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**Divided Loyalties in Eighteenth-Century Nova Scotia/Acadia:  
Nationalism and Cultural Affiliation in Thomas Raddall's *Roger Sudden*  
and A. E. Johann's *Ans dunkle Ufer*<sup>1</sup>**

The image of Canada in the empirical world as well as in literature has recently become a matter of great interest to academics. Canadians are not only interested in the introspective practice of contemplating the way that their own writers represent the past, present and future of their country, but are also concerned with the way in which other nations view Canada. In this paper, I would like to attempt a comparative examination of two novels, one Canadian and one German, that contain similar historical subject matter. Thomas Raddall's *Roger Sudden* (1944) and A. E. Johann's *Ans dunkle Ufer* (1975)<sup>2</sup> depict the landscape of conflicting political, cultural, and social ideologies in eighteenth-century Nova Scotia. For the characters who have left their respective European homes, the New World offers a geography and a life that suggests new beginnings; however, these individuals soon discover that North America is rife with disputes and loyalties reminiscent of the Old World. The new land forces those who have fled political and social oppression in Europe to choose their identities and loyalties with caution.

Raddall's *Roger Sudden* traces the journey of its central character from England to Nova Scotia where he rides the wave of colonial opportunism and economic prosperity. The novel is set against the background of the English/French war for the colonies of Canada and Acadia, and examines various ethnic groups such as the English, Scots, Acadians and Micmac Indians in British North America. A. E. Johann (a pseudonym for A. E.

J. Wollschläger) also sets *Ans dunkle Ufer*, the first work in his trilogy, *Bericht aus der Frühe Kanadas* ("A Report from the Early Years of Canada") in eighteenth-century Nova Scotia. This popular German author of travel literature and novels about Canada focusses on the adaptation of his German characters to the landscape of Nova Scotia where English and French colonizers fight for ground. Both novels reflect the chameleon-like nature of emigrants to the New World who form various alliances for personal survival and the maintenance of cultural identity. However, while Raddall's work follows the progress of the British in Nova Scotia, Johann's historical novel concentrates on the role of the Germans in the colony and the actions of the Acadian population before, during and after their expulsion in 1755.

Of Raddall's numerous articles, short stories and novels, many concentrate on Canada's eighteenth-century colonial past. This fascination with the British presence in Canada can undoubtedly be traced to the author's own origins. Born in England, he came to Canada with his family as a boy and has since called Nova Scotia his home. This exposure to both the "Old World" and the "New land" is an important aspect of *Roger Sudden*, which was written and published during World War II, a time when English Canadians enthusiastically supported British forces in the war against Germany. The novel was released in 1944 by the American company Doubleday and by the Canadian publisher McClelland and Stewart.<sup>3</sup> It was also serialized in Canadian and American editions of *Adventure Magazine* in the same year.<sup>4</sup> Criticism of the book has ranged from comments on the plausibility and acceptability of the portrayal of Sudden and his fate (Martin 489) to Sorfleet's reflections on the work's ending as melodramatic and painful in its ideological message to wartime Canadians (*Journal of Canadian Fiction* 94). It has received relatively little critical attention compared to some of his other novels like *His Majesty's Yankees* or *The Nymph and the Lamp*, perhaps because of its rather unsavory depictions of French and aboriginal populations in Canada. However, Alan R. Young's book length study of Raddall, E. J. Wiens's article on the function of the "Lumpenproletariat" in the novel as well as recent papers by Donna E. Smyth and Barry Moody may well generate new scholarly interest in *Roger Sudden*.<sup>5</sup>

Like Johann's *Ans dunkle Ufer*, Raddall's novel begins in Europe. The protagonist is of Kentish heritage, and a loyal supporter of Bonnie Prince

Charlie and the Jacobite cause in eighteenth-century England. He relates how he had left university in England for Scotland where he joined the army of Bonnie Prince Charlie, fought at the battle of Culloden in 1746 and then followed the exiled prince to France. Upon his return to England, Roger finds to his dismay that any former Jacobite sentiment and support for the Stuarts has been all but abandoned by the English since the political deal struck between England and France under the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748. France had agreed to turn over the exiled Prince to England in return for the fortress of Louisbourg which the British had taken in 1745. He is informed in no uncertain terms that

England's full of Jacobites who love the mystery and romance of the pledge over the water, the notion that they belong to something older and more genteel than these German upstarts and their court of boors—and wouldn't lift a finger for the Stuarts if it meant one drop of blood. (41)

This new reality causes Roger to become disillusioned with England, and instils in him a desire to leave for greener pastures to make his fortune. However, the strange loyalty that Roger had felt towards France for initially sheltering Charles follows him to the New World, despite his apparent disgust with France's abandonment of Prince Charlie (75). Once in Nova Scotia, he discovers that in the New World, business knows no politics and does not discriminate on the basis of culture. He therefore deals with the English, the Scots, the European French, the Acadians and the Indians as equals, at least on a business level. Although Roger's "Englishness" and, by extension, British nationalism is continually reinforced through his superiority in business dealings and his ability to win the respect and admiration of the Micmac, he is guilty of losing his former self to the opportunism of the New World which demands adaptability. Sudden acquires several identities in the course of his Nova Scotian experience; at the outset of the book, he is a heady, young idealist who subsequently adopts the roles of thief, emigrant, leader of the Cockney settlers, captive of the Micmacs, respected member of the Micmac community, young fur trader, successful entrepreneur/opportunist and English patriot. His experiences among the Micmac are particularly important in the context of the novel. After killing the husband of a Micmac woman, he is held captive and adopted by the woman as her new husband. From that time forward he is known as "Bosoley" (or Beau

Soleil), the former husband's name. Although Roger benefits from his contact with the Micmac, he leaves their society because he cannot bring himself to produce racially impure children with his Indian wife. This reaction is indicative of the British nationalism that Raddall underscores in the novel:<sup>6</sup> the notion that the British "chose to stamp their own image upon their new lands rather than be absorbed by the indigenous culture they found" (Young 1983: 32).

When Sudden arrives in Halifax five years after his abduction by the Micmac, he becomes a successful fur trader due in some measure to his former connections with the Indians. Having lost a part of his former "English" self through his transformation into "Bosoley," he informs an Acadian acquaintance of the imminent Acadian expulsion, once again in a sense undermining the British cause. It is important to note that Sudden's transmission of this information is not an act of kindness, but a form of repayment for business he had received with the help of the Acadians. This incident is an example of Roger's philosophy that his "loyalty belongs entirely to one Roger Sudden" (220).

The setting of the New World acts as a battleground between the English and the French, but also houses other ethnic groups such as the "Dutch"<sup>7</sup> or German settlers, the Acadians, Americans from New England (Gorham's rangers) and the Micmac, all of whom reflect the complex system of loyalties in Nova Scotia. Of this cultural mosaic, the Acadians, the Micmac and even the Germans are seen as pawns "in the game of nations," the warrior nations being Britain and France. The Germans fight primarily on behalf of George II, the Hanoverian British King, but one German regiment is "sold into French service by an impecunious princeling" (276) complicating any clear-cut allegiance on the part of the Germans to the British fight for Nova Scotia:

What a quaint affair it was, where Germans in French uniforms fought against the British soldiers of German George, and on the fringe of an American forest! The Jacobite in [Roger] smiled sourly. (328)

Raddall also relates how Halifax, Britain's counterpart to France's Louisbourg, grew primarily due to the efforts of the Dutch (i.e. German) and Swiss settlers—a fact which plays a key part in A. E. Johann's presentation of the German colonists in *Ans dunkle Ufer*.



The complex network of cultural interaction and multiple loyalties is evident in many parts of Raddall's novel. The Micmac trade with the French but make an exception for Roger since he has proven himself as a man of ability and possesses their tribal talisman, a stone fish. The Acadian character, Martin, who is warned by Roger to leave before the expulsion, refers to the "neutrality"<sup>8</sup> of the Acadians in the "eternal quarrels of the English and French"; however, Roger points out the ludicrousness of this statement, indicating that there was clearly Acadian support for French expeditions against Annapolis as well as a supply of provisions, guides, and pilots to (the French commander) D'Anville in 1747 (225).<sup>9</sup> Another Acadian, Father Maillard, attempts to help the Micmac to make peace with the British with the help of Roger (315).<sup>10</sup>

Given the novel's focus on English-speaking Europeans, characters from Britain ultimately show the most concerted form of disloyalty to the official policies of this nation. For example, Mary Foy, the Scotswoman, and her "husband" John are agents for the French in Nova Scotia; Mary is a devout believer in the Jacobite cause and uses this political conviction to justify her support of the French. As an idealist, she is reminiscent of Roger's earlier self as a defender of Bonnie Prince Charlie in Scotland and England.<sup>11</sup> Roger, an Englishman, initially aids and abets the Foys' trade, acquiring wealth and a reputation for himself in the process. However, he eventually betrays the Foys by using their funds to supply the British (Boscawen's) fleet and His Majesty's forces in Nova Scotia. These contradictory actions are reinforced in the novel by scenes such as the English regiment clothed in the Fraser plaid or Highland dress, formerly a sign of support for Bonnie Prince Charlie. Yet these same men now fight for King George in Nova Scotia (260). Roger rationalizes his own dealings with the British, by attempting to persuade the Foys that they are at the crossroads of history, and must therefore profit from the struggle for Louisbourg, and eventually the colony on the St. Lawrence known as Canada (231-32). However, Roger discovers that he cannot so easily abandon his loyalty to the French. He is eventually imprisoned under the orders of General Wolfe for collaborating with the French and rejoins Mary, his alter ego, in Louisbourg after he is released. During the British assault on Louisbourg, Roger again reveals his divided loyalties; he helps the British find the correct path up the slope to the fortress, since they had missed Wolfe's signal, and then runs into the town to

warn the inhabitants of the invasion (296). His explanation for rendering assistance to the British is an interesting one. Sudden claims that when he saw friends among the troops—Scotsmen who reminded him of his fight for Bonnie Prince Charlie and men whose caps bore the crest of a white horse, a symbol of Kent, Sudden's homeland—he had no choice but to help because "there must come a time when the soil of his birthplace means more to a man than all the world" (340).

In light of this reason for Roger's conduct and his previous entrepreneurial spirit, the novel appears to send an ambivalent message. On the one hand, individuals like Roger Sudden and the Cockney prostitute, Sally, who put self-interest and the pursuit of wealth above loyalty to one's country, emerge as examples of success: those who can adapt to the new land instead of rebuilding another Europe in North America will thrive. It is presumably for this reason, their desire to re-create England in North America, that the hundreds of cockney emigrants who were transported to Nova Scotia perished or moved to the towns in the southern colonies.<sup>12</sup> Yet as Roger's loyalties shift in the course of the novel, ironically he becomes further removed from his "inner self" and loses his soul, only to regain it when he acts with his heart.<sup>13</sup>

Roger's final thoughts on the differences between the English and the French mentality in North America reflect the ambiguous message in the novel:

It came to Roger then. This talk of walls. The French in America had surrounded themselves with walls and shut up their bodies and their minds. Only a handful of *coureurs de bois* and priests had ever penetrated the continent—and the *coureurs* had mated with savage women and spilled their seed in the wilderness, and the priests were wedded to god . . . By Jove, yes!—the restless English who would have no walls about them, who demanded to see and to move beyond, to march across a horizon that was always somewhere toward the west. The English who were not content to mate with savages but who took their women with them everywhere, resolved not merely to penetrate the wilderness but to people it! (357-58)

In this passage which betrays the ideologies of racism and sexism at work in the novel, Raddall identifies the importance of a spirit of adventure in the colonizer, but links this quest for the new to an equally strong sense of one's past or ties to a nation. Ironically, Roger leaves the

idealism of the Jacobite cause in Europe only to find it again in the guise of Mary Foy, an ardent, romantic supporter of Bonnie Prince Charlie. However, while Mary's Scottish identity is important, Raddall suggests that it is secondary to the more pervasive force of British nationalism in North America. Although Mary Foy's spirit leads Roger to a renewed appreciation of the past, the author makes clear that hers is by no means the definitive vision. Donna E. Smyth indicates that she is even "superfluous to the final act because the hero is now self-sufficient" (75). Mary is ultimately crushed by the aspirations of the two men closest to her: Roger and her brother, Jamie.<sup>14</sup> The novel therefore de-emphasizes personal tragedy and loss by underscoring the larger picture of "historical transition."<sup>15</sup> Critics have also linked Roger's patriotism for Kent and the British homeland to modern historical events. According to Sorfleet and Smyth, for example, Raddall intended *Roger Sudden* to be read in the context of World War II and pro-British sentiments in Canada at the time.<sup>16</sup> By invoking the patriotic spirit of the past and the present, Raddall shows how Roger rediscovers a sense of loyalty to his Old World roots, to close friends, and to Mary, despite his earlier lack of loyalty to any country or nation during his colonial exploits. Thus the novel suggests that the landscape of the new world permits the rediscovery of the old, even if this rediscovery is not always felicitous on a personal level.

The dual ethic of using the New World as an escape from loyalty and as a place for forming allegiances which nevertheless serve to enhance a former identity can also be found in A. E. Johann's *Ans dunkle Ufer*. A.E. Johann has been incredibly prolific in his outpourings on the subject of Canada. He has been described as Germany's most beloved travel writer and has written travel accounts, historical novels and essays about Canada. He has apparently read Thomas Raddall's *Halifax, Warden of the North*.<sup>17</sup> It seems likely that he has also read *Roger Sudden*. Johann's historical novel, however, focusses much more closely on the plight of the Acadians in Nova Scotia and presents a rather unflattering portrait of the British.<sup>18</sup> The main characters of the novel are German not British, but, like Roger, Walther and Anke Corssen become disenchanted with the values of their homeland. They are exiles who leave Germany because Anke's family insists that she marry the son of another landowner in order to combine the family farms. Her family tells her that if she intends to marry Walther, she must do so in a foreign land. Like Raddall's work,

Johann's begins in Europe to establish the social codes and value systems of the Old World, then changes its focus to the North American continent. Europe, specifically Germany, is presented as an arena where the old creed of loyalty to *Kaiser und König* (emperor and king) prevails. The enclosed and established nature of the society is emphasized through the strict practice of marrying for the increase of family wealth and reputation. Walther Corssen's contempt for the polished manners of the nobility and their perceived superiority is enunciated throughout the novel (74), which explains his attraction to the construct of the meritocracy in North America.

Johann's protagonist, Walter Corssen, is a parallel figure to Roger Sudden, because he too has returned to his homeland after involvement in war. Corssen was a member of the English regiment of King George's army which lost the battle against the French at Fontenoy in 1745. When he encounters Jonas Hestergart, an officer from his regiment, he is reminded of his failure to report back for active duty after his injury had healed. Consequently, Hestergart strongly suggests that Walther join the English regiment in Nova Scotia or face possible reprisals for his neglect. According to Hestergart, Corssen owes King George II two years of military service. Walther accepts this contract, indicating that he is not terribly fond of the French anyway (78). As the story unfolds, however, and Walther meets the Acadians, he becomes a veritable francophile.<sup>19</sup>

Corssen's encounter with Hestergart introduces the concept of the chameleon-like quality of characters whose national, political and personal identities and allegiances conflict. When Hestergart and Corssen meet, Corssen initiates the discussion in English, since he was formerly in the service of the British King. Jonas, however, is a German from Hannover and tells Walther to speak German, because after all, this is the language of George II. Thus this novel establishes the early alliance between British and German cultures just as Raddall's links Sudden's support of Bonnie Prince Charlie, the exiled British King, to loyalty to France.

Anke and Walther head for Nova Scotia in the *Sphinx*, a ship mentioned by Raddall in *Roger Sudden* as one of the many carriers of emigrants to the colony. When they arrive, they are presented with a world which is very different from their homeland or *Heimat* in Germany. Nova Scotia suggests all kinds of new possibilities and opportunities for

the young German couple and represents a tabula rasa where they can begin anew without the baggage of old world concerns (99). Walther is enamored of the idea that in Nova Scotia, he and Anke will not be anyone's subordinate or subject. This belief is of course only true on a personal level, because as Walther attempts to adapt to the new land, he must consider his obligations to the British crown, especially to the Governor of the colony, Cornwallis. Walther impresses Cornwallis with his resourcefulness and abilities which contrast so markedly with the ineptness of the Cockney emigrants from London. As Walther and Anke help with the building of Halifax, they befriend a group of Acadians and eventually an Indian. In doing so they begin to form alliances which conflict with their role in Nova Scotia as colonists sent by the British.

Johann's presentation of the Acadian population in Nova Scotia is much more sympathetic than Raddall's. Roger Sudden promotes the greatness of the British spirit and its eventual supremacy in the quest for dominance in eighteenth-century Nova Scotia and Canada. It also suggests that the Acadians were not as neutral as they claimed, since they aided the French in raids against the British. In *Ans dunkle Ufer*, on the other hand, the Acadians are portrayed as a neutral people who seek only to cultivate their own cultural and national identity without involving themselves in the "game of nations," to use Raddall's phrase in *Roger Sudden*. These two differing presentations of English/French relations in eighteenth-century Canada provide different perspectives on English- and French-Canadian tensions still present in Canada today. Raddall's novel underscores the superiority of the British in Canada and dismisses the garrison mentality of the French, whereas Johann's treatment of the Acadian nation seems to mirror the aspirations of contemporary Quebecers who argue for the place of an independent Québec within a united Canada. In keeping with his sympathetic view of the French population in Nova Scotia, Johann argues, for example, that the machinations of the infamous priest Le Loutre, part of an effort to turn the Micmac and Acadians against the English, were isolated incidents and not at all representative of the general Acadian mentality (249). This is in direct contrast to Raddall's novel where the author emphasizes the pervasive presence of the fanatical priest who is viewed by Roger as Lucifer. Johann presents his North American francophones as a peaceful people who welcome Walther and Anke into their midst. In the course of

the novel, the two Germans begin to identify with the aspirations of this community and distance themselves from the British who brought them to Nova Scotia/Acadia. Anke and Walther even convert to Catholicism, leaving behind the repression associated with their Lutheran religion. Johann emphasizes that in embracing Catholicism, they do not embrace *Papst und Dogma* or Pope and Dogma (473), but a more personal religion. The "new" religion is described as seductive, secretive and personal—words also used to stress the ideas of liberation associated with the imminent American revolution (306). Thus, the new world permits the rediscovery of older forms, or the reformation of individuals, religions, and cultures.

Johann's concentration on the identification of these Germans with the Acadians can be read as an expression of German nationalism mediated by the Acadian community. Although the Corssens appear to shed their former selves by establishing an alliance with the Acadians, I would argue that their German identity is only asserted more strongly in the process. By showing German characters absorbing the national and cultural pride of the Acadians, Johann clearly sends a message on unity and nationalism to his German readers. It is perhaps worth mentioning that although *Ans dunkle Ufer* does not openly espouse fascist ideology, Johann's earlier work, especially the works published between 1937 and the end of World War II, reveal a close adherence to the racist and *Lebensraum* (expansionist) ideologies of the Nazis. In an article on Johann, Helfried W. Seliger draws parallels between the works of Colin Ross and Johann's "fascist phase" in literature. Ross, "an avowed National Socialist and well known travel writer of the time" subscribed to the *Lebensraum* ideology and to the notion of German superiority (Seliger 44). Some of these attitudes are present in Johann's earlier works on Canada; however, the author later decided to delete much of the unsound political and cultural material.

There are, in fact, many instances in *Ans dunkle Ufer* where being German benefits Walther and Anke Corssen. Although the Germans are perceived as serving under the British, their distinctiveness or apartness is recognized. For example, because they come from rural Germany they can adapt to the demands of the new terrain more easily than the Cockney emigrants, who lived in towns and had no familiarity with farming or building settlements. In addition, Anke and Walther receive

privileged information from an Indian by the name of Kokwee, whose child was saved by Anke. This Micmac reveals to them a sign which will indicate whether the Micmac will accept the terms of Cornwallis or proceed with an attack on the new English settlement.<sup>20</sup>

The Acadians clearly recognize a difference between the Germans and the English, and apply their own relationship with the French, who show contempt for the language of the Acadians, to the German/English relationship (305). Anke and Walther are linked to the peace loving Acadians who wish to establish a homeland or *Heimat* without political involvement. However, the political tensions that pervade the novel discount any naïve acceptance of the Acadians as apolitical; while they welcome the Corssens into their fold out of a genuine sense of kindness, they also see the value of Walther's ties to the British and his access to information that could affect the lives of their community (305). For example, Père Bosson, a French priest, speaks for the Acadians when he remarks that the Germans are diligent, clever and obedient and may be able to teach the Acadians a thing or two.<sup>21</sup>

The affirmation of German identity is curiously enough not illustrated through any nostalgia for the old homeland or *alte Heimat*. In this respect, the novel differs from Raddall's *Roger Sudden*, since the hero's "latent patriotism" (Young 1983: 35) is linked to his spiritual salvation. By contrast, in *Ans dunkle Ufer* Walther and Anke do not seek to imitate the "old world" behavior of German settlers in Lunenburg who vie for control over the district, thereby allowing themselves to be manipulated by the British government. These Lunenburg Germans are praised for their industry, but chastised for ascribing to the codes of Europe which manifest themselves as a struggle for power (341). The Corssens shun such aspirations which smack of the imperialistic drive of Britain (415) and concentrate on building their own little nation (415). Theirs is a worker's ethic, a consciousness of the individual. This desire to build a nation defined by spirit and culture rather than political allegiance is also suggestive of Hitler's concept of the Reich which embraced German-speaking peoples outside the political borders of Germany proper. The other significant German in this historical novel is Jonas Hestergart who continues the legacy of Germans in North America by abandoning his former associations with the nobility and joining Gorham's rangers. In an instance of prolepsis, the narrator tells us that he fights in the American

War of Independence with George Washington's troops under the command of the Prussian Baron von Steuben and that his descendants bear an anglicized name.

Not surprisingly, language plays a rather important role in *Ans dunkle Ufer*. Walther clearly acts as a pivotal force in the novel because his knowledge of German, English and French permit him to serve as mediator between the British and the Indians (who speak French) or the British and the Acadians. Roger Sudden's linguistic abilities also serve him well in his dealings with the numerous ethnic groups depicted in Raddall's novel. Language, in other words, is power, and allows the individual or the emigrant to develop alliances which can prove invaluable during crucial times. In Anke's case, one example of the easy crossover from German culture to the language of the Acadians is illustrated through the pronunciation of Anke's own name. Jeanne Maillet, an Acadian, calls her Anké, a benign modification of the German terminal e. Walther even notices that Anke and Jeanne have the same dark hair which might cause people to mistake them for sisters. Johann thus seems to imply that the appropriation of Acadian culture by the German character, Anke, is facilitated by some kind of "natural" or biological predisposition.

In Johann's novel, the very submersion of the emigrant into the sea of multiple cultures and languages can bring about liberation. Johann associates this liberty or spirit of independence with the imminent American revolution. Both Walther and his superior officer Hestergart embrace the term *Amerikaner* or *American* to describe their sense of identity—an identity which reflects an abandonment of old world concerns. Hestergart states that since the Germans in the New World will never be "English" and are no longer truly "German" they should see themselves as "Americans." Hestergart, the noble gentleman of the earlier part of the novel, thus undergoes a transformation through the demands of the New World meritocracy where ability rather than class becomes the operative word. The Acadians embody something of this "American" spirit even though Johann introduces the term to herald the revolution of the southern colonies. Unlike Raddall's portrayal of the British as brave adventurers who force their way through the wilderness of North America, Johann stresses the link between the British and the stagnant, inflexible structure of the Old World. He presents the Acadians and



Gorham's rangers as admirable counterparts to the snobbery and bureaucracy of established English society.<sup>22</sup>

The latter portion of *Ans dunkle Ufer* describes the deportation of the Acadians. In the "game of nations" the German settlers have been used as pawns by the British to counterbalance the perceived threat of the Acadian population (366, 414). Because the Acadians refuse to swear the oath of allegiance to the English crown, they are shipped to other destinations where their loyalty cannot be questioned.<sup>23</sup> Johann depicts this sad event in the history of Canada, clearly commiserating with the plight of the Acadians, whose French language was merely *Zufall* (chance) and not a sign of loyalty to France. Through Walther's concourse with the representatives of the British government, he receives information of the imminent deportation and can warn the Acadians of La Have and Petite Rivière before they must be loaded onto ships. The Corssens or "German-Acadians" and several Indians join their friends in their journey to the less accessible interior<sup>24</sup> of Nova Scotia as part of a move to throw off the British yoke once and for all (413). However, the British eventually discover that these Acadians have circumvented the deportation and force them to move once more (507). Johann indicates that in general the Acadians, who did not use force against the British, were treated even more unfairly by the British than the Indians who continued to fight until 1760 (449). The novel draws to a close with the death of Anke, who came to embody the Acadian ideal of a homeland, and with Walther's decision to move to Montreal.

Like *Roger Sudden*, *Ans dunkle Ufer* presents the difficulty experienced by emigrants in avoiding the net of politics and old world bonds. Both Raddall's and Johann's characters "escape" to the New World only to find themselves in the midst of a battle for the possession of North America. Reminders of Anke and Walther's past in Germany also appear in Nova Scotia. For example, Anke's ex-fiancée (Lüders) arrives in North America as a dark shadow of a time she wishes to forget. In an explicit sense then, the past life in Germany is not remembered fondly by the Corssens. It is seen as a threat to the private world they seek to create for themselves in North America. Instead, their "Germanness" is transmuted into a strong identification with the national sentiment of the Acadian community. Although *Ans dunkle Ufer* addresses the British victory at Louisbourg and later Québec as a political triumph for Britain, Johann

underscores the personal and human tragedy of the Acadians, the German emigrants and the Indians who suffer as a result of this national ambition. The sober statement on page 449 of the novel encapsulates the grim tone of the work and shows the indifference of many Nova Scotians, particularly the Acadians, to the events in the Old World:

Georg der Zweite starb 1760. Georg der Dritte folgt ihm auf den englischen Thron. Für Nova Scotia änderte sich dadurch nichts. [George the Second died in 1760. George the third succeeded him on the English throne. This changed nothing for Nova Scotia.]

In *Roger Sudden*, on the other hand, the major events leading to the triumph of the British in Nova Scotia, and then Canada, are symbolized by Roger Sudden's own eventual identification with the English mentality and national aspirations. In this novel, the past is initially rejected by the hero but finally embraced, because Raddall suggests that Roger's spiritual salvation lies in retaining ties to the motherland (Kent) and not in the rejection of this allegiance. The novel ends on a note of personal defeat for Roger, who is executed by the French military at Louisbourg for aiding the British, and for Mary Foy, a victim of her association with Roger and her brother, a French agent. However, despite the personal tragedies of Roger and Mary, the novel seems to gloss over political divisions and differences within Britain by exalting the British nation for asserting its identity and not merely mixing with the indigenous population in North America. Raddall thus recognizes the impact of events in Nova Scotia and presents the force of British nationalism as a precursor to Canadian nationhood. In a sense the underlying message of both *Roger Sudden* and *Ans dunkle Ufer* is captured in the words of one of Raddall's characters, a French official in Nova Scotia: "destiny has come upon me here, in this small fish-stinking corner of the world" (289).

## NOTES

1. A variation of this article was presented for the Calgary Institute for the Humanities Public Lecture Series at the University of Calgary in 1991. I gratefully acknowledge the support of the Calgary Institute for the Humanities in 1991-92.
2. A. E. Johann's novel *Ans dunkle Ufer* has not yet been translated; therefore translations of German quotations are my own. The title of the work translates as *On the Dark Shore*.
3. See Alan R. Young's bibliographies of Thomas Raddall for further details.
4. According to Young's note in his 1987 bibliography of Raddall, the excerpt in the Canadian edition is Part I of a six-part series and the excerpt in the American edition is Part I of a five-part series (416).
5. Wiens's article shows how Roger's view of the lower elements of English society changes in the course of the novel. The "lumpenproletariat" are seen as "a helpless unruly mass" (69) throughout much of the novel but by the end of the work, Roger seems to acknowledge that "the Tooley Street *lumpen* are in fact a people rather than shiftless outcasts" (70). In his analysis of Thomas Raddall for Twayne's World Authors Series, Alan R. Young addresses Raddall's emphasis on the struggle of the common person: "Raddall clearly wishes to present the triumph of the middle way and the common man amid often violent and destructive contrary forces" (36). Donna E. Smyth suggests that although Raddall clearly sympathizes with the British in the novel, he may be attempting "to uncover the psychological roots of that racism which was a fundamental part of the ideology of British imperialism inherited by the colonies . . ." (72). Barry Moody's remark that *Roger Sudden* "is not even very good literature" (143) is perhaps less constructive than other criticism since it suggests an unwillingness to consider the merits of more "popular" forms of literature; however, his reference to John Bartlett Brebner's *New England's Outpost: Acadia before the Conquest of Canada* (1927) and his theory that Raddall chose to ignore Brebner's more objective depiction of eighteenth-century Nova Scotia when composing *Roger Sudden* may encourage additional studies on Raddall's interpretation of history.
6. In his introduction to the 1972 edition of *Roger Sudden*, J. R. Leitold argues that Roger's ultimate "resolve to ally himself with the British is much more substantive" because he has become familiar with the positions of English, French and Indian groups (viii).
7. The term "Dutch" was of course often used to designate the German community in Nova Scotia because of the resemblance between the German word "Deutsch" and the English word "Dutch." Raddall points out in *Halifax: Warden of the North* that "the English settlers knew them all (the Germans) as "Dutch"—hence Dutchtown, the north suburb of Halifax in colonial times, and Dutch village on the isthmus" (37).
8. Roger believes that the actions of the Acadians are motivated by pure self-interest. He cites their hatred of the English and their suspicion of the Québécois as examples of a rather self-absorbed society (223-24).

9. D'Anville's expedition to Nova Scotia ended in disaster. Some of the French ships never reached Chebucto, and those that made it to shore had missed the French transport ships. As a result, many of D'Anville's crews contracted scurvy or starved to death. The cause of D'Anville's own death was either apoplexy or poison (Raddall, *Halifax* 11-13).
10. Father Maillard's noble efforts are also mentioned in *Ans dunkle Ufer*.
11. According to Donna E. Smyth, Mary functions as Roger's anima.
12. The inept and drunken rabble from the streets of London is also present in Johann's *Ans dunkle Ufer*.
13. The language of the heart is clearly identified as Gaelic in the novel. The sweet sound of the Gaelic tongue suggests a remembrance of things past such as Roger's acts of idealism in Scotland. It is also the language spoken by Roger and Mary during their tender moments, transcending the vocabulary of trade and commerce.
14. Jamie Johnstone, Mary's brother deluded his sister into thinking that he sought refuge from the English for his brave actions during the battle of Culloden. However, he had actually fled the scene of battle and wanted advancement in Louisbourg where he had a French mistress whose husband was the chief French spy in New York. (335) Johnstone therefore arranged for his sister to go to Halifax where the British were building a settlement. Once Mary arrived in Halifax with her uncle (a.k.a. Mr. Foy, her husband) she was encouraged to spy for the French.
15. "The personal fates of Roger and Mary are thus only part of the tragic price of historical transition" (Young 1983: 37).
16. In his review of the New Canadian Library edition of *Roger Sudden*, John Robert Sorfleeth makes the following comment on Roger's cry "Invicta! Invicta!" at the end of the novel: "The exhortation to patriotic action that Sudden's example is meant to hold for wartime Canadians is so transparently obvious as to be painful, at least for a modern reader" (94). Donna E. Smyth also indicates that the conclusion of *Roger Sudden* demonstrates that "the war was very much in Raddall's mind and shaped Roger's destiny as a character . . . on the textual level" (72).
17. On page 444 *Ans dunkle Ufer*, Johann provides the following reference to *Halifax: Warden of the North* and Raddall's comment on the drunken and uncontrolled conduct of many of the English seamen in Halifax: "Ja, 'the good old days,' wie Thomas A. [sic] Raddall in seiner Geschichte der Stadt Halifax anzüglich bemerkt: die 'gute, alte Zeit!' [Yes, 'the good old days,' as Thomas A. [sic] Raddall satirically observes in his history of the city of Halifax: the 'good, old days!']."
18. The anti-British sentiment in Johann's novel may stem from the author's clear dislike of British imperialism. But another explanation for the somewhat negative portrayal of the British can be traced to the discrimination practised by British-Canadians against German immigrants in Canada during and after World War I. As a German travel writer visiting Canada, Johann heard many reports of such discriminatory treatment (Seliger's 42).
19. Johann appears to be more kindly disposed towards the French than the British. This may be attributed to his association of the British with the subjugation of native people in North America. He states that unlike the British, the French came to North

- America to spread the Catholic religion and not to dominate the indigenous population (*Kanadas ferner Osten* 98-99).
20. This incident is based on a historical event also mentioned in *Roger Sudden* and in *Halifax: Warden of the North*.
  21. "... 'die Deutschen' sind im allgemeinen fleißig, auch bescheiden und gehorsam—so können die Corssens meinen Akadiern vielleicht sogar noch einiges beibringen. . ." (305).
  22. Johann makes the following comments on the aloof nature of the English: "Für die Instinkte eines Engländers bleiben die Deutschen ein niemals ganz zum Gentleman fähiges, ziemlich unberechenbares Volk aus dem fernen, dunklen Osten, mit dem man am besten nur par distance verkehrt." [According to the instincts of an Englishman, Germans remain a somewhat unpredictable people from the far, dark East, never quite capable of gentlemanly behavior, and with whom it is best to associate only from a distance.] "Mein Freund Henry Shelton am Tetaklin-See" (*Menschen an meinen Wegen* 413).
  23. In *Kanadas ferner Osten* Johann draws parallels between the Acadian expulsion and the human race's tendency to drive out certain ethnic communities. He mentions the displacement of Poles by Germans and then by Russians, as well as the expulsion of Volga Germans from their homeland. Johann also views the extermination of Jews in Europe as one of the many inhuman acts in the history of the world (215-16).
  24. The region described is that of Lake Kagetoksa, better known as Lake Rossignol (438).

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