"BRITISHERS AT HOME AND OVERSEAS": IMPERIAL AND COLONIAL IDENTITY IN THE WORK OF GRANT ALLEN, ROBERT BARR AND SIR GILBERT PARKER

by

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ABSTRACT

"Britishers at home and overseas"[1]:
Imperial and Colonial Identity in the Work of Grant Allen,
Robert Barr and Sir Gilbert Parker

After spending their formative years in Canada, Grant Allen (1848-99), Robert Barr (1850-1912) and Sir Gilbert Parker (1860-1932) all established successful literary careers in Great Britain, where they spoke for as well as to both the imperial heartland and the colonial hinterland. Reading Allen, Barr and Parker through the lens of postcolonial theory reveals a wide range of strategies for dealing with the complex negotiations integral to this situation. Many of their protagonists embody a national identity distinct from, and yet congruent with, that of Great Britain, although they are also depicted as shunning identification with aboriginal peoples, non-British immigrants and women, all marginalized by the colonial experience. The consequent interplay between imperial and colonial representations produces distinctive hybrid formations and fraught transitions in their work, as the process of alternately recognizing and sublimating these difficulties generates characteristic textual tensions and anxieties.

Constructions of personal and social identity, as well as the extent to which Allen, Barr and Parker resist or comply

with Britain's imperial enterprise, are approached through concepts of hybridization and appropriation that foreground the cultural complexity of their position. Allen, Barr and Parker are examined as both agents and subjects of the imperial impulse, and are in particular considered with regard to the possible formation of a "settler identity" in between the colonial and imperial positions. Since Allen, Barr and Parker have been largely ignored by scholars, issues of canonization and reception are also addressed, as is the question of their historical contextualization in the fields of Canadian and English literary history. This investigation of a relatively neglected area of postcolonial theory also participates in the ongoing reevaluation of the "transitional" or "Edwardian" developments that both link and separate the Victorian and Modernist literary eras.

Paul Stuewe

NOTE

1. Joseph Chamberlain, Great Britain's Colonial Minister, in a speech to the Colonial Universities Conference in London, July 8, 1903. John Coldwell Adams, Seated with the Mighty: A Biography of Sir Gilbert Parker (Ottawa: Borealis, 1979) 122. All subsequent references are to this edition.

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I. INTRODUCTION

English literary life at the turn of the century exerted a powerful attraction on the aspiring writers of the North American continent. Americans such as Henry James, Mark Twain, Stephen Crane and Bret Harte were prominent figures on the London scene, and this authorial migration also included a strong Canadian contingent. Posterity has not been kind to the writerly reputations of Grant Allen, Robert Barr and Sir Gilbert Parker, but in their day these expatriate Canadians were important members of the London literary community: Allen's The Woman Who Did (1895), a novel about sex and motherhood outside of marriage, was a major succès de scandale of the period; Barr's co-editorship (with Jerome K. Jerome) of The Idler, a periodical that published Mark Twain, Robert Louis Stevenson, Sir Arthur Conan Doyle and many other prominent writers, put him at the centre of the era's literary journalism; and the short stories in Parker's Pierre and His People (1892) were extremely popular tales of the Canadian North-West that were followed by a number of equally well-received sequels.

Their similar backgrounds and joint participation in London's literary and journalistic milieus make it reasonable to consider Allen, Barr and Parker's work together. The Idler hosted weekly gatherings of its contributors which were very well attended, and since Allen and Parker both wrote for the

periodical Barr edited,[1] they all may have met there on occasion.[2] There are also cultural and theoretical, as well as historical, grounds for examining these writers. Their dual status as colonized Canadians and colonizing Englishmen opens up possibilities for a rich and complex interrogation of spaces that have all too often been assumed to be homogenous, or as sites inhabited only by imperialists and Natives.

The London that Allen, Barr and Parker knew was the administrative and literary centre of the British Empire. In the period during which these three writers came to prominence--from the final decade of Queen Victoria's reign to the beginning of the First World War in 1914--the imperial project was one of the most absorbing and contentious issues in British national life. Proponents of imperial expansion argued that it was the "white man's burden" to civilize the savage Natives, and they were supported by the jingoistic fiction of Rudyard Kipling, H. Rider Haggard, G.A. Henty and many others. The celebration of Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee in 1897 seemed to mark the high tide of the "New Imperialism."[3] Those opposed cited the kinds of press reports of colonial misrule that Joseph Conrad's Heart of Darkness so effectively utilized, while others recognized that the Empire was already beginning to write back. As David Garnett observed,

> It is notorious that whenever an English-speaking community settles and opens up new lands, it speedily speaks for itself as a Centre; and so rapid is the growth of the great Colonies, that

> Ministers to-day writing despatches to Dependencies over-seas, receive their answers from nations to-morrow.[1]

As colonials who had returned to the heart of the empire to pursue literary careers, Allen, Barr and Parker found themselves in a complicated position vis-à-vis the imperial project. Allen and Parker were born in Canada, Barr's family immigrated there when he was four, and all spent their formative years in the country. Their experience of living in a colonial culture subject to imperial supervision did not lead them automatically to align themselves with the policies of the British Empire. Conversely, they were neither members of, nor particularly sympathetic to, the indigenous Native communities that had been devastated by contact with Europeans. Moreover, the longer they pursued careers in England, the less likely they were to see themselves--or to be seen by others--as citizens of, or spokespersons for, any colonial polity.

Allen, Barr and Parker all wrote about Canada and other colonized territories as well as the imperial homeland. How they approached the construction of Canadian, and other colonial and imperial identities, and how these were imbricated and formed, will be the primary focus of my investigation. Issues of race, gender and social class, which themselves shape as well as deconstruct these identities, will be considered. The encounter with the racially Other, for instance, intrigued Allen and Parker. Allen and Barr are much

concerned with the class origins and consequent life chances of their protagonists. The character of women and the nature of masculinity absorb the attention of all three. "Identity" in all of its ramifications is vital to an understanding of the works of Allen, Barr and Parker. Ideas about national identity, in particular, are of crucial significance. The Victorians often included what we would think of as essentialist conceptions of national character within their notions of race. As Christine Boldt observes, "Although Victorians agreed upon the importance of racial theories and conflicts, there was a vagueness as to the exact meaning of the word 'race' which brought . . . a dangerous confusion between biological and cultural concepts."[5] This ambiguity was often carried over into contemporary notions about national character. As a result, we will see Allen, Barr and Parker attributing racial identity to the Irish, the French and the Germans, while at the same time assuming that Arabs, Africans and Orientals may be conflated into a largely undifferentiated mass.

The advent of professionalism as a significant component of social-class differentiation, reflected by the well-documented increase in both the size and number of the professional classes in Victorian society, will also be a prominent concern.[6] One consequence of this development was a significantly higher social status for writers--Carlyle's "hero as man of letters" being extremely influential here.[7]

Paul Thompson has described this phenomenon as "the democratization of the once exclusive idea of the gentleman,"[8] and it was an important aspect of the conditions experienced by Allen, Barr and Parker as they pursued the profession of authorship. The question of just how one defines a "gentleman," in particular, becomes one of their characteristic concerns.

"Identity" is here understood not as the locus of an unproblematic and locatable self, but rather as a Derridean "absence of a center" that is explored through the unending decentering of what is included and excluded, what is foregrounded and marginalized, what is taken in and pushed aside.[9] In undertaking to examine the construction of identity through what Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak recommends as "historical research into the narrativisation and institutionalization of the subject position,"[10] I will be engaged in continual negotiation among individual lives and texts, fields of cultural production, historical developments and contemporary literary theory. At the same time, I will be endeavouring to keep in mind that--as Spivak puts it--"You must begin where you are" (44): one must always try to be conscious of who is speaking, and from what vantage point, before one can imagine getting anywhere at all. Thus I am aware that this probe into the subject positions of Allen, Barr and Parker is being undertaken from a subject position of its own, one whose dangers have been pointed out by Nancy

Armstrong:

> To insist on being "subjects" as opposed to "objects" is to assume that we must have certain powers of observation, classification, and definition in order to exist; these powers make "us" human. According to the logic governing such thinking as it was formulated in the nineteenth century, only certain kinds of subjects are really subjects; to be human, anyone must be one of "us."[11]

Although Allen, Barr and Parker are my objects of study, this exercise in configuring--perhaps it is better to say reconfiguring, or rediscovering--an aspect of their identity assumes their prior existence as independent, illimitable and inimitable subjects. What is being undertaken here is a response to the stimulus of their published work, and this must of necessity be a limited and derivative enterprise that endeavours to understand itself as interpretation rather than acquisition.

As postcolonial discourse has developed in the last two decades, the seminal insights of Edward Said, Homi Bhabha and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak regarding the silencing of the colonized have to a certain extent been used as a weapon with which to silence those who are seen as speaking for the colonizers. In seeking to establish subject positions for Allen, Barr and Parker, I do not wish to reinscribe the kind of colonialist discourse that is a constant presence in their writing; but neither do I intend to treat them as guilty participants in oppression who are essentially different from "us." As Spivak has noted, if we desire to move beyond

"breast-beating," it is imperative that "the holders of hegemonic discourse should de-hegemonize their position and themselves learn how to occupy the subject position of the other";[12] although the "other" that this study examines is colonialist rather than colonized, I believe that the principle of de-hegemonization of the investigating subject as a prelude to potentially fruitful discourse still applies.

With these considerations in mind, I would like to examine how Grant Allen, Robert Barr and Sir Gilbert Parker undertook the construction of colonial and imperial identities. After next discussing the theoretical and contextual issues that are relevant to my investigation, I will in separate chapters consider how each author deals with questions of identity in their work. Since Allen, Barr and Parker have received little scholarly attention, each chapter includes a brief biographical sketch. My focus throughout, however, is on the complex processes of self-construction that their writings so intriguingly illustrate.

NOTES

1. Allen contributed the essay "My First Book," (September, 1892), the short story "The Dead Man Speaks" (March, 1895) and participated in a symposium on "Who Should Be Laureate?" (May, 1895); Parker published the short stories, "The Lake of the Great Slave" (September, 1894), "The Gift of the Simple King" (October, 1894), "The Baron of Beaugard" (November, 1894) "At Point o' Bugles" (December, 1894) and "There Is Sorrow on the Sea" (April, 1895).

2. For the Idler background, see Louis MacKendrick, Introduction to The Measure of the Rule, by Robert Barr (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973) ix; G.B. Burgin, Memoirs of a Clubman (London: Hutchinson & Co., n.d. [1922]) 98-9; Annie S. Swan, My Life (London: James Clarke, 1934) 44.

3. The atmosphere of the time is well conveyed in Chris GoGwilt, "Broadcasting News from Nowhere: R.B. Cunninghame Graham and the Geography of Politics in the 1890s," High and Low Moderns: Literature and Culture, 1889-1939, Ed. Maria DiBattista and Lucy McDiarmid (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996) 235-54.

4. David Garnett. Flyleaf. The Ipaneé. By R.B. Cunninghame Graham (London: Fisher Unwin, 1925).

5. Christine Boldt, Victorian Attitudes to Race (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971) 206.

6. On the growth of the professional class, see Magali Sarfati Larson, The Rise of Professionalism: A Sociological Analysis (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977) 215-31, and Harold Perkin, The Origins of Modern English Society, 1780-1880 (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1967) 170.

7. Thomas Carlyle, "The Hero as Man of Letters," Heroes and Hero-worship (London: Everyman, 1908).

8. Paul Thompson, The Edwardians: The Remaking of British Society (London: Paladin, 1977) 302.

9. Jacques Derrida, "Structure, Sign, and Play in the Discourse of the Human Sciences," Writing and Difference, Trans. Alan Bass (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978) 289.

10. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Strategy, Identity, Writing," The Post-Colonial Critic: Interviews, Strategies, Dialogues, Ed. Sarah Harasym (London: Routledge, 1990) 43.

11. Nancy Armstrong, "The Occidental Alice," differences 2.2 (1990): 33.

12. Spivak, "The Intervention Interview" in Post-Colonial Critic, Ed. Harasym 121.

I. THEORY AND CONTEXT

The historical process of decolonization and the literary field of postcolonial criticism are roughly contemporaneous. As a consequence, the two have often been conflated. As Third-World nations struggled to liberate themselves from colonial rule and bring about revolutionary changes in their conditions of existence, postcolonial critics understandably concentrated on the relations of domination and submission that seemed to characterize the encounter between colonizer and colonized. As Gisela Brinker-Gabler has observed, "the postcolonial project has always set itself a political agenda, a politics of location in order to develop a perspective for change."[1] Thus in the early days of postcolonial theorizing, such seminal works as Franz Fanon's The Wretched of the Earth (1961) and Edward Said's Orientalism (1978) seemed most effectively employed as rhetorical weapons with which to create a counter-discourse attacking historically dominant colonialist actions and attitudes. The boundaries of the anti-colonialist and colonialist positions seemed to many to be sharply defined, the issues involved clear-cut, and individual responses simply a matter of choosing between two distinct and sharply opposed sides.

But as revolutionary movements have triumphed and the political independence of former colonies has been achieved, the evident persistence of varieties of economic and cultural

imperialism has stimulated the production of a more nuanced treatment of the paradigm of conflict between "First World" colonialism and "Third World" resistance. Recent considerations of postcolonial identity have explored the concept of 'in-between' spaces within which colonizer/colonized relationships work themselves out. These views have been much influenced by Homi Bhabha's concept of "hybridity," which he defines as

> the sign of the productivity of colonial power, its shifting forces and fixities; it is the name for the strategic reversal of the process of domination through disavowal (that is, the production of discriminatory identities that secure the 'pure' and original identity of authority).[2]

This "productivity" creates new, multivocal discourses that are characterized by "interdependence and the mutual construction of their subjectivities,"[3] and links First- and Third-World subjects in relationships that are bidirectional rather than unidirectional.

As a consequence, those who inhabit the spaces 'in-between' colonizer and colonized, such as the returned colonial who speaks <u>to</u> as well as <u>for</u> the place she comes from and <u>for</u> as well as <u>to</u> the place where she now lives must, as Francoise Lionnet argues, inevitably be involved in "acts of appropriation" that "will produce a greater degree of cultural complexity than the standard anthropological categories (metropolitan vs. colonial, developed vs. primitive, or civilized vs. aboriginal) would tend to suggest."[4] This

active appropriation involves processes of transculturation as well as acculturation and assimilation, and introduces ambiguity and ambivalence into the work of the transcultural author.

Homi Bhabha notes that, for those who wish to comprehend this situation,

> What is theoretically innovative, and politically crucial, is the necessity of thinking beyond initial categories and initiatory subjects and focusing on those <u>interstitial</u> moments or processes that are produced in the articulation of "differences." These spaces provide the terrain for elaborating strategies of selfhood and communal representations that generate new signs of cultural difference and innovative sites of collaboration and contestation. It is at the level of the interstices that the intersubjective and collective experiences of nationness, community interest, or cultural value are negotiated. How are subjects formed "in-between," or in excess of, the sum of the "parts" of difference (usually intoned as race/class/gender etc.)? What collective identifications become possible in the overlapping, or displacing, of domains of difference?[5]

A further articulation of the consequences of hybridity has been provided by the typology of forms contained in Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths and Helen Tiffin's <u>The Empire Writes Back</u>, which identifies "four major models"--national or regional; race-based; comparative across two or more post-colonial literatures; comparative for all such literatures--that were seen often to operate "as assumptions within critical practice rather than specific and discrete schools of thought; in any discussion of post-colonial writing a number of them may be operating at the same time."[6] As a result, for

Ashcroft et al., "the post-colonial text is always a complex and hybridised formation" (110). Much subsequent work in postcolonial studies has been devoted to further elaboration, complication and problematization of the major-model hypothesis of The Empire Writes Back. What was once an apparently straightforward drama of Native resistance to imperialism, of the Third World's efforts to escape First-World control, has become a field within which the analysis of particular postcolonial texts and the concomitant representation of almost all subjects as hybridized have largely displaced broader issues of historical process and political and social change.

Many Third-World and some First-World commentators, however, have found it necessary to contest what they see as the reductionist aspects of such a structuring, in which "the post-colonial is reduced to a purely textual phenomenon, as if power is simply a matter of discourse and it is only through discourse that counter-claims might be made."[7] Such a figuration structures the Third World as merely responsive to (and consequently to a large extent determined by) that First World to which it is opposed. The placing of First and Third World in a condition of essential polarity also elides questions of cultural difference by creating generic Natives whose identities are overridden by the inexorable operations of historical process.[8]

Such considerations have led an increasing number of

First-World observers to suspect that their conceptions of the postcolonial condition may in fact represent "a move clearly aimed at making the diverse forms of the post-colonial available as a single object on the curriculum of the centre," where they can be "recognized but contained,"[9] and then serve as "a new seat of power for the historically privileged" First-World theorist.[10] Summing up the implications of this situation, Henry Louis Gates has noted that, with regard to recent postcolonial theory, "It's no longer any scandal that our own theoretical reflections must be as provisional, reactive, and local as the texts we reflect on";[11] the First-World reader of Third-World texts, in particular, must be aware that acts of interpretation, which always have hegemonic implications in terms of the assertion or assumption of control over discourse, may also participate in more occluded--and to that extent more powerful--cultural formations that constitute a reinscription of imperial sovereignty over colonial expression.

If First-World encounters with Third-World texts are this problematic, and always already subject to self-reflexive restraints that at best produce "provisional, reactive, and local" readings, one might question whether such readings are even worth attempting. Given that much contemporary literary theory is concerned with the problematics of reading, and that both the ontological status of the text and the coherence of particular interpretations are decidedly in question, it might

seem judicious to eschew situations in which extreme cultural difference constitutes an additional barrier to any intersubjective exchange between First-World readers and Third-World texts.

One interesting recent response of postcolonial discourse to the apparently radical disjunction between First- and Third-World subject positions is the suggestion that this gap may encompass an actual or potential subject position in its own right. Although the perception of such a gap does not constitute an argument for the existence of any particular content within it, and although we must also be aware of the kind of dialectical thinking that posits a necessary interstitial synthesis between the First-World thesis and its Third-World antithesis, those who have begun to explore this territory have made some intriguing observations. Alan Lawson's identification of a "Second World" of settler colonialism, for example, is one influential articulation of the view that there are compelling reasons for positing a Second-World subject position representing the experience of those who are neither directors of the imperialist enterprise--although sometimes its agents--nor immediate victims of it--although liable to suffer from its vagaries.[12]

Linda Hutcheon's argument that the colonizing and the colonized cannot be equated, and that "the primarily white Canadian historical <u>experience</u> of colonialism . . . cannot be equated with that of the West Indies or Africa or India," is

apposite here, as is Arun Mukherjee's warning regarding the dangers of conflating Second- and Third-World texts.[13] Both serve as valuable reminders that the respective situations of colonized Native and colonizing settler are so fundamentally different that to conflate them would be to commit an act of taxonomic violence. But if there are compelling reasons for separating the colonizing settler's experience and discourse from those of the colonized Native's, this does not mean that the only alternative is for these settlers to affiliate with the First-World, colonialist position. On the contrary, the historical and literary evidence that the perceived differences between the First World and the Second World are strong enough to lead some settlers to identify, however unrealistically and temporarily, with the Native's Third-World situation suggests that there may be a Second-World sensibility in embryonic play here, initially oscillating between First- and Third-World polarities but eventually coalescing into some sort of Second-World "settler position."

Although this has usually been applied to the colonized who are indigenous and/or racial Others in relation to the colonizing Europeans, I believe that it can also be used to identify salient characteristics of certain members of settler populations; if, that is, such settlers do not consider themselves as equivalent to the citizens of their colony's imperial homeland. As Stephen Slemon has observed, settler or "Second World" colonial writers

> have always been complicit in colonialism's territorial appropriation of land, and voice, and agency, and this has been their inescapable condition even at those moments when they have promulgated their most strident and most spectacular figures of post-colonial resistance. In the Second World, anti-colonialist resistance in literature must necessarily cut across the individual subject . . . This ambivalence of emplacement is the condition of their possibility . . . [14]

One does not need to read far in the works of Allen, Barr and Parker to discover textual elements that, while strikingly non-First World in their refusal or evasion of imperialist discourse, are yet certainly not Third-World in character. Allen's West Indian-based fiction, for example, insists on the distinction between settler and imperialist racial attitudes toward putatively inferior natives. Barr's novel The Measure of the Rule describes the operations of a colonial educational establishment that simply ignores both Native Canadians and the imperial educational system. And Parker's "Pierre" stories use the figure of a French/Native "halfbreed" contemptuous of the imperial homeland and largely ignorant of Native traditions as the locus for an imaginative re-settlement of the Canadian frontier. This is not to say that Allen, Barr and Parker do not show traces, sometimes quite strong, of the acceptance of imperialist cultural formations. However, in many cases they do not simply mimic or reproduce these formations, but hybridize, radically revise or even reject them. All three seem to be articulating what may be a nascent Second-World subject position. The complexity of identity,

cited in my introduction as a compelling dimension of the trio's work, here comes to the fore.

Considerations of this kind, which flesh out the hypothetical implications of "hybridity" with close readings of settler-produced texts, have sparked widespread acceptance of the viability of the Second-World subject position. From a theoretical perspective, the Second-World concept can be thought of as deriving from a Derridean "play of différance which prevents any word, any concept, any major enunciation from coming to summarize and to govern from the theological presence of a center the movement and textual spacing of differences."[15] As the initially closely defined and essentialized First- and Third-World subject positions undergo the process of signification, this existing system of polarities in opposition is punctuated by "intervals" that are the "becoming-space" (27) within which new concepts are produced. This leads to the condition Derrida describes as "radical alterity," in which the logic of contradiction of the two original identities is troubled and complicated by intervening, mediating phenomena that refuse to adhere to either First- or Third-World subject positions.[16]

The Second-World position that may be hypothesized as arising from these conditions is, of course, just as open to the play of differences that necessarily accompanies any attempt to determine what this position signifies. Although some of those sympathetic to the construction of Second-World

identity, such as Margaret E. Turner in Imagining Culture: New World Narrative and the Writing of Canada,[17] have tended to treat the Second World as unproblematically unitary, in it too the play of signification actively produces difference. Turner's conflation of the first explorers of Canada and the country's subsequent settlers into an exemplary New Historicist figure "haunted by the monsters of the new world" (21) simply elides the potential and actual differences among Second-World subjects removed from one another in both time and cultural space. With regard to the subjects of this investigation, for example, Parker's "Pierre" stories make clear distinctions between frontier and civilized colonial identities; Allen's novel In All Shades emphasizes the differences between well-established settlers and recently-arrived immigrants; and Barr's In the Midst of Alarms is structured around what the text posits as a fundamental conflict between pro-Canadian and pro-American settler attitudes. These examples all argue for a complication of any unitary conception of the Second-World position of the "settler," as well as for the refusal of the idea that settlers somehow become identical or interchangeable in the process of constituting their subjectivity as inhabitants of an imperially-controlled polity.

Crucial here is the notion of settlement suggested by the phrase "settler colonialism." Settlement is a process that begins in the encounter with colonial space, and develops into

an ongoing process of negotiation between settlers and the place in which they have chosen to relocate. Closure--an end to the subject's self-conception as "settler" and its replacement by "citizen"--may or may not occur. It is also possible for the subject to remain so resistant to her new situation that she never moves outside the "unsettled" dynamics of the colonial/colonized encounter. But in examining Canadian settler narratives such as those of Susanna Moodie and Catherine Parr Traill, there is often a discernible movement from the condition of being newly settled to that of being to some degree comfortably settled. In The Wacousta Syndrome, Gaile McGregor identifies strategies of "simple avoidance," "conventionalization" and "domestication" (29-45) as among the most common responses of the colonist to what is being colonized.[18] Whereas "simple avoidance" leads to the reinscription of First-World sensibilities, Susanna Moodie's "conventionalization" of her feelings into a "serious inbuilt ambivalence" (38) and Catherine Parr Traill's "domestication" and "apparent transformation of the wilderness into a kitchen garden" (40) demonstrate a partial, if nonetheless still conflicted, coming to terms with colonial realities that adumbrates a Second-World subject position, and at the same time points out the potential for difference that exists within the domain of settler identity.

The evident complexity of Second-World identity issues requires a correspondingly nuanced methodology. The approach

to "identity" that I plan to take in examining the work of Allen, Barr and Parker has been succinctly expressed by Teresa de Lauretis, who describes contemporary discourse on identity as characterized by "the general sense of a process by which subjectivity is constructed," a formation which is "continuous, its achievement unending or daily renewed."[19] The result of this process is, in Edward Said's evocative phrase, a "contrapuntal ensemble" which reflects our understanding that "no identity can ever exist by itself and without an array of opposites, negatives, oppositions."[20] The task of the investigator of identity becomes one of observing the various components of this ensemble, while at the same time accepting that their dynamic, interactive character makes any precise determination of magnitude and location impossible.

My concern with the relationships between national and individual identities has led me to pay particular attention to Benedict Anderson's Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism and Etienne Balibar and Immanuel Wallerstein's Race, Nation, Class: Ambiguous Identities,two of the most influential recent considerations of this issue.[21] Anderson's Imagined Communities argues that "in the modern world everyone can, should, will 'have' a nationality, as he or she 'has' a gender" (14), since the nation provides its citizens with a "deep, horizontal comradeship . . . [a] fraternity" (16). Anderson identifies

the novel--the mode of the majority of Allen, Barr and Parker's literary expression--as a particularly powerful "form of imagining" that "provided the technical means for 're-presenting' the kind of imagined community that is the nation" (30), and is especially well-suited to expressing the "estrangement" caused by the "profound changes of consciousness" which have occurred in the last two centuries (4). In any case, every individual acquires "a conception of personhood, identity . . . which, because it cannot be 'remembered,' must be narrated" (204). We are consequently led to produce narratives of personal identity that subsequently become formative in our ongoing understanding of what it means to be ourselves. At the same time as this process goes on at the personal level, the subject's country generates a national narrative that produces the cultural practices within which personal identity is articulated.

Balibar and Wallerstein's Race, Nation, Class likewise posits a complex interaction between national and personal identities, in the course of which a necessarily provisional and unstable "fictive ethnicity" is constructed (49). In their version, however, the "estrangement" that Anderson identifies as intrinsic to this process results in the explicitly Freudian phenomenon of repression:

> National narratives of identity seek to harness the anxiety surrounding questions of personhood, but what they leave out resurfaces when the experiences of individuals conspicuously fail to conform to the definition of personhood offered in the narrative. The untold stories that concern me

> represent such disruptions. They must therefore be reabsorbed by the official stories they challenge. Yet the extra work required by that reabsorption threatens to expose the discontinuity it is supposed to obscure. Thus the uncanny continues to haunt the narrative, drawing attention to its obscured origin in the reformulation (hence to the conventionality) of personhood. Intrinsic to the narrative of identity is the ongoing possibility of a return to its own genesis in the uncanny (the unrecognised self)--in its efforts, that is, to establish continuity where there has been a rupture. (10)

Colonial-raised returnees to the centre of empire such as Allen, Barr and Parker face particularly complex identity situations, since their dual status as both attributively colonial and aspiringly imperial raises the possibility that they will have to sustain multiple as well as hybrid national identities rather than a single national identity of hybrid character.

As an example of the potential for complication here, we might consider the problematic status of Canadian-ness as an identity in the years preceding the First World War. Although I have argued that there are compelling reasons for understanding Canada as a society characterized by a "Second-World" form of identity, many English visitors to Canada during this period observed that the colony was in many respects as uncivilized as any Third-World culture. In Imperial Dreams and Colonial Realities, R.G. Moyles and Doug Owram cite a substantial body of English opinion that found Canada a place of "weird customs" (214) and "mongrel pronunciation" (217), its railway carriages and hotels full of

"rough men and women with whom in England you would not care to travel" (219), its inhabitants capable only of talking about "money-making" (223) and the country as a whole in danger of "growing to be a giant--but a giant without a soul" (225).[22] In effect, these observers equate Canada's settlers with its indigenous Natives, and subject both to what Peter Stallybrass and Allon White have described as the result of "the double process of colonialism":

> The Other must be transformed into the Same, the savage must be civilized . . . but at the same time, the Other's mimicry of the polite is treated as absurd, the cause of derisive laughter, thus consolidating the sense that the civilized is always-already given, the essential and unchanging possession which distinguishes the European citizen from the West Indian and the Zulu . . .[23]

The implications of this for identity formation are evident. Second-World subjects returning to the First-World countries from which their ancestors came may find themselves in some contexts identified as uncivilized, at the same time as they in other contexts participate in discourse formations which constitute them as imperial agents responsible for controlling and elevating both settlers and indigenous Natives. The Second-World position is an in-between one, always susceptible to offers of accommodation from both the First and Third Worlds: Allen will choose to immerse himself in the trans-national role of a writer most concerned with broad philosophical and scientific topics; Barr will play the only partially civilized colonial "growling like a bear over the

champagne";[24] Parker will pursue the highest honours the British Empire offers while attempting to leave his national and class origins behind.

Social class is another area in which Allen, Barr and Parker are positioned in between established concepts of identity, neither lower nor upper but in some indeterminate condition of the middle. Stallybrass and White evocatively describe the consequent anxiety of such a position as

> this heterogeneity which re-emerges from the very attempt to achieve a formal, balanced and empty neutrality; this vertiginous and disorienting calling of voices from above and below; all this clutter and mess of the bourgeois Imaginary inevitably forestalled its radical democratic project. It led no only to the ressentiment structure so often remarked upon in accounts of bourgeois desire, it led to a self-critical restlessness, which, as Nietzsche saw, was unparalleled outside of ascetic religious orders. Its attempts to still the low and distracting voices within (its attempts to 'come clean' about its identity) only exacerbated its duality, the sense, sometimes appalling, sometimes exhilarating, of being an outsider to itself. (199)

For writers whose social background is middle-class as well as colonial, and whose experience as returnees to England will encompass opportunities for both upward and downward mobility as well as awareness that they have brought their origins with them, such unease and displacement can be acute. Contested and hybridized identity formations--both personal and literary--can emerge. Examining Allen, Barr and Parker's identity conditions and formations can yield insight into the ways nations and individuals consolidated themselves and/or were

consolidated at the turn of the last century.

Although it is also important to pay attention to the historical and cultural contexts that are part of Allen, Barr and Parker's careers as writers, this has not been undertaken with the idea that context either explains or determines their published work. What contextualization can provide is an understanding of limits and possibilities. It helps us to comprehend why certain literary aspirations are unrealizeable--that Allen's interest in scientific writing must remain an avocation in the absence of an adequate private income, for example--and why others may be enacted without fear of being criticized as incompatible--Barr's simultaneous editorial, journalistic and novelistic work, say, as well as Parker's activities as novelist and propagandist.

One of the most ambitious attempts to integrate contextual considerations with textual analysis has been made by Pierre Bourdieu, whose work on the sociological and literary characteristics of 19th- and 20th-century France strikes many observers as being applicable to other cultures. Bourdieu's observations regarding the operation of the forces of cultural production, in particular, supply a framework that enables us to comprehend the situation of those writers, Allen, Barr and Parker among them, whose work has not been regarded as canonical. Bourdieu sees all social formations as being structured by a hierarchically organized series of fields, each of which is defined as a structured space with

its own laws of functioning. Fields are relatively autonomous but structurally homologous, and dynamic in that changes in the agent's position entail changes in the field's structure.

One of the key terms in Bourdieu's conception of the field is habitus, which he defines as

> principles which generate and organize practices and representations that can be objectively adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them. Objectively 'regulated' and 'regular' without being in any way the product of obedience to rules, they can be collectively orchestrated without being the product of the organizing action of a conductor.[25]

The concept of habitus makes a place for agency and the agent in interactions between individuals and society, while avoiding romantic and other essentialist conceptions of the artist as an independent creator or charismatic visionary. What Bourdieu calls the "field of power" and its sub-set, the "literary field," ground the agent's actions in objective social relations, which are understood as conditioning and influencing, rather than determining and producing, the activities of those within these fields.[26] The symbolic aspects of social life are inseparably linked to the material conditions of existence, although neither is reduceable to the other. In this way, Bourdieu combines an analysis of objective social structures with an account of the genesis, within particular individuals, of the socially constituted mental structures which generate practice.

Unlike traditional literary sociology's emphasis on the

influences that social forces and institutions exert on writers, Bourdieu focusses on the interactive character of the processes that produce observable phenomena in literary and cultural fields. For example, intersubjective agreement as to the value of particular products of artistic activity is a fundamental constituent of what takes place in culture and literature:

> The work of art is an object which exists as such only by virtue of the (collective) belief which knows and acknowledges it as a work of art. Consequently, in order to escape from the usual choice between celebratory effusions and the reductive analysis which, failing to take account of the fact of belief in the work of art and of the social conditions which produce that belief, destroys the work of art as such, a rigorous science of art must . . . assert the possibility and necessity of understanding the work in its reality as a fetish; it has to take into account everything which helps to constitute the work as such, not least the discourses of direct or disguised celebration which are among the social conditions of production of the work of art qua object of belief.[27]

Since the literary productions of Allen, Barr and Parker, in their day the object of many "celebratory effusions," have subsequently been largely forgotten, it is particularly important to stress that they were once the object of "discourses of direct or disguised celebration" that constituted part of the cultural and literary fields within which their work circulated.

What was once the desired end of a material process of social production--the outcome of a system of publication that involved the writing, editing, printing, distribution,

promotion, sale and reading of books--was, in other words, an object once thought to be worth producing: "works of art exist as symbolic objects only if they are known and recognized, that is, socially instituted as works of art and received by spectators capable of knowing and recognizing them as such" (37). Bourdieu further defines the kind of thinking that needs to be done here in arguing that

> To understand the practices of writers and artists, and not least their products, entails understanding that they are the result of the meeting of two histories: the history of the positions they occupy and the history of their dispositions. Although position helps to shape dispositions, the latter, in so far as they are the product of independent conditions, have an existence and efficacy of their own and can help to shape positions. (61)

The implications of this for studies of an individual writer's practice are evident:

> We must ask . . . not how a writer comes to be what he is, in a sort of genetic psycho-sociology, but rather how the position or 'post' he occupies--that of a writer of a particular type--became constituted. It is only then that we can ask if the knowledge of particular social conditions of the production of what I have termed his habitus permits us to understand that he has succeeded in occupying this position, if only by transforming it. (162)

Although the major focus of my investigation will be the almost entirely neglected "dispositions" of Allen, Barr and Parker, "the history of the positions" that they occupied--a topic that has received some scholarly attention--will also be a concern.

One of the most important aspects of this historical

positioning is their identification as being either wholly or in part journalistic writers, writers who are in effect barred from higher literary status by the nature of the material they produce. As Peter Keating comments in The Haunted Study, "'journalist' and 'journalism' rank among the most emotive words of the period."[28] Traditionally, the two words "simply described someone who wrote for the journals, a relatively respectable activity and one that [Henry] James would not have found unacceptable. But by the 1880s a journalist was someone who wrote primarily for the newspapers" (293). Desmond Pacey's dismissal of Robert Barr as one of the 1893-1923 period's "popular novelists of the journalistic variety," none of whom "could be taken seriously by a literary critic with strict standards," exemplifies the subsequent critical consensus as to the axiomatic inferiority of journalism to literature.[29]

If we could contain Allen, Barr and Parker within some notional 'merely journalistic' field, it would be easier to assign them a firm and correspondingly inferior place in literary history. One does not have to delve far into their careers, however, to discover phenomena that make such a designation problematic. Allen's involvement with prominent scientific and radical figures such as Charles Darwin, George Bernard Shaw, Herbert Spencer and H.G. Wells, Barr's friendships with American writers such as Stephen Crane, Mark Twain and Bret Harte and his completion of Crane's last novel, and the decision of Parker's publishers to issue an "Imperial

Edition" of his works--Kipling, Meredith and Stevenson being the only other English recipients of this honour--all suggest that it would be inappropriate to relegate them to some nether world of bargain-basement literary status. As a consequence, it would seem that we cannot rely on a clear-cut distinction between 'journalism' and 'literature' as a satisfactory method of defining the positions Allen, Barr and Parker occupy.

This difficulty has often been solved by designating writers such as these "literary-journalists," a hybrid concept that connotes an in-between space of writing more valued than journalism but not as meritorious as literature. Such attempts to localize this zone of contamination between journalism and literature are often carried out by those who have constituted themselves as guardians of literary reputation, among them critics--and particularly biographers--whose own professional standing would be lowered if their peers convicted them of scholarly involvement with 'mere journalists.' This form of terminological anxiety becomes most severe when the status of writers such as Twain, Crane and George Orwell--all of whom spent much of their professional life employed as journalists--is in question, and is typically solved by granting their journalism limited value while reserving the stamp of highest literary approval for their putatively canonical works. The journalism--or at least the more literarily respectable part of it--will be included in the 'Collected Works,' almost invariably among the last volumes to

appear and often rather less fully annotated than its more prestigious predecessors.

The situation is somewhat different for writers such as Allen, Barr and Parker, however, who have not been granted canonical literary status and are therefore not viewed as in equal danger of contamination from journalistic activity. The best that such writers can hope for, in terms of their subsequent critical reception, is admission to the domain of literary journalism as a reward for work perceived as achieving occasional excellence despite its journalistic character. But once they have entered this zone of contamination, however briefly, they have both logically--and, I will argue, to some extent literally--occupied a position in which their work exists in a discernible relationship to their period's literary field. What that relationship is, as well as how it is worked out in the writing lives of Allen, Barr and Parker, is central to my investigation. I will also be concerned here with the interaction among journalistic, literary-journalistic and literary fields, and the manner in which they are embedded within society's overarching field of power. These foci engage the issue of constructed identities (this study's major concern) in terms of the writers themselves.

In Bourdieu's view, the fields enunciated above will necessarily impinge upon one another; even the most cursory consideration of period publications suggests that this is

exactly what happens. The hierarchical structure of values that puts literature at the top, literary journalism in the middle and journalism at the bottom implies that only the field of literary journalism can be a hybrid form. If, however, we eliminate the hierarchical relationship, and take each field as to some extent overlapping the other two, we generate a more nuanced and complicated schema in which they all become potential places of hybridization.

In this scheme of things, writers who begin their careers as journalists, such as Shaw and Wells, go on to write literature, and literati such as Henry James and George Gissing, often overtly hostile toward the popular press, nonetheless occasionally find themselves writing for it. Journalists as well as literati appear in certain periodicals; Parker and Thomas Hardy write for Macmillan's Magazine, Allen and Joseph Conrad for Cornhill. In turn, literary journalists such as Jerome K. Jerome and Edmund Gosse temporarily enter the canon with Three Men in a Boat and Father and Son, respectively, even though both frequently wrote for newspapers in addition to their regular professional activities.

In choosing to adopt journalism, literary journalism and literature as structural components of my analysis, I am aware that further divisions are possible: the final quarter of the 19th century saw the appearance of "yellow journalism" and the "Aesthetic Movement," for example, which may well constitute fields or sub-fields of 'lower journalism' and 'higher

literature,' respectively. Given the fact of literary history's comparative neglect of journalism and literary journalism as either noteworthy or valuable activities, in my view the appropriate place to begin is by inquiring into the salient characteristics and interpretive implications of these two 'sub-literary' fields of authorship.

Although Allen, Barr and Parker did enter into their era's literary field, the contemporary reception of their work for the most part either placed it in between the domains of literature and journalism, or assigned it a value equivalent to that of journalism. This is particularly apparent with regard to where their fiction was likely to be reviewed: seldom in such elitist organs of the literary intelligentsia as The Nineteenth Century, The Athenaeum, Times Literary Supplement and Literature, but frequently in such middle- to low-brow illustrated periodicals as The Bookman, Strand, Pearson's Weekly and The Idler, which typically emphasized the entertainment value of their work in a way that effectively distances it from literature. Their work is not mentioned in such contemporary surveys of respectably "literary" writing as G.K. Chesterton's 1913 The Victorian Age in Literature and both the 1898 and 1924 editions of Edmund Gosse's A Short History of Modern English Literature.[30] This state of affairs is continued in A.C. Ward's Twentieth Century Literature (1928) and Joseph Warren Beach's The Twentieth-Century Novel (1932).[31]

Much the same is true of their nonfiction. Parker and Barr's was avowedly journalistic given its publication in popular magazines and newspapers, but even Allen's articles on science, religion and social problems--which often appeared in more prestigious journals such as The Fortnightly Review and Cornhill Magazine--were treated dismissively. Holbrook Jackson's survey of The Eighteen Nineties (1913), for example, does not mention either Barr or Parker.[32] Allen does appear as "a journalistic champion" (38) of new forms of writing, as a representative of the era's "revolutionists and reformers" (130) and as the author of essays on "The New Hedonism"--"little more than a veiled piece of Socialist propaganda" (26)--and "The Celt in English Art" ("vivacious," 147; "just a little premature," 148). Otherwise, he appears in long lists of 'those who wrote,' but neither his fiction nor his nonfiction are alloted the status of intrinsically valuable--as opposed to historically significant--writing.

The milieu within which these authors operated was characterized by certain values that come under the heading of the 'popular,' such as appeal to a wide readership and high earning power. They also had to pay attention to requirements specific to the profession of journalism, especially the rapid production of copy and the ability to work cooperatively with one's peers. In this context, a professional writer's actual title or role was subject to frequent change. Today's editor might well be tomorrow's contributor, and a seasonal success

as the author of a best-selling novel might be followed by the need to ask colleagues for lowly sub-editorial or manuscript-reading work in the absence of other income. Robert Barr edited Idler pieces by Grant Allen in 1892 and 1895, while Allen in turn edited Barr's The Unchanging East for its 1900 appearance in the "Travel Lovers' Library" series.

Such practical and popular writing is antithetical to the idealistic and elitist literary values that were in process of formation during this period, and have subsequently dominated 20th-century literary discourse. Popularity, largely unproblematic for Dickens and Thackeray, produces conflictual agonies in James and Gissing. Also, the revulsion with which the practical economic concerns of Anthony Trollope's Autobiography were received in late-19th-century literary circles foreshadows Modernist insistence on the inverse relationship between high income and high art. Trollope's pride in writing a certain number of words each and every day, similarly, can only be scorned by an incoming literary ethic that stresses quality rather than quantity. The idea that canonical literary figures might in some sense be interchangeable rather than unique is simply unthinkable for those participating in the post-Romantic consensus that reveres the artist's individual talent.

In addition to the complicated issues raised by the contemporary and subsequent reception of their work's intrinsic merits, colonial returnees such as Allen, Barr and

Parker also were the possessors of what Bourdieu identifies as "cultural capital" (forms of cultural knowledge, competences or dispositions) that in their field of cultural production was potentially capable of being transformed into "symbolic capital" (prestige, based on a dialectic of knowledge and recognition). This 'colonial' aspect of Allen, Barr and Parker's interaction with the era's journalistic, literary-journalistic and literary fields was sometimes cited as sufficient reason for reading them, and so constitutes another aspect of their work's contextualization.

Renata Wasserman has described the situation of 19th-century writers in the "New World" as one in which it was necessary

> to stress the difference in nature and the equivalence in value between what was of the New World and what was of the Old. The task was made easier, and at the same time more difficult, by their being forced to perform it in the language of the former metropolis, laden as it was with its own connotational and ideological baggage.
> . . . one of the strategies of New World authors became to take up this otherness, create (or reveal) a system around it, and use it as the sign of a systematic opposition to the metropoles and an affirmation of an independent identity.[33]

Although written with reference to meta-narratives that chart the increasing independence of American and Latin-American literatures from formative imperial influences, Wasserman's observation is also applicable to the more equivocal position of Canadian-born and/or bred authors vis-a-vis the imperial homeland. In a cultural context that valued loyalty to Great Britain and at the same time debated what degree of autonomy

was appropriate for Canada and other colonial polities, the notion of an "independent identity" was itself problematic. After the American Revolution, Canada became a refuge for those who preferred to remain British subjects, a place where being a "loyalist" was for many integral to what it meant to be Canadian. Ties to Britain remained strong. The relative ease with which Canadian writers were able to establish themselves on the London literary scene sometimes seemed to unfold as a kind of homecoming, an unexceptional return to origins rather than a journey fraught with unfamiliarity.

As British subjects returning home from overseas, Allen, Barr and Parker could have adopted an imperially grounded identity that made no more than an occasional parenthetic acknowledgement of their origins. All of them, at various times and in various circumstances, did exactly that: Allen successfully created a place for himself as a major participant in the contemporary discourse on contentious social questions; Barr became an exemplary representative of London's jack-of-all-trades journalists; Parker undertook a political career whose apogee was his selection as a propagandist eminently qualified to influence American attitudes toward Great Britain.

This ease of assimilation, and the largely automatic acceptance which greeted these 'overseas Englishmen' returning to their roots, meant that they found themselves with no clear-cut models upon which to base the construction of

identities that would reflect the complexity of their background as colonial subjects. Two obvious options, those of either identifying with the aggressive advance of British imperialism or valorizing the virtues of the brave New World's Natives and settlers, were available to them via the respective examples of writers such as Britain's G.A. Henty and the U.S.'s James Fenimore Cooper. With few exceptions--most notably two potboilers by Allen (The Jaws of Death and The Bride from the Desert) in which crudely drawn non-whites menace lily-white innocents--they opted to pursue less straightforward strategies that maintained some degree of 'in-betweenness' which either avoided or amended their era's stereotypical imperial/colonial figurations.

Although Allen, Barr and Parker all grew up in Canada, there is an absence of detailed biographical or autobiographical records--which in itself points to the 'impoverished' and 'disadvantaged' aspect of their background as colonials. Their Canadian origins are consigned to a kind of 'lack' that is repaired by the return to England. As Slemon has noted,

> One of the legacies of the colonial encounter is a notion of history as "the few privileged moments" of achievement, which serves either to arrogate "history" wholesale to the imperial centre or to erase it from the colonial archive and produce, especially in New World cultures, a condition of "historylessness," of "no visible history."[34]

Even if we take a narrower view of Allen, Barr and Parker as economic agents seeking to maximize their professional

opportunities within the field of literary production, it is still a lack of Canadian possibilities that characterizes their Canadian origins. That this was part of the contemporary writer's assessment of the situation is made explicit in Barr's essay "Literature in Canada," in which he states that Canada's "greatest literary man would live in squalor, if he remained within her boundaries and depended upon her for support."[35] Barr argues that "money is the root of all literature," and since Canadians are unwilling to pay for good writing, there will not be a Canadian literature until there is a sea change in national attitudes (8). Like Trollope in his Autobiography, Barr's frankness about the economic underpinnings of authorship runs counter to the substantial--and historically, ultimately victorious--body of contemporary opinion that viewed literature as primarily an aesthetic calling.

Barr mentions two other Canadian writers--W.A. Fraser and Charles G.D. Roberts--who had made similar decisions to relocate to England. This points to the reverse emigration of writers as a social phenomenon that would tend to reinforce an individual's decision to return. By 1905, the date of Barr's essay, he, Allen, Parker, Fraser, Roberts and Sara Jeannette Duncan were among the best-known of the many Canadians who had emigrated to England to pursue literary careers. There is a habitus, in Bourdieu's sense, that encourages the individual to follow in the footsteps of other writers, as the Empire

calls home a class of aspiring authors at the same time as it sends forth immigrants, administrators, adventurers and entrepeneurs. Most Canadian writers did not choose to move to England. Many of them harshly criticized those who did, sometimes to the extent of actively contesting the expatriate's Canadian identity. This resentment would eventually be written into Canadian literary history by one of the country's most prominent 20th-century critics, E.K. Brown:

> The author who emigrates becomes an almost complete loss to our literature. It is probable that in the end . . . he will take out papers of citizenship in the country where he has found his economic security and to which he has transferred his spiritual allegience. If he goes to Britain the choice will not arise in this form, but he will be at best simply a citizen of the empire ceasing to be an authentic Canadian.[36]

Brown here has Allen particularly in mind, but there is no doubt that Barr and Parker would also cease to be "authentic Canadians" given such a representation of their situation.

Allen, Barr and Parker are as a consequence subject to a potential double marginalization: rejected by their country of origin at the same time as they are denied serious literary status by their country of adoption. In a manner opposite to the reputational history of Henry James--claimed by both American and English literary historians--or Vladimir Nabokov--the object of Russian as well as American interest--Allen, Barr and Parker have for the most part been denied any context whatsoever by English and Canadian literary critics and historians. In contrast to the erasure of their

problematized identities, this dissertation seeks to tease out the various strategies of their legitimation. Indeed, my extended treatment of the work of Allen, Barr and Parker itself reconfigures the identities of these writers and their oeuvres.

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II. GRANT ALLEN: The Clash of Races and the Control of Gender

When Grant Allen was asked to write an article on defence policy for the 1898 Canadian Year Book, his reply suggested both a weak connection with Canada and a strong trans-national political stance:

> You can know very little of my aims and ideals if you think I would willingly do anything to help on a work whose avowed object is to arouse 'military enthusiasm.' . . . My desire in life has been not to kill, but to help and aid all mankind, irrespective of nationality, creed, language, or colour. I hate war, and everything that leads to it, as I hate murder, rapine, or the ill-treatment of women. I dislike slavery, however cloaked under the disguise of 'Imperialism.'[1]

This statement is indicative of Allen's social position as a controversial writer who was a member of the Fabian Society and had publically supported "The New Hedonism"[2] as well as woman's emancipation and suffrage. The ideals expressed here, however, are not necessarily those of Allen's novels and short stories. Just as this letter's desire to "help and aid" others implies a position of superiority, so does his fiction often appear to collude with the imperial project in arguing that it is necessary for England to retain political and cultural hegemony over its fledgling colonies. If, in George Bernard Shaw's view, Allen sometimes "sold [him]self to the devil for money,"[3] he also frequently shocked his contemporaries with troubling scenes of interracial sexual contact and women behaving independently. His work inscribes imperialist and patriarchal attitudes on resistant colonial and female

subjects while at the same time illustrating how these attitudes may be ripe for subversion, as Allen constantly struggles to reconcile the demands of the marketplace with those of his aims and ideals.

Grant Allen was born near Kingston, Ontario in 1848, and spent the first 13 years of his life in Canada.[4] He attended secondary schools in France and England before matriculating at Oxford University in 1867, graduating with a B.A. in 1871. While there he became fascinated by the works of Charles Darwin and Herbert Spencer, and developed interests in philosophy, biology and physiology. From 1873 to 1876, he was professor of logic at Government College, a school for black students in Jamaica, and then returned to England when his first book, Physiological Aesthetics (1877), was critically well-received. Scientific works such as this and The Colour Sense (1879) did not sell well, however, and for several years Allen was forced to eke out an existence as a freelance journalist.

A significant development in his career occurred when in 1880 a magazine editor suggested that a nonfiction article might better be presented in fictional guise.[5] Allen's short stories and novels proved to be much more commercially successful than his philosophical and scientific writing: when the mass-market magazine Tit-Bits sponsored a competition for best serial in 1883, Allen's submission topped the more than 20,000 entries, earned him 1,000 pounds, and established him

as a commercially viable writer.[6] Although Allen continued to publish on philosophical and scientific topics, it was what his friend James Sully described as his "exceptional versatility of mind" that enabled him at the same time to produce bestselling fiction that garnered public acclaim as well as monetary reward.[7]

Much of his fiction, most notably The Woman Who Did (1895), deals with topics of contemporary social concern. This novel shocked period sensibilities with its bold portrait of a woman living with a man and bearing his child without being married. The title even became a stock phrase that sparked at least one novelistic response--Victoria Cross's The Woman Who Didn't--and was liable to appear in any period fiction about women who challenged the status quo. In H.G. Wells's novel Ann Veronica, for example, the protagonist's father attributes her contrariness to "this torrent of misleading, spurious stuff that pours from the press. These sham ideals and advanced notions, Women who Dids, and all that kind of thing."[8]

Allen also dealt frankly with racial issues resulting from Britain's imperial project, and considered himself the first English novelist to treat the topic of "the clash of races," which he defined as "interaction in a problematic way."[9] Allen's contemporaries often speak of him as an 'advanced' writer--"one of the trumpeters of 'advance' in every form," as Richard Le Gallienne put it--and as an active, opinionated companion.[10] In Herbert Spencer's view, he was

"on all occasions, either talking about something or thinking about something," as a result of which Allen would at meals "bolt mouthful after mouthful almost unawares."[11]

In Experiment in Autobiography H.G. Wells prefaces his description of Allen by saying, "I do not think I have ever made a fair acknowledgement of a certain mental indebtedness to him."[12] Wells offers a particularly interesting portrait of Allen as

> . . . uneasy in his prosperity. He had had an earlier infection of the same ferment of biology and socialism that was working in my blood. He wanted not merely to enjoy life but to do something to it. Social injustice and sexual limitation bothered his mind, and he was critical of current ideas and accepted opinions. (461)

And when Havelock Ellis's Sexual Inversion was published in 1897 and attacked as an obscene libel, Allen, along with George Bernard Shaw, Edward Carpenter and others, formed a Free Press Defence Committee that protested against attempts to suppress the book.[13]

Allen died in 1899 after a career in which he produced more than 75 books and much periodical journalism, but his posthumous reputation is characterized by neglect, condescension and dismissal. Since his journalistic writings did not often deal with Canadian topics, he was much less likely to be identified as an expatriate Canadian than were Barr and Parker; his fiction, with the exception of a few short stories and part of one novel, is also situated outside Canada.[14] E.K. Brown's influential "The Problem of a Canadian

Literature" claimed that "No one thinks of Grant Allen as a Canadian author" (8), and Allen is not even mentioned in Desmond Pacey's Creative Writing in Canada.

When Allen is included among the ranks of Canadian writers, comment tends to be dismissive. In The Oxford Companion to Canadian Literature David Jackel observes that Allen's work "had no significant effect on Canadian literature" (8-9) and, quoting Joseph Conrad, possesses "no lasting qualities" (8). In the Literary History of Canada, Gordon Roper, S. Ross Beharriell and Rupert Schieder conclude that "Grant Allen's fiction contains little that reflects his Canadian birth and early education. His books were discussed in Canadian journals, but few Canadians, for whatever reasons, thought of him as 'one of ours.'"[15]

It is rare to find Allen mentioned at all in contemporary discussions of Canadian literature. W.H. New has suggested that Allen and Barr may constitute a "counter-tradition of urban wit" as opposed to what in the Canada of the time was thought to be the "new realism," but this seems to have fallen on uninterested critical ears.[16] There has been a mild revival of interest in The Woman Who Did's relationship to period gender issues, although this is typically qualified by comments such as Elaine Showalter's dismissal of the novel as patronizing to women and not, in fact, progressive.[17]

Allen, who was sufficiently well-known by his contemporaries to be referred to familiarly in Wells's The

Time Machine,[18] did make substantial contributions to the genres of science fiction and detective fiction. His novel The British Barbarians (1895), narrated from the point of view of a 25th-century time-traveller's disapproval of the primitive aspects of late 19th-century English life, combined a fantasy framework with trenchant social criticism; his short stories "Pausodyne" and "The Child of the Phalanstery" find a place in The Encyclopedia of Science Fiction as being among the first fictional considerations of suspended animation and eugenics, respectively.[19] Allen's volume of short stories about the exploits of Colonel Cuthbert Clay, An African Millionaire (1897), is often cited in histories of detective fiction as one of the first books to "deal with a 'gentleman crook'";[20] the novels Miss Cayley's Adventures (1899) and Hilda Wade (1900) have both been cited as containing early examples of "female investigators."[21]

Although Allen has gone down in literary history, in the absence of any strong competing claims to the contrary, as a marginal member of the Canadian writing community, he in fact spent little time in the country after the age of 13. Thus Allen's recruitment into Canadian literary history indicates that birthplace, not surprisingly, is the key to determining borderline cases of settler identity. Barr, though born in Scotland, spent more years in Canada and wrote more about it than did Allen; he was nonetheless omitted from R.E. Watters' A Checklist of Canadian Literature and Background Materials

1628-1960, the first comprehensive bibliography of its subject.[22] Watters did, however, include Allen as well as Parker (who was also born in Canada) in his survey, and so Allen has continued to occupy a small but continuously maintained niche in Canadian literary history.

The unusual course of Allen's literary career must also be kept in mind when reading his fiction. Initially motivated by the desire to explore intellectually challenging scientific and philosophical issues, his efforts are deflected, by family and editorial pressures as well as his growing enjoyment of the rewards of commercial success, into the role of best-selling author. His 1892 Idler essay on "My First Book" expresses this succinctly:

> I wasn't born a novelist, I was only made one. Philosophy and science were the first loves of my youth. I dropped into romance as many men drop into drink, or opium-eating, or other bad practices, not of native perversity, but by pure force of circumstance. (155)

Allen goes on to relate what happened when his first novel to see print, Philistia (1884), met with some editorial opposition from its publisher:

> He said it would rather repel than attract readers . . . I see now that, as an editor, he was perfectly right; I was giving the public what I felt and thought and believed myself, not what the public felt and thought and wanted. The education of an English novelist consists entirely in learning to subordinate all his own ideas and tastes and opinions to the wishes and beliefs of the inexorable British matron. (161-62)

George Meredith had earlier spoken of the danger of offending "the British Matron," a figure whose putatively conservative

tastes are a staple of the period's discourse regarding what can and cannot be written.[23]

Unlike those contemporary novelists, Barr and Parker amongst them, who took this as indicating that literary success depended on finding out what readers wanted and then giving it to them, Allen often seems reluctant to follow the line of least authorial resistance. His intellectual interests are always spilling over into his fiction: passion-charged stories of interracial sexual attraction are interlaced with serious evolutionary and genetic concerns, and tales of women flouting conventional morality are interwoven with reflections on gender. Although he often draws back from advocating what his texts entertain as possibilities, the fact that such material appears at all in popular fiction sets him apart from most of his peers.

In an article on "The Celt in English Art," for example, Allen describes the 19th century as essentially "deep-questioning, mystic, uncertain, rudderless: faith gone; humanity left: heaven lost; earth realised as man's, the home and sole hope for the future."[24] His controversial and best-selling novel The Woman Who Did renders this as "Blank pessimism is the one creed possible for all save fools. To hold any other is to curl yourself up selfishly in your own easy chair" (141). Both of these passages are cited in John A. Lester, Jr.'s Journey Through Despair 1880-1914: Transformations in British Literary Culture as representative

of "the clear emergence in English literary consciousness of a conviction that the known bearings of literary culture, whether humanist, romantic, or Victorian, have been forever lost."[25]

In any case, it is not surprising that Allen's various involvements with such radical, challenging and often deeply unpopular views were anathema not only to the "inexorable British matron." The Canadian novelist and literary journalist Agnes Maule Machar, for example, found Allen's fiction repugnant for its advocacy of a point of view that,

> while it illuminates certain fields of knowledge, does not recognize its own limitations, and overlooks the deepest facts of human consciousness, with the inevitable penalty of falling short of the profoundest truth, and of robbing our human life of its true spiritual glory; and ignoring those strongest forces which have inspired humanity to its noblest victories in the past as they alone can do in the future.[26]

An 1895 review of The Woman Who Did in The Canadian Magazine made the consequences of such shocking behaviour explicit in stating that "There is little doubt that Grant Allen has injured himself in Canada by his outré writing,"[27] an attitude echoed by the Ottawa Citizen's denunciation of the novel as the "abortive production of an unhealthy brain."[28] When coupled with the current academic community's lack of interest in Allen discussed above, such sentiments have resulted in a situation in which Allen has become a figure of--at best--'only historical interest.'

Allen's resistance to simply pandering to period

prejudices is especially noticeable in his fictional treatments of racial issues, which are often remarkably complex in comparison to those produced by other contemporary writers. As Brian V. Street observes, the imperial romances of Kipling, Haggard, Henty and their peers typically depict the decidedly unproblematic subordination of the inferior native to the superior colonizer in the years leading

> up to the First World War, when the stereotypes of natives derived from a less self-conscious tradition and when the myths of racial superiority, social evolution and the white man's burden were more deeply rooted in the ideology of writers and readers alike. During this period, it was more usual to characterise the 'savage' as inherently simple, child-like, gullible or faithful than to analyse the problems of 'race relations.'[29]

Writing from a position of white racial superiority that hierarchizes those who meet in "the clash of races," Allen often constructs complicated and highly nuanced situations in which race is not the only, or at times even the primary, category by which individuals are identified. This is sometimes undertaken in an overtly confrontational manner, one that represents itself as self-consciously opposing the conventional wisdom that race is the most important component of personal identity. At other times, Allen fashions narratives in which racial essentialism is paramount, as savages of various non-white hues demonstrate their intrinsic barbarity en masse and must therefore be subdued by superior white civilizers in standard imperial-romance terms. Allen reproduces imperial ideology in both assuming and illustrating

the inferiority of the indigenous native "Other." However, his depiction of situations in which race conditions, but does not necessarily determine, the life outcomes of individuals raises the possibility that he may also be interrogating the imperialist assumption that all non-whites are the "white man's burden."

In the short story "The Reverend John Creedy" (1883), race functions as a significant but not necessarily completely determining element of individual identity.[30] Reverend Creedy is a black, African, Oxford-educated clergyman who plans to return to the Gold Coast of Africa as a missionary, a circumstance that provokes an imperialist warning from the uncle of the woman Creedy will shortly marry:

> I've been a good bit on the Coast myself in my time, after palm oil and such, and my opinion is that a nigger's a nigger anywhere, but he's a sight less of a nigger in England than out yonder in Africa. Take him to England, and you make a gentleman of him; send him home again, and the nigger comes out in spite of you. (89-90).

The uncle seems to say that it is possible for race to be partially cancelled by place--or at least by one particular place, England, which is represented as an "advanced civilization" by the story's anonymous narrator (89). And yet, the overt racism of the phrase "a nigger's a nigger anywhere" implies that Africans in England are only relatively superior to Africans in Africa, and remain markedly inferior to English whites.

Despite this attitude, however, the uncle acquiesces to

the marriage of his niece, Ethel Berry, to Reverend John Creedy, a marriage that is actively promoted by Ethel's aunt, the local vicar and his wife, as well as the secretary of the Gold Coast Evangelistic Society. The latter asserts that "It will steady [Creedy] . . . and give him importance in the eyes of the natives as well" (91). In this situation, Ethel's use value is represented as the power and portability of her whiteness: by hypothesizing that she will impart equilibrium to her husband and higher status to his position among his fellow Africans, the text articulates a moment of overt consensus as to the unqualified superiority of whiteness to blackness.

Although the opposition of Ethel's uncle to this match is overcome by the collective influence of its advocates, both he and the narrator continue to warn against the likely outcome of such a marriage. The uncle's views are somewhat qualified by his observation that either residence in England, or marriages in which the husband is white and the wife black, may result in successful interracial unions:

> No white girl ought to marry a black man, even if he <u>is</u> a parson. It ain't natural: our instinct is again [sic] it. A white man may marry a black woman if he likes; I don't say anything again him, though I don't say I'd do it myself, not for any money. But a white woman to marry a black man, why, it makes our blood rise . . . (96)

The narrator, meanwhile, takes a much firmer and morally judgemental line in commenting that her friends "conspired in all innocence of heart to sell poor Ethel into African

slavery" (91), and refers to the "impassable barrier" that "a certain indescribable race-instinct set up" against her marriage to Creedy (93). That this is not really an impassable barrier for the text is demonstrated by the fact that the marriage takes place shortly thereafter. The reason why the impassable becomes possible appears to lie in Allen's conflicted portrait of Creedy.

Viewed against the backdrop of the "advanced civilization" to which he has to some degree been acculturated, Creedy

> was a comely looking negro enough, full-blooded, but not too broad-faced nor painfully African in type; and when he was playing tennis his athletic quick limbs and his really handsome build took away greatly from the general impression of an inferior race. His voice was of the ordinary Oxford type, open, pleasant, and refined, with a certain easy-going air of natural gentility, hardly marred by just the faintest tinge of the thick negro burr in the broad vowels . . . . To say the truth, John Creedy, in spite of his black face, dazzled poor Ethel, for he was more of a scholar and a gentleman than anybody with whom she had ever before had the chance of conversing on equal terms. (91-92)

Here Creedy has become almost white, an only slightly defective version of the "scholar and gentleman" cited as a societal ideal. His social class, evidently a superior one from Ethel's point of view, combines with his acquired social graces and personal appearance to make him an attractive man.

Nonetheless, the narrator has reservations about Creedy because of his race, reservations which have not been completely cancelled by the influence of "advanced

civilization's" place. The result is illustrative of Homi Bhabha's concept of "ambivalence," which depicts relationships between colonizers and colonized as necessarily unsettled for all participants. As the colonized mimic and repeat the actions of the colonizers, the reinscription of "a difference that is almost the same, but not quite" produces situations in which "the reforming civilizing mission is threatened by the disciplinary gaze of its disciplinary double."[31] It is precisely this conflict between the imperatives of civilizing and disciplining that troubles the story's opening pages, and the rejection of the civilizing mission by projecting essential savage Africanness onto Creedy that characterizes its conclusion. Here colonialist discourse resolves its ambivalence by terminating this dichotomy <u>within</u> Creedy, thereby closing out his account with civilization and sending him on a one-way journey back to the jungle.

Prior to this, however, the "civilizing" aspect of the British Empire's interest in making Creedy into a loyal subject who will transmit "advanced civilization's" religion and culture to primitive Africans has brought him to England, educated him at one of the country's finest institutions and encouraged him to adopt its gentlemanly ideal. Creedy manages to acquire this new identity to the extent that the putatively "impassable barrier" of interracial marriage is in fact breached. But the narrator insists on keeping Creedy in the position of the almost-white; the story's language oscillates

between allusions to desirable white qualities and images of negative black qualities in a way that exemplifies Bhabha's notion of ambivalence.

The statement that Creedy is "not too broad-faced nor painfully African in type" signifies that he is to some extent broad-faced and painfully African in type. That his appearance takes "away greatly from the general impression of an inferior race" means that he remains to some extent representative of such a race. If his voice is "hardly marred by just the faintest tinge of the thick negro burr," we are still being told that his voice is to some extent marred by this racial characteristic. Deployment of an anonymous and omniscient narrator conspires to assure the reader of the apparently unmediated 'reality' of this portrait of a character almost but not quite white. In actuality these signs of essential racial identity and salient racial differences are, as Bhabha has pointed out, always invented and interpreted by the text.[32]

Creedy must nonetheless marry Ethel for the story to proceed, and so he must approximate to the condition of whiteness in a manner sufficient to convince others that he "can try to deserve" her (94). The narrator is again markedly ambivalent about Creedy becoming white: "like all negroes, he was frankly egotistical" (93); "like many other lower races," he has "the faculty of speech largely developed" (94); "with all the faults of his negro nature, John Creedy was at heart

an earnest and affectionate man, after his kind" (97). The text must make Creedy sufficiently credible as an almost-white to justify Ethel's decision to marry him, but will not relax its vigilance concerning his non-white characteristics.

The text's problem is that, while he remains in England, Creedy must be simultaneously black and white. He cannot become white, but he must nonetheless be better than black. These respective racial qualities are figured in such a way that integrating them is not a possible, or even thinkable, solution. It is only by constructing a complex and always ambivalent identity that a temporarily satisfactory John Creedy can be fashioned in England; his problematic racial characteristics must be leavened with the sustaining context of English civilization, and ameliorated by the mitigating factors of higher social class and masculinity.

This identity serves Creedy well as long as he remains in England, where it is supported by a cultural habitus that enables him to be "in all essentials an educated English gentleman, with the same chivalrous feelings toward a pretty and attractive girl that every English gentleman ought to have" (93). The ambivalent note of "in all essentials" expresses the text's continued determination to keep Creedy in the position of the inescapably black, even as it praises him for being almost white. But when the couple marry and subsequently travel to a remote West African village to take up missionary work, Creedy is gradually reabsorbed into the

"heathendom and savagery" of his native place (101), as his kinship with relatives such as the "gaunt and squalid savage woman" who is his aunt is reestablished (101).

In Africa, Ethel increasingly sees "gleams of the savage nature peeping through" (103) and, a year after their arrival, comes home to a shocking sight:

> There, on the bed, torn into a hundred shreds, lay John Creedy's black coat and European clothing. The room whirled around her, and though she had never heard of such a thing before, the terrible truth flashed across her bewildered mind like a hideous dream . . .
>
> Yes, instinct had gained the day over civilization; the savage in John Creedy had broken out . . . (104)

Ethel, now "white with horror" at the sight of her husband dressed and behaving as a "reeling, shrieking, black savage" (104-05), is literally shocked into consciousness of the no longer ambivalent difference between her civilized whiteness and Creedy's primitive blackness. She soon succumbs to fever and Creedy carries her home, walking as "erect and steady as when he first walked up the aisle" of the church in which they were married--his last civilized act, from the point of view of the narrator. In the story's concluding sentence, he "hurried out like one on fire into the darkness" (105).

Racial essentialism replaces and erases ambivalence at the conclusion of the story. Such essentialism is at the heart of the darkness to which the Reverend John Creedy succumbs. The previously ambivalent ground on which whiteness and blackness participated in an unstable union has been replaced

by forceful representations of the text's habitual suspicion that blackness is fundamentally a primitive, savage and child-like condition in every way inferior to whiteness.

In addition to this basic racial dichotomy, however, England's "advanced civilization" and Africa's "heathendom and savagery" are seen as powerful forces that can either counteract or reinforce inherent racial characteristics. The influence of England, supplemented by masculinity and class position, raises Creedy into the realm of the almost-white, while the influence of Africa strips him of the "civilization [that] was only a veneer" (103) and returns him to his black origins. Since it is only the return to Africa that destroys Creedy's almost-whiteness, we may infer that his continued sojourn in England would likely have resulted in a continuing suspension of the difficulties connoted by his blackness.

The idea that a black African might be able to move upward within the framework of a church hierarchy could have been suggested to Allen by the example of Samuel Crowther, a European-educated Yoruba who accompanied the 1854 Niger Expedition as a missionary, and later became the first Anglican Bishop in West Africa. After discussing Crowther's case in The Africa That Never Was, Dorothy Hammond and Alta Jablow observe that

> The Westernized African contravened the clear-cut distinctions the British had drawn between themselves and the Africans--ruler and subject, white man and "nigger," civilized and savage. The British had vested political, economic, and psychological interests in maintaining these

contrasts.

> The Westernized African was an ever-present reminder to the British that the disparity might be overcome in a single lifetime. They viewed the acculturated African as a threat to their prerogatives and to the established social order. Their response in the literature was to make him a target for ridicule and censure; it was sometimes humorously phrased, but always contemptuous.[33]

G.D. Killam's Africa in English Fiction 1874-1939 goes even further in characterizing British attitudes:

> From Henty onwards the educated African wherever he appears in this fiction is pompous, arrogant in bearing, and affected in manners and speech. He grotesquely imitates the attitude of the white man and is always unfavourably compared with uneducated tribesmen.[34]

If Allen had shared these sentiments, Creedy would have been merely a comic character, a figure of fun derided for his presumption in attempting to emulate white standards of behaviour. But Allen's characterization is more ambivalent and complex than this, and often seems to be congratulating Creedy for achieving almost-white status while at the same time reminding the reader that he retains a discernable residue of inferior African qualities. Contrary to Killam's generalization, Creedy remains superior to "uneducated tribesmen" to the very end. The spectre of the primitive dark male lusting for the refined white female, a staple of imperial narratives that Allen would imitate elsewhere, has here been suspended.

Allen would later reverse the sexual polarities of "The Reverend John Creedy" in two stories that take contrasting approaches to encounters between white men and black women.

The eponymous protagonist of "Ivan Greet's Masterpiece"[35] (1893) is a journalist who admits to an editor that he has long ago sold out to the demands of the marketplace: "for five guineas a column I'd be tenderly respectful to King Ahab himself if you cared to insist upon it. You may count on my writing whatever rubbish you desire for the nursery mind" (288). In his own estimation, however, Ivan is a poet, although his aspirations are mocked in a narrative that first makes fun of his "lank, long hair . . . always abnormally damp and moist, with a sort of unnatural and impalpable moisture" (289), and then depicts him as wasting what free time he does have in bemoaning his unfortunate circumstances.

> . . . in these days, if any man has anything out of the common to say, he must be rich and his own master, or he won't be allowed to say it. If he's poor, he has first to earn his living; and to earn his living he's compelled to do work he doesn't want to do--work that stifles the things which burn and struggle for utterance within him. . . . But this hackwork will draw him further and further afield from the work in life for which God made him . . . (289-90)

Although Allen's aspirations were scientific and philosophical rather than poetic, the story's representation of journalism as a hack's game suggests that he may be expressing his resentment at the restrictions imposed by commecial publishing. In real life, Allen adjusted to this circumstance and became a best-selling author who tried to work radical and advanced ideas into some of his work. In Ivan Greet's story, however, a would-be literary artist exercises the more romantic option of travelling to Jamaica, where he will find a

kind of satisfaction that both reinforces his white superiority and sanctions a relationship with an intriguingly different "Other."

As often in the civilized white's encounter with what is represented as savage otherness, Greet's first impressions are characterized by a tendency to see crowds and masses rather than individuals. This refusal to differentiate among the members of social groups dominates his figuration of Natives and their world:

> In a moment the little cluster of negro hovels was all a-buzz with conjecture, and hubbub, and wonderment. Only the small black babies were left sprawling in the dust, with the small black pigs, beside their mothers' doors, so that you could hardly tell at a glance which was which . . . (296)

Like many other colonized people in imperially oriented fiction, the Jamaicans are portrayed as being flattered by Ivan's arrival:

> As soon as these simple folk began to realise . . . that [Ivan] meant actually to settle down in their midst, and live his life as they did, their kindliness and their offers of help knew no stint or moderation.
>
> . . . They entered into the spirit of the thing with true negro zest. . . . They would have done anything for Ivan--anything, that is to say, that involved no more than the average amount of negro exertion. (298)

One of the many things they will do for Ivan, after feeding him and constructing a place for him to live, is encourage him to take the most highly valued woman in the community as his consort. Clemmy is the village's only "brown girl," the daughter of a white father and a black mother, who "serves, to

a certain extent, as a patent of gentility in the household she adorns; she is a living proof of the fact that the family to which she belongs has been in the habit of mixing with white society" (301). At social gatherings Clemmy's stepfather and mother, "two pure-blooded blacks, sat a little apart from [Ivan] and their daughter, not to seem too presumptuous" (302). Ivan's relationship with Clemmy is represented as good for her, and as evoking her sincere loyalty:

> Accustomed as she was only to the coarsely good-natured blacks of her hamlet, Clemmy found an English gentleman a wonderfully lovable and delightful companion. . . .
> . . . When a woman of the lower races loves a man of the higher, she clings to him with the fidelity of a dog to its master. (309)

Not long after getting Clemmy pregnant, Ivan becomes ill and dies. His masterpiece, the long poem which the obligingly supportive natives have enabled him to complete, is subsequently lost due to native indifference and incomprehension. But since Ivan's poetic gifts have never been highly regarded by the text, this seems mildly rather than tragically ironic. The story's concluding paragraphs assure us that Clemmy will go on to succeed in life because she "was a brown girl, and she worked as became the descendant of so many strenuous white ancestors" (316). Unlike the completely black Reverend John Creedy, who returned to savagery after his encounter with whites, half-white Clemmy has by blood and the subsequent influence of a white lover been lifted up out of savagery into the possibilities of hybridity.

"The Beckoning Hand" (1887), conversely, invokes the spectre of terrifying sexual licentiousness in recounting the marriage of a white man to a Haitian woman who is one-quarter black.[36] Initially attracted to Césarine Vivian by the fact that "everything about her was so strange and lurid," Harry Tristram finds, to "my immense relief, that I had married a graceful, gentle, tender-hearted English girl, with just a pleasant occasional touch of southern fire and impetuousity" (12). As in "The Reverend John Creedy," however, this veneer of civilization is rapidly stripped away by the primitive appeal personified by the "hideous old hag" (21) who is his wife's African grandmother, and the concomitant cultural practices of voodoo and human sacrifice that represent primitiveness in action. The unacceptably black wife is abandoned to her savage fate, the protagonist acquires a more suitable white wife as her replacement and his first marriage will be remembered only for the "sheer African devilry" (28) that so quickly engulfed his bride.

A more complex and psychological depiction of racial hybridity can be found in Allen's 1886 novel <u>In All Shades</u>.[37] Allen's most sustained contacts with blacks occurred during his three years at Government College in Jamaica from 1873 to 1876. In a letter written to his mother-in-law, he described both what he felt and what he observed regarding Jamaica's black population and its treatment by white administrators and landowners:

> . . . though you know I have no exaggerated sympathy with blacks, yet I must say the way they are regarded by the whites is simply shameful. . . . the negroes, say those who know them best, are never pugnacious; they only rebel when they are absolutely driven to it; but as long as they are kindly treated and have justice dealt out to them, they lie contentedly under mango trees, and don't care a brass farthing who governs them . . . the country is fatally fertile. A negro earns nine shillings a week by labour which even as a Communist I consider easy . . . [38]

This portrait of the lazy, easy-going black is part of the background of Allen's In All Shades, which is set in Trinidad. The protagonist, Edward Hawthorn, who has been educated in England and is "a perfect model of the pure Anglo-Saxon type of manhood" (9), is returning to the place of his birth to see his parents, from whom he has been separated since he was eight years old. For unknown reasons, Edward's father has always discouraged him from coming home. Although Edward does not doubt his parents' affection for him, he is mystified as to their insistence that he stay in England. After years of increasing perplexity, he decides to ignore their wishes and return to Trinidad with his new bride.

Even before the couple arrives in Trinidad, however, there have been ominous hints regarding Edward's parents. Marian, Edward's wife, has a friend who is familiar with Trinidadian society, but cannot "even remember ever to have heard of them" (20). His parents' reaction to Edward's letter announcing his return is to telegraph, "For God's sake, don't come out" (60). Edward's father greets the young couple in such an agitated fashion that Marian considers poverty, lack

of education, loss of gentlemanly status, crime and bankruptcy as possible explanations for his behaviour (98). In response to Edward's inquiry as to what is wrong, "The old man turned his face away with a bitter gesture. 'My boy, my boy, my poor boy,' he answered slowly and remorsefully, 'I cannot tell you. I can never tell you. You will find it out for yourself soon enough. But I--I--I can never tell you!'" (98). When the women of the colony decline to call upon Marian and the cloddish son of a neighbouring planter calls Edward a "brown man" (115), the senior Mr. Hawthorn relents and explains to them that Edward is in fact one-sixteenth negro, and therefore "a coloured man, an outcast, a pariah" by "all established West Indian reckoning" (119).

Such "reckoning" is not, in fact, the standard by which the novel wishes to judge its dramatis personae. In All Shades sharply distinguishes between what it considers to be the very different English and West-Indian attitudes concerning whites who possess a degree of black ancestry. It connects tolerance of this kind of racial mix with the influence of the mother country, and intolerance of it with long residence in the colony. Thus a planter who had been to school at Winchester forty years before displays his "half-forgotten old English training" in "a certain outer urbanity and suavity of demeanour" (26), whereas his Trinidad-born-and-raised nephew indulges in wild racist harangues:

> I know the ways and the habits of the [colonial-born white] women. They go away over there to

> England; they get themselves crammed with French and German, and music and drawing, and all kinds of unnecessary accomplishments. They pick up a lot of nonsensical new-fangled Radical notions about Am I not a Man and a Brother? and all that kind of Methody humbug. . . . I assure you I've known some of these fine new-fangled English-taught young woman who'd sooner talk to a coloured doctor, as black as a common nigger almost, just because he'd been educated at Oxford, or Edinburgh, or somewhere, than to me myself. (30-31)

As this diatribe suggests in its distinctions between the English-educated and those settlers born and raised in the colonies, as well as between the "coloured" and the "black," discourse about race is conducted across, as well as within, conventional racial boundaries in In All Shades. Here the question of how much white or black ancestry suffices to make an individual white, black or "coloured" complicates what in "The Reverend John Creedy" and "The Beckoning Hand" were comparatively straightforward considerations of which positive white qualities might be acquired and which negative black qualities ameliorated or suspended. In this novel, blacks may be "mulatto," "the offspring of an African and a white man"; "quadroon," "the offspring of a mulatto and a white man"; or "Sambo," "the offspring of a mulatto and a negress" (112). "Coloured" or "brown" men, who the text's racial taxonomy identifies as at least half white, are granted "more or less human" (148) status, and may therefore aspire to the condition of being more or less white.

The extent to which racial identity may be preserved regardless of admixtures of the blood of other races is most

crucial for In All Shades's protagonist, Edward Hawthorn. Hawthorn is depicted as free of all outward signs of black ancestry. His hands, "that usual last tell-tale of African descent," are described as "stainless and white as pure wax" (119). Nonetheless, he remains under suspicion by those settlers familiar with his background. Settlers educated in, or recently arrived from, England are portrayed as generally free of such prejudice. Edward's father comments that "In England, this disgrace would have been nothing--less than nothing" (120). Also, a Trinidad-born woman educated in England is described as having "acquired a little ballast of common sense and knowledge of life at large to weigh down in part her tolerably large original cargo of colonial prejudices" (128). The indigenous white Trinidadians, conversely, are virulently biased and proud of it:

> We West Indians may be prejudiced; they say we are; but still, we're not fond somehow of making too free with a pack of niggers. Now, I don't say your friend Hawthorn's exactly a nigger outside, to look at: he isn't: he's managed to hide the outer show of his colour finely. . . . But this fellow Hawthorn . . . is well known out here to be nothing but a coloured person, as his father and his mother were before him. (176)

In the view of settlers born in Trinidad, it is impossible for Edward to be anything other than a "coloured person," since he cannot disencumber himself of the blood that determines the settler understanding of his identity. But if he is unable to do anything about his biological inheritance, In All Shades does offer him a dramatic way out of this racial dilemma: the

suppression of a revolt by black agricultural workers and domestic servants that endangers all white Trinidadians, regardless of their background.

This rebellion coincides with a pronounced negative turn in the novel's discourse about blacks. Previously represented primarily as a disparaged but undifferentiated background--"a teeming swarm of black faces" uttering "a babel of inarticulate sounds and cries and shouting and giggling" (85)--those blacks who dare to revolt become frighteningly imminent to the endangered settlers. One turns into "the half-tamed African savage that he really was" (198), another loses humanity because "A negro, like an animal, can never bear to be stared at straight in the eyes" (222) and the typical rebel is animalized and infantilized as having "the muscles of a gorilla, with the brain of a cruel schoolboy" (224). Even those few black servants who are loyal to their employer are figured in a way that emphasizes their similarity to the rebels:

> In spite of what Mr. Dupuy had just been saying about the negroes being all alike cowards, the petty handful of faithful blacks, forming a close and firm semicircle in front of their wounded master, fought like wild beasts at bay before their helpless whelps, with hands, and arms, and legs, and teeth, and sticks, and elbows, opposing stoutly, by fair means and foul, the ever-pressing sea of wild rioters. (251)

That these "faithful" blacks are nonetheless "wild beasts" and ungentlemanly in their use of "fair means and foul" is underlined by the subsequent appearance of a gallant white

planter, armed only with a riding-whip, who takes control of the situation by being "firm and unyielding, facing the maddened crowd with his imperious manner, and overawing them in spite of themselves with that strange power of a superior race over the inferior in such critical moments of intense passion" (256). Although the novel closes with an official acknowledgement of the "unwise and excessive severity of many planters" as a cause of the "not wholly unprovoked anger of the insurgent negroes" (295-96), In All Shades's treatment of racial identity rests upon a discrimination between white superiority and black inferiority. A trace of black ancestry (up to one-sixteenth) is acceptable to the English culture which is represented as far more civilized than its West-Indian counterpart, but the "mulatto" (one-half-black) and the "quadroon" (one-quarter black) are identified as part of the continuum of the racially black. The novel does not specifically situate the "octoroon" (one-eighth black) within the hierarchy of its racial taxonomy, but does in fact contain one major character, Harry Noel, who is the son of a white father and a quadroon mother.

The text's concern with the rehabilitation of Noel as white, even though he is claimed as a "brown man" relation by one of his cousins (198) and denigrated as "a confounded woolly-headed brown mulatto" by a West-Indian planter (230), suggests that it is with the octoroons that racial identity becomes problematic for Allen. In All Shades confidently

ascribes whiteness to the one-sixteenth black and blackness to the one-quarter black, but wavers on the question of the one-eighth black Harry Noel's racial character. Unproblematically white at the beginning of the narrative, Noel is the subject of increasingly unsubtle hints that he may in fact be black: "awfully dark, isn't he, Marian?" Edward Hawthorn "uneasily" says to his agreeing wife (187), and Noel is attacked by a dog reputed to be able to "smell African blood" (190). Although Noel behaves bravely in defending whites during the rebellion, the Trinidad-born settlers refuse to accept him as one of their own. At the conclusion of the novel it is necessary for Noel and his bride to return to England in order for them to be socially accepted as white.

In All Shades concurs with what it identifies as the English attitude that whiteness may be granted to those who are one-eighth or less black, and "more or less human" (146) status to those with a higher percentage of black ancestry, while ridiculing the West-Indian assumption that any quantity of black blood necessarily results in a much inferior black identity. The novel's concern with justifying what it considers to be the more advanced and humane English point of view rests upon a firm belief in white superiority, as well as a conception of white blood as subject to contamination by black blood, since the former must be at least seven times stronger in order to suppress and control any admixture of the latter. If blackness here becomes potentially recuperable by

whiteness, there is no doubt that blackness itself is still a degraded condition in In All Shades, since it is only white social status--determined by the possession of a preponderance of white blood--that enables one to achieve full and unproblematic humanity.

In All Shades also complicates the assumptions in "The Reverend John Creedy" and "The Beckoning Hand" that blackness unsustained by England's "advanced civilization" cannot aspire to whiteness, and that it will revert to its natural inferiority when returned to its native place, thus cancelling the possibility of ambivalent racial identity with a reinscription of racial essentialism. In contrast to the two short stories, In All Shades subjects whiteness to the strain of an uncivilized native place, and puts it in the position of ambivalence: whiteness as exemplified by the colonial-born has degenerated to the extent that the one-eighth black Harry Noel, born and raised in England, is markedly superior to the completely white Tom Dupuy, born and raised in Trinidad (212).

Once again, place is seen as capable of cancelling race, although the superiority of whiteness is indicated by the fact that in Trinidad a period of many years is required for place to exert its influence on whites, whereas in Africa "The Reverend John Creedy," and in Haiti "The Beckoning Hand"'s Césarine Vivian, revert to inferior blackness more rapidly. Nonetheless, Allen's portrayal of the effects of long-term Trinidadian residence upon whites renders Bhabha's concept of

ambivalence a double-edged phenomenon that applies to the colonizers as well as the colonized. It also tends to undo racial essentialism by suggesting that whiteness can be lost, that it can be recuperated by returning to England, that it can be acquired by intermarriage and that blacks may aspire to some degree of humanity even though they will always be liable to revert to savagery.

Allen's ideas about race are derived from the Darwinist and Social-Darwinist notions he first encountered at Oxford in the works of Charles Darwin and Herbert Spencer, with whom he subsequently corresponded and to a minor extent collaborated. As Patrick Brantlinger has commented, "Evolutionary thought seems almost calculated to legitimize imperialism":[39] by applying the idea of the survival of the fittest to races as well as species, and by identifying the fittest as those produced by Western civilization, one must, so the argument went, logically predict either subjugation or outright extinction as probable outcomes for non-Western cultures. In these circumstances, imperialism's civilizing mission takes on additional urgency as colonized peoples' only avenue of escape from the inferior position that necessarily follows from their encounter with a superior civilization.

Allen did a great deal to popularize, and on occasion contribute to, the revolutionary ideas of the new biology and its intellectual offshoots. Edward Clodd's biography of Allen contains a number of letters to and from prominent scientists

of the period, including brief notes from Charles Darwin and T.H. Huxley that suggest the role that Allen's books played in disseminating public awareness of evolutionary thought. In 1881 Darwin wrote, "I have this minute read the last word of The Evolutionist at Large, and I hope that you will not think me troublesome if I tell you how much the whole has pleased me. Who can tell how many young persons your chapters may bring up to be good working evolutionists!" (111). Also, in 1882 T.H. Huxley thanked Allen for his "delightful" Vignettes from Nature (112).

The complexities of the period's thinking about evolution are not part of the intellectual makeup of In All Shades's white settlers, whose need to maintain racial purity is represented as visceral rather than rational. The text depicts many of them as having abandoned civilized standards in their decline into brutishness. They whip recalcitrant domestic animals to death, set ferocious dogs on innocent blacks and fall prey to superstitious native beliefs about ghosts. In this degenerate condition, they are not even capable of defending themselves against a black insurrection, and are saved only by the imperially-buttressed courage and competence of recent white arrivals from England. Like those blacks whom Allen describes as working just enough to get by in their "fatally fertile" Jamaica, Trinidad's settlers have 'settled in' to an existence whose "Horizon [is] apparently quite limited by rum and sugar" (303), and have lost those English

qualities of believing in "equal justice" (262) and "standing up bravely" (285) for what is right that would have in the text's view avoided any rebellion by the colony's black population.

The implications of this for the future of Trinidad, and for any colony in which whiteness may be degraded by the siren song of a "fatally fertile" land, are that close ties must be maintained with the mother country. Sending one's children to England to be educated, and welcoming English immigrants and colonial administrators as upholders of imperial values, are both seen as necessary to maintaining civilization in the midst of savagery. Settler identity under such conditions has no discernable value of its own, and instead becomes dependent upon preserving worthy English traditions and avoiding the blandishments of the new, seductive but grossly inferior colonial world. The settler remains unsettled, ever alert to the imminent danger of 'going native,' and oriented toward communication with an imperial homeland that is the source of civilized values as well as the ultimate object of the settler's desire.

Another complex example of how racial differences can be cancelled or mitigated by the influence of England as the safe location and valuable source of enlightened attitudes occurs in the short story "Carvalho" (1883), which is set in Jamaica and England.[40] Its protagonist, Ernest Carvalho, is "a coloured man" in the eyes of a white colonial planter, who

parrots the sentiments of Ethel Berry's uncle in "The Reverend John Creedy" when he opines that Carvalho is "a brown man, all the same, however much white blood he may have in him; you can never breed the nigger out" (274). To the white female narrator, however, an eighteen-year-old just returned to the colony after six years of school in England,

> He appeared to me a more genial copy of Thackeray in a colonial society, with all the sting gone and only the skillful delineation of men and women left. I had never met anybody before, and I have never met anybody since, who struck me so instantaneously with the idea of innate genius as Ernest Carvalho. (269)

Allen also mentions Thackeray in In All Shades:

> One reads in Thackeray, you know, so much about the wealthy West Indian heiresses, with suspiciously curly hair, who used to swarm in London in the old slavery days . . . bringing an infusion of fresh blood every now and then into our old families. (178)

In both cases, Thackeray seems to be serving as a figure of mediation between England and the colonies. A "more genial copy of Thackeray" is appropriate for a less sophisticated colonial society. Sophisticated English taste, however, will prefer the Thackeray whose Miss Swartz, "the rich woolly-haired mulatto from St. Kitts," is represented as arousing the venality of Vanity Fair's inhabitants.[41] Thackeray's presence points to the common culture shared by Great Britain and its colonies, but is treated in a manner that elevates the imperial homeland's authoritative standards of excellence above Trinidad's inferior cultural habitus.

Since Carvalho's problematic racial status rests upon the

fact that he is one-sixteenth black, the son of a white father and an octoroon mother, he is in the same position as Edward Hawthorn of In All Shades: despised as a "nigger" by the colonial gentry, but recuperable to whiteness for those who take what the text asserts is a more English attitude to race. The attitude of the West-Indian planters to Carvalho and those whites who accept him is expressed in terms similar to those used in In All Shades:

> that's the way of you girls who have been in England. If I had fifty daughters I'd never send one of 'em home, not I. You go over there, and you learn a lot of radical fal-lal about equality and a-man-and-a-brother, and all that humbug; and then you come back and despise your own people, who are gentlemen and the sons of gentlemen for fifty generations, from the good old slavery days onward. I wish we had them here again, and I'd tie up that fellow Carvalho to a horse-post and flog him with a cow-hide within an inch of his life. (275)

The influence of England is deplored at the same time as the strength of its influence is acknowledged.

In Jamaica, Carvalho's racial status represents an insurmountable barrier to marriage with a white woman. Although the story's female narrator finds him attractive--"if he hadn't been a brown man, I almost think I should have fallen in love" (279)--she gives in to her family's objections and refuses him. When she next encounters him seven years later, both have moved to England, where Carvalho has become a successful author and has been accepted as white by English society.

In these changed circumstances, his marriage to the woman

he has always loved is represented as a case of him doing an honour to her rather than the reverse. The final line of the story goes so far as to express the narrator's regret for "the guilt and shame of slavery," and suggests that it is Carvalho's wife who will need to "live worthily" to deserve Carvalho's love (296). Freed from its intolerant West-Indian context, Carvalho's fifteen-sixteenths heritage of white blood enables him to realize his potential, which includes his assumption of what the story posits as the masculine role in a successful marriage.

The above examples all take the actual or potential combination of white and black blood as their problematic, and imagine various possible outcomes that depend on biological, cultural, social-class, gendered and even climatological factors. Moreover, they reveal the shakiness of fixed identities, destabilizing the notion of static terms (e.g., imperial/colonial) and places.

Allen's's fictional treatments of racial contact between whites and orientals are markedly different in their straightforward denial of the possibility of intermixture. There are no characters with mixed white and oriental blood in Allen's fiction, and no narrative paths marked out along which such intermixtures might take place. Whereas blacks are assigned "savage" and "primitive" status that can be partially cancelled by white blood and English civilization, orientals, in Allen's work, are viewed as occupying another world

entirely: They are thoroughly alien, non-human and impossible to imagine as potential participants in civilized society.

In the story "Mr. Chung"[42] (1883) the protagonist, an assistant interpreter at the Chinese embassy in London, describes his homeland as a place of unspeakable savagery that his white interlocutors cannot imagine:

> You who have never been to China can have no idea of what an awful misfortune it would be for a man who has acquired civilized habits and modes of thought to live among such a set of more than medieval barbarians as my countrymen still remain at the present day. (115)

Unlike the fully black John Creedy, and the partially black Edward Hawthorn, Harry Noel and Edward Carvalho, Chung can never marry a white woman. In the eyes of the civilized English narrator, race is an "impassable barrier" (127): "Reason about the prejudice as you like, there it is, a thing not to be got over, and at bottom so real that even the very notion of getting over it is terribly repugnant to our natural instincts" (129).

The particular pathos of "Mr. Chung" arises from its subject's attraction to "the wider culture of a Western civilization" (119) and the vehemence with which he, his friends and the narrator reject the idea that he might ever become part of it. When the narrator suggests that Chung settle in England, the opposition of the Chinese government is cited as making this impossible, and in any case, "Nobody in England could find any employment for a Chinaman" (122). This is signalled by the narrator's observation that "the physical

barrier between the races is far too profound" for interracial marriage to be considered (123). When the possibility of Chung's marrying an Englishwoman in order to remain in the country is weighed against the horrible death he will suffer on returning to China, the narrator agonizes that "The thing was too awful to contemplate either way" (129). It is only by forgetting Mr. Chung that his English friends can escape what is represented as a terrible and unresolveable ambivalence that equates the figurative death-in-life awaiting Chung's hypothetical English spouse with the literal death he will certainly experience upon returning to China.

The villain of Allen's novella The Jaws of Death[43] is also Chinese, and in his person and ethnic affiliation Li Sing represents the primitive civilization positted as the background of "Mr. Chung." Li Sing operates a wax museum in Cooper's Pike, Nevada's Chinese quarter, a neighbourhood characterized by "gambling hells, and the hideous dens where the yellow men poison themselves with fumes of opium" (63). Li Sing's phonetically-rendered pidgin English combines with his other inferior qualities to denote an essential barbarism:

> "Here see Mista Guiteau, Melican gentleman, allee samee like him shoot Plesident Gahfield with loaded levolver at Depot of Baltimoree and Potomah Lailway. Plesident stand at ease on platform, allee likee so; Guiteau comee up, dlaw first-chop pistol; shootee Plediden t. Plesident fallee; plenty blood jump out; blood flow down likee water on platform!" Then he smiled a broad smile of supreme content. He leered at the victim. The contemplation of the shot, and the wax blood on the floor, seemed to afford to his mind the supremest satisfaction. (74-75)

This type of transcription of a non-native speaker's discourse is often encountered in the period's "dialect stories," as Robert Barr called them, and typically functions as a form of denigrative humour that subordinates those who do not speak standard English.[44] In this story, humour shades into horror as part of an extremely negative character description, whose stereotyped language and behaviour reflect the narrator's fear that Li Sing's "Oriental cunning" (92-93) "is as pitiless as nature herself. He kills, and laughs. He tortures, and enjoys it" (96).

When Li Sing drugs and kidnaps the narrator with the intention of using him as a sacrifice in the wax museum, there is a remarkable passage in which images of Chinese depravity are superimposed upon an evocation of African slavery:

> I imagined I was a slave on the middle passage. My hands and feet were bound with chains; my arms were tied; somebody was tugging away hard at the fetters that clanked on my ankles. A growing discomfort seemed to oppress my limbs. I was sitting cramped in a row with a dozen others. But whiffs of China Town seemed to intervene as well. There was an odour as of opium; while the gangs of slaves on either hand were, not black, but yellow. And up and down through the human mass that thronged the stifling hold in which I gasped for breath, Li Sing, the Chinaman, moved bland and impassive, casting a phlegmatic glance to right and left as he paced the floor . . . (83-84)

The narrative shift from black to Chinese slaves occurs just before the narrator becomes conscious of Li Sing's presence, and so sidesteps the likelihood that whites would act as overseers on the vessels of the African slave trade by identifying the Chinese as those who are the enslavers.

Africans and Chinese are being conflated into a vivid image of those "Others" who are so essentially alien that the white observer need not attempt to differentiate them.

It is also noteworthy that Li Sing's ethnic classification changes after he has begun to carry out this diabolical plot. He ceases to be a "Chinaman" and suddenly becomes "Mongolian" in the final pages of the novella (109, 110, 113), as if his assumption of an active role in the narrative has momentarily suspended his disrespected Chinese status and earned him honorary affiliation with the 'Mongol hordes' that conquered most of Asia and menaced medieval Europe. This abrupt shift in identity seems to signify behaviour that the text considers racially or ethnically out of character. Here it is indicated by a change in ethnic affiliation; elsewhere in Allen's writing, it is attributed to genetic or cultural factors such as white blood and the Reverend John Creedy's acquired gentlemanly qualities. What is significant is the representation of racial and ethnic qualities as generally immutable, and as having predictable influences on the fate of individuals.

Unlike many narratives of striking it rich on the frontier, The Jaws of Death emphasizes socialistic rather than individualistic ideals, the ideals of Allen's 'advanced' and 'radical' English thinking. The narrator's gifts of a park and library to Cooper's Pike are not a sign of his innate superiority, but a matter of

> simple justice. You see, it was all luck that started me in life; I had no more right to it than anybody else, by nature; and I hold it all now in trust for society. Whatever I give ain't exactly what you can call a free gift, is it? a kind of rendering to Caesar the things that are Caesar's--giving back the people their own, for their sole use and benefit. (36-37)

The idea that wealth alone confers higher ethical status on its holder is gently mocked: "You've no idea what a lot of moral dignity I developed all at once, on the strength of being president of the Natural Gas Supply Association. You see, people always think there's something extremely moral in the possession of capital" (52). Since these communitarian and egalitarian sentiments occur within the context of a narrative that highlights the pitilessly inhuman desires of the Chinese, the implication is that the latter cannot be included in a society based on the ideals of community and equality.

The American setting of The Jaws of Death replaces the colonial context of the works discussed previously with a different world that nonetheless mirrors the power of English culture exerted at a distance. The narrator maintains a certain relation to England in averring that he left "like many another young fellow of good family and insufficient brains, to seek my fortune in the western territories" (10-11), and the woman he chooses to marry, besides being "the prettiest and most delicately nurtured girl in all England" (12), will exert an "elevating and refining influence on Nevadan society" (58).

"Dick Prothero's Luck"[45] (1888), a short story set on a

Manitoba farm, explicitly articulates The Jaws of Death's mild and unforegrounded expression of nostalgia for the mother country in a way that will be characteristic of much of Allen's subsequent fiction. Prothero and his family experience only hardship in their struggle to survive in the wilderness. After an extensive recital of the miseries that are inflicted on the young couple, the anonymous narrator reverses Horace Greeley's advice and counsels Prothero, "Young man, stop East. Don't go and be fooled by delusive promises" (77). An upturn in the price of wheat immediately provokes thoughts of returning to England, as does a slight improvement in the finances of Mrs. Prothero's relatives. By the time the story ends with the discovery of gold on their farm, the Protheros' desire to sell out and return to Great Britain has been so constantly reiterated that an immediate return home is the only possible conclusion.

In Propaganda and Empire, John M. MacKenzie describes this kind of nostalgic "popular imperialism" as quite distinct from the "aggressive, offensive and xenophobic" jingoism that enjoyed a brief period of dominance in the last quarter of the 19th century.[46] In "Dick Prothero's Luck" we see it in full flower. Whatever settler community exists under these conditions will be transient, inhospitable to family life, and focussed on returning to England rather than developing the raw new colony. Settler identity will here be even more derivative and other-directed than its West-Indian

counterpart, since this harsh land is shown to be no place for women, children and elderly or unfit men.

The balance of Allen's fiction about the colonies takes place in somewhat more salubrious settings, however, and his characters are usually in more danger of 'going native,' or of being attacked by Natives, than they are of succumbing to unpleasant natural environments. Nonetheless, the Rhodesian settlers encountered by the eponymous Hilda Wade are disparaged for failing to recognize that they inhabit a "crude, unfinished land" which exhibits the "distressing nakedness of a new country" (180-81).[47] From the text's point of view, whatever value Rhodesia possesses lies in its ample "breathing-space" (191). Otherwise, the colony is characterized as disfigured by "the inevitable rawness and newness" (190) of its environment which, like "Dick Prothero's Luck's" Manitoba, is "as crude and ugly as a new country can make things" (196).

The novel's narrator, the English doctor Hubert Cumberledge, provides an overview of the newly-established colony's settlers from the perspective of a visitor from England:

> One could hardly believe one was still in the nineteenth century: these people had the calm, the local seclusion of the prehistoric epoch. For them, Europe did not exist: they knew it merely as a place where settlers came from . . . they had a single enthusiasm. Like everybody else for fifty miles around, they believed profoundly in 'the future of Rhodesia.' When I gazed about me at the raw new land--the weary flat of red soil and brown grasses--I felt at least that, with a present like

that, it had need of a future. (197)

Here the possibility of white reversion to a less civilized state seems to be a textual concern, as was the case with regard to the Trinidadian settlers of In All Shades. Their respective conditions are different, though; In All Shades's environment seduces white settlers through its fatal fertility, whereas Hilda Wade's captivates them with its appealling vacancy. Nevertheless, in both novels the colony is a place that tempts European expatriates to forget the country from which they came and, as a consequence, suffer the loss of the highest form of civilization.

Inhabiting a world in which "Europe did not exist," Hilda Wade's settlers have fallen out of time and history and have opted instead for a dubious faith in the future of a land that an imperially-oriented visitor perceives as raw, new and weary. Having indicated the inadequacy of the colonial present by asserting its need of a future, Dr. Cumberledge offers another variation on the past/present/future typology: "A country with a future is very well in its way: but I am quite Ibsenish in my preference for a country with a past" (248). Cumberledge's sophisticated wordplay comes complete with modish cultural reference; attitudes to Ibsen's plays are one of the dividing lines between this period's 'advanced' and 'philistine' mentalities.[48] His language also exemplifies, as did In All Shades's citations of Thackeray, the cultural complexity that is lacking in colonial space, and his remarks

go uncontested by any settler response.

The Rhodesian environment, unlike the tropical lushness of the West Indies, is described by the narrator as remarkably unattractive, but its appeal to white immigrants is nonetheless represented as seductive, which the text treats as suggestive of a capacity for delusional thinking and projection on the part of settlers. For English visitors such as Hilda Wade and Hubert Cumberledge, contrastingly, the colony is a place of uncertainty and danger, a necessary but temporary layover on a narrative journey that will return them to a country where one can call a policeman to deal with the slightest social transgression.

Unlike the fiction discussed previously, however, Hilda Wade is centered around the experiences of a woman protagonist, and is at least as concerned with gender as it is with the nuances of the colonial experience. Wade is a nurse who possesses exceptional abilities 'for a woman,' as the text initially establishes when Cumberledge describes how her talents are defined by Professor Sebastian, the researcher who supervises her:

> "Most women," he said to me once, "are quick at reading the passing emotion: they can judge with astounding correctness from a shadow on one's face, a catch in one's breath, a movement of one's hands, how their words or deeds are affecting us. We cannot conceal our feelings from them. But underlying character they do not judge so well as fleeting expression. Not what Mrs. Jones is in herself, but what Mrs. Jones is now thinking and feeling--there lies their great success as psychologists. Most men, on the contrary, guide their life by definite facts--by signs, by

> symptoms, by observed data.
> . . . Nurse Wade, to a certain extent, stands intermediate mentally between the two sexes. She recognises temperament--the fixed form of character and what it is likely to do--in a degree which I have never seen equalled elsewhere. To that extent, and within proper limits of supervision, I acknowledge her faculty as a valuable adjunct to a scientific practitioner." (4-5)

Although remarkable in comparative terms, Wade's ability may still only be exercised under male supervision, and is denied any significant independent scope by the assumption that it can be best employed in assisting Sebastian's research. She is, after all, Nurse Wade, and as such must always be subordinate to professors and doctors alike in the medical hierarchy.

As if conscious of how high Wade may have risen in readerly esteem at this point, Allen shortly thereafter provides an exchange between Cumberledge and Sebastian regarding her behaviour which explicitly returns her to an essentialized and inferior gender:

> 'It is very odd,' [Cumberledge] mused. 'But, there!--women are inexplicable!'
> 'And Hilda is in that matter the very quintessence of woman. Even I [Sebastian], who have known her for years, don't pretend to understand her.' (7)

In a similar vein, when Cumberledge asks Wade to "Admit that you are unreasonable," she replies, "have I ever denied that I was a woman?" (249). Such apparently lightweight banter justifies male dominance by making fun of women's supposed deficiencies, with the gender imbalance underlined by the fact

that the text offers no corresponding mockery of male foibles. When a serious emergency such as a native revolt threatens, moreover, it is imperative that "inexplicable" and "unreasonable" women immediately submit themselves to male control. Although Cumberledge accepts Wade's suggestions as to where and how the pair should travel in time of peace, it is he alone who makes the necessary decisions when they are attacked by black rebels, decisions that Wade accepts without question.

Wade is, nonetheless, often depicted as capable of functioning effectively without male guidance, and is permitted substantial freedom of action. Although Victorian restrictions on woman's conduct were beginning to slacken by the turn of the century, young women who wished to be considered respectable did not travel by themselves, and were expected to request male assistance in any situation involving conflict with authority. Wade, however, is an unusually gifted woman who possesses remarkably acute judgement: she "knows enough to know when she doesn't know . . . Which is really the rarest kind of knowledge" (84). It is she who makes the decision to leave England in pursuit of her father's murderer, and she who puts off accepting the proposal of the man she loves until this quest has been successfully completed.

Wade's independence can nevertheless only be exercised within certain clearly prescribed limits. The text's observation that "Rhodesia seemed the furthest spot of earth

3where a white woman could safely penetrate" (191) establishes an actual geographical boundary for her activities, anticipates her need for male direction when danger threatens, and implies that the earth's more dangerous regions must be reserved for men. Wade is also limited by her status as not-quite male. When compared to men and judged by male criteria, she can only approach their standards of accomplishment. What for John Creedy was an inferior degree of whiteness is for Wade an inferior degree of maleness. A process similar to what Bhabha describes as the reinscription of "a difference that is almost the same, but not quite" is operating so as to trouble the gaze of the male author/narrator. Otherness of gender, like otherness of race, requires disciplinary intervention in order to maintain desired boundaries.

Although women in the era's fiction are conventionally the passive recipients of male direction and tutelage, it is also possible for their actions to provoke, and therefore be responsible for, the male violence inflicted upon them. Already established as having remarkable insight into "temperament," Wade explains this to Hubert when she identifies a Mrs. Le Geyt as representing exactly such a provocateur:

> Has it never occurred to you . . . that there are murders and murders?--murders which depend in the main upon the murderer . . . and also murders which depend in the main upon the victim?
> . . . have you ever realised that there are . . . murderers who become so by accident, through their victims' idiosyncrasy? I thought all the time while I was watching Mrs. Le Geyt, "That

> woman is of the sort predestined to be murdered." (75)

Wade avows that this is based "on solid fact--on what I have seen and noticed" (76), and shows Hubert several hospital patients who share "an odd spinal configuration" (77), "thin hair--sparse, weak and colourless" and "aggressive, self-assertive features" (78). "Women with faces like that <u>always</u> get assaulted" (78), Wade avers. She adds that even higher social status is no protection against being assaulted by men whom such women have "goaded beyond endurance" (82). This linking of physiology and temperament continues when Cumberledge asks her if she believes that character is expressed in handwriting, and she replies:

> Undoubtedly; when we know the character, we can see it in the writing. The difficulty is, to see it and read it <u>before</u> we know it; and I have practised a little at that. There is character in all we do, of course--our walk, our cough, the very wave of our hands: the only secret is, not all of us have always skill to see it. (47)

Wade is one of those who has this skill, as well as the capacity to see the evil of the violence-provoking female "through the photograph to the face, and through the face to the woman and the base little heart of her" (63).

The novel's racial discourse also includes a conception of gender relations that invokes white male violence as necessary for the defence, as well as the control, of white women. Generally, <u>Hilda Wade</u>'s narrator treats "the clash of races" as a conflict between civilized whites and savage blacks. Since whatever value Rhodesia possesses has been added

by the white newcomers, it follows that its Native inhabitants must be intrinsically worthless. They can at best aspire to be compliant "labourers" who will always require settler direction and guidance (197), and must always be watched in case they revert to the potentially rebellious condition of "bloodthirsty savages" (201). There has been no interracial sexual contact, and thus there are no intermediate racial types to take into account. Instead, the white colonist encounters "a rabble of savages" (222) and "hordes of black human ants" (237) who are either "all stolidly, sullenly, stupidly passive" when gazing at whites (293), or so ferociously hostile that they must be killed:

> . . . the advancing black man . . . rode nearly naked, showing all his teeth and brandishing his assegai; the long white feathers stuck upright in his hair gave him a wild and terrifying barbaric aspect. . . . My first bullet missed: my second knocked the man over: my third grazed the horse. With a ringing shriek, the Matabele fell in the road, a black writhing mass . . . (213)

Even this savage individual, initially seen in threatening close-up, reverts to the condition of an undifferentiated mass as soon as the narrator has disposed of him.

In the absence of mixed-race individuals whose white blood might endow them with a degree of intelligence and independence, Rhodesia's settlers have nothing but contempt for the purely Native. When blacks do revolt against the settler regime, even their resistance is attributed to the efforts of renegade whites:

> They say there's a white man at the bottom of all

> this trouble . . . . The niggers know too much: and where did they get their rifles? . . . some black-livered traitor has been stirring up the Matabele for weeks and weeks. (217)

The use of "black-livered" alludes to the wider cultural and linguistic context in which "white" and "black" are linked with 'good' and 'evil.' Without white assistance, in any event, such revolts must quickly collapse. As in In All Shades, there is a melodramatic scene in which a single determined white man quells a mob of black rebels with only the brave display of an Englishman's stiff upper lip.

Even those for whom the isssues are not entirely black and white, such as Wade's travelling companion Dr. Cumberledge, believe that

> In a conflict of race we must back our own colour. I do not know whether the natives were justified in rising or not; most likely, yes; for we had stolen their country: but when once they rose, when the security of white women depended upon repelling them, I felt I had no alternative. (220)

Cumberledge's abstract acknowledgement of native grievances echoes the stance of other imperial visitors to the colonies, including the narrator of In All Shades and Allen himself, and similarly differentiates him from what is represented as the unequivocally racist settler position. Such mild intellectual compassion disappears, however, when actual conflict occurs; "the security of white women," a gendered as well as racial concept, makes alternatives other than suppression unthinkable. Taken literally, Cumberledge seems to be implying that the absence of white women would make alternatives other

than suppression--withdrawal, say--at least hypothetically possible. Although this probably exaggerates his sympathy for the racially Other, it does suggest that the white male's anxiety about the sexual "security" of white women is an extraordinarily powerful factor in colonial race relations.

What was previously expressed as a justification of murderous violence against unruly women has been transformed into a justification of murderous violence against unruly natives in women's defence. The former is atypical of the period and of Allen's work; the latter is not, and in its extreme form becomes the narrative engine of potboilers such as Allen's novella A Bride from the Desert.[49]

Although race and gender are serious, potentially explosive topics in Hilda Wade, class is treated in a manner that blends comedy with sharp social criticism. Hilda's layabout acquaintance, the upper-class twit Reggie Nettlecraft, reacts to the idea of emigration to the colonies with contempt masked by wordplay in which the empire as national stage is replaced by the stage of the nation's "Empire":

> "What? Emigrate? No, thank you! I'm not taking any. None of your colonies for me, if you please. I shall stick to the old ship. I'm too much attached to the Empire."
>
> "And yet imperialists," I said, "generally gush over the colonies--the Empire on which the sun never sets."
>
> "The Empire in Leicester Square!" he responded with unspoken contempt. (55-56)

The text, however, will be quite outspoken in treating

Nettlecraft as a contemptuous example of the socially worthless:

> They turned me out of Oxford because I had too much sense of humour for the authorities there--beastly set of old fogeys! Objected to my "chucking" oyster-shells at the tutors' windows . . . . Then I crammed for the Army: but, bless your heart, a gentleman has no chance for the Army nowadays: a pack of blooming cads, with what they call "intellect," read up for the exams, and don't give us a look-in; I call it sheer piffle. Then the Guv'nor set me on electrical engineering . . . it's such beastly fag; and then, you get your hands dirty. So now I'm reading for the Bar, and if only my coach can put me up to tips enough to dodge the examiners, I expect to be called some time next summer. (54-55)

Nettlecraft's tone of resentment, based on a sense of social superiority, is echoed in an exchange between Wade and Lady Meadowcroft, in which the former's expression of principle sparks the latter's elitist incomprehension:

> "I should not care to give up attending my poor people for the sake of the idle rich."
> The set phraseology of the country rectory recurred to Lady Meadowcroft--'our poorer brethren,' and so forth. "Oh, of course," she answered, with the mechanical acquiescence such women always give to moral platitudes. "One must do one's best for the poor, I know--for conscience sake and all that: it's our duty, and we all try hard to do it. But they're so terribly ungrateful!" (272)

Reggie Nettlecraft and Lady Meadowcroft seem to have stepped into the text from one of Oscar Wilde's comedies, where their contempt for conventional virtues would have been employed to stress the importance of not being earnest. For Allen, however, they serve as foils for the ideals of Hilda Wade and the heroism of Hubert Cumberledge, who are represented as

self-made and earnest individuals whose selves were in fact worth making. Belief in the value of English civilization, and a contrasting contempt for many of England's actual social arrangements, coexist without being resolved in Hilda Wade. There is no mediation between what the novel wishes England to signify and what it sees England as actually representing. The text's reluctance to take Nettlecraft to the colonies symbolizes this absence of connection. What England actually contains would only contaminate the idea of England that justifies expansion into colonial space.

The protagonist and narrator of Allen's 1899 novel Miss Cayley's Adventures,[50] Lois Cayley, is also an active participant in the process of self-making. After graduating from Cambridge, Cayley finds herself with no money and the need to obtain employment. Advised by her friend Elsie Petheridge that teaching high school is the only realistic as well as respectable possibility, Cayley reminds Petheridge that at Girton College, "I was a bomb-shell in your midst" (2), someone who "was before my time" in pioneering the riding of bicycles by women. She then shocks her friend with her plans for the immediate future:

> I submit myself to fate; or, if you prefer it, I leave my future in the hands of Providence. I shall stroll out this morning, as soon as I've "cleaned myself," and embrace the first stray enterprise that offers. Our bagdad [London] teems with enchanted carpets. Let one but float my way, and, hi, presto, I seize it. I go where glory or a modest competence waits me. I snatch at the first offer, the first hint of an opening. (3-4)

Petheridge assumes this means Cayley is going to ask the first young man she meets to marry her, but Lois has something grander in mind:

> No, no; I am going out, simply in search of adventure. What adventure may come, I have not at this moment the faintest conception. The fun lies in the search, the uncertainty, the toss-up of it. What is the good of being penniless--with the trifling exception of twopence--unless you are prepared to accept your position in the spirit of a masked ball at Covent Garden? (4-5)

Cayley quickly adds that she does not mean this last literally, doubtless being well aware that in this era a masked ball at Covent Garden is a dangerous step along a path that may lead to promiscuity, prostitution and the loss of social repectability. Cayley is, however, entirely serious about heading out to find adventure.

Miss Cayley's Adventures initially advances an idealized portrait of its protagonist that depicts her as "free" and yet bound by subtle constraints:

> . . . a man ought to wish the woman he loves to be a free agent, his equal in point of action, even as she is nobler and better than he in all spiritual matters. I think he ought to desire for her a life as high as she is capable of leading, with full scope for every faculty of her intellect or her emotional nature. She should be beautiful, with a vigorous, wholesome, many-sided beauty, moral, intellectual, physical; yet with soul in her, too; and with the soul and the mind lighting up her eyes, as it lights up--well, that is immaterial. And if a man can discover such a woman as that, and can induce her to believe in him, to love him, to accept him--though how such a woman can be satisfied with any man at all is to me unfathomable--well, then, I think he should be happy in devoting his whole life to her, and should give himself up to repay her condescension in taking him. (49)

This is offered as part of his courtship strategy by Lois's lover, Harold Tillington, whose liberal sentiments are nonetheless underlaid by a conception of agency that differentiates men from women. Here it is men who "wish" and "desire" what is good for women, men who prescribe "beauty" and "soul" as the qualities women must possess, men who may if they are fortunate "discover" such rare creatures and then "induce" their belief, love and acceptance, men who should then offer them devotion and self-sacrifice. It is men, in other words, who control and define yet another set of circumstances in which exceptional women may aspire to become equal to men, albeit under conditions so demanding that any woman who successfully passes through this ordeal probably does deserve to be worshipped. As is typical of women in Allen's fiction, Cayley believes that it is Harold who "was a man and should be brave" (281), and who as a consequence must assume control of events whenever danger threatens.

Lois Cayley, like Hilda Wade, is granted a degree of freedom unusual for the period's single young women, although in her case as well the text takes care to delimit just how far she is allowed to go. In India it is her host, the Maharajah of Moozuffernuggar, who articulates the cultural constraints that explain why Cayley and her elderly female companion "cannot travel alone--as if you were Americans" (230). As long as she is appropriately chaperoned, Cayley is portrayed as exuberantly proud of her comparative

independence: "I prefer to take life in a spirit of pure inquiry. I put on my hat: I saunter where I choose, so far as circumstances permit; and I wait to see what chance will bring me." (64). These circumstances often permit a great deal. Cayley rescues a man from mortal danger and exhibits remarkable mechanical ingenuity in the process. When she shoots a tiger during her stay in India--under conditions that do not threaten her safety--she is duly credited with demonstrating "nerves and coolness." Still, full equality with men just isn't conceivable. Cayley and her travelling companion agree that "what is sauce for the goose can't be far-out for the gander--and vice-versa" (119); however, the gender gap is never completely closed, and shortly thereafter the two women return to a state in which "We pottered, as we women love to potter" (126).

Miss Cayley's Adventures declares its interest in the clash of races by including a character who is portrayed as a hybrid combination of white and non-white traits. The Indian Prince whose domain Cayley visits is described by her in terms similar to those applied to the Reverend John Creedy:

> He was young; he was handsome; he was slim, for a rajah; he wore European costume, save for the huge white turban with its obtrusive diamond; and he spoke English much better than a great many Englishmen. Yet what place could he fill in my life . . . ? (228)

Like Creedy, the Prince scores fairly well on the scale of Englishness, but can never achieve this status. He will remain a "regal-mannered heathen" (229) for Cayley, and "just a damn

nigger" for those "99 out of a 100 Europeans" whose views are encapsulated by Viscount Southminster (231), an upper-class twit similar to Hilda Wade's Reggie Nettlecraft.

Already denigrated as flavourless, imbecilic and uncultured, Southminster is from the text's point of view mistaken in defining the Prince as "a mere Oriental" (235), as is the English ship's captain who greets the Prince "with true British contempt for the inferior black man, which is universal among his class in their dealings with native Indian nobility" (226). Class here seems partially to cancel race, as it is implied that an Indian noble may well be superior to some Englishmen. It is Cayley, portrayed as far more intelligent and perceptive than either Southminster or the captain, who will make the more sophisticated observation that white colonialists "seem first to do their best to Anglicise the Hindoo, and then to laugh at him for aping the Englishman" (237).

This is another example of a pattern of imperially-oriented disdain for white colonials in Allen's work, as well as a trenchant anticipation of Homi Bhabha's conception of colonial mimicry. Although Cayley is speaking from a First-World subject position rather than Bhabha's postcolonial stance, she too has observed that "the menace of mimicry is its double vision which in disclosing the ambivalence of colonial discourse also disrupts its authority" (321). Since she goes on to reflect that the Prince "was a gentleman, but

still a barbarian" (240), her sentiments are unquestionably patronizing. Nonetheless, they are sympathetic and, in their racially hierarchized terms, directed toward conveying the nuances of cultural hybridity and destabilized identity by qualifying essentialist racial discourse.

The Prince, although in the final analysis defined and crucially limited by his position as an "Oriental despot" (249), is also a "brick" (257), a good fellow who can in certain situations behave just as well as any English gentleman. He is given an opportunity to demonstrate this in the novel's concluding scenes. Cayley attends a costume ball where her long-suffering lover Harold Tillington, made up as a "handsome young Rajput" with the Prince's assistance, is at last sufficiently attractive to win her heart (285). Separated from Cayley by the same sort of impassable barrier that in "Mr. Chung" was impossible to be got over, the Prince can't get the girl, but he can through the medium of Tillington's costume assist in providing Cayley with a superficially hybrid mate whose appeal is enhanced by a trace of the racially other.

The 1888 novel The Devil's Die,[51] also set largely in India, provides a more central role for a non-white character. A black "Mussulman" (1) doctor from India's North-West frontier, Mohammed Ali, is allotted the role of the hero who saves the white heroine, even though his own desire for her cannot be fulfilled, and indeed cannot even be articulated to

anyone other than himself. But if he is always already disqualified as a lover, Ali is nevertheless a gentleman--one proof of which is that he suffers his unrequited passion nobly and silently. The text portrays him as markedly superior to many of those whites who claim gentlemanly status. This is often linked with Allen's characteristic theme of white colonial inferiority vis-à-vis the white imperial; Ali discovers that the English in England have much better manners than the English in India, and are in general more civilized than their colonial counterparts.

None of this, however, suffices to render him any more acceptable a suitor in the eyes of a white woman. In its anxiety to control any suggestion of impropriety regarding Mohammed Ali's feelings for Olwen Tregellas, The Devil's Die requires that he frequently reiterate how impossible and unthinkable any relationship between them would be. He asserts that there is a "great gulf" between himself and Tregellas (30), that a black man "has no right" to even think about marrying a white woman (97), and that "The moon and white women must be praised and admired from a distance only" (102-03). After Tregellas's marriage to the white scoundrel Harry Chichele has failed, the novel's anonymous narrator suggests that Ali would have made a much better husband. That this is an entirely notional possibility is underlined by the failure to locate this idea within Ali, and by the text's assumption that narrative closure will be marked by geographically

separating him from interracial temptation and permanently returning him to the East.

Mohammed Ali's opinion that white male-black female unions may work in a colonial setting, whereas those between black males and white females cannot succeed under any conditions, is similar to the views of Ethel Berry's uncle in "The Reverend John Creedy." By resituating this truth within the consciousness of a non-white, The Devil's Die further elaborates its portrayal of Ali as intelligent and perceptive, while at the same time regulating interracial sexual contact from the standpoint of his acceptance of the authority of white male privilege.

Mohammed Ali's personal qualities are consistently represented as atypical of his racial origins. The text regards the Islamic inhabitants of what was then North-West India (and is now Pakistan) as "arabs," and Ali is an "Arab of arabs" (27), a superior example of a putatively inferior race who is well aware that most English people nonetheless regard him as a "despised black man" (3). In a less complex story of triumph over adversity, his heroic actions would negate or, for the irredeemably prejudiced, at least suspend such judgements. Here, however, it is Ali himself who is depicted as always being conscious of and feeling responsible for his ignoble racial heritage. When other Arabs commit atrocities, it is Ali who reflects that "it's a terrible thing even to feel one belongs to a race in which such devilry as that was

ever possible" (5). He attributes the impossibility of marrying an Englishwoman to the three-fold disadvantage of his self, his race and his nation. Even the "dry cough" from which he suffers has "a peculiarly arid and Arab significance about it" (5). Through the conjunction of "arid" and "Arab," desert sands have actually drifted into the text through alliterative suggestion, as "significance" is attributed to the text's assumption that even a cough can be indicative of substantive racial difference.

But Mohammed Ali is so active and positive a character that he often seems superior to the whites he encounters. When he accompanies a white friend on a journey to the disorderly mining towns of the American West, for example, it is he who saves them from lynch-mob justice in a scene that corresponds to the stereotypical colonial-romance situation in which a lone English hero must rescue those menaced by hordes of savage natives. In this case, however, it is the American miners who assume the role of the savage natives, and who violently act out the more lightly-rendered crudity of their counterparts in The Jaws of Death.

Ali's role in this scene exemplifies The Devil's Die's play with such standard elements and identities of the colonial romance as fearless white men, endangered white women and dangerous savage "Others." There is no white hero; the white heroine and a subsidiary white male character are both rescued by what the text continually reminds us is a black

man; the source of danger is white, both individually (Olwen Tregellas's evil husband, a white man who has "gone native") and collectively (the American miners). The narrative ends with the return of the valorized but inferior black man to the East rather than that of the valorized and superior white man to the West.

But just as in Miss Cayley's Adventures it was the Prince whose "oriental" qualities negatively differentiated him from whites, so in The Devil's Die does Ali participate in an oriental context that renders him unmistakably Other. He "glides with oriental quietness" when stealth is necessary (25). His impenetrable oriental eyes hide his true feelings from other characters--although of course not the narrator. His assertion that "there's a great deal of truth in our simple old-fashioned oriental philosophy" is immediately qualified by the narrator's observation that "The restless energetic Anglo-Saxon mind, with its eager, forward Aryan impulse, can hardly fathom the calm, restful, uncomplaining content of the oriental spirit" (36). We have entered the mentality explored in Edward Said's Orientalism, wherein "The West is the actor, the Orient a passive reactor" (109); the West's "Knowledge of the Orient, because generated out of strength, in a sense creates the Orient, the Oriental, and his world" (40). The Devil's Die exemplifies this will to dominate in its representations of Oriental reality and, by locating many of its observations within Ali's "oriental"

consciousness, does so particularly effectively. When he states that he prefers British rule to indigenous government, the worth of the imperial system is confirmed by the gratitude of the colonized for such well-exercised power and guidance.

The novel's discourse about the racially non-white uses the terminology "arab," "Indian," "East Indian," "oriental" and "black" in a manner that is sometimes interchangeable and that sometimes denotes identifying characteristics. "Arab" is used early on to define Mohammed Ali, but then drops out in favour of "oriental" and "black," which implies a conception of Arabs as 'black orientals' who are in any case non-Aryan. Elsewhere, however, Allen represents Arabs as different from and superior to blacks; here the replacement of "arab" may reflect the text's need to establish Ali's non-whiteness in stronger terms. "Indian" and "East Indian" are used as negative terms: Indians are immodest, adversity is endured with "true East Indian cat-like patience" (13), and a white character long resident in India, Harry Chichele, is depicted as having been contaminated by degenerate Indian-ness. It is also implied that India has corrupted Seeta Mayne, the sexually promiscuous white woman with whom Chichele has an adulterous fling. Mayne's first name is a homonym for Sita, the wife who is kidnapped and sexually compromised in the Sanskrit epic poem Ramayana. Seeta, an 1872 novel by Philip Meadows Taylor, also employs it as a sign of the linguistic encounter between Indian and English cultures.[52] The Devil's

Die's depiction of Seeta Mayne suggests that in her case a Western woman has been contaminated by another stereotypical operation of Orientalist discourse, in which the East is figured as the location of "untiring sensuality," "unlimited desire" and "the freedom of licentious sex" (Orientalism, 188, 190).

It is Harry Chichele's octoroon background that signifies a condition of racial uncertainty, one so precariously balanced that cultural and/or geographical circumstances can tip the scale in either direction. For In All Shades and "Carvalho," England's positive influence renders octoroon characters white, whereas in The Devil's Die India's negative influence consigns Chichele to native darkness. Although not as comprehensively worked out as in In All Shades, The Devil's Die's racial taxonomy also distinguishes between degrees of whiteness and non-whiteness, and establishes an empirically precise dividing point at which one can be transformed into the other through the influence of non-racial factors.

Race, gender and class all receive typically complex treatment in Allen's 1891 novel What's Bred in the Bone.[53] Much of the action takes place in South Africa, as the narrative plays with representations of English/colonial difference from the imperial point of view. Africa is "the only opening left nowadays for a man of spirit" (112), according to Colonel Kelmscott, a retired English soldier who envisages "the wild wastes of Africa" (146) as waiting to be

filled by English initiative. When the protagonist, Guy Waring, first arrives there, he experiences the exotic charms of

> the boundless sense of freedom and novelty given him by those vast wastes of rolling tableland . . . in this free, new world, he was free once more himself; his shame was cast aside; he could revel like the antelopes in the immensity of a land where nobody knew him and he knew nobody. (166-67)

But vastness and freedom quickly pale in a land where rawness and newness characterize white settlement:

> The town itself consisted of some sixty melancholy and distressful houses, bare, square, and flat-roofed, standing unenclosed along a dismal highroad, and with that congenitally shabby look, in spite of their newness, which seems to belong by nature to all southern buildings. . . . a few dust-laden trees [struggled] hard for life with the energy of despair against depressing circumstances. It was a picture that gave Guy a sudden attack of pessimism; if <u>this</u> was the El Dorado towards which he was going, he earnestly wished himself back again . . . among the breezy green fields of dear old England. (167)

When Granville Kelmscott pursues Guy Waring to South Africa, a character who has remained in "dear old England" reflects that "It's so easy for a man to get lost in the crowd in the Dark Continent!" (208). Africa is both bereft of light and liable to extinguish individuality in such a figuration, and from the imperialist perspective anyone who enters this colonial space risks the absolute loss of their identity.

In a manner unlike Allen's usual fictional treatment of Natives, the indigenous inhabitants of South Africa are subjected to close scrutiny in <u>What's Bred in the Bone</u>. The

anonymous narrator notes that economic opportunities in the colony are changing from "the palmy era of great finds and lucky hits" to "the day of systematic and prosaic industry," as "the capitalist was rapidly coming up . . . as master of the situation" (172). Part of this new economic reality involves the "systematic and prosaic" takeover of existing native mining properties by whites. The Native King Khatsua's resistance to such attempts evokes Guy Waring's considered judgement that he is "acting wisely":

> For the introduction of diggers into his dominions would surely have meant, as everywhere else, the speedy proclamation of a British protectorate, and the final annihilation of King Khatsua himself and his dusky fellow-countrymen.
>
> There is nothing, to say the truth, the South African native dreads so much as being "eaten up," as he calls it, by those aggressive English. (173)

Being "eaten up" is more typically an anxiety that the supposedly civilized fear from those they regard as savages, and adds a hint of ironic possibility to the text's conventional treatment of difference.

Particularly notable here is the articulation of a programme for imperial expansion that begins with "the introduction of diggers,"is followed by "the speedy proclamation of a British protectorate" and concludes with "the final annihilation of King Khatsua." This has nothing to do with conveying the benefits of advanced civilization, but is rather based on aggression and aggrandizement. The latter is used for comic effect when Granville Kelmscott and Guy Waring, who both consider themselves gentlemen, attribute

materialistic motives to one another during their search for diamonds in the Barolong's country; Granville thinks Guy "a terrible money-grubber" (185), while Guy deplores Granville's "mere bourgeois avarice." As in the representation of the English eating up the Natives economically and politically, there is a potentially radical reversal of conventional subject positions--the social-class roles of gentleman and bourgeois, in this case--intimated by the text's play with these distinctions.

The text also grants the King further status as a rational economic agent, commenting that "Like most other negro princes, indeed, Khatsua was a shrewd man of business in his own way" (183). Although seen as essentially inferior in most other respects, blacks are in this case differentiated with regard to class and shrewdness. But if accomplished in this area, King Khatsua is soon mocked in terms that severely chastise colonial mimicry:

> It was a pitiful exhibition. Were it not for the danger and uncertainty of the event, they could almost themselves have fairly laughed at it. King Khatsua stood before them, a tall, full-blooded black, in European costume, with a round felt hat and a crimson tie, surrounded by his naked wives and attendants . . . . He spoke to them with much dignity at considerable length in the Barolong tongue, to a running accompaniment of laudatory exclamations--"Oh, my King! Oh, wise words!"--from the mouths of his courtiers. Neither Granville [Kelmscott] nor Guy [Waring] understood, of course, a single syllable of the stately address . . . (175-76)

Even though the plot at this point requires that Granville Kelmscott believe Guy Waring to be a murderer, Granville is so

disgusted by native life that

> Guy formed now his only European society. By the side of those savage Barolongs, whose chief thought nothing of perpetrating the most nameless horrors before their very eyes, for the gratification of mere freaks of passion or jealousy, a European murderer of the gentlemanly class seemed almost, by comparison, a mild and gentle personage . . .
>
> Besides, blood is generally thicker than water. (184)

When the two Englishmen escape their captors because the "savage, indeed, can't hold two ideas in his head at once" (187), another native group, the Namaquas, enters the narrative. Granville's severe illness forces Guy to leave him with the Namaquas, "alone among savages in the far heart of Africa" (193). But it is the "unrequited kindness of these mere savage Namaquas" (195) in nursing him that saves Granville. Their differentiation from the Barolongs in ethical terms shows that Africans are not uniformly immoral. The Namaqua's ignorance of civilized ways, however, is savagely mocked. Assuming that a written message for Granville is "very great medicine," they force it down his throat and nearly undo all their good deeds (201). It is only Granville's illustrious imperial heritage that enables him to pull through.

While Guy and Granville have been adventuring in the great colonial outdoors, the novel's primary female character, Elma Clifford, has remained in England and undergone some remarkable psychological experiences of her own. Initially, Clifford's mental abilities are figured in stereotypical opposition to their masculine counterparts. The text's pattern

of references to "the familiar feminine prerogative of jumping as if by magic to a correct conclusion . . . which no mere male can ever conceivably fathom" (6), the "flash of intuition" by which Elma "knew [Cyril Waring] loved her" (48) and her "true woman's contempt for anything so unimportant as mere positive evidence" (205-06) establishes the female intuition/male logic difference as a thematic, while also preparing the ground for narrative developments that will render "magic" literal rather than merely figurative.

Unlike Lois Cayley in Miss Cayley's Adventures and The Woman Who Did's Herminia Barton, Elma Clifford is not one of those who feels the need to "go to Girton, and train themselves up to be senior wranglers [first in their class]" (6). Allen was an undergraduate at Oxford when Girton College, England's first university college for women, was established at Cambridge in 1869, a development greeted with unqualified approval by most of those who considered themselves radical and advanced. Allen, however, is in his fiction more inclined to use the negative period stereotype of the "Girton girl" as being aggressive, overly intellectual and unwomanly, which suggests that his advocacy of maximal achievement for women in essays such as "The New Hedonism" may mask some reservations about how this will work out in practice. Here, as in The Woman Who Did, it is strongly implied that Girton graduates are too smart for their own good, although still not as perceptive as Clifford. The narrator asserts that "Elma's

feminine instinct worked quicker and truer than even . . . manly reason" (14); this instinct will shortly break through into a level of being that threatens to overwhelm anyone who dares to enter it.

Clifford's predictive abilities are familial and racial as well as gendered, which in the text's understanding means that they have been reinforced through inheritance in addition to being always already part of her essential womanliness. She possesses "the keen intuition shared by all the women of the Clifford family" (49), and has "the swift intuition she inherited from her long line of Oriental ancestry" (156). Clifford and her mother have inherited an olive-brown complexion that is "gypsy-like" and "distinctly un-English" from a Roumanian ancestor, "who performed some extraordinary sacred antics of a mystical kind, much after the fashion of the howling dervishes" (70). Her mother creeps about the house "with a silent tread, like some noiseless Oriental" (32), and Guy Waring's friend Nevitt--a violinist who possesses gypsy blood that enables Guy to hear "the Oriental tinge" in his playing (74)--describes the "mystic key" in which Clifford's cousin, Miss Ewes, composes as sounding like "a reminiscence of some dim and lamp-lit Eastern temple" (74).

But such phantasmic and primarily pictorial Orientalism pales beside the powerful psychological and physiological experiences that Elma Clifford's exploration of her heritage generates. One of the things she has inherited is an interest

in snakes. Her mother "never minded them a bit, but caught them in your hands like an Indian juggler, and treated them as playthings . . . I suppose it's hereditary" (36). Further musing on this topic produces the following extraordinary scene of Clifford's enchantment:

> It all came upon her as suddenly and as uncontrollably as a blush. She was whirling around the room, now slow, now fast, but always with her arms held out lissom as a dancing-girl's . . . all as if compelled by some extrinsic necessity.
>
> It was an instinct over which she had no control. Surely, surely, she must be possessed. A spirit that was not her seemed to be catching her round the waist, and twisting her about, and making her spin headlong over the floor through this wild, fierce dance . . .
>
> And all the time, as she whirled, she was conscious also of some strange, dim need . . .
>
> . . . It was her hands that were wrong. Her hands were empty. She must have something to fill them. Something alive, lithe, curling, sinuous . . . (44-45)

She finds exactly what she is looking for in the bottom drawer of her dresser:

> . . . a feather boa, curled up at the bottom--soft, smooth, and long; a winding, coiling, serpentine boa. In a second she had fallen upon it bodily with greedy hands, and was twisting it round her waist, and holding it high and low . . .
>
> . . . Like a snake! That idea ran like wildfire through her burning veins. It was a snake, indeed, she wanted; a real, live snake . . .
>
> And yet it was not she, not she, not she, but some spirit, some weird, some unseen power within her. It was no more she than that boa there was a snake. A real, live snake. Oh, for a real, live snake! And then she could dance--tarantel, tarantella--as the spirit within her prompted her to dance it. (46)

As Deborah Epstein Nord has observed, gypsies represent during this period "a constant, ubiquitous marker of otherness, of

non-Englishness or foreignness."[54] What's Bred in the Bone draws on the well-established stereotype of gypsies as hybrid white/orientals who function as sites of profound attraction/repulsion, are romantic rebels as well as perfidious child-stealers, and whose travels within England make them a convenient source of exotic, mysterious practices.[55]

Elma Clifford's percentage of gypsy blood is never specified, which is typical of Allen's representations of gypsiness and other essentially white racial sub-groupings (Celts, Cornishman, Teutons) as different, but not too different, from white English folk. Gypsy blood, unlike the black blood that is elsewhere so problematic and highly-charged a topic in Allen's work, is not so negatively powerful that it requires constant monitoring and control when being intermingled with its white counterpart.

In What's Bred in the Bone, and in Allen's work in general, white male desire is depicted as being kept under such tight internal rein that any actual sexual contact will be dependent upon female initiative. When contemplating the possible marriage of Elma Clifford and Cyril Waring, What's Bred in the Bone's narrator observes that "Man proposes; woman decides" (179); it will be Clifford's actions that determine whether or not the two are to wed. Even when the woman's decision involves something other than marriage, as it does for The Woman Who Did's Herminia Barton, it will be she who establishes the guidelines of the new relationship. In their

narratives, Hilda Wade and Lois Cayley have places to go and things to do that take precedence over choosing a mate. On those occasions when white men sexually transgress, such as Harry Chichele's adultery in The Devil's Die and Harry Tristram's infatuation with a black woman in "The Beckoning Hand," this is almost always attributed to the seductive force of non-white and/or female sexual licentiousness; either punishment or salvation, those reinscriptions of morality that mark narrative closure, will be the inevitable consequence.

Such suggestions of an independent role for women are nonetheless in the end always controlled by the understanding that male guidance and dominance are the final arbiters of female destiny. Women in Allen's fiction are granted what in contemporary terms is an enlarged sphere of activity, and may travel to distant lands and defer the importunities of their male suitors. They cannot, however, travel alone or stretch deferral into defiance; they will always require a protective male presence, and when it becomes imperative that the latter be exercised, they will be submissive as well as grateful. Even The Woman Who Did's Herminia Barton, who chooses to live with a man rather than marry him, is "woman enough by nature to enjoy being led" (58). In Allen's work, women's subservience to male power is firmly established as the normative human condition, and women are ultimately free only to demonstrate how fundamental is their need for masculine control.

Grant Allen's novels and short stories inscribe the workings of a dominant but sometimes self-doubting imperial mentality upon the figurative emptiness of colonial space. The value of First-World ideals and cultural practices is interrogated, but never seriously challenged, by the complex play of racial, cultural, geographical, gender and social-class issues that are represented as bringing Second- and Third-World subjects under the scientific imperatives of biological determinism. One of the fields on which this inscription takes place is the identity of the settler, which Allen sees as occupying a distinct if essentially derivative place in the encounter between the civilized and the savage. The Second-World societies Allen portrays are perpetually in danger of either "going native" or overestimating the value of colonial space. The settler depends upon periodic infusions of imperial nurture in order to resist the blandishments of colonial nature, and settler identity itself will be always already derivative of, and defined by, its imperial heritage.

NOTES

1. Edward Clodd, Grant Allen, A Memoir (London: Grant Richards, 1900) 201. All subsequent references are to this edition.

2. Grant Allen, "The New Hedonism," Fortnightly Review Volume 61 O.S., 55 N.S. (March 1, 1894): 377-92. The essay defines human freedom as dependent upon the ethical control of biological development: "We see that to prepare ourselves for the duties of paternity and maternity, by making ourselves as vigorous and healthful as we can, is a duty we all owe to our children unborn and to one another" (382).

3. George Bernard Shaw, "To Grant Allen," 6 July 1894, Collected Letters 1874-1897, Ed. Dan H. Laurence (New York: Dodd, Mead, 1965) 449.

4. Unless otherwise indicated, biographical information regarding Allen is taken from William Toye, Ed., The Oxford Companion to Canadian Literature (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1983) 8-9 and Guy Sylvestre, Brandon Conran and Carl F. Klinck, Eds., Canadian Writers/Écrivains Canadiens (Toronto: Ryerson, 1967) 1.

5. Grant Allen, "My First Book," The Idler Volume II (September, 1892): 155-63. All subsequent references are to this article.

6. The circumstances are recounted in Hulda Friederichs, The Life of Sir George Newnes, Bart. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1911) 90-3.

7. James Sully, My Life and Friends (London: Fisher Unwin, 1918) 197.

8. H.G. Wells, Ann Veronica (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1901) 30.

9. Grant Allen, introduction, Twelve Tales (London: Richards, 1911) ix.

10. Richard Le Gallienne, The Romantic '90s (New York: Doubleday, Page, 1925) 147.

11. Herbert Spencer, letter, quoted in W. Pett Ridge, I Like to Remember (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1925) 121.

12. H.G. Wells, Experiment in Autobiography (New York: Macmillan, 1934) 461. All subsequent references are to this edition.

13. Samuel Hynes, The Edwardian Turn of Mind (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968) 264. All subsequent references are to this edition.

14. "Dick Protheros' Luck" in The Desire of the Eyes and "Lucretia" in The Beckoning Hand and Other Stories both take place in Canada. Approximately one-third of the novel Recalled to Life is set in Canada, although most of this portion is devoted to the recollection of events that occurred in Great Britain.

15. Carl F. Klinck, Ed., Literary History of Canada, Volume One (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965) 328. All subsequent references are to this edition.

16. W.H. New, Dreams of Speech and Violence: The Art of the Short Story in Canada and New Zealand (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987) 56.

17. See Elaine Showalter, Sexual Anarchy at the Fin de Siècle (London: Bloomsbury, 1988) 51-53.

18. H.G. Wells, The Time Machine, Seven Famous Novels by H.G. Wells (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1934): "As the eastern sky grew brighter, and the light of the day came on and its vivid colouring returned upon the world once more, I scanned the view keenly. But I saw no vestige of my white figures. They were mere creatures of the half-light. 'They must have been ghosts,' I said; 'I wonder whence they dated.' For a queer notion of Grant Allen's came into my head, and amused me. If each generation die and leave ghosts, he argued, the world at last will get overcrowded with them. On that theory they would have grown innumerable some Eight Hundred Thousand Years hence, and it was no great wonder to see four at once" (33).

19. John Clute and Peter Nicholls, Eds., The Encyclopedia of Science Fiction (New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 1995) 20. All subsequent references are to this edition.

20. Tage la Cour and Harold Mogenson, The Murder Book: An Illustrated History of the Detective Story (New York: Herder and Herder, 1971) 80.

21. Patricia Craig and Mary Cadogan, The Lady Investigates: Women Detectives and Spies in Fiction (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986) 25.

22. Reginald Eyre Watters, A Checklist of Canadian Literature and Background Materials 1628-1960, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972). All subsequent references are to this edition.

23. George Meredith, letter, The Letters of George Meredith, Ed. C.L. Cline (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970, 3 vols) 39.

24. Grant Allen, "The Celt in English Art," Fortnightly Review Vol. 55 O.S., 49 N.S. (February, 1891): 276.

25. John A. Lester, Jr., Journey Through Despair 1880-1914: Transformations in British Literary Culture (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968) xiv.

26. Agnes Maule Machar, "Prominent Canadians -- XXXVII -- Grant Allen," The Week 8 (10 July 1891) 510.

27. The Canadian Magazine 7 (1896): 584.

28. "Grant Allen's Latest," Citizen (Mar. 1895), quoted in Carole Gerson, A Purer Taste: The Writing and Reading of Fiction in English in Nineteenth-Century Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989) 146.

29. Brian V. Street, The Savage in Literature: Representations of 'Primitive' Society in English Fiction 1858-1920 (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975) 61.

30. Grant Allen, "The Reverend John Creedy," (1883; reprinted in The Desire of the Eyes (New York: R.F. Fenno, 1896) 89-111. All subsequent references are to this edition.

31. Homi Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," October 28 (Spring 1984) 126-27. All subsequent references are to this edition.

32. Homi Bhabha, "Representation and the Colonial Text: A Critical Exploration of Some Forms of Mimeticism." The Theory of Reading, Ed. Frank Gloversmith (Brighton: Harvester, 1984) 108-09.

33. Dorothy Hammond and Alta Jablow, The Africa That Never Was: Four Centuries of British Writing about Africa (New York: Twayne, 1970) 99.

34. G.D. Killam, Africa in English Fiction 1874-1939 (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1968) 71.

35. Grant Allen, "Ivan Greet's Masterpiece," Ivan Greet's Masterpiece (London: Chatto & Windus, 1893) 1-40. All subsequent references are to this edition.

36. Grant Allen, "The Beckoning Hand," The Beckoning Hand and Other Stories (London: Chatto, 1887) 1-32. All subsequent references are to this edition.

37. Grant Allen, In All Shades (London: Chatto, 1886). All subsequent references are to this edition.

38. Clodd 40-1.

39. Patrick Brantlinger, Rule of Darkness: British Literature and Imperialism, 1830-1914 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988) 186.

40. Grant Allen, "Carvalho" (1883; reprinted in The Desire of the Eyes 266-96). All subsequent references are to this edition.

41. William Thackeray, Vanity Fair (1848; Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971) 42.

42. Grant Allen, "Mr. Chung" (1883; reprinted in The Desire of the Eyes 112-34). All subsequent references are to this edition.

43. Grant Allen, The Jaws of Death (London: Simpkin, 1889). All subsequent references are to this edition.

44. The Heralds of Fame, 187.

45. Grant Allen, "Dick Prothero's Luck" (1888; reprinted in The Desire of the Eyes 74-88). All subsequent references are to this edition.

46. John M. MacKenzie, Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960 (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984) 11.

47. Grant Allen, Hilda Wade (London: Grant Richards, 1900). All subsequent references are to this edition.

48. For a good general overview of this phenomenon, see Keating 124-27. Cumberledge has earlier commented that "It's no use asking the young man of to-day to explain his intentions. He will refer you to the works of the Scandinavian dramatists" (38).

49. Grant Allen, A Bride from the Desert (New York: Fenno, 1896).

50. Grant Allen, Miss Cayley's Adventures (London: Grant Richards, 1899). All subsequent references are to this edition.

51. Grant Allen, The Devil's Die (London: Chatto, 1888). All subsequent references are to this edition.

52. Philip Meadows Taylor, Seeta (London: Kegan Paul, Trench and Co.) 1872.

53. Grant Allen, What's Bred in the Bone (1891; Chicago: Donahue, Henneberry [n.d.]). All subsequent references are to this edition.

54. Deborah Epstein Nord, "'Marks of Race': Gypsy Figures and Eccentric Feminity in Nineteenth-Century Women's Writing." Victorian Studies 41, No. 2 (Winter 1998): 189.

55. Thomas Hardy's story "The Fiddler of the Reels," published two years after What's Bred in the Bone, similarly features a gypsy violinist who exercises his sinister influence over innocent young women.

III. ROBERT BARR: The Multiple Identities of the Man of the World

Robert Barr's national identity was a matter of some uncertainty for the balance of his life.[1] Born in Glasgow in 1850, he often referred to himself as Scottish in his nonfiction writing. An editorial in The Idler, the magazine that Barr and Jerome K. Jerome started in 1892, advised readers that "Speaking as a Scotsman myself," "We desire to get the worth of our bawbee"; the use of the Scots dialect word for halfpenny reinforces the national affiliation.[2] In his travel book The Unchanging East, Barr used locutions such as "the beverage and myself were both Scotch" (I, 14), and identified himself as one of "us Scotsmen" (I, 80). The Encyclopedia of Science Fiction states that he is "Scottish" (93), as does the literary reference work The Reader's Encyclopedia.[3]

Barr's family emigrated to Canada when he was four years old, and his upbringing in southwestern Ontario, where he taught school from 1871 to 1876, was certainly a formative influence. When Barr wrote for Canadian publications, he often spoke as a native son who had fought in "defence of his country" as a member of a Canadian militia unit resisting the 1866 Fenian invasion.[4] Three of his novels take place entirely or primarily in Canada, and two of them have been reprinted in series devoted to Canadian literature.[5] He is included in both The Oxford Companion to Canadian Literature

and The Macmillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography, and so could reasonably be identified as a Canadian author of Scottish background.

Barr himself contested this on occasion, however. A 1900 profile in The New York Times Saturday Review of Books described him as

> a patriot, speaking with unstinted praise of his countrymen in America, especially of their bravery in the war with Spain, and of their inventive genius. In the mechanical sciences he is much interested, and points with pride to the discoveries and inventions of Americans now in use the world over.[6]

Barr was also considered an American by his literary-journalist colleague W. Pett Ridge, who thought that "he had much of the humour of the country which he adopted."[7] At the age of 26 Barr became a reporter for the Detroit Free Press, and was in 1881 chosen to set up the newspaper's English edition. In addition, many of his friends were Americans living in England, including Stephen Crane, Harold Frederic, Bret Harte and Mark Twain; one scholarly study of the period treats Barr as a full-fledged member of this group of "London Yankees."[8] Given these circumstances, we might now define Barr as a Scottish-born Canadian-American.

Yet another factor that complicates the question of Barr's national identity is his long residence in England from 1881 to 1912. In the view of Strand Magazine editor Reginald Pound, Barr was one of Great Britain's "own writers" rather than a "foreign author."[9] Such thoroughly English literary

men as Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, Anthony Hope Hawkins and E.W. Hornung were among the friends Barr met at his London clubs, the Devonshire and National Liberal, where he was "a most genial companion, and an exceptionally entertaining raconteur" according to his Times obituary.[10] During the last 14 years of his life (1898-1912), Barr lived in Woldingham, a quiet Surrey village with direct rail connections to London, where he took an active role in local affairs, was a staunch church-goer and turned his residence into a facility for soldiers wounded in the Boer War. If we were to continue to try to pinpoint Barr's national identity, something like 'Scottish-born Canadian-American-Briton' would be the awkward but appropriate result.

Thus Barr is either Scottish, Canadian, American or English, or perhaps some combination of these national identities; possibly even all of them, given that an 'English-speaking Union' is one of his era's characteristic conceptions of a desirable form of imperial-colonial unity. Barr was capable of assuming all of these identities depending upon time and circumstance. He was also keenly aware of the dramatic and humorous possibilities of such situations, and often made use of them in his work. As a consequence, Barr's writings and literary affiliations are as various as his national identities.

His first book, Strange Happenings, was published in 1883, and a steady stream of novels and short-story

collections followed. Barr's fiction is set in Canada, Great Britain, the United States, Europe and the Far East, and comprises detective and science fiction, romance and adventure tales, and novels about the business world (The Speculations of John Steele, 1905) and municipal corruption (The Victors, 1901). His nonfiction includes a travel book (The Unchanging East, 1900) and a great deal of periodical journalism, much of it travel reportage, although he also produced many articles on literary, political and historical topics.

If there is some ambivalence about Barr's literary and national identities, his contemporaries generally agree that he impressed them as a simple and unsophisticated person. He is described as "growling like a bear over the champagne" at the wedding reception of his friend Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, and at his happiest telling entertaining "yarns" to his cronies at The Idler.[11] Barr struck the young Arnold Bennett as an honest toiler amid the ranks of literary workers:

> His freckled bluff features and his short beard indicate a man who has seen most things and has learnt to tolerate most things; plenty of rough, very dry wit; an honest and plain-spoken man. I do not suppose that Barr has much, if any, feeling for literature, but he is an admirable specimen of the man of talent who makes of letters an honest trade; has no self-complacences, and does not pose.[12]

The idea that Barr did not "pose" must be qualified by the preceding discussion of multiple identities, which would suggest that Barr's apparent plain-spokenness may have been yet another form of self-representation rather than, as

Bennett has it, a basic character attribute. Since the workings of modern critical opinion demand complexity and complication in the canonical author, the history of Barr's literary reputation indicates that he may have been all too successful in convincing others that he approached writing as nothing more than an honest trade.

Subsequent scholarly commentary generally agrees with Bennett's assertion that Barr had little feeling for literature. "No sense of literary tradition, little sense of style and none of that single-minded devotion to his art which a great novelist needs" is Desmond Pacey's representative verdict.[13] Despite occasional pleas for a positive critical reassessment, Barr's literary reputation, to the extent that he has one, rests almost entirely on his contributions to the genres of detective and science fiction.[14] His near-canonical status as a writer of detective fiction is based primarily on the short stories collected in The Triumphs of Eugène Valmont (1906), and his science-fiction tales "The Doom of London" (1892) and "The New Explosive" (1894) are also considered noteworthy contributions to their genre.[15]

But very little about Barr's identity is simple, and the checkered history of his literary identity is no exception. Despite his inclusion in The Oxford Companion to Canadian Literature and The Macmillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography, his work is not listed in either Canadian Writers/Ecrivains Canadiens or A Checklist of Canadian Literature 1628-1960;

both of the latter do include Grant Allen and Sir Gilbert Parker. Although Barr's work has fared somewhat better in recent years, at least to the extent that it is often mentioned in general works on Canadian literature, he still tends to be stereotyped in such terms as "a commercial writer who was more discerning than most."[16] Even this faint praise is denied him in Literary History of Canada, where his work is discussed almost exclusively in terms of how little Canadian content it contains.

Barr's writings reflect this ambivalence and uncertainty about identity in a variety of ways. One characteristic approach is the metafictional play with identity in his authorial and editorial contribution to "Francis Bret Harte: Two Interviews with Him on Somewhat Dissimilar Lines," which displays Barr taking a knowing and deeply ironic approach to the social construction of personal reputation.[17] As G.B. Burgin describes the article's conception,

> We had published some interesting interviews with literary celebrities in the Idler. Barr thought they were a bit overdone and was growing rather tired of them. "I'll tell you what we ought to do," he said one day. "You go and interview Bret Harte. I'll do one also. Yours shall be 'The Real Interview'; I'll do 'The Ideal Interview,' and we'll have some fun over it."[18]

Barr's strategy in "The Ideal Interview" section is to extrapolate from the rip-roaring, finger-on-the-trigger milieu depicted in Harte's popular short stories of the American West, such as "Tennessee's Partner" and "The Luck of Roaring Camp" (both later filmed several times as Hollywood

"Westerns"). This approach produced an authorial portrait based on what readers might visualize as the violent, aggressive frontiersman who had written them. The interview begins after Barr has labouriously climbed up the mountain-top on which "Harte"--to distinguish the "ideal" from the "real" subject--lives in Spartan simplicity:

> As I neared the cabin, a sharp voice shouted, "Throw up your hands!"
> At a turn in the path I saw a man, apparently with one eye, gazing at me along the gleaming barrel of a rifle. It may seem weakness on my part, but I instantly complied with the request.
> "Are ye heeled?" was the next question.
> Not quite understanding the inquiry, I replied that I had footed it up the mountain, if that was what he meant.
> After a little discussion, during which, fortunately for me, the rifle did not go off, I told him that I had merely come to see Mr. Bret Harte, and talk with him about his work.
> "Put it thar, stranger," he said, holding out his hand. "I'm your man." (303)

Readers of this issue of The Idler next encountered the "real" Bret Harte in interview with G.B. Burgin in suburban London, where Harte is described as living in "a row of stuccoed houses, each as stolid and respectably dull as a family butler" (307). The person whom Burgin does not at first realize is Harte is described as

> a military-looking man, clad in a fashionably-cut morning suit of grey cloth. An irreproachable pin glittered in the stranger's dark tie. His hair was iron-grey, the heavy moustache a little darker, face oval, eyes clear, grey, humorous, shrewd, penetrating; height above the medium, figure trim, with broad, square shoulders; he wore an eyeglass, and there was a delightfully polished man-of-the-world air about him--the appearance of an individual who is equally at home in a wigwam or a palace. (307-08)

This gentleman speaks knowledgeably of Harte's work, after which Burgin bids "adieu to this brilliant conversationalist, this cosmopolitan militaire" (310). Only then does Burgin learn that he has in fact been speaking to the real Bret Harte. Since Burgin too was expecting to meet a more rough-and-ready character, a final ironic twist is added to the interview's thoroughly ludic treatment of imagined and actual authorial personae.

Barr also demonstrated his ability to manipulate multiple forms of identity when an Iroquois chief he had known in Canada came to England to protest against maltreatment:

> The chief called on Barr at the Detroit Free Press office in a white man's suit and a straw hat and complained that he could get no one in authority to recognise his credentials. "Put on your chief's dress," said Barr, "and then I'll take you to the House of Commons." The Indian, with his mocassins, eagle's feathers, and tomahawk, cut such a figure in the Distinguished Strangers' Gallery that [Prime Minister] Mr. Gladstone and [Chancellor of the Exchequer] Sir William Harcourt sought an introduction to him, listened to his story, and promised to see justice done.[19]

In this situation, Barr functions as the knowledgeable citizen of a Second-World, settler society who is familiar with both Third-World and First-World subject positions, and so becomes a figure of mediation in negotiations between the colonized and the imperialist.

Given his evident awareness of the relationship between identity and self-representation, and of the role that expectations play in the interpretation of social reality, we might consider the possibility that Barr made conscious use of

this knowledge in calculating the effect of the various subject positions he assumed. From this perspective, his ability to speak as a Scot to Scots, as a Canadian to Canadians, as an American to Americans, as a Briton to Britons and as a settler to the colonized and the imperialist would suggest a mastery of self-representational adaptation based on the perception that identity is situational rather than essential. As he performed these various roles, Barr would necessarily find himself participating in the kind of "contrapuntal ensemble" (Culture and Imperialism, 52) that Edward Said describes as central to contemporary conceptions of identity.

Play with the elements of personal identity is a staple of Barr's fiction, and often serves as the basis for both reflective meditations and light-hearted burlesques on stereotypical representations of national character. Both the humorous and the serious aspects of manipulating national identity are prominent in Barr's novel In the Midst of Alarms[20] (1893), which features co-protagonists who represent Canadian and American culture reacting to the Fenian invasion of Canada in 1866. The initial representation of national characteristics favours the Canadian-born but now aggressively American-affiliated Richard Yates, a reporter for the New York newspaper the Argus, who is depicted as more sophisticated than his stodgy Canadian friend Stillson Renmark, a professor at the University of Toronto.

The novel opens with Renmark disoriented by a visit to Buffalo, where "he felt himself in a new world, with whose customs he was not familiar" (6). The hotel at which Renmark is supposed to meet Yates is a hive of bustling activity.

> As he timidly edged up to the counter, and tried to accumulate courage enough to address the clerk, a young man came forward, flung his handbag on the polished top of the counter, metaphorically brushed the professor aside, pulled the bulky register toward him, and inscribed his name on the page with a rapidity equaled only by the illegibility of the result. (6-7)

When Renmark finally does manage to speak to the clerk, he is immediately interrupted by a man "pushing himself in front of the professor," and then realizes that "the clerk had forgotten him" (7-8). The American scene is represented as too fast and confusing for him, and we are not surprised to learn that Renmark sees his quiet academic life as devoid of "any great success. I have simply plodded" (16).

When Yates subsequently arrives at the hotel, his American-style brashness produces a more successful encounter with the clerk. Yates asserts that he "shook the dust of Canada from my feet, and have never regretted it" (15) in choosing to live in the United States, where he is a successful and influential journalist. Yates is taking a holiday because his doctor has advised him that he needs rest and should "go off in the woods somewhere. Up in Maine or in Canada" (22). Yates tells Renmark that he expects to have a restful time by camping out near "someone who has never even heard of New York . . . I have great hopes of the lack of

intelligence in the Canadians" (23); Renmark's reply--"Often the narrowest . . . are those who think themselves the most cosmopolitan" (23)--is the first indication that he will contest Yates's chauvinism.

Once in Canada, Yates muses that his forgetting to pick up a jug of whisky at a border tavern "shows the extraordinary effect this country has on me already" (29). Hiram Bartlett, the Canadian farmer Yates and Renmark hire to transport them, is a staunch patriot who harps on Canada's victories in the war of 1812, of which Yates is entirely unaware; Bartlett, conversely, professes not to know of the events of the American Revolution. Renmark, caught in the middle of this mutually uncomprehending historical dispute, takes an all-encompassing perspective in advising Bartlett that, during the American Revolution, "England was rather busy at the time with the French" (39). This imperial point of view puts both the American Yates and the Canadian Bartlett in their respective colonial places, and positions Renmark--as well as Barr's authorial persona--within a framework of British imperial history that makes a brief appearance in the background of the narrative's preoccupation with American/Canadian difference.

Otherwise, Britain's imperial presence is conspicuous by its absence in <u>In the Midst of Alarms</u>. The mother country is primarily a quaint source of outmoded or curious customs, such as the literal customs duty payable to the "exchequer of her Majesty" (24). England is envisioned as a culture where

gentlemen's clubs are renowned for their "epicurism" (124) and parks are more trimly kept than in Canada. The one salient aspect of Canada's imperial heritage that the text treats at length is depicted negatively. The colonial government's military reaction to the Fenian invasion is seen as typifying the "thoroughly British mistake" of "underestimating the enemy" (198-99), the "ponderous slowness" of British troops is mocked (230), and bravery is attributed to the Canadian militia and pointedly withheld from British regulars. In a manner different from the inevitable triumph of imperial military force imaged by Henty, Haggard and Allen, Barr here stresses the distinctive and crucial role that colonial troops play in defending colonial space. In conjunction with the text's articulation and elaboration of a colonial way of life, this is part of an insistence upon colonial difference that In the Midst of Alarms applies to a wide range of human activities.

In order to explore colonial difference, the narrative must resolve the issue of Yates's initial appeal as one who now possesses the "fascinating personality" of a New Yorker, which given his Canadian origins is an acquired rather than innate characteristic. Returning him to Canada puts his difference at risk, in question, under review. In the Midst of Alarms's placement of Yates in Canada represents what Roland Barthes calls a "hinge point" or "cardinal function" of narrative,[21] one in which Yates's big-city American identity

and consequent sophistication may be sustained or eroded, contaminated by Canadianness or revivified by confrontation with what it is not. At issue is whether or not identity can be maintained outside the circumstances of its origin, and whether or not personality is in some sense independent of place. When Yates gives a knowing wink to Hiram Bartlett's young son, one that "seemed to say: 'That's all right, but we are men of the world'" (51), he intimates that sophistication is trans-national rather than specific to New York, and is capable of subsuming Canadianness under its international sphere of influence.

Just as the setting of the novel moves to Canada, so is the sophisticated/unsophisticated polarity reversed as Renmark succeeds in love and Yates blunders his way through courtship, thus suggesting that Yates's journalistic experience has been superficial and Renmark's academic life more profound. Initially the place of backwardness vis-à-vis the lively and progressive United States, Canada gradually becomes the place of definite virtues and community spirit that receives an affectionate ribbing rather than what at first appears to be a patronizing dismissal.

This narrative trajectory is to a large extent accomplished through the text's continual play with conceptions of stereotypical versus actual Canadian and American characteristics. When Renmark defeats Yates in a wrestling match, this is represented as earning the respect of

American might-makes-right thinking; and when after his triumph Renmark is conciliatory rather than overbearing concerning the sharing of chores, this is seen as surprising Yates's American-like expectation that to the victor belong the spoils.

The narrative explicitly resolves Yates's status in Canada in an extended scene set in a village blacksmith shop, where he is eventually taken in by tricks played by its rustic denizens. In experiencing this rite of passage, Yates is made to learn and articulate the lesson that shared humanity is more significant than national affiliation: "he had become one of the crowd, as it were" (127). He is depicted as having acquired some insight into his condition when he rationalizes his yellow-journalistic reporting style to Renmark: "we New Yorkers live in such an atmosphere of exaggeration that if I did not put it strongly it wouldn't have any effect. You've got to give a big dose to a man who has been taking poison all his life" (167).

Yates's loss of certainty regarding the superiority of all things American is paralleled by a marked diminution in laudatory references to the United States, and an increase in those to Canada. Renmark's pride "both national and civic" (198) in Canadian troops is stressed, as is Yates's admission that he has been "wrong in his estimate of the Canadians" (230) after they acquit themselves well against the Fenians. It is made clear that Yates's change of heart applies to the

country as a whole, as well as Renmark and the Canadian woman with whom Yates has fallen in love.

Yates's initial view of Canada as a backward place that deserves to be abandoned rather than defended is contested, however, by much more than a dramatic peripeteia. The Canadian rural milieu is materially recreated in the pages of In the Midst of Alarms, to the extent that many passages could be used as a handbook for those wishing to know how to perform the tasks that the text views as central to this largely self-sufficient way of life. The following description of Yates's introduction to soap-making, which is preceded by Kitty Bartlett's extended account of how to fill a pail in a deep well, is typical:

> [Yates:] "What is the next step?"
> [Bartlett:] "Pour the water into the leach."
> "Into the what?"
> "Into the leach, I said. Where else?"
> "Oh, I'm up a tree again. I see I don't even know the A B C of this business. In the old days the leech was a physician. You don't mean I'm to drown a doctor?"
> "This is the leach," said Kitty, pointing to a large, yellowish, upright wooden cylinder, which rested on some slanting boards, down the surface of which ran a brownish liquid that dripped into a trough.
> As Yates stood on a bench with the pail in his hand, he saw that the cylinder was filled nearly to the top with sodden wood ashes. He poured in the water, and it sank quickly out of sight.
> "So this is part of the soap-making equipment?" he said, stepping down; "I thought the iron kettle over the fire was the whole factory. Tell me about the leach." (89-90)

And so she does, for another three pages, as a wealth of historical detail contextualizes a scene in which Yates

receives yet another lesson as to how "things are not so simple as they seem" (90).

Here it should be noted that literary history's transition from Victorian to Modernist modalities, which is roughly contemporaneous with the final years of Barr's career, substitutes a concern with representing inner consciousness for the realism of external observation. During the last half of the 20th century, more materialist approaches to literature were adumbrated by critics such as Raymond Williams, Frederic Jameson and Pierre Bourdieu, whose respective analyses share a concern with process as a fundamental aspect of human existence, and with modes of production as the particular locations of the constitution and structuration of human life. Although it would be misleading to suggest that Barr shares an analogous intellectual or political framework, there is a sense in which novels such as In the Midst of Alarms participate in the reproduction and representation of the operations of material culture.

There are several different narrative tasks being performed in the soap-making scene. Yates and Kitty are being brought closer together by demonstrating that Yates has a lot to learn about both farm life and women, and Barr's penchant for light-hearted humour is also given some rein. But the predominant tone is one of the matter-of-fact depiction of an important material process, as Canadian rural life is portrayed in a way that powerfully contests any notions

regarding its insubstantiality or lack of distinctive qualities. In his novel The Measure of the Rule, Barr would later describe a character as being "determined to exchange the complex existence of a farm for the simple life of the city" (2); In the Midst of Alarms suggests that there is a core of truth in this observation.

In the Midst of Alarms's extensive descriptions of material context constitute a framework for the nascent formation of settler identity, one that situates difference in the performance of mundane tasks, with this in turn represented as producing an identifiably Canadian persona. Several of these descriptions add a sociological or ideological dimension to their accounts of such a culture's characteristic activities. The operation of a rural lending library, for example, is described with a wealth of detail that includes the acquisition, distribution, record-keeping and care of books. The equipment and operation of a blacksmith shop, similarly, are so graphically portrayed that even the blacksmith's expectoration of tobacco juice, and the effects of his teeth on this activity, are taken into account, as is the blacksmith's role as an apostle of the secular gospel of hard work. The religious and sociological significance of a revival meeting is considered in the context of an extended treatment that reproduces the words and music of a hymn, thus enabling readers to participate in one of the significant activities of the communal function depicted.

Passages such as these are reminiscent of Hardy's extensive documentation of the material conditions of Wessex working people. In the Midst of Alarms's blacksmith shop episode echoes the scene in Mr. Penny's workshop in Under the Greenwood Tree (1872), "The Chat" chapter in Far From the Madding Crowd's (1874) malthouse, and the spar-house scene in The Woodlanders (1887) in the way that dramatis personae are embedded within a world working literally as well as figuratively at the construction of intertwining social and individual selves.[22] In Barr's fiction, as in Hardy's, the complexity of self-making is not asserted by explicit narrational reflections, but is rather powerfully connoted by the text's dense contextualization of its plot and characters. The lack of such detailed representations by either writer of daily life among higher-status social groups implies that the choice of what will be depicted was affected by a need to demonstrate the condition of either artisans and labourers (Hardy) or independent farmers (Barr). This may reflect authorial conceptions as to what readers would know about particular class and regional contexts, since period taste in fiction dealing with rural life favoured sentimental, mock-pastoral novels of the "Kailyard School" variety such as Ian Maclaren's Beside the Bonnie Briar Bush (1895).[23] It also seems to display an attitude as to what readers should understand as important and influential concerning those whose lives are spent in agricultural work. In the Midst of Alarms

depicts a society in process of creation, and shows how and why this milieu is constructed as it is, making the novel a blueprint for settler identity in what is represented as neither a derivative nor inferior world.

Another example of In the Midst of Alarms's interest in closely observed material realities is the novel's portrayal of the culture and operation of the era's newspapers. Reporters are a familiar presence in Barr's work, and are often portrayed with a sardonic affection that looks on their superficiality and brashness as the necessary consequences of competitive working conditions. In the Midst of Alarms, however, finds Barr being more critical than usual of the negative aspects of journalism, which he makes an important factor in the gradual turning-of-tables that is the novel's major plot line.

Initially, Yates is portrayed as a confident, successful professional: "Being a newspaper man, I know what ought to go in print and what should have the blue pencil run through it" (11). Evaluating himself as a war correspondent, he says, "I am about the top of the tree in that line" (16). After his return to Canada, however, he begins to change into what both he and the text regard as a better person. He thinks before he acts, is more considerate of the interests of others and achieves a higher level of insight into the nature of his occupation:

> He could now, for the first time in many years, read a paper without that vague fear which always

> possessed him when he took up an opposition sheet, still damp from the press. Before he could enjoy it his habit was to scan it over rapidly to see if it contained any item of news which he himself had missed the previous day. The impending "scoop" hangs over the head of the newspaper man like the sword so often quoted. Great as the joy of beating the opposition press is, it never takes the poignancy of the sting away from a beating received. (82)

When it comes time to report on the Fenian invasion, Yates has become aware that his newspaper will publish only the news it sees fit to print: "We will have desperate fighting in the columns of the Argus, whatever there is on the fields of Canada" (170).

In a comic, light-hearted way that represents love's triumph over professional preoccupations, Yates's journalistic competence momentarily vanishes when he evaluates his performance in the text's final pages:

> You a newspaper man? You a reporter from 'way back? You up to snuff? Yates, I'm ashamed to be seen in your company. Go back to New York, and let the youngest reporter in from a country newspaper scoop the daylight out of you. (274-75)

Yates's final reflection, which is also the text's last line, is "Well, thank Heaven, Toronto is a long way from New York" (275). Although he plans to return to New York and resume his career, it is once again Canada's difference from the United States that is stressed, in this case as a buffer against his colleagues' awareness of how his Canadian experiences have made Yates different from them.

Both Renmark and Yates represent aspects of Barr's concept of his identity, and figure the teacher-cum-journalist

course of his career. If Barr had remained a teacher and followed the familiar trajectory that takes the upwardly mobile professional from the countryside to the metropolis, he might well have had a Renmark-like history. Barr did write a novel based on his Canadian experiences as a teacher-in-training, and the first thing to be noted about The Measure of the Rule[24] (1907) is that, although it is closely based on Barr's experience as a student at the Toronto Normal School, neither Toronto nor Ontario nor Canada is mentioned in the text. This forces the narration to engage in a certain amount of circumlocution: phrases such as "the capital city" (133), "our city" (236) and "this city of churches" (246) always substitute for 'Toronto.' In keeping with this avoidance of geographical specificity, the protagonist/narrator Thomas Prentiss's teaching certificate is granted by the "State" (2) rather than the province of Ontario, and an extended discussion of the various kinds of certificates never mentions either 'province' or 'Ontario.' Barr, already known for his detective fiction by the time he wrote The Measure of the Rule, has done something rather mysterious here: he has produced a realistic narrative firmly grounded in autobiographical experiences that occurred at a specific place and time, but has chosen not to identify formally what the text otherwise presents as its location in the city of Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

Barr so closely followed the Toronto Normal School's

history, in fact, that many of the novel's readers were able to identify its fictional characters with their real-life models. Louis MacKendrick's introduction to the 1973 reprint--which fails to mention the novel's reticence about its Canadian setting--points out several such examples. Also, two first editions shown to me by Canadian antiquarian booksellers each contained handwritten comments agreeing with the relationships MacKendrick notes. So if there seems to have been little mystery about The Measure of the Rule's people and places, why then did Barr choose not to identify Toronto as the location of the novel's events?

The explanation probably lies in an editorial decision by either Barr or his publishers regarding the novel's marketing. Since a teacher's-training institution would neither then nor now seem the most exciting of locations, it may well have been felt that an explicitly colonial background would constitute a further liability. Unlike In the Midst of Alarms's military campaign, or the dangerous river rapids featured in Barr's other Canadian-based novel, One Day's Courtship (1897), The Measure of the Rule offers little that is overtly exotic or adventurous.

Barr's Canadianness, useful as a source of imperial frontier phenomena in One Day's Courtship and In the Midst of Alarms, is here suspended as The Measure of the Rule assimilates itself into generic narratives about individual-institutional conflict and boy-meets-girl romance. The

difficulties of becoming a teacher, the novel's initial dramatic situation, are subsumed into the travails of maturing, falling in love and choosing a career. Thomas Prentiss's eventual decision to become an artist represents the novel's--as well as Barr's--decision to leave teaching behind and venture out into what is portrayed as the far more challenging and interesting world of the independent creator.

In keeping with this generalized drive toward a strongly desired but vaguely depicted artistic career, it is not the imperial centre of London that Prentiss journeys to in his quest to become a painter. The novel initially figures his reactions to the Normal School's city in terms of Biblical, Arabian and Napoleonic allusions. There is not only an absence of imperial context, but even a brief invocation of anti-imperial presence in the reference to one of Britain's most dangerous enemies. Subsequent European and oriental references are unaccompanied by anything specifically English or imperial, and this pattern is maintained throughout the text. Although Prentiss fantasizes about becoming a mathematiciam so famous that he achieves membership in the "Royal Society" (3) and then an artist whose pictures will be sought by the Royal Academy, and there are passing mentions of Dickens and Wordsworth, political discourse about the "future of the nation" is carried on without mentioning either Great Britain or the empire. Prentiss does admit London to the short list of cities where high civilization is to be found, but avows that

he "shall make for Paris" when choosing the milieu most congenial to becoming an artist (189).

The Canada that is implicitly represented in The Measure of the Rule is "a new country" (32), a society briskly engaged in creating itself with the aid of models taken from the world as a whole rather than just the British Empire. The text does follow In the Midst of Alarms, however, in providing the kind of detailed descriptions of material life that would enable one to reconstruct its world of a large city and its social and educational institutions. Ice yachting is a distinctive winter sport that Prentiss pictures in both longshot and closeup, and the meeting of a fraternal order is depicted with a degree of detail that would enable the reader to participate in its rituals. Classes at the Normal School are likewise described so extensively that there is a sense in which one does not so much read The Measure of the Rule as attend it.[25]

The life of the school's students outside the classroom also receives a good deal of attention, with this explanation of the operation of a boarding house providing a typically full account of a material, quotidian process:

> You pay [the landlady] for your share of this study, and for your bedroom. This payment includes cooking and care of the rooms. The caterer, when appointed, makes such arrangements for provisioning . . . as he deems necessary, and [the landlady's] cook is responsible for serving up. Thus there is no growling about the food in this boarding-house, because we buy such provender as pleases us. Every Saturday night the caterer presents his account, which is summed up, and divided by eight, the number of people at our table, and each man forks over his share. (101-02)

The novel's depictions of such mundane events as a Saturday excursion and attendance at church are similarly comprehensive. When combined with the above, they produce a graphic and densely contextualized portrait of a particular kind of life taking place at what our knowledge of Barr's background enables us to identify as a specific point in time. The Measure of the Rule, like In the Midst of Alarms, does not so much assert the existence of a discrete Second-World, settler identity as it enacts it. In portraying a way of life that is independent of imperial influence, both novels celebrate the vitality and distinctiveness of what is represented as having now become well-settled territory.

Barr's fiction almost completely ignores the existence of those who previously controlled this territory, Canada's aboriginal inhabitants. As the story of his assistance to an Iroquois chief in London suggests, Barr seems to have been personally sympathetic to the country's Native peoples. While still living in the Windsor area, he accompanied a cabinet minister on a mission to conclude a treaty with a local Native band, and impressed them so favourably that he was made an honourary chief with the title of "The White House."[26] Nonetheless, In the Midst of Alarms makes no mention at all of Canada's Native peoples, and their only appearance in The Measure of the Rule is a fleeting one:

> Some of the students called Dr. Darnell "the red man," because of the colour of his whiskers, his florid face, and his aboriginal temper, but no Indian, unerringly flinging his tomahawk at a

> pioneer, more effectually eliminated a useful pathfinder than did Dr. Darnell's indifferent wave of the hand as he dismissed me . . . (140-41)

The Native presence here is historically distanced by the invocation of the pioneer, and the negative use of "aboriginal" and the stereotypical treatment of colour difference complete a reference that is indeed dismissive.

The novel One Day's Courtship[27] (1896) does include as minor characters two part-Native boatmen who are sometimes identified as "Indians," but are more often referred to as "half-breeds."[28] Despite the fact that it is their efforts that make a canoeing expedition possible, they are represented as duplicitous servants who falsely claim not to understand English and are not entirely human. "I don't think you could drown a half-breed" (70), comments John Trenton, the English artist who is the novel's protagonist, and whose opinion is supported by the text's portrayal of the boatmen as useful only as sources of brute strength.

One Day's Courtship is largely set in Canada, but it is a different country from the complex settler society so painstakingly represented in The Measure of the Rule and In the Midst of Alarms. Here Canada is a primitive place distinguished only by its natural wonders, which such rustic and uncivilized inhabitants as Trenton's buckboard driver do not even properly appreciate:

> The woods all around had on their marvelous autumn tints, and now the sun added a living lustre to them that made the landscape more brilliant than anything the artist had ever seen before.

> "Ye gods!" he cried enthusiastically, "that scene is worth coming from England to have one glimpse of."
> "See here," said the driver, "if you want to catch Ed Mason before he's gone to the woods you'll have to hurry up. It's getting late."
> "True, O driver. You have brought me from the sun to the earth." (8-9)

Nor are such sorry examples of the settler impressed by what the text describes as the "magnificence" of the Shawenegan Falls. "They look on it merely as an annoying impediment to the navigation of the river" (22-23), observes the narrative's only intelligent Canadian, regarding the outlook of his fellow countrymen. Canada here is a picturesque backdrop against which an encounter between two other national identities will be played out. The only glimpse of the country's distinctive material reality is a dismissive reference to "the Lower Canada buckboard" as "by all odds the most uncomfortable vehicle" Trenton has ever encountered (5).

One Day's Courtship focusses on the relationship between Trenton, a Londoner born and bred, and Eva Sommerton, a proud Bostonian who has little use for either Canada or England: "To be a dependency of some splendid tyrannical power like Russia wouldn't be so bad; but to be dependent on that little island--I lose all my respect for Canada when I think of it" (124). Eva Sommerton is a "lady," and there is "nothing of the backwoods about her" (12). One of the major aspects of the text's play with English/American difference is her insistence, which the anonymous narrator tells us is one of Sommerton's "many delusions," on reversing conventional

notions about what distinguishes the old world from the new (17). She initially brands Trenton a "cad" and "not a gentleman" (52, 54), and this is subsequently expanded into the assertions that Americans "generally expect rudeness from Englishmen" and "You English are too fond of coercion. We Americans are against it" (76, 104). She is also the proud defender of Boston's claim that "the real intellectual centre of the world was, not London, but the capital of Massachusetts," as is further exemplified by her comment that arrangements for a canoe trip do "not seem to me quite regular; but, then, this is the Canadian woods, and not Boston" (113, 41).

As Boston and London are compared and contrasted as the representative cities of their respective cultures, Montreal is relegated to the status of a place meriting at best a one-day shopping trip, thus reinforcing the text's pattern of dominant American and English discourses articulated against an inferior Canadian background. The Canadian setting's narrative usefulness lies in its provision of a strategic disruption of civilized life. When Trenton and Sommerton are temporarily marooned on a river island, and she resists his overtures by objecting that their "acquaintance has been very short," he replies that "Counted by time, yes. But an incident like this, in the wilderness, does more to form a friendship, or the reverse, than years of ordinary acquaintance in Boston or London" (74). What begins as a suspension of civilized

behaviour in the Canadian wilderness will, however, be resolved in the drawing rooms of Boston, where England and the United States subsequently meet in a highly structured courtship ritual that unites American energy and confidence with British tact and perseverance.

The figure of the "proper Bostonian," convinced that "Boston State-House is the hub of the solar system" (as Oliver Wendell Holmes put it in The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table[29]), was a staple of period fiction by William Dean Howells (The Rise of Silas Lapham, 1885), Henry James (The Bostonians, 1886) and many others. Barr treats this attitude as an amusing, misguided folly that will be cancelled by Sommerton's attraction to Trenton, who is portrayed as the ultra-urbane Englishman at ease both in American and British milieus. The American/English difference is for the most part conveyed through the contrast between his unruffled cool and Sommerton's impassioned diatribes, the latter typically not attributed to essentialized gender traits despite the occasional reference to her "womanly inconsistency" (47), but instead conceptualized as demonstrating a normative expression of brash, self-confident American behaviour.

Another mark of Trenton's comparative sophistication vis-à-vis Sommerton is his superior knowledge of their respective national languages. He advises her to "search around. Hunt, as you Americans say" when they need fire wood (71), and he cites his uncharacteristic use of the phrase "Why, certainly" as an

example of "how I am already dropping into the American phraseology" (121). The following exchange encapsulates a situation in which Trenton is represented as having command of Sommerton's language as well as his own:

> [Trenton:] " . . . are you betrothed?"
> [Sommerton:] "We generally call it engaged in this country."
> "Then I shall translate my questions into the language of the country . . . " (101)

When Trenton chides Sommerton as to "How little you Americans really know of the great British nation, after all" (94), he articulates a narrative situation in which the English understanding of difference controls and ultimately triumphs over what is seen as an unnuanced, and as a result incorrect, American assertion of superiority.

Unlike In the Midst of Alarms and The Measure of the Rule, One Day's Courtship does not contain extended descriptions of the Canadian habitus. It is Canada's landscape and natural wonders that are represented as what is really interesting about the country. The only evidence of textual concern for material process comes when Trenton offers a "scientific explanation" of the techniques that must be used when taking photographs of a waterfall (66). In showing Sommerton and the reader how the waterfall looks through Trenton's eyes, the narrative depicts something that Mary Louise Pratt has noted as characteristic of "Victorian discovery rhetoric" regarding "the relation of mastery predicated between the seer and the seen."[30] It is one in

which "the esthetic qualities of the landscape constitute the social and material value of the discovery to the explorer's home culture" (205). Trenton is the only character who understands what must be done with this scene in order to represent it properly to the imperial homeland, which it is assumed will appreciate it far more than either Canada's ignorant settlers or its primitive Native inhabitants, the "Indians." The former have already been indicted for their failure to appreciate natural beauty, and the latter are not permitted to voice any opinions about a landscape in which they can be nothing more than menial workers.

A scene in which a young reporter's combination of brash energy and crass ignorance is contrasted with Trenton's civilized urbanity also contributes to One Day's Courtship's portrayal of American/English difference. Like Richard Yates's reflections on journalism in In the Midst of Alarms, however, there is probably a certain amount of professional pride being imaged in the reporter's desire to "write a good readable article" that will be "snappy and bright" (118). We know that these are values Barr considered central to journalistic practice in this period even though, as in this scene, he frequently satirized them from a more Parnassian point of view.

What the text touches on here is precisely the literary/ literary journalist/journalist typology that was in the "Theory and Context" chapter put forward as a useful way of

categorizing the professional writers of this era. In One Day's Courtship it is Robert Barr the aspiring literary novelist, conversant with English and American idioms and able to take an artist's-eye view of both Canada's natural wonders and Boston's socially-pretentious salons, who has some fun with the relatively unsophisticated character of a young journalist. In this, as in its neglect of the material realities of Canadian society which figured so copiously in The Measure of the Rule and In the Midst of Alarms, One Day's Courtship seems more interested in polarities than in spectrums: it places Canada in a primitive, uncivilized position that is in marked opposition to both the English and American cultures. It also constructs a social gulf between artist and journalist that contrasts sharply with the mediating strategies of The Measure of the Rule and In the Midst of Alarms, where teachers, journalists and artists are made rather than born, and can also be unmade and transformed.

The Heralds of Fame[31] (1896), a novella, finds Barr concerned with English/American difference in the related field of publishing practice as he recounts the English author Kenan Buel's experiences with flashy American methods. The text relates several humorous examples of the misunderstandings that result when two often dissimilar cultures think they are speaking the same language. An American publisher visiting England, L.F. Brant, invites Buel to "Come up in the elevator. They call it a lift here, not

knowing any better, but it gets there ultimately" (135). When Buel is preparing to go to the United States to promote his new novel, Brant sends him "a cablegram that bewildered him. It was simply, 'She's a-booming.' He regretted that he had never learned the American language" (145).

Carrie Jessop plays the role of one of Barr's stock figures, the American girl convinced that she knows everything worth knowing about England. She tells Buel that "I suppose you think American girls are very forward? All Englishmen do" (166), and claims that the United States "conquered" England in 1776; Buel's reply--"I am afraid England doesn't quite realise her unfortunate position" (174)--is one of Barr's typical depictions of British politeness and superior knowledge.

The narrative's structuration requires that Buel retain his Englishness in order to emphasize his country's linguistic superiority vis-á-vis crude American locutions. Jessop is forced to explain that "slumped" is Wall-Street jargon (177) and "Dear me! . . . I am sorry to hear that" not an appropriate response to the statement that "my father is on the street" (191). Whereas Buel displays discretion and knowledge in commenting that "there is good English authority for much that we term American spelling," Jessop is typically rude and impetuous in disparaging Chaucer's work, which she admits she has "looked at" but not actually read (187).

The Heralds of Fame has much light-hearted fun with

contemporary journalism, and does differentiate between reporting and what it sees as the more artistically demanding task of writing novels, but it also treats these two occupations as being intimately connected by the day-to-day operations of the literary marketplace. It is Brant's sagacity as a publisher that brings about the promotion of Buel's talent through the medium of the press, just as Barr in the capacity of co-publisher of The Idler found himself marketing his own work to contemporary reviewers and readers. Unlike George Gissing's New Grub Street (1891), which posits a conflict between the writer's integrity and the publishing industry's need for "printed stuff which no one even pretended to be more than a commodity for the day's market,"[32] The Heralds of Fame treats author/publisher difference as the occasion for light humour. Since Gissing's view is more congruent with literary history's subsequent valorization of the worthy but economically unrewarded "Modern," and concomitant denigration of the lowly but profitable "popular," it is his work that is taken to be emblematic of the dichotomy between commercial success and critical esteem. Barr, however, adds another dimension to our understanding of the period's habitus in constructing a situation in which the gap between the literary and the popular can be bridged by intelligent mediation, and there is as a result no need for the serious writer to seriously compromise her work.

In The Heralds of Fame, it is a canny American publisher

who brings a talented English author to the attention of a larger American readership, as English/American difference is viewed as a place of encounter and negotiation rather than collision and incomprehension. What is American, in particular, is viewed with a combination of tolerant affection and amused respect that renders it a separate-but-equal component of the English-speaking world, and is markedly different from the much harsher attitudes that Barr expresses elsewhere. The Heralds of Fame's play with English/American difference occurs within an all-encompassing linguistic framework, where sub-sets of English and American idiom are readily translatable into mutually comprehensible discourse, and there is a palpable contextual assumption that those who speak English necessarily have much in common.

A more specifically American form of self-making is represented in The Speculations of John Steele[33] (1905), a novel in which a railway company in particular, and the capitalist economic system of the United States in general, become the engines that drive a young man's education in the ways of the world. John Steele's eventual rise to the top occurs in an American context that initially seems to be the place where dreams of acquiring money and influence can best be realized. After a train wreck is averted through his courageous initiative, Steele's entrance into the world of capitalist economic power is represented as exactly that crucial transformation for which he has so devoutly wished:

> The transferring of a country youth at an enhanced salary, from a lone pine shanty on the prairie to this palatial edifice in the city, seemed to John like being translated bodily to heaven. Now he had his chance, and that was all he asked of fate. (7)

But Steele's road to success turns out to be quite a different journey from the young-man-makes-good tale that Barr's contemporary readers, familiar with such American rags-to-riches stories as those of Andrew Carnegie (1835-1919), C.P. Huntington (1821-1900) and John D. Rockefeller (1839-1937), would have been likely to expect at this point. What Steele learns about his country's economic system is that the qualities really necessary to succeed in business are not those promoted by Horatio Alger (1834-1899), whose more than 100 popular novels depicted characters such as Ragged Dick learning to Sink or Swim with Luck and Pluck as they rose upward economically. Steele's experiences as an apprentice manager and investor are so disheartening, so characterized by fraud, treachery and dirty dealing on the part of almost everyone he encounters, that he will ultimately triumph only by first retreating from the field of capitalist competition, and then switching the narrative off the bildungsroman tracks and onto the rails of a romantic melodrama in which the knight-errant's purity guarantees the winning of a lady fair.

First, however, he must experience an often painful education in the mores of the American man of business. The Speculations of John Steele initially figures its protagonist as "the embodiment of good-fellowship--talkative, humorous,

genial; who believed every one around him as honest and whole-hearted as himself" (38). It is this fundamental naivety that the text's anonymous narrator identifies as making Steele an easy mark for the back-stabbing office politics which result when he becomes the general manager of a railroad. His supervisor, T. Acton Blair, is initially perplexed when Steele does not try to undermine him:

> At first this bewildered Blair; then he came to the conclusion it was merely deep craft on the part of the young man, and finally he reached the fact that Steele was quite honestly endeavouring to do his duty, and trying to please his superiors . . . . [Blair] felt like a man who had been taken advantage of. Instead of being thankful that his former fear was groundless, his resentment burned all the brighter, and he brought his genius for intrigue into play, determining to trip up the young man on the first favourable opportunity. (37-38)

Shortly thereafter, Blair's animosity is taken up by sycophantic underlings who, because Steele does not yet share the narrator's knowledge of how business is actually conducted, put the new general manager in an impossible situation.

Steele's fortunes are momentarily brightened by his inheritance of valuable railroad stock from his uncle Dugald, "a cantankerous, crabbed old Scotsman, snarling like an unowned dog, and going about in shabbier clothes than the most ragged tramp" (47), whose miserly miserableness is an exaggerated--and at this point in the narrative, apparently humorous--representation of qualities that will later be seen as having graver consequences when exhibited by capitalism's

more sophisticated magnates. Steele is soon cheated out of his inheritance by manipulators of the New York Stock Exchange, Blair among them, after which he for the first time begins to grasp the realities of economic competition. His new credo is expressed in terms that mark his sadder-but-wiser conversion to what is represented as the actual ethos of American business:

> The utter folly of hard work, faithful service, reasonable honesty, and all that, has been brought home to me.
>
> . . . I admit all the critic may say of my folly, but I realise that being an honest, hard-working, efficient man doesn't pay in this country. At least, it pays only in allowing you to scrape together a modest competency, which may be quite lawfully filched from you in ten minutes. (110)

In the process of fashioning himself into someone who will be able to compete with such remorseless foes, Steele learns to survive in a world that has little to do with the "imperial dream of noble service and intoxicating adventure" that J.A. Mangan identifies as characteristic of much of the period's popular English fiction.[34] Here it is the American economic system that is figured as the site of a contest in which one wins by outmaneuvering, undermining and bankrupting competitors, while disregarding all other consequences. This generic portrait of capitalist power is given human form in "The Embodiment of Mammon" (190), the soap-manufacturer Peter Berrington, who casts a "sinister shadow" over American life:

> His methods were as simple as his products. He offered what he considered a fair price to a rival for his business, and if that rival refused, Peter

> crushed him by a competition the other could not withstand.
>
> . . . [Berrington] bought railways and steamship lines, also City Councils and State legislators, judges, juries, and senators. He was now the guardian and manipulator of the people's savings, and his banks had the handling of all the money the United States Government possessed. (190-91)

Berrington tries to have Steele murdered when the young man gets in his way, and after Berrington dies, the "hard-headed businessman" who assume control of his empire continue the vendetta.

These rapacious financiers fulfill the same textual function as the international conspirators who were a staple of many contemporary novels of intrigue,[35] with the important difference that they are not foreigners or political radicals who intend to sabotage the existing politico-economic system, but are instead represented as the logical, socially-respected product of a culture based on the capitalist ethic. To the extent that The Speculations of John Steele is an allegory of innocence wronged and then corrupted by evil, it works this out by asserting its superior insight into economic processes viewed as normative, wide-ranging and socially-determining realities that are capable of forming, and malforming, individual identities. This concern with the material conditions that produce habitus is similar to the procedures followed by In the Midst of Alarms and The Measure of the Rule, although here it is directed toward a critique of the American economic system rather than a demonstration of the reasons why Canadian society's distinctive circumstances

deserve a correspondingly idiomatic representation.

The Speculations of John Steele concludes with an assertion of the power of romance to overcome the heretofore inexorable triumph of capitalist economic practice. The narrative has previously depicted women as either shallow fortune-hunters or wily conspirators-for-hire employed by Steele's business enemies. This view is suddenly amended, however, when Steele decides to appeal to Peter Berrington's daughter, Constance, after her deceased father's business associates have finally succeeded in wiping Steele out financially.

Constance Berrington is portrayed as a conflicted figure, her face "redeemed from lack of amiability by some indescribable spiritual intellectuality," and although "caring little for the feelings of others," sometimes revealing "true nobility of character" (281). Steele kidnaps Berrington as a way of forcing her to listen to his story, and it is his masculine assertiveness as much as the merits of his story that wins her over. The romantic air of unreality that now suffuses the narration is underlined by Steele's account of his experience of a literal embodiment of fantasy:

> In my youth I read once of an enchanted land, presided over by a fairy princess so gracious and so good that when outside barbarians wandered into her realm, they became what we would call civilised; but I never knew this land and this princess existed until to-day. (300)

The ensuing courtship rapidly develops in a way that cancels the influence of the capitalist ethos: when Berrington offers

Steele a cheque for ten million dollars to repay his losses, he tears it up and then asks her to marry him. Their union signifies a textual forgiving and forgetting of what Steele has experienced throughout the balance of the narration, as his endurance of an ordeal-by-capitalism is rewarded by a fair lady and her fortune.

This sudden about-face occurs in the last thirty of The Speculations of John Steele's 308 pages, as a happy ending is cobbled onto a narrative that had seemed headed for its protagonist's ruination both morally and financially. But the abruptness of this transition, and the all's-well-that-ends-well conclusion that presumably reflects Barr's sense of what his readers expect from a popular, mass-market novel, should not obscure the remarkableness of what has preceded it. In 1906, one year after the publication of The Speculations of John Steele, the term "muckraker" would be applied to writers such as Upton Sinclair and Ida Tarbell,[36] who attacked the social consequences of American capitalism in harsh and vivid terms. If The Speculations of John Steele turns aside from such radical conclusions, it nonetheless participates in an impassioned discourse about the unfairness of existing economic arrangements in the United States.

Whereas The Speculations of John Steele concentrates on American economic practices, the country's political as well as economic systems are the dual foci of The Victors[37] (1901). The novel's prefatory "An Effort at Dedication" finds

Barr speaking as an American convinced that "the Great American novel" will never be written "because America is so vast, its interests are so various, its activities so far-reaching" (v). As a consequence, Barr aspires to be "the accurate reporter which early newspaper discipline exacted, rather than the imaginative novelist, so deservedly popular in our day" (v). His paean to the United States's educational system suggests that such journalistic acuity will restore Horatio Alger's virtues to a prominent role in at least one area of American life:

> Whatever difference of opinion may exist regarding various American institutions, the world at large must admire the educational system of the United States. The three master steps of learning, Public School, High School, and University, may be mounted by any energetic youth, and no toll-gate bars his way. The only tribute expected from him is diligence and good conduct. (v)

It is the first sentence of this paragraph, however, that proves to anticipate a turn away from what begins as the praise of all things American. Read by itself, it seems to allude to a "difference" that is presumably negative vis-à-vis the admiration prompted by one particular facet of American society, its educational system. As The Victors goes on to take its three main characters from youthful obscurity to adult political and economic success, it will articulate the same sort of cynicism regarding the real value of such socially approved goals as does The Speculations of John Steele.

Jim Monro, Ben McAllister and Patrick Maguire are young,

ambitious men with no money but much energy and intelligence; all three succeed in rising to the top of their respective fields. Monro and McAllister, recent college graduates who are still finding out who they are, meet Maguire when the trio are attempting to make a living as peddlers in the American midwest. The ultra-sensitive McAllister experiences uncertainty about identity as something that cannot be understood by those who are undergoing it, and as a place of potential conflict between "actual" and "apocryphal" selves:

> Ben McAllister the actual rose to his feet, crossed the ditch and stood on the darkening road confronting Ben McAllister the apocryphal. . . . There existed deep down in his nature a stratum of undeveloped religious enthusiasm which might some day change him into a fanatic. He was not cognisant of these things, for no country is so unknown to a young man as the labyrinths of his own soul. (19)

Having already adopted various national and literary identities in the course of his career, and having already played with the distinction between the real Bret Harte we may encounter and the ideal Harte we may imagine, Barr now suggests that the self is subject to yet further division. The splitting of an "actual" from an "apocryphal" self seems to indicate an internalization of what in the Bret Harte article was projected onto another, with the apocryphal becoming a place of potential estrangement that cannot be known by the host self that nonetheless produces it. Unlike all the other identities Barr has exhibited up to this point, the apocryphal is beyond the control of self-representation, and its

recognition seems to constitute an aporia that marks a limit to his thinking about multiple identities.

Before becoming concerned with a critique of American political life, The Victors strongly reiterates The Speculations of John Steele's criticisms of capitalist economic practice. When Patrick Maguire, a clever, self-educated man, appalls Monro and McAllister with his complete lack of ethics, the latter decide to form a partnership that will pursue economic success in a way "to be regulated in a measure by the Good Book" (111), with "in a measure" being liberally interpreted by McAllister:

> I look on God as I would look upon a rich man who furnished us with a working capital. In our present partnership we will each do the best we can, until we are up against a stone wall that we can't either climb over or break down; then we will call for assistance from the Lord, asking Him either to show us a way out, or to remove an obstruction we cannot surmount. (113)

Monro is troubled by this conception of God as the American businessman's silent partner, but eventually gives in when he reflects that he has "known ministers themselves seek guidance when a bigger salary was offered them, and they generally found duty drag them toward the richer congregation" (117). In The Victors, even religion is portrayed as being corrupted by capitalist economic practice.

Monro and McAllister then meet John Mitchell, a businessman whose views on achieving success reiterate Horatio Alger's. Monro, however, opposes such notions with what he sees as the actual situation of himself and his friend:

> Nominally the choice of any business in the United States is open to us. Practically no such choice is allowed. . . . What can we do? We must live, and in order to live we must sell our liberty and work for someone who has money. If we happen to strike an employer who appreciates the qualities we have to sell, then we may get on slowly. If not, we have to slave along until we get another chance. (138)

Monro's bluntness encourages Mitchell to drop Horatio Alger and articulate a survival-of-the-fittest philosophy. He states that he "would rather have a smart, resourceful young man who would defraud me if he could than a slow, honest person" (151), and deplores "any canting on the ways of Providence, or boasting of immaculate morals" (152). As in the text's preceding reflections on ministerial greed, the idea that American religion and morality are fundamentally corrupt is again forcefully suggested.

When Monro and McAllister begin to make their way in New York, which is represented as American capitalism's harsh and demanding center, The Victors conflates bildungsroman and romance narratives in a manner that sees no serious division between them, and also suggests that what seemed an abrupt shift from the former to the latter in The Speculations of John Steele may have been unproblematic for Barr:

> There is nothing more heroic in the annals of mankind than the adventuring of a youth against the fortress of a mighty city, himself practically unarmed. He enlists as a private in a campaign whose death-roll is so heavy that no record can be kept of it . . . . Yet day by day he enters unflinchingly into the strife, not knowing whether he will scale the battlements or fall unremembered into the trenches. He belongs to a regiment which has no esprit de corps and no commander, where

> every man fights for his own hand, and where there is no ambulance brigade. For its own safety the city will bury him when he is dead, but that is all he can rely upon. (183-84)

Here danger is foregrounded and dramatized as a means of heightening the achievement of those who succeed, as a kind of romance of capitalism is produced by figuring economic competition as unceasing warfare and those who survive it as heroic warriors. Accompanying this valorization of youthful courage, however, are many allusions to those who fail and fall by the wayside, who in the passage's concluding sentence are united with the more fortunate in the universal future certainty of death. The romance of success and the reality of failure are both present here in language that seeks to exalt those who scale the battlements, but is at the same time troubled by thoughts of the "unremembered," for whom there is "no ambulance brigade" and who are afforded burial only because of public-safety concerns. The affirmation of the possibilities of heroism is persistently qualified by images of loss, suffering and alienation, as the text can neither ignore nor forget the determinate social consequences that inevitably accompany such heroic individual efforts.

The Victors is generally admiring of the young men whose vicissitudes it chronicles, and it sets them on the track of their New York experiences with another invocation of the idealism central to their youthful characters:

> Jim, like all American young men, had a sublime faith that he would be rich one day through his own efforts. . . . The self-confidence of an

> American youth with reference to his future career is something colossal. (235-36)

When Monro and McAllister find jobs at the same company, they are introduced to a milieu in which the bribery of state legislators and a competitor's employees is commonplace, and blackmailing and swindling are also routine occurrences. When their business affairs eventually prosper, it is because they have compromised their ethical beliefs sufficiently to engage in a

> contest, not of spoken lies, perhaps--[McAllister's] principles would not admit of his telling a falsehood--but the lies were to be acted, if either of them had gone deep enough into his inner consciousness to realise that fact. (332)

From here it is but a short step to aping the behaviour of their colleagues and becoming "as great a scoundrel" as possible (337), as the narrator concludes that the ideal business transaction is one in which "each party to the chaffering believed in his heart that he had cheated the person with whom he negotiated" (340).

While Monro and McAllister have become major players in the business world, Patrick Maguire is now one of the most feared political bosses in New York City. Maguire's success is represented as stemming from his awareness of what the average American really wants from government:

> The ordinary every-day man in the street wants liberty to make money; as much of the cash as he can, and as fast as he can. If ye give him that, he asks no odds of anybody. He doesn't want to bother too much about politics, or about anything else, except the raking of the boodle. (303)

In such a society, politicians will behave like "the deputy street commissioner, whose business it was to keep the streets of New York dirty and the hands of his henchmen apparently clean" (264).

Barr displays his characteristic interest in the material reality of social processes when describing what happens to a saloonkeeper who refuses to bribe the police in order to stay open after legal drinking hours:

> A policeman--an incorruptible officer, who scorns the surreptitious glass of beer--parades in front of the saloon. He does not need to say anything. The thirsty throats pass him by and go to the next place. . . . It needs no ghost from the grave to show us that there are exactly one of two things to do--shut up shop or pay the sum expected. (450-51)

Monro directly experiences what can happen to someone who objects to such proceedings when he is severely beaten by police after his arrest on trumped-up charges. This is effectively contrasted with the rhetoric of a Memorial Day celebration that he overhears while in custody:

> He heard the stamping of many feet in the hall opposite, and the ringing of cheers. The sound waves beat on his brain as if the clubs were at their work again. In the intervals he caught fragments of speeches, "palladiums of liberty," blood shed that we may be free," and he thought they were referring to his battered head. (498-99)

Monro goes to see Maguire, now the boss of the entire political machine, who is horrified and severely disciplines those responsible for the assault; at the same time, however, Maguire reaffirms his faith in politics as he knows it:

> I believe in honesty in politics, an' if this country wants that same, let it begin. It isn't for the poor office-holder to begin. He's chucked in an' he's chucked out, an' his honesty is counted neither in his appointment or his dismissal. A country gets just what it deserves; just what it pays for. (535)

As in The Speculations of John Steele, narrative closure in The Victors radically alters the personal trajectories of its main characters while suspending the text's extensive documentation of political abuses. McAllister's preoccupation with business drives his wife away from him; they are reconciled only when he agrees to spend more time with her. Maguire, who "drank too much, smoked too much, ate too much and walked too little" (530), dies when he defers to his wife's Christian Science beliefs about the uselessness of conventional medical treatment; Monro wins the affections of a rich girl in a final scene charged with romantic passion. Once again there is an abrupt transition between what the text has presented as a realistic portrayal of contemporary politico-economic activity and what its author evidently perceives as a felt need for morally appropriate outcomes, as the former is simply dropped and the latter recounted with no apparent sense of difference vis-à-vis what has preceded them.

If this is, as seems to be the case, not problematic for Barr, various possibilities suggest themselves. He may simply have been incompetent at bringing his plots to an appropriate conclusion, although there is no evidence that the contemporary readers and publishers who helped to make a new

book from Barr an annual occurrence between 1897 and 1912 thought any such thing. Thus it is more likely that some sort of habitus, some kind of genre or period practice, is being touched on here; the mass-market readership's need for 'happy endings,' and the sense that there may not be any thinkable solution for what must nonetheless be recognized as social problems, may lie in the background of those textual fissures that so markedly separate linear plotting and narrative closure in The Victors and The Speculations of John Steele.

The idea that Americans were peculiarly subject to such corruption had been advanced by Charles Dickens after his visit to the United States in 1842:

> Another prominent feature [of the American character] is the love of "smart" dealing: which gilds over many a swindle and gross breach of trust; many a defalcation, public and private; and enables many a knave to hold his head up with the best, who well deserves a halter; though it has not been without its retributive operation, for this smartness has done more in a few years to impair the public credit, and to cripple the public resources, than dull honesty, however rash, could have effected in a century.[38]

Unlike Dickens, however, Barr does not restrict such activities to the American scene. Several of his novels depict English businessmen behaving in similarly immoral ways, although Barr sometimes seems to suggest that the American version of capitalism is more pernicious than its slightly milder English equivalent.

A Woman Intervenes[39] (1895) portrays American and English economic practices in a way that both differentiates

and connects them. The novel is structured around the encounter between an English man and an American woman, and like One Day's Courtship represents the latter as excessively proud and the former as an average, decent sort of chap. Jennie Brewster is a journalist employed by the New York Argus, a variation on the Argus for which In the Midst of Alarm's Richard Yates worked, and a newspaper that will appear again in Barr's work. She is assigned to find out the specifics of accountant George Wentworth's mining ventures, and the novel's portrayal of her aggressive pursuit of this goal is one of its most frequently foregrounded examples of English/American difference. When Brewster hires the English Lady Willow as her 'native guide' to Britain's upper crust, the two cultures' mutual lack of comprehension is figured as a balance that favours neither:

> Jenny was suspicious about the title, and demanded convincing proofs of its genuineness before she engaged Lady Willow. She was amazed that any real lady would, as it were, sell her social influence at so much a week; but, as Lady Willow was equally astonished that an American girl earned her livelihood by writing for the papers, the surprise of the one found its counterpart in the wonder of the other. (181)

George Wentworth and his partner, the engineer John Kenyon, must keep stiff upper lips and always do the gentlemanly thing in representing what is quotidianly English vis-à-vis what is often transgressively American; thus, they are initially depicted as a couple of boring fuddie-duddies easily outwitted by Brewster. When all three meet on a passenger liner sailing

to New York from London, the anonymous narrator describes Brewster--who already knows that Wentworth and Kenyon are English--as addressing the pair as Americans because she

> imagined that a man is generally flattered when [taken for an American]. No matter how proud he may be of his country, he is pleased to learn that there is no provincialism about him which, as the Americans say, "gives him away." (13)

Wentworth replies: "I understand it is a common delusion among Americans that every Englishman drops his 'h's,' and is to be detected in that way" (14). Kenyon later remarks, "Doesn't it strike you, Wentworth, that you are somewhat in a hurry? It seems decidedly more American than English. Englishmen are apt to weigh matters a little more" (20).

Kenyon is suspicious of Baxter because she is a woman, and warns Wentworth:

> Be on your guard, my boy. I've heard it said that American girls have the delightful little practice of leading a man on until it comes to a certain point, and then arching their pretty eyebrows, looking astonished, and forgetting all about him afterwards. (20)

Kenyon goes on to express his preference for an English girl he has noticed on deck, whose figuration as the more natural and less artificial of the two women is part of the text's play with the conventional opposition between the jaded Old World and the fresh New World.

Brewster, whose "sketches of the genial New York politician and also of the taciturn, glum Englishman . . . have been largely copied as typical examples of American humor" (97), has reporting rather than romance on her mind,

however. Wentworth's reply to her assertion that English book-keepers are not "half so sharp as ours" extends the text's theme of English/American difference into accounting and ethics:

> I have just had an experience . . . with some of your very sharpest American book-keepers. I found that the books had been kept in the most ingenious way with the intent to deceive. . . . one of your American accountants had already looked over the books, and, whether through ignorance or carelessness, or from a worse motive, he reported them all right. They were not all right, and the fact that they were not, will mean the loss of a fortune to some people on your side of the water, and the saving of good money to others on my side. (45)

Having so far suggested that both American women and accountants aren't quite up to the standards set by their English counterparts, the narrative next discovers an early example of the "Ugly American" on shipboard in the person of a character who could serve as a prototype for The Victors' Patrick Maguire:

> His name was Fleming, and he claimed to be a New York politician. As none of his friends or enemies asserted anything worse about him, it may be assumed that Fleming had designated his occupation correctly. If Wentworth were asked what he most disliked about the man, he would probably have said his offensive familiarity. (62)

Fleming's version of American politics is a thoroughly cynical one, but whereas Maguire considered honesty and politics strange bedfellows, Fleming does find at least some room for the "conscientious citizen" (220).

Unlike The Victors, however, A Woman Intervenes conceives of political abuses as wrongs possible of being righted rather

than inescapable aspects of an unchangeable reality. Brewster, an experienced journalist depicted as also understanding how things actually work, counters the latter attitude with a more optimistic credo that Fleming then contextualizes:

> "No corrupt New York politician will ever be President of the United States. You will have the great honest bulk of the people to deal with there, and I'm democrat enough to believe in them when it comes to big issues, however much you may befog them in small; you can't fool all people for all time, Mr. Fleming, as a man who was not in little politics once said. Every now and then the awakened people will get up and smash you."
>
> Fleming laughed boisterously.
>
> "That's just it," he said. "It's every now and then. If they did it every year I would have to quit politics." (222)

Fleming's comment refers to a situation in which honesty markedly affects, without completely controlling, politics. Indeed, Brewster has earlier articulated an analogous credo when claiming to be "a truthful, honest, honorable woman" who nonetheless sometimes tells what she calls "fibs": "I don't call fibs, which a person has to tell in the way of business, untruths" (67). The balance between honesty and professional activity may incline more toward the former in Brewster's case, but both she and Fleming are aware that honesty is sometimes neither the best nor the only policy for those who must take into consideration how things in fact are as well as how things ought to be.

A Woman Intervenes subsequently becomes concerned with business ethics. It is here that the English/American difference, which has up to this point figured Englishness as

virtuous and Americanness as transgressive, begins to be nuanced by examples of problematic English behaviour. The first half of the novel presents Wentworth and Kenyon as quintessentially English, modest and moral, with the narrator's assurance that Kenyon is "scrupulously honest . . . a quality somewhat at a discount in the mining business" (18)--mining here being a primarily American enterprise that Brewster will later characterize as "one vast swindle" (93)--typifying their representation. A Woman Intervenes' second half, however, portrays the English businessmen who own and manage a British manufacturing company as thoroughly dishonest, although when they articulate their plan to "freeze out" the pair, "as they say in America" (175), their use of American terminology expresses a lingering textual suspicion that such things are more likely to happen in the United States. But when these reprobates arrange "an attack in one of the financial papers" and exult that they have "killed [Wentworth and Kenyon's] chances of forming a company in London" (303), and Kenyon then avers that they have "cheated and duped" him and his partner (304), English businessmen are shown to be quite capable of holding their own in the dishonesty department. The narrative structure of A Woman Intervenes nonetheless implies that such practices are the result of contamination by the American brand of capitalism, as a former colony that has developed a contagious form of economic life is seen to have infected the British Empire with

greed and dishonesty.

This critical attitude to English life is then extended into the areas of upper-class behaviour and journalism. The extremely wealthy and eminently respectable Longworth family is intimately involved with the company that tries to swindle Wentworth and Kenyon. William Longworth plans to let Wentworth and Kenyon do all the hard work of setting up a company and then cheat them out of it; "fools build houses, and wise men live in them" is his motto (246). Wentworth and Kenyon are also harassed by a venal English financial newspaper, which threatens them with negative publicity if they refuse to take out an advertisement; William Longworth's advice that it's "cheaper to buy them off" (269) further connects him to a business ethos that is thoroughly English and distressingly corrupt.

A Woman Intervenes balances the Old World against the New, and the American against the English, by demonstrating their respective vices and virtues. Unlike The Speculations of John Steele and The Victors, it does not attribute sharply differentiated moral qualities to nations and professions, but instead finds ethical merit distributed across such divisions in a complex and unessentialized manner.

A Chicago Princess[40] (1904) combines further exploration of English/American difference with an encounter with the racially Other. The novel is narrated by Rupert Tremorne, an English gentleman down on his luck whose initial

romantic involvement is with Gertrude Hemster, a rich, headstrong and extremely attractive American woman. Barr's characteristic use of national linguistic differences for comic and satiric effect begins with Tremorne's reflection that "an Englishman understands American better than any other foreign tongue" (5). Such linguistic play is also central to consecutive scenes of flirtation between Tremorne and Gertrude Hemster's paid companion, Hilda Stretton, and then Tremorne with Gertrude herself. Tremorne's conversation with Stretton is concerned with whether or not he behaved as a gentleman in speaking to her without having been formally introduced, and he asserts that

> When you accuse an Englishman of violating some rule of etiquette, he is prone to resent such an imputation, partly because he has an uneasy feeling that it may be true. He himself admits that nearly every other nation excels his in the arts of politeness. It is really not at all to his discredit that he fondly hopes he has qualities of heart and innate courtesy which may partly make up for his deficiency in outward suavity of manner. (70)

Tremorne's ability to step outside this situation while remaining part of it, to contextualize and at the same time control it, is further established when he tells Stretton, who says she cannot find the right word to describe his behaviour, that "the word you have been searching for is 'bluff.'" Tremorne adds that "I have been in America myself, and 'bluff' is an exceedingly expressive word" (75), thereby asserting his broader experience and knowledge of the English/American difference.

When in the following scene Gertrude Hemster points an accusatory finger at Tremorne and his nationality by exclaiming "How terribly dense you Englishmen are!," he again takes control by exhibiting what the text represents as superior comprehension of both English character and American idiom.

> "Yes, I admit it. We are celebrated as a nation for obtuseness. But won't you take pity on this particular Englishman, and enlighten him regarding his offence. What should I apologise for?"
> "Why, you told my father you were not a friend of the Mikado!"
> "Certainly I told him so. I am not a friend of the Mikado; therefore why should I claim to be?"
> "Oh!" she cried, with a fine gesture of disdain, "you are trying to do the George Washington act!"
> "The George Washington act!" I repeated.
> "Certainly. Of course you don't see that. He could not tell a lie, you know."
> "Ah, I understand you. No, I am doing the Mark Twain act. I can tell a lie, but I won't." (79)

Tremorne's correction of Hemster, and his substitution of a more appropriate cultural reference for her inadequate effort, make him the master of this linguistic situation, another example of 'the man who knows' about all aspects of what is under discussion.

Like the narrator of A Woman Intervenes, Rupert Tremorne is "really a citizen of the world" (26), who among other things knows that "in whatever part of the world a man wishes to delay the payment of a bill, the proper course is to dispute one or more of its items" (7). Tremorne's expertise with regard to mundane economic transactions does not, however, extend to the kind of sharp business practice that so

often bedevils Barr's protagonists, and typically drives them to the brink of financial ruin before they are rescued by abrupt romantic interventions. This is a curious fissure in the facade of the sophisticated man of the world, and suggests that for Barr such fraudalent dealings are taboo, so dishonest and disgusting that any contact with them is necessarily contaminating. This is also intimated by the manner in which characters such as John Steele (The Speculations of John Steele) and Jim Monro and Ben McAllister (The Victors) are represented as having been corrupted when they do learn how to compete in the immoral marketplace, as well as by the radical romantic and/or melodramatic transformations that are necessary in order to effect positive narrative outcomes for them. Since in the last five years of his writing career Barr did fashion a worldly-wise character--Lord Stranleigh of Wychwood--who triumphs over corrupt businessmen without dirtying himself in the process, he may very well have been aware of this recurring textual crux; it is, in any event, an intersection at which the imperatives of denigrating economic evils and valorizing the man of the world come together in a way that reveals their importance as aspects of Barr's authorial practice.

Tremorne's fulfillment of the man-of-the-world role requires that he preface his remarks with phrases such as "To a seasoned traveller like myself" (59) and "When in Rome do as the Romans do" (133). Such locutions occur so frequently in

Barr's work that it is tempting to interpret them as a new form of identity that sees itself as having transcended conventional national characters, and as therefore capable of interpreting and adjudicating among them. Since Barr elsewhere speaks of himself as having a specific national identity--although not always the same one--his man-of-the-world persona seems to be an addition to, rather than a replacement of, his various national identities: having been Scottish in Scotland, Canadian in Canada, American in the United States and British in Great Britain, Barr now finds it congenial to be a citizen of the world. Identity seems to be conceived as a function of circumstance, just as the identities of the real and ideal Bret Harte were portrayed as a function of the respective circumstances of the journalistic approach to their construction. Under these conditions, national character traits do not lose their significance, but take on the added capacity to combine in shifting configurations of the kind that Edward Said describes as "contapuntal ensembles."

In the process of adumbrating this citizen-of-the-world persona, A Chicago Princess nonetheless regards many of the world's citizens with extreme disfavour. The narrative's account of escalating menace from Koreans is accompanied by a corresponding rise in negative racial feeling on the part of Tremorne as well as the Hemsters, which tends to break down the English/American difference that the text initially depicts as separating them. When Tremorne first encounters the

Hemsters, he tries to establish his superior understanding of the situation while remaining on good terms with them:

> [Tremorne]: "As a matter of fact, the East is not renowned for its truthfulness. I know it pretty well."
> [Hemster]: "You do, eh? Do you understand it?"
> "I don't think either an American or a European ever understands an Asiatic people."
> "Oh, yes, we do," rejoined Mr. Hemster; "they're liars and that's all there is to them. Liars and lazy; that sums them up."
> As I was looking for the favour of work, it was not my place to contradict him, and the confident tone in which he spoke showed that contradiction would have availed little. (12)

The Hemsters characterize all that is unfamiliar to them as essentially different, as in Gertrude's initial view of Japan as "an utterly foreign country" inhabited by "funny little people" (28-29). She subsequently equates Japan with "comic operas" (35), as the pictorial attractions of the Orient are figured as a spectacularly exotic entertainment for the Western traveller.

Part of Gertrude's interest in Tremorne stems from the fact that she hasn't "had a white man to talk with except Poppa for ages and ages" (33), although the reader suspects that she probably has spoken to the captain of the Hemsters' yacht, who remarks that "I never knew an Eastern country yet that was worth the powder to blow it up" (54). Like their captain, Gertrude and Silas Hemster are virulently prejudiced against non-whites, and in their constant verbal abuse of orientals both descend to the use of the epithet "nigger." In the Hemsters' racial discourse, whites are always already

apart from and superior to all non-whites, with the latter seen as so indiscriminately inferior that one need not describe them in race-specific terminology.

Another facet of what the text represents as Tremorne's sophisticated thinking is his ability to discriminate between the oriental cultures that A Chicago Princess presents. He distinguishes between Japanese and non-Japanese orientals in asserting that the Mikado, who belongs "to one of the most ancient civilizations in the world" (50), is superior to the King of Korea. His certainty that one "can trust" the "fearless" (260) Japanese, whom he views as far superior to Koreans, the "scum of the East" (156), is textually validated when a few Japanese guards rout many Korean soldiers. Tremorne does not equate Japan with the West; after a few months he has "had enough of it" and its "queer little picturesque inhabitants" (2, 59). He does, however, take great pains to differentiate the Japanese from those Koreans and other orientals whom A Chicago Princess consistently and virulently denigrates, which may well reflect contemporary approval of Japan's decision to adopt many elements of Western culture as part of its efforts to become a world power.[41]

The text's preoccupation with Korean-bashing is in fact initiated by Tremorne, whose expert status renders his opinion that the country's King is "merely a savage" (49) a particularly powerful one. Similarly, his statement that "I had been bitterly meditating on striking into the [Korean]

wilderness and living hereafter as one of the natives, about the lowest ambition that ever actuated the mind of man" (109), is represented as being based on extensive experience. As a consequence, it carries far more evidential weight than the Hemsters' instinctively negative reactions to Korea and Koreans.

When the Hemsters visit the King's court, the result is a near-hysteric outpouring of anti-Korean abuse as Tremorne's narration falls in with his employers' prejudices. There is "not an hotel in the city fit for a white man to sleep in" (130), and the court is under the control of a Prime Minister who is depicted as "some sort of wild beast" (144). It is not long before further animalistic behaviour ensues:

> The bending Prime Minister uttered a few words which informed the Emperor that [Gertrude Hemster] wished to shake hands with him, and then his Majesty took his own grimy paws from out of the great bell sleeves in which they were concealed, and with his two hands grasped hers. Never did so sweet a hand disappear in so revolting a clutch, and the young woman, evidently shocked at the contact, and doubtless repelled by the repulsiveness of the face that leered up at her, drew suddenly back, but the clutch was not relaxed.
>
> "Let me go!" she cried breathlessly, and her father took an impulsive step forward; but before he reached her the Emperor suddenly put forth his strength and drew the young woman tumbling down to the divan beside him, grimacing like a fiend from the bottomless pit. (144-45)

This depiction of Korea's elite as sub-human is then broadened into a condemnation of the populace as a whole. Although Koreans are "cowards individually, they become dangerous in the mass" (164); they are "like children with two dominant

qualities, a love of cruelty, and an unlimited avarice" (165); they are also "unmitigated liars" (171). Their cowardly status is reaffirmed when a white woman armed with a revolver cows a mob of Koreans: "I had a revolver and plenty of cartridges in my trunk, and once I got them, the situation belonged to me," Gertrude Hemster proudly avows (305).

The Chinese, and orientals in general, also come in for their share of denigration. The Chinese are portrayed as Korean-like in their "hopeless air of resignation to take stolidly whatever fate has in store for them" (254); their disposition to surrender to any show of force with a "bovine gaze" (256) is also decried. The larger frame of the Orient is a place of essentialist mystification which sparks Tremorne's observation that "The sudden change in my expectations was bewilderingly Eastern in its completeness" (37). Even his omniscience is sometimes qualified by the reflection that "a person can never tell how the Oriental mind works" (264). These last two quotations imply a certain gap in Tremorne's previously seamless man-of-the-world persona, and suggest that the spectre of the Orient's unfathomable difference may act as a limit to the text's general certainty as to the accuracy of its representations.

A Chicago Princess presents in fictional form, and with reference to Koreans, Chinese and orientals in general, the kind of orientalist discourse that Barr's 1900 travel book The Unchanging East[42] applies to Near- and Middle-Eastern

locations. This book's first-person narration constructs a subject position that occasionally acknowledges the Scottish aspect of Barr's identity--he notes that a "beverage and myself were both Scotch" (I, 14) and refers to "us Scotsmen" (I, 80)--but for the most part stresses his Americanness. An early self-portrait of his status is as an

> outsider, unendowed with the privileges of Manchester citizenship . . . [for whom it] seems as odd to leave that city on an ocean voyage as to depart from Denver, Colorado, or the top of Mount Washington [in the state of Washington]. (I, 11)

This passage is unusual in its use of an English reference, whereas its conclusion accurately prefigures what will be the use of predominantly American examples in Barr's account of his travels. The idea that antiquity deserves modernity's respect is lightly satirized by juxtaposing Carthage with the American amusement park Coney Island. When Barr arrives in Egypt, the appearance of Alexandria reminds him of "Buffalo, New York, as you approach it from Lake Erie" (I, 98), and he finds that "You can't travel in Egypt without coming upon some ancient pleasantry that has been re-created and made new in the American papers" (I, 98, 107). He considers Cairo "the Chicago of the East," and after continuing on to Turkey is dismayed to learn that "twenty ounces of prime American tobacco" is "more excellent than anything they can grow" (I, 107, 130). This contextualization of the Orient in relation to the United States is written from the subject position of an American, and shows Barr actively embracing an American

identity.

The Unchanging East's panorama of an Orient figured, and disfigured, from an American perspective also obstructs any view of the Canadian aspect of Barr's personal history. Although he was a member of the Canadian militia at the age of 16, and his unit was mobilized in response to the 1866 Fenian incursion, Barr ignores this in favour of representing his military background in American terms: "I got a squad of [fellow travellers] together and put them through the American drill, which I had learned when a member of a light infantry company in the United States" (II, 135). The text also features periodic outbursts of pro-American chauvinism. This is in marked contrast to the negative portraits of the United States provided by The Speculations of John Steele, The Victors and A Woman Intervenes, particularly in terms of what these texts see as the apathy and ignorance of the citizenry as a whole, which The Unchanging East refigures as "open-mindedness." Since the book appeared in a series originated by an American publisher, Barr may well have written it with this specific national readership in mind, just as he would subsequently impress an American newspaper reporter with "unstinted praise of his countrymen" in the United States.[43]

National identity is multiple and circumstantial in Barr's work, but in a manner similar to A Chicago Princess's view of the Orient as radically Other, The Unchanging East establishes further limits on the forms identity may take. The

balance of the text is devoted to the denigration of orientals, but it also displays marked xenophobia toward all non-Anglo-Saxons. When a ship is seen to be "acting queerly," this "is not to be wondered at, considering she is French" (I, 23-24). The vessel's crew is depicted as being completely out of control during a crisis, each sailor "throwing his arms about as if he were an animated windmill" (I, 25). This view of the French as irrational and incompetent is then extended to their colonization of North Africa: "France has recently resolved to acquire the leather medal for stupidity, and has become a troublesome neighbour, while as a coloniser she is beneath contempt. (I, 41) The Spanish are in their turn mocked for a degree of military ineptitude so severe that they have never been able to conquer Gibralter, which is represented as indicative of their tendency to "collapse in war" (I, 36). Attributions of stupidity and filthiness then close out an unremittingly negative national portrait.

Once in the Orient, however, even such inferior European nations as France are remembered with nostalgia for their relatively advanced civilization. In Tunis, Barr imagines what might happen if one crossed the boundary that separates the French area of the city from the native quarter:

> A few steps, and the West becomes the East. On one side of the gates is a huge cafe chantant, brilliant with electricity, bustling and noisy waiters hustling about; <u>ici on parle Francais</u>; the usual suggestive songs on the stage, and all that goes to make a cafe chantant in Paris. On the other side, narrow slits of thoroughfare, darkness, silence, stealthy movement of hooded,

> cloaked, masked, mysterious figures, and an undefinable sense of impending danger. The surroundings are of a sort in which a man might suddenly disappear and never come to the surface again. A cold shiver up the backbone seems to anticipate the sudden thrust of a hidden knife, and one goes hurriedly back through the gate again, with a feeling of relief to be in the blaze of electricity once more. (I, 62-63)

These intimations of what awaits the traveller who dares to venture into the Orient are subsequently dramatized in accounts of disembarkation on Eastern shores. One of the text's infrequent references to matters English occurs during one such passage, when a "British tar looked with cool contempt on these brown, bare-legged, gesticulating human windmills, who scrambled like monkeys up to the deck" (II, 199). After a similarly chaotic landing at Tripoli, Barr is not surprised to find that his hotel room is a "veritable chamber of horrors," the breakfast bread "unspeakable and revolting," and the only thing eatable or drinkable a bottle of beer made in Munich (I, 234). The only civilized person, similarly, is an American missionary depicted as being exiled among a motley crowd of heathen Turks, Greeks and Armenians.

Prior to an extended depiction of Turkish inferiority that attributes the "ignorance of the ordinary subject" to the fact that "the Koran is practically the only text-book in the schools" (II, 163), The Unchanging East asserts that Egypt's Druse population is superior to other orientals because it is at least partially descended from Europeans. One of its final glimpses of the East falls upon the citizens of Bethlehem, who

"are nearly all Christian, and are much superior to the populace of other places we had visited" (II, 241). Having drawn a sharp line of difference between East and West, The Unchanging East confirms the fact of division in its very title: since the East cannot alter these lamentable conditions, it serves only as an example of roads best not taken for Westerners who depart with their superiority resoundingly confirmed.

In the works of Barr that have been discussed up to this point, his treatment of English/American difference ranges from the basically humorous to the generally serious, and from the moderately pro-English to the staunchly pro-American. The situation is further complicated by a discernible change in representations of Englishness throughout much of Barr's later fiction. Having earlier relied for the most part on stereotypical notions of the English as a reserved, conservative, self-deprecating but nonetheless meritorious people, Barr substantially altered this portrait in a series of fictions that foreground the English aristocracy's active response to challenging economic circumstances. The first of these, the novel The Watermead Affair[44] (1905), begins with the anonymous narrator informing us that the haughty Earl of Watermead, John Trumble, has ignored the serious financial difficulties clamouring for his attention, and as a consequence is now bankrupt. Trumble's friends all prove to be of the fair-weather variety, and he is left penniless and

friendless. His redemption begins when he meets a "young man of about his own age, quite evidently an extremely respectable clerk, and not a disreputable nobleman" (48), who is engaged to a woman from an upper-middle class family. Trumble's growing awareness of social-class gradations enables him to observe, "You are marrying above you, as the penny novelettes have it" (69). Soon Trumble himself is attracted to Kate Erroll, the sister of his friend's fiancée, who is well aware that the incognito Earl represents another social world:

> . . . there was something in the cut and fit of Trumble's clothes that was different; something in his air of nonchalance that was different; something in the almost insolent ease with which he seated himself in the wicker chair which the maid had brought, that Miss Erroll had never met with before. (73-74)

Unlike romances in which the handsome but impoverished Prince reacquires high status while winning both fair lady and fortune, however, The Watermead Affair will permanently resituate its aristocratic protagonist in the valorized world of bourgeois virtue.

Trumble's desire to become part of this less affluent but more worthy world becomes manifest when Erroll says "I do not believe you" (84) in response to his truthful description of his poverty. He points out that she has committed a breach of etiquette by implying that he is a liar: "People in our circle do not say it crudely, as they do, perhaps, in Whitechapel, but the intimation was there" (85). His use of the phrase "our circle" includes them both within the middle class, while also

differentiating them from the working-class inhabitants of Whitechapel.

Having been "startled out of my complacency" (83) by his bankruptcy, Trumble is further educated in the ways of the world when he is employed as a chauffeur by Erroll's father. Doctor Erroll has an extensive pro-bono practice in the poorer areas of London, and his good works are further evidence of the text's concern with differentiating bourgeois virtue from upper-class indolence. As a consequence of his new experiences, Trumble undergoes a transformation into an "alert, business-like young man" who is strikingly different from the "languid and bored" Earl he had been three months previously (113).

Trumble, nonetheless, has not entirely cast off his class origins, which at one point are intriguingly figured as a source of some anxiety for Kate Erroll:

> Her general attitude toward him was one of reserve, not unmixed with vague fear, as was shown now and then by troubled glances which she bestowed on him.
>
> His own demeanor was that of an easy-going man of the world, completely immune from any dislike of him she cared to show, and evidently without the slightest notion that a chauffeur at thirty shillings a week occupied about the lowest round of the social ladder.
>
> . . . she wondered at herself for permitting even an approach to friendliness . . . (101-02)

The idea that he is not Erroll's social equal, similarly, has double-edged significance in that as readers we know Trumble is both above and below her: "above" in his superior understanding of their situation and the circumstances of his

upbringing, "below" in his objective position on the social scale as well as his inheritance of some of the more negative aspects of upper-class noblesse oblige. Since The Watermead Affair is a light comic-romantic tale, things do of course work out for the best as Barr's interest in complex identity situations is once again demonstrated. Like The Victors' "actual" and "apocryphal" selves, and the "real" and "ideal" selves attributed to Bret Harte, John Trumble's character is made up of discrete elements that may be altered to suit circmumstance; identity is situational as well as essential.

The series of novels and stories about Lord Stranleigh of Wychwood that Barr began to publish in 1908 depicts a protagonist who preserves his high social rank while ably defending his privileges.[45] Stranleigh's ability to manipulate stereotypical conceptions of English identity for his own ends is central to his success as an independent financial speculator, as again and again he succeeds in convincing others that he is merely one more lackadaisacal English aristocrat. The first book in the series, Young Lord Stranleigh, offers a characteristic portrait:

> The slightly bored expression of his countenance, the languid droop of his eyelids, the easy but indifferent grace of motion that distinguished him, might have proclaimed to a keen observer that the young man had tested all things, and found there was nothing worth getting excited about. . . . He shot a little, hunted a little, came to town during the season, went to the Continent when the Continental exodus took place, always doing the conventional thing, but not doing it well enough or badly enough to excite comment. He was the human embodiment of the sentiment: "There is

nothing really worth while." (9-10)

The last sentence echoes Oscar Wilde's observation, in Phrases and Philosophies for the Use of the Young, "Nothing that actually occurs is of the slightest importance."[46] There are also some marked similarities between Stranleigh and The Picture of Dorian Gray's representative of aristocratic decadence, Lord Henry Wotton. Both are languid ("the languid droop" of Stranleigh's eyebrows; the languid tones of Wotton's voice[47]), graceful ("the easy but indifferent grace of motion" of Stranleigh that is also characteristic of Wilde's descriptions of Wotton[48]), and indolent (Stranleigh's attitude that "there was nothing worth getting excited about" and Wotton's similar views[49]). If the protagonist of Young Lord Stranleigh is initially presented as an example of the dandy or aesthete, the novel goes on to portray him as a clever, active hero whose dandyism is a disguise that has been consciously adopted as part of a strategic plan to outwit a band of villanous financiers. Thus, Barr has in effect taken up the figure of the dandy, one of fin de siècle England's characteristic male types,[50] and transformed it into its opposite, the man of action who is the more typical hero of the period's tales of imperial adventure, exotic intrigue and international espionage.

In Young Lord Stranleigh, it is the English engineer Peter MacKellar, his imperially-adventurous skin "tanned to a slight mahagony tinge by a more eager sun than ever shines on

England" (11), who tells Stranleigh that he and his father are threatened by a financial "den of wild beasts" (30). These latter have enmeshed the MacKellars in a complicated swindle involving the manipulation of shares in a West-African gold mine, and it is only Stranleigh's money that can save the day. Young Lord Stranleigh graphically replicates the portrait of the capitalistic economic system Barr had earlier painted in The Speculations of John Steele, The Victors, A Woman Intervenes and A Chicago Princess. As Stranleigh assists the MacKellars in outwitting the "savage seven" (38) financiers who threaten them, he often conceals his intentions with maddening displays of noblesse oblige. Even imminent disaster is likely to elicit only a dismissive "As if anything could be a matter of importance at this hour except breakfast!" (74). Stranleigh refuses to "worry about a thing I am not in the least responsible for" (78). This is also congruent with the text's views on national character: categorizing the world's most powerful nations in terms of "the American confidence in the big stick, the British faith in keeping your powder dry, the German reliance on the mailed fist" (116-17), it constructs a British protagonist who consistently bests domestic as well as international opponents by exercising a dry wit and waiting for the right moment to ignite his powder.

The series continued with Stranleigh's Millions (1909) and Lord Stranleigh, Philanthropist (1911), and came to a close with Lord Stranleigh Abroad, published in 1913 one year

after Barr's death. This novel is largely set in the United States, where Stranleigh's experiences lead him to echo Dickens's view of the motivations behind American economic activity:

> . . . this is a land that somehow stimulates thought, and thought compels action. Action is all very well in moderation, but in these United States of yours it is developed into a fever, or frenzy rather, curable only by a breakdown or death.
>
> . . . You call it enterprise; I call it greed. I've never met an American who knew when he'd had enough. (167)

Stranleigh contrasts this with the "thousands" of Englishmen he has met who have acquired such knowledge (168). Even a somewhat shady English entrepeneur is represented as finding American businessmen too frantic for his liking:

> An American wishes to turn over his money quickly; a long look into futurity is not for him. He wishes to buy one railway on Monday, another on Tuesday, amalgamate them on Wednesday, and sell out the stock to the public at several millions profit on Thursday, then rake in the boodle on Friday, which proves an unlucky day for the investors. (55)

Lord Stranleigh Abroad sends its protagonist to an isolated area of Michigan, where the owner of a small factory is being forced out of business by the economic conditions produced in an "age of combination" (92). Businesses such as this are being "purchased by the Trusts, and closed up. One or two still struggled on, hopelessly battling for individualism and independence," but all are at the mercy of "the huge concerns" that run most of the country (92-93, 97). As Stranleigh performs his accustomed rescue mission, it is once

again his superior intelligence that enables him to triumph. On the voyage to the United States he cleverly foils a cheating American gambler unaware that "he was up against a man of brains" (46). Once in the country, Stranleigh is more than a match for even the rough and rugged denizens of a frontier society.

In less dramatic but more wide-ranging fashion, American political and economic life are likewise tried and found wanting. As was also the case in The Victors and A Woman Intervenes, the holding of political office is equated with the likelihood of corruption. When Stranleigh states, "In the land I came from a sheriff is not only regarded with great respect, but even with veneration" (191-92), an American informs him that "Our sheriffs are elected persons, drawn from the politician class, and if you know America, you will understand what that means" (192). In Lord Stranleigh Abroad it means the acceptance of bribes, a practice also engaged in by a telegraph operator eager to sell his services to the highest bidder. In economic life, it is the aforementioned "Trusts" that control and monopolize America's wealth: when the fact that a businessman is "up against the Trust became well known . . . he could neither borrow nor sell" (107). Stranleigh subsequently describes an attorney for the Ice Trust as believing that "a man cannot form an opinion that is uninfluenced by his pocket" (168). Lord Stranleigh Abroad contains many more such depictions of the United States as a

culture dominated by its citizens' compulsive need to acquire wealth.

Almost all of Barr's fiction features anglophone protagonists who would be eligible for membership in an 'English-speaking Union.' The short stories that comprise The Triumphs of Eugène Valmont,[51] however, recount the most notable cases of a French investigator who has moved to London and embarked on a highly successful English career. Given The Unchanging East's denigration of the French and the establishing textual circumstance that Valmont has been dismissed for public-relations rather than professional reasons, we might expect his first-person narration to conceptualize French/English difference as a typology of inferiority/superiority. Valmont, however, is represented as taking an essentially pro-French position, in which "if I now set down some of the differences between the English and the French, I trust that no note of criticism of the former will appear, even when my sympathies are entirely with the latter" (28). Valmont adds that, as a consequence, his point of view will reflect "of course, my Gallic standpoint" (28).

The text, however, complicates this by introducing a strain of pro-English sentimentalism that seems to come from someplace other than Valmont's persona. As he proceeds to investigate cases that give him a much more thorough comprehension of English national character, French/English differences continue to be sharply contrasted at the same time

as they begin to be represented as possessing approximately equal value. "The Ghost with the Club-Foot" contains an apposite literary example that begins by extolling French writers for possessing "keener insight into real life than is the case with the British," but then lauds Charles Dickens for probing "deeper into the intricacies of human character than any other novelist of modern times." France remains the place of "incomparable writers" whose insight is "keener" than that of the British, but it is England that has produced the single most distinguished author. (139) Differentiation and balancing are both salient aspects of a passage that is written from a French point of view, but nonetheless pays tribute to English excellence.

Frequently, the French are characterized in ways that either admit the stereotyping to which they have often been subjected by the English, or involve a confession of idiosyncratic national traits. Many of Valmont's observations represent Frenchness as in opposition to the keen intelligence with which he solves his cases: "In spite of Republican institutions, there is deep down in every Frenchman's heart a respect and awe for official pageants, sumptuously staged and costumed as this one was" (83). In a similar vein, he asserts that

> We French are sentimentalists. France has before now staked its very existence for an ideal, while other countries fight for continents, cash, or commerce. You cannot pierce me with a lance of gold, but wave a wand of sympathy, and I am yours. (165-66)

Valmont is able to perceive these aspects of French national character because he is both French and something other than French, a hybrid figure whom Barr has positioned on the borderline of French/English difference. With reference to the passages quoted above, for example, Valmont's "respect and awe for official pageants" are qualified by his awareness that the French officials who stage these events, like their English counterparts, prefer to keep their "knowledge to themselves" and so are "hindrances, rather than help" to the police (49, 50). Sentimentality, similarly, is suspended when he rejects a thief's plea of "momentary weakness" in avowing that his duty is to catch criminals rather than understand them. When an English barrister says that he is "enchanted to find so sensible a head on [Valmont's] French shoulders," the text supplies an apt figurative model of the hybrid French/not-French persona Valmont has become (71).

As a corollary to this process of slippage in which its protagonist's Frenchness is contaminated by what is opposite or other, the text's representation of Englishness also wavers between the patronizing tones of Valmont's worldly-wise condescension and the more accepting attitudes that he often displays. On the one hand, the English are unimaginative, ignorant and often inexplicable: "the British official of any class rarely thinks it worth his while to discover the real cause of things in France, or Germany, or Russia, but plods heavily on from one mistake to another" (29). Similarly, "It

is a common defect of the English to suffer complete ignorance regarding the internal affairs of other countries" (107), which in domestic terms means that "It is little wonder that the English possess no drama, for they show scant appreciation of the sensational moments in life" (130). Valmont even goes so far as to theorize "that the English people are utterly incomprehensible to the rest of humanity" (141), a sentiment he repeats in dubbing them "An amazing people! Never understandable by the sane of other countries" (165).

On the other hand, England is also the location of cultural practices that Valmont finds either admirable or to some extent appealing in their difference from their French counterparts. He knows "the English people too well to malign them for the action of one of their number" (47), and agrees with another character's remark that England is "the only nation in the world that extends a cordial welcome to [the foreigner], rich or poor" (92). He also admires "that absolute confidence in the law which seems to be the birthright of every Englishman" (165), although he is well aware that English justice is often differentially applied. A further anomaly is the "unexplainable softness of the English toward an accused person," which is linked to the national conviction that "Liberty of the subject is the first great rule" (32, 33).

Cool-headedness and hot-headedness turn out to be thoroughly conflated in Valmont's view of French/English

difference. The preceding linkage of Englishness and cool-headedness is contested by the subsequent observation that with regard to legal restrictions on the police, "for cold common sense the French are very much their superiors" (104). As a rule, however, in The Triumphs of Eugène Valmont it is the French who show emotion and are ruled by passion. It is a Francophile barrister who displays "more of effusiveness than I had ever noticed in an Englishman before" (70), and "an appeal to the heart" is characterized as "a strange thing for an Englishman to do" (165). These stories play with and intermingle French/English difference to a degree that makes any precise determination of Valmont's national identity impossible. He is always already both/and, but certainly not either/or, English as well as French, and his expression of these character traits will be determined by the situations in which he finds himself.

Colonial and imperial identity, like other forms of identity in Barr's work, are sites of play rather than closely defined sets of typical characteristics. The Third World of the colonized is almost entirely absent from his fiction, and when it does appear is portrayed in superficial and stereotypical fashion. The First-World imperialist and the Second-World settler, however, are extensively considered in ways that interestingly complicate both subject positions.

Canadian settler identity is represented as the product

of closely observed material cultural practices. More frequently, however, Barr's work is concerned with the United States and Great Britain. Barr's critique of the American economic system and scorn for its Horatio Alger ideology is elsewhere balanced by strong expressions of regard for the United States, which he appears to see as a kind of settler society manqué. Great Britain, often depicted as an excessively conservative society in his earlier work, subsequently becomes the source of enduring civilized values that will ensure humanity's future well-being. But any attempt to attribute a particular national character to Barr must recognize that his conception of identity is always already situational: he represents himself as Scots, Canadian, American or British--or some combination of these--in a continuous process of self-making that produces a "contrapuntal ensemble" (Said) congruent with contemporary conceptions of identity.

NOTES

1. Unless otherwise indicated, biographical information concerning Barr is taken from W. Stewart Wallace, The Macmillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography, 3rd ed., (Toronto: Macmillan, 1963) 35 and The Oxford Companion to Canadian Literature.

2. Robert Barr, "Summing Up." The Idler III (July, 1893) 681-82.

3. The Reader's Encyclopedia, 1948 and 1965 editions.

4. Robert Barr, "How Finley McGillis Held the Pier," The Canadian Magazine 42 (1914), reprinted in R.G. Moyles, Ed., 'Improved by Cultivation': An Anthology of English-Canadian Prose to 1914 (Peterborough: Broadview, 1994) 201.

5. In the Midst of Alarms in the "Toronto Reprint Library of Canadian Prose and Poetry" (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), and The Measure of the Rule in "Literature of Canada: Poetry and Prose in Reprint" (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973). Despite the similarity in names, these are different series.

6. Halsey 251.

7. W. Pett Ridge, A Story Teller: Forty Years in London (London: Hodder & Stoughton, n.d. [1924]) 272.

8. Stanley Weintraub, London Yankees: Portraits of American Writers & Artists in England (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1979). Weintraub gives Barr North-American status by asserting, incorrectly, that he was "Canadian-born" (114).

9. Reginald Pound, A Maypole in the Strand (London: Ernest Benn, 1948) 39-40.

10. obituary, Times of London 23 October, 1912.

11. Conan Doyle's wedding is described in Carr's biography of Conan Doyle 194. Barr's Idler days are recounted in G.B. Burgin, Some More Memoirs (London: Hutchinson & Co., n.d. [1924]) 33-42.

12. Arnold Bennett, The Journal of Arnold Bennett, Ed. Newman Flower (New York: Literary Guild, 1933) 73.

13. Desmond Pacey, Creative Writing in Canada, 2nd ed. (Toronto: Ryerson, 1961) 85.

14. See John Parr's "The Measure of Robert Barr," Journal of Canadian Fiction III, No. 2: 94-7 and "Introduction" to Selected Stories of Robert Barr (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1977) 11-21.

15. Barr's Eugene Valmont is dubbed the "literary forefather" of Agatha Christie's Hercule Poirot in Ellery Queen, Ed., 101 Years' Entertainment: The Great Detective Stories 1841-1941 (New York: Modern Library, 1941) 144. The stories collected in The Triumph of Eugene Valmont are selected for "The Haycraft-Queen Definitive Library of Detective-Crime-Mystery Fiction" in Dilys Winn, Ed., Murder Ink (New York: Workman, 1977) 19. The Encyclopedia of Science Fiction allots his work in this field a brief entry.

16. Oxford Companion 44.

17. The Idler I (April, 1892) 301-11. All subsequent references are to this edition.

18. G.B. Burgin, Memoirs of a Clubman (London: Hutchinson, n.d. [1922]) 102. All subsequent references are to this edition.

19. obituary, Times of London.

20. Robert Barr, In the Midst of Alarms (1894; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973). All subsequent references are to this edition.

21. Roland Barthes, "Introduction to the Structural Analysis of Narratives," Trans. Stephen Heath, A Barthes Reader, Ed. Susan Sontag (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983) 265.

22. Thomas Hardy, Under the Greenwood Tree (1872; London: Macmillan, 1974) 88-96; Far from the Madding Crowd (1874; London: Macmillan, 1974) 89-105; The Woodlanders (1887; London: Macmillan, 1974) 281-85.

23. See Samuel C. Chew's The Nineteenth Century and After (1789-1939 (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1948), esp. 1485-1506.

24. Robert Barr, The Measure of the Rule (1907; Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973). All subsequent references are to this edition.

25. see 75-78, 79-89, 93-95, 103-10, 124-35, 199-202, 207-17 and 277-84.

26. obituary, Times of London.

27. Robert Barr, One Day's Courtship and The Heralds of Fame (New York: Frederick A. Stokes, 1896). All subsequent references are to this edition.

28. As "Indians" on 25, 39 and 49, as "half-breeds" on 43, 46, 50, 51, 55, 57, 68, 69, 70 and 107.

29. Holmes, Oliver Wendell. The Autocrat of the Breakfast Table (1858; London: Macmillan, 1903) 128.

30. Mary Louise Pratt, Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation (London: Routledge, 1992) 204. All subsequent references are to this edition.

31. Robert Barr, The Heralds of Fame, One Day's Courtship and The Heralds of Fame 129-207. All subsequent references are to this edition.

32. George Gissing, New Grub Street (1891; Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968) 137.

33. Robert Barr, The Speculations of John Steele (Toronto: McLeod and Allen, 1905). All subsequent references are to this edition.

34. J.A. Mangan, The Games Ethic and Imperialism: Aspects of the Diffusion of an Idea (Harmondsworth: Viking, 1986) 58.

35. E. Phillips Oppenheim's The Mysterious Mr. Sabin (1898), Edgar Wallace's The Four Just Men (1905) and Joseph Conrad's The Secret Agent (1907) are among the many examples of this genre.

36. By the then President of the United States, Theodore Roosevelt. OED.

37. Robert Barr, The Victors (New York: Frederick A. Stokes, 1901). All subsequent references are to this edition.

38. Charles Dickens, American Notes and Pictures from Italy (1842; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957) 245-46.

39. Robert Barr, A Woman Intervenes (New York: Frederick A. Stokes, 1895). All subsequent references are to this edition.

40. Robert Barr, A Chicago Princess (New York: Frederick A. Stokes, 1904). All subsequent references are to this edition.

41. For the historical background, see Edwin O. Reischauer, Japan: The Story of a Nation (Tokyo: Charles E. Tuttle, 1970) 146-51.

42. Robert Barr, The Unchanging East, 2 vols. (Boston: L.C. Page, 1900). All subsequent references are to this edition.

43. Halsey 251.

44. Robert Barr, The Watermead Affair (Philadelphia: H. Altemus, 1906). All subsequent references are to this edition.

45. Young Lord Stranleigh (London: Ward, Lock, 1908); Stranleigh's Millions (London: Everleigh Nash, 1909); Lord Stranleigh, Philanthropist (London: Ward, Lock, 1911); Lord Stranleigh Abroad (London: Ward, Lock, 1913). All subsequent references are to these editions.

46. Oscar Wilde, Phrases and Philosophies for the Use of the Young, Complete Works of Oscar Wilde, Ed. J.B. Foreman (London: Collins, 1973) 1205. All subsequent references to Wilde's work are to this edition.

47. "'It is your best work, Basil, the best thing you have ever done,' said Lord Henry, languidly" (18). "There was something in [Lord Henry's] low, languid voice that was absolutely fascinating" (31).

48. For example, "that graceful wave of the hand that was always so characteristic of [Wotton]" (29) and "the tall, graceful young man" (31).

49. "He was always late on principle, his principle being that punctuality is the thief of time" (46-7); "Men marry because they are tired" (48); (to Dorian) "'I am so glad that you have never done anything'" (163); "Art has no influence upon action. It annihilates the desire to act. It is superbly sterile" (163).

50. See James Eli Adams, Dandies and Desert Saints: Styles of Victorian Manhood (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995) 21-25.

51. Robert Barr, The Triumphs of Eugène Valmont (1906; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997). All subsequent references are to this edition.

IV. SIR GILBERT PARKER: Unleashing and Disciplining the Idiosyncratic

Sir Gilbert Parker outlined his literary credo in an essay on "Fiction--Its Place in the National Life," which appeared in the North American Review in 1907.[1] Positioning himself as a best-selling author who is nonetheless concerned with "the art of fiction," he defends "popularity" as the sign of an author's being able to tell "a good story," and deplores the use of labels such as "naturalistic, idealistic, romantic, realistic or symbolistic" (98-99):

> There is only one test for a novel: that it be first and before all a well-constructed story; that it deal sincerely with human life and character; that it be eloquent of feeling, have insight and revelation; that it preserve idiosyncrasy; and, above all, that it be sane and healthy. (100)

Parker's "one test" seems to have become 'many' in the process of defining it, as his last two criteria adumbrate a potential division that troubles this essay, and is also a prominent aspect of his fiction. The idea that the novel should "preserve idiosyncrasy" is here quickly qualified by the assertion that it must "above all" be sane and healthy. Parker goes on to condemn the "eccentric" as "unnatural," and to assert that "sanity" has become "the great quality of art" (107). The essay suggests that idiosyncrasy will be tolerated up to a certain point, but must be closely supervised so that it does not stray into the transgressive territory of the eccentric or unnatural.

The importance of controlling such a potentially dangerous phenomenon is underlined when Parker asserts that fiction is vitally important to the preservation of national well-being:

> Fiction, as a product of the imagination, should become a greater factor; it should play a higher and higher part, in the moral welfare of the nation. It is now a reflex of the life of the people, not so much by transcription of human experience, as in giving the central, moral and intellectual attitude towards all the grave questions which make the real history of a nation. (105)

Given Parker's concern with the improvement of a people's character, and with the production of what is sane and healthy, we might expect his fiction to dramatize the disciplining of the eccentric and unnatural while celebrating the individual's ultimate integration into the realm of nationally sanctioned values. While much of Parker's fiction proceeds more or less in this manner, a significant portion of it does not.

For example, the eccentricity, immorality and sexual as well as racial ambiguity of "Pierre," the protagonist with no surname of two of Parker's volumes of short stories, Pierre and His People (1892; PP hereafter) and An Adventurer of the North (1895;[2] AN hereafter), make him a very idiosyncratic Victorian hero. The Native whose colonial nature unsettles the male and imperial "natural" in The Translation of a Savage[3] is a remarkable example of hybridity; the "pervasive atmosphere of thinly veiled sadism and sensuality" in The

Seats of the Mighty constitutes its "real appeal" in the opinion of at least one contemporary critic.[4] While Allen concentrates upon controlling the Other's difference and Barr constructs a pan-anglophone identity that excludes it, Parker employs a diversity of hybridities--including gendered, sexual, racial and classist--in an unleashing of idiosyncrasy that often seems to contest his avowed commitment to creating sane and healthy fiction.

Parker's own health and sanity were seriously challenged by the circumstances of his youth and young adulthood.[5] His physical health was never robust, and at the age of 26 he was advised to leave Canada for the warmer climate of Australia. Born in Camden East, Ontario in 1860, he attended the Ottawa Normal School, taught in three of the province's village schools between 1877 and 1882, and in 1883 entered Trinity College, Toronto, as a divinity student. One year later he became a lecturer in oratory at Queen's University, Kingston, but his academic career was interrupted when a beloved brother died and Parker was overwhelmed by exhaustion and depression. In Australia, he obtained an editorial position on the Sydney Morning Herald, and travelled extensively in the South Pacific before relocating to England in 1889. After a short period of journalistic freelancing, the publication of his first book of fiction, Pierre and His People: Tales of the Far North (1892), was met with instant acclaim. Parker continued with a steady stream of novels and short-story collections, many with

Quebec or Western Canadian settings, and also made frequent use of South Pacific, African and Channel Islands backgrounds.

Many of his contemporaries considered Parker much too aggressive in his efforts to achieve literary, political and social success. Although Parker had in the early 1890's been a prominent member of London journalistic circles, including the "lively band of eager apprentices" W.E. Henley directed at the National Observer,[6] within a few years erstwhile colleagues such as Douglas Sladen were commenting on his defection from their ranks:

> Gilbert Parker, the Canadian who came to our at homes at 32 Addison Mansions assiduously when he first established himself in London, and was popular with his fellow-journalists, when he married the daughter of a rich American shopkeeper and got into Parliament, made the mistake of dropping his fellow-journalists for Society, and they forgot him. It cost him most of his reputation, because he did not signify as a politician, though he was such a brilliant writer.[7]

In a letter to his wife Beatrice, the Fabian socialist Sidney Webb also cited Parker as an example of the negative consequences of fawning on society's elite:

> Know them privately if you like, but don't go to their miscellaneous gatherings. If you do, it will be said of us as it is of Sir Gilbert Parker--in the dead silence of the night you hear a distant but monotonous sound--Sir Gilbert Parker, climbing, climbing, climbing.[8]

A fellow member of Parliament, in a book published one year after Webb's, also remembered the "immaculately clothed Gilbert Parker, climbing, climbing, climbing."[9]

Parker's climbing was remarkably successful. He was

active in the Society of Authors, served on both its Council and its Committee of Management, and in 1898 introduced the Canadian Prime Minister, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, to a fellow member lobbying for changes in Canadian copyright legislation;[10] the "Dedication" of The Lane That Had No Turning refers to Laurier as a "personal friend."[11] From 1900 to 1918 Parker represented Gravesend in the British House of Commons as a Conservative-Unionist, and subsequently Conservative, member of parliament, where he was one of the most prominent critics of Belgium's repressive policies in the Congo.[12] In the course of his parliamentary career he accumulated a steady stream of honours: a knighthood in 1902, a baronetcy in 1915, membership in the Privy Council in 1916, and responsibility for the very successful British propaganda campaign in the United States during the First World War.

Parker's accomplishments as both politician and author would be remarkable at any time, and seem even more impressive when compared to those of Benjamin Disraeli (1801-1880) in an earlier era. Disraeli's novels were for the most part written before he became an active party politician, whereas Parker produced a steady stream of fictional works during his eighteen years in Parliament. As Peter Keating has observed, "relatively few of the major writers of the time, and hardly any of the great pioneers of literary modernism . . . had much positive interest in the political changes taking place around them" (150). Those authors who were politically active, such

as Grant Allen and George Bernard Shaw, for the most part took radical, oppositional stances that in practice ensured their political marginalization.

In this context Parker's new life in the corridors of power, and particularly his reorientation toward the politically and socially prominent, could only seem a puzzling anomaly to most of his fellow authors. As a consequence, he gradually lost touch with the contemporary literary field. If we date this transformation as beginning with his marriage in 1895, as did Jerome K. Jerome in commenting that thereafter Parker became "more impressive than was needful"[13], it is possible that Parker's interest in marginalized characters, already apparent in many of the "Pierre" stories written in the early 1890's, reflects his growing isolation from the more popular as well as the more literary writers of the period.

Alienation, in the sense of the "silence, exile and cunning" that James Joyce conceived as a strategy for the disaffected writer in A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man,[14] would in the long run work to the reputational advantage of the Modernist authors that posterity and literary criticism have subsequently elevated to canonical status. For a commercially successful author such as Parker, however, working in a milieu that valued expeditious journalistic competence and socializing within the profession far more than abstract literary excellence, alienation could only result in an increasing lack of contact with all fields of the

contemporary writing habitus. Eventually, reviewers would feel free to disparage his choice of fictional subjects, and in the twilight of his career he would be humiliated when his last novel was rejected by its prospective publisher.[15]

After the First World War, worsening ill health forced Parker to lead a less active working life. He did travel extensively in Canada and the United States, where he became particularly interested in Hollywood's film versions of his work, and wrote several screenplays and adaptations for the young medium. Although deeply grieved by the death of his wife in 1925, he continued to write fiction, but at a much slower pace and to much more critical comments by reviewers. His last two years were spent primarily in London, England, where he passed away in 1932. As specified by his will, he was buried in Canada in the Bay of Quinte region where he had spent his youth.

Parker's literary reputation is somewhat more secure, in Canada at any rate, than those of either Grant Allen or Robert Barr. He is the only one of the three to have been republished in McClelland & Stewart's mass-market "New Canadian Library" imprint (The Seats of the Mighty, 1971), albeit in a much-shortened edition that deletes far more than the "some gobbets of bathos" (v) acknowledged by editor Elizabeth Waterston;[16] he is also the only one to have received a full biography (John Coldwell Adams, Seated with the Mighty, 1979). In their survey of "Writers of Fiction 1880-1920" in Literary History

of Canada, Gordon Roper, S. Ross Beharriell and Rupert Schieder devote more space to Parker than to Allen and Barr combined, apparently because "about half of his thirty-six romances and novels are set in a Canadian scene" (331). Although perturbed by Parker's "self-justification and self-enhancement" in the prefaces he wrote to the twenty-four volume "Imperial Edition" of his collected works (1912-23), they conclude that "he was a successful writer of fiction of strong effect. His strength lay in his power of creating spirited action, and enhancing it with romantic atmosphere" (333).

The sheer volume of Parker's published work, and its relatively high percentage of Canadian content, have combined to make him a more or less canonical figure in Canadian literary history. For Carole Gerson, the fact that much of his fiction deals with French-Canadian life makes it "particularly intrinsic to the development of Canadian literature and literary attitudes" (123). In addition, Elizabeth Waterston considers that The Seats of the Mighty "may take on a new dimension" in light of the continued conflict between French and English Canada (ix). From a postcolonial viewpoint, however, these intrinsic literary qualities are indicative of the fundamental shortcomings of Parker's work. As W.H. New observes,

> any connection between Parker's romances and historical event is more fanciful than contrived, for Parker wielded the conventions of 'French' dialect, theatrical melodrama, picturesque description and heroic

> imperialism to sway a readership more hungry for the propaganda of adventure than for the instruction of history.[17]

The perception that, whatever its historical importance, Parker's work has not aged well, receives some statistical support in Robert Lecker's analysis of the contents of anthologies of Canadian literature, which observes that "Gilbert Parker is very popular through the 1950s (inclusion rate of 80 percent), then he takes a plunge and disappears by the 1980s."[18] Parker's record is, however, much better than that of either Grant Allen or Robert Barr, neither of whom have been anthologized enough to merit inclusion in this survey.

Outside the domain of Canadian literature, Parker is an almost completely forgotten figure who, unlike Allen and Barr, did not produce work that found a place in any genre's respective canon. As a consequence, he has by default been placed in that literary limbo inhabited by historical novelists such as Stanley J. Weyman, Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch and Sir Anthony Hope Hawkins, who were once popular but have subsequently been largely forgotten. These writers have proved to be of almost no interest to scholars, and literary historians typically sum up their collective achievement--when they consider it at all--by running together a long list of undifferentiated authors and titles that frequently concludes with a condescending generalization. During their lifetimes, however, such "purveyors of romance," as Samuel C. Chew's

brief survey of this milieu patronizingly identifies them, were considered full-fledged members of their writing community.[19]

When Parker's Pierre and His People was published in 1892, reviewers did not treat it as a contribution to an inferior genre, but welcomed it as a lively and distinctive addition to the period's popular fiction.[20] Pierre, a Métis frontiersman of obscure past, elusive character, no last name and ambiguous sexuality and race, is an unusual protagonist for an author whose work posterity has often dismissed as nothing more than conventional historical romance. He is also the embodiment of Parker's seemingly paradoxical interest in both idiosyncrasy and healthfulness. Pierre is a battered survivor of life's slings and arrows rather than a passionate young idealist. His desires are largely unchecked by either moral scruples or patriotic sentiments, and he is typically either uninterested in, or contemptuous of, women. In terms of conventional fictional roles, he initially impresses as more of a rogue than a romantic hero, although he is also capable of the quixotic noble gesture that stems from impulse rather than calculation. If Pierre is "a villain and a plunderer," he is also capable of deeds that "would have done honour to a better man" (AN, 318).

Parker's introductory "Note" to Pierre and His People (1892) identifies the context of these stories as a "handful of adventurous men entrenched in Forts and Posts, yet trading

with, and mostly peacefully conquering, many savage tribes" (xv). It goes on to sum up Pierre's character:

> His faults were not of his race,--that is, French and Indian--nor were his virtues; they belong to all peoples. But the expression of these is affected by the country itself. Pierre passes through this series of stories, connecting them, as he himself connects two races, and here and there links the past of the Hudson's Bay Company with more modern life and Canadian energy pushing northward. Here is something of romance "pure and simple," but also traditions and character, which are the single property of this austere but not cheerless heritage of our race. (xvi)

Although Parker seems to be emphasizing environmental influence in a manner similar to Grant Allen's "The Reverend John Creedy", the Pierre stories in fact cite many specifically French and Native qualities as important to their protagonist's character. What Parker seems to be constructing here is the kind of "fictive ethnicity" that Balibar and Wallerstein describe as inherently provisional and unstable (49). Pierre's identity is being formed in the spaces in between racial and national boundaries, and he himself is figured as the site of historical developments that link past and present through his frequently idiosyncratic experiences.

The first story in the series, "The Patrol of the Cypress Hills," identifies one of Pierre's qualities as the capacity to be "clever, and a good actor. He had learned the power of reserve and outward immobility. The Indian in him helped him there" (PP, 4). The Indian is in Pierre, but he is not an Indian; his Indianness is part of, but not equivalent to, his identity. Pierre's choice of occupation is also described in a

manner that attributes his success to an identity combining several ethnic, racial and gender traits:

> Unlike the majority of half-breeds, he had a pronounced French manner, nonchalant and debonair. The Indian in him gave him coolness and nerve. His cheeks had a tinge of delicate red under their whiteness, like those of a woman. That was why he was called Pretty Pierre. The country had, however, felt a kind of weird menace in the name. It was used to snakes whose rattle gave notice of approach or signal of danger. But Pretty Pierre was like the death-adder, small and beautiful, silent and deadly. (PP, 6)

In addition to possessing French and Indian characteristics that differentiate him from members of other ethnic and racial groups, Pierre is also intrinsically different--"unlike the majority of half-breeds"--and not entirely male in his facial appearance.

Uncertainty as to his masculinity is linked to a lack of interest in heterosexuality that Pierre announces with the statement, "I do not love woman, one or many," (PP, 140). The anonymous narrator also notes that "Pierre was never known to seek [women], good or bad" (PP, 251), and although a later story ("In Pipi Valley") will reveal that he has a wife whom he abandoned ten years earlier, this particular situation is represented as demonstrating both a lack of desire in Pierre and a disturbing excess of desire on the part of an aggressive woman (PP, 270-84).

Pierre's sexual ambiguity contributes to the "kind of weird menace" that others feel about him. Sometimes this is specifically linked to his Frenchness, as when "The Patrol of

the Cypress Hills" concludes its account of his plot to rob and kill a callow youth by characterizing his behaviour as "French and furtive" (PP, 22). Elsewhere, however, it is his Native and womanly qualities, "the granite of the Indian nature" that is "in his every fibre" (AN, 251) and his "slight make and almost girlish delicacy of complexion" (PP, 86), that are cited as sources of Pierre's distinctive character. But if Parker sometimes seems to be engaged in constructing a protagonist who will eventually be defined when all of his component parts have been enumerated, there are also strong textual counter-currents that represent Pierre's identity as intrinsically mysterious as well as riven by conflict.

Pierre's character is often either completely obscured or seen through a glass darkly by the narration's constant reminders that he is "furtive," "a good actor," one of those who "acknowledge no laws but their own" (AN, 55). When the narrator does inquire into the nature of his difference, Pierre's thoughts are represented as idiosyncratic and ambiguous rather than readily accessible: "[Pierre] loved to come at the truth of things by allusive, far-off reflections, rather than by the sharp questioning of the witness-box. He had imagination, refinement in such things" (AN, 160). There is much play with the possibilities afforded by a protagonist whose thoughts are masked or occluded by the text's resistance to probing them too deeply. Pierre is always a convenient source of the indefinable and the mysterious, a character whom

his creator professes not entirely to understand: "[Pierre] had the gift of looking at a thing in its true proportions, perhaps because he had little emotion and a strong brain, or perhaps because early in life his emotions were rationalised" (AN, 155). Similarly, when Pierre's wife commits suicide and he asks if "In all the North is there a woman to say I wrong her? No," the narrator comments that "Perhaps something of the loneliness of the outlaw crept into Pierre's voice for an instant" (AN, 305). The text remains either outside or only fleetingly cognizant of Pierre's innermost thoughts, while often speculating as to the relationship between what he thinks and what he does.

Ambiguity as to Pierre's mental processes is accompanied by a wide variety of attitudes toward his moral character. Initially depicted as an outlaw "possessed of a devil" (PP, 6), and "not good at heart" (PP, 91), he is subsequently represented in more balanced terms: "Pierre was a pretty good authority in all matters concerning the prairie and the North. He also had an instinct for detecting veracity, having practised on both sides of the equation" (PP, 169). This movement away from the negative, and toward the more balanced or positive, continues in passages such as "Pierre had a taste for conquest for its own sake, though he had no personal ambition. The love of adventure was deep in him; he adored sport for its own sake; he had had a long range of experiences--some discreditable "(AN, 16). This narrative

progression takes us some distance from the initial emphasis on Pierre's immorality, with the locution "practised on both sides of the equation" suggesting that one of the ways the text negotiates this transition is to figure his behaviour as fluctuating between positive and negative poles. Similarly, the judgement that only some of his experiences have been discreditable is indicative of a trend in the Pierre stories toward downplaying his negative traits by placing them within a framework of what is on balance admiration and celebration.

As he becomes more of a recognizably romantic hero and less the wayward rogue, Pierre even comes to be seen as a kind of god-like presence: "Men who would never have confessed to a priest confessed to him" (AN, 251). The later stories often express this aspect of Pierre's character in terms that transform his "weird menace" into a condition akin to that of Nietzsche's "Superman":

> [Pierre] had no useless compunctions about bloodshed. A human life he held to be a trifle in the big sum of time, and that it was of little moment when a man went, if it seemed his hour. He lived up to his creed, for he had ever held his own life as a bird upon a housetop, which a chance stone might drop. (AN, 35)

Human life is degraded as well as insignificant for Pierre. Since "men are like dogs--they worship him who beats them" (AN, 43), he experiences both the romantic excitement of adventure and the slavish recognition of his superiority in Parker's version of the Northwest: "I live in the open, I walk in the open road, and I stand by what I do to the open law and

the gospel. It is my whim--every man to his own saddle" (AN, 158).

Pierre is a romantic hero with a difference, however. Although handsomeness is a typical quality of such romantic protagonists as Byron's Don Juan, Shelley's Alastor and Keats's Endymion, it is "pretty," and not 'proud' or 'powerful,' that in "Pretty Pierre" becomes the identifying adjective for Parker's protagonist. Parker employs prettiness as a sexually ambiguous element in the complex identity formation of a man of action, a frontiersman who is depicted as in many respects more stereotypically masculine--braver, tougher, immune to woman's influence--than the Englishmen he encounters. Pierre is not the kind of man who

> would barter the chances of fortune for the lilt of a voice or the clatter of a pretty foot.
> Pierre was different. "Women, ah, no!" he would say, "they make men fools or devils."
> His temptation lay not that way. (PP, 268)

Having raised the question of where Pierre's temptation does in fact lie, the text in this instance deflects his desire into the "young and comparatively virgin field" (PP, 268) of a wealthy mining community inhabited by men who love to gamble, but are not very good at it. In this lightly sexualized context and elsewhere, however, there are occasional intimations that Pierre's desire is oriented toward his own sex. Unlike the other male characters in these stories, his physical contact with men is often figured as an expression of deep feeling rather than aggression or back-slapping

friendliness. A scene in which Pierre tries to convince a friend to stay out of his quarrel with a lecherous missionary exemplifies such intimacy:

> . . . here Pierre rose, came over, and spread his fingers lightly on Shon's breast--"But this thing is between this man and me, Shon McGann . . . ." And the half-breed looked up at the Irishman from under his dark brows so covertly and meaning[ful]ly that Shon saw visions of a trouble as silent as a plague, as resistless as a great flood. . . . He almost shivered as the delicate fingers drummed on his breast. (PP, 137-38)

Pierre's delicacy--the "delicate red" (PP, 6) tinge of his cheeks, his "delicacy of complexion" (PP, 86), his "delicate fingers" (PP, 147), "the delicate precision of his every movement" (AN, 54)--is a strongly foregrounded sign of his difference from the stereotype of the rugged frontiersman. It connotes complexity and possibly even contradiction, given that he has also been forcefully 'indelicate'--to the point of committing murder--with those who arouse his wrath.

This attribution of delicacy is not, however, a sign of feminization. Pierre's masculinity is aggressive and chauvinistic: "Women are fools, or else they are worse" (PP, 244) and "All women are the same" (AN, 6). Pierre is thus "no threat to any woman" (AN, 33) because, in their 'indelicate' foolishness and sameness, they are either beneath his interest or else repel him with their crude expressions of desire:

> There was that look in her eyes which burns conviction as deep as the furnace from which it comes: the hot, shy, hungering look of desire; most childlike, painfully infinite. [Pierre] would rather have faced the cold mouth of a pistol . . . (AN, 313)

It would be going too far to suggest that Pierre's preference for the conventional phallic symbol of the pistol signals desire for men rather than women; from the text's point of view, it is the for-men-only experience of a gunfight rather than homosocial sexual gratification that Pierre imagines as a preferable alternative. The force of his rejection of women, however, in conjunction with his prettiness, delicacy and ease of physical contact with men, differentiates Pierre from many romantic heroes by linking his distinctive kind of male attractiveness and behaviour with overtones of same-sex desire.

Pierre's difference also encompasses the phenomenon of 'going native,' of becoming to some extent like a Native, which has often been a locus of fear and desire for the European encountering colonial space. Pierre, however, unlike such essentially white but tinged with black characters as Grant Allen's Edward Hawthorn and Harry Noel, is represented as essentially Native as well as French precisely because he is a "halfbreed." Nor is this depicted as a source of anxiety for Pierre himself, but rather as a combination of qualities that often disturbs others who consider themselves unquestionably white. In taking Pierre as his protagonist, then, Parker is in effect accepting the hybridic consequences of those European/Native encounters whose offspring Allen is so anxious to categorize as either European or Native. Parker is instead engaged in portraying a character who is a more

stable and viable creation of the sexual union of different racial essences. Like Allen, however, Parker depicts the European response to those of multiracial parentage as either entirely negative or as a mixture of attraction and repulsion. The comparison is not an exact one because, unlike Allen, Parker does not differentiate between settlers and more recent arrivals, but in the work of both authors characters of mixed blood are deeply disturbing to whites.

In the process of describing those whites who respond to Pierre with mingled attraction and repulsion, Parker places particular emphasis on Pierre's unsettling of the men responsible for enforcing the law on the frontier, the Northwest Mounted Police. Again, it is ambiguity that characterizes Pierre's position:

> More than once [Pierre] had come into conflict with them, more than once had they laid their hands on him--and taken them off again in due time. He had foiled them as to men they wanted; he had defied them--but he had helped them too, when it seemed right to him; he had sided with them once or twice when to do so was perilous to himself. (AN, 296)

As a result, he also becomes a figure of mystery to the commander of the local Northwest Mounted Police detachment, who knows of "Pierre's bravery, his ingenuity and daring," but is stunned when he realizes that "the malicious, railing little half-breed would work with him and the law" (AN, 299). This is part of the text's consistent representation of Pierre's actions as unpredictable, a strategy that underlines his idiosyncrasy at the same time as it heightens narrative

suspense.

Pierre also participates in the extreme moral relativism that Parker sometimes attributes to life in general. Maturation is equated with "beginning to understand that evil is not absolute, and that good is often an occasion more than a condition" (PP, 125). Although in his later work Parker writes as more of a moral absolutist, especially with regard to the sexual conduct of women, his representation of Pierre anticipates the rationalization of transgressive male behaviour that occurs in many of his subsequent short stories and novels.

Another aspect of the Pierre stories's ethical relativism is the figuration of their protagonist as aleatoric and ludic,

> an outlaw, a half-heathen, a lover of but one thing in this world,--the joyous god of Chance. Pierre was essentially a gamester. He would have extracted satisfaction out of a death-sentence which was contingent on the trumping of an ace. His only honour was the honour of the game. (PP, 185)

One of the factors at play in passages such as this is what Elaine Showalter's Sexual Anarchy identifies as the "male quest romance," which involves "escape to a place where men can be free" to "penetrate into the imagined center of an exotic civilization" (81). In contrast to the fictions of Grant Allen, where protagonists typically discover that the apparent freedom within colonial space is in fact comprised of seductive but ultimately demoralizing temptations to abandon civilized values, Pierre and his fellow adventurers are often

represented as having suspended those values in their enthusiastic embrace of an intrinsically healthy way of life.

This appeal is partly spacial, a wide-openness that encourages the expansion of individual scope and possibility, and is most forcefully articulated by those, such as the region's new Governor, who are coming to it for the first time: "It's like a wild dream . . . the north is near to the Strangest of All!" (AN, 201). A visiting English Duke offers a more reflective response:

> . . . straight before him, was a wide lane of unknown country, billowing away to where it froze into the vast archipelago that closes with the summit of the world. He experienced now that weird charm which has drawn so many into Arctic wilds and gathered the eyes of millions longingly. Wife, child, London, civilisation, were forgotten for the moment. He was under a spell which, once felt, lingers in your veins always. (AN, 243)

This response is analogous to the "renunciation of possession" that Stephen Greenblatt attributes to Sir John Mandeville, in which the European explorer's "refusal to occupy" colonial space is seen as signifying an acceptance of "diversity" and "difference."[21] The Duke's sentiments also contest that trope of imperialist discourse which defines colonial space as a primitive emptiness awaiting transformation by civilization. The Pierre stories often respect and admire the Northwest's putatively empty vastness as a theatre of possibility, as the contending forces that are figured as fluctuating within Pierre are extended to a societal context represented as indeterminate. In "The Lake of the Great Slave," Pierre

imagines this condition as being produced by the interaction between Native and European sources:

> I got the story from two heads. If you hear a thing like that from Indians, you call it 'legend'; if from the [Hudson Bay] Company's papers, you call it 'history.' Well, in this there is not much difference. The papers tell precise the facts; the legend gives the feeling, is more true. How can you judge the facts if you don't know the feeling? (AN, 78)

"The Red Patrol" makes a more explicit rejection of European civilization when Pierre, in the spirit of one who decides "to play a game and win" (AN, 92), blithely destroys an arrogant priest's faith by deriding his irrelevant religion:

> You are less than a child up here. For here the children feel a peace in their blood when the stars come out, and a joy in their brains when the dawn comes up and reaches a yellow hand to the Pole, and the west wind shouts at them. Holy Mother! we in the far north, we feel things, for all the great souls of the dead are up there at the Pole in the pleasant land, and we have seen the Scarlet Hunter and the Kimash Hills. You have seen nothing. You have only heard, and because, like a child, you have never sinned, you come and preach to us! (AN, 93)

Even the Ten Commandments do not fit all situations in this new world where the individual is exhorted to "make your own" moral rules (AN, 179), and "religion reached little farther than a belief in the Scarlet Hunter of the Kimash Hills and those voices that could be heard calling in the night" (AN, 107). The individual's relationship to the supernatural is figured as a heightening of feeling rather than an awed submission to force, and as an enhancement of personal identity that connects one with a benign, pantheistic world

that is the ultimate source of the sane and healthy.

The appeal of colonial space is also portrayed as partly metaphysical. Those supernatural beings whom the text represents as indigenous to the Northwest are shown to be in perfect harmony with its inhabitants, both Native and new. Prior to writing the Pierre stories, Parker's closest contact with the region in which they are set was an 1890 train journey between Winnipeg and Vancouver, and his ideas about the Northwest's religions do not seem to have much evidential basis.[22] Although supernatural figures such as the "Scarlet Hunter" and the "Mighty Men" may have been derived from Plains Algonkian belief in a "Great Spirit" and the subsidiary gods of the sun, the earth, the moon, the morning star, the wind, the fire and thunder,[23] there is otherwise little that impresses as either authentic or distinctive about Parker's portrayal of indigenous religious beliefs.

Parker's employment of this invented religion is both subtle and pervasive. Initially, he provides only the briefest of formal descriptions of its practices and beliefs, and instead brings in particular aspects or components of the system piecemeal whenever they apply to specific plot situations. The text treats its religious elements as such integral parts of the unfolding action that it is unnecessary to single them out for special explanation or definition. What would seem mere folkloric footnotes if inscribed within narratives paying homage to 'civilized values' instead become

a contextually appropriate alternative to, and occasionally a replacement of, the Christian/Western/European values that anchor most imperial writing about colonial space. Parker is creating a world in which such frequently encountered presences as the Scarlet Hunter and the Mighty Men are comfortably at home, whereas the foreign figures of alien gods will sometimes turn out to be awkward and irrelevant intruders.

"God's Garrison" and "Père Champagne" demonstrate how Parker makes use of this invented religion in his fiction. In "God's Garrison," Pierre's memory of "a certain chant, taught him by a medicine man in childhood" (PP, 32), enables him to survive a Native attack on a trading post. Although the words of the chant's invocation and propitiation of the Scarlet Hunter are provided, the story emphasizes the magical effectiveness of "this ancient rune" (PP, 32) without either considering how it works or describing the supernatural presence to which it is addressed. "Père Champagne" also presents the Scarlet Hunter as central to Pierre's religious beliefs, and once again depicts the god as a powerful but otherwise unknown entity. When Pierre and a companion are lost in the woods,

> Upon a lonely trail they wandered, the spirits of lost travellers in their wake--spirits that mumbled in cedar thickets, and whimpered down the flumes of snow. And Pierre, who knew that evil things are exorcised by mighty conjuring, sang loudly, from a throat made thin by forced fasting, a song with which his mother [a Native] sought to drive away the devils of dreams that flaunted on

> his pillow when a child: it was the song of the Scarlet Hunter. (PP, 176-77)

In contexts such as these the Scarlet Hunter's character is represented as occult, a supernatural "rune" or "charm" against evil rather than the positive, omnipotent divine agency of Christian belief.

Pierre provides a somewhat fuller account of this god-like presence in "The Scarlet Hunter":

> In the hills of the North which no white man, nor no Injun of this time hath seen, the forefathers of the red men sleep; but some day they will wake again and go forth and possess all the land; and the buffalo are for them when that time shall come, that they may have the fruits of the chase, and that it be as it was of old, when the cattle were as clouds on the horizon. And it was ordained that one of these mighty men who had never been vanquished in fight, nor done an evil thing, and was the greatest of all the chiefs, should live and not die, but be as a sentinel, as a lion watching, and preserve the White Valley in peace until his brethren waked and came into their own again. And him they called the Scarlet Hunter . . . (PP, 191).

Here the Scarlet Hunter is defined as the first among the "mighty men," and as a god-figure who will rule the North in some indefinite future. In another story, it is the Scarlet Hunter who replaces Christianity's God as the addressee of prayer during an ordeal suffered by a Métis courier (AN, 197-206).

The Pierre stories were written in 1890 and 1891, when many North American Native peoples adopted the idea that the ghosts of powerful ancestors might be resurrected through the performance of ritual dances, and Parker may well have

incorporated aspects of this "Ghost Dance" phenomenon into the religion he constructed.[24] On an 1886 visit to the American West he expressed interest in both the Sioux and Apache peoples, who would four years later be among those most receptive toward the Ghost-Dance idea.[25] It is noteworthy, in any case, that Pierre's adventures are enacted against a backdrop that sometimes envisions the eventual return of colonial space to those conditions which pertained before the arrival of Europeans.

The Pierre stories also, however, supply some very Christian-like content to what is supposedly an indigenous Native religion. In the later stories particularly, Parker figures Native belief in language that borrows heavily from the prayers and hymns of his strong Anglican faith, as in this song attributed to the Scarlet Hunter:

> O son of man, behold!
> If thou shouldest stumble on the nameless trail,
> The trail that no man rides,
> Lift up thy heart,
> Behold, O son of man, thou hast a helper near!
>
> O son of man, take heed!
> If thou shouldst fall upon the vacant plain,
> The plain that no man loves,
> Reach out thy hand,
> Take heed, O son of man, strength shall be given thee!
>
> O son of man, rejoice!
> If thou art blinded even at the door,
> The door of the Safe tent,
> Sing in thy heart,
> Rejoice, O son of man, thy pilot leads thee home!
> (AN, 191)

Despite the Northwestern imagery, these verses seem

inauthentic as the credo of the powerful and mysterious ruler of Plains Algonkian belief. They do, however, connote a benign spiritual presence similar to that invoked in the Anglican prayers of Parker's religious training and practice.[26] As Terry Goldie observes, in situations such as this, "the Indian enmeshed in the semiotic field of nature joins with the dominant Christian ideology to provide a possible paragon," although "the best that the native can expect is assimilation and resulting deindigenization."[27] What begins as a celebration of Native difference is conflated with the religion that colonizers have brought with them, as the Natives are 'civilized' through the rewriting of their difference as an exotic variant of Christian belief.

Pierre, too, is represented as more pious and peaceful in many of the later stories, which provide him with a Christian background entirely absent from his earlier appearances: "the Bible was like [Pierre's] childhood itself, always with him in memory, and Old Testament history was as wine to his blood. The lofty tales sang in his veins: of primitive man, adventure, mysterious and exalted romance" (AN, 177). There is mention of his "early teaching" in Christianity (AN, 127), and when Pierre is overcome by a woman's death, "Unconsciously he crossed himself" (AN, 140). This is not the same person who earlier scorned all women and paid homage to the Scarlet Hunter rather than Christianity's God.

The later stories also transform Pierre's difference by

refiguring it as akin to a particular stereotype of the romantic hero, that of the externally rugged individual whose harsh visage conceals an interior softness. Pierre becomes more sentimental than superhuman in manifesting a previously unmentioned concern for children: "[Pierre] could hear of battle, murder, and sudden death unmoved--it seemed to him in the game; but the tragedy of a child . . . that was different . . . 'A child--a child--is a wonderful thing'" (AN, 32). We are also told that Pierre "had always shown a gentleness to children" (AN, 123), a generalization that completely misrepresents his actions in earlier stories.

The appropriation of Pierre's roguishness by the more acceptable model of the romantic hero is part of a complex pattern of development in the Pierre stories. Their initial celebration and defence of colonial space is gradually transformed into a partial annexation of it for imperial purposes, even though Pierre himself is never fully assimilated into the domain of European values. While still a location where almost anything can happen, colonial space becomes a site where certain kinds of content, and particularly the components of adventure, may be found by those outsiders who lack them. Pierre is "hungry for adventure" (AN, 8) and, as a consequence, these stories ensure that he will always find what he desires in Parker's Northwest.

In The Wheel of Empire,[28] Alan Sandison argues that

writers such as Kipling, Conrad, Buchan and Haggard created similar colonial spaces that were "basically Romantic" and "essentially illusory" (58, 59), where

> The need to secure their own identity dictated an incessant war against an alien and chaotic nature with the elusive end of subjugation of the latter. . . . The embarkation of the self on its rapacious cognitive conquest to overcome the world's 'otherness' thus finds an equivalent physical expression in the imperial idea. (62)

Although Pierre is typically portrayed as respecting nature rather than seeking to conquer it, there is a sense in which the vastness he admires only begins to be supplied with significant content when he imports into it his own needs and desires. Parker is in effect clearing a space and at the same time endowing that space with certain materials and properties, within which Pierre will be able to play the game of adventure. The Pierre stories ultimately assume that their particular version of colonial space, although not entirely empty of value, is ideologically underdeveloped territory requiring Pierre's active intervention and interpretation. It is the Western ideas and attitudes that Pierre brings to colonial space which must be used to tame and domesticate it, so that citizens of the empire may comprehend and consume this new addition to their territory. In the final analysis, it is the agency and authority of Western civilization that are required if Parker's Northwest is to be infused with meaning and significance.

Parker states that the short stories collected in

Northern Lights[29] (1909) take place a "generation later than that in which Pierre and His People moved," and are written in a different style that occasionally sounds "the old note" of "poignant mystery, solitude, and big primitive incident" (vii-viii). What might be described as a 'new note' of sober reality, community and small civilized incident is also trumpeted here, as a far more settled frontier is produced by the continuing application of imperial values to colonial space.

In "The Stake and the Plumb-line," Sally Templeton and her husband Jim move to northern Canada to "work out their problem" (135). This problem is Jim's alcoholism, which prompts him to join the North-West Mounted Police:

> He belonged to a small handful of men who had control over an empire . . . . It was a matter of moral force and character, and of uniform, symbolical only of the great power behind; of the long arm of the State; of the insistence of the law, which did not rely upon force alone, but on the certainty of its administration. (148)

These new responsibilities make a man out of Jim; that is, a man of the empire, now capable of convincing the "ignorant minds" of a Cree village that they must conform to the imperial order:

> I am master, and I speak. Ye are hungry because ye are idle. . . . Must the makers of cities and the wonders of the earth, who fill the land with plenty--must they stand far off because the Crees and their chief would wander over millions of acres, for each man a million, when by a hundred, ay, by ten, each white man would live in plenty, and make the land rejoice. (160)

The ascendancy of imperial values over colonial space is also

demonstrated in a passage that exemplifies Parker's characteristic valorization of the North:

> . . . those far places, where small things are not great nor great things small; where into men's hearts comes the knowledge of the things that matter; where, from the wide, starry sky, from the august loneliness, and the soul of the life which has brooded there for untold generations, God teaches the values of this world and the next. (162-63)

It is now "God," rather than the "Scarlet Hunter" of the Pierre stories, who is the supreme being, and "far places" reachable by outsiders, not a mysterious realm beyond the horizon, that are the site of learning "the values of this world and the text." Colonial space has been fully reintegrated with imperial order, and is the place where men of the empire go to be "reminded of the things that matter"; after which, duly reminded, they will presumably return to such mundane tasks as allotting the acreage of colonial space to whites able to "fill the land with plenty."

The frontier is now also the place where, in the story "A Man, a Famine, and a Heathen Boy," an indolent but civilized Englishman can "make something of his life" (235). William Rufus Holly finds his destiny in ministering to, and attempting to administer, his savage flock:

> He never resented the frequent ingratitude of the Indians; he said little when they quarrelled over the small comforts his little income brought them yearly from the South. He had been doctor, lawyer, judge among them, although he interfered little in the larger disputes, and was forced to shut his eyes to intertribal enmities. He had no deep faith that he could quite civilise them; he knew that their conversion was only on the surface

. . . (244)

When a warrior of the Athabasca tribe callously throws a child into a raging river, it is only Holly who dares to attempt a rescue:

> . . . he glanced up to the bank along which the Athabascas were running. He saw the garish colours of their dresses; he saw the ignorant medicine man, with his mysterious bag, making incantations; he saw the tepee of the chief, with its barbarous pennant above; he saw the idle, naked children tearing at the entrails of a calf; and he realised that this was a deadly tournament between civilisation and barbarism. (240-41)

In this moment of crisis, "he was not the Reverend William Rufus Holly, missionary, but Billy Rufus, the champion cricketer, the sportsman playing a long game" (241). Just as the battle of Waterloo was, according to the Duke of Wellington, won on the playing fields of Eton, so is Holly's triumph attributed to his ability to play the game. Like Jim Templeton, he has by force of imperial character assumed control of colonial space, which in the view of their respective texts is the only fitting conclusion to encounters between the civilized and the savage.

Natives play a much more prominent role in Northern Lights than they do in the Pierre stories, and are typically represented in ways that underline their inferiority to those white settlers with whom they are now in much closer contact. In "As Deep as the Sea," a lawyer speaks to a white recluse "as to some ignorant and misguided savage--as he had talked to Indian chiefs in his time, when searching for the truth

regarding some crime" (367). In "A Lodge in the Wilderness," the Blackfoot woman Mitiahwe "mates" with a white man, "without priest or preacher, or writing, or book, or bond" (5), and four years later is abandoned by her lover. Mitiahwe is figured as a "tribute of the lower race to the higher" (10), "only a Blackfoot wife" and insignificant because "not blood of [her lover's] blood" (12). In "Qu'appelle," Pauline, the daughter of a Native/white relationship, becomes completely Native when her father dies:

> While he lived, she could affirm the rights of a white man's daughter, the rights of the daughter of a pioneer who had helped to make the West; and her pride in him had given a glow to her cheek and a spring to her step which drew every eye. . . . Whatever his faults . . . he was of the conquering race . . . (104-05)

Her mother attempts to make a case for the benefits of her daughter's Blackfoot blood: "The lodge of a chieftainess is the place for you. There you would have praise and honour; among the whites you are only a half-breed" (107). But Pauline argues that "When you have read of all there is of the white man's world . . . there is no returning" (109), and her mother ultimately agrees that "white life is the only life" (121).

Northern Lights does reiterate the supernatural appeal of colonial space so prominent in Parker's earlier fiction, but often subordinates it to the newcomer's perceptions. In "The Stroke of the Hour," it is the relation to the imperial homeland that the landscape evokes:

> At this point in the west the prairie merged into an undulating territory, where hill and wood

> rolled away from the banks of the Saskatchewan, making another England in beauty. The forest was a sort of advance-post of that land of beauty. (42)

The frontier has now become a friendly place of civilized activity rather than an awe-inspiring place of meditation, as is exemplified by a scene-setting passage in "George's Wife":

> Overhead, the sun was pouring out a flood of light and warmth, and though it was bitterly cold, life was beating hard in the bosom of the West. Men walked lightly, breathed quickly, and their eyes were bright with the brightness of vitality and content. . . . An arctic world in appearance, it had an abounding life which made it friendly and generous--the harshness belonged to the surface. (186)

In "The Healing Springs and the Pioneers," it is again "the West" that is lauded for "its heart, its courage, its freedom, and its force; capable of exquisite gentleness, strenuous to exaggeration, with a very primitive religion" (254). In Northern Lights, there is no longer any reason or desire to fall under the spell of colonial space; the mysterious North has been superseded by the bustling West, "primitive religion" by an energetic, Christian God who umpires the great game of life, and Natives and Métis by the unequivocally white.

In Parker's work the relationship between imperial homeland and colonial space is not, however, a straightforward, unidirectional flow of influence from the former to the latter. In the introduction to the "Imperial Edition" of his novel The Trespasser[30] (1893) he comments that,

> It was perhaps natural that, having lived in Canada and Australia, and having travelled greatly

> in all the outer portions of the Empire, I should be interested in and impelled to write regarding the impingement of the outer life of our far dominions, through individual character, upon the complicated, traditional, orderly life of England. That feeling found expression in The Translation of a Savage . . . (vi)

The Translation of a Savage (1893), a novel, begins in the wild and fascinating Northwest of the Pierre stories, where the English investor Frank Armour has impulsively married a Native woman after being spurned by his London fiancée. The anonymous narrator signals an ironic approach to this situation in the second word of the novel's first sentence: "It appeared that Armour had made the great mistake of his life" (7). The text soon establishes that the play with appearance/reality distinctions will be its normative mode of narrative exposition, as the difference between what is apparent and what in fact eventually appears becomes its primary focus.

The Translation of a Savage initially constructs a situation in which white assumptions regarding superiority and difference are lightly interrogated from a Native perspective. It is suggested that Frank Armour's sudden marriage demonstrates a capacity for "strange, aboriginal passions" (15). His wife Lali, contrastingly, is racially one-quarter white and part of "the oldest aristocracy" in America (18), and may therefore succeed with his English friends and relatives:

> It was possible they would find her an apt pupil. Of this they could not complain, that she was

> untravelled; for she had ridden a horse, bareback, half across the continent. They could not cavil at her education, for she knew several languages--aboriginal languages--of the North. She had merely to learn the dialect of English society, and how to carry with acceptable form the costumes of the race to which she was going. (19)

This passage has a certain amount of fun at Lali's expense by imagining her riding bareback and speaking "aboriginal languages" in inappropriate circumstances, but it is the final sentence that accurately foreshadows the novel's subsequent development. Lali, in a manner that may well reflect Parker's understanding of his own worldly success, will demonstrate that the language and behaviour of English society are readily learned by those from the colonies, since English "dialect" and "costumes" will turn out to be only superficially different from those of other races.

Upon Lali's arrival in England, where her husband has sent her while he remains in Canada, much of the resistance to her acceptance in society is attributed to women. Frank's sister, Marion, is represented as near-hysteric in her opposition:

> "Never! she shall never come [to the family estate]!" said Marion, with flashing eyes;--"a common squaw, with greasy hair, and blankets, and big mouth, and black teeth, who eats with her fingers and grunts! If she does, if she is brought to Greyhope, I will never show my face in the world again." (35-36)

Her mother's equally negative if less strident reaction is controlled by the head of the family, General Armour, whose decision that Lali must be accepted is represented as proof of

his intrinsic superiority. Both Mrs. Armour and Marion are portrayed as changing their mind shortly thereafter, but in a way that continues to emphasize their inferiority. Marion's mercurial emotions make her "clay in the hands of the potter whom we call Mercy--more often a stranger to the hearts of women than of men," and her mother submits to husbandly authority in seeing "her duty better and with less rebelliousness" (39). Throughout the novel, male dominance is inscribed as part of the natural order of things by General Armour, the text's most authoritative voice of proper social behaviour (208-09), and by Lali herself, whose perspective makes her a particularly acute observer of English mores (188).

The Translation of a Savage derives some amusement from the process of translating Lali into an acceptable wife for an English gentleman, but also insists upon reminding us that her origins are and always will be savage, and that her achievement is therefore an extremely uncommon one. Parker could have stressed the comic possibilities of this situation; alternatively, like Grant Allen in "The Reverend John Creedy," he could have represented the Native's savagery as tragically overwhelming any acquired civilized values. What Parker instead chose to do was to construct a bildungsroman in which a Native succeeds in becoming almost white, even though her origins cannot be entirely erased.

This is demonstrated by textual strategies that represent

Lali as becoming ever more civilized and yet never fully translated out of savagery. She is "too happy to be very active mentally, even if it had been the characteristic of her race" (23). It will subsequently be established that Lali is in fact active and intelligent, but here as elsewhere the suspension of these qualities is linked to her uncivilized origins. When Lali first meets her husband's family, "there was a dignity in her bearing which carried off the bizarre events. There was timidity in her face, and yet a kind of pride too, though she was only a savage" (46).

Although it is difficult to gauge the extent to which "only a savage" connotes irony regarding English pretensions in addition to its manifest racial essentialism, The Translation of a Savage keeps both of these possibilities in play. The text's reluctance to forget Lali's background is sometimes located in the attitudes of her husband's family:

> [Lali's] reserve had hidden much of what she really felt; but the drive through the limes had shown General Armour and his wife that they had to do with a nature having capacities for sensitive feeling; which, it is sometimes thought, is only the prerogative of certain well-bred civilisations.
>
> But it was impossible that they should yet, or for many a day, feel any sense of kinship with this aboriginal girl. (54)

Why this is "impossible" the text keeps secret, refusing to specify whether it is impossible only for the Armours or impossible in some more general sense. The text also fails to indicate how this change might occur, whether through an alteration in the Armours' attitude, Lali's adoption of

English ways or some combination of the two. That there will be change is promised by The Translation of a Savage's title; that this change will not entirely erase the initial representation of its protagonist is enacted by the textual strategies the novel employs.

One of these strategies is to make whites as well as Natives the subject of irony, but to exempt the former from negative forms of racial essentialism. When the Armours find Lali lacking in that "breeding which seems to white people the only breeding fit for earth or heaven" (27), the text makes fun of this attitude, but nonetheless accepts it as the ultimate test of Lali's transformation into a civilized person. Similarly, when comparing their new daughter-in-law to one of Frank Armour's old flames, the family's hypocrisy and pretensions are lightly mocked without being contested:

> [The Armours] naturally looked upon the matter in its most unpromising light, because an Indian was an Indian, and this unknown savage from Fort Charles was in violent contrast to such desirable persons as Lady Agnes Martling. Not that the Armours were zealous for mere money or title, but the thing itself was altogether à propos, as Mrs. Armour had more naively than correctly put it. (41-42)

Mrs. Armour's use of French phrases may be more naive than correct, and she and her husband may be deluding themselves as to why they approve of Lady Agnes Martling, but the inadequacies of their behaviour are treated as an occasion for humour rather than as evidence of negative racial characteristics.

When the narrative begins to describe the assimilative processes that will produce a new and near-English Lali, it is another influential male, her brother-in-law Richard, who becomes her close friend" and the primary mediating figure between Nativeness and Englishness. Richard has already been depicted as instrumental in encouraging his family to accept the situation, and he now begins to direct Lali's transformation:

> [Lali] must be taught English and educated and made possible "in Christian clothing," as Mrs. Armour put it. Of the education they almost despaired--all save Richard; time, instruction, vanity, and a dressmaker might do much as to the other. (63)

When Lali resists wearing Marion's clothes, it is Richard who saves the situation:

> Now, Richard, when he was a lad, had been on a journey to the South Seas, and had learned some of the peculiarities of the native mind, and he did not suppose that American Indians differed very much from certain well-bred Polynesians in little matters of form and good taste. When his mother told him what had occurred . . . he went directly to what he believed was the cause, and advised tact with conciliation. He also pointed out that Lali was something taller than Marion, and that she might be possessed of that general trait of humanity--vanity. (64)

This passage keeps the essentialist "native mind" and the contrasting "general trait of humanity" in play as the polarities of the text's attitude to Lali, while operating on the assumption that Polynesians and American Indians may be conflated into an undifferentiated mass of the Native and subordinated Other.

When Richard further observes to his family that Lali is a superior kind of Native because she comes from what in her culture constitutes an aristocratic background, social class is added to those factors which make her translation a notably successful one: "if we treat her as a chieftainess, or princess, or whatever she is, and not simply as a dusky person, we shall come off better and she will come off better in the long run. She is not darker than a Spaniard, anyhow" (66). Social class, in other words, partly mitigates the effects of race. The fact that Lali has been gifted with aristocratic social origins as well as stellar personal qualities further complicates the text's representation of her:

> Had she been of the very common order of Indian "pure and simple," the task had resolved itself into making a common savage into a very common European. But, whatever Lali was, it was abundantly evident that she must be reckoned with at all points . . . (75)

The above passage's "whatever Lali was" represents her as essentially unknown, and is reiterated in the frequent references to "the latent subtlety of her race" (113), her "primitive, child-like" emotions (167), her heritage of the "atmosphere and mystery of that lonely North, which once in the veins never leaves it" (181) and her nostalgia for the "wild swing of savage life" (184). In a manner similar to that of the Pierre stories, The Translation of a Savage mystifies colonial space in terms of its effects on those who inhabit it, while also suggesting that it represents a form of absence

awaiting the presence of civilized content and comprehension.

Contrasting with this hyperbolic and ambiguous celebration of Lali's origins, however, is the continuing portrayal of her as an only partially translated savage. The eyes of others often see Lali in a way that keeps the problem of her origins before us:

> Marion noticed again the beauty of [Lali's] hands and the graceful character of the gesture, so much so that she forgot the flat hair and the unstayed body, and the rather broad feet, and the delicate duskiness, which had so worked upon her in imagination and in fact the evening before. (71)

Although Lali subsequently improves "daily in appearance" (79), and is well on her way to being accepted as a social equal, there are still times when she decides that she will not "be English" (90). During one of these, a dangerous bareback-riding outing is represented as symbolizing the transition from savage to civilized person: "With that strange ride had gone the last strong flicker of the desire for savage life in her" (95). If this is the last eruption of the savage in Lali, however, weaker flickers will continue to occur. Although Lali is no longer primarily savage, neither is she fully civilized. Her condition can most accurately be described as a hybrid one:

> Coincident with her motherhood there came to Lali a new purpose. She had not lived with the Armours without absorbing some of their fine social sense and dignity. This, added to the native instinct of pride in her, gave her a new ambition. (96)

"Native" here has a possible double meaning that plays on personal/cultural difference, at the same time as it continues

to keep Lali's origins ever-present as a textual concern.

During the next two years, Lali embarks on a course of self-improvement directed by Richard, but this by no means eradicates her Native instincts. When she plays host to Frank's condescending old flame, Lady Agnes Martling, Lali has a hybrid response in which her Nativeness is strongly essentialized:

> [Lali] was by nature a creature of impulse, of the woods and streams and open life. The social convention had been engrafted. As yet she was used to thinking and speaking with all candour. She was to have her training in the charms of superficiality, but that was to come; and when it came she would not be an unskilful apprentice. (113)

If the "social convention had been engrafted," however, it has not yet sunk deep roots; Martling's insulting description of her as from a "savage country" (115) provokes a strong reaction: "Her fingers ached to grasp this beautiful, exasperating woman by the throat. But after an effort at calmness she remained still and silent, looking at her visitor with a scornful dignity" (116). Lali's control over her response enables her to appear to be the more civilized of the two, even though the narrative's access to her emotions again reminds us that the savage is an ineluctable part of her character. Lali's hybridity is figured as both mimicry and appropriation, a sign of both her continuing Nativeness and her ability to adopt the civilized, as she is assigned a subject position of remarkable cultural complexity.

White/Native marriage, as in Grant Allen's "The Reverend

John Creedy," is theoretically discussed as well as literally depicted in The Translation of a Savage. Marion's fiancè, Captain Vidall, observes that "some such marriages turn out very well--in Japan, India, the South Sea Islands, and Canada" (84). He then confesses a more personal involvement: "he was once very much in love with a native girl in India, and might have become permanently devoted to her, were it not for the accident of his being ordered back to England summarily" (85). Frank Armour, who has actually done what Vidall and others discuss, is by now feeling some remorse as he continues to linger in Canada:

> He knew that he had done a dishonourable thing. The more he thought about it the more angry with himself he became. Yet he dreaded to go back to England and face it all: the reproach of his people; the amusement of society; his wife herself. He never attempted to picture her as a civilised being. He scarcely knew her when he married her. She knew him much better, for primitive people are quicker in the play of their passions . . . (125-26)

Like the text's previous treatment of the Armour's hypocrisy, this passage combines racial essentialism with light reproach of white assumptions. Lali continues to be represented as both civilized and primitive, while Frank's doing of the dishonourable is ameliorated by his remorse and subsequent assumption of socially prescribed responsibility.

When Frank does the right thing and returns to England, this serves as the occasion for a burst of textual enthusiasm over Lali's new condition. We are told that "Her translation had been successful" (135), that the Armours "had come to take

pride in their son's wife (137), and that Lali and Marion are "now the best of friends" (137). When the Armours host a ball to celebrate Lali's achievement of civilization, it is she who must remind Frank how he is supposed to behave:

> "We had better go below," she calmly replied; "we have both duties to do. You will of course--appear with me--before them?"
>
> The slight irony in the tone cut him horribly. He offered his arm in silence. They passed on to the staircase.
>
> "It is necessary," she said, "to appear cheerful before one's guests."
>
> She had him at an advantage at every point. "We will be cheerful, then," was his reply, spoken with a grim kind of humour. "You have learned it all, haven't you?" he added. (146-47)

Frank and Lali have assumed their appropriate places in English society, but if Lali has "learned it all," she has still not managed to leave her origins behind. She continues to be represented as connected to a primitive and mystically figured past that "once in the veins never leaves it--never" (181).

The Translation of a Savage concludes with a tearful reconciliation between Lali and Frank that is brought about by the illness of their son. The novel's final sentence, however, qualifies this apparently happy ending with intimations of a not entirely roseate future: "Yet, as if to remind him of the wrong he had done, Heaven never granted Frank Armour another child" (239). What is "wrong" with Frank's actions remains ambiguous. The explicit textual answer is that he has wronged Lali, but it is also intimated that he bears primary responsibility for this always already problematic union

between the Native and the civilized--a union so ultimately disturbing that it must be denied further increase. Lali, Native ancestry and all, does succeed in becoming an accepted member of the Armour clan, but under conditions that suspend rather than erase her origins, and also ensure no further addition of Native blood to the family's lineage.

Except for its similar mystification of the Northwest, The Translation of a Savage has little in common with the Pierre stories. The Seats of the Mighty[31] is linked to the latter by its representations of thoughts and actions that often seem a good deal less than sane and healthy, as it adds further distinctive forms of idiosyncratic behaviour to the transgressive content of Parker's work. Until the 1970s, the novel was typically categorized as a story of "intrigue and adventure" (Pacey, 81) that dutifully reflected its author's enthusiasm for "the old-fashioned romance of ill-used captive and soft-hearted maid" (Seats of The Mighty, 334). Parker's claim that the use of "faithful historical elements" guaranteed the "verisimilitude" (viii) of his portrayal of pre-conquest Quebec (1757-59) was challenged by those who noted the presence of post-conquest English attitudes, but the balance of critical opinion treated The Seats of the Mighty as a straightforward adventure novel that had some relevance to Canada's historical past.

More recently, however, the strong sado-masochistic aspect of The Seats of the Mighty has been noted by T.D.

MacLulich, who describes it as "an unsavoury piece of work": "the story's real appeal . . . is its pervasive atmosphere of thinly veiled sadism and sensuality" (55). Elizabeth Waterston's introduction to the expurgated New Canadian Library edition also cites the frequency of "scenes of cruelty and destruction," while likewise discerning the presence of a troubling sensuality in Parker's "disturbing muffled erotic effects" (viii).

The novel's three main characters are the narrator Robert Moray, a captured British officer, Alixe Duvarney, the aristocratic Quebec woman he loves, and Tinoir Doltaire, also attracted to Duvarney and one of the most powerful officials in New France. Doltaire is determined to break Moray's will and make Duvarney his mistress, and so plies the two with a sophisticated variety of threats and temptations. Although Doltaire is unquestionably a villain who is finally defeated by the heroic resistance of Moray and Duvarney, part of what makes The Seats of the Mighty an unusual and potentially "disturbing" story is that all three characters are represented as torn by sharply conflicting desires. Duvarney's unwilling admiration of Doltaire, in particular, is depicted as powerful enough to keep the novel's outcome in doubt until the very end. It is also implied that Moray and Doltaire are strongly attracted to one another.

Doltaire is by far the most complex of the three. The name "Doltaire" suggests the figure of a 'dolorous Voltaire,'

a sad genius whose talents have neither been satisfyingly employed nor adequately rewarded. He is King Louis XV's illegitimate son by a peasant mother, hybrid in social-class rather than racial origins, and typically represented as a deeply conflicted figure who can "understand the devil fighting God, and taking the long punishment without repentance" (137). There will always be "something devilish in the smile at Doltaire's lips" (11), which is part of a constant textual awareness that he is the source of evil in The Seats of the Mighty; he will also, however, be the object of understanding and even sympathy. He is in many respects a romantic hero manqué, as Moray articulates when remembering how Doltaire's "handsome face . . . haunts me, charms me" (32); "though I knew I ought to hate him I admired him in spite of all" (45).

Alixe Duvarney, although only recently grown "out of her childhood" (8), is portrayed as an intelligent and resourceful woman capable of matching wits with Doltaire. She is also, however, subject to emotional urges that the text figures as hot and, to Moray, troubling. Her body radiates emotional energy: Moray catches "her fingers for an instant, and to this day I can feel that warm, rich current of life coursing from finger-tips to heart" (8), a sensation reexperienced when "her finger-tips plunged softly into the velvet of my sleeve, giving me a thrill of courage" (12). Duvarney is often represented as aglow, as figuratively on fire with feeling

(14-15, 107-08, 142). She provokes Doltaire's explicitly sexual remark, "If you had lived a thousand years ago, you would have loved a thousand times" (201). As tension mounts in the course of the narrative, Moray observes that Duvarney's "shining yet steady eyes" become "like furnaces, burning up the colour of her cheeks" (329); Doltaire, similarly, notices "the fire of her eyes," which he represents as burning up "the damnable part of me" (338). Like Pretty Pierre's ex-wife, Duvarney is represented as a furnace of female desire who will scorch any man who comes close to her.

Robert Moray, although overshadowed by both Doltaire and Duvarney, also contributes interesting psychological complications to the novel. He is an imaginative and sensitive officer who "laughed for half an hour at the stretch, wiping away my tears as I did it," at the droll humour of a dying soldier's last words (50), and yet "could not bear from a common soldier even a tone of disparagement" (56). His recollections of childhood come to him "as if filtered through many brains to mine" (61), another example of the parapsychological aspect of Parker's work that plays such a prominent part in the Pierre stories. Moray's narration often touches on the extra-worldly, whether taking seriously the doomsday prophecies of a wandering religious mystic or recording Duvarney's out-of-body experiences ("I was as a lost soul flying home," 223) when she successfully assumes the identity of a professional dancer.

One of Moray's most important narrative functions is his chronicling of Doltaire's attempts to seduce Duvarney, which he either hears from her while in prison or observes when he escapes and must remain under cover. These highly charged representations of male desire and jealousy are made even more dramatic by a palpable degree of submission on Duvarney's part. She admits to being tempted and confesses some feeling, albeit of a highly conflicted kind, for her would-be seducer. Duvarney tells Moray that "I have not repulsed Monsieur Doltaire when he has spoken flatteries to me" (93), and as she becomes aware of how men are drawn to her beauty and spirit, confesses that "I love power" (151). Duvarney is attracted to Doltaire even though she knows that he is evil: "There is that in him--oh shame! oh shame!--which goes far with a woman. He has the music of passion, and though it is lower than love, it is the poetry of the senses" (199). Duvarney's hierarchizing of love above passion, and the moral interjection that interrupts her appreciation of Doltaire, are necessary in order to protect her from the repertoire of Satan-like qualities that is here augmented by his ability to seduce synesthetically.

These three characters are all represented as highly conflicted as well as attracted to one another. As the narration works out the psychodynamics of this situation, it is Duvarney whose persona becomes the battlefield on which Moray and Doltaire contend. Moray observes that there is a

"great struggle in her between this scoundrel and myself," a struggle which Doltaire may win since Duvarney is "in some radical ways inclined" toward him (331). This is made even more explicit when she tells Doltaire of her feelings for her two lovers:

> [Robert Moray] I knew to possess fewer gifts, but I knew him also to be what you could never be. I never measured him against you. What was his was all of me worth the having, and was given always; there was no change. What was yours was given only when in your presence, and then with hatred of myself and you--given to some baleful fascination in you. For a time, the more I struggled against it the more it grew, for there was nothing that could influence a woman which you did not do. Monsieur, if you had had Robert Moray's character and your own gifts, I could--Monsieur--I could have worshipped you. (342-43)

That Duvarney "was tempted" (345) by Doltaire puts her in the position of Eve and him in that of Satan, with this version of the story lauding her resistance at the same time as it establishes her vulnerability to devilish wiles. Duvarney is in effect psychologically tortured in the course of a narrative that menaces her sanity with both internal and external threats to her well-being.

The Seats of the Mighty's more explicit tortures, the "sadism" that troubles MacLulich's response to the novel, are first introduced in Doltaire's reflections as to why a live Moray in prison is preferable to a dead Moray in the grave:

> It is the sport to keep him living; you can get no change for your money from a dead man. He has had one cheerful year; why not another, and another, and another? And so watch him fretting to the slow-coming end, while now and again you give him a taste of hope, to drop him back again into the

pit which has no sides for climbing. (110)

But Doltaire's feelings for Moray are not simply sadistic. He rubs snow on the exhausted Moray's face with "solicitude" (129), a mutual sentiment given that earlier Moray's "face flushed and my fingers tingled at thought of [Doltaire]" (57). Moray finds that "The closer you came to him, the more compelling was he--a devilish attraction, notably selfish, yet capable of benevolence" (136). Doltaire is "candid in his evil; he made no pretence; and though the means to his ends were wicked, they were never low" (142). Duvarney is also aware of the complicated relationship between the two men: "Those two either hate each other lovingly, or love hatefully, I know not which, they are so biting, yet so friendly to each other's cleverness" (85). The plot will eventually resolve this complexity of feeling into a love triangle in which the woman must choose between two men. Prior to this, however, the attraction between Moray and Doltaire sometimes puts them in the position of being Duvarney's rivals for one another's affections.

When Moray narrates a graphic scene of torture, his own horrified fascination and Doltaire's cool curiousity denote individual difference at the same time as they depict mutual concentration:

> . . . the lashes were mercilessly laid on. There was a horrible fascination in watching the skin corrugate under the cords, rippling away in red and purple blotches, the grooves in the flesh crossing and recrossing, the raw misery spreading from the hips to the shoulders. Now and again

> Doltaire drew out a box and took a pinch of snuff, and once, cooly and curiously, he walked up to the most stalwart prisoner and felt his pulse, then to the weakest, whose limbs and body had stiffened as though dead. (188-89)

It is at this point that Doltaire, previously figured as balanced between good and evil, slips further toward a more consistently negative condition that has already been signalled by the intensification of his efforts to seduce Duvarney. Eventually, even his habitual urbanity will be denied him:

> Suddenly there came into Doltaire's looks and manner an astounding change. Both hands caught the chair-arm, his lips parted with a sort of snarl, and his white teeth showed maliciously. It seemed as if, all at once, the courtier, the flaneur, the man of breeding, had gone, and you had before you the peasant, in a moment's palsy from the intensity of his fury. (343)

This demonized Doltaire, now linked with what is neither sane nor healthy, can no longer be a figure of attraction for either Moray or Duvarney. Even in death, however, his face remains "haunting, fascinating" to Moray (373), a symbol of Doltaire's ambiguous appeal that formal narrative closure has not erased. Like the protagonist of the Pierre stories, Doltaire is a mixture of positive and negative attributes who always compels and fascinates both text and narrator. Their fates are different in that Pierre becomes a largely positive figure who meets the end of a romantic hero, whereas Doltaire becomes a largely negative figure who dies amid the ruins of a captured Quebec. Their respective roles are remarkably similar, however, as their fluctuation between what the text

represents as sane and insane, and healthy and unhealthy, remains the focus of narrative attention regardless of the events of the plot.

The Seats of the Mighty is more concerned with its triangular affective situation, and with first contesting and then reinscibing what is sane and healthy, than it is with social, historical or political issues. Frequently, however, it does touch on the latter in a manner similar to that of Parker's other fiction about French Canada. The Quebec that falls to the British Empire's forces is depicted as "a dishonoured city" (163), "full of pilgrim poor begging against the hard winter and execrating their spoilers" (13), its governing class riven by "strife, a complication of intrigues, and internal enmities" that will be "the ruin of New France" (163). Moray believes that "of all peoples, these Canadian Frenchmen are the most superstitious, and may be worked on without limit" (243), and his escape is made easier by the stupidity of the common soldiers who guard him. Not even the threat posed by a strong English besieging force is sufficient to cause Quebec's corrupt society to mend its ways. This portrait of a culture that requires external supervision and control is elaborated in Parker's other fiction about French Canada, to which I would now like to turn.

The Trail of the Sword[32] (1894), a more conventional historical romance published two years before The Seats of the Mighty, takes place against the background of French-English

conflict in 1680s North America. Although its characters are painted in broad strokes (beautiful heroine and brave hero; grave, kindly English governor; sinister villain), and its plot is a simple affair of virtue's triumph over evil, there is one aspect of the novel that merits brief discussion because of its prominence in Parker's treatment of Quebec.

The Trail of the Sword represents French-Canadian life at this point in time as characterized by a healthy hybridity. It is the coureurs du bois whose positive difference from the inhabitants of English settlements is stressed:

> The English colonies never had a race of woodsmen like the coureurs du bois of New France. These were a strange mixture: French peasants, half-breeds, Canadian-born Frenchmen, gentlemen of birth with lives and fortunes gone askew, and many of the native Canadian noblesse, who, like the nobles of France, forbidden to become merchants, became adventurers with the coureurs du bois . . . (271)

The novel sometimes links these romantic backgrounds and qualities to a character's Frenchness; less frequently, they are associated with those who are specifically French-Canadian. Although not necessarily literally Métis, French-Canadians are figuratively "half-barbarians, with the simple hearts of children" (278), and are beginning to show the effect of their intermingling with Natives. It is the unhyphenated French aristocrats who most fully exhibit European superiority vis-à-vis the aboriginal population:

> [The French] had conquered these savages, who after all, loved such deeds, though at the hands of an enemy. And now the whole scene was changed. The French courteously but firmly demanded homage,

> and got it, as the superior race can get it from the inferior, when events are, even distantly, in their favour . . . (291)

This passage's concern with emphasizing French superiority to Natives leaves French-Canadians implicitly occupying a position in between the civilized and the savage, since from the text's point of view they have already lost important elements of their European heritage.

The Power and the Glory[33] (1925), a novel of La Salle's explorations in New France, is set in approximately the same period as The Trail of the Sword. It makes a sharp distinction between the coureurs de bois, who "lived lives of adventure and profit and would fight with élan and success at any time" (90), and the French-Canadians habitants of Quebec, who are represented as well on the way to their eventual transformation into "a quiet, steady people whose only guide was the Church" (129). The Power and the Glory also contains one of the few detailed representations of aboriginal culture in Parker's work. Although the text maintains clearly demarcated boundaries between civilized superiority and savage inferiority, the Iroquois are signalled out for possessing social and political institutions similar to those which Parker admires:

> Life in the Long House was like that of a university, where men live in--the spirit of the tribe holds all, and one house becomes a center of tribal spirit. . . .
>
> It was like the court at Versailles--huge, with small rooms, where all met. Union, concentration, were the pervading influences. Louis [XIV] lived an open life like the chief in the Long House.

> There was little privacy at Versailles; there was little privacy at the Long House, but in France it turned a series of duchies into a great kingdom, and it was as successful as with the Iroquois. (169)

The Iroquois are also, however, severely criticized for cultural practices that the text considers barbaric, but nonetheless portrays with a degree of detail that seems to contradict Parker's emphasis on the necessity for fiction to be sane and healthy. After a successful attack on an enemy village, "The fury of the Iroquois was spent upon the dead. They ravaged the graveyards, burned and threw bodies to the dogs, placed skulls on stakes as trophies, and some of the hideous remains they ate" (172). They are "the terrible Iroquois, who had slain and tortured so many" (126), and their methods are even more closely observed than Doltaire's:

> The prisoner . . . would run the gantlet through a myriad of fires, being beaten by flaming torches as he leaped from one end of the encampment to the other. For hours this would go on, till at last, burned and lacerated and broken, he would fall, never to rise again . . .
>
> If a French prisoner, he was tortured horribly. A nail would be torn off, a finger cut off with a scallop, a piece of skin peeled from the body, the eyes scorched out, and strips of flesh eaten. (128-29)

Nor is this confined to the Iroquois; Nika, a Shawanoe loyal to the French, imagines the novel's villain undergoing similarly detailed torture:

> He saw Perrot tied to a tree, and his tribe peeling bits of skin from his body and burning it and eating it. He saw little stabs in every part of his body and live coals thrust in the wounds made. He saw the white body grow red and purple and a mass of gashes, and a face contorted with

> pain. He heard a voice in horrible agony . . . (84)

Passages such as these function as part of that familiar discourse strategy which represents Native barbarism as justification for the imposition of imperial discipline. They also, however, provide an opportunity for the civilized observer to enjoy the transgressive thrills of such horrors while enjoying the moral superiority that comes from attributing them to Others. It is only the benign exercise of European power that can rescue Natives from this degraded condition, as La Salle explains to the Iroquois in a speech that is a model of imperialist argument:

> You are powerful, but I come of a race more powerful. You may defeat us once or twice, or ten times, but we have men without number and untold wealth, and in the end we triumph. . . .
> . . . We wish only to clasp you to our hearts and live in peace. The sky of our God and His Church is over all, and while life lasts we are your brothers. Look how glad the world is to-day--all sun. It is the sun of life that is in our hearts to you. Our King is called the Sun King. He warms all those who serve him well. I pray you be his children. (131)

La Salle is represented as having a particularly well-developed understanding of Natives. Between the loyal Nika and himself there is the "perfect respect" of the "barbarian and the high and cultured chief" (122), as the assertion of mutual regard is accompanied by a reminder of the relationship of subordination on which it depends.

There is a certain amount of slippage between "French" and "French-Canadian" in Parker's texts, particularly those

set in pre-1700 times. The difference between them is much more strongly emphasized, however, in the fictions that depict post-conquest Quebec, where the simple French-Canadian habitants are sharply differentiated from their much more sophisticated French relations. In his introduction to The Lane That Has No Turning (1899), Parker asserts that these tales are authentic in two important respects: "all had their origin in true stories which had been told to me in the heart of Quebec itself," and they are "in marked contrast to the more strenuous episodes of the Pierre series" (ix). In this collection's portraits of post-conquest Quebec, the coureurs du bois have headed west to become Pierre, and the remaining settlers provide the material for factually accurate but much less exciting narratives.

The title novella depicts Quebec as suffering from the "race-hatred" that divides its English and French inhabitants (29). The latter are consistently stereotyped in language such as "the natural state of an excitable habitant, ready to give away his heart or lose his head at an instant's notice, the temptation being sufficient" (53-54). The protagonist defines the character of "my own race" (61) when defending her people against an Englishman's insults:

> . . . we make idols of trifles, and we die for fancies. We dream, we have shrines for memories. These things you despise. You would give us justice and make us rich by what you call progress. Monsieur, that is not enough. We are not born to appreciate you. Our hearts are higher than our heads, and, under a flag that conquered us, they cling together. (65)

"A Worker in Stone" also figures English-French conflict as that of "race against race" (128), and "The Absurd Romance of P'tite Louison" represents French-Canadians in terms of "the real simplicity of the life and the spirit and lightness of their race" (88). Many of the stories render dialogue in orthographic forms that convey how different, incorrect and laughable are those French-Canadians who do attempt to speak their conquerors' language. A French-Canadian "vain of his English" describes the marriage of Norinne and Bargon in these terms:

> Ah, she was so purty, that Norinne, when she drive through the parishes all twelve days, after the wedding. . . . And Bargon, bagosh! That Bargon, he have a pair of shoulders like a wall, and five hunder' dollars and a horse and wagon. (118)

This goes on for seven printed pages, as does a married woman's recounting of the tale of "Mathurin" in similar language. Such non-standard orthography is a sign of the inferiority of those whose debased words cannot be translated into 'normal' English, and whose deficiencies are assumed to be amusing to the superior reader constructed by the text.

The linguistic foibles of French-Canadians are another aspect of their representation as "crude, simple folk" (95) who are addressed, and consistently treated, as "my children" (97) by their Curé, who also tells them that a memorial to those who fought against the English signifies the necessity of submission:

That white shaft, dear brethren, is for us a sign

> of remembrance and a warning to our souls. In the name of race and for their love they sinned. But yet they sinned; and this monument, the gift and work of one young like them, ardent and desiring like them, is for ever in our eyes the crucifixion of our wrong ambitions and our selfish aims. Nay, let us be wise and let us be good. They who rule us speak with foreign tongue, but their hearts desire our peace . . . (129)

In a manner similar to that of LaSalle's address to the Iroquois, the Curé's sermon outlines a situation in which one people must submit to another. Although it is the simplicity rather than the savagery of French-Canadians that requires their subordination, it is nonetheless just as necessary as the capitulation of the Iroquois. Like the latter, French-Canadians have sinned against the superior values of the colonizer, and as a consequence they must bow to benign imperial authority.

The inferior condition of French-Canadians is reinforced whenever French citizens happen to visit Quebec. When Valmond Came to Pontiac[34] (1895) takes place a few years after the unsuccessful revolt of 1837, which the text represents as further evidence of French-Canada's collective stupidity and ingratitude. Valmond, a mysterious Frenchman who may or may not be a blood relation of Napoleon's, is the kind of complex and ambiguous character that an habitant could never hope to be:

> He was well-figured, with a hand of peculiar whiteness, suggesting in its breadth more the man of action than of meditation. But it was a contradiction; for, as you saw it rise and fall, you were struck by its dramatic delicacy; as it rested on the railing of the veranda, by its

> latent power. You faced incongruity everywhere. His dress was bizarre, his face almost classical, the brow clear and strong, the profile good to the mouth, where there showed a combination of sensuousness and adventure. (8)

Much of Valmond's success in organizing a military uprising against the English is attributed to the immaturity and unsophistication of French-Canadians: "The people had a phrase, and they had a man; and they saw no further than the hour" (105). Like the Native Rhodesians in Allen's Hilda Wade, the habitants require assistance if they are to carry out a rebellion against imperial rule.

The question of Valmond's authenticity proves to be incapable of resolution by Pontiac's residents. Even the community's most intelligent citizens find their thoughts about him fluctuating between belief and doubt: "in spite of all evidence against him, she still felt a vital sureness in him somewhere; a radical reality, a convincing quality of presence. At times he seemed like an actor playing his own character" (140). Even after the revolt fails, the text continues to mask Valmond's real identity:

> What were the thoughts of this man, now that his adventure was over and his end near? If he were in very truth a prince, how pitiable, how paltry! What cheap martyrdom! If an imposter, had the game been worth the candle?--Death seemed a coin of high value for this short, vanished comedy. The man alone could answer, for the truth might not be known, save by the knowledge that comes with the end of all. (174)

Valmond then appears to resolve the issue by making what is described as a sincere deathbed confession of his spurious

claims. This apparent closure is not, however, the text's final word on Valmond's authenticity. In an "Epilogue," a French noblewoman familiar with the history of the Bonapartes states that Valmond is in fact the son of Napoleon, and so it is as "Valmond Napoleon" that he is mourned by many of Pontiac's inhabitants. Since Valmond's origins remain contested and ambiguous, the effect of this much discussed and never finally settled question is to emphasize the inferior identity situation of French-Canadians. It is the British Empire that remains their ruler, the French who remain their more sophisticated and knowledgeable cousins, and the habitants who remain the simple residents of a backward milieu.

French-Canadian identity is portrayed from a contrasting angle of approach in The Right of Way[35] (1901), which is set in Quebec during the 1870s. Its plot has lawyer Charley Steele, an anglophone, struggling with alcoholism and severe self-doubt against the social context of rural French-Canadian society. The novel attributes Steele's decline to his complex psychology, which has made him a sociopathic loner similar in many respects to Pierre and Doltaire:

> In his actions a materialist, in his mind he was a watcher of life, a baffled inquirer whose refuge was irony, and whose singular habits had in five years become a personal insult to the standards polite society and Puritan morality had set up. . . . irregularities were committed with an insolent disdain for appearances. He did nothing secretly; his page of life was for him who cared to read. He played cards, he talked agnosticism, he went on shooting expeditions which became

orgies . . . (40)

After Steele is viciously beaten, thrown into a river and carried far downstream from where he lives, he is rescued by a woodsman who knows nothing of his background. Steele, temporarily suffering from complete amnesia, undergoes a form of rebirth as he recuperates from his injuries:

> . . . he saw, and understood what he saw, and spoke as men speak, but with no knowledge or memory behind it--only the involuntary action of muscle and mind repeated from the vanished past.
> Charley Steele was as a little child, and having no past, and comprehending in the present only its limited physical needs and motions, he had no hope, no future, no understanding. (65)

Since Steele now lives in a village composed entirely of habitants, he begins to make himself one of them in essence as well as appearance. His new identity, which "was no disguise, for it was part of the life" (94) that he will lead henceforward, is figured in a way that emphasizes the complexity of the English-Canadian persona which orchestrates this transformation into a simple French-Canadian:

> In the repression of the new life, in which he must live wholly alone, so far as all past habits of mind concerned, it was a relief to scribble down his passing thoughts . . . . Writing them here was like the bursting of an imprisoned stream; it was relaxing the ceaseless eye of vigilance; freeing an imprisoned personality. (118)

Like Frank Armour in The Translation of a Savage, Charley Steele needs to be resocialized if he is to assume his proper role in the scheme of things. Both men have momentarily slipped from the civilized into a degraded condition, although

Armour's recuperation is more ironic than Steele's, given that he is assisted by his once savage but now effectively civilized wife; Steele's recovery is straightforward thanks to the simple verities of the habitant. Both novels assume that the savage and the simple are inadequate as ways of life, if perhaps having some value as locations where a distressed identity may temporarily lay down the burden of civilization's complex and constant demands.

Parker's representation of French-Canadians is typical of its time and place. Contemporary nonfiction accounts such as William Parker Greenough's Canadian Folk-Life and Folk-Lore[36] (1897) depict the "average farmer" in Quebec in similar terms:

> . . . his wants are few and his tastes of the simplest, so that he manages to feed his numerous children, pay his dues to Church and State, and have a decent suit of clothes for Sundays and holidays. . . . He makes but little progress in any direction, but feels not the slightest uneasiness on that account. (11)

This conception of the colonized as simple, child-like and distinguished only by their fecundity is one of the standard tropes of imperial discourse; it is not, however, usually applied to people who are in origin European settlers. Parker, like Greenough a settler whose ancestors come from England, also consigns settlers of French origin to lowly Native status. Settler identity, already liable to be split by competing Native and imperial affiliations, undergoes a further fragmentation based on the national identity of those who enter colonial space.

A potential way out of this situation is offered in Carnac[37] (1922), one of Parker's later works. The novel is set in a Quebec logging town during the early 1900s, where after failing to succeed as an artist in New York, protagonist Carnac Grier has returned to work in his father's lumber business. The firm is threatened by labour agitation on the part of a habitant gone wrong:

> A French-Canadian who had worked in the mills of Maine and who was a red-hot socialist was the cause of it. He had only been in the mills for about three months and had spent his spare time inciting well-satisfied workmen to strike. (60)

As Carnac explains, French-Canadians who work in the United States "get bitten there with the socialistic craze, and they come back and make trouble" (63). Otherwise, they would be content to remain their traditional primitive and docile selves: as the anonymous narrator notes, "if there was one thing the French-Canadians love, it is sensation" (240), and "the French-Canadian public . . . has a strong sense of domestic duty" (257).

Unlike most of Parker's fiction about French Canada, however, Carnac is able to imagine a more positive outcome for the habitant's descendants. Grier is half French-Canadian, the child of his English mother's affair with a French-Canadian Member of Parliament, and is represented as a bilingual figure of Canadian unity:

> I stand to my English origin, but I want to see the French develop here as they've developed in France, alive to all new ideas, dreaming good dreams. I believe that Frenchmen in Canada can,

> and should, be an inspiration to the whole population. Their great qualities should be the fibre in the body of public opinion. (191)

The idea that French-Canadians should take their inspiration from France is consistent with Parker's assumption that what is civilized must control what is savage or simple, as this debased form of settler identity needs to be modelled on the concept of "Frenchmen in Canada" if it is to become a viable way of life. Even then, the suggestion that they may aspire to becoming "the fibre in the body of public opinion" may indicate some doubt as to the capacity of French-Canadians to achieve an independent identity.

Up to this point, the simple, child-like inhabitants of French-Canadian colonial space have been contrasted only with putatively savage North American Natives whom Parker depicts as implicated in insane and unhealthy cultural practices. Comparison with his representations of other non-Western societies reveals that the domain of the irrational and diseased is extended to include many other colonized peoples, among whom Egyptians, aboriginal Australians and Orientals east of Suez are specifically numbered.

The short-story collection Donovan Pasha[38] (1902) takes an explicitly Orientalist view of imperial responsibility. Parker's introduction to the 1916 edition states that these tales of Dicky Donovan's adventures in Egypt have been fact-checked by a knowledgeable expert; he adds that although he does not consider himself a "born Orientalist," he is

convinced that the book "caught and held some phases of Egyptian life" (viii).

The "Foreword" to the 1902 edition characterizes Egypt in language that begins with an invocation of its ambivalent appeal,

> so full of splendour and of primitive simplicity; of mystery and guilt; of cruel indolence and beautiful industry; of tyranny and devoted slavery; of the high elements of a true democracy and the shameful practices of a false autocracy; all touched off by the majesty of an ancient charm, the nobility of the remotest history. (xii)

These abstract and exotic aspects of the Orient suddenly disappear, however, when Westerners encounter its insane and unhealthy cultural practices. In Donovan Pasha's Orient, it is only an inspection by British officials that forces a squalid village temporarily to adopt civilized standards of cleanliness:

> The streets had been swept clean . . . for the first time in a year. The prison had been cleaned of visible horrors, the first time in a month. . . . earth had been thrown over the protruding bones of the dear lamented dead in the cemetary; the water of the ablution places in the mosque had been changed; the ragged policemen had new puttees . . . ("While the Lamp Holds Out to Burn," 7)

When an English vagabond who was born a gentleman but has gone native appears, he is immediately dubbed "the Lost One" (9), since the visiting inspectors feel that their "race was shamed and injured by this outcast" (10). But even this lost white is represented as superior to an Egyptian Pasha in his concern for a mistreated animal. As Donovan comments, "I suppose blood will tell at last in the very worst" (14). After the

Englishman has enlisted as a common soldier and died "gallantly fighting" in the Sudan, Donovan concludes, "He had a lot of luck. . . . They don't end that way as a rule" (17). Imperial values are here buttressed by the return of one who rejected them; as in the Bible, it is the prodigal son's return to the fold that is celebrated by sentiments that echo "he was lost, and is found" (Luke, xv, 24).

Although it is his understanding of "the Oriental mind" (26) that is often cited as proof of Donovan's exceptional abilities, it is the mindlessness of the Orient that is emphasized in story after story. When cholera threatens, "the saving of the country from an epidemic" lies in the hands of a "handful of Englishmen and the faithful native officials; but chiefly with the Englishmen" ("On the Reef of Norman's Woe," 53). Since this is a country in which young men have one eye "put out by their mothers when they were babes, to avoid conscription" ("A Young Lion of Dedan," 218), "In Egypt, the wise man is never surprised at anything" ("A Tyrant and a Lady," 187).

Egyptian religious life is either corrupt or characterized by "pathos and fanaticism":

> [Donovan] judged the young Arab to be one of the holy men who live by the gifts of the people, and who do strange acts of devotion; such as sitting in one place for twenty years, or going without clothes, or chanting the Koran ten hours a day, or cutting themselves with knives. ("The Eye of the Needle," 85)

Indigenous rulers and officials are depicted as equally

useless. They dislike imperial rule "because Englishmen were the enemies of backsheesh, corruption, tyranny, and slavery" ("A Treaty of Peace," 101), and the best that can be said of a not entirely incompetent Khedive is that his "barbaric instinct had been veneered by French civilisation" ("At the Mercy of Tiberius," 117). As Donovan remarks to an English anti-slavery crusader:

> You have lived a long time in Egypt, you should know what Oriental rule is. . . . Egypt is like a circus, but there are wild horses in the ring, and you can't ride them just as you like. If you keep them inside the barriers, that's something. ("A Tyrant and a Lady," 199).

Unlike those imperial romances that call for white assumption of the "burden" of the colonized, this passage opts for control and discipline rather than uplift. The Native Other is represented as so chaotic, so out of control, that a degree of order has become the most that the pragmatic imperialist feels able to impose.

Like The Power and the Glory (although unlike The Seats of the Mighty, where torture is the European Doltaire's personal foible), "At the Mercy of Tiberius" contains explicit scenes of bodily mutilation by Natives that are presented as evidence of a savage and inferior culture. Here the occasion is an Islamic religious ceremony during which a Sheik rides his horse over "a pavement of human flesh and bone" (117) that is composed of

> . . . dervish fanatics foaming at the mouth, their eyes rolling, as they crushed glass in their mouths and ate it, as they swallowed fire, as they

> tore live serpents to pieces with their teeth and devoured them, as they thrust daggers and spikes of steel through their cheeks, and gashed their breasts with knives and swords. (118-19)

Like other images of the insane and the unhealthy in Parker's work, it would be difficult to justify this passage as a contribution to any nation's moral welfare. Its demonization of the Other is entirely unnuanced; the Orient is a place of horror and disgust, its morals an occasion for despair and its welfare dependent upon the benign exercise of imperial rule.

Dicky Donovan, who like Pierre "was never known to have aught to do with the women" ("The Desertion of Mahommed Selim," 39), is another Parker protagonist whose preference for male company is often expressed in homoerotic language. Donovan's eyes "softened in a peculiar way, and a troubled look passed through them" ("On the Reef of Norman's Woe," 56) when he visits an ill colleague. "Troubled" is unexceptional given the hospital setting, but "softened in a peculiar way" may connect with the "girlish laugh" (58) and "delicate face . . . as innocent as a girl's" ("Fielding Had an Orderly," 71) that are consistently attributed to Donovan. He teases a soldier "like a madcap girl with a yokel," has "a face like a girl" and is described as "this slim small exquisite" (72). Donovan's most transgressive performance takes place when he cross-dresses as an Egyptian dancing-girl in order to spy on political subversives:

> What Dicky's aunt, the Dowager Lady Carmichael, would have said to have seen Dicky flaunting it in the clothes of a dancing-girl through the streets

> of vile Beni Hassan, must not be considered. None would have believed that his pink-and-white face and slim hands and star[tl]ingly white ankles could have been made to look so boldly handsome . . . . Dicky looked sufficiently abandoned. (76)

In propria persona once again, Donovan declines the sexual favours of a fellow dancing-girl, while in another story an Egyptian servant comments, "All the world knows thee. For thee the harem hath no lure" ("A Treaty of Peace," 108). This English official with "the face of a girl" ("At the Mercy of Tiberius," 116) has "never been arrested on his way of life by any dream of fair women, or any dream of any woman" ("A Tyrant and a Lady," 188). Although Pretty Pierre and Dicky Donovan come from radically different backgrounds, in colonial space each experiences a lack of interest in heterosexual desire, as well as intimations of the presence of strong homosocial feelings. It is not surprising that Parker, writing in a cultural habitus where overt expressions of same-sex desire were liable to be met with severe punishment, chose not to represent such impulses more explicitly; what is remarkable is that these disruptions of conventional male behaviour are so frequent and suggestive as to participate in the expanded possibilities for transgression that are such a prominent feature of Parker's conception of colonial space.

The short fiction collected in Cumner's Son and Other South Sea Folk[39] (1904) finds its Others in Australia and points east of Suez. Parker's introduction to the 1916 edition claims that many of these stories are based on personal

observation, and that those set in Australia are "lifted out of the life of that continent" (viii). "The High Court of Budgery-Gar" characterizes the life of the country's aboriginal population as below that of horses, let alone whites, in "order of merit" (65):

> [An aboriginal boy] went out with a police expedition against his own tribe, and himself cut his own mother's head off. As a race, as a family, the blacks have no loyalty. They will track their own brothers down for the whites as ruthlessly as they track down the whites. As a race they are treacherous and vile, though as individuals they may have good points. (67)

The plot involves the punishment of aboriginals who murdered a judge. Before they are surrounded and slaughtered, their white pursuers observe their rituals with horror:

> With loathsome pantomime they were re-enacting the murders they had committed within the past few days; murders of innocent white women and children, and good men and true . . . . Great fires were burning in the centre of the camp, and the bodies of the black devils writhed with hideous colour in the glare. Effigies of murdered whites were speared and mangled with brutal cries, and then black women of the camp were brought out, and mockeries of unnameable horrors were performed. Hell had emptied forth its carrion. (70)

Clearly less than sane, these demonized savages are also placed in the category of the unhealthy by their figuration as "carrion."

The South-Seas and Arabic settings of other stories represent the Orient in terms similar to the caustically negative portraits of Allen and Barr. A mixed-race character has "Irish blood in his veins . . . which sometimes overcame

his smooth, Oriental secretiveness and cautious duplicity" ("Cumner's Son," 6). Also, enervation is the standard condition of the Oriental scene:

> [Aden] lay sleepy and listless beneath a proud and distant sky of changeless blue. Idly sat the Arabs on the benches outside the low-roofed coffee houses; lazily worked the makers of ornaments in the bazaars; yawningly pounded the tinkers; greedily ate the children; the city was cloyed with ease. ("A Sable Spartan," 205)

In "A Pagan of the South," both the white and Native inhabitants of New Caledonia are infected by Oriental sloth:

> The hot January day was reflected from the red streets, white houses, and waxen leaves of the tropical foliage with enervating force. An occasional ex-convict sullenly lounged by, touching his cap as he was required by law; a native here and there leaned idly against a house-wall or a magnolia tree; ill-looking men and women loitered in the shade. (296)

Unlike the appealing vastness of Parker's Canadian North-West, the sultry climates of his Orient have the potential to debilitate the unwary imperial visitor; as in Allen's <u>In All Shades</u> and Barr's <u>The Unchanging East</u>, the Natives are so negatively represented that to "go native" is to convict oneself of weakness and perversity, and to court delusion and ill health.

In view of the unappealing nature of life in the Third-World, it is the imperial homeland and the more civilized settler societies that represent humanity's hopes for the future. Parker's introduction to <u>The Trespasser</u>, already cited as identifying <u>The Translation of a Savage</u>'s subject as "the impingement of the outer life of our far dominions . . . upon

the complicated, traditional, orderly life of England" (vi), goes on to define settler/imperial difference as follows:

> The sense produced by the contact of the outer life with a refined, and perhaps over-refined, and sensitive, not to say meticulous, civilisation, is always more sensational than the touch of the representative of "the thousand years" with the wide, loosely organized free life of what is still somewhat hesitatingly called the Colonies . . . . The representative of the older life makes no signs, or makes little collision at any rate, when he touches the new social organisms of the outer circle. He is not emphatic; he is typical, but not individual; he seeks seclusion in the mass. It is not so with the more dynamic personality of the over-sea citizen. For a time at least he remains . . . an isolated, unabsorbed fact which has capacities for explosion. (vi)

The extended biological metaphor of this passage figures human life as an organism consisting of an inner circle of civilization and an outer circle of "Colonies" not entirely under its control, but destined to become civilized through interpenetration and absorption by the imperial nucleus. The placement of the colonies as "outer," as well as the implication that settler difference will persist only "for a time," serves to subordinate the overseas citizen to those who are "representative of 'the thousand years'" (presumably "the thousand years of peace" hoped for by Tennyson in In Memoriam[40]). Settler identity is conceptualized as a necessary, valuable but nonetheless impermanent condition that will return to its imperial origins after civilization has been inscribed on colonial space.

The Trespasser enacts this transformation in a contemporary[41] narrative featuring Gaston Belward, a racial

hybrid (half English, one quarter French and "Indian," 9), who returns to England from Canada to take his rightful place in a noble English family. Unlike Lali in The Translation of a Savage, however, Belward has the blood of England's aristocracy in his veins, and merely needs to be reminded of his heritage rather than translated into it from an inferior condition. His visit to an ancestor's tomb evokes what Belward initally assumes is "a wild thought" of supernatural connection:

> Had he himself not fought with Prince Rupert? Was he not looking at himself in stone? . . .
>
> For a moment the idea possessed him. He was Sir Gaston Robert Belward, Baronet. He remembered now how, at Prince Rupert's side, he had sped on after Ireton's horse, cutting down Roundheads as he passed, on and on, mad with conquest . . . and he fell asleep; and memory was done. (18)

This idea then becomes part of Belward's identity as the narrative presents further recollections of his imperial heritage, and eventually his experiences are historically validated when his memory of a scene between King Charles and Buckingham is confirmed by period documents.

In a passage that sharply mocks suburban respectability, Belward differentiates himself from Englishmen of inferior status while at the same time claiming a form of kinship with "savages":

> Gaston Belward was not sentimental: that belongs to the middle-class Englishman's ideal of civilisation. But he had a civilisation akin to the highest . . . . The English aristocrat is at home in the lodge of a Sioux chief or the bamboo-hut of a Fijian, and makes brothers of "savages," when those other formal folk, who spend their

> lives in keeping their dignity, would be lofty and superior. (33)

This evocation of the colonial in the midst of the civilized continues when Belward compares the reception he received from his English relatives with "the courtesy in the lodge of an Indian chief, or of a Hudson's Bay factor who has not seen the outer world for half a century. It was so different, and yet it was much the same" (36). Thus, when he travels to Paris, the French consider him "in all as a savage--or a much-travelled English gentleman" (153); the various aristocracies of the British Empire are seen as having equivalent and transcultural values, just as in The Translation of a Savage Lali's status as a chief's daughter furthers her acceptance by English society.

This attitude is perfectly in keeping with Belward's references elsewhere to the generality of "filthy Esquimaux and Indians" who live in "dirty tepees" and eat "raw frozen meat" (46). It is class position, not race, that in Belward's mind separates aristocrats from their own and other inferior social orders. His own racial hybridity is represented as no barrier to his success in assuming elite status, an attitude his grandfather articulates in commenting that "Our old families need refreshing now and then" with colonial blood that may be "Cree or Blackfoot" (178) or anything else. These sentiments may well echo of Parker's own experience as a colonial who achieved high imperial office, and in his own way 'refreshed' the British body politic.

Parker's life experiences are frequently referred to in the introductions he wrote to the Imperial Edition of his work. These retrospective considerations of his fiction often link particular novels and stories to his acquaintance with specific cultures and individuals, although he also confides that reality has usually been somewhat altered by the writing process. In the case of Tarboe: The Story of a Life[42] (1927), however, Parker makes a remarkably hybrid conflation out of the encounter between the factual and the fictional.

Tarboe is classified as fiction in both Watters's Checklist (363) and the bibliographical section of Adams's biography (229). Adams otherwise treats the book as an unproblematic source of information about Parker, and describes it as a "biography of Frank Tarboe" (192). The text can, with some exceptions, be correlated with Parker's career. It describes numerous encounters with actual contemporary personages, and on the whole does seem more of a memoir than a work of fiction. Whether imaginary or not, however, the life of Frank Tarboe has, as Adams notes, numerous similarities with those of the "engaging rogues and villains" depicted in Parker's writings (44), and Pierre in particular seems a comparable "mixture of good and evil" and an "adaptation of the character of Frank Tarboe" (60, 61).

Tarboe's protagonist was "born in the woods, of an Indian mother" and "French gentleman" (56), and lived with his mother's people until the age of twenty. Parker presents

Tarboe as his alter ego, and as denoting their difference in idealist/realist terms: "You've fed on books, but I've fed on real life and human nature" (53). Tarboe, a rogue with a heart of gold whose experiences his chronicler seems to take great pleasure in recounting, is a figure of strong appeal to Parker:

> It was impossible not to be interested in him. Now, after all these years, I say, with larger understanding of the world, that I'd rather have gone to Tarboe in an hour of trouble than any man I've ever known. Bad in many ways he was, kind, clever, astute and wholly dependable--save with the cards in his hands. He was Lucifer and the Archangel Gabriel combined. (54)

The tragedy of Tarboe's life is that, although "capable of great things," he has become "a menace to society when he could easily have been its benefactor, a criminal now though he might have become a saint" (79). The key to Parker's portrayal is that he does not in fact believe Tarboe to be evil. As his subject's story unfolds, there is a perceptible shift from the balanced, devil-and-angel approach of the initial chapters to a sympathetic depiction of a man who "never knowingly did anything wrong" (177):

> He was as adroit as Machiavelli, but as simple as a child--adroit in all the subterfuges and skill and deeds in his profession, but like a child in all other things. He was inherently great, not in his career, but in his native and delicate simplicity. (183)

This is analogous to Parker's treatment of Pretty Pierre, whose sudden sensitivity to children signals a similar change in textual attitude. The implication is that we pardon

children for their misdeeds, and so should do the same for adults who are childlike.

Tarboe's evident need to honour, explain and pardon its subject reaches an even higher rhetorical pitch in the book's final pages:

> Frank Tarboe might have risen to any heights. In one way he is below the pavement on which we walk, yet not below steadfastness in friendship, courage in time of peril, endurance of misery and imprisonment, and with an honour of his own, he rises higher than many of us. . . . beneath the wrong things he has done, and they have been many, there has been an unconquerable soundness of heart and soul. (194-95)

It is difficult not to assume that Tarboe is seen by Parker as someone he might have been, had he followed those tendencies in his character that Pretty Pierre and Tinoir Doltaire, as well as Tarboe, represent: a man roaming free in colonial space, indulging his needs for adventure and sensual experience, but always remaining essentially innocent. Ultimately, it is the idiosyncratic and yet essentially sane and healthy aspects of Tarboe's experiences, and of Parker's interpretation of them, that will be written into the fictional/historical record. Parker takes pleasure in letting inhibition loose outside boundaries of the imperially controlled, but always takes care to discipline these imagined transgressions with the firm reimposition of civilized values.

Parker's work exuberantly celebrates but then effectively subjugates the idiosyncratic, and in the final analysis does

produce what its author regards as "sane and healthy" outcomes. Although graphic scenes of torture, suggestions of homosocial desire, and sexual unions between the savage and the civilized trouble his texts with intimations of transgression, all are eventually brought under the control of the British Empire's dominant cultural values. No matter how unsettling his work's initial encounters with colonial space, Parker sets in motion processes of appropriation and assimilation that turn rogues into romantic heroes, Native religion into Christianity and the vastness of the North into a tamed and settled West.

Colonial space, while still a location where almost anything can happen, becomes first a playground for games of adventure, and then a comfortable venue for imperial expansion. Those who settle this space will be profoundly affected by what they experience there. But since even densely populated colonies are figured as essentially empty, the only deeper meanings colonizers can discover overseas are those that they already possess. Settlers will reinscribe the values of their imperial origins on the colonized landscape, and those of European origin who resist these values, such as French-Canadians, will necessarily revert to what Parker sees as the passive, childlike condition of other colonized Natives. Although more appreciative of natural beauty, rugged and intimate with savagery than their imperial relations, Parker's settlers will find their manifest destiny in acting

as the willing and efficient agents of First-World desire for Third-World space.

NOTES

1. Gilbert Parker, "Fiction--Its Place in the National Life," North American Review CLXXXVI, 525 (December, 1907) 495-509. Reprinted in Douglas Daymond and Leslie Monkman, Eds., Canadian Novelists and the Novel (Ottawa: Borealis, 1981) 97-108. All subsequent references are to this edition.

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6. Jerome Hamilton Buckley, The Victorian Temper: A Study in Literary Culture (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951) 244.

7. Douglas Sladen, My Long Life: Anecdotes and Adventures (London: Hutchinson, 1939) 170.

8. Quoted in Beatrice Webb, Our Partnership (London: Longmans, Green, 1948) 294.

9. Josiah C. Wedgwood, Memories of a Fighting Life (London: Hutchinson, 1949) 62.

10. Victor Bonham-Carter, Authors by Profession, Volume One (London: The Society of Authors, 1978) 163.

11. Gilbert Parker, The Lane That Had No Turning (1899; New York: Charles Scribner's, 1916) vii. All subsequent references are to this edition.

12. See Bernard Porter, Critics of Empire: British Attitudes to Colonialism in Africa 1895-1914 (London: Macmillan, 1968) 270-72.

13. Jerome K. Jerome, My Life and Times (London: Harper & Brothers, 1926) 183.

14. James Joyce, A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man (1916; New York: Viking, 1964) 363.

15. See John Coldwell Adams, Seated with the Mighty: A Biography of Sir Gilbert Parker (Ottawa: Borealis, 1979) 190-93 and 201. All subsequent references are to this edition.

16. Gilbert Parker, The Seats of the Mighty, Ed. Elizabeth Waterston (Toronto: New Canadian Library, 1971). Most of the material that Waterston excised relates to the biography and psychology of the narrator, Captain Robert Moray, and the woman he loves, Alixe Duvarney. Those portions of the text that refer to the other principal character, Tinoir Doltaire, are left largely untouched. This significantly alters the balance among the three in an edition that deletes more than 20% of the original text.

17. W.H. New, A History of Canadian Literature (Toronto: Macmillan, 1989) 96.

18. Robert Lecker, Making It Real: The Canonization of English-Canadian Literature (Toronto: Anansi, 1995) 133.

19. "The resounding success of these . . . purveyors of romance proves that decadent aestheticism and stern naturalism were by no means the only currents in literature at the end of the century." Chew 1501.

20. See Adams 70.

21. Stephen Greenblatt, Marvelous Possessions: The Wonder of the New World (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1991) 24-29.

22. Adams 63.

23. Felix Guirand, Ed., The New Larousse Encyclopedia of Mythology, Trans. Richard Aldington and Delano Ames (London: Prometheus, 1974) 427-31.

24. For an account of Ghost Dance religion, see Alice Beck Kehoe, The Ghost Dance: Ethnohistory and Revitalization (Chicago: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1989).

25. Parker's interest in the Sioux and Apache is noted in Adams 32. Apache involvement in an earler version of Ghost Dance religion (71), as well as a full account of Sioux developments, is described in Robert M. Uttley, The Last Days of the Sioux Nation (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963).

26. Compare, for example, these passages from The Book of Common Prayer quoted in The Oxford Dictionary of Quotations, Second Ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1966):

"By reason of the frailty of our nature we cannot always stand upright." (389)

"The Lord is my shepherd: therefore can I lack nothing.
He shall feed me in a green pasture: and lead me forth beside the waters of comfort.
He shall convert my soul: and bring me forth in the paths of righteousness, for his Name's sake.
Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil: for thou art with me; thy rod and thy staff comfort me." (393)

"Hungry and thirsty: their soul fainted in them.
So they cried unto the Lord in their trouble: and he delivered them from their distress.
He led them forth by the right way: that they might go to the city where they dwelt.
O that men would therefore praise the Lord for his goodness: and declare the wonders that he doeth for the children of men!
For he satisfieth the empty soul: and filleth the hungry soul with goodness." (398)

"Enable with perpetual light
The dulness of our blinded sight." (400)

27. Terry Goldie, Fear and Temptation: The Image of the Indigene in Canadian, Australian, and New Zealand Literatures (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989) 132.

28. Alan Sandison, The Wheel of Empire: A Study of the Imperial Idea in Some Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth-Century Fiction (New York: St. Martin's, 1967). All subsequent references are to this edition.

29. Sir Gilbert Parker, Northern Lights (1909; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916). All subsequent references are to this edition.

30. Gilbert Parker, The Trespasser (1893; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913). All subsequent references are to this edition.

31. Gilbert Parker, The Seats of the Mighty (Toronto: Copp, Clark, 1896). All subsequent references are to this edition.

32. Gilbert Parker, The Trail of the Sword (1899; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916). All subsequent references are to this edition.

33. Gilbert Parker, The Power and the Glory (Toronto: Copp, Clark, 1925). All subsequent references are to this edition.

34. Gilbert Parker, When Valmond Came to Pontiac (1895; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916). All subsequent references are to this edition.

35. Gilbert Parker, The Right of Way (Toronto: Copp, Clark, 1901). All subsequent references are to this edition.

36. William Parker Greenough, Canadian Folk-Life and Folk-Lore (1897; Toronto: Coles, 1971).

37. Gilbert Parker, Carnac (Toronto: Copp, Clark, 1922). All subsequent references are to this edition.

38. Gilbert Parker, Donovan Pasha (1902; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916). All subsequent references are to this edition.

39. Gilbert Parker, Cumner's Son and Other South-Sea Folk (1904; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916). All subsequent references are to this edition.

40. Tennyson, Alfred. Tennyson: Poems and Plays, Ed. Thomas Herbert Warren (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975) 258.

41. There is a reference to the periodical Truth, which was founded in 1877, on page 67.

42. Gilbert Parker, Tarboe: The Story of a Life (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1927). All subsequent references are to this edition.

V. CONCLUSION

This study has been engaged in analyzing Grant Allen, Robert Barr and Sir Gilbert Parker's texts as sources of sustained, and complex, commentary on colonial and imperial identity. Their works scrutinize and refashion concepts of race, gender, class and nation, while at the same time displaying the effects of their varied experiences as professional writers. Discourse about the psychological, social and linguistic implications of their investigations is woven into the fabric of narratives in which imperial and colonial identities are continuously constructed and deconstructed. Strongly foregrounded representations of the processes of hybridity and heterogeneity are among the hallmarks of what Allen, Barr and Parker produced as both subjects and interpreters of the encounter between imperial hegemony and colonial space.

In the course of my analysis, spaces of contestation and negotiation have appeared in-between the well-established concepts of First-World, imperial domination and Third-World, colonial resistance. These areas of conflict and compromise appear to adumbrate the formation of a Second-World, settler subject position. Allen, Barr and Parker's representations of this nascent Second-World position all exhibit either fear or ignorance of the native "Other," and also pay varying degrees of homage to British imperial values. In most other respects,

however, they treat phenomena of Second-World difference in substantially dissimilar ways that illustrate the complexity of their identity situations.

Even this limited sampling of three authors from somewhat similar backgrounds has revealed a remarkably disparate set of textual representations of the settler experience, and it is likely that subsequent work in this area will produce further evidence of the complex conditions that seem to pertain in this field. My analysis does, however, argue for the provisional acceptance of the concept of Second-World, settler identity as a necessary addition to the domain of postcolonial discourse.

In Grant Allen's writings, colonial space is represented as dangerously seductive in two different, but equally debilitating, ways. The lush attractions of tropical milieus tempt settlers to forget their heritage of imperial civilization and to "go native" in the sense of succumbing to the enervating influence of "fatally fertile" environments. In physically harsher settings, contrastingly, it is the putative vacancy of colonial space that deludes settlers into imagining unrealistic opportunities for self-betterment. In both cases, the Second-World society that results is viewed as obviously inferior to First-World cultures, and can have worth only to the extent that it endeavours to replicate the circumstances of its origins.

The Native inhabitants subject to the process of

colonization, although depicted as even less civilized than long-term settlers, may in Allen's work make small biological contributions of fresh blood to the imperial gene pool under strictly supervised conditions. The boundary between whiteness and blackness is established at a precise point on the spectrum of racial inheritance. Those who are seven parts white and one part black are eligible for transposition into whiteness, although they are also in grave danger of slipping back into blackness. This fear of blackness, and the representation of it as a potent and dangerous condition, is typical of white colonialist writing. What is atypical about Allen's view of this situation is his specification of conditions under which what is black may by progressive dilution be transformed into what is white. Although the Second World of settler colonialism will always already be an inferior version of First-World civilization, it is also the potential place of a eugenically modelled transformation of the Native into the civilized.

The complexity of the subject positions Allen constructs indicates how complicated, ambiguous and conflicted is "the clash of races" that he prided himself on representing. The Third-World of the essentially Native remains, however, severely marginalized in Allen's work, since it is populated by inferior human beings who can only in certain cases, and under watchful supervision, interact with First-World citizens. Orientals are entirely beyond the pale as far as

contact with whites is concerned, and some of Allen's texts treat blacks as utter savages who must be exterminated if they dare to menace whites. Grant Allen sometimes challenges, and at other times reinscribes, notions of essentialist racial distinctions that reflect inherent biological difference--an indication of conflict within his cultural habitus as well as a sign of personal indecision.

In Robert Barr's work, it is also possible for settler cultures to distance themselves from imperial influence. The consequences of such independence, however, are represented as viable and vigorous societies that will be susceptible to deviant development rather than degeneration into the savage. His Canadian fiction often presents the distinctive material reality and social structures of a settler culture that must produce new and appropriate responses to challenging situations. Such a society will necessarily appear provincial to imperial observers, but it will nonetheless display a distinctive identity that refuses to be content with the replication of imperial origins.

The United States, which Barr depicts as having radically rejected its British origins, is in his work a place of fear and fascination, of stimulating liberty as well as brutal excess. Its economic and political habitus is so powerful that men who aspire to success must abandon conventional morality and become remorselessly competitive participants in its capitalist ethos. Those who fail to do so can be rescued from

destruction only by the narrative intervention of romance.

This appears to signify a marked disjunction between Barr's rendering of perceived reality and the professional requirement that popular fiction end happily. His representations of uncontrolled American energies, of a nation that valorizes the successful and crushes those who fail, produce a prescient portrait of the United States as a nascent imperial power about to assume world-historical significance. The appeal of this portrayal is also demonstrated by Barr's frequent definition of himself as American, which in conjunction with his Canadian, English, Scottish and anglophone man-of-the-world personae provides a "contrapuntal ensemble" of identities that reflects the varied experiences of a trans-national individual.

Barr's later work exhibits a revival of interest in traditional English values that are conceptualized as the valuable heritage of an aristocratic social class. In the process of refashioning the fin de siècle dandy into a man of action in his Lord Stranleigh fiction, Barr reiterates his reservations about the United States while continuing to decry the British capitalist excesses portrayed in many of his later novels. Stranleigh's vigorous defence of what is represented as a still viable imperial culture is analogous to Allen's advocacy of similar traditional British values, and may indicate a comparable unease regarding the development of settler societies.

Non-Western cultures are almost invariably places of ignorance and squalor for Barr, and with few exceptions are viewed as having nothing to offer either the First or Second World. Another aspect of Barr's trans-national identity as an anglophone man of the world is the consignment of non-anglophone Western peoples, the French and the Spanish among them, to a position that is at best almost First-World and at worst equivalent to Third-World. The concept of an 'English-speaking Union,' one of the period's characteristic forms of imperial-settler mutuality, adds linguistic difference to the many factors that must be taken into account in analyzing identity conditions in the work of Barr, and others.

For Sir Gilbert Parker, colonial space is initially a location where idiosyncrasy is permitted to flourish, but is then rewritten as a place recuperable for civilization through the process of settlement. Even though the spiritual and supernatural feelings aroused by vastness and vacancy often suspend First-World influence in his earlier work, such intimations of a realm above and beyond the imperial are ultimately seen as transitory rather than timeless.

Racial hybridity is a thinkable and sustainable possibility in Parker's work although, as is the case for Allen, there is marked anxiety about the control and containment of the non-white. Western civilization and social class are seen as powerful agencies that can channel the products of interracial unions into white or almost-white

identity. Contrastingly, outbreaks of transgressive sexuality and sadism tend to appear only within colonial space. In view of Parker's characteristic concerns with the "sane and healthy" as components of moral fiction, such "deviant" developments suggest strong anxiety regarding the possibility that freedom will degenerate into licentiousness if not properly controlled.

Many of Parker's texts contrast idealistic stereotypes of Third-World attraction with the repellent reality represented as obvious to any Western visitor. That this is not true of settler cultures constitutes an argument for the comparative desirability of Second-World societies, and suggests that their most important function may be the transformation of colonial spaces into imperial domains. Parker's reflections on imperial and colonial identity envisage an appropriation of the latter by the former, as imperial influence spreads outward through the medium of a vigorous colonial agency that will nevertheless ultimately be subsumed.

If it is possible, as analysis suggests, to discern a Second World of settler colonialism inhabiting Allen, Barr and Parker's texts, it also seems apparent that such a subject formation is dependent upon its First-World origins. At the time when these three authors were writing, nothing like a Second-World mentality could be said to exist. As the title of this study indicates, it is their status as citizens of the British Empire, whether "overseas" or not, that is the

fundamental structural component of Allen, Barr and Parker's identity. If they all experienced the appeal of other forms of self-definition, these proved to be less powerful than their imperial heritage. Even Barr, prone for much of his career to identify himself as an American, opts for traditional British values in his final years.

From a contemporary perspective, Allen, Barr and Parker all exemplify the deconstruction and reconstruction of imperial identity that occurs in colonial space. For Allen, the threat of degeneracy into the Native must be met by eugenic controls that will ultimately reinvigorate civilization. For Barr, the exciting possibilities of former and current colonies must in the final analysis be informed by established imperial standards. For Parker, the invigorating emptiness of colonial space must be populated by settlers who will claim it for imperial dominion. Settlers who experienced the decreasing relevance of imperial tradition to actual colonial conditions, as well as the resistance of Native peoples to imperial rule, have since generated more complicated identity conditions, among which the Second-World construct is one of the most interesting. The writings of Grant Allen, Robert Barr and Sir Gilbert Parker exemplify the nascent formation of these hybrid and heterogeneous identities produced in colonial space, and constitute a rewarding point of entry into processes of self-fashioning that continue to absorb and intrigue explorers of the postcolonial world.

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