer* 8) “for discovery” (7) because it was during this voyage that Cook developed as a writer under the tutelage of Banks. Thus, the two-volume *A Voyage towards the South Pole and round the World. Performed in His Majesty’s Ships the Resolution and Adventure, in the Years 1772, 1773, 1774 and 1775* (1777), also printed by Strahan and Cadell, was “Cook’s own book” (12), as its title page indicates: “WRITTEN / By JAMES COOK.” It is important, however, to note that, although Cook wrote and revised the text, he incorporated into it parts of the journals of others on the voyage, most particularly astronomer “William Wales” (16), who observed the 1769

Transit of Venus from “the Hudson’s Bay Company post of Prince of Wales’s Fort” (“Wales, William”). Also, in separate sections, *A Voyage* includes “CAPTAIN FURNEAUX’s NARRATIVE of his / Proceedings and ADVENTURE during the Separation of the Ships” (title page), between Dusky Bay and Queen Charlotte’s Sound, New Zealand and after the ships leave Cape of Good Hope until they reach England. Finally, the whole was edited by “Dr. John Douglas, Canon of Windsor” (17)—although Beaglehole asserts that Cook retained control of the process.

While Hawkesworth’s is a collection of voyages taken “*for making discoveries in the Southern Hemisphere*” (title), these volumes are dedicated entirely to Cook’s more difficult eastward circumnavigation “*in search of a Southern Continent*” (19). As with Hawkesworth’s volume, the “General Introduction” (ix) sets a context for the exploration by establishing its importance: “[w]hether the unexplored part of the *Southern Hemisphere* be only an immense mass of water, or contain another continent, as speculative geography seemed to suggest, was a question which had long engaged the attention, not only of learned men, but of most of the maritime powers of Europe” (ix). It then offers a brief history of exploration in the southern hemisphere—and Cook’s voyage begins as the logical conclusion to this history. Although Cook’s voyage is the farthest south in the sequence, its results speak to the nature of exploration. On Sunday, January 30, 1774, the ships reach “field-ice” having “ninety-seven ice hills” of such extent and height that Cook must resort to analogy by contrast: “[s]uch mountains of ice as these, were, I believe, never seen in the Greenland Sea” (Vol. 1, 267). The dangerous ice makes the way nearly impassable; Cook decides to go no further south; and, thus, the result of the search for the Southern Continent is conjecture: “[i]t was indeed *my* opinion, as well

as the opinion of most on board, that this ice extended quite to the pole, or perhaps joined to some land” (268). Such a statement might be read as a suggestion for further exploration despite Cook’s pronouncement that, as a result of his voyage, “a final end [has been] put to the searching after a southern continent” (Vol. 2, 239).

As with the volumes dedicated to Cook’s first circumnavigation, these volumes include charts, maps, plans, views, and drawings of peopled landscape, human activity, objects of material culture, and natural history specimens (animal, this time, as well as botanical). Barbara Stafford argues that the graphic inclusions in travel writing from 1760 to 1840 express a “scientific aesthetic” (xix); while I would suggest that the aesthetic is more properly “empirical,” because it is interested in neither quantification nor induction, I agree with Stafford that the graphic inclusions are influenced by, if not a part of, the knowledge-making enterprise associated with the Royal Society. In context of the empirical aesthetic, the “PORTRAITS of PERSONS” (title page) included in Cook’s second text comprise a curious study in human interest. There are a number of portraits depicting human beings as natural history specimens, such as those of “MAN OF EASTER ISLAND” and “WOMAN OF EASTER ISLAND” (Vol. 1, unpaginated). There is also, however, the frontispiece portrait of “CAPTAIN JAMES COOK. F.R.S.” himself, hero of exploration. Finally, there are those portraits, liminally positioned, representing human beings as named individuals, such as those of the Tahitians, for examples “OTOO KING OF O-TAHEITE” (Vol. 1, unpaginated) and “OMAI” (unpaginated).

While most of the graphics are interspersed throughout the travel portion of the volumes, nonetheless important to the voyage account are those separate sections

following. There are tables of astronomical observations and meteorological data in tables following the Royal Society's "For Observations and Experiments" model (445). There is "A VOCABULARY OF THE LANGUAGE OF THE SOCIETY ISLES" (Vol. 2, 318) with pronunciation guide, and a table that compares "LANGUAGES spoken in the *South Sea*" (Vol. 2, 364-5). Finally, introduced by a letter, there is, "annexed" (367) to the volumes, Sir John Pringle's "Discourse upon Some Late Improvements of the Means for Preserving the Health of Mariners" from a paper delivered to the Royal Society "November 30, 1776" (369). The paper addresses how Cook managed to keep the health of his men by airing his ships and fighting scurvy.

As important to cartography and navigation as his Transit of Venus voyage, Cook's second circumnavigation was not only a search for a southern continent but also an experiment addressing longitude. Long the bane of open ocean travel, longitude had eluded exact determination because, as Beaglehole says, "[l]ongitude—to put the matter crudely—is wrapped up with time" (*The Life* 114), and, until John Harrison's invention and perfection of the chronometer (1730-1770), there was no technology available for accurately measuring time under the varying and potentially extreme conditions of oceanic travel. Before the chronometer was invented and even afterward while chronometers were yet uncommon in navigation, a ship's longitude was most often determined according to the method of dead reckoning using a "log," which was "[a]n apparatus for ascertaining the rate of a ship's motion, consisting of a thin quadrant of wood, loaded so as to float upright in the water, and fastened to a line wound on a reel" (*OED* def. II. 6.). One record kept in the ship's log or log-*book* was the log measure: not only a record of travel that determined the ship's course but also one that might make

repeating that course possible. Because dead reckoning determined longitude as a relative measure based on the ship's direction "determined from the stars or a compass" (Sobel 14) and the log's "rate of motion" timed by "sandglass or pocket watch" (14) and corrected for winds and tides, however, there was a high degree of uncertainty in longitudes determined during long voyages over open water.

Because this uncertainty could and did lead to disaster, Britain instituted the "Longitude Act of 1714, in which Parliament promised a prize of £20,000 for a solution to the longitude problem" (16) and "set up the Board of Longitude" (Beaglehole 115) to promote solutions and adjudicate amongst them. The two solutions in serious competition for the prize were, as Beaglehole describes them, "the astronomical-mathematical, and the mechanical" (115): that is, lunar distance, which depended upon observations of the angular distance between the moon and sun (during the day) or the moon and fixed stars (at night) as taken at sea and from a fixed point on land, and the chronometer, respectively. Cook's second circumnavigation provided an opportunity to test the chronometer against the lunar distance method—on an extended voyage. Beaglehole says that Cook's "devotion to the lunar method, by the end of his first voyage, is clear" (287), but, over the course of Cook's second voyage, Beaglehole charts Cook's increasing admiration of and dependence upon the chronometer, a model of Harrison's made by Larcum Kendall (K 1). By the time that Cook departed on his third circumnavigation, Kendall had made two more chronometers, and "the Board of Longitude decided that both K 1 and K 3 should go with Cook" (Lamb, "Introduction," *A Voyage* 51). As good as an advertisement for the chronometer, Cook's final two voyages mark a turning point in perceptions of exploration by sea. Arriving at a single destination

lost some of its importance because time fixed location: *everywhere* became *somewhere*. Moreover, given the scalar dimensions of the earth and determination of longitude, mapping the earth in its entirety became not merely possible but inevitable.

Although Cook did not complete his final eastward circumnavigation because he was killed in Hawaii, the first two volumes of the three-volume *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean. Undertaken, by the Command of His Majesty, for Making Discoveries in the Northern Hemisphere. To Determine the Position and Extent of the West Side of North America; Its Distance from Asia; and the Practicability of a Northern Passage to Europe. Performed under the Direction of Captains Cook, Clerke, and Gore, in His Majesty's Ships the Resolution and Discovery. In the Years 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779, and 1780* (1784), printed in London by Strahan, "were edited by Douglas from Cook's journal" (Beaglehole, *The Life* 691). The final volume belongs to James King, who, commanding the *Discovery* after Clerke's death near Kamchatka, completed the circumnavigation's northern hemisphere return. Given Cook's death, it is hardly surprising that the prefatory matter strikes a note of finality in regards to geographical exploration. Preceding the dedicatory eulogising of Cook, the highly footnoted introduction concerning "[t]he spirit of discovery" as it pertains to "Great Britain" (i) of the mid- to late eighteenth century situates Britain's discoveries within those of other European nations; its message, however, is that Britain's are superior and that Cook's discoveries represent Britain's zenith. Surveying exploration of the South and North Pacific, the introduction's purpose is to establish a context for Cook's final circumnavigation, which, "besides revisiting many of the former discoveries in the Southern, carried its operations into untrodden paths in the Northern Hemisphere" (iii-iv), most "particularly" for the purpose of

determining the “existence, or, at least, [. . .] the practicability of a Northern passage between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans” (xxviii).

Although predominantly of nautical interest, the graphic inclusions in the volumes are like those concerning Cook’s previous circumnavigations (excepting botanical specimens). Hinting at a separate function for some of the graphics, however, the prefatory matter notes that “Purchasers of this Work may choose to preserve the larger-sized Plates in a separate volume in folio” (xci)—perhaps purely for the pleasure of viewing. Besides the interspersed graphics, there are seven appendices. Two are of meteorological and navigational interest. Three are of vocabularies of Pacific Peoples, and two are comparative vocabularies.

Like Cook’s three voyages of circumnavigation, George Vancouver’s three-volume *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean, and round the World; in which the Coast of North-west America Has Been Carefully Examined, and Accurately Surveyed. Undertaken by His Majesty’s Command, Principally with a View to Ascertain the Existence of Any Navigable Communication Between the North Pacific and North Atlantic Oceans; and Performed in the Years 1790, 1791, 1792, 1793, 1794, and 1795, in the Discovery Sloop of War, and Armed Tender Chatham, under the Command of Captain George Vancouver* (1798), as printed in London for Robinson and Edwards, speaks of open ocean travel punctuated by harbouring and interacting. The similarity between Vancouver’s and Cook’s texts is, however, more than merely exploration by sea. It is both route and relationship. Vancouver was aboard Cook’s *Resolution*, for Cook’s second circumnavigation, and Clerke’s *Discovery*, for Cook’s third. Vancouver’s voyage not only “followed much the same route” (Lamb, “Introduction,” *A Voyage* 5) as Cook’s

third voyage but also was taken for the same purpose: to seek a Northwest Passage. Moreover, Cook appears in Vancouver's account—as a man he admired and mourns and as a man whose work he is completing and correcting. Despite the multilayered influence of Cook, there is, however, one significant difference between the texts of the two: whereas Cook's graphics include natural history interests, Vancouver's are entirely of navigational interest—although they too may be bound in a separate folio volume. W. Kaye Lamb notes that the written text is largely Vancouver's creation. It “was not rewritten for publication by a ghost writer. It is a straightforward revision of the journal [Vancouver] kept during the expedition” supplemented by “the reports or journals of other members of the expedition” (229). Moreover, although Vancouver's brother John completed the manuscript, “[a]ll but a hundred of the nearly fifteen hundred pages in the first (quarto) edition were either in type or ready for the printer when Vancouver died” (229). Within four years of its first British edition, the text was printed in translation in French (1799), German (1799-1800), Danish (1799-1802), and Swedish (1800-01) (Lamb 267-68).

Although MacLulich mentions “Vancouver” (4) as offering an example of the “exploration narrative” and bases his argument upon the influence of Cook's accounts, his interest is in exploration writing dealing with land exploration taken in the mid- to late eighteenth century and pertaining to the trade in beaver furs in the now-Canadian northwest. Of the writing dealing with this time and space, the only two texts printed within their period that he acknowledges as examples of “true exploration narrative” (7) are those of Samuel Hearne and Alexander Mackenzie (for while he considers David Thompson's the third example, Thompson's text was not published until 1916). Hearne's

text, like Vancouver's, speaks as much of the community of British exploration as it does of the influence of Cook's accounts, for parts of Hearne's text appear, eleven years before his full volume, in the introduction to Cook's third circumnavigation. The reason that Hearne appears is the search for a Northwest Passage, for he, "Mr. Hearne, a young gentleman" (xlvii), as Cook's introduction describes him, had travelled by land under the auspices of the Hudson's Bay Company in search of "a passage out of Hudson's Bay into the Western Ocean" (Hearne xli) before Cook departed upon his own search, and Hearne, in his "A Map *exhibiting M.^R HEARNE'S TRACKS in his Journies for the discovery of the COPPER MINE RIVER, in the Years 1770, 1771, and 1772 under the direction of the HUDSON'S BAY COMPANY*" reveals the cartographic information that is reproduced, visible in the inland lakes west of Hudson's Bay, in one of the graphics included in Cook's text that a purchaser may have had bound in folio, "A GENERAL CHART Exhibiting the DISCOVERIES made by Capt.ⁿ JAMES COOK in this and his two preceding VOYAGES, with the TRACKS of the SHIPS under his command." Within his own text, Hearne reveals his desire to emulate Cook as a leader. In a section dedicated to describing "GRASS of several kinds" (456) found in the vicinity of Hudson's Bay, Hearne notes that he "never had one man under [him] who had the least symptoms of scurvy" (457). Although personal, the tribute suggests that Hearne is familiar with Sir John Pringle's "Discourse," perhaps from Cook's second text. Mackenzie also reveals that, if he has not read, he is at least aware of the content of Cook's third text when, on the day that he arrives at "a narrow arm of the sea" (*The Journals* 372) (that is, the Pacific Ocean), he writes of seeing a woman with copper labrets and notes that these are "as described by Captain Cook" (371).

Samuel Hearne's *A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean. Undertaken by Order of the Hudson's Bay Company, for the Discovery of Copper Mines, a Northwest Passage, &c. In the Years, 1769, 1770, 1771, and 1772(1795)* was first printed in London for Strahan and Cadell and translated into German (1797), Dutch (1798), Swedish (1798), French (1799), and Danish (1802), within seven years of its London edition. Comprising three distinct sections in its first edition, Hearne's text includes maps, plans, and views as well as sketches of items of material culture, and it covers his two failed attempts and one successful journey to reach the Arctic Ocean, "A short Description of the Northern Indians, also a farther Account of their Country, Manufactures, Customs, & c." (304) pertaining to the Chipewyan with whom he travelled, and descriptions of the plant and non-human animal life of the Hudson's Bay area. Alternating between narrative of progress and descriptions, the journeys section's style, like Cook's and Vancouver's, is digressive. The text itself, like Cook's third, is also footnoted, but the footnotes are Hearne's and, rather than authorise exploration history, they offer reminiscence. Although to date there is no definitive evidence of the transformation from notes into printed text, I. S. MacLaren addresses the text's climax, the Chipewyan massacre of Inuit living along the Coppermine River near its mouth at the Arctic Ocean, and notes that the printed volume contains descriptions "that one cannot find in the two surviving versions of Hearne's field notes" (21). Although there is no proof of either, the addition suggests either that there was editorial intervention or that Hearne himself was catering to public tastes.

Perhaps thinking of Cook's vocabularies, Hearne moans in his "Preface," "I cannot sufficiently regret the loss of a considerable Vocabulary of the Northern Indian

Language, containing sixteen folio pages” (x). Hearne had “lent” the Vocabulary to the Hudson’s Bay Company’s “Corresponding Secretary” for copying, but the man died, and the Vocabulary was lost. The loss as Hearne describes it is significant given his substantial “A Short Description of the Northern Indians,” for the vocabulary and description taken together represent an extensive exploration of Chipewyan culture. In bemoaning the loss, Hearne points to the focus of his text, and this focus is not only essential for understanding his conception of the readership for his text but also for understanding its relationship to Mackenzie’s text. Although Hearne was both a cartographer and a natural historian, he emphasises his natural history achievements by explaining that his text is “not so much for the information of those who are critics of geography, as for the amusement of candid and indulgent readers, who may perhaps feel themselves in some measure gratified, by having the face of a country brought to their view, which has hitherto been entirely unknown to every European except myself” (vi).

In his *Voyages from Montreal, on the River St. Laurence, through the Continent of North America, to the Frozen and Pacific Oceans; in the Years 1789 and 1793. With a preliminary account of the rise, progress, and present state of the fur trade of that country* (1801), Sir Alexander Mackenzie establishes his text and its readership in opposition to Hearne’s. Although his text contains many passages describing the Peoples whom he encounters, Mackenzie, in his “Preface,” disclaims interest in natural history or “the science of the naturalist” (*The Journals* 58), in favour of “geographical science” (57), and whereas Hearne’s text has few astronomical observations or indications of direction, Mackenzie’s emphasises his astronomical observations, which follow “Galileo’s method for finding longitude” (Sobel 27) on land according to “Jupiter and his

satellites” (Mackenzie, *The Journals* 256), and he includes long passages of directional description detailing his inland waterways travel taken under his own auspices as a partner of the North West Company. Dedicated to George III and edited by “William Combe” (who wrote *The Three Tours of Doctor Syntax*) (Montgomery 303), the text was first printed in London for Cadell and Davies and was translated into both French (1802) and German (1802) within one year of its London edition. Although it has no sketches, the text has three maps, one showing “America between the latitudes of 40 and 70, and longitudes 45 and 180 WEST,” which includes the cartographic information of Hearne’s “A Map exhibiting M.^R HEARNE’S TRACKS,” and the other two showing Mackenzie’s routes “from Fort Chipewayan to the North Sea” and “from Fort Chipewayan to the Pacific Ocean.” Along with the “Preface” by Mackenzie, there are three sections: the vocabulary-containing “A GENERAL HISTORY OF THE FUR TRADE FROM CANADA TO THE NORTH-WEST,” perhaps written by Mackenzie’s cousin “Roderic” (Lamb, “Introduction,” *The Journals* 33) McKenzie, Mackenzie’s one failed attempt to reach the Pacific Ocean, during which he reached the Arctic instead, and his one successful attempt. Because Mackenzie travelled largely by lakes and rivers, the rhythm of his text of landmass exploration is like those of the oceanic explorations of Cook and Vancouver, for Mackenzie’s inland waterways travel is punctuated by landing and interacting. Unlike Cook’s, Vancouver’s, or Hearne’s, however, Mackenzie’s style is linear; it subordinates description to action and progress.

The strength of MacLulich’s argument regarding Hearne and Mackenzie is that it establishes that fur traders worked within a British tradition of exploration writing and that, therefore, their “attitudes, interests, and very modes of perception were all

conditioned by a set of preexisting attitudes and literary conventions” (211), its weakness is that it tries to turn exploration writing into “narrative,” a “literary genre” (11), at the expense of the genre’s variety. For instance, MacLulich dismisses “[t]he third part” of Hearne’s text “as an appendix and not as a part of the narrative proper” (119) because it includes a character sketch of Hearne’s guide Matonabee, ethnographic descriptions, and a section describing the plants and non-human animals of the Hudson’s Bay area. MacLulich also says that “the important parts of Mackenzie’s book are the ‘Preface,’ [. . .] and his accounts of the two voyages themselves” (137) and, thereby, excludes the entire first section of Mackenzie’s text, “A GENERAL HISTORY OF THE FUR TRADE.” Moreover, he argues that “[i]f a full-dress summary of the historical background [to the “exploring venture”] is thought desirable, it is given in a separate introduction, not made part of the narrative proper” (56) and, in so arguing, fails to see that Mackenzie’s “A GENERAL HISTORY” also offers a generalised voyage “*from Montreal*” (title) to Fort Chipewyan and is, therefore, necessarily, a part of Mackenzie’s “narrative proper.” Given such willed oversights, one might well ask what MacLulich would do with Hawkesworth’s glossary of nautical terms, Cook’s maps, or the portraits of Cook’s second text.

MacLulich argues that Cook’s voyages changed “the voyage account into the exploration narrative, and [made] authors out of almost all the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century explorers” (73), but for Johnson, the eighteenth-century “writer of travels” was already “like all other authors” (298). The difference between MacLulich and Johnson is a historical difference in conceptions of literature: while Johnson seeks for works that instruct and / or please, MacLulich seeks for works that are narrative.

Thus, MacLulich's argument regarding exploration writing is not unlike those aesthetic arguments put forth by theorists in support of travel writing's literary status, for it seeks to define literature by qualities internal rather than factors social. Neglecting the whole in favour of the part, MacLulich attempts to transform exploration writing into literature by removing from it those elements that might link it to other fields of study.

Influenced by practical early modern documenting activities and infused with the spirit and style of empiricism, exploration writing is now likely to be read as a primary document of geography, history, science, or social science. Adams notes that "[o]f all the literature of travel, that of exploration has been most thoroughly examined by historians of geography and cartography" (60). Because exploration writing shares features of our present-day academic disciplinary discourses, it is often elided with those disciplines; the problem with such an elision is that it fails to recognise that our present discourse communities do not readily transfer to earlier discourse communities. Discursive clusters shift. For example, in the eighteenth century, the distinctions between literature and science were, if not nonexistent, at least not as distinct as they are today. The difference is between a conception of knowledge and our present disciplines, which are institutionalised categories of knowledge. The matter might be complicated by function if the writer of exploration supposes his writing (or his travels) to be in service to the collection of particular categories of knowledge. It is certainly complicated by exploration history, for with the last of the great geographical exploration of the Arctic there is sub-generic modulation so that categories of knowledge predominate. For example, in Alexander von Humboldt's *Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of the New Continent, during the Years 1799-1804* (1814) and Charles Darwin's

A Journal of Researches into the Natural History and Geology of the Countries Visited during the Voyage of the H. M. S. Beagle under the Command of Captain Fitzroy, R. N. from 1832-1836 (1839) a scientific function predominates. The geographical explorer-as-observer is replaced by the travelling scientist-as-explorer.

Chapter 3

On Origins

Because some exploration writing deals, in part or wholly, with the geographical space that would become Canada, there is a will amongst some scholars of English-Canadian literature to include it in the nation's literary canon by writing it into English-Canadian literary histories, encyclopaedias, and companions. The process of inclusion results in what I term a paradox of place. The paradox of place is the simultaneously canonical and non- or anti-canonical status conferred upon exploration writing as a result of the conceptual negotiations demanded by the transfer of writings of non-Canadian publication to Canadian territory. In this transfer exploration writing transforms into the origin of English-Canadian literature; its empirical perspective and function transmute into proto-realism.

Capturing and creating something of the paradox of place that exploration writing holds in the English-Canadian literary canon, in his "Conclusion" to the first edition of *Literary History of Canada* (subtitled *Canadian Literature in English*), Northrop Frye remarks that "[t]he literary, in Canada, is often only an incidental quality of writings which, like those of many of the early explorers, are as innocent of literary intention as a mating loon" (822). Simultaneously disparaging the literary in Canada and exploration writing in general, Frye's remark creates a distinction that plagues English-Canadian literary histories. He creates the distinction by using "literary" and "writings" to indicate two separate spheres of production that only occasionally, and by chance, coincide. If the distinction is correct, then *Literary History of Canada* might more properly be called *History of the Writings of Canada*, given that its first three chapters, "The Voyagers,"

“Explorers by Land to 1860,” and “Explorers by Sea: The West Coast,” in part *survey* exploration writing pertaining to the geographical space that is now Canada. Given that these first three chapters address mostly British print productions written by British subjects, Frye’s remark is more than merely a disparaging simile effecting aesthetic distinction. His remark is also an elision of distinctions between British and Canadian writings and is, thus, essential given the cultural work that *Literary History* intends, for the text is a “history” in the sense that it writes of the developmental progress of Canadian literature, which not only improves but also becomes more Canadian with time. In Frye’s words, *Literary History* “has its own themes of exploration, settlement, and development,” and “these themes relate to a social *imagination* that explores and settles and develops,” an imagination that “has its own rhythms of growth as well as its own modes of expression” (822). Therefore, as both the text’s final part and the happy result of the imagination’s growth and development, there is “The Realization of a Tradition”—national, Canadian.

The unfortunate result of a developmental approach is that, while it goes some way towards canonizing exploration writing by virtue of inclusion, it also works against that very canonization process by, as Jonathan Kertzer observes, placing exploration writing at the base of an aesthetic hierarchy that is believed to be natural and to reflect improved quality in sequence: “[r]ecords of first discovery [. . .] are followed by reflective travel literature [. . .], followed by exploratory narrative poems [. . .], and then realistic stories of settlement” (19). The problem with this sequence is that, in casting exploration writing as poor-quality, precursor-Canadian literature, it necessitates casting explorers solely as agents of imperial expansion and not as writers with literary

intentions. Thus, not only does the sequence remove exploration writing from its British empirical literary context but it also removes it from the larger travel-writing tradition of which it is a part. The removals are essential given that exploration writing disconcertingly moves across not only the permeable boundary between Britain and Canada but also across that more resistant boundary between document and literature. Exploration writing calls into question the very notion of boundaries geographical and classificatory, and the move to remove it from its empirical-literary and travel-writing contexts speaks to the way in which a developmental approach to literary history proceeds.

Addressing Frye's comment "that the Canadian sensibility [. . .] is less perplexed by the question 'Who am I?' than by some such riddle as 'Where is here?'" (826), Leon Surette traces the importance of territory to English-Canadian conceptions of the national literature. Surette coins the term "topocentrism" to indicate the tendency to imagine cultures geographically. He explains that, while "[a]ll varieties of cultural history are to some degree topocentric" (49), cultural history written about English-Canadian literature is such to a great degree: "[t]opocentrism dominates critical perspectives on Canadian literature, because no other means of establishing its boundaries are available" (51). Relying on geography to define nation, then, *Literary History* transforms destination into destiny by proceeding from the assumption that exploration writing is the point of origin for the national literature because it is about "here" and, more importantly, about where "here" is.

I take as my own point of origin Frye's remark in *Literary History*, but, of course, the remark and the history also had their origins. In the spring 1990 issue of *Critical*

Inquiry, Robert Lecker and Frank Davey debate the processes of English-Canadian canon-formation. Beginning the debate, Lecker argues that “[a]t the end of World War II [. . .] [t]here was no canon” (“The Canonization” 656) of Canadian literature but that with the publication of *Literary History of Canada*, “the institution called Canadian literature was born” (657). Davey finds Lecker’s choice of *Literary History of Canada* “arbitrary” (“Critical Response I” 674) and his narrative of canon formation suspect because it largely ignores selection processes or pressures that preceded *Literary History* or that were unrelated to the study or teaching of Canadian literature. Lecker, nonetheless, insists, “I chose the *Literary History of Canada* because it is important and different: it was the first large-scale, academic research project to present an encyclopedic view that was endorsed by a critic of international stature—Northrop Frye” (“Critical Response II” 685). Let Davey and Lecker bicker: they are both right. The history of canonization is longer and more complicated than Lecker suggests, but *Literary History of Canada* is, despite Davey’s objections, a defining moment in English-Canadian literary canon-formation, perhaps not only for its critical sanction but also for its publication history, which may have resulted from that sanction or from the text’s first publication just two years in advance of centennial celebrations. Unlike any English-Canadian literary history before or since, *Literary History of Canada*’s first edition of 1965 was reprinted in 1966, 1967, 1970, and 1973, and translated by Maurice Lebel and published in 1970 as *Histoire littéraire du Canada: littérature canadienne de langue anglaise*, before it went into a second edition in 1976, which was reprinted in 1977.

One year after the *Critical Inquiry* debate, in an essay in a collection edited by Lecker, Dermot McCarthy argues, “*Literary History of Canada* (1965) does not represent

an act of literary autogeny. The origins of [. . .] the displaced Protestant teleology of Frye's 'Conclusion' to the *Literary History*, are to be found in the nineteenth-century anthologies" (31-2). McCarthy continues, "[f]rom its beginnings in the nineteenth century, the writing of Canadian literary history has been organized around the extra-literary concept of the 'nation'" (32). McCarthy bases his argument not only on two late-nineteenth-century anthologies of poetry, E. H. Dewar's *Selections from Canadian Poets* (1864) and W. D. Lighthall's *Songs of the Great Dominion* (1889), but also on the following early-twentieth-century literary histories, all listed together in sequence in *Literary History of Canada* as "proof of the spirit of literary nationalism and optimism which was characteristic of the 1920s" (484): Ray Palmer Baker's *A History of English-Canadian Literature to the Confederation* (1920, reprinted 1968), J. D. Logan and Donald G. French's *Highways of Canadian Literature* (1924, second edition 1928), Archibald MacMechan's *Head-Waters of Canadian Literature* (1924), Lionel Stevenson's *Appraisals of Canadian Literature* (1926, reprinted 1970), and Lorne Pierce's *An Outline of Canadian Literature (French and English)* (1927). McCarthy does not mention V. B. Rhodenizer's *Handbook of Canadian Literature* (1930), but it too is included in *Literary History*'s list. While I agree with McCarthy's first assertion, the logic of his second is suspect, for any attempt at a national literary history is necessarily a nationalist project. That it should be remarkable that a Canadian literary history organises itself around "the concept of the 'nation,'" implies that other national canons oppose nation with evaluation. One might well question why the canon of English literature begins with *Beowulf* except that its many translations obscure the fact that *Beowulf* is not in English (nor is it about England, for that matter). If philology plays a

part in determining the English nation, so too does religion, and one might also question whether Edmund Spenser's *Faerie Queene* would have been canonized had England returned to Catholicism. Finally, one might well ask why the English are not embarrassed by the early modern importation of Italian sonnet conventions. My point is that, in canon-formation, "the concept of the 'nation'" is not "extra-literary."

Although each of the five literary histories that McCarthy studies organises itself around "nation," each understands "literature" and "history" somewhat differently, and some of this difference can be seen in each text's relationship to exploration writing. Ray Palmer Baker's non-chronological survey of literary influences, *A History of English-Canadian Literature to the Confederation: Its Relation to the Literature of Great Britain and the United States* (1920), assumes that there *is* a pre-Confederation English-Canadian literature of which to make a history but that that literature "does not begin until the close of the American Revolution" (7). Thus, Baker's sense of what defines the nation is like much of Canadian nationalism that distinguishes itself by first arguing that it is not American.

Baker has a chapter devoted to "TRAVEL AND EXPLORATION" (147). The chapter heading suggests a generic classification with exploration writing as a distinct subgenre of travel writing, but the chapter is, more precisely, devoted to travel, exploration, and settlement writing connected with "the history of the fur trade" (152). The chapter limitation is telling for it suggests that Baker's concept of what makes early Canadian literature is tied to the British mercantilist economics of the geography. Baker begins the chapter by noting, "[b]y a strange trick of fate the writers of travels who are now remembered make no pretension to literary skill" (147). The note is essential to

Baker's view of exploration writing, but it misrecognises a literary *topos* common to subgenre. As Percy G. Adams explains, “[b]y the time [Richard] Hakluyt was translating writers out of early collections of voyages, [. . .] prefatory apologies [concerning literary skill or style] were commonplace” (248). By the late eighteenth century, these apologies were more than merely commonplace: they were “obligatory” (Leed 191). By the late eighteenth century, these apologies acted as a variation of false modesty: to disclaim literary skill or style was to claim the concise and precise plain style demanded by the Royal Society.

Baker, however, from his premise that making “no pretension to literary skill” is the same as having no literary skill (or no editor with skill), explains that the texts of exploration writing “that have become classic are [. . .] unpolished” (147), and, to sustain the idea that exploration writing is not literary, he describes the “explorers and fur traders” as “men of action who had no thought of literary fame” (149). If not harbouring thought of “literary fame,” explorers (their amenuenses, colleagues, ghost-writers, and editors) certainly thought of pecuniary advantage and did not take the time to try to see their writings to publication purely for self-edification. Thus, Baker’s “no pretension to literary skill,” much like Frye’s “innocent of literary intention,” is a double celebration of those “men of action” who are also able, by some accident, to leave writing—but not literature—to posterity. Although Baker’s interpretation of the modesty *topos* is inaccurate, in addressing the writing of his three late-eighteenth century explorers, Samuel Hearne, Alexander Mackenzie, and David Thompson, he reflects an awareness of two common modulations of exploration writing. He says that Hearne’s text “established [. . .] the autobiographical form adopted by his successors” (147), and he calls

Mackenzie's a narrative "of adventure" (152). Included only to be disparaged, Thompson's text is anachronistic within the historical limits of *A History's* survey of literary "progress" (5) because it was unavailable to a reading public before Confederation.

J. D. Logan and Donald G. French's *Highways of Canadian Literature* (1924), which traces English-Canadian literature up until the year of its publication, begins just a little before Baker's with the fateful, pre-Confederation date of 1760, which "marks both the Fall of Montreal (following the Fall of Quebec in 1759) and the Puritan Migration from New England" (20). Contradicting Lecker's version of the English-Canadian literary institution, the literary history notes, "[i]n very recent years Canadian universities and colleges have added to their curricula systematic study of the verse and prose of the chief writers born in or resident in the Dominion" (5). To distinguish their text from its predecessors, the authors declare that, previous to their text, "those who wished to be informed on the literary history of Canada [. . .], had to depend on Anthologies, summary annalistic Sketches, and biographical Compendia" (5). One problem that they see is that "[t]he earlier anthologies comprise verse"; another is that sketches and compendia "do not, by themselves, disclose the *development* of Canadian Literature" (5).

While this interest in "*development*" shows that their concept of the appropriate historical narrative for English-Canadian literature is like that of *Literary History*, they do not integrate exploration writing into the narrative of that development but, rather, segregate it in their text's third and final section, devoted to "SPECIAL AND MISCELLANEOUS (1760-1924)" writings, in the chapter "NARRATIVE LITERATURE" (395). Although the chapter subheading, "*Travels, Exploration, Sport*"

(400), suggests an affiliation by bodily movement rather than genre, travel and exploration writing share some of the same interests as sports writing in instances of outdoor pursuits such as canoeing, hunting and fishing, and camping and, thus, some modulation occurs between the genres. Curiously, the “*Exploration*” of the subheading refers not only to exploration writing itself but also to histories of exploration, which are more appropriately, as the chapter heading designates, “narrative.” Although “narrative” is an imperfect appellation for the prose of exploration writing in particular, the two texts of exploration writing mentioned, J. W. Tyrrell’s *Across the Sub-Arctics of Canada* (1897) and Mackenzie’s *Voyages*, are not only narrative but also highly linear in narrative. Here Mackenzie is both empiricist and artist, for he is “a keen observer” and his text is “marked by colorful style and imaginative presentation of the scenes he visited and of the inspiring or sublime phenomena he observed” (401).

Neither Archibald MacMechan’s *Head-Waters of Canadian Literature* (1924) nor Lionel Stevenson’s *Appraisals of Canadian Literature* (1926) includes exploration writing, but Stevenson has some interesting things to say about geography. Beginning figuratively, he argues that there is a “Canadian quality sufficiently distinctive to warrant the acceptance of Canadian literature as a separate entity in the intellectual geography of the world” (viii). He then creates a literal geographical distinction between Canadian poetry and prose by saying, “[p]oetry is a less localised affair than prose narrative” (x) because the poetry best “exemplifying the essential Canadian spirit” deals with “universal poetic themes” (x), whereas “writers of prose [. . .] have been content with the superficial distinctiveness which Canadian settings and events provide” (xii). Not only does Stevenson subscribe to topocentrism to remark upon the distinctiveness of Canadian

literature and mark distinctions between valuations of poetry and prose, but he also uses topocentrism to justify talking about Canadian literature at all: although he makes “no extravagant claims for the excellence of Canadian literature” (xiii), the literary works that he discusses are valuable because they either capture “the elusive national quality” or “*depict the real life of the country*” (emphasis mine xiii). In these remarks is a hint of the future, a hint of what Lecker calls Frye’s “nonevaluative stance” (661) concerning Canadian literature. It is a stance marked by an embarrassed topocentric logic that argues that it is all right for one to study Canadian literature—because it is *there*.

In *An Outline of Canadian Literature (French and English)* (1927), Lorne Pierce charts the development of the “national ideal” (“Foreword”), or “genius” (238), of which his concluding chapter, “The Genius of Canadian Literature,” offers a description. In his *Outline*, he first considers the central literary genres the novel, poetry, and drama and then peripheral genres and subgenres, two of which are “Travel and Exploration” (203). Striking a fine balance between reading exploration writing as adventure and historical document (although not *history*, for which there is a separate chapter), Pierce calls the texts “tales of adventure and heroism” (10) and “unpretentious records” or “verbal portraits of those distant times and civilizations, priceless data which form a background for our present civilization” (203). Despite the separate chapter for histories, however, like Baker, Pierce includes histories of exploration with the exploration writing itself and, thus, conflates the two. The conflation ignores the important difference between history and historical document. Unlike the other literary histories from the nineteen-twenties, Pierce’s *An Outline* tries to be comprehensive in its list of exploration writing; it begins with early-sixteenth-century French exploration in the east and progresses through British

western and arctic exploration of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to Canadian exploration of the twentieth. Although its organisation differs from *Literary History of Canada*, Pierce's history might be something of a template for *Literary History* because of its scope, variety of peripheral genres, and potent sense of destiny.

Although not addressed by McCarthy, the last in the list of texts indicative of the nineteen-twenties' literary "optimism" (484) is V. B. Rhodenizer's *Handbook of Canadian Literature* (1930), which includes a "TRAVEL, EXPLORATION, AND MEMOIRS" chapter, the composition of which reflects both generic classification and modulation. Memoir is not as exploration writing is to travel writing, but rather memoir is to travel writing as it is to exploration writing—given both the record-keeping and autobiographical functions. Addressing exploration writing with an aesthetic assessment similar to Baker's, Rhodenizer demonstrates the simultaneously canonical and non- or anti-canonical impulse. Explorers are part of "a group the mere stories of whose lives, *regardless* of anything they wrote, have an almost epic interest because they display [. . .] heroism" (emphasis mine 55). Here is part of the paradox of place that exploration writing holds in the English-Canadian literary canon: dismissed in favour of the writer, the writing is, nonetheless, important to read because the writer's life—as the writing shows—is like a literary genre. Rhodenizer's one explorer is Mackenzie, whose regarded-regardless text is "a record of great historical significance" written by a writer who "is not an artist" (58), as Rhodenizer evidences by mentioning Mackenzie's "apology" for his style.

While Pierce's text might be something of a template for *Literary History*, Reginald Eyre Watters's *A Check List of Canadian Literature and Background Materials*

1628-1950: In Two Parts (1959) is more certainly so, and although not an English-Canadian literary history, it is worth looking at because it speaks of what underlies the paradox of place that exploration writing holds in the English-Canadian literary canon. First, however, it is interesting to note that, before publishing his checklist, Watters compiled *Canadian Anthology* (1955) with Carl F. Klinck, the general editor of *Literary History of Canada*. *Canadian Anthology* does *not* include exploration writing, whereas *A Check List* does. The difference is easily explained because Watters divides his checklist into “Part I,” which deals with “the recognized forms of poetry, fiction, and drama” and “Part II,” which “is a more or less selective listing of books by Canadians which seem likely to be of value to anyone studying the literature or culture of Canada” (vii). Necessary but not quite literary, exploration writing is in Part II, in the “Travel and Description” chapter, where Watters includes explorers from Champlain to Tyrrell. Watters’s explanation of his checklist’s division is echoed by Klinck in his “Introduction” to *Literary History of Canada*: “[t]his book treats, not only works generically classified as ‘literature,’ but also, chiefly in separate chapters, other works which have influenced literature or have been significantly related to literature in expressing the cultural life of the country” (xi). The difference is that while Watters’s checklist shows a clear distinction between the central and peripheral literary genres, Klinck’s *Literary History* blurs that distinction—albeit incompletely.

Unlike Watters’s *A Check List*, however, *Literary History of Canada*, in both its first (1965) and second (1976) editions, strives, like Pierce’s *An Outline*, to be comprehensive in its coverage of exploration writing—but only that in English. Beginning with the late-sixteenth-century Martin Frobisher exploration in Hakluyt’s

collection, it ends with the arctic exploration of the early- and mid-nineteenth century and does not include J. W. Tyrrell's post-Confederation text, perhaps because the text contradicts its narrative of literary development. Although comprehensive, its chapters (the first three) addressing exploration writing are not, however, strictly generic. Most particularly, "The Voyagers" not only deals with Elizabethan exploration writing but also with the impact that the "NEW WORLD" (3) had on other genres and, thus, in a curious way, suggests that the environment that would become Canada is itself a distinctive literary influence. Taken in light of the topocentrism of *Literary History*, the logic of the suggestion is that from such an influence must a distinctive literature arise. "Explorers by Land to 1860" and "Explorers by Sea: The West Coast" are more focused on exploration writing but also include more general travel writing, (fur-trade) settlement writing, missionary tract, captivity narrative, and adventure. David Galloway, who writes "The Voyagers," suggests that besides including some of the earliest references to the geographical space that is now Canada, the voyages of the late-sixteenth century are the earliest of English-Canadian literature because they influence *later* English-Canadian literature: "[t]he early voyagers—plain and crude as their accounts usually were—are the real forefathers of later poets such as Earle Birney" (18). Allusively echoing this suggestion, Victor G. Hopwood ends his "Explorers by Sea" with a quotation from Birney's "Pacific Door" (51), which mentions Drake, Bering, Cook, and Vancouver. While Hopwood does not explain his allusion, Galloway does not elaborate upon the nature of exploration writing's influence.

Perhaps thinking of 1760, certainly neglecting the influence of late-sixteenth century exploration writing on Birney, in *Canadian Literature in English* (1985, second

edition 2006) W. J. Keith calls Canada “[a] country [. . .] whose English literary tradition can be traced back no further than the middle of the eighteenth century” (1). As with *Literary History*, Keith is interested in a narrative of literary development and begins his first chapter, “The Beginnings in Prose,” as follows:

[p]aradoxically but appropriately, we detect the first clear signs of literary activity in English Canada in the work of travellers and explorers – paradoxically because they would never have considered themselves contributors to literature, appropriately because their efforts at surveying the terrain, describing both physical features and native inhabitants, were necessary first steps towards coming to terms, imaginatively as well as practically, with the country as a whole. (13)

Sounding rather like Baker and Frye, Keith’s inaccurate estimation of the literary intentions of the explorers not only celebrates the explorers as “men of action” (Baker 149) but also goes one step further and celebrates them as men boldly navigating the previously-unknown literary influence of the Canadian environment.

Keith, however, distinguishes amongst the explorers: “[a] few, including George Vancouver and Simon Fraser, have given their names to parts of the country [. . .]. And some – notably Alexander Henry, Samuel Hearne, Alexander Mackenzie, and David Thompson – helped indirectly but palpably to initiate a Canadian literary tradition” (13). Before addressing Keith’s comment, I must note that, although Henry is interested in natural history and although he dedicates his *Travels and Adventures in Canada and the Indian Territories between the Years 1760 and 1776* (1809) to Sir Joseph Banks, I exclude him from my study because his text is more appropriately classified, as his title suggests, as adventure. There are two things that are important about Keith’s comment: his reiteration of “literary tradition” (1, 13), this time “Canadian” rather than “English” (1), and his use of “indirectly” to describe how exploration writing initiated that tradition.

Naming Vancouver and Fraser but not explicating their work, Keith associates Hearne, Mackenzie, and Thompson with “literary tradition” because he is interested in their influence on the work of later writers including John Newlove, Don Gutteridge, and Farley Mowat (addressed in chapters “By Land” and “By Sea”). Unfortunately Keith’s distinction between those explorers whose texts influence later writers and those whose texts are merely records of place names breaks down in two instances. First, Keith mentions Birney’s *The Damnation of Vancouver* and “Pacific Door” (71) but does not see the influence of George Vancouver’s text. Second, Keith remarks upon George “Bowering’s fascination in both poetry and fiction with the figure of George Vancouver” (112) but does not note that it is not only the “figure” but also the *text* of the man in which Bowering is interested. The breakdown of Keith’s distinction in his simultaneous recognition and denial, thus, points to a privileging of landmass over oceanic exploration.

Although pointedly noting that “[b]efore 1867 there was no Canadian *nation*” (23), W. H. New, in emphasising “*nation*,” does not take an absolutist stance in determining what constitutes Canadian literary history but, rather, spends approximately the first two-and-a-half pages of *A History of Canadian Literature* (1989, second edition 2003) sketching out the problem of determining such and then, beginning well before Confederation, the rest of his text historicises the many literary works that he categorises broadly by periods. With his first chapter dedicated to explaining the linguistic and cultural diversity of the original Peoples of the Canadian landmass to provide a context for discussing Aboriginal oral literature in printed translation, New dedicates a section, “Exploration Journals” (38), of his second chapter, “Reporters: literature to 1867” (24), to exploration writing. Although he begins the section by mentioning earlier exploration,

New spends the larger part addressing the works of “Vancouver” (40) and “[t]he three major journals of Canadian land exploration [. . .] Thompson’s [. . .], Hearne’s [. . .], and Mackenzie’s” (43). While the emphasis is important, the chapter title is more telling. For New, these writings originate from a cultural perspective cultivated elsewhere and are strictly pragmatic, “designed to send impressions from the edge of civilization to an authority who stayed back home” (24). Although New appears to eschew a narrative of literary development in favour of typifying periods of time, he turns function into a stage of aesthetic development when he says that “[t]he explorers’ journals [. . .] offer [. . .] opportunities to trace the transformation of simple documentation into narrative literature” after describing the difficulty that the European perceptual framework experienced when confronted with the frightfully “sublime” “uncontrolled wilderness” (42). In other words, like Keith, New sees exploration writing as an early attempt to grapple with the literary influence of the Canadian environment. This comment suggests that, once the wilderness is subdued through the process of documentation, a real narrative literature can take hold.

Despite tending towards a developmental reading of exploration writing, New’s literary history is, in its approach, exceptional—and necessary—because it confronts the difficulty of writing literary history in a nation that was once a settler colony. In their study of post-colonial theory and literature, *The Empire Writes Back*, Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin note that in determining a national literature “[i]n the settler colonies the first task [of those colonies] seems to be to establish that the texts can be shown to constitute a literature separate from that of the metropolitan centre” (131-32) of the empire. Mentioning *Literary History*, they also note that “the task of compiling a

national literary history has usually been an important element in the establishment of an independent cultural identity” (132). While one obvious problem with developmental approaches to English-Canadian literary history is that they do not account for French influence, one less-obvious problem is that, while “the establishment of an independent cultural identity” from Britain is their aim, in using exploration writing as the origin of the national literature, they reiterate imperial territorial claims at the same time that they suggest that indigeneity is defined by *contact* with the geography. Thus, imperial territorial claims are not only reasserted but are also naturalised.

Once territorial claims are naturalised, it is easier to proceed with the business of literary history. *Of course* English-Canadian literary history begins with British exploration writing: British exploration writing is, after all, the first writing *in English* about “here” and where “here” is. It is simple enough to see, from this premise, how early Aboriginal literature is effectively ignored or erased because it is not in English. The erasure continues, however, even with early English print productions. One particularly important case in point is the “first Canadian [Aboriginal person] to write a book in English” (Petronne 43), George Copway, whose autobiography, *The Life, History, and Travels of Kah-ge-ga-gah-bowh (George Copway), a Young Indian Chief of the Ojebwa nation, a Convert to the Christian Faith, and a Missionary to His People for Twelve Years; with a Sketch of the Present State of the Objebwa Nation, in regard to Christianity and Their Future Prospects. Also an Appeal; with All the Names of the Chiefs now Living, who have been Christianized, and the Missionaries Now Laboring among Them* (1847), has a combined ethnographic and travel interest, and whose *Running sketches of men and places, in England, France, Germany, Belgium, and*

Scotland (1851) describes “Copway’s European tour” (*Dictionary of Canadian Biography*). Not only did Copway write with the popular genres of the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries in mind but he also became popular himself; his autobiography “became such a success that it was reprinted six times” (Petrone 43). The American publication of Copway’s books seems insufficient reason for exclusion, particularly given that the American-published text of the American fur trader Alexander Henry is included in both Baker’s “TRAVEL AND EXPLORATION” chapter—perhaps as part of “the history of the fur trade” (152)—and Hopwood’s “Explorers by Land to 1860” chapter “as a fur-trader’s narrative” (27). Henry’s inclusion, however, repeats Baker’s focus on the fur trade.

While it is simple enough to understand how early Aboriginal literature is effectively ignored given linguistic choices, what is, perhaps, less obvious is how Aboriginal orature is effectively subsumed within English-Canadian literary history. For example, by categorising English translations of early Aboriginal literature as “Folktales and Folk Songs,” described as “our unwritten prose and poetry” (163), *Literary History of Canada* traps Aboriginal orature into a developmental history in which its status depends upon its low valuation as undeveloped literature: if it is unprinted, it remains “the literature of an unlettered people,” but its texts “tend to lose their folk quality once they are frozen in print” (163). The developmental view of literature espoused here and Copway’s exclusion seen in context of Henry’s inclusion speak of the values of Canadian metahistory: Canada develops out of a fur trade that is not an equal exchange amongst independent nations but the triumph of a European system imposed upon the geography’s

original peoples, who are either silent or soon to be silenced in face of advancing civilization.

Not all literary histories before *Literary History* naturalise imperial territorial claims, however. For example, in *An Outline of Canadian Literature*, although Lorne Pierce argues that “[t]he history of Canadian literature begins with the Peace of Paris” in 1763 and mentions the “journals of explorers” amongst its earliest literature, he does trace “the *sources* of our literary inheritance” (emphasis mine 1) to Aboriginal, French, and English origins, in that order. Although Pierce gestures towards Aboriginal presence, New’s work is necessary because in his first chapter “Mythmakers: early literature” (1), he is careful to note both Aboriginal and European myths. Moreover, he notes the diversity of Aboriginal languages and the variety of ways by which early Aboriginal literature is presented in the official languages of the nation. Unfortunately, in a text that aims to be chronological, New finds it necessary to mention, in this chapter of “early literature,” twentieth-century texts written by Aboriginal persons as a means of countering the fact that much of Aboriginal oral literature was first made available in English through the work of non-aboriginal ethnographers. This mention seems to me less a weakness of the text than a demonstration of the difficulty of compiling a history of the literature of even one of the national languages—never mind a truly *national* literary history. Whether Aboriginal Peoples in Canada wish their literatures to be included in such a national literary history is another matter altogether.

If relying on geography to define nation allows exploration writing to run riot over Aboriginal literature in *Literary History*, it also lets irony creep into the plot. Because developmental histories of English-Canadian literature proceed from the

assumption that exploration writing is the point of origin for the national literature, exploration writing must not, itself, be seen to have origins and is, for this reason, removed from its empirical-literary and travel-writing contexts so that it appears to have no origin but, for the convenience of narrative structure, the conflict between explorer and environment. The removals take place in a curious fashion, for although the British origins of the printed volumes might be mentioned, what is contained within those volumes is, nonetheless, viewed as the result of a pure and unmediated conflict between the British subject (without literary pretensions) and the environment that he encounters. Thus, although *Literary History of Canada* acknowledges that the origins of the printed texts of the exploration writing that it addresses are elsewhere, its organisation tells another story: after the first section, “New Found Lands,” dedicated to the three chapters dealing with exploration writing, is the section “The Transplanting of Traditions,” which does not begin with exploration writing because, of course, exploration writing is not a transplant because simultaneously it is not planted, neither *settled* nor *printed*, in Canada, yet it is a plant seeded by the conflict between British subject and Canadian environment. Springing forth fully—albeit imperfectly—formed from this conflict, exploration writing, thus, comes to represent, in most literary histories, something of “the genius” (Pierce 238) or the lack of ““genius”” (Frye 823) of Canadian literature.

The genius or lack of genius of Canadian literature is intimately bound with the paradox of place, the simultaneously canonical and non- or anti-canonical status of exploration writing. The paradox is a theme of literary histories. Even before Baker, T. G. Marquis, who is in search of “permanent value” (493) in Canadian literature, addresses exploration writing in the “TRAVELS AND EXPLORATION” (511) section

of his “English-Canadian Literature” chapter of the history *Canada and Its Provinces* (1913). Although Marquis addresses exploration writing, he begins by highlighting the pragmatics of exploration, “geographical and scientific knowledge” (512), and by saying of the texts themselves, “these journals have small literary value” (512). By the necessity of explaining their inclusion, however, he qualifies his assertion: “there are a few books of Canadian exploration that rank high, in passages at least, as literature” (512). From “in passages at least,” the distance is not far to Frye’s “incidental quality” (822) or New’s “simple documentation” (42). Exploration writing has no literary value except the value that it is begrudgingly given. Although Marquis says that Hearne’s text is “of great interest” (512), he does not name it because it is not one of the “few books” of value to which he alludes: the interest is not literary. For literary interest, there are, however, the texts of Tyrrell and Mackenzie, and it is Mackenzie’s text that Marquis addresses in some detail because he values not only of the quality of Mackenzie’s “descriptive literature” (513) but also Mackenzie’s personal qualities. Mackenzie, the empiricist or “keen observer” (513), is the perfect literary figure because he is both a hero and a writer, and his heroic actions, of which he writes, are the stuff of which literature of “permanent value” is made: “[t]he wanderings of the heroic Ulysses are commonplace compared with the travels of this Scottish explorer who was his own Homer” (513).

Given that earlier literary histories show that Frye’s valuation of exploration writing is a common one, his remark might simply be seen as but an intersection of space and time in the history of literary histories; his remark is, however, pivotal because of the distinction between “quality” and value that Frye establishes in his “Conclusion” as a whole. Lecker argues that, in his “Conclusion,” Frye “set the nonevaluative tone that

would characterize most of future discussions of Canadian literature,” yet while Frye “claimed that his nonevaluative stance was consciously anticanonical” (661), it instituted a practice of canonizing English-Canadian texts valued for “their ability to represent nationalist thought through a displaced formal equivalent: mimesis” or “representational realism” (662). Lecker’s argument is convincing, but it neglects one important point. When describing Frye’s approach to literary value, one must place “nonevaluative” (661) under erasure, for buried in Frye’s “nonevaluative” approach is his evaluative premise, nicely captured in his remark about the literary intentions of a loon: Canadian literature is not very good (that is, not very literary). Frye explains that “[t]he evaluative view is based on the conception of criticism as concerned mainly to define and canonize the genuine classics of literature. And Canada has produced no author who is a classic” (821), no author of “genius” (823). Although Frye appears to question the idea of “genius” by putting the word under erasure, “genius” (823), he is, rather, more interested in explaining why there is no genius in Canada; his answer reinstates genius because it is not that there is no such thing as genius but that the Canadian environment permits no such genius. Providing both a justification for looking at literature that is not very literary (possibly not very Canadian) and also a way by which to encourage the production of *good* literature, Frye’s “Conclusion” is the justification for *Literary History of Canada*’s developmental approach to English-Canadian literary history. Unfortunately, while instituting the value of realism, Frye also devalues realism as a literary *quality* because the premise of his “nonevaluative” approach is that English-Canadian literature has little literary value. When Frye implies that other national canons are interested in evaluation as opposed to nation but says that Canadian literature matters

simply because it is *there* and tells us something about “here,” we believe him. Frye’s message is as follows: study English-Canadian literature *not* because it is good but because it is good for you. Returning to McCarthy’s argument then, the problem is not that concepts of the nation define the literature. The problem is that Canadian literature is defined by not being very good.

While for Frye, realism represents English-Canadian literature’s *lack* of genius, for Pierce it represents a part of English-Canadian literature’s *genius*. Listed in Pierce’s *Outline*’s final chapter as the ninth of eleven qualities comprising “the genius of Canadian literature” (238) is “a considerable strain of realism” (242). The same quality given the opposite evaluation, realism is neither bad nor good except as the critic’s values determine. One case in point is Stevenson, who privileges poetry over prose because poetry offers “universal poetic themes” (x) whereas prose only “the superficial distinctiveness which Canadian settings and events provide” (xii). If so, Kertzer’s aesthetic hierarchy might well extend from its base of exploration writing, firmly grounded in geography, to an apex of poetry, reaching to the heavens to grasp the national spirit. In this hierarchy, poetry attains empyreal heights while realist prose fiction remains earth-bound because realist prose fiction does not merely rest on its base of exploration writing: it *grows* from it. The connection between the two is, of course, the Canadian environment. There is a hint of this connection in Pierce’s *Outline* when he suggests that the national literary genius, empiricist-like, expresses “an eagerness for first-hand evidence” (242). To Frye’s mind, evidence is what surrounds Canadians; it is the “frontier” (826) that is “all around one” or the “unknown” (826) environment that is “the immediate *datum* of [. . .] imagination” (emphasis mine 827). Transforming

empirical fact into fodder for the imagination, Frye turns the environment that is observed in exploration writing into the source of inspiration for *later* Canadian writing. Reading exploration writing developmentally rather than generically, Frye, thus, elides empiricism with realism.

Given the connection between realism and environment, there is a *tendency* in literary histories to read exploration writing developmentally rather than generically. Rather than see exploration writing for what it is, literary histories see it for what it might become: that is, realist fiction or “real” literature. Development is there in New’s “transformation of simple documentation into narrative literature” (42). Development is, however, difficult to trace, and, for this reason, Keith errs on the side of caution, saying that exploration writing “indirectly” (13) initiated a Canadian literary tradition. In either instance, there is a return to origins. Thus, just as, rather like Hakluyt’s prose epic of the British nation, exploration writing serves as a piecemeal-prose epic of Canada; at the same time, by some weird elision of distinctions between non-fiction and fiction, it serves as the origin of English-Canadian realism. The problem is *not* that critics argue that exploration writing is connected with the development of prose fiction, for Adams makes that argument in his *Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel* (1983); the problem is that exploration writing is disparaged for not reading like prose fiction rather than viewed as a subgenre of travel writing coincident and interacting with prose fiction. That is, exploration writing is an influence but not the first stage in a direct line of development.

Although they have different functions from literary histories, like literary histories, literary encyclopaedias and companions offer both assessments of and

contributions to canonization. As with literary histories, categorisation is telling. For instance, in both its first and second editions, *The Oxford Companion to Canadian Literature* (1983, 1997) chooses to survey by subgenre “Exploration Literature in English” (entry), rather than to categorise by explorer name. It does so although many of its entries from later periods are categorised by author, and what might be described as its originating text, Norah Story’s *The Oxford Companion to Canadian History and Literature* (1967), lists exploration along with exploration writing by explorer name. *Encyclopedia of Literature in Canada* (2002) also takes a generic approach to “Exploration literature” (entry). *The Cambridge Companion to Canadian Literature* (2004), however, returns to the system more typical of older literary histories and uses the “Exploration and Travel” (chapter title) designation—except in this instance exploration takes precedence, perhaps because it is considered as the first of the travel writing in the developmental thesis. Although the categorisation of the two encyclopaedias indicates subgenre, their entries are not restricted to exploration writing but are rather more like *Literary History*’s first three chapters in scope.

Vacillating between ideas of origin and influence, in her “Exploration Literature in English” entry of *The Oxford Companion to Canadian Literature* (1983) Germaine Warkentin first says that texts of exploration writing

form the earliest record in English-Canadian culture of the confrontation between the rationalist component of the European imagination and a vast and sensuous network of river valleys, lakes, and heights of land that invited far more in the way of interpretation than a strictly descriptive account. (242-43)

Careful to acknowledge that the conflict between explorer and environment is only an originary moment in the *European* imagination, Warkentin, nonetheless, supports the

notion that the Canadian environment is a distinct literary influence by turning the conflict into an inspiring sensual encounter between man and muse. Beginning with origins, she ends her entry with a section that speculates on “THE INFLUENCE OF THESE WRITINGS” (249), in which, besides mentioning as the results of influence the unconvincing “image of ‘map-making’ as a term of critical discourse” (I blame Frye) and “the metaphor of exploration to describe the very act of writing itself” (a misunderstanding of the empiricism) (249), Warkentin mentions Gutteridge, Newlove, and Bowering (addressed in chapters “By Land,” “By Sea,” and “Naval Gazing”) as authors whose writing returns to exploration. Finally, reconfiguring Frye’s “nonevaluative” evaluation, she argues, “Canadian writing reflects some of the same deep inhibitions about language and metaphor, and shows the same abiding trust in the primacy of the document” (249) as exploration writing and, thus, suggests that while the muse invites, the writer of English-Canadian texts cannot bring the moment to its literary fruition.

In the second edition of *The Oxford Companion to Canadian Literature* (1997), Warkentin declares, “[t]he imaginative role of exploration literature in Canadian writing is increasingly better understood, for these texts hold the same place in our literary heritage as theological treatises and captivity narratives do in early American literature” (379). The understanding, however, seems curiously gained given that, in the first edition, she has this to say: “[t]he imaginative role of exploration literature in Canadian writing is still not fully understood, though these texts hold the same place in our literary heritage as theological treatises and captivity narratives do in early American literature” (249). Without explaining either the role of exploration writings in Canadian literature or

of theological treatises and captivity narratives in American, Warkentin transforms “not fully understood” to “better understood” by turning the neglected parallel into the cause of understanding. The typographical legerdemain is revealing, for the only differences between the first- and second-edition entries are that more work has been done on exploration writing, “the recapturing, through careful study of oral tradition, of Aboriginal narratives of contact with early explorers” (2nd ed. 379), and more modern authors have returned to it. There must, therefore, be an explanation for the power that exploration writing holds over the English-Canadian literary imagination.

Although Warkentin mentions Hakluyt in her entry, she is firm: “Canadian exploration writing in English emerges late in the seventeenth century” (*The Oxford* 1st ed. 243). Her rationale is that “[m]any of these writings—for example, those recording purely maritime exploration and the search for the Northwest Passage—are hard to associate with our imaginative literature because they really belong to the colonial history of England” (243). Having said so, she restricts her entry to tracing exploration writing concerning landmass exploration from the late-seventeenth century to John Franklin’s *Narrative of a Journey to the Shores of the Polar Sea, in the Years 1819-20-21-22* (1823). Warkentin’s distinction between oceanic and landmass exploration is, nonetheless, a curious one for four reasons. The first is the obvious: landmass exploration is just as much connected “to the colonial history of England” (243) as oceanic exploration. The second is that even land explorer Hearne was instructed to search for a Northwest Passage. As his “ORDERS *and* INSTRUCTIONS” (xxxv) state: “find out [. . .] whether there is a passage through this continent” (xi), “a passage out of Hudson’s Bay into the Western Ocean” (xii). The third is that Franklin searched for the Northwest Passage—

although it is true that both *Journey* (1823) and *Narrative* (1828) concern Franklin's land exploration for the Passage. The fourth is that, if she is interested in exploration writing's association with "imaginative literature," she neglects Birney's work; moreover, rather like Keith, she mentions Bowering in her consideration of influence but fails to acknowledge Vancouver's text. Again, the inconsistency points to a privileging of landmass over oceanic exploration. To my mind, such a privileging speaks of four things: a difficulty in claiming as Canadian exploration writing that deals with oceanic exploration, particularly global circumnavigation; an unspoken residency requirement for British explorers to be considered Canadian writers; a notion of Canadian history that is based on the fur trade, particularly in Rupert's Land; and a concept of Canadian geography that views its oceans as peripheral and its landmass as central.

Broader in scope than Warkentin's entry, Bill Moreau's entry in *Encyclopedia of Literature in Canada* (2002) covers both French and English exploration writing. Although when considering exploration writing in English, Moreau mentions Hakluyt's collection in general and Frobisher and Gilbert within the collection in particular, sounding somewhat like Warkentin, he argues that the late-sixteenth-century texts belong "to a discourse firmly centred in Europe" (347). By contrast, for him, Canadian exploration writing in English belongs to the eighteenth century and extends to Franklin's early-nineteenth century texts because these writings "consciously engaged in an evolving interpretive discourse" (347) concerning the Canadian environment. Of course, this "discourse" is European and is "*consciously* [. . .] *interpretive*" (emphasis mine) because it is more strictly empirical as a result of the Royal Society's influence. Because Moreau defines Canadian exploration writing by date rather than geography, unlike

Warkentin he does not disregard all writing of oceanic exploration but includes Cook and Vancouver by simply distinguishing their texts from the “western fur-trade” (348) exploration writing of Hearne, Mackenzie, and Thompson of approximately the same period. Although he sees exploration writing as the origin, “the very beginning” (349) of the national literature, he is careful not to talk about a direct line of development but speaks, rather, of later texts as being “inspired” (350) by exploration writing.

While *The Oxford Companion to Canadian Literature* and *Encyclopedia of Literature in Canada* aim to be comprehensive in their treatment of Canadian literature, *The Cambridge Companion to Canadian Literature* (2004) aims to introduce readers to the ideas that Canadian literature is diverse and sometimes difficult to define. Not organised solely by genre, it does, however, have a chapter devoted to “Exploration and Travel,” in which Eva-Marie Kröller argues that

[e]xploration and tourism, and the writing resulting from them, often overlap in a country where travelers are called upon to match the pragmatic and aesthetic principles to which they have become accustomed (and which they are determined to pursue) against extraordinary geographical, climatic, and cultural challenges. (70)

While I do not disagree that there is a connection between exploration and tourism, as, for example, a tourist needs an explorer’s map, I believe that the argument is made for the convenience of explaining the chapter composition and overlooks the significant differences in purpose and rationale of these two types of travel. Moreover, the argument reinstates the notion that the sublime Canadian environment imposes a kind of terrified uniformity on the literature that comes out of it.

Taking what seems to be an anti-historical position concerning exploration writing, Kröller adds, “[t]he literature of exploration and travel cuts a broad swath

through histories, genres, disciplines, and readerships, and it has frequently been a place where evolving ideas about Canadian [. . .] identity are being played out” (70). I can make no comment on travel writing as a whole; I can, however, say that, preceding Confederation, exploration writing is *not* concerned with Canadian identity. Rather *readings* of exploration writing are concerned with Canadian identity: that is, exploration writing may be a *locus for*, but it is not a “place where.” Although “evolving” and “identity” combined suggest origins of a much broader scope than merely literary, like Moreau, Kröller is, nonetheless, careful to describe exploration writing’s impact on later Canadian literature as “inspiration” (71).

Kröller’s chapter addresses a broad historical range of travel writing, from exploration writing in English that deals with early European arrival to recent “[l]iterary travel” (88), and in a section, “‘Incremental’ narratives” (75), that nods to Warkentin’s work, she focuses on Hearne, Mackenzie, Thompson, and Vancouver. Although she does make a passing reference to “Cook” (75), it is not clear whether the reference is simply for the sake of comparison with other “incremental” texts or is to include Cook’s third voyage amongst Canadian exploration writing. Focusing on the four-mentioned explorers, this section of Kröller’s chapter repeats a common theme.

What is uncommon about *The Cambridge Companion*, however, is that Christopher Irscher’s chapter “Nature-writing” begins by discussing Mackenzie’s, Hearne’s, and Thompson’s texts because of their natural history content. Although the discussion itself is uncommon, it, nonetheless, returns to the idea of conflict between explorer and environment. Of the vast area that Mackenzie traversed, Irscher says, “[e]ven a trained naturalist would have found little to write about in this inhospitable

terrain” (94). What is ironic is that Irmischer makes his comment in context of what he considers the “rather apologetic note” (94) on which Mackenzie’s text begins. This “apologetic note”—“I must beg to inform my readers, that they are not to expect the charms of embellished narrative, or animated description; the approbation due to simplicity and to truth is all I presume to claim” (Mackenzie, *The Journals* 59)—offers no real apology. Rather, in disclaiming, “I do not possess the science of the naturalist” (58) but hoping, “that this volume, with all its imperfections, will not be thought unworthy the attention of the scientific geographer” (60), Mackenzie carefully aligns his text *with* scientific geography and *against* the natural history interest of Hearne’s text.

Despite the weakness of his reading of Mackenzie’s introductory remarks, in returning to the idea of conflict between explorer and environment, Irmischer offers an important variation on the theme, for he considers exploration writing no literary accident. For him, rather, it is the unique product of the conflict between explorer-writer and environment: “Canadian nature is, first and foremost, a physical challenge. But it is also, because it follows none of the established rules, a challenge to the powers of the writer” (95). Thus, seeming just one step short of the “Progressive Insanities of a Pioneer,” as Margaret Atwood’s poem has it, Thompson’s “messy jumble of notes” “fit[s] perfectly a landscape not intended for the limited perspective of the human observer” (97). Finally, as if environmental determinism is not enough, in a further testament to Frye’s irresistibility, Irmischer argues that nature writers from the explorers onward are less concerned by “Frye’s puzzled, ‘Where is here?’ [. . .] than, more typically, a patiently repeated, genuinely amazed ‘*What* is here?’” (96)—although this distinction may, perhaps, be because nature writers are people more likely to travel with navigational equipment.

T. D. MacLulich importantly argues against “any theory of pure environmental determinism” (“The Emergence” 211) used to explain exploration writing by taking a “generic approach” (209) to the texts of Hearne, Mackenzie, and Thompson in order to establish that they “are part of a [British] literary tradition” (208). Although his argument is restricted to exploration writing, he acknowledges the developmental thesis of English-Canadian literature as his goal when he concludes his argument by saying that “Canadian culture is more a transplanted version of European culture than it is a rough beast emerging from the land” (213). Although MacLulich argues that “explorers’ attitudes, interests, and very modes of perception were all conditioned by a set of preexisting attitudes and literary conventions” (211), it is I. S. MacLaren who examines these “attitudes and literary conventions” in detail in context of “aesthetic responses” (“The Influence” 16) to the environment. He shows that Hearne’s text “demonstrates an understanding of the aesthetics of the Sublime and Picturesque” (101), that Mackenzie’s editor “translates” Mackenzie’s journal notes “into picturesque parlance” (120), and that Thompson’s perceptions are conditioned by his “scientific learnedness” (401-02). Rather than see the environment as presenting a purely unmediated literary challenge to explorers, MacLaren sees explorers importing British “myths and modes of landscape perception” (6-7) and bringing them to bear upon and / or adapting them to the environment.

Before the arguments against reading exploration writing as a poor-quality product of conflict between explorer and environment, an aesthetic assessment not confined to genre and one of the earliest of pieces criticism that addresses exploration writing as good-quality Canadian *literature* is Constance Lindsay Skinner’s *Literary*

Review (1924) review of a drama, a novel, and a collection of sketches on the Canadian northwest. Little impressed with the texts under her review, Skinner turns her attention to exploration writing, and, much in contrast with Baker's assessment that Thompson's "journals are valueless except as they represent types among the diarists of the Northwest" (149), declares, "Thompson's 'narrative' is still by far the best literature on the Northwest, and Hearne's and Mackenzie's 'journals' come next" (149). She not only praises Thompson but also describes him as "one of the first Canadian authors" (149) to write about the Northwest. In describing Thompson as such, Skinner touches upon a significant concern of literary histories, encyclopaedias, and companions, for not only are critics in some debate about *when* Canadian literature begins but they are also in some debate about *who* is a Canadian author, and British explorers, rather like British literary influences, are embraced and rejected in turn.

Although both Baker's and Logan and French's texts include exploration writing, Baker excludes "visitors" but retains "those of European birth and education who became identified with [Canada's] development" (6), whereas Logan and French are more inclusive of the literature but more precise in regards to the writer's relationship to Canada. They use "'Incidental'" (21) to describe literature "written in or about Canada by British authors, visiting or sojourning in Canada" (20) and "'Nativistic'" (21) for the pre-Confederation literature of writers who were born in or emigrated to Canada—both of which are distinguished from the post-Confederation "'Native or National'" (21) literature. Certainly one explanation for the *exclusion* of exploration writing from both MacMechan's and Stevenson's histories has to do with determining who is a Canadian author. MacMechan distinguishes his text from others like it by noting that "it narrows

the definition of ‘Canadian’” (7). While MacMechan seems to restrict his concept of who is a Canadian author to the post-1760 “literary activity” (18) of writers whose works were printed on Canadian soil, Stevenson simply muses on what exactly defines a “Canadian author”:

the effort to treat Canadian literature systematically and categorically is immediately beset by the difficulty of striking a basis of definition among the various writers who might demand inclusion – Canadian-born authors domiciled elsewhere and not using Canadian themes, authors born outside of Canada but genuinely interpreting the country, and so on. (vi)

Although Stevenson’s definition of literature prevents him from including explorers as Canadian authors, his musing, “genuinely interpreting the country” (vi), suggests a similar valuation of realism to that which Lecker finds in Frye’s “Conclusion”—although, in Frye’s case, I should note that it is paradoxically a *devaluation*.

Watters too muses on what defines a “Canadian author,” but, unlike Stevenson, his musings end in a definition. Distinguishing his own checklist efforts by noting that “[i]n previous compilations of a somewhat similar nature [. . .], books by Canadians, about Canada, or printed in Canada were combined more or less indiscriminately” (viii), he explains,

[t]he definition of “Canadian author” was [. . .] deliberately left very broad. [. . .] Canadian birth alone was not considered an adequate claim for persons who left Canada in early childhood and apparently never returned. On the other hand, persons who came to Canada in maturity to reside here and then commenced or continued as authors are normally included, whether or not they later left the country. (vii-viii)

Unlike Stevenson, who remains open to “Canadian-born authors domiciled elsewhere,” Watters suggests, both for the Canadian- and foreign-born, that to qualify as a Canadian author, one must be influenced by Canada as a geographical construct: that is, there is implicit in Watters’s musings, as in Warkentin’s selection of explorers, the idea of a

residency requirement, which Baker before them demands, for he asserts that Canadians who left Canada before the beginning of the twentieth century “invariably surrendered their interest in national concerns” (6). While some of the explorers may count as Canadians, whether they fully qualify as *authors* of literature may be debated given that their texts are relegated to the “books” (vii) of Watters’s *A Check List*’s “Part II.”

Echoing but expanding upon Watters’s idea of breadth, in the “Introduction” to *Literary History of Canada*, Klinck says, “‘Canadian’ has been broadly used for whoever or whatever is native, or has been naturalized, or has a distinct bearing upon the native—that is on people or events which had their focus here” (x), and in his “Conclusion,” Frye says that *Literary History* includes “the writings of foreigners, of travellers, of immigrants, of emigrants” (822). Combined, the comments, although seemingly offering the broadest of all definitions, are, as Lecker argues, “in favor of the native over the cosmopolitan” (657) because they incorporate “foreign” only if it can be viewed as affecting the “native” or as being “naturalized”: that is, only if it successfully battles with or persists in the anti-paradisical Canadian environment. Overall, then, it seems that one gets to be a Canadian author if one was born here (and stayed) or moved here (and stayed for some indeterminate period of time)—but most of all if one captures the essence of *here*—wherever “here” happens to be. Hence, Watters includes Hearne, Mackenzie, and Thompson because Hearne and Mackenzie both journeyed to and then *lived* for some time in what is now Canada, and Thompson journeyed and then stayed. Given the logic of his musing, Watters’s inclusion of Vancouver is anomalous but easy enough to make sense of given that Vancouver gave his name to a rather large island off the west coast. By *Literary History*’s logic, however, any explorer whose eyes lit on any of the three

coastlines could be included because the Canadian environment includes portions of the continental shelves and the oceans that overlie them.

Adding a dash of complication to the argument about who gets to be a Canadian author is the Canadian interest in exploration writing, for in order for Skinner to praise Thompson, it is first necessary to thank the Champlain Society and geologist and cartographer J. B. Tyrrell. While it is easy enough to dismiss the Champlain Society's first Canadian edition of Hearne's *Journey* (1911), for which Tyrrell had been "assigned [. . .] to write an admiring introduction" (Robertson 285), and the Radisson Society of Canada's first Canadian edition of Mackenzie's *Voyages* (1927) as Canadian attempts to assert, if not capitalise upon, territorial claims upon the original British print productions, *David Thompson's Narrative of His Explorations in Western America, 1784-1812* (1916)—unlike Thompson himself—was brought into being in Canada. Even before the American Elliott Coues's strangely sublimated version of Thompson's writing, *New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest: The Manuscript Journals of Alexander Henry, Fur Trader of the Northwest Company, and of David Thompson, Official Geographer and Explorer of the same Company, 1799-1814* (1897), Tyrrell had "published a brief account in 1888" (Glover xii) and, in his determination to acknowledge Thompson's cartographic achievements, was advocate for the larger print production of Thompson's exploration writing and wrote its "introduction and footnotes" (Robertson 285). Although Tyrrell is primarily interested in Thompson as a cartographer, Thompson's text has few astronomical observations or passages of directional description and natural history interests predominate. Revealing Thompson's conception of the audience for his *Narrative*, Tyrrell remarks, Thompson's "original note-books are largely

occupied with mathematical records of his surveys and of [. . .] astronomical observations” (xvi). They also “include extensive meteorological data and partial vocabularies of the many tribes among whom he dwelt” (xvi). Conversely, his manuscript is “a general account of his travels and of the people and things encountered by him” (xvi).

Tyrrell divides his edition of Thompson into two parts, the first dedicated to Thompson’s employ with the Hudson’s Bay Company and his many explorations in the north and on the Great Plains and the second dedicated to Thompson’s employ with the Northwest Company and his explorations in the west to the Pacific Ocean. He also includes Thompson’s grand *Map of the North-West Territory of the Province of Canada, from actual survey during the years 1792 to 1812* and sketches of the Rockies that are much like the harbour views included in Cook and Vancouver. Whereas Hearne’s and Mackenzie’s texts are concerned with land exploration driven by a single destination, Thompson’s is concerned with the explorations of a lifetime. His style is both digressive and recursive, and, thus, his text modulates into autobiography. MacLulich calls it “the most complex Canadian example of the exploration narrative” (“The Emergence” 8). For us now, perhaps, Thompson’s exploration writing works as literature because it most resembles a realist novel. In 1962, under the editorship of Richard Glover, who also edited an edition of Hearne, the Champlain Society issued a second edition, *David Thompson’s Narrative 1784-1812*, which includes, in the first part, an additional chapter (IIA) entitled “The Saskatchewan.” Publishing pieces of the piecemeal-prose epic of Canada, the Champlain Society’s appropriately red-cloth-covered volumes have a unifying effect not unlike Hakluyt’s collection, and the Champlain Society itself makes

an interesting comparison with the British Hakluyt Society, for the name of each is, whether indirectly or directly, connected with exploration, and although “[t]he Hakluyt Society seeks to advance knowledge and education by the publication of scholarly editions of primary records of voyages, travels and other geographical material” (*The Hakluyt Society*), whereas “[t]he mission of The Champlain Society is to increase public awareness of, and accessibility to, Canada’s rich store of historical records” (*The Champlain Society*), both societies view exploration writing as primary data or “records” of the past—rather than as literature.

The societies’ view of exploration writing is held by many of the literary histories, encyclopaedias, and companions. While the view is not incorrect, it *is* incomplete; it is only half of a view. The other half of the view pertains to exploration writing’s literary status, which has been lost as a result of changes in perceptions of the literary. The paradox of place, the simultaneously canonical and non- or anti-canonical status that exploration writing holds in the English-Canadian literary canon, derives from the tensions that result from its acknowledged documentary status and its lost literary status working both with and against the desire of literary historians to read it into the literary canon. One result of this tension is expressed in Rhodenizer’s favouring of the explorer-writer over the writing. Another, as in Baker and Keith, favours the explorer-writer *via* the writing. In his survey of the “Early Reception: Ambivalence” (heading) to exploration writing, Roger Leonard Martin notes “a process whereby the spare authorial style of these accounts [. . .] is anthropomorphized and conflated with an heroic characterization of the narrator-protagonist” (59): that is, there is a “process of slippage from narrative to narrator” (62). Not only is there a tendency to confuse narrative with

narrator but also to confuse the man with the text, the exploration with the writing. At base of each of these views are attributions of poor quality, and underneath attributions of poor quality lies the assumption that documents are not literature. Thus it is that the very style of writing, the empirical style, proof of heroics, is the reason for literary exclusion.

While the varied interpretations of exploration writing sketched all, in some way, speak to the paradox of place that exploration writing holds in the English-Canadian literary canon, canonization is not simply the result of the fact but the frequency of inclusion. Thus, although exploration writing as a *subgenre* has achieved canonical (and simultaneously non- or anti- canonical) status, not all *works* of exploration writing are canonical. Of the works themselves, it is only the writing of the late eighteenth-century landmass explorations of Hearne, Mackenzie, and Thompson that may safely be said to be canonical, and their canonical status is not simply the result of aesthetic judgements more positive than those usually levelled at exploration writing. Although aesthetic judgements certainly determine readings of the subgenre and to a certain extent determine whether a particular work is received as early English-Canadian literature, the reception of individual works is more profoundly tied to concepts of the nation, its history, geography, and citizenship.

Summarising Surette's argument concerning the tendency to "topocentrism" in English-Canadian literary histories, McCarthy remarks on the difficulty of determining "the definition/differentiation of the 'nation'" in the Canadian context and says that

if our origins do not make us different, and if we lack an historical action/event which the collectivity can accept as having made us different, then all we are left with to 'ground' our sense of difference is the uniqueness of place itself. Geography must serve in the place of history; space must overdetermine time. (32)

He then refers to “Frye’s most famous formulation of this determinism” (32): “Where is here?” (Frye 826). Of course, as the explorer and the physicist know, time and space are intimately and intricately bound. Although exploration writing serves the geographical purpose (because it not only measures but also claims space), in the English-Canadian reception of exploration writing (in its canonization) is an allusion to time.

The inclusion or exclusion of the exploration writing subgenre or of particular works of exploration writing plays out debates about the when of Canada. If the answer is the earliest of the early modern exploration writing then it is exploration itself that answers when. If it is from the “late in the seventeenth century” (Warkentin, *The Oxford*, 1st ed. 243), then the answer is the British trade in beaver furs following the King’s charter granted to The Company of English Adventurers trading into Hudson’s Bay (1670). If it is the eighteenth century, it is most often the *late* eighteenth century, which answers the conquest of Quebec City (1759) and Montreal (1760) or the Treaty of Paris or “Peace of Paris” (1763) and the cession of New France to Britain. If the canonization of Hearne, Mackenzie, and Thompson is indicative, then the answer to “when is Canada?” is not only “all of the above” but also “when its writers are most like empiricists.”

Not only does the late eighteenth century mark the British take-over of the geographical space that would become Canada but it also marks the triumph of the empirical-rational world view. After the Treaty of Paris or “Peace of Paris” following the Seven Years’ War, in which he participated in New France’s defeat, Cook would take himself and a crew to Tahiti to observe the 1769 Transit of Venus across the sun. Cook’s age was the Age of Longitude, which not only enhanced navigation and cartography but

also ushered in a shift in imperial power. Much is made of the British defeat of the Spanish Armada, perhaps not enough of the alternation in positions of world power between Britain and France in the late eighteenth century. Significant for the British Empire the alternation in power is equally important to the Canadian context because it serves as an originary moment in the historical narrative. It is the moment that the territory that would become Canada was claimed by the British; and that claim is consolidated by the products—cartographic, natural history, literary—of exploration.

Chapter 4

Origin Unknown

While Canadian editions of exploration writing speak to a Canadian interest (whether literary or informational) in the subgenre and may play a part in the process of literary canonization, anthologies of English-Canadian literature that offer excerpts of exploration writing, like literary histories, encyclopaedias, and companions, are certainly part of the process. Canonization is a process of selection. Canonization of the genre and of the individual text occurs by virtue of frequency of inclusion at each level. There is, however, another level of selection at work in anthologies, for first the individual text is chosen and then that text is excerpted. This level of selection presents an impossible task, for at the same time as the selection is meant to be representative, it can never be so. R. G. Moyles offers “an important *caveat*. Most of our travel and exploration narratives were issued as books—they were, like the actual events themselves, meant to be extended excursions” (15). Given the impossibility of representative selection, the onus, then, is on the editor to provide a context, which is really a form of critical apparatus. The apparatus might be as little as a selection title or the placement within the anthology or as much as title, placement, notes, and prefatory remarks. Intended to offer the reader an introduction to the text of exploration writing selected, the apparatus and the excerpt or excerpts taken together comprise a reading of that text, and it is in these readings, of texts from the late eighteenth century, that next my interest lies.

In my search for anthologies that include exploration writing, I turned to Lecker’s “Anthologizing English-Canadian Fiction” chapter of *Making It Real* (1995), in which, in search of a “recognizable canon of Canadian fiction” (114), Lecker analyses “65” (115)

“historical anthologies of English-Canadian fiction” (114) (including different editions), for the period 1922-92. More properly, the anthologies include fiction and sometimes poetry and non-fictional prose, and, in his study, Lecker not only notes the occurrence of fiction but also of excerpts of exploration writing, which he calls “travel literature” (137). Lecker says, “[t]o the best of my knowledge, this database includes all anthologies of Canadian literature that represent themselves as being national” (115), although he notes, “[b]ecause a number of anthologists who call their collections ‘modern’ insist that this modernity is in fact representative of some kind of Canadian tradition, I have included their work in the survey” (124). While I agree with Lecker’s assessment concerning modernity, I do not agree with the ethos of anthologising only “modern” works as if they are representative of the national canon because it speaks of a refusal to engage with literary history and the changes that have occurred in perceptions of the literary. The matter of modernity is, however, an interesting one, given the historical process of Confederation, and might be connected to the question of “when is Canada?” although a focus on modernity may simply reflect a modernist rejection of earlier English-Canadian writing. Exploration writing, amongst the debatable pre-Confederation period, occurs in ten of Lecker’s sixty-five anthologies, but what the numbers say about exploration writing is difficult to discern in light of the anthologies that focus on the modern period.

Edited by Edmund Kemper Broadus and Eleanor Hammond Broadus, the first anthology of Lecker’s list in which exploration writing appears is *A Book of Canadian Prose and Verse*, which, in both its 1923 and 1934 editions, excerpts from Mackenzie. In an anthology with verisimilitude writ large, the editors’ declared intention is “to create, with its proper setting, a picture of Canadian life, past and present,” and their rationale for

neglecting texts that do not contribute to this “picture” is that “much of the best of Canadian literature has been either directly inspired by the Canadian scene or has reflected the effort to recreate the historic past” (1923, vii). With their perception of Canadian literature thus justifying the Canadian literature that they present, the editors admit that their “book falls short of being representative in the larger sense of the word” (vii). The admission is suggestive. If a concept of the nation is not “representative,” then the problem of Canadian literary history is not that it “has been organized around” what Dermot McCarthy calls “the extra-literary concept of the ‘nation’” (32) but, rather, that concepts of both “literature” and “nation” are necessarily limiting.

With its first section, “CANADA AND THE CANADIAN SCENE” (xi) devoted to poetry that reflects nationalist sentiment or the culture or environment of the nation, the second and third sections of the Broadus anthology, “THE PEOPLE” (xiv) and “THE NATION BUILDERS” (xv), are devoted to prose. The Mackenzie excerpt, entitled “MEETING THE RED MAN ON THE PACIFIC SLOPE” (xvi), is in the “THE PEOPLE” section, which is devoted to presenting “a picture of the past and a panoramic view” (viii). Quite opposite to Irmischer’s “Nature-writing” perspective of Mackenzie’s text, however, the excerpt that Broadus and Broadus select from *Voyages* is not intended to offer a rendering of scenery but rather a “record” or “document” of the past (160). In their brief introduction, the editors explain, “Mackenzie was destitute of artistry. He does not visualize the scenes through which he passes” (160). A merchant and a cartographer rather than a landscape artist, Mackenzie conceives of the scenes through which he passes numerically, in distance and direction, but he is not without the natural historian’s eye, as the excerpt shows.

The excerpt is from the final leg of Mackenzie's successful Pacific-going voyage and comprises part of the entry for Wednesday, July 17, 1793, when Mackenzie, his crew, and their guides arrive at the "Bella Coola River" (Mackenzie, *The Journals*, note 1, 360), which empties into the Pacific Ocean, and most of the entry for Thursday, July 18th, which finishes by describing the "Bella Coola" (note 1, 368) or Nuxalk totems. The function of the excerpt seems to be to present some of "the people" whom Mackenzie encounters: in other words, it functions as a piece of ethnography. The excerpt occurs just four days before Mackenzie's July 22nd Pacific arrival, the triumphant moment of which is quoted by the editors in their introduction to the excerpt:

I now mixed up some vermilion in melted grease, and inscribed, in large characters, on the South-East face of the rock on which we had slept last night, this brief memorial— 'Alexander Mackenzie, from Canada, by land, the twenty-second of July, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three.' (Broadus and Broadus 160, Mackenzie 378)

The quotation is given as evidence of Mackenzie's understated, "plain prose" (160) style, but the choice, for evidence of style, reflects the editors' choice: that is, to celebrate Mackenzie's arrival. Often appropriated as Canadian national symbols, the totems are icons of the Pacific coast; the excerpt, thus, transforms the totems into markers of a heroic vision of the fur trade "*from Montreal [. . .] to the [. . .] Pacific*" (Mackenzie title).

John D. Robins's *A Pocketful of Canada* (1948) also offers an extract of Mackenzie's text, as well as one of Thompson's—both in the section entitled "*THE BUSH*" (81). Although the section title suggests that the extracts will focus on descriptions of the natural habitat through which each explorer travelled, such is not entirely the case. The Mackenzie excerpt, subtitled, "DESCRIPTION OF THE FUR TRADE" (81), speaks of the first section of Mackenzie's text, "General History of the

Fur Trade,” from which Robins has taken his excerpt. This section of *Voyages* begins by offering a history of the fur trade and then proceeds to narrate a generalised trip from Montreal to Fort Chipewyan, near the mouth of the Athabasca River. Without introduction, Robins begins excerpting from the section’s first page, which begins the historical content. He then skips ahead to the description of the generalised voyage, to the departure from Montreal, and focuses on excerpts from the trip’s “*most difficult section,*” which “*was that between Montreal and the mouth of the French River on Georgian Bay*” (83), and from the exchange, between “the North men” (Mackenzie 97) and “the agents from Montreal” (98), of the “*cargoes of furs, at Grand Portage*” (Robins 85), as Robins’s editorial inserts explain. Although the excerpt from the departure from Montreal certainly highlights the dangers associated with the bush, it and the excerpt from Grand Portage describe not only distances travelled, currents, and portages but also provisioning and contracting for trade, and, taken together with the first, thus, in a rare instance in which the explorer is subordinated to the merchant, offer a combination of fur trade history and document rather than offer excerpts of Mackenzie’s accidental northern and intended western explorations.

Robins’s Thompson excerpt is adventure at its best. Taken from the first part of Thompson’s *Narrative* from his exploratory travels in June and July of 1796, during which time he was an employee of the Hudson’s Bay Company, the excerpt (which preserves Thompson’s eighteenth-century capitalisation as it is in the Tyrrell edition) is from the “Trip to Lake Athabasca” chapter and is taken upon “return” (Robins 93, Thompson, Glover ed. 117), near the end of Thompson’s surveying trip, and it narrates Thompson’s plunge down a waterfall on Black River. The incident leaves Thompson and

his companions “without provisions” (94, 118) and is followed fast upon by the dysentery to which Thompson and one of his companions are subject after eating the fat from an eagle that they had hunted. Meant to convey the danger of the bush, the excerpt begins just before and ends just after the climax of the action, whereas the chapter of the Tyrrell text narrates the outward journey and the dénouement that details provisioning (after Thompson and his companions are nursed by the “Chepawyans”), the arrival of “Goods [. . .] from York Factory” (Thompson 120) at the trading post “Fairford House” (108), and Thompson’s building of another trading post, “Bedford House” (note 1, 120). Removed from these more descriptive sections, the excerpt, thus, emphasises action.

Boasting of “*51 photographs*” (title page), William Toye’s *A Book of Canada* (1962) is advertised as one of the “*Collins National Anthologies*” (prefatory matter) devoted to the nations of the British Isles (amongst which is “A BOOK OF LONDON”) and Britain’s former settler colonies. The boast of photos is suggestive of the anthology’s intent, which, like the Broadus anthology, is to use writings to present a picture—in this case, part historical, part geographical, part cultural—of Canada. This picture begins with European arrival and presents “*People*” and “*Places*” (6), “*Man and Nature*” (7), and Canadian activities and beliefs. Toye introduces his text saying, “Canadiana came into being when [the land . . .] impelled explorers, colonizers, missionaries, settlers, and even tourists to penetrate its mysteries and write about what they saw” (15). Here the British are not only cast in the imperial but also the *empirical* mould, as “those assiduous, inquisitive note-takers” and the explorers, specifically, as men “who doggedly reduced momentous journeys to laconic diary entries” (15). Again, as in Baker’s view, the emphasis is on action celebrated; the reason for writing, as in New’s opinion, is

pragmatic. Using empiricism to characterise the British, Toye not only transforms the empirical aesthetic into a necessary outcome of curiosity and action but also into a general literary thematic: he continues, “Canada Observed was a tirelessly repeated theme for over three centuries” (15).

Offering translations of French explorers, Cartier, Champlain, and Radisson, Toye also includes Sir Humphrey Gilbert and an excerpt from Hearne’s text, entitled, “THE COPPERMINE MASSACRE” (73). With but three lines explaining that Hearne “explored more than a quarter million miles of the Barren Ground,” that “[h]e was the first white man to reach the Arctic [. . .] overland from Hudson’s Bay,” and that the “companions [of his exploration] were a band of Chipewyan” (73), the introduction focuses on the exploratory *action* rather than on the writing. The excerpt from Hearne’s *Journey*, however, is from its July 17, 1771 climax, which is *not* Hearne’s goal of arriving at the mouth of the Coppermine River at the Arctic Ocean but, rather, his companions’ goal, which is to massacre a group of Inuit living there. Given that the excerpt offers no geographical details and removes most of the details of preparation for the ambush and approach and focuses on the attack itself, the selection seems chosen solely for its dramatic horror. Notably, it ends with Hearne, who remained, as he explains, “neuter in the rear” (Toye 74, Hearne 153) during the attack, “shedding tears” (Toye 75, Hearne 155) in remembrance of the event, a symbol of the civilised man confronting “barbarity” (74, 153).

A. J. M. Smith’s *The Book of Canadian Prose: Volume 1, Early Beginnings to Confederation* (1965) covers what Smith refers to in his “Preface,” as “our colonial period” (xi). Thus, like many anthologists, he believes that there *is*, if not a Canadian

literature before Confederation, at least a developing Canadian ethos expressing itself in literature. Contrasting the prose of this book with “the earliest sections of” (xi) his *Book of Canadian Poetry* (1943), he says, “[o]n the whole, the writing in the present book differs from the verse of the same period [. . .]. It is more practical, more purely expository, usually simpler, and generally less sophisticated and literary” (xii). These differences are not, however, to the detriment of the writing, for, in Smith’s opinion, “in the period from about 1870 to 1910, few Canadian writers seemed able to escape from a genteel English tradition that was unmistakably literary” and, as a result, produced writing that “seems weak, derivative, and [. . .] thoroughly colonial” (xiii), whereas “the practical, amateur writers” (xiii) like “the explorers” “created a literature simply by minding their own business and writing out of the immediate experience of the world around them” (xiv). Smith believes that it is this “amateur” writing that best captures the “individuality” (xiii) of Canadian literature. The irony here is not only that this “amateur” writing is not amateur but also that this distinctly *Canadian* writing is *thoroughly colonial*.

Rather than the difference between native and colonial, then, the difference between the prose and the poetry is aesthetic. Curiously romanticist in sentiment for a modernist, Smith values an aesthetic that he sees as no aesthetic at all: what he reads as unmediated, “immediate experience” transcribed is the empirical aesthetic turning the world into text. Smith values the empirical aesthetic for two reasons: its treatment of substance and its rhetoric of objectivity. It is in the treatment of substance that Smith perceives intimations of the nation. Opposite to Lionel Stevenson’s view of literature, Smith does not celebrate the universal in the “Canadian spirit” (Stevenson x) but, rather,

the particular in the Canadian “geography” (Smith xi). Although not as obviously as Frye, Smith too believes that Canadian writing is writing that is about “here” (that is, Canada)—and influenced by “here.” While the treatment of substance confers uniqueness, the rhetoric of objectivity lends to these writings “the virtues of strength and simplicity” (xii). Smith, thus, values early prose for the way in which it is like modernist poetry: spare, imagistic, and, at least in Canada, often about the landscape. The early prose is better than the florid and subjective poetry that Smith’s own poetry is trying to supplant.

In his anthology, Smith excerpts from “the practical, amateur writers” (xiii) Hearne, Mackenzie, and Thompson, and, for the excerpts of each, he has introductions that combine author biography with textual evaluation—documentary or literary or both. In Hearne’s case, Smith quotes J. B. Tyrrell’s assessment, which is that the text “‘is chiefly valuable . . . not because of its geographical information, but’” because it is a work of “‘ethnology’” (qtd. in Smith 53)—an assessment that echoes some of Hearne’s own intention for his text, which is that it is “not so much for the information of those who are critics of geography, as for” those interested in natural history, for example, “the face of a country” and “the modes of living, manners, and customs of the natives” (vi). Smith also situates Hearne’s text within the eighteenth-century literary tradition. He mentions imaginary voyage writer Jonathan Swift and alludes to travel writer (and biographer) James Boswell, but first he says that Hearne’s text “should be regarded as a classic of English prose; it is as spirited and knowledgeable as the writings of Mungo Park” (53). The arrangement of the compound sentence suggests that Hearne’s text should be considered literature because it compares well with Park’s. Proof of the

problem with viewing Hearne as one of the “practical, amateur writers” of early Canada, the comparison might well be reversed, as Park’s *Travels in the Interior Districts of Africa: Performed under the Direction and Patronage of the African Association, in the Years 1795, 1796, 1797 (1799)* was published four years *after* Hearne’s *Journey*.

With its column of dates and Hearne’s footnotes intact, Smith’s excerpts, unlike those in the previous anthologies, try to preserve some semblance of the original (although in the original the dates are to the outside of facing pages rather than simply to the left as they are in Smith). Following Tyrrell’s assessment, Smith has selected excerpts that could be considered ethnological, but he has, at the same time, tried to preserve some sense of the whole of the third and successful exploration of the *Journey*. Defying the sequence of the first edition, in his first section, however, Smith combines two excerpts: the first, from the homeward leg of the second attempt, is of Hearne’s first meeting, on September 20, 1770, with the man Matonabee, who becomes his guide, or “teacher-initiator” (231) as Percy G. Adams might view him from the perspective of character type, and the second, from the section *A Short Description of the Northern Indians, also a farther Account of their Country, Manufactures, Customs, &c*, which appears after the narrative of the three journeys, is Hearne’s character sketch of Matonabee, who is described in positive terms as a composite of European national stereotypes. Smith ends his selection with an excerpt from the character sketch, in which Hearne recounts Matonabee’s death nine years after the exploration. Smith’s choice of finale is important because Hearne’s relationship with Matonabee is essential to the text as a whole, for it is with Matonabee as guide that Hearne succeeds on his third attempt

to reach the Arctic. Moreover, it is in travelling with Matonabee and his people that Hearne is able to observe Chipewyan culture, much in the way of an anthropologist.

Between the excerpt of meeting and the excerpt concerning Matonabee's death, Smith includes Hearne's observations of the Chipewyan wrestling for wives near Clowey Lake, an instance in which Hearne-the-observer becomes the observed, an instance that Smith subtitles "A GREAT CURIOSITY" (58) in echo of the empirical practice of natural history by which Hearne himself hopes to satisfy his "curious" (vi) reader, and finally the massacre of Inuit at the mouth of the Coppermine River. Clowey Lake is not only of "ethnological" but also of narrative interest because it is at Clowey that Hearne and his companions are joined by more Chipewyans, some of whom choose to participate in the massacre, as Smith's fourth excerpt indicates: "[i]t should have been observed, that during our stay at Clowey a great number of Indians entered into a combination with those of my party to accompany us to the Copper-mine River; and with no other intent than to murder the Esquimaux" (Smith 59, Hearne 114). Taken from the third paragraph for the May 31, 1771 entry in Chapter V, the excerpt deletes the part of the paragraph that mentions that many of those who initially join do not proceed and then skips ahead to the entry's following and final paragraph, which presents Hearne's protestations against the attack. The next excerpt is from Chapter VI and begins with the last paragraph for the July 14, 1771 entry, which speaks of the party's arrival at the Coppermine River, and continues until the end of the fourth paragraph for the July 17, 1771 entry, the day of the massacre. Although in his introduction Smith refers to "the tender sensibility of the helpless narrator" (53), unlike Toye, Smith does not end the excerpt of the massacre abruptly with Hearne's horror and tears but rather with Chapter VII's September 30, 1771

entry concerning the Chipewyan purification ritual following the massacre and, thus, preserves the “ethnological” interest. As Smith notes, “[t]he elaborate purification ceremonies [. . .] [are] quoted at length in *The Golden Bough*” (53), which also, although less extensively, quotes Hearne on taboos concerning “menstruous women” (Frazer 91). A practical concession to the difficulties of excerption, Smith’s focus on excerpts from the third journey is by no means a celebration of Hearne’s successful exploration to the Arctic Ocean, for, in the selection of excerpts, Hearne’s goal is not merely subordinated (as it is in the *Journey*) to the goal of the Chipewyan but sublimated. In the interests of “ethnology,” Smith offers (in the longest excerpt) the preparations for massacre, the massacre, and post-massacre cleansing ceremony, but amongst these, no mention is made of the arrival at the Arctic Ocean—except in the oblique reference to the “Copper-mine River” (59).

While Hearne remains the “ethnologist,” Mackenzie is the epic hero. Although in a mode less eulogising than Marquis’s estimation of Mackenzie’s heroics, Smith nonetheless conflates the poet with Ulysses when he speaks of Mackenzie’s list of his crew members, “whose names are recorded like an Homeric list of heroes” (86), and, although he acknowledges Mackenzie’s work as a merchant, he alters the emphasis of Mackenzie’s life—from one of mercantilist venture to one of geographical *adventure*—by saying that Mackenzie’s “most *congenial* work was as an explorer and pathfinder” (emphasis mine, 86). Celebrating Mackenzie’s heroism but preferring the plain prose that he sees as a more appropriate vehicle of heroism (and, perhaps, more like modernist poetry), Smith is not fond of the text’s “literary artifice,” which he attributes to (if not blames upon) Mackenzie’s “ghost writer, William Combe” (87). As Smith does with

Hearne's text, he preserves Mackenzie's notes; he also, however, preserves Mackenzie's sequence. The difference in editorial choice regarding sequence is unsurprising given that Mackenzie's text, unlike Hearne's, is strictly linear in its development.

Like Robins, Smith excerpts from Mackenzie's "General History of the Fur Trade"; he does not, however, excerpt from the historical narrative but from the documentary elements. More specifically, he excerpts details of finances, furs taken, outfitting, and men employed in the trade during Mackenzie's time. After this first introductory excerpt on the fur trade, the other two sections of excerpts are arranged as a series of three departures. The second section begins with Mackenzie's May 9, 1793 departure on his second and successful exploration of *Voyages* and includes the list of crew members to which Smith refers. The final section is taken from near the end of the exploration and combines Mackenzie's ethnographical observations with his arrival at the Pacific. First excerpted from Chapter X, which begins with the July 18, 1793 departure from the place that Mackenzie names "Friendly Village" (390), it narrates the moment of encounter between Mackenzie and his crew and the Nuxalk villagers and describes foodstuffs, bent-wood boxes, longhouses, and totem poles. Further describing a healing ceremony, food preparations, and metal-work, it continues through July 19th until the first sentence of Chapter XI, when Mackenzie and his crew depart from the village. With an editorial insertion that explains the route that Mackenzie and his crew take from the village, the section lastly skips to Mackenzie's July 22nd arrival at the Pacific and the paragraph containing Mackenzie's territorial inscription, his "brief memorial" (Mackenzie 378) to his accomplishment. Writing as Canada's centennial approaches, Smith describes Mackenzie's inscription as "a single sentence of monumental grandeur"

and the “greatest stylistic achievement” (xv) of the “amateur writers.” Mackenzie’s “vermillion” inscription, ““Alexander Mackenzie, from Canada, by land, the twenty-second of July, one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three”” (378), covers much of the Canadian landmass, as Harold A. Innis’s and Donald Creighton’s Laurentian thesis would have it, in a progress from east to west beginning with that great river of conquest and trade in beaver fur, the St. Lawrence, and is just a little short of the aspirations of Confederation (“Canada” that Mackenzie knew subsumed within a larger Canada) and Canada’s first motto, *a mari usque ad mare*. Celebrating Mackenzie’s inscription as a “stylist achievement,” Smith, thus, transforms a territorial marker into a sentence of literary value.

Finally, also following Tyrrell’s assessment of Thompson, “one of the greatest geographers of the world” (Tyrrell xix), quoted roughly as “the greatest land geographer who ever lived” (Smith 103), but balancing it with an assessment of his own, Smith casts Thompson as both the cartographer, “the greatest of all North American land surveyors and map makers,” and the adventurer, the “daring explorer” (102). Producing extracts following the sequence of Thompson’s text (and observing eighteenth-century capitalisation), Smith’s selections reveal some of Thompson’s variety. Thompson is empiricist and rationalist, “mythmaker” (Hopwood, “David Thompson” 5) and raconteur, ethnographer and wildlife biologist, and, certainly not least of all, recorder of travels. Smith not surprisingly begins his selections with an extract that includes some of Thompson’s comments on “practical astronomy” (Smith 103, Thompson, Glover ed. 89) from “CHAPTER VI: LIFE AMONG THE NAHATHAWAYS” (89), and follows these comments with an excerpt not of practical astronomy, that is, navigation or cartography,

but of Thompson's observation of a meteor shower on "Susquagemow" (Smith 106, Thompson 98) or "Landing" Lake (Thompson 98, note 1) from the same chapter.

The "LES ISLES AUX MORTS" extract that follows the extracts on Thompson's astronomical interests alludes to the French involvement in the fur trade and shows Thompson as the traveller-listener repeating a naming-legend told to him "by an old Canadian" (Smith 108, Thompson 139). "'TWO DISTINCT RACES OF BEINGS—MAN AND THE BEAVER'" (108) is Thompson's pre- and post-discovery story of Canada showing Aboriginal Peoples, as "man," living in balance with the natural world, "the beaver," until the arrival of Europeans with their demand for beaver furs and their "articles of iron" (Smith 110, Thompson 152) offered in trade. It also recounts one elder's telling of his people's myth concerning the spiritual history of the beaver-people and of his prediction of the beaver's future scarcity. Describing Thompson's style as "rough, homely, rugged, almost primitive but solid and tangy," Smith draws a parallel between the "'TWO DISTINCT RACES OF BEINGS'" excerpt and epic by describing the passage as having "an almost Homeric freshness of vision" (103). Instead of conflating epic hero with writer of epic, as he does in Mackenzie's case, however, Smith here subordinates the hero to the writer.

The next excerpt details a "Chippaway" (Thompson 197) or Anishnabe (Ojibwa) spirituality movement that Thompson sees as faddish and superstitious. The final excerpt is "A NIGHT IN THE MOUNTAINS," Thompson's log-like recording of his trip from the trading depot at Rainy Lake to Cumberland House and from there to the Athabasca River and finally the Columbia River. It offers two days, January 9 and 10, 1811, during the trip through the Rockies from the Athabasca to the Columbia River just after "the

mild weather from the Pacific Ocean” (Thompson 320) has turned the temperature readings that Thompson takes from well below zero degrees centigrade to well above. With the change in temperature and Thompson’s description of his party’s location as having “all the appearance to the height of land between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans” (Smith 118, Thompson 321), the suggestion is that they have reached the Great Divide, and although his men are “dispirited” by their location, Thompson himself is exhilarated and writes of his perceptions: “a new world was in a manner before me” (322). Smith’s extract leaves Thompson poised as the triumphant discoverer, with this “new world,” which reaches to the Pacific Ocean, lying to the west.

The Oxford Anthology of Canadian Literature (1973), edited by Robert Weaver and William Toye, offers a selection from Hearne. As the editors say, the introductory “notes about the contributors are intended to give a sense of the personalities and creative activity that have produced our literature” (xiii). Their biographical comments on Hearne, therefore, address three main concerns: they depict Hearne as a man inured to hardship and, thus, prepared for exploration; they sketch an outline of the exploratory part of the *Journey*; and they speak of Hearne transforming his journal into his *Journey*. Thus, it is the man who is able to journey who is also able to create *the Journey*. Pointing to the persistence of the explorer in the English-Canadian imagination, the note on Hearne also mentions that an edition (possibly the copy-text for the selection) “was edited by Richard Glover (1958)” (199) and that “Farley Mowat adapted the narrative [. . .] as *Coppermine Journey*” (199-200). Moreover, the anthology “cross-references” the excerpt from Hearne with “John Newlove’s ‘Samuel Hearne in Wintertime’” (xiv), and, as Moreau and Kröller do after them, the editors choose the word “inspired” (200) to explain

the relationship of the first text to the second. Considering Hearne's text "immensely readable" and, alluding to Tyrrell's assessment of the text's "great ethnological value" (199), the editors extract from details pertaining to the Coppermine massacre to a lesser degree than does Smith. While Smith includes the section of Chapter V that mentions that Hearne's (that is, Matonabee's) party is joined by others at Clowey, Weaver and Toye begin with Chapter VI and the day before the massacre itself. This excerpt they end with Hearne shedding tears, one paragraph sooner than does Smith, and, thus, they omit the reference to the defiling of the dead. Like Smith, however, they also excerpt from Chapter VII the details of the purification rituals that are quoted in James George Frazer's *Golden Bough*. In providing but the two massacre excerpts, the editors focus less on exploratory or "ethnological" interests and more on the drama of the event.

Published nine years after his *Book of Canadian Prose*, Smith's *The Canadian Experience: A Brief Survey of English-Canadian Prose* (1974) includes excerpts from Hearne and Thompson but not Mackenzie—although Smith mentions Mackenzie in his introduction. While the absence of excerpts of Mackenzie is an obvious difference, a subtle difference is in Smith's ideas concerning the explorers. Surveying views of exploration writing, Roger Leonard Martin notes the "strange coincidence" (60) of the date of publication of *Literary History* (1965) and Smith's earlier *The Book of Canadian Prose* (1965); what is also coincidental is the similarity of *vision* shared between Frye's "Conclusion" and Smith's "Introduction," particularly in the parallel between Frye's "immediate datum of [. . .] imagination" (827) and Smith's idea that "the explorers" wrote from their "immediate experience" (xiv). In *The Canadian Experience*, Smith modulates his idea: "[e]xplorers like Hearne, Mackenzie, or Thompson wrote well

because they were dealing simply and directly with what was immediately before them” (x). As the title of this later text indicates, what the explorers “experience” is *Canadian*; moreover, it is the *immediacy* of this experience that *makes* it Canadian. Martin argues that views of exploration writing like Frye’s and Smith’s suggest that Canada’s “national prose epic” or “creation myth could be informed by documentary rather than predominantly mythological values” (63). The difference between Frye’s and Smith’s views, however, is that Frye’s is more purely empirical or factual, as “datum” suggests, whereas Smith’s betrays his romanticist sensibility in his focus on “immediate experience”: that is to say, for Frye the writer collects from the environment but for Smith the writer *creates* from the environment.

Preserving his 1965 introductions to the excerpts in the 1974 text, Smith reduces his selections from Hearne and Thompson to one section each. In Hearne’s case, he goes the way of Weaver and Toyne and focuses strictly on “THE SLAUGHTER OF THE ESQUIMAUX” (26) or the Coppermine massacre—although he preserves his original excerpts in full and, thus, retains their “ethnological” interest. In Thompson’s case, following his own assessment of the text’s literary qualities, Smith offers only the 1965 text’s “TWO DISTINCT RACES OF BEINGS” (35) excerpt, which, in this instance, he equates not with the epic but with the mythic in literature by saying that “Thompson writes like a figure out of the Old Testament” (x). Not only does Smith’s revised comment speak of a literary antecedent but also of Thompson’s Christian values. While in this instance, Smith’s selection obviously reflects his literary assessment, it also emphasises Thompson’s fur-trade connections rather than his cartographic achievements. Moreover, the selection preserves the influence of Innis, who introduces his *The Fur*

Trade in Canada (1930) with a brief chapter entitled “The Beaver,” in which he quotes from Thompson’s *Narrative*. Smith’s selection is from that part of Thompson’s text that is the source of two of the three quotations that Innis uses: one detailing “the average weight” and taste of “a full grown male” (Smith 37, Innis 2) beaver and another detailing how beaver “became an easy prey to the Hunter” (Smith 37, Innis 4) because of improvements in weapons technology. The absence of excerpts from Mackenzie’s text may simply be the result of a volume-reducing necessity that reflects Smith’s negative opinion of the text’s style; the persisting reference to Mackenzie’s text in the anthology’s introduction, particularly to Mackenzie’s “vermillion” inscription, however, maintains the text’s literary value—which is that it is exploration inscribed.

Douglas Daymond and Leslie Monkman are the editors of *Literature in Canada* (1978), in Volume One of which, along with excerpts from Hearne and Thompson, are excerpts from Cartier and Vancouver and, in full, Stephen Parmenius’s “Letter to Richard Hakluyt” (4) concerning his brief time with Gilbert’s exploratory voyage to Newfoundland in 1583. Despite its brevity, the letter contains the requisite observations for exploration writing: navigational and animal, vegetable, and mineral. If the letter is noteworthy, the inclusion of Vancouver is remarkable because it suggests that the editors do not, despite beginning their anthology with a translation of Cartier, follow strictly the Laurentian thesis advocated by Innis and Creighton. Both economic historians, Innis and Creighton view the west only in context of the expansion of the eastern fur trade of Mackenzie’s Northwest Company, which later became part of the northern (truly northern?) monopoly of the Hudson’s Bay Company. Innis argues that “[t]he Northwest Company was the forerunner of Confederation” because, upon “[t]he work of the French

traders and explorers and of the English who built upon foundations laid down by” the French, it “had built up an organization which extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific” (Innis 265). With all the epic grandeur of geographical determinism, Creighton declares that, “with the fur trade, the Precambrian formation began its long career in the Canadian economy [. . .]. It was upon these rocks that the central emphasis of the Canadian system was placed” (5). Moreover, “these rocks” of the Canadian Shield determined not only the system’s “central emphasis” but also its “inland” (12) development: “[t]he trend of expansion from the St. Lawrence valley was toward the west” (12). While the Laurentian thesis would have Canadian development as a westward progression that begins with the French explorers entering the St. Lawrence and proceeds with the trade in beaver furs along the water systems from the Great Lakes and later the Hudson’s Bay, Vancouver’s text details European and American imperial activity—and trading in sea otter and not beaver furs—on the west coast before Mackenzie reached the Pacific “by land” (Mackenzie 378).

The editors’ introductions to the exploration writing excerpts are brief biographies that focus on the explorer’s place of birth, reason(s) for exploration, and production of printed text but make no assessment of the text itself. The Hearne excerpt is, as per usual, “The Coppermine Massacre” (53), but because the introduction focuses solely on Hearne, the editors include a footnote explaining that the “Matonabee” (55) of the excerpt is “Hearne’s Chipewyan guide” (note *, 55). Like Weaver and Toyé, the editors begin their selection with the excerpt from the day before the massacre; unlike Weaver and Toyé, however, they confine their selection to Chapter VI and end the excerpt with Hearne shedding tears rather than continue with the purification ritual that marks the closure of

the massacre. Also, unlike Toye's *A Book of Canada* excerpt, this excerpt not only includes Hearne's opening sentence for the day, July 16, 1771, in which he mentions the weather and his surveying of the Coppermine River, but it also includes Hearne's mention of the preparatory ceremonies for the massacre. Although the effect of the excerpt is similar to that of Toye's, the opening sentence sets the massacre in context of Hearne's exploration, and Hearne's disparaging comments on the ceremonies of massacre heighten the contrast between the Chipewyan and himself because the ceremonies are "superstition" (Daymond and Monkman 54, Hearne 149) to Hearne's reason.

While the editors have selected the Hearne excerpt for its drama, they have selected the Vancouver excerpt for its geography. The excerpt is, not surprisingly, from the second year of the voyage, the first season of surveying along the west coast of what would become Canada, June 13, 1792. Typical of the text as a whole, the excerpt includes navigational observations, instances of Vancouver naming geographical features, an encounter with an Aboriginal group, the "Squamish" (Lamb note 1, 583), and observations of the coastal landscape. The excerpt is of the survey of Burrard Inlet, following the first edition, Vancouver's "BURRARD CANAL" (Daymond and Monkman 67, listed as "BURRARD CHANNEL" in the Lamb edition of Vancouver's *A Voyage* 583), which is significant for two reasons. The first is the obvious contemporary significance: along the southern shore of the inlet lies the City of Vancouver itself, with Gastown, the original city site, just south of the "island" (Daymond and Monkman 65)—that is not an island and is now known as "Stanley Park" (Lamb note 1, 581)—that Vancouver passes while entering the First Narrows of the inlet. The second is that it is during this first season of surveying the Canadian west coast that Vancouver's Master but

soon-to-be-Lieutenant Johnstone determines the insular nature of Vancouver Island, and it is just shortly after the Burrard Inlet survey that Vancouver's ships complete their circumnavigation of the island.

Presenting an interest different from the Hearne and Vancouver selections, the Thompson selection (which does not preserve eighteenth-century capitalisation) concerns the trade in beaver furs and the impact that market prices in London, its imperial centre, have on Aboriginal Peoples at its margins. Dealing with "Swan River Country," the excerpt is from the time during which Thompson is in the employ of the North West Company surveying in what is today the province of Manitoba in the area around lakes Winnipeg and Winnipegosis. The excerpt is from the latter portion of Smith's "'TWO DISTINCT RACES OF BEINGS'" selection. It begins after Thompson's pre- and post-discovery story of Canada "digression" (Daymond and Monkman 76, Thompson 154), and it narrates Thompson's encounter with an Aboriginal elder whom he meets as he is crossing a beaver dam and who offers him a telling of the traditional story of the early days of the beaver, when the beaver were "an ancient people" and "Great Spirit became angry with them and ordered Weesaukejauk" (Daymond and Monkman 77, Thompson 155) the trickster to send them from the land to the water. The traditional story is set in the text as a direct quotation and ends with the elder's prediction that the beaver are being punished once again and will become increasingly scarce and the humans dependent upon them "poor" (78, 155). Smith ends his excerpt with the close of the elder's quotation after "poor," but Daymond and Monkman continue their excerpt with Thompson's own comments on the destruction of the beaver population in Canada, including how that destruction relates to the market in London. Not expressing a conservationist sentiment

but certainly a cautionary one, Thompson concludes his musing on the scarcity of the beaver by suggesting that “some gentlemen who has nothing to do” should calculate “the number of beavers that have been killed” (79, 157) for the export of their fur to Britain. Excluding Thompson’s mythologising digression but ending with Thompson’s musing on economics, the editors shift the focus from the mythological emphasis of Smith’s selection to the factual. Thompson’s beaver-dam encounter with the elder becomes a means for juxtaposing two worldviews concerning the detriments of the fur trade.

The last two anthologies containing excerpts of exploration writing included in Lecker’s list are *An Anthology of Canadian Literature in English* (1982), edited by Russell Brown and Donna Bennett, and the “Revised & Abridged Edition” (title page) of *An Anthology of Canadian Literature in English* (1990), edited by Brown, Bennett, and Nathalie Cooke, both of which include the same excerpts from Hearne and Thompson, and the same introductions, notes, and contextual comments for the excerpts. Following MacLulich’s nomenclature and sounding rather like Frye in their introduction to the first edition of the anthology, Brown and Bennett call these “narratives of exploration” and explain that they “are significant pieces of early *writing* in their own right, as well as important influences on the *literature* that followed” (emphases mine, 1st ed. xi). Perhaps justifying the presence of excerpts of exploration writing in their anthology of “*Literature*,” certainly attempting to explain why this “writing” is “significant,” the editors note that some early “writers [. . .] expressed concern over the lack of an indigenous mythology” and explain that writers like Hearne and Thompson “are interesting to read not only because they record the first stages of this quest for a viable myth but because they provide the source material for later writers; that is, they

themselves have become myth-makers and even mythic figures” (1st ed. xii).

Transforming exploration from a quest for geographical facts to a quest for “a viable myth,” the editors offer a remedy for a “concern” that is simultaneously a denial of indigenous mythologies and an ambition to supplant them. The explorer is essential because he offers of the geography and its biota an empirical view that, as Mary Louise Pratt argues, “naturalizes” his “presence” (28). Moreover, this view transforms the indigenous into a textual creation available for appropriation. What is made of the explorer, that mythic figure, however, through the process of accretion, becomes fact. Thus, the narrative that Brown and Bennett tell is, like the one in *Literary History* and *The Empire Writes Back*, one of literary progress that results from the naturalisation of a non-indigenous population.

Offering longer introductions to their excerpts than Daymond and Monkman, the editors restrict biographical details to those that are important to the explorations undertaken, touch on the production of the manuscript, and comment on the merits of the printed text. They include their own notes and retain the notes in Hearne (as indicated in square brackets). Appropriate for first-time readers, the modern editors’ notes explain terms, identify historical personages, distinguish Aboriginal cultural groups, give locations according to current understandings, and mention allusions—in Hearne a biblical allusion and in Thompson, allusions to Nahathaway (Cree) tradition. For Hearne’s text, the editors also offer some italicised contextual remarks for the excerpts within their selection.

Calling Hearne’s text “one of the classic narratives of exploration,” the editors note that it is an “an important document” because, unlike previous writing dealing with

the exploration of North America, Hearne's shows a "scrupulous concern for accuracy" (1st ed. 24). Echoing Smith, who combines Tyrrell's assessment of Hearne with his own, the editors also note that the text is "valuable to ethnographers" and offers "careful descriptions of the animals and plants of the North" (1st ed. 24). The selection comprises excerpts from three different chapters, with prefatory, contextual remarks for each, as well as a concluding remark. From the editors' introductory remarks quoting from Hearne's second set of "ORDERS and INSTRUCTIONS" (1770), which note that he was "*in quest of a North West Passage*" as well as "*Copper Mines*" (1st ed. 23, with typescript following Hearne 64), to the concluding comments quoting Hearne's assertion that his journey "has put a final end to all disputes concerning a North West Passage through Hudson's Bay" (303), the selection is permeated with the idea of the north.

The first excerpt is from Chapter II, for the entries from June 5, 1770 through to the end of the entry for June 23rd of Hearne's second (failed) journey, and it emphasises the physical conditions of travel in the Barren Grounds of the far north: melting snow of late spring and early summer makes traverse difficult, pitching a tent without poles in the treeless zone is impossible, and subsisting on the hunt makes survival uncertain. The context that the editors provide for this second journey is the failure of the first, and this second failed journey provides context for the third and successful journey, two excerpts from which follow. While this first excerpt itself emphasises the physical conditions of travel, its purpose within the selection is three-fold. One, it draws attention to Hearne's cartographic and literary endeavours because it lists the instruments of these endeavours as some of the items of his "luggage" (1st ed. 24, Hearne 29): "the quadrant and its stand [. . .] books, papers, &c. a land-compass" (24-5, 29). Two, it develops the prefatory

mention of the guides of Hearne's first and second attempts, "*Chawchinahaw*" and "*Conne-e-queese*" (1st ed. 24), respectively, into a narrative (paralleling Hearne's own) that contrasts with and anticipates the story of the arrival of Mantonabee, the man who will guide Hearne on his third and successful journey, the man whom Hearne meets on his return from this second journey. Three, it not only substantiates the prefatory remark that it was this "*trek during which Hearne became assimilated into the migratory life of his [. . .] companions*" (1st ed. 24) but also suggests that assimilation involved a kind of stoic endurance akin to heroism. The word "*assimilated*" of the prefatory remark and the selection's introductory comment that "Hearne helped to pioneer an effective method of exploration" (1st ed. 24) comprise an unintentional but important commentary on exploration, which is that the explorer is frequently dependent upon those who know that which is cast as unknown.

Beginning with the second paragraph of the entry for May 31, 1771 and continuing until the entry's end, the second excerpt is from the third journey of the following year. Significantly, the excerpt is from Chapter V, the chapter that ends with Hearne and his companions "arrived at [. . .] Copper-Mine River" (Hearne 144). The excerpt begins with the men of the massacring/surveying party leaving many of their wives and all of their children behind for the remainder of the approach to the Arctic. Important as a prelude to the massacre, which follows in the selection, the excerpt also draws attention to Hearne's northern location by noting latitude, "Northward of 64° North" (1st ed. 27, Hearne 114), and mentioning that the sun barely sets during the night. Moreover, like Smith's 1965 excerpt from the same date, this excerpt refers to Clowey, where Mantonabee's Chipewyan party is joined by another party, also members of the

Athapaskan cultural group; unlike Smith's, however, this excerpt retains Hearne's remark that some of those who join for the purpose of the massacre do not proceed to the river. Retaining the remark defuses some of the intensity that builds as a result of Hearne's description of the massacre preparations, which immediately precede the remark. Although, like Smith, the editors end this second excerpt with Hearne's protestations against the attack, they extend their excerpt one sentence beyond Smith to include Hearne's comments on the "folly" (28, 116) of his protestations. The final sentence also defuses some of the dramatic intensity.

The final excerpt of the selection is of the massacre from Chapter VI. Beginning one paragraph *after* Smith, it presents the July 15, 1771 entry, in which Hearne writes of surveying the river. The one-paragraph removal alters the focus away from the massacre, for that one paragraph is devoted entirely to relating concerns regarding the attack. The excerpt ends, as Weaver and Toye's and Daymond and Monkman's selections end, with Hearne's "tears" (1st ed. 32, 155). The tears are not, however, the end of Brown and Bennett's selection, which returns to the idea of the north by concluding with a remark that mentions the return journey and quotes Hearne's conclusion to the third-journey section of the text: "[t]hough my discoveries are not likely to prove of any material advantage" they have "put a final end to all disputes concerning a North West Passage through Hudson's Bay" (Hearne 303).

While in their Hearne selection, the editors focus on the physicality of exploration, in their introduction to their selection from Thompson, they focus on the *textuality*—primarily Thompson's cartographic achievements. Noting Tyrrell's involvement with the production of the first edition, the editors roughly quote his

assessment of Thompson: “the greatest practical land geographer that the world had produced” (1st ed. 32). The reference to Tyrrell seems to arrive via the influence of Smith because, for the conclusion to their introduction, the editors quote from Smith’s *Book of Canadian Prose* excerpt “A NIGHT IN THE MOUNTAINS” (117) and, thus, end their introduction with Thompson’s exhilarated phrase, “*a new world was in a manner before me*” (1st ed. 33). Moreover, seeing similarities between Hearne’s text and Thompson’s, the editors call both men “writer-explorers” and suggest that Thompson “may have known Hearne’s journals in manuscript” (1st ed. 33). They do not, however, note that, in the section of his text devoted to his employ with the Hudson’s Bay Company, Thompson himself speaks of copying from Hearne’s manuscript: “[o]n my complaining that I should lose my writing for want of practice, M^r Hearne employed me a few days on his manuscript entitled “A journey to the North” (19).

The excerpts from Thompson are all, as the editors indicate, taken from “CHAPTER VI: LIFE AMONG THE NAHATHAWAYS” (1st ed. 33, Thompson 89); they preserve eighteenth-century capitalisation but alter Thompson’s paragraphing (Thompson tending to lengthy paragraphs). Chapter six’s first paragraph begins with Thompson discussing his equipment for and taking of astronomical observations, and it is from this first paragraph, the one that Smith excerpts in entirety and entitles “PRACTICAL ASTRONOMY” (103), that the editors take their excerpt—although they remove Thompson’s final racist and classist remarks concerning the *Canadiens* employed in the fur trade. The excerpts that follow this first observe the chapter sequence but, lacking Thompson’s transitions, read as a disconnected series of anecdotes and descriptions. Substantiating the editors’ claim that Thompson was a “keen observer and

diligent recorder” (1st ed. 33), the series of excerpts contains measurements of geography and climate, observations of wildlife, natural phenomena, and astronomy, general observations of the Nahathaway, and anecdotes about Nahathaway individuals. Although Thompson’s Christian and empirical-rational bias is clear, he does what many travel writers do: he corrects the biases and incorrect observations of previous writers and travel writers. His corrections concern particularly the Aboriginal inhabitants of North America. For example, he protests, “[w]riters on the North American Indians always write as comparing them with themselves, who are all men of education, and of course [the Indians] lose by comparison. This is not fair; let them be compared with those who are uneducated in Europe” (Thompson 92, Bennett and Brown, 1st ed. 35). He also discounts mention of abundant wildlife: “[a] recent writer (Ballantyne) talks of myriads of wild animals. Such writers talk at random, they have never counted, nor calculated; the animals are by no means numerous” (92-3, 36). Despite its apparent diversity, excerpts following the first have one theme: scarcity. The devastation of the Nahathaway population brought about by smallpox is paralleled by the reduction in the beaver population as a result of the trade in their furs and the inexplicable scarcity of other non-human animals. Thompson’s anecdotes about individuals focus on their suffering for want of food and the fear of cannibalism that grows out of this suffering.

Different from the previous anthologies because it does not represent modern writing, *‘Improved by Cultivation’: An Anthology of English-Canadian Prose to 1914* (1994) is edited by R. G. Moyles, who selects 1914 because “for most historians, [it] marks the symbolic end of the nineteenth century” and because, in becoming Britain’s ally during World War I, Canada made its “final push towards nationalism and

independence” (10). Perhaps motivated by an observation similar to Lecker’s, regarding the practice of anthologising literature that is ““modern”” (124) as representative of “Canadian,” the anthology works against the idea that only beginning in the twentieth century was prose of any interest produced. In the effort, however, Moyles seems unable to avoid a developmental approach to justify the early prose: “[l]iterary historians, unencumbered by the restrictions of a purely evaluative approach, have shown that there is a vast body of early prose literature [. . .] that is not only intrinsically enjoyable but which, read wisely, reveals much about an emerging Canadian identity” (8). While whether pleasure is unconnected with literary value may be debated, what cannot be denied is the allusion to Frye. Quoting from Susanna Moodie’s *Roughing It in the Bush* comment on the Canadian-born, “[t]hey are a naturally fine people, and possess capabilities and talents, which, when improved by cultivation, will render them second to no people in the world” (qtd. in Moyles 7), the anthology’s title might well serve as an emblem of the “non-evaluative” approach’s beliefs and aspirations.

Making a virtue of necessity, in the “Commentary” to his “Travel and Exploration Narratives” chapter, Moyles temporally extends Stephen Greenblatt’s assessment that “the discourse of travel in the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance is rarely if ever interesting at the level of sustained narrative and teleological design, but gripping at the level of anecdote” (2). Moyles says that the “chief value in exploration literature [. . .] is [. . .] in its anecdotalism” (15); “it is as recurring anecdote rather than extended narrative that exploration literature works best” (15)—likely because the “recurring anecdote” satisfies our desire for narrative better than do the texts taken whole, “narrative” often being a misnomer. Either that or exploration writing, unlike the novel, is writing better

taken in small doses. Although Moyles provides the selections in part “to introduce readers to the *genre*” (15 emphasis mine), the coordinated chapter title highlights the “travel and exploration” paradox. Amongst selections of settlement promotional tract, adventure, and travel writing, only those of Hearne and Mackenzie qualify as exploration writing—despite Moyles’s insistence that the adventure *The Lure of the Labrador Wild* (1905) is among the “*explicit* exploration narratives” (emphasis mine 16). Unlike Thompson’s text, Hearne’s and Mackenzie’s were published *before* 1914 and are, therefore, historically representative of early literature understood as printed productions available for a readership. Following in the “picture” tradition of the Broadus and Broadus and Toye anthologies, Moyles says that Hearne’s and Mackenzie’s texts “provide fascinating glimpses of early Canada” (17); the “picture” is not, however, restricted to the real but depicts also the ““imaginative landscape”” (9)—one assumes of the retrospectively sought-for, historically anachronistic, “emerging Canadian identity.”

The introductions to the two selections make for an interesting comparison. Hearne is cast as a failure who produced a “*record*” that “*secured for him lasting fame*” (33), whereas Mackenzie is cast as a hero, whose “*record* [. . .] *is fascinating*” (39) because it shows him triumphing over adversity. Hearne is merely an employee of “*Hudson’s Bay Company*,” which “*appointed (ordered?)*” him on his exploration, the first two attempts at which “*failed miserably*” (33), while Mackenzie is “[*a*] *partner in the North West fur-trading company*” with a “*consuming passion* [. . .] to find a route across the continent to the Pacific Ocean” (39), a man who did not fail at his first attempt at exploration but, rather, “*tested a theory that the river which flowed out of Great Slave Lake (now the Mackenzie) led to the Pacific Ocean but discovered that it flowed to the*

Arctic instead” (39). Amusing in its extreme differences where no difference exists, the comparison reproduces each explorer-writer’s characterisation of himself and his explorations.

Although the Hearne selection is the Coppermine massacre, it is not titled as such but is, following Hearne’s chapter title “Transactions at the Copper-mine River, and till we joined all the women to the South of Cogead Lake” (145), entitled “Transactions at the Coppermine River” (33). Unlike previous anthologies, the selection here begins with the beginning of Chapter VI, which is the entry for July 14, 1771. The entry itself and, therefore, the selection begin by noting the massacre-survey party’s arrival at the Coppermine River. Thus is set the scene for the events that follow. The selection continues, from the chapter’s beginning, sequentially through the entries, without omission, to the entry for July 17, 1771, the day of the massacre, and it ends, before the end of the day’s entry, with Hearne’s tears. Despite the all-too common ending, the selection is innovative. While the editor’s decision to maintain the full sequence of entries may derive simply from pragmatics (the ease of presenting the whole rather than excerpting parts), the result of the decision draws more attention to the complexity of the events, as they are presented in Hearne’s text itself. By beginning the selection as he does, the editor presents the initial counterpoint sounded by the alternation of Hearne’s surveying concerns with his companions’ concerns regarding their approaching attack. What seem to have been separate, however, is shown to have been one joint concern when Hearne notes, “we advanced so near [the river], as to give me an opportunity of convincing myself that it was as unnavigable [. . .] which entirely corresponded with the accounts given of it by” (Moyles 36, Hearne 150) the Chipewyan of his party who had

gone to spy on the Inuit for the purpose of the attack, and, following this note, Hearne reiterates, “we lay in ambush” (36 and 37, 151 and 152). Those anthologies that excerpt from the entry for the fifteenth (Brown and Bennett) or sixteenth (Toye, Daymond and Monkman) remove the counter-point because the entry for the sixteenth presents Hearne’s companions, as if mutinying: “no farther attendance or attention was paid to my survey” (Hearne 148). Smith removes the counter-point too but includes Hearne protesting against the attack and then relenting and, thus, offers a reason for the joint-concern. In presenting the counter-point of concerns as actually a joint-concern but not presenting Hearne’s rationale for accepting the joint-concern, Moyles’s selection, despite ending with Hearne’s renouncing tears, troubles the binaries civilised / barbarous, reason / superstition upon which the renouncing depends.

Moyles’s selection from Mackenzie, “*On the Shore of the Pacific Ocean,*” ends on an astronomical observation, which reflects Mackenzie’s intention to make his text worthy of “the attention of the scientific geographer” (Mackenzie 60). Well into the ninth chapter and a little into the entry for July 17, 1793, the excerpt begins just after Mackenzie and his crew have crossed through what is now named Mackenzie Pass to arrive at the confluence “of Burnt Bridge Creek and Bella Coola River” (Lamb note 4, 359), on the latter of which they will voyage to the Pacific Ocean. The excerpt does *not* end with Mackenzie’s “vermillion” assertion of their arrival at the Pacific but, rather, just before their July 18, 1793 departure from “Friendly Village” (when Smith’s 1965 final excerpt begins) several days before that arrival. The excerpt begins with some description of the mountainous environment through which Mackenzie and his crew pass, but its bulk is devoted to their stay at “Friendly Village”—to their interactions with the

villagers and to descriptions of the villagers' houses, foodstuffs, and fisheries. Following the introductory comment regarding the fascination of the text's "*depiction of first contacts with*" (39) coastal peoples, the excerpt is intended to be not only of geographical but also ethnographic interest. Given, however, the west-coast trade in sea-otter furs, it is difficult to say whether the depiction of the selection is, in fact, one of first contact.

A New Anthology of Canadian Literature in English (2002), edited by Bennett and Brown, reproduces from *An Anthology of Canadian Literature in English* the selections from Hearne and Thompson, alters in organisation (although little in content) the introduction to the selection from Hearne, and makes five additions and one deletion. The first addition comprises prefatory remarks concerning "Exploration Narratives" (27). Signalling the editors' adherence to the developmental tradition, these remarks begin as follows: "[a] desire to observe the environment closely, to map physical and relational space, to document the details of one's milieu, and to discover the source of events has been evident in Canadian writing" (27). This "desire," however, has not simply "been evident," but is, rather, a "habit of mind" that "has manifested itself as an imperative to record the objective details of experience" (27); moreover, this "habit of mind [. . .] has shaped the early non-fiction" (27). Employing the originary myth of English-Canadian literary history, the reverse logic here speaks to the editors' own desires, which are to define English-Canadian writing as empirical (that is, like exploration writing) and to make exploration writing an expression of a pre-national, national ethos.

The most significant addition to the new edition comes along with the positive alteration of "Indian" (1982 and 1990 editions) to "Native" in the textual apparatus. The addition is—as the anthology's first selection—Thompson's pages-long transcription /

translation of the oral history of the “Peegan” (240) or Piegan told to him by “Nahathaway” (72) or Cree elder Saukamappee (Thompson’s spelling), who lived amongst the Piegan. The addition of this selection is an attempt to recover an Aboriginal voice, which, as the editors acknowledge, is a fraught activity. They justify their inclusion, however, by noting that, although European transcriptions of Aboriginal speech “have been regarded with suspicion,” “[m]ore recently, scholars have begun to feel that such records [. . .] can provide valuable accounts that might otherwise be unavailable,” and that Thompson’s might be considered an especially good account because “he made a conscious effort to record information objectively and sought out the elders of the tribes he visited, hoping that their knowledge of their cultures prior to European contact could be preserved” (1). While Thompson certainly demonstrates respect for elders and the oral tradition and claims to value and objectivity may be debated, the justification not only privileges the empirical view but also harkens back to the elegiac mode of late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century “salvage ethnography,” of which Thompson, despite his interest in pre-contact times, was *not* a part. Moreover, it assumes that print is the only true medium of preservation.

The assumption concerning print underlies the awkwardness of the selection’s categorisation, which is *not* “Exploration Narratives”—although its origins in Thompson’s text are acknowledged. The categorisation is explained neither by the fact that the selection is a transcription / translation of Saukamappee nor by the anthology’s chronological arrangement according to birth date of the author (that is, “Saukamappee”). The awkwardness is the result of attempting to recover an Aboriginal voice for the early period by employing an early print source that transcribes/ translates that voice rather than

using a modern oral source that addresses that period: that is, Saukamaptee is authenticated because he is transcribed/translated in Thompson's manuscript, then in his printed text, the presence of which is obscured by inconsistencies in categorisation. Proof of print's authenticating powers, as part of their biographical sketch of Saukamaptee, the editors quote Thompson's description of the man. Furthermore, the "immediacy" that the editors describe (in their introduction to their Thompson "Exploration Narratives" selection) as an effect of Thompson's "style" (37), seems not unlike the "immediacy" that they perceive in Saukamaptee's "tales" (1). Thus, despite efforts to the contrary, "Saukamaptee" seems ever more Thompson's textual creation, and, rather than a piece of objective salvage ethnography, the transcription / translation might be better viewed as an inclusion typical of travel writing: that of the traveller quoting the inhabitant on matters concerning the country.

The editors excerpt nearly the whole of Thompson's rendition of Saukamaptee's relation, which concerns, as Thompson says, "former" (240), but not pre-contact, times. It is part tribal and part personal history, for it concerns the battle between the Piegan and "Snake" (240) or Shoshone peoples and also explains how Saukamaptee came to live amongst the Piegan. It concerns the impact of iron, firearms, and horses on warfare, and it speaks of the spread and devastation of small pox, which the Piegan "caught [. . .] from the Snake" (245). The approximately one and half paragraphs that the editors omit form an anecdote within the larger narrative, and while the removal focuses the selection upon the larger narrative, it also removes some of the digressive quality typical of extended oral relations.

The third addition is in the introduction to the selection from Thompson, and the fourth expands the selection. Just following the remark on the “immediacy” (37) of Thompson’s style the editors add remarks concerning Thompson’s language facility, which enabled him to understand and, therefore, record what he was told by Aboriginal elders. The addition makes sense of both the earlier Saukamappee selection and the first excerpt from the Thompson selection. As the editors note, this first excerpt, the fourth addition, is from Thompson’s “CHAPTER IV: “NAHATHAWAY INDIANS” (38, Thompson 72). Offering details of Cree spiritual beliefs and practices, or what Thompson says “may be termed religious subjects” (38, 75), this excerpt serves as an introduction to the next excerpt, which is retained from the previous editions, from Chapter VI, “LIFE AMONG THE NAHATHAWAYS” (89): implied is that the beliefs and practices of which Thompson writes form the context for the “life” that Thompson lived while he resided with the Cree. It is in the first excerpt, rather than in the Saukamappee one, that Thompson expresses an interest in pre-contact times: he says that in recording what he had learned from the Cree, he “carefully avoided as their national opinions all they have learned from the white men” (38, Thompson 74). More of a desire to access what might be perceived as an “authentic” or “pure” representation of beliefs, Thompson, a devout Christian, makes some of his observations in the way of comparative religion and draws parallels as if, in part, to bridge understanding with his non-aboriginal readership and, in part, to show himself doing the same or perhaps proselytising amongst the Cree. Although included, the second excerpt is shortened from the previous editions by the deletion of nearly two (of Thompson’s) paragraphs so that the end of the excerpt is not coincident with the chapter’s end from which the excerpt is taken. The deletion not

only focuses the conclusion of the excerpt on scarcity on one man's, Wiskahoo's, fear of becoming a cannibal but also heightens the drama of the excerpt's conclusion because it ends not with the optimistic anecdote of another man's, Apistawahshish's, fear but with Wiskahoo being shot dead because his fear frightens others.

The fifth addition includes excerpts from John Franklin's *Narrative of a Journey* (1823). Speaking of a resurgence of interest in the Canadian Arctic following the formation of Nunavut on April 1, 1999 and of later Canadian writing that returns to Arctic exploration, these excerpts have not only a general introduction to Franklin's search for "The Northwest Passage and the Search for Franklin" (50), but also biographical introductions to Franklin and Dr. John Richardson, "who took part in and contributed to sections of Franklin's accounts" (51), as well as produced an account of searching for Franklin. There is interplay between the Hearne and Franklin selections, as the editors retain their concluding remarks quoting Hearne's assertion that his journey "has put a final end to all disputes concerning a North West Passage" (italicised 36, Hearne 303) and excerpt from the Franklin text that part that accounts for his "overland journey" (52) to and from the Coppermine River. Moreover, in prefatory remarks to the Franklin excerpts, the editors quote Franklin as he describes coming upon the place where the Coppermine massacre occurred.

Edited by Judith Maclean Miller, *Reading/Writing Canada: Short Fiction and Nonfiction* (2005) is innovative in its anthologising approach because it suggests how the selections that it presents may be used in educational contexts. Rather than take a historical perspective, it presents the selections alphabetised according to author and then suggests topical approaches to the selections. The anthology's one explorer, Thompson,

is listed under the topic categories, “*Coming of Age*,” “*Cross-Cultural Encounter*” (xix), “*The Environment*,” “*Immigration*,” “*Travel*,” and “*Work*” (xx), and also according to geography, “*The North*” (xxi), perhaps because *The North* has iconic status and Thompson was in the north, but certainly because the excerpt is from his early days at Hudson’s Bay. Unlike the previous anthologies that excerpt Thompson and provide the date for the Tyrrell or the Glover edition or for both editions, the editor notes the dates for Tyrrell’s edition and Victor G. Hopwood’s edition (1971). The copy-text for the selection, Hopwood’s edition, which does not present the complete Tyrrell text, includes minor additions, alters the paragraphing, and conventionalises the capitalisation. To these changes the anthology editor adds explanatory notes. The selection, “I Join the Hudson’s Bay Company” (382), follows exactly Hopwood’s first chapter, which comprises excerpts from Thompson’s “manuscript” (Hopwood, *David Thompson* 61) that largely correspond with the first chapter of Tyrrell beginning with its first page. Appropriate for all of the topic-categories listed above, the selection begins with the fourteen-year-old Thompson leaving London for the Hudson’s Bay, refers to his school days and reading habits, describes his Atlantic departure and the environment of Hudson’s Bay, mentions that he meets Hearne at York Factory and transcribes part of Hearne’s text, and talks about the difficulties of adjusting to the “circumstances” (388, Thompson, Hopwood 67) of his new home. Likely made in respect to these initial difficulties, the prefatory remarks to the selection seem, in fancifully saying that Thompson “*felt written upon, by cutting winds, by mosquitoes tattooing his skin*” (381), determined to transform him from the central figure in a text of exploration writing to the central figure of a captivity narrative—with the northern environment cast as his villainous captor.

A tribute to Frye's persistence, Cynthia Sugars and Laura Moss's *Canadian Literature in English: Texts and Contexts* (2008) "Narratives of Encounter" section begins with the subtitled "Introduction: Who/What/Where Is Here?" (15), which touches upon the empiricist and empiricist-rationalist preoccupations: natural history and cartography. Frye's influence is also seen in the introduction to the anthology, in the idea of the "development of Canadian literature" (xiv)—as if it were strictly linear: "[t]o present oral narratives [of Aboriginal Peoples] at the beginning of a collection of Canadian writing in English would suggest a formative influence on the subsequent development of Canadian literature that would be historically inaccurate" (xiv). Although the editors are careful to acknowledge that "[b]eginning with the period of European exploration is admittedly problematic" (xii), in a section with exploration writing selections from Cartier, Champlain, Hearne, Thompson, and Franklin, however, the strict linearity of the developmental view breaks down, for the Thompson selection belongs to the twentieth century, when it first appeared in print, despite the date of Thompson's birth and the time of his manuscript production. The developmental view is also in tension with the "picture" school of anthologising. The editors not only speak of providing "snapshots of times and places" (xviii) but also explain their inclusion of the translated Cartier and Champlain selections as necessary because "[i]t is impossible to paint an historical picture of the early European encounter with North America without them" (xiv). With no excerpt from the Pacific explorations of Cook or Vancouver, however, the "picture" seems to depend upon the fur-trade centred Laurentian thesis of east-to-west development and the cession of New France to Britain. A more appropriate justification for the developmental view would be that Hakluyt includes "the first two of

[Cartier's] three voyages" (Hopwood, "Explorers by Land" 19) in translation in the second edition (1598-1600) of his collection and Purchas includes "a translation of Champlain" (20) in his (1625): that is, the translations influenced British exploration writing.

Exceptional amongst the anthologies, *Canadian Literature* includes not only selections from Hearne but also a graphic, "'View of Prince of Wales's Fort'" (vii), and, thus, recuperates an important element of the printed productions of exploration writing. The detailed introduction to the selection addresses Hearne's biography, exploration, manuscript production, influence on "Samuel Taylor Coleridge" (70) (although not on Canadian authors), and link to Franklin's first exploration. Moreover, it cautions that the text "should be read in context of the imperial enterprise of which it forms a part" (71). For the selection itself, the editors provide footnotes explaining terms, places, people, and literary allusions; and they also retain (and indicate) Hearne's own notes. To reinforce the imperial context and to establish a context for the goals of the *Journey*, the editors begin their selection with excerpts from Hearne's first set of "ORDERS and INSTRUCTIONS" (1769) (xxxv). The second selection is from the second journey and excerpts in sequence from the first Brown and Bennett (1982) selection—except that it begins with what functions as an introductory sentence noting the party's "departure on the twenty-third of February" (74, Hearne 13), 1770. The transition created by placing together the excerpted sentence concerning departure and that section of the paragraph addressing Hearne's "luggage" (74, 29) is misleading because it suggests that Hearne begins his trek with his luggage loaded upon his back, when it is not until June 10th that he notes that, because the snow is melting and the "sledges," therefore, no longer useful

for transporting the “luggage,” each member of the party had “to take a load on his back” (29). The date of June 10th also better explains the “excessive heat of the weather” (75, 29) of the excerpt. The sections that the editors leave out from the Brown and Bennett selection seem to fall into three categories: minor details of the trip, Hearne’s personal reflections, and, most importantly, Hearne’s derogatory comments about Aboriginal Peoples or persons.

The third selection is an excerpt from March 3, 1771 of the third journey that the editors entitle “*Effect of Trade on the Natives*” (76), which presents a full paragraph of Hearne musing upon, as the excerpt’s title indicates, the detrimental effect of the fur trade on the indigenous inhabitants. Taken in context of the editors’ decision to remove derogatory comments from the previous selection, the choice of excerpt is puzzling. While the excerpt expresses sympathy for “the poor Indians” (76, 83), Kathleen Venema argues that implicit in this sympathy is “Hearne’s covert *Inverse Rule of Geographical Distance*: ‘Indians are better off the further they can stay from the Fort’” (22). The problem is that those who are “better off” (further off) are derogatorily described as “people who ‘beg and steal’” and “‘a parcel of beggars’” (22). Perhaps a glaring instance of the imperialist perspective about which the editors caution, the excerpt might be effectively used in a pedagogical context as a means for discussing prejudice. The excerpt might also be useful because it captures some of Hearne’s conflict of values that forms a recurring theme of the text as a whole.

The final selection concerns the Coppermine massacre. Like Smith’s “THE SLAUGHTER OF THE ESQUIMAUX” (1965) excerpt or Brown and Bennett’s second excerpt (1982) for Hearne, this selection is from the May 31, 1771 entry that begins with

the first sentence of the paragraph that notes that the party is joined by others at Clowey. Although the selection retains only this sentence, it excerpts, like Brown and Bennett, the following paragraph in its entirety, which Smith does not. This is the paragraph in which Hearne protests against the attack and then relents, and this excerpt includes Hearne's comments on the "folly" (77, 116) of his protestations. The selection then excerpts from the first and last paragraphs for the June 22nd entry, the last of which comprises the full paragraph of Smith's "A GREAT CURIOSITY" (58) selection. Perhaps retained as an instance of empirical role-reversal, this last paragraph of the entry offers a break in the dramatic tension of the events leading up to the massacre. The selection then follows the second excerpt for Smith's "SLAUGHTER" selection but removes two paragraphs with Hearne's derogatory remarks about his companions and the sentence in which Hearne notes that he is given "a spear" (152) by one of his companions so that he might use it in self-defence. Like many of the excerpts of the massacre, this too ends in Hearne's tears.

The Thompson selection also includes explanatory notes—one noting the retention of Thompson's "spelling and punctuation" (84, note 1)—and an informative introduction similar in content to that of the Hearne selection—although it adds a comparison, of both men and texts, in which Thompson comes out the better: "the more skillful writer and more expansive thinker" (83). Because most of Thompson's text is not written following the standard journal-entry style of late eighteenth century exploration writing but deals with exploratory travel (that is, sometimes dangerous travel into the unknown), the editors argue that it is "a kind of adventure story" (83); I would suggest, however, that the resemblance is more of autobiography developed, like a *Künstlerroman*, with an eye to presenting the growth and development of the cartographer-as-artist. The

first selection comprises excerpts taken in sequence from the first and pages-long paragraph of the chapter that Glover inserts in his edition from Tyrrell's Thompson, "CHAPTER IIA: THE SASKATCHEWAN" (Thompson, Glover ed. 37). The selection acts as a piece of fur trade history because it tells something of the rivalry between "[t]he fur traders from Canada" (84, Thompson 37), that is, the North West Company, and the Hudson's Bay Company. The second selection excerpts from the early part of what is the first selection from Bennett and Brown (2002) from Thompson's "CHAPTER IV: "NAHATHAWAY INDIANS" (72). Thus, it provides a glimpse of the spiritual beliefs and practices that Thompson details. The selection then skips to the beginning of "CHAPTER VI: LIFE AMONG THE NAHATHAWAYS" (89) and includes in full Smith's "PRACTICAL ASTRONOMY" (103), which is the beginning, excepting the last two sentences, of the sole selection from Brown and Bennett (1982). Given the editors' effort to remove derogatory remarks concerning Aboriginal peoples and individuals, the retention of the racist and classist remarks concerning the "french Canadians" (89) is curious. Following the practical astronomy excerpt, the selection continues with excerpts from the Brown and Bennett selection presenting Thompson correcting erroneous views of previous writers and an anecdote concerning Tapahpahtum, who comes to Thompson to ask him to conjure the wind. Unlike the Brown and Bennett selection, this selection concludes not with anecdotes of fears of cannibalism. Presenting Thompson's celestial observations through a Cree worldview, the selection ends with Tapahpahtum explaining to Thompson that he believes that Thompson has power to conjure a wind because "the Great Spirit speaks to [him] in the night, when [he is] looking at the Moon and Stars" (89, 103).

Although not a general anthology of English-Canadian literature, Germaine Warkentin's *Canadian Exploration Literature: An Anthology* (1993) deserves some mention because it is the first (and only) anthology devoted to the subgenre as limited by the context of Canadian geography. Unfortunately, although it is devoted to the subgenre, not all of the texts that it includes are *of* the subgenre, for if some anthologies of English-Canadian literature repeat Smith's 1965 exploration writing selections with some alterations, Warkentin repeats some of the generic inconsistencies of the literary histories, encyclopaedias, and companions. Underlying these inconsistencies seems to be an assumption that writing connected with the fur trade is *necessarily* exploration writing. The confusion of more general travel writing or adventure pertaining to the trade is, perhaps, understandable, but there is also the failure to recognise that, although many traders may not have remained in the country once the tenure of their employ was completed, the trade itself constituted a form of settlement. While the lack of a definition for exploration writing is one weakness, there is a greater weakness, which is linked to this lack. In his review of the anthology, Michael Darling hits upon this greater weakness when he quotes from Warkentin's introduction, saying, "[u]nnecessarily straining to justify the contents of an anthology that is largely devoted to the writing of white European males, Warkentin claims to hear 'other voices—women, natives, labourers—which speak through them'" (30). Rather, it is the silence of these "other voices" that is eloquent, for while exploration writing may hint at the diversity and polyphony of cultures in contact, it does little to capture this diversity or polyphony. The real narrative underlying Warkentin's text has little to do with her attempt to justify it, for although her selections include those of the likes of Vancouver, her anthology in large part excerpts

writing concerning Rupert's Land, which she sees as "a metaphor for the whole of Canadian life" (xiv). As the anthology largely concerns the trade in beaver furs and, more particularly, the Hudson's Bay Company trade, given that it begins with Radisson and offers more than half of its selections from one-time employees of Hudson's Bay Company, Rupert's Land functions not so much as a "metaphor" but as a history.

If literary histories, encyclopaedias, and companions, appear to canonize Hearne, Mackenzie, and Thompson, anthologies certainly do—although Mackenzie loses favour in the later anthologies. Besides the canonization of these individual texts and the obvious influence of Smith's *The Book of Canadian Prose* selections on later anthology selections or selection practices, there are three points of note. The first is that the post-*Literary History* anthologies not only canonize Hearne and Thompson but also canonize Frye's view of English-Canadian literary development because the exploration writing that they include concludes with Franklin—and does not extend to later exploration writing such as that of J. W. Tyrrell, whose late nineteenth-century (post-1867) text is too late for the developmental view. The second is the increasing interest in (addition of) Franklin, which, as I have suggested, reflects a resurgence of interest in the Arctic and of texts returning to Arctic exploration. The third pertains to the Coppermine massacre motif. I. S. MacLaren calls the massacre a "purple patch" ("Exploration" 58 and "Notes" 24) and notes, "[t]his scene has been excerpted in various forms and critically interpreted more often than any other section" (21) of the *Journey*. What is interesting is that the printed editions of the text "contain an element—torture—that one cannot find in the two surviving versions of Hearne's field notes" (21). MacLaren argues that the scenes of torture grew out of the popularity of "the gothic novel" (24) coincident with the

production of the printed text. I should extend MacLaren's argument and say that the *reason* that the massacre is repeatedly anthologised is *not* that it forms the *Journey's* climax but rather that it is that part of the *Journey* that most conforms to conceptions of the literary.

Chapter 5

O, Printed Muse!

While anthologies of English-Canadian literature that include exploration writing grant it literary status by virtue of inclusion, scholars who grant it literary status do so either by assumption, as does Constance Lindsay Skinner, or by argument—in response to Northrop Frye. Rejecting Frye’s disparaging remark concerning exploration writing’s lack of literary intentions, Maurice Hodgson argues in favour of reading “The Exploration Journal as Literature” (1967) and T. D. MacLulich argues in favour of reading “Canadian Exploration as Literature” (1979). These two scholars argue in favour of exploration writing’s literary status, as Ottmar Ette and Jan Borm argue for travel writing in general, by considering aesthetics: that is, they argue that exploration writing is literature by accounting for its literary *qualities*. As Frye shows, however, literary qualities do not guarantee *quality literature*, and it seems that, in exploration writing’s case, literary qualities do not even guarantee literary status, for, if exploration writing is canonised, it is typically canonised paradoxically as document, *not* literature.

The document *not* literature binary is a construct upon which readings of exploration writing depend. When exploration writing is read in relation to history, however, the construct collapses and reveals the binary for simultaneity: exploration writing is *not* document *not* literature but document *and* literature. In *Metahistory* (1973) Hayden White’s argument suggests the question, “what if history is written *as* literature?” The answer, “then it *is* literature,” is the logic of MacLulich’s argument, for he uses White on history’s “emplotment” (7) of events for his own analysis of the “emplotment” (73) of exploration writing in order to prove that its literary qualities are

intentional rather than Frye's "incidental" (822). There are, however, convolutions in exploration writing's relationship to history that MacLulich's parallel does not suggest, and to uncoil these convolutions, I add to the question implicit in White's argument one of my own: "what happens when literature is used to produce historical narrative?"

In the instance of exploration writing, time provides the essence of an answer. If, at the moment of its creation, exploration writing is believed to spring forth from geography, free of generic tradition, in its printed (or manuscript) form, it is valued as a document of history, for while the "datum" (Frye 827) of the explorers' imaginations is the environment, the texts that they produce comprise "data" or "records" (Pierce 203) of the past. Often these data or records also contain an element of history, as explorers expound upon who was where before them. Mackenzie's first section, "A GENERAL HISTORY OF THE FUR TRADE," includes the most extensive history amongst the exploration writing here addressed, with the introduction to Cook's third voyage second. In all cases, however, the element of history is subordinated to the causes of charting space, chronicling time, and describing animals, vegetables, minerals. Texts of exploration writing are documents of history but not predominantly history itself. Nonetheless, these texts transmute by some strange alchemy into history.

While there is much difference between a document of exploration writing and a history of exploration, there is no difference between the document and literature except the perspective of the scholar's eye. In the first edition of *The Oxford Companion to Canadian Literature* (1983), general editor William Toye notes, "[t]his is the first volume in the famous series of Oxford Companions to be devoted solely to Canadian literature. Norah Story's *Oxford Companion to Canadian History and Literature* (1967) [. . .] was,

as the title indicates, devoted to two subjects” (vii). Comparing the alphabetised explorer-entries of Story’s *Companion* with the explorers mentioned in Warkentin’s “Exploration Literature in English” entry in Toye’s, one sees the evidence of Warkentin’s selective eye. To detail the evidence would be merely to repeat Warkentin’s declarations that “Canadian exploration writing in English emerges late in the seventeenth century” (*The Oxford* 1st ed. 243) and that “maritime exploration and the [pre-nineteenth-century] search for the Northwest Passage [. . .] really belong to the colonial history of England” (243). Before the transformation from “two subjects” to one, however, the excluded Frobisher, Cook, and Vancouver are not only entries for historical personages but also for texts of exploration writing. Literature or document, in Story’s *Companion* the texts are left undefined because they are defined not by what they *are* but by what *is done* with them.

If the texts of exploration writing are defined by being read, they fill some of the space of English-Canadian literary histories, but, more importantly, in the early English-Canadian literary histories, they share space with histories. Despite White, it seems that, with the exception of the last volume (1990) of the second edition of *Literary History*, there is little inclination, after the first three volumes of that edition (1976), to write histories into *literary* history. Before these volumes, however, such is not the case. Carl F. Klinck’s (not Frye’s) first edition of *Literary History* (1965) includes both exploration and historical writing—although exploration writing is cast as the origins of the literature while history is merely one of its possible genres. In Pierce’s *Outline* (1927), the eleventh chapter includes exploration writing, the twelfth addresses historical writing. Logan and French combine exploration writing and histories in their “NARRATIVE

LITERATURE” chapter of *Highways* (1924), and Baker’s *A History* has one chapter devoted to “HISTORY AND POLITICS” and one to “TRAVEL AND EXPLORATION.” It is here with the matter of literary history that I choose a reverse-chronology because earliest tells most, for there is the history *Canada and Its Provinces* (1913), which includes Marquis’s chapter of *literary* history, but then there is also the monograph of Marquis’s chapter, printed the same year as the history itself. The monograph is not the result of the chapter’s perfect unity and cohesion; it is, rather, the perfect unity and cohesion that is the result of a view historical that sees literary history as a subset of, yet distinct from, history. The substance *of*, thus, subordinate to history, exploration writing is, in *literary* history, which views both historical and exploration writing as potential literature, *equal to yet different from* history.

Exploration writing is not only viewed as subordinate and equal to but also, wrongly, *the same as* history. While it includes elements of history, is written into history, included in *literary* history along with histories, and written into history as a part of literary history, it also commingles with the history of exploration. Although the difference between historical document and history seems clear, the difference is sometimes elided, perhaps lost in the passage of time. Marquis’s “TRAVELS AND EXPLORATION” (511) includes not only travel and exploration writing but also “historical” (519) works that treat of exploration: Samuel Edward Dawson’s *The St Lawrence Basin and its Border-Lands* (1905) and Lawrence J. Burpee’s *The Search for the Western Sea* (1908). Logan and French also include both Dawson’s (misattributed to J. W. Tyrrell) and Burpee’s texts in their “*Travels, Exploration, Sport*” (400) subsection of “NARRATIVE LITERATURE,” and Pierce includes Burpee’s work and Agnes C.

Laut's *Pathfinders of the West* (1904) in his "Travel and Exploration" chapter. If these three literary histories are time lost, then *Literary History* is time regained, for the difference between the earlier literary histories and *Literary History* (which marks the moment before history turns into not-literature), is not so much a stricter adherence to genre as it is strictly chronological. The proof is in its first three chapters: chapter one covers early modern writing; chapter two is devoted to writing written (although not necessarily published) up to, as its title says, "1860" (19); and chapter three includes writing written as late as the early nineteenth century. History, however, is written after. More precisely, it is written after 1867, after, as the title for part three indicates, "THE EMERGENCE OF A TRADITION" (v)—or more correctly "the emergence of a nation."

Commingled with histories of exploration, exploration writing is also, in literary scholarship, mixed up with figures of thought, metaphors and similes employing exploration writing, the person of the explorer, and even exploration itself. These figures of thought are intended to speak to what makes Canadian literature distinctive and to exploration writing's unique influence upon the literary in Canada. Untangled, however, these figures of thought reveal the unmistakable imprint of the inimitable Frye. Untangled they also distinguish, amongst the purported influences of exploration writing, those influences actual from those wishful. Those wishful, wished-for influences not only reveal Frye's imprint but also prove the potency of *Literary History*'s position.

Before the untangling begins, however, a distinction is needed. Scholarly mention of exploration writing's influence takes two forms, although these two forms often come in close succession (and possibly confusion). One speaks in specifics, names names of writers—Bowering, Gutteridge, Mowat, Newlove—influenced by exploration writing.

The other speaks in generalities, talks about exploration writing's influence upon "Canadian literature" as a national entity. These two forms of mention relate to two streams of influence: the former includes content, the latter *excludes* content. The former stream of influence is, along with the repeated evocation of exploration writing in literary histories, encyclopaedias, criticism, companions, and anthologies, part of the process of exploration writing's canonisation because it is *literally* a return to the writing itself. The latter stream of influence is not a part of canonisation but operates, along with the tropes suggesting exploration's influence, at the level of motif in the English-Canadian literary imagination. This stream of influence is difficult to ascertain because exploration writing's structure and style are not restricted to itself, and references to exploration in general rather than to incidents from specific texts of exploration writing could derive simply from a writer's tendency to figurative thinking.

While Frye's figurative thinking may not have started it all, it certainly started *some* things. Most obviously, "[t]he literary, in Canada, is often only an incidental quality of writings which, *like* those of many of the early explorers, are as innocent of literary intention as a mating loon" (emphasis mine 822) brought scholars to exploration writing's (if not Canadian literature's) defence. Less obviously, the simile offered a lens through which one might view Canadian literature's distinctiveness as being a result of exploration writing's influence. Although the disparaging comparison is not about exploration writing's influence upon the literary in Canada, it is the first inkling of an extended parallel that explains that the national literature's low literary value is the result of a distinctly Canadian phenomenon that first manifested itself in exploration writing. As Frye's "Conclusion" proceeds, the simile transforms from a comparison of written

texts into a comparison of acts of literary creation. The conflict from which exploration writing sprung becomes the very well-spring of Canadian literature: “Canadian writers are, even now, still trying to assimilate the Canadian environment” (826) or the imagination’s “datum” (827).

If for Frye this shared source of inspiration/conflict produces writing of similar (low) value, for Warkentin the “links between the imaginations of the explorers and of our contemporary writers” are revealed in the *character* of their writing: “Canadian writing reflects some of the *same* deep inhibitions about language and metaphor, and shows the *same* abiding trust in the primacy of the document” (emphases mine 249) as exploration writing. While there is a hint of Frye’s influence in the idea of the comparison itself and confirmation of his influence in the value judgement of the first comparison, there is also the influence of *Literary History*’s developmental thesis because Warkentin not only points to sameness but also wants to *explain* the sameness as the result of the exploration writing’s “INFLUENCE” (249). I say “wants to” because between “INFLUENCE” and “same” (249) lies the shadow of Warkentin’s doubt. The “links” of which she speaks are not directly between exploration writing and later English-Canadian literature but between each and, as she says, “the practical, mercantile, and scientific culture of middle-class men in the Romantic age” (249). Unfortunately, Warkentin’s wishing for links does not make them so. The first trope misunderstands the empirical style, which has little to do with explorers’ “inhibitions” but much to do with Sprat’s exhortations to members of the Royal Society. The second trope misunderstands the empirical perspective, which does not trust in the individual document but in repeated *documenting*. While empirical stylistics may be an influence of exploration writing, the

empirical impulse to produce documents must not be confused with the historiographic impulse, which is interested in the documents produced. The influence is not an influence. The likenesses are spurious. Warkentin's wish to attribute characteristics of English-Canadian literature to exploration writing's influence shows that the potency of *Literary History's* position is that it satisfies the desires for literary origins and distinctiveness with one seamless narrative of development.

While Frye and Warkentin spin tropes out of exploration writing, Margaret Atwood works with the threads of exploration itself. Atwood does not, however, chance upon these threads but is guided by Frye's northern star. Atwood is why I blame Frye for the "image of 'map-making' as a term of critical discourse" (Warkentin 249), for the polemic of Frye's "Conclusion" not only influenced scholars interested in exploration writing but also scholars searching for the distinctively *Canadian* in English-Canadian literature. Atwood is one of these latter scholars, and the route that she follows in her search might be termed *Out of the Fort and into the Frontier: A Guide for Abandoning the "garrison mentality" and Avoiding Settler Insanity* (Frye 830). Atwood offers *Survival: A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature* (1970) as a map of that route.

To say that exploration is a motif of the English-Canadian literary imagination is to say no more than what Atwood says in her guide. Picking up (as many of us do) on Frye's "the Canadian sensibility [. . .] is less perplexed by the question 'Who am I?' than by some such riddle as 'Where is here?'" (826), Atwood suggests that "the answer to the question 'Who am I?' is at least partly the same as the answer to another question, 'Where is here?'" (16), and takes Frye's idea to a logical conclusion:

when you are here and don't know where you are because you've misplaced your landmarks or bearings, then you need not be an exile or a madman: you are simply lost. [. . .]

What a lost person needs is a map of the territory, with his own position marked on it so he can see where he is in relation to everything else. (18)

Besides demonstrating an interest in cartography as a metaphor, Atwood's conclusion justifies her thematic analysis, in part of which she says, "[e]xploration is a recurring motif in Canadian literature, for reasons that I believe are not unconnected with the 'Where is here' dilemma" (114). After all, who better to provide the "map" and the "position" than the explorer?

While Atwood's introduction discovers identity in a product of exploration, her chapter "Ancestral Totems" traces identity to ancestry originating with the person of the explorer. In the chapter, Atwood comments on both explorers and settlers, and her rationale for the chapter's title is that totems are "the visible presentation of mythic ancestral figures for the symbolic purposes of unity and identity, with the past and with the social group" (112). There is, however, a problem underlying Atwood's emblem of unity. Although "totem" has been generalised, used figuratively, and taken on elliptical meaning, its definition arises out of a passage from Marc Lescarbot's *Une Histoire de la Nouvelle-France* (1607): "Son dæmon appellé Aoutem" (qtd. in *OED*). Referring to a "hereditary mark, emblem, or badge of a tribe, clan, or group" of North America's Aboriginal Peoples, it is "a figure or representation of some animal, less commonly a plant or other natural object, after which the group is named" (*OED* 1.a.). The problem is that Atwood's "ancestral figures" are *only* explorers and settlers. Thus, in the way that she uses totem, she falls into a common gesture of those years clustering around the Canadian centennial (1967) and the Trudeau government's White Paper (1969), which

would have abolished Indian status for Aboriginal persons. Like Smith's excerpt of Mackenzie's description of the west coast totems, Atwood's literary totems function as Canadian nationalist iconography. Although Atwood's text is "not a treatment of historical development" (Atwood 12), it does begin with exploration, and, just as *Literary History of Canada*, with its "social *imagination* that explores and settles and develops" (822), effectively erases original presence to establish European indigeneity, Atwood's "Ancestral Totems" deface the emblem representing the Aboriginal group and carve a European explorer or settler in its place. Here too is trope: the maker of maps figured as the nation-maker.

Besides being influenced by Frye's question of location and *Literary History's* thesis of development, Atwood is also influenced by Frye's idea of the environment, and, as with Frye, mention of the environment means mention of exploration, for the explorer is inextricably linked to the environment both in a moment of confrontational contact *with* that environment and through the process of imposing order *upon* that environment—by writing, sketching, and map-making. Atwood's proposition is that literature itself "is a map, a geography of the mind" (18-19), but the premise of her criticism is that the map has many blank spaces, the environment prohibitive to charting. Thus, if not madness, the literature manifests psychological problems preventing greatness. Frye's lack of genius transforms to a diagnosed illness. The difference? Atwood reveals that Frye's problem is *Literary History's* solution. The products of exploration—like magic acts—pull identity out of environment. Moreover, Atwood participates in the magic because she too is an explorer—of the psyche. If English-Canadian literature is to survive (that is, get better), writers must find their way, and, as

the cartographic metaphor of her introduction suggests, Atwood is just the person to write the self-help guide that will lead them out of their mental wilderness.

Atwood explores writers' psychological problems as they manifest themselves in the literary mind-map when she switches from metaphor to motif. In the section of "Ancestral Totems" entitled "EXPLORERS" (113), she argues that there are two thematic patterns underlying the motif of exploration in English-Canadian literature: "[e]xploration that doesn't 'find' anything" and "[d]oomed exploration; that is, the explorers find death" (115). Although the themes are appealing, I disagree with them, in part, because they are generalisations and, in part, because, although Atwood is careful to explain that she is "not looking at explorers' journals but at explorer figures that later writers have created" (111), she combines writing that returns to exploration writing, writing about actual and imaginary exploration and travel, and writing that employs figurative conceptions of exploration and travel. The lack of distinction and precision is for the convenience of argument.

Moreover, the rhetoric of Atwood's thematic patterns suggests a uniformity that her argument does not substantiate. Although she does not pretend to look at the relationship between exploration writing and later English-Canadian literary texts that return to it, amongst the texts that she uses to prove her two thematic patterns is Newlove's "Samuel Hearne in Wintertime." "Samuel Hearne in Wintertime" falls into the first category of scholarly mention of exploration writing's influence on later English-Canadian literature attributable to specific texts, in this case, Hearne's *Journey*. While, as Atwood's argument goes, the explorer, Hearne of Newlove's poem, certainly "find[s] death" (Atwood 115) in the slaughter of an Inuit "girl" (117), the generalisation about the

explorer does not take into account the fact that in Hearne's *Journey*, Hearne himself finds death in the girl's slaughter during the Coppermine massacre. One might well, then, ask whether the girl's death is the point or a necessity of Newlove's poem. Moreover, although one might well group Newlove's "Hearne" with Gwendolyn MacEwen's *Terror and Erebus* on the basis that the "explorers [therein] find death" (115), Hearne's discovery of a girl's death is *not* the same as Franklin's discovery of his own death. Hearne's exploration is interrupted, perhaps disappointed, but hardly "doomed" (115).

Like Atwood, Frank Davey takes a conceptual approach—to both "exploration" (95) and "The Explorer in Western Canadian Literature" (title). Unlike Atwood's argument, however, Davey's has better distinction and precision because he focuses more on authors, "Newlove," "Bowering," "Birney" (93), whose texts mention "historical explorers" (91), texts that, perhaps not coincidentally, return to exploration writing. Nonetheless, Davey's argument suffers from generalities, which are typical of conceptual approaches to exploration. He begins, "[i]n all these works exploration becomes a metaphor for life and, by implication, for the writing process itself" (95) but does not explain how "life" implies "writing process." Later, perhaps trying to establish links between "life" and "circumstances" (97) in order to prove that there is "a metaphor" for "writing process," he argues that "Bowering and Newlove, by identifying their circumstances with Vancouver and Hearne, make the explorer's task a metaphor for that of the writer" (97). His conclusion is that "the explorer [. . .] has engaged the western Canadian literary imagination – to the point of becoming a metaphor for the writer" (100). In striving for metaphor, however, what Davey fails to note is that explorers like

Vancouver and Hearne were also writers—who wrote *about* exploration. While my complaint may seem simply one of nuance rather than of substance, the nuance has ramifications outside of Davey’s argument. When Warkentin speaks of exploration writing’s “INFLUENCE” (249), she notes “the metaphor of exploration to describe the very act of writing itself” (249), and I am inclined to wonder whether she has this “influence” on Davey’s authority. If such is the case, the problem of Davey’s generalisation magnifies. Warkentin’s “metaphor” (249) may simply speak to an imaginative preoccupation with ideas of exploration that are not linked to specific texts of exploration writing, in which case, one must ask what exactly defines literary “influence”; if, however, the influence is an influence of specific texts of exploration writing, one must ask whether the metaphor is a metaphor or, if there is a metaphor, whether its tenor and vehicle are as Davey argues.

Imprecision is not only typical of scholarship that addresses exploration or the explorer as concepts in English-Canadian literature but also of scholarship that addresses relationships between texts of exploration writing and later English-Canadian literature. Curiously, although this scholarship addresses relationships, it takes the perspective that later writers *use*—rather than are *influenced by*—exploration writing. This perspective of use points to exploration writing’s epistemological function and signifies that exploration writing is understood to be document *not* literature. Moreover, from this perspective of use, the matter of history reappears, for in its relationship to later English-Canadian literature, exploration writing is not only viewed as document but also history. Thus, while in literary histories exploration writing commingles with histories of exploration, in scholarship that addresses exploration writing’s relationship to later English-Canadian

literature, exploration writing is confused with *the* history of exploration. The alchemy of exploration writing's transmutation from document into history is the generalising tendency of scholarship that ignores distinctions between historical document and historical narrative because it seeks national distinctiveness in the creative processes that produce the nation's literature.

The matter of process, again, proves the potency of *Literary History's* position, for *Literary History* not only satisfies the desires for literary origins and distinctiveness with one seamless narrative of development but also explains the relationship between literary origins and later literature as one defined by process. In the first edition of *Literary History*, Victor G. Hopwood begins his "Explorers by Land" with the following pronouncement: "[u]nlike European consciousness, which goes back directly to ritual and myth, Canadian consciousness [. . .] was born literate and historical" (19). Although New's subsequent literary history works against the idea of "literate and historical" beginnings by including Aboriginal and European myths as part of Canadian literary consciousness, Hopwood's myth holds sway because it identifies a literary process as a distinctively national necessity: because "Canadian consciousness [. . .] was born literate and historical," "Canadian literature faces from the start the problem of creating from the record according to a sense of history" (19). Although, in the second edition of *Literary History*, Hopwood dulls the edge of his polemic by saying that "Canadian consciousness [. . .] was born literate into history" and, therefore, faces "the problem of creating literature from direct experience, memory, and written records according to a sense of history" (19), "the record" (1st ed.), "records" (2nd ed.), or "proto-form of our still largely unwritten foundation literature" (1st and 2nd eds., 19), includes exploration writing, which,

although cast as a kind of prose-epic, is, despite its low literary value, superior to epic poetry because of its written transmission.

Although Hopwood is careful to distinguish “the record” from “history” (19), subsequent scholarship that addresses exploration writing’s relationship to later literature has difficulty maintaining the distinction because a possible point of elision is the past. For example, although W. J. Keith says, “[i]n recent years” the “struggles and achievements” of the explorers “have been re-created by modern poets” (15), he later describes what Newlove, Gutteridge, and Bowering do as part of a “tradition of discovering, and re-creating Canadian history” (112). While I would not deny that the re-creative impulse *could* be a historiographic one, the “discovery” is, in part, at least, a return to documents of the past—and not just history itself. Moreover, even if one were to comprehend a more general understanding of history in Keith’s comment, the comment associates exploration writing with history *not* literature.

Similarly, in *The Canadian Postmodern* (1989), Linda Hutcheon recognises that the exploration writing to which Bowering returns in his fiction is not history but, nonetheless, lists Bowering as one amongst the “Canadian novelists [who] must return to their history [. . .] in order to discover (before they can contest) their historical myths” (6). His *Burning Water* she classifies as a “historiographic metafiction” (13): that is, “fiction that is intensely, self-reflexively art, but is also grounded in historical, social, and political realities” (13), fiction that offers “a critical counterpointing or dialogue between the ‘texts’ of both history and art” (14). The classification has critical currency because it captures the post-modern sentiment; indeed, historical novel sounds dull by comparison. However, while there may be little wrong with Hutcheon’s theory, its application to

Bowering's text covers rather than discovers its workings, for even if the "texts" under erasure are understood as constituted in discourse, the simple binary suggested in "counterpointing" is insufficient for addressing *Burning Water's* complexities.

Martin Kuester is partially correct when he describes what Bowering does as "the re-writing of historical documents" (101). He fails, however, in his assessment of both Bowering and MacLulich when he says that, using White's theory of emplotment, MacLulich "shows" (*Framing Truths* 30) that "exploration reports such as the one on which Bowering's novel is based are the Canadian version of early historiography, written from the point of view of British colonizers" (108). Exploration writing is not Canadian history written by British writers. Rather, it is *Canadian* historians who have read British exploration writing—for historiographic purposes—as documents of an emergent nation.

In disputing Hutcheon's and Kuester's classification with his own, "metafiction with elements of metahistory" (111), Lars Jensen points to the problem in Hutcheon's idea of "counterpointing." According to White, history comprises those grand narratives spun out of events and documents of the past: that is, history is synthesis. Metahistory is the theory of that synthesis: it comprises those "critical [. . .] principles by which the general truths derived from contemplation of past facts in their individuality and concreteness could be substantiated on *rational grounds*" (51). In addressing *Burning Water*, therefore, one needs to separate those infrequent moments (Jensen's "elements") in the text that address the ways in which the grand narratives of history are told from the retelling of Vancouver's *A Voyage*, which is *not* history in the sense of a grand narrative

but, rather, a text of late-eighteenth century exploration writing and only historical by virtues of being from the past and the stuff from which the grand narratives are spun.

Thus, Bowering is *not* counter-pointing texts of history and art but is counter-pointing *and* combining a fiction of his own process of literary creation and a text of exploration writing that he is recreating. Although he treats of history, in White's sense of grand narratives, and historical document, in the sense of chronicle concerning the past, he not only rewrites the historical narrative by and while rewriting one of its documents but also writes within and against the generic conventions of exploration writing: that is, he is also recreating literature according to his sense of history. If Bowering's text could be said to have a mission, it is this: to make its readers acutely aware of the central role of the "storyteller" in both fiction and non-fiction, for, "[w]ithout a storyteller, George Vancouver is just another dead sailor" (*Burning Water* 7). Of course, the role of the storyteller is also part of this text's fiction—or the storyteller's deception. As emphasised by the text's original title, "*The Dead Sailors*" (Bowering qtd. in Miki viii), the deception is that Vancouver *needs* a storyteller to tell his story. Hutcheon herself believes the deception: "[u]ntil his story is *told* by someone [. . .], Vancouver remains a man who can chart and name, but who cannot become a true 'man of imagination'" (62 with Bowering 75 as cited by Hutcheon). In saying so Hutcheon sounds rather like Davey arguing that exploration is a metaphor for writing. Going one step further than literary histories, which at least give explorers credit for their writing even if they do not give their writing literary status, Davey and Hutcheon would replace the writing with the action of exploration entirely. Vancouver is *not*, however, "*just*

another dead sailor” (emphasis mine); he is his own storyteller, and the story that *Burning Water*’s storyteller tells is *his* story transformed into historical fiction.

Retaining an interest in history, Kuester defines Bowering’s “postmodern novel” (106) as “metahistorical parody” (107), but he analyses the relationship between Vancouver’s creation and Bowering’s recreation using Hutcheon’s *A Theory of Parody* (1985) rather than her theory of historiographic metafiction. While Kuester usefully applies the theory of parody to considering the two texts in relationship, the problem with his analysis is a circular logic that depends upon a political premise. Without actually using the word “Canadian,” Kuester describes what defines English-Canadian post-modern parody when he explains that he is interested in “parody as a progressive literary modality that becomes useful and effective in the self-definition of a ‘new’ literature situated between the influential poles of the European and American traditions” (5). Unlike “conservative” parody, “progressive parody” (7) is not only “much more than just a ‘parodistic’ copy of some imperial master narrative” (5) but also, unsurprisingly, responsible for “parody’s contribution to literary evolution” (7). The logic of Kuester’s assessment is as follows: post-modern English-Canadian parody is progressive and progressive parody is good—or vice versa. I omit the obvious conclusion. Thus, where Hutcheon hints, Kuester proclaims: English-Canadian literature is only truly good (that is, truly Canadian and not colonial or neocolonial), when it contests or rejects British and/or American traditions. Thus, through the obscuring veil of theory, one may yet glimpse *Literary History*’s thematic tradition. The historiographic impulse that Hopwood identifies as English-Canadian literature’s “problem,” “creating from the record

according to a sense of history” (19), both Hutcheon and Kuester transform into English-Canadian literature’s solution: *Canadian* post-modern.

The solution says more about English-Canadian literary scholarship than it does about English-Canadian literature; perhaps, more precisely, it says more about the modernist sentiment of English-Canadian literary scholarship retained in the “modern” of post-modern scholarship, for what Smith discovers in 1965, English-Canadian literature that is no longer “weak, derivative,” or “thoroughly colonial” (xiii), Kuester discovers anew in 1992. The link between the two is literary history. While Dermot McCarthy’s criticism of English-Canadian literary histories’ “organized around the extra-literary concept of the ‘nation’” (32) does not hold because he misrecognises the function of national literary histories, the nationalist perspective of the literary histories—more precisely *the Literary History*—influences later literary criticism in a manner that *should* be criticised. The result of the influence is a continuing stream of thematic criticism, the theme of which is “that which makes Canadian literature distinctively Canadian” or “finally, an authentically Canadian literature.” While such criticism is certainly important, it has one significant weakness, which is not that that it is nationalist (although nationalism can be problematic) but, rather, that, in arguing for a distinctively national ethos expressing itself in literature, it tends to generalise about the individual text—sometimes to the point of inaccuracy.

Sadly, my argument was made in 1974, by Frank Davey, who, “at the founding meeting of the Association for Canadian and Quebec Literatures in Toronto” (Lecker, *Making It Real* 205) presented “Surviving the Paraphrase.” Issued as a challenge to the nationalist thematic stream of criticism, “Surviving the Paraphrase” begins,

[i]t is a testimony to the limitations of Canadian literary criticism that thematic criticism should have become the dominant approach to English-Canadian literature. In its brief lifetime, Canadian criticism has acquired a history of being reluctant to focus on the literary work—to deal with matters of form, language, style, structure, and consciousness as these arise from the work as a unique construct. (1)

Writing twenty-one years after Davey's paper, Robert Lecker notes that it "has been canonized, appropriated by Canadian theorists as a crucial resistance narrative" (206); Lecker, however, disagrees with the theorists' assessment. Offering a sophisticated rhetorical analysis, which he justifies by referencing Davey's own argument, Lecker declares, "[i]n retrospect, it does not seem as though 'Surviving the Paraphrase' is the radical document it is often presented to be" (227). First mentioning that "[t]estimony," the fourth word of Davey's opening, "finds its etymological origin in the male act of bearing witness to virility by swearing an oath on one's testes" (215), Lecker then argues that Davey's "masculinist" (218) polemic merely reinstitutes what it pretends to critique: "[w]e are presented with a speaker who uses traditional images of control and domination to object to a rhetoric of control and domination that he finds too traditional" (215). As sophisticated as Lecker's analysis may be, it dismisses the courage (that is, the heart) of Davey's position. In calling for the close-reading of individual texts, Davey challenges the worst of nationalist thematics: that is, "reductive" (3) readings or *misreadings* that are potentially culturally deterministic or xenophobic. Repeating Atwood's gesture, "Surviving" would do for scholarship what *Survival* would do for the writer: that is, help it to get better. Critiquing Atwood's gesture, however, "Surviving" would take literary criticism in a different direction.

With "The Paraphrase" cast as scholarly wreckage, "Surviving" is no accident. The forensic evidence includes a "disregard for literary history" (4), a "tendency toward

sociology,” “an attempt at ‘culture-fixing’” (5), and a belief in “the fallacy of literary determinism” (6). For the purposes of my investigation, the most telling evidence is “the fallacy of literary determinism” (6), one form of which is expressed as geographical determinism: that is, the process whereby a literary work is “‘explained’ by reference to the geography and climate of the country” (6). Given that literary histories transform British exploration writing into English-Canadian pre-literature, it is not merely the individual work but the entire canon that is explained by geographical determinism. Thus, with an exploration writing simile, a cartographic metaphor, the relationship that literary scholarship reads between the explorer and the environment arises not only from the fear of foreign influence but also, and more importantly, from the fear of *being* foreign.

At best, superficial and weakly analytical, at worst, wrong, the essence of nationalist thematic studies is my conundrum, for while I ought not to fault them for not doing what they do not intend to do, their generalising tendency has the potential for introducing and/or perpetuating errors concerning the influence of exploration writing on later English-Canadian literature. Moreover, the imprecision of scholarship that addresses relationships between exploration writing and later English-Canadian literature is, at base, the result of a generalising tendency that is also an expression of the thematic tradition, for it too wishes to make generalisations about the national (or regional) literature rather than about exploration or the explorer as concepts and, more important, rather than provide readings of texts that return to exploration writing as these texts function in the context of exploration writing’s content, “form, language, style, structure, and consciousness” (Davey 1). Compounding its generalising tendency, literary

scholarship that addresses exploration writing's relationship to later literature perpetuates the problem of its premise. In seeing exploration writing as either document or history and *not* literature, it acknowledges that exploration writing is involved in the production of knowledge but refuses to acknowledge that it is also involved in the production of *meaning*.

Because the matter of influence must address meaning both as it is a product of individual texts and as it is produced in the relationship between texts, to begin to answer the question, "what *is* the influence of exploration writing on later English-Canadian literature?" it is useful to turn to Hutcheon's theory of parody—not because all textual relationships are defined by parody but because her theory provides an entry into approaching textual relationships from a literary or textual perspective. My purpose is not to engage in any detail with theories of parody but rather to sketch a working definition of parody by introducing the language of textual relationships conceptually before I apply that language to my analysis of texts of English-Canadian literature that return to exploration writing. Although English-Canadian literature that returns to exploration writing *might* have interests in historiography if it understands exploration writing as a document of the past (or wrongly as history), it is better to consider the relationship between texts of exploration writing and later English-Canadian literature in context of meaning produced between texts rather than from a strictly historiographic perspective because the premise of the historiographic perspective is that it already knows what the relationship between texts is: that is, it assumes that the relationship is defined by historical narrative. The assumption not only limits the possibilities for analysis but

also limits engagement with exploration writing because historical narrative takes precedence over individual text.

A simple coincidence of language, the first necessity of Hutcheon's definition of parody and Mary C. Fuller's thoughts on the early modern documenting impulse necessary for navigation, offers a means for addressing the relationship between texts of exploration writing and later English-Canadian literature and, thus, a means for disrupting the feedback loop broadcasting the insubstantial and unsubstantiated influences of exploration writing. While Hutcheon defines parody variously, in one instance she defines it as "repetition with critical distance, which marks difference rather than similarity" (6). The first necessity is repetition. Repetition is also part of Fuller's position: "the most simple recording, of a one-to-one correspondence between voyages of the ship and of the pen, even the most neutral transcriptions of bare facts [. . .], reach beyond themselves to become instructions for repetition" (148). While Fuller is interested in physical repetition, repeated travel action, the "recording" might also, however, offer not so much "instructions" as *opportunities* for textual repetition.

In literature, repetition is necessary to the process of textual transformation that produces meaning between texts. A "text" is actual or understood: that is, manifested or in the mind's eye or ear. Simon Dentith calls a text repeated a "precursor" (7). Literary influence is a relationship that is established by some method of repetition whereby a literary precursor reappears repositioned or / and reconfigured. Although the nature of influence's relationship remains open to investigation, methods of repetition include allusion, copying, imitation, paraphrase, and quotation. I take allusion to be an "implicit reference" (Cuddon 29). Copying is replication or exactness. Quotation is a portion

copied. A message copied is paraphrase. Imitation is likeness or to model rather than to copy.

All textual repetition is with difference, whether of sequence, origins, materials, or context, although not all repetition is influence. The plagiarist attempts to hide difference. The exact replica's difference may be detected only by the chemist, but there in chemistry the difference lies. Even mechanical or electronic repetition has its difference. Most importantly, however, difference has its communicative function. The difference of printed or electronic reproductions has at least one message: "this is good art." The chemist interprets a fake. For the purposes of my discussion, I exclude the copy entire, the replica, or the reproduction, for these are not my interests. Neither is my display here of academic repetition by quotation. I am interested in literature's repetition of literary text. Besides an act of homage, a means of establishing a work within a literary tradition, or a display of erudition, repetition can be used for modes of satire, pastiche, parody, and burlesque. Complicating the matter of use, satire might employ all, and parody, pastiche or burlesque.

Burlesque is outrageous "imitation" (Cuddon 107). Very like caricature in process, it repeats *traits* of its precursor text exaggeratedly. It, however, lacks caricature's kindness: that is to say that it inclines to "ridicule" (190) rather than simply emphasise. Pastiche is a composite or "compilation" (Rose 72) of copying concerned with conjunction and placement or *displacement* and *disjunction* of pieces of a precursor text or texts. The new position or context for these pieces may function as a background, a container, or connective tissue.

Hutcheon not only defines parody as “repetition with critical distance, which marks difference rather than similarity” but also as “a form of imitation [. . .] characterized by ironic inversion” (6). I should qualify: parody repeats a precursor marking sameness *and* difference. It is not merely “a form of imitation” but rather a form of emulation: that is, equalling or bettering. Finally, while irony may be used in parody, parody also uses “discrepancy or incongruity” (Rose 21), inversion or reversal, juxtaposition or opposition, and exaggeration or minimization.

Hutcheon says that “parody might be said to resemble metaphor” (33), and Kuester says that parody is “a sub-strategy of irony” (21), but parody is, more generally, like metaphor or irony, a trope; unlike either, however, it is also simultaneously a text. Margaret A. Rose explains the distinction between irony and parody as follows: parody “contains at least two distinct codes with two distinct sets of messages [. . .], in contrast to the combination of messages in the single code of the ironist” (88). Thus, parody is closer to allegory. Because parody is a trope that depends upon a precursor, whereas irony requires understanding another meaning, parody requires understanding the meaning of another text. Consider “a parody” or “to parody” (that is, noun and verb). Both require a question, “of what?” or “what?” Rose takes “[t]he creation of comic incongruity or discrepancy [. . .] as a significant distinguishing factor in parody” (31), but Hutcheon argues that “[h]er insistence on the presence of comic effect [. . .] is [. . .] restrictive” (20). Parody does not *necessarily* have to have a comic or, more broadly, humorous, “ha, ha!” effect, but, as with any trope, it does have to effect a perceptual shift—“ah, ha!”

A trope that operates through emulation, parody is both the uneasy union of sameness and difference—and its offspring. Whether parody or its precursor is tenor or vehicle is impossible to tell, for each implies a message about the other. Parody's ground is established through repetition, which is the incorporation of a precursor. Its tension or difference, the reconfiguration or repositioning of the precursor, establishes its communicative function, which is to draw attention to textual construction—both its precursor's and its own. Drawing attention to textual construction is also drawing attention to the assumptions or conventions that are communicated or coded in the text whether these assumptions are of culture, discourse, form, rhetoric, speech-register, society, style, tone, and so on.

J. A. Cuddon says that burlesque is “usually stronger and broader in tone and style than parody” (107); “*usually*” (emphasis mine), however, signals its application to parody. Burlesque used to parody must not only exaggerate but also sustain sameness. Rose says that “pastiche may [. . .] be used by the parodist as a part of a parody” (73). Pastiche used to parody must juxtapose conjunction with *disjunction*, placement with *displacement*. Kuester redefines Hutcheon's parody by saying that that parody repeats “with a difference, if not with a vengeance” (23); Kuester's “vengeance,” however, is a definition for satire. Parody produces awareness; satire, criticism. As parody has a precursor, so satire has a target.

Rose speaks of parody's structural “ambivalence,” which results “through the inclusion within its own structure of the work it parodies” (51). She argues that the result is “not only a mixture of criticism and sympathy for the parodied text, but also the creative expansion of it into something new” (51). Although I would replace “criticism”

with “bettering or equalling construction” and “sympathy” with “celebrating construction,” I agree that there is “something new” in parody. I shall have none of Kuester’s progressive parody is better than conservative. Parody either succeeds or fails. Granted, its success may depend upon the help of the literary scholar’s explanatory notes. Nonetheless, successful parody is the master’s craft. It is the fine art of the fulcrum upon which depends both balance and motion. What Rose calls “unintentional” parody, that is, parody “written by incompetent authors [. . .] who have unsuccessfully imitated another style or work” (68) and Kuester calls “inadvertent parody” (18) demonstrates that parody depends upon recognition. We recognize unintentional or inadvertent parody because there is opposition between intention and result. Parody is not intertextuality because it assumes intentions. The opposition between intention and result in unintentional or inadvertent parody points to parody’s intentions. A bad imitation might be parody by accident, but it becomes a mockery of its own construction. Inadvertent parody is unsettling because of its imperfections; parody is unsettling because of its perfections.

Although Roger Leonard Martin does not address Hutcheon’s theory of parody but rather elaborates upon her interest in historiography, when addressing the relationship of exploration writing to later English-Canadian literature, he offers two terms useful for considering exploration writing in relationship with other literary texts. To texts that return to exploration, he applies the coinage “re-exploration narrative” (8). While Martin stretches the concept of exploration beyond the definition of this study (to include texts that deal with settlement writing or historiography that does not concern exploration), “re-exploration” itself is meaningful because the relationship between exploration writing and later English-Canadian literature is best encompassed not by way of motif or repeated

idea but by the idea of return to or repetition of literary text. Although Martin uses “re-exploration narrative” (8), I truncate the phrase to the word “re-exploration” because “narrative” reflects MacLulich’s erroneous view of exploration writing.

What Dentith calls a “precursor” (9) and Fowler “an antecedent” (126), Martin denominates a “pretext,” as his dissertation’s title “(Pre-)texts of Exploration” indicates. I like Martin’s use of pretext because, although he intends it simply as a *double entendre*, it works as a *triple entendre*. First, it indicates that texts of exploration writing are the precursors or predecessors of re-exploration texts. Second, it implies that literature that returns to exploration writing might have little to do with or is only loosely connected to the exploration writing to which it returns. Third, I read Martin’s pretext as speaking of literary history’s reading of exploration writing as writing that precedes truly literary writing.

Martin’s “re-exploration” is an excellent means for approaching English-Canadian literature that returns to exploration, because implicit in the term is the idea that there really is a “re”—a possibility of return and / or reinvention or, better, the possibility that exploration itself is always incomplete and requires further or re-exploration. It is in this very “re” that my interest lies because it points to some possibilities for what later English-Canadian literature does with its literary precursors. In one sense, the texts are going over the same ground. If we consider an empire, a nation, a region, or a locality as a grounded imagining, an imagining partly constructed through territory, whether present or absent, longed-for or lost, the link between exploration writing and “re-exploration” writing depends upon an idea of territory, and if exploration is a form of territorial inscription that enacts as a territorial claim, not unlike the maps that often accompany it,

then “re-exploration” writing is a way to imagine again or re-imagine this territory—whether imperial, national, regional, or local.

Whether texts that return to exploration writing should be defined for or against or both for and against the exploration writing (and, by extension, imperialism) to which they refer can only be answered on a text-by-text basis, and, of course, there always remains the question of whether or, at least, to what extent it is possible to escape that to which one returns. The answer might best be deduced by the question, “are you a determinist?” I am not, for while I question narratives of literary origins, I accept intentions in textual creations. It is from the perspective of intentions that I view the later texts.

Thus, far I have spoken of how literary scholars read exploration writing. The question remains, how do English-Canadian writers read exploration writing? To make generalisations about the influence of exploration writing on later English-Canadian literature would be a microcosm of making generalisations about the influence of the Bible on all literature in English. While it is possible to make generalisations, it is necessary to remember that texts that return to exploration writing reflect individual interpretive gestures. Thus, the answer to the question is first a matter for text-by-text interpretation. Generalisations may follow, but it is necessary to remember that these can only be generalisations.

In the following chapters commingle texts that properly qualify as full “re-explorations,” which operate through allusion, imitation, paraphrase, and quotation, and there are also those texts that allude to exploration, explorers, or exploration writing and that imitate, paraphrase, or quote exploration writing. Although I am interested in

“understood” texts of exploration, which may be traced to actual texts of exploration writing, I am not interested in figurative conceptions of exploration. I have analysed the relationship of the texts that return to exploration writing by tracing their references (returns) to their exploration writing sources, explicating those sources, and then applying my explication to its new context. I have done so as a method of establishing a direct line of inquiry concerning the influence of exploration writing on later English-Canadian literature. Underlying my analyses is the assumption that exploration writing *is* literature and, therefore, repeated in later literature, a literary influence.

Chapter 6

By Land

The texts herein addressed return to exploration writing concerning exploration by land following the well-travelled canonical routes of the fur traders Samuel Hearne, Alexander Mackenzie, and David Thompson. Returning to these well-travelled routes are Farley Mowat, John Newlove, Don Gutteridge, Marion R. Smith, and Brian Fawcett. In each return, inescapably, geography figures, but variously as nation, north, or west. Inextricably linked to the geography that they chart, the explorers are heroes, anti-heroes, or human. They are also bound up with representations, properly misrepresentations of the Aboriginal Peoples, whom they observe and about whom they write. The exploration writing pretexts themselves represent a tradition of knowledge-making or a literary tradition, the past or history, and epic or myth.

In Farley Mowat's *People of the Deer* (1952), exploration writing offers a tradition of representing Aboriginal Peoples. Although W. J. Keith describes the text as one of Mowat's "creative versions of autobiography" (198), the text is also both an elegy for a group of *living* people, the Barrens Ihalmiut, and, as T. D. MacLulich describes it, "part of the last stage in the development of the Canadian literature of exploration" ("The Alien Role" 231). The link between the Ihalmiut and exploration writing is explicitly geographical, as, before the narrator leaves to live in the Barrens himself, he writes that he "read every book about the arctic that [he] could lay hands on" (17), and, amongst the books to which he alludes, is Hearne's *Journey*: "[i]n the eighteenth century the famous explorer Samuel Hearne journeyed overland across the Barrens from Churchill to Coppermine River" (106). While Mowat does not deal with the content of the *Journey*,

in alluding to Hearne, he not only sets himself within the tradition of exploration and his text within the tradition of exploration writing but also draws a parallel between himself and Hearne, for both travelled and lived in the Barrens; Hearne with the caribou-hunting First Nation's Dene group, the Chipewyans, "Idthen Eldeli" (106) in Mowat's text, and Mowat with the inland, caribou-hunting Inuit group, the Ihalmiut: that is, Mowat's allusion is to another man who lived amongst another People of the "deer" (as both writers call the caribou). Thus, while the explicit link between the Ihalmiut and exploration writing is geographical, the implicit link is ethnographic.

Mowat's allusion not only makes a parallel between his and Hearne's modes of living but also between their observational perspectives, but while Mowat claims the empirical perspective, his style is far from Hearne's objective plain prose. Its appeal is not to *logos* but to *pathos*. It is intimate and emotional to suit the text's content, for *People of the Deer* presents the lives of the Ihalmiut in face of the starvation and disease that are the legacies of European imperialism perpetuated by the Canadian state. *People of the Deer*'s purpose is an indictment of that state.

Although Hearne's text is one influence, the text's most direct ethnographic influence speaks through the small "drawings by Samuel Bryant" (title page) interspersed throughout it. These drawings of human faces are very like those in J. W. Tyrrell's *Across the Sub-Arctics of Canada* (1897). Although Mowat does not mention J. W. Tyrrell, he does speak of his brother J. B. Tyrrell and his Geological Survey of Canada report, which Mowat describes as having a "prosaic title" (19), *Report on the Doobaunt, Kazan and Ferguson Rivers and the North-west Coast of Hudson's Bay, and on Two Overland Routes from Hudson's Bay to Lake Winnipeg* (1897). While the ethnographic

interest suggested in the drawings persists in Mowat's text, the interest is personalised for the purpose of his message. Whereas the sketches in Tyrrell's, for example the page bearing "AN ESKIMO" and "ESKIMO WOMAN" (126), present specimens intended to typify an Aboriginal group or northern ethnic or character type, those in Mowat's text suggest individual Ihalmiut; for example, the untitled sketch above "Chapter XVIII Ohoto" (265), suggests the man named in its title.

Keith says that Mowat "is fascinated by exploration of all kinds, and his work is unified by the image of the explorer" (198). The distinction amongst Mowat's texts, however, concerns this "image," for while, in *People of the Deer*, Mowat "is himself an explorer" (Keith 198-99) of matters ethnographic, Mowat has also produced a selective edition of Hearne's *Journey, Coppermine Journey: An Account of a Great Adventure* (1958). A testament to the appeal of the gothic, the wrapper of the McClelland and Stewart hardback edition is decorated with three coloured bands, alternating orange, blue, and orange, the top one of which depicts, in cartoonish style, a bewigged Hearne watching from a distance the Coppermine massacre. In *People of the Deer*, Mowat describes the massacre as "a famous tale" (238) and uses the allusion to substantiate the Ihalmiut's "bloody tales [. . .] of [Chipewyan] raiding parties" (238). He does so in order to narrate a cause-effect sequence of the population pressures that resulted from white settlement in the south: the Cree, who are "pushed out of the plains" (237) encroach on the Chipewyan, who "encroach" (237) on the Ihalmiut.

The cause-effect sequence is part of Mowat's indictment of the Canadian state. The effectiveness of Mowat's indictment is, however, questionable, for it depends upon the appeal of the elegiac mode. Capturing the inevitability that forms the basis of the

appeal, Mowat writes, “[i]t may be that I have spoken too late and so have done no more than to remember the great days of a race which is dead” (289). Although MacLulich argues that Mowat’s text avoids “naïve primitism” because he “acknowledges [. . .] that the primitive Eskimo way of life that he finds so attractive has effectively been destroyed by the intrusion of white man’s goods and values” (238), the idea that white society represents inevitable progress rather than simply cultural difference is the very appeal of the “salvage ethnography” of the of late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth centuries. The terms of reference in Mowat’s hope for the Ihalmiut, their “transition from primitivism to modernism” (297), complete the appeal, which depends upon an image that Brian W. Dippie describes as the “Vanishing American” (xi) (that is, vanishing Aboriginal), an image that is “a perfect fusion of the nostalgic with the progressive impulse” (xii), an image that is used to speak of Aboriginal Peoples’ “future by denying them one” (xii). Thus, if, at best and in a general way, Mowat’s text may be said to be a study of the tensions and contradictions inherent in a rhetoric of preservation that depends upon appeals to helplessness, it may also, in a general way, be said to be a study of the sacrosanct, for the cause of the problem, the very exploration upon which the imperial and national ventures depend, is not recognised as the cause of the problem but as part of a tradition that offers a solution.

In John Newlove’s poem “The Pride,” exploration writing also serves the purpose of substantiating an Aboriginal past without a future. First printed in “*The Tamarack Review*, No. 36 (Summer 1965)” (Lecker and O’Rourke 77), “The Pride” is collected in *Black Night Window* (1968) and, in revised and expanded version, in *The Fatman: Selected Poems 1962-1972* (1977) and *Apology for Absence: Selected Poems 1962-1992*

(1993). Because this latter version reappears in Newlove's posthumous collection *A Long Continual Argument: The Selected Poems of John Newlove* (2007), it is to this version that I shall refer. Comprising seven sections, "The Pride" is a poem that purports to reanimate the past by using images of Aboriginal material culture in the first section, myths in the second section, and oral telling in the fifth. The third and fourth sections comment on the poet's relationship to the past that he presents, and the sixth and seventh generalise the poet's relationship to the past by transforming it into his poetic production, his "running verse" (41), which becomes "our pride" (42).

Naming "david thompson" (115-16) and offering a distillation of Saukamappee's oral story quoted in Thompson's text, the poem is, in part, imitation of exploration writing. For example, Thompson's mention of "an old man of at least 75 or 80" named "Saukamappee" who, in relaying "his account of former times," points "to a Lad about sixteen years" and says, "I was then about his age" (240), takes form in the following lines: "the old cree saukamappee, aged 75 or thereabout, speaking then / of things that had happened when he was 16, just a man, told david / thompson" (114-16). Not only does the poem's imitation work explicitly through extract but also allusively through "image" (1, 3, 9, and 19): "[t]he image/ the pawnees" (1); "the clear image / of teton sioux" (3); "image: arikaras" (9); and "image—of a desolate country" (19). The images are imitation as analogy; they offer likenesses of the past that form part of an elegiac quest for identity.

Two years before Margaret Atwood's masterpiece of thematic criticism cum map of the English-Canadian literary psyche, D. G. Jones celebrates "The Pride" in the introduction to his own *Study of Themes and Images in Canadian Literature* (*Butterfly*

subtitle). “The Pride” holds pride of place in Jones’s introduction because it epitomises English-Canadian literature’s break from its colonial past. The break comes because “our identity and our view of the world are no longer determined by our experience of Europe, but by our experience of life as it is lived between two oceans in a stretch of land” (3). Not coincidentally expressing an environmental determinist view of culture, Jones mentions Frye’s “Conclusion” and his notion of “the antagonism between culture and nature that informs a good deal of our literature” (6). In the determinist vein and echoing lines that he himself quotes from “The Pride,” “we are no longer lonely / but have roots” (153-4) “rooted words” (155), Jones explains that his “book dwells deliberately on some of the words that have taken root” (3) in Canadian literature (soil?). The rootedness of these words results in “expression in native terms,” expression that is really “the voice of the land” (5): that is, an authentically English-Canadian form of expression. Failing, however, to recognise that Newlove’s poem depends upon exploration writing, some of which resulted from the European imperial project, Jones, thus, perpetuates the irony of English-Canadian literary history’s search for origins.

Although in 1982 George Bowering calls “The Pride” “arguably the most momentous poem written by anyone of [Newlove’s] generation” (*A Way* 126), many critics are sceptical. Less than a decade after the poem’s first publication, Jan Bartley says that “[n]o doubt the poet is ardent in his attempt to convince the reader (or to be convinced himself) of the synthesizing nature of his inheritance” (22-23), which joins an aboriginal past, “what has happened” (“The Pride” 144), to a non-aboriginal future, “to be” (178). “[A]s a formula for national identity,” however, Bartley finds this synthesis “unsuccessful” (23). Although Bartley sees the problem of Newlove’s synthesis

entwined with the matter of national identity, the two are separate concerns. Susan Wood echoes Bartley's analysis and expands upon it by referring to Newlove's imitative "images" from exploration writing: "these images, word-pictures, are incomplete. Not only are they fragments without context, but they are also fragments from the potentially unreliable white 'chronicler'" (233), and "the reader cannot forget the warriors dead of smallpox in the first section, and the ghosts of the second section" (238). The problem, however, is neither the fragments' lack of original context nor the original context, for it is the same source that offers the "images" that also mentions "the warriors dead of smallpox." The problem is with the use to which the fragments have been put, and this use explains why the reader is haunted by the "dead" and the "ghosts."

Wood observes that Newlove's "major revision" to the poem "was to change [the] paraphrase of Thompson's account from free verse into prose, a run-on sentence suggesting a storyteller with all his digressions" (236). Although there are actually two independent clauses—"[i]n 1787, the old cree saukamappee [. . .] / [. . .] told david / thompson about the raids" (114-16) and "[t]he peigan [. . .] drove these snakes out of the plains" (119-20)—forming separate sentences, because of the accumulation of details in each sentence, the effect is as Wood observes, suggestive of "a storyteller"—particularly given that the single stanza is the only prose-poetry in the poem. To Wood's observation, I would add that, in making the change, Newlove returns the paraphrase to its original form—prose. Here, however, the prose refracts rather than reflects the oral element of Thompson's text by changing the quotation of Saukamappee's first-person narration into a third-person narration. Moreover, with the paraphrase, Newlove calls Saukamappee the recognizable "cree" (114) rather than now-forgotten "Nahathaway" (Thompson, Glover

ed. 48), the name with which Saukamappee distinguishes himself to Thompson and which Thompson calls the “native name” of these people, as opposed to the name given them “by the French Canadians” (72), who “call them ‘Krees’ a name which none of the Indians can pronounce” (73).

In Thompson’s text, Saukamappee speaks of the change in war technology in the wars between the Piegan, “Peegans” (240), with whom he lives, and the Shoshone, “Snake” (240), as the Piegan acquire more of the guns that assist them in winning territory and the Shoshone acquire the, at first, incomprehensible “Misstutim (Big Dogs, that is Horses)” (241), which the Piegan name as such because they are “slave to Man, like the dog” (244). Saukamappee also speaks to Thompson of the devastation of “Small pox” (245) transmitted to the Piegan by the Shoshone. Although Saukamappee speaks of the Piegan in general terms, his communication to Thompson is not only about the community of people with whom he lives but is also about himself because within his communication he explains his reason for leaving his own people, the Nahathaways, and for remaining with the Piegan. Thus, Newlove’s quotation is not only of oral history but also of personal history. In turning the first-person quotation into a third-person paraphrase, however, Newlove removes the personal element and absorbs Saukamappee and his words into the poem’s historical narrative.

Wood sees this poem as part of a larger phenomenon of the “late 1960s and early 1970s,” during which “a number English-Canadian writers became involved in a search for the past – not as historical ‘fact,’ but as a present, personal mythology” (230). While Wood’s statement certainly resonates with the search that takes place in the poem in the form of the questions, “what image, bewildered / son of all men / [. . .] / do you worship”

(83-6) and “what completeness / do you hope to have / from these tales” (87-9), Newlove’s use of “son of *all men*” (emphasis mine) suggests that the search is for a more collective mythology. Patrick Lane also talks about the poem in context of “the generation of writers who came of age during the post-War years” but says that for these writers “history had to be revised” (59) because “recreations of European space and time” (64) did not adequately reflect geographical experience. The result was a “new pride of place” that spoke of what it meant “to be a Canadian” (60). While I agree with Lane that Newlove’s poem reflects a “pride of place,” what it says of what it means to be a Canadian is more complicated than mere national sentiment linked to regional geography because the poem is neither a prairie poem nor a poem for the nation.

In a sophisticated rhetorical reading of “*place-as-topos*” (69) rather than as reference to locale or environment, E. F. Dyck shows how “twentieth-century poetics [. . .] becomes the basis of a claim to the land” (80), and in a delectable overview of his analysis explains that “The Pride” “is Newlove’s personal ride on a troika of ‘image,’ ‘ghost,’ and ‘story’ to a dubious affirmation of ‘this land is my land’” (79). The mention of “troika” is an allusion to Newlove’s quotation, “the unyielding phrase / in tune with the epoch” (161-62), which Lane notes “is a quot[ation] from an obscure pamphlet by Leon Trotsky” (60). The allusion to Woody Guthrie’s “This Land is Your Land” is coincidentally appropriate, given that this American song also has a Canadian version by The Travellers. Although it should be clear from the references to the myths of the Aboriginal Peoples of the West coast in the second section that this poem is not a prairie poem but a regional one, what is less clear is that this regional poem is not confined to the *Canadian* west. As Jones notes, “[f]ive of the seven sections of this poem are devoted to

the western Plains” (230): that is, the Great Plains, “the plains” (109) that the poem itself mentions. Although Newlove’s poem returns to David Thompson’s text, “david thompson” (115-16) is *not* “the chronicler” (5) to whom the first stanza of the first section refers. “[T]he chronicler” refers to Meriwether Lewis of the 1804 to 1806 Lewis and Clark exploration of what are now the north-western states of the United States of America, and the images of “pawnees” (1), “teton sioux” (3), and “arikaras” (9) of the first and third stanzas of the first section are based on his exploration writing. The “image” (19) of the third stanza does not, however, belong to the same chronicler that the previous images do but to Alexander Mackenzie, who first explored “in athabaska” (24).

There are two points of interest about Newlove’s combining Thompson and Lewis’s narratives in his poem. The first and most obvious is that what is presented as a poem of “the country” (103), often read to mean “the nation,” and “our land” (138), as an instance of national pride, is a poem of “the country” (103), or geographical region, and “our land” (138), an instance of international regional pride. The second point of interest is that Thompson’s text covers much of the same ground as does the Lewis text—but with difference. Although Thompson mentions the Pawnees, he talks only of the earthen houses of the Mandanes. Although he speaks of the Shoshone he does not distinguish the “teton sioux” (4), nor does he mention the “arikaras” (9). Although he speaks of the horses and the smallpox epidemics, he does not mention the “spanish sabres” (10). Moreover, whereas Lewis’s text is most certainly in the form of a chronicle, with each entry demarcated by dates, Thompson’s text has few dates and is not strictly chronological.

Although in essence, my reading of the poem differs little from Dyck's, I should like to chart the curious path that "The Pride" takes to the appropriation of Aboriginal cultures for the purpose of grounding regional identity by examining the poem from a generic perspective. I use "grounding" both literally and figuratively, for Newlove's poem imagines the region as an intersection of geography—"our land" (138)—and of mythical genealogy—"our origins" (175)—and it is this intersection upon which his celebration of regional identity is founded. Although ending in celebration, the poem begins in mourning and might, therefore, be read as an elegy that presents striking images of the dead, speaks hauntingly of their passing, and finally arrives at a consolation for the loss. The problem with "The Pride" is that this loss is based on a fallacy.

Although European expansionism and, specifically, British colonization, encroach on the land in the mythic second section of the poem, in "the white cities" (41), and arrive fully in the fourth, in the "orchards in the interior" (104), the "broken" (106) "mountain passes" (105), and "the foothills covered with cattle" (106-07), the elegiac mood begins in the very mention of "the chronicler" (5), whose function it is to write the past. Thus, in the tableaux of material cultures and conflicts, presented in the first section in the images taken from Lewis's and Mackenzie's texts, the hints of the impact of European expansionism, in the "spanish sabre blades" (10), "the horsemen" (14), the "smallpox" (17), and the "guns" (23), are driven to a seemingly inevitable conclusion as the poem progresses. The elegiac mood is sustained in the second section in the images of "the ghosts of the Indians, / haunting the coastal stones and shores, / mountains, hills and plains" (30-33), but at the end of the section, the poet suggests that the loss is not loss, because

they are all ready
to be found, the legends
and the people, or
all their ghosts and memories
whatever is strong enough
to be remembered. (77-82)

While initially “the legends / and the people” might be somehow reanimated, the hesitation in the *volta*-like “or” at the end of the seventy-ninth line shows that it is rather only “their ghosts and memories” (80) that are “strong enough / to be remembered” (82) and returned to life.

These “memories” are not, however, the memories of living people, for of oral accounts of the past the poet says dismissively, “nothing is remembered beyond a grandfather’s time” (121-22). Instead, it is in exploration writing that the poet places his confidence. There is a convenience in placing confidence in these texts because while the Aboriginal Peoples remembered in them are dead, their material and spiritual culture survives ready for the poet’s appropriation through celebration. Not entirely aware of its own irony, in dismissively calling the images and myths of Aboriginal Peoples and the quoted speech of the Saukamappee “all stories” (136), despite admitting that “we seize on” (143) these stories, the poet declares that regional identity, “the pride, the grand poem / of our land, of the earth itself” (137-38) is to be found “in a line of running verse” (141). The function of the verse is to graft European branches onto Aboriginal stock planted in Aboriginal soil so that non-aboriginals “are no longer lonely / but have roots” (53-4). The roots transform into the poem’s “rooted words” (55), which do not actually grow from the land but rather spring from other rooted, that is *printed*, words from exploration writing. Thus, Newlove uses exploration writing as a pretext in attempting to fabricate an epic or poetic story of region.

I say “attempting” because, despite the references to “warriors” (18) and “origins” (175), the poem is not about the founding of the nation of these “warriors” but of its destruction. Seen as an elegy, then, “The Pride,” mourns not only the passing away of the Aboriginal past but also of the Aboriginal Peoples. The combined loss shows the faulty logic of the poem’s regionalist aspirations. Although evocative of a time past, the force of the poem lies in the assumption that the Aboriginal Peoples of the land are *only* of the past. Being only of the past, they can then be recuperated for regionalist purposes. Thus, while “the indians / are not composed of / the romantic stories / about them” (186-89), they are also not composed “of the stories / they tell only” (190-91). Rather it is in the fusion of “stories” in the poem that they are composed, and the reason for this fusion is that the elegy itself is composed less of loss than of longing. Thus, simultaneously, the elegy is a romance written by a questing poet; the longing is a desire.

In the last section, the “desire” (150, 167) or “desires” (164, 201) for origins that might connect those of non-aboriginal ancestry to the geography of the region morph into an image, evocative of the Aboriginal “horsemen” (14) of the first section, as they become “hard-riding desires” (202-03), riding to the conclusion of the poem:

in our desires, our desires
mirages, mirrors, that are theirs, hard-
riding desires, and they
become our true forebears, moulded
by the same wind or rain,
and in this land we
are their people, come
back to life again. (201-08)

As with other elegies, the conclusion offers consolation for loss. Here, however, the consolation for loss is also the satisfaction of desire, for, just as the “horses” (134, 135) upon which the plains people ride are “their pride” (134, 135), the poem is “the pride”

(137) of the region. The consolation offered by Newlove's elegiac quest is that the Aboriginal Peoples of the past are the "true forbears" of non-aboriginal people because they share climatic and geographical experiences, but not only are they "moulded / by the same wind or rain" (204-05), they are also alive in us, "still ride the soil / in us" (191-92). Through the alchemy of desire, those of non-aboriginal ancestry are, thus, Aboriginal Peoples, "come / back to life again" (207-08). As Tom Marshall says, "The Pride" "may not be much comfort" for Aboriginal peoples "exterminated or surviving"; it does, however, speak of the "imaginative construction [. . .] of a national [that is, Canadian] sense of self" (176). Jones's celebration of "The Pride" not only perpetuates the irony of English-Canadian literary history's search for origins but also captures the ethos of this "sense of self," for Jones sees the "images" of Aboriginal Peoples in the poem as "our North American inheritance embodied" (5) because he fails to see that this "embodied" "inheritance" is disembodied and dispossessed—hence haunting.

Unlike in "The Pride," in "Samuel Hearne in Wintertime" Newlove does not allude to or imitate exploration writing for regionalist purposes but rather uses pastiche for personal ends. First printed in "IS., No. 1 ([Jan. 1966])" (Lecker and O'Rourke 78), then collected, in revised version, in *Black Night Window, The Fat Man, Apology for Absence, and A Long Continual Argument*, "Samuel Hearne in Wintertime" is Newlove's self-reflexive meditation on Hearne's accomplishments as an explorer. Beginning with the poet's own writing conditions, the first and second sections alternate between descriptions of the poet's memories and immediate experiences and imaginative reconstructions of Hearne's experiences and the poet's thoughts on Hearne. Lines six and seven of the first section echo the title of Hearne's exploration writing. The full title, A

Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean. Undertaken by Order of the Hudson's Bay Company, for the Discovery of Copper Mines, a Northwest Passage, &c. In the Years, 1769, 1770, 1771, and 1772, is truncated, in part, to "journeys" (6), standing both for the two attempted journeys and the one successful journey that Hearne takes and, by synecdoche, for the material reality of the book containing Hearne's writing, and, in another part, to the "Northern Ocean" (7), the journeys' destination. The third section is devoted to Hearne's text, particularly to rendering images of the landscape through which he travelled; the fourth section returns to the poet's thoughts about Hearne; and the final section connects those thoughts with the climax of Hearne's narrative. The connection between the fourth and fifth sections is the meditation's illumination, the light of which reveals Hearne's greatest accomplishment.

It is the "cold" (1) of the poet's own writing conditions that begins the meditation, for the cold leads him to question the way that "readers of journeys / to the Northern Ocean" (6-7) romanticise Hearne's exploration because, as "readers" but vicariously journeying, they are far removed in both time and space from the pragmatics of late-eighteenth-century wintertime travel in the northwest of Canada. Invoking his muse, "Samuel" (9), Newlove's affectionate use of Hearne's given name suggests familiarity and sympathy. The familiarity is that bred of reading Hearne's text; the sympathy generated from attempting to participate imaginatively in the conditions of Hearne's wintertime travel. Newlove's attempt to enter imaginatively into the conditions of Hearne's world, however, imposes upon it values that are not even hinted at in the text.

Having little to do with Hearne's style of understated stoicism, the recurring "hell" (11, 13-16) of the smells and "cold" in the poem creates an intensity of tone and conveys an extremity of conditions appropriate for the man of heroic endurance that Newlove configures Hearne to be. Although the odours of Aboriginal Peoples are sometimes a preoccupation of exploration writing, Hearne shares none of this preoccupation; the poet's imaginative sympathy—"Hearne, your camp must have smelled" (10)—is, for Hearne himself, unnecessary. Moreover, in speaking of the smell of "Indians" (15) Newlove creates a distinction between Hearne and his companions that could not have existed under their shared living conditions. This distinction separates Hearne from the companions of his exploration and, despite the suggestion in the "helpers" (54) of the penultimate stanza of the poem, ignores the presence of his guide, friend, and care-taker Matonabee. Hearne is, thus, largely cast as the lone heroic-visionary of the meditation.

That a perception of cold should occasion Newlove's meditation is hardly surprising given that in *A Journey*, Hearne's first journey takes place during winter (November 6, 1769 until December 11 of that same year), his second begins in late February (of the following year and ending, undoubtedly in the cold, before its second winter), his third (December 7, 1770 – June 30, 1772) covers two winters, and, therefore, although seldom complaining of his conditions, Hearne does describe wintering in the north. It is not, however, only the descriptions that resonate in the poem, for there is also the engraving of Hearne's wintertime sketch (see Figure below) of "Athapuscow Lake" (223), where he and his companions arrive on December 24, 1771, the "Christmastime" (24) to which Newlove's poem refers. Although Hearne is not *in* the wintertime of his

sketch, its bleak sky looming over two-thirds of the nearly balanced rendition of deciduous and coniferous trees along the shore and on the islands of the frozen lake (Great Slave Lake), speaks starkly of the “cold” (1, 16), which Newlove introduces in the first line and with which he ends the first stanza of his meditation.



Figure 1. “A WINTER VIEW in the ATHAPUSCOW LAKE, by SAM.^L HEARNE, 1771.” Plate IV from the first edition. (Hearne)

While the quotidian realities of “dirty” (18), sick, and “crying” (21) children function as his own grim scenery in the “cold room” (1) where he writes, the poet begins the poem’s third section declaring, “I think of Samuel Hearne and the land—” (19). Poetically partaking of one part sympathy and one part escapist fantasy, the poet searches after the essence of Hearne’s heroism. Although, at first, it is seemingly Hearne’s endurance in the land that makes him heroic, with a turn, the poet declares that there is “[n]o praise in merely enduring” (26), with “merely” suggesting the need for an accomplishment greater than simply to have made the exploratory journey. The poet does not, however, doubt Hearne’s heroism, for “Samuel Hearne did *more* / in the land”

(27-28 emphasis mine) “than endure” (40). What this “more” is exactly is hinted at amidst the repeated “hell” of the fourth and fifth stanzas, in the “few days of rest and journal-work” (12), for although the poet feels sympathy for what Hearne endures, more importantly, the poet feels *empathy*—for Hearne the writer. The connection between Hearne and the land is, of course, Hearne’s book—with its descriptions, its narrations, its maps, and its sketches of the land that he explores.

Disrupting the syntax of “Samuel Hearne did more / in the land” (27-28) “than endure” (40), is Newlove’s thirteen-line parenthetical description of that land:

Samuel Hearne did more
in the land (like all the rest

full of rocks and hilly country,
many very extensive tracts of land,
tittimeg, pike and barble,

and the islands:
the islands, many
of them abound

as well as the main
land does
with dwarf woods,

chiefly pine
in some parts intermixed
with larch and birch) than endure. (28-40)

The description is a composite of Hearne’s. Here Newlove is not capturing some sense of the scenery by imitating Hearne’s descriptions or style but is extracting direct quotations from Hearne’s text. In extracting quotations, he alters their meaning. For example, while the “many very extensive tracts of land” (Newlove 30 and Hearne 74) form part of Hearne’s remarks on the depauperate conditions of those “extensive tracts of land,” in Newlove, dearth is absented to favour extent. In extracting the quotations, Newlove also

alters chronology. For example, in the same chapter in which Hearne and his companions arrive at the sketched “Athapuscow Lake” (Hearne 223), but occurring nearly a month earlier, is a description of ice-fishing at “Anaw’d Lake” in which Hearne notes, “[t]ittimeg and barble, with a few small pike, were the only fish caught at this part” (212). Newlove repeats Hearne’s notes but reverses the lakes’ chronology by mentioning an unnamed lake that has “tittimeg, pike and barble” (31) *after* the “Christmastime” (24) of his poem.

In enclosing his pastiche description of the landscape in parentheses, Newlove suggests that he views the land as if it were enclosed within Hearne himself just as it is bracketed by the covers of Hearne’s volume. The description is, in the mention of the fish species, the presence of “rocks,” and the description of the terrain as “hilly” (Newlove 29, Hearne 212), of Anaw’d Lake but it is also, in lines thirty-two through forty (see above), of “Island Lake” (72), where “[m]any of the islands, as well as the main land round this Lake, abound with dwarf woods, chiefly pines; but in some parts intermixed with larch and small birch trees” (Hearne 72-3). Taking Linda Hutcheon’s perspective on textual relations, I would note that Newlove repeats Hearne’s description with some differences. While one of the differences is that he removes “round this Lake” (Hearne 73) so that the description refers generally to the land through which Hearne travelled rather than to a specific location, the most obvious is that he repeats “islands” (32 and 33) for poetic effect. This difference, if read ahistorically, points to the lyricism of Hearne’s prose, which, in its sentence structure, deviates from direct description. Thus, while creating difference, Newlove is also repeating sameness because he captures the sustain-effect of Hearne’s withholding the verb of his clause, although, in Hearne’s case, the

reader of exploration writing expects that he intends to offer some description of the islands and mainland.

Another instance of repetition is based on Hearne's comment near the beginning of his third journey: "[p]rovisions of all kinds were scarce till the sixteenth, when the Indians killed twelve deer" (73). The comment is repeated in "Samuel Hearne in Wintertime" in an abrupt line, "[t]he Indians killed twelve deer" (41). The line is the central sentence of the third section, in which Newlove explains in the first and parenthetically-disrupted poetic sentence that Hearne's heroism is not merely the result of his ability to "endure" (40), then presents the sentence, and concludes with the third, which reiterates the idea of the meditation's first section of endurance in face of the cold: "[i]t was impossible to describe / the intenseness of the cold" (42-3). The single-line sentence comes, in Hearne's text, from just "West and North West" (73) of *Island Lake* or, more precisely, one paragraph after the description of the dwarf trees on the islands. Disrupting the flow of thoughts in Newlove's poem, Hearne's subordinate clause transformed into one-line sentence has a journal-like jotting quality suggestive of the "journal-work" (12) that Newlove celebrates and from which the book that he has read derives.

Ironically, it is with the matter of empathy that the poet recognises his own romanticising:

And Samuel Hearne,
I have almost begun to talk

as if you wanted to be
gallant, as if you went
through the land for a book—
as if you were not SAM, wanting
to know, to do a job. (44-50)

Here “as if” (47) shows that the poet now realises that he has been conceiving of Hearne as a hero whose quest object is the very book that he later produces rather than merely a man trying to locate a copper mine near the mouth of a river at the Arctic Ocean. While Newlove uses the shortened “SAM” to evoke a kind of twentieth-century “regular, working-guy” image to undercut the idea of *the writer* and poet’s muse “Samuel Hearne” (19, 27, 44, 53), the move is not without its textual basis, for there are in Hearne’s text, as in much of late-eighteenth-century exploration writing, the ““ORDERS and INSTRUCTIONS”” (xxxv) from superiors that introduce and justify the journey and cast the explorer as a man just doing his job. Moreover, Newlove’s naming Hearne as “SAM” picks up on the all-caps abbreviation “SAM.^L” below the engraving of Hearne’s wintertime sketch and, in the dedication to the text, Hearne’s own tone of a “most obedient, and most obliged humble Servant” (iv) of the Hudson’s Bay Company.

In the fourth section, then, the poet realises that it is through empathising with Hearne the writer that he becomes one of the very “readers” (6) from which he, in the first section, wishes to distinguish himself through his sympathy for the hardship of cold that Hearne must have endured in the northern wintertime. The realisation effects another turn in the meditation by shifting the reason for Hearne’s heroism not only beyond the journey but also beyond the printed *Journey*. The reason is found in the fifth section. To support her general contention that the Canadian literary psyche suffers from an attitude of victimisation and her specific contention that this attitude is reflected in either “[e]xploration that doesn’t ‘find’ anything” or “[d]oomed exploration” (138), Atwood looks to the fifth section and sees Hearne as “the explorer as a helpless witness of death” (141) because she is not “sure what more” Hearne does “or what he comes to ‘know’”

(141) and, thus, interprets the final section as a statement of Hearne's helplessness rather than of his knowledge. By contrast, Bartley is certain that Hearne does "more" (Newlove 27) and that that "more" is a type of knowledge. She argues that the poet "is searching, like Samuel Hearne, for the essence of the land which cannot be discovered in the number of trees but rather through the conditions of existence" (20) and that in the final section "the explorer and the poet are united in emotion and in the knowledge of death which must be confronted in order to attain any understanding of the harsh and cold environment" (21). While Atwood's reading suffers from cynicism, Bartley's suffers from environmental determinism.

Reiterating the episode in Hearne's text, of the "young girl" (153) who is killed by the Chipewyan with whom Hearne travels, Newlove ends his poem not with his explorer reaching his destination but with the climax of the explorer's own text. In "two spears in her / [. . .] / [. . .] she twisted about them like / an eel" (53-6), Newlove melds two stages of the scene in Hearne's text: first, "when the first spear struck into her side," he describes her "twisted round [his] legs," and second, when the spears of two more of the "Indian" (153) attackers have "transfixed her to the ground," he describes her "twining round their spears like an eel" (154). On the inset map, Hearne labels the place of the killing (which is part of the Coppermine massacre), "A Fall of 10 Ft. Here the Northern Indians killed the Esquimaux," and in his text he names it "Bloody Fall" (166), because of the trauma that he experiences as witness. Newlove captures the problem of Hearne's situation and offers sympathy in the word-play of his personal address: "you helpless before your helpers" (54). This sympathy, coming in the middle two lines of the six lines of the final section, however, should not be considered the final message of the poem.

Hearne's greatest accomplishment is not "enduring," for the poet makes it clear that there is "[n]o praise" (26) in that. Neither, however, is it to have written "a book" (48), for the poet recognises that the idea that *A Journey* is Hearne's greatest accomplishment is his own romantic fantasy based on a desire for connection through the shared endeavour of writing. The poet admits that Hearne did not go "through the land for a book" (48) but "to do a job" (50); he does not believe, however, that Hearne's greatest accomplishment is his willingness to fulfill the "ORDERS and INSTRUCTIONS" (xxxv) of the Hudson's Bay Company. Rather Hearne's greatest accomplishment is the curiosity that impelled him, despite two failures, harsh conditions, and vast distances, to reach the Arctic Ocean and to return to Prince of Wales's Fort on Hudson's Bay. In casting Hearne as not only a man doing a job but also a man who wants "to know" (50), Newlove lauds the pursuit of knowledge itself, and, more specifically, the late-eighteenth-century explorer's pursuit of empirical knowledge. Hearne's pursuit contrasts with the "dying" (56) "Eskimo girl" (51), of the meditation, for the tragedy of her death is that she dies "never to know" (56). The illumination of Newlove's mediation reflects Hearne's "Preface," in which Hearne himself offers knowledge as the reason for the text's production. Hearne says that his text is for readers "who may perhaps feel themselves in some measure gratified, by having the face of a country brought to their view, which has hitherto been entirely unknown to every European except myself" (vi). In contrasting Hearne with the dying Inuit woman, Newlove generalises Hearne's knowledge: Hearne's greatest accomplishment as an explorer is "to know" the unknown. Newlove's poetic accomplishment is his

meditation's epiphany: that is, his recognition of Hearne's knowledge in favour of the *Journey's* romance.

Despite his copious output and its distinctively Canadian focus (with poems and collections mentioning such names as Riel, Tecumseh, and Wolfe), Don Gutteridge remains a minor figure of English-Canadian literature. His work is, nonetheless, of interest in the context of this study because his distinctively Canadian focus has, perhaps unsurprisingly, generated two texts that return to exploration writing. The first of the two, *The Quest for North: Coppermine*¹, published, in hardback edition (1973), with its cover the top two-thirds copper-coloured, the bottom third in black (with copper type) marking a horizon on which rests an almost but never-quite-setting copper-orange sun, representing north of the sixtieth parallel, is Gutteridge's "re-exploration" of Hearne's *Journey*. Catalogued either by the British Library as *The Quest for North Coppermine* or by the Canadian National Library as *Coppermine: The Quest for North*, the layout of the cover contradicts the spine's "Coppermine" and allows for another syntactic reading, *The Quest for North: Coppermine*: that is, primary purpose or genre first, *The Quest* (emphasis mine), followed by destination, *North*, where lies the quest object, *Coppermine*.

Showing some of the same fascination with the extremity of conditions of Hearne's exploration of north-western Canada as does Newlove's "Samuel Hearne in Wintertime," Gutteridge's poem is a macabre quest, which I. S. MacLaren describes as "gratuitously obscene" ("Notes" 22). It is a quest in which the perceived extremity of both purpose and destination transcends not only pragmatics but also nature to enter the realm of myth. Although for much of Hearne's exploration he travels in darkness,

Gutteridge chooses the sun—“Osiris” (20, 62) “the bronze god” (62) —to emblemise north because Hearne arrives at the Arctic in mid-July, when, as he notes, “the Sun is always at a good height above the horizon” (163). It is no accident that the never-quite-setting, northern-summer sun is, in Gutteridge’s text, “the bronze god” because bronze, “[a] brown-coloured alloy of copper” (*OED* def. 1. a.), suggests both an imagined Egyptian’s skin-colour and the quest object itself. Following Hearne’s first sight of the sun / “Osiris” (62), the poem enquires of the mythological capacity of the land through which Hearne travels: “can the Barrens / breed such visions?” (62). The answer is yes, and the visions are copper-tinted.

Although Gutteridge sometimes quotes directly from Hearne’s text, his poem is not pastiche nor, except for one section, is it parody. What Gutteridge does is largely imitation: that is, he uses episodes or incidents from Hearne’s *Journey* for the content of his poem. While he exaggerates, distorts, confuses, and alters the episodes or incidents and their arrangement, the outlines of his pre-text are visible nonetheless. Focusing only on the northward progress and final destination of Hearne’s third and successful exploration, the poem is divided into four parts. Within each part are italicised section headings reflecting the italicised chapter summaries that are a feature of exploration writing, like Hearne’s, printed in the late eighteenth century. However, unlike Hearne, who deemphasises his cartography by saying that his narrative is not for “critics of geography” (vi) and subsumes his pre-Greenwich Convention longitudinal readings, taken relative to Prince of Wales’s Fort, within his narrative, Gutteridge emphasizes Hearne’s role as a cartographer by using post-Greenwich Convention coordinates (taken relative to Greenwich) for some of the section headings of PART TWO. The coordinate-

¹ I have paginated the unpaginated text.

headings form part of a larger concern with the relationships amongst Hearne's first-person "I," the "quadrant," which is his "third and / accurate eye" (26) and his mapping of the "enemy," "space" (34, 43) in order to reach the quest's destination, north.

Less a poem of region than of location (north), *The Quest for North*, like "The Pride," also uses Aboriginal mythology as the foundation for its own myth. In a footnote, Hearne notes "a strange tradition [. . .] that the first person who discovered [the copper] mines [for which he searches] was a woman," who was "a great conjurer" (note 175). After his introductory independent clause and adjectival use of "strange," Hearne removes commentary to recount the "tradition" in the objective style favoured by the empiricist, capturing the skeleton of the narrative but by no means attempting to capture the style of its telling. Gutteridge tries to convert the sparse account into an expanded mythological narrative, by adding descriptive details, especially about the woman, who in Hearne's text is only "a woman" and "a conjurer" (note 175). Gutteridge describes her as "a strange enchantress" (6) and depicts her as if she were the earth itself with its central core of molten rock: "[t]iny fires burned in her flesh and shone through / So you could see the rivers and runlets / Her blood made, her whole body like a map" (6). In Hearne's account, after the woman leads the men to the copper, she is raped by the men, who, Hearne delicately says, "took such liberties with her as made her vow revenge" (note 175); her revenge is to sink into the earth bringing the copper along with her. Exhibiting a typically post-Freudian, post-Kinseyan preoccupation with sexuality and the sex act, Gutteridge's poem depicts the scene of rape. The woman's vagina, like molten rock, shifts to become a furnace producing molten metal, and the men who rape her want "to probe that strange / Blood-lit warmth, to watch the copper fire / Drip out, and off their

singed members” (7). A recurring motif of the poem is the desire for copper transmuted into rape. Thus, *The Quest* becomes a map of sexual violence directed against Aboriginal females.

“PART ONE: *preparations*” (1), not only repeats the first word of the italicised summary of Chapter IV of Hearne’s *Journey*, “*Preparations*” (60), but also, in the section “*Mr. Hearne reflects on the character of the Governor of Prince of Wales Fort*” (10) alludes to an interesting defamation of the “character and manner of the life” (63 note) of the governor of the fort, Moses Norton, as provided in a footnote of Hearne’s in that chapter. Ignoring Hearne’s possibly incorrect information concerning Norton’s “Indian” (62 note) lineage, Gutteridge follows the widely-held belief “that [Norton] was the mixed-blood son of his father and an Aboriginal woman” (“Norton, Moses”). Through the reiterated “half” of the “half-bred Governor” with his “half-formed tongue” and “half-dug pit / of copper lips,” Gutteridge depicts Norton as the debauched man of Hearne’s sketch. Gutteridge also associates Norton with Aboriginal persons through copper. The copper is not simply of the obvious copper of his “copper lips” (11); it is also in alloys, in the “bronze” of his “arms” (12) and in brass, “[h]istorically: [t]he general name for all alloys of copper with tin or zinc (and occasionally other base metals)” (def. I.1.a. *OED*). It is in the colour of the “brass / candles” (10) representing his penis and in the shamelessness of his “brazen love-songs” (11). Half base, half precious metal, Norton himself may be less valuable than pure copper, but his sexual energy, spent in Aboriginal women’s “caves cut / in copper thighs” (14), is stronger, “unalloyed” (14), and, therefore, precious. Thus, along with its motif of rape, *The Quest* celebrates the “burnished” (7)—if not brandished—member of the sexualised Aboriginal man.

In his PART ONE depiction of Matonabee, whom he wrongly calls “Chippewa” (3) rather than Chipewyan, Gutteridge shifts from imitation to parody. Forming a separate section of Hearne’s Chapter IX, “A short Description of the Northern Indians” (304), is “*Some Account of Matonabee*” (348). In the account is a sketch of Matonabee in which Hearne explains that, “to the vivacity of a Frenchman, and the sincerity of an Englishman, [Matonabee] added the gravity and nobleness of a Turk” (351-52). Gutteridge looks ironically at Hearne’s approval of Matonabee’s character and his use of national stereotypes to explain that character by turning Matonabee into a circus Indian of Wild West shows. With the rhyming-couplet voice of the show’s huckster, Gutteridge uses early nineteenth-century ideas of phrenology to point to Hearne’s sketch by beginning “Look at that brow!” (12). He then continues with “that aristocratic / Cheek, that Roman nose, a chin more Attic / Than Cree!” (12). The irony for Gutteridge is that Hearne’s sketch is “[t]he transformation of Matonabee” (10), and “except for the haughty grin / (And reddish blush to the hairless skin) / You’d take him for a full-blood European” (12). The problem with what Gutteridge does is that his irony operates perversely: in making fun of Hearne’s prejudices, he reveals his own. While Hearne focuses on sameness of behaviour, Gutteridge focuses on difference of physiognomy. The “reddish blush” (12) is the simultaneously despised and desired copper of the quest. It is no coincidence that in PART TWO Matonabee is the diabolical “communicant” (39) swallowing a deer’s “ten-inch rancid penis” (40) and then eating its “testicles” while grinning at “his / five greasy wives” (41) or that, in Matonabee’s testicle-grin, copper transmutes into the more precious “lascivious gold” (41).

While the sexualised feast is invented, there is an incident from Hearne's text that Gutteridge repeats but sexualises. In Hearne's text, the incident occurs at "Whool-dyah'd Whoie or Partridge Lake" (76), rather than at Gutteridge's "Pike Lake" (52). The change suggests some confusion on Gutteridge's part, for Hearne's comments on "Whool-dyah'd Whoie or Pike Lake" (77) are on the page facing his comments on "Partridge Lake" (76). Rather than simply the "young girl" (52) of Gutteridge's text, in Hearne's, it is "one of Matonabee's wives, whose thighs and buttocks were in a manner incrustated with frost" because she "took too much pains to shew a clean heel and a good leg" (76). In Gutteridge's text, "ice" (52) turns into the woman's "lover" (52), who leaves her with "the blister / of his affection, / great bladders of / pain" (52)—an echo of Hearne's comment that "several blisters arose, nearly as large as sheeps' bladders" (76) as a result of the frost bite that Matonabee's wife "suffered" (76). Hearne's "sheeps' bladders" (76) morph into the poem's "udders" (53), which the poet-posing-as-Hearne wants to "lance" with his "lust" (53). The effect is to modulate an incident of understated, comic disapproval into hints of sexual violence by altering the depiction of the woman's pain from the effect of a ridiculous vanity to the cause of promised pleasure—as desired by the explorer-poet.

Two more incidents of sexual violence appear in PART THREE. The first, titled "*Wrestling for women at Clowey*," uses Hearne's "*Some remarks on the Natives*" from Chapter V, which deals with "Transactions at Clowey" (95) Lake, in which he speaks of "the custom among [the Chipewyan] for the men to wrestle for any woman to whom they are attached" (104). In the poem, the woman who is won in the wrestling match is twice depicted being raped by the man who won her, once while the explorer-poet's "I" / eye

watches “that / burnished horn slide / into free flesh” (73). The second incident uses “*Find a woman alone that had not seen a human face for more than seven months*” from Hearne’s Chapter VIII. Here the exploration party discovers a lone woman, who is “won and lost at wrestling by near half a score different men in the same evening” (265) of her discovery. In Gutteridge, she becomes, “nothing now but a / wrestler’s prize” (77) and is violated, “knees pried apart / to the burnished vee” (77), her genitalia echoing the shining metal male member of the wrestler.

Not only does Gutteridge’s poem depict sexual violence but it also sexualises violence. At the very beginning of PART THREE are Hearne’s thoughts “*upon his friendship with Matonabee*,” with opening lines, “Matonabee as / gentleman savage” (59) suggesting that in Hearne’s “*Account of Matonabee*” (348) Hearne subscribes to the idea of the noble savage. The fictionalized biography of Matonabee imitates Hearne’s “*Account*” but ends by imitating the moment in Hearne’s Chapter VIII, when Matonabee beats one of his wives to death. In Gutteridge, the beating is an expression of “lust” (63) that ends with Matonabee’s “apologetic shrug” seeming “to say / ‘I’ve loved her good / why doesn’t she come?’” (64). Reversing the word-order of the second line of the section, “gentleman savage” (63), Gutteridge calls “Matonabee that / savage gentleman” (64) and captures the very contradiction in the man’s nature that Hearne was at pains to comprehend. Finally, like Newlove in “*Samuel Hearne in Wintertime*,” Gutteridge also deals with the climax of Hearne’s text, the massacre of the Inuit at the mouth of the Coppermine River, but unlike Newlove, the “stiff spears” (86), each with its “copper tip” (87), are explicitly phallic. The young woman, here a “sacrificial virgin” (86), dies “fucking Death” (87).

It is following the massacre and the brief parenthetical meditation on murder or “blood” that the “*crossover*” (57) of the subtitle of PART THREE occurs. What “*crossover*” signifies is suggested in the feast of PART TWO, at which Matonabbee is not only “communicant” (39) but also, as “master of ceremony” (39) suggests, officiant, and at which “*Mr. Hearne joins in*” (39). After the massacre and the meditation, the poet-Hearne says,

I look at
Matonabbee, he
laughs, blood
juggling his lip

he is looking
at me laughing
blood on my voice:
the juggler’s lip. (89)

Gutteridge’s use of “juggling” and “juggler’s” echoes Hearne’s denomination of tribal healers as “jugglers” (190), but the uncertain syntax of the two stanzas makes it impossible to tell Samuel from Matonabbee. In the exchange of looks, “[t]he eye sees / only itself” (90): non-aboriginal and Aboriginal are one. Immediately following the exchange, PART FOUR begins with “Matonabbee and me / walking” (93) together into the fractured, dream-like unreality of the never-quite-setting northern sun. Thus, as with “The Pride,” the message is that, for Canadian literature to enter the realm of myth or to discover its origins, it must “go native,” for it is after “*crossover*” that the poet-explorer attains the quest object: “*coppermine*” (91).

“PART FOUR: *coppermine*” is Hearne’s and Matonabbee’s epiphanic walk to the Arctic Ocean, during which “*Mr. Hearne recalls the tragic death of Mr. Knight*” (112). The allusion is to Hearne’s “Introduction,” in which he tells of “Mr. James

Knight” (xxv), who died during an expedition to find the Northwest Passage. In the poem, however, the Northwest Passage is simply “North” (112), Hearne’s destination. At *North*, in the brief parenthetical description that evokes the meditation following the massacre and, thus, the violence of the massacre itself, the “colour of blood / is vermilion” (106) is like the orange-red of the never-quite-setting “copper rays” (100) of the sun. The bloody sun at north represents “the wish of our / blood” (114) or the quest. The quest is propelled by the “[d]ream of the / copper-woman” (114), who, at north, simultaneously is the one who leads Hearne and Matonabee “down the mine” (114) and the mine, or quest object, itself. *The Quest for North* is, therefore, satisfied only by repeating the rape of the mythological copper woman by describing Hearne’s and Matonabee’s descent into the Aboriginal, underworld-woman’s body of copper-north, into “her sea-warm brazen / coppermine core” (115). The return journey to the fort is but “the long walk back” (115).

Following her precursor text much more closely than Gutteridge does his and returning to region rather than location, Marion R. Smith points both to her precursor and her preoccupation in the subtitle of *Koo-Koo-Sint: David Thompson in Western Canada* (1976). Like Newlove’s, Smith’s text includes some of Thompson’s *Narrative* addressing what is now the mid-west of the United States of America; unlike Newlove’s distinguishing “plains,” however, Smith’s *Western Canada*, does not distinguish but does show how much Thompson has come to represent the Canadian west. With its medium reddish-brown cover bearing the dark green impression of mountains and bright blue print and its pages of a light reddish-brown bearing impressions of mountains and plains and dark reddish-brown print, the chapbook is designed to evoke the western landscape

through which Thompson travelled. Focusing on those chapters in the first part of Thompson's *Narrative* that deal with his early years with the Hudson's Bay Company, his interactions with the Aboriginal Peoples of the Great Plains in his years with the Northwest Company, and those chapters in the second part of Thompson's text that detail his travels west of the Rocky Mountains, Smith's text is a "re-exploration" that is pastiche comprising her own poetry, poetic paraphrase of Thompson's text, and many poetic renditions of quotations taken chronologically from Thompson, sometimes verbatim but, if differing from the original, only so on the basis of deletion and rearrangement of episode and syntax. Homage to Thompson's *Narrative*, Smith's text reveals its reverence by preserving substantial parts of the original's content, maintaining its tone, and, most importantly, rendering the original in poetry (blank verse and prose-poetry)—so that it may be said to resemble epic more closely.

It is epic in the traditional sense, "a long narrative poem" concerning a hero "of national significance" (Cuddon 284), and Smith insists on this traditional sense, for, like the Aboriginal persons who thought that Thompson's astronomical observations indicated "occult powers" (Smith 5), she depicts Thompson the cartographer, "Koo-Koo-Sint, 'You That Look At The Stars'" (5), or "You that look at the Stars" (Thompson 87), as the hero-as-prophet of the nation to come when she says, "you" "*knew that you charted / the future*" (6). Substantiating the relationship between Thompson's mapping and his heroic status, on the inside back cover of *Koo-koo-Sint*, Smith says, "[w]hen David Thompson first arrived in Canada, the whole country west of Lake Winnipeg was a blank on the maps." This, of course, is not true. Hearne had mapped his routes west from Prince of Wales's Fort to the Arctic Ocean, and his map appeared in Cook's third voyage, A

Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, first printed by Strahan in 1784—the year that Thompson arrived in Hudson’s Bay. Smith’s comment speaks to a desire to make of Thompson’s travels an originary moment in the national consciousness, although Thompson himself, in his narrative, makes no claim to being the first to map in the west, for he mentions copying from Hearne’s “manuscript entitled, ‘A journey to the North’” (19) while he was with the Hudson’s Bay Company and Hearne was his superior.

Derived from exploration-autobiography, *Koo-Koo-Sint* is epic in the traditional sense, but it is also an epic of the self. It is, furthermore, a dramatisation, for the text plays with perspective by sometimes alternating amongst largely bold print (although sometimes regular or italicised) for Thompson’s first-person voice, italicized print for other voices, and normal print either for other voices or for omniscient narration and description. Where perspectives are in Smith’s original poetry, only italicized print is used. Despite playing with perspective, the poetry is rarely entirely original but is, most often, at least part pastiche quotation or imitative paraphrase of Thompson’s text: that is, Thompson’s original perspective is transferred to others. Although Thompson’s voice is not always in bold print, all bold print sections, which indicate Thompson’s voice, are modeled on or excerpted from his text. For example, the section dedicated to “**Journey to the Upper Missouri-1797**” (19) not only condenses (using a reduced font size) the exact language of Thompson’s comments for that journey—“December 17th. At 7 AM Ther 22 below zero, at 9 PM Ther 23 below zero. NW Gale with snow drift. Too cold to proceed” (166) reduced to “**December 17 too cold to proceed**” (19)—but also, in the dated entries, “**December 1,**” “**December 4**” (19), and so on, replicates Thompson’s choice: “[a]s my journey to the Missisourie is over part of the Great Plains, I shall give it in the

form of a journal, this form, however dull, is the only method in my opinion, that can give the reader a clear idea of them” (161).

Although the poet begins by invoking her muse, “*Where shall I find you?*” (6), and includes the perspectives of others, much of the poem is given from Thompson’s first-person “I” (7) perspective and charts his development as a cartographer from “1784” (Smith 7, Thompson 3), when he became an “apprentice and clerk” (7, 3) of the Hudson’s Bay Company through “’97” (18), when he was “signed on / as Surveyor and Mapmaker” (18) to the Northwest Company, until his “**first view of the Pacific**” (63), which forms *Narrative*’s climax, at which Thompson declares, “[t]hus I have fully completed the survey of this part of North America [. . .]; the Maps of all of which have been drawn, and laid down in geographical position, being now the work of twenty seven years” (359). Thus, for Smith, the “**view**” represents the sum of Thompson’s cartographic achievement. Between “apprentice and clerk” (7, 3) and cartographic achievement, the pivotal moment in Thompson’s development as a cartographer occurs during his employ with the Hudson’s Bay Company; he says “I fell and broke the large bone of my right leg and had to be hauled home, which by the Mercy of God turned out to be the best thing that ever happened to me” (55) because, as a result of the circumstances that followed, he met “Mr. Turnor,” who “was well versed in mathematics, was one of the compilers of the nautical Almanacs and a practical astronomer” (55). As Thompson explains, “[u]nder him I regained my mathematical education and [. . .] learned practical astronomy under an excellent master of the science” (55). Smith transforms the account thus:

**I fell, breaking my leg,
which by the mercy of God
turned out the best thing
ever happened to me. (16)**

For, as her Thompson explains, he met “**Philip Turnor,**” “[c]ompiler of nautical **Almanacs, / well versed in astronomy, / he taught me the science of surveying**” (16).

While Smith quotes from and closely imitates Thompson’s pivotal moment, she transforms the fortunate fall into the inevitable by having her Thompson remark, “[a]t **last I could fulfil / my interest in geography**” (16): that is, fulfil his *destiny*.

Although Thompson’s is the focus, the other perspectives offered in the text notably include Northwest Company partner “Alexander” (26) or “Alex Mackenzie” (33), Thompson’s wife “Charlotte Small” (31), and, as in “The Pride,” Nahathaway elder “Saukamappee” (14). In Thompson’s *Narrative*, “Sir Alexander Mackenzie” (131, 219) is twice mentioned and briefly quoted as saying that Thompson “had performed more [surveying] in ten months than he expected could be done in two years” (219); Charlotte neither speaks nor is mentioned; and “Saukamappee” (240) is twice mentioned, once as “Sark a map pee” (49), and quoted at length in translation. Pulling voice out of absence and transforming quotations into characterisations, Smith reconstitutes a community from an individual, and, in rewriting document, she comments on historiography: who is silenced, who speaks, who is celebrated, and who is ignored. The case of Saukamappee is, however, a fraught one, for it concerns the matter of appropriation of voice as it is complicated by Thompson’s text. Thompson quotes Saukamappee: “[i]f one of our people offers you his left hand, give him your left hand, for the right hand is no mark of friendship. This hand wields the spear, draws the Bow and the trigger of the gun; it is the hand of death” (50-1). Smith’s “Saukamappee” says,

*I taught him to greet my people
not with the hand of death,
the hand that wields the spear or draws the trigger,
but with the hand of life. (14)*

In appropriating a voice by transforming a translated quotation from a document, Smith's pastiche proves how fragile are the underpinnings of history and how vexed the desire for authentic voice given print's authority.

Although other perspectives besides Thompson's are offered and some of these perspectives provide alternative views, they are not disjunctive, do not draw attention to the constructedness of Thompson's view and do not, therefore, negate his *Narrative*. For example, the alternating perspectives of "**David Thompson**" (50), traders "**Alexander Henry**" (50) and "**Will Henry**" (50), and Piegan leader "**Kootenae Apee**" (51) of pages fifty through fifty-seven, follow Thompson's narrative of the events that took place on his "RETURN JOURNEY TO COLUMBIA BY DEFILES OF ATHABASCA RIVER" (315). Although the alternative perspectives are not suggested in the *Narrative* itself, they form part of Richard Glover's commentary on the events in his "Introduction" to his edition (1962) of the original Tyrrell publication. Of Thompson's narrative of the events, Glover says, "[b]y switching [. . .] judiciously from 'I' to 'we'" in his text, Thompson makes himself a partner to William Henry's discovery" (lvi) of some of the lost "Men and Canoes" (Thompson 317) of Thompson's party, "but [Thompson] does not have the grace to mention William Henry at all in this context" (lvi). In presenting the events, Smith shows the pronominal switch by repeating Thompson's "I was at a loss what to do" (56, Thompson 316) and changing his "we must now change our route to the defiles of the Athabasca River" (317), to "[w]e then determined to / take the Athabasca route" (56). Rather than draw attention to how Thompson constructs the events, by quoting the first use of "we"—"we found them" (317)—she quotes the second use of "we" to indicate Thompson's acquiescence to Alexander Henry's suggestion that they use the "Athabasca

route,” rather than to question Thompson’s accuracy in retelling events. In using Glover’s commentary for the alternative perspectives that it provides, Smith takes a broader view of what Thompson’s text consists, and these alternative perspectives are, thus, not comments on the expressions and suppressions of historical narrative but on the difficulty of writing history given varying, incomplete, and contradictory data.

Despite the fragmenting effect of the different perspectives and typography, the poem sustains its unifying vision. At the conclusion of the return journey to the Columbia section, Alexander Henry, who has “*persuaded*” Thompson to “*try crossing the Athabasca pass*” (52) to avoid Piegan attack, says of his successful persuasion, “I knew that he [Thompson] could not resist / mapping new country” (57). Thus, the Columbia events conspire to comment on Thompson’s character. Astronomical observations for coordinates transformed into graphic, “mapping” returns to the poem’s unifying vision: Thompson saw “*the future*” (6).

His vision is captured in the poem’s final view. Concluding with Thompson’s arrival “at the mouth of the Columbia” (63), simply Thompson’s “River” (358), the penultimate stanza’s depiction of his “**first view / of the Pacific**” (63), Thompson’s “full view of the Pacific Ocean” (358), ends with the line, “**where at last I stood**” (63). With “**stood**” signifying motion’s cessation, Smith repeats the view but alters its significance. Thompson’s text follows his arrival at the Pacific with a “*description*” (360) of his travels east along the “*Columbia*” (360), around what are now the states of Washington and Montana, north to “*Athabasca River*” (379), through the waterways to Lake Winnipeg then “*Lake Superior*” (389), and, finally, towards “*Montreal*” (389), where he retired. Effectively removing the dénouement of Thompson’s last exploratory

journey, Smith simply follows Thompson's arrival at the Pacific with one last section of poetry presenting Thompson at home in "*Montreal*" (64). Thus, only one destination amongst the many to which Thompson travelled, Smith's "Pacific," "**where at last I stood**" (63) suggests that the Pacific was not only the culmination of Thompson's cartographic achievements but also the single destination of his many explorations.

While Thompson's view over the Pacific may symbolise a view of the future, it is the backward-looking view that captures his vision. Where Thompson's text ends with his arrival "safe in Montreal" (398), the home of his later years, Smith's last stanza turns from the bold print of Thompson's first-person narration to the spectre-like italics of invented melancholy memory. Although "*home is here, now, / in Montreal*" (64), the poet's Thompson longs for the west, acknowledging, however, that he is "*too old now*" (64) for exploration. Thus, the poem ends in the elegiac mood appropriate for a farewell to the epic hero, who bids farewell to heroic accomplishments. There is, nonetheless, as with elegy, celebration in sorrow. "*Where shall I find you?*" (6), the poet first asks her muse, and she answers herself, "*[t]he archives have you*" (6), but there is another answer, an answer that transforms the writing and charting of exploration back into the substance of their subject. In her "Prologue," Smith says that not only is Thompson to be remembered as a recorder of Aboriginal "legends" but also as "a legend himself, as inextricable from the rivers and land of Western Canada as the water and soil" (5). The implied answer to "*Where shall I find you?*" is the muse's inspiration, the retrospective or backward look from the Pacific, the consolation offered in the chapbook's design and in the poem itself: "the land has you."

Like Smith's *Koo-Koo-Sint*, Brian Fawcett's short story "The Secret Journal of Alexander Mackenzie," collected in *The Secret Journal of Alexander Mackenzie* (1985), reads exploration writing as nation-founding literature. Unlike Smith's text, however, Fawcett's is not exploration writing made into epic because it is not a celebration but a condemnation of the nation; its explorer not a hero but an anti-hero. Rather than an epic, Mackenzie's *Voyages* becomes an imaginary voyage that acts as an originary moment not by writing territorial claims across the land but by planting the narcotic seeds of mercantilism in its soil. The seeds of mercantilist fantasy foreshadow their own growth into the dystopia that is modern, industrial, capitalist Canada, which the other stories in the collection depict and critique.

Fawcett's imaginary voyage is a faintly-perceptible imitation / re-exploration of part of Mackenzie's successful Pacific-going voyage. Fawcett presents a secret journal, which concerns this part of the voyage, as an edition published with editorial apparatus including an introduction detailing the secret journal's provenance and its editor's process along with explanatory footnotes. Besides addressing bibliographical concerns such as authenticity, holoscripts, and manuscript deterioration, the editor's introduction provides a brief biography of Mackenzie, some historical context for the fur trade, and a two-part justification for the secret journal's publication. Although contribution to scholarly knowledge is the justification that the editor offers—the "secret journal" is a "heretofore unknown journal that [. . .] adds a new dimension to our understanding of Mackenzie and his travels" (9)—the implied justification is to recuperate Mackenzie, for his "explorations, because they occurred in the less than flamboyant context of the Canadian fur trade, have received less attention than those of [. . .] Cook and Vancouver" (9). After

the editor-narrator addresses the secret journal and its discovery, “The Journal Text” (14) begins with journal-style entries. The first entry is for “May 7, 1793” (18), two days before the day, “the 9th of May” (Mackenzie, *The Journals* 256) in *Voyages*, that Mackenzie and his crew leave their over-wintering position at Fort Fork on the Peace River for their exploration to the western ocean. The final entry is for “June 18, 1793” (39), the day on which Mackenzie and his crew arrive somewhere near Fawcett’s birthplace, “Prince George” (Mackenzie 306, note 3), British Columbia, the general area where the other stories of the collection are set.

The “secret journal” alludes to a footnote that Mackenzie himself includes in reference to his “*Monday, May 27*” (276) entry in his *Voyages*: “[f]rom this day, to the 4th of June the courses of my voyage are omitted, as I lost the book that contained them” (276). Although the dates do not and cannot coincide with those for Fawcett’s text if the author wishes to arrive in Prince George, Mackenzie’s footnote concerning his lost journal may be read, through the lens of Fawcett’s text, as a hint of a discovery not geographical: that is, the editor-narrator’s discovery of the “unknown journal” (9). While the “secret journal” may be Mackenzie’s lost journal, the “secret” of the secret journal speaks of a distinction that Fawcett creates between public and private writing. The “unknown,” therefore, “secret” journal is also “secret” because “it was written for personal reasons” and “was meant to be kept from the arena of history” (9). It was written and meant to be kept so because it delves into the imagined psychology of Fawcett’s Mackenzie (the secret-Mackenzie). Unlike Mackenzie’s action-oriented, goal-driven, outward-looking *Voyages*, in which psychology is largely lacking, although hinted at in allusions that Mackenzie makes to “the state of [his] mind” (270), Fawcett’s

imaginary voyage is devoted to Mackenzie's introspection. Not only to be kept secret because it addresses the existential angst of the secret-Mackenzie, the journal is also to be kept secret because it enters into the arcane realm of psychotropic experience.

In a eulogy for Newlove, Fawcett speaks of being told, when he was "young in the 1960s," "to read and emulate" Newlove because he was "a fine poet" ("John Newlove R.I.P."). The comment might suggest an influence that includes an interest in returning to exploration writing or another influence—perhaps not unconnected. It may be that Fawcett read A. J. M. Smith's *The Book of Canadian Prose: Volume 1, Early Beginnings to Confederation* (1965), Smith's celebration of Mackenzie's heroics, and, most particularly, Smith's remark that Mackenzie explored "accompanied by a little band whose names are recorded like an Homeric list of heroes" (86). It may be that Fawcett's interest in "the Orpheus and Oedipus stories" (Harris 41) extends to a general interest in classical Greek literature and that Smith's mention of Homer is just the inspiration or, rather, the goad that drives Fawcett to create an anti-heroic Mackenzie.

What is not my imagining is that Fawcett places his secret-Mackenzie into the *Odyssey's* land of the lotus-eaters. Moreover, his secret journal's editor offers, somewhat modified from Mackenzie's May 9, 1793 entry, Smith's mentioned list: "Alexander Mackay, his [that is, Mackenzie's] second in command, Joseph Landry, Charles Ducette, François Beaulieux, Baptiste Bisson, François Courtois, Jacques Beauchamp, and two natives, one of whom carried the unlikely name of 'Cancre'" (12-3). In Mackenzie's list, Alexander Mackay is simply listed. "Cancre" is not named within the list because he not a part of the list but is appended to it: the Canadians travel "*with* two Indians as hunters and interpreters" (257 emphasis mine), and, Mackenzie writes with irony, "[o]ne of them,

when a boy [. . .] obtained the reputable name of Cancre” (257), the “French term meaning dunce” (257, note 1). The difference reveals a difference between Fawcett’s and Mackenzie’s views of the social positions and functions of the men who form Mackenzie’s crew.

Fawcett begins his ostensibly late-eighteenth-century re-exploration with his secret-Mackenzie echoing Charles Dickens’s *A Tale of Two Cities*: “[t]omorrow, or the day after it, having endured this harsh wintering of my expectations, I embark on a search for the route to the Pacific” (14). The secret-Mackenzie later alludes to Wilkie Collins’s *The Woman in White* when he mentions an alluring woman, “the woman in white” (17), whom he saw in London. Given these allusions to works from the Victorian period, the land of the lotus eaters where Mackenzie and his crew arrive also alludes to Tennyson’s “The Lotus-Eaters,” which, as Fawcett’s text does, focuses and elaborates upon Homer’s episode. The anachronistic Victorian allusions that form Mackenzie’s thoughts are, if anything, evocative of his darkened emotional state and reminders of his mysterious secret—although, seemingly with some attempt at late-eighteenth-century verisimilitude in Mackenzie’s concerns, Fawcett has the secret-Mackenzie speak of the French Revolution. The secret-Mackenzie does so, however, in the same journal entry as that in which he echoes *A Tale of Two Cities*, the historical fiction, thus, functioning as history.

Although the secret-Mackenzie is brooding upon departure for the Pacific and his thoughts are upon “winter,” Mackenzie himself is active in preparation and in admiration of springtime almost effusive. He calls the springtime “delightful” and “pleasing” and remarks upon the “many plants in blossom” and, in particular, upon “a bunch of flowers” that “Mr. Mackay” (256) brings him. Fawcett turns Mackenzie’s mention of blossoms to

his purpose. Instead of an admiring Mackenzie, Fawcett offers the purely practical, and, following Mackenzie's prefatory characterisation of himself, in which Mackenzie disclaims an interest in "the science of the naturalist" (58), establishes a dichotomy of cartographer/natural historian, Mackenzie/Mackay to create a source of tension in his story. The secret-Mackenzie says, "[t]he hills and uplands riot alike with fantastical blossoms of every shape and hue. While of little concern to me other than as signals of our impending departure, these botanic wonders seem to delight Mackay" (14). Using the natural historian's interest in flora, Mackenzie's "plants in blossom" (256) become the "*fantastical* blossoms" (emphasis mine) by which Fawcett signals his story's shift from reality to fantastical or imaginary voyage. The "bunch of flowers" that "Mr. Mackay" (256) brings Mackenzie is foreshadowed in the "*fantastical* blossoms," which point to the moment during the imaginary voyage when Mackay and Cancre return from a foray into the woods to gather bark to repair a leaking canoe and are "carrying unusual blossoms" (20), the bulbs and petals of which they and Mackenzie eat.

Although the secret-Mackenzie observes that he experiences no "bodily lassitude" (20) but heightened emotional awareness, "ecstasy" (20), as a result of consuming the blossoms, Mackay and Cancre are "as like in a trance" (21), and all are troubled by dreams. In his heightened state Mackenzie encounters two women, the first Aboriginal, the second English, "the woman in white." The first speaks of anti-materialist values and predicts disaster as a result of Mackenzie's coming. The second speaks of "wealth" (41) and foresees Mackenzie's success. The first causes Mackenzie to question his ambition: "[a]m I [. . .] locked in the forestays of a stupendous error that will generate consequences for two hundred years or more before it is exposed?" (30). The second, however,

reassures him, and, rather than be plagued by doubt, Mackenzie gives up writing of his emotional experiences in favour of recording “the simple notations of time and landscape, and matters of easily established fact” (39)—the secret journal pushed “to the bottom of [his] luggage” (42). While John Harris argues that, in his poetry and prose, “Fawcett is drawing a myth out of the B.C. interior” (42), in the case of “The Secret Journal,” Fawcett is *putting myth into* the B.C. interior, for the darkest secret of his Odysseus-Mackenzie is the possibility of arrested action that Mackenzie’s *Voyages* does not permit.

One might well enquire as to what influence exploration writing addressing exploration by land has on later English-Canadian literature. Content is an influence, but style not so, for even Smith’s pastiche wishes to turn prose to poetry. There is the act of writing, and there is the act of exploration. There is the land and there is the explorer. There is also ethnography, which critics invariably overlook. Generalisations are difficult, for each text represents an individual and an individual’s interpretative gesture. For Mowat, Hearne is a tradition of exploration that is not only geographical and ethnographic but also literary. Moreover, Hearne is the proof of historical fact. For Newlove, Thompson is a document offering images of the past used to represent Aboriginal Peoples in order to establish non-indigenous indigeneity in a region rather than a nation. While for him Thompson is geography, Hearne is climate; Newlove believes that he writes within a tradition of writing under harsh conditions. For Gutteridge Hearne is neither fact nor document but a connection to aboriginal myth used to establish non-indigenous indigeneity through location. Smith uses Thompson to establish indigeneity, but she uses him as an epic—as a founding myth. Fawcett uses Mackenzie as a founding moment, but the foundation is for disaster.

Chapter 7

By Sea

All but one of the texts addressed in these chapters return to exploration writing concerning exploration by sea following the less-travelled, typically neglected routes of the Admiralty and the Royal Society as laid down in the texts of James Cook and George Vancouver. Returning to these less-travelled routes are Earle Birney, P. K. Page, George Bowering, and Audrey Thomas. In each return, exploration represents the local, regional, national, and/or imperial. It also concerns aboriginal presence stated or hinted at by absence. The explorer is admired as a man of action or intellect and imagined as a man of emotion. The pretexts themselves are used to rewrite history and, thus, insert “west coast” into the English-Canadian literary canon.

First printed in “*Harper’s*, Dec. 1947” (Noel-Bentley 36) and then collected in *The Strait of Anian: Selected Poems by Earle Birney* (1948), “Pacific Door” closes the “One Society” section of the collection, while its companion poem “Atlantic Door,” first printed in “*Reading* [. . .], 1, No. 1 (Feb. 1946)” (32), opens the section. “One Society” is a cross-country poetic vision of Canada, and so it is appropriate that the first motto of Canada, *a mari usque ad mare* (despite the absent third sea), be reflected in the doors that offer entrance to the house that is the nation. The companion poems appear with slight line-changes in Birney’s later *Selected Poems 1940-1966* (1966) in the section entitled more explicitly, after a poem also collected in “One Society,” “CANADA: CASE HISTORY.” Here the companion poems serve a similar function, except that “Atlantic Door” follows the first and title poem of the section. The companion poems’ similar functions within the sections of the two collections show that their respective oceans are

essential to Birney's imagined Canada. The poems *themselves* are not, however, only "declarative interpretations of the significance of [Canada's] eastern and western oceans," as Frank Davey describes them (*Earle Birney* 50), but also interpretations of the relationship between exploration and the nation.

Offering the last six lines of "Atlantic Door" as an example, Davey disparages the poems collected in *The Strait of Anian* for what he sees as "Birney's complete commitment to the role of poet as authority" (50) and says, "for the most part the new poems are laureate addresses to a general audience—presumptuous, professorial, and imperative" (49). What Davey disparages, however, speaks of an older poetic approach and is, on Birney's part, intentional, as evidenced in the companion poems. Both oceans-as-doors are framed, in their *The Strait of Anian* versions, by three identical lines each of opening and closing. Beginning with the "deathless" (1) struggle between water and wind and ending with the "forever capacious tombs of the sea" ("Atlantic Door" 27, "Pacific Door" 29), the poems achieve some of the mythological grandeur of E. J. Pratt's poetry. The achievement is no accident, for on the recto of the title page of *The Strait of Anian* is Birney's dedication "TO NED PRATT," and, along with "the lowest pulsing of the primal cell" (25, 27) of the oceans suggesting the origins of life and evoking Pratt's interest in the primal or primordial, the doors of each poem's title allude to Pratt's *The Iron Door*. However, whereas in Pratt's poem death is figured as an ocean, in Birney's poems the oceans menace with their capacity to kill, and whereas Pratt's door is an exit from this world, Birney's doors are entrances.

They are entrances for some of the maritime explorers who, despite the threat of death, arrived upon the North American coast. In the east is Sir Humphrey "Gilbert"

(“Atlantic Door” 17), and in the west are, chronologically, Sir Francis Drake (as “Drake’s,” “Pacific Door” 11), Vitus “Bering” (12), James “Cook” (14), and George “Vancouver” (18). Each explorer named is associated with the mythical strait leading to the Northwest Passage—*The Strait of Anian* of the original collection’s title. Not the writer of the text himself, Drake, the first of the English circumnavigators, nonetheless, claims his share in the title and travels of *The world encompassed by Sir Francis Drake collected out of the notes of Francis Fletcher, and compared with divers others notes that went in the same voyage* (1652). The first European to encounter Alaska, Bering stakes his claim in Georg Wilhelm Steller’s *Ausführliche Beschreibung von sonderbaren Meerthieren* (1753), written by the scientist aboard ship, Georg Wilhelm Steller, and not translated into English at the time. While Drake and Bering are but the central characters of their respective exploration texts, Cook and Vancouver are both the central characters and, to some extent, producers. Characters/explorers, Drake, Bering, Cook, and Vancouver all searched for the Strait of Anian; Gilbert, however, did not search but wrote a treatise in theoretical geography, printed as *A discourse of a discoverie for a new passage to Cataia* (1576), to promote the search for the Northwest Passage, and “Michael Lok and Martin Frobisher consulted him about their plans from 1574 onwards to establish a company to exploit the supposed passage” (“Gilbert, Sir Humphrey”).

Addressing Birney’s references to explorers as part of a more general interest in travel that is reflected in his work, Adele J. Haft remarks, “[a]n inveterate wanderer, Birney retained his interest in exploration, geography, and maps throughout his long career” (16), and, thus, suggests that author biography is integral to interpretations of his work. While the remark is useful because it sees Birney’s actions and intellectual

pursuits as expressions of his general interest in travel, it is, however, necessary to make distinctions amongst the poems produced out of this interest, and George Woodcock's assessment of Birney, which is also his assessment of travel writing, provides one clue to the necessary distinctions: "[t]he ability to experience and to describe each place in its own terms is what distinguishes the good travel book, and Birney has successfully transmuted that usually prose virtue into the inspiring element of an authentic wanderer's poetry" (102-03). That is, in taking his travels as the subject of some of his poems, Birney has produced a form of travel writing. Whether his travels have also been the inspiration for poems that refer to exploration, geography, or maps, can be debated, but these poems must be distinguished from his travel poetry, for Birney's interest in the act and the apparatus of travelling has also produced poems about explorers and poems in which ideas of travel are used to express philosophical concerns. Although both "Atlantic Door" and "Pacific Door" refer to explorers, it is to the latter category that they belong.

Because the two are companion poems, I shall take a little more space addressing them as a unit in order to arrive at my focus, which is "Pacific Door," both because it mentions the late-eighteenth-century explorers Cook and Vancouver and because, unlike "Atlantic Door," with its interest in the idea of the ocean as both depth and expanse, its interest concerns exploration. Speaking of the Atlantic and Pacific oceans of Birney's companion poems and of the references to Anian both in the epigraph to *The Strait of Anian* and in "Pacific Door," Haft argues that the "poems focus on the failure of the early explorers to navigate such treacherously icy waters. For Birney, the Strait of Anian became a metaphor for Canada's isolation from the rest of the world" (16). Given that,

ironically, much of the early exploration of the Canadian landmass and coastlines was connected to or spurred by the search for the mythical strait, however, the idea that the strait then might serve as “a metaphor for Canada’s isolation” stretches credibility. Moreover, while the poems depict the menace of the oceans and document death connected to those oceans, the poems are not cautionary.

They are hortatory, and what they exhort is caution’s opposite: daring. The problem with Haft’s interpretation is that the “focus” of “Atlantic Door” and “Pacific Door” is not the “failure” of purpose but the daring of attempt. Furthermore, attempt is not restricted to exploration but encompasses all oceanic travel destined to reach the Canadian landmass. Thus, the poems are not the sorry recitations of an isolated bard crying into the unhearing waves that separate his nation from the rest of the world. Rather, they are celebrations of the risk that exists in the venture of adventure, and they are a challenge issued to their reader. The challenge is issued in the names of the explorers, models of daring for the reader to imitate or emulate, for the oceans-as-doors do not only open for these explorers but also for the daring reader, to whom the second and final verse-sentences beckon: “Come” (9 and 4, 22 and 24).

Birney’s is not, however, a simple-minded celebration of endless imperial expansion, for his view of exploration is paradoxical, and it is in his concept of the Strait of Anian that the resolution to this paradoxical view is revealed. On the verso of the half-title page of *The Strait of Anain* is the first of the references to which Haft refers. Here Birney quotes a section from Thomas Blundeville’s *M. Blundeville His Exercises* (1594), “OF SIR FRANCIS DRAKE HIS FIRST VOYAGE INTO THE INDIES”:

Sir Francis himselfe (as I have heard) was of very good will to have sailed still more Northward hoping to find passage through the narrow sea of

Anian . . . and so from thence to have taken his course Northeast, and so to retourne . . . into England, but his Mariners finding the coast of Nova Albion to be very cold, had no good will to sayle any further Northward.
(qtd. in Birney)

The quotation not only speaks of the much-desired, long-sought-for oceanic route to the Northwest Passage but also of the contrast between the “*will*” of explorer and the weakness of “*his Mariners*,” who defeat his purpose. Thus, the explorer is not only an explorer but also a type, one who represents both conceptual *and* physical daring. In this type, Birney places his faith. Of the consequences of exploration, he is, however, sceptical.

His scepticism speaks in “Pacific Door,” first, in the image of the eighteenth-century “traders” (15) along the Pacific coast, who leave the “otter rocks” “bare” (16) and “the tribal feathers plucked” (17). The image parallels a piece of his travel poetry, “Small Port in the Outer Fijis,” and the parallel points to a shared politics. Larry McDonald convincingly argues that Birney’s travel poetry is part of his larger “anti-imperialist project” (46) because it “is centrally concerned with the historical evolution of imperialism in the many cultures that it explores, and equally alert to its contemporary manifestations” (33). While the anti-imperialism of Birney’s travel poetry is often of a more up-to-date anti-American or, as he says in his “Preface” to *Selected Poems*, “anti-Northamerican” (x) variety, “Pacific Door,” like some of Birney’s south Pacific travel poetry, addresses the history and legacy of British imperialism. In “Small Port” Birney attacks the waste of the Japanese fishing industry, with its “Chief Cannery” (9) replacing tribal leadership and its “Captain Hero,” of the tuna boat, who “will sing them his voyage” (19), burlesquing the epic adventurer. Birney’s message is that industrial capitalism is not only a form of resource exploitation but also a form of genocide, for

here is a port in the Fijis, in which “[t]here are no Fijians in view” (37). “Pacific Door” parallels “Small Port” with its two images of denudation (“bare” and “plucked”), which suggest that Birney equates the natural resource exploitation of the mercantilist enterprise of the late eighteenth century with that of twentieth-century capitalism; moreover, the image of the “traders” (15), who have “plucked” “tribal feathers” (17) speaks of the depopulation of areas as a result of European diseases, such as the “small pox” (Vancouver, Lamb ed. 528, 540) observed by Vancouver while he explored the west coast.

Although at first it may seem that Birney is making a distinction not between explorers and the results of exploration but between exploration and economics, the “problem” (19) of “Pacific Door” proves that such is not the case, for more profoundly, Birney’s scepticism speaks through this “problem,” which is presented rhetorically through forms of inscription:

Across the undulations of this slate
 long pain and sweating courage chalked
 such names as glimmer yet
 Drake’s crewmen scribbled here their paradise
 and dying Bering lost in fog
 turned north to mark us off from Asia still
 Here cool Cook traced in sudden blood his final bay
 [.]
 Here Spaniards and Vancouver’s boatmen scrawled
 the problem that is ours and yours. (8-14, 18-19)

Reflecting Birney’s interest in inscription and especially typography, the “problem” begins with the ocean that is “this slate” (9), upon which are “chalked / such names as glimmer yet” (9-10). The names are those of the explorers, whose actions have “scribbled” (11), “traced” (14), and been used to “mark” (13) a landmark or cartographic feature, real or imagined. Simultaneously mapping and claiming, the explorers have left

an imprint of their actions on the geography and printed texts of their explorations to posterity. Therefore, while the “chalked” names of the explorers do “glimmer” because of their “long pain and sweating courage” (9), their names are also associated, by inscription, with what the “Spaniards and Vancouver’s boatmen scrawled” (18): that is, “the problem that is ours and yours” (19). The philosophical concern of “Pacific Door” is, thus, the legacy of exploration.

The line “[h]ere Spaniards and Vancouver’s boatmen scrawled” (18) alludes to the joint effort of the Spanish and the British in exploring the coasts of Vancouver Island and its adjacent landmass. In its first season of surveying the north Pacific coast of North America, on June 22, 1792, in the Strait of Georgia between Vancouver Island and the mainland, Vancouver’s survey boat encounters “two vessels” (591) that belong to the Spanish. The vessels are, like Vancouver’s, engaged in charting the coast, and Vancouver comments, “I experienced no small degree of mortification in finding the external shores of the gulf had been visited, and already examined a few miles beyond where my researches during the excursion, had extended” (592). Nonetheless, from this encounter arises the joint effort, the result of which is that Vancouver’s then-master and soon lieutenant, James Johnstone, is the first European to determine the insular nature of Vancouver Island.

The Strait of Juan de Fuca plays, for two reasons, a significant role in the determination of Vancouver Island’s insular nature. The first and most obvious reason is that Vancouver’s ships had to travel through the strait in order to pass between Vancouver Island and the mainland and arrive in the Strait of Georgia. The second and most important is that the Strait of Juan de Fuca was one of the places believed to be the

Strait of Anian leading to the Northwest Passage. Quoting from Alexander Dalrymple's *Plan for Promoting the Fur Trade, and securing it to this Country, by uniting the*

Operations of the East India and Hudson's Bay Companys (1789), Vancouver remarks,

Mr. Dalrymple informs us, that 'it is alledged that the Spaniards have recently found an entrance in the latitude of 47° 45' north, which in 27 days course brought them to the vicinity of Hudson's bay; this latitude exactly corresponds to the ancient relation of John De Fuca, the Greek pilot, in 1592.' (qtd in 501)

More sceptically, however, later in the same chapter Vancouver remarks, "[s]ince the vision of the southern continent [. . .] has vanished; the pretended discoveries of De Fuca and De Fonte have been revived, in order to prove the existence of a north-west passage" (511-12). Vancouver's circumnavigation of Vancouver Island of that year proved the opposite, and, by the end of the survey season of the following year, he could remark, "should the information we had [by survey] obtained reach Europe, there would no longer remain a doubt as to the extent or the fallacy of the pretended discoveries said to have been made by De Fuca, and De Fonte" (1062-63).

Birney transfers Vancouver's discovery, the non-existence of the Strait of Anian at Juan de Fuca Strait, to the Canadian reader of European descent. "[T]he problem" (19) is

that there is no clear Strait of Anian
to lead us easy back to Europe,
that men are isled in ocean or in ice
and only joined by long endeavour to be joined. (20-3)

Juxtaposing "the problem" linked to the Strait of Anian with the first reference to the strait in *The Strait of Anian*, two sides of impossibility emerge. Just as the "sea of Anian" of the Blundeville quotation is pragmatically out of reach, the "Strait of Anian" (20) of

“Pacific Door” is theoretically out of reach. I. S. MacLaren interprets the “problem” in the context of responses to the north:

[i]n the North, every man is an island entire of itself. The chimera of the strait, its folkloric creation, and sustained cartographical theorization lend themselves to Birney’s portrayal of it as a problem and as a symbol of absence; thereby, the North implicitly frustrates the attainment of human desire. (“Tracing” 23)

The “problem” is, however, more than a simple comment on “the North.” The two-fold “problem” is a paradox, which is that imperial exploration has simultaneously united and divided the human species, and the “problem” is also an irony, which is that those of European descent, as the metonymic explorers, are in Canada *because of* the passage, yet there is no similarly-desired passage for return. Thus, the problem of European imperialism is the nation itself. Unsurprisingly, the solution that Birney suggests, the “long endeavour” (23), is figured, through an allusion to Cook’s first exploratory ship, the *Endeavour*, as a new mode of daring.

While in “Pacific Door” Vancouver scrawls “the problem” of exploration, several years later, his ghost speaks of the problems of industrial capitalism in a radio drama produced for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation. *Damnation of Vancouver*, the city *not* the man, “was broadcast in 1952 and published within the week” (Fink xxvi) in *Trial of a City and Other Verse*, under what its author refers to as its “emasculated title” (“Preface” 4) “Trial of a City,” subtitled “A Public Hearing into the Proposed Damnation of Vancouver.” Revised and expanded with dialogue and scene, character, and action descriptions, the text was ready by “1957” (5) for production as stage play, which was never professionally performed but was collected as “Damnation of Vancouver” in *Selected Poems* (1966) and published singly by New Canadian Library as *The Damnation*

of *Vancouver* (1977)—although the header for the script within the book reads *Damnation of Vancouver: A Comedy in Seven Episodes*. The printed broadcast script and the first printed edition differ in content only by a few lines and so too the two stage-play editions, while the radio drama and the stage play have some significant differences. Despite its differences from the original broadcast script, however, the New Canadian Library edition is the focus of my analysis because it presents Birney's last authorial version.

In his review of the play in its *Trial of a City and Other Verse* publication, Northrop Frye says, "for virtuosity of language there has never been anything like it in Canadian poetry" ("One World" 103). Given the time, I would add that there was nothing like it in Canadian drama either. Davey describes the same edition as "a verse play" that "is an exuberant exercise in verbal wit and various speech patterns and verse forms" that succeeds at "delineating unidimensional characters through dialogue" (51). The remarks, of course, hold for the New Canadian Library edition. Birney's styles are derivative in the brilliant and innovative manner of parody. Moreover, his politics has achieved a kind of currency that would make the play more acceptable in Canada today. Certainly, if nothing else, the original title could remain intact.

Inspired by a Courtenay "Public Hearing" that Birney attended concerning a "proposal to dam Butte Lake" (Birney 3), the play is a parody of the hearing attended and a mockery of a hearing concerning not damming but *damning*. The supposed function of the hearing is "to consider any objections to the proposal to eliminate" (24) the city of Vancouver with the parodic "Zee-" (28) rather than "A-" bomb of the "cold war" (Low 7) concerns of the period in which Birney was writing the play. Ironically, at the public

hearing, “there isn’t any public” (25); Vancouver is presumed damned and must be proved worthy of salvation to prevent annihilation. Vancouver’s situation and Birney’s subtitle, *A Comedy in Seven Episodes*, evoke the tragicomic doom of Marlowe’s *Faustus* and its parade of the seven deadly sins. Thus, here is comedy as moral allegory or, as Wai Lan Low says, “morality play” in which “hope for salvation or looming damnation” forms “a dialectic” (7). Comedy, however, should be taken in light of a mixture of Old and New Comedy because, while the dramatic action progresses dialectically, the action is embedded in a teleological plot.

Although the play is allegorical and Vancouver, *could*, therefore, represent “Canada” (Fink xxvii) or “Everycity” (Low 7), Birney cannot resist a little regional humour and so has the Minister of History, who presides over the hearing, declare that his powers are conferred upon him by “the Sovereign State of Columbia” (24), meaning the province of British Columbia. The Minister of History speaks in prose and is cast as God “empowered to raise the dead” (29). Litigating counsel for the Office of the Future, Gabriel Powers, whom Frye describes as speaking “in a *Finnegans Wake* doubletalk” (103), is cast as Milton’s Satan: “Queen’s counsel [. . .] of Queendom, Powers, Prince, and Policy” (26). Defence “Counsel for the Metropolis of Vancouver” (23), P. S. Legion speaks in “doggerel” (75), as Birney describes it, and his name hints at afterthought. Legion does not represent the people of Vancouver as a whole but business interests specifically and industrial capitalism more generally; as Birney notes, however, “he is knocked off his materialistic base at the start by the curious nature of the Hearing” (75). The hearing is “curious” because, at the court-of-the-damned, God and Satan are in cahoots. When Legion protests the damnation of Vancouver, the Minister of History says,

“[t]he Future has the right to damn” (28); however, he himself has given the Future that right. Birney’s point: if history writes the future, then Vancouver’s fate is predetermined. With the present, thus, the pivot upon which Vancouver’s salvation hinges, the Minister of History declares that no living witnesses may testify. His rationale is that “only the dead are neutral” (29).

The dead are not, however, neutral but predisposed to damn Vancouver—the modern, industrial, capitalist city—because it is not a place of the past, *their* past. Important from the perspective of exploration, the first witness called to “materialize” (31) for the stand is “Captain George Vancouver,” whom the Minister of History denominates the city’s “namesake” (30). Vancouver, who speaks in heroic couplets, is not, despite history’s wish, the city’s champion that the approaching Legion, offering his “congratulations” (32), would have:

VANCOUVER Congratulations?
LEGION Why certainly, sir, you started it all. You discovered Burrard Inlet, Bowen Island, Mt. Baker – the works. Now there’s millions of us Vancouverites – *your* descendants –
VANCOUVER Oh, I say, not really all my descendants. (32)

Here Legion casts the act of exploration in the luminous light of discovery. Although Legion’s comments might refer to historical narrative rather to Vancouver’s *A Voyage*, upon which that narrative would be based, his comments allude, nonetheless, to Vancouver’s 1792 survey of Burrard Inlet (as excerpted in Daymond and Monkman)—and the site of the city on trial. In Legion’s luminous light, Vancouver’s charting changes into the city’s founding and the populace’s fathering: that is, to historical hyperbole. Vancouver’s demure “not really” points to the distinction between past action and historical narration. Although Legion, the counsel for the defence, is willing to

acknowledge some hyperbole, he is unwilling to acknowledge the distinction. If Vancouver will not be the city's founding father, perhaps he will be a "Vancouverite" (32), the "first citizen," or the "first white citizen" (33). The interview proceeds as such, with Legion trying to position Vancouver as the one who "started it all" and Vancouver denying the role, acknowledging only, "I happened to explore this inlet, true; / I think that it was seventeen ninety-two?" (33), until, finally, he professes the damning ecological viewpoint when he admits that he prefers the past's "sweep of fir and cedar" (35) to the city of Vancouver.

In 1792, the area that would become the city of Vancouver is not merely the site of Vancouver's survey. It is the home of the Coast Salish, and the next witness to "materialize" (37) for the stand is Salishian chief "*Skuh-wath-kwuh-tlath-kyootl*" (23), whom, the play says, Vancouver met in his "[s]eventeen-ninety-two" survey of "Burrard Inlet" (36). Although by rights, *Skuh-wath-kwuh-tlath-kyootl* should be the first witness, Birney turns his mis-ordering of witnesses into a point about history when, with dramatic irony, the Minister of History explains the mis-ordering with the convenient "we forgot" (36). Although Vancouver's *A Voyage* mentions an encounter with the Coast Salish, "our new friends" (Lamb ed. 581), near Burrard Inlet, no names or indications of a "chief" appear. The absence is hardly surprising given that most interactions were limited because of the time pressures of the survey and the linguistic diversity of the coastal Peoples. Only the Nootka, with whom Europeans and Americans had trade relations, and particularly one of the Nootka leaders, Maquinna, are addressed in any detail. Here Birney's is not a return to Vancouver's exploration writing but more generally to Vancouver's exploration.

Speaking in lines of Wordsworthian grandeur and reminiscence, *Skuh-wath-kwuh-tlath-kyootl* details elements of the material and spiritual culture of his people and speaks of the devastating impact of Europeans, their diseases, laws, religion. Somewhat different from Smith's characterisation of Saukamappee based on Thompson's translated quotation of the man, Birney's *Skuh-wath-kwuh-tlath-kyootl* deserves some attention in context of the matter of appropriation of voice—particularly given the elegiac tone with which Birney has his character speak. If the elegiac tone seems to evoke Brian W. Dippie's "Vanishing" (xi) Aboriginal, *Skuh-wath-kwuh-tlath-kyootl*'s remark that "[o]thers say: 'The sun slides into the saltchuck / We must follow the Redman into the trail of darkness'" (38), suggests either that Birney is aware of the desire to present images of vanishing Aboriginal Peoples or that he subscribes to these images. I should argue in favour of the latter for three reasons. First, in speaking of his *dramatis personae*, Birney describes *Skuh-wath-kwuh-tlath-kyootl*'s characterisation so that it "should save him from being merely The Noble Redskin" (77): that is, the stereotypical noble savage. Second, while Birney has his Salishan character from the past speak with an elegiac tone, he does not deny his character's people a future. Thirdly, Birney demonstrates a remarkable awareness about that "future": that is, about the issues current during his time concerning the relationship between Aboriginal Peoples and the Canadian state.

For instance, when Vancouver remarks upon the almost-absence of Aboriginal persons from the place that he once knew populated, Legion attempts to assure him that what he perceives as an absence is a presence—a worsening, an improvement:

LEGION Lord no, we've hundreds yet. They're gutting
 Fish for our tremendous canning trade—
 Or living off the State. They're Christians, too,
 They even vote. Don't fret, they've made the grade.

Not only is there the irony that employment in the canning trade represents a change for the better for Peoples whose cultures were sea-based, but there is also the irony that the “vote,” of which Legion is so proud, does not extend, at the time of Birney’s writing, to non-war veteran, reserve-based, status Aboriginal persons, who were not given elective franchise until 1960. The voice of assimilation, Legion speaks many of the negative stereotypes applied to Aboriginal persons, but more than merely a mouth-piece for stereotypes, Legion represents the progressivist view of human culture that sees industrial capitalism as the acme of development and justifies its mistreatment of others in the name of progress, as the counsel for the Office of the Future, Gabriel Powers (perhaps this time the devil’s advocate) reveals in his objection to Legion’s assurance: “Objaculation, Mr. Minister! My wordy friend seeks to mislead the Captain into thinking-thinking bleak is white, and grade disgrade, and every needive snug in his Prochristean bed” (34). That is, enforced capitalism or conversion is a denial of cultural difference. Power’s objection encapsulates *Skuh-wath-kwuh-tlath-kyootl*’s message, which is that the premise of Legion’s view of culture is incorrect.

It seems that no matter the witness called to the stand, all are inclined to damn Vancouver. There is, with a touch of humour at the expense of academics, the very much alive geologist Dr. E. O. Seen, who tells the geological history of Vancouver in alliterative half lines modelled on Anglo-Saxon metrics and predicts a geological future apocalypse. There is “Gassy Jack,” Jack C. Deighton, whom the Minister of History designates “old Gastown’s first barkeep” (51), but Legion prefers to call “Vancouver’s original guest-lodge proprietor” (51), the man after whom the original part of Vancouver, Gastown, is named. Jack is a garrulous and unfocused witness, who, despite his

commercial pursuits, is not the least invested in Legion's view of progress and, thus, might just as well damn Vancouver. Finally, there is "Long Will of Langland" (Birney 58), who speaks in modern alliterative meter modelled after the medieval style of William Langland's *Piers Plowman*: Long Will condemns Vancouver as Langland "condemns the world in his" (Fink xxvi) poem.

While Long Will is the last of the damning witnesses called to the stand to defend Vancouver, his is not the last stand. Disrupting the perfect contrivance of the mockery trial is Mrs. Anyone, "a Public Hearer" who bursts into the phoney public hearing via the theatre "*aisle*" (66) and, thus, disrupts not only the trial but also the distinction between jury-audience and trial-participants. Unlike the seemingly tangible Legion, who professes to represent the masses, but is "dematerialize[d]" (69) and, thus, shown to be merely the hot air of those with economic power and interests who pretend to represent the people, Mrs. Anyone is the *real* legion—not the "Pseudo-Legion" (69) that Legion really is. Mrs. Anyone is not just *any* one: she is *every* one. Moreover, she is not only very much alive but she also is Vancouver's life-force itself.

The teleology of the play is a celebration of Life. Set in a seemingly certain future of damnation, the play is about the possibility of salvation. Although the terms are moral, damnation represents extinction, salvation continuation. Presenting the audience with a pairing of appropriately matched individuals, the final lines of the final scene are reminiscent of Shakespeare's romantic comedies, except that here the pairing turns into a contest between the forces of life and death, between Mrs. Anyone and devil-turned grim reaper Gabriel Powers. In a parody of Shakespeare's Sonnet 20, Mrs. Anyone triumphs, "I am mistress over you, my master Power" (73).

In having only the dead speak as witnesses at the trial for the living, Birney not only shows that it is only the living that really can speak for themselves but also points out the uses to which the dead have be put in the service of the living. Essential to Birney's point about history writing the future is the relationship between Vancouver and *Skuh-wath-kwuh-tlath-kyootl*. It is not only the relationship of contact established as a result of imperialism but also of a shared preference for a geographical space as it was at a shared time. After Vancouver admits to preferring the pre-colonised landscape to the cityscape, Powers dismisses him from the stand with an allusion appropriately blending Melville's *Moby Dick* with Shakespeare: "[h]e chased, he beached the white whale, yet never stayed to watch him puff with death-in-life nor ever cares the time has come to bury Moby, not appraise him" (35). Operating with inverse logic, Powers offers the view that decides that if Vancouver will not take praise for imperialism, he must take the blame. The juxtaposition of the opposite perspectives points again to the weakness of history's metanarratives. Echoing Mark Antony's Act 3 Scene 2 eulogy for Caesar, Powers's point is that the white whale, the non-aboriginal citizens of Vancouver represented as the European settlers "beached" metaphorically by imperialism symbolised by the Captain, is doomed to damnation if imperialism is viewed unambiguously as either good or evil.

Arguing for Canadian theatre grounded in national tradition and history, James Reaney refers to "the sort of mythologizing Earle Birney accomplishes in *The Damnation of Vancouver*" (224), but what Birney does is more a sort of anti-myth-mytholgising. Aware of the uses to which exploration writing and explorers are put in historical writing, Birney has his play consider the damnation of the city and not, as a play might, in more

recent years, the Captain. Although Vancouver the person is symbolic of European imperialism, his position on the city of Vancouver suggests that the city of the present is not necessarily the only logical conclusion to the past; the future is not, therefore, predetermined. Because Birney's play neither damns nor praises the Captain and damns the city but saves it, its message is that we should cease to underwrite the history that writes the past in order to present the present as the epitome of progress.

From the figure of George Vancouver, Birney turns to the exploits of James Cook. First printed in *The Tamarack Review*, No. 18 (Winter 1961) (Noel-Bentley 36), "Captain Cook" is collected in *Ice Cod Bell or Stone: A Collection of New Poems* (1962), revised and collected in *Selected Poems 1940-1966* (1966), reprinted in *Bear on the Delhi Road: Selected Poems* (1973), and revised again and collected in *The Collected Poems of Earle Birney*, Volume 1 (1975). For my analysis, I address "Captain Cook" from *The Collected Poems* not only because it is Birney's final revision but also because it retains the additions of the *Selected Poems* version, changes "Yorkshire moors" more appropriately to "Yorkshire port" (1) to designate the habitation of Cook's youth, and adds one further and necessary line addressing Cook's first exploratory voyage, while it returns one word-change made in the *Selected Poems* version back to the original, "lance-straight" (13) to "pike-straight" (14). Moreover, *The Collected Poems* version preserves the intra-linear type-setting of the version in the *Selected Poems*, in the "Preface" to which Birney explains his rationale for the change: "I've come to surround my pauses with space rather than with typographical spatter" (ix). Unencumbered by conservative printing conventions, the final version is, thus, allied with Birney's later experiments in concrete poetry.

Although typically appearing amongst Birney's travel poetry concerning the Hawaiian Islands, "Captain Cook" cannot be classified as travel poetry because it does not take travel as its subject, but, rather, like Birney's "Vitus Bering" and "Giovanni Caboto / John Cabot," it takes its explorer as its subject. It is not surprising that Birney takes as subjects for poems explorers given his faith in them as a type, but to fully appreciate the significance of these poems, it is important to recognize that at least part of Birney's faith derives from empathy. Not the empathy that Newlove feels for the explorer-as-writer, Birney's is empathy for the explorer-as-traveller. Evoking Birney's interest in Anglo-Saxon poetry, in 1981, Woodcock speaks of the poetic "persona of Birney the Wanderer" (87); distinctions between "persona" and person, however, may be blurred, for fifteen years earlier, Birney himself writes of his feelings of "kinship with the other wayfarers" ("Preface" xii) of the world.

Like Newlove, Birney not only expresses empathy but also sympathy for the explorers, and like Newlove his sympathy appears in his depiction of the explorers as solitary heroes subject to the dictates of superiors. For Birney, however, the explorer is not likened to a twentieth-century working man but is depicted subject to his monarch. In "Vitus Bering," it is the "czar" (20) and in "Giovanni Caboto / John Cabot" it is "henry 7 / his majesty" (7). Although in both of these poems, the monarch is a controlling figure central to Birney's depiction of the explorer, in "Captain Cook" the monarch is secondary, his controlling presence only hinted at in the "six silver tuppennies George III 1772" (28) that Birney's Cook leaves "in a bottle" (27) as a land claim when he reaches the furthest point north of his third exploratory voyage. It is "Birney's Cook" because Cook himself does not leave the bottle along Cook's River at "*Point Possession*" but

sends “Mr. King,” his second lieutenant, “to take possession of the country and river, in his Majesty’s name; and to bury in the ground a bottle, containing some pieces of English coin, of the year 1772, and a paper, on which was inscribed the names of our ships, and the date of our discovery” (397). MacLaren argues that, in the land claim, “Birney’s Cook plays his imperial role in a way that renders human effort in the North pathetic” (23). I disagree, for although the “bottle” seems “pathetic,” the man who leaves it, “[o]n the northernmost rock / by the keening gulls and furious emptiness” (25-6), by virtue of confronting the extremity of north and claiming the angry unclaimable, does not. As with Birney’s depiction of the explorers in “Pacific Door,” his sympathy is, in this instance, subordinated to his celebration of the explorer’s rugged individualism.

Although rugged individualism predominates in both “Pacific Door” and “Captain Cook,” the difference in the section locations of the poems in *The Collected Poems* elucidates the difference in the function of the images of Cook’s death used in each poem. In *The Collected Poems* “Pacific Door” is, once again, situated in a Canadian context in “1941-1958: Canada,” signalling its nationalist function, but “Captain Cook” is in the section entitled “1934-1958: North Pacific,” which suggests that the poem is interested in Cook’s exploration of that geographical region. Elspeth Cameron notes that “Captain Cook” was “from a group [of poems that Birney] envisaged on west-coast exploration” (408), but the poem itself focuses more specifically on the northern part of the west coast. While the “North Pacific” of the section seems misleading because the poem does cover Cook’s South as well as North Pacific explorations, with just four of the thirty-eight lines of the poem dedicated to Cook’s first voyage (while he was still “Lieutenant” Cook), but one to his second, and twenty-eight to his third, the emphasis *is* on the North Pacific—

from Cook's exploration along the North American coastline (from San Francisco to Alaska) to his death on Hawaii in a dispute with the Islanders.

Cook's death is central to the poem's meaning, for more elaborate than the vignettes of Bering and Caboto, "Captain Cook" is, as the title itself suggests, a biography. Therefore, while "Pacific Door" presents its single-line image of Cook's inscribing death—" [h]ere cool Cook traced in sudden blood his final bay" (14)—to include him amongst the names of the other inscribing explorers, "Captain Cook" uses its full-stanza image of Cook's death in order to make sense of his life:

Luffed endured for that moment when
stumbling shipward through the Hawaiian surf
seeing already the sails run out belly
and the blue highway stretching sure to Yorkshire
he felt the spear leap through his back
and sank to explore his last reef. (34-9)

The life made sense of is, however, limited. The title is not "James Cook" but "*Captain Cook*" (emphasis mine): the final rank associated with the occupation defines the man. Moreover, with thirty-two of the thirty-eight lines of the poem dedicated to but eleven of his nearly-fifty-one years, Captain Cook is defined by his three exploratory voyages:

First voyage mouths burning
from the weevils in the biscuits
charted New Zealand
explored/escaped the Barrier Reef

Second Antartica the bonewhite icefalls

Third north from the Golden Gate. (7-12)

What defines these voyages are European firsts or "discoveries." In the stanza devoted to "[f]irst voyage" (7), Cook "charted New Zealand" (9). For Cook's "[s]econd" (11), the single line tribute to Cook's discovery of "Antarctica" (11) summarises its significance.

Finally, to the opposite geographical extreme, “[t]hird” is “north” (12), the North Pacific, where Cook reaches “northernest” (25) along “*Cook’s River*” (Cook, *A Voyage to the Pacific* *note, 396), which he presumes is the Strait of Anian.

Although Birney describes Cook’s north Pacific voyage as “north from the Golden Gate,” bridge of the modern San Francisco, the Canadian coastline is not identified by any modern landmark or location but remains the place “where nothing was certain on the maps / except that pike-straight giants’ channel” (12-14), the mythical Strait of Anian to the Northwest Passage that would lead “from Brobdingnag to Hudson’s Bay” (16). MacLaren argues that “[w]ith help from Swift, Birney casts a weird spell on Cook’s refusal to give up the dream” (23) of the Strait of Anian, but the interlacing of the real and the imagined is more than a spell, for Birney’s “Brobdingnag” signifies both Swift’s map of Brobdingnag and the parallel between the voyages of the imagined Gulliver and the real Cook. Percy G. Adams notes that “Gulliver was a voyager to all the oceans of the world, although his four discoveries of strange lands—two in the South Pacific near Australia and two in the North Pacific between Japan and North America—were in waters uncharted at the time” (142). These “waters uncharted” in Swift’s time were charted by Cook, and Gulliver’s map of Brobdingnag imagines the vast, uncharted North Pacific that is the focus of Birney’s poem (see Figure below). Although in “*Explorers by Sea*” Victor G. Hopwood says that Swift places “Brobdingnag in the neighbourhood of Vancouver Island” (42), the proportions of the map and the location of the Strait of Anian (of de Fuca’s speculations) suggest that Brobdingnag is much farther north—near the as yet unknown-to-Europeans Alaska, near Cook’s “River,” now Cook’s Inlet.

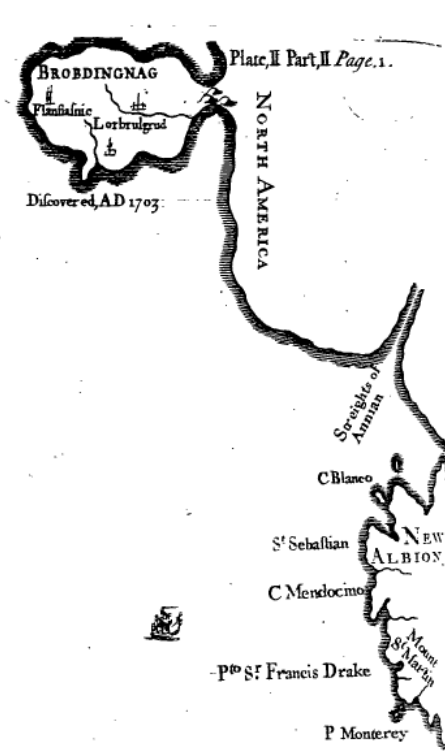


Figure 2. Untitled Map. (Swift Plate II, Part II, Page 1)

The limited biographical interest and the focus on the North Pacific are part of the poem's plan, which is to reflect fate's plan. Glamourising Cook's youthful career change, from an apprentice to a "grocer and haberdasher" (Beaglehole, *The Life* 5) to a "formal apprenticeship" (5) on a "coal-shipper" (6), Birney embellishes what J. C. Beaglehole describes as "the famous story," "blown up to dramatic proportions by more than one romancer" (5), of Cook's "exchange of a shilling of his own for a bright new shilling in the till, one of those issued by the South Sea Company, which excited his curiosity, and

[his master's] displeasure at fancied dishonesty" (5). Birney turns the incident into an encounter with a "sailor swaggering" (1), who symbolizes adventure and who has a "pouch carved from some unimaginable beast" (2), which evokes the allure of the unknown. It is the "South Sea shilling" that the sailor gives him that not only prompts the young Cook, "[t]he draper's boy" (5), to "borrow [. . .] a book on navigation" but that also seals his fate, for the shilling is "like a javelin" (3) and like the very "spear" that he eventually feels "leap through his back" (38) on Hawaii. The only indication of indigenous inhabitants, the "spear" completes fate's plan.

To deepen the foreshadowing and support the idea that within Cook's greatness as an explorer lay the seeds of his demise, to the "[f]irst voyage" (7) stanza of *The Collected Poems* version Birney adds that, on his first voyage, Cook "explored/escaped the Barrier Reef" (10). In Book III of Volume III of Hawkesworth, in Chapter V, "*Dangerous Situation of the Ship in her Course from Trinity Bay to Endeavour River*" (544), while charting the eastern coast of Australia, Cook's ship runs "upon a rock of coral" (545). This "rock of coral" is the Great Barrier Reef, which had been "unknown" (607) to Europeans. From Chapter V until the end of Chapter VII, except for the brief period when they "quit the coast" (600) to avoid the reef, the ship must navigate what, on the inserted "A *Chart of NEW SOUTH WALES, or the East Coast of New Holland*" showing Cook's 1770 charting of the eastern coast of Australia, is labelled "THE LABYRINTH." The Labyrinth is an excellent way to conceive of the reef from the ship's perspective because it is a dangerous, potentially fatal maze. The chapter detailing the ship's rescue from the reef by the superhuman efforts of its endangered crew is of such dramatic intensity that I am inclined to wonder about the venture of adventure and

the workings of fate given that Cook survives near-wreck on his first exploratory voyage only to be killed on the homeward voyage of his third.

The North Pacific coast is also important to the poem's plan because it is "a coast coldly smouldering" (4), a coast threatening with its "tramping of trees / a pikestaffed army pacing them all summer" (21-22) suggesting the branch-bearing soldiers marching from Birnam Wood to Dunsinane and Macbeth's destruction—except that here it is the trees turned-soldiers menacing Cook's ship and its crew. The echoing of "pike-straight" in "pikestaffed" suggests that the allure of the mythical Anian, like "the waves of desire that well forever" (24) of "Pacific Door," is its danger, for it is the accumulation of threatening imagines, the "javelin" coin that lures Cook, the allure of the "pike-straight" Anian, and the danger of the "pikestaffed" North Pacific coastline, that have as their conclusion the "spear" of death rather than Cook's return voyage home. The poignancy of Cook's death is sharpened because the explorer's desire to complete the return voyage, the circumnavigation, is evoked in the recursive structure of the poem, which begins with the "sailor swaggering home to the Yorkshire port" (1) establishing a parallel between "Yorkshire" and "home" and continues through the mythical channel that will take Cook east and "home" (16), until Cook's final sight of the "blue highway stretching sure to Yorkshire" (37) just before his death. Thus, when, in the final line of the poem, ship-like Cook sinks "to explore his last reef" (39), the explorer who had "endured for that moment" (34) is the explorer who dies enduring. As with Newlove's Hearne, the heroism of Birney's Cook is endurance. Here, however, is endurance at its extreme: here is the voyage of no return.

First printed in *Cry Ararat! Poems New and Selected* (1967) (Orange 209), P. K. Page's "Cook's Mountains" is the most celebratory of the texts here addressed, for it is a meditation with an immortalizing conceit that casts the empiricist-observer Cook as a visionary. Unlike Birney, who immortalises the physical expressions of heroic endurance and daring, Page immortalises the intellectual expression of naming. Speaking of Page's preoccupation with the connection between vision and the visionary is the poem's interest in glass, and it is the relationship of naming to glass that draws Page to Cook, for by naming the volcanic mountains of southern Queensland, Australia "the Glass House Mountains" ("Cook's Mountains" 8, 16), Cook transforms "glass," a concrete noun, into "Glass," a proper noun. Moreover, by naming, Cook transforms the mountains.

Although Cook charted the east coast of Canada and explored its west, Page is interested in Cook as a man of the South Pacific or, more precisely, as *the* British explorer who first charted the eastern shore of Australia, bestowing names upon its geographical features as he went. The reason that Cook remains, for Page unlike for Birney, a man of the South Pacific is that the poem is explicitly entwined with Page's own travels in Australia. Although Birney too writes travel poetry about Australia, it is Page who collapses the distinctions between her own travels and Cook's—for the purpose of her poem's conceit. The first stanza describing Cook's first sighting of the mountains is juxtaposed with the second describing Page's own first sighting and then, in the same way that Cook himself unites mountains with name—"[t]wo strangenesses united into one" (19)—the third stanza dissolves any distinction between Cook's and Page's sightings so that it is impossible for her to remember how the mountains "looked" (22) before they were named to her, before "[t]he driver said, / 'Those are the Glass House

Mountains” (15-16). Thus, Page not only follows physically in Cook’s wake but is also forever changed by the mental journey on which his naming takes her.

As the poem’s “driver said” (15) suggests, Page is not inspired by Cook’s writing but by the legacy of that writing as it manifests itself in naming, more precisely, in names that can be *seen*. For Page, it is not that Cook has written the name of the mountains in the journal of his travels but, rather, that he inscribed the name on the very mountains themselves. Nonetheless, Page knows that Cook is “upon a deck” (32), rather than in a boat or on land, when he sees the mountains because Cook tells his readers so. By an impossible-to-chart history of transmission, Page evokes John Hawkesworth’s volume of Cook’s first voyage, Chapter IV, “*The Range from Botany Bay to Trinity Bay; with a farther Account of the Country, its Inhabitants, and Productions*” (507). Of nautical emphasis—observations, distances from shore, and soundings—the chapter is replete with naming (indicated by convention in all caps) of bays, points, capes, and hills or mountains along the east coast of Australia. In Chapter IV Cook speaks of the “glasses” (511), spyglasses, he uses to view the shore and its inhabitants from aboard ship just a few pages before he mentions seeing “three hills” (514). On Thursday, May 17, 1770 Cook describes them as follows: “[t]hese hills lie but a little way inland, and not far from each other: they are remarkable for the singular form of their elevation, which very much resembles a glass-house, and for which reason I called them the: GLASS HOUSES” (514-15). Also, on the inserted “*A Chart of NEW SOUTH WALES, or the East Coast of New Holland,*” is “GLASS HOUSE BAY.” Just south of the bay, three conical shapes appear—the Glasshouse Mountains or “*the Glass Houses,*” according to the chart.

Page understands “glasshouse” to mean “greenhouse,” hence her images of the “hive-shaped hothouses” (25) and the “diamond panes behind the tree ferns / of the dark imagination” (28-9), although the term was not current during Cook’s time and what Cook intends by “glasshouse” is to designate a place of glass manufacture. Used since the fourteenth century to refer to “[t]he building or works where glass is made” (Def. 1. *OED*), the word is not cited until “1838” as referring to “[a] building with walls and roof made chiefly of glass, *esp.* a greenhouse or conservatory” (Def. 2. a. *OED*). While the definition is not proof in itself, the citations offered in its support from Andrew Ure’s 1839 *A Dictionary of Arts, Manufactures and Mines* as “[t]he glass-houses are usually built in the form of a cone. . . . The furnace is constructed in the centre of the area” (577 qtd. in *OED*) compares nicely with the drawings on Cook’s chart and the descriptions, “conical” (12), “mounds” (24), and “hive-shaped” (26), of the Glass House Mountains in Page’s meditation. Unaware of what Cook means by the name, Page nonetheless captures some sense of the original simply by describing the mountains as they appear to her.

Serendipitously, Page’s poetic greenhouses also produce what Cook’s glass manufactories once did. Here, however, the glass is refined for ocular functions: optic, reflective surface, prism, and transparent barrier. Here is Cook’s spyglass, “his glass” (8), the refracting telescope that enables Cook to see the mountains from his ship offshore. Here are the verbs suggesting glass, “shone” (9) and “shine” (10), and the “diamond panes” (28), which simultaneously evoke images of leadlight windows of diamond shape and the intensely refractive interior and reflective surfaces of cut diamonds. The reflective surface is not only glass but also glass with a metallic backing,

as in the “mountains of mirror” (26), and these “mountains of mirror” are also the prism-like mountains that “broke / the light into fragments” (22-3) as Page sees them through the optic-name that Cook has bestowed upon them.

God-like, Cook is represented as the name-giver as creator: “[b]y naming them he made them” (1). Despite the Biblical allusion, Brian Bartlett argues that, although the “poem is hardly a poem of condemnation or protest” of or against imperial naming-as-claiming, “with illuminating delicacy it encompasses both our marvelling over a union of place and name, and our questioning about what’s lost in the process of naming” (90) because Page draws attention to the mountains’ presence “before [Cook] came” (3) and to the matter of ownership, “Cook’s” (title) and “Queensland” (emphasis mine 31). The weakness of Bartlett’s argument is that it overlooks Page’s rhetoric, for not only is Cook the god-creator but he is also the artisan-creator who fashions from god-made materials: “[t]hey were there / before he came / but they were not the same” (2-4). The coordinating conjunction “but” makes all of the rhetorical difference because it places the emphasis of the poetic sentence on the second clause. Page is interested in the transformative powers of Cook’s naming. Moreover, the poem’s concern is with the mountains and not the people “there / before” Cook. Serving as an absent foil for Cook and his creative process, the Aboriginal Peoples of Australia are not only not mentioned but also not credited with naming. As the title indicates, the poem is as much about possession as it is about the man; the first line might well read “by naming them he made them Cook’s,” for the poem is not a poem of loss but gain.

Two parallel gains, Cook’s mountains and the poet’s enlightenment, transform Cook’s vision into Cook the visionary. Naming is the source of the transformation,

which operates by the logic that to see is to make and to make is to make known. Cook's naming brings about the poet's enlightenment, which is captured in her inability to remember "how [the mountains] looked" (22) before she knew their name, and Cook's naming brings enlightenment because Cook is simultaneously three figures: the empiricist-observer, who sighted or "saw" (7) in his telescopic "glass" (8); the god-creator, who is the glass maker who produces the "Glass" of the "Glass House Mountains" (8); and the artisan-creator, who is the glazier who makes objects appear glassy or puts glass into place, "his gaze / [. . .] glazed" (5-6). The glazier, the artisan-creator, is the intermediary between seer and seen, creator and creation. As the glazier, Cook's gaze not only acts but is also acted upon. In saying that the mountains "shone" (9), Page shows both the affect that the mountains have on Cook's *receiving* gaze as well as the result that his *perceiving* gaze has upon the mountains. Similarly, the mountains "shine still" (10) is both a statement of the light inherent in the mountain and of the light of Cook that they reflect. Moreover, Cook is neither merely the glazier who puts the glass in place nor the glazier who makes surfaces appear glassy; he is the glazier who tints the glass with the colours that result in the poet's moment of enlightenment, as the mountains "broke / the light to fragments" (22-23) or, like a prism (perhaps the diamond of the imagination), into the colours of the visible spectrum, before the her eyes.

The final stanza is the enlightenment of Page's meditation, and it brings together the mountains, the poet, and Cook. The enlightenment is presented in a *mise en abyme* image of the "mountains of mirror" (26) reflecting "the lovely light of Queensland [. . .] / reflecting Cook upon a deck" (32). In the centre of this reflected image, Cook flashes forth the light of *mimesis* from his "naming" mirror-like "tongue / silvered with paradox

and metaphor” (33-34). The central image of Cook both produces and reflects the mountains’ reflected and refracted light and, thereby, creates an infinitude of reflections, of the mountains, of himself in those mountains, and of colourful “light fragments” (23) that illuminate “the dark imagination” (29) of the poet. Thus, Page’s poetic travel reflections become a mirror reflecting Cook’s immortality.

Although George Bowering’s pastiche long poem is philosophical rather than mystical, his relationship with its eponymous explorer is as intimate as Page’s is with Cook. Dedicated to Warren Tallman, who inspired the *TISH* movement, *George, Vancouver: A Discovery Poem* (1970) was first printed in limited-edition chapbook form, reprinted in full but with the page-layout altered to save space in *The Catch* (1976), and, with dedication and subtitle retained, excerpted for *Selected Poems: Particular Accidents* (1980). My analysis concerns the chapbook edition because it presents Bowering’s complete vision of the poem in both content and page-layout and has on its cover, as “recommended” (Miki 25) by Bowering himself, Vancouver’s relief-map showing Cook’s Inlet and adjacent landmass. The map is taken from the atlas of charts and views accompanying Vancouver’s *A Voyage* and is entitled “A CHART SHEWING PART OF THE COAST OF NORTH AMERICA, WITH THE TRACKS OF HIS MAJESTY’S SLOOP DISCOVERY AND ARMED TENDER CHATHAM” with inset “A SURVEY of PORT CHATHAM” (unnumbered). The solid line “denotes the Ship’s track North” and the dashed line “denotes her return” (chart). For the cover, the latitudinal and longitudinal indicators have been removed and the chart truncated west and south both to avoid reproducing the inset chart and to emphasise the inlet.

While the poem's title and its allusion to "*Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific & round the World*" (29) point to Vancouver's text, Bowering is as much interested in *the* voyage as *A Voyage*. If Vancouver's text is the poem's current, its undercurrent is that text written by Vancouver's ship's surgeon and natural historian, Archibald Menzies. Explaining the source of his inspiration for the poem in an interview with Reginald Berry, Bowering says, "[o]ne day in the library, for some reason or other [. . .] I found the diaries of Menzies, the botanist on the last voyage of Captain George Vancouver. They had been reprinted by the British Columbia government in the early 1930s" (78). Like Thompson's text, Menzies's is another instance of Canada appropriating British exploration writing. As a publication, however, Menzies's text seems, because of its archival origins, less likely to be viewed as potentially literary.

Bowering uses the language of discovery, "found," to explain his source of inspiration, which is also the source of quotations in the poem, but I believe that he was guided by a set of coordinates printed in his professor Klinck's *Literary History of Canada*, wherein Victor G. Hopwood explains that "Menzies' own journal has been published in part by the British Columbia Archives (1923)" (49). The text to which Bowering refers is *Menzies' Journal of Vancouver's Voyage, April to October, 1792* (1923), edited by C. F. Newcombe, who participated in the salvage ethnography of the west coast and was a "founding member of the Victoria Natural History Society" ("Newcombe, Charles Frederick"). The title of Newcombe's edition is essential for understanding the nature of Bowering's poem (and useful also for understanding his later novel *Burning Water*) because the Archives' printed text is not Menzies's full manuscript. It is only that part of the Vancouver voyage that pertains to the first season

spent along the northwest coast, from the ships' arrival in Juan de Fuca Strait before their progress northward along the continental shore until their return south and final departure from Nootka Sound: that is, the circumnavigation of Vancouver Island that proved its insular nature.

As hinted at in its dedication to Tallman, with whom he and "some students who would later be part of the *Tish* crowd" Bowering met to "study" (Miki xvi) the imagists and Black Mountain poets, the poem is indebted to "'Charles Olson'" (Bowering qtd. in Miki 25). Some of the debt can be seen in the poem's form, its loose and variable metrics and stanza arrangements, its moments of prose poetry, and, like Marion R. Smith's text as well, its verbatim quotations and quotations with deletions and syntactical rearrangement, most of which are rendered into poetry. Its debt is also in its mixing of historical account and document. Moreover, J. M. Zezulka notes that the "navigational chart of Cook's Inlet [. . .] is an obvious imitation of the cover of the 1960 Jargon/Corinth edition of *The Maximus Poems*" (131). Given the oceanic location of Olson's Gloucester, Massachusetts, the "imitation" is unsurprising, but whereas the map on the cover of *The Maximus Poems* is a survey map of Gloucester, the locality of interest, Cook's Inlet, although it appears frequently in Bowering's poem, is not. It is the poem's title and not its map that points to where Bowering's interest lies, "*Vancouver.*"

Although it may seem odd to decorate a long poem dealing with a part of Canada (Vancouver Island and mainland city) with a map of part of one state of the United States of America (Alaska), the map represents an important moment both in Vancouver's voyage and in the history of exploration: the moment when Vancouver and his crew, in their ship *Discovery*, ascertain that Cook's River, as named for the captain, could in no

way be the Strait of Anian. Bowering is interested in the moment as an anti-climax in a long history of exploration impelled by the search for the Northwest Passage accessed by its mythical strait. Although Vancouver has hardly the cultural cachet of Cook, his careful charting of much of the North Pacific territory traversed by Cook on his third and final voyage proves the great Cook to have been what we are: fallible. In the third survey season along the North Pacific coast of North America, on Saturday April 12, 1794, Vancouver and his crew “entered Cook’s river” (1215). On May 6th Vancouver writes, “this can no longer be considered as a *river*; I shall therefore distinguish it henceforth as an *inlet*,” and, a paragraph later, he writes of reaching “the final termination of” the all caps “COOK’S INLET” (1243). Thus, the “discovery” of Bowering’s “*Discovery Poem*” is an irony: an absence, a “termination,” a non-discovery.

The discovery of the “*Discovery Poem*” is also Bowering’s discovery of the relationships amongst himself, the geography that he inhabits, the original inhabitants of that geography, the cartographic and natural history endeavours that took place in that geography in the past, and the people who carried out those endeavours. Of Olson’s influences—the interest in localism, the allusions to exploration, the poetic style—not the least is the “I,” of “I, Maximus of Gloucester.” *George, Vancouver* might well be entitled “*I, George*.” Bowering says,

“George comma Vancouver. It bothered me when people would just write George Vancouver; you don’t get the George and you don’t get the Vancouver. With the comma, you get George Bowering and Vancouver the city. [. . .] So it’s a four-way cross; it’s George, Vancouver—here’s Vancouver the city; or George Bowering—here’s Vancouver the sailor” (qtd. in Miki 26).

To Bowering’s syntactic layering of meanings, I would add Vancouver the island, given that much of the action of the poem takes place in the waters between mainland and

island, and George the Third, the reigning king at the time of Vancouver's exploration. Although, as Bowering insists, the "*George*" of the title indicates George Vancouver, it does not do so in the affectionate way that Newlove's "Samuel Hearne in Wintertime" does "SAM" despite biographical details, "[b]orn June 22, 1757" (18), that humanise the explorer. Rather it is about George Vancouver as George Bowering experiences him in shared geographical locations; thus, it is as much (or, perhaps, more) about the poet, who refers to the explorer/himself twice as, "I, George" (14, 39). The comma in this instance reiterates the comma of the title that both creates and erases distinctions between George Bowering and George Vancouver. Thus, *George, Vancouver* is not only a return to Vancouver's voyage (and Menzies's journal of that voyage) but is also a long poem as voyage of self discovery.

The voyage of self-discovery disrupts the seemingly seamless survey of documents and history with moments of the present. Bowering describes the poem as "[a] clever puttin together of Charles Olson & Percy B. Shelley, very philosophical and space-time oriented" (qtd. in Miki 25). The self-reflexive "I" comma "George" that both creates and erases distinctions between George Bowering and George Vancouver is not only about identity but also about space and time. For example, "[o]n entering this inlet, I, George" (14) could refer to the explorer, but, read with the line that immediately follows, "I, George, / sail beneath a suspended bridge" (14), it refers to the present-day poetic persona. The past and the present, thus, combine. The comma is but a brief pause in time. In this way, Bowering addresses the relationships amongst identity, place, and past: all are in the process of being explored.

Geographically bound by Vancouver's circumnavigation of Vancouver Island, the voyage of self-discovery is linked to Cook's inlet. The link is the mythical Strait of Anian, for it was hypothesised that *either* the Strait of Juan de Fuca, between Vancouver Island and mainland, *or* Cook's "River" might be the fabled strait. Vancouver himself also links the two, for it was his explorations that disproved both hypotheses. With Vancouver, thus, as its crux, the poem takes the wished-for and the actual of exploration past to set up a dialectic reflecting eighteenth-century debates on the distinction between fancy and imagination and their relationship to empirical reality or "*the real*" (7). It does so by opposing "*the king's fancy that Cook's 'River' was the passage / across British North America*" (7) with the reality of Vancouver's discovery that "*'the river' was just an inlet*" (7). The dialectic also concerns Bowering's poetic process and product, for, cast as King George the Third, it is he who impels the exploration in the first place. Somehow detached from the "*Discovery*" and yet participating in the construction of reality is "*Captain Vancouver's botonist, Menzies*" (7 with botanist misspelled), and, finally, in opposition to the British, there are the indigenous inhabitants, who were not "*asked*" (7) for their opinion, and "*so they never discoursed on the relationship between fancy and / the real*" (7). With these major stands, the poem then proceeds to set the "*the real*" within a romantic history of exploration impelled by fancy—but guided by empiricism and substantiated by exploration writing, with dues properly paid to that the great early modern compiler "Huklyt" (37), Richard Hakluyt.

Quoted verbatim and preserving the typography and lineation of Menzies's original, one instance of "*the real*," is the two-page "A LIST OF VESSELS ON THE N.W. COAST OF AMERICA IN THE YEAR 1792" (Bowering 20-1, Menzies 124-25).

Whereas, in Menzies's text, the "LIST OF VESSELS" illustrates the large "number of Vessels" along the "Coast in the course of the summer" (124), in Bowering's text, the list illustrates the nations represented by those vessels, "*English*," "*Spanish*," "*Portuguese*" (20), "*American*," and "*French*" (21). Part of Bowering's interest in exploration is in the diversity of nations brought together as a result and in the offspring resulting from the unions of European explorers and Aboriginal women in the various places explored. As the poem notes, "English blood / is left all over the globe" (23). Another of Bowering's interests is in the instability of national identities, for example Vancouver, "an English explorer, / Dutchman" (28), was "descended from the titled van Coeverden family, one of the oldest in The Netherlands" (Lamb, "Introduction" 3). Yet another part is the way in which all identities but British tend to be suppressed in historical narratives concerning the British Columbian coast, as the following lines suggest:

On Spanish Banks
there is a stone
hidden between trees.

Kick the leaves off
& read about
the Spanish feet. (8)

Although the "stone" is a historical monument, the "leaves," nonetheless, signal the obscuring pages of historical narrative; the "[k]ick" of one foot uncovering the imprint of others, archival excavation of the sort that Bowering's poem performs in drawing attention to the coastal islands "called" by Spanish names: "Quadra, Texada, Aristazabal" (19). Similarly, "[t]he Nootkas / dug clams peacefully all winter" (9) is a reminder of the indigenous population that inhabited the lands that were, ironically, "by a Spaniard, [. . .] restored to [. . .] British subjects" (19).

Another instance of “*the real*” is the one-page “*Oct. 1st*” (27) entry from, as Bowering himself indicates, “*Menzies’ Journal*” (27). The entry regards “a collection of Seeds” that Menzies sent to his mentor Sir Joseph Banks at the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew, “his Majesty’s Garden” (27, Menzies 126). Although the quotation reproduces the language and typography of the original, it renders prose into poetry. Moreover, while in Menzies’s journal, the remark is a matter of happening, in Bowering’s poem, the quotation is a means of characterising Menzies.

The entirety of page twenty-two of *George, Vancouver* is a rearranged and partial quotation from Menzies’s journal entry for “June 23rd.” (59), but adding a twist to the entry is Menzies’s insertion of part of the journal of Lieutenant “Puget,” who “was so obliging as to favor [him] with [. . .] Extracts from his copious journal” (59-60) detailing his surveying experience from “the Morning of the 12th” (60). Bowering’s quotation comprises entirely Menzies’s quotation of Puget for his entry for “noon on the 17th” (61), Bowering’s “noon, 17th” (22). The entry concerns, as Newcombe’s marginal gloss indicates, the survey of “Jervis Inlet” (61). Bowering ends his quotation of Puget-through-Menzies by quoting Newcombe’s explanation as, “[t]his was / Jervis Inlet” (22).

The quotations detailing Menzies’s botanical interests and the surveying substantiate the activities of Vancouver’s exploration. Although the “discovery” of the “*Discovery Poem*” is about the non-discovery of the Strait of Anian and, thus, the crew of Vancouver’s ship *Discovery* returns “empty-handed” (26), the non-discovery is qualified by the qualification of “empty-handed” in the line that follows it: “empty-handed / but for my charts / & his weed-book” (26). The allusion speaks of the graphic features of Vancouver’s and Menzies’s texts respectively: Vancouver’s text abounds in charts,

maps, and views, while Menzies's has six plates of botanical drawings. For Bowering's purposes, the two men share not only a voyage but also, and more importantly, empiricism. Cartography and natural history, the two expressions of empiricism, are Bowering's interest because these are involved in the construction of reality.

Part of Bowering's philosophical musing upon the distinction between fancy and imagination and their relationship to empirical reality includes musing upon the empirical philosophy, which produces such seemingly different expressions or products in natural history and cartography. The difference in the products is such that it calls into question "*the real*." In his musing on empiricism, Bowering juxtaposes the products of Vancouver's task, "[t]o chart this land" (5), with those of Menzies's, "[a] drawing," "an illustration" (5), to reveal the likeness and the difference. For instance, Vancouver's task of charting "this land / hanging over ten thousand inlets" (5) is paralleled with Menzies's task of making a botanical line-drawing, "with only a thousand lines in it" (5). The shared "thousand" is the shared empirical perspective, while the difference in number is the inexplicable difference in their respective perspectives on what is real. In another instance, while Vancouver "found" (7) that Cook's River was an inlet, Menzies is depicted as "finding / & describing the new plants on the Coast" (7). Although both share the action of "to find," that is, to discover, Vancouver discovers absence, while Menzies discovers presence. The contrast between absence and presence is also linked respectively to fancy and imagination and the absent / presence or present / absence of the Northwest Passage.

From the second page of the poem, allusions to the search for the Northwest Passage begin—from the premise of its non-existence:

No sea passage
across this land
should be
or is. (6)

Vancouver's voyage is the proof: "[h]e says he made a marvellous journey / & there is no North West Passage" (29). The non-existent passage is, nonetheless, the centre of the poem, for it demonstrates the power of fancy: that is, how *real* is the fancy for the passage, for the Spanish "fearing the Strait of Anian" (8) and for the British who "want the Strait of Anian" (29). Fancy is also real for the poetic persona, for whom, "[t]he Strait of Anian is this / Burrard Inlet in the fancy's moist vision / clouded" (14).

Although Vancouver's voyage disproves fancy, it is Menzies who "never thinks / about the king's / northwest passage" (26) because "the king's / northwest passage" (26) or "*the king's fancy*" (7) is also his mental illness: "no name but madness / for the Inland Sea" (9). As geographical explorer, Vancouver participates in madness because, in the juxtaposed figures of Vancouver and Menzies, Bowering is not only interested in the two expressions of empiricism but also in how Vancouver's detailed cartography, which reveals the non-discovery of the fancied Anian, is indicative of the transition from geographical exploration to scientific. With seemingly little geography left unknown, the scientific exploration that develops out of Menzies's natural history interest is on the horizon. Parodying Menzies's natural history descriptions, mimicking his shorthand ampersand in place of "and" and eighteenth-century typographic conventions, frequently using a long s (which, in the poem, is typeset "f") in place of "s," Bowering offers the categories "*Shape*" (28), "*Difeafes*" (29), and "*Places*" (29) for Vancouver as a specimen of antiquated interests: "[i]n other words / an English explorer" (28). The dialectic reflecting eighteenth-century debates on the distinction between fancy and imagination

and their relationship to empirical reality breaks down, however, in the figure of Menzies employing binomial nomenclature to name a botanical specimen. The naming shifts in the mists of the poetic line so that “what we will call / *epigaea repens* / for fancy” (37) is, by the extension of a line, another naming, “for fancy / lately called science” (37). Thus, “*the real*” becomes just another form of fancy, perhaps the beginning of a new romance.

Pauline Butling speaks of the *TISH* poets’ “historicized approach to the local” (“*TISH*” 50) and describes their “geopolitics” (50) as speaking in “an anti-imperialist poetics” (“Poetry and Landscape” 89). The remark has a certain irony given that much of the “local” of Bowering’s poem is formed by the imperial: place equated with person in “*Vancouver*.” Moreover, although Butling says that “the localism of these writers should not be equated with regionalism” (note 3, 101), the local is not always easily separated from the regional—or even the national. For instance, Bowering has a little regionalist fun with Ontario-centric versions of Canadian history in his qualified *O, Canada* allusion, “[t]he true north is west & free” (30), which hints at exploration’s much desired “North West Passage” (31), mentioned on the following page. “The true north is west & free” (30) is also Bowering’s way of pointing out that, excepting Vancouver Island, only the provinces east of Manitoba dip south below the forty-ninth parallel. Also, as in Birney’s “One Society” section of his *The Strait of Anian*, with its Atlantic and Pacific doors, in *George, Vancouver* Bowering offers the first motto of Canada, *a mari usque ad mare*, by echoing the seventy-second psalm, from which the motto derives: “[t]he king’s voice has dominion / it stretches from sea to sea” (15). Canada’s motto, returned to psalm, turned to a comment on the powers of Vancouver’s king, is also the typical immodesty *topos* of the poet. Reenacting an imperial gesture, Bowering claims Canada for George.

While Gutteridge's *The Quest for North* (1973) has no introduction, *Borderlands* (1975) has because it does not address the "famous [. . .] Cook, Vancouver, Bodega y Quadra" but the "lesser" travellers of the north Pacific coast of North America (first unpaginated). These "lesser" travellers include John Ledyard, who sailed with Cook and produced *A Journal of Captain Cook's Last Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, and in Quest of a North-west Passage, between Asia & America; Performed in the Years 1776, 1777, 1778, and 1779* (1783); John Meares, a fur trader whose own exploratory voyages in the area are printed in his *Voyages made in the Years 1788 and 1789, from China to the North West Coast of America to which are Prefixed, an Introductory Narrative of a Voyage Performed in 1786, from Bengal, in the Ship Nootka; Observations on the Probable Existence of a North West Passage; and Some Account of the Trade between the North West Coast of America and China; and the Latter Country and Great Britain* (1790); and José Mariano Moziño Suarez de Figueroa, who sailed with Bodega y Quadra and whose journal was translated, *Noticias de Nutka; An Account of Nootka Sound in 1792*, by Iris Higbie Wilson and published both in American edition, by the University of Washington Press, and in Canadian edition, by McClelland and Stewart, in 1970. By far the most important of the travellers, however, is John Jewitt, whose journal was published as a captivity narrative, *A Journal Kept at Nootka Sound, by John Jewitt. One of the Surviving Crew of the Ship Boston, John Salter, Commander, Who Was Massacred, on the 22d of March, 1803; Interspersed with Some Account of the Natives, Their Manners and Customs* (1807). Using ahistorical bricolage interspersing his own poetry with excerpts from the texts of these "lesser" travellers, Gutteridge focuses on the place, Nootka, where both the "famous" and the "lesser" met Maquinna, "[t]he most influential

chief of the Moachat group of the Nootka” (Lamb note 1, 661) and Jewitt’s protector/captor. Although Gutteridge purports to tell the “unknown” but more precisely *unprinted* “story” (first unpaginated) of the capture and captivity from Maquinna’s perspective, it is *not* Maquinna’s story—despite the man’s unidentified frontispiece portrait, which is also in W. K. Lamb’s edition of Vancouver’s *A Voyage*, in which it is “[a]ttributed to José Caredero” (“Illustrations” viii). Devoting almost equal space to “Jewitt” as to “Maquina” (first unnumbered), Gutteridge travels the usual routes of violence and sexual violence—but in a west-coast setting. The text does not, however, as it purports to, tell the “story”; it kills the storyteller and his people, as the final poetic piece and the words of “Maquina” (eighty-third unnumbered) declare in a last elegiac gasp: “[w]e are the people / of the coast” (1-2); “let us sing [. . .] / before the sea rises / to claim her coast” (12-4).

Rather than returning to exploration writing to recover a lost past, Audrey Thomas turns exploration writing into myth in her lyrical short story “The Man with the Clam Eyes,” which was first printed in “*Interface* [. . .] Feb. 1982” (Bellamy 159) and then collected in *Goodbye Harold, Good Luck* (1986) and *The Path of Totality: New and Selected Stories* (2001). In her “Introduction” to *Goodbye Harold*, Thomas explains that her 1984 novel *Intertidal Life* “began life as a short story” (xviii). Although she does not name the story, echoes of the setting and premise of “The Man with the Clam Eyes” suggest that it is the story to which she alludes, for besides the unnamed female narrator’s “brand new *Bartletts Familiar Quotations*” at the “cabin” (130) on an ocean “island” (131) repeated in *Intertidal Life*’s main character and narrator, Alice, who is replacing “her *Bartletts Familiar Quotations*” (207) at the “cabin” (18) on an ocean “island” (5),

there is the reiterated questioning, “[h]ow can I have slept when my heart is broken” (“The Man” 131) and “[h]ow can I be hungry when my heart is broken” (133), that becomes Alice’s “how could she do these things when her heart was broken” (*Intertidal* 134). Although both texts concern lost love, *Intertidal Life* examines the loss, whereas “The Man with the Clam Eyes” offers consolation, as the reason for being by the ocean, the loss or heartbreak, shifts into a question about whether the “break” is as irreparable as it at first seems, and then the loss shifts, again, into a gain: of an imaginary explorer-lover, “a drowned sailor” (134), a merman.

Not an everyman but an every *explorer*, the merman “speaks with a strong Spanish accent”—partly because he must be exoticised and partly because he represents the first Europeans off the coast of British Columbia, where Thomas lives and where the story is likely set. The merman-explorer has travelled not only upon oceans but also through time: he was “[w]ith Diaz” and “[w]ith Drake,” and, “[w]ith Cook he observed the transit of Venus in the cloudless skies of Tahiti” (134). While the allusion to Cook might be taken as a combination of historical reference and tourist brochure fantasy, to take it as such would be to undermine the potency of its reference. In the entry for the day before the Transit, Saturday June 3, 1769 of *An Account of the voyages*, Hawesworth interpolates the experience of the Transit observation party that Sir Joseph Banks accompanies, the one sent by “long-boat” from the main observatory at Tahiti to “Imao” (137). The party experiences much anxiety, “impatience” (138), as individual members watch and report to the others upon the changing conditions of the sky: “now encouraging their hope by telling them that it was clear, and now alarming their fear by an account that it was hazy” (139). On the day of the Transit, however, they “had the

satisfaction to see the sun rise, without a cloud” (139). The moment offers no mere meteorological report but a miracle to those invested with the charge of taking observations to determine the solar parallax.

It is not as much the sense of certainty of a sky “without a cloud” (139) or the “cloudless sky” (“The Man” 134) as the fluctuation of the “hope” and “fear” of the men’s emotions that resonates with Thomas’s story—although “cloudless” is part of the promise of its consolation. The fluctuation between fear and hope is the narrator’s experience of loss, and this fluctuation eventually splits her into two women: the one who goes out to sea and the one who stays behind. The narrator’s choice is which she will be, and she chooses the sea. Thus, under Thomas’s touch, the “transit of *Venus*” (134 emphasis mine) transforms from a project of practical astronomy to a love-goddess lover’s quest. The merman, “half-man, half-fish” (134), is ocean incarnated as assuaging lover, and his “cool tongue” wave-like “laps” (134) her. Her body is *topos*, woman as unknown geography, as “[h]e touches [her] with his explorer’s hands” (135). It is a role reversal: instead of the *mermaid’s* song drowning the sailor, the drowned-sailor-turned-merman saves the narrator from drowning in the ocean of her heartbreak by transforming her into the quintessential mermaid of lore and Pre-Raphaelite John William Waterhouse’s painting, *A Mermaid* (1901), “combing out [her] hair” (134). Fluctuation then becomes separation: it is not she but the woman who remains on shore whose “heart is broken” (135).

Developing both the heartbreak and the narrator-character of “The Man with the Clam Eyes,” Thomas’s *Intertidal Life* (1984) forms part of her oeuvre’s interests in liminality. Here “intertidal” refers both to the ecosystem that exists between river current

and ocean tide, fresh water and salt, and to the ebb and flow that forms the emotional life. It is both the “wealth of life” (269) that is able to exist in the varying conditions of the “intertidal zone” (269) and the struggle to survive in the “interpersonal zone” (240). It is this overlay of the outer and inner aquatic habitats that enables Thomas to turn exploration into an unstable referent. Virginia Tiger says that “[f]or Thomas, writing about the self inevitably embraces the metaphor of exploration” (118). For *Intertidal Life*, exploration writing structures this metaphor and figures in its expression.

Thomas begins each of the three sections of her text with epigraphs quoted from *A Spanish Voyage to Vancouver* (1, 131, and 245), subtitled *Being the Narrative of the Voyage Made in the Year 1792 by the Schooners Sutil and Mexicana to Explore the Strait of Fuca* (1930), a translation of a Spanish voyage in search of the Northwest Passage. Each of the three quotations from *A Spanish Voyage* speaks to a stage in the adult life of the alternately narrated and narrating writer Alice, who is reading *A Spanish Voyage* on the island with “a Spanish name” (15) where she lives—likely Thomas’s Galiano, British Columbia home. All stages concern Alice’s relationship with her husband, estranged husband, ex-husband Peter, and all together form a meditation on life that is precipitated by a possibly terminal illness that returns Alice to the grief of betrayal and lost love. The retrospective meditation is framed by the present of Alice’s illness, and the framing narrative begins with a foreboding echo of Virginia Woolf, as Alice and her youngest child proceed “to the lighthouse” (6) on the island. Some of the retrospective sections narrated by Alice take the form of a journal, with months indicated, but although structured like exploration writing of the late eighteenth century, hers is the sort of

journal that explorers do *not* write—the emotional, internalised, introspective, subjective journal.

On a trip to Vancouver mainland, Alice remembers that she and Peter and their children “had come here so often. Spanish Banks. Where Captain George Vancouver met Captain Dionysio Alcala Galiano on Vancouver’s thirty-fifth birthday” (24). A lock-and-key allusion naming the island with “a Spanish name” (15) where Alice lives, the allusion is also to “the morning of Friday the 22nd” (Vancouver 591) of June 1792, during the first year of Vancouver’s survey along the now-Canadian west coast, the day when Vancouver, much to his “mortification” (592) meets “two vessels at anchor” (591)—the *Sutil* and *Mexicana* of *A Spanish Voyage*’s subtitle. (Galiano commands the *Sutil*.) Although in a footnote to his edition of Vancouver’s text, Lamb notes that “[t]he ships were not anchored off Spanish Bank [. . .] as is often assumed” (591, note 3), for Alice, the error holds, and it must hold because Vancouver, who was born June 22, 1757, did turn thirty-five that day, and it is “thirty-fifth” as much as “Spanish Banks” that is meaningful in the context of Alice and Peter’s relationship. From remembering past visits to Spanish Banks, Alice-as-narrator shifts to contemplating the future: “Peter and Alice were thirty-five. They were talking about making changes” (24). The “changes” are the separate living quarters and Peter’s desire to be separated. For Alice, thirty-five is the pivotal age. It is the age at which her marriage breaks down. It is the age at which she and her children come to live permanently on Galiano Island.

With a touch of *Peter Pan* and *Alice in Wonderland* in a tribute to Woolf, *Intertidal Life* captures the hippie culture of Galiano Island in the early nineteen seventies. The hippie culture of the island is a space of illogic to Alice; the hippies, like

Peter, are the “Lost Boys” (141, 225), who will always be adventuring, never become mature men. Alice will be Wendy, always the responsible one. Four months into her separation, Alice writes that some of the hippies, “Raven and his friends[,] come to her in canoes” (140) to use her cabin stove to bake bread. During the bread-baking, Alice remembers misreading “the ash box” that reads ““CABIN COOK”” as ““Captain Cook”” (140) and thinking of “how that unfortunate had been hacked to bits (and presumably eaten) by those nasty natives. Brave George Vancouver manages to retrieve some of the bits and pieces” (140). With Alice having established the connection between Vancouver and herself not only on the basis of location but also on the basis of the pivotal age, it becomes necessary for her to rewrite exploration narrative in her allusion, for she is, at once, subjectively Cook “hacked to bits” by loss and objectively Vancouver who must salvage “some of the bits and pieces.”

The allusion speaks to the myth of Cook’s death that arose out of the British obsession with cannibalism amongst Peoples not themselves and to Alice’s wishful thinking on behalf of Vancouver, whose “journals” Alice has “been reading” (40). In Cook’s *A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean* it is not Vancouver but James King who first attempts to “demand the body of Cook” (Cook 63) from the Hawaiians. Although Vancouver is with King’s party, his function is not hero but messenger. When King is told that Cook’s body will be delivered to him “the next morning” (64), he sends “Mr. Vancouver to acquaint Captain Clerke with all that ha[s] passed” (64). Beaglehole explains that Cook’s remains were ceremonially dismembered and most of the body burned, as was common practice with the remains of persons of great importance; what of the body had not been “burnt” was returned “according to Hawaiian custom” (*The Life*

675). Contrary to the myth of Cook's death, King notes that the two Hawaiians who come to return the first piece of Cook's body are questioned "whether they had not eat" some of the body and "immediately shewed as much horror at the idea, as any European would have done" (69). Thomas's allusion misrepresents its pretext because its function is to speak of how the hippie men, although they are not "enemies," make Alice "uneasy" (140) as they casually take over her home. Cast as potentially "nasty natives" in order to convey a sense of the hippie culture's primitivism and of the subtle threat of violence that lurks beneath its pacifist stance, the men would be better cast as imperialists, as they claim territory not theirs.

It is location but also habitat that links Alice to exploration writing, and habitat links both to Woolf. Most obviously, *Intertidal Life* is *To the Lighthouse* (1927) with its ocean-side setting and writer and mother Alice cast as a fusion of Lily and Mrs. Ramsay. The largely retrospective, circular text beginning in the present of Alice's illness preceding her surgery, loops back in time, returns to its beginning, and progresses just beyond the moment when Alice goes "under" (281)—anaesthetic hinting at water: at both beginning and end, there is the "lighthouse" (6, 271). *Intertidal Life* is also *Orlando* (1928) in its interest in gender roles and reversals. Exploration figures in this interest as the longed-for antidote to Alice's feeling of being "anchored" (185). While reading *A Spanish Voyage*, she muses, "[i]magine a ship of women then [. . .] would they have behaved any differently?" (15), and, while reading "[a]bout Cook and Bligh and Vancouver. About the Spaniards" (69), she wonders whether it is "[t]he turn of women, now, to go exploring?" (69). Finally, like *A Room of One's Own* (1929), *Intertidal Life* is an argument linking the struggles of "[t]he woman artist" (173) to social expectations

placed upon women. Embracing not only metaphorical but also actual exploration, Thomas turns “writing about the self” (Tiger 118) (herself writing Alice, and Alice writing herself), into an exploration of social expectations in which exploration writing becomes a metaphor for Alice’s writing process. Alice’s last journal entry “AUGUST” (278) intrudes into the present of Alice’s illness. First a partial quotation when Alice mentions reading *A Spanish Voyage*, it refers to the “many low islands,” which the explorers found and in which “they ‘had no interest in exploring’” (as qt. in Thomas 15), and functions as a comment on the insignificance of the islands, but it transforms, in its full-sentence journal-entry form, to Alice’s own comment on life’s treacheries, on her life on Galiano Island, and on the “interpersonal zone”: thus, “[w]e immediately realized the danger which we should be in among these islands, the channels between which we did not know and which we had no interest in exploring” (qtd. in Thomas 279), functions as a fitting end to a journal of self-exploration.

Repetition with difference: one might well enquire as to what influence exploration writing addressing exploration by sea has on later English-Canadian literature. Again, content is an influence, but style not so. Although David Galloway’s comment that “[t]he early voyagers—plain and crude as their accounts usually were—are the real forefathers of later poets such as Earle Birney” (18) might suggest a stylistic influence, the influence is content. Birney’s style is various. Repetition with a difference, indeed, unlike their land counterparts and opposites, those that go by sea at times travel the tenuous routes of textual transmission reproducing history reproducing exploration writing. Page provides imperialism turned tourism: exploration writing turned into history—turned into tourist guide spiel—turned into travel poetry about

exploration: now *that* is literary influence. I repeat, generalisations are difficult, for each text represents an individual and an individual's interpretative gesture. For Birney place is like a palimpsest upon which layers of presence may be read and where exploration writing's inscription represents the defacement of original presence. Page is an anomaly amongst all the rest; she cares not for Cook's connection to Canada. Bowering is place, past, and a meditation on empiricism and rationalism all wrapped up into one person. Finally, in the most surprising move of all, Audrey Thomas turns exploration writing into explorations of love.

Chapter 8

Naval Gazing

Although I have concluded my chapter “By Sea,” I have not completed addressing the texts that return to exploration by sea that my study concerns. One text remains, and that is, winner of the Governor General’s Award, George Bowering’s *Burning Water* (1980). On the glossy black wrapper of its Musson Company hardback first edition, situated beneath the gold lettering of the author’s name and the text’s title, is a gold line-drawing of a sailing ship, afloat on golden waves, sails bellied out by the wind. The image captures the action of voyaging and resonates with the front fly-leaf’s declaration that “George Vancouver led one of the greatest journeys of exploration ever undertaken.” Although the Musson edition explains that “[i]n George Bowering’s retelling, Vancouver finds, not the Northwest Passage, but his only encounter with love” (front fly-leaf), it is the New Press Canadian Classics edition (General Publishing 1983) that emblemizes this fictional love, which is between Captain George Vancouver of the British Navy and Peruvian Captain Juan Francisco de la Bodega y Quadra of the Spanish Navy. The New Press edition offers this fictionalised love relationship as a selling feature on its soft-back cover by using Jane Martin’s painting “*Lake Donaldson*” (back cover), which shows an anthropomorphized island bearing two human faces set in ripples of blue, turquoise, and white and suggests Quadra’s and Vancouver’s Island, as Vancouver Island was first named by Vancouver himself. On its soft-back cover, the Toronto Penguin (1994) edition reverts to the sailing ship, “DISCOVERY” (this time at anchor): in the foreground is a longboat; in the background, a canoe. The book’s selling feature: contact. While each of the covers speaks to some element of the text, the New Press’s

cover is closest to capturing Bowering's message because, while *Burning Water* is certainly *about* exploration, it is more specifically *an exploration*, of human relationships set in the *context* of late-eighteenth-century geographical exploration. *The* relationship at its centre is that between Quadra and Vancouver, and at the centre of Quadra and Vancouver's relationship is Vancouver Island, which, through Juan de Fuca Strait, is associated with the Northwest Passage, the impetus for much of the exploration of the geographical space that is now Canada—and a symbol of male homosexual desire.

Burning Water is the subject of much scholarly interest, very little of which addresses Quadra and Vancouver's homosexual relationship, although it is the novel's centre. Moreover, although this scholarly interest ostensibly addresses Bowering's use of Vancouver's *A Voyage*, the ostensible interest is not the actual, for readings of *Burning Water* are typically interested in its relationship with history. In these readings, Vancouver's *A Voyage* is understood as historical document or historical narrative rather than literature. Karla Visser says that the text is about "the impossibility of objectively narrating the past" (91) and, moreover, "is conscious of the historicity of its own production" (97). Linda Hutcheon says that, as historiographic metafiction, the text "thematizes its own interaction both with the historical past and with the historically conditioned expectations of its readers" (*Canadian* 65). Describing the text as "metafiction with elements of metahistory" (111), Lars Jensen says that it is "an interesting case study" in "the revising of imperial history" (110). While these readings do not address Vancouver's *A Voyage* generically but see it as an element or the entirety of a historical narrative of exploration, these readings also do not actually address the historical narrative because instead they speak theoretically about what Bowering does

with conceptions of history. Thus, although not incorrect, they overlook much of the content of Bowering's text. Even Martin Kuester, who calls the text a "metahistorical parody" (*Framing Truths* 107) that is "a deconstruction rather than a reconstruction of the imperial master narrative" ("The Deconstruction" 99), looks away from both history and exploration writing.

Rather than classify *Burning Water* as a "metahistorical parody," I would simply call it a parody of Vancouver's *A Voyage* or, more generally, an exploration writing parody. Although I consider *Burning Water* an exploration writing parody, it is possible to address *Burning Water* as a re-exploration parody that treats of history. To do so, one must distinguish those instances that address history's grand narratives from the entirety of the re-exploration of Vancouver's exploration writing—although the re-exploration sometimes addresses the grand narratives. One must also distinguish between the text's self-reflexivity and its parody, for while there are many signals indicating that Bowering's text is a construction, there are but few indicating the construction of Vancouver's text. Moreover, one must distinguish amongst deconstruction, parody, and pastiche, as each plays a role in addressing either *A Voyage* or the grand narratives. Finally, although the text is a parody that works through deconstruction, parody, and pastiche and includes situational comedy, slap-stick, jokes, burlesque, and bawdy humour, its impetus is a word-association game.

Extensive and often extended, both explicit and implicit, the word-association game is part of the text's self-reflexivity. Here, as in Bowering's long poem *George, Vancouver* (1970), the given name "George" unites George Bowering, "George Vancouver," and "King George the Third" (7) so that the three men, who are all one in

George, become “third persons” (7) echoing “the Third” George. The “third persons” later include the reader, implicated in creating the text, as the text’s fictional writer Bowering explains, “when I say we, I include you. But in order to include you, I feel I cannot spend these pages saying *I* to a second person. Therefore let us say *he*” (9), which returns to the “third persons” and the idea of the third person point of view from which the text’s fictional writer writes of Vancouver. Although I, for one, am *not* George, and even if Bowering had allowed for a Georgina, I would not want to be one, I *am*, here in these pages, making up a chapter in a dissertation about what the fictional writer calls “a history, a real historical fiction” and, thus, as guilty as any reader—and more is the pity.

As with Page, Bowering’s own travels form part of the context and content of his text, but whereas Page’s poem is the product of her travels, Bowering’s travels are the process of his writing. Bowering travels in order to write a re-exploration of Vancouver’s voyage but, in travelling, produces travel writing that is part of the text’s self-reflexivity. Playing with the concept of self-reflexivity, Bowering not only points to himself as the fictional writer writing the re-exploration but also to himself as a traveller. Moreover, he points to himself encountering the present-past, as, for example, when he is touring “around the Tuscan capital” (35) and sees the “*mappa mundi*” with the “*Stretto di Annian*” (36), or Strait of Anian to the Northwest Passage, which is the text’s preoccupation. Because the fictional writer Bowering is travelling and trying to write about Vancouver, he could also be an explorer—by way of association and figurative thinking. Kuester says that the text’s “pronominal reference is shaky at best – *he* may be Vancouver as well as Bowering at almost any time” (110). Edward Lobb says that the text has “two narratives. The story of Vancouver’s voyage is interrupted frequently by

the story of Bowering's writing" (113); and Visser says that these are "two equally important (and closely intertwined) strands" (98). The strands are intertwined, in part, by the protagonists' "shaky," shared "pronominal reference."

There is, however, a third narrative strand often overlooked except in post-colonial critiques. This strand stands apart from the other two and involves Bowering's "Indians" (13), his representation of two indigenous inhabitants of Burrard Inlet, site of the present-day city of Vancouver. Although these characters are located at Burrard Inlet, they are inspired by an entry in *Menzies' Journal of Vancouver's Voyage*, Archibald Menzies's "Havannah Channel" entry for "July 17th" (85), in which he notes,

[w]e passed some small Villages on the Southern shore but had no intercourse with any of the Natives, which we supposed might proceed from their shyness or the panic with which they might be struck at seeing two large Vessels traversing their Channel to Windward with so much apparent ease & moving in every direction so obedient to our will with such mechanical powers as they could have no idea of, & must no doubt afford to their uncultivated minds a subject of the utmost admiration and astonishment. (85)

The inspiration for Bowering's *George, Vancouver* comment on the indigenous inhabitants, who were not "asked" (7) for their opinion on the European search for the Northwest Passage, and "so they never discoursed on the relationship between fancy and / the real" (7), the quotation is, in Chapter 1 of *Burning Water*, transferred to "June 10, 1792" (13), Burrard Inlet, and transformed when Bowering parodies Menzies's "uncultivated minds" by having the two male inhabitants who see the ships engage in philosophical discourse concerning "fancy" (16) and "imagination" (16) and their relationship to reality: that is, by reversing Menzies's statement by having the "minds" moulded after the late-eighteenth-century European standard for cultivation.

One young, one mature, the two men discoursing represent two phases in the fictional writer's life connected to producing works about George, George Vancouver, and Vancouver: that is, *George, Vancouver* (1970) and *Burning Water* (1980). My chapter title here derives from the exchange that takes place between the two men when they see the *Chatham* (which seems to arrive at each destination before Vancouver's *Discovery*) enter Burrard Inlet. The younger of two men believes that he has seen "a vision" (13) when he sees the ship, but the older man disabuses him of the notion. Moments later, the young man is "idly picking his navel" (14). When the older man speaks, the young man "look[s] up from his belly as if he ha[s] forgotten about the vision" (14). The scene captures the elusive quality of inspiration and the narcissism of the self-reflexive novel. It is no coincidence that the younger man is an "artist" (14) and that the man that he is with is older, perhaps by the very "decade" (17) that the fictional writer, whose comments immediately follow, has been waiting for his own artistic vision. What the exchange demonstrates is what Bowering does not make explicit in his word-association game: that is that the game expands the text's self-reflexivity. Bowering is not only a third person but also all persons—that is all characters—in the text. Roy Miki explains, "[t]he *I* or the signature, 'by George,' is less the self named in print and more the sign of an indeterminate dissemination in a vast literary project" (ix). From beginning to end, whether *by* George or *bye-bye* George, there is Bowering in all of his many guises.

By "*bye-bye* George" I refer to one of the three extreme departures that Bowering makes from his pretext: that is, the text's ending in which George Vancouver is murdered by botanist / surgeon and fellow empiricist and journal writer Archibald

Menzies in the last season of the survey. Another departure involves flying ships, “[f]irst the *Chatham* and then the *Discovery*” (134). Yet another is the homosexual relationship that develops between Quadra and Vancouver. All three departures are related. Besides these three departures and added biographical and historical details, the outline of the original *A Voyage*—obscured, blurred, and partially erased—remains. Not only does the outline of the original remain, but also the residue of the novel form, despite the text’s metafictional play, for while Bowering at times meddles with the facts, he typically does so either in a realist manner, changing the facts yet striving for verisimilitude or—as in the dream-like instance when Vancouver’s ships fly from the Pacific Ocean over north western Canada to Hudson’s Bay—in the manner of magic realism.

Thus, in recreating literature according to his sense of history, Bowering produces a re-exploration parody that is a historical novel. Bowering’s text is, as its fictional writer tells us, “a history, a real historical fiction” (9), and I have no suspicion of the veracity of this fictional statement, for here the comma between “history” and “historical fiction” points to readers’ tendencies to mistake the latter for the former. The word “real” reinforces the idea that readers mistake historical fiction for real history and expands the idea to include readers’ tendencies to mistake history for the real thing, for the facts from which it is written, or, as the fictional writer says, “the strange fancy that history is given and the strange fact that history is taken” (7). In transforming exploration writing into a historical novel, Bowering creates difference, and this difference is part of his message. The difference speaks in his fictional writer’s preoccupation with the small size of Vancouver’s ship: “[n]inety-nine feet and a few inches. There are people who can run that distance in three and half seconds. The bodies on that ship could not have stood

shoulder to shoulder along her beam” (23). The fictional writer might well ask how the “one hundred and one officers and men” aboard might get along during the “four and a half years” (23) of the voyage, for while in exploration writing one might measure or describe what one sees, narrate one’s movements or the passage of time, or express professional disappointment at the non-presence of the Northwest Passage, one might not discuss the intimacies of one’s shipboard relationships. Typical of the novel form, *Burning Water* is interested in relationships. Jensen says that the relationships “are all sub-narratives which are at times hinted at in the journals” from the voyage, and he believes that these “are the narratives that would provide intriguing reading rather than the tedious records of charting which dominate Vancouver’s journal” (111), but his comments say more about his own expectations for literature than they do about Vancouver’s text: what they say is that relationships are the *real* story. Bowering, however, is not so much telling the *real* story as he is exposing the conventions of exploration writing and the historical novel by placing the two in juxtaposition. This juxtaposition is the underlying parodic structure of the text; the text cannot, therefore, be a “metahistorical parody” (Kuester, *Framing Truths* 107). Its parodic structure concerns not history but literature. Only “elements of metahistory” (Jensen 111) are imbedded within this structure through deconstruction and quotation working as parody.

Bowering’s deconstruction of historical narrative forces upon readers an awareness of the assumptions underpinning the narrating of history and of the suppressions and omissions of historical narratives that hint at the binaries upon which those narratives depend. For example, the joking allusion to Vancouver’s voyage under the heroic and “as yet uneaten Captain James Cook” points to the historical omniscience

of our later-day fictional writer, who explains that Cook “has come down in the British historical imagination as a great seaman and superior Englishman” (19) just before he presents an imagined dialogue between the captain and the young Vancouver that suggests otherwise:

“You see how far we have proceeded inland? This is clearly the largest river in the New World.”

“It looks like an inlet, sir.”

“You are inexperienced, George. It is the great river we have been waiting to find.”

“Shouldn’t we wait a little longer to make sure, sir?” (19)

Concerning the much desired Northwest Passage, the dialogue mocks one of Cook’s cartographic mistakes, his discovery of “Cook’s River,” which he supposed lead to the passage. On his own voyage, Vancouver rectifies the mistake and renames the “river” “Cook’s Inlet.” In the imagined dialogue, Bowering reveals that, to write Cook as a hero, one must suppress Vancouver.

While at points Bowering may be deconstructing “myths” of “*British* [. . .] imperialistic exploration” (6), as Hutcheon says, he is also deconstructing the centralist Laurentian thesis of Canadian history by *re*constructing British imperialistic exploration of the west coast. Because the Laurentian thesis is concerned with French and British exploration of the Canadian interior, Bowering focuses on British-Spanish relations on the west coast. He also has his explorer and British subject Vancouver envy the Scots and hate the French. Bowering points to the relationship between Vancouver’s hatred of the Scots and the Laurentian thesis when he has Vancouver think that it is better that Menzies is “a botanist than an agent of the fur trade” (84). The “agent” would be an allusion to that Scot important to the Laurentian thesis: Alexander Mackenzie.

Vancouver’s preoccupation with fighting the French is nationalist animosity also hinting

at the Laurentian thesis, but his preoccupation is, moreover, a more sophisticated allusion to the fall of Quebec and Montreal. “Capt. George Vancouver always wished that he could be firing grapeshot at a French rig instead of dropping sounding lines into a pacific brine” (22) not only contrasts Vancouver’s desire to war against the French with his peaceful exploratory occupation in the Pacific Ocean but also reflects his desire to be a hero like Cook, who was involved in the Seven Years’ War in North America. Hence Vancouver thinks of Cook “methodically surveying the St. Lawrence River, with French guns trained on him from both banks” (49), and he impossibly calls “James Wolfe [. . .] a friend” (29).

Bowering is not only interested in the relationship between Vancouver and Cook but also in the parallel relationships of Vancouver and Menzies and Cook and Banks, for Menzies was aboard the *Discovery* under the patronage of Banks and so stood in relation to Vancouver as Banks had to Cook. In Bowering’s text, a “letter” (36) that Banks writes Menzies is a very slightly-modified quotation from J. Forsyth’s “Biographical Note” to *Menzies’ Journal of Vancouver’s Voyage* (1792). Providing an extract from a letter addressed by Banks to Menzies, dated “August 10th, 1791, Forsyth explains that “Sir Joseph Banks was apparently apprehensive as to the treatment [Menzies] might receive” (x) from the Captain of the *Discovery*. Bowering simply introduces the “letter” as addressed “to the young Scott” (36), but he uses its cautionary tone—“[h]ow Captain Vancouver will behave to you is more than I can guess” (Forsyth x, Bowering 36)—as foreshadowing, Banks’s “cautious prediction belied by intrigue, torture, buggery, and murder” (37).

Another quotation forms the entirety of Chapter 23. Kuester calls it “an almost literal transcription of a letter that [Vancouver] sent to Admiral Stephens on 6 December 1793, and which summarizes events [. . .] that took place in the month of August of that year” (119). The quotation is of approximately two of the eight pages of the original letter. Although Kuester’s endnote references W. Kaye Lamb’s edition of Vancouver, “4:1587-90” (172, note 40), Lamb’s edition followed Bowering’s text by four years, and the most likely source is George Godwin’s biography *Vancouver: A Life 1757-1798* (1931), which includes the letter in an appendix. Kuester sees the quotation as a reflection of Vancouver’s “tendency to inscribe himself into the new-found landscapes” (119) that he observes but does not note that the quotation is not an instance of parody but of pastiche. There are no grounds for sameness; there is only the tension of difference. Functioning as its own chapter, the quotation is without context and might have the effect of an eighteenth-century epistolary interlude in a twentieth-century novel except that, in excerpting, Bowering has removed any reference to a recipient, and so the quotation reads like one of Vancouver’s journal entries instead.

Bowering not only uses quotations for parody and pastiche but also partly for characterising late-eighteenth century exploration and the eighteenth century in general and partly for characterisation of his characters. For example, “Menzies was fond of accuracy” (101), is followed by a quotation praising the work of those surveying the coast. Reproduced from the original with only the difference of an upper-case “i” in the first word, the quotation is from *Menzies’ Journal*, from the eighteenth of August, 1792:

it will readily be allowed that such an intricate & laborious examination could not have been accomplished in so short a time without the cooperating exertions of both the Men & Officers whose greatest pleasure seemd to be in performing their duty with alacrity & encountering the

dangers & difficulties incidental to such service with a preserving intrepidity & manly steadiness. (Bowering 101, Menzies 103)

In his journal, Menzies further attributes the “happy issue” (103) of the entire undertaking to this willingness to perform duties. Although the quotation is given by Bowering’s fictional writer as evidence of the “great respect” (101) that Menzies had for those who carried out the task of surveying, the sincerity of the original is turned to irony when the author persona follows the quotation with the following commentary: “[i]n the eighteenth century they were fond of nouns and Latinate abstractions” (101). Drawing attention to Menzies’s diction, the commentary turns the entirety into parody of speech register.

A moment of parody as characterisation occurs at imperialism’s expense in Chapter 4, in the image of Vancouver, who “loved to jump out of a boat, stride a few paces up the beach, and announce: ‘I claim this new-found land for his Britannic Majesty in perpetuity’” (26-7), and of “the officers and men,” who in these instances, would stand “around fairly alertly, holding flags and oars and looking about for anyone who did not agree” (27). The parody derives, in part, from *Menzies’ Journal* entry for “June 4th” (45), in which he notes that, the day “being the King’s Birth Day, Capt Vancouver landed about noon with some of the Officers on the South point of the small Bay where he took possession of the Country with the usual forms in his Majesty’s name & named it *New Georgia*” (45). Here Bowering has taken the word “usual” to mean “perfunctory” in order to add humour. The parody also derives from Vancouver’s “Monday, the 4th” (Vancouver, Lamb ed. 569) entry, in which he notes, “on which auspicious day, I had long since designed to take formal possession of all the countries we had lately been employed in exploring, in the name of, and for His Britannic Majesty, his heirs and

successors” (569). Transforming “His Britannic Majesty, his heirs and successors” into “in perpetuity,” Bowering effects a truthful exaggeration. Partly based on Vancouver’s infrequent but extensive claim-staking and partly based on an understood or generalised concept of imperial procedure, the scene simultaneously re-enacts and reframes the procedure so that, while the scene is ridiculous, the ridicule points to the assumptions underlying imperial territorial claiming.

While the deconstructions and quotations interact with and augment the parodic structure in which they are embedded, they also contribute to the narrative structure or the text’s sequence of events: they form part of what happens on the voyage. In re-exploring Vancouver’s *A Voyage*, Bowering imitates the voyage’s events, but he rearranges, expands, distorts, and compresses them. Kuester attributes the rearrangement to the “post-colonial” (122) work that Bowering’s text does and argues that Bowering “rearranges the events so as to make his readers lose any sense of chronology based on the European calendar, a standard foreign to the regions Vancouver explored” (*Framing Truths* 106) and, thus, “[t]he novel is a reconstruction of imperial history from the colonized point of view” (106-07). Because Kuester says that the “colonized point of view” is “the point of view of the colonized Canadians” (122), my question is, by whom are these “colonized Canadians” colonized? While I realise that we like to imagine that we are colonized by the United States of America, I believe that Kuester misunderstands the historical processes of colonization and nation-building. As Bowering’s under erasure ““settlers”” (92) indicates, European settlers are part of the colonizing process, and they and their descendants are, therefore, tied to “the European calendar.” Rearrangement must not *necessarily* be read as a post-colonial gesture.

In the “Prologue” the fictional writer offers a clue to understanding the arrangement of his narrative when he speculates about the constructed nature of texts: “[b]ooks do have beginnings, but how arbitrary they can be. In 1792, for instance, some English ships appeared out of the probable fog off the west coast of North America, where Burrard Inlet is now” (8). Although Burrard Inlet is certainly not where Vancouver begins his exploration writing, it is where the fictional writer begins his historical novel, “June 10, 1792” (13), in other words, in the inlet near what would become the city of Vancouver. Beginning near Vancouver, Bowering’s rearrangement emphasises those events that took place during the survey of the northwest coast of North America, more particularly the Canadian or British Columbian portion, and specifically the areas that became the city of Vancouver and Vancouver Island. Moreover, Bowering frames much of Vancouver’s writing that takes place outside of the west coast of North America *within* the events concerning the western coast, inserted sometimes as Vancouver’s reflections or as flash-backs provided by the fictional writer. The reason for the emphasis is, in some part, the influence of Menzies’s text, and, in some part, it is the result of Bowering’s interest in the Nootka Sound Convention (1790) by which the English later took from the Spanish Nootka Sound on Vancouver Island. Most importantly, however, the reason for the emphasis is Bowering’s interest in the relationship between Quadra and Vancouver because this relationship results not only in the Spanish handing Nootka Sound over to the British but also in the naming of Vancouver Island: “the island of QUADRA and VANCOUVER” (Vancouver, Lamb ed. 672). Thus, as the structure underlying Bowering’s parody is relationships, so too is the structure underlying his narrative. The geographical focus of the narrative is necessary to

the love relationship between Vancouver and Quadra because geography is their meeting and their shared island, which represents their love.

Hutcheon acknowledges that I. S. MacLaren “suggested to [her] that Bowering amusingly generated a homosexual relationship between Vancouver and Don Quadra out of mere innuendo in Vancouver’s description of their brief contact as ‘very friendly intercourse’” (76, note 24). Kuester takes Hutcheon’s hint and points to Vancouver’s remarks upon the “negociation” (Vancouver, Lamb ed. 677) involved in the handing over of Nootka to substantiate the suggestion. Concerning the negotiations and his relations with Quadra, Vancouver remarks, “[i]t was a matter of no small satisfaction, that although on this subject such manifest difference arose in our opinions, it had not the least effect on our personal intercourse with each other, or on the advantages we derived from our mutual good offices; we continued to visit as usual” (677). Although Kuester does not address the word “intercourse” or the phrase “mutual good offices,” as these might be misinterpreted to suggest homosexual sex, he says Bowering transforms the remark into “a homosexual relationship” (115) between Vancouver and Quadra.

If Kuester’s quotation is suggestive, Victor G. Hopwood’s quotation from *A Voyage* in Bowering’s professor Klinck’s *Literary History* is even more so. The quotation begins “Senr. Quadra had very earnestly” and continues with one ellipsis until it ends “QUADRA and VANCOUVER” (qtd. in Hopwood 48). Hopwood offers the quotation as an example of “the most interesting and human parts of Vancouver’s story,” which “are those dealing with his meetings with the Spaniards. The warm friendship between Vancouver and Quadra [. . .] shines through the impersonal account” (48). Although Kuester alludes to Hopwood’s mention of the “‘warm friendship’” (115), he

does not address Hopwood's quotation of Vancouver. The quotation refers to a "conversation" (Vancouver, Lamb, ed. 672) that Vancouver and Quadra had had while returning from visiting "*Maquinna*" (672) at Friendly Cove. Vancouver says,

Sen^r Quadra had very earnestly requested that I would name some port or island after us both, to commemorate our meeting and the very friendly intercourse that had taken place and subsisted between us. Conceiving no spot so proper for this denomination as the place where we had first met, which was nearly in the centre of a tract of land that had first been circumnavigated by us, forming the south-western sides of the gulph of Georgia, and the southern sides of Johnstone's straits and Queen Charlotte's sound, I named that country the island of QUADRA and VANCOUVER; with which compliment he seemed highly pleased. (672)

On Vancouver's chart showing the island, the name is "QUADRA and VANCOUVER'S ISLAND" (Vancouver, Atlas, unpaginated). While Kuester's choice of passages offers more fuel to the creative imagination that turns interaction into sex, the second quotation is equally important not only to Bowering's conception of the interaction between the two men but also to the geographical location that dominates the text.

Although Bowering generates the homosexual relationship between Quadra and Vancouver from comments that Vancouver makes in *A Voyage*, these comments are not "innuendo." At the time at which Vancouver wrote, "intercourse, *n.*" could refer to "[s]ocial communication between individuals" (def. 2. a. *OED*). Until the mid-twentieth century, it indicated a "[s]exual connexion" only if adjectives such as "illicit" and "promiscuous" (def. 2. d. *OED*) were applied. Given the context of "intercourse" in *A Voyage*, what Bowering makes of Vancouver's comments upon his relationship with Quadra is a purposeful misunderstanding. Turning Vancouver's decorous mention of interaction into sexual relations, Bowering exaggerates the closeness of the association between the two men. Hidden allusion cum private joke, this is burlesque not used for

parody, for at no time does Bowering mention “intercourse” in his own text. It is, however, this very “intercourse” that produces Vancouver Island.

In order to produce Vancouver Island (that is, to name it after Quadra and himself), Vancouver had to circumnavigate it to determine its insular nature. To determine its insular nature, he had first to enter Juan de Fuca Strait, one of the geographical locations put forth by “closet philosophers” (Vancouver, Lamb ed. 512), Bowering’s “closet surveyors” (52), as possibly being the Strait of Anian to the much desired Northwest Passage. It is in following the sequence of “discovery” that I have just described that Bowering turns navel-gazing into naval-gazing, for the most important words of the text’s word-association game are the intimately associated “Strait of Anian” and “Northwest Passage,” which represent homosexual anal sex. Roger Leonard Martin muses upon Bowering’s decision to make Quadra and Vancouver’s relationship involve homosexual relations saying, “[h]omosexuality probably did play an interesting role in English maritime exploration” (265). One may well speculate about the role of homosexuality in maritime exploration, English or otherwise, but sodomy was a punishable offence. Netta Murray Goldsmith notes that, in the eighteenth century, “‘buggery’ and ‘sodomy’ were the words used in legal documents and formal English to describe sexual intercourse between men” (x). While the “1533 Buggery Act which had decreed that sodomites be hanged” (5) had been almost consistently in place in England from its institution, “a new law in 1749 decreed that any person in His Majesty’s fleet who committed sodomy, as well as his aiders and abettors, was to be tried by court martial and sentenced to death” (34)—although “few prosecutions involving the capital charge could be brought successfully” (34). As his foreshadowing reference to “buggery”

(37) hints, Bowering conflates homosexuality with sodomy, a punishable offence amongst seamen, and, thus, turns a self-reflexive novel into a reflection on sexual relations in the navy.

The reflection begins with Vancouver's instructions, one of which is to "keep an eye open for [. . .] the Northwest Passage" (26), and it continues until the text's final scene of murder. In between, there is the exchange between Quadra and Vancouver in which Vancouver defends himself against Quadra's accusation that he is "reckless" by saying that he is "[n]ot as reckless as the journals of Mr. ex-Commander Meares, for they reck less of the truth than any you'll find this side of Juan de Fuca, strait or Greek" (31-2). The allusion is to John Meares, who had charged the Spanish with seizing British territory at Nootka and had, thus, precipitated the British take-over of Nootka Sound. In Vancouver's defence of himself, Juan de Fuca, "John the Fucker" (33) of Bowering's *George, Vancouver*, the Greek (posing as a Spaniard) who claimed to have found the Strait of Anian, is by way of his nationality cast as homosexual. Thus, the Northwest Passage by its association with the Strait of Anian is linked to homosexuality. It is later linked more precisely to anal sex in the suggestive image of de Fuca's imagined phallic "colossal stone pillar" (125) at the entrance to the Strait of Anian. Although the Musson edition of Bowering's text would have it that "Vancouver finds, not the Northwest Passage, but his only encounter with love" (front fly-leaf), Vancouver's "encounter with love" involves an encounter with the Northwest Passage. After making love, what Quadra refers to as "rather [. . .] this than making war" (71), Vancouver returns to his ship thinking about "his log and the absence of his greatest discovery" (74). The "log" is at once his seaman's diary and his penis; his "discovery" hinting at the Northwest

Passage is anal sex; the omission of sexual relations between men the speaking “absence” of exploration writing.

With the association between the Northwest Passage and anal sex established, Bowering uses the flight of the *Chatham* and the *Discovery* to represent the greatest erotic investment of all European geographical philosophers (closeted or otherwise). The greatest erotic investment is not in women of tropical isles but in the exploration for the Northwest Passage. The magic realist flight of the ships eastward over the continent towards the iconic Hudson’s Bay is through an imaginary Northwest Passage, and the flight is a sexual act: “[t]here was an unexpected calm aboard the ships now that the Passage was fairly underway. The elation the commander had felt before entering Howe’s River was now settled into a long comfortable pleasure” (134). The “elation” is Vancouver’s erection, the “long comfortable pleasure” repeated thrust. Lobb notes that the flight “occurs in Chapter 30, and there are twenty-nine chapters on either side of it; it is thus literally the centrepiece of the work” (125). He also notes that “Chapter 52 does not exist” (125). The missing 52 suggests a deck of cards and, thus, gaming: in this case, the word-association game. The missing chapter represents the absence that is the Passage / passage. Lobb reads this sequence as “aptly symbolizing both the yearning for the Northwest Passage and the role of the imagination in scientific advances such as manned flight” (124-25). Suggesting both aeroplane and space shuttle flight, the flight of the ships speaks not only of the imagination but also of the male homosexual desire that propels all exploratory travel.

Kuester provides a brief survey of reviewer response to *Burning Water* and summarises it by saying that “Canadian reviewers in general were not happy” (*Framing*

107) with the text. One reviewer that he mentions, Chris Scott, was more than “not happy.” In his suggestively titled “A Bum Rap for Poor George Vancouver,” Scott reviles the text. “This is a truly ugly book” (9), he says; it “has no authentic voice, no authentic sense of time or place” (9). While Scott’s criticism speaks of a general distaste for the ways in which Bowering departs from realism, his review’s title singles out one departure: what he describes as the “fantasized homosexual relationship” (9) between Vancouver and Quadra that is at the centre of Bowering’s exploration of male homosexual desire. Referencing reviewer response (including Scott’s), Eva-Marie Kröller argues

that at least part of the emphatically negative response *Burning Water* received in the English-Canadian press has its roots in Bowering’s association with the Tish and Black Mountain poets, writers criticized by nationalist critics like Keith Richardson for infiltrating Canadian literature with American individualism. (*George Bowering* 54-55)

Given Bowering’s interest in anal sex, it is more likely that the negative response has to do with the anagrammatic *TISH* in its original arrangement: SHIT. Consider the function of anus and rectum.

Kuester says that in *Burning Water* “the indigenous people play nothing more than the role of Shakespearean fools” (122). The comment is apt, for Shakespeare’s fools are not only the comedy but also the wisdom of his plays. Set apart from the main action, their actions are a comment on that action. One comment that the younger indigenous character of Burrard Inlet makes to his older companion is that the Europeans “are all male” (147). The comment leads the two to philosophising about reproduction and drawing the conclusion that the European men “fuck each other” (148). The older

character links this fucking to exploring when he muses, “[m]aybe when men fuck men all the time they learn the lore that takes them great distances” (148).

“Aeh, shitt!” (128) or “Ah, shit!” (173) is another comment that indigenous characters make, and this comment is also a comment upon European exploration. In the chapter preceding the central chapter, some of the indigenous characters learn a little English. Upon hearing one of the sailors swear “Ah, shit!” one indigenous character says what he believes to be “his first ceremonial English words” (128) echoing the sailor. Another repeats the “imprecation,” and then “about fifty [. . .] shouted in unison” (128) that same imprecation: “the sailors laughed and laughed. The Indians [. . .] laughed” (128). In discussing linguistic awareness in Bowering’s text, Susan Lynne Knutson says that “the scene points out that language can be fun. The Indians correctly identify ‘Ah, shit’ as a ceremonial utterance, although they assign to it a loftier meaning than an English speaker would” (76). Knutson misunderstands the scene. While it is true that expletives may derive from ceremony, it is not true that they are, therefore, ceremonial, and while like ceremony they may be strictly perfunctory and carry little communicative value or meaning—they are not, therefore, ceremonial. The scene is a misunderstanding turned into a joke made at the indigenous inhabitants’ expense. The joke is European exploration.

If the imprecation of the indigenous characters is suggestive but inconclusive, two drunken sailors make the matter plain. One drunken sailor says to the other, “now let’s have a swig and hear what you have to say for the New World” (187). The other responds “Ah, shit!” (187). Given that the search for the Northwest Passage propelled much of the exploration of the northern regions of North America and what was

mapped—almost by default—was the geographical space that became Canada, one might well say that while the Passage / passage was desired, the outcome was not: that is to say that “Ah shit!” is also *O, Canada*. The scatological humour is part of the word-association game.

Of course, it is only homosexual or geographical explorers who produce shit, for *Burning Water*, like *George, Vancouver* is interested in the eighteenth century’s two empirical ventures, cartography and natural history, and natural history produces science. Hence the relationship between Vancouver and Menzies takes shape as one defined by contention, and the fictional writer is “perplexed that two men [. . .], who so much resembled one another in energy, professional devotedness, and pride, should be at such odds during their voyage” (233). The puzzle of their contention is solved by professional jealousy on Vancouver’s part. Menzies’s superiority is expressed not only in his survey “calculations” (233), which have an exceptionally high “percent accuracy [. . .], especially for an amateur” (234) but also in his botanical specimens, which organically take over the deck of the *Discovery*. Vancouver’s thoughts on the take-over—“[t]he vessel is ninety-nine feet long, and he hopes to cover all of it, I’m certain” (34)—return to the fictional writer’s preoccupation with the small size of Vancouver’s ship. Forsythe explains that “[a]lthough Captain Vancouver and Menzies were usually on good terms,” Menzies’s botanical specimens became a source of contention when “Vancouver took the man who was tending the plants and placed him before the mast. When Menzies complained that he had lost many of his best plants through this action, Vancouver placed him under arrest for ‘insolence and contempt’” (x). Given that Bowering uses the incident to provide the motivation that leads Menzies to murder Vancouver, the implied

question concerning shipboard relations in the fictional writer's preoccupation with ship size might be more rhetorical than actual: after nearly "four and a half years" (23) of voyaging, how could they not have wanted to kill each other?

While Forsythe's comments provide Menzies's motivation to murder, *Menzies' Journal* provides his characterisation. Unlike Vancouver's "intercourse" with Quadra, Menzies's "intercourse" (61, 85, and 118) with Aboriginal Peoples transforms into *heterosexual* sexual relations. If the male aboriginal characters are used for comic relief, the female are used for sex, as the comment that Tahiti should be called "Taherti" (83) suggests. J. A. Wainwright notes that during the flight of the ships "there is no mention of Menzies" (94), and he says that Menzies's absence shows that, for those on board the *Discovery*, "their end must be their beginning" (94), but there is no mention of Menzies because he does not participate in homosexual sexual relations. He is not propelled by the search for the Northwest Passage but by his search for plants. As Menzies engages in sex with the Aboriginal woman, whose characterisation is as limited as the English vocabulary that Menzies has taught her—"[s]uck" and "[f]uck now" (115)—he notes the "*bryophytics*" (114) against which he lays and the nearby "*clintonia*" (115). Later, bearing not botanical specimens but sporting "flowers in his hair" (129), as if prepared, well in advance, for the expedition's end-of-season trip to the second-northernmost Spanish settlement at "port St. Francisco" (Lamb ed. 702) or the San Francisco of the nineteen-sixties, the botanist-turned-pot-smoker Menzies returns to ship one morning saying suggestively, "[w]hat I was doing last night was less in the aegis of science, and more aptly designated art" (Bowering 129). The joke is approving. The one who rebels against the codes of conduct aboard sea-going vessels, shipboard authority and sexual

practices, Menzies is Bowering in another guise, “looking for all the world like an approving university professor” (68).

Kuester says that *Burning Water*’s “message is primarily an aesthetic one” (150) because it addresses “the problematics of writing a historical novel” (150), but such a statement speaks generally about postmodernism rather than specifically about *Burning Water*. Martin says, “[i]n neither the text’s final scene nor within the structural constitution of the novel as a whole does the implied composer Bowering or his (explicit) implied narrator hazard any kind of totalizing or summary view of the text’s ‘message’ to its readers” (269), but a lack of summary does not a lack of message make. Given that one of Bowering’s three radical departures from his pretext is having Menzies murder Vancouver at his text’s end, Bowering offers at least one view of at least one message besides an aesthetic one. Addressing the text’s ending by turning to T. D. MacLulich’s modification of Hayden White’s idea of emplotment, Kuester says, “Vancouver’s death turns the story that would have been an *odyssey* into an *ordeal*, or – in White’s terminology – from a romance into a tragedy” (121), but there is no tragedy in this comedy. There is only its dramatic ending.

In the ending is Bowering’s message coded in a system of rewards and punishments by which he sends Vancouver to his reward courtesy of Menzies’s phallic “French pistol” (257), “a small irony in a large ocean” (165) given Vancouver’s desire to fight the French. Certainly the small and highly-decorated pistol is at first an object of derision amongst the sailors—that is until Menzies takes down a “brown albatross” (162) with “a second shot” (163). The incident forms part of Vancouver’s *A Voyage* April 8, 1792 entry, which reads as follows: “we had been daily visited by one or two large birds,

but not more at a time, which we sometimes took for the quebrantahuessos, and at others for a species of albatross. Mr. Menzies was so fortunate as to determine this point, by killing a brown albatross” (Lamb ed. 482). In Bowering’s hands, Menzies’s shooting of the albatross transforms into an allusion to Samuel Taylor Coleridge’s *Rime of the Ancient Mariner* when one sailor remarks upon the killing, “[i]t’s an unholy thing he is doing” (163), and another upon the killer, “I fear him and his glittering eye” (163).

The shooting prompts a reminiscence that is a joke that foreshadows the text’s ending. In a parody of *Rime of the Ancient Mariner* and a satire of literary criticism that celebrates the harsh realities of sailing life and has Bowering as an influence on Coleridge, Coleridge makes an appearance as “a German poet” (162). To the “German poet,” Bowering, in the figure of “a sailor named Delsing” (162), who is named after the character in Bowering’s “unpublished” “fictional account of his life” (xvi), tells an anecdote of having killed an “albatross,” which he was then “compelled” “to wear around his neck” (162). The anecdote is a joke because, as *Burning Water*’s narrator explains, sailors “didn’t give two hoots about an albatross. Unless there was a literary person about” (162). It is then neither a coincidence that Vancouver wishes to be not only “*ne plus ultra*” but also “*rara avis*” (50), a rare bird, nor is it a coincidence that Vancouver draws a parallel between himself and the albatross when he asks the pistol-pointing Menzies, “[w]ill you want me around your neck till I fall?” (258). The ending is not simply dramatic: in the battle between protagonist and antagonist, the pistol points to the text’s winner. The real parting shot, however, is Menzies’s response to Vancouver’s expletive denomination, ““you son-of-a-bitch porridge-eating Scotch lamb-fucker”” (257): ““Mayhap ’twould be better I were a lisping Peruvian gentleman with lace coming

out of my nether hole” (257). The heterosexual natural historian murders the homosexual cartographer: science reigns and it says “it’s not size that matters, it’s how and on whom you use it.”

Although both pistol and parting shot have much to say, neither is *Burning Water*’s ending, for the text truly ends with its last word when the dying Vancouver is blown “over the [ship’s] rail and into the unsolicitous sea” (258). The ending is connected to the text’s self-reflexivity. Vancouver’s death implies the writer’s. In the death of the writer lies the text’s message.

Although the homosexual relationship between Quadra and Vancouver is *Burning Water*’s focus, there is another equally important homosexual relationship, for not only are the text’s narrative strands of the fictional writer George Bowering and the fictional explorer George Vancouver connected by “pronominal reference” but they are connected by a sharing of bodies. Because the act of writing is an act of penetration, an act of getting *into* character, George Bowering physically *enters* George Vancouver; their bodies, at times, are indistinguishable. Thus, it is not only Vancouver but also the fictional writer who flies over “the Northwest Passage” (91), whose desire is for exploration. His desire for exploration is also his vision of his historical novel. When the writer has a “vision” “[o]f his earlier life as a seagull” (38), he is simultaneously alluding to the “vision” (13) of the young Aboriginal man, who is a younger version of himself as a writer and to the albatross that is also Vancouver, for although not closely phylogenetically related the seagull and the albatross are similar in appearance.

Lobb notes that *Burning Water* is dedicated “to George Whalley” (Bowering 5), who in his “The Mariner and the Albatross” argues “that the albatross represents the [. . .]

imagination” (Lobb 114); Lobb, therefore, reads Menzies’s shooting of Vancouver as a “crime against imagination” (114). The nature of the crime is the centre of the word-association game, for the Northwest Passage not only signifies homosexual anal sex but also “the imagination” that requires a little “stretching” (79), as Quadra says, suggestively, to Vancouver. *Burning Water*’s ending is, thus, the imagination stretched to the point of breaking. In having Menzies kill Vancouver, Bowering kills not himself but his homosexual desire, which has been producing the novel, and, thus, he produces its ending.

With the ending of his text his final departure from historical accuracy, Bowering is certainly changing historical document and, thus, rewriting history. He is also, however, completing his exploration writing parody by playing out the potential for mutiny during long voyages at sea. In the opposition of Vancouver’s Vancouver, alive at the end of *A Voyage*, and Bowering’s Vancouver, the “dead sailor” (7), is a reminder of the parodic workings of *Burning Water*. Simultaneously working with and against the content of *A Voyage* in order to expose exploration writing conventions, the text calls into question simple narratives of exploration writing’s influence on later English-Canadian literature.

Chapter 9

Return

I began with the premise that exploration writing is literature because I do not consider that the difficulty that scholars have with comprehending it as such is a problem of aesthetics. It is, rather, a problem of epistemology. Seeing exploration writing as a subgenre of travel writing distinguished by its combined empirical perspective and function is not only essential for understanding its marginal literary status but also for understanding its literary value. It both entertains and enlightens.

Although the fact that I have insisted upon using exploration *writing* rather than exploration *literature* might suggest that I hesitate in my position, I have used exploration writing because I am interested in the place that exploration writing, in general, holds in the English-Canadian literary canon. Literature assumes selection criteria and canonicity, and I have chosen to reflect these operations rather than engage in designating some texts as worthier than others. Because exploration writing, in general, holds a paradoxical place in the English-Canadian literary canon, individual texts of exploration writing that might be considered canonical are also subject to this paradox: that is, even where literary status seems a fact of repetition, the epistemological problem arises.

Given my analysis of the later English-Canadian literature that returns to exploration writing, one might well ask whether I am suggesting that exploration writing's place in the English-Canadian literary canon is in a series of tastefully positioned explanatory notes? No. And yes. Unsubstantiated and erroneous generalisations about the influence of exploration writing on later English-Canadian literature suggest that notes are necessary, but notes are not necessarily the only place for

exploration writing. While it is neither a product of conflict with the environment nor the origin of the national literature, exploration writing is some of the first writing *about*—even written *in* the geographical space that is Canada. Variousy revisited and revised, exploration writing escapes the bounds of the first three chapters of English-Canadian literary history. It also inhabits a liminal textual zone where Canada is imagined into nation.

This liminal zone is fraught with misinterpretation, and from the imaginings there produced, the problem of generalisations arises. Generalisations concerning the relationship between exploration writing and later English-Canadian literature are often unquestioningly based upon the developmental thesis of English-Canadian literature, and they, therefore, view exploration writing as a document used in the production of history or as history itself rather than as a literary genre and, thus, disregard its contents, incidents, observations—its meanings. While the unsubstantiated and erroneous generalisations suggest that explanatory notes are necessary to interpretation, explanatory notes themselves are interpretive gestures. They should not, therefore, be viewed as producing the desired result *of* but, rather, as offering a method *for* addressing texts of English-Canadian literature that return to exploration writing.

Concluding “By Land” and “By Sea” necessitated some generalisations, but, distinct from much scholarship that addresses English-Canadian literary texts that return to exploration writing, these generalisations are based on an engagement with the individual texts of exploration writing to which the later literature returns. The method is one that I would have further scholarship model. In essence, I advocate not only for understanding the exploration writing subgenre in context of the development of

empiricism but also an empirical approach to understanding the influence of exploration writing on later English-Canadian literature. Rather than limiting, the approach is informative.

For instance, while literary histories see exploration writing as the origin of the national literature, Marion R. Smith and Brian Fawcett see it as the origin of the nation. The two perceptions are linked by geographical views that equate territory with political community. Moreover, although empiricism often shapes scholars' views of exploration writing, it much less often shapes writers' views; George Bowering's two texts and P. K. Page's poem are the exceptions. Although scholarship suggests that exploration writing has a uniform and unifying influence on later literary texts, some of these texts celebrate, others denigrate, and some both celebrate and denigrate exploration writing, the explorer, the empirical enterprise, the imperial enterprise, or the nation. Style does not so much have an influence as it has an impact: the distinction is best comprehended in the plain prose quotations that Smith and John Newlove take from their pretexts and turn into poetry. Most important, no text passively imbibes proto-realist literary influence from exploration writing—despite all scholarly insistence to the contrary. While following *Literary History's* model by dividing texts returning to exploration into chapters entitled “By Land” and “By Sea” seems natural, it is imperfect, as *Burning Water's* allusion to Mackenzie and the mention of Cook and Vancouver in “The Secret Journal of Alexander Mackenzie” attest. The imperfect division calls into question those literary histories, encyclopaedias, companions, and anthologies that privilege landmass over coastal exploration.

Finally, although geography might seem to offer a perfect opportunity for generalisation, geography might be understood as imperial, national, regional, or local. Page's poem stands out amongst the texts addressed because it is not interested in Cook in relation to Canada (although it is still interested in him in relation to geography). Moreover, one must not only consider to where the space refers but also to what use it is put. Sometimes geography is bound up with the writer's own travels, as is the case with Page and Bowering. Sometimes it is bound up with the writer's place of residence, as with Brian Fawcett and Audrey Thomas. Don Gutteridge's *Coppermine* and Thomas's "The Man with the Clam Eyes" turn woman into geography; *Burning Water* turns man into geography; and, thus, geography also serves as a metaphor.

Although here I focus on texts of English-Canadian literature that return to exploration writing, if this study is defined by topic—exploration writing—it has at least one theme: genre is necessary to understanding literature. The point, I am certain, has previously been made. What I have done in agreement with the point is approach the texts that return to exploration writing not only in context of forms of return but also in context of genre. What I offered in proof of the point is the assumption under which this study operates, and it is not that exploration writing is a subgenre of travel writing defined by an empirical perspective and function—but that exploration writing is literature.

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