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Exodus:

When Canadian Literature Moved to New York

by

Nicholas Mount

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

at

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Halifax, Nova Scotia

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"What are the only two books in the Old Testament that describe  
Canada?" Answer: "Lamentations and Exodus."

--Canadian joke, ca. 1890s (qtd. in Callwood 37)

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## Abstract

Historians have typically located the emergence of a distinctively Canadian literature in the decades after Confederation, especially the 1880s and 1890s. Problematically for this account, however, these were the very decades of the largest emigration ever from Canada to the United States, and with these millions of migrants went between a third and a half of all working Canadian writers. The largest single concentration of these expatriates settled in New York, where they entered into and in several cases established key literary cultures, both collaborative with and resistant to the official culture of the period. As a demographic phenomenon, this extraordinary exodus has been largely erased from Canadian literary history; certain of its participants, however, have since been selectively and silently repatriated as the founders of and models for the Canadian canon. In a sense in which that canon has worked hard to obscure, then, Canadian literature began in late nineteenth-century New York, with one foot planted in the environmental influences of its homeland and the other in the cultural influences of the continental centre. From its earliest articulations, the Canadian canon has sought to emphasise the former influences and suppress the latter, an imbalance the dissertation seeks to explain and correct.

Primarily an account of the causes, main participants, and canonical effects of Canada's literary exodus, the dissertation is also a first step toward theorizing a transnational understanding of literary culture in North America, taking as its focus the moment of the first mass dissemination of that culture, the 1880s and 1890s. In this broader sense, the dissertation is intended to facilitate further inquiry on both sides of the border into continentally rather than nationally defined literary culture in North America, as well as to recover for Canadianists some once well-known but now forgotten exiles. For this latter end, the dissertation includes an appendix (volume 2) containing annotated bibliographies for each of the twenty-six expatriates that form the core of its study.



## Introduction

It is Wednesday, October 19, 1898, and New Yorkers are awaking to discover that their nation has again become a little larger. Promptly at noon the day before, they learn, the American flag was raised over San Juan, Puerto Rico, the latest trophy in the summer's war against Spain. Norman Duncan, who himself reported "Teddy's" preparations for the war that spring at Montauk Point, reads the news with professional interest in his office at the Evening Post on Vesey Street: he has to cover Roosevelt's campaign stop at Brooklyn's Academy of Music that evening, and the war hero's connection to the events in Puerto Rico might be good for a line or two. Five blocks to the south, Mary Bouchier Sanford has left her Cedar Street apartment for work, her mind more on a new joke she is working on for Puck than on an unpronounceable island 1,400 miles away. Over at the Tribune tower on Park Row, yachting editor Stinson Jarvis mulls over his options for the day's aquatic news, while at the Sun building on Nassau and Frankfort type-setters ready Acton Davies' latest report from Puerto Rico for the evening edition. At 658 Broadway, the street outside his door already thick with those shoppers who haven't been drawn to Sixth Avenue by Macy's advertisement for Columbia Graphophones at just \$7.49 ("Records of all the latest and most popular music for same, on sale at .31"), Palmer Cox is at work on a Brownie comic strip for the Chicago Inter-Ocean, the walls of his studio crowded with

portraits sent by his legion of young fans. Several blocks and an economic class or two to the east, John Emery McLean has just left his home on East 12th Street for another day of editorial work at Mind, the year-old venture of publisher and mind-healer Charles Brodie Patterson. Later that day, in the flat he shares with his brother Will five blocks to the north, Charles G.D. Roberts will write his publishers to urge upon them a novel by a "mighty clever and mightily attractive young woman!" who has just visited him (the woman in question, Mrs. Sophia Almon Hensley, will by then have returned to her much more uptown address on Central Park West). Nearby, in his three-room flat at 10 East 16th Street, his like-minded cousin Bliss Carman has already put aside his column for the Boston Evening Transcript in favour of a daylight tryst with Mrs. Mary Perry King, while over at the American Press Association, Arthur Stringer has begun another day of posing as a foreign correspondent (today, his editor removes his cigar long enough to tell him, he is in Puerto Rico), waiting for the end of his shift when he will meet Carman and Peter McArthur for mint-juleps at the Roberts' flat, perhaps later to catch the new hit Cyrano de Bergerac at the Garden. If they venture out afterwards to The Cave or Raganachi's, perhaps they will meet up too with Craven Langstroth Betts and his circle of poets and pornographers. Meanwhile, Edwyn Sandys works at his desk in the Outing offices at 239 Fifth Avenue on a fishing article for next month's issue, while further up the Avenue employees at Charles Scribner's Sons box two thousand copies of

Ernest Thompson Seton's Wild Animals I Have Known for tomorrow's release. Soon, the winds will pick up from the southeast, bringing showers over them all by the afternoon. For New Yorkers, if not for Puerto Ricans, it is really just another day.<sup>1</sup>

Excepting Theodore Roosevelt and Mary Perry King, all of these fin de siècle New Yorkers had one thing in common: they were not natives of the city, but transplanted Canadians, part of an extraordinary literary migration from Canada to the United States in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. This is their story.

This dissertation examines the careers of some two dozen English-Canadian journalists, magazinists, editors, poets, fictionists, and publishers who moved to New York in the 1880s and 1890s. Some of these expatriates became celebrities in their adopted country; most made a living and a name from their trade. There were, of course, others whose careers failed to impress themselves on the city's literary memory. The New York literary industry in these years was experiencing an unprecedented boom, the kind of boom that attracted many but rewarded few and remembered even fewer. In fact, although it has some success

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<sup>1</sup>This sketch has been compiled with the aid of the New York Times for 19 and 20 October 1898. I have taken some imaginative license, but the activities it describes are factual or based on fact. For the portraits in Cox's studio, see Kunitz and Haycraft 98; for Roberts' letter to Small, Maynard re Sophia Hensley, see Boone 244.

stories to tell and some causes to champion, this study is in many ways about failure: most prominently, the failure of post-Confederation Canada to sustain, and thus to retain, its writers. The expatriate Canadian literary community in New York was merely the largest single concentration of a virtual exodus of Canadian writers in the 1880s and 1890s. Canadian census statistics give some idea of the scope of this phenomenon. In 1881, the Department of Agriculture (the branch of the government then responsible for the census) reported the existence in Canada of 601 "Artists and Litterateurs." Ten years later, in the census of 1890-91, that number had slipped to 279. By the first year of the new century, just 56 Canadians--41 men and 15 women--were identifying themselves as full-time authors. Of the hundreds of occupations abstracted from Canada's 1901 census for comparison in the following census, the only one to have attracted fewer adherents than literary work was the manufacturing of "Fancy goods and notions."<sup>2</sup>

Admittedly, these numbers are probably not quite as dramatic as they appear. For one thing, the 1881 figure may include journalists, who don't show up as a separate profession until the census of 1890-91. For another, both the 1881 and 1891 figures almost certainly include an unspecified number of librarians, who aren't reported separately until 1901. But even allowing for these and other differences between censuses, the figures still

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<sup>2</sup>Census of Canada 1880-81 2: 316; Census of Canada 1890-91 2: 189; Occupations 12; Fifth Census 6: 4-5. These figures are summarised, with some minor differences, in Fifth Census 6: 8-9.

indicate a serious decline in the number of working Canadian authors in the last two decades of the century. The rate of that decline can only be estimated, but it was probably around fifty percent, and was certainly in excess of thirty percent.<sup>3</sup> After adding in natural additions to the profession by birth or immigration, I have reached the very conservative estimate that between 1880 and 1900 upwards of two hundred Canadian writers either quit their profession or quit their country.

Exactly how many of the Canadian writers who vanished from the national record in the 1880s and '90s changed professions rather than left, and where those that left went, is impossible to say with certainty. But American records provide some answers to these questions. In New York alone, eleven Canadian writers had by 1904 achieved enough prominence to merit entries alongside the Astors and the Vanderbilts in Who's Who in New York City and State. Across America, Oscar Fay Adams' 1904 Dictionary of American Authors contained entries on more than eighty Canadian-born authors alive at the time of its publication.<sup>4</sup> And although

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<sup>3</sup>Lists of better-known Canadian authors of the period support this estimate. Of the forty-five English-Canadian writers born before 1880 profiled in W.H. New's Canadian Writers, 1890-1920, for instance, twenty-two left Canada either permanently or for an extended period, an expatriation rate of forty-nine percent.

<sup>4</sup>Two caveats must be appended to Adams' number, the first upward and the second downward. First, like most books of its kind, his Dictionary only lists those writers who have achieved publication in book form; any Canadian expatriates in the U.S. at this time who had only periodical publications to their credit would not have been considered. Second, Adams defines an "author" as someone who has authored a book--any book, on any subject. He makes no attempt to distinguish between the kind or merit of a writer: to the Dictionary, Bliss Carman is an American author,

too late to register the boom years of the Canadian literary emigration, the 1910 U.S. census, the first that attempted to tabulate "foreign-born white workers by occupation," still reported 93 Canadian-born "Authors," and a further 570 "Editors and reporters" (Truesdell 200, 213).

The loss of their writers did not go unnoticed by contemporary Canadians. In the spring of 1893, one M.F. Libby complained in Toronto's Week that "More than one of our most prominent writers have left Canada permanently: in more fortunate climates they may find the soil and the atmosphere more congenial and more supporting. . . ." Archibald Lampman made similar observations in his column in the next morning's Globe, noting especially the successes in England of Canadians Grant Allen, Gilbert Parker, and Sara Jeannette Duncan, and in the United States of E.W. Thomson, Walter Blackburn Harte, and Bliss Carman. "They probably bring more honour to their country in the fields which they have chosen," writes Lampman, "than they would if they had remained at home. Here their energies might have withered away in petty and fruitless occupations, and their talent have evaporated in the thin sluggishness of a colonial atmosphere."<sup>5</sup>

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and so is William Fletcher MacNutt, a Nova Scotia-born San Francisco physician who authored Diseases of the Kidney and Bladder. I suspect, though, that the forty or so Canadian-born university professors, physicians, clergymen, etc., that Adams includes as "authors" would be more than compensated for by those Canadian writers in the U.S. who had not yet achieved book publication or had not yet come to his attention (DAA).

<sup>5</sup>"Canadian Literature," Week 3 Mar. 1893: 318; "At the Mermaid Inn," Globe 4 Mar. 1893: 6.

Going beyond Lampman's qualified endorsement (it's hard not to hear a note of bitterness, even envy, in the post office employee's voice),<sup>6</sup> several articles appeared in the Canadian press by the expatriates themselves, celebrating their stateside achievements. In 1893, the Dominion Illustrated Monthly opened its May number with a contribution from Nova Scotian expatriate Sophia Almon Hensley on "Canadian Writers in New York." Acknowledging the belated but growing recognition of the achievements of Canadian writers in Canada, Hensley asked her readers not to "forget that there is a large number of writers, born Canadians, Canadians in heart, and hope, and ambition, who have been obliged to make their homes in other countries but who still assert their claim to be sons and daughters of Canada, and who should unquestionably come under the designation of Canadian writers" (195). Former University of Toronto student Frank L. Pollock contributed a lively sketch to his alma mater's Acta Victoriana in April of 1899 on the city's "flourishing Canadian artistic colony," including portraits of its "chief," Charles G.D. Roberts, his brothers William and Theodore, and their friends Bliss Carman and Peter McArthur (434, 436). Arthur Stringer's "Canadian Writers Who Are Winning Fame in New York,"

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<sup>6</sup>The previous fall, impressed by a broadside of new work Carman had recently sent him from New York, Lampman wrote back to say, You must have many encouraging influences about you, and many inspiring ones, else you would not gather strength as you do.

We here--employed as we are in this deadly routine, and obliged to depend wholly upon nature & ourselves--find it difficult to maintain intellectual activity--to keep from retrograding--to advance is hard indeed! (Ware 62-63)

printed in the Montreal Herald in March of 1901, provided a similarly gossipy account of Canadian writers in the city to which Stringer himself, a former Herald reporter, had removed three years before. Nor was the Canadian invasion lost on Americans. By the turn of the century, in fact, Canadian writers were so common in New York that Stringer could joke in his Herald article that "New Yorkers have an idea that you can't throw a snowball in Canada without hitting a poet. When a New York editor has all the poetry he wants he hangs out a sign, 'No Canadians Admitted.' In the same way, when he runs short of verse, he swings out a placard with a red mitten on it."

The Canadian literary expatriates in New York were not, of course, all poets, and the variety of their endeavours as well as the nature and size of their community present special challenges to the historian. First, and most obviously, there is the problem of time: because the story I want to tell has almost thirty protagonists and a supporting cast of hundreds, I have not generally been able to consult archival materials relating to the expatriates and their employers or publishers (Carman's papers alone are scattered among some forty university and public archives across Canada and the United States). My main resource has been the published work of the expatriates themselves, much of it in magazines, followed closely by the gossip and review departments of the day's literary magazines (especially Toronto's Week and New York's Bookman) and contemporary dictionaries of



biography. For a handful of the better-known expatriates, published biographies and collections of letters also exist, and I have gratefully availed myself of both while trying to add something to the stories they tell.

Second, there is the problem of identity: what to call these people? Were they, that is, Canadian emigrants or American immigrants? To some extent, this is a question to be asked individually rather than collectively, and I have tried to answer it accordingly in the chapters that follow (I discuss how latter-day Canadians have since perceived the expatriates' national identity in chapter 5). But I have also worked from, and I hope demonstrated, the more radical assumption that at least for this period in the development of North America's material and literary culture, professional writers defined themselves more by their literary associations than by their nativity or citizenship.

Here, I have been influenced and assisted by the work of University of British Columbia historian Allan Smith. Since the early 1970s, Smith has been turning out carefully researched essays on Canadian-American cultural relations, essays that use primary documents to interrogate traditional conceptions about the Canadian identity and its relation to the American identity. Of particular importance to the present study is Smith's 1976 essay "The Continental Dimension in the Evolution of the English-Canadian Mind," in which he demonstrates in detail the creation in the nineteenth century of continental frames of reference in

journalism, social reform, the natural sciences, forestry, agriculture, history, and literature. By century's end, he concludes, prolonged exposure to these and other common interests had

intensified the English-Canadian conviction that Canada derived a significant part of its essential character from its participation in the life of the North American continent. It enlarged the English-Canadian frame of reference and made many English Canadians almost as fully conscious of American problems as they were of their own. Their thought acquired a continental dimension which came to equal in importance the national and imperial sense in determining the lines along which the English-Canadian outlook would be oriented. (56)

Like Smith's nineteenth-century botanists and zoologists, I have become convinced over the years of reading and thinking about this project that Canada's literary no less than its natural features can often be best understood in continental terms. As a critical metaphor, "nation" has its limitations, and those limits become especially apparent when examining literary production in North America at the end of the nineteenth century. Nation and its attendant ideology, nationalism, are useful to the teacher, a necessary evil to the anthologizer, and helpful to the historian for understanding certain moments in literary history. But neither does much to explain Bliss Carman being galvanized into Vagabondia after reading an English law book in a New York library, or Palmer Cox creating his Brownies by combining the Scottish legends he heard as a child in Quebec with the skills he acquired as a cartoonist in California, or Ernest Thompson Seton being urged to write animal stories for a New York magazine after recounting his adventures in New Mexico to a Scottish economist

in Toronto, or any one of dozens of similar moments I have encountered in my research.

Coincidentally, since I began that research Canadian literary criticism has begun to move beyond the cultural nationalism of the last generation, a development evidenced by books such as Frank Davey's Post-National Arguments (1993) and Camille R. La Bossière's Context North America (1994). Like Michael A. Peterman, who writes in one of the essays collected by Bossière that "literary history, narrowly viewed along nationalistic lines, can neglect and even erase important and shared responses across the Canadian/American border" (120), and like Davey, who claims to have discerned in Canadian novels published after the Centennial the arrival of a "post-national state" in which Canadian texts exist on an international continuum (266) (an argument put into practice by Canada's expatriates a hundred years ago), and like their predecessor Allan Smith, I have employed a model of cultural history for this study that heuristically privileges continental participation over national influence or resistance. Something may perhaps be lost in this method: this study is admittedly not a search for residual traces of Canadian environmental or cultural influences in the work of the expatriates, in part because that search has already been conducted by Canadian critics intent on repatriating a select few of their members. Mostly, however, I have looked through a continental lens because it seems to me to capture most fully the complex world in which the expatriates moved.

Finally, there is the problem of structure: how to organize this diverse body of writers, any of whom might write a short story or a poem on one day and a book review or essay on another, and who from one day to the next might also be editors, publishers, illustrators, humorists, lecturers, activists, naturalists, journalists, hunters, drama critics, sports-writers, and "metaphysicians"?

From this last problem I have been reluctantly rescued by T.J. Jackson Lears' influential study in cultural history, No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture 1880-1920. In essence, Lears argues that turn-of-the-century America witnessed an important rebellion against what was perceived as the morally, spiritually, and physically attenuating forces of the official modern culture: concerned that modernization had created a life that was overcivilized and strangely unreal, antimodernists prescribed regenerative, more "authentic" models of experience, models that included the preindustrial craftsman, the medieval warrior, the big-game hunter, the simple rustic, and the eastern mystic. Not surprisingly, both Lears' antimodern rebels and his modern guardians were primarily well-educated WASPs from the North, and Canada's literary expatriates, primarily well-educated WASPs from the other North, settled comfortably into the cultural contest he describes. Some found homes in the official culture, reporting its milestones in the daily press, answering its citizens' seemingly insatiable desire for self-improvement with informative

articles, books, and magazines, and using humour to celebrate its achievements and laugh away its failures. Perhaps because of their less modern origins, however, Canadian expatriates played especially prominent and in several cases leading roles in antimodern culture, including that face of its therapeutic movement that came to be known as New Thought, its cult of the outdoors (whether as animal-worshipper or animal-hunter), and its post-realist versions of romantic adventure and regionalist fiction. Like Lears' American-born antimodernists, their contributions to the rebellion unintentionally helped accommodate their audiences to modernization: just as the craft revival that Lears discusses, for instance, became "less a path to satisfying communal work than a therapy for tired businessmen" (xv), so too Carman's Vagabondism, McLean's and Patterson's program of psychic rejuvenation, Seton's and Sandys' outings with the animals, and Stringer's and Roberts' romantic adventure stories became not cures but effective and popular tonics for a too civilized modern America. Although the note of protest in the work of the Canadian antimodernists is often (like their American colleagues') too sincere to be dismissed, ultimately their work contributed no less than those expatriates who found homes on the other side of the fray to extending the reach and authority of the official modern culture. In this sense, among others, their achievements are still with us.

My final methodological influence has been the recent work of Yale literary historian Richard H. Brodhead on nineteenth-

century American literary culture. Tilting our vision away from literary histories that reconstruct the past as developments within a set of more or less discrete generic (domestic fictions, local colour, etc.) or modal (naturalism, modernism, etc.) categories, Brodhead instead wants us to see writing as responses to particular cultures, the "cultures of letters" of his title:

writing a[rises] in differently organized (if adjacent) literary-social worlds, in differently structured cultural settings composed around writing and regulating its social life--in different cultures of letters, to give this phenomenon a shorthand name. (5)

As Brodhead argues, each of these cultures of letters has a distinctly defined audience, and each invites distinct kinds of writers. As he later refines this notion, "every literary institution projects a profile of the authors it can support through its prescription of the competences required to produce its forms" (113). His book's principal contention, then, is that "the history of American literature needs to be understood not as the history of literary works only but also as the history of literature's working conditions--the history of the diverse and changing worlds that have been constructed around writing in American social life" (8).

Brodhead's emphasis upon the material and social conditions of literary work helped me to see that such things as the neighbourhoods of home and work, circles of friends, editors and publishers, even favourite cafés and restaurants, matter quite concretely to literary history. His notion of different cultures of letters provided me with a further way of conceptualizing the

various literary communities into which the Canadian expatriates entered. Perhaps most important, his application of Marx's theory of limited autonomy--that people make history, even if not always in circumstances of their own choosing--to the problem of literary access encouraged me to think of the expatriates as participating in rather than conforming to the various cultures they entered. To date, the few Canadian scholars who have written on the Canadian expatriates of the 1880s and 1890s have generally argued that the American market by virtue of its greater economic rewards first lured, then shaped, and finally limited the careers of those Canadian writers who chose to publish in American venues or who took the next logical step and followed their work south. But to categorize these Canadian writers as the pawns of American market forces is to create a dichotomy within which they themselves did not work. The expatriates left for economic reasons, yes, but they left also because they recognized opportunities in the literary cultures of New York, opportunities that were lacking in post-Confederation Canada. They joined, participated in, developed, and in several cases helped to establish Brodhead's "cultures of letters." In fact, one of the major goals of this study is to demonstrate that at least during the 1880s and 1890s, what Brodhead calls American cultures of letters were actually North American cultures of letters. All of the particular literary cultures that Brodhead examines, as well as those I discuss in the following chapters, were of course based in the literary centres of the United

States. But as in the natural and agricultural sciences discussed by Smith, citizenship in these literary cultures was transnational.

I said earlier that I had been "reluctantly" rescued from structural clutter by Lears because I didn't want to be rescued, not entirely: however insightful, no one theory of the period's cultural concerns can accommodate another of my main objectives, namely to demonstrate the size and diversity of the Canadian literary expatriation to the United States in general and New York in particular in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. Ultimately, it is neither possible nor, I think, desirable to express in a single thesis the full range of Canadian activity in New York's heterogeneous literary culture of the 1880s and '90s. I have located each expatriate in the culture of letters in which he or she seems to have been most active during this period, but within my limits I have tried not to smooth over divergences or ignore departures from that culture. Biographically, my coverage is necessarily limited to the expatriates' careers in New York of the 1880s and '90s, though for some of the less well-known I have tried to sketch in their lives before and after, and for some the timing of their entry into their principal literary culture has required that I follow them into the new century. Appendix C augments the biographical portions of this study with an annotated bibliography and summaries of the principal biographical,



archival, and bibliographic sources for each of the New York expatriates.

My first chapter begins at the beginning, in Canada, with a detailed look at the economic, demographic, and cultural factors that motivated the country's literary exodus in the closing decades of the nineteenth century. After brief stops in the expatriate communities in Chicago and Boston, the next three chapters follow the main route of that exodus to New York. Chapter 2 focuses on those expatriates who found places in the city's official culture, surveying Canadian participation in the daily press and other vehicles of the culture of information, and spotlighting three Canadian humorists paid (one royally) to help moderns laugh away their troubles. Chapters 3 and 4 belong to the antimodern New York expatriates. Chapter 3 begins with two resolutely antimodern poets, one who sought solace in the open road and the other in the ancient east, and continues with six Canadians with strong ties to New Thought, including, according to some, its American founder. Chapter 4 profiles Canadian contributors to what Bliss Carman dubbed the new romantic movement: the self-proclaimed originator of the (anti-) modern animal story; a sports-writer who preferred to stalk his animals with a gun; three young roommates who launched their long careers with the virile adventure stories beloved of disaffected antimoderns; and two local colourists, one of whom took contemporary Manhattan for his canvas and the other historical Acadia. Finally, chapter 5 examines the subsequent reception of

the expatriates on both sides of the border and uses the implications of their departure for Canadian literary history to bring to a head my third and final major argument: that in a very real sense, Canadian literature began not in the backwoods of Ontario, not in the salt flats of New Brunswick, but in the cafés, magazines, and publishing houses of late nineteenth-century New York.

## Chapter 1

### Lamentations

In 1906, two lengthy articles appeared in the American press that belatedly confirmed the Canadian literary presence in the United States. In June, Columbia University's Political Science Quarterly published a study of Canadians in America by S. Morley Wickett. Mostly statistical, the article alludes to some prominent individual Canadians in the U.S., including New York businessman Erastus Wiman and Cornell University president Jacob Gould Schurman, and adds that a "full list of distinguished Canadians in the United States would . . . have to include also littérateurs, clergymen, actors, members of Congress and even one diplomatic representative of the Republic" (202).<sup>1</sup> A month later, Munsey's Magazine commissioned an article by Herbert N. Casson on Canadians in the States as part of a series on the immigrant races of America. Copiously illustrated, Casson's article lists the names and accomplishments of some two hundred Canadian-born educators, preachers, doctors, public officials, soldiers, lawyers, engineers, actors, authors, artists, and businessmen then living in the United States. Authors Bliss Carman, Norman Duncan, Palmer Cox, Charles G.D. Roberts, and Agnes C. Laut put in appearances (the last three in pictures as well as text), as do Canadian-born journalists Slason Thompson,

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<sup>1</sup>Presumably the last is Hamilton King (1852-1912), Newfoundland-born U.S. Consul-General to Siam from 1898 (NCAB 12: 122).

Herbert F. Gunnison, Acton Davies, James Creelman, and Hubert P. Whitmarsh. "In proportion to her population," notes Casson, "Canada has perhaps been more generous to us than any other country, with the exception of Ireland. There are comparatively few families in Canada which have not given at least one citizen to the United States" (486).

### **Southward Ho**

As Wickett's and Casson's articles suggest, Canada's literary expatriates were part of a general and massive wave of Canadian emigration to the United States during the final decades of the nineteenth century. An absence of records on the Canadian side makes exact figures impossible, but the most cautious estimates (based on U.S. census returns of the Canadian-born resident in the U.S.) put the total number of Canadians who emigrated to the United States between 1880 and 1900 at over three-quarters of a million (Jackson 28). Other sources, such as Marcus Lee Hansen in The Mingling of the Canadian and American Peoples and June Callwood in The Naughty Nineties, claim that Canadian emigration to the States in the 1880s alone exceeded one million persons (Hansen 183; Callwood 37). (For comparison's sake, the natural increase in the Canadian population for both decades was just 1.46 million [Jackson 28].) Whichever figure we now accept, however, to the Canadian of the day Goldwin Smith's remark in his controversial Canada and the Canadian Question of 1891 must have seemed to bespeak a bitter reality: "The Americans may say in

truth," wrote Smith, "that if they do not annex Canada, they are annexing the Canadians" (233).

Canadian historians who have sought to explain this exodus have settled on a number of prime suspects. The economy of the period was unsettled by a series of financial panics and outright depression. Droughts on the prairies forced farm foreclosures. High freight rates hurt existing businesses, and discouraged new ones. Protective tariffs, ironically intended to curb expatriation by fostering the native economy, ultimately forced Canadians to buy more expensive "Made in Canada" manufactured goods.<sup>2</sup> Maritimers and Westerners, unhappy with the broken promises of Confederation, grumbled and talked of succession, annexation. And in the middle of all this, newspapers, friends, and relatives told of jobs just a border away with better pay, better working conditions, and better prospects. As Callwood puts it, the period "demanded a high price for being a Canadian and a great number chose not to pay" (37).

Canadians of the day tended to offer simpler (if sometimes stranger) explanations for the southern drift. In May of 1884, one J.H.S. argued in Toronto's Week that "the emigration of our young men to the United States" was due to certain key

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<sup>2</sup>"[T]his house is of the opinion that the welfare of Canada requires the adoption of a National Policy, which, by a judicious readjustment of the tariff, will benefit and foster the . . . interests of the Dominion; [and] that such a policy will retain in Canada thousands of our fellow-countrymen, now obliged to expatriate themselves in search of the employment denied them at home . . ." (John A. Macdonald, 7 Mar. 1878, Commons Debates, 5th Sess., 3rd Parl. 1: 854 [qtd. in Moffett 82]).

professions in Canada being overstocked (medicine and the law), underpaid (railway clerks and stenographers), or "sneered at . . . as one scarcely suitable to a gentleman" (journalism). Five years later, an editorial in the Week of 15 November 1889 attributed what was by then being called the "exodus" of young Canadians to the States to the general urbanward movement of all populations, and to Canada's lack of enough large cities to satisfy the demand.<sup>3</sup> Across the line, Wickett agreed in his article for the Political Science Quarterly, arguing that people "generally seek out the largest market for their labour" (191). For his part, K.L. Jones of Kingston, Ontario, credited the exodus to America's better climate (much of Canada, wrote Jones, is "a fit home only for the Laplander and reindeer") and to the inherent greed of the Scottish-Canadian, lured statesward by the rags-to-riches "fairy tales" of the Astors, the Vanderbilts, the Goulds.<sup>4</sup>

Whether caused by a faltering economy, discontent with the political bargain, the lure of better prospects, or the Canadian winter, this fact remains: the Canadian emigration to the United States between 1880 and 1900 was the greatest in any twenty-year

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<sup>3</sup>J.H.S., "Emigration of the Young Men of Canada to the United States," Week 8 May 1884: 361; Week 15 Nov. 1889: 787. J.H.S. may be James Henry Stevenson (1860-?), an Ontario-born clergyman who eight years later became professor of Hebrew at Vanderbilt University in Nashville, Tennessee (CM 1912).

<sup>4</sup>Jones, "Causes of the Canadian Exodus," Week 11 Apr. 1890: 293. Responding to Jones' article in a letter to the editors, one "Redfern" of Weston, Ontario, argued that Mr. Jones would have come nearer the truth had he said that "a young man is treated better, paid better, works better, in our neighbouring Republic" (Week 1 Aug. 1890: 554).

period in Canadian history. By the turn of the century, the Canadian-born residents in the U.S. numbered about 1.2 million--almost a quarter of Canada's total population at the time (Truesdell 10). Boston, with over 84,000 citizens of Canadian birth or parentage, was Canada's third largest city, behind only Montreal and Toronto (Moffett 13). Just fifteen years before, in 1885, the president of the newly formed Canadian Club of New York had estimated that there were about six thousand Canadians in the city (Fairchild 284); by 1900, the Canadian-born population of New York City had almost quadrupled, to just under 22,000 (Truesdell 35). French-Canadian immigrants, who represented some 400,000 of the Canadian-born in the U.S. (Truesdell 47), tended to settle in a concentrated area--the mill-towns of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Rhode Island, with a second, smaller, group in Michigan.<sup>5</sup> English-Canadians, as Leon E. Truesdell notes in his The Canadian Born in the United States, could be found in considerable numbers throughout the U.S. except in the South (44). Massachusetts, Michigan, and New York had by 1900 the highest number of first-generation English-Canadian residents, but there were also large concentrations in Illinois and California, and a more evenly spread group across the entire

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<sup>5</sup>French-Canadian emigration to the U.S. peaked earlier than English-Canadian emigration (probably by 1880, and certainly by 1890), and by the 1910s had begun to reverse itself, with more French-Canadians returning to Canada from the U.S. than were emigrating to the U.S. (Jackson 29). See Anctil for a bibliography of "la diaspora," which has received more attention than its English-Canadian equivalent.

Midwest.<sup>6</sup> After tallying the statistics for the Canadian exodus in his 1907 The Americanization of Canada, American historian Samuel E. Moffett was moved to facetiousness: "Greater Canada--the home of the Canadian people--reaches down to Long Island Sound, westward south of the Great Lakes, and on to the Pacific Coast" (14).

The same motives that compelled so many ordinary Canadians to seek their fortune in America no doubt played upon the minds of Canadian writers. To an extent, too, the sheer size of the migration became its own cause, as news of good fortune in America made its way back to Canada via letters, the press, and rumour. But for Canada's literary emigrants, there were additional incentives for the move. There must have been. Even accepting the highest estimates, the national emigration rate over the 1880s and 1890s was under seventeen percent, while the Canadian literary community was reduced over the same period by something around fifty percent.

#### **In the Camp of the Philistines**

After readers, the first requirement for the economic survival of a writer is a publisher. While not quite in crisis--not consistently, anyway--the publishing industry in Canada of the 1880s and '90s was in something of a lull. The census of 1881

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<sup>6</sup>In 1900, the English-Canadian-born population of Massachusetts was 158,753. Michigan was home to 151,915 first-generation English-Canadians, New York to 90,336, Illinois to 41,466, and California to 27,408 (Twelfth Census 1: 732).



had recorded 395 printing and publishing establishments in the country (that is, printers and publishers not just of books and periodicals, but of stationary, sheet music, etc.), employing 6,423 people and producing an aggregate value of products of 4.7 million. Although the ensuing decade did see growth in the trade, it was also marked by a series of prominent failures. Toronto's James Campbell & Son went bankrupt in October of 1884. The Dawson Brothers of Montreal dissolved their partnership in 1889. William Clark's Canada Publishing Company, a sometime employer of future expatriate Graeme Mercer Adam, had disappeared by 1890. As late as 1894, The Publishers Circular noted that bankruptcies in the Canadian printing and publishing industry were forty percent above all previous records (Parker 242). Despite these failures, by the end of the 1880s the number of Canadian printers and publishers had climbed to 589, employing 8,614 people and producing 8.3 million dollars' worth of product annually. But by 1900 that number had decreased to 419, and both employment and production had increased less than in the previous decade. The declining number of establishments in the 1890s is no doubt partly attributable to consolidation in the industry, something that was also occurring south of the border at this time. But the relatively small gain in the value of products (just 24%, compared to 75% in the 1880s) suggests that the industry failures of the 1880s were followed in the '90s by a

period of regrouping, of scaled-back expectations and production.<sup>7</sup>

Equally discouraging to Canadian authors, what successes there were in the publishing industry were generally not predicated upon the publication of original Canadian work. According to George L. Parker in his The Beginnings of the Book Trade in Canada, Canadian publishers from the mid-1870s to near the end of the century relied upon one of three methods for economic survival: "by becoming fiction reprint houses, by innovative merchandising that consisted of distributing books by mail and by subscription, or by developing monopolies as textbook printers" (166-67). Importantly, none of these methods required original Canadian creative work to succeed. Some few Canadian publishers, such as Saint John's J. & A. McMillan, Montreal's Dawson Brothers, and Toronto's Hunter, Rose & Company, did publish a smattering of native fiction and poetry in the 1880s and early '90s. By and large, however, Canadian publishers of imaginative literature were more than content to keep to the lucrative field of reprinting popular British and American authors. By 1889, for instance, John Ross Robertson of Toronto, publisher of "Robertson's Cheap Series," claimed to have printed (others said pirated) over a million books. At least one Canadian author, May Agnes Fleming of New Brunswick, appeared in this series, as she did in Hunter, Rose's "Rose Library" and Andrew S. Irving's "American Library" (Parker 195-96). But

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<sup>7</sup>For the printing industry figures in this paragraph, see Fourth Census 3: 290-91 and Fifth Census 6: 6-7.

presumably Robertson, Hunter, and Irving all chose Fleming not because she was Canadian but because she was prolific, popular, and, most important, dead and therefore unlikely to come looking for royalties.<sup>8</sup> After surveying publishers' records for native-authored books printed from Confederation to nearly the end of the century, Parker concludes that many were paid for by the authors themselves (183)--an observation supported by Walter Blackburn Harte, who wrote in 1892 from his new home in Boston that "in Canada it is impossible to find a publisher willing to assume the risk of publishing a book; and if the author defray the cost of production it is ridiculous to look for a public in Canada which will buy his book sufficiently to reimburse him."<sup>9</sup> Or as another expatriate, Harvey O'Higgins, had an aspiring writer say in the autobiographical novel Don-A-Dreams (1906) just before quitting Toronto like his creator and moving to New York,

They [Canadians] don't charge you anything for printing your stuff--unless you want to bring out a book. You have to pay for a book. There's money in writing school readers, I understand--and City Directories. If they want anything to read after they leave school, they buy a set of Dickens or Thackeray, and enjoy the latest thing in literature. I'd sooner write ads for a New York department store on a salary of three thousand a year. (158)

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<sup>8</sup>Of the thirty-four titles I have been able to locate in "Robertson's Cheap Series," only Fleming's Lost for a Woman is of Canadian authorship. The bulk are pirated reprints of popular American authors of the period, including E.P. Roe, Mary A. Denison, Bret Harte, and Mark Twain.

<sup>9</sup>Qtd. in the Week of 12 Feb. 1892 from an article by Harte titled "A Literary Mecca" in a recent number of the London Literary World. The "main object" of Harte's article, the Week notes, "is to point out why there is no field in Canada for aspiring young writers, and why these aspiring writers go, or should go, to the United States rather than to London" (172).

The market for periodical publication in late nineteenth-century Canada was equally limited. Religious periodicals went forth and multiplied, but there were precious few secular magazines available to the Canadian writer, and even fewer that strayed from the tried-and-true practice of reprinting syndicated work by well-known American and British writers. In Montreal, The Canadian Illustrated News (1869-83) and its successor, The Dominion Illustrated (1888-93?), regularly published Canadian artists and writers. In Toronto, Goldwin Smith's Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly (1878-82) and The Week (1883-96) published original articles on Canadian culture and history, Canadian poetry, and the odd short fiction by a Canadian author. Saturday Night, founded in 1887, was a Canadian version of the by then numerous British and American mass-circulation fiction weeklies. T.H. Best's The Canadian Magazine (1893-1939), a popular monthly devoted to current affairs, short fiction, and photographic essays, made it a special policy to publish Canadian writers. In Manitoba, Alexander Begg's The Winnipeg Free Press (1872-) published some original poetry, fiction, and essays. In part because its most energetic editor, George Stewart Jr., had removed to central Canada, the Maritimes in the 1880s and 1890s was in the middle of an atypical gap in periodical publication: Stewart's Quarterly and the Maritime Monthly of Saint John had last appeared in 1872 and 1875, respectively, and the first issue of the New Brunswick Magazine would not appear until 1898.

If placing mainstream work in Canadian periodicals was difficult for the Canadian writer of the 1880s and 1890s, it was

even harder to find a market for writing aimed at three of the largest splinter markets of the magazine era: juvenile literature, avant-garde work à la The Yellow Book, and humour. The only Canadian competitors for giants of the children's magazine industry such as Boston's Youth's Companion and New York's St. Nicholas were Sunday school periodicals the likes of Pleasant Hours (Toronto, 1881-1929), and the odd short-lived secular paper.<sup>10</sup> For those Canadians who might wish to publish more experimental writing than that favoured by the mass circulation magazines, there were even fewer outlets: Toronto's Tarot, an illustrated monthly that featured "rather esoteric writing for Victorian Toronto," appeared for just two issues in 1896, and Theodore Goodridge Roberts edited the equally short-lived Kit-Bag in Fredericton in 1902 (Doyle, Fin de Siècle 85-86). Humour, too, was not easy to find an outlet for in Canada. In 1906, Herbert Casson asked readers of Munsey's Magazine to

Imagine a land of nearly four million square miles, and not one comic paper! If a Canadian writer does pen a humorous article in a moment of weakness, he is obliged to send it out anonymously. If he confesses his guilt, the consequences are sometimes serious. Recently a professor in an Ontario college, so a Canadian editor tells me, wrote a witty story for a New York magazine. As soon as it appeared, he was solemnly requested to send in his resignation. (478)

Casson overlooked Toronto's Grip (1873-94), which by that time was defunct anyway, but his point is well taken, and was

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<sup>10</sup>For a survey of Sunday school periodicals published during this period by Toronto's Methodist Book & Publishing House, see Friskney 69-73.

presumably not lost on aspiring Canadian humorists such as Robert Barr and Peter McArthur.

Also not lost on Canadian writers was the all too well-known fact that Canadian periodicals would not, or could not, pay anything approaching competitive prices to their contributors. As George Stewart Jr. wrote in a letter to the Week in 1894, "until Canadian [magazine] publishers make up their minds to pay their contributors a fair honorarium, they cannot expect to get the best productions of their pens." Those contributions, Stewart warned, have been and will be published instead in British and American periodicals.<sup>11</sup> Stewart was of course correct. Some Canadian writers continued to offer their work to native periodicals out of a sense of charity, or perhaps national duty, but many--and most of those who needed to live by their writing--sent their work out of the country. To cite just one of the more popular destinations, between 1882 and 1902 Boston's Youth's Companion published (and paid for) some three hundred articles, poems, and stories by Canadian writers (listed in Moyles 41-47). Ottawa poet William Wilfred Campbell, a contributor to the Companion in the early '90s, had by the end of 1893 earned over \$350 for his periodical verse--"not a cent of [which]," writes his biographer, "appears to have been Canadian money" (Klinck 84). Even those who, like Campbell, continued to submit their work to Canadian periodicals bridled on occasion. As late as 1906, Halifax university professor Archibald MacMechan

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<sup>11</sup>"Views of Canadian Literature," letter, Week 30 Mar. 1894: 415.

wrote the Canadian Magazine to describe the eight dollars he had received for his article on James De Mille as "starvation wages," and to warn that Canadian magazines "will not be supported from motives of patriotism alone." When the magazine offered the same amount to Toronto writer Marjorie Pickthall for a short story, Pickthall withdrew it, saying that she expected at least fifteen dollars. The story soon appeared in Boston's Atlantic Monthly (Gerson, "Canadian Women" 112).

Next to money, probably the most common complaint among Canadian authors of the 1880s and '90s was the country's deficient readership. Sara Jeannette Duncan called her native Ontario "one great camp of the Philistines." Walter Blackburn Harte noted bitterly that Canadians "only care for wheat, railroads and politics." Robert Barr nominated Canada "the poorest book market in the world outside of Senegambia."<sup>12</sup> (By 1890 all three had left the country.) But frequent as it was, this complaint is the least justified by the evidence. True, Canadians of the period were markedly less literate than their neighbours. As of 1891, the literacy rate in Canada was 80.34%, whereas the United States reported an illiteracy rate of 13.3%. For what these figures are worth, roughly 80 Canadians per 100 were literate, versus 87 per 100 in the United States. The actual difference, however, is certainly greater, for while the American statistic includes non-whites--with, on average, a far

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<sup>12</sup>Duncan, "Saunterings," Week 30 Sep. 1886: 707; Harte qtd. in Week 12 Feb. 1892: 172; Barr, "Literature in Canada," Canadian Magazine Nov. 1899: 4.

lower literacy rate than the white population--the Canadian quite pointedly does not: 55,401 Indians were "eliminated" from the reckoning.<sup>13</sup>

But if Canadians were less literate than Americans, they nonetheless had access to and appear to have supported a respectable number of bookstores and libraries. As early as the 1860s, according to Parker, there were bookstores in "every important town in the country" (131). By 1881, the nation's "booksellers and stationers" employed 341 individuals; ten years later, enumerators reported 514 merchants and dealers of books and stationary plus an unidentified number of sales clerks.<sup>14</sup> In 1884, to give a local example, four bookstores served Victoria's population of 10,000 (Parker 145)--a greater ratio than exists today. As for libraries, historian John A. Wiseman notes that by 1880, the year they came under the supervision of the Department of Education, there were about one hundred Mechanics' Institutes in Ontario alone (26). The Institutes lent works in technical instruction, science, and so on, but also, by popular demand, fiction: in one, the Toronto Institute, almost eighty percent of the volumes borrowed in the 1878-79 season were fictional (Wiseman 31).

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<sup>13</sup>See Census of Canada 1890-91 2: viii-x and Twelfth Census of the United States 2: xcvi. Both censuses define as literate those individuals of ten years of age or over who can read and write in the language they ordinarily speak.

<sup>14</sup>Census of Canada 1880-81 2: 317; Census of Canada 1890-91 2: 190.



Canadian booksellers of the era did face difficulties: higher postage rates within Canada than from America into Canada; competition with the low-overhead subscription houses and the growing numbers of Mechanics' Institutes and public libraries; the new bookstalls on trains and in train stations; the entry of the new department stores into the loss-leader book business; and the ability of colleges and libraries to skip the Canadian middleman and import books directly from other countries (Parker 230-31). But none of these hurdles indicates a problem with the Canadian readership--quite the opposite. The very fact that Canadian booksellers repeatedly bemoaned their losses suggests that there was a market there to be lost. Canadians of the period were reading: they just weren't reading, in the eyes of Duncan, Harte, and Barr, the right books. The book market in nineteenth-century Canada was based largely on the supply of "cheap books," which by the late 1880s was dominated by three sources: American pirated reprints of English and American authors, including, from the 1860s, the dime novel and library series; imports from Britain of cheap "colonial editions" of standard authors; and Canadian pirated reprints of American, English, and French books. In this active but highly competitive arena there could not have been much room for original Canadian books, especially since it was the one field in which publishers had to consider the author in determining their costs and therefore their prices.

Even if published, even if paid, even if read, Canadian writers still faced the problem of how to protect their work.

The full story of the copyright problem in early Canada is too complex to relate here; it takes its best historian to date, George Parker, the better part of a book to relate. But to summarize, borrowing from Parker, nineteenth-century Canada was governed by two bodies of copyright law, the first imperial and the second local. From 1842 to 1923, copyright in the British empire was controlled by the Copyright Act of 1842. Intended, like most early copyright acts, to protect native publishers more than the international rights of authors, the Act protected throughout the empire only those works that were first published in London or Edinburgh. It also prohibited pirated reprints of British copyright books from entering British territory. In 1847, however, under heavy pressure from the Canadian colonies, in particular, for "cheap books," this prohibition was lifted in the Foreign Reprints Act, which remained in effect until 1894. Under the terms of this Act, each colony would pass its own act to govern the collection of a special duty placed on each pirated reprint, which would then be paid to the copyright owner (in practice this duty was rarely collected and even more rarely paid). In addition to this colonial version of imperial copyright law, local acts extended some protection to locally produced and (usually) locally authored books. Such acts, which protected works only within their province or region, were passed in Quebec in 1832, Nova Scotia in 1838, the united Province of Canada in 1841, and the Dominion of Canada in 1868 (Parker 106-07, 115).

The upshot of all this for Canadian authors was that their work, if first published in Canada, was protected from piracy only within the relatively small market of the province or, later, the Dominion. The economic effect of this upon the vast majority of Canadian writers was of course zero. After all, although a phenomenon like Ralph Connor could, and did, lose thousands of royalty dollars to foreign reprints (Parker 248), presumably American and English printers were not waiting in line to pirate the latest sensation in Etobicoke. Moreover, after 1891 Canadian authors could circumvent the lack of protection by publishing their work first in either England or the United States and then arranging for a subsequent Canadian edition to secure copyright in their own country.<sup>15</sup> But along with Connor, some few of the more popular Canadian authors who chose to publish at home were no doubt affected by the lack of international protection--exactly how many or to what extent may never be known, given the ephemeral nature of the reprint establishments and their products. Just as important, with the "Copyright Question" being continually debated in Canadian newspapers and magazines, aspiring Canadian writers knew that success for a home-printed book included the possibility of being pirated abroad and sold at home with no remuneration to themselves.

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<sup>15</sup>While Bliss Carman's first book, Low Tide on Grand Pré (1893), was in press in New York, for instance, Carman asked his editor to arrange for a Canadian edition with William Briggs of Toronto in order to secure the Canadian copyright. As it turned out, Briggs rejected Low Tide and Carman lost his Canadian copyright (Gundy, Letters 58, 60-61).

In addition to the financial effects, the copyright problem undoubtedly had other, less tangible, effects on Canadian authors. In the long and labyrinthine quarrel that is the history of Canadian copyright in the nineteenth century, it was the author alone among the interested parties--the government, the reading public, the retailers, the wholesalers, the printers, and the publishers--whose interests were, as Parker puts it with characteristic understatement, "pretty well ignored" (211). The reprint publishers in particular, with their cries for the protection of Canadian industry, simply swung a much larger stick. Eventually, too, the effect became a cause: so many high-profile Canadian authors had left by the end of the century that few remained to speak on their behalf, though some, like Gilbert Parker in England, did so from exile. Finally, it is one of the unfortunate accidents of history that the principal debates on the "Copyright Question" came at a time when Canadian politicians went to the international bargaining table more intent on demonstrating Canadian autonomy than on any other objective. If England, France, and the United States wanted international protection for authors, then perversely, Canada did not: "We have the right," proclaimed Minister of Justice Sir Charles Hibbert Tupper in September of 1895, "to misgovern ourselves if we choose as to copyright, as we have in tariff and everything else" (qtd. in Parker 243). In such a climate the wonder is not that so many Canadian authors left but that any stayed.

### **That Is No Country for Young Men**

Few Canadian writers of the post-Confederation era knew better the problems they faced than Toronto's Graeme Mercer Adam. Adam tried it all: bookseller, publisher, editor, writer. At nineteen, he managed a Toronto bookstore. During the early 1870s he almost single-handedly wrote and published the trade journal Canada Bookseller. He started his own publishing house, and lobbied extensively for improvements to Canadian copyright law. He founded, edited, and saw the demise of some of the most important magazines of his day, including the British American Magazine, the Canadian Monthly, and Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly. He edited the "Royal Canadian Readers" series for Canadian schools, compiled bibliographies for Canadian libraries, and reviewed new books for Canadian newspapers and magazines. He wrote a popular history of the North-West, a school history of England and Canada, and a scholarly history of Canadian literature. On his off days, he wrote travel books on Toronto, Quebec City, Halifax, and Ontario's Muskoka region, and co-authored (with Ethelwyn Wetherald) a historical romance of Upper Canada. In short, Adam knew every aspect of the Canadian publishing scene, and everyone in it knew him: "Not to have heard of Mr. Graeme Mercer Adam," wrote Sophie Hensley in 1893, "would be to prove oneself not a Canadian, so many years has he been identified with Canadian thought and literature" (197). By the summer of 1890, after three decades of literary labour in Canada, Adam was ready to pass judgement on the fruits of that labour.

Speaking at a banquet of the Employing Printers' Association in Toronto, he remarked that "It is not so long since one of the most gifted of Australian poets blew his brains out just after the publication of his 'Bush Ballads' in Melbourne. Of the literary fraternity in the Colonies, the wonder is that he alone has sought to put a speedy and tragic close to the burden of life."<sup>16</sup>

Adam may have been the most qualified to speak on Canada's literary problems, but he was by no means the only one to do so. Virtually all those who left, and many who did not, voiced their complaints. Arthur Stringer, for instance, wrote that "No man can live by praise alone. The young Canadian dreamer who grows up under the blue skies of his Dominion is going to have a hard road to travel if he thinks he can prance his Pegasus between Montreal and Toronto, and pay for oats and horse-shoes when the travelling is over."<sup>17</sup> Nova Scotian Marshall Saunders, probably the first Canadian author to sell over a million copies of a single book (Beautiful Joe, 1894), recalled years later for a Toronto audience that "When I started writing I met with so little encouragement in Canada that I went to [the United States]--but without," she discreetly added, "the slightest resentment."<sup>18</sup> British Columbia novelist Constance Lindsay

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<sup>16</sup>"Canadian Literature," Week 4 July 1890: 486.

<sup>17</sup>"Canadian Writers Who Are Winning Fame in New York," Montreal Herald 2 Mar. 1901: 11.

<sup>18</sup>Address to Women Teachers' Association of Toronto, 26 Nov. 1921, Saunders Papers, Acadia University, Wolfville, NS (qtd. in Doyle, "Canadian Women" 30).

Skinner justified her long-term American residence by saying that "Alas! Canada has, as yet, failed to produce a market for her writers; and writers must live--at least we think we must."<sup>19</sup> Ontario poet Thomas O'Hagan wrote home to charge Canadians with praising their poets but not showing them any "practical appreciation"--money, or, as O'Hagan had found in Chicago, the security of a university chair. "It is not voices to sing the praises of Canadian poets that are wanting," said O'Hagan: "it is the means to buy bread while the 'fit is on them.'"<sup>20</sup> In New York, Hensley also invoked the lack of compensation for Canadian writers to explain why so many of them had, like herself, removed to other fields: in Canada, said Hensley, the writer must find "a reliable source of income, which forces literary work into the position of a mere supplement" (195).

No support, no readers, no money--reasons enough to leave Canada, but there may have been other reasons, reasons Canadian writers were either unable or unwilling to express. It is perhaps only clear in hindsight, for instance, that for young Canadian writers of the 1880s there were no extant communities of authors in their respective centres, or in the nation as a whole. By 1880, the old guard, the first rank of Canadian writers, was past or passing. In Halifax, Howe had been dead for seven years, and De Mille would die in January. In Saint John, Fleming had

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<sup>19</sup>Skinner to Snowden Dunn Scott, 8 Jan. 1920, Scott Papers, Archives of the University of British Columbia, Vancouver, BC (qtd. in Gerson, "Canadian Women" 109).

<sup>20</sup>"The Future of Canadian Poetry," letter, Week 24 July 1896: 834-35.

left for New York five years before. In Montreal, McGee, Heavyside, and Leprohon were in their graves, the last just the year before. In Ottawa, Sangster had published nothing since Hesperus for twenty years, and was eking out his remaining years in the post office. In rural Canada West, what was to be Moodie's last book was now five years old, McLachlan had published nothing for six years, and Kirby had just lost his royalties from The Golden Dog and with them any inclination for writing further Canadian fiction (Gerson, Purer 14). Of the more visible Canadian literary figures born between the century's beginning and 1840, only Goldwin Smith, Graeme Mercer Adam, Charles Mair, Agnes Machar, Catharine Parr Traill, and George Stewart Jr. were still active. And of these, Mair was spending more time at a succession of failing businesses in the West than he was at poetry, Traill hadn't written a work of fiction in almost thirty years, and the remainder were too few and too scattered to form any kind of community.

With perhaps some localized exceptions, the generation of Canadian writers who came of age in the 1880s and early 1890s had precious few living or active literary models. They were not born into what literary historian Richard H. Brodhead calls "cultures of letters," organized literary-social worlds that both define their audience and project a profile of the kind of authors they invite. As Adam admitted in his otherwise proud portrait of Toronto's civic achievements for George Monroe Grant's Picturesque Canada of 1882, "Toronto literary and journalistic



life has not as yet developed its club. . . ."21 But if post-Confederation Canadians lacked home-grown literary cultures, they had plenty of imported cultures to choose from, cultures that in a very real sense became their own. The expatriates of the 1880s and '90s were born into a literary landscape occupied not only by reprints of popular British authors, not only by the Canadian magazines so carefully documented in the Literary History of Canada, but also and indeed especially by American books and magazines. As a youth in Toronto in the early 1870s, Ernest Thompson Seton, for instance, swapped marbles for "the little contraband books known as Beadle's Dime Novels, a large number of which were lurking in the dark places of the school" (Seton 63). A few years before, Thomas D'Arcy McGee had regrettably observed that Boston was the cultural center of Canada: take a thousand, he said, of our smartest citizens, and while Montreal will be unknown to them as an intellectual community, "half will have been swayed by Boston books and Boston utterances" (A. Smith 31-32). In the late 1880s, Sara Jeannette Duncan testified in Toronto's Week that "Any bookseller in the city will tell us that for one reader of Blackmore or Meredith he finds ten of Howells or James; any book reviewer will testify to the largely American sources from which the volumes of his praise or objugation come; any newsdealer will give us startling facts as to the comparative circulation of the American and the English magazines. . . ."22

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<sup>21</sup>"Toronto and Vicinity," Picturesque Canada: The Country as It Was and Is, ed. George Monro Grant (Toronto: Clarke, n.d): 428.

<sup>22</sup>"American Influence on Canadian Thought," Week 7 July 1887: 518.

As the scarcity of legitimate publishers and the prevalence of bookstores suggest, post-Confederation Canada was largely a consumer culture, and America was largely what it consumed. "We have not been producers, to any extent," conceded the everywhere evident Adam in the Canada Bookseller of April 1871, "but that as re-producers, in the publication of American reprints, &c., our book firms have been active to an unusual degree" (qtd. in Parker 175).

In sum, aspiring writers who grew up in Canada in the decades after Confederation had ready, cheap, and plentiful access to American-based cultures of letters--to what those cultures asked of a writer, and to what they offered that writer. To some observers past and present, of course, this fact of access became a problem of influence: Duncan warned in her essay that "The literary faculty is more imitative than any other, especially in the earlier stages of its endeavour, and it is prone to imitate first in the direction of its own liking," and the Ottawa Free Press complained that American periodicals "have already moulded our language, are shaping the character of the young, and giving us our national ideals."<sup>23</sup> But these and the many subsequent complaints of America's cultural hegemony require that we limit our understanding of the literary history of North America to the concept of two neatly divided nations, and that concept can (this study exists to suggest) hobble as often as it can enable.

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<sup>23</sup>Ottawa Free Press 20 Sep. 1905 (qtd. in Moffett 96).

From a national perspective, Canadian writers of this period lacked literary cultures of their own; from a continental perspective, they were surrounded by such cultures. Raised to a significant degree on imported books and magazines, as young adults they read in the gossip columns of their own as well as English and American magazines about the new regionalist movement led by westerners and southerners (men and women, like them, from the continent's cultural margins), about young literary adventurers such as the English Rudyard Kipling and the American Richard Harding Davis, about the new journalism built by giants like Dana, Pulitzer, and Hearst. And they read of the attention these literary celebrities received, attention unheard of in Canada. Readers of the Week's "Literary Table," for instance, were greeted each issue with summaries and comment (almost always favourable) on the lead articles in major monthlies, with special mention of any by Canadian authors. Many of the magazines so abstracted were British; a sporadic few were Canadian. But the majority were American, among them the Atlantic Monthly, St. Nicholas, Forum, Outing, Harper's, the New England Magazine, Lippincott's, and the North American Review. The attention lavished on contributors to these American magazines could not have been lost on hopeful Canadian authors, any more than could the conspicuous absence of Canadian periodicals on the "Literary Table." The literary expatriates of the 1880s and '90s may not have been especially outspoken about this particular motive, but surely most wished for more than just survival, more than just

"the means to buy bread." Bread could be had in Canada; fame was the province of elsewhere. And Canadian writers chose elsewhere.

### **The Continental "We"**

The English-language cultures of letters of the 1880s and '90s centred around the metropolises of England and the United States. By a massive majority, Canadian literary emigrants chose the latter. Exact figures are not possible, but lists of known Canadian authors of the period offer an index of typical destinations. Of the twenty-two English-Canadian writers profiled in W.H. New's Canadian Writers, 1890-1920 who left Canada either permanently or for an extended period, for instance, one went to India, one to France, four to England, and sixteen to the United States. My own research has turned up almost a hundred Canadians active in the profession of letters in the United States between 1880 and 1914 (about a dozen of whom were expatriated as children), and, although not focussed on such, has not added significantly to New's English four.

Canadians chose America over England for a variety of reasons. Most obviously, travel to the States was cheaper, quicker, and easier: in 1876, to give an early example, Ontario visitors to the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia could for a fare of between sixteen and twenty dollars choose from among thirty rail and steamer routes to the Exhibition grounds.<sup>24</sup> More

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<sup>24</sup>The Canadian Centennial Guide to New York and Philadelphia By Thirty Different Routes...from Every Large Town in Canada. Brockville: Leavitt and Southworth, Printers, 1876.

fundamentally, many English-Canadians of the pre-War period found themselves more at home in American society. "If," as James W. Bell wrote in 1889,

[the Canadian] goes to the mother country, though a British subject of perhaps wealth and education, he knows that he and his countrymen have no influence on her councils, are not really sharers in British trials and British glories, and he actually feels on the whole less at home than in Ohio or New York.<sup>25</sup>

The first of these phenomena, it will be remembered, is that which defeats the imperialist aspirations of Sara Jeannette Duncan's Lorne Murchison, and the second, perhaps, that which motivates him at the end of The Imperialist to convalesce in Florida, not London. In another of Duncan's novels, Cousin Cinderella, Mary Trent echoes Bell's complaint while describing her reaction to England: "We were strangers really, though we knew the flag so well, and had sung 'Rule Britannia' since we could sing anything; such strangers that I felt sometimes as if we had rifled the flag out of Westminster Abbey, and found the song in a book of Runic rhymes" (51). Moreover, the Trents' anti-Americanism notwithstanding, Mary and her brother clearly feel that as Canadians they have more in common with Americans than with the English. As Mary says to an American visitor to London while discussing a faux pas born of idiomatic differences, "Let them laugh at us as much as they can. We can laugh at them a great deal more, because we're made that way, and they aren't, are they?" "I used 'we' continentally," adds Mary in an aside (213).

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<sup>25</sup>"The Future of Canada," Week 26 July 1889: 537.

In addition to this feeling of not really belonging in England, many Canadians also had a sense that England was massively indifferent to Canadian achievements and aspirations, literary or not. In 1889, publisher John Lovell, reporting to Ottawa on his failure seventeen years ago to secure reprint rights for British works, told the Privy Council that "The English publishers would not yield an inch. . . . Their ignorance of Canada was profound. They treated Canada as if it was part and parcel with the United States" (qtd. in Parker 174). In June of 1896, poet Duncan Campbell Scott protested in the New York Bookman that "The indifference with which the colonies have been treated in the past by the English people and its government is almost inconceivable; and Canada has suffered peculiarly from the apathy and want of heart which seems to pervade all dealings with colonial dependencies." A decade later, Scott again warmed to the subject in a letter to his friend, Pelham Edgar. "Why think of sending [your article] to an English review?" wrote Scott. "They are inhospitable to us and have no interest in anything we do." Instead, Scott urged Edgar to consider sending his work to the Atlantic, the North American, or Harper's.<sup>26</sup> Granted, Lovell and Scott may have had personal reasons for their charges of English indifference--a rejected manuscript for the latter, perhaps, or a failed business deal for the former. But there is some evidence to suggest that they did not exaggerate.

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<sup>26</sup>"Canadian Feeling Toward the United States," Bookman June 1896: 335; Scott to Pelham Edgar, 23 Feb. 1905 (Bourinot, More Letters 27).

According to Samuel Moffett, turn-of-the-century bestseller lists from the New York and London Bookman show that while Americans were reading Canadian books, the English were not. Comparing the top six bestsellers in Toronto, the States, and England from September 1900 to December 1902, Moffett found that Canadian-authored books accounted for ten percent of the Toronto bestseller lists, just under seven percent of the American lists, and zero percent--not one title--of the English lists (102-03).

Like the other million or so Canadians who crossed the line between 1880 and 1900, Canadian writers who chose America over England--or for that matter, over Toronto--did so because it was the customary choice. In the nineteenth century, as in the twentieth, North America's cultural fault-lines ran from north to south, not from east to west. A line on a map could not undo the combined and cumulative effects of a common climate, a common geography, a common heritage, a common language. For Maritimers, especially, Boston and New York seemed closer, more familiar than the cities of central Canada: it's worth remembering that in the late 1880s, around the time Sophie Hensley, Bliss Carman, and several other Maritime writers removed to the States, the premier of Nova Scotia was openly advocating secession from the Dominion (Daniells 205). Speaking of the relation between Islanders and Americans, the head of Prince Edward Island's largest school at the time noted that "Easy communication by correspondence or travel tends to obliterate national boundaries, and rather to erect them against Central Canada, which is more and more considered the overbearing, self-seeking sister province" (qtd.

in Angus 29). Even in central Canada, although Scott's June 1896 essay for the New York Bookman on "Canadian Feeling Toward the United States" argued strenuously that Canadians would not support any form of union with the States, his own observations demonstrated the extent to which culture and commerce had already effected that union:

Upon the frontiers of the countries there is hardly an atom of difference between them. The farmer of Stanstead and Mississquoi has the same characteristics as his neighbour of Vermont. He even speaks with a similar drawl. One passes the borders of Maine and does not discover that he is in the county of Charlotte or of York. The peninsula of Southern Ontario is swept by railway trains which shuttle across the border free as spiders upon the strands of their own webs; and the vernacular and the accent in which it is conveyed is hardly distinguishable on the northern and southern shores of Lake Erie. (334)

As Moffett would write a decade later, "The English-speaking Canadians protest that they will never become Americans--they are already Americans without knowing it" (114).

By the closing years of the nineteenth century, multiple and well-established ties bound Canada to America--bound, more precisely, Halifax and Saint John to Boston, Toronto and Montreal to Chicago and New York, Victoria and Vancouver to Seattle. Rail connections between eastern Canada and the U.S. had been in place since the 1850s, decades before the completion of the CPR, or even before the first line between the Maritimes and Quebec (Moffett 55-56). Ecclesiastical districts overlapped the political border; Canadian and American clergy transferred back and forth between the Maritimes and New England, Ontario and New



York, the Canadian North-West and the American West.<sup>27</sup> Touring theatrical companies out of New York and Boston regularly visited the cities of eastern and central Canada, enticing many young Canadians to seek their fortune on the American stage.<sup>28</sup> Professional associations and labour unions recruited on both sides of the border: at its 1905 convention in Toronto the International Typographical Union declared that it "knew no boundaries, and that so far as [its] aims and objects were concerned, no line existed between Canada and the United States."<sup>29</sup> Canadian and American natural scientists published in each other's journals, joined each other's societies, conducted field work in each other's countries, and developed continental vocabularies, theories, and casebooks (A. Smith 44-46)--casebooks such as (to name three from dozens) Frank M. Chapman's 1895 Handbook of Birds of Eastern North America (to which Seton contributed), or Leo Lesquereux's 1884 Manual of the Mosses of North America, or Israel C. Russell's 1897 Volcanoes of North America.

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<sup>27</sup>Canadian writers of this period whose initial removal to America was the result of an ecclesiastical education or transfer included Basil King and Arthur Wentworth Eaton (Episcopalians), Charles Aubrey Eaton (Baptist), and Arthur John Lockhart (Methodist).

<sup>28</sup>May Irwin (1862-1938) of Whitby, Ontario, for instance, became one of the best-known American comediennes of the 1880s and '90s, eventually earning upwards of a million dollars from the stage and real estate investments (Robinson, Roberts, and Barranger). Another Ontario native, James K. Hackett (1869-1926), became at twenty-six the leading man at the New York Lyceum, the youngest leading man in the city's theatrical history (WWNY; NOTNAT 400).

<sup>29</sup>Globe 15 Aug. 1905 (qtd. in Moffett 93).

Academic associations between Canada and the States were especially strong. As Thomas O'Hagan explained from residence at Cornell University in November of 1893, "Commendable . . . as is the Canadian system of education, it is lacking in one particular--provision for carrying on special investigation, or, if you will, post-graduate work. This want drives to American universities such as Johns Hopkins, Harvard, and Cornell a large number of Canadian young men [and women, as his own list shows]. . . ." <sup>30</sup> O'Hagan's theory notwithstanding, it wasn't just Canadian graduates who sought American degrees: according to a brochure mailed to prospective Canadian students by the Canadian Club of Harvard University, Harvard alone had by 1890 granted 495 undergraduate and professional degrees to Canadian students (the overwhelming majority of them from the three existing Maritime provinces). <sup>31</sup> Nor were American universities content to let

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<sup>30</sup>"Canadian Students at Cornell," Week 15 Dec. 1893: 62-63. In a letter to the Week of 24 May 1889 (p. 392), John Henry Long of Peterborough, Ontario, gave an alternative explanation for why so many Canadians sought degrees in the States:

The great reason why so many young men . . . have left Canada for the States is found in this fact, a fact which is very often ignored, namely, the training here is, in general, far better than it is there. . . . Why does the young man who is about to enter upon a profession take his course in the States and not in Canada? Because he knows that he can "get through" there far more easily than here. . . . I have not heard, however, that the suggestion has ever been made to lower our standard in order to stop this exodus.

At the time of writing this letter, Long was principal of the Peterborough Collegiate Institute and one of the most "eloquent champions" of Imperialism in Canada. Some time later, Long quit Canada for New York, where he taught the law--presumably without lowering his standards (CM 1912).

<sup>31</sup>Canadian Club of Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, 1890.

Canadians pay their tuition and leave. Bliss Carman's brother-in-law William Francis Ganong, who earned one of his several degrees from Harvard, taught botany at his alma mater from 1887 to 1893 before becoming director of the botanic garden at Smith College in Northampton (NCAB 14: 483). Cornell doctorate Eliza Ritchie of Halifax was associate professor of Psychology and Philosophy at Wellesley College throughout the 1890s (CM 1912). James Edward Le Rossignol, later to author five collections of short stories set in his native Quebec, taught psychology, economics, and political science at several American universities in the 1890s before settling into an administrative position at the University of Nebraska (WhAm 5). This is just a sample: by 1906, for instance, the University of Chicago alone employed twenty-four Canadian-born professors, and in 1910, American census records reported 428 Canadian-born college professors and presidents (Casson 477; Truesdell 213).

Finally, familial ties bound many of Canada's literary expatriates to the United States. A paternal ancestor of Craven Langstroth Betts, Thomas Betts, emigrated from England in 1639 and was a founder of Guilford and Norwalk, Connecticut. Carman's first paternal ancestor, John Carman, helped found Hempstead, Long Island, and his grandparents on both sides were among the 1783 Loyalists. Stinson Jarvis, Mary Bouchier Sanford, E.W. Thomson, and Slason Thompson also came of Loyalist stock. Marshall Saunders claimed to be descended on both sides of her family from the Mayflower pilgrims (Kunitz and Haycraft 322), and Sophia Hensley was a descendant of Cotton and Increase Mather.

What the October 1895 New York Bookman said of Carman could have been said of many Canadian emigrants to America, literary or not: "Mr. Carman's residence in the United States is, in a sense, the return of the native" (93-94).

### **Those Dependable Canadians**

Cultural ties matter, but the paramount reason why so many Canadian writers of the 1880s and 1890s removed to the United States was, of course, the obvious reason: more opportunity. Much more. Detailed comparisons between the Canadian and American publishing industries at the time are impossible owing to a lack of comparable records on the Canadian side. Suffice it to say that the entire Canadian printing industry at the turn of the century was less than half the size of New York City's book and job business alone. As a measure of the extent to which this critical mass attracted Canadians, it is worth noting too that by 1900, the year before employment in the Canadian printing industry reached 10,948, American printers employed over 200,000 people--5,136 of which were of Canadian stock.<sup>32</sup>

By the time of the 1900 U.S. census, the printing and publishing industry was of such importance to the national economy, and had demonstrated such remarkable growth over the past two decades, that the Census Office commissioned a special report on the state of the industry from William S. Rossiter, a Massachusetts publisher and statistician. Spanning over eighty

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<sup>32</sup>Fifth Census 6: 6-7; Twelfth Census 7: 13; Wickett 199.

pages of double-columned text and tables in the ninth volume of the Twelfth Census, the report focussed mostly on the periodical sectors of the industry. As Rossiter's figures make abundantly clear, these sectors were the market for the aspiring writer of the 1880s and '90s. Between 1880 and 1900, the number of periodicals published in the U.S. increased by eighty-eight percent. By 1900 America was producing over 21,000 individual newspapers and magazines with an aggregate circulation well in excess of 114 million copies per issue (1043). Simply put, American periodical publishers needed more and more copy to fill more and more pages. Not only was the total number of periodicals increasing, but the 1890s saw a proportional increase in the number of dailies at the expense of the weeklies, and of the monthlies at the expense of the quarterlies (1040). Advancements in printing technology had made this development possible, but the new presses could not write the copy to fill the pages they printed, however much their increasingly squeezed owners might wish they could.

By a curious twist of a cultural stereotype (one that later worked to their detriment), Canadian writers found in America not just more opportunity, but preferential opportunity. Americans, it turned out, liked Canadians--liked them better than they liked themselves. In November of 1895, a New York journalist known only as "An Outsider" wrote a lengthy letter to Toronto's Week exhorting Canadians to resist union with the States. Canadians, said the anonymous journalist, are vigorous and hardy, while Americans are "sybaritic, nervous, [and] have a dislike of

violent athletic exercise." Canadians "love learning for its own sake"; Americans love "degrees" and "certificates." A Canadian employee is "patient and plodding and trustworthy," while an American "is ever anxious not to do more than he is paid to do." Canadians are "quiet, sober, and amenable with regard to discipline," while Americans are "unreliable, impatient, unwilling to obey." Canadians are principled, but "Americans will not stand by any principle if another pays better." If, predicts "An Outsider," Canadians can only resist the corrupting influences of America, especially greed, "THEN YOU WILL RULE THIS CONTINENT!"<sup>33</sup>

Outsider may have been more enthusiastic than the average American in his (or her) assessment of the political potential of Canadians, but his assessment of their character was widely shared. Morley Wickett in Columbia's Political Science Quarterly of 1906 said much the same thing minus the capital letters, and offered an explanation for the "exceptionally high reputation" of English-Canadians in the United States: they come, he said, from a country of good education and strong religious influences which, because of its agricultural base and "invigorating climactic influences," encourages health, thrift, and responsibility from a young age (198-201). According to American historian Marcus Hansen, Americans right up to the War "cherished a kind of romantic notion that Canada was unspoiled, and that education, home background, and morals there were more solid and

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<sup>33</sup>"A Comparison: An Epistle to the Canadian People by a New York Journalist," Week 6 Dec. 1895: 31.

produced more dependable employees than did their counterparts in the United States" (261).

As with all stereotypes, what mattered was not truth, but conviction. And Americans were convinced--so much so, says Hansen, that American employers habitually retained agents in Canada to be sure of a steady supply of Canadian labour (261). The stereotype, which emphasized Canadian reliability, physical health, and even cleanliness, was probably a factor in the hiring of Canadian nurses by New York hospitals of the 1890s in disproportionately high numbers.<sup>34</sup> It may well have played a role in the appointment of Canadians to editorial positions on periodicals with an explicit focus on moral or physical well-being, such as Carman on the Independent, Thomson on the Youth's Companion, or Edwyn Sandys on Outing. And, especially given the predilection of American editors at the time for poems, stories, and articles of a robust morality in an outdoors setting, it certainly helped to create a disproportionately high acceptance rate for Canadian contributions to American periodicals. In 1899, Frank Lillie Pollock wrote from New York that

This is the very psychological moment for the new Canadian writer who wishes to obtain literary recognition in the United States. It is an admitted fact that it is easier just now for a Canadian to become so recognised, other things being equal, than for a mere American of the same ability.

For his part, Pollock attributed the "vogue of Canadiana" partly to "a very logical belief on the part of [American] publishers

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<sup>34</sup>Sophie M. Almon Hensley, "Canadian Nurses in New York," Dominion Illustrated Monthly Apr. 1892: 161-70.

that artistic work coming from a young country is likely to have in it more virility and crude strength than if it had emanated from the cafés and clubs of the metropolis," but mostly to "the work of two or three Canadian pioneers in New York," notably Carman and Roberts (434).

More so than Canada, the American periodical industry also offered increasing opportunities to Canadian women. In the last decades of the nineteenth century, a shift from newspapers as political-party vehicles to newspapers as popular entertainment licensed the entry of the woman reporter, who was seen as having talents particularly suited to the new domains of society news, community affairs, human interest stories, and of course women's pages and columns. In her work on this development, Canadian historian Marjory Lang implies that Canadian newspapers opened their doors to women reporters at the same time and to the same proportional extent as American papers. But Eve Brodlique, an Ontario journalist who left her job with the London Advertiser for Chicago around 1890 (CM 1898), tells a different story:

The hour and the woman finally arrived in the Canadian newspaper world, but not together--the hour was a little late in coming. There has not been in Canadian journalism, even approximately, the same influx of women that there has been in the States. There are several good reasons for this. First: that receptacle for manuscript, varied and sundry, that convenient vehicle for trundling ideas feminine, the Sunday newspaper, is not a Canadian product; it did not obtain in my day, and does not now. Nor was there then a "Woman's Page," nothing more than that now despised column bearing the heading: "Things of Interest to Women." The papers of the United States seem to have been the first to discover that there is no sex in brains. . . . The change in American journalism, which made a place for women, came rapidly, while in Canada the taint of old-time conservatism clung persistently, and the change came slowly.



"And so," said Brodlique in this 1896 interview, "[I] decided . . . to go into the Union and cross swords, or rather pens, with the newspaper women of the States."<sup>35</sup>

American and Canadian occupational statistics support Brodlique's version of the relative opportunities for women in the two countries. In 1890, women accounted for 4.1% of the journalists in the States, and 4.5% of the journalists in Canada. By 1900, however, American census returns were reflecting the change Brodlique speaks of, with women increasing to 7.3% of the profession (2,193 out of 30,098), and the Canadian returns were showing movement, if any, in the opposite direction, with women now holding 4.0% of the reportorial and editorial positions (52 out of 1,306). For authors, the discrepancy was far greater. In Canada, women represented 20.8% of the reported authors in the census of 1891 (58 out of 279), and 26.8% in the census of 1901 (15 out of 56). In the United States, women accounted for 40.6% of American authors by 1890 (2,725 out of 6,714), and 43.2% by 1900 (2,616 out of 6,058). Even in the printing industry opportunities for women were better in the States, with female printers and engravers increasing in Canada from 11.1% of the trade in 1890 to 13.9% by 1900, and their American counterparts increasing over the same period from 13.9% to 17.7%--though Rossiter, for one, suggests that this increase was less attributable to liberal thinking than to competition inducing a search for a "less expensive form of labor" (1040).

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<sup>35</sup>Mary Temple Bayard, "Eve Brodlique," Canadian Magazine Oct. 1896: 516-17.

Canadian women seem to have responded to these opportunities as avidly as Canadian men. Although there is no way to determine how many of these emigrated of their own accord versus how many were expatriated as children, the American census for 1910 reported 75 Canadian-born female editors and reporters (six more than in Canada at the time), 39 Canadian-born female authors, and 558 Canadian-born female printers and lithographers (Truesdell 213, 209).<sup>36</sup> In an essay on Canadian women writers and the American literary scene of the 1890s, James Doyle has suggested that "In spite of the proliferation of American literary magazines . . . and in spite of the remarkable success of male Canadian expatriates, no female Canadian writers seem to have been able to land similar editorial jobs" (31). With a few exceptions,<sup>37</sup> this is an accurate statement, but it needs to be qualified by the recognition that opportunities for women, whether as editors, reporters, authors, or printers, were more limited still in Canada.

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<sup>36</sup>For the occupational statistics not otherwise cited in this and the preceding paragraph, see, for the U.S., Twelfth Census 2: cxliv (journalists and authors) and 7: 13 (printers); for Canada, Fifth Census 6: 6-9 and Occupations 12 (1901 author figure only).

<sup>37</sup>Sophia Hensley, for instance, was an associate editor of New York's Health Culture (est. 1894) for a unknown period in the 1890s (CM 1912; ULS). Ethelwyn Wetherald served as editorial assistant with the Ladies' Home Journal in Philadelphia over the winter of 1895-96 (DLB 99: 342), and Montreal journalist Lily Barry joined the editorial staff of New York's Collier's Weekly in 1893 (CM 1898). In addition to editing a San Francisco women's magazine called The Search Light, Ontario journalist Helen Gregory Flesher served in the 1890s on the editorial staff of the Californian Illustrated Magazine (CM 1898; "Literary Notes," Dominion Illustrated Aug. 1892: vi).

### **Mecca, the Promised Land, and Modern Alexandria**

Like other Canadian emigrants to urban America in the 1880s and '90s, Canada's literary emigrants sought their opportunity in a variety of American cities, including New Jersey, Baltimore, Detroit, Philadelphia, San Francisco, Seattle, even Honolulu. Most, however, opted for one of the three literary centres of the period: Chicago, Boston, and New York. Of the three, New York was far and away the most popular choice, but the other two contenders merit a quick look--at what they had to offer, and at who they attracted.

According to the Canadian American of April 17, 1884, young Ontario men dissatisfied with rural life, and unable to find employment in hometowns that already had the requisite number of professionals, looked upon Chicago as the "Mecca of their ambition" (qtd. in Hansen 206). By 1900, Chicago was home to over 29,000 first-generation English-Canadians, making it the second most Canadian city in America (Twelfth Census 1: 796). Already renowned for its commercial activity, the city had come into its own as a literary centre, eclipsing Boston, with its hosting of the World's Fair in 1893. By 1900, the city boasted the second largest number of book-and-job printers in the States, reporting 594 establishments employing some 12,000 people (Rossiter 1084). In addition to publishing, Chicago of the 1880s and '90s was especially strong in the newspaper industry, with thirty-seven dailies by the turn of the century (Rossiter 1051).

Predictably, then, Chicago attracted Canadian publishers and journalists more than it did poets and authors. After a successful career of pirating popular authors (most famously, Mark Twain), Alexander and Robert Belford moved the headquarters of their Toronto publishing firm to Chicago around 1880, there becoming the largest publishers west of New York. George Doran quit his job with Toronto's Willard Tract Depository in 1892 for a position with Chicago's Fleming H. Revell & Co., becoming vice-president by age twenty-four. In the newspaper sector, Fredericton native Slason Thompson arrived in Chicago via San Francisco and New York in 1880 as western agent for the Associated Press, and thereafter occupied a dizzying number of editorial positions in the city, including co-founder and editor of the Chicago Herald, manager of the Chicago Daily News, founder and co-editor of the weekly America, and contributing editor for such Chicago dailies as the Journal and the Evening Post. Frederick W. Morton, a Hamilton-born journalist who may have been in the States from childhood, was a Chicago reporter and critic throughout the 1890s and the editor of a Chicago fine arts magazine, Brush and Pencil, from 1900 to 1907. Eve Brodlique contributed art, literary, and theatric reviews to the Chicago Times and Evening Post during the 1890s, and in 1897 was elected president of the Chicago Press League. Constance Lindsay Skinner worked in Chicago for several years just after the turn of the century as a writer for the Chicago American. Thomas O'Hagan, a late arrival to the city, served as chief editor of the Catholic organ New World from 1910 to 1913 before returning to Canada

after more than twenty years of teaching and writing in the States.<sup>38</sup>

"Boston," wrote the New York correspondent of The Prince Edward Island Magazine in April of 1899, "is the promised land of Canadians in general, and P.E. Islanders in particular, and there one comes across them in all walks of life, from the cradle to the police court." In Nova Scotia, Marshall Saunders deplored the Maritime migration to the city to which she had herself removed, calling Boston "a huge pulp mill into which Nova Scotia throws many of her sons and daughters."<sup>39</sup> In addition to this long-standing regional draw, Boston also attracted a particular kind of Canadian from across the country. In early 1891, Montreal lawyer William Douw Lighthall reported his impressions of the city in the pages of the Week:

England everywhere. Thought in everything. Those two phrases make up Boston. Next to the look of the people their manner strikes one as British. The kindly answers to street enquiries are particularly noticeable. In New York when you ask the way to Madison Square, the native glances at you a moment suspiciously and then gazing ahead, throws out something curt at you sideways. In Boston, he will go to the next corner with you if you need it, and he looks at you like a man, not a machine. In New York the "El" man jerks his reply at you like a clack of the car-brake he is

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<sup>38</sup>For the Belford brothers, see Parker 187-89, Hulse, and Stern; for Doran, DAB supp. 6: 171-72 and DLB 46: 119-24; for Thompson, DAB supp. 1: 688-89; for Morton, WhAm 4 and Mott 4: 147; for Brodlique, CM 1898 and Canadian Magazine Oct. 1896: 515-18; for Skinner, NAW 2: 295-96 and DLB 92: 366-69; for O'Hagan, CM 1912, WhAm 1, and WhAmAuth 1921.

<sup>39</sup>"Our New York Letter," Prince Edward Island Magazine Apr. 1899: 82; "No Place Like Home," Herald (Halifax) 10 Aug. 1895 (qtd. in Davies, "Literary" 246). "As far back as 1880," writes Gary Burrill in his oral history of maritime emigration, "there were already more Nova Scotians in Boston than in Yarmouth, Sydney, and Pictou combined" (4-5).

holding. In Boston, the "motor-men" on the "electric" answer with those rich voices which you only expect to hear in a Piccadilly bus-driver. (16 Jan. 1891: 109)

Busy Chicago attracted the upwardly mobile moderns, the printer-pirates and the new journalists. Boston, however, appealed to those Canadians who sought the opportunity of America but also the familiarity of the English cultural heritage. In Rossiter's turn-of-the-century survey, Massachusetts had considerably fewer periodicals devoted to news and politics than either New York or Illinois, but a disproportionately high number of literary periodicals (1068-73). Although the North American Review had moved to New York in 1878, Boston was still home to the venerable Atlantic Monthly and to established publishing houses such as Little, Brown, and Houghton, Mifflin. Admittedly, the city's tenure as America's literary arbiter was passing, even past, but this may not have been as apparent or as important to some Canadians as to others--or at least not as apparent, not as important, as the accents of a Piccadilly bus-driver.

Toronto journalist Edward William Thomson was one of those to whom such accents appealed. A Loyalist by heritage and a conservative by "every instinct," Thomson quit (or was fired from) his job on the Liberal Globe in early 1891 in disagreement with his paper's support of free trade. Shortly afterward, he accepted an editorial position with Boston's Youth's Companion, writing home that he was "nicely situated, with agreeable people in an agreeable city," and complaining only that Bostonians did

not celebrate the Queen's birthday with enough zeal.<sup>40</sup> Walter Blackburn Harte, a London-born immigrant to Toronto, lasted in Canadian journalism just three years before declaring literary success in Canada an impossibility and decamping for the States, becoming, after a year of reporting work in New York, assistant editor of Boston's New England Magazine in the spring of 1891. Bliss Carman returned to Cambridge (where he had studied in the late 1880s) from New York in 1894 as the editor of a new little magazine, the Chap-Book. An earlier arrival, Prosper Bender of Quebec, moved his medical practice to Boston in 1883 or 1884 and there began a second career as a free-lance writer, mostly of historical articles in such periodicals as the Magazine of American History and the New England Magazine. As already mentioned, Marshall Saunders joined the Maritime exodus, spending 1895 to 1897 in Boston before leaving again in 1898 for a two-year trip across the States to California. Another Maritimer, the Rev. William Benjamin King of Charlottetown, retired from his Cambridge ministry in 1900 and elected to remain in the city, becoming (as Basil King) a bestselling novelist. Hersilia Keays of Woodstock, Ontario, moved to Cambridge sometime around 1897 and there turned to fiction, producing some eight novels before her death.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>40</sup>Stinson Jarvis to Henry Morgan, 10 Mar 1895 (qtd. in Wollock, "Stinson" 50); Thomson to Archibald Lampman, [May 1891?] and 24 May 1892 (Bourinot, Letters 3 and 7).

<sup>41</sup>For Thomson, see DLB 92: 385-87 and DAB 18: 483; for Harte, Doyle's Fin de Siècle; for Bender, CM 1898 and WhAm 4; for Saunders, DLB 92: 327-30 and Waterston; for King, DAB 10: 406; for Keays, WhAm 4.

If Chicago drew primarily young Ontarians, and Boston welcomed Maritimers, New York called to them all. By 1890, New York had replaced Boston as the literary centre of America, a transferral of power famously adumbrated by William Dean Howells' acceptance in 1885 of an offer to join the staff of Harper's and his subsequent move from Boston to New York. A decade later, New York City was home to almost a thousand individual publishers and printers (Rossiter 1084). But it was the periodical industry that dominated the city's publishing market--and that industry dominated the continent. Partly because of the size of its domestic market, and partly because the superior reputation and distribution of its major periodicals had by this time secured markets across the States and into Canada, New York was throughout the 1880s and '90s the undisputed leader of America's periodical production. In 1890, the average circulation of a New York state weekly or daily was more than twice the national average. By 1900, the state was producing almost fifty million dollars annually in periodical sales, subscriptions, and advertising revenue--thirty million more than next ranked Pennsylvania, and nearly twice that of its own book and job business (Rossiter 1060-62, 1057, 1084).

In stark contrast to the situation at home, Canadian writers arriving in New York in 1890 could choose from over 1,600 periodicals published throughout the state, including 162 dailies (55 in the city alone), 927 weeklies, and 395 monthlies. Of these, some 900 were devoted to "news, politics, and family reading." The state also produced at least 98 general literature



magazines--more than a third of the nation's total--and two dozen of the new Sunday newspapers, which tended to publish just about anything that might hold the reader's interest (Rossiter 1070-71). In short, New York City of the 1880s and '90s was home to the most widely read magazines in North America. Even a partial list of those that had by 1900 achieved national circulation and reputation suggests the extent of the city's dominance over the various reading tastes of America: the Century, Harper's, and Scribner's, for instance, or Munsey's, Cosmopolitan, and the Smart Set, or the Nation and the Outlook, or St. Nicholas, or the Critic and the Bookman. Canadian expatriates worked or wrote for each of these magazines (Roberts, for one, had by 1900 contributed to them all) and dozens more, adding to, as much as benefitting from, the market they joined.

The American periodical boom of the 1880s and 1890s, concentrated in but not limited to New York, was the product of diverse and complex factors, including improvements to printing and illustrating technology, cover-price wars, the emergence of national advertising, and dramatic social changes in the readership itself.<sup>42</sup> But whatever the causes, the Canadian response to the boom was quick and sure. In 1887, Sara Jeannette Duncan wrote in the Week that "The market for Canadian literary wares of all sorts is self-evidently New York, where the

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<sup>42</sup>For the highlights of the periodical boom, see Rossiter 1086-91. The best overall history of American magazines remains Frank Luther Mott's five-volume History, thirty years in the writing: see, for this period, vol. 4, esp. ch. 1 and 2. For a recent reading of these developments along marxist lines, see Ohmann, esp. pp. 24-30 and (on advertising) ch. 6.

intellectual life of the continent is rapidly centralising." Although he thought that literary life in any major city was "apt to be neurotic and unwholesome," Frank Pollock conceded in 1899 that "From a financial point of view there is certainly no place like New York for the struggling 'free-lance,' be he Canadian or otherwise. . . ." Two years later, Arthur Stringer in the Montreal Herald called New York "the busiest literary market in the world. You may talk a good deal about Boston being the Athens of America, and you may confess to a weakness for English-made novels, but all along you can't shake off the immovable idea that New York, after all, is the Alexandria of the modern and somewhat decadent Egypt of letters."<sup>43</sup> For Pollock, Stringer, and many of their compatriots, New York simply offered their best chance at a literary career. The city was, as Stringer put it, their Alexandria--perhaps the most unintentionally apt of the utopian metaphors late nineteenth-century Canadians used to represent the promise of American cities, for while it suggests the peak of a culture's literary achievements, it also calls to mind the ultimate fate of those achievements. In the preface to his Remarkable, Unspeakable New York: A Literary History, Shaun O'Connell calls New York "the representative American city--heterogeneous, transient, energized by the dream of success, haunted by examples of failure" (xiv). Some of those dreams were Canadian. Some of those failures were too.

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<sup>43</sup>Duncan, "American Influence on Canadian Thought," Week 7 July 1887: 518; Pollock, "Canadian Writers in New York," Acta Victoriana Apr. 1899: 438-39; Stringer, "Canadian Writers Who Are Winning Fame in New York," Montreal Herald 2 Mar. 1901: 11.

## Chapter Two

### Agents of Modernism

Edith Wharton's now canonical society novels have taught us to understand turn-of-the-century New York as the hollow core of an America predicated upon wealth and superficial pleasures, as some sort of endless ball for the Four Hundred whose glitter barely concealed its lack of substance. But it is impossible to read at any depth in the popular literature of Wharton's period and not be struck by the readership's insatiable and seemingly genuine appetite for education and self-improvement. In the 1890s, at about the same time Lily Bart was lamenting the gilded manacles of life in The House of Mirth, Americans and Canadians living outside that house were educating themselves in droves, specifically in Chautauquas, reading circles, lending libraries, correspondence schools, how-to books, and Protestant churches, but more generally across the media spectrum, whether newspaper reports and "specials," articles and departments in the general-interest magazines, or informative or morally improving content in children's magazines such as St. Nicholas or the Youth's Companion. In fact, all media contributed to this culture of information. "Newspapers flourished, books at low prices multiplied, the platform was active," writes American magazine historian Frank Luther Mott, "but of all the agencies of popular information, none experienced a more spectacular enlargement and increase in effectiveness than the magazines" (4: 2).

Appraisals of this magazine revolution vary. For Mott, as I admit for myself, this is the golden age of magazines, an era when publishers, editors, illustrators, and writers were still excitedly fumbling their way into a new medium that had not yet ossified into the lacquered sameness of the industry today. For the less romantic Richard Ohmann, the magazines of the 1890s worked seamlessly with the forces of capital to create the mass culture of the modern age, using advertising to tell their audience what to buy, journalism to tell it what to care about, and fiction to tell it what to dream for. For the similarly minded T.J. Jackson Lears, the magazines and newspapers of the period were the not-so-thin edge of the modern wedge, their enthusiasm for individual and social improvement a reflection of the "Promethean optimism of the official culture" and their emphasis on information as the route to improvement a symptom of that culture's positivistic belief that the laws governing the universe and its occupants would ultimately reveal themselves to scientific inquiry (4, 20).

For writers, what this information culture meant was work--payment, exposure, fame for a few. Early in 1884, the author of a set of articles on the life of a New York reporter published in Toronto's Week noted that "About 1,000 men in a year go up to New York to seek admittance to one of the large offices." Very few of these, as the Week's author cautioned hopeful Canadians, and especially those without the all-important letter of introduction, "ever get past the boy who runs the elevator," but for those who did, reporting for one of the city's growing number

of dailies (58 by 1900) offered writing experience in a variety of genres, connections to editors on and off Park Row, and a salary of between fifteen to seventy dollars a week.<sup>1</sup> In return, all the job asked in these pre-professionalized years was a good education, an ability to write, and considerable ambition. As Lincoln Steffens said of his days as city editor of the Commercial Advertiser, "We had use for any one who, openly or secretly, hoped to be a poet, a novelist, or an essayist. I could not pay them much in money, but as an offset I promised to give them opportunities to see life as it happened in all the news varieties" (314).

As it did for their American-born counterparts, the daily press provided many of Canada's late-century literary migrants to New York with their entry into the profession of letters. Norman Duncan began on the Auburn Bulletin and moved to the New York Evening Post, while Harvey O'Higgins got his start in the city on Steffens' Commercial Advertiser and many others began by free-lancing "specials" to the weekend supplements of these and other New York newspapers.<sup>2</sup> For still others, the city's dailies provided employment throughout much or all of their known

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<sup>1</sup>"Inside a New York Newspaper Office" Week 21 Feb. 1884: 183-84; "Reporting in New York," Week 13 Mar. 1884: 233-34. John Coldwell Adams attributes the second of these sketches, like the first credited only to "R.," to Charles G.D. Roberts (Clever 239), but this seems unlikely: their styles are very different, and "R." knows his subject much more intimately than Roberts possibly could have.

<sup>2</sup>American writers of this period who began their careers as journalists included William Dean Howells, Stephen Crane, Theodore Dreiser, and Jack London. See Weber, esp. ch. 5.

careers. Herbert Sinclair of Hamilton, Ontario, for instance, worked for the Morning Advertiser while also, according to Sophie Hensley in 1893, writing "most creditably for the magazines" (204). Brownsburg, Quebec, native Mary Elizabeth McOuat moved to New York shortly after earning her BA in 1891 from the University of Toronto and entered journalism, working in particular, says Marjory Lang, for the Recorder and Tribune (83).<sup>3</sup> Around 1900 McOuat returned to Canada and took a position with the Ottawa Evening Journal, but within a few years she moved back to New York, where she briefly edited an educational journal for the New York City Teachers' Association before joining the editorial staff of the Tribune, her last known employer.

Another Quebec native, Acton Davies of St. Jean, worked for the New York Gas Company as a seventeen-year-old arrival in the city, but three years later his sketches and stories landed him a reporting job on the evening edition of Charles Dana's Sun, his home for the next twenty-four years. In 1893 Davies became the Evening Sun's drama critic; excepting assignments for the paper in Cuba and Puerto Rico during the Spanish-American War, he spent the rest of his life in the theatre, reviewing for the Sun and other periodicals, novelizing two hit plays, and toward the end of his life writing scenarios for several theatrical companies and the nascent film industry.

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<sup>3</sup>Lang's Recorder and Tribune, which doesn't appear in the Union List of Newspapers, may be a typographical slip for the Recorder and the Tribune, two separate New York papers.

Printer Sydney Reid left his native Toronto for New York in 1881 and within two years found reporting work first on the Brooklyn Union and then on the Brooklyn Eagle, the Union's more successful rival and his employer (excepting a stint with the World in 1891-92) from 1884 to 1895.<sup>4</sup> After leaving the Eagle, Reid free-lanced for a few years before hiring on about 1901 at the New York Independent, a general-interest weekly for which he wrote some twenty articles over the next two decades. Having, as he said, traversed the streets of New York as a "newspaper man" for over forty years, Reid retired into genteel poverty in the mid-1920s; he died at age 78 in a Brooklyn hospital.<sup>5</sup>

The most famous of the Canadian-born journalists in New York at this time left too early to be considered part of the late-century exodus: by his own somewhat incredible account, James Creelman left his native Montreal in the early 1870s at age twelve and walked the four hundred miles to New York to be with his recently separated mother. However he got there, in the 1880s and '90s Creelman was one of the city's best known figures, a correspondent for Bennett's Herald, Pulitzer's World, and Hearst's Journal whose dispatches from three wars and interviews with the famous became newsworthy events in their own right.

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<sup>4</sup>At least one other Canadian worked for the Brooklyn Eagle during Reid's tenure. Halifax-born Herbert Foster Gunnison (expatriated to the States as a child of six) came to the Eagle from the Brooklyn Times in 1882, beginning as a reporter and rising through the ranks to become business manager, publisher, and, by the 1920s, the paper's largest stockholder (Watts 30; Schroth 133, 155; WhAm 1; WWNY).

<sup>5</sup>Sydney Reid, letter, New York Times 12 July 1933: 16; obit., New York Times 22 July 1936: 19.

Perhaps his most celebrated moment occurred when he laid down his pen on 1 July 1898 to lead the charge of American troops on the Spanish-held Cuban village of El Caney, a moment preserved in paint by Journal artist Frederic Remington.<sup>6</sup>

Excepting paper-selling reports by celebrities like Creelman, most journalism in this period was published without a by-line, making it difficult if not impossible to reassemble the full roster of Canadian journalists in New York of the 1880s and 1890s: the list above is certainly incomplete. Better remembered by the bibliographic record are those Canadians who contributed as writers or editors to the city's booming magazine industry. Payment for magazine publication was higher if less regular than the work of the salaried reporter for the daily press. From the late 1880s to around the turn of the century the standard rate of the "quality" New York magazines (the Century, Harper's, Scribner's) for unknown writers was ten dollars a page, or three-quarters of a cent a word, and of the new ten-cent illustrated magazines about a cent a word. Cosmopolitan paid about half that; Outing only paid a quarter of a cent a word. Among the weeklies, Harper's Weekly paid a cent a word, and Truth, Once a Week, and Town Topics five dollars a column or about half a cent a word (Mott 4: 39-40).

As might be expected, earnings of the Canadian free-lance or contract magazinist varied considerably. Around 1900 Bliss

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<sup>6</sup>See DLB 23: 56-67 and Creelman's memoirs, On the Great Highway: The Wanderings and Adventures of a Special Correspondent (Boston: Lothrop, 1901).



Carman, estimated by Mott to have been one of the period's three or four most prolific magazine poets, confessed to his friend Arthur Stringer that in his best year as a free-lance he'd made just \$800.<sup>7</sup> As a free-lance "paragrapher" Peter McArthur received between fifty cents and \$2.50 a joke, rarely taking home more than twenty dollars a week (Deacon 10; Lucas 51). Harvey O'Higgins, after years of living on specials at five dollars a column, received \$1000 for a single story when he won Collier's quarterly fiction prize in 1907, beating out entries from F. Hopkinson Smith, Frank L. Packard, and Rudyard Kipling.<sup>8</sup> By 1909 O'Higgins' former roommate Arthur E. McFarlane was being paid prices for his magazine articles that would "fairly stagger some Canadian editors."<sup>9</sup> Palmer Cox made enough money from his Brownie stories for St. Nicholas and the Ladies' Home Journal and the resulting books to build a magnificent summer home, Brownie Castle, in his hometown of Granby, Quebec. By 1902 Ernest Thompson Seton had amassed a fortune of \$200,000 by investing his earnings from magazine appearances, lecture fees, and book royalties into stocks and government bonds (Keller 149).

Prosperous or not, all of the Canadian writers, editors, and publishers in New York of the late nineteenth century inevitably participated in the period's dominant culture of information.

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<sup>7</sup>Mott guesses that the leader was probably Clinton Scollard, followed by Carman, Theodosia Garrison, and Ella Wheeler Wilcox (4: 120). Stringer, "Wild Poets I've Known: Bliss Carman," Saturday Night 1 Mar. 1941: 29.

<sup>8</sup>Editorial Bulletin, Collier's 16 Nov. 1907.

<sup>9</sup>"A 'Special Article' Expert," Saturday Night 21 Aug. 1909: 10.

With one notable exception, the more successful among them leaned towards the antimodern side of T.J. Jackson Lears' cultural divide, contributing to, developing, and in several cases founding key sub-cultures within the therapeutic, outdoors, and new romantic movements that I discuss in subsequent chapters. Some of Canada's literary expatriates in New York, however, found places within the official culture, and it is these agents of modernism (in the historian's rather than the literary critic's sense of the term) that are the subject of this chapter.

We begin with two Canadian expatriates who edited magazines explicitly devoted to serving the official culture's thirst for self-improvement and education: Graeme Mercer Adam, who after working in New York for America's largest publisher (himself a Canadian) of the cheap reprints that were the book side of the information boom found himself moving to Chicago to edit the home-study periodical Self-Culture; and Charles G.D. Roberts' younger brother William, manager for over thirty years of the information weekly Literary Digest and the Canadian who (almost) bought Madison Square Garden. Next come three Canadians who enlisted in America's small but inescapable army of humorists, men and women paid to help their readers conquer with a smile the irritants of modern urban life: free-lance "paragrapher" and later editor of the comic weekly Truth Peter McArthur; secretary by day and paragrapher by night Mary Bouchier Sanford; and sharp-tongued satirist turned kindly children's author Palmer Cox, known across the continent as the "Brownie Man," the creator of the fantasy world most popular with American children (and

their parents) until L. Frank Baum sent Dorothy to Oz (Avery 143). Excepting Peter McArthur, who earned his paragraph in Canadian literary history by returning to his native Ontario, all of these are today forgotten or nearly so in the country of their birth. In the 1880s and 1890s, however, they with others were in the vanguard of the information culture we inhabit.

### Supplementary Adam

The seeds of Graeme Mercer Adam's expatriation were sown while serving as business manager of Goldwin Smith's The Bystander in the early 1880s, during which time he converted from his own protectionist stance to Smith's free-trade views, "possibly disappointed," speculates George Parker, "by the reverses suffered by the reprint publishers [including his own] and by the failure of international copyright to be implemented . . . ." (178).<sup>10</sup> By 1886 Adam had become secretary of the Reciprocal Trade Movement, and two years later he edited a collection of free-trade papers for the Commercial Union Club of Toronto. Late in 1888, he voiced his own support for continental free trade in a letter to the Week, arguing that "The stream of commerce, like the rivers, seeks the channels which nature has cut out for it."<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup>For Adam's publishing activities prior to his expatriation to the States see CM, Hulse, and Flitton vii-xxi.

<sup>11</sup>"Trade Relations with the United States," letter, Week 28 Dec. 1888: 58. Adam was at this time a staff writer for the Week; possibly his opinions were offered in a letter rather than an article so as to minimize offense to any protectionists among the Week's readers.

As has already been mentioned, by the end of the 1880s Adam was despairing of the literary opportunities available to him and others in Canada, writing in the Week in January of 1889 of his surprise that "the native writer remains in the field of active labour" and in December contributing a sobering article in which he enumerated the causes for the "literary exodus" to the States, causes that included indifferent readers, inadequate copyright protection, and discriminatory postal and tariff policies.<sup>12</sup> Finally, some sort of split may have occurred between Adam and his last Canadian employer, C.B. Robinson's The Week. Although Adam didn't leave Canada until 1892, his regular contributions to the Week end abruptly with the short story "In Love's Dear Thrall" in August of 1890.<sup>13</sup> When his Toronto, Old and New appeared in the spring of 1891 the Week reviewed it in terms that seem a little harsh for a former and faithful associate, calling it "about as good a thing of its kind as could be produced under the necessary conditions of its existence."<sup>14</sup> Stranger yet, the Week's "Literary and Personal Gossip" column, which typically took notice of major career moves of Canadian (especially Torontonians) writers, contains no mention of Adam in 1892, the

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<sup>12</sup>Rev. of Tangled Ends, by Alice Maud Ardagh, Week 4 Jan. 1889: 74; "Literature, Nationality, and the Tariff," Week 27 Dec. 1889: 59-60.

<sup>13</sup>Adam's only attempt at short fiction, "In Love's Dear Thrall" is a hopelessly crowded melodrama that reads more like the outline for a novel than a short story. Presumably it alone was not responsible for the Week and Adam parting company.

<sup>14</sup>Week 10 Apr. 1891: 304. Subsequent reviews of Adam's books in the Week were more charitable: see 11 Dec. 1891: 28, 25 Dec. 1891: 59, and 18 Mar. 1892: 251.

year of his departure. Even an unsigned survey from that year specifically devoted to "Literature in Toronto" omits mention of Adam, while naming other lesser lights.<sup>15</sup> But if a quarrel did occur, it evidently didn't extend to the rest of Toronto literary society, for when Adam and his new bride Frances Isabel left for New York in early 1892, Toronto's literary and publishing elite presented him with "an address and purse, in recognition of his long and important services to Can[adian] letters, and of regret at his departure from the country" (CM 1898).

Sixteen years before, in the fall of 1876, Adam had moved to the States to join Montreal publisher John Lovell in a venture designed to skirt the Foreign Reprints Act by in effect becoming a foreign reprinter, operating a branch plant in Rouse's Point, New York (just fifty miles south of Montreal) from which Lovell could legally ship pirated British reprints back into Canada (Parker 172). Lovell installed his son, John Wurtele Lovell, as the plant's manager, but shortly after Adam's arrival John Jr. left Rouse's Point, declared his intention of becoming an American citizen, and with Adam moved to New York City, where the two established Lovell, Adam, & Company, soon reorganized as Lovell, Adam, Wesson & Company with the acquisition of a third partner, Francis L. Wesson (Stern 199-201). During Adam's year with the firm it printed over sixty titles from its Broadway offices (CM 1898), but the partnership dissolved and in 1878 Adam returned to Toronto. Lovell, however, remained in New York,

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<sup>15</sup>"Literature in Toronto," Week 9 Sep. 1892: 645.

striking out under his own name and aggressively pirating standard and newer authors, many of them in "Lovell's Library," a paper reprint series he launched in 1882. By 1890 "Lovell's Library" numbered almost 1,500 titles, the John W. Lovell Company was selling seven million books annually, and Lovell himself had become known (and hated) as "Book-a-Day Lovell," the leading publisher of cheap books in America (Tebbel 346).

By the time Graeme and Frances arrived in New York in the spring of 1892, Lovell had already embarked on his most audacious enterprise, the United States Book Company. Incorporated July 1890, this giant trust aimed to eliminate competition in the cheap book industry by single-handedly becoming that industry: Lovell bought the plates to more than 3,000 volumes from a dozen major competitors, and soon controlled half of the industry's clothbound trade and three-quarters of its paperback market. He then proceeded to flood the market with "the widest range of 'series' the publishing industry had ever seen," reprinting fiction and non-fiction standards in libraries such as the "Westminster," the "Seaside," the "Columbus," and the "Canterbury" (Tebbel 348-49). Through U.S. Book and its many satellites Lovell also actively published books that reflected his own interests in socialism, labor, and women's issues; as his biographer Madeleine B. Stern argues, Lovell was a pirate with a social conscience, "a man who gave the masses the cheap paper-covered volumes that advanced their causes" (309).

Adam went to work for his former partner at the U.S. Book Company's headquarters on Worth Street in downtown Manhattan, he

and Isabel taking up residence near Union Square at 55 West 17th Street. He served as a reader and literary advisor for the firm, and according to Sophie Hensley was soon managing and editing its publishing branch (198). Early in 1893, however, the inevitable occurred--overextension drove the U.S. Book Company into receivership. The directors fired Lovell in January, and sheriffs occupied the firm's offices in April, effectively ending Lovell's meteoric career.<sup>16</sup>

Adam found himself out of work, though he may have stayed on with one of the surviving satellites of U.S. Book or with the American Publishers Corporation, as Lovell's creditors styled the firm they created to manage the wreckage. In 1894 the International Book Company, a U.S. Book subsidiary, reprinted a popular English history by Justin McCarthy with "Supplementary Chapters" by Adam updating the work to William Gladstone's resignation as Prime Minister in March of 1894. A History of Our Own Times was probably a U.S. Book publication that Adam completed after the firm's collapse, as other editions bear the imprint of both U.S. Book and the American Publishers Corporation. Also in 1894 appeared an illustrated biography by Adam of the professional strong-man Eugene Sandow, published by J.S. Tait & Sons, a recently formed New York house that had

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<sup>16</sup>After an unsuccessful attempt to do the same thing to the magazine industry that he had done to cheap-book printing, Lovell declared personal bankruptcy in 1900, listing no assets but "a lot in Woodlawn Cemetery." Lovell, who now exits Adam's story, never again entered publishing in anything approaching his former scale. He died in 1932, "perhaps partly out of boredom," writes American publishing historian John Tebbel, "because there was nothing left for him to promote" (350-52).

bought out part of U.S. Book's plates and stock (Tebbel 388). Again, Sandow on Physical Training may have been a U.S. book title that Adam completed for its new publisher.

On 14 December 1894, the Week reported in its "Literary and Personal" column that "our old contributor, Mr. G. Mercer Adam, has taken a position on the staff of that eminent publishing firm, Macmillan & Co., at the New York branch" (65). No more is known of Adam's work for Macmillan, whose offices were then opposite J.S. Tait's on lower Fifth Avenue. His next sizable project seems to have been assisting dime novelist Edward S. Ellis with a popular history of the United States, published in 1896 by the London house of Ward, Lock, & Bowden. As with the earlier English history, Adam provided an introduction and other supplementary material.

In May of 1896, Adam moved to Chicago to assume the editorship of a new home-study magazine. Founded the year before, Self-Culture was published by the Werner Company, American publishers of the ninth edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica.<sup>17</sup> Its subtitle declared it "A Magazine Devoted to the Interests of the Home University League," itself one of the many adult-education projects that sprang up in the 1890s, in this case in Chicago (Adam also served as the League's secretary). Issued semiannually, the magazine's reading program was largely based on reprints from Werner's Encyclopedia, though under Adam more timely material was gradually introduced and in 1898 the

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<sup>17</sup>Adam probably contributed to this edition; see note to The Encyclopædia Britannica (1893) in his bibliography.



magazine dropped the Home University concept altogether, while remaining what Mott calls a "magazine of information." Adam followed Self-Culture when it moved to Akron, Ohio in 1896, but was replaced as its editor in September 1900 by one William W. Hudson, who changed the name to Modern Culture and in 1901 moved it to Cleveland, where it expired a year later.<sup>18</sup>

Now in his sixties, Adam returned to New York and as Henry Morgan rather too applaudingly put it, "engaged in editorial and general lit[erary] work for the chief Eastern publishing houses" (CM 1912). After a number of odd jobs, including an introduction for a reprint of British poet Walter Savage Landor's Classical Conversations in 1901 and an essay on John Ruskin for the Beacon Lights of History series in 1902, Adam seems to have hired on as a house writer with the H.G. Campbell Publishing Company, apparently a minor reprint house based out of Milwaukee, Wisconsin.<sup>19</sup> In 1903 Adam updated eight popular biographies for Campbell's "Great Americans of History" series, including Eugene Parson's 1898 biography of George Washington, Howard W. Caldwell's of Henry Clay (1899), and Elizabeth A. Reed's of Daniel Webster (1899). For each biography Adam wrote a "Supplementary Essay," and probably also contributed the "Anecdotes, Characteristics, and Chronology" added to each. From

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<sup>18</sup>Although Mott's dates seem the more reliable, Morgan claims that Adam edited Self-Culture for six years after his appointment in 1896 (CM 1912). For the information on Self-Culture in this paragraph, see Mott 4: 54-55 and the entry under Modern Culture in the Union List of Serials.

<sup>19</sup>H.G. Campbell is not listed in Publisher's Weekly's directories of publishers for 1888, 1900, or 1919 (Tebbel, Appendix C).

1903 to 1906 Adam had a close connection with A.L. Burt of New York, a leading reprinter of low-priced popular fiction, standard authors, and home reference books. For Burt he translated a French novel (Confessions of a Clarionet Player), updated a popular history of Russia, wrote a biography of Robert E. Lee, and edited a selection of Lincoln's speeches. He also edited a history of Spain for J.D. Morris of Philadelphia (his most successful book, with nine known editions by 1939) in 1906, and in 1908 returned to his Canadian origins by editing for John Lovell Sr. the fourth edition of Lovell's Gazetteer of the Dominion of Canada.

Although not quite a career with "chief Eastern publishing houses," this, the last stage in Adam's long career in letters, seems to have earned him a measure of financial security, for by the end of the decade we find him and Isabel living at an uptown address on West 106th Street. Adam died in New York on October 30, 1912; his seventy-three-year-old body was returned to Toronto for burial.<sup>20</sup> Some thirty years before his death, in the summer of 1884, Adam had written a where-is-our-Shakespeare essay for the Week lamenting the general decline of original creative literature. "The literary men of the time," he observed,

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<sup>20</sup>Isabel remained in their adopted city, there to make the news twenty years later when she was initially denied a re-entry permit for a trip to Dublin because although she had resided in New York for forty years and had borne three daughters there, no record of the Adams' original entry into the States could be found and Isabel could not recall where they had crossed the border (New York Times 19 June 1932: 29; see also 25 June 1932: 7).

are, in the main, book-makers. They are compilers, adapters, re-issuers--doing eminent service, it is to be admitted, in making literature attractive to the masses, and apt in chopping up the feed to suit the varied conditions of the mental teeth and digestion. Too often, it is to be regretted however, they put the commerce of literature before their art, and, at the instance of greedy publishers, impair their reputation by continuing to quarry in worked-out veins, or in employing their pens in scattered and ephemeral labour. (12 June 1884: 439)

Ironically, Adam's assessment of the literary failings of his information age provides an accurate summation of his own career--a life spent reviewing, reprinting, rewriting, up-dating and supplementing the work of others, a life in service to modern culture's eternal return of the same.

#### **Will Roberts and the Literary Digest**

William Carman Roberts was just six years old when his brother Charles published Orion and Other Poems in the fall of 1880. Perhaps feeling the pressure of the family name, he turned to poetry at a young age, his first published poems appearing in the Dominion Illustrated in the spring of his sixteenth year. Like his brother, William (or Will, as both Charles and their cousin Bliss called him) attended the University of New Brunswick but quit in the spring of 1896 shortly before receiving his degree. According to a report in the Fredericton Reporter and an article several years later in the Canadian Magazine, he left school because of health problems and went to Washington to recover, possibly staying with Carman at Richard Hovey's family home.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>21</sup>Adams 77; A.B. de Mille, "Canadian Celebrities No. XVI: The Roberts Family," Canadian Magazine Sep. 1900: 429.

By early 1897 he had recuperated and moved to New York, taking up residence at a boarding house at 123 East 58th Street that was already something of a Canadian colony, home to both brother Charles and cousin Bliss, as well as at least one other Canadian, actress Madge de Wolf.<sup>22</sup>

Charles had come to New York in February to take a position as assistant editor of the Illustrated American, a general-interest weekly of which a friend from the Youth's Companion had just assumed the managing editorship. Within a month, he got twenty-three-year-old William a job in the weekly's offices on East 23rd, about two miles south of their boarding house between First Avenue and the East River.<sup>23</sup> As Charles remembered this period for his biographer Elsie Pomeroy, William's duties on the Illustrated American were light, not much more than the writing of an editorial a week on an assigned topic (150). His only signed contributions to the magazine were "a couple of full-page poems, appropriately illustrated" (Adams 77). By November, Charles was referring to William in his correspondence as "an assistant editor,"<sup>24</sup> but sometime before Charles himself quit the magazine in mid-January of 1898, William left to take a position on The Literary Digest, his home for the rest of his career.

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<sup>22</sup>Pomeroy 150; M. Miller 161; Gundy, "Kennerley" 70. Carman's biographer Muriel Miller consistently refers to this boarding house, run by a Miss Kelly, as being on West 57th, but both Pomeroy and Adams put it on East 58th, an address confirmed by Roberts' correspondence (Boone 236).

<sup>23</sup>Roberts to Edmund Clarence Stedman, 12 Mar. 1897 (Boone 231); Adams 73.

<sup>24</sup>Roberts to Stedman, 16 Nov. 1897 (Boone 236).

Called by Mott "the typical periodical of a generation which placed a high value on ordered information in many fields," the Literary Digest was founded in 1890 by Lutheran clergyman Isaac Kauffman Funk, co-founder of Funk & Wagnalls publishing house. Its first issue of 1904 provides a good indication of what it looked like during William's first decade on the weekly, and provides a window on the information culture it was created to serve. Thirty-two pages long, the issue opens with "Topics of the Day," this week featuring editorials on Democratic support for the Panama Canal Treaty reprinted from the Atlanta Constitution, the New Orleans Picayune, the Brooklyn Citizen, and several other American dailies. Next comes the "Letters and Art" section, including a feature called "Is Mr. Yeats a Decadent?" in which the editor summarizes with extensive quotation articles on Yeats in the Evening Post and the Independent. The "Science and Invention" section contains articles on a new firefighting device and on something called "Earth Currents," while "The Religious World" quotes from the London Church Times, the New York Outlook, and others on the subject of Herbert Spencer's religious beliefs. Next comes "Foreign Topics," "Notable Books of the Day," and "Current Poetry," this week reprinting poems by William Dean Howells from Harper's and Arthur Stringer from McClure's. The issue's final pages are given over to "More or Less Pungent," a department for reprinted jokes; "Personals," selected gossip from the periodical press, such as "How Grant Acquired the Cigar Habit"; a calendar of the week's events; and finally, a lengthy chess section. Although sections came and went, the Digest

retained the essence of this issue throughout William's tenure with the magazine. Like the Washington Current Opinion and the London Review of Reviews it was modelled after, it was a content-heavy magazine for readers who wanted to stay informed in all fields and who preferred a range of opinions to a strong editorial stance.<sup>25</sup>

William occupied a number of editorial positions over his almost forty years with the Digest. Its pages were entirely anonymous, a policy intended to emphasise its impartiality. From Frank Pollock, however, we know that by early 1899 William was the editor of a Digest department (436). He spent much of the rest of that year in England on an unidentified assignment for the magazine, leaving New York with Charles in early May and remaining in London after Charles returned in November.<sup>26</sup> In his letters, Charles refers to William as the Digest's literary and religious editor in 1906, as the political editor in 1928, and finally as the office editor in 1932.<sup>27</sup> According to William's obituary in the New York Times, however, for his last thirty years with the Digest his chief role was as its managing editor, a position from which he helped steer the magazine to considerable prosperity. By the mid-1920s the Digest had a

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<sup>25</sup>The information in this paragraph is derived from Mott's sketch of the Digest in his History of American Magazines (4: 569-79) and from the Literary Digest of 2 Jan. 1904.

<sup>26</sup>Charles G.D. Roberts to Susan Hayes Ward, 1 May 1899 (Boone 251-52); Adams 89.

<sup>27</sup>Roberts to Hamilton Wright Mabie, 24 Jan. 1906 (Boone 278); to Charles Bruce, 25 Jan. 1928 (364); and to Harrison Smith Morris, 4 Nov. 1932 (430).

circulation of a million and a half, second among American weeklies only to the runaway Saturday Evening Post. The magazine's phenomenal success in this decade, notes Mott, was largely due to its new election polls, which as "political editor" William may have had a hand in (4: 574-75).

William was not the only Canadian on the Digest staff. Sometime after the turn of the century a Prince Edward Islander, Hedley Duncan Vicars Ross, joined the magazine as a book reviewer. Ross (who signed his known publications H.V. Ross) was born in Rustico in October of 1871, and educated as a teacher at Prince of Wales College in Charlottetown and Dalhousie University in Halifax. Beginning in 1895, he taught at schools in Virginia, New York, and Connecticut, probably just long enough at each to fund his way through subsequent studies at Edinburgh, Harvard, and finally Cornell, where he received his PhD in 1900 for a thesis on Milton's Samson Agonistes. After leaving Cornell, Ross took up journalism in New York, writing "specials" for the dailies and contributing to "various mags. and periodicals" (CM 1912). When Ross joined the Digest is not known, but it was probably after it introduced a fairly regular book review section in 1903. Like everything else in the Digest, its book reviews are unsigned until at least the end of the War, so the extent and duration of Ross's work for the magazine is unknown. As for those contributions to "various mags. and periodicals," I have only been able to locate one American publication for Ross, a 1906 article for the New York edition of Review of Reviews on the rise of night classes for adults in business, trades, and the

arts, especially at the West Side YMCA. In 1907-08 he contributed two historical essays to the Canadian Magazine, but after that H.V. Ross vanishes like so many others from the bibliographic and historic record.

Like Ross, William occasionally published outside the Digest. Although Charles had remarked of one of his younger brother's early poems in an 1890 letter to Carman that "It is better than either of us could do at that age, ne'est-ce pas?" (Boone 115),<sup>28</sup> William soon gave up trying to emulate his more famous relatives. In the late 1890s he published a handful of poems in New York magazines, and in the fall of 1899 these and earlier efforts were collected alongside verse from brother Theodore and sister Jane in the Roberts' family volume Northland Lyrics, but by the turn of the century he had stopped publishing poetry altogether. He turned instead to prose, publishing articles on the Northwest Mounted Police and the recently re-elected Wilfrid Laurier in Munsey's, and some years later contributing a couple of political articles to the Craftsman, then edited by his wife, Mary Fanton.<sup>29</sup>

Will Roberts may never have won the literary accolades of his more famous brother and cousin, but he did achieve the

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<sup>28</sup>The poem was "Sicilian Octave," so far as I know unpublished.

<sup>29</sup>A native New Yorker, Mary Fanton was herself a noted journalist, formerly a staff writer for the Herald, Tribune, Journal, and Sun and an editor with several women's fashion magazines (obit., New York Times 15 Oct. 1956: 25). By the time of her marriage to William on 14 December 1906 (Boone 271n) she was managing editor of The Craftsman, a house-and-garden magazine that still retained something of its arts and crafts, Morris-influenced origins (Mott 4: 148).



financial success that eluded them for most of their careers. In fact, it seems clear from Charles' correspondence that in later years William financially supported both Charles and their youngest brother Theodore from time to time (Boone 406, 579). William and Mary entertained for years in their house at 142 East 18th Street, Mary, in particular, serving as "friend and hostess to many artistic and theatrical personalities."<sup>30</sup> William became involved in business pursuits outside the Digest, notably organizing the Garden Tower Corporation, which in January of 1917 purchased Madison Square Garden for a reported 2.4 million dollars.<sup>31</sup> He also served for a time as Professor of Politics at New York University.

In the 1930s William's Digest declined, a victim of the depression and of the new, fresher Newsweek and Time, the latter of which took it over in February of 1938 (Mott 4: 579). William left the Digest shortly before its final issue, and two years later he and Mary retired to an estate in Oswegatchie, near Waterford, Connecticut. Less than a year later, in early October of 1941, Mary was writing to Charles in Toronto to tell him that "Bill is quite ill, rather serious heart trouble. He is not allowed to work or drive, and is fearfully depressed. If you can spare us a few weeks, do come."<sup>32</sup> Charles did not visit in time:

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<sup>30</sup>New York Times 15 Oct. 1956: 25.

<sup>31</sup>New York Times 3 Jan. 1917: 4. The deal fell through because of title problems, and in 1921 the Garden's owners were ordered to return William's \$100,000 deposit (Times 23 Nov. 1941: 51).

<sup>32</sup>Mary Fanton Roberts to Charles G.D. Roberts, 4 October 1941 (qtd. in Adams 201-02).

on the evening of November 21, a chauffeur found William lying on a road near his estate where he had apparently collapsed from a heart attack during his customary evening stroll. He died in the State police car that arrived to take him to the hospital. The New York Times reported his death two days later, calling him an "ex-magazine aide" and "an authority on international affairs."<sup>33</sup> Mary eventually returned to New York, spending her last years in the since storied Chelsea Hotel on West Twenty-Third. She died in 1956 at age eighty-five, the Times granting her the same space it had her husband and reproducing a portrait of her by the artist Paul Swan.

#### **Jokes and How They Make Them**

In direct contrast to the humourless Canada that Herbert Casson lamented in his 1906 article for Munsey's, the American publishing industry in the closing decades of the nineteenth century was experiencing a comic boom, quantitatively and qualitatively speaking. More high quality humour magazines were published in America between 1885 and 1905 than in any other period in the country's history. St. Louis had its Commodore Rollingpin's Illustrated Humorous Almanac (1871-99), Philadelphia its Jester (1889-91), Chicago its Figaro (1888-93), and Boston its Harvard Lampoon (1876-current). Presiding over these and

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<sup>33</sup>The Times' obituary reported William to have been sixty-four years old, but he must have been at least sixty-six and possibly sixty-seven (William was born in 1874, but the exact date seems to be unknown).

many more lesser comic magazines were the extremely well-illustrated New York weeklies Life (1883-1936), Judge (1881-1939), and Puck (1877-1918), with Truth (1881-1905) and Tid-Bits (1884-90) not far behind. In addition to these humour-dedicated magazines, most of the new Sunday newspapers and some dailies featured regular "colyums" by established humorists such as Bill Nye, Opie Read, and Eugene Field.<sup>34</sup>

But not every editor could afford a Nye or a Field, and even if he could, he faced another problem their columns were ill-suited to solve. Less glamorous but more widespread than the "colyum" was the "paragraph"--to a cynic, the humour of available space. With newspapers increasing in length as well as number, type-setters were more pressed than ever for small blocks of text to fill out their columns, and jokes, epigrams, and snippets of light verse fit the bill--and the space. To the optimist, the paragraph was less a by-product of typographic requirements than it was a quintessentially modern development, a sign of the times. As one observer wrote in Toronto's Saturday Night at the beginning of the 1890s,

In this age, when the world is rushing on at a gallop, that which is concise and pithy 'catches on.' Hence the rise of the paragrapher, an essentially modern phase of literature. The humor, the satire, and the wit which long ago was driven to the world in bulky volumes and slashing articles is now served up in tart, spicy dialogues, paragraphs or epigrams.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>34</sup>Mott, History of American Magazines 4: 383 and American Journalism 483-85, 582-84. Tid-Bits was originally published by expatriate Canadian John W. Lovell.

<sup>35</sup>"Jokes and How They Make Them," Saturday Night 20 Dec. 1890: 7.

The equivalent in humour of the "crisp, racy and reckless style of composition" that the Week's newspaper insider told would-be Canadian journalists "characterizes every American paper from Maine to California,"<sup>36</sup> and like that style a reflection of the fascination with speed and newness that Modris Eksteins and others have argued typifies the modern consciousness, the "paragraph" spread like a virus through the periodicals of North America. Dailies and weeklies printed them by the dozen, and some of the monthlies began to carry them as well. Each, moreover, reprinted from the others, so that it was not unusual for a joke, epigram, or bit of verse to travel further and in many cases live longer than its author.

As the presence of a "More or Less Pungent" jokes department in even Will Roberts' Literary Digest betrays, the new turn to humour was not incompatible with the earnestness of the official culture's emphasis on education and improvement. Then as now, humour served the dual cultural purpose of on the one hand helping its audience accept rapid social, economic, and technological changes with a world-weary smile, and on the other teaching that audience to laugh at those who wouldn't or couldn't accept those changes--the fat, the rich, the poor, the rural, the stupid, the Irish, and especially and always the old. The paragraph was, as the author of Saturday Night's "Jokes and How They Make Them" recognized, "an essentially modern phase of literature," but what he or she neglected to add is that humour

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<sup>36</sup>"Inside a New York Newspaper Office," Week 21 Feb. 1884: 183.

is always modern, always the champion of the new generation and the enemy of the old, always the agent not of antimodern revolt but of modern acquiescence.

#### **Peter McArthur and Duncan McKellar**

"It is a well-known fact," wrote Sophie Hensley in the spring of 1893, "that in spite of the hundreds of comic newspapers printed all over the United States, the work required to fill the pages of these periodicals is done by five or six men. Mr. McArthur is one of these" (204). The Ontario-born son of Scottish emigrants, Peter Gilchrist McArthur began his career as a humorist in the late 1880s while a student at the University of Toronto, where to help pay his expenses he began submitting a weekly page of jokes to John W. Bengough's Grip. The \$2.50 a page he received from Bengough wasn't enough, however, and in early 1889 his debts forced him to leave university. Finding work as a reporter with the Toronto Mail, McArthur continued to pen jokes, epigrams, and light verse for Grip and Saturday Night. Encouraged by the reappearance of some of his Grip jokes in American periodicals, he also began submitting his paragraphs to various New York papers and comics, including Charles Dana's Sun, H.C. Bunner's Puck, John Ames Mitchell's Life, and Julian Ralph's short-lived Chatter. Enough of these found acceptance to satisfy him that, as his first biographer William Arthur Deacon put it, "his facility in joke-making would always provide food," and in May of 1890, at the age of twenty-four, McArthur moved to New York (10).

Upon or shortly after his arrival in New York McArthur moved into a Brooklyn boarding house at 15 Cranberry Street, apparently taking the same attic-flat that Bliss Carman had recently vacated for quarters across the river.<sup>37</sup> By September, McArthur was sharing his flat with a young American writer, Harold Hall, and with the ever nomadic Carman, who stayed with them for a few weeks before leaving for a writing holiday with Roberts in Windsor. In 1891 he acquired another roommate, Canadian illustrator Duncan McKellar.<sup>38</sup> A year older than McArthur, McKellar was born in Middlesex, Ontario, and like McArthur attended Strathroy Collegiate Institute, where the two had met and become close friends. Shortly after leaving school McKellar joined the staff of the Toronto News, but when its editor Edmund Ernest Sheppard left the paper in 1887 to launch Saturday Night McKellar went with him as the new weekly's first literary editor, drama critic, and illustrator (Deacon 7). He remained with Saturday Night for three years, publishing several stories in the magazine in addition to his editorial work and accepting for its pages some of McArthur's light verse (while rejecting his short

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<sup>37</sup>Carman lived in an "attic-room" at 15 Cranberry Street from his arrival in the city in February of 1890, but moved to Manhattan in May. Although Carman's biographer Muriel Miller implies that McArthur and Carman first met later that summer when McArthur looked up the poet at the Independent (66), the two may have roomed together briefly prior to Carman's departure. See Carman's letters to Louise Imogen Guiney of 18 Mar. 1890 and Muriel Carman Ganong of 8 May 1890 (Gundy, Letters 35, 37).

<sup>38</sup>According to Muriel Miller, McKellar was living with McArthur when Carman returned to Cranberry Street in September of 1890 (66), but Deacon (11) and Hensley (204) agree that McKellar arrived in New York in 1891.

stories) (Lucas 39). Sometime in 1891, McKellar left Toronto for New York to study like many other young Canadian artists of his day at the Art Students' League on 23rd Street.<sup>39</sup>

From their home on Cranberry Street, just a five-minute walk from the new Brooklyn Bridge, McKellar and McArthur set to work. McKellar submitted illustrations and written work to the city's editors while still attending classes at the Art Students' League, and by 1893 his name had spread sufficiently for Hensley to take notice and report back to Canadians that "In spite of his limited time, Mr. McKellar manages to keep up his literary tastes, besides contributing with pen and pencil to all the leading comic papers; he writes both in prose and verse for many of the well-known city publications" (204). McArthur, who had a year's head-start on his friend, had already made an arrangement with Harper's wherein they had first refusal of all his jokes; if their editor wasn't interested, he would pass them along to the editors of several other periodicals. As McArthur told Saturday Night readers in an interview conducted seven months after his arrival in New York, "Those that are left when all the editors have selected come back to me and I try to dispose of them to other papers until they have been all around." The system worked: by his first Christmas in New York, McArthur's paragraphs had appeared in Puck, Judge, Life, Town Topics, Chatter, Drake's

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<sup>39</sup>Ernest Thompson Seton studied at the League in 1884 with Ontario artist Charles Broughton, who later became a regular illustrator for Harper's Young People, Scribner's Magazine, Frank Leslie's Weekly, and other periodicals (Seton 240, 247; CM 1912). Jay Hambidge, discussed below, also studied at the League.

Magazine, The Epoch, The New York Racket, the Sun, and the Herald, as well as in Harper's Monthly, Harper's Bazar, and Harper's Weekly.<sup>40</sup>

During this first year as a free-lance McArthur claimed to be writing 25 to 50 jokes a day, and had had days of 120.<sup>41</sup> "I do not spend so much time now on what I see or hear for my ideas," he told Saturday Night. "I go upon the principle that every possible thought can be treated in a manner to make it humorous or pointed. . . . I have my characters, though, into whose mouths I put different sentiments, and they are as real to me as any novelist's are to him or her." As his last comment implies, most of McArthur's jokes are dialogues that employ a straight man to set up the punch line; he liked ethnic jokes, especially Irish, English, and "nigger" jokes, but apparently not Scottish jokes. Rarely more than mildly satiric, his paragraphs consistently avoid lewd or even suggestive humour. Alec Lucas, who some years ago examined 841 of McArthur's jokes, remarked that "Frequently the humor derives entirely from verbal play--puns, ambiguities, dialect, bad grammar, bad spelling, misapplied

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<sup>40</sup>"Jokes and How They Make Them," Saturday Night 20 Dec. 1890: 7. The author of this interview is identified only as "Van," a pseudonym unknown to either Vincent's directory of Canadian pseudonyms or Heggie and Adshead's index to Saturday Night. The subject and the timing of this and other articles by "Van" in Saturday Night invite identification with Duncan McKellar, by then the weekly's assistant editor. Whoever "Van" was, he or she claims to have been the one to have advised McArthur while he was at Toronto University to see Bengough about contributing to Grip.

<sup>41</sup>According to McArthur's son Daniel, the editor of Life once remarked that McArthur had "a joke output equalled only by two other practitioners of this exacting vocation; one of whom went mad and the other of whom committed suicide" (qtd. in Lucas 105).



metaphors and similes" (105). The samples selected from McArthur's work by his interviewer in Saturday Night should give some idea of both his own paragraphs and of the vocation in general:

LESSENS THEIR NUMBER.

Cynic--I am always happy when two fools marry.  
 Binnick--Why?  
 Cynic--Because they are made one.

THE CITY CHILD'S IDEA OF IT.

Teacher--How many of you can tell me something about grass?  
 Well, Johnny, what do you know about it?  
 Johnny--Please, ma'am, it's something you've allus got to ke'p off'n.

The fact that the good die young saves the world from a great many insufferable prigs.

THE DEAR GIRLS.

Ethel--My papa always gives me a book as a birthday gift.  
 Maud--How nice! What a fine library you must have.

GAVE HIMSELF AWAY.

Wife--John, did I hear you swearing?  
 Husband--I trust not. I didn't intend you to.

"THE GLORY AND THE NOTHING OF A NAME."

I met a poet once, a worthy man,  
 Who after years had won the fame he sought;  
 I wished him joy; he blushed and wrung my hand  
 And borrowed dollars from me on the spot.

Now more tedious than humorous, the genre (and many of its jokes) survives today, if nowhere else than in the pages of the Reader's Digest.

McArthur received \$2.50 for each of these jokes from the well-financed Life, but just fifty cents or a dollar each from the rest of his venues (Deacon 10). By the mid-1890s, after five years of free-lancing, he was earning something under twenty dollars a week, a living wage but not much more than he could have made as a cub reporter on one of the larger dailies and not

enough, apparently, to keep fears of poverty at bay. Then, on March 16 of 1895, McArthur recorded in his diary that he had received a note from his friend Tom Hall "telling me that he has been appointed editor of Truth. Am going to pay a call on him tomorrow by his invitation" (qtd. in Lucas 51). The next day, Hall invited him to become an associate editor of the magazine; McArthur accepted, and after some behind-the-scene negotiations began work at the Truth offices at 203 Broadway on 9 April. Three months later he was promoted to Truth's editor-in-chief at the princely salary of \$100 a week, apparently replacing the very man who had fought for his initial appointment.<sup>42</sup> On 11 September, perhaps emboldened by his new position and salary, McArthur married Mabel Clara Haywood-Waters in her home-town of Niagara-on-the-Lake.<sup>43</sup>

Mott, who uses the word rarely, calls Truth in the 1890s a "brilliant" weekly, one that at its best was "lively, enterprising, and beautiful." Founded in 1881, the weekly went through some growing pains until it reorganized ten years later with enough capital to add colour covers and attract leading writers and illustrators. From its start a chronicler of high society, the reinvented Truth retained this focus but under its new editor Blakely Hall added a dose of social satire and some

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<sup>42</sup>McArthur's appointment as Truth's editor-in-chief in July (Lucas 52) or August (Deacon 11) of 1895 seems well documented, but atypically escaped notice by Mott, who says Blakely Hall edited Truth until 1895, followed by Tom Hall from 1896 to 1898 (4: 84n26). The Library of Congress entry for Truth confirms McArthur's editorship, but gives no dates.

<sup>43</sup>New York Times 12 Sep. 1895: 2.

spice to its illustrations--not quite one of the "nudes in art" magazines, but plenty of actresses in tights and girls at the beach. By the time McArthur joined the magazine it had a circulation of 50,000 and was the leading competitor of Colonel Mann's high-society weekly, Town Topics (Mott 4: 83-84). Despite this success, McArthur promised readers a "new TRUTH," declaring that henceforth the magazine "will be clean, bright and entertaining. It will be filled from cover to cover with beautiful pictures, jokes, sketches, poems and stories; in short, it will in every way be the most interesting and readable publication in America."<sup>44</sup> Given that all these things were already true, or at least claimed to be true, of the magazine, it is possible that McArthur's promise of a "new" Truth was a reference to the departure of Blakely Hall, and that the key word in his announcement is "clean." McArthur's aversion to salacious humour has already been noted, and it is worth adding in this context that years later he would come out strongly in favour of censoring the "immoral and pornographic" American film industry (qtd. in Lucas 78).

McArthur did make some content changes to Truth, including reducing its pictorial emphasis, re-introducing its former interest in New York theatre via a column with himself as critic, and adding what he called "An Innovation in Journalism," namely "A Department for Deserving Domestic Animals" comprised of anecdotes about reader's pets (Lucas 55). He also contributed at

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<sup>44</sup>Truth 31 Aug. 1895: 2; qtd. in Lucas 53.

least two poems, seven short stories, and a satirical series of "Tales of Millionaires" under his own name, and undoubtedly wrote much unsigned material for the magazine. Perhaps the largest single change McArthur made, however, was increasing the magazine's already significant Canadian content--"those were," recalled Arthur Stringer a few years later, "the palmy days of Truth, when its columns bristled week by week, with good Canadian copy."<sup>45</sup> Ontario artist Jay Hambidge, who had been a Truth regular since its refinancing in 1891, contributed no fewer than nine covers and two dozen centre-fold illustrations over McArthur's time as editor. Duncan McKellar's artwork appeared regularly. Stephen Leacock, then virtually unknown, contributed some eighteen pieces. Charles G.D. Roberts weighed in with eleven poems, Duncan Campbell Scott with four (including his "The Piper of Arll," published in a two-page spread in the 1895 Christmas number with illustrations by Hambidge), Archibald Lampman with three, and Bliss Carman with at least one (Lucas 56-57; Deacon 12).

In July of 1897 McArthur resigned from Truth after a "fierce quarrel in the upper offices," the cause of which remains unknown (Lucas 52).<sup>46</sup> After spending the rest of that summer at his wife's family home in Niagara-on-the-Lake, McArthur returned to New York, there to spend the next few years in free-lance work.

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<sup>45</sup>"Canadian Writers Who Are Winning Fame in New York," Montreal Herald 2 Mar. 1901: 11.

<sup>46</sup>Lucas, who had access to McArthur's diary and other papers, doesn't know what the fight was about and if Deacon knew he never told.

Among other projects, he did some reviewing work for the American edition of the English Literature, wrote some short stories for a newspaper syndicate and some mildly critical essays on police practices and big business for Everybody's and Ainslee's, and started work on a comic novel.<sup>47</sup> Then, in 1899, he moved to Amityville on Long Island, where he and Jay Hambidge were to work on a series of illustrated humorous sketches on mathematics commissioned by Life. Their research, however, led them away from the original assignment into a theory of art that Hambidge called "dynamic symmetry," which somehow used Greek architecture and sculpture to formulate laws of natural proportion that eventually grew into an ontological as well as aesthetic theory (Lucas 26). Also that year came the death of Duncan McKellar, McArthur's old school-friend and roommate from the Cranberry Street days. Ill health had forced McKellar to give up his work in New York and return to his home in Penetanguishene, where he died of consumption (Lucas 172n1).

Two years into the new century, McArthur moved with his family to England to start a magazine with Hambidge devoted to their Amityville philosophy. The two quarrelled, and the magazine never got beyond its prospectus. McArthur published some satirical sketches in Punch and worked briefly for William T. Stead on his Review of Reviews and Daily Paper, but it was evident that England wasn't working out even before Stead fired

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<sup>47</sup>Pollock 438; Mott 4: 49. The novel, Cayuga Brook, was never published (see Lucas 47-48).

him, apparently on the advice of a California clairvoyant.<sup>48</sup> In April of 1904 the McArthurs returned to New York for what would be McArthur's last try at the city. Settling his family in Montclair, New Jersey, McArthur and a friend opened the McArthur & Ryder Publicity Agency out of a Broadway office. Intended to profit from McArthur's experiences as advertising manager of Stead's Daily Paper, McArthur & Ryder ironically produced instead McArthur's most widely read short stories in the form of three booklets of fiction he wrote to puff the products of a lock company, a door-check manufacturer, and a life-insurance agency.

A lack of clients also gave McArthur time to prepare his first volume of poetry, The Prodigal and Other Poems, which his friend Mitchell Kennerley (a British-born intimate of the Roberts-Carman circle) brought out in the summer of 1907. Throughout his years as a free-lance paragrapher McArthur had been producing the occasional piece of serious verse, publishing it serially in the Independent, Frank Leslie's, the New England Magazine, the Youth's Companion, Harper's Weekly and others, and at least twice privately printing chapbooks for his friends. According to Hensley he thought more of his verse than he did of his humour (204). The critics thought differently: apparently the title poem from The Prodigal was "extensively copied," but reviews of the volume in the New York Times and the Chicago Dial were lukewarm, with Christian Gauss objecting in the one that

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<sup>48</sup>For McArthur's English interregnum, see Lucas 48-49, 58-61, and 106-110, as well as his introduction to The Best of Peter McArthur (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, 1967): xiii-xiv.

McArthur's sonnets were too much copies of their Shakespearean originals and William Morton Payne in the other finding his inspiration "a little tame."<sup>49</sup> No more successful, McArthur & Ryder soon closed its doors, and the McArthurs gave up on New York and returned to Ontario, this time for good.

McArthur's career was far from over: in 1909 he started a column on farm life for the Toronto Globe that would run for the next fifteen years, produce several books, and win him "the widest personal popularity of any living Canadian writer."<sup>50</sup> But his life as an expatriate had come to an end, and with it his career as a paragrapher and to a large extent as a humorist. In his Globe column humour was always secondary to the earnestness of his new-found antimodern agrarianism, and he rarely made use of his former talent for churning out jokes and epigrams (Lucas 113). For the rest of his life he was the "Sage of Ekfrid," the genial narrator of the adventures of Fenceviewer the cow, Beatrice the Pig, and the other inhabitants of the McArthur family farm to which he and his family moved in 1908. There was a time, though, when his life was more bohemian than bucolic, a time and place when he had wondered "who would pipe on oaten straws / When he might suck mint-juleps through them!"<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>49</sup>Saturday Night 4 May 1907: 12; New York Times Saturday Review of Books 10 Aug. 1907: 492; Dial 16 Aug. 1907: 92-93.

<sup>50</sup>W.A. Deacon, "Peter McArthur: A Living Voice," Saturday Night 8 Nov. 1924: 3.

<sup>51</sup>From "To My Fashionable Fiancée," Prodigal 54-55.

When McArthur died in October of 1924, Lorne Pierce mailed a copy of a brief memoir McArthur had written of his days on Cranberry Street to his life-long friend and former roommate Bliss Carman. From the hazy heights of New Canaan Carman responded:

. . . we were just a bunch of young men full of happy life and loving friendships, and busy expressing ourselves, each in our own way as came natural to us. Peter and Duncan McKellar and Harold Hall, and all of us there at 15 Cranberry Street. The friendship was the great and lasting thing. A few drawings, more or less, a few verses more or less, a few of Peter's brilliant quips more or less, which he poured out in such profusion--what did these matter? So little, as compared to the exulting happiness of heart that was ours!<sup>52</sup>

#### **Mary Bouchier Sanford**

Like McArthur, Mary Bouchier Sanford began her literary career in the pages of J.W. Bengough's Grip. Born and educated in Barrie, Ontario, Sanford debuted in the Toronto weekly in the late 1870s with some humorous paragraphs in which one Bridget O'Flannagan, who would become a recurring character of hers, visited a regatta. Apparently Bengough liked what he read, for Sanford became a Grip regular, contributing two columns a week for the next several years.<sup>53</sup> In August of 1882, Sanford quit Grip for reasons unknown and moved to Cleveland, where she took a

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<sup>52</sup>Carman to Pierce, 7 Nov. 1924 (Gundy, Letters 325). A typescript of McArthur's account, entitled "I Remember," is preserved in the Edith and Lorne Pierce Collection at Queen's University in Kingston, ON.

<sup>53</sup>Sanford to Rev. W.A. Laughlin, 5 Apr. 1909, Mary Bouchier Sanford Papers, Ontario Archives, Toronto, ON.



position as secretary of the International Institute, a job that involved writing reports and reviews for the Institute's journal, the International Standard.<sup>54</sup> She remained with the Institute for seven years, quitting in July of 1889 upon the death of her employer, the Institute's president, and moving briefly to Baltimore before arriving in New York in 1890, the same year as McArthur.

In New York, Sanford settled in at an address off lower Broadway at 45 Cedar Street and found full-time work as the private secretary of a civil engineer specializing in bridge design. While in Cleveland Sanford had written little for publication other than her work for the Standard, but shortly after her move to New York she began writing again in the evenings. Although little of what Sanford wrote over the next decade has been recorded, her nightly labours are known to have been published in a wide range of venues, including general-interest magazines, many of the established and newer women's magazines, juveniles, religious periodicals, literary magazines, and most of New York's leading dailies. Her work spanned as many genres as it did periodicals, ranging from essays on anti-Semitism and homes for fallen women to juvenile verse and fiction, but her standby seems to have been humorous sketches and

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<sup>54</sup>Morgan says the International Institute was an Egyptological society (CM 1898), but the only International Standard in the Union List of Serials is the organ not of an Egyptological society, but of the International Institute for Preserving and Perfecting Weights and Measures (Cleveland and Boston, 1883-Apr. 1888). This seems more probable, since her work for an institute devoted to physical measurements would have qualified her for her next job, with an engineer.

paragraphs. She revived Bridget O'Flannagan for Puck, wrote humorous articles for Kate Field's Washington, the New York Tribune, and others, and "contributed squibs innumerable to the comic press, and to the comic dep[artmen]ts of other periodicals" (CM 1898). "Since [working for Grip] I have written hundreds of jokes, and humorous articles for a variety of periodicals," Sanford wrote to an enquirer in 1909. "I do that occasionally even now, for it does not require concentration of thought, and the little stories can be jotted down at odd moments."<sup>55</sup>

In the summer of 1897 Sanford published her first novel, a Parkmanian romance set during the seventeenth-century "massacre" of the Jesuit priests Brébeuf and Lalemant. Although several minor points of doctrine in The Romance of a Jesuit Mission offended some Catholic readers,<sup>56</sup> the novel was mentioned in the New York Bookman's "Eastern Letter" of July 1897 as having attained a "considerable sale" (441). Sanford's next novel, The Wandering Twins: A Story of Labrador (1904), returned to a Canadian setting but aimed at a younger audience, possibly to avoid the complications of her first romance. It too sold well, earning the recommendation of several reviewers for public and Sunday schools and eventually being adopted as a reader by schools in Kansas. Despite their respectable sales, these novels didn't earn enough to release Sanford from her secretarial job,

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<sup>55</sup>Sanford to Laughlin, 5 Apr. 1909, *ibid.*

<sup>56</sup>Sanford to Laughlin, 5 Apr. 1909, *ibid.* Sanford is probably referring to the review of Romance of a Jesuit Mission in the Catholic World of July 1897, pp. 546-48.

in part because she had signed contracts with both their publishers that would pay her royalties only on sales after the first thousand.<sup>57</sup>

Sanford continued in the engineer's employ for at least the first decade of the new century, but by about 1905 she seems to have largely given up on her off-duty literary work--perhaps because of failing health (the strain of maintaining two careers had resulted in a breakdown shortly after the publication of her first novel), perhaps because, as she herself said, the financial rewards were incommensurate with the effort. In 1909, she declined the offer of a North Dakota minister to collaborate on a romance, citing the demands of work and when the minister pressed the issue her exhaustion and age. "I know that some of my friends are disappointed," she wrote in reply, "that I have not continued to write and have not had more success; they often remind me that they are expecting some good work; but my immediate relatives, my sisters, urge me not to attempt it. . . . For I am really quite an old person, my hair is white." All she had time and energy for these days, she said, were the jokes with which she had begun her career thirty years before. "I should prefer to write a dignified romance; but a saintly deaconess, a dear friend of mine, thinks that harmless jokes have a useful place, and that I need not regard the writing of them as a folly."<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>57</sup>Sanford to Rev. W.A. Laughlin, 20 Jan. 1909, Mary Bourchier Sanford Papers, Ontario Archives, Toronto, ON.

<sup>58</sup>Sanford to Laughlin, 5 Apr. 1909, *ibid.*

Sanford eventually recovered her strength and with it her literary ambitions, writing at least five more novels between 1913 and 1930, her last known record of any kind. All of these later novels were published in London (suggesting a move to England, possibly after retiring from her secretarial job), three by the Religious Tract Society. None, so far as I have been able to discover, was ever reviewed in America. Unlike fellow paragrapher Peter McArthur, whose return to Canada secured him a place in the literary history of his native country, Sanford is today one of the forgotten expatriates, absent from all but contemporary biographical records of either her own or her adopted country. The date and place of her death remain unknown.

#### **Palmer Cox, the Brownie Man**

In February of 1883 the New York children's monthly St. Nicholas published a short illustrated poem called "The Brownies' Ride." Poem and pictures told the story of a band of small nocturnal creatures, the Brownies, taking a horse and cart for an evening ride. Over the next thirty-five years these creatures would multiply through eighty-eight periodical appearances, twelve books, a two-act cantata, and a three-act stage play. Their likeness would adorn everything from children's toys and pencil boxes to silver spoons and china dinnerware. They would ride the first bicycles, drive the first automobiles, fly the first airplanes. They would visit the Philippines, the Suez Canal, the Brooklyn Bridge, the Columbian Exposition, and the White House.

And they would make their creator, Canadian Palmer Cox, the most famous American children's author of his day: "It is doubtful," remarked a New York Times editorial on Cox's death, "whether any fashion in children's literature has ever swept the country so completely as Palmer Cox's Brownies took possession of American childhood in the early '80s" (25 July 1924: 12).

Palmer Cox took, quite literally, the roundabout route to New York. Born April 28, 1840 on a small farm near Granby, Quebec, and educated at the local academy, Cox worked after graduation as a finish carpenter on railroad car interiors in Springfield, Massachusetts, and later as a barn-framer around Lucknow, Ontario. At twenty-two, like many young Canadians, he determined to try his luck in the West, and on or about December 29, 1862, he left Canada for California, sailing via the circuitous Panama route.<sup>59</sup> In California, Cox again found work in the railroad industry, eventually securing a contract to construct cars for a railroad in the Napa Valley. But he also pursued a childhood interest in art, taking night classes at the San Francisco Graphic Arts Club and keeping a journal that he enlivened with verse and sketches. Soon, Cox began submitting his jokes, cartoons, and humorous verse to San Francisco papers, including the Examiner, the Golden Era, and the Alta California. In 1874, Cox showed the influence of another Alta California

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<sup>59</sup>I date Cox's departure from Canada by his final entry in Squibs of California (1874), a date he calls "the anniversary of my departure from my native fields" (486). For biographical information not otherwise cited in this sketch, I am indebted to Roger W. Cummins's 1973 biography, Humorous but Wholesome: A History of Palmer Cox and the Brownies.

writer, Mark Twain, when he published his first book, an illustrated diary based on his own journals and probably modelled after Twain's Roughing It, a copy of which Cox acquired soon after its publication in 1872 (Morgan 8). Like Roughing It, Squibs of California is a rambling, at times genial, at times cynical, account of Western types and incidents. "For launching this Book adrift upon the great sea of letters," wrote Cox in a prefatory note, "I have no apology to offer. Having carried the manuscript with me for a year, adding to its pages daily, it has grown too heavy for my pocket and I now saddle the public with the burden."

As it turned out, the publisher, not the public, was saddled with Squibs of California: it did not do well. It did, however, bring Cox one step further on the road to the Brownies. Prior to its publication, probably in the early summer of 1874, Cox had visited his publisher, Mutual Publishing of Hartford, Connecticut, in connection with preparing Squibs for the market. While in the East, he also spent time in New York, where he placed some of his work, notably a full-page cartoon on the reciprocity controversy for the cover of The Daily Graphic of 22 June 1874 (Morgan 8). Cox was urged to stay in New York and devote himself to his new trade full-time, but, undecided, returned to San Francisco for a year before deciding to make the move.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>60</sup>"'The Brownie Man' in His Long Island Home," New York Times 4 Mar. 1906, sec. 3: 5.

On Cox's return to New York in late 1875 he found work with the satiric weekly Wild Oats, "an illustrated journal of fun, satire, burlesque, and hits at persons and events of the day" (qtd. in Mott 3: 265-66). He remained with Wild Oats for over three years, contributing cartoons to it and like-minded periodicals and supplementing his income with work for noted engraver Frederick Juengling's new printing house, the Art Printing Establishment. Juengling fed Cox advertising work and published several cheap illustrated paperbacks by Cox for the newsstand trade: Hans Von Pelter's Trip to Gotham (1876), a picaresque tale of a Hoboken bumpkin's adventures in New York; the comic-book-like How Columbus Found America (1877); and That Stanley! (1878), a burlesque of Stanley's expedition in search of Livingstone. But the Art Printing Establishment closed its doors in 1879, and Wild Oats was showing the symptoms of its own demise two years later. According to a letter written to the Times after Cox's death, Cox and a colleague at Wild Oats, R.K. Munkittrick, tired of the magazine's irregular payroll and "resolved to make the fight alone. They engaged two small rooms in a Bond Street lodging house. . . . The struggle was a hard one, and a dime had to do heroic duty. . . ." <sup>61</sup>

In a 1916 interview, Cox explained that around 1878, he became dissatisfied with the "broad" humour of the New York periodicals he was contributing to, and at the urging of friends, decided to try his hand at children's humour. His first such

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<sup>61</sup>A.W. Munkittrick, letter, New York Times 10 Aug. 1924, sec. 7: 8.

effort, an illustrated poem called "The Wasp and the Bee," netted him his first publication in St. Nicholas and by his account four times as much compensation as he would have received from the humorous weeklies: "So all my engraver friends said 'I told you so!' and from that time on I did all my work for the children."<sup>62</sup>

In fact, Cox continued to write for adults (notably cartoons for Life), but the publication of "The Wasp and the Bee" in March of 1879 marked the turning point in his career. That same month, prestigious Scribner's Monthly published an illustrated poem by Cox, and later that year he was appointed chief artist for Uncle Sam: The American Journal of Wit and Humor. Uncle Sam, for which Cox designed title pages and contributed political cartoons, lasted less than a year, but the children's vein that Cox had tapped proved more abiding: his sketches, cartoons, and verses of "everything that could be dressed up in odd costumes and talk like human beings" (qtd. in Kunitz and Haycraft 97) began appearing regularly in children's periodicals the likes of St. Nicholas and Harper's Young People in New York, Little Folks in Chicago, and Youth's Companion and Wide Awake in Boston.

In February of 1881, Wide Awake published a short story by Harvard professor Arthur Gilman called "The Rebellion of the Types." The story, which recounts a revolt against spelling revision led by letters of type, contained an illustration that depicts twenty-six small creatures fleeing down a street, each carrying a letter of type. The illustration was by Cox, and its

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<sup>62</sup>Joyce Kilmer, "Palmer Cox of Brownie Castle Comes to Town," New York Times 16 Jan. 1916, sec. 4: 19-20.



publication marked the Brownies' first print appearance.<sup>63</sup> Cox based his Brownies in part on childhood memories of the legends recounted in the primarily Scottish-settled community in which he was born. His genius, however, was to transform the Brownies of legend from individual sprites who served only fortunate families into a fun-loving band motivated as much by curiosity as by their desire to serve humans. Over time, Cox separated some of his Brownies from the band, giving them a distinct but limited set of attributes with which children could easily identify--a key principle of modern marketing, and not the last time Cox would anticipate twentieth-century marketing strategies. As The Junior Book of Authors described the Brownies' evolution for a still attentive juvenile audience in 1934,

The first Brownies were just ordinary Brownies. Some had curly little antennae like bugs, some had long beards. Soon, to the delight of the children, [Cox] began to put in, one by one, special Brownies, the Irish Brownie, the Policeman Brownie, the Dude, a wide favorite, the Cadet, Chinaman, Red Indian, Dutchman, Sailor, Wheelman, and many others until there were forty or fifty kinds of Brownies in all. One of the very last was the Cowboy [also known as the Rough Rider] Brownie which he put in at the suggestion of President Theodore Roosevelt. (Kunitz and Haycraft 97)

Clearly individualized, the Brownies were nonetheless thoroughly democratic. Characteristically, when they need to build a vessel to carry them across the Atlantic in 1894's The Brownies Around the World, they choose a raft: "No state-rooms we'll provide / Wherein a favored few can hide. . . / But all alike, through storm or wreck, / Must take their chances on the deck" (20). Perhaps their principal trait, however, is their

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<sup>63</sup>"Chronicle and Comment," Bookman (NY) May 1896: 189.

inveterate curiosity, their eagerness to explore the changes that were altering the face of America, from automobiles and electricity to leisure and tourism: "The Brownies," writes historian Wayne Morgan, "gave children (and their parents) a model of technological progress as opportunity rather than threat" (7). In No Place of Grace, Lears cites as key examples of the late nineteenth-century's "rationalization of economic life" such corporate-technological innovations as the Corliss steam engine, the Brooklyn Bridge, and the development of national canal, rail, and telegraph systems (8-9)--the Brownies were there for them all. In one characteristic story, "The Brownies in the Academy" in St. Nicholas of April 1888, they marvel at "Electric currents," phrenology, microscopes, and a stereopticon machine. They also helped middle-class families adapt to the new concept of leisure time, official culture's cagey recompense for the "time-clock" that by the 1880s was governing the lives of many Americans: in 1886 alone, they went tobogganing in January, strapped on roller skates in May, toured a menagerie in July, played tennis in September and baseball in October, and visited a gymnasium in November.

The publication of the first true Brownies' story in St. Nicholas of February 1883 marked the beginning of a long if intermittent relationship between Cox and the magazine's famous editor, Mary Mapes Dodge. Although a persistent story has it that author and editor did not meet for five years (NCAB 7: 459), the two shared a view of children's literature as entertainment first, moral instruction second. As Cox put it, "the moral must

not be so strongly emphasized in any picture or story that it will frighten the children away." That way, he said, children would read for pleasure, and "get the moral lesson without knowing that they are getting it."<sup>64</sup> Between March 1883 and July 1887 twenty-three more Brownie stories appeared in St. Nicholas; all twenty-four were collected that fall and published as The Brownies: Their Book by the magazine's publisher, the Century Company. The Times greeted the first Brownie book with an enthusiastic endorsement of its perceived difference from Old World fairy tales: "long live the American elfkinship, the Palmer Cox Brownie" (24 Oct. 1887: 2).

In 1890, Another Brownie Book collected a second series of St. Nicholas Brownie stories together with thirteen previously unpublished. Then, in the fall of 1891, the Brownies found a new home for a time: Edward Bok, the new editor of The Ladies' Home Journal, signed Cox to an exclusive two-year contract, announcing in the September issue that "parents will laugh with their little ones as each month the Brownies will scamper and gambol across our pages" (qtd. in Morgan 15). This contract produced twenty-four new Brownie stories, collected as The Brownies at Home (1893) and The Brownies Around the World (1894). The first depicts the Brownies at appropriately seasonal activities for each month; in the second, they become tourists, visiting first Canada and then travelling by raft across the Atlantic to Europe, Asia, and the Polar regions. In May of 1894, St. Nicholas

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<sup>64</sup>Qtd. in Kilmer, "Palmer Cox of Brownie Castle," *ibid.* For Dodge's views on children's literature, see Mott 3: 501.

responded by contracting its own travel series from Cox, this time taking the Brownies "Through the Union," a series collected in 1895. Here again, the Brownies reflected modern social developments, their travels at home and abroad coinciding with the increase in travel (once the privilege of the upper class) to new middle-class resorts in such places as Newport, Saratoga Springs, Martha's Vineyard, and Asbury Park; to American cities, especially New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago; to the parks in Yellowstone and Yosemite; and to Europe and other foreign destinations (Ohmann 157).

On November 12, 1894, Palmer Cox's Brownies, a three-act musical by Cox and fellow St. Nicholas writer Malcolm Douglas, opened at the Fourteenth Street Theatre. The play ran in New York for a hundred consecutive performances, then went on tour for five years throughout the States, Canada, and England. Cox himself took a break from his Brownie stories (he'd been in print every month since 1874) and toured eight months of the year with the play throughout its run, appearing on stage each night to greet the audience (Morgan 18). Capitalizing on what was by now a Brownie craze, the play, in which the Brownies come to the aid of the Queen of the Fairies, was something of an extravaganza, requiring five railroad cars pulled by a special locomotive to transport its twelve sets and cast of more than seventy-five brownies, fairies, and demons. When it came to Toronto's Grand Theatre in March of 1896, the Week called it "one of the most notable attractions of the present theatrical season" and

promised its readers that the play would be "witnessed here exactly as it was produced in the metropolis" (6 Mar. 1896: 359).

Cox also had his hands full with another Brownie spinoff: Brownie products. By this time, the Brownies were beginning to adorn not just Cox's stories and books, but also toys, pencil boxes, card games, rulers, clocks, dinnerware, stationery, stamps, handkerchiefs, Christmas ornaments, sterling silver spoons, salt and pepper shakers, calendars, and many other products. Importantly, some of these were produced with Cox's permission and to his profit. On April 1, 1890, the first doll based on an author's character with the author's permission came into being when the Library of Congress, with Cox's approval, awarded a patent to Myra Whitney of Bradford, Pennsylvania, for her Brownie dolls of leather and cloth over a wire frame. The McLoughlin Brothers' line of Brownie products, which included toy blocks, scroll puzzles, and a nine-pin game, is the first line of toys ever made from an author's characters with his direct involvement and profit (the Whitney dolls were a cottage industry, and it's not known if Cox ever received any money from their sale). The National Biscuit Company's (later Nabisco) Brownie Biscuits were the first character-based food product, the progenitor of Spice Girls' gum. Indeed, with these and other negotiated agreements, Cox anticipated and may be said to have invented the modern concept of product licensing (Morgan 23-24).

From his days with Juengling's Art Printing Establishment Cox was familiar with the advertising world, and from virtually the Brownies' birth he put them to work in that world as well as

his own. Cox's full-page cover advertisement in Harper's Young People of 13 November 1883 for Proctor & Gamble's Ivory Soap, which features forty-six energetic Brownies doing the wash while the household sleeps, is the "first known use in advertising of an author's characters with his permission and to his profit" (Morgan 21). The Brownies eventually pitched more than forty commercial products, ranging from coffee to rubber boots to patent medicines (Cummins 101). Most effectively, they helped to sell the Eastman Kodak Co.'s new "Brownie" camera, introduced to the market in February of 1900. The happy coincidence of their name aside, the technology-loving Brownies made perfect salesmen for the new camera, helping consumers to see on the camera's box and in advertisements that photography was now accessible to "any school boy or girl." With their help, the Brownie sold just under a quarter million units in its first year of production.<sup>65</sup>

The Brownies returned to print in 1899 in The Brownies Abroad, and other stories and books followed until their final appearance, a prose story based on the Brownie play, in The Brownies and Prince Florimel of 1918. In their periodical, book, advertisement, and stage appearances the Brownies made Cox a wealthy man--the books alone sold more than a million copies in his lifetime (Kunitz and Haycraft 98). The Bond Street boarding house gave way to a Broadway studio, and in 1902 Cox built a

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<sup>65</sup>Kodak's official history doesn't say, but presumably the Brownie took its name from its designer, Frank Brownell, rather than from (or in addition to) Cox's Brownies (Collins 97). For an example of the Brownie advertisements, from the Youth's Companion of 1900, see Dickerson 34.

seventeen-room "Brownie Castle" in his hometown of Granby, complete with a Brownie turret topped with a Brownie flag overlooking a Brownie weathervane. In later years Cox summered in Quebec and wintered at Pine View House in East Quogue, Long Island: "I have never liked the severe Canadian winters," he told the Times.<sup>66</sup> After a short illness, Cox died at Brownie Castle on July 24, 1924; he was buried in Granby's St. George's Cemetery under a tombstone paid for by a collection taken among New York state school children. "Palmer Cox is dead; the Brownies have lost their father," the Nation reported. "Eleven of his thirteen Brownie-books are still in print: and hardly a year passes without a reissue of one or another of them. . . . that their popularity survives his death at eighty-four is eloquent tribute to his genius."<sup>67</sup>

Unlike the other expatriates included in this study, Palmer Cox did not, so far as we know, leave Canada to further a career as a writer. He is included here because of his success, because, while not looking for it, he more than any other Canadian writer found fame in America. It is possible, of course, that had Granby--or Montreal, or Toronto--possessed a culture of children's letters such as that which made the Brownies possible, Cox would have never have left at all.

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<sup>66</sup>Kilmer, "Palmer Cox of Brownie Castle," *ibid.* Brownie Castle, still standing on Granby's Elgin Street, is today a privately owned apartment building.

<sup>67</sup>Obit., New York Times 25 July 1924: 13; Le Brownie (Granby, PQ) 1.1 (June 1979), n. pag.; "The Father of the Brownies," Nation 6 Aug. 1924: 137.

Although Cox became an American citizen while in California, he suffered bouts of homesickness, writing in Squibs of California that "Ten years ago I turned my back upon all I loved" (486), and eventually returning to Canada to build Brownie Castle. But the necessary culture manifestly did not exist in Canada: although Canadian children seem to have followed the Brownies' adventures as avidly as their American counterparts,<sup>68</sup> they did so exclusively in American magazines and American books. Cox's work never appeared in a Canadian periodical, and the only known Canadian edition of his books is Rose of Toronto's Queer People and Their Kweer Kapers (1888), an amalgam of previously published work and probably pirated. And so Palmer Cox became an American, and his Brownies icons for a modern America--"almost as authentic and universal a part of American childhood," wrote the Nation, "as Cooper's red Indians" (6 Aug. 1924: 137).

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<sup>68</sup>An unsigned review of the first Brownie book in Toronto's Pleasant Hours begins, "One of the most popular features of St. Nicholas Magazine during the past few years has been the Brownie poems and pictures by Palmer Cox. . . . We can bear personal testimony to the delight with which one boy, at least, followed the Brownies' career from month to month in St. Nicholas" (10 Dec. 1887: 197).



### Chapter 3

#### Living the Significant Life

In August of 1892 a new publishing house and bookstore opened for business in the basement and first floor of 125 East 23rd Street. Advertising a "large and complete stock" of "Occult, Metaphysical and Christian Science publications," Lovell, Gestefeld & Co. was the ideological love-child of expatriate Canadian publisher John W. Lovell and one of his several proto-feminist authors, New Woman advocate Ursula N. Gestefeld. Designed as an outlet for Lovell's interests in socialism, progressive labour, and the single-tax (whose champion was a Lovell author) and Gestefeld's in woman's rights, the firm also published works on such subjects as mental science, theosophy, palmistry, astrology, mesmerism, and the occult, giving it what publishing historian John Tebbel calls "undoubtedly the most exotic list in New York" (350).

Eleven blocks south of Lovell and Gestefeld's bookstore, Italian immigrant Maria da Prato opened one of the several new Italian restaurants born from the city's introduction to spaghetti. By mid-decade, Maria's "Spaghetti hour" had become the favourite rendezvous of New York's rising Bohemian set, a diverse group of writers, actors, and artists united less by age than by social habits, including a fondness for Maria's "red ink." Nathaniel Hawthorne's son Julian was a regular, as were fellow magazinists James L. Ford and Theodore Dreiser, Julius Chambers and William Walsh from the New York Herald, James

Huneker and Richard Harding Davis from the Sun, humorists Oliver Herford and Charles Battell Loomis, artists George B. Luks and Archie Gunn, and poets Henry Tyrell, Richard Le Gallienne, Richard Hovey, Bliss Carman, and Charles G.D. Roberts. Guests were encouraged to sing a song, tell a story, or recite original verse: Henry Collins Brown, himself a regular, remembers Mickey Finn bringing the house down with "Slattery's Baby," and Frank Pollock records that Carman "enraptured the house" with his reciting of "The Unsainting of Kavin." Tyrell even composed a sonnet in Maria's honour:

How oft, Marie [sic], hostess debonair,  
 Have we, gay wanderers in Bohemia's way,  
 Gathered at closing of a weary day  
 To feast on thy minastra past compare!  
 Thou makest spaghetti and ambrosial fare,  
 And oh, thy ravioli! Hence we say  
Salute! and as staunch admirers may  
 Pledge thee in Tuscan rose Chianti rare.  
 The storms of fate and weather beat in vain  
 Around the walls that comradeship enclose,  
 Who haply entereth in thy domain,  
 Dulness resigneth, care to the four winds throws.  
 For hid in cold Manhattan though it be,  
 The place is part of sunny Italy.

Sometime early in the new century, the "chartered colony of Bohemia" closed its doors, Maria retiring to Italy and her patrons to the offices and studios of the modern professional. By 1914, noted the Bookman, the word Bohemian had become "quaintly obsolete."<sup>1</sup>

Different as they may seem, Lovell & Gestefeld's metaphysical bookstore and Maria's spaghetti hour served a common

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<sup>1</sup>Brown 384-85, 391; Pollock 435; Duffy 521-22. Brown at one point locates Maria's on 22nd St. (391), but at another on 12th St. (384), the address given by both Pollock and Duffy.

impulse. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, as T.J. Jackson Lears has shown, many prominent members of the American bourgeoisie began to recoil from the modern world so eagerly explored by Cox's Brownies. This antimodernism, as Lears calls it, took many forms. Lovell & Gestefeld's bookstore catered to those Americans, among them Mesmerists, Christian Scientists, Theosophists, and other factions of the therapeutic movement, who sought to counter the rationalizing scientism of the age by stressing science's subservience to moral and spiritual ends. Maria's restaurant provided a haven for those who, like Tyrell, sought respite from "cold Manhattan" in the simple, authentic pleasures of camaraderie and an unassuming cuisine, as well as an opportunity for those who wanted to live, if only briefly, beyond the bounds of social conventions, "to live life," as Le Gallienne put it in his biography of the decade, "significantly--keenly and beautifully, personally and, if need be, daringly. . . ."²

Elsewhere on the antimodernist map, aesthetes and social reformers advocated replacing the numbing routine of the modern factory or office worker with the simple but satisfying life of the medieval craftsman. Militarists and hunters, reacting against what they perceived as an increasingly domesticated culture, urged a more strenuous life. Religious enthusiasts, dissatisfied with the softness of late-century liberal Protestantism, yearned for the conviction and ecstasy of more ancient religions, especially eastern and mystical. Uniting

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²The Romantic '90s (New York: Doubleday, Page, 1925) 271 (qtd. in Adams 75).

these movements, says Lears, was their reaction against the overcivilization of modern existence, and a corresponding search for more authentic means of being: "Disparate as their odysseys were, these critics shared a common view that modern culture had narrowed the range and diffused the intensity of human existence. They longed to rekindle possibilities for authentic experience, physical or spiritual--possibilities they felt had existed once before, long ago" (57).

In part, perhaps, because of their less modern origins, Canadian expatriates played especially prominent and in several cases leading roles in American antimodern culture, especially that face of its therapeutic movement that came to be known as New Thought. New York of the 1890s was the epitome of the modern, and for all that Canadian writers recognized and sought the opportunities of the city, most struggled with their transition from Canada's smaller centres to the world's fastest growing metropolis. Most worked out this struggle in occasional nostalgia, such as Pollock's "The Lost Trail," published in the Atlantic Monthly of May 1901:

While the drizzle falls on the slimy pavement, swelling  
 The yellow gutters' flow,  
 And the ways are dense with the hosts of buying, selling,  
 And hurrying to and fro,  
 I know that out in the North the winds are crying  
 Round the willowed shores of the long white lakes outlying,  
 And the black pine woods where my old lost friends are dwelling,  
 And the splendor of the snow. . . . (722)<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>Virtually all of the Canadian expatriates who wrote verse either occasionally or full-time produced at some point in their stateside careers, usually early, a similar lyric of exile. I discuss these poems in greater detail in chapter 5.

Many, however, threw themselves more fully into the projects of antimodernism, whether the revolt against urban complexity that animated Bliss Carman's Vagabondia series, the retreat from the modern west into the ancient east that produced Craven Langstroth Betts' The Perfume-Holder, or the rescue of the primal self from the materialistic banality of modern culture that motivated the forays into mesmerism, theosophy, mental healing, and early psychiatry of Carman, Stinson Jarvis, John and Ella McLean, Charles Brodie Patterson, and Sophia Almon Hensley.

#### **The Apostle of the Vagabonds**

Bliss Carman never liked New York. In the city for less than two months, he wrote to his Boston friend Maude Mosher that

New York is so beastly big it makes me tired. . . .  
Cosmopolitan be damned! . . . I want a decent handy town  
like Boston where you can get around and know people, and  
find what you want--not a great big barn of hideousness!  
Yes sir, New York is too big for any use.<sup>4</sup>

After a few years in the city he was complaining to another New England friend that "New York will never give the world any great artist; but will kill everyone who goes into it," and arguing in print that while living in Canada cut Canadian poets off from the intellectual currents of London, it also insulated them from "the deadly blight of New York, that center of American letters, that gangrene of politics on the body of democracy."<sup>5</sup> But for all

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<sup>4</sup>Carman to Maude Mosher, 9 Apr. 1890 (Gundy, Letters 37).

<sup>5</sup>Carman to Gertrude Burton, [Aug. 1894] (Gundy, Letters 76); Carman, "Contemporaries V: Mr. Charles G.D. Roberts," Chap-Book 1 Jan. 1895 (qtd. in Whalen 81n15).

Carman's aversion to New York, he also recognized the limitations of a literary career in Canada, writing to his cousin Charles in 1883 or 1884, for instance, that Fredericton was "not much of a place to get ahead in," and to his sister Muriel in 1887 that "Boston is one of the few places where my critical education and tastes could be of any use to me in earning money. New York and London are about the only other places."<sup>6</sup> By the end of the 1880s Carman's graduate studies in England, together with disparaging reviews in the English press of a recent poem, had soured him on London, and repeated attempts to find work in Boston had come to naught.<sup>7</sup> Then, in January of 1890, Carman answered an advertisement in the New York Independent for an office editor and literary assistant to the editor.<sup>8</sup>

"Mr. Carman," reported the Toronto Week in early March, is "to be congratulated upon his appointment to the editorship or assistant editorship, it is not clear which, of so distinguished

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<sup>6</sup>Uncollected letter to Charles G.D. Roberts, date unknown (qtd. in M. Miller 28); Carman to Muriel Carman, 17 Apr. 1887 (Gundy, Letters 15).

<sup>7</sup>Carman studied at the University of Edinburgh in 1882-83 on a student exchange from London University, but left without a degree after failing one or several of his final examinations (M. Miller 18, 26). The poem was "Corydon," published in the London Universal Review in November of 1889 but "pull[ed] . . . all to pieces" by both the Academy and the Spectator (Carman to Maude Mosher, 18 Dec. 1889 [Gundy, Letters 33]). For some of Carman's attempts to find work in Boston, see his letters to Thomas Wentworth Higginson of 28 Sep. 1888 and Horace E. Scudder of 8 Mar. 1889 (Gundy, Letters 24-25).

<sup>8</sup>M. Miller 63; Carman to Independent editor William Hayes Ward, 22 Jan. 1890 (Gundy, Letters 34).

a publication as the N.Y. Independent."<sup>9</sup> Actually hired as an editorial assistant at twenty dollars a week, Carman soon emerged as the weekly's literary editor, responsible for screening submissions and writing the "Literary Notes" section.<sup>10</sup> Although a religious paper, the Independent had a comparatively large general readership and a notable history of literary publication, especially poetry. Elizabeth Barrett Browning, William Cullen Bryant, Sidney Lanier, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, and Richard Henry Stoddard had appeared in its pages, and during Carman's tenure its contributors included Thomas Hardy, Algernon Charles Swinburne, James Whitcomb Riley, John Greenleaf Whittier, and William Butler Yeats. Like McArthur on Truth a few years later, Carman used his editorial position to advance his friends and countrymen, soliciting, promoting, and publishing the work of Boston friends Louise Imogen Guiney and Richard Hovey and Canadians William Wilfred Campbell, Archibald Lampman, Duncan Campbell Scott, Charles G.D. Roberts, and Gilbert Parker.

Carman occupied a dizzying number of addresses during his years in New York (his friend Arthur Stringer once diplomatically called him "a sort of intellectualized hobo").<sup>11</sup> After leaving his first New York address, the Brooklyn boarding house Peter McArthur would shortly call home, he and fellow New Brunswicker

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<sup>9</sup>"Literary and Personal Gossip," Week 7 Mar. 1890: 221.

<sup>10</sup>See Carman's contract with publisher Henry Chandler Bowen of 19 Feb. 1890 in Gundy, Letters 35; M. Miller 64-65; Ware 46-47.

<sup>11</sup>"Wild Poets I've Known: Bliss Carman," Saturday Night 1 Mar. 1941: 29.

Tappan Adney moved in May of 1890 to a fifth-floor flat in the University Building on Washington Square.<sup>12</sup> By September, Carman was back with McArthur and Harold Hall at Cranberry Street in Brooklyn, but by November he had moved again, this time to a flat at 1244 Broadway with the Newfoundland writer Edmund Collins. The new address had the advantage of being the closest yet to the Independent offices, located during Carman's tenure across from City Hall Park at Broadway and Murray, but the disadvantage of life with an alcoholic who would soon drink himself to death.<sup>13</sup> The following November Carman signed an improved contract with the Independent, but by the spring of 1892 he was finding the six-day work week more and more draining, and on 17 May he wrote his sister that he was "worn out" and planning to leave the magazine.<sup>14</sup> In reality, Carman had already been pushed out of his job by the Independent's owner and publisher Henry Chandler Bowen, who wanted to rearrange his editorial staff to make room for a new denominational editor, and on 28 April presented Carman

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<sup>12</sup>Carman to Muriel Carman Ganong, 8 May 1890 (Gundy, Letters 37). A young artist from Woodstock, NB, Edwin Tappan Adney had been studying art in New York for several years before looking Carman up at the Independent (M. Miller 65; Gundy, Letters 37n). He later became Collier's Alaskan correspondent (see his "The Klondike Gold Fields" in Collier's 30 Dec. 1899 and subsequent reports in 1900-01).

<sup>13</sup>Douglas Sladen, "New York Letter," Dominion Illustrated 13 Dec. 1890: 395. A close friend of Roberts, Joseph Edmund Collins moved to New York in 1886 after editing work on the Fredericton Star and the Toronto Globe and became an editor for the weekly Epoch. He died in a New York hospital February 23, 1892, at age thirty-seven (see John Coldwell Adams, "Roberts, Lampman, and Edmund Collins" in Clever 5-13).

<sup>14</sup>M. Miller 77; Carman to Muriel Carman Ganong, 17 May 1892 (Gundy, Letters 46).



with a letter asking him to preside over his own discharge. But Bowen's restructuring and Carman's exhaustion coincided, and it must have been with some secret relief that Carman formally agreed two days later to his own termination.<sup>15</sup>

Shortly after receiving Bowen's letter, Carman made a quick job-hunting trip to Boston, again without success, although he did collect a number of requests for poems and articles from the editors he visited. Within days of his return to New York he had received three firm offers of editorial positions, all at better pay than his Independent job (M. Miller 82). After spending June with Roberts in Windsor and visiting family in Fredericton, Carman took up the editorship of Current Literature on July 5, 1892 (M. Miller 86).<sup>16</sup> But he soon found his new job as confining as his last, writing to Annie Prat in July that he had a "lot of responsibility" and longed for "home and rest," and to Richard Hovey in July or August that "the wilding heart has been kicking against grind-work and says it wants to get out of doors."<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>See Carman's uncollected letter to Bowen of 30 April, qtd. in part in M. Miller 82. Carman's resignation was officially to take place 1 July 1892, but he later notified the Independent that he would be leaving at the end of May (M. Miller 81-83).

<sup>16</sup>An eclectic monthly with offices at 52 Lafayette Place, Current Literature reprinted literary gossip, humour, news, and a substantial amount of poetry from current magazines; by the early 1890s, it had a circulation of about 40,000. See Mott's sketch of the magazine, which erroneously lists Carman as its editor for 1895-96 (4: 506-10).

<sup>17</sup>Carman to Annie Prat, 26 July 1892 (Gundy, Letters 47); uncollected letter from Carman to Richard Hovey, August (M. Miller's text) or July (her note) 1892, qtd. in Miller 87.

That hot summer of 1892 Carman made a chance discovery in a New York library that would shape much of his work over the next decade and win him his place in American letters. Flipping through an old law text, he came across an English statute on "Vagabonds and Vagrants"--those who, the preamble declared, "wake on the night and sleep on the day, and haunt customable taverns and alehouses and routs about, and no man wot from whence they came, nor whither they go." According to Carman's biographer Muriel Miller, Carman "seized pencil and paper" and began writing "The Vagabonds," a poem published in the Independent that December. As much inspired by the "grind-work" of the Independent and Current Literature as by the English statute, "The Vagabonds" gives lyric vent to the feelings of confinement Carman had been expressing in his correspondence since his arrival in New York: "We are the vagabonds of time," declares his plural speaker, "Willing to let the world go by / . . . / "We have forgotten where we slept, / And guess not where we sleep to night."<sup>18</sup>

Although rusticity and even wanderlust were by no means new notes in Carman's poetry, "The Vagabonds" is the earliest sustained expression of the impulses that would find full voice in the Vagabondia series produced over the next eight years with American poet Richard Hovey. Carman had met Hovey in Boston in the fall of 1887, and the two became fast friends on a walking

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<sup>18</sup>"The Vagabonds," Independent 8 Dec. 1892: 1. Miller actually says, erroneously, that the poem was "The Vagabond Song" (87), an altogether different poem published three years later in the November 1895 Bookman.

tour down the New England coast that November (M. Miller 51-52). Years later, Roberts wrote that the young theology student had a "broadening and emancipating influence" upon Carman, three years his senior. "He had the effect," said Roberts, "of liberating those robusster elements in Carman's character . . . which had hitherto lain dormant."<sup>19</sup> By 1890 Hovey had abandoned his theological studies and was also in New York, writing and acting. He twice accompanied Carman on his annual visits with Roberts in Windsor, and when Carman finally left Current Literature at the end of October to pursue a living "by the pen alone" it was to the Hovey family home in Washington that he retreated, there to spend the next seven months working on the Boston articles promised the previous spring and sorting his poems into five or six volumes for future publication.<sup>20</sup>

The first of those volumes, Low Tide on Grand Pré, appeared the following November, but Carman's second book departed from the Washington grouping, drawing instead upon material gathered and much of it written during a third writing camp in Windsor with Roberts and Hovey in the fall of 1893. Originally intended to include Roberts as well, Songs from Vagabondia bore only Hovey's and Carman's names when it was published in September of 1894; fittingly, the designs were by Thomas Buford Meteyard, the Boston artist who had introduced its authors back in 1887.

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<sup>19</sup>"More Reminiscences of Bliss Carman," Dalhousie Review 10 (1930-31): 3.

<sup>20</sup>Carman to Annie Prat, 1 Nov. 1892 (Gundy, Letters 48); Carman to Maude Mosher, 24 Mar. 1893 (Gundy, Letters 49).

Taken as a whole, as indeed it was intended,<sup>21</sup> Songs from Vagabondia is a rejection of the superficial constraints of urban civilization in favour of the more authentic, more "real," experiences of the Vagabond, whether represented as a care-free vagrant (Carman's "The Joys of the Road"), a world-weary consorter with Dryads and Naiads (Hovey's "The Faun"), a daring pirate (Hovey's "The Buccaneers"), or even a roving bee (Carman's "A More Ancient Mariner"). As D.M.R. Bentley has pointed out, its very form--the recurring use of ballad stanzas and boisterous trochaic and anapestic rhythms--strives for a note of "primitive authenticity" (96). Hovey's "Vagabondia," which opens the volume, sets the tone: "Off with the fetters / That chafe and restrain!" it demands, for "Here we are free . . .

Free as the whim of a spook on a spree,--  
 Free to be oddities,  
 Not mere commodities,  
 Stupid and salable,  
 Wholly available,  
 Ranged upon shelves;  
 Each with his puny form  
 In the same uniform,  
 Cramped and disabled;  
 We are not labelled,  
 We are ourselves.

Here is the real,  
 Here the ideal . . . (1-2)

Carman's contributions are generally a trifle less eager than his younger partner's, but ideologically identical. He too rejects the commodification of the modern self, arguing in "The

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<sup>21</sup>The individual poems in Songs from Vagabondia are all unsigned, suggesting joint authorship: in fact, Hovey contributed twenty of the poems, and Carman the remaining thirteen plus the end-paper verses.

Mendicants" that "Let him wear brand-new garments still, / Who has a threadbare soul . . ." and pleading in "Spring Song" that April "Make me over in the morning / From the rag-bag of the world!" (47, 13). Pervaded with a robust masculinity, soaked in wine and beer, Songs from Vagabondia was a virtual guidebook for the disenchanting modern male, an escape from the effeminacy of overcivilization into a place where "strong men," as Hovey says in the final poem, "drink together," "roam together," and "die together" (54-55).

Low Tide had been well received for a first book of verse, but it was Songs from Vagabondia that won the hearts of readers. The first printing of 750 copies sold out by Christmas, and a second printing of the same size was issued in February; the book would eventually become Carman's most reprinted work.<sup>22</sup> Carman himself, however, expressed doubts about the book's literary merits, writing to a friend just before its publication that "it too often approaches the boisterous to be really very good, I fear" and to his former teacher, George Parkin, that there were "Only one or two things in it worth while," and the more sober critics confirmed his fears.<sup>23</sup> In Toronto, the Week admired the volume's "vigor of youth" but noted that it was "an old cry." In

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<sup>22</sup>Carman to Gertrude Burton, 19 Jan. 1895 (Gundy, Letters 84); "News Notes," Bookman Feb. 1895: 8. By Carman's death in 1929 Songs from Vagabondia had been issued in at least fifteen separate printings; its sequel, More Songs from Vagabondia, went through at least thirteen printings. By comparison, the better reviewed Low Tide went through eight printings in Carman's lifetime.

<sup>23</sup>Carman to Gertrude Burton, [Aug. 1894] (Gundy, Letters 74); Carman to George Parkin, 2 Oct. 1894 (Gundy, Letters 77).

New York, Thomas Wentworth Higginson in the Nation found merit in its "tuneful" rhythms, but thought it "an undergraduate book, and this to a degree rather surprising from two authors who have already done maturer work." "[O]n the whole," he continued, "there is a sensation . . . of young gentlemen who only play at vagabondism, and have no real objection to a bath-tub and clean linen. . . ." <sup>24</sup>

As Lears notes, Higginson's review points to a crucial aspect of the revolt to which Songs from Vagabondia belongs, namely that the antimodern quest for authenticity unintentionally helped ease the nineteenth century into a modern culture of consumption (119). Songs sold well because of its accessibility, but more because it offered a tonic (not a cure) for modernity: from its pages the harried businessman could return to his desk with his spirit rejuvenated--"made over," in Carman's words. Ironically, Henrietta Hovey's anger when a London paper reported that her husband's book had been written by two American hobos confirms both Higginson's suspicions and Lears' analysis. "I am still raging," she wrote her mother-in-law. "To think of their taking Richard for a vagabond! . . . Only an aristocrat would write nonsense and play the vagabond. . . ." <sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup>"Library Table," Week 16 Nov. 1894: 1218; "Recent American Poetry," Nation 20 Dec. 1894: 468. Songs was reviewed much more positively in the Chicago News of 29 September and the New York Times of 30 September 1894 (McGillivray 9).

<sup>25</sup>Henrietta Hovey to Harriet Spofford Hovey, date unknown (qtd. in M. Miller 127, who misdates it July 1894, two months before Songs was published).

After leaving the writing camp that produced Songs from Vagabondia in early December of 1893, Carman had returned to New York and obtained a temporary editorial position on John Brisben Walker's Cosmopolitan. That spring the magazine offered him a permanent position, but Carman chose instead to go into "friendly slavery" with his new publishers, Stone & Kimball of Cambridge.<sup>26</sup> Both still seniors at Harvard, Herbert Stone and Ingalls Kimball brought Carman on board to serve as a literary advisor for their fledgling publishing firm and to edit (or help edit) their new house organ, The Chap-Book. Carman was overjoyed to be back in Boston, but within a fortnight he had again begun to resent editorial work, writing to Henrietta Hovey on 4 June 1894 that "The Chap Book takes up a lot of time and is of doubtful profit."<sup>27</sup> He took August off for a holiday, and when Stone and Kimball moved both their publishing firm and their magazine to Chicago that fall, they did so without Carman.<sup>28</sup> After spending the winter in Washington, Carman returned to Boston in June of 1895 to take a three-month position on the Atlantic Monthly.<sup>29</sup> The following spring, Herbert Small, another Harvard student with publishing aspirations, sent Carman to London and Paris to

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<sup>26</sup>Carman to Susan Ward, 1 Mar. 1894 (Gundy, Letters 64).

<sup>27</sup>Carman to Henrietta Russell Hovey, 4 June 1894 (Gundy, Letters 67).

<sup>28</sup>Because of its influence upon subsequent little magazines, the Chap-Book has received more attention than I can give it here. For fuller treatments, see Mott 4: 450-52; Schlereth; and Doyle, Fin de Siècle ch. 5.

<sup>29</sup>Carman to Gertrude Burton, 24 June 1895 (Gundy, Letters 100).

develop contacts with European writers and publishers, especially those connected with the Symbolist movement.<sup>30</sup>

Carman's work on the French-flavoured Chap-Book together with his own Behind the Arras, published in December of 1895, had already attached the Symbolist label to his work, and sometime in early 1896 the New York World went a step further, calling him "The American High Priest of Symbolism."<sup>31</sup> The World article offended some of Carman's friends, especially McArthur, but they need not have worried, for far from going over to the decadent French, Carman privately thought the Chap-Book "pretty juvenile," and although he continued to appear in its pages, he used it more often than not as a home for material he could nor or would not publish elsewhere.<sup>32</sup> Moreover, in April of 1896, about the same time that he was crowned America's premier Symbolist, Carman published in a Canadian magazine a sweeping verse indictment of Symbolism, decadence, and everything else modern, from the cycling craze to the New Woman. "I'm sick of all these Yellow Books, / And all these Bodley Heads," Carman raged,

I'm sick of all this taking on  
Under a foreign name;  
For when you call it decadent,  
It's rotten just the same.

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<sup>30</sup>Carman to Herbert Small, 22 May 1896 (Gundy, Letters 107). Small formed Small, Maynard & Company in the fall of 1897 with Laurens Maynard and Carman as partners (NY Bookman Sep. 1897: 3-4; Tebbel 407).

<sup>31</sup>Qtd. in M. Miller 154, n.d., probably Feb. or Mar. 1896.

<sup>32</sup>Carman to Richard Hovey, 7 Jan. 1895 (Gundy, Letters 83). For the kind of material Carman published in the Chap-Book, see the note to his Pipes of Pan Number Three (1903) in appendix C.



I'm sick of all this Ibsen trash  
 And Maeterlinckian rot.  
 A Pegasus they have to lash,  
 To make him even trot!

An Age-end Art! I wouldn't give,  
 For all their plotless plays,  
 One round Falstaffian adjective,  
 Or one Miltonic phrase.

I'm sick of all this poppycock  
 In bilious green and blue;  
 I'm tired to death of taking stock  
 In everything that's "New."

. . . . .

I want to find a warm beech wood,  
 And lie down; and keep still;  
 And swear a little; and feel good  
 Then loaf on up the hill.

And let the spring house-clean my brain  
 Where all this stuff is crammed;  
 And let my heart grow sweet again;  
 And let the Age be damned.

Carman may have dallied with the decadents, but his heart was clearly still in Vagabondia.<sup>33</sup>

In January of 1897 Carman's Boston interregnum came to an end when he received a letter from Roberts saying he had himself secured an editorial job in New York, and asking his cousin to find quarters in the city for them both (M. Miller 161). Chosen for its proximity to the Hoveys' rooms in the nearby Carnegie Hall Studios, the resulting flat on East 58th Street was home to Carman, Roberts, and later Roberts' younger brothers William and Theodore. That winter Carman, Roberts, and Hovey "went around much together" with their newfound friend Richard Le Gallienne, himself but recently arrived in the city from England. They must

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<sup>33</sup>"A Spring Feeling," Saturday Night 4 Apr. 1896: 14.

have made quite a sight, even among Maria's Bohemians. Carman invariably wore a wide-brimmed black hat, soon "as marked on the Avenue as Mark Twain's over-arresting suits of white," over his long, meticulously shampooed light-brown hair, his lanky, six-foot-three figure usually clothed in grey, his pale "Emersonian countenance now brooding, now quizzical." Hovey's hair was "as wild a mop as Carman's but of an inky blackness and usually surmounted by an old slouch felt," and his "swarthy skin and dark, indolent eyes, his black beard and his low-moving, well-fed Southern figure, [were] in every respect the antithesis of Carman." Le Gallienne affected a black silk top-hat perched on long, raven-black hair parted in the middle à la Oscar Wilde, a black Inverness coat-and-cape, and a flowing black Byronic tie beneath his classic, "cameo-like" features: "Dick Le Gallienne isn't a poet," Arthur Stringer once overheard a "fluttered female" say of him, "he's a poem!" Feeling a little invisible in such company, Roberts began letting his own hair grow out until the New York Sun printed an article labelling the foursome "The Angora School of Poets." "Forthwith," recalls Roberts, "I betook myself to the barber and acquired a close haircut; but at the same time, in self-defence, I adopted a broad black ribbon to my eye-glasses as my one mark of distinction." These were the days, notes Stringer in the Angora School's defence, when "a successful poet was supposed to be a bit of a showman," but it was more than that, for through their conspicuous appearance the foursome were

living the significant life Le Gallienne urged upon the decade as the only response to the mundanity of modernity.<sup>34</sup>

Carman and Hovey published two more books of Vagabondia verse together, More Songs in November of 1896 and Last Songs in the fall of 1900 after Hovey's untimely death at age thirty-five in February. Both went through almost as many printings as their predecessor, but with the advent of the new century it was evident that the public taste for Vagabondism was wearing thin. Early in 1901, the New York Sun derided Carman and Hovey as belonging to the "tea-table school of poetry," and another "New York scribe," reporting Carman's presence at a dinner in honour of socialist editor Elbert Hubbard, said the "apostle of Vagabondia" looked "more than ever like a caricature of a chrysanthemum."<sup>35</sup> By the winter of 1902-03 much of Maria's crowd had moved two blocks south to the Griffin, a French restaurant on West 10th, and though Carman was still welcome in the new circle he was also, as even his most devoted apologist admits, "the butt of much of their wit" (M. Miller 184-85). A few years later Carman found himself out of the limelight altogether, struggling to make ends meet. When, early in 1906, he was unable to meet a bank note that had come due, the Halifax Chronicle gleefully

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<sup>34</sup>Roberts, "Some Reminiscences of Bliss Carman in New York (1896-1906)," Canadian Poetry Magazine 5.2 (1940): 8-9; Stringer, "Wild Poets I've Known: Bliss Carman," Saturday Night 1 Mar. 1941: 29 and "Wild Poets I've Known: Richard Le Gallienne," Saturday Night 25 Oct. 1941: 33.

<sup>35</sup>Canadian papers lapped up these reports: Saturday Night quoted extensively from the Sun article on 2 Mar. 1901 (7), and "Kilmeny" copied the report on the Hubbard dinner into her column for the Ottawa Evening Sun of 6 Apr. 1901 (8).

reported his "bankruptcy," telling its readers that Carman was living on about \$800 a year and had assets of just \$50.

For a man of Bliss Carman's cast of mind this is the height of Vagabondia, the quintessence of Bohemianism, and we have no doubt that he feels prouder of being presented at the Bankruptcy Court than he would be in being presented at the Court of St. James. A velvet coat, a lost haircut, and thou beside me singing in the wilderness is Carman's idea of Bliss. There is no doubt whatever that if he came down from his high Pegasus to the common Shank's Mare of newspaper work, Bliss Carman could make a good honest living, pay his debts and perhaps find some time to worship his muse, occasionally in private; but that wouldn't be art with a big A. . . . Come home to Canada, Bliss, and start again at fifteen a week and let art rip.<sup>36</sup>

Two years later Carman moved to New Canaan, Connecticut, his home for the rest of his life. He never again lived in New York, though he did visit the city from time to time, and on one such visit on 4 February 1916 his contemporary Hamlin Garland spotted him and recorded his impressions for his diary:

As I was walking up Fifth Avenue this afternoon, I met Bliss Carman swinging along in stately promenade like a figure out of the past. He was dressed in a long, dark coat with a high-pointed linen collar and black stock, and on his head was a wide-brimmed black hat. He was a poet of the time of Emerson's day rather than of ours--entirely alien to the crowds and commerce of the avenue. . . . I carried away an impression of serenity and nobility which comforted me. (My Friendly Contemporaries 97-98)

Like Bohemianism itself, the apostle of the Vagabonds had become quaintly obsolete.

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<sup>36</sup>Qtd. in M. Miller 204-05, who misdates the article Feb. 1907. See Carman's letter to Muriel Carman Ganong of 28 Feb. 1906 and Gundy's note to same (Letters 153).

### Saint Craven of Harlem

In July of 1900, while Carman was in the Catskills preparing Last Songs from Vagabondia for the press, the young American poet Edwin Arlington Robinson moved into a friend's house at 450 Manhattan Avenue in Harlem. "I came home in the evening," he wrote on 5 August, "and found Betts--of whom it is my duty to sing."

I have had a chance to find out what he is like [as a] housemate and I hasten to say that no orthodox heaven could give him any more than he deserves. Almost the whole of his life has been given up to others and he is now well along on the road to fifty years old. When I think of what he has done and the spirit in which he has done it, I feel as if I had no real right to exist. The active and supposedly successful fellow who makes a lot of money and cuts his figure in Wall Street does not embarrass me in the least, but the fellow who knows in his heart that he is looked upon by his friends as one condemned to mediocrity and yet goes on as Betts goes, trying to make life a little pleasanter for all the hungry-looking victims who come his way--to say nothing of actual financial self-sacrifice in favor of those who would never think of doing as much for him--I feel that I have received not only, as you say, "what I deserve," but a great deal more.<sup>37</sup>

Craven Langstroth Betts, Robinson's friend, host, and benefactor, was born April 23, 1853, in Saint John, New Brunswick. The son of a sea captain at the end of the era of sail, Betts earned a teaching diploma from the Provincial Normal School in Fredericton in 1877 and taught for a year at a country school in Nova Scotia. The next year, however, found him clerking for a Saint John merchant, and in August of 1879 he moved to New York (Hensley 203). New Brunswick publisher William Godsoe MacFarlane recorded that Betts "removed to New York to pursue the literary calling,"

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<sup>37</sup>Robinson to Edith Brower, 5 July and 5 Aug. 1900 (Cary 122-24).

but like many other artists before and since he secured his income with a day job, working for the next decade as a salesman for a "chromolithograph manufacturing concern" (NCAB 38: 227).

Betts had written his first poem while still in Canada, but it wasn't until his move to New York that he began to write in earnest.<sup>38</sup> His earliest known published poems appeared in the Toronto Week in 1886-87, but these are probably antedated by unlocated appearances in American periodicals. According to Sophia Hensley in 1893, Betts' "first poetical contribution to an American periodical was a brochure on the walking matches of a dozen years ago, which was published in Puck and won the special commendation of the editor, Mr. H[enry] C[uyler] Bunner" (203). In 1888 he published his first book, a translation of the Chansons of French poet Pierre-Jean de Béranger that he dedicated to Edmund Clarence Stedman, an influential New York poet, critic, and anthologist who had taken Betts under his wing several years after his arrival in the city. Betts sent a copy of Songs from Béranger to another Stedman protégé, Charles G.D. Roberts, who wrote back praising the fidelity of Betts' translations.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>38</sup>According to The National Cyclopædia of American Biography (my principal source for details on Betts not otherwise cited), Betts wrote his first poem in 1876 (38: 227).

<sup>39</sup>Although this letter of 18 Nov. 1888 is the earliest to Betts in Roberts' known correspondence, it is clearly the response of an old if no longer close friend: the two probably met in 1876 or 1877 in Fredericton, where they were both then students, though at different institutions. Roberts promised to introduce Songs in the Saint John Progress, a weekly for which he was then doing reviewing work, but wrote only a short anonymous notice of the book for the issue of 24 Nov. 1888 (Boone 94, 95n). Roberts later dedicated his own History of Canada to Stedman, with whom he had corresponded since the spring of 1887.

In 1890 Betts edited a "small New York magazine," and the following year he and a partner, J.K. Hoyt, established the Literary Bureau in Newark, New Jersey. Neither the magazine nor the partnership have been otherwise identified, but it seems likely that the latter was some sort of book-selling and/or publishing concern that Betts, at least, continued to operate until into the new century.<sup>40</sup> By the spring of 1893, Betts was editing another periodical in Orange, New Jersey, the American Temperance Magazine--possibly a little magazine rather than the temperance organ its title suggests--and a year or so later serving on the editorial staff of the Boston Youth's Companion (Hensley 203; MacFarlane).<sup>41</sup> Although he may have temporarily relocated or perhaps just commuted to fulfill these positions, his only known address in the 1890s is a New York one, at 65 West 12th Street, just off Fifth Avenue and not far from Maria's restaurant (CM 1898). Throughout these years Betts was also extremely active in the city's clubs, especially those with a literary association, and earned a reputation for "the devotion of time he gave to the encouragement of young writers and artists of all kinds" (NCAB 38: 228). He was a member of New York's

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<sup>40</sup>The editor of Robinson's letters to Edith Brower refers to Betts as a "bookdealer" (Cary 114n1), and Robinson himself wrote Betts 18 Apr. 1905 saying that he has heard that Betts is "thinking of closing your establishment" (Torrence 60).

<sup>41</sup>Apparently having been asked to submit something gratis to the first of these, Roberts wrote Betts 27 Dec. 1893 saying he had nothing on hand he was willing to submit "without money & without price," but that if he chanced to write "something serious & important but not aimed at the market" he would be glad to let Betts have it (Boone 178).

prestigious Salmagundi Club, secretary of the American Authors' Guild, and a member of the city's Poetry Society and Authors' Club, the last presumably the club of that name founded by Brander Matthews and others in 1882 at Richard Watson Gilder's East 15th Street home. By his own account "An Annexationist, a Free Trader, a Populist and a Unitarian" (CM 1898), Betts was also a member of the free-trade sympathetic Canadian Club of New York<sup>42</sup> and of the (presumably annexationist) English-Speaking Union of the United States.

Betts' second book appeared in 1891, in time for Christmas. Published by Saalfield & Fitch, a small New York house that had just opened in August, The Perfume-Holder: A Persian Love Poem is an adaptation in Chaucerian pentameter of a short story that had appeared in the English Temple Bar of March 1889. The borrowed narrative recounts the misfortunes of a poor brass-worker who has fallen in love with a princess, but for most of the poem's 1,050 lines its exotic setting dominates over its tragic plot. Coffee merchants and pomegranate vendors hawk their wares against a backdrop of white minarets and purple-roofed mosques; the air is redolent of spices, incense, hookahs, and especially perfume, itself a sort of objective correlative for the poem's escapism: to light the perfume-holder's brazier is

To lie awake in one bliss-haunted dream  
 Where leaves are rustling and where fountains gleam,  
 Within a cool and lustrous colonnade,  
 While near, some large-eyed, love-enchanted maid  
 Leans, lily crowned, against a marble jar,  
 Caressing languidly her light guitar . . . (6-7)

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<sup>42</sup>Constitution and By-Laws of the Canadian Club (New York, 1887).



In its plotting and especially its setting The Perfume-Holder is the equivalent in verse of the so-called Turkish Corner, a section of one's apartment draped off with thick red fabrics and decorated with eastern curios that was then de rigueur among New York's smart set. It must have made ideal reading for an afternoon in the Corner, smoking the newly fashionable Turkish or Egyptian cigarettes to rid the air of the distracting odours of all too modern, all too western Manhattan.<sup>43</sup> As Hensley said of it, "The warm breath of eastern winds is there, and it is with a gasp of something like dismay that one finds oneself, after reading the poem, back in the cold work-a-day atmosphere of an unromantic Western world" (203). The Halifax setting of Betts' next book, a collection of melodramatic prose tales co-authored with fellow expatriate Arthur Wentworth Eaton, earned him his only mention in the literary history of his native country, but from bibliographic evidence it seems certain that The Perfume-Holder, capitalizing on the antimodern enchantment with things eastern, was the most successful of his works.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>43</sup>Ernest Thompson Seton and his wife Grace had a "Turkish nook" in their Bryant Park apartment as late as 1900 (Harper's Bazaar 3 Feb. 1900: 89). For the Mideastern fads of the '90s see Brown 101, 370-71.

<sup>44</sup>Betts and Eaton's 1892 Tales of a Garrison Town is twice cited in the Literary History of Canada (Klinck 304, 318). Betts' co-author, Nova Scotian Arthur Wentworth Hamilton Eaton, resigned from his Boston parish in 1886 and settled in New York, where he taught English at a boys' prep-school (Cutler Academy) and wrote works in theology and Nova Scotia church history and genealogy, as well as a substantial amount of verse and his one foray into fiction with Betts (CM 1898; Hensley 198-200; MDCB 1945; WhAm 1; WhAmAuth; WWNY). The Perfume-Holder was printed five times in Betts' lifetime; Tales seems never to have been reprinted.

By the mid-1890s Betts had become a member of the Clan, a group of New York writers clustered around Titus M. Coan, a former doctor who ran a "Bureau of Criticism and Revision" for would-be authors (Cary 1). Coan, the son of a prominent clergyman, was an avaricious collector of the pornographic photographs that crowded the walls of his apartment.<sup>45</sup> Another member was Alfred Hyman Louis, a Jewish poet whom Edith Brower, one of Coan's staffers, remembered as "the most utterly perfect specimen of the ragged Bohemian variety of high intellectual I've ever known" (211). Mrs. Henry Guy Carleton, divorced wife of a playwright, made up an occasional fourth, and in 1897 the group accepted Edwin Arlington Robinson into their circle after he answered Coan's invitation to visit the city. Of them all, Betts seems to have been the closest to the shy young poet from Maine; one of Robinson's biographers recounts that Betts' "enthusiasm for poetry, which he could recite endlessly, won Robinson's heart" (Neff 91). From Robinson's biographies and correspondence it is evident that the two were much together in the late 1890s and early 1900s, with the elder poet helping the younger one move, putting him up twice at his Harlem apartment, inviting him to dinner, lending him money, and so on. Betts even found his way into Robinson's work, though perhaps not in the way he would

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<sup>45</sup>Titus Coan was also at this time a friend of Roberts, which suggests that Betts himself probably associated with Roberts, Carman, and others of their New York circle: see Roberts' note of 5 Feb. 1901 inviting Albert Bigelow Paine to join himself, Coan, and others at a Broadway restaurant, and his letter to Betts of 3 Sep. 1927 expressing his knowledge of "dear old Coan's death" (Boone 262, 358).

have liked: according to Edith Brower, Killigrew, the poetaster auditor in Robinson's naturalistic long poem "Captain Craig" (1902), was a slightly exaggerated version of Betts, though she "seriously doubt[ed]" Robinson was aware of this (212).

Whatever his opinion of Betts' work, Robinson clearly felt indebted to his generosity and friendship. "I am trying to think up a way in which to get Betts calendered," he wrote Brower in the fall of 1900. "Saint Craven of Harlem is nothing to what he deserves. The more I find out about his past and the farther I see into him, the more do I feel like tying a grindstone to my neck and jumping into North River."<sup>46</sup> A year later, with plans afoot to bring out an illustrated edition of The Perfume-Holder, Robinson confessed to Brower that despite his own "poisonous dislike" for "this romantic story-poem writing," he was glad for Betts' sake that the poem was to be republished.<sup>47</sup> The illustrated edition of The Perfume-Holder never materialized; ironically, when a subsequent edition was issued in 1910, Betts rededicated the book to Robinson.

On 10 February 1906 Betts married Elizabeth Cushing Colby, herself the daughter of a sea captain, in East Weymouth, Massachusetts. That same year he took a job as a salesman in the New York office of the West Publishing Company, a Minnesota law-book publisher. Betts remained in West's employ until his retirement in 1923, but continued to write and publish poetry

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<sup>46</sup>Robinson to Edith Brower, 10 Nov. 1900 (Cary 131).

<sup>47</sup>Robinson to Edith Brower, 14 Oct. 1901 (Cary 145).

during his leisure hours, including a long poem in blank verse, The Promise, in 1911, and a large selection from his books and fugitive verse in 1916. After his retirement Betts took an interest in Canadian literature, renewing his correspondence with Roberts after a lapse of a quarter-century to solicit contributions and advice for a projected anthology of Canadian verse, and on Roberts' suggestion becoming a founding member of the New Brunswick branch of the Canadian Authors' Association in late 1927.<sup>48</sup>

In 1931 Betts and his family moved permanently to California, where, judging from a letter from Robinson three years later, they fell on hard times. "[I]n spite of all you say," Robinson wrote upon hearing Elizabeth had taken ill, "I suspect that you haven't any too much to go on just now. So I'm sending another enclosure--not a very large one--to meet any immediate convalescent requirements. She may want a guinea-hen or something--or a bottle of fizzy wine, or perchance a bottle of good whiskey, if such a thing is to be had."<sup>49</sup> Robinson died the following spring, his place in American letters secured as the first recipient of the Pulitzer Prize for poetry; Betts followed him six years later, passing away at age eighty-eight in Santa Cruz on July 30, 1941. According to the New York Times, his Canadian anthology was believed at his death to be "in the hands

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<sup>48</sup>Roberts to Betts, 3 Sep. and 17 Sep. 1927 (Boone 357-59). Roberts and Betts later quarrelled over internal CAA matters: see Roberts to Betts, 17 Sep. 1928 (Boone 376).

<sup>49</sup>Robinson to Betts, 3 Jan. 1934 (Torrence 174).

of a publisher."<sup>50</sup> But the anthology never materialized, and Betts himself slipped into the footnotes of literary history--condemned, as Robinson had said of him years before, to mediocrity. He had rejected the Age, retreating from modernity into French romanticism, the ancient east, and the past masters of his "beloved Sonnet, my companion and the solace of my heart,"<sup>51</sup> and in the end, the Age, not surprisingly, rejected him.

### **The Ascent and Fall of Stinson Jarvis**

The expatriation of Thomas Stinson Jarvis in 1891 demonstrates that proximity to the centres of literary culture was a more fundamental determinant of Canada's literary exodus than financial motives alone. The eldest son of a prominent Toronto lawyer and the daughter of Hamilton's richest citizen, Jarvis was born into the centre of Toronto society on May 31, 1854 (Wollock, "Stinson" 26).<sup>52</sup> His family enrolled him at prestigious Upper Canada College at age nine, and after his graduation in 1871 sent him for a year's travel in Europe and Asia. While Carman and Betts were schoolboys in Fredericton, Jarvis, two provinces to the east, was captaining his cricket team at UCC, dancing at

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<sup>50</sup>Obit., New York Times 31 July 1941: 17.

<sup>51</sup>See the foreword to Betts' 1899 A Garland of Sonnets, n. pag.

<sup>52</sup>Jeffrey Wollock's two articles on Jarvis provide the most authoritative accounts of his life, and are my source for details not otherwise cited. For more on the Jarvis and Stinson families, see, respectively, George A. Jarvis's The Jarvis Family (Hartford, 1879), and Wollock's "Glimpses at a Hamilton Family" in Ontario History 64 (June 1972): 105-15.

society balls, fox-hunting with the 13th Hussars, and yachting on Lake Ontario with the Royal Canadian Yacht Club. In 1875 he published--probably at his family's expense--his first book, a compilation of letters home to his parents from his year abroad that he dedicated to his sometime yachting companion the Earl of Dufferin, Governor-General of Canada. That same year, Jarvis entered Osgoode Hall to study in his father's profession, and after articling with Premier Oliver Mowat, passed his bar exams in the Easter term of 1879. About 1880 he set up practice in Niagara Falls, where he remained for the next eight years, working as a criminal attorney and as extradition counsel to the province. In May of 1881 he married Ann Louise Croft, daughter of a retired University of Toronto professor, but by 1888 the marriage was essentially over, and Jarvis, by his own account, "sold my house, stored my goods, and went to Paris to improve my speaking of French."<sup>53</sup> Three weeks later, however, Jarvis was cabled that his father was ill, and he returned to Toronto, where he reestablished his law practice.

In August of 1890 Jarvis published his first novel, a sensationalist detective story in which the titular hero, a Toronto bank clerk, "ruins" his best friend's fiancée and frames the friend for a robbery he himself committed. "[W]ritten for amusement during odd hours" away from his law office and

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<sup>53</sup>"For Explanation and Record," a three-page typed autobiography in the possession (in the 1970s) of Prof. Ann Firor Scott, Department of History, Duke University (qtd. in Wollock, "Anatomy" 96). Jarvis and Annie later divorced, probably in an American court.

published by Appleton of New York in their cheap "Town and Country Library" (fifty cents in paper), Geoffrey Hampstead sold well in both the States and Canada, though hardly well enough to become "the most widely reviewed novel of its year in the U.S.," as Jarvis later led Canadian biographer Henry Morgan to believe.<sup>54</sup> The New York Nation found much of the novel choked with "pages of puerile talk and platitudinous reflection," but conceded that it was a "distinct gain" on the "mediocrity" thus far attained by Canadian novelists, while the more effusive New Haven Morning News called it a "book of rare fascination," complaining only that its hero's "end is so ignominious that the poetic equilibrium of the work is disturbed."<sup>55</sup> In Toronto, E.W. Thomson wrote a letter to the Globe, of which he was then chief editorial writer, recommending Geoffrey Hampstead to its readers as the work of "a novelist who, if he goes on and produces a considerable body of such fiction as that with which he has begun, will take high rank by reason of his astonishingly brilliant and accurate descriptive work, his well-knit plot, and his convincing presentation of the terrible as well as the cheerful in human nature." Himself less than a year away from his own move to the States, Thomson hoped that "the countrymen of Mr. Jarvis will not wait till they find him acclaimed in England and the States before substantially testifying to the force of

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<sup>54</sup>From Jarvis's lengthy entry in Morgan's Canadian Men and Women of the Time (CM 1898)--an entry largely written, says Wollock, by Jarvis himself ("Stinson" 23).

<sup>55</sup>Nation 25 Dec. 1890: 507; New Haven Morning News 23 Aug. 1890: 7 (qtd. in Wollock, "Stinson" 33).

his work," but the only Canadian review yet located, in the Dominion Illustrated, testified instead that although "eminently readable and entertaining," the novel was flawed by its "somewhat crude" opening chapters and especially by its author's "elaborate straining after effect." Whatever the critical response, however, the novel was popular enough in its author's hometown to be lampooned in Grip as "Guffery Bumstead."<sup>56</sup>

Geoffrey Hampstead precipitated both a career change and a move for Jarvis. "The success of my first novel," he later wrote, "lured me towards the life of a writer. I sold my law library at a good figure and also the house furniture, excepting sufficient for two rooms, and in 1891 left Canada and took apartments at 23 Washington Place in New York City."<sup>57</sup> Jarvis arrived in New York at precisely the right moment to take advantage of the sporting experiences provided by his upbringing. Sports in general acquired a new popularity among Americans of the 1890s, but the way to the sports' page of the modern paper was paved by the pastimes of the wealthy, including horse-racing, cricket, tennis, golf, and yachting. Yachting, in particular, enjoyed a wave of patriotic appeal in the wake of the international yacht races of the late 1880s, in which the America's cup was successfully defended in race after race. An

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<sup>56</sup>Thomson to the Editor of the Globe, 23 Sep. 1890: 7 (qtd. in full in Wollock, "Stinson" 33-34); "Editor's Table," Dominion Illustrated 11 Oct. 1890: 247; Wollock, "Anatomy" 83. The Week did not review Geoffrey Hampstead, though it did reprint verbatim Appleton's press release for the novel in its "Literary and Personal Gossip" for 22 Aug. 1890: 605.

<sup>57</sup>"For Explanation and Record," *ibid.*



eastern yacht dealer founded the American Yachtsman in 1887, and the year before Jarvis's arrival the monthly Rudder was established in New York. Most dailies covered yachting news or at least carried specials when the occasion warranted, and several magazines, notably Outing, devoted a department to "Aquatics," which typically included canoeing and rowing as well as yachting (Mott 4: 373, 636).

Jarvis's first known appearance in an American periodical was an article about a Philadelphia cricket match for Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper of October 1891, but it was his yachting background that facilitated his entrance into New York letters. In the spring of 1892 he served as aquatics editor for Sport, Music and Drama, contributing seven signed articles between February and April and (after leaving the magazine) a poem in July lampooning Canadian expatriate publisher and yachtsman George Munro. By 1900 Jarvis had published some twenty yachting articles and anecdotes in Leslie's, four in Denver's Sports Afield, three in Rudder, and a half-dozen boating adventure stories in Boston's Youth's Companion, of which his friend E.W. Thomson was by then an editor. His longest association was with the New York Tribune, for which he was yachting editor from probably 1893 to his departure from New York in 1904, around the time Mary McQuat joined the paper; he may also have served on the yachting editorial staff of Pulitzer's World, though to what extent and for what duration is uncertain.

In February of 1893 Jarvis published the sequel to Geoffrey Hampstead, Dr. Perdue, which finds our hero living under an

assumed name in Paris, follows him through a loveless marriage, a move to England, and true love in the arms of his old sweetheart, and like its prequel uses yachting for both setting and adventure. The novel was awarded a \$1,000.00 prize by its publisher, Laird & Lee of Chicago, but was panned or dismissed by most critics but the Toronto Mail's, whose superbly flattering review--"very near perfection . . . true to life . . . a keen psychological study"--was almost certainly authored by Jarvis himself (Wollock, "Anatomy" 88-89). The following spring, Jarvis himself donned the reviewer's hat, making his debut as a drama critic in Leslie's of 29 March 1894 with a sketch of actress Ellen Terry. By June, around the time of his second marriage to one Emily Little of Boston, Jarvis was calling himself dramatic editor of Leslie's, and by February of 1895 he had contributed a dozen or so signed reviews to the magazine. On October 28, 1899, he started a new column in Leslie's, "The Drama in New York," under the pseudonym "Jason"--a portmanteau of Stinson Jarvis, the name with which he had been signing his publications since June of 1892. Over the next four years "Jason" published over a hundred short articles on the theatre in Leslie's, mostly perfunctory reviews, before his final appearance on October 22, 1903.

Throughout his years in New York Jarvis cultivated a position as a chronicler of the public recreations of his class, but his real interests lay in one of their more private pastimes, indeed in a subject at the margins of polite society of the early 1890s. In December of 1893 Benjamin Flower's Arena, a Boston

"periodical of protest" hospitable to articles on free silver, the single tax, agrarian reform, dress reform, suffrage, and just about anything else it could find to rail against,<sup>58</sup> published the first instalment of Jarvis's "The Ascent of Life: Or, Psychic Laws and Forces in Nature." Billed in a lengthy editorial announcement as a "monumental contribution to modern thought" (xliv), "The Ascent of Life" endeavoured to improve upon Darwin by demonstrating that life was still evolving or "ascending" through the evolution of the human soul. Key to Jarvis's argument is the existence of clairvoyance and mesmerism, both of which he claims to have experienced as early as his school days in Toronto, but kept secret because of the "overwhelming prejudice" against such subjects (7). The first instalments recounted Jarvis's experiments in psychic phenomena, including mentally ordering a fellow law clerk to stop writing, hypnotising a lady friend into identifying the date of a wrapped coin, and taking patients on "mind voyages" to Europe; later chapters addressed such subjects as the correlation between the "vibrations" of the soul and music, and the effects of these same vibrations upon human intercourse. Endorsed by the American Theosophical Society of New York when it was published in book form in the fall of 1894, The Ascent of Life is antimodern both in its spiritualist thesis and in its insistence that science must extend its methods into "immaterial regions" (Arena Dec.

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<sup>58</sup>See Mott's sketch in 4: 401-16 and frequent contributor Hamlin Garland's memories of the magazine in his Roadside Meetings 175-88.

1893 supp.: xlvi). Clearly concerned to avoid imputations of esoteric mysteriousness, Jarvis strives to present his findings in The Ascent of Life as natural rather than supernatural, the product of simple observation and reason, and later wrote in the Arena against those moderns who would cloud metaphysics with aesthetics, such as artist Aubrey Beardsley, actress Sarah Bernhardt, and all those aspiring, half-naked female decadents who "fribble with a paint-brush as the home excuse for not making beds and washing dishes."<sup>59</sup>

Jarvis's third and last novel, published in early December of 1894 while he was honeymooning in Europe with his second wife, was intended "to partly illustrate the processes" described in Ascent (preface), and reads moderns an equally stern lesson. She Lived in New York pretends to have been written at the request of its heroine, Estelle Crosby, who has fallen from the smart set into poverty and drug and alcohol addiction, and asks her lover to novelize her downfall to show other women the perils of "what they think of as a gay life."

Show them how with all my advantages I failed. Tell them how the life necessitates liquor and the drugs that kill. Lure them to read. Make it interesting. Tell them of my beauty. Tell them of our first kiss; and then perhaps they will patiently read on to the disgraceful end. That is my wish, and I ask you to carry it out. (300-301)

A page later, Estelle throws herself from the balcony of her New York apartment, a victim of the city's modernity. Shortly after Jarvis returned from his honeymoon late in 1894 he removed the

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<sup>59</sup>"The Truly Artistic Woman," Arena Dec. 1897: 814. See also Jarvis's anti-decadent essay "The Priesthood of Art" in the Arena of April 1897, pp. 735-41.

novel from sale, possibly because of the poor reception of the book it was intended to illustrate. The Montreal Gazette found The Ascent of Life interesting, but the Toronto Globe and the New York Sun "tore it to pieces," and the Toronto Week thought it superficial, sarcastically concluding (upon the evidence of a photograph appended to both its serial and book publications) that at least Mr. Jarvis "is a very good-looking man."<sup>60</sup>

Jarvis abandoned New York in 1904, moving permanently to California. On the eve of his departure he burned nine long scrapbooks, each containing three hundred pages of his newspaper work, symbolically severing his connection with the city that had killed the heroine of his last known fiction. Two years later he edited and published in four instalments in the Canadian Magazine the memoirs of his great-grandfather, Colonel Stephen Jarvis, a Connecticut-born Loyalist,<sup>61</sup> but his main project for the rest of his life was the product of what his only critic, Jeffrey Wollock, calls possibly "a full blown paranoid delusional system, and . . . certainly a grand eccentricity." Developing ideas broached in his previous work, Jarvis came to believe that an ancient Druid priesthood had been controlling history since the dawn of civilization, secretly writing all the great religious texts, setting up kings, introducing and fostering war to serve

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<sup>60</sup>Wollock, "Stinson" 40; "Library Table," Week 7 Dec. 1894: 40. Neither Wollock nor I were able to locate any reviews of She Lived in New York itself.

<sup>61</sup>"Reminiscences of a Loyalist," Canadian Magazine Jan.-Apr. 1906: 227-33, 366-73, 450-57, 529-36. At one time Jarvis had planned to work up his ancestor's memoirs into a novel (Arena Dec. 1893 supp.: xlviii).

their own ends, and using mass hypnosis to, among other things, persuade humanity of the existence of an afterlife. He was convinced that had this been known the First World War could have been prevented. From about 1912 on Jarvis wrote on this subject, managing to publish some of it, including a series of articles from a projected book, The Jarvis Letters, in the Los Angeles Times of 1913-14, and the revised book itself as The Price of Peace in 1921--much of which is, says Wollock, "virtually unintelligible" ("Anatomy" 103-04).

Jarvis died at age seventy-one on January 2, 1926, while visiting a daughter in Los Angeles from his home in Balboa, a yachting resort in Orange County about sixty miles south of the city. Like Betts, who followed him to California, he has all but disappeared from the literary memory of his native country, remembered only by Wollock (himself an expatriate) and in a brief summary in the Literary History of Canada, which charitably calls him "one of Canada's more sophisticated authors in the early 1890's" (Klinck 335).<sup>62</sup> Perhaps part of the reason for Jarvis's disappearance is that he separated himself not only from his country, but also from those of his countrymen and women who followed him south. So far as is known, Jarvis did not associate with any of the other Canadian writers in New York during his years in the city. Responding to a query from Henry Morgan in early 1895 about other Canadians living in the States, Jarvis

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<sup>62</sup>In Wollock's opinion, "Stinson Jarvis had a lot of 'flash'--he was an all-around athlete, a crack yachtsman, a superb talker. He had considerable talent as a writer. . . . But Jarvis was not a deep thinker . . ." ("Anatomy" 107).

could or would only identify "my good friend E.W. Thomson" in Boston, whom he (not surprisingly) called "the best literary critic that Canada ever possessed."<sup>63</sup> Nor do the other expatriates seem to have known Jarvis: Hensley in 1893, Pollock in 1899, and Stringer in 1901 all passed him over in their respective surveys of fellow Canadian writers in New York of the '90s, while naming other and less established writers. Perhaps he travelled in different circles, preferring lunch at the Waldorf-Astoria (located near his last known New York residence, an uptown address at 345 West 34th Street) to spaghetti at Maria's. But in any event, Jarvis was as forgotten by his contemporaries as he has been by history. As Wollock says of the postscript to his obituary in the Los Angeles Times, which asked Toronto, New York, and Boston papers to "please copy," "It was a genteel, but useless gesture. Those cities had forgotten him" ("Stinson" 45).

### Thinking New Thoughts

Although its editor tells us that "Stinson Jarvis has for himself evidently avoided with care any alliance with any sect or cult,"<sup>64</sup> The Ascent of Life is clearly a product of the therapeutic culture that would later come to be known as New Thought. Flourishing in the late 1890s and after, New Thought was a blithe

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<sup>63</sup>Jarvis to Henry Morgan, 10 Mar 1895 (qtd. in full in Wollock, "Stinson" 50).

<sup>64</sup>[Benjamin Orange Flower], "Prospectus of the Arena for 1894," Arena Dec. 1893 supp.: xlvii.

cocktail of religious liberalism, Emersonian transcendentalism, mysticism, theosophy, Christian Science, and early psychiatry. Like most ideological movements, the New Thought was a reaction against old thought: in this case, what it perceived as the materialism of the expiring century. As Horatio W. Dresser, one of its leaders, put it in his 1919 History of the New Thought Movement, "We have lost interest in science not explicitly employed for moral ends" (2). Dresser might better have said "spiritual ends," for the central tenet of New Thought was the divinity of the inner man and therefore that "all real development is from within outward" (9)--or as Jarvis would have preferred to say, from within upward. The cult had its roots in the mid-century demonstrations of the New England mental healer Phineas Parkhurst Quimby and the subsequent interest in what believers called "mental science" and the unconvinced the "Boston craze" (Dresser 19-21). As mental science developed into New Thought, mental (or spiritual) healing remained central to the cult's beliefs, though increasingly the mesmerist vocabulary of its healers gave way to a lexicon drawn from early psychology, replete with terms such as "transference," the "inner force-world," negative and positive "impressions" or "thought-pictures," and so on.<sup>65</sup> Although New Thought declared itself anti-doctrinal, anti-institutional, and anti-sectarian (the last two of which it argued were among the important differences

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<sup>65</sup>For the premises and methods of mental healing, see Charles Brodie Patterson's summary in the Arena of June 1899, pp. 772-76. Patients could be cured in the healer's presence or at a distance, through synchronized "absent treatments" (Dresser 104).



between itself and Mary Baker Eddy's more structured Christian Science), it inevitably organized, founding the first of its many societies, the Church of the Higher Life, in Boston in 1894, and holding its first national convention five years later, also in Boston (Dresser 174, 195). By the turn of the century at least twenty New Thought periodicals, published in cities from Boston to Los Angeles, served "perhaps a million" believers in the United States alone.<sup>66</sup>

As D.M.R. Bentley has argued, Bliss Carman's post-exile poetry increasingly reflects the influence of the mind-cure movement (85), especially that written after his fateful meeting with "Personal Harmonizing" lecturer Mary Perry King in late 1896 or early 1897. Carman himself, in a letter of 27 April 1910 to an enquiring graduate student, explained that "you will find in all [my] poems written in the past ten or fifteen years a very definite philosophy (to give it a large name!), the same that is elaborated in The Making of Personality."<sup>67</sup> Ostensibly cowritten with King and based on her lectures (vii-viii), this 1908 collection of essays was actually rewritten by Carman at its publisher's insistence. Although it never identifies itself as New Thought and is careful (like most other New Thought publications) to distance itself from the mesmerism of the cult's formative years (114), The Making of Personality draws liberally upon two of New Thought's main sources, Hellenistic ethics and

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<sup>66</sup>Mott 4: 284-85; P[aul] T[ynes], "Metaphysical Organization," Arena Mar. 1899: 398.

<sup>67</sup>Carman to H.D.C. Lee, 27 Apr. 1910 (Gundy, Letters 176).

early psychology, and is recognizably enough a New Thought publication to have been so catalogued by the Library of Congress. Arguing that intellectual and spiritual development are inseparably connected to physical well-being, the book's nineteen loosely connected essays offer advice on everything from developing one's aesthetic sense and "personal vibrancy" (108) to cultivating one's poise, walk, and speaking voice. Along the way it suggests the reformative benefits to naughty children and criminals of enforced gymnastics (8), argues for the liberation of the foot from the "fashionable bondage" of modern footwear (163), and urges the return of a simpler, more graceful form of dance than its "stiffened relic," modern ballet (207). Like the Vagabondia series of the previous decade, it imagines a more strenuous physical life as a counter to the "distorted demands," "crazy haste," and "foolish absorption in affairs" of modern life, but has learned from New Thought to incorporate aspects of modernity into its project, arguing the necessity of a physical education that would be "as scientific as engineering, as ethical as religion, and as artistic as the best sculpture" (29, 28).<sup>68</sup>

According to Muriel Miller, Roberts saw his cousin's rewriting of King's lectures as a "flagrant waste of talent" (210), but The Making of Personality was probably the best reviewed book of Carman's career, earning accolades in the

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<sup>68</sup>Like the Vagabondia series, The Making of Personality is ultimately if unintentionally about accepting modernity rather than rejecting or transforming it: "No labour, however menial, but can be made to yield its quota to our physical well-being, if performed with intelligence and spirit. Drudgery is in the drudge, not in the task" (28).

Chicago Dial, the New York Times, the Literary Digest, and the Independent.<sup>69</sup> Both Carman's biographer and his current literary executor downplay the importance of the book to Carman's oeuvre by emphasizing that he just rewrote what was "basically Mrs. King's work" for the editorial fee and to get her published (M. Miller 208; Gundy, Letters 157n), but Carman himself evidently thought otherwise, writing to an appreciative reader that "your generous liking for The Making of Personality is meat and drink to my spirit. Poetry goes without saying and gets itself done 'involuntarily' by the grace of God and the pure joy of being alive. But a prose book is a work, an opus, if you please; and this one is my pet."<sup>70</sup>

#### **First We Take Manhattan**

Although both his private letters and his published verse demonstrate that Carman's allegiance to his and King's Unitrinian brand of New Thought was more serious than a paycheque or a favour, he was neither as committed nor as important to the cult as three other Canadian expatriates, all of whom found their way

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<sup>69</sup>Dial 16 May 1908: 313-14; New York Times Saturday Review of Books 20 June 1908: 356; Literary Digest 24 Oct. 1908: 599; Independent 3 Dec. 1908: 1311 (the last two were sympathetic to Carman). Of the known reviews, only Henry Walcott Boynton in Putnam's offered a dissenting voice, complaining that "Mr. Carman's prose--if it be understood as his--is as clumsy and cacophonous as his verse is nimble and sweet" (Oct. 1908: 108).

<sup>70</sup>Carman to James Carleton Young, 26 Oct. 1909 (Gundy, Letters 172). Carman adds, "I talk as if it were all mine, but I want you to know that most of the inwards of it, the pith and philosophy, come from a better brain than mine--the friend whose name you will read in the preface."

separately to New York but were drawn together in marriage and career by their common interest in the therapeutic movement of the 1880s and '90s.

John Emery McLean was born in Alton, Ontario on March 7, 1865. His family later moved to Orangeville, where McLean was educated and at age fourteen apprenticed to a local printer. Sometime after 1882--probably closer to the end than the beginning of the decade--McLean moved to New York and became head proofreader of the American Bible Society, a New York based organization that had monopolized Bible printing in the States almost since its organization in 1816 (Tebbel 543). According to Henry Morgan, after a few years "the burdensome routine of this position . . . became too irksome for Mr. McL[ean]," and he instead became associate editor of the New York Financier, a banking magazine founded in 1863 (CM 1898; Mott 2: 96).

McLean's next known position, the first to indicate an interest in mental science and perhaps the source of that interest, was as managing editor of The Metaphysical Magazine: A Monthly Review of the Occult Sciences and Metaphysical Philosophy. Founded and edited by Leander Edmund Whipple, a mental healer who had moved to New York from Hartford, Connecticut (Dresser 138), the Metaphysical Magazine was published by the Metaphysical Publishing Company, which in 1896 bought the entire stock of Lovell & Gestefeld's metaphysical publishing house and bookstore (Tebbel 350). Its offices were at 465 Fifth Avenue, considerably further uptown than McLean's more modest address at 233 East 12th. Advertising itself as "a

strictly first-class scientific and philosophic monthly, devoted to the best and most reliable information and advanced thought-teaching, in occult lines,"<sup>71</sup> McLean's new employer provided a venue for articles on metaphysics, mental healing, astrology, the occult, and theosophy, the last a mystical cult with eastern roots founded by Russian immigrant Helena Petrovna Blavatsky and others in New York in 1875. McLean remained with the Metaphysical Magazine for two and a half years, from its first issue in January of 1895 until the summer of 1897.

In 1898, recorded Who's Who in New York, McLean married the Countess Norraikow, a "writer and metaphysician" of New York City (WWNY). Not recorded by Who's Who was the fact that the "Countess" was actually Ella Walton, a twice-widowed orphan from Toronto twelve years her new husband's senior, and among the most mysterious of Canada's literary expatriates of the nineteenth century. Born in Toronto on November 9, 1853, Ella was adopted by one William Walton of Saint John, New Brunswick, and educated in her adoptive parent's (or parents') city. When "quite young" she married the son of a former member of the provincial legislature, and with her husband "spent many y[ea]rs in foreign travel," "living successively in most of the European capitals."<sup>72</sup> She returned to North America a widow, and in 1887 moved to New York. Later that year, Ella, now in her mid-thirties, married in New York her second husband, an exiled Russian nobleman calling

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<sup>71</sup>Arena June 1898 advertising section, n. pag.

<sup>72</sup>CM 1898; Cosmopolitan Sep. 1891: 619. Morgan identifies Ella's father-in-law as "the late Hon. A. McL. Seely, M.L.C." (CM 1898).

himself Count Adolphus Norraikow. Born in Warsaw in 1844, the Count--if Count he was--claimed to have studied for the law at the University of Moscow, but ran afoul of the government during the Polish revolution of 1863 and was several times arrested, spending almost eight years in exile in convict colonies in Archangel in northwest Russia and Olenetz in Siberia. In 1876 he joined a Nihilistic society in St. Petersburg and was eventually forced to flee Russia, coming to the United States with two Rembrandts valued at \$50,000 and settling in New York, where he became a "canvasser for scientific books." Neither the job nor the Rembrandts lasted: on 30 July 1890, the New York Times, under the headline "A 'Nobleman' in Poor Business," reported that Registry Clerk Norraikow had been suspended from duty at the Barge Office after it was discovered that he was sending Russian immigrants to an East Side peddler who found them work at wages below those offered by the Labour Bureau.<sup>73</sup>

About this time the couple seems to have turned to writing to support themselves. Ella had published her first literary work, a story, while she was "in her teens,"<sup>74</sup> and the Count had taught Russian law and literature while in exile in Archangel and was apparently something of a poet himself, his work appearing in several anthologies of Russian verse "of the revolutionary sort."<sup>75</sup> In 1891 a collection of Tolstoy's stories bearing Count

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<sup>73</sup>New York Times 7 Mar. 1892: 8; 14 Oct. 1892: 3; 30 July 1890: 8.

<sup>74</sup>Cosmopolitan Sep. 1891: 619. I have been unable to locate any publications for Ella under her maiden name.

<sup>75</sup>New York Times 14 Oct. 1892: 3; 7 Mar. 1892: 8.

Norraikow's name as translator appeared under Mark Twain's C.L. Webster imprint (two years later to publish Carman's first book), and a second collection followed from the same house in 1892. Although only her husband's name appears on these collections, the Count's obituary reveals that Ella "revised for him translations which he made of some of Tolstoi's writings and of other Russian works."<sup>76</sup> At the same time, Ella began contributing articles on the situation in Russia to American magazines. She signed her first known publication, an article on "Woman's Share in Russian Nihilism" in Cosmopolitan of September 1891, Ella Norraikow, but within a few months she had adopted her husband's title as well, appearing in Harper's Weekly in January 1892 as "Countess Norraikow." More was to come, however, for in an article in Lippincott's later that year on the Russian famine the Countess left her readers with the impression that she was herself a Russian, appealing "on behalf of the myriads of the Russian peasantry who are suffering for the very necessaries of life" to "the warm-hearted American public for aid in this dire extremity" (471).

By early 1892, the Count's years in prison had begun to catch up to him--in March, just after completing the first English translation of Tolstoy's play The Powers of Darkness, he entered the Home for Incurables, partially paralysed from "locomoter ataxia." He eventually left the Home, but in September Ella was forced to have him "examined as to his

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<sup>76</sup>New York Times 14 Oct. 1892: 3. No translations by Norraikow of authors other than Tolstoy have been located.

sanity," and on October 13 the Count died at Bellevue Hospital after suffering an attack while walking in the Bowery. Again a widow, Ella cannot have been left too well off, as her husband's obituary in the Times noted that a friend had written to "the Count's Polish friends, who will see that he has a good funeral."<sup>77</sup> With the exception of a story in a popular British juvenile adventure series in 1897, nothing more is known of Ella between her second husband's death and her third marriage to John Emery McLean in 1898. From McLean's entry in Who's Who in New York, however, we know that by the time of their marriage she had established herself as a "metaphysician" as well as a writer. John and Ella probably met through the Metaphysical Magazine or its publisher; at their marriage, he was in his early thirties and she in her mid-forties. Although it may simply be an error, the recording of Ella's birth as occurring on November 9, 1858, in the second edition of Morgan's Canadian Men and Women of the Time (revised after her marriage to McLean), may have been the result of Ella trying to shave a few years off her age.

After leaving the Metaphysical Magazine McLean had become associated in the fall of 1897 with a new periodical to be devoted to New Thought. Subtitled "A Monthly Magazine of Liberal and Advanced Thought," Mind was the brain-child of fellow Canadian Charles Brodie Patterson. The most prominent of the Canadian members of the therapeutic movement, Patterson was born March 19, 1854, in Nova Scotia and educated at the Pictou Academy

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<sup>77</sup>New York Times 7 Mar. 1892: 8: 14 Oct. 1892: 3.



(the exact place of his birth is unknown, but it was likely Pictou or the vicinity). After leaving school he worked in "mercantile pursuits," presumably in the province of his birth (WWNY). At age thirty-one, however, ill health forced a consequential career change: moving to Hartford, Connecticut, Patterson sought solace for his ills in mental healing, studying and later teaching at the city's Mental Science Institute and at the Alliance of Divine Unity, a spiritual study group with beliefs similar to mental science. In 1888, he privately printed his first book, a collection of his "Sunday Evening Talks" for the Mental Science Institute that he called Seeking the Kingdom. Around this time, Patterson established the Metaphysical Alliance of Hartford, serving as its president until at least 1904.

In 1893 Patterson moved to New York, taking the Alliance name with him for a new book-selling and publishing business he established in the Life building at 19 and 21 West 31st Street.<sup>78</sup> Calling itself "Metaphysical Headquarters," Patterson's Alliance Publishing Company carried "A Complete Line of Occult, Philosophic, and Scientific literature . . . relating to Progressive Thought and Psychic Phenomena, Metaphysical Healing and Mental Philosophy, Astrology and Palmistry," and boasted a periodical department containing "the latest numbers of the

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<sup>78</sup>Mott says McLean owned the Alliance Publishing Company (4: 414), but one of the firm's own authors names Patterson as its owner (Dresser 140), a far more probable scenario given Patterson's prior use of the Alliance name and what can be inferred about the financial capabilities of the two men at this time. The firm's founding date is unknown; its first known activity is as the publisher of Mind, launched October of 1897 (McLean in N).

leading New Thought magazines issued throughout the world."<sup>79</sup> Its own list read like the cast of an Agatha Christie novel: Sydney Barrington Elliot, the doctor whose work on prenatal influence Stinson Jarvis admired enough to append to the book version of his Ascent of Life; spiritual psychologist Horatio W. Dresser; Lovell's former publishing partner, feminist turned metaphysician Ursula N. Gestefeld; Atlantis theorist Dr. Augustus Le Plongeon; poet Agnes Proctor, the medium of "clairaudient impressions received from Adah Isaacs Menken, deceased"; Henry Wood's "Idealistic Metaphysical" novels, and so on. Patterson's own New Thought Essays of 1898, a collection of articles on "life in its various phases from a spiritual basis," was the first book published under the Alliance imprint, and he followed it with several other works from his own hand, including the Library of Health (1898-1900), a three-volume set edited by Patterson and advertised as "Excellent books for beginners in the New Metaphysics,"<sup>80</sup> and The Will to Be Well (1901), a collection of New Thought essays on spiritual healing that became Patterson's most reprinted work, appearing in at least ten editions in his lifetime. By the end of 1901 (by then in new quarters at 569 Fifth Avenue), Patterson's Alliance catalogue ran to fifty pages, and his firm had replaced Lovell, Gestefeld & Co. as New York's most exotic publisher.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>79</sup>Arena Oct. 1899 advertising section, n. pag.

<sup>80</sup>Arena Sep. 1902: 224.

<sup>81</sup>Arena Dec. 1901 advertising section, n. pag.; list of authors from Alliance advertisements in the Arena 1899-1901.

Although the record is uncertain and at times conflicting, it seems probable that Patterson hired McLean away from the Metaphysical Magazine to serve as editor of his Alliance-published Mind, launched in October of 1897.<sup>82</sup> Later (towards the end of 1900), Patterson assumed co-editing responsibilities for Mind,<sup>83</sup> and by the December 1903 issue he alone appears on the cover as editor. Promising its subscribers "Health! Harmony! Happiness!" and contributions from the "best known writers" on science, psychology, philosophy, metaphysics, religion, and occultism,<sup>84</sup> Mind published many articles by its publisher (including those collected in 1898 as New Thought Essays) and undoubtedly printed signed and unsigned work by its first editor and perhaps his new wife, who after their marriage took McLean's name but retained her second husband's title, calling herself Mrs. Ella N. McLean, the Countess Norraikow.

In early May of 1899, Patterson became vice-president, treasurer, and a director of Paul Tyner's Arena Company, formed to raise capital for the Arena during Tyner's brief ownership of the Boston monthly.<sup>85</sup> Struggling since illness had forced founding editor B.O. Flower to withdraw from the magazine two years before (Mott 4: 411-12), the Arena did no better under

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<sup>82</sup>Patterson was certainly the publisher of Mind (Dresser 185), and McLean is named as its editor in an advertisement in the May 1899 Arena (v).

<sup>83</sup>"Prospectus for 1901," Arena Dec. 1899, n. pag.

<sup>84</sup>Arena May 1899 advertising section, n. pag.

<sup>85</sup>"Special Notice," Arena June 1899 advertising section: i.

Tyner's management, and that fall ownership of the "periodical of protest" passed into the hands of Patterson's Alliance Company.<sup>86</sup> It was an appropriate takeover: the Arena had recently absorbed four of the New Thought periodicals (Mott 4: 284), and throughout its life had been receptive to articles on theosophy, spiritualism, and the sort of quasi-scientific investigations typified by Jarvis's Ascent of Life.<sup>87</sup> Patterson moved the Arena to New York and installed McLean as its new editor. In the October 1899 issue, the first under Patterson's ownership and McLean's editorship, McLean pledged that the Arena would be "absolutely non-partizan and non-sectarian--without creed or platform"; his next sentence, however, belied this promise, declaring their "belief . . . that what is called the 'New Thought' of to-day" offered a "practical, concrete, and objective" alternative to the abstractions of "modern metaphysics" (540).

Together, Patterson and McLean attempted to revive the monthly's former reputation for social activism. Along with New Thought, standard Arena topics reappeared, including opposition to America's war in the Philippines, discussions of the currency debate, the "Mormon problem," divorce, criminology, and so on. If, as Mott says, the contributors were "not, in general, distinguished" during Patterson's ownership (4: 414), the

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<sup>86</sup>"Announcement," Arena Oct. 1899, n. pag.

<sup>87</sup>The deal had obviously been in the works for some time--as early as May, the Arena Company had begun to offer joint subscriptions to its Arena and Alliance's Mind for the combined price of \$3.00 a year (Arena May 1899 advertising section: xvi).

sentiments were no less sincere and the crusades no less vigorous than under Flower. An experienced businessman, Patterson also used the magazine to promote Alliance's list and the new Alliance School of Applied Metaphysics, which under Principal Patterson began offering "elementary and advanced" classes at the Royalton building on West 44th Street in November of 1899.<sup>88</sup> Patterson's own books were favourably reviewed, and he himself appeared repeatedly in the magazine, contributing articles on mental healing, New Thought, and the problems with organized religion, as well as one short "Psychological Story" in which the "very much of a materialist" narrator becomes a believer after listening to a friend recount his experiences with psychic dreams, visitations, and flight.<sup>89</sup>

In 1900 McLean seems to have temporarily left the Arena; from July to October of that year the magazine's cover announced that it was being "Conducted by N.O. Fanning."<sup>90</sup> During Fanning's period, advertising in the Arena dropped almost to nothing, with just the Sohmer piano company continuing to take out a page a month--which may explain why the November 1900 issue seems to be without an editor, and why the December issue bears the names of

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<sup>88</sup>By 1902, the Alliance School had relocated to the Schuyler building at 59 West 45th Street, also the home of John and Ella McLean. It continued offering classes, with Patterson remaining as principal, until at least the 1902-03 season (advertisements in Dec. 1899 and Dec. 1902 Arena, n. pag.).

<sup>89</sup>"One From the Beginning," Arena Dec. 1903: 627.

<sup>90</sup>Exactly when McLean left the editorship of the Arena is in question: the run of the magazine preserved by University Microfilms is unfortunately missing all covers and contents and advertising pages from Jan. to June 1900.

not one but three former editors: Charles Brodie Patterson, Benjamin Orange Flower, and John Emery McLean. These three would edit the magazine together for the next two and a half years. Flower lent his old magazine some of his famous fury and helped fill its pages, notably in the now revived book review section. Patterson contributed his New Thought and related pieces, and McLean wrote the announcements and contributor's notes and edited the "Symposia" section--"Where Master Brains Discuss Vital Issues," as it was described in the prospectus for 1901. By 1902 the magazine had reached its highest circulation, just under 30,000, but Mott doubts that it was making much if any profit (4: 414-15). McLean resigned from the Arena the following spring: June's "Notes and Comments," which he had been regularly writing and signing, are for this month unsigned, and don't read like his work. By the July issue his name had been dropped from the cover, and in September Flower made a brief and not terribly heartbroken reference to the "retirement of Mr. McLean" four months before (331). The next month one Charles A. Montgomery "assum[ed] the business management" of the Alliance Publishing Company and of its two magazines, a change of power that has the ring of a creditors' takeover. Patterson and Flower continued to edit the Arena together until March of 1904; in April, Flower informed readers in a "Special Announcement" that the Arena had been purchased by New Jersey printer Albert Brandt and that he himself had been restored to "sole editor," a situation with

which he seemed more than happy.<sup>91</sup> Like McLean the year before, Patterson left the Arena in silence. His money had saved the magazine in 1899, and the record suggests that he exhausted his resources on it over the next four years, perhaps to the point of bankruptcy, but when he left it was without so much as a goodbye.

After leaving the Arena the McLeans and Patterson went their separate ways, at least as far as the public record indicates. According to a biographical entry published in 1912, in addition to her writing Ella "now conducts a successful practice in metaphy[sical] healing, and is regarded as one of the noted women of the Am[erican] metropolis" (CM 1912). After leaving the Arena John became a representative for Brentano's, a well-known New York bookstore and sometime publisher, and at some point went to work for the American Real Estate Company, becoming metropolitan sales manager before the company's bankruptcy in the spring of 1916. That summer, he served as financial secretary of the Allies' Hospital Relief Commission in New York, a position that landed him in controversy when with McLean's testimony the Commission's director was indicted for embezzlement.<sup>92</sup> He also became involved with the second incarnation of the Canadian Club of New York, serving as president from 1914 to 1916 and the following year chairing the committee that found the club its first permanent home at the Hotel Biltmore, one of several New York hotels owned and operated by fellow expatriate and club

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<sup>91</sup>"Publisher's Notes," Arena Nov. 1903: 559-60; "Notes and Comments," Arena Apr. 1904: 444.

<sup>92</sup>New York Times 3 Aug. 1916: 20.

member John McEntee Bowman (Anderson 12, 14-15). In 1926 the Henry George Foundation published McLean's Spiritual Economics: A Plea for Christianity in Action, a monograph on Christian socialism that is both his only known book and his last known record of any kind. No obituaries have been located for either McLean or the Countess Norraikow, and their dates of death remain unknown.

According to the National Union Catalog, the Alliance Company continued to publish Mind until the magazine's demise in April 1906, but it is unlikely that Patterson had any interest in the company after 1903, though he may have continued to edit Mind for new owners. His last books to bear the Alliance imprint were reprints in 1902; by 1904, Patterson was being published by Funk & Wagnalls and later by Thomas Crowell, both established New York publishers that by their reputation provide an indication of just how seriously New Thought was still being taken. In all, Patterson published fifteen books on mental healing and New Thought over his life, nine of them after his departure from the Arena. His later titles include The Measure of a Man (1904), The New Way to Educate Children (1909), In the Sunlight of Health (1913), and The Rhythm of Life (1915), the latter a collection of New Thought essays on the healing effects of music and colour and his last book.

As his publications indicate, the end of the Alliance Company by no means meant the end of Patterson's involvement in the therapeutic movement. Elected first president of the International Metaphysical League at the national New Thought



convention at Boston's Tremont Temple in October of 1899, Patterson continued as the League's president until the 1903 convention, and later served as its treasurer (1906-08) and fourth vice-president (1909-?) of the National New Thought Alliance, as the League restyled itself in 1908 (Dresser 195-96, 198-99, 202). In demand as a lecturer on New Thought throughout the States and in Paris and London, he also continued an "active practice in mental and spiritual healing" in New York (CM 1912). Among other affiliations, he was a member of the English Society for Physical Research and the American Academy of Political and Social Science, a fellow of the American Geographical Society, and an honorary member of the Contemporary Authors' Society of Europe.<sup>93</sup>

Patterson died at age sixty-three at his home at 210 Fifth Avenue on June 22, 1917. The next day, the New York Times announced the passing of the New Thought leader, reporting that with his wife Louise Lippincott "Dr. Patterson was the founder of the 'New Thought' movement in this country." Two years later, one of Alliance's former authors, Horatio Dresser, took exception to this claim in his History of the New Thought Movement. Conceding that with several others Patterson was among the first to use the phrase "New Thought" in the pages of Mind and in the title of his 1898 New Thought Essays, Dresser nonetheless objected to "New York papers" describing Patterson at his death as the American founder of New Thought, arguing that he did not

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<sup>93</sup>WWNY; obit., New York Times 23 June 1917: 9.

begin work in mental healing until 1887 and that he "shared with several others his pioneer work in Hartford and New York" (153-54, 157). Dresser seems too dismissive of his former publisher's contribution to the cult; it is especially odd that in correcting the New York papers he doesn't mention that Patterson himself had publicly stated (in an essay Dresser elsewhere cites) that New Thought's "first great apostle" was Phineas Parkhurst Quimby and later Julius A. Dresser of Boston and the Rev. Warren Felt Evans of New Hampshire, an identical lineage to that traced by Dresser.<sup>94</sup>

Despite Dresser's objections, it's clear that, as the Times also reported, this merchant from Pictou won himself a "large following" in America and abroad, and that he played a leading role in the establishment of what was probably the most popular challenge to the secularizing, dehumanizing threats of modernism in turn-of-the-century America. Many of Patterson's books went into multiple printings, and several were translated into other languages, including Italian and Dutch. A copy of his New Thought Essays found its way into the library of another, more famous champion of the individual over and against the innovations of the new century, the escape-artist Harry Houdini.<sup>95</sup> As late as 1913, Patterson's books were still being sincerely and generally positively reviewed by such organs as the New York

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<sup>94</sup>Patterson, "What the New Thought Stands For," Arena Jan. 1901: 9.

<sup>95</sup>Houdini's copy of New Thought Essays has been microfilmed by the Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions.

Times, the Boston Transcript, and the Review of Reviews (BRD 1913). Fiction styles may change, but the promise of "Health! Harmony! Happiness!" never goes out of style: two of Patterson's books are in print today, a century later.

### **The Making of Almon Hensley**

In November of 1899, a month after Patterson acquired ownership of the Arena and moved it to New York, a symposium appeared in its lead pages on the city's recently founded Society for the Study of Life. Charged with outlining the aims of the society, the symposium's first contributor opens by acknowledging the debt of gratitude women owed to the Suffragists who "hewed and hacked their way through the solid phalanx of social opprobrium," but argues that with the close of the century American women have recognized the need to turn their efforts from improving their position in society to improving society as a whole. Since motherhood occupies the "first rung of the ladder of all permanent social reform," the National Congress of Mothers and its attendant clubs and societies were formed to help mothers provide an ideal environment for their children (614-15). And since an ideal domestic environment requires an ideal marriage, the Society for the Study of Life was organized to provide a forum in which "vital sex questions could be fully and honestly dealt with; where the truths of life could be scientifically studied, and the ideal of marriage raised to the level where it belongs" (617). Its founding, notes the contributor in closing,

"marks the cultivation and final expression of woman's thought of the last half century--marks possibly, also, the dawn of a new era in woman's work" (620).

This outspoken advocate of American motherhood was Canadian expatriate Almon Hensley: secretary of the New York State Assembly of Mothers, co-founder and vice-president of the New York City Mothers' Club, and founding president of the Society for the Study of Life. Born Sophia Margaretta Almon in Bridgetown, Nova Scotia, on the last day of May in 1866, the Almon Hensley who opened the Arena's symposium was in many ways a different woman from the young bride who had arrived in New York a decade before, different in more than name. The daughter of socially prominent parents, Sophia (or Sophie, as she generally preferred) Almon was educated by governesses and at private schools in England and France.<sup>96</sup> While living at the family home in Windsor, she became a protégée of Charles G.D. Roberts, then on the faculty of nearby King's College. According to Roberts' official biographer, she was a regular member of the poet's "Kingscroft circle" (Pomeroy 83), and the record suggests that it was he who encouraged her first published verse, in the King's College Record, the Toronto Week, and the Montreal Dominion Illustrated.<sup>97</sup> In April of 1889 twenty-two-year-old Sophie had

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<sup>96</sup>For information not otherwise cited, the primary biographical source for Hensley is Gwendolyn Davies' article for the Dictionary of Literary Biography (DLB 99: 163-65).

<sup>97</sup>Hensley's first appearance in the Dominion Illustrated, for instance, came at the behest of Roberts, who sent editor Jean Talon Lesperance a copy of her poem "Tout Pour l'Amour" (10 Nov. 1888: 295). He also pitched her work to at least two of his

her first collection of poems privately printed by J.J. Anslow, a Windsor printer who also did work that year for both Roberts and Carman.<sup>98</sup> The Portland Transcript thought Poems "worthy of an extensive circulation," while at home in Canada the Week also wondered why the work should have only been printed for private circulation but complained, somewhat contradictorily, that although it contained "some very pretty work," "there is not in the collection a single poem strong enough to float a volume of verse."<sup>99</sup>

Also in April 1889, Sophie married Hubert Arthur Hensley, a barrister from Stellarton, Nova Scotia. According to a letter from Hensley to W.D. Lighthall that Gwendolyn Davies has discovered in the McGill University Archives, the Hensleys planned to sail the world and earn their living by their pens, but the plan does not seem to have materialized (DLB 99: 163). By at least 1890, the couple had instead moved to New York (CM 1898; WhAm 4). As far as the record has preserved, Hensley's literary efforts for her first few years in New York were confined to occasional verse for her usual Canadian venues, the Week and the Dominion Illustrated. In the spring of 1892 she turned her hand to prose for the first time, contributing the

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American publishers, Richard Watson Gilder of the Century in 1887 and Small, Maynard in 1898 (Boone 68, 244).

<sup>98</sup>Anslow printed F. Blake Crofton's Haliburton: The Man and the Writer, which Roberts introduced and edited, in January, and Carman's broadsheet The Kelpie Riders in December.

<sup>99</sup>Transcript notice rpt. in "Literary Notes," Dominion Illustrated 27 July 1889: 51; "Our Library Table," Week 23 Aug. 1889: 604.

first of two illustrated articles on Canadians working in New York to the Dominion Illustrated and the first in an intermittent series of "New York Letters" to the Week.

In 1895, Hensley published A Woman's Love Letters with the young New York house of J. Selwin Tait & Sons. A prominent banker, Tait had turned his private passion for books into a public venture just three years before (Tebbel 387); the two may have been introduced by Hensley's friend G. Mercer Adam, a Tait author.<sup>100</sup> Love Letters consists of a dozen or so lengthy poems interspersed with shorter lyrics, most, as its title suggests, in the voice of a woman very much in love. The only known review, a brief notice in the Week, seemed genuinely interested, calling Hensley's public debut "real poetry, the outcome of personal thought and emotion, not the mere echo of what other people have sung."<sup>101</sup> According to a puzzling note by the expatriate Canadian poet-critic Thomas O'Hagan in the Chicago Catholic World, at about this time Hensley was "giving her time chiefly to story-writing, and is meeting with much success." O'Hagan also refers to Hensley as "both poet and novelist," but neither a novel nor any short fiction by Hensley have been located for this period.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>100</sup>Adam had edited a biography of Eugene Sandow for Tait in 1894; for Hensley's friendship with Adam in New York, see her "Canadian Writers," which implies that she had at least once been a guest at the Adams' "charming home" at 55 West 17th Street (198). Presumably the two became acquainted as a result of Hensley's contributions to the Week.

<sup>101</sup>Week 17 Apr. 1896: 502.

<sup>102</sup>"Some Canadian Women Writers," Catholic World Sep. 1896; rpt. in Week 25 Sep. 1896: 1053. It is possible, even probable, that the stories and the novel or novels that O'Hagan credits to

In addition to her first public collection of verse, the mid-1890s marked an important transition for Hensley, a turning point signalled in the political tones of her "New York Letters" to the Week. Largely love lyrics, Hensley's verse up to A Woman's Love Letters displays little or no social, let alone feminist, consciousness: it is slightly better than average magazine fare that dips into the sentimental as often as it rises to the "personal thought and emotion" admired by the Week's reviewer. Her articles on Canadians in New York for the Dominion Illustrated are informative but similarly inconsequential, though the latter is probably more an index of the magazine's than of Hensley's limitations (Roberts' "Modern Instances" column, which ran in the monthly at the same time, was by his own admission "frivolous," and he generally only used the magazine as a home for work that had been rejected by American editors).<sup>103</sup> The edgier editorial policies of the Week, however, allowed Hensley more latitude, and her letters to the weekly reveal signs of a developing political consciousness. Alongside reports on the Health and Food Exposition at the Lenox Lyceum and the premier of Tennyson's The Foresters at Daly's appear comments on topical issues such as the currency debate, the Behring Sea dispute, and the Lexow investigation; in particular, Hensley's political

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Hensley by this date were published pseudonymously--as her first known fiction, the novella Love & Company, was in the next year.

<sup>103</sup>Roberts to Archibald MacMechan, 19 Dec. 1892 (Boone 162). With a few gaps, Roberts' column ran from February to August, 1892. For his use of DI as a publisher of last resort, see notes to "Tantramar" (Christmas 1890) and "The Raid from Beauséjour" (Feb. 1892) in appendix C.

senses seem to have been awakened by her perception of inequalities of class (and later, gender) in the metropolis, inequalities that the location and circumstances of her upbringing had previously sheltered her from. At the end of her first letter to the Week, Hensley tells her readers that she's "thinking of writing an article on the two great pictures of New York life: the one viewed by the miserable inmates of tenement houses, and that seen by the petted denizens of the large hotels and handsome houses of the city." "There is no luxury," she continues,

that cannot be obtained in New York, only money is needed to purchase it; no depth of misery and wretchedness into which it is not possible to fall, only the lack of money is needed to bring it about. Money is the one great cry that makes itself heard above the roar of the stock exchange, and the piteous cries of women and little children.<sup>104</sup>

In a later letter, Hensley takes the looming destruction of Edgar Allan Poe's cottage to make way for the new elevated railroad as evidence that "New York city is notoriously dead to reverential and aesthetic instincts. . . . The greed of gold and a love of the beautiful have never been known to go hand in hand."<sup>105</sup>

Hensley had begun to find her culture: to steal a line from Auden (with apologies to Yeats), mad New York hurt her into activism.

Hensley did more than write about the destruction of Poe's cottage: she helped lead the campaign to save it, occupying the mayor's office with other members of the Poe Memorial Association

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<sup>104</sup>"New York Letter," Week 8 Apr. 1892: 296. The article does not seem to have been written.

<sup>105</sup>"New York Letter," Week 5 June 1896: 668.



until he agreed to move the landmark out of harm's way. She also became a member of the Society for Political Study, the New York Press Club, and possibly the American Authors' Guild on West 58th Street.<sup>106</sup> Increasingly, however, Hensley began to focus her activism on women's issues, a development adumbrated in one of the longer poems, "Misunderstanding," in A Woman's Love Letters. "I am no saint," the speaker tells her lover,

nicked in a hallowed wall  
 For men to worship, but I would compel  
 A level gaze. You teachers who would tell  
 A woman's place I do defy you all!  
 While justice lives, and love with joy is crowned  
 Woman and man must meet on equal ground. (21)

Not surprisingly given her concern with economic disparities, Hensley's feminism initially took a more social form than these lines would indicate, concerning itself rather precisely with teaching other women "woman's place."

According to her 1899 Arena article on the founding of the Society for the Study of Life, the central impetus of the several mothers' associations in which Hensley became active in the latter half of the decade<sup>107</sup> was the recognition that the time had

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<sup>106</sup>See her detailed description of the Guild's aims in her "New York Letter" of 5 June 1896. At this time fellow expatriates Edwyn Sandys and Craven Langstroth Betts were also members of the Guild, the latter as its secretary.

<sup>107</sup>According to Long, Hensley was secretary of the New York State Assembly of Mothers from 1898 to 1900. Who's Who in New York for 1904 credits her with helping to organize the New York City Mothers' Club, "of which she been vice-president for many years" (WWNY); Long lists her as its president as of 1905. Long also lists Hensley as president of the Society for the Study of Life from 1896-1904, but Hensley herself says that this organization was proposed at a meeting of the New York City Mothers' Club in February, 1898, and does not mention her presidency (Arena Nov. 1899: 617).

come for women to organize for "altruistic" rather than "egoistic" purposes (614-15). In particular, says Hensley, these organizations aimed to improve social conditions by teaching women how to produce and raise better children and therefore better citizens--to "striv[e] with the mighty lever of motherhood to effect the regeneration of the race" (615). Here, Hensley betrays the ideological sympathies of the mothers' organizations that she helped to lead with the antimodern quest for more authentic experience, or in this case a more authentic "race": her project of racial regeneration implies a reactionism that is in ironic (and unnoticed) conflict with the "progressive" education she advocates (617). Clearly, too, this regeneration was to be achieved not only through education, but also through not-so-natural principles of selection. According to Hensley, a "mighty problem" confronted the mothers' movement:

The child was not a piece of white paper on which might be inscribed the thought of the parent; not a lump of putty to be pressed this way and that until it assumed the desired shape. It came stamped, at times indelibly, with inherited tendencies and predispositions--the outcome of generations of wise or unwise thinking: the result, to a large extent, of the circumstances of conception. (615)

"[G]rapes," as she more succinctly states the problem, "do not grow upon thorns" (617). And so she helped organize the Society for the Study of Life to teach women the "great, grand laws governing reproduction" (620), lectured at mothers' clubs and other venues throughout the city on such subjects as "Heredity," "Child Culture," and "The Child of the Tenements" (CM 1912), and eventually published a full-length work on the "mighty problem"

of eugenics, Woman and the Race, printed under the pseudonym Gordon Hart in 1907 by Ariel Press of Westwood, Massachusetts.

From the evidence of Hensley's "New York Letters," the city itself would seem to have been most responsible for the transformation of Sophie M. Almon, provincial author of "some very pretty work," into Almon Hensley, social activist (a name she first used in print for the Arena symposium). But just as Carman's frustrations with "beastly" New York found verse form through a fortuitous textual encounter, so too Hensley seems to have been provoked into activism by her reading of certain texts within the fin de siècle Anglo-American culture of protest. Perhaps most significantly, her letter to the Week of 8 April 1892 makes it clear that she has read and is in sympathy with Edward Bellamy's Christian-socialist utopian novel Looking Backward, an international bestseller from its publication in 1888 to the century's end. "Did they but understand and appreciate the significance of it," she writes of New York's economically divided citizenry, "Bellamy's world would be a paradise of joy and bliss, after which rich and poor alike would long with a yearning unspeakable." A later letter includes a favourable notice of The Philistine, the iconoclastic organ of American socialist Elbert Hubbard: it is "new and audacious," says Hensley; "we wish it all success."<sup>108</sup> Her Arena article on

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<sup>108</sup>"New York Letter," Week 8 Apr. 1892: 296 and 5 June 1896: 668. Walter Blackburn Harte and Bliss Carman were both associated with the Philistine around the time of Hensley's notice of the monthly, Harte as contributor and short-lived partner (Doyle, Fin de Siècle 97-99; Mott 4: 645-46), and Carman as an editorial assistant whom Hubbard soon fired with the explanation that

the Society for the Study of Life quotes at length from English reformer Edward Carpenter, English sex psychologist Havelock Ellis, and American feminist Charlotte Perkins Gilman. Finally, despite Hensley's explicit denial of any "bias in the society in favor of any particular faith or creed" (618), her allegiance with the New Thought of the Arena's new publisher and editor is evident in the article's general emphasis on a scientific, especially psychological, approach to "the truths of life"; in particular, her argument for the importance of "the circumstances of conception" parallels the work of Alliance author Dr. Sydney Barrington Elliot on prenatal influences.<sup>109</sup>

By 1904, Hensley had made enough of a name for herself to be included in the first edition of Who's Who in New York, which described her as "a radical and fearless speaker and thinker" (WWNY). She, Hubert, and their three children maintained a city address at the Hotel Balmoral on Lenox Avenue and a summer home in Barton, Nova Scotia. In 1906 she published her third collection of verse, The Heart of a Woman, to indifferent reviews.<sup>110</sup> A few years later she moved to London, where she

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"Ignorance (which is Bliss) was so bright that he would not get up mornings until noon, as he said he wished to give the Dawn a chance" (qtd. in Mott 4: 645).

<sup>109</sup>New Thought itself declared itself anti-doctrinal, and disavowals of attachment to "any particular faith or creed" were common in its literature: see, for instance, McLean's editorial pledge to this effect in the October 1899 Arena (539-40).

<sup>110</sup>The New York Outlook wrote that "While there is nothing in the least objectionable in the Heart disclosing itself in these verses, there is also nothing of special value" (BRD 1907). The only other known review, in the New York Times, was also politely apathetic (8 June 1907: 373).

published her first non-fictional book under her own name (i.e., as Almon Hensley), Love and the Woman of Tomorrow. The most overtly feminist of Hensley's works, Love and the Woman of Tomorrow presents arguments against marriage (a favourite target of the Philistine) and for the social support of unmarried mothers. Sometime before its 1913 publication Hensley returned to New York, taking up residence at another hotel, the Somerset on West 47th (CM 1912; WhAm 4). Bibliographic evidence suggests that she remained in New York at least through the war years but later moved west, where in 1928 she published (in San Diego) her last book, The Way of a Woman and Other Poems.

By 1934 Hensley seems to have returned to her native Nova Scotia. In January of that year her last known work, the aptly titled lyric "Repatriated," appeared in the Dalhousie Review. Forty years before, she had concluded her article on Canadian writers in New York for the Dominion Illustrated by saying that "We appreciate most heartily the cordial welcome and kind encouragement that are always accorded us in this great busy, pushing, hard-working city" (204); now, she writes that in her years spent in the "clamour of great cities" and the "thousand wonders" of the "great Western states"

always was I alien, nationless,  
 With voices calling from St. Mary's Bay  
 From little sleepy towns of Gaspereaux.  
 I have come home from world-wracked troublous climes  
 To the calm haven of the Maritimes  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . . And so, in the gloam,  
 My eventide, ready to do my part,  
 I have come home.

Significantly, for both "Repatriated" and her last book The Way of a Woman Hensley returned to her pre-Arena signature, signing the first Sophia M. Hensley and the second Sophia Margareta Hensley. Sophia Hensley always called the Maritimes home; Almon Hensley was a creation and a resident of New York City.<sup>111</sup>

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<sup>111</sup>Hensley's rediscovered allegiance to the Maritimes notwithstanding, "she moved to the island of Jersey in 1937, but was forced to flee when the Nazis invaded the Channel Islands in 1940 and commandeered her house. She died in Windsor [sic; Annapolis Royal?], Nova Scotia, on 10 February 1946" (DLB 99: 165).

## Chapter 4

### The New Romantics

In November of 1894, Bliss Carman gave the Chap-Book a belated review of Gilbert Parker's Pierre and His People. In these stories of the Canadian Northwest, says Carman, Parker "found a background well suited to his purpose, a canvas large enough for the elemental scenes he wished to portray."

For "Pierre" is not a drawing-room product--that daring, reckless, gambling, adorable half-breed. He has morals of his own, and is not amenable to our strait code of petty conventions. A sinner he may be, a man he certainly is, and a distinct creation in our contemporary letters.

Rarely a good critic of his own work, Carman here astutely identifies a phenomenon that would soon dominate publishers' lists, and continue to do so for well into the next century. For Carman, the main features of what he called the new romance movement were its "strong, self-assured, manly outlook upon life"; the adventurous spirit of its authors, to whom "a day of sport is better than a night of study"; and most of all, its propensity for the "thrilling incident" over careful study or charming manner: "Not analysis, but story-telling, pure and simple, is the aim of the school. To be life-like concerns them less than to be moving, enthralling, and vivid." Having learned from realism to avoid "palpable falsity and childish exaggeration," the new romantic nonetheless prefers the dramatic to the commonplace, and especially rejects what Carman perceives as the feminizing influence of realism upon the literary

sensibility: "We had become so over-nice in our feelings, so restrained and formal, so bound by habit and use in our devotion to the effeminate realists, that one side of our nature was starved. We must have a revolt at any cost." The revolt wasn't long in coming: four years later, the New York Bookman informed its readers that "A bookseller is reported as saying the other day that 'the sex novel is dead, and the women who did things are at a discount.' Evidently the novel of adventure is the live novel of the present, and it is the men who did things who are wanted."<sup>1</sup>

Later critics have since clarified some of the cultural influences at work upon the revolt Carman describes. For Larzer Ziff, for instance, its principal target was overcivilization, and its most prominent leaders--Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, historian Brooks Adams, and President Theodore Roosevelt---accordingly advocated a return to a more "manly" conduct in American life and politics. For Ann Douglas, the feminization that Carman deplores resulted less from the advent of realism than from the triumph of anti-intellectual sentimentalism over the Calvinist values of the founding colonists. For T.J. Jackson Lears, who himself uses Carman's review to help make his case, the late-nineteenth-century fashion for romantic adventure stories was yet another face of the antimodern movement, in

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<sup>1</sup>Bliss Carman, "Mr. Gilbert Parker," Chap-Book 1 Nov. 1894; rpt. in Week 16 Nov. 1894: 1214-15. The Bookman's note ("Chronicle and Comment," Dec. 1898: 305) alludes to a trend-setting novel by another Canadian expatriate, Grant Allen's The Woman Who Did (1895).



particular the product of longings for spontaneity, vitality, and "psychic rejuvenation" (106).

By the late 1890s the romantic revolt had produced a clearly defined literary culture. Roosevelt himself preached and lived The Strenuous Life, the title of his 1900 collection of essays and addresses. Owen Wister, Roosevelt's author-champion, romanced his patron's favourite hunting-ground in The Virginian (1902), becoming the "Kipling of the west" and the father of the modern western. Jack London and Zane Grey, the darlings of a periodical press suddenly intent on vigorous, brawny tales of outdoor life, inspired hundreds of imitators. Hunters, fishermen, and naturalists returned urban Americans to the outdoors in new magazines like Recreation (1894-1912) and Field and Stream (1896-current), teaching them everything from how to build a better camp-fire to how to identify, track, and kill animals. At once the prey and the ideal of antimodern longings, the animal ironically became the hero of its own romances at the same time that it was being hunted across the pages of others, giving rise to a sub-genre of the romantic adventure story--the romance, to paraphrase the Bookman, of the animal who did things.

As we've seen, in Carman's view at least one expatriate Canadian, Gilbert Parker in England, belonged in company with such founders of the new romantic movement as Rudyard Kipling, Robert Louis Stevenson, and Richard Harding Davis.<sup>2</sup> Many other

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<sup>2</sup>Carman did not unduly exaggerate the success of his countryman: Parker's The Seats of the Mighty, for instance, figured prominently on the New York Bookman's bestseller lists, entering

Canadians contributed to the culture, some more successfully than even Parker. Not surprisingly, expatriate Canadians fared especially well at selling fiction and non-fiction with an outdoor setting to foreign publishers and editors. E.W. Thomson in Boston published over a hundred outdoor adventure stories in British and American juvenile magazines between 1885 and 1912 (YC). Frank Lillie Pollock, an Ontario journalist in New York around the turn of the century, wrote at least fifty outdoor stories and sketches and some twenty serialized novels of outdoor adventure between 1897 and his disappearance from the record in the 1940s.<sup>3</sup> Ernest Thompson Seton dominated (and created, he would have added) the new genre of the animal story, with Charles G.D. Roberts not far behind. Ontario hunter-journalist Edwyn Sandys served throughout the 1890s on the editorial staff of Outing, a New York monthly devoted to outdoor life to which he and many other Canadians contributed poems, stories, and sketches. Arthur E. McFarlane wrote dozens of juvenile adventure stories for the Youth's Companion and other periodicals before

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the New York lists in August of 1896 at #3 Uptown and #4 Downtown, and reaching as high as #1 in some American cities, including Albany, Boston, Pittsburgh, and Portland, OR, as well as in Toronto and Montreal (Pierre was published before the Bookman itself began publishing).

<sup>3</sup>Too little is known of Pollock for him to have been included in this study; in particular, he may never have moved permanently to New York, but instead took his own advice from his 1899 article on Canadian writers in the city and visited it only to make contacts and sell his work. For what little information there is on Pollock, see CWW 3-6 and Thomas; for the existing bibliographic record, see BMCat, CPI, N, PI, RG, Rogers, SN, Watters, and YC.

switching to exposés of corruption in the fire-insurance business. Less predictably, at least two Canadian expatriates built successful careers on fast-paced adventure stories with an urban setting: Arthur Stringer turned to crime, especially in the highly topical arena of "wire-tapping," and Harvey O'Higgins launched his long and varied literary career with stories of the New York fire department. The Canadian northwest may have furnished Parker with a "background well suited to his purpose," but ultimately the particular setting was inconsequential to Carman's new romantics. What mattered, he said, was having a story to tell.

#### **Wolf Thompson, *Wilderness Prophet***

So far as I know, Ernest Thompson Seton remains the only Canadian writer whose expatriation to New York was divinely ordained. In 1879-81, young Ernest was in London, studying art at the Royal Academy, reading in natural history at the British Museum, and struggling, as he later recalled in his Trail of an Artist-Naturalist, with a late case of puberty. Convinced that he had been possessed by "a demon of sensuality," Seton went to extraordinary lengths to fight his perceived corruption, reading the lives of the saints, bathing his "parts" in cold water several times a day, sleeping on a hard board, avoiding store windows with "lewd or suggestive pictures," and eliminating all meat from his already meagre student diet. Eventually, says Seton, this stern regime yielded "the peace that passeth all

understanding," and with it a daily visitation of increasingly insistent Voices. In the summer of 1881, then twenty years old, Seton received his longest message from the Voices. He had assumed, he writes, that his career lay in London, as an artist--

But my Voice said: "No. A year from now you will be living on the Plains of western Canada. You will there regain your health. . . . Your future will be, not in Canada or London, but in New York, where, as an illustrator and writer, you will make your fortune. Go to Canada, and rejoice in life on the Plains. But do not stay too long. Go soon to New York, and there you will find your way."

A few months later, the by now seriously ill Seton fortuitously (or providentially) received a letter from his mother ordering him home to Toronto. On October 26, 1881, he set sail for Canada, "sick, weak and white," but persuaded of his destiny (145-48).<sup>4</sup>

Back home in Toronto, Seton resumed his childhood investigations of the wildlife in and around the city. Pressed less, it appears, by his Voice's decree to go west than by his father's insistence that he contribute something more tangible to their large family than an abandoned education and a mounting pile of bird carcasses, he resolved the following spring to join his brother Arthur at his farm in Carberry, Manitoba. Here, on

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<sup>4</sup>Like many of the stories in Seton's autobiography, this account is contradicted by other sources. Who's Who in New York of 1904, for instance, which claims to have compiled its entries at first hand, doesn't mention an illness, saying rather that Seton abandoned his scholarship at the Academy because he was "dissatisfied with the methods of instruction" (WWNY); Betty Keller, Seton's most recent biographer and my source for details on his life not otherwise cited, says most plausibly that Seton wanted to leave England anyway and was provided with an excuse when a doctor suggested he be sent home (90).

the prairies and sandhills of Manitoba, Seton matured his talents for field naturalism. He also made important connections via letter with leading American ornithologists Elliott Coues, founding member of the American Ornithologists' Union and the editor of its journal, The Auk, and Spencer F. Baird, Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution (Wadland 86-87), and published his first natural history articles, in Canadian government and scientific journals. In the fall of 1883, threatened with a second winter on the prairies, Seton again heard his Voice urging him on to New York, and a few days after the first snowfall, he left Carberry for the East.

Seton arrived in New York on a Friday morning, November 23, 1883--"absolutely alone, friendless, a total stranger, never having been here before, and with less than three dollars in my pocket." Renting a room on lower Lexington, he went looking for an old art-school friend from Toronto, Charles Broughton. After a weekend spent rationing a bread-roll, drinking water from the Madison Square fountain, and fending off the advances of a Central Park "sex pervert," he found Broughton at his employer's, a lithographer on Vesey Street. The two decided to live together, taking two rooms on Clinton Place and "settl[ing] down to a life of low living." Temporarily fortified with loans from his brother and Broughton, Seton paid back the latter with his first New York sale, a humorous sketch for a cigar advertisement that he sold for five dollars to lithographers Sacket, Wilhelms & Betzig, who subsequently took him on salary at fifteen and later

twenty dollars a week. In January, encouraged by Broughton, Seton began taking night classes at the Art Students' League on 23rd Street, where he met artist-naturalist Dan Beard and other New York illustrators (Seton 240-46). Then, in March, a letter arrived from Arthur reminding him that unless he returned to Carberry to help with the spring planting, he could not expect help building the shack necessary to establish his own land-claim. Years later, Seton reconstructed the motive for his subsequent departure from New York as "the call of the West," contentedly adding that "I had opened up New York for future transactions; and above all, I had proved to myself that I could go forth alone into the world of commerce and make a steady living with my brush and pencil." After a stop in Toronto to address the Natural History Society, he returned to Carberry on 28 April 1884, ending, as he put it, "the chapter of my life that . . . records my first contact with New York, the beginning of all my most important work in the world of story-writing and illustrating" (247-49).

In Carberry for the rest of 1884 helping Arthur and collecting specimens, Seton returned to his family's Toronto home early in the new year, there to spend the next seven months working on the manuscript of The Birds of Manitoba, his first book-length work of natural history. In September, having worn out his welcome with the "home government," he put aside the unfinished manuscript and again left Canada for New York. Apparently forgetting his triumphant account three chapters

previous of his first trip to the city, Seton now recalls in Trail of an Artist-Naturalist that "I had no friends in New York, and no introductions, but I had my color box, my sketch book, and my courage." Thus armed, he says, he drew a sketch of a mule deer in the Central Park menagerie that he took to W. Lewis Fraser, art manager of the Century, who so liked the drawing that he subsequently gave Seton a commission for a thousand drawings at five dollars apiece for the Century Company's projected Century Dictionary. "This was my entry into New York," Seton writes. "After that I had little to complain of, for in one day I could make more than enough to keep me for a week" (279-80).<sup>5</sup>

In June of 1886, two months before answering a family request to return to Toronto to look after an ailing brother, Seton's "A Carberry Deer Hunt" appeared in Forest and Stream, a New York weekly owned and edited by AOU member Dr. George Bird Grinnell (Wadland 95n45). The first of his many publications in Forest and Stream, "A Carberry Deer Hunt" was by Seton's account the first "animal story of the realistic type" to see print.<sup>6</sup> Inherently continental, the modern animal story has been claimed as both a Canadian and an American invention: the Literary History of Canada, for instance, awards the laurel to Charles

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<sup>5</sup>Characteristically, Seton neglects to mention that he had sold a drawing to Fraser on his first visit to the city, and that Fraser gave him the Dictionary contract as a condition of their mutual friend Elliott Coues' agreement to edit its biological entries (Seton 246; Wadland 89).

<sup>6</sup>Seton 353; William Wallace Whitelock, "Ernest Seton-Thompson," Critic Oct. 1901: 324-25.

G.D. Roberts' "Do Seek Their Meat from God" of 1892, while American naturalist John Burroughs claimed in 1903 that "The father of the animal story as we have it to-day was doubtless Charles Dudley Warner, who, in his A-Hunting of the Deer [1888], forever killed all taste for venison in many of his readers."<sup>7</sup>

As Burroughs' comment suggests, it wasn't just the continental range of most of the animal stories' models that made the genre accessible to authors and readers on both sides of the border; of equal importance, their sympathy for their animal heroes served a growing and necessarily continental concern about the conservation of animals and their habitat. For Seton himself, North America was divided into two spaces: the prairie where he did his work, and the city where he sold it. It was as irrelevant to him whether the soil of that prairie was Canadian or American as it was to the animals he studied. As John Henry Wadland puts it in his study of Seton the naturalist,

Seton's political perspective, such as it was, grew naturally out of his biological insights. . . . Although most of his original work prior to 1915 was based upon his Canadian experience, he always spoke in continental terms--not because he was a Goldwin Smith liberal, but because [C. Hart] Merriam's Life Zone Theory acknowledged no man-made boundaries. (452)

With due respect, however, for Seton's enthusiasm and sincerity as a naturalist, what would later attract him to animal fiction (despite his retroactive claim for the nature sketch "A Carberry Deer Hunt," his first real animal story was still eight years

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<sup>7</sup>Klinck, Literary History 399; Burroughs, "Real and Sham Natural History," Atlantic Monthly Mar. 1903: 300.



away) was less its opportunity to promote conservationism than its potential to realize the fortune and especially the fame his Voice had promised.

Excepting several visits, from 1886 to 1896 Seton's story is largely not a story of New York. He managed his brother Joseph's farm on Lake Ontario for several years, spent another summer in Manitoba doing field-work, and went twice to Paris to study art, in 1891 and 1894-96. Working mostly in Toronto, he also completed the Century drawings (1889-91) and the manuscript of his Birds of Manitoba (1891), and contributed regular natural history articles and sketches to the AOU's Auk, Forest and Stream, and St. Nicholas. In September of 1893, motivated partly by his anger at the Canadian art establishment for their refusal to accept a painting of his for that summer's Chicago Exposition,<sup>8</sup> he accepted a job as a wolf killer on a New Mexico cattle ranch, an experience that gave him what he later called "the beginning of my worldly success" (Seton 303): the publication in the November 1894 issue of Scribner's Magazine of "The King of Currumpaw," his first real animal story and his most famous work.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup>The painting, which depicted a wolf gnawing on a human skull, was eventually accepted but hung so high ("skyyed") that "it could only be seen by contortionists" (Keller 129).

<sup>9</sup>According to accounts in the Bookman in the spring of 1899, Seton had "never guessed that he had anything to say that would be worth reading" until, after happening to tell the story of Lobo to friends while visiting his friend Professor James Mavor at the University of Toronto, Mavor "urged [him] to write it out and send it to Scribner's" (James MacArthur, "Wolf Thompson and His Wild Animals," Bookman Mar. 1899: 72; "Chronicle and

On April 4, 1896, Seton returned from Paris to New York in company with Grace Gallatin, the twenty-four-year-old daughter of a wealthy Chicago divorcée. Herself a rising writer, Grace had assisted Seton in Paris with his forthcoming Studies in the Art Anatomy of Animals, and "the inevitable result of youth, propinquity, and common pursuits for two years," said Seton, "was that we married June 1, 1896." Using money from Grace's mother the couple bought Sloat Hall, a thirty-room country home on 235 acres near Tappan, New Jersey (Seton 343-44). From this point on, New York City, a half-hour train-ride away, was the centre of Seton's social and working world. With Grace and her well-connected mother providing the social introductions, and the well-received Art Anatomy of Animals opening more doors into New York's artistic circles (WWNY), Seton found himself keeping company with the likes of Hamlin Garland, Mark Twain, Theodore Roosevelt, Frederic Remington, John Burroughs, William Dean Howells, and others of the city's cultural elite. In November, with Sloat Hall proving impossible to heat, the Setons moved into the city, taking a "small living studio" at 123 Fifth Avenue (Seton 347). The following March, a showing of Seton's artwork at a nearby gallery arranged by Grace and her mother attracted the attention of George O. Shields, owner-editor of the Camp Fire Club's conservationist organ Recreation. In return for stories

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Comment," Bookman Apr. 1899: 101). By the time of Seton's autobiography, this incident has been forgotten, and he is instead dating his first animal story to "A Carberry Deer Hunt," and even earlier, to an unpublished poem from 1876 about a Kingbird, "privately circulated among my friends in 1880" (353).

and illustrations for his monthly, Shields offered to help pay for an expedition to Yellowstone Park, and in June of 1897 Ernest and Grace left the city for the first of their many wildlife trips together.

The next year saw the publication of the book that made "Wolf" Thompson (a nickname acquired from his paintings) a household name. In Seton's version of the story, in the spring of 1898 he gathered up eight of his animal stories, "most of them having had periodical publication some years before," and took them to the Fifth Avenue offices of Charles Scribner's Sons. The firm's readers approved the collection, and on 1 July Scribner and Seton signed a contract that saw Seton foregoing all royalties on the first 2,000 copies but collecting twenty percent, double the usual, on any copies sold thereafter--a deal forged at the insistence of Seton, who planned to promote the book on his own through lectures and exhibits and was "sure of its success" (351-52).<sup>10</sup>

As promised, Seton hit the lecture circuit within a week of the release of Wild Animals I Have Known in late October. "[G]ifted naturally," he explained, "with a powerful voice and stage presence," Seton was an effective self-promoter: the first 2,000 copies sold within three weeks, and by Christmas the book

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<sup>10</sup>The problem with Seton's account is that "most" of the eight stories were new: although he tries his best in Trail of an Artist-Naturalist to establish "precursors" for his animal stories from among his earlier sketches in order to fortify his claim as originator of the genre, he couldn't conceal the fact that only two had been published before, "Lobo" in November 1894 and "Silverspot" in February 1898.

was in its fourth printing (Seton 356, 352).<sup>11</sup> A critical as well as a popular success, Wild Animals I Have Known was widely and enthusiastically reviewed. The London Athenæum said the book "should be put with Kipling and Hans Christian Andersen as a classic," while in Detroit the Free Press thought it "ought to make any boy happy" and in Iowa the Muscatine Tribune thought the story of Lobo "the best wolf story ever told." At home in New York, the Nation called Seton a "master" at both pen and pencil and his book "thoroughly good," while the Times judged it "a better attempt than Kipling's to restore the kinship of man and the animals." An especially important review in the influential Bookman by assistant editor James MacArthur ran to four pages, included two of Seton's illustrations, and concluded that "No more entertaining stories of wild animals have ever been written."<sup>12</sup> Wolf Thompson had arrived.

According to Seton, Wild Animals I Have Known did more than just sell well--"There can be no doubt," he later wrote, "that this book founded the modern school of animal stories, that is, giving in fiction form the actual facts of an animal's life and modes of thought" (352). Seton's claim for the truth of his

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<sup>11</sup>Seton's sales summary is supported by the Bookman, which reported in December 1898 that Wild Animals I Have Known was selling well in New York bookstores (396) and in March 1899 that it was then "in its seventh thousand" (10). By 1904 it had sold 100,000 copies (Literary Digest 20 Feb. 1904: 251).

<sup>12</sup>Critical Notices, Wild Animals I Have Known (Toronto: Morang, 1900), n. pag.; Nation 15 Dec. 1898: 454-55; unlocated Times review qtd. in later Scribner's editions; "Wolf Thompson and His Wild Animals," Bookman Mar. 1899: 73.

animal stories, announced in the first sentence of Wild Animals' "Note to the Reader," has since become entrenched in the generic label "realistic animal story." But however carefully qualified, this label obscures the central point that although Seton's stories are not beast fables, they are also not examples of literary realism or "scientific" (Seton's word) in the implied sense of rejecting literary models of representation. In fact, virtually every story in Seton's animal oeuvre employs a blatantly romantic discursive model: Carlyle's theory of Great Men, itself a popularization of Hegel's philosophy of history. Key lines in Seton's "Note to the Reader" read as if they were lifted verbatim from Carlyle's On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History: "What satisfaction," asks Seton, "would be derived from a ten-page sketch of the habits and customs of Man? How much more profitable it would be to devote that space to the life of some one great man. This is the principal I have endeavored to apply to my animals." And apply it he does, chronicling the exploits of the most noble wolf, the smartest crow, the fastest horse, the best sheep-dog, and so on.

Readers of the day noticed, even if latter-day critics have not, that these were the superlatives of romance, not the metonymies of realism: the London Zoölogist called Seton "the Carlyle of the animal world," and for every critic who noted the realism of Wild Animals there were a dozen readers like "D.J.", an eleven-year-old girl who wrote Seton to say, "I think it is the saddest book I have ever read. It is just the kind of book I

cannot talk about. . . . Please excuse the spots on your book-- tears made them."<sup>13</sup> Moreover, as Carman's review of Pierre and His People makes clear, a realistic method was not incompatible with the new romanticism: the novel of the future, said Carman, "must bear the impress of truth and conscientiousness given it under the tutorship of realism" even as it rejected that tutorship's exaltation of the commonplace.<sup>14</sup> In sum, despite Seton's claim to have founded the "modern" school of animal stories, his stories and others in the genre actually participated in the same late-century revolt against the modern that fuelled Carman's Vagabondia series and Betts' Perfume-Holder. Seton always saw himself, says Wadland, as the "radical antithesis" of his technological age (453). Whether writing about animals or, later, preaching the "gospel of the Redman," the synthesis he repeatedly sought was not the modernist union of man and science, but the antimodernist reconciliation of man and nature.

Effectively tapping into urban exhaustion and its corresponding cult of the outdoors, Wild Animals I Have Known left Seton in "easy circumstances" (Seton 352). Having sold drafty Sloat Hall in 1898, in May of 1900 the Setons bought six

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<sup>13</sup>Critical Notices, Wild Animals I Have Known (Toronto: Morang, 1900), n. pag.; D.J.'s letter qtd. in the New York Times' review of a privately issued pamphlet, edited by D.P. Elder and Morgan Shepard of San Francisco, entitled Some Children's Letters Concerning Ernest Seton-Thompson's "Wild Animals I Have Known" (Saturday Review 6 Jan. 1900: 7).

<sup>14</sup>"Mr. Gilbert Parker," Week 16 Nov. 1894: 1215.

old farms totalling a hundred acres off the Cos Cob highway near Greenwich, Connecticut. Over the next several years Seton transformed the once cultivated land into an artificial wilderness he called Wyndygoul, complete with a large house of rough stone and heavy timbers, an eleven-acre lake dug from a swamp (by Italian labourers), a veritable menagerie of ducks, geese, peacocks, muskrats, squirrels, and rabbits, and a ten-foot barbed fence to keep the wilderness in and the world out.<sup>15</sup> The couple also maintained a large studio apartment on West 40th Street overlooking Bryant Park, where they hosted weekly receptions for the city's literati.<sup>16</sup>

By now, the Setons were appearing as often in the society as in the literary pages of the New York press. Fashionable Harper's Bazar sent a writer and photographer to report on the décor of their Bryant Park apartment ("a model of tasteful arrangement"); the Ladies' Home Journal countered by sending its reporter out "With Ernest Seton-Thompson in the Woods."<sup>17</sup> Everybody's Magazine dispatched author Hutchins Hapgood to interview Seton, while the Critic sent poet William Wallace Whitelock, one of several to whom Seton told the story of his

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<sup>15</sup>Seton 377; Charles G.D. Roberts, "The Home of a Naturalist," Country Life Dec. 1903: 152-56; New York Times 14 Nov. 1912: 1.

<sup>16</sup>WWNY; NCAB 36: 68; Arthur Stringer, "Canadian Writers Who Are Winning Fame in New York," Montreal Herald 2 Mar. 1901: 11.

<sup>17</sup>John J. a'Beckett, "Mr. and Mrs. Seton-Thompson at Home," Harper's Bazar 3 Feb. 1900: 89; Myra Emmons, "With Ernest Seton-Thompson in the Woods," Ladies' Home Journal Sep. 1901: 3-4.

fateful first visit to "the city that is now madly anxious to pour money into his lap."<sup>18</sup> That same year, an interviewer from the New York Times felt it superfluous to describe Seton's appearance, since "it is probable that Kipling alone as often enjoys the pleasure of gazing upon his own counterfeit presentment in magazines and newspapers."<sup>19</sup> At least two Canadians were also enlisted in the cause, Charles G.D. Roberts describing Wyndygoul for Country Life in America and an understandably envious Arthur Stringer reporting for the Montreal Herald that "If you know Mr. Thompson . . . you must be a somebody in New York just at present, for he is the vogue. His stories and drawings are the fashion, and editors are falling over one another trying to get hold of his copy."<sup>20</sup>

Other books followed Wild Animals I Have Known, all designed by Grace and supported with lectures by Ernest: The Trail of the Sandhill Stag (1899), called by the Bookman the best story in the best magazine of the month when it first appeared in a Scribner's fiction number; The Biography of a Grizzly (1900), reviewed by the Times as "so captivating and so interesting, that we read of Wahb with bated breath and an interest that could not be

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<sup>18</sup>"Ernest Thompson Seton at Home," Everybody's Jan. 1901: 90-95; "Ernest Seton-Thompson," Critic Oct. 1901: 320-25.

<sup>19</sup>Francis Whiting Halsey, ed., "Ernest Seton-Thompson in Bryant Park, N.Y.," American Authors and Their Homes: Personal Descriptions and Interviews (NY: Pott, 1901) 284.

<sup>20</sup>"The Home of a Naturalist," Country Life Dec. 1903: 152-56; "Canadian Writers Who Are Winning Fame in New York," Montreal Herald 2 Mar. 1901: 11.



intensified were he a human being";<sup>21</sup> Lives of the Hunted (1901), a collection of eight stories, including "Johnny Bear," the story of a Yellowstone garbage bear who became a pop-icon after the graduating class of Bryn Mawr College adopted the ailing cub and had replicas made for themselves by toy king F.A.O. Schwarz (Keller 145); and Two Little Savages (1903), based on Seton's adolescent convalescences at his family's old farm near Lindsay, Ontario, and after Wild Animals his most enduring work, appearing in at least seventeen editions to date, six since his death. Seton was also increasingly occupied with his Woodcraft League of America, an outdoors organization for boys (and later, girls) he started at Wyndygoul in 1900 as a means of winning over a gang of local youths who had "declared war" on the newcomer. He promoted the League's message through lectures, a column on woodcraft in the widely read Ladies' Home Journal, and his own adventures at "playing Injun" in Two Little Savages (also serialized in the Journal). As "Black Wolf," medicine man and nominal head chief of the Woodcraft Indians, Seton also held annual retreats for the "tribes" at Wyndygoul.<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>21</sup>"Chronicle and Comment," Bookman Sep. 1899: 8; New York Times Saturday Review of Books and Art 23 June 1900: 429.

<sup>22</sup>See chapter XL of Trail of an Artist-Naturalist for Seton's account of his conversion of the "forty-two little reprobates" (385) into the first outdoors organization for boys and girls in America (NCAB 36: 68). "Ernest Thompson Seton's Boys," which Seton later called the first edition of the Woodcraft manual (published roughly annually under various titles from 1903-1931), ran in the Ladies' Home Journal from May to November of 1902.

By 1903 cracks had begun to appear in the animal-fiction trough. On 20 February 1902, the New York Independent printed a parody of the genre called "Trouble in the Jungle"--by, ironically enough, Canadian expatriate Sydney Reid (so far as I know a stranger to Seton). In Reid's sketch, characters from animal stories assemble to discuss a common problem: as Kipling's Mowgli puts it for his delegation, "The man-pack are ceasing to read the books about us. . . . Two rains ago we jungle-folk were most popular of any in the world, now we don't sell a hundred copies a month" (452). (Each character blames the others for the decline--a rhinoceros complaining, for example, that "I'm sure there was no occasion for an Autobiography of a Grizzly"--and after Kipling's Baloo attacks Seton's Wahb's Nephew the conference degenerates into a pitched battle.) Far better documented is naturalist John Burroughs' attack on the genre in his "Real and Sham Natural History" in the Atlantic Monthly of March 1903. Much has been written about Burroughs' allegations of inaccuracies in the animal stories of Seton, Roberts, and others, but, to sidestep the scientific debate behind that attack (in essence, whether animal behaviour was instinctive or learned), to me the more salient issue is that his article is every bit as symptomatic of consumer exhaustion with the genre as Reid's light-hearted parody. As Reid's animals tell us, readers were tired of animal stories by 1902, and both readers and editors used Burroughs' authority to intellectually justify their boredom. At least on the Canadian side, Seton and Roberts have

typically received joint credit for founding the modern animal story; what's less often acknowledged is that the stories with which they subsequently flooded the market were also largely responsible for killing the genre.<sup>23</sup> Like a thousand fashions before and since, the animal story was a victim of its own success: by 1903, just five years after Wild Animals I Have Known sent New York editors scrambling for more of the same, writers could of course still write animal fiction, and publishers could publish it, "but," as one of Reid's animals asks, "who's to buy it? That's the main question nowadays" (456).

Although Seton claims in his autobiography to have defeated Burroughs' argument,<sup>24</sup> his career after Burroughs' and similar attacks on the "Nature Fakirs" by Theodore Roosevelt became increasingly removed from both the genre and the scene of the controversy. As biographer Betty Keller summarizes this second turning point in Seton's career, for financial reasons he

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<sup>23</sup>The Literary History of Canada notes that "Animal stories like Roberts's and Seton's have not been especially numerous," and lists just ten titles between their heyday and the 1950s (Klinck 403-04). Although it later recovered, the genre suffered a similar decline in the United States: around 1914, when Red Book editor Ray Long suggested to Albert Payson Terhune that he write a story about the collies he and his wife raised, Terhune responded, "What's the use? For ten years I've been begging editors to let me write dog stories. I know dogs--or I think I do. I've been studying them all my life. I want to write about them. But not an editor on earth will let me do it. Editors tell me the public isn't interested in dogs, and that all animal stories are out of date" (qtd. in Weber 119). Terhune did, of course, write the story, and the first of his many Lad stories appeared in the January 1915 Red Book. "Editors now came clamoring for dog stories" (Weber 120).

<sup>24</sup>Ch. XXXIX; for less partisan discussions of the "Nature Fakir" controversy, see Wadland 180-87 and Keller 153-60.

continued to publish animal stories based on older drafts and research, but Burroughs and Roosevelt "effectively put an end to Seton's defection [to fiction]" (160). Instead, Seton began work in 1904 on the two-volume Life-Histories of Northern Animals, for which he made field-trips to Manitoba, Ontario, Idaho, Norway, and the Canadian north, and in 1910 joined with others to launch the Boy Scouts of America. As Seton intended, Life-Histories vindicated his credentials as a naturalist, earning respectful reviews and the Camp Fire Club's Gold Medal after its publication in 1909. Less successful, Seton's role in the Boy Scouts of America (for which he wrote the first handbook) effectively came to an end just three months after its founding when the executive decided that his Indian model was incompatible with British founder Sir Robert Baden-Powell's more militaristic ideals: smeared privately and publicly as a pacifist, an anarchist, and a socialist, Seton was given the figurehead title of Chief Scout to retain the prestige of his name for the organization but cut off from real power.<sup>25</sup>

By 1915, the year Seton bitterly resigned from the BSA altogether, most of New York's elite had abandoned him to his Indians. Three years before, he had sold Wyndygoul<sup>26</sup> and bought an estate closer to Greenwich where, "wholly unrepentant," he

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<sup>25</sup>For the influence of Seton's Woodcraft League upon Baden-Powell's Boy Scouts (according to Wadland, Seton's Woodcraft Indians "observed, revised and later packaged" [457]) and the complex story of Seton's forced departure from the BSA, see Wadland ch. 4 and Keller ch. 13.

<sup>26</sup>"Thompson Seton Sells," New York Times 14 Nov. 1912: 1.

continued to hold annual retreats for his Woodcraft League, now reconstituted to admit girls (Wadland 461). About this time Seton claimed to have first met Julia (Julie) Moss Buttree, a young teacher whom he hired to help with the League and with his current project, the massive Lives of Game Animals. Over the years of their marriage, Seton later wrote, he and Grace had developed "[d]ivergent interests" (349),<sup>27</sup> and it was with Julie, not Grace, that he embarked on the final stage in his life-long celebration of nature's way. Eight years in the making, Lives of Game Animals (1925-28) was even better received than its predecessor, winning medals from the National Academy of Sciences and, ironically, the John Burroughs Memorial Association, but despite his pleasure at its success it was to something much less scientific that the aging Seton was now being drawn.

Back in 1905, while lecturing in Los Angeles, Seton had answered an invitation to visit a "strange woman" at her cottage in the Beverly Hills. When he rose to leave, the woman, a Mahatma East Indian born in Iowa, stopped him: "Her eyes blazed as she said, in tones of authority: 'Don't you know who you are? . . . You are a Red Indian Chief, reincarnated to give the message of the Redman to the White race, so much in need of it. Why don't you get busy? Why don't you set about your job?'"<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>27</sup>Keller identifies these "[d]ivergent interests" as Grace's increasingly public feminism, which conflicted with Seton's biological theory of sexual identity (188-89).

<sup>28</sup>Julia M. Seton, foreword, The Gospel of the Redman (1936; London: Psychic Press, 1970) v-vi.

From his earliest years, Seton thought he had a mission to be "the prophet of outdoor life" (Seton 127); now, his destiny had again received supernatural sanction. With his reputation as a naturalist secured, it was finally time to get busy and deliver the Redman's message. Accordingly, in 1930 Seton and Julie moved to a 2,000-acre tract near Santa Fé, New Mexico, where they opened the College of Indian Wisdom, described at Seton's death as a "cult devoted to nature, Indian lore and Indian dancing."<sup>29</sup> As defiantly antimodern as Patterson's School of Applied Metaphysics or Carman and King's School of Personal Harmonizing, Seton's college shared with these and other products of late-century therapeutic culture a desire to counter the civilizing forces of modernity by reuniting its students with a more authentic form of experience, in this case through the vehicle of the American Indian, happily reincarnated as the College's president. In 1936, Seton finally delivered the Redman's message as ordered in The Gospel of the Redman: An Indian Bible, at nine printings to date the most successful of his books written after the move to New Mexico. He died ten years later at his New Mexico home at age 86. Wolf Thompson had gone, as Time magazine could not resist titling its obituary, to his "Happy Hunting Ground."

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<sup>29</sup>New York Times 11 June 1930: 4; Time 4 Nov. 1946: 30.

### Now for the Killing: Edwyn Sandys

Even more so than Seton, Edwyn (or Edwin) William Sandys answers Carman's description of the new romantic as one to whom "a day of sport is better than a night of study." The second son of Francis W. Sandys, Archdeacon of Huron, and his wife Elizabeth (née Moreau), Sandys was born 9 June 1860 in Chatham, Ontario, and educated "principally under his father" (CM 1898). If we're to believe a later hunting sketch, Sandys worked in a bank before an "eventful day" on which he "fired the confounded books into their places in the vault, and vowed most solemnly that a bank or banking business should know me no more. . . ." Quitting his job, he told his horrified family that he was "going shooting," and left on a summer-long journey by rail through the American west. He intended, he says, to repeat the trip the following year, but "unforeseen circumstances interfered," and it wasn't until three years later that he made a similar excursion, this time on the Canadian side of the western border.<sup>30</sup>

Although the chronology is uncertain, it seems likely that the "unforeseen circumstances" were new responsibilities as an associate editor of Canadian Sportsman, a Toronto weekly that called itself "The only sporting paper published in Canada."<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>30</sup>"A Day on Alberta Plains," Dominion Illustrated Monthly Aug. 1892: 409-10.

<sup>31</sup>Published and edited by Edward King Dodds, Canadian Sportsman was established in 1870 (Fishing Resorts Along the Canadian Pacific Railway [Montreal: Canadian Pacific Railway, 1887], advertisement, p. 32).

When Sandys joined the Sportsman is unknown, but it probably preceded the first known date in his career, the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1885, upon which, according to Henry Morgan, he "was engaged to write the literature of hunting and fishing published by that co[mpany], from time to time" (CM 1898). As Sophie Hensley, who later met Sandys in New York, described this development,

. . . when the Directors of the Canadian Pacific Railway invited him to make the tour and do their literary work for them Mr. Sandys and his employers [the Sportsman?] were mutually satisfied with the arrangement. Mr. Sandys scaled the Rockies, hunted the deer, and captured the salmon to his heart's content and furnished the C.P.R. with their beautiful books of western scenery and guides to the sport and travel "westward to the far east." (200)

More often ephemeral pamphlets than "beautiful books," the only surviving CPR publication to which Sandys is known to have contributed is a variously titled free guide to fishing and hunting along the railway's route. The Week's "Publications Received" for 10 July 1891 identifies Sandys as the author of the third edition of this guide, and he probably also contributed to earlier editions, at least the first of which is credited to "Special Explorations by Commissioners of The Canadian Sportsman."<sup>32</sup> In the late 1880s Sandys also began contributing short hunting and fishing sketches under the by-line "Nomad" to the fledgling Saturday Night, then or soon to become the employer of his sister and fellow writer Grace Denison.

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<sup>32</sup>Fishing Resorts Along the Canadian Pacific Railway (Montreal: Canadian Pacific Railway, 1887). Possibly this or a later edition was the occasion for the "pilgrimage across Canada" that Sandys describes in the hunting sketch quoted above.



According to Hensley, Sandys' growing reputation as a sportsman won him an invitation from the owners of the New York sporting monthly Outing to "fill a vacancy on their editorial staff" (201), and in the early spring of 1891 Sandys too moved to New York, arriving within a year of Saturday Night regulars Peter McArthur, Duncan McKellar, and G. Mercer Adam. (Saturday Night, which had the misfortune to come into existence just before the peak years of the literary exodus, could probably claim the dubious distinction of being the Canadian magazine most likely to be abandoned for an American paycheque.)

At the time of Sandys' arrival Outing described itself as "An Illustrated Monthly Magazine of Sport, Travel, and Recreation"; its offices were at 239 Fifth Ave, near West 28th Street's Tin Pan Alley. Founded in 1882, the magazine was owned and edited for most of Sandys' tenure by James Henry Worman, an educator and journalist connected with the Chautauqua movement.<sup>33</sup> It ran a short story or two each issue based on travel or sport, and occasionally some serial fiction, but its more numerous and more important serials were non-fiction, many of them bicycle travel articles with titles like "World Tour Awheel" (which ran for five years before its author went missing in Kurdistan), "Through Erin Awheel," and "Five Weeks Awheel in France." An important feature of the magazine was its monthly review of

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<sup>33</sup>In its 17 April 1891 notice of Sandys' appointment to Outing the Week erroneously gave his title as "editor" (320), an exaggeration perpetuated in Sandys' entry in Who Was Who in America (WhAm).

amateur sports, which by 1893 included seven departments: college athletics, amateur photography, cycling, "Aquatics," "Rod and Gun," "Kennel and Loft" (for dog and pigeon fanciers), and "Equestrian Sports." Frank Luther Mott, from whose History of American Magazines this sketch of Outing comes (4: 633-38), only mentions Sandys as a frequent writer on hunting and fishing, but it is likely that Sandys edited as well as wrote much of the "Rod and Gun" department, working both in the field and from what Hensley describes as "[t]hat little sanctum of his in the Outing office, hung with sketches of hunting and fishing scenes, and filled with the genial atmosphere which surrounds [his] six feet of energetic humanity . . ." (200).

Over his career Sandys contributed well over a hundred articles, stories, and even the odd poem to Outing. One of his earliest pieces, an illustrated article on "Woodcock Shooting in Canada" published in the October 1890 issue, may be taken as representative of his work in the hunting and fishing genre. The article has three basic elements: detailed but non-technical observations on the habits and habitat of the quarry; advice on guns, ammunition, dogs, and other equipment; and finally a narrative of the actual hunt. The tone is casual, personal, with frequent use of what is by twentieth-century standards a rather grim humour. After describing in respectful detail, for instance, the "touching" display of a mother woodcock protecting its young, Sandys ends by yanking the rug out from under the sympathy he's created over the last two paragraphs: "But enough

of random notes about this bird for the present; now for the killing" (56).

As this passage exemplifies, Sandys operated on the other side of the outdoor culture that gave rise to Seton's animal stories: Seton eventually gave up the gun entirely for the camera, and was always more of a naturalist than a hunter, while Sandys favours the drama of the hunt and a wry humour over science or even observation. As he characteristically remarked in a later article, "I do not purpose introducing scientific terms into this sketch, being satisfied that dead game is more important than dead languages."<sup>34</sup> Apparently, Sandys harboured other differences with the "Nature Fakirs": a late animal story, one of the few he seems to have written, includes an interjected paragraph on the impossibility of authors knowing the minds of animals that is clearly meant as a light rebuke to Seton et al. "It is all very fine," he writes in part, "for a few peculiarly gifted, or otherwise, folk to minutely describe the joys, sorrows, hopes, fears and aspirations of young wild things, but the important fact remains that, at least, one-half of such statements is either sheer tommy-rot or mere guess-work."<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>34</sup>"A Day on Alberta Plains," *ibid.*, 411.

<sup>35</sup>"Robert White Jr.," Canadian Magazine Nov. 1903: 24. One of Sandys' three life-time publications in the Canadian Magazine, "Robert White" presumably appeared here rather than in Outing so as not to offend the author of the animal stories that were at this time the American magazine's mainstay: Canadian Charles G.D. Roberts.

Of more importance than these family quarrels, however, Sandys' career in the animal-killing industry served the same antimodern revolt that generated Seton's and Roberts' animal-worship, like them modelling a more vital, more authentic, and ultimately more heroic experience in answer to modern culture's attenuation of the "intensity of human existence" (Lears 57). Like them, too, and like Betts' and Carman's brands of antimodern escapism, Sandys' work ironically helped to reconcile his audience with the very culture it ostensibly rejected. Just as animal stories provided a woodsy vacation for world-weary urbanites, so too Sandys' hunting articles offered a temporary respite (both imaginative and actual) for the urban businessman, "compelled," as he wrote in one, "like a chained dog, to nose around within the length of his business tether." To alleviate (but not alter) this "regrettable fact," Sandys and others like him prescribed a day of hunting or fishing--"no bad medicine," as he put it, "for a hard-worked man."<sup>36</sup>

Whether because of Sandys' intervention or because their nativity invested their outdoor experiences with a certain authenticity, Canadians found special favour in Outing. In the 1890s, Sandys' sister Grace contributed a number of articles on cycling, including the above-mentioned serial "Through Erin Awheel." Other Canadians in Outing over the '90s included E. Pauline Johnson and E.W. Thomson, as well as the now forgotten

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<sup>36</sup>"In the Marsh with 'Reedies' and Rails," Collier's 27 Sep. 1902 ("The Sportsman's Number"): 10.

names Matthew Richey Knight, Charles Gordon Rogers, Eugene McCarthy, and S.R. Clarke. In one especially Canadian-heavy issue, that of October 1893, Toronto's Week proudly noted the appearance of no fewer than four Canadian contributors (McCarthy, Denison, Sandys, and Johnson).<sup>37</sup> Canadians continued to appear regularly in Outing during the tenure of its next editor, explorer Caspar Whitney, who co-owned and edited the magazine from 1900 to 1909. Norman Duncan contributed several of his sea stories; Agnes C. Laut, who became an Outing staffer, wrote about Indians; Arthur E. McFarlane weighed in with a half-dozen outdoor adventure stories; and Frank Pollock and Bliss Carman contributed a poem apiece. Most prominently, Roberts, a friend of Whitney's (Adams 92), published many of his animal stories in Outing, including the serialized novel Red Fox in 1905 (by which time his son Lloyd was the monthly's assistant editor).<sup>38</sup> Although Seton published two poems in Outing (both in 1900), none of his animal stories ever appeared in the magazine--perhaps because, as Mott notes, new editor Caspar Whitney publicly sided with Burroughs and Roosevelt in the "Nature Fakir" controversy (which was much kinder to Roberts than Seton) even if he thought the whole affair more than a little foolish (4: 637), but more likely because he didn't want to upstage his friend Roberts.

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<sup>37</sup>"Periodicals," Week 3 Nov. 1893: 1170.

<sup>38</sup>Roberts to Harrison Smith Morris, 14 Mar. 1905 (Boone 273). For Duncan's contributions to Outing, see E. Miller; for Laut, see CM 1912 and Mott 4: 637; for the others, see appendix C. Pollock's "In Luzon" appeared in the June 1906 issue, followed two months later by Carman's "Pan in the Catskills."

By 1905 Whitney had brought Outing to its largest circulation ever, giving Sandys' sketches a monthly audience of something over a hundred thousand (Mott 4: 638). Already a member (with Betts and Hensley) of the American Authors' Guild, in 1902 Sandys lived up to his membership by publishing his first book, a guide to Upland Game Birds co-authored with Outing contributor Theodore Strong Van Dyke and illustrated by some of the best names in the business, including bird artist Louis Agassiz Fuertes, a friend of Seton's; Arthur Burdett Frost, best known as the illustrator of Joel Chandler Harris's Uncle Remus stories; and Charles Livingston Bull, an illustrator for both Outing and the Saturday Evening Post and by this time Roberts' regular illustrator. As evidence that the conservationist movement was having its effect, the only located review of Upland Game Birds (in Chicago's Dial) praised its predecessor in the "American Sportsman's Library" for its condemnation of the "game butcher" but took Sandys, in particular, to task for his "sadly warped" ethics: "It is interesting reading, but it leaves one with a better opinion of Bob White [a bird] than of some of his persecutors."<sup>39</sup> Undeterred, Sandys published three more books in the next three years, all, like his first, with New York's Macmillan Company: Trapper "Jim" (1903) an outdoor boys' adventure novel; Sportsman "Joe" (1904), a kind of Two Little

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<sup>39</sup>The contributor who condemned the "game butcher" in the series' first volume was Theodore Roosevelt, who, as the Dial reviewer noted, nonetheless "defends vigorously" big-game hunting as "an antidote to that softening of fibre incident to the highly complex industrialism of our life" (16 Oct. 1902: 241).

Savages on wheels in which the sickly son of a New York stockbroker is sent to the Canadian Rockies to spend the summer hunting by car with a woodsman friend of his father; and Sporting Sketches (1905), mostly reprinted work from the pages of Outing.

Sandys died at just forty-six of heart disease in New York City on October 23, 1906.<sup>40</sup> That same year, Outing ran arguably its most successful serial and among the most popular celebrations of the antimodern, new romantic ethos, Jack London's White Fang, in which the half-wild titular hero saves his master's family from one of the symptoms of civilization, an escaped convict. Himself never immune to the call of the wild, Sandys by the end of his life seems to have been won over, with most of America, to the side of the outdoors movement that advocated conserving and observing over hunting and killing.<sup>41</sup> His last article, published in Outing four months after his death, is not a hunting but a nature sketch in which the narrator wanders through a winter forest noting the passage and presence of its birds and animals. "I have shot much on upland and marsh, in wood and copse, on mount and plain," says Sandys, "yet I am not sure that even the cream of the actual shooting has more

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<sup>40</sup>Obit., New York Times 27 Oct. 1906: 9. Sandys never married, leaving at his death just his mother and two sisters.

<sup>41</sup>Perhaps as much the result of disappearing game as a changing heart, Sandys' new interest in conservationism is further suggested by the titles of some of his last articles for Outing, including "Scarcity of Game Birds" (Dec. 1904), "How to Improve Duck Waters" (Jan. 1905), "Raising Quail for Sportsmen" (Feb. 1905), and "How to Offset Winter Depletion of Game" (Mar. 1905)-- all a far cry from titles like June 1901's "Skirmish with the Squirrels."

enduring charm than the silent, lonely, bloodless raids through the almost spectral white-gray silences of snowy forests" (Mar. 1907: 775). Oddly, Outing's editors chose not to identify "White Woodlands" as the last work of a recently deceased long-time editor, perhaps because they preferred to leave the final word to Sandys, who ironically ends this sketch with a discourse on the inevitably short lives of nature's inhabitants. "In the cases of many of the wood-dwellers," he concludes, "we seldom, if ever, actually see their finish . . ." (783).

### **Three Musketeers of the Pen**

In the summer or fall of 1900, three young writers from Ontario took up residence together in the attic of a dilapidated old brownstone at 140-46 Fifth Avenue, a former private residence whose lower floors housed, among other tenants, the American branch of English publisher John Lane (managed by Carman's friend Mitchell Kennerley) and the working studio of Ernest Thompson Seton.<sup>42</sup> Toronto University students all, the three had come to New York determined to "live by the pen," a goal that the oldest among them, twenty-six-year-old Arthur Stringer, later said "made migration to New York or Boston or London almost obligatory."<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>42</sup>Victor Lauriston, "Three Musketeers of the Pen in New York of the Nineties," Saturday Night 12 Jan. 1946: 32-33; Gundy, "Kennerley" 70. Both the date and the address are informed compromises based on these and other conflicting sources.

<sup>43</sup>"Wild Poets I've Known: Charles G.D. Roberts," Saturday Night 11 Apr. 1942: 25.



Stringer, like Sandys a native of Chatham, had the most writing experience of the three, having published verse and prose in some half-dozen Canadian and English magazines, privately printed three collections of poems, and worked on the staff of the Montreal Herald before being hired away to New York in the summer of 1898 by a re-write firm called the American Press Association.<sup>44</sup> London-born Harvey O'Higgins, at twenty-three the trio's youngest member, had contributed to Saturday Night and the Canadian Magazine and worked for the Toronto Star before he too went to New York, "to see if he could 'catch on.'"<sup>45</sup> Twenty-four-year-old Arthur E. McFarlane of Islington, finally, turned to writing after graduating from the Toronto University in 1898 (the only one of the three to do so), shopping short stories and "specials" around to Toronto editors. "Most of the editors," as Saturday Night later reported, "printed his copy but sent him no cheques in return, so McFarlane cursed Canadian newspapers and magazines and editors, all and sundry, with a mighty curse, and left the country."<sup>46</sup> By the time O'Higgins and McFarlane arrived in New York in early 1900, Stringer had already struck a deal

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<sup>44</sup>See Stringer's fictionalization of his tenure at the American Press Association in his 1903 novel The Silver Poppy, in which the hero John Hartley writes under a dozen different names for a "Boiler-Plate Factory" called the United News Bureau, transplanting a Maupassant peasant to a New England farm on one day and posing as a "special correspondent in four different parts of the world" on the next (43, 94-95).

<sup>45</sup>Rev. of Don-A-Dreams, Saturday Night 6 Oct. 1906: 11.

<sup>46</sup>"A 'Special Article' Expert," Saturday Night 21 Aug. 1909: 10.

with Carman's publisher Small, Maynard for his first book, a collection of stories about New York slum children called The Loom of Destiny.<sup>47</sup> When later that year the three decided to live together, he quit the American Press Association and with them set out to make his way as a free-lance writer.

At first, as Stringer's friend and biographer Victor Lauriston told Saturday Night readers in 1946, "poverty dwelt with the three adventurers in the attic." They bought cots left over from the Spanish-American War, had frequent dietary recourse to oatmeal porridge and something called "tomato slush," and when winter arrived avoided coal bills by reopening a bricked-up fireplace and using as fuel the staves from an old rooftop wooden water tank. When money ran especially short, they would take a suit McFarlane had bought to the nearest pawn-broker and hock it until "Stringer could write a Saturday special on the goats of Harlem or O'Higgins produce something cashable on the beer-halls of the Bowery." "Specials," for which the larger dailies usually paid five dollars a column, provided the mainstay of their income, but as time offered the three also essayed fiction and verse for the more discriminating weeklies and monthlies--most of which, says Lauriston, brought only rejection letters, so many

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<sup>47</sup>McFarlane's New York Times obituary has him moving to New York in 1898 (12 Apr. 1945: 23), but according to Stringer in the Montreal Herald of 2 March 1901, both McFarlane and O'Higgins had then "been in New York little over a year." For Small, Maynard's announcement for The Loom of Destiny see "Chronicle and Comment," Bookman Aug. 1899: 492. Carman was at this time a silent partner in Small, Maynard, but does not appear to have been involved in the acceptance of Stringer's book: see his letter to Herbert Small of 7 July 1899 (Gundy, Letters 126).

that they began to paper the walls with their growing collection of "regrets" and "come-backs," a decorating tactic that gave the attic its bittersweet name of "The Chamber of a Thousand Sorrows." Over time, the Fifth Avenue attic became a gathering place for other Canadians in the city, largely, said Stringer, because of his ability to procure the ingredients for milk-punch at cost (and if need be, on credit) from a Greenwich Village bartender a cousin of his had fortuitously married. Carman visited regularly, the punch sometimes inspiring a "garret recital" of his latest work, as did Charles G.D. Roberts, Peter McArthur, and James Shotwell, the last a student and lecturer at Columbia University.<sup>48</sup>

Somewhere between the tomato slushes and milk-punches, between the "specials" and rejection letters, all three members of what Lauriston called the "Three Musketeers of the Pen" emerged from their attic to recognition and even fame. Seemingly a simple case of journalistic puffery, Lauriston's title is actually quite apt, for the initial vehicle of the trio's success was in each case fast-paced, male-centred adventure stories that championed the new romantics' "manly" emphasis upon the "thrilling incident" at the same time that they expressed more than a little antimodern nostalgia for the simpler days of Athos, Porthos, and Aramis.

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<sup>48</sup>Lauriston, "Three Musketeers of the Pen in New York of the Nineties," *ibid.*; Stringer, "Wild Poets I've Known: Bliss Carman," Saturday Night 1 Mar. 1941: 29.

Stringer's first book, The Loom of Destiny (1899) had met with kind reviews, at least two of which noticed its obvious debt to Kipling's child characters,<sup>49</sup> and he'd been equally successful with the verse he would continue to write throughout his career as a novelist, regularly placing his trademark epigrams (many of which had already appeared in his Canadian chapbooks) with the Bookman and Harper's Weekly and in early 1899 selling three short lyrics to Henry Mills Alden of Harper's Magazine for the atypically high sum of sixty dollars.<sup>50</sup> In 1900-05, he expanded his periodical repertoire to include verse, short fiction, and the occasional article in the Canadian Magazine, Munsey's Magazine, Collier's Weekly, the Century, the Atlantic Monthly, the Youth's Companion, the Valley Magazine, Everybody's Magazine, McClure's, Macmillan's, and the National Monthly of Canada, as well as Mary Fanton Roberts' Craftsman and Mitchell Kennerley's Reader. During this period he also did a stint (1903-04) as the literary editor of Success Magazine, a New York monthly aimed at the growing business class (see Mott 5: 286-92).

In the summer of 1903, Stringer published his first novel with the Fifth Avenue house of D. Appleton & Company, publishers of Stinson Jarvis's Geoffrey Hampstead (1890), Charles G.D. Roberts' Canadian Guide Book (1891), and Gilbert Parker's The

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<sup>49</sup>"Novel Notes," Bookman (NY) Dec. 1899: 382-83; three other unlocated reviews qtd. in H.A. Bruce, "Canadian Celebrities XIV: Arthur Stringer," Canadian Magazine June 1900: 145.

<sup>50</sup>For Stringer's sale of the three lyrics to Harper's (published in March 1899), see his article on Carman in Saturday Night of 1 Mar. 1941: 29.

Seats of the Mighty (1896), as well as Stephen Crane's The Red Badge of Courage (1895) and Joseph Conrad's An Outcast of the Islands (1896). The sometimes autobiographical story of a struggling English writer in New York, The Silver Poppy enjoyed a brief vogue in the city as something of a roman à clef, its novel-plagiarizing heroine, in particular, believed by many to be a prominent writer of the period.<sup>51</sup> Two years later, Boston's Houghton, Mifflin brought out Stringer's less successful second novel, Lonely O'Malley, a Tom Sawyerish story set in Ontario about a young boy with a vivid imagination and a talent for trouble.

Boiler-plate journalist, free-lance versifier and fictionist, magazine editor, author of three books within, successively, the genres of tenement literature, the novel of (bohemian) manners, and the juvenile Bildungsroman--as the variety of Stringer's literary activities in New York indicates, by 1905, his seventh year in the city, he had not yet found his literary culture. Like Carman the decade before, he finally found that culture quite by chance.

According to Victor Lauriston's 1941 biography Arthur Stringer, Son of the North, Stringer got the idea for his next novel from his dentist, who told him during an appointment how he had been conned out of half a year's earnings by a gang of "wire

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<sup>51</sup>"Tale of Literary Theft," New York Times Saturday Review of Books and Art 29 Aug. 1903: 595; F.T. Cooper, "The Single Idea and Some Recent Books," Bookman Oct. 1903: 164. Both these reviews allude to rumours of the woman author supposed to be Stringer's model, but neither identifies her.

tappers" (142). Published in May 1906 by Boston's Little, Brown, The Wire Tappers is the story of a pair of reluctant criminals, the English Frances Candler and the vaguely Canadian Jim Durkin, who run various confidences on New York gamblers and bookies before reforming and quitting the city to live honest lives in quiet old England. Fast-paced and a little salacious, the novel probably would have sold well even without the help of several morally offended reviewers. In many respects an earlier version of William Gibson's Neuromancer, The Wire Tappers depicts a shadowy world of "lightning-slingers" and "overhead guerillas" who tap into New York's nascent network of electrical, telegraph, and telephone wires. Like Gibson's cyber-cowboys, Stringer's characters speak the language of their technology. They understand, even if their reader does not, what a "Tesla current" is, and can tell the difference between a rheostat and a graduated pointer. When in trouble, they can communicate with each other by tapping out morse on a beer glass, a table, their own teeth. Armed with a telegrapher's key, a fishing pole, and a length of wire, they can distinguish one rooftop or subterranean wire from dozens of others, tap into it, and listen in on the telephones of the rich or steal enough electricity to power their equipment or melt through a safe door. Stringer, being Stringer, overdoes it, as for instance in this passage, in which Frances is having one of her recurring fits of guilt:

. . . we were both initiated into wrong-doing so quietly and so insidiously that the current caught us before we knew it. Yet I feel that I have none of the traits of the Female Offender, though in my anxiety and crazy search for causes

and excuses I have even taken my cephalic index and tested my chromatic perception and my tactile sensitiveness and made sure that I responded normally to a Faraday current!  
(66)

Like Seton's animal romances (also prone to documentary excess) The Wire Tappers uses the formula of a dramatic plot buttressed with realistic detail that Carman urged upon the new romantics. The tactic worked: just as Seton's animal stories gave thousands of young Americans their notions of animal behaviour, so too Stringer's depiction of the electrical underworld was accepted by many as gospel--even, say both Lauriston and McFarlane, by the New York City police department, which for years ordered its new detectives to read Stringer's books "for their authentic portrayal of criminals and criminal life."<sup>52</sup>

Although the technological realism of The Wire Tappers attracted critical interest,<sup>53</sup> most reviewers accepted and enjoyed the novel for what it was: a romance. The more high-browed among them (notably the Dial and the Critic) may have condemned its morality, but they all loved its plot. The New York Times called it "a frankly sensational story, literally packed with

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<sup>52</sup>Lauriston 145; McFarlane, "The Work of Arthur Stringer," (Toronto) Globe Saturday Magazine Section 30 July 1910: 4. According to Lauriston, Stringer researched his crime novels extensively, to the point of writing a vault manufacturer for catalogues of safes (10).

<sup>53</sup>The New York Times, for instance, thought the novel's technical information was "not thrust upon the reader, but insinuated so artistically in the very fabric of the story that one feels, as he reads, as if he knew it all" (12 May 1906: 308), while the more sober Dial wasn't so sure that the technical jargon wasn't "forced" into service, but found it "at least a novelty" (16 July 1906: 38).

incidents"; the Arena thought it "one of the most original, interesting and suggestive romances of the year"; the Literary Digest said "The book is at once action and life, virile and alluring"; and others weighed in with similar praise for what the Bookman called "Arthur Stringer's unique and strongly handled story."<sup>54</sup> As the Digest's string of existential adjectives suggests, the novel struck a chord with antimodern concerns about the loss of authentic experience; its "virile" riskiness (moral and physical) was precisely the antidote moderns sought for their overcivilized lives. Stringer had found his culture, a culture, like Carman's Vagabondism, that masked modern accommodation with antimodern dissent. The next year Little, Brown brought out a sequel to The Wire Tappers, and by the early 1920s Stringer had added another eight novels and dozens of magazine stories to his catalogue of crime.

For his first year in the city Harvey O'Higgins' publications seem to have been confined to unsigned "specials" for the daily press; in March of 1901, Stringer credited him in particular with appearances in the Evening Post, the Sun, and the Commercial Advertiser.<sup>55</sup> That year, O'Higgins found work as a telegraph editor for the old Commercial Advertiser, by that time conducted by a team of maverick writers and editors from the Evening Post, including Norman Hapgood as drama editor and

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<sup>54</sup>New York Times Saturday Review of Books 12 May 1906: 308; BRD 1906; Bookman (NY) Aug. 1906: 642.

<sup>55</sup>"Canadian Writers Who Are Winning Fame in New York," Montreal Herald 2 Mar. 1901: 11.



Lincoln Steffens as city editor. As writer Carl Hovey recalled for Steffens' Autobiography, "We didn't think [O'Higgins] was any good" (possibly because he lacked the Ivy League degree the reinvented Advertiser looked for in its reporters), "so we allowed him to work on the telegraph desk, but he practiced writing on our Saturday supplement" (316). How long O'Higgins remained with the Advertiser isn't known, but it was probably not much more than a year, as by 1902 he had begun to make his name with the New York City fire department stories that were his first taste of literary success.<sup>56</sup>

O'Higgins' first fire-fighting story appeared in Scribner's in May of 1902, dramatically illustrated by George Wright. That November, McClure's also fell to O'Higgins' unique brand of the manly new romanticism, and the Century followed in July of 1904; he appeared regularly in both magazines thereafter, as well as in Everybody's and Collier's. (The McClure's début, in which O'Higgins' story ran side by side with the first instalment of Ida M. Tarbell's famous indictment of Standard Oil as well as fiction by Conan Doyle, Hamlin Garland, Robert Barr, and Booth Tarkington, was especially auspicious.) In 1905, the Century Company collected under the title The Smoke-Eaters ten of O'Higgins' stories of a Lower East Side Hook and Ladder Company, most reworked from their magazine appearances to create a

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<sup>56</sup>Both Steffens and Hapgood were soon to be associated with magazines that regularly published O'Higgins' work: Steffens left the Advertiser for McClure's in 1902, the year O'Higgins debuted in the magazine, and Hapgood was editor of Collier's Weekly from 1902-12 (Mott 4: 453n).

developing narrative about one set of characters. Fast, well-told adventures populated by rough, swearing men (more scared than heroic), most of the stories thrive on psychological as much as physical conflict, especially between the new civil service breed of fire-fighter and their older "unlettered" colleagues. O'Higgins rarely intrudes, preferring to let dialogue and especially action speak for itself. The opening paragraph of "Private Morphy's Romance," in which a rookie fireman struggles to save a jealous girlfriend from a fire, provides a typical example of his pacing and style:

The hook-and-ladder truck of Company No. 0, with plunging horses and a furious bell, came struggling through the frozen slush of the dark side street, shot out into the cleaner avenue, and slewed and slid wildly on the icy asphalt as it turned the circle of the corner light. "Skatin's good," Sergeant Pim observed. (Smoke-Eaters 96)

All the hallmarks of O'Higgins' fire department stories are in this short paragraph: his tendency to begin a story in the middle of the action; his love of speed; the authentic details; and the brief touch of tough, laconic humour. As New York columnist Heywood Broun later said in praise of O'Higgins' objective style, "Up to and including the boiling point, Harvey O'Higgins remains the great precisian."<sup>57</sup>

Like Stringer's wire-tapping novels, O'Higgins' fire-department stories combined romantic adventure with realistic detail. According to the Book Review Digest for 1905, O'Higgins acquired his knowledge of fire-fighting through his experience on

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<sup>57</sup>"Literary Portraits Seven: Harvey O'Higgins," Bookman (NY) Oct. 1921: 156.

a New York newspaper, possibly the World, which one source has him working for sometime before 1905 (NCAB 25: 296); O'Higgins himself, in a move that while no doubt genuine also helped to authenticate the stories that follow, dedicated The Smoke-Eaters to "Lieutenant E.D.F. of the New York Fire Department," to whom he was indebted, he added, for "whatever there is in it of truth to life, of accuracy in detail, of honesty in point of view." However obtained, his stories demonstrate their authority on every page through their use of a detailed fire-fighting vocabulary, much of it so new that it must be enclosed in quote marks: scaling ladders, "back draft," engines and fuel wagons, "fire-proofed" buildings, helmets and rubber "turnout" coats, etc. They are also very canny about the underworld politics of their setting--as the gruff hero of one story, Sergeant Pim in "On Circumstantial Evidence," tells a new recruit, "There's more things to be learned on th' East Side . . . than comes out'n a civil service exam" (Smoke-Eaters 72).<sup>58</sup>

Reviewers responded even more positively to O'Higgins' technical realism than they had to his roommate's more exaggerated environment. An especially lengthy review in the New York Times Saturday Review called The Smoke-Eaters "one of those

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<sup>58</sup>Typical of popular fiction of the period, O'Higgins' fire-fighting stories are also openly racist: Italian rookies are sure to panic, the "fire-bug" of "On Circumstantial Evidence" is clearly Jewish, and so on. Outside the arguable protection of fiction, O'Higgins in his dedication to The Smoke-Eaters thanks his fire department source for giving him, among others, the story of "your own adventure with 'that kike, the fire-bug.'"

rare good treats that fall to the reviewer's lot just about often enough to prevent him from becoming a full-fledged pessimist."

These stories . . . all bear witness that their author knows whereof he speaks. It is not too much to say that he has written the epic of the New York firemen, and not only are they the best sort of stories about firemen, but some of them would stand as models of all that any short story should be--so compact, so restrained, and yet possessed of a vigor and force that keep expectation keyed to the highest tension. (25 Mar. 1905: 178)

For its part, the Critic thought the stories were "told with extraordinary simplicity" but carried "complete conviction," while the Dial enthused that "At last the American fireman has had something like justice done him in our literature." Will Roberts' Literary Digest, in a review that suggests as well as anything the compatibility of the official culture's thirst for information and the antimodern quest for authentic experience, praised the book's "mass of information," but also its "healthful excitement" and "many lessons in manliness" (BRD 1905). So encouraged, O'Higgins went on to write a second series of fire-fighting stories, collected in 1909 as Old Clinkers, and around mid-1905 made a natural transition from the largely Irish cast of his fire-fighting stories to the local colour stories of New York's East Side Irish for which he was probably best known.

Like O'Higgins, Arthur E. McFarlane began his stateside career with unsigned specials and stories for dailies such as the Evening Post and the Commercial Advertiser. Also like O'Higgins, he found his literary culture relatively quickly, within two years of his arrival in the city: in fact, his first identified American publication is in both the genre and the magazine that

would be his main support for the next decade. Serialized in Boston's Youth's Companion between January and March of 1902, "Tales of a Deep-Sea Diver" recounts various undersea adventures of an old American diver, one of the first of his profession, while unobtrusively passing on a great deal of information about diving and the sea. Intentionally or not, McFarlane had written the ideal Companion story, a blend of adventure and instruction, and the serial's first instalment ran as the lead story in a magazine that regularly published established authors such as Edith Wharton, Hamlin Garland, Gilbert Parker, Jack London, and Willa Cather, and that by this time had a circulation of around a half-million readers (Mott 2: 273). Over the next nine years he published another three serialized novels and nine short stories in the well-paying Companion. Most, like his first, were boys' adventure stories, but he also created female heroines, including "Cissy Make-Believe," an imaginative bookworm from Ohio who has only a "burning contempt" for "girls' books," preferring instead the adventure stories in her brothers' library. When Cissy survives being swarmed by bees by pretending she's a spy saving Cuba, her uncle rewards her courage by paying her way through college, where she learns both to be thankful for being a woman and to use her imagination for other things: "instead of imagining herself a crusader or a viking or an American spy in Cuba, she began to imagine how she would feel if she were a sweat-shop woman, making shirts for twenty-nine cents a dozen, or a working girl at two dollars a week. . . ." Again, the story

has all the hallmarks of a Companion piece--heroism, patriotism, pathos, instruction, and morality--and again it was run as the lead story.<sup>59</sup>

By the beginning of the 1910s McFarlane had seen two of his Companion serials reprinted in book form (both by Little, Brown), and had also published some twenty short stories in adult periodicals, including Outing, Munsey's, Cosmopolitan, the Atlantic Monthly, McClure's, the Century, Everybody's, and Harper's (the last in August of 1910, in the same issue that launched Joseph Conrad's "The Secret Sharer"). Also by this time, however, he had begun to move away from adventure stories toward a genre and a culture hinted at by the social conscience of "Cissy Make-Believe."

As the author of Saturday Night's "Points about People" column for 21 August 1909 described this development, "while [McFarlane] can still produce meritorious tales to order at any time, and does so occasionally, he devotes most of his energy to the manufacture of special articles. They pay better" (10). By this time designating the signed essay of the twentieth-century magazine rather than the anonymous "special" of the late nineteenth-century Saturday supplement, the "special article," and especially the article of reform, had acquired new status (and higher pay) as a result of the "muckraking" boom of the century's first decade. McFarlane had in fact been writing investigative magazine articles for some time, one of the

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<sup>59</sup>"Cissy Make-Believe," Youth's Companion 8 May 1902: 233-34.

earliest known of which was a series on the origins of great fortunes called "Where the Money Came From" for the Saturday Evening Post of 1903, the same year that McClure's began running Steffens' "The Shame of the Cities," after Tarbell's "History of the Standard Oil Company" (McClure's, 1902-04) the most famous of the muckraking exposés. According to Saturday Night's columnist, McFarlane had also contracted "[s]ome time ago" with "a certain journal to write something about Barnum and Bailey's circus," for which he travelled with the show for several weeks.<sup>60</sup> McFarlane's real arrival as what Saturday Night called "A 'Special Article' Expert," however, the moment that seems to have confirmed his transition from fiction to reform-minded journalism, came two years after their report.

On March 25, 1911, a fire broke out at the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory near New York's Washington Square. The fire-escapes were desperately inadequate, and the fire department's hoses could reach effectively only to the seventh of the building's ten floors. One hundred and forty-six employees died, almost all of them young women; the factory's owners were later indicted for manslaughter. That September, McFarlane wrote the story of the fire up for McClure's in an impassioned polemic against inadequate building codes and fire-prevention methods for the city's new skyscrapers. McFarlane's earlier articles had shown that he could assemble facts and witnesses into a readable

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<sup>60</sup>The "certain journal" may be Collier's, to which McFarlane contributed two articles on circus animals in January of 1909.

narrative, but "Fire and the Skyscraper" is of an entirely different class. Some credit has to go to the magazine: it ran McFarlane's article as its lead story, embellished it with photographs and carefully chosen pull-quotes, and promised a series of subsequent articles to expose further this "national shame." The prose, atypically crisp for McFarlane, suggests a strong editorial hand. But the editors had something to work with: "Fire and the Skyscraper" is an excellent piece of writing, probably McFarlane's best, and the equal of the best magazine prose of its day. As promised, he followed it up with two more articles for McClure's that year on New York's fire problem, and in 1913 he published a second series in Collier's on the complicity of North American insurance companies in "The Business of Arson." Again this series debuted as the lead story, with Collier's billing it on its cover for 8 February 1913 as an "Astounding Series / by Arthur E. McFarlane" beneath an illustration of a guilty-looking arsonist, gas can and torch in hand. "Mr. McFarlane," the editors announced, "is the first journalist to pierce the heart of the matter. . . . for the past eighteen months he has been working to get the facts of the arson situation for Collier's" (8).<sup>61</sup> What fire had given O'Higgins in 1902, it had now given McFarlane--a genre, a culture, and a name.

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<sup>61</sup>The same consumer exhaustion that killed the animal story had by this time given "muckraking" a bad name (Mott 4: 209), which explains Collier's attempt to distance McFarlane's series from President Roosevelt's derisive label: "This may be called muckraking, but it is not. Instead it is constructive criticism" (8).



Sometime early in the new century Stringer, O'Higgins, and McFarlane left their Fifth Avenue attic for separate destinations. The impetus for the breakup of the "Three Musketeers" seems to have been romantic as much as literary success: by 1904, all three had married. Stringer married Gibson Girl model turned actress Jobyna Howland, an Indiana native whom he'd met in 1899 while she was débütting opposite Canadian lead James K. Hackett in Anthony Hope's Rupert of Hentzau at the New York Lyceum.<sup>62</sup> In 1901, O'Higgins married Anna G. Williams, the daughter of a Toronto manufacturer, and three years later McFarlane married University of Toronto graduate Margaret Emma Hunter, with whom he occasionally cowrote. Saturday Night's 1909 notice has McFarlane living in Toronto, where the couple may have moved after their marriage, but within two years they had returned to New York, taking up residence this time in the Long Island neighbourhood of Forest Hills.<sup>63</sup> Here, McFarlane's career as a "Special Article" expert seems to have ended, with just a

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<sup>62</sup>Lauriston 13; Bordman 437; see also Jobyna's obituary in the New York Times 9 June 1936: 29. Stringer's marriage to Jobyna came just after or just before (there are conflicting reports) her appearance with Marie Dressler's company in George Hobart's musical comedy, Miss Prinnt, which opened 25 December 1900 at New York's Victoria Theatre (NotNAT). Coincidentally, both Dressler and Hobart were also Canadian expatriates: Dressler (born Leila Koerber) was a native of Cobourg, ON, who became a New York actress and later film star, and Hobart (born George Vere Hobart Philpott) was a Cape Bretoner who had made his name as a humour columnist in Baltimore in the late 1890s and was then working on his second career as an author of Broadway musicals and revues (for Dressler, see Saturday Night 5 Feb. 1944: 15; for Hobart, see WWNY and the Oxford Companion to American Theatre).

<sup>63</sup>"A 'Special Article' Expert," Saturday Night 12 Aug. 1909: 10; letter, New York Times 2 Dec. 1913: 10.

mystery novel and a short children's book in his known bibliography between 1914 and his death in New York's St. Luke's Hospital on 11 April 1945. For the last ten years of his life, he served as literary editor of the Carnegie Endowment's Division of Economics and History (whose Director was then James Shotwell, the young Canadian student with whom he and the other denizens of the attic had once shared milk-punches), for which he helped to produce, appropriately enough, "a series of some twenty-five volumes on Canadian-American relations."<sup>64</sup>

The later lives of O'Higgins and Stringer are not so easily told: it would take a book apiece to do justice to their long and varied careers. O'Higgins had by 1906 moved to a home in the Catskills, where he wrote and that year published Don-A-Dreams, an autobiographical novel about three young friends who quit college in Toronto to try their luck as writers in New York.<sup>65</sup> Up to about 1909 he occupied himself largely with stories of New York's East Side Irish, but that year he shifted literary gears, collaborating with others on muckraking exposés of political corruption in Denver and religious corruption in Utah's Mormon community and contributing to McClure's popular series of 1911-12 on "Great Cases of William J. Burns," a former Secret Service operative turned private detective. Beginning with The Argyll Case in 1912, he also cowrote with American playwright Harriet

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<sup>64</sup>Obit., New York Times 12 Apr. 1945: 23; Hansen.

<sup>65</sup>"Mr. O'Higgins in the Limelight," Saturday Night 11 Sep. 1909: 10.

Ford eleven stage plays, mostly mysteries and domestic comedies. Late in life, O'Higgins became convinced that psychoanalysis offered the most effective cure for an "illness" he had contracted (DAB 14: 5), and he turned his pen to the subject in the populist studies The Secret Springs (1920) and The American Mind in Action (1924), as well as the fictional biographies collected in From the Life (1919) and Some Distinguished Americans (1922) and the well-reviewed psychological novels Julie Cane (1924) and Clara Barron (1926). He died at his country home in Martinsville, New Jersey, on 28 February 1929, leaving behind a reputation as the "prose laureate of the commonplace man" and a widely shared memory of a charming, generous man who worked tirelessly both officially (as a member of the Authors' League of America) and unofficially to advance and protect his fellow writers.<sup>66</sup>

In 1903 Arthur Stringer also left the city, moving with Jobyna to a fruit farm he'd purchased on the north shore of Lake Erie. Here, Stringer continued to write the crime stories and novels for which he had become recognized, but he also wrote what to his biographer was his best novel, The Wine of Life (1921), as well as the trilogy for which he is best known in Canada, The Prairie Wife (1915), The Prairie Mother (1920), and The Prairie Child (1922). Eventually, Jobyna tired of fruit and returned to the New York stage (the couple divorced in 1914), and in 1921

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<sup>66</sup>Obit., New York Times 1 Mar. 1929: 25; DAB 14: 5. See also Murdock Pemberton's eulogistic letter to the Times 8 Mar. 1929: 24.

Stringer sold the farm, moving permanently to Mountain Lakes in northern New Jersey with his second wife Margaret Arbuthnott Stringer. In 1923-24, he spent a year working as an anonymous "movie doctor," fixing and filling out weak scripts.<sup>67</sup> Also in 1924, he published the lost-in-the-wilds romance Empty Hands, the first of a dozen novels set in the Canadian and later Alaskan wilderness and probably his bestselling novel in any setting. This is just a sample: from The Silver Poppy in 1903 to The Devastator in 1944 Stringer published on average something just under a novel a year. According to Lauriston, some thirty of his novels and short stories were themselves made into movies, including Empty Hands (1924), which starred Montreal-born Norma Shearer, and the Metro-Goldwyn production of The Prairie Wife (1925), starring Dorothy Devore as Chaddie and Herbert Rawlinson as Duncan, with a young Boris Karloff as Diego. He also contributed verse to dozens of periodicals throughout his career, with ten collections appearing between 1903 and 1948, and wrote at least a dozen short plays and four works of non-fiction. Somewhere in the middle of all this, Stringer founded and served as first president of the Mountain Lakes Theatre Guild and helped to found the town's library. On September 14, 1950, the last of the "Three Musketeers of the Pen" passed away at age 76.<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>67</sup>"Doctoring of Weak Pictures Is Confessed by an Author," New York Times 17 Feb. 1924, sec. 7: 4. Stringer had previously spent a year in Hollywood, where among other credits he wrote a movie serial called The Iron Claw (1916) that starred Pearl White and eventually grossed almost four million dollars (Lauriston 18-19).

<sup>68</sup>Obit., New York Times 15 Sep. 1950: 25.

### Reinventing Regionalism

Of the dozens of literary cultures that flourished in America of the second half of the nineteenth century, regionalism, says Richard Brodhead, was "the principle place of literary access." For both established and new writers, regionalism offered relatively easy access to a literary culture ("authors in this mode," Brodhead notes, "typically had their first efforts published"): its genre's heavily conventionalized formulas "barely changed from the 1860s to the century's end," and the only other prerequisite was "familiarity with some cultural backwater," something possessed by many traditionally distanced from literary circles. As Brodhead puts it, "marginality itself [became] a positive authorial advantage." American men and women not from Boston or New York could enter the culture, as could recent immigrants, first and most famously the Lithuanian Jew Abraham Cahan, who "figur[ed] out how to adapt the dialect tale formula to the 'region' of the Lower East Side" (Brodhead 116-18). And, of course, Canadians could enter: whether expatriates or not, Canadian writers of the post-Confederation period had grown up on the same stories that taught American regionalists the conventions of the genre, and they certainly possessed the all-important "familiarity with some cultural backwater." In the literary culture of regionalism, being Canadian had its advantages.

In the Literary History of Canada, contributor Gordon Roper casts these advantages in something of a negative light,

declaring that in the late nineteenth century "there was no market for 'Canadian' nationalism in the great publishing centres in New York or London, although there was a lively market for stories about the past or present in French Canada, maritime Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, domestic Prince Edward Island, rural Ontario, or the various localities of the great West" (Klinck 287). Although he seems cognizant of their aims in the States, Roper's statement misrepresents how nineteenth-century Canadian as well as American advocates of regionalism saw its function; for them, the local was the means to the national.<sup>69</sup> In 1886, for instance, Canadian editor George Stewart Jr. told an audience at the Canadian Club in New York that

A mine of literary wealth is to be had in every section of the dominion, and it only awaits the hand of the craftsman. Bret Harte opened up a new phase of American character as he discovered it in wild California. Miss Murfree found the Tennessee mountains rich in incident and strong in episodes of an intensely dramatic color, and Mr. Cable developed in a brilliant and picturesque way life and movement among the Creoles of the South. Have we no Canadian authors among us, who can do as much for us? (132)

At century's end, Ontario critic Lawrence J. Burpee suggested that Canada was still home to a number of "definite types" untouched by novelists, among them the "picturesque habitant,"

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<sup>69</sup>I'm also not certain that New York publishers, at least, were entirely unreceptive to Canadian nationalism. The Century, for instance, reprinted Charles G.D. Roberts' poem "Canada" in January of 1886 and that July provided the first home for his equally nationalist "Collect for Dominion Day." In June of 1896, the Bookman printed D.C. Scott's pro-imperialist essay on "Canadian Feeling Toward the United States," and in December of 1904 Munsey's published William Carman Roberts' laudatory article on Canadian Prime Minister (and ardent nationalist) Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

the "simple-minded Acadian," the "breezy and unsophisticated" North-Westerner, the "degenerate aborigine," and "the Prince Edward Islander, who believes that the whole Dominion circles around his little island."<sup>70</sup> Both Stewart and Burpee were echoing arguments being advanced by American writers and editors, notably Hamlin Garland, who by the mid-1880s had begun to believe that writers from the southern, eastern, and western states were unknowingly working in concert to create a national literature. As Garland explained his theory to William Dean Howells on their first meeting, "the stories of Joel Chandler Harris, George W. Cable, Sarah Orne Jewett, and Mary E. Wilkins, like the work of Joaquin Miller and Bret Harte, are but varying phases of the same movement, a movement which is to give us at last a vital, original, and national literature" (Roadside Meetings 59).

Like Garland, many Canadian writers of the period saw in regionalism not only the opportunity for literary access that Brodhead and Roper describe, but also a way to give voice to their region and thus character to their nation, which for both Canadians and Americans more often meant distinguishing their respective literatures from those of the Old World than from each other. As Stewart's comment makes clear, American literature at the end of the nineteenth century was not an obstacle (as Roper would have it) but a model for Canadian literary nationalism.

Although all but one of the eighteen stories collected in Gilbert Parker's Pierre and His People are set in the region of

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<sup>70</sup>"Recent Canadian Fiction," Forum (NY) Aug. 1899: 752-53.

the Canadian northwest, Carman's article on the book carefully avoided characterizing it as local color because of the genre's traditional associations with genteel or "effeminate" realism. Instead, he emphasized the self-assured virility of Parker's characters and the excitement of his plots, qualities that accorded with the new romance movement he sought to champion. Carman's choice of critical emphases points to the one key respect in which the regionalist formula did change from mid-century to century's end. Still concerned to achieve realism or what Garland called "Veritism,"<sup>71</sup> regionalists of the mid-1890s and after were also increasingly interested in adventure and pathos, in telling striking stories and invoking strong emotions. As Lears argues, regionalists were already playing a significant role in the antimodern rebellion, their rural or small-town protagonists modelling a more stable identity than the increasingly fragmented urban self (28, 36-37). But with the advent of the new romanticism that Carman heralded, regionalism acquired the additional antimodern quality of fashioning more vital modes of existence than those determined by official culture. This post-realist revision of the regionalist formula is especially evident in so-called tenement literature, a species of regionalism born in New York in the mid-1890s that tended to exploit the revision's fondness for pathos more than its love of adventure. Both Stringer and O'Higgins contributed to this

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<sup>71</sup>Garland defined "Veritism" briefly as work which is "verifiable," and called Howells the leader of the school (Roadside Meetings 32).



culture, but its first conspicuous Canadian participant was yet another University of Toronto student in the city, a young journalist by the name of Norman Duncan.

From Duncan's forgotten stories of New York's Syrian Quarter this chapter concludes with the most well-known today of the Canadian expatriates of the nineteenth century, Charles G.D. Roberts, whose historical romances of pre-Conquest Acadia had something more than just their regionalist mode in common with Duncan's sketches of modern Manhattan. Typical of the union of conflicting impulses that Lears traces throughout fin de siècle American culture, their stories were at once vehicles for antimodern escapism and, intentionally or not, agents of modernism, in particular the homogenizing modern project of familiarizing and thus assimilating the foreign--whether as close as the immigrant community next door, or five hundred miles away in another country and another time.

#### **A Solomon of Little Syria**

In its "Chronicle and Comment" for August of 1900, the New York Bookman noted that although the great New York novel had yet to be written, certain districts in the city had been the subject of "a great many very charming stories."

We have had picturesque and romantic tales of the old French quarter to the south of Washington Square from the pens of Mr. Janvier and Mr. Bunner and others; Mr. Cahan has written of the Ghetto, Mr. Townsend and Mr. Norr of Chinatown, and Mr. Thomas, in his recently published The Last Lady of Mulberry, has given us considerable insight into the curious life among the Italians down by the Bend. It would seem as if, under the circumstances, the foreign population of New

York had been pretty well covered by the literary seeker for originality. However, a book is announced for the autumn which deals with a quarter which until the present time has been ignored in fiction. New Yorkers who have spent any time roaming about the lower end of Manhattan Island cannot have failed to notice the curious little colony of Syrians in Washington Street. A collection of stories of this colony by Mr. Norman Duncan is soon to be published under the title The Soul of the Street. (502)

The subject of this notice, the Bookman added, was "another native of Canada engaged in literary work in this country."

Born 2 July 1871 near Brantford, Ontario, Norman Duncan studied for several years at Toronto University but like Stringer and O'Higgins left without a degree in the spring of 1895. While still a student he contributed frequently to the Toronto Globe, and upon moving to Auburn in upstate New York after leaving university (apparently to join his older brother Robert, a chemistry instructor at the Auburn High School), he found work as a reporter on the Auburn Bulletin.<sup>72</sup> In 1897, Duncan moved to New York City, again following brother Robert, who two years before had accepted a position at a school in the city (CM 1912). He may have stayed with Robert upon his arrival, but Robert changed jobs again in 1898, moving to Pottstown, Pennsylvania, and by 1899 Norman had his own apartment, a small suite in the Cumberland bachelor apartments located in the triangular plot where Broadway and Fifth Avenue cross at Madison Square. Shortly after his arrival, the twenty-six-year-old Duncan landed a position on the New York Evening Post, a job that would soon

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<sup>72</sup>For details on Duncan's life not otherwise cited, I am indebted to Elizabeth Russell Miller's 1992 bio-critical study, The Frayed Edge: Norman Duncan's Newfoundland.

introduce him to the "curious little colony of Syrians" that launched his literary career.

The Evening Post was at this time a relatively small circulation but respected daily under the editorship of Edwin Lawrence Godkin, an Irish-born reformer of whom an opponent had once said that he had approved of nothing since the birth of Christ (Mott, American Journalism 427). Lincoln Steffens, who started his career on the Post, later recalled it as "A conservative three-cent evening newspaper, competing with one-cent papers, it avoided crime, scandal, and the sensational generally" (179). Duncan began work on the Post in 1897 as a city reporter; when war broke out between the United States and Spain in April of 1898, he was assigned to report Roosevelt's preparations for the invasion of Cuba, and that fall he covered the returned war hero's successful campaign for governor. According to the Bookman's August 1900 notice, within the last year Duncan had declined an offer to become the Post's assistant city editor, at his own suggestion becoming instead a writer of the paper's "specials." The Bookman explained Duncan's decision as an aversion to "desk work"; another factor may have been Godkin's rigid personality and editorial policies. Steffens, for one, claimed that Godkin's strictly enforced style of impersonal journalism permanently hurt him as a writer: "Humor or any sign of personality in our reports was caught, rebuked, and, in time, suppressed" (179). It is no surprise that the always subjective Duncan turned down an editorial job for a chance to write

specials, in which he would have had more freedom in both subject and style.

According to his biographer Elizabeth Russell Miller, Duncan discovered Lower Manhattan's Syrian colony during his first year with the Post. Established in the early 1890s along Washington Street from Rector south to the Battery, "Little Syria" or the "Hoochee-Koochie precinct" (the latter after a popular midway at the Chicago Fair) was by the new century home to some 5,000 Christian Syrians with their own churches, schools, newspapers, book publishers, restaurants, and social and political clubs; from this colony was born the 1890s' fad for things Mideastern that made Craven Langstroth Betts' poem about a Persian brass-worker his most popular book, gave Charles G.D. Roberts his penchant for Egyptian cigarettes, and put a "Turkish nook" in Ernest and Grace Seton's Bryant Park apartment.<sup>73</sup> In the course of collecting material for a series of sketches on the colony for the Post and later for his stories, Duncan became friends with the colony's leaders, including a newspaper editor upon whom he based one of his recurring characters, Oxford-educated Khalil Khayat (E. Miller 76). He also became something of a local Solomon for the community, which according to the Bookman often referred disputes to him for settlement and invited him to give the "principal speech of the evening" during a visit to the

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<sup>73</sup>Brown 370-71; Duncan, "The Spirit of Revolution," McClure's Sep. 1900: 466 and "A People from the East," Harper's Mar. 1903: 556-58; for Roberts' cigarettes, see Stringer in the Montreal Herald 2 Mar. 1901: 11; for the Setons' Turkish Corner, Harper's Bazar 3 Feb. 1900: 89.

colony by the Turkish Minister in Washington (Aug. 1900: 502). In fact, Duncan appears to have spent most of his time in New York in Little Syria. Arthur Stringer, at least, was aware of Duncan's presence in the city by the time of his March 1901 article for the Montreal Herald, but his notice of Duncan has the ring of information acquired from reputation, and Duncan is not known to have associated with other Canadians in the city.

Duncan worked on his first story about the Syrian colony for a year before submitting it to McClure's; the magazine rejected it, but recommended that he try placing it with the Atlantic Monthly, which published the story in their February 1900 issue (E. Miller 17). In the story, an old Syrian newspaper editor, Khalil Khayat, tells a young Irish boy, Billy Halloran, a legend from his country. The legend Khayat recounts is familiar: a young knight saves a beautiful princess from a dragon. But the story derives its dramatic tension not from its plot, but from the reader's awareness of the pathetic contrast between the Manhattan frame and the Syrian legend. The knight is, well, a knight, a dragon-slayer. Billy is a cripple, and his mother is a drunk who beats him daily. His only escape from these beatings is in his mother's absence, when the old editor takes pity on him and tells him stories. As an adventure story, "In the Absence of Mrs. Halloran" doesn't have much to hold the reader's attention (Khalil doesn't even finish his story, though he hardly needs to). What it does have is a concrete if sentimental evocation of the inhabitants of a New York district, which perhaps explains

why McClure's suggested sending it to the more sober Atlantic. Duncan makes much out of little, for instance, by playing up the different dialects of the Syrian editor and his Washington Street auditor: "Was y'u pinched?" asks Billy after Khalil alludes to his own adventures in his homeland; "I escape," answers Khalil (256). The story also makes effective use of pathos. When Khalil and Billy hear his mother staggering up the stairs, the impassioned editor vows to defend Billy: "I, Khalil Khayat, say eet. My arm shall defend you. The Lord God Almighty, the poor servant of heem I am, geeve me strength an' courage to prevail against the woman!" Read next to Khalil's story, the allegory is plain: Khalil is the modern-day knight, rescuing his charge from an alcoholic dragon. But the moment he's established the allegory, Duncan undercuts it: Billy chuckles at Khalil's speech, and asks, "Know w'at she done t' de ol' man? . . . 'E's in de 'ospital" (260). The story ends not in romantic triumph but in pathetic acquiescence, with Khalil creeping back to his own flat, Mrs. Halloran unconscious on her mattress, and Billy left alone on the fire escape.

In 1900 Duncan published two more stories of the Syrian colony in the Atlantic and one in the apparently now convinced McClure's. Late that same year, probably in December, McClure, Phillips & Company brought out in New York and London Duncan's four published Syrian stories and two previously unpublished under the title The Soul of the Street: Correlated Stories of the New York Syrian Quarter. As the Bookman's notice of the

collection's forthcoming release indicates, The Soul of the Street was invited by a rush of previous local color books set in various New York districts. More specifically, however, both the slum setting and the pervasive note of pathos in the collection identify it as a product of tenement literature, a recently established urban version of regionalist culture.

Led and justified by Jacob Riis's quasi-sociological study of New York's slums, How the Other Half Lives (1890), a substantial number of books were by mid-decade "dar[ing] to overleap the 'barbed-wire fence' which separates the nice people of our literary Vanity Fair from the low life of the great Unwashed, and to draw on the slums for their material."<sup>74</sup> Riis himself wrote Out of Mulberry Street (1898), also the setting for Edward W. Townsend's A Daughter of the Tenements (1895); Julian Ralph wrote about a Forsythe Street tenement in People We Pass (1896) and Stephen Crane about a Lower East Side prostitute in Maggie: A Girl of the Streets (1893); James W. Sullivan gave the Irish their day in his popular Tenement Tales of New York (1895); and Abraham Cahan launched immigrant literature in America with his Yekl, A Tale of the New York Ghetto (1896).<sup>75</sup> Just a year

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<sup>74</sup>J[ames] M[acArthur], "Slum Stories," rev. of Edward W. Townsend's Chimmie Fadden and Henry W. Nevinson's Slum Stories of London, Bookman Mar. 1895: 110.

<sup>75</sup>These are just some of the highlights of the tenement literature boom in New York of the 1890s: for more, see parts I and II of Arthur Bartlett Maurice's Sep.-Dec. 1899 series for the Bookman on "New York in Fiction." Shaun O'Connell's Remarkable, Unspeakable New York includes a fascinating chapter on what he calls the "radical democratization of American letters" in this period (86).

before the publication of The Soul of the Street Arthur Stringer had ventured into the genre with his first book, The Loom of Destiny, whose bathetic New York street urchins prove if nothing else that Stringer had neither the temperament for pathos nor the patience for protest. Much more successfully, Harvey O'Higgins came late to the culture, writing some dozen stories about the city's Lower East Side Irish between 1904 and 1912 that were later collected in Silent Sam and Other Stories of Our Day (1914). Although quantitatively speaking the least productive of the several literary cultures that O'Higgins mined over his career, these stories were probably his best remembered work and helped to establish his reputation as the prose laureate of the common man, a title that to my knowledge first appeared in Current Opinion in October 1914 under the heading "The Man Who Writes Irish Stories." "Harvey O'Higgins's stories," the magazine wrote, "are the romances of the average. He is the prose laureate of the exiles from Ireland, of the poor servant girl, the hod carrier and the day laborer, the old washerwoman and the night watchman, the teamster and the policeman. . . . [His] Irish romances . . . are the most enlightened and illuminating studies of the Irish in America that have come to print" (269).<sup>76</sup>

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<sup>76</sup>O'Higgins' obituary in the New York Times remembered him principally for his Irish stories, and noted that one, "Tammany's Tithes," about an honest patrolman who learns to accede to police corruption, was later reprinted for use in a campaign against Tammany Hall (1 Mar. 1929: 25).



The Soul of the Street is a product of several literary cultures: the New York color the Bookman located it in, the Mideastern vogue that Betts had tapped into nine years before with The Perfume-Holder, and the rising tide of tenement literature. Ultimately, however, the focus of these stories is not the Syrians, not the poor Irish with whom they share the street, but the confluence of these two cultures. "In the Absence of Mrs. Halloran" pits Khalil's Syrian romance against the harsh realities of Irish Billy Halloran's plight. In "The Lamp of Liberty," Khalil's publisher aspires to the power and profits of the district's Irish alderman, and to achieve his goal mimics the Tammany boss's self-serving rhetoric and his corrupt politics. A love story, "For the Hand of Haleem," explores the courting rituals of an Irishman and a Syrian as they vie for the hand of the same girl. In "The Spirit of Revolution," a story that hardly needs its title or its reference to Washington to reveal its intended comparison, Syrian elders gather in a coffee-house to plan a revolution in their homeland. Against the formal Arabic of their speeches Duncan sets the street sounds of contemporary New York, of trucks on cobblestones, of the roar of the elevated trains, of Irish street kids singing "Hello, mah baby!" The revolution is soon forgotten; the street sounds persist into the story's final paragraphs. The Soul of the Street was billed as stories about a recently established and then unwritten immigrant culture; Duncan himself described his work on the colony as "little windows through which you may catch

a glimpse of the lives they live in this land."<sup>77</sup> But although Duncan worked hard to convey the uniqueness of that culture, his collection is more precisely a window on the modern process of acculturation and assimilation, on how the foreign slowly but inevitably becomes the familiar.

Duncan's first book was favourably received: the New York Times Saturday Review called it "a charming book, and replete with human sympathy," while the Nation thought it "a noteworthy document upon a little-known phase of our city history." Only Hutchins Hapgood in the Bookman raised a dissenting voice, complaining that Duncan was too much the soulful lyricist and too little the objective realist--the very qualities that made Duncan choose "specials" over an editorial job, and that identify him as one of Carman's new romantics.<sup>78</sup> More important, however, Duncan's entrance into regionalist culture via Little Syria set him on the road (or rather, the sea) to the equally lyrical regional stories for which he is best known. Duncan made his first visit to Newfoundland in the summer of 1900 under contract for McClure's; this trip and subsequent visits, most spent in the small fishing outpost of Exploits, gave him the raw material for over eighty articles and stories and eleven books set in Newfoundland, notably the ten stories collected in The Way of the

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<sup>77</sup>"A People from the East," Harper's Mar. 1903: 562.

<sup>78</sup>"The Orient in New York," New York Times Saturday Review of Books and Art 22 Dec. 1900: 938; "More Fiction," Nation 4 Apr. 1901: 280; "Five Popular Books of Some Importance," Bookman Feb. 1901: 583-84.

Sea (1903), which according to his biographer "established his literary reputation in both Canada and the United States" (E. Miller 94). Duncan didn't abandon the culture with which he had begun his career: he later had some of his New York Syrians emigrate rather improbably to Newfoundland, and wrote a series of impressionistic Middle East travel articles for Harper's that were subsequently incorporated into his Going Down From Jerusalem (1909). Exactly when Duncan left New York isn't known; by 1902, a year after quitting his job on the Evening Post, he had moved to Pennsylvania to teach English at Washington and Jefferson College. From 1906 to his death in 1916 he moved often, lecturing at the Lawrence campus of the University of Kansas, travelling in search of material for his writing to Newfoundland, the Middle East, Minnesota, Australia and the Far East, and living with friends and relatives in various towns in Pennsylvania, Ontario, Ohio, and New York. An alcoholic and a chain-smoker, he died at age forty-five in October of 1916 of a heart attack while golfing near his home in Fredonia, New York.

#### **The Bewitchment of Charles G.D. Roberts**

On the second day of February in 1897 Charles G.D. Roberts moved from New Brunswick to New York, leaving behind (temporarily, he said) his wife of sixteen years and their four children to accept a position on the Illustrated American.<sup>79</sup> It wasn't as if he

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<sup>79</sup>Unless otherwise cited, my information about Roberts' life comes from John Coldwell Adams' Sir Charles God Damn (1986).

hadn't contemplated the move before: in fact, the 1880s and 1890s were for Roberts a period of trying to reconcile himself by a number of means--among others, an editing job in Toronto, a professorship in Windsor, free-lance writing in Fredericton--to what some part of him seems to have known from the beginning was an impossibility, namely a literary career in Canada.

As far back as 1879, the "Father of Canadian Poetry" had elected to send his first important poem to an American magazine (Pomeroy 28).<sup>80</sup> Five years later, in September of 1884, Roberts announced his intention to move to New York after spending a summer free-lancing in Toronto in the wake of his departure from the editor's desk of the Week;<sup>81</sup> he did visit New York that fall, meeting, among others, Richard Watson Gilder, Thomas Bailey Aldrich, and Edgar Fawcett, but failed to find definite employment and returned to Canada to make equally unfruitful inquiries in Ottawa into that customary resort of the starving poet, a job in the civil service. While teaching at King's College between 1885 and 1895 Roberts made at least seven more trips to the States, giving readings, placing manuscripts, visiting Carman and other stateside friends, and looking for work. Toward the end of this period he mounted an extensive campaign for an American position, writing to Gilder at the Century in March of 1894, for instance, that he was "available,

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<sup>80</sup>Scribner's Monthly accepted "Memnon" for their June 1879 issue, writing in their return letter that it was the best poem they had received in three months (Pacey, Collected Poems 366).

<sup>81</sup>Roberts to Charles Leonard Moore, 20 Sep. 1884 (Boone 42).

sound & trusty," competing for an editorial job on Boston's Youth's Companion in January of 1895, and that March asking Chap-Book publisher Herbert Stone to "[k]eep an eye open" for positions in Chicago. Neither these nor attempts to secure a chair at several American universities materialized, however, and by November of 1895, eight months after giving his notice at King's, Roberts had not unhappily resigned himself to a winter of writing in Fredericton: "I can live there cheaply," he had written to his former teacher that summer, "& write without hindrance, running on to Boston & New York whenever business makes it necessary."<sup>82</sup>

Measured by the page, Roberts' year and a half in Fredericton were productive, allowing him time to finish an entry for the Dominion History Competition (A History of Canada, 1897), write his first novel (The Forge in the Forest, 1897), and put the finishing touches on his fourth collection of verse (The Book of the Native, 1896), as well as produce some dozen new articles and stories for American magazines. But the same money problems that had prompted his resignation from King's continued to plague him,<sup>83</sup> and late in 1896, pressed by creditors, he accepted the offer of a friend, Francis Bellamy from the Youth's Companion, to

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<sup>82</sup>Roberts to Richard Watson Gilder, 17 Mar. 1894 (Boone 180); to Bliss Carman, 8 Jan., 15 Jan., and 6 Feb. 1895 (Boone 190-92); to Herbert Stuart Stone, 20 Mar. 1895 (Boone 196); and to George Parkin, 6 June 1895 (Boone 204).

<sup>83</sup>In his letter of 6 June 1895 to George Parkin, Roberts cited as his reasons for leaving King's his "ridiculous" pay, his heavy workload, his contempt for the Board of Governors, and his desire to devote himself fully to his own writing (Boone 204).

join Bellamy as his assistant on a New York magazine that had recently taken him on as managing editor.

Founded in 1890 by Lorillard Spencer, the Illustrated American was by the time of Roberts' arrival in the city a ten-cent general-interest weekly with a circulation of around 40,000. Spencer's penchant for the best illustrators had built his magazine an enviable reputation but lost him a fortune, and in 1897 he sold the foundering weekly to one A.B. de Guerville (Mott 4: 58). It was probably this second owner who hired Bellamy, who in turn appointed Roberts, assigning him a range of editorial duties, including editing its book columns. In a letter written to Craven Langstroth Betts five months after joining the magazine, Roberts denied having charge of its literary department, but he may just have been diplomatically avoiding reviewing some unidentified books Betts had asked him to use the Illustrated American to promote; certainly by November, Roberts was telling another correspondent that "I am doing the literary page for them now."<sup>84</sup> In addition to his editorial work Roberts contributed at least four signed reviews, two short stories, and a dozen articles to the Illustrated American during his first year with the magazine. He also did reviews for the New York Bookman, including reviews of Seton's friend Elliott Coues' edition of Alexander Henry's journals and of Ballads of Lost Haven, the new book of verse by his cousin Bliss Carman.

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<sup>84</sup>Roberts to Betts, 17 June 1897 (Boone 234); Roberts to Edmund Clarence Stedman, 16 Nov. 1897 (Boone 236).

The offices of the Illustrated American were located at 401 East 23rd Street, about two miles south of the East 58th Street boarding house that during Roberts' first year in the city was home to himself, Carman, and his younger brother William, also on staff at the Illustrated American (see chapter 2). In October, Mitchell Kennerley moved in as well, staying for a just a few crowded weeks before he and Carman found their own apartment on East 16th Street; by at least December, another of Roberts' brothers, Theodore Goodridge, in the city to assume a staff position on the Independent, was also a resident at Miss Kelly's.<sup>85</sup> As Roberts later remembered this period for his official biographer Elsie Pomeroy, his friends at this time included Bellamy and another staffer at the Illustrated American, explorer and author Albert White Vorse; Carman's friends Richard and Henrietta Hovey; Century editor Richard Watson Gilder and Gilder's assistant Robert Underwood Johnson; New York poet and playwright Edgar Fawcett; Edmund Clarence Stedman, with whom he had been corresponding for ten years; the English poet Richard La Gallienne (whose paraphrases of Persian poet Omar Khayyám Roberts also reviewed for the Bookman); and Canadian Peter McArthur, then in the final months of his editorship of Truth (147-48).

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<sup>85</sup>On 9 December 1897, Roberts wrote the Independent's office editor Susan Hayes Ward expressing his pleasure that "Thede is to be on the Independent" (Boone 237). A "sub-editor" with the Independent, Theodore also served as a correspondent for the weekly in Florida and Cuba during the early months of the Spanish-American War. Only briefly an expatriate, he returned to Canada in the summer of 1898 after contracting a nearly fatal dose of fever during the crossing from Tampa to Santiago (Pollock 437; Adams 77, 80-81).

Especially, Roberts spent much of what little free time he had in the company of Carman, Hovey, and Le Gallienne: this was the year that earned the four hirsute poets their reputation as "The Angora School of Poets," and that caused an embarrassed Roberts to cut his hair and adopt the trademark black ribbon that forever after adorned his eye-glasses.

Within just a few months of joining the Illustrated American Roberts had begun to find the salary incommensurate with the workload, writing to Stedman that he would even prefer editorial work on one of the big dailies, "where my work would at least be done when it is done," and asking for a recommendation for a rumoured opening on the North American Review. On 11 October, he wrote Stedman again, this time asking for support in his bid to replace George Washington Cable as the editor of Current Literature--a position, he wrote, that "ought to be better than this thing of mine here, which is but \$30.00 a week & no prospects!"<sup>86</sup> Just five days later, Roberts' oldest son, fifteen-year-old Athelstan, died suddenly in Fredericton, a tragedy that very nearly brought an end to Roberts' stay in New York when his wife pleaded with him after the funeral to remain in Fredericton. But as his biographer John Coldwell Adams explains, his grief aside, Roberts was still convinced that "his only hope of establishing a solid reputation lay in New York," and the day after Athelstan's funeral he returned to the city (76). With

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<sup>86</sup>Roberts to Edmund Clarence Stedman, 30 May and 11 Oct. 1897 (Boone 233, 235).



both the North American and the Current positions failing to materialize, he had no choice but to continue on for the fall at the Illustrated American. Three months later, in mid-January of 1898, he resigned from the magazine, again to attempt a career as a free-lancer. A month or so later, Bellamy also quit the still unprofitable weekly, which finally expired in 1900.

Roberts' first book as a New York free-lancer, the appropriately titled New York Nocturnes and Other Poems, appeared in early April of 1898. Published by the small Boston house of Lamson, Wolfe & Company (his publisher since Earth's Enigmas in 1896), this fifth collection of Roberts' verse contained for the first time a substantial number of love poems (about half the volume), the urban setting of which suggests that there were personal as well as literary reasons for his continued residence in New York. Roberts' first stateside volume of verse met with mixed reviews, perhaps partly because, as James Doyle suggests, he was by then an established enough poet not to merit "the indulgence sometimes granted promising neophytes" ("American" 105). Although it too encountered critical opposition, Roberts' first novel, The Forge in the Forest, had the year before become a popular success, making it on to the Bookman's bestseller lists in May of 1897, where it remained for another three months. Whether because of this more rewarding reception as a novelist than as a poet, or because Roberts was perceptive enough to note

the declining interest in poetry in general,<sup>87</sup> that spring and summer of 1898 he turned his energies not to poetry but to fiction, in particular to the Acadian romances that launched his career as a novelist. Working in New York and for a few weeks in August in Fredericton, Roberts quickly completed a follow-up novel to The Forge in the Forest, A Sister to Evangeline, and wrote several short stories with the same setting and some of the same characters.

Fiction set in the present-day or historical Maritimes was not new to Roberts: his first published prose, in fact, a series for the University of New Brunswick's University Monthly of 1882-83, had pretended to narrate a late eighteenth-century excursion on the Squatook waterway. In 1884-85, he published a series of sketches on "Old Acadia" in Chicago's Current, and his first short story for the Youth's Companion (30 June 1887) had a Maritime setting, as did many of the melodramas of tide and camp collected in Earth's Enigmas in 1896. His first book of fiction, the juvenile Raid from Beauséjour (1894), collected "Two Stories of Acadie." But it was Lamson, Wolfe's release of The Forge in the Forest in the spring of 1897 that established Roberts as one of the new romantics that Carman had identified three years before in his attack on the "effeminate" realists. Although arguably carried away by their relation with Roberts, the

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<sup>87</sup>As early as May of 1889, after returning from a trip to Boston and New York during which he sold six short stories in as many days "for the tidy sum of \$150.00," Roberts had advised his cousin Carman to follow his example and "Write short stories, Old Boy" (Boone 108).

Bookman's praise for an advance copy of his first novel provides a clear indication of the antimodern longings to which the new romantics appealed: "it is a story," the journal said, "to shake the torpor from the brain and to keep the soul alive. It is charged with romance, and works like wine." A month later, the Bookman's assistant editor praised The Forge in the Forest in phrases that could have been lifted intact from Carman's article, noting that "Nowadays, where there is so much 'tootling on the sentimental flute in literature,' it is inspiring to come across a book that 'goes to the head of the march to sound the heady drums.'"<sup>88</sup> In the course of his review MacArthur also twice suggested Roberts' debt to Robert Louis Stevenson, whom Carman had identified as one of the leaders of the new romantic movement; obviously not displeased with the comparison, Roberts years later allowed Elsie Pomeroy to write in her biography that the publication of his second novel "definitely established the Roberts tradition of prose which is, perhaps, more akin to the tradition of Robert Louis Stevenson than to that of any other school" (152).

That second novel appeared late in 1898 under the Lamson, Wolfe imprint. In some ways a sequel to The Forge in the Forest, A Sister to Evangeline is set a decade later, in the year of the Acadian Deportation. Like its predecessor, it is unabashedly a romance: its hero, soldier-poet Captain Paul Grande, is the best

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<sup>88</sup>"Chronicle and Comment," Bookman Mar. 1897: 11; James MacArthur, "A Gentleman of New France," rev. of The Forge in the Forest, Bookman Apr. 1897: 162.

swordsman in New France; his lover Yvonne de Lamourie is the most intelligent and beautiful woman in all of Acadia; and their enemy, the evil Black Abbé, is the blackest villain in the region's history. It is also, of course, a historical romance, in which genre its most obvious debt is announced in its title. Like many others of the countless historical romances unleashed upon North Americans in the latter half of the nineteenth century, A Sister to Evangeline profited from its association with Longfellow's 1847 poem, Evangeline: A Tale of Acadie. Both plots turn on the separation of a pair of young Acadian lovers by the Deportation, and Roberts paints in the same pastoral strokes as his American predecessor, though his more concrete details might suggest a desire to demonstrate his greater authority to write about the region (Longfellow never visited Grand Pré). Here, however, the connections end: no doubt surprisingly to the contemporary reader, A Sister to Evangeline turns out to bespeak a metaphoric rather than an actual familial relationship. In fact, the title is the only mention of Evangeline in the novel. Quite clearly, then, Roberts' title was a bid to cash in on the success of probably the most popular of the century's historical romances: as even Pomeroy admits, Roberts' first two novels benefitted from the vogue for Acadian romances, "and this success had a most salutary effect upon his finances" (153).

Roberts' Acadian romances also appealed to editors and readers because they satisfied what Richard Ohmann has described as the social voyeurism of the new professional class. According

to Ohmann's persuasive argument, American regionalism of the 1890s functioned as a kind of tour guide, "mediating previously hidden lives to a readership of social voyeurs" (322).

Ultimately, the particular setting of these stories was unimportant--what mattered, says Ohmann, was that they were stories of "elsewhere," of places outside or beyond the social circles or geographic confines of their audience, places like O'Higgins' Lower East Side, Duncan's Little Syria, or Roberts' Acadia.

One of Roberts' Acadian short stories, "The Bewitchment of Lieutenant Hanworthy," provides a typical illustration of Ohmann's thesis. First published in the reinvented Saturday Evening Post of 19 November 1898 with illustrations by the New York artist Harrison Fisher, the story is the first-person account of an officer in the Boston expedition for the occupation of Port Royal who falls in love with an Acadian girl. A regionalist melodrama, the story is also an exercise in acculturation by simile--in translating the Maritime setting to and for an American audience. In his first paragraph, for instance, Hanworthy describes the wind blowing through the Port Royal (Annapolis) Valley as a bleaker version of that which he imagines to be blowing over "my own hill pastures of Salem." The story's occasion is a Thanksgiving dinner held for the occupying officers: the Acadians, we're told, do not observe this American feast, but they do have the raw ingredients, pumpkins, ducks, geese, and so on. All it takes is a little guidance for the

Acadian cook to produce for the officers "a pumpkin pie as might pass for the product of Duxbury or Dedham." As it turns out, a chance encounter with a young Acadian woman delays Hanworthy from the dinner, and she instead serves him Bordeaux and "some cakes of the country." "You shall have your Thanksgiving dinner, but translated into French!" she says. The phrase is an objective correlative for the story's project, a process of acculturation rendered concrete by the union of the English (and future American) officer and the French woman. Just as the Acadian pumpkins can be made over into American pumpkin pie, so too can the exotic Acadian woman (she's thought to be a witch) be made over into an American bride. Fisher's illustrations work to reinforce this notion: turkeys, nowhere mentioned in the story itself, strut across the bottom of one page, underlining the exoticism of romance with the comfort of the familiar. The combination must have appealed to the Post's new management, who ran Roberts' romance as their cover story during a subscription drive that by three weeks after his prose debut in the weekly had brought its circulation to 250,000, by far the highest it had ever seen, though a fraction of what it would later achieve.<sup>89</sup>

After completing the manuscript of A Sister to Evangeline in Fredericton Roberts returned to New York in September of 1898, this time taking up residence with his brother William at 105

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<sup>89</sup>"The Bewitchment of Lieutenant Hanworthy," Saturday Evening Post 19 Nov. 1898: 321-23. In December of 1913 the Post broke the two-million mark, then the largest magazine circulation in the world (Mott 4: 686, 694).

East 17th Street, a block north of Carman and Kennerley's flat. According to Frank Pollock, himself then staying on East 19th, by that winter Maria's restaurant had become "too self-consciously brilliant," and Canadians and their friends in the city were instead gathering at the Roberts' top-floor rooms, where, "at all hours of the day and night, one is likely to meet poets, painters, novelists, editors and publishers, either hailing from or dealing with the great Dominion."<sup>90</sup> At work during most of this fall and winter on a third Acadian romance that appears to have been abandoned for or perhaps transformed into the backwoods fable The Heart of the Ancient Wood,<sup>91</sup> Roberts also continued to write short Acadian stories and sketches that appeared in the Post and the Atlantic Monthly, and did some reviewing work for Scribner's Book Buyer. The following May, the Boston house of Silver, Burdett & Company (for whom Frank Bellamy had gone to work after quitting the Illustrated American) sent Roberts to England on an all-expenses paid contract to write a history of England for "young Americans."<sup>92</sup> As it turned out, Roberts spent his seven months in England (accompanied by Will and Roberts'

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<sup>90</sup>Frank L. Pollock, "Canadian Writers in New York," Acta Victoriana (Toronto) Apr. 1899: 435.

<sup>91</sup>See the New York Bookman's "Chronicle and Comment" for October 1898, December 1898, and October 1899, in which this book is described as a third volume in Roberts' Acadian trilogy with the working title of Leopards and Lilies (Dec. 1898: 297) and later Green Walls and Red Waters (Oct. 1899: 107).

<sup>92</sup>Roberts to George Parkin, 29 Apr. 1899, and to Susan Hayes Ward, 1 May 1899 (Boone 251-52).

second son, fourteen-year-old Lloyd) "chiefly dissipating" and failed to produce the contracted history, but he did make a number of important connections, notably with the Windsor Magazine, a few years later to become his most loyal outlet for animal stories, and began work on what he called "my best romance," The Heart of the Ancient Wood.<sup>93</sup>

On his return to New York in early January of 1900 Roberts occupied an address on West 103rd, but that December he moved downtown again, renting a furnished top-floor flat at 22 West 9th Street from Mark Twain's friend and later biographer Albert Bigelow Paine. A two-minute walk from storied Washington Square, and right next door to the Casa Napoleon, the Franco-Spanish hotel and restaurant that provided a home to many of Thomas Janvier's characters as well as a setting for Howells' The World of Chance,<sup>94</sup> Roberts' flat in the staid old brownstone was an "airy-looking, sky-lighted, well-furnished studio apartment, littered with rare prints, and cabinetted chinaware, and ponderous bookshelves."<sup>95</sup> Like his last address, it became "a centre of hospitality among the literati of New York," as well as a more permanent home for others: Carman shared the space off and

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<sup>93</sup>Roberts to Bliss Carman, 13 Aug. 1899, and to Edmund Clarence Stedman, 3 Feb. 1900 (Boone 255, 257).

<sup>94</sup>Arthur Bartlett Maurice, "New York in Fiction: Part II," Bookman Oct. 1899: 133-34.

<sup>95</sup>Arthur Stringer, "Eminent Canadians in New York: The Father of Canadian Poetry," National Monthly of Canada (Toronto) Feb. 1904: 61. Presumably the prints and china were, like the furniture, Paine's, then absent in the South.



on when not summering with Mrs. King in the Catskills, Will moved in sometime after his return from England, the artist Frank Verbeck occupied the flat's other half, Lloyd joined his father in 1903, and George Lynch, an Irish war correspondent, stayed for nearly a year (Pomeroy 163-64). Cramped but romantically located in the centre of the Bohemian district, the flat was Roberts' home for five years, after which he, Will, and Lloyd moved to more spacious quarters in a top-floor studio at 226 Fifth Avenue, a block away from the Outing offices that were by then employing Lloyd as well as Canadians Edwyn Sandys and possibly Agnes C. Laut.<sup>96</sup>

During Roberts' first year back in New York, Silver, Burdett (his publisher since the failure of Lamson, Wolfe the previous March) brought out a collection of his Acadian stories, By the Marshes of Minas, and reprinted his novel The Heart of the Ancient Wood from its appearance in Lippincott's Magazine. The novel, about a young girl growing up with animals for company in the New Brunswick wilderness, was favourably reviewed (especially in Canada), but the historical tales met with a more lukewarm reception. These reviews may have been partially responsible for Roberts' move around this time away from Acadian romances and toward the animal stories that would dominate the rest of his career, but the principal cause, says his latest biographer, was

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<sup>96</sup>The earliest date for Laut's tenure on Outing is Morgan's Canadian Men and Woman of the Time of 1912, but she was probably on staff earlier, and certainly contributed earlier (see Mott 4: 637).

the phenomenal success of his friend Ernest Thompson Seton's Wild Animals I Have Known. As Adams notes, Roberts had of course been publishing "realistic" animal stories since well before 1900. But although the present consensus is that these early stories (notably 1892's "Do Seek Their Meat from God") represent his best efforts in the genre, at the time Roberts had difficulty placing them with editors, and he "abandon[ed] the form."<sup>97</sup> After the publication in 1898 of Seton's Wild Animals I Have Known (which Roberts had advised him to write), however, animal stories were suddenly in demand, and Roberts, says Adams, "was quick to take advantage of the ready market" (82-83).

He could not have known it, but by the time Roberts returned to the animal-fiction market there weren't many years left in its boom. He made the most of it, publishing some forty animal stories between 1900 and his departure from New York in 1907 in magazines such as Outing, the Youth's Companion, Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly, the Metropolitan, McClure's, and the Saturday Evening Post. Many of these were reprinted in English magazines, notably the Windsor Magazine, and some few (two located) in Canadian magazines. Although he continued to publish work in other genres during this period--including his collected Poems in 1901, the historical novel Barbara Ladd in 1902, a book of new verse in 1903, and the autobiographical novel The Heart That

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<sup>97</sup>Between 1892 and 1900 Roberts actually published at least ten more animal stories, most in juveniles such as the Youth's Companion and St. Nicholas--I'm certain Adams knew this, but didn't consider them examples of the "realistic" animal stories Roberts was having difficulty selling.

Knows in 1906--none of these attracted the praise or even attention his animal stories were receiving.<sup>98</sup> The Nation, for instance, called his first collection completely devoted to the genre, The Kindred of the Wild (1902), "a masterpiece of its kind," while the Dial remarked of the same book that "Mr. Roberts's animal stories are unsurpassed."<sup>99</sup> Two more collections, The Watchers of the Trails in 1904 and The Hunters of the Silences in 1907, were received with similar enthusiasm. Probably his most widely reviewed book in the genre was the animal novel Red Fox (1905), which the New York Times called "a rare thing among animal biographies," the Independent thought "as charming in style as it is in atmosphere," and the Outlook described as having "one of the most interesting characters in all the annals of woods life" (BRD 1905). In what must have been a difficult moment for Seton, when his own Biography of a Silver Fox appeared in 1909, the Times compared it to Roberts' earlier book, concluding that "Mr. Roberts's chief advantage over Mr. Seton, aside from priority of publication, is that his is the better, more vivid, and more dramatic story" (BRD 1909).

Most of Roberts' animal stories during this period were actually a hybrid of literary cultures, combining the animal story with the Maritime setting of his regionalist romances.

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<sup>98</sup>Barbara Ladd, set in New England during the American Revolution, apparently sold 80,000 copies in the States, but was generally reviewed as, in the words of one, "no worse than the majority of Revolutionary romances" (Adams 93-94).

<sup>99</sup>Nation 3 July 1902: 16; Dial 16 Oct. 1902: 240.

This combination, together with Roberts' superior ability as a stylist and his comparatively lesser pretence to documentary accuracy, explains why he weathered the "Nature Fakir" storm better than Seton, and why he was able to continue selling animal stories after their fall from fashion. As a regionalist, Roberts was generally less interested than Stringer, O'Higgins, or even Duncan in bolstering his authority with local details of speech, dress, and so on, and this trait carried over into his animal stories, of which Stringer once remarked that "we sniff no taint of the midnight oil, catch no sight of the plodding and quibbling naturalist, chained to the tyranny of facts and laws." Like the other new romantics, Roberts was ultimately more interested in telling a dramatic story than in telling the truth, and his romanticism saved him from criticisms of his realism. Burroughs in 1903 largely exempted Roberts from his attack on the new school of nature writing, remarking that unlike Seton's, Roberts' animal stories never deceived the reader into thinking that they were true, and even Roosevelt, who had particular objections to the abilities of one of Roberts' animals (an especially heroic lynx), nonetheless allowed that many of his animal stories were "avowedly fairy tales, and no one is deceived by them."<sup>100</sup> What Burroughs and Roosevelt could not do, however, public taste could: after Roberts' move to England, the Windsor Magazine

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<sup>100</sup>Stringer, "Eminent Canadians in New York: The Father of Canadian Poetry," National Monthly of Canada Feb. 1904: 63; Burroughs, "Real and Sham Natural History," Atlantic Monthly Mar. 1903: 299; Edward B. Clark, "Roosevelt on the Nature Fakirs," Everybody's Magazine June 1907: 773.

became typically his first and increasingly his only outlet for the genre.<sup>101</sup>

Roberts sailed for Europe in November of 1907; it would be nearly eighteen years before he returned to North America, this time to a hero's welcome in Canada, where, if still not paid, he was at least feted, cheered, medalled, and eventually knighted. Measured in aesthetic or financial terms, Roberts was not the most successful of the Canadian expatriates: he came late to both of the literary cultures that sustained him during his expatriate years, and other Canadians in New York appeared earlier and more often in the city's best new magazines. He never attained the wealth of Palmer Cox, Ernest Seton Thompson, or even his brother William; in fact, he lived one step ahead of his creditors for most of his life. And yet, Roberts' move to New York was probably the single most important symbolic loss for Canadian literature of his day, an importance hinted at by his reception upon his return and by the Week's ardent denial of rumours of his departure back in the spring of 1895. "Owing to the lack of a literary career in Canada," the Week had said, "it is necessary that one's literary work should be marketed in the States, but

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<sup>101</sup>See, as grim evidence of Roberts' fall from grace with American editors, his undated letter (probably 1908) from London to Ladies' Home Journal managing editor William Valentine Alexander complaining about Alexander's failure to respond to several animal stories he had submitted. "America," Roberts wrote, "is leaving me so badly & so inexplicably in the lurch, that on Monday I was compelled, by most bitter stress & distress, to cable Mr Bok, begging him to send me three hundred by wire" (Boone 290). None of the animal stories Roberts mentions in this letter was ever published in Edward Bok's Journal or its sister publication the Saturday Evening Post.

Roberts is too thorough a Canadian to leave his own country permanently. His tastes and sympathies are all Canadian, and however lofty a place he may win in the literary world Canada will be able to claim him as her son."<sup>102</sup> In 1955, Desmond Pacey quoted from this notice in his introduction to The Selected Poems of Sir Charles G.D. Roberts, using it to demonstrate the nationalism that he argued kept Roberts for so long from heeding his reasons for leaving Canada. Those reasons, said Pacey, were Roberts' natural restlessness, his insufficient salary at King's, his estrangement from his wife, the "insidious suggestion" that he was wasting his talents describing Maritime scenes, and the general decline of Canadian idealism in the 1890s (xiv-xvii). These are all good reasons, but as an explanation of Canada's literary exodus (which Pacey intends the last to be) they leave out more than they include, an oversight I hope my first chapter has rectified. They also leave out the reason Roberts himself gave for his departure, or rather they recast that reason in Pacey's terms. Expressing a viewpoint typical of his generation of Canadian critics, Pacey ultimately said that Roberts abandoned Canada because he was "bewitched by the goddess of Success" (xviii). Expressing a viewpoint typical of his generation of Canadian authors, Roberts said: "I did my literary work in New York where my market was."<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>102</sup>"Personal," Week 17 May 1895: 595.

<sup>103</sup>Roberts, "Some Reminiscences of Bliss Carman in New York (1896-1906)," Canadian Poetry Magazine 5.2 (1940): 6.

## Chapter 5

### Recriminations

With the leading and significant exception of James Doyle of Wilfrid Laurier University, present critical interest in Canada's literary exodus to the United States ranges from low to non-existent.<sup>1</sup> There is a perfectly valid reason for this. In 1926, Thomas Beer remarked in his iconoclastic history of the American 1890s that the literary legacy of New York's magazine boom was "an amassed competence of journalism, some wit and an enormity of tiresome fiction" (160-61), and for critics whose aesthetic was formed in the crucible of literary modernism and the New Criticism, that remark could have titled the present study. On most days, I'm one of those critics: I try to resist judging anything but modernism by modernist values, but I'm not always successful, and in any event I'm not going to try to make a case for a forgotten Henry James or Sara Jeannette Duncan among the New York expatriates. I do want, however, to argue the vital historical importance of the movement in which they participated to the development of Canadian literature. But first, we need to bring the story of the expatriates to a close by looking at their fate in their adopted and native countries, and at some not so

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<sup>1</sup>Professor Doyle, to whom I am indebted both for his published work and for a gracious letter of encouragement, has since moved on to another field of inquiry (letter to the author, 1 June 1996). For other recent exceptions to this rule, see Carole Gerson's "Canadian Women Writers and American Markets, 1880-1940" and Gwendolyn Davies' "The Elephant and the Primrose: The Pratt Sisters in New York."

valid reasons (cast as but ultimately separable from aesthetic judgments) for their neglect in the latter.

#### **All the Critics Love U in New York**

During the peak years of the literary exodus Canadian writers figured prominently and frequently in the literary journalism of New York. The substantial Canadian presence in the New York Bookman over the first five years of its existence, to take as a representative example the city's preeminent literary monthly, is, I suspect, proportionately greater than the Canadian presence in the city itself. Between its premier issue in February of 1895 and the end of the century (as well as after) Canadian authors were regularly published and reviewed in the Bookman's pages, noticed and photographed in its "Chronicle and Comment" section, and listed in its new bestseller lists. Most were expatriates: Charles G.D. Roberts led the pack with no fewer than two dozen appearances (in 1897, the year of his arrival in New York, he appeared in seven of the twelve issues), Bliss Carman followed with twenty, and Ernest Thompson Seton appeared eight times in the two years after his first notice in the magazine in December of 1898. Arthur Stringer appeared eight times in 1899-1900, and Palmer Cox, Norman Duncan, William Carman Roberts, M. Bouchier Sanford, and publisher George Munro all managed at least one notice before the century's end. Moreover, it wasn't just the New York Canadians who received the Bookman's attention: Gilbert Parker, Robert Barr, Grant Allen, and Sara Jeannette



Duncan in England were all featured repeatedly, the first two as often as or more often than Roberts. Other expatriate Canadians appearing at least once over this period included E.W. Thomson in Boston, Marshall Saunders in California, Ethelwyn Wetherald in Philadelphia, Thomas O'Hagan in Chicago, and Cecilia Viets Jamison in New Orleans, as well as stay-at-homes William Wilfred Campbell, Ralph Connor, Lily Dougall (who left for England in 1900), E. Pauline Johnson, Archibald Lampman, T.G. Marquis, Jean McIlwraith (expatriated to New York in 1902), William McLennan, J. Macdonald Oxley, Duncan Campbell Scott, and Francis Sherman. In one issue, for December of 1896, the Bookman praised Francis Sherman's Matins, reported that Charles G.D. Roberts had completed his first novel, published one of Sherman's poems, and puffed new books by Roberts, Thomson, Oxley, and Jamison in its Christmas survey of "Books for Boys and Girls." This was an unusually high Canadian content, but on average two to three Canadians appeared in each issue of the Bookman over this period.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup>Of course, not all of these notices were flattering: George Munro, for instance, earned the Bookman's ire for his pirated translation of Edmond Rostand's hit play Cyrano de Bergerac. "The publishers," said the Bookman, "not only give the translators' names unblushingly, but print on the title-page, 'Copyright, 1898, by George Munro's Sons,' though what they have to copyright does not seem obvious unless it be the advertisement of Mrs. Winslow's Soothing Syrup and the Model Letter-Writer and Lovers' Oracle on the next page, or 'Laura Jean Libbey's Charming Stories' which are advertised at the end of the play. M. Rostand and Laura Jean Libbey! What a revenge on the French poet-dramatist for calling us 'a nation of thieves!'" ("Chronicle and Comment," Nov. 1898: 198).

In addition to notices, reviews, and interviews in the Bookman and other American periodicals, the New York expatriates appeared more substantially in several literary chat books of the period: Francis Whiting Halsey featured Ernest Thompson Seton in his American Authors and Their Homes (1901), Edward F. Harkins included a chapter on Roberts in his Little Pilgrimages Among the Men Who Have Written Famous Books (1902), and both Roberts and Carman landed chapters in Jessie B. Rittenhouse's The Younger American Poets (1904). Also in 1904, the first edition of Who's Who in New York City and State contained entries on Craven Langstroth Betts, Palmer Cox, Arthur Wentworth Eaton, Herbert F. Gunnison, Sophia Almon Hensley, George Vere Hobart, John Emery McLean, Charles Brodie Patterson, Sydney Reid, Charles G.D. Roberts, and Ernest Thompson Seton, the last receiving almost two columns, the same space accorded native New Yorker and sitting president Theodore Roosevelt.

On a more personal level, expatriate Canadians figured as well in the memories of their American contemporaries. In 1914, for instance, Richard Duffy remembered Carman along with Richard Hovey and others of New York's Bohemian 1890s (many of them regulars at Maria's restaurant) in the second of his "When They Were Twenty-One" sketches for the Bookman. Thomas Beer made mention of several Canadians in his 1926 history-cast-as-memoir, The Mauve Decade, including the "pink" Acton Davies, one of the "jaunty nothings who rolled dice for drinks in the old Metrôpole, the writers of smart plays, cheap songs, forgotten reviews" (87);

Irish-Canadian actor Julia Arthur, described by an American contemporary as "the supreme bloom of our national beauty" (36); and Toronto-born actor-turned-author Clara Morris, one of the few writers and even fewer women to receive Beer's praise (172).<sup>3</sup> Two years later, New York historian and former Maria's regular Henry Collins Brown included Canadians May Irwin, Clara Morris, Palmer Cox, John W. Lovell, and James Creelman in his cultural history of the city, In the Golden Nineties. Hamlin Garland, as a final example, recorded his encounters with several stateside Canadians in his literary autobiographies, including his first meeting with his long-time friend Ernest Thompson Seton at the New York Player's Club in October of 1896 (Roadside Meetings 326-27). Garland was also a friend of Roberts and Carman, and met Basil King during the novelist's residence in New York near the end of the War, as well as Gilbert Parker, Grant Allen, and Robert Barr on trips to England.

As has no doubt been evident from the preceding chapters, Canadian writers appear regularly in still the single most authoritative, extensive, and entertaining record of magazine publishing in America, the five-volume library of American culture that is Frank Luther Mott's History of American Magazines (1930-68). In fact, the frequency of their appearances itself graphs the history of the Canadian literary exodus: the volume

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<sup>3</sup>Richard Hovey appears in The Mauve Decade as part of a "distinguished but scattering and, of course, ineffective effort toward a primary sophistication in American letters," as does the Chap-Book (136), but not Carman.

covering the period from 1865 to 1885 contains eleven mentions of seven expatriate Canadian writers, while the 1885-1905 volume contains seventy-five mentions of twenty-three expatriates, and the 1905-1930 volume contains just six mentions of five expatriates. All told, twenty-four expatriate Canadian writers, editors, and publishers appear almost a hundred times in the final three volumes of Mott's History, with Carman appearing most often, followed by Roberts, Stringer, and Walter Blackburn Harte. After their number and frequency, the most striking aspect of the Canadian presence in the History is the number of times that Mott lists now forgotten or nearly forgotten Canadian names alongside well-known American names as "notable" contributors to a given magazine.

In 1964, four years before the posthumous publication of the final volume in Mott's History, a doctoral candidate at the University of Michigan completed a two-volume accounting of past and present Canadian authors in American libraries, university curricula, publishers' lists, anthologies, magazines, literary awards, best-seller lists, and reviews. As the first systematic study of its kind, Amos Robert Rogers' bibliographic labours were presumably intended to facilitate more analytical studies of the reception of Canadian authors in the United States. Ironically, however, at the same time that Rogers completed his study, barriers were being erected on both sides of the border against further study of the transnational connections his and Mott's research abundantly demonstrated.

Partly because of the settling of the American canon, but mostly because of the division of academic labour that is a necessary by-product of cultural nationalism, the 1960s marked the beginning of the disappearance of the Canadian expatriates of the 1880s and '90s from American studies of the period's literature. A few continued to appear in specialized works-- Palmer Cox, for instance, maintained a reduced mention in the fourth (1972) edition of May Hill Arbuthnot's much used textbook Children and Books, and in 1994 received a couple of pages in Gillian Avery's study of American children's literature--but in general Canadian authors began to be left to Canadian scholars. Of the studies of American literature that have been most useful to this project, for instance, no Canadians (expatriates or not) appear in Larzer Ziff's The American 1890s (1966), Herbert F. Smith's The Popular American Novel 1865-1920 (1980), or Richard H. Brodhead's Cultures of Letters (1993). Bliss Carman appears in T.J. Jackson Lears' No Place of Grace (1983) as a prominent antimodernist, but the only stateside Canadians in Richard Ohmann's 1996 study of American magazines and mass culture in the 1890s are brief references to publisher George Munro and to a short story by E.W. Thomson (323). Similarly incidental, the only Canadians mentioned in Ronald Weber's 1997 survey of professional writers in America are Munro and novelist May Agnes Fleming.

Critical discussion is not, of course, the only indicator of the expatriates' present status in the United States. It is

worth noting, too, that the Dictionary of American Biography contains entries on Cox, O'Higgins, and Seton, and that the sixth edition of The Oxford Companion to American Literature (1995) still retains entries for Carman, Cox, O'Higgins, Roberts, and Seton, as well as for Constance Lindsay Skinner. Perhaps the most important legacy from the expatriates' perspective, finally, would be the extent to which their work is still available for purchase. Here, those few that have survived in print would rediscover one of their reasons for leaving Canada in the first place: Carman's popular Songs from Vagabondia is still available, but only from a New York publisher (Gordon Press); two of Cox's Brownie books are in print with different American houses (a third is available from a British publisher); and Charles Brodie Patterson's two books in print are both from a New Mexico publisher (Sun Publishing in Santa Fé). Most strikingly, it might be fun to ask Margaret Atwood why, if Ernest Thompson Seton's animal stories are so "distinctively Canadian" (73), only two of his more than thirty books are in print in Canada today-- and why twenty-one of those books, as well as four individual stories, are in print in America, six from more than one publisher, and spanning the cultural gamut from mass-market children's books with updated illustrations to scholarly reprints in library editions.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>All publication information as of the October 1998 update of R.R. Bowker's Global Books in Print Plus CD-ROM.

### **Yes, But His Heart's in the Right Place**

Excepting the stereotype I discussed in the first chapter of the virile, reliable, and moral Canadian, which probably resulted in preferential acceptance rates for Canadian contributors to some American magazines, there are no discernible trends in the American reception of the Canadian expatriates: they were received as equals, and until the lowering of the nationalist barrier in the 1960s they were published and discussed alongside American writers. From the beginning, it was a very different story in Canada.

The earliest defining note in Canadian references to the expatriates is assertions of their continued loyalty to Canada, assertions that seem all the more anxious for their confidence. The first edition of Henry Morgan's Canadian Men and Women of the Time (1898), for instance, appended such statements to its expatriate entries with a frequency and phrasing that suggests an answer to a pointed question rather than volunteered information.

A sample:

Although living in the U.S., Miss B[rodlique] has a most lively faith in her own country. She is an anti-annexationist, and a believer in "Home Rule" for Can[ada], with only more amicable commercial relations with the Republic.

Miss H[ensley] describes herself as "a Can[adian] in thought, feeling, and expression." She is also an Imp[erial] Federationist.

If the following of letters has necessitated a rather cosmopolitan existence, we are sure from his [Jarvis's] writing that with him Eng[land] will always be his country and Can[ada] his home.

He [Daniel Logan] is a citizen of the republic of Hawaii, but has not waived his native allegiance.

More blatantly, Mary Temple Bayard's 1896 interview for the Canadian Magazine with journalist Eve Brodlique opened with a bathetic story of the homesick Brodlique sitting on the steps of her Chicago home sadly setting off fire-crackers in lone celebration of the Queen's birthday. "I am sure I now have your attention," Bayard ends the anecdote, "and that you are as anxious to hear anything more there is to be told of your patriotic little countrywoman as I am to tell it."<sup>5</sup> Other examples abound: the Week's review of Arthur Wentworth Eaton's Acadian Legends and Lyrics assured Canadians that Eaton's "heart [is] in the Dominion, though his bodily presence belongs to the literary circle of the American metropolis," and in the Canadian Magazine H.A. Bruce said of Arthur Stringer that "His work, no matter whereof he writes or sings, is fundamentally and characteristically Canadian" (Bruce, who was by this time himself an expatriate, skirts the problematic New York setting of Stringer's recent Loom of Destiny by describing it only as a "series of studies in child life").<sup>6</sup> Whether their subject was a writer or not, these and many similar exercises in reclamation

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<sup>5</sup>"Eve Brodlique," Canadian Magazine Oct. 1896: 515-16. Ironically, this is the same interview in which the "patriotic little countrywoman" (a year later elected president of the Chicago Press League) declared that she left Canada because of the sexism of its newspapers.

<sup>6</sup>Alchemist [W.D. Lighthall], rev. of Acadian Legends and Lyrics, Week 28 June 1889: 470; H[enry] A[ddington] Bruce, "Canadian Celebrities: XIV, Arthur J. Stringer," Canadian Magazine June 1900: 143, 145.



had the same two objectives: to assuage fears that migration to the United States was draining Canada of its best citizens, and to assure Canadians that there was something "fundamentally and characteristically Canadian," something that couldn't be lost by crossing a border.

Many of the expatriates cooperated with this project, especially early in their stateside careers, when the bridges to Canada were still there to risk burning. Sophie Hensley asked Canadians several years after arriving in New York not to forget that Canadian writers who had removed to other countries "still assert their claim to be sons and daughters of Canada." Stringer wrote home that "On the whole the Canadian in New York is not here for the fun of the thing. He has not left his native country for nothing, and feeling that the only compensation for the loss of old friends and old ties is that golden word 'Success,' he works, in his exile, like a Trojan. . . ." Desmond Pacey has suggested that the notice in the Week denying rumours of Roberts' departure for the States and asserting his loyalty to Canada was authorized by Roberts himself, and although there's no evidence to support this, there's no reason to doubt it either.<sup>7</sup>

Perhaps the most elaborate public statement by one of the expatriates on his ties to Canada was Stringer's "The Sons Beyond the Border," published in a two-page spread in the Canadian

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<sup>7</sup>Hensley, "Canadian Writers in New York," Dominion Illustrated Monthly May 1893: 195; Stringer, "Canadian Writers Who Are Winning Fame in New York," Montreal Herald 2 Mar. 1901: 11; Pacey, Introduction xvii.

Magazine for December 1899. In many ways a manifesto for the stateside expatriates, the poem affects to speak for them collectively, offering Canadians both an apologia for their departure and a promise of their return. Atypically, it doesn't stress financial causes, choosing instead to explain the move to America as the natural migration of youth:

But of old it was writ that the Son must turn from the roof  
of his sires,  
In quest what the Morrow demands, and not what his heart  
desires.  
So they who are born of our Homeland, e'en they whom the  
North gave birth,  
Must mingle with sons of the Southlands in the far-off ends  
of the earth. . . .

The poem's classical meter and echoes are common in Stringer's poetry, but here they're employed specifically to invoke the exiles of Odysseus and Aeneas, and thus to lend the Canadian exodus a classical patina of tragic but noble necessity. Like Hensley, Stringer pleads for Canadians to understand that although their writers reside elsewhere, they remain "Canadians to the heart-core, Canadian, blood and bone." For "all of the gold they lavish" upon them in the south, he says, the exiles need "the deeper passion and the more enduring praise" of their Northern kin, and they pledge to "work for you, till the name that is ours be yours," and until the time shall come to "turn to our Homelands, and some day know our own!"

Stringer, at least, did return to his homeland, but he eventually moved back to the States and in 1937 became an American citizen. Palmer Cox also became an American citizen, as did publishers John W. Lovell and George Doran. After several

aborted applications, Seton became an American citizen in 1931 when his lawyer suggested that the courts might favour his American wife in their impending divorce (Keller 207-09). The citizenship decision for most of the New York expatriates isn't known, but for those that are, about an equal number seem to have remained British (i.e., Canadian) subjects, a group that included Charles G.D. Roberts, Norman Duncan, and Bliss Carman. As many, however, seem to have shared Stringer's eventual conviction, expressed in his 1927 Dominion Day address to the Canadian Club of New York, that culture was a more fundamental determinant of identity than national allegiance. "We happen to speak the same language," said Stringer in explanation of the unique relation between Canadians and Americans, "and have to sit through the same atrocious movies; we can claim the same currency and the same chewing gum, the same love of liberty and ice water. We have the same social problems and the same slang; the same political ideals and the same baseball and peanuts and breakfast food and comic strips."<sup>8</sup> Some expatriates turned this belief into a political ideal, ranging from Graeme Mercer Adam, who converted from protectionism to free trade while still in Canada, to Craven Langstroth Betts, who contrarily "[set] himself down" for Morgan's handbook of Canadian biography as "An Annexationist, a Free Trader, a Populist and a Unitarian" (CM 1898). Ultimately, however, I suspect that for most of Canada's literary expatriates their daily allegiance was to extra-national literary

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<sup>8</sup>"Canadians Here Celebrate," New York Times 2 July 1927: 22.

cultures rather than to Canada, the United States, England, or any of the several projected forms of political union.

A complex example of this extra-national literary allegiance is the substantial number of lyrics of exile produced by the expatriate poets. In Carman's "The Ships of St. John," for instance, the speaker must sail with the ships for "far alien countries." Stringer's "Northern Pines" expresses the homesickness brought on by a stack of Christmas trees in a city street, while in a later poem, "The Voyageur on Broadway," the speaker says he's packed all through the Northern Barrens, but never seen anything so desolate as "your thousand-throated Babel of Steel / With its thousand towers of stone!" Roberts' "A Nocturne of Exile" fuses physical exile amid "the city's endless throng" with spiritual exile, while in Pollock's "The Lost Trail" the city's "slimy pavement" and "yellow gutters" awake "the desire of a homesick heart" for the "dark North woods." Some of these nostalgic lyrics were sent home to Canadian periodicals; less predictably, however, as many were printed in American magazines.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>Carman's "The Ships of St. John" first appeared in the Canadian Magazine of December 1893, and was reprinted on 13 November 1897 in Boston's Living Age. The only known publication for Stringer's "Northern Pines" is in Wilfred Campbell's 1913 Oxford Book of Canadian Verse, but presumably this is a reprint from some earlier source; "The Voyageur on Broadway" appeared in the Canadian Poetry Magazine in June 1937 (the same year Stringer became an American citizen). Roberts' "A Nocturne of Exile" first appeared in the Bookman of February 1898; Pollock's "The Lost Trail" was published in the Atlantic Monthly, May 1901.

There are several possible reasons why these poems found favour with American editors. First, their evocation of home scenes accommodated itself easily to the culture of regionalism, in which the actual region was less important than the fact of region. Second, they weren't the product of imagined emotions or borrowed philosophies; they were, or seemed to be, sincere, and sincerity is an attractive quality to an editor. But third, and I suspect most salient, although invariably uttered by "Northern" (rarely Canadian) speakers and structured around a north-south if never precisely Canadian-American division, these poems are in fact the product of a by then traditional American discourse, namely the criticism of the City. They are nostalgic evocations of the space left behind, yes, but they are also implicitly, and often explicitly, criticisms of the space their speakers now inhabit. As such, far from being alien to New York editors and readers, they were instantly recognizable as examples of a literary culture familiar to them since well before the Canadian arrival. By the 1890s New York had for half a century been represented as the archetypal unfeeling, overcrowded, and immoral metropolis against which poets, novelists, dramatists, and country editors championed the virtues of rural life. According to Herbert Smith, "A sample listing of the works that satirize New York society in the last half of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth would probably run nearly to book length" (71). To this list belong the Canadian lyrics of exile, as well as Stringer's The Silver Poppy, in which corruption in

New York's literary industry sends a struggling English writer home in defeat, and O'Higgins' Don-A-Dreams, a romance about the trials of a young Ontario dreamer in "cold, unfriendly" New York (360).

That it's ultimately this archetypal city that is the focus of the expatriates' lyrics is evident, finally, from an interesting case in Frank Pollock's bibliography. In December of 1897, after returning to his desk job in Toronto from a four-month camping and hunting trip in northern Ontario, Pollock privately printed in Toronto a lyric called "Where I Shall Hunt No More."<sup>10</sup> In the context of its publication, it is clear that the lyric is a regretful farewell to a hunting trip upon having to return to "the city's reek and fume and thunder," and that the city in question is Toronto. Six years later, in December of 1903 (at which time Pollock was probably living in New York), this same lyric was printed in Everybody's Magazine, but with some significant changes. Pollock changed the title from "Where I Shall Hunt No More" to "The Northern Trail," shifting the poem's emphasis from a farewell to hunting to a farewell to hunting in the North. He also replaced two lines in the second stanza,

Now the hounds run large, but for me no more for ever,  
The fox goes safe and the ducks rise full in view

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<sup>10</sup>"Where I Shall Hunt No More," A Four-Fold Greeting in Numbers for the Festival of Christe His Masse... (Toronto: n.p., 1897). The information about Pollock's activities at this time is derived from two sketches about his camping trip that he published in the Youth's Companion: "The Robber of the Traps" (28 July 1898: 351) and "My Indian Guest" (15 Sep. 1898: 424).

with the lines,

Now the trail leads long, but for me no more forever,  
Through the Northland that I knew.

Again, this change helped shift the focus from hunting to hunting specifically in "the Northland." All that remained was to change "grey" to "gray" in lines 9 and 17, publish the revised product in a New York magazine, and a Canadian poem complaining about Toronto's "reek and fume and thunder" had become an American poem complaining about New York's "reek and fume and thunder."

### **Cleansing the Waters**

As it turned out, for most of the expatriates it didn't matter to Canada whether they stayed Canadian at heart or not. During the exodus itself their achievements (as well as the generational bond with a million or so departed friends and relatives) had made it expedient for Canadians to justify, even celebrate, their "Sons Beyond the Border," but very soon, they and their movement began to be erased from the historical record. In 1914, T.G. Marquis concluded his survey of English-Canadian literature for the massive Canada and Its Provinces series with a brief admission of the extent to which Canadian literature had suffered from expatriation, whether to the States or "the mother country." "In either case," wrote Marquis, "these self-expatriated Canadians shape their style and feelings into harmony with their new conditions. They in time lose their Canadian colour and atmosphere and become a literary part of the country in which they have made their home. Parker, Carman, and [Norman] Duncan

have lost to a large extent their Canadian identity" (588-89). In addition to that factual but misleading neologism "self-expatriated," which managed to obscure the circumstances of the literary exodus with just four letters and a hyphen, this short passage introduced a recurring element into Canadian references to the expatriates: before, when the leading Canadian authors were almost all living in other countries, the task had been to assert that both their identity and their work remained "fundamentally and characteristically Canadian"; now, with a domestic literary scene finally emerging, the task became to deny the Canadian identity of the expatriates and their work, to downplay their achievements, and to celebrate instead those writers who stayed in Canada.

In Canadian culture as a whole, the crystallization of national and anti-American sentiment that followed upon the outbreak of war in 1914 was no doubt much more influential than Marquis' argument in fostering the estrangement in particular of those expatriates who called home a country that refused to come to England's aid.<sup>11</sup> Within the nascent field of Canadian literary history, however, Marquis' argument seems to have directly influenced his successor Archibald MacMechan, for whom the series

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<sup>11</sup>Ironically, several of the still stateside expatriates joined the war effort: Bliss Carman joined the Vigilantes, a group of New York writers and artists advocating American entry into the War (Gundy, Letters 247n); John Emery McLean worked for the Allies' Hospital Relief Commission in New York (New York Times 3 Aug. 1916: 20); and Harvey O'Higgins served as associate chairman of the counter-propaganda U.S. Committee of Public Information (DAB 14: 6).



in which Marquis' survey had appeared was an "indispensable storehouse of information" and a "conspicuous monument of Canadian pride" (195-96). Recalling the emigration of "men of letters" to the United States in the final chapter of his 1924 Head-Waters of Canadian Literature, MacMechan noted that after those "long lean years," Canada experienced a period between 1900 and 1914 of prosperity for the nation and "best sellers" for its authors. During this period, his book's "fifth literary movement," Canadian writers were "no longer compelled to exile themselves in Boston or New York; they remained at home, and were still able to market their wares outside of Canada to great advantage" (189-90). After discussing two examples of this new home-produced success in the genre of prose fiction (Ralph Connor and L.M. Montgomery), MacMechan quickly listed the other Canadian novelists of the fifth movement: Basil King, Arthur Stringer, Norman Duncan, Lily Dougall, Storer Clouston, W. Albert Hickman, E.W. Thomson, J. Macdonald Oxley, Robert Knowles, Marshall Saunders, and Alice Jones. The problem should be obvious: the thesis of the chapter is that the literary exodus had ended, but almost half of MacMechan's thirteen examples of domestic literary success in the post-exile period were by his own admission expatriates who "treated non-Canadian themes in their books" (213-14).<sup>12</sup> Less obviously, MacMechan also left out many "best

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<sup>12</sup>Virtually nothing is known about J. Storer Clouston; in fact, MacMechan's reference to him, which implies that he was an expatriate, is almost his only known record other than a novel, The Lunatic at Large (Toronto: Gage, 1899?).

selling" expatriate Canadian fictionists of the pre-War years: Robert Barr, Sara Jeannette Duncan, Winnifred Eaton, Agnes C. Laut, Jean McIlwraith, Gilbert Parker, Harvey O'Higgins, Charles G.D. Roberts, and Ernest Thompson Seton. MacMechan undoubtedly knew of most of these authors, but ignored them or hid them in his book's other "movements" because, like Marquis, he was concerned at every ripple in his Head-Waters to establish the Canadianness of Canadian literature, and such a literature could no longer admit expatriates.<sup>13</sup>

By the time the Literary History of Canada appeared in 1965 the story of the literary exodus and of most of its participants had been sealed for decades.<sup>14</sup> Despite their ambitious reading, general editor Carl F. Klinck and his contributors did little to reopen the story. Roy Daniells' introduction to the post-Confederation section described the period as the "Golden Age of high colonialism" and studiously avoided any mention of the migration to the United States, literary or otherwise (213). Gordon Roper devoted two pages in his "New Forces: New Fiction" chapter to the literary emigration, and was more willing than Daniells to discuss American cultural influences, but ultimately

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<sup>13</sup>MacMechan discusses Roberts' poetry and prose, for instance, in his chapter on Ontario writers because Roberts edited a Toronto magazine for about a year (actually, for four months) and because "there is nothing provincial" about his work (120). Carman appears in this same chapter because he was related to someone who once worked in Ontario (126).

<sup>14</sup>For convenience's sake, all references to the Literary History of Canada are to the more accessible second edition, printed in 1976.

argued that for young Canadian writers of the period "much the strongest influence was that of being native to a small town or rural community" (277). This argument set the terms of the next chapter, "The Kinds of Fiction: 1880-1920," in which Roper and others argued that what "most distinguished" Canadian fiction of the period from British and American fiction was the Canadian writers' "experience of place" (299). Reinforcing Marquis' claim about the necessity of "Canadian colour," the arguments over these two chapters implicitly questioned the Canadianness of Canadian fiction that didn't show the influence of its author's nativity or that wasn't set in Canada. The examples in "The Kinds of Fiction" support this venture: Arthur Stringer's Lonely O'Malley is an Ontario kind of fiction (307), but his The Wire Tappers (set in New York) is a crime kind of fiction (326), although Stinson Jarvis's detective novel Geoffrey Hampstead (set in Toronto) is an Ontario kind of fiction (308). Ralph Connor's novel about religion in an Ontario lumber community (The Man from Glengarry) is an Ontario kind of fiction (306), but Norman Duncan's novel about religion in a Minnesota lumber community (The Measure of a Man) is a clergy kind of fiction (318); Sara Jeannette Duncan's novel about politics in small-town Ontario (The Imperialist) is an Ontario kind of fiction (307), but her novels about politics in India and England are political kinds of fiction (317). In the next chapter, finally, Roper's team provided capsule biographies of "the more skilful Canadian writers of these years" (327). Again conceding the literary

migration, the authors hastened to add that "not all Canadian writers were émigrés" (334). True enough, but of the twenty-seven writers profiled in this chapter, better than half were "émigrés." As in MacMechan's survey of forty years before, Roper, Beharriell, and Schieder's own examples quietly questioned their assertion of a literature made in Canada.

In addition to more complex methods, about which I'll have something to say later, the most common means of deleting the expatriates from Canada's cultural memory was to assert, as Marquis had, that they were no longer real Canadians. By the 1960s this project had been effective enough to prevent some of the most prominent expatriates from being remembered by the Literary History of Canada (notably Palmer Cox, but surely Sophia Hensley and Charles Brodie Patterson would also have merited at least a mention in the "Minor Poets" and "Philosophical Literature" sections), and to ensure that for others only their works with Canadian settings or subjects were noted. Largely thanks to Klinck and his team, however, the Canadian canon had by this time begun to take shape, and since a canon needs progenitors, those expatriates whose work manifested the "experience of place" that Roper had mentioned and that Northrop Frye rendered more memorably in the History's conclusion as the riddle "Where is here?" were suddenly candidates for repatriation. At least three of the stateside expatriates had produced a sizeable body of work that offered conspicuous answers to Frye's riddle: Charles G.D. Roberts, Bliss Carman, and Ernest

Thompson Seton. Roberts, of all the expatriates the most prominently represented in the Literary History, had conveniently repatriated himself by returning to Canada, but Carman's and Seton's continued residence in the United States made reclaiming them more of a challenge: it required not only demonstrating their Canadian identity, but also suppressing or at least rationalizing their American years.

With the ancestry of their canon at stake, Canadian critics rose to the challenge. Muriel Miller, for instance, repeatedly emphasized Canadian and when those ran out British influences upon Carman's career in her 1985 biography. Especially, Miller stressed the importance of Carman's return visits to the Maritimes: he may have been forced to live in what she called his "courtesy-country," but returning to Canada "was like recharging a battery" (6, 75). "Wherever his wanderings carried him," Miller concluded, "there had remained in Carman's work a 'mystical essence,' a 'nascent religious flavour' of his Canadian heritage--that uniqueness which emanates from the spirit of the land itself and is no narrow provincial or racial thing" (275-76). For Fred Bodsworth in a 1959 "Maclean's Flashback," Seton was also a "restless wanderer," but his Canadian-acquired love of the outdoors kept luring him back to the frontiers. "Here," said Bodsworth, "he found his real inspiration among birds and animals. And here the fame, fortune and artistic success that had eluded him in the cultural capitals of the world eventually

overtook him."<sup>15</sup> Putting aside his I hope rhetorical suggestion that Paris, New York, and London came looking for Seton in the wilderness ("Mr. Seton, I presume?"), Bodsworth, like Miller, aimed primarily to locate his subject's "real inspiration" in the Canadian landscape. He was at least willing, however, to discuss Seton's stateside years, which is more than can be said for Magdalene Redekop's Ernest Thompson Seton (1979), a short biography remarkable mainly for its determination to remove America from Seton's life. Chapters in which Seton is in Manitoba, London, or Paris, for instance, are titled as such, but chapters in which he's in America are titled by non-geographic keys, such as "The Naturalist as a Young Man," or "The Story-Teller," while his first decisive visit to New York gets a few short paragraphs at the end of a chapter called "Manitoba: The Golden Years." Most incredibly, Seton's account of hearing a Voice urging him to leave London and return to the Canadian prairies and then to move to New York is truncated by Redekop into a Voice urging him to "leave London and go to the plains of western Canada" (21).

These are only scattered examples, meant to suggest the means and the intensity of the desire to repatriate for Canada the right kind of literary ancestors. Not all of the expatriates were reclaimed, however, and before exploring in more detail how the rest were excluded, it's worth taking another look at one

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<sup>15</sup>"The Backwoods Genius with the Magic Pen," Maclean's 6 June 1959: 22.

expatriate author whose success failed to win him a place in Canada's memory: Palmer Cox. With the possible exception of Lucy Maud Montgomery, Cox achieved more fame in his day than any other Canadian author before him, or since. And yet today, while every tree, stream, and shack remotely associated with the Anne legend is a designated heritage site, Cox's Brownie Castle is an apartment building, his body lies under a tombstone paid for by American school children, and his name is entirely absent from Canada's literary history. Why? After all, the main reason for Anne's continued popularity isn't her literary but her economic merits, and Cox's Brownies certainly offer as many possibilities as Anne has to exploit the tourist and collector market--the Brownies once adorned everything from lunch boxes to fine china, and there's no reason why they couldn't be doing it still. Further, although Cox became an American citizen, he was born and educated in Canada, and he returned to Canada to build his home: in fact, over his life he spent as many or more years in Quebec than Montgomery did in Prince Edward Island. As Cox's American biographer puts it, "Although Palmer Cox achieved his fame in the United States, he kept returning to Canada. Both countries shaped his career, and to both he belonged" (Cummins 15).

Ultimately, I can think of three main reasons why Canada has remembered Montgomery and forgotten Cox. First, Cox left Canada, and although Montgomery toyed with the idea of moving to the States, she never did, because, she said, of her preference for her Island's rural pleasures, but also because the phenomenal

success of Anne meant that America was uniquely willing to come to her.<sup>16</sup> Second, Montgomery's Scottish-settled community stayed Scottish, but Cox's Scottish-settled community became a largely Francophone town, and although there were some local efforts in the 1970s by a non-profit group "qui travaille depuis deux ans à la réévaluation de l'oeuvre de Cox," I doubt that his English-speaking Brownies could ever rank high on the cultural agenda of a separatist Quebec. Finally, although Cox twice sent his Brownies into Canada, they went as tourists, not natives.<sup>17</sup> Unhappily for Cox, his work manifests experience of the wrong kind of place--places urban, modern, and American rather than places rural, quaint, and Canadian.

#### **A Tendency Toward Deterioration**

As Cox's fate suggests, the wrong kind of literary expatriates (and the wrong works by the right expatriates) have generally been excluded from Canadian literature by recourse to what Leon Surette called the "topocentric axiom" of that literature: that Canadian writing is informed by the Canadian soil, and that

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<sup>16</sup>L.M. Montgomery, journal entry for 11 Dec. 1910 (Rubio and Waterston 34). By 1910 Montgomery's importance to her publisher Lewis Page was such that Page had concluded his invitation to visit Boston with an offer to come to see her in Prince Edward Island should she be unable to make the trip--surely not an offer extended to many in Page's stable (Rubio and Waterston 19).

<sup>17</sup>Le Brownie: Le trimestriel des amis de Palmer Cox Inc. (Granby, Quebec) 1.1 (June 1979), n. pag. (so far as I know, this six-page photocopied pamphlet was the only issue); "The Brownies Around the World," Ladies' Home Journal Dec. 1892: 15; "The Brownies Visit Canada," Ladies' Home Journal Feb. 1894: 15.



writing severed from that soil ceases to be truly Canadian. Frequently, the corollary suggestion has arisen that the expatriates did their best work in Canada, and that their American experiences were either of no real importance or, more often, detrimental to their artistic development. For T.G. Marquis in 1914, the Manhattan stories in Norman Duncan's The Soul of the Street were "as fine as anything done in the short story in America, and indeed compare favourably with the short-story work of the greatest of British short-story writers." But the Newfoundland-set Doctor Luke, added Marquis, gave Duncan his place in modern literature, and when he turned away from that setting, he "lost something of his power" (556-57). Fifty years later, topocentrism had become so internalized in Canadian criticism as to prevent The Soul of the Street from receiving even a mention in the Literary History of Canada, and to preserve instead Marquis' argument about the necessity of Duncan's Newfoundland experiences, experiences that according to the History "provided him with feeling and material which brought out his best writing"--unlike, it also noted, Duncan's "American journalism," which "unfortunately seemed to encourage the sentimental and the didactic in his work" (Klinck 342).

Duncan was not the only expatriate author to suffer the recriminations of a topocentric criticism. In fact, one of the most hard done by was the returned hero Charles G.D. Roberts. As early as the year of Roberts' return, James Cappon anticipated the critical consensus by arguing that Roberts' Canadian nature

poems were his most important work, and that "The migration to New York did little for him as a poet . . ." (120). In mid-century, Desmond Pacey said in his introduction to Roberts' Selected Poems that "As far as his poetry is concerned, these years from 1897 to 1925 are the lost years" (xviii). Pacey was especially critical of Roberts' first stateside book of verse: "If there is a slight decline in The Book of the Native, there is a positive descent in New York Nocturnes. The poet himself seems conscious of weariness and a lack of true inspiration now that he has left his native Maritimes and become a New York journalist: many of the poems strike the note of ennui and frustration." Not until after his return to Canada would Roberts enjoy what Pacey called a "late revival of [his] poetic art" (xxii-xxiii).<sup>18</sup> By 1982, this argument had become so accepted that W.J. Keith could count on everyone present at that year's Roberts Symposium being "aware" that The Book of the Native (1896) marked the end of Roberts' "extraordinary promise in verse" (61-62).<sup>19</sup>

The topocentric axiom could also, of course, be used to reclaim expatriate authors and their work: Muriel Miller, for instance, used it effectively to rescue Carman from the clutches

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<sup>18</sup>Oddly, despite Pacey's low opinion of New York Nocturnes, he included five poems from it in the Selected Poems, only one fewer than from the book that marked Roberts' "late revival," The Vagrant of Time. The Book of the Rose, also from Roberts' "lost years," is represented by seven poems.

<sup>19</sup>Although he agreed with earlier critics that Roberts' earlier and later verse was his best, D.M.R. Bentley argued the year after the Mount Allison Symposium that Roberts' New York poems deserved more attention (see Clever 57-75).

of Mary Perry King, and Margaret Atwood used it in Survival to argue the Canadianness of Seton's story about an American wolf. So far less successfully, similar attempts have been made to rescue Peter McArthur and Constance Lindsay Skinner from oblivion: "the real McArthur," said his biographer, "was the McArthur who lived the simple life at Ekfrid after his return from the United States" (Lucas 159), and Diana M.A. Relke has argued that although Skinner spent her adult life in the States, "much of her creative work is set in western Canada; it is informed by her childhood experience and her extensive knowledge of Canadian history and native Indian culture" (DLB 92: 367). More often for the expatriates, however, the topocentric axiom has been deployed to reject rather than reclaim--as in, to give a last example, the case of Arthur Stringer. Aside from an unpublished 1983 PhD dissertation and an article a few years before on his poetry,<sup>20</sup> the only attention Stringer has received since his death has again been in the Literary History of Canada, where Roper and his team describe him as "one of the most competent and popular magazine writers of his day; he wrote a story that was fresh-spirited, fast-paced, dramatically told, with a sophisticated tone. His success in the popular field may have choked out the talent for more serious work that he revealed occasionally in a few of his books" (Klinck 340). In particular, Roper argued in the previous chapter, Stringer's Prairie trilogy

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<sup>20</sup>Barbara Meadowcroft, "Arthur Stringer as Man of Letters," McGill U, 1983; Don Precosky, "Two Early Modernists," J of Canadian Poetry 2.2 (1979): 13-27.

depicted Canadian ranch life with "honest realism," but was "marred" by its "Saturday Evening Post journalism" (313). Just as with Duncan and Roberts, the Canadian soil gave Stringer what was good about his art; the American literary industry, especially its mass-market magazines, gave him what was bad.

Ultimately, the frequent suggestion that the expatriates' American experiences blocked or weakened their development as writers probably owes much of its existence to topocentrism's more powerful and pervasive older brother, what Carl Berger called the "myth of the north." An especially virulent (and persistent) strain of Canadian nationalism, this myth is, as Berger shows, dependent upon a racist ideology which argued in its strongest version that northern races were by nature strong, self-reliant, and toughly moral, and that southern races were by nature weak, effeminate, and immoral. In its softer version, climate, whether northern or southern, developed the accompanying characteristics regardless of racial origin. Originating in age-old racial stereotypes inherited from Europe, and bolstered late in the century by a popularized version of social Darwinism, the myth was first given full voice in Canada by an associate of the Canada First movement (Robert Grant Haliburton) and subsequently manifested itself in discussions of the Canadianness of everything from art to agriculture, history to health.

From its beginnings, the myth was frequently employed as a basis for anti-Americanism. On the one hand, Canada's northern climate positively shaped the national character and discouraged

immigration from weaker southern nations; on the other, America's southern climate negatively shaped its national character, "sapping the energies of even those descendants of vigorous races," and encouraged massive immigration by the weaker races of southern Europe (Berger 14). As one of the myth's most forceful proponents noted thankfully in 1908, Italians, Greeks, Armenians, and Bulgarians were pouring into the United States, but not Canada, and the climate would weed out those few who did slip through: the "Canadian winter exercises upon the tramp a silent but well-nigh irresistible persuasion to shift to a warmer latitude" (qtd. in Berger 15, 17). (Ironically, these words were written by George Parkin, teacher and mentor to two Canadian "tramps" who had earlier heeded that "well-nigh irresistible persuasion": Roberts and Carman.) Perhaps unavoidably, the expatriates themselves helped to foster the myth. Stringer, for example, drew a clear distinction in "The Sons Beyond the Border" between the hardy northern exiles ("Not weaklings could our Northland mould, / Cubbed as they are in boreal cold") and the rich but "feverish" southerners among whom they worked.

There is, I think, a more than coincidental similarity between the terms of this nationalist myth and those used to describe the waning of the expatriates' creative powers upon their removal to the United States. Where George Parkin said that in the south "the tendency of the climate is toward deterioration," Desmond Pacey a half-century later found a "positive descent" in Roberts' poetry after his move to New York.

Where the Toronto Globe in 1869 noted the "effeminacy" engendered by a southern climate, the Literary History of Canada regretted that Norman Duncan's American journalism encouraged the "sentimental" in his work, "especially when he dealt with 'mother love.'" Where the Toronto Week declared in 1889 that Canadians were "broader shouldered, deeper chested, more heavily built," than their American neighbours, Pacey in 1950 concluded that those of Carman's poems "written under Hovey's influence seem to me to present us with the embarrassing spectacle of an effeminate man flexing his flabby muscles and pounding his skinny chest in public." And where Canadian ministers decried the loose morality of southern climes, former expatriate Peter McArthur reviewed his old friend Arthur Stringer's The Prairie Mother in the Globe as "a little too revealing about the intimacies of women."<sup>21</sup> The common element in these and other criticisms of the expatriates' stateside work is the "relaxing influence" of a southern climate; repeatedly, Canadian criticism on the expatriates has represented America as the place where the existing or potential literary virtues of a northern author are corrupted by the insidious softness of southern culture, especially southern journalism. In a final ironic twist of the cultural screw, the same stereotype that had once given Canadians preferential access to New York editors and publishers had now helped condemn them to obscurity.

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<sup>21</sup>Parkin and Toronto Globe qtd. in Berger 5; Pacey, Introduction xxii; Klinck, Literary History 342; J.H. Bowes, "Canadians and Americans," Week 1 Mar. 1889: 198; Pacey, "Bliss Carman" 3; McArthur's review qtd. in Lucas 78.

In more recent work on the stateside expatriates, the suggestion has again arisen that the American literary market was responsible for their failure to develop as writers. According to this argument, the economic rewards of publishing in genres familiar to American editors and their readers confined Canadian authors (expatriates or not) to traditional literary vehicles and discouraged them from experimenting with newer or more individual forms. As James Doyle put it in his 1990 essay on "Canadian Women Writers and the American Literary Milieu of the 1890s,"

The influence of American editors and critics was probably strong enough to make [Canadian women writers] conform to their expectations willingly, perhaps even with unquestioning acceptance of the literary assumptions involved. Still, one wonders what individualistic tendencies were suppressed in this authoritarian cultural climate--especially when the authorities were foreign. (33)

Four years later, Carole Gerson agreed, arguing that American market forces encouraged most Canadian women writers of the 1880s and after "to aim their sights at the popular romantic market rather than the loftier realms of high modernism" (111). (It is not, of course, entirely accidental that both these essays focus on women writers of the period, but their authors have elsewhere discussed these market forces affecting male Canadian writers;<sup>22</sup> I have quoted from their work on women because it happens in both cases to be their latest articulation of the argument.)

There is, I think, some truth to this argument, but I also think it overlooks what the preceding chapters have tried to

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<sup>22</sup>See, e.g., Doyle, "American" 112 and "Canadian Writers" 183; Gerson, Purer 110, 122.

demonstrate, namely that in several cases Canada's literary expatriates led rather than chased literary markets, that many more helped develop existing literary genres and cultures, and that, for all, the sheer variety of their literary and extra-literary stateside activities (as well as the range of success and failure) makes it difficult to think of them as displaying anything but "individualistic tendencies." Moreover, according to Richard Ohmann's recent study, the American mass market to which Doyle and Gerson refer was the product of synchronous and mutually sustaining objectives in the fields of capital, magazine publishing, and literary labour: Ohmann stresses that he found no evidence of direct collusion between mass-market magazine editors and their advertisers, and little evidence that these editors commissioned or even suggested particular kinds of fiction (293). Ohmann's findings don't, of course, refute the power of the market in which the expatriates worked (quite the opposite), but they do suggest that no less than their American counterparts, the expatriates' role in that market was more collaborative than conformist.

My main concern with Doyle's and Gerson's argument, however, is that it could be misinterpreted to suggest that the Canadian literary market would have served the expatriates better. As both critics were among the first to document, all evidence supports the contrary. Doyle pointed out in 1986, for instance, that aside from two short-lived little magazines (one in Toronto and one in Fredericton), fin de siècle Canada had no avant-garde



literary scene to speak of (178). As Gerson's A Purer Taste showed three years later, aside from a brief and qualified enjoyment of American (emphatically not French) realism in the mid-1880s, the taste of Canadian publishers of fiction and their readers throughout the 1880s and 1890s ran almost exclusively to light romances. American market forces may have impelled Canadian writers toward popular romance, but Canadian market forces gave otherwise inclined Canadian writers little choice but to submit their work elsewhere. As late as 1922, expatriate Isabel Paterson complained at length in the New York Bookman about the dominance of fiction about her native land by "machine-made romanticism." New Canadian fiction, warned Paterson, diverged from this solidly entrenched formula at its peril; "As for me," she said in closing, "I'm going to write about New York."<sup>23</sup>

#### **I Was So Much Older Then, I'm Younger Than That Now**

"With Confederation," wrote G. Mercer Adam in 1887,

Canadian literature burst into blossom, but the fruit, it must be said, has not quite borne out its spring-time promise. For a time literary enterprise felt the glow of national aspiration and the quickening of a new birth. But the flush on its face ere long passed off, and mental activity once more engrossed itself with material affairs.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>23</sup>"The Absentee Novelists of Canada," Bookman Apr. 1922: 133-38.

<sup>24</sup>"An Outline History of Canadian Literature," in An Abridged History of Canada, by William H. Withrow (Toronto: William Briggs, 1887) 221.

For Adam, as for many of his contemporaries, the exodus of Canadian writers in the 1880s and 1890s was a lamentable consequence of this unfulfilled literary promise. But what Adam did not foresee was that the fulfilment of Canada's literary promise was the exodus: the "fruit" he despaired of, to borrow one of his several metaphors, was about to ripen on an American vine.

In my first chapter, I discussed the absence of native literary models in Canada of the 1880s and early 1890s, arguing that there were no significant communities of authors in Canada during the years that most of the literary expatriates came of age. Soon after the exodus began in earnest, however, young Canadian writers began to come together around the personal, social, and professional addresses of prominent Canadian expatriates. Especially in New York, there were many such addresses: the Roberts' family colony at Miss Kelly's boarding house, for instance, or the Art Students' League where Seton, Broughton, Hambidge, and McKellar studied, or Erastus Wiman's Canadian Club, or Maria's where Carman and Roberts held court, or McArthur's offices at Truth, or the Fifth Avenue attic of Stringer, O'Higgins, and McFarlane.

During the late 1880s and 1890s Canadian writers and illustrators gathered at these and other New York settings to study, discuss each other's work, curse witless reviewers, borrow and occasionally pay back money, and celebrate their successes and drown their failures. Here, Canadians found literary models:

American and English models, to be sure, but also Canadian models, especially the convivial Roberts, "chief" of New York's "Canadian artistic colony," and the aloof Seton, who kept to more elevated circles but whose photograph staring bushily from the pages of the city's magazines was by century's end a regular reminder of the success a Canadian could achieve with a pen.<sup>25</sup> Here, Canadians found living literary communities, social and professional associations of writers and artists whose memberships reached back into Canada. In 1886, for instance, the Canadian Club of New York sponsored a series of readings for its more than two hundred members, their guests, and, atypically, their wives and daughters at the Club's East 29th Street home by visiting Canadian speakers, including Goldwin Smith, J.W. Bengough, George Stewart Jr., George Grant, and Charles G.D. Roberts.<sup>26</sup> Four years later, Bliss Carman's desk at the New York Independent became the focal point of an epistolary exchange of poems and criticisms with Roberts in Windsor and Wilfred Campbell, Archibald Lampman, and Duncan Campbell Scott in Ottawa. As the editor of the Ottawa poets' letters to Carman comments, "Collectively, the letters point to an impressive solidarity among the Confederation poets, who truly were a 'school' of poets at this time" (Ware 46).

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<sup>25</sup>Pollock, "Canadian Writers in New York," Acta Victoriana Apr. 1899: 436, 434; Stringer, "Canadian Writers Who Are Winning Fame in New York," Montreal Herald 2 Mar. 1901: 11.

<sup>26</sup>G[eorge] M[oores] Fairchild, ed., Canadian Leaves; History, Art, Science, Literature, Commerce: A Series of New Papers Read Before the Canadian Club of New York (New York: N. Thompson, 1887).

The most tangible evidence of these communities is the extent to which stateside Canadians helped resident as well as expatriate Canadians into American print and American positions. Carman, to begin with arguably the most diligent example, published Roberts, Lampman, Campbell, Scott, and Gilbert Parker in the Independent and Roberts, Lampman, and Parker in the Chap-Book, and during the 1890s reviewed or wrote about Roberts, Lampman, Parker, Seton, Francis Sherman, and Isabella Valancy Crawford in American newspapers and magazines.<sup>27</sup> He appears to have been partly responsible for bringing Wolfville native Minnie Prat to New York, where she and her sister May Rosina established an arts and crafts influenced book bindery, and tried (unsuccessfully) to convince Small, Maynard to bring out a collection of Peter McArthur's short stories.<sup>28</sup> Carman was especially active in his support of Gilbert Parker, whom he met in the summer of 1890 when Parker visited the Independent offices during a trip to New York. Shortly afterward the Independent published Parker's "The Patrol of the Cypress Hills," and other stories followed in the weekly from the collection later issued as Pierre and His People. According to Muriel Miller, by 1891 Carman was acting as Parker's "American agent" (75); certainly he

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<sup>27</sup>"Mr. Gilbert Parker," Chap-Book 1 Nov. 1894: 339-43; "Chronicle and Comment," Bookman Sep. 1899: 8-9 (Carman quoted praising Seton's "The Trail of the Sandhill Stag"); rev. of Francis Sherman's Matins, Bookman Mar. 1897: 75-76; for remainder see Whalen 79n3.

<sup>28</sup>Davies, "The Elephant and the Primrose" 129; Carman to Herbert Small, 7 July 1889 (Gundy, Letters 126).

expanded his efforts beyond the pages of the Independent, asking a friend in publishing to read Parker's stories "with a view to American publication," and later praising Pierre in the Chap-Book as the work of "one of the half dozen English novelists to whom the opening of the twentieth century is likely to belong."<sup>29</sup>

Although she may have overstated Carman's importance, Sophia Hensley informed Canadians in 1893 that Parker was "comparatively unsuccessful in London" until his meeting with Carman, who "with his usual quiet perspicacity singled him out for special commendation in the columns of the Independent and predicted the success that has since so persistently followed him."<sup>30</sup>

As already discussed, Peter McArthur aggressively published Canadian writers and illustrators in Truth during his editorship of the New York weekly. Edwyn Sandys probably had a hand in some of the many appearances in Outing by Canadian authors during his fifteen years on the magazine's editorial staff, especially those by his sister Grace Denison. Charles G.D. Roberts helped secure positions on New York magazines for his brothers William and Theodore within a year of his arrival in the city, and later found work for his son Lloyd as an office boy at McClure's (Adams 99)--all three went on from these beginnings to variously

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<sup>29</sup>"Mr. Gilbert Parker," *ibid.*; Carman to Arthur Stedman, 8 Apr. 1892 (Gundy, Letters 44). Stedman was literary editor of Charles Webster & Company of New York; the National Union Catalog does not list a Webster edition of Pierre, but its first authorized American edition seems to have been from Stone & Kimball in 1894, the year Carman began work for the Boston (later Chicago) house.

<sup>30</sup>"Canadian Writers in New York," Dominion Illustrated Monthly May 1893: 201.

successful literary careers. In Boston, Walter Blackburn Harte published Peter McArthur, Susan Frances Harrison, Agnes Maule Machar, and Ethelwyn Wetherald during his tenure as assistant editor of the New England Magazine in 1891-93, introduced his sister-in-law Edith Eaton to Americans in his own Fly Leaf in 1896, and, after returning to New York, printed work by Carman, Roberts, Wetherald, and Eaton in the Lotus, a little magazine published in Kansas City but edited by Harte from New York in 1896-97.<sup>31</sup> In addition to his own work, E.W. Thomson witnessed and almost certainly influenced the publication of close to two hundred articles, poems, stories, and serialized novels by Canadian authors during his ten years (1891-1901) as a revising editor for the Youth's Companion, including more than forty appearances by Wetherald, over thirty apiece by Roberts and Lampman, and around a half-dozen each by McArthur, D.C. Scott, Frank L. Pollock, William Wilfred Campbell, Theodore G. Roberts, and Stinson Jarvis.<sup>32</sup> Thomson also arranged for the publication of Lampman's Lyrics of Earth with Boston's Copeland & Day, and for an anonymous and as yet unlocated novel by Wetherald that may date from this period (DLB 99: 343).

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<sup>31</sup>Doyle, Fin de Siècle 50, 95, 109-10.

<sup>32</sup>See Moyles' "Young Canada" bibliography; for Jarvis, who wasn't known to Moyles as a Canadian, see Wollock's "Stinson Jarvis." Roberts was an established Companion author by the time of Thomson's arrival, but publication dates suggest that Thomson was at least partly responsible for the many appearances of his close friends Wetherald and Lampman.

This summary unavoidably exaggerates Canadian interaction in the United States: it is important to keep in mind that for every stateside Canadian publishing, promoting, or influencing another Canadian, there were many more and often much more influential relations with American editors and authors. Seton's closest literary friend was Hamlin Garland, whose western regionalism inspired Seton's Woodcraft League and later his "gospel of the Redman" (Wadland 314-15). Roberts may have found work for his brothers and son on New York magazines, but it was Frank Bellamy who brought Roberts himself to the city. Craven Langstroth Betts was closer to Edwin Arlington Robinson than any Canadian in the city known to me, and like Roberts found a mentor in Edmund Clarence Stedman; Bliss Carman reviewed or wrote about American authors much more often than he did Canadian authors. However helped into print by Canadian friends, an extraordinary amount of early Canadian literature would never have existed without Americans such as Herbert Stuart Stone, Laurens Maynard, Henry Mills Alden, Richard Watson Gilder, and Mary Mapes Dodge. This list could be extended indefinitely: the point I want to make is that expatriate Canadians worked within extra-national cultures of letters while in most cases maintaining and benefitting from associations with Canadian literary communities. The fact that Arthur Stringer made milk-punches for Bliss Carman in a Fifth Avenue flat is, I think, of genuine importance to a revised literary history of Canada, but it doesn't negate the fact that Stringer wrote crime stories and Carman wrote poems about

vagabonds. What those milk-punches do reveal is that the common experience of exile brought together Canadian writers from villages, towns, and cities across central and eastern Canada. Ironically, it took moving to New York to produce the communities of authors necessary to fulfil the literary promise of Confederation.

Although their cause has so far escaped notice, the effects of Canada's expatriate literary communities have become an established landmark in Canadian literary history. As early as 1899, Lawrence J. Burpee took the previous year to mark "the genuine and thorough awakening of the long dormant spirit of Canadian fiction," an awakening that, although "largely spontaneous," seemed to Burpee to be due also to the interest for native fiction created by five "well-known writers"--all of whom were expatriates.<sup>33</sup> In 1914, Marquis took 1890 as the boundary between the "more or less provincial" early Canadian writers of fiction, and "the modern school, influenced by world standards" (548-49). Again, of the twelve writers Marquis cited as examples of the "modern school," all seven of the most familiar names were or had been expatriates.<sup>34</sup> Years later, Gordon Roper quoted this passage from Marquis to introduce his "New Forces: New Fiction"

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<sup>33</sup>"Recent Canadian Fiction," *Forum* (NY) Aug. 1899: 754. The five "well-known writers" were Gilbert Parker, Sara Jeannette Duncan, Robert Barr, Grant Allen, and E.W. Thomson--for whatever reason, the New York expatriates got short shrift in Burpee's survey, with only Charles G.D. Roberts receiving a mention.

<sup>34</sup>Gilbert Parker, Sara Jeannette Duncan, Lily Dougall, Charles G.D. Roberts, Norman Duncan, E.W. Thomson, and Marshall Saunders.



chapter in the Literary History of Canada, adding in Marquis' support that "After 1890 the number of Canadians who wrote fiction increased rapidly. The number of volumes of new fiction doubled in the eighties and quadrupled in the nineties" (Klinck 274). And again, of the twenty-seven writers chosen from this field for profiles in Roper's "Writers of Fiction" chapter, better than half, and all but three of the better known names (Connor, Montgomery, and Leacock), were expatriates.<sup>35</sup>

The evidence suggests quite clearly, I think, that something resembling Confederation's long awaited literary promise finally arrived in Canada sometime in the late 1890s--and that it had to go through Customs to get there. On their own, the expatriates probably wrote something more than a third of the literary publications in this period; certainly they represented more than half of its more prolific writers. More important, however, the expatriates showed Canadian writers and publishers of their generation and the next that Canadians (and Americans) would buy books by Canadian authors. In his history of publishing in Canada, George L. Parker suggests that the string of best-selling books by Canadian authors brought out in the late 1890s and early 1900s by William Briggs of Toronto "Undoubtedly . . . helped turn around the 'stigma' of a colonial book, and probably ensured that other books, with equal artistry and smaller sales, would be

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<sup>35</sup>This sudden increase in literary production is also evident in the Canadian census, which in 1911 reported 434 "Literary and scientific" persons, a marked gain on the 1901 low of 53 (Fifth Census 6: 8-9).

published" (237). By now, it should come as no surprise that six of the nine titles Parker instances as Briggs's decisive best-sellers were by expatriates.<sup>36</sup> Whatever else they might have achieved, the expatriates had clearly provided a model for professional authorship in Canada: as Roy Daniells remarked of one, "The bald fact that Roberts made his living as a writer becomes a mark to shoot at" (Klinck 421). Of course, not all of these models were expatriates: Ralph Connor's meteoric success proved, in Parker's words, "that best-selling professional authorship was possible in Canada" (248), and ten years later L.M. Montgomery provided another prominent example. But most successful Canadian authors of the 1890s and 1910s, and almost all from that first important decade, were then living in other countries.

The influence of the expatriate model is also evident in the next generation of Canadian poets. In this case, however, it is the cosmopolitanism of the expatriates more than their status as professional writers that becomes an important if unacknowledged precedent. As has often been remarked, the first generation of modern Canadian poets regularly defined themselves as such by rejecting any connection between themselves and earlier Canadian literature: young Canadian poets of his generation, wrote Leo

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<sup>36</sup>The Briggs' titles were: Thomson's Old Man Savarin (1895), Walter Gibbs (1896), and Between Earth and Sky (1897); Roberts' The Forge in the Forest (1897); W.A. Fraser's The Eye of a God (1899); Seton's Two Little Savages (1903); Stringer's The Silver Poppy (1903); Nellie McClung's Sowing Seeds in Danny (1908); and H.A. Cody's The Frontiersman (1910). All of these were first or simultaneously issued in the United States.

Kennedy in 1928, had "no worthwhile tradition of their own," and were therefore "inclined, and wisely, to look abroad for that which will influence them."<sup>37</sup> The irony here, one that seems to have been lost on Kennedy, was that by "look[ing] abroad" the modernists were of course following the example if not the aesthetic of the previous generation of Canadian writers. By participating in international cultures of letters, by writing and publishing in the literary centres of their world, and by achieving the recognition of their American and English contemporaries, the expatriate poets of the 1880s and 1890s provided the early modernists with a native model of precisely the cosmopolitanism to which they aspired--which, as much as their no longer fashionable romanticism, perhaps explains why they and their contemporaries were rejected so strenuously.

Just as the sales of expatriate novelists provided a model for Canadian publishers and writers of fiction, so too the international reception accorded the expatriate poets and to a lesser degree their resident colleagues established that Canadian poets could be printed and reviewed in foreign journals as peers, not curiosities. As the modernist poet-critic A.J.M. Smith argued after the heat of the modernist revolt had abated, ultimately, the achievement of Roberts, Carman, Lampman, and Scott was not that they had produced an especially Canadian poetry, but rather that they had "showed that Canada could take

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<sup>37</sup>"The Future of Canadian Literature," Canadian Mercury Dec. 1928 (rpt. in Dudek and Gnarowski 36).

her place in the main stream of American and English culture."<sup>38</sup>

Allowing for Smith's forgivable prejudice for poetry, this demonstration of literary maturity is, I think, the legacy not just of these four poets, but of the literary exodus in which in they all participated.

### **Exodus Lost**

According to a prevalent theory in postcolonial criticism, the literatures of former colonies develop through three overlapping stages: first an imitative stage, then an expatriate stage, and finally a nationalist stage.<sup>39</sup> Despite many precedents, I am not entirely comfortable thinking of Canadian literature as "colonial" or "postcolonial," especially insofar as that designation implies historical and cultural affinities with countries the likes of India or Nigeria, affinities that for the most part I don't see. But at least in schematic form, this three-stage theory reasonably describes the development of Canadian literature: any informed reader of the Literary Garland would recognize the imitative stage (though I would myself prefer "participative"), and the third stage is discernible from the creation of the Canadian Authors' Association in 1921 to at least the 1960s. The imitative stage of Canadian literature has received substantial critical attention, and the nationalist even

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<sup>38</sup>"Nationalism and Canadian Poetry," Northern Review 1.1 (1945-46]: 41.

<sup>39</sup>See, for example, Uma Parameswaran's 1975 paper "What Price Expatriation?"

more. Only the expatriate stage has been left largely unexplored; in fact, it has not even been recognized as a stage, as an essential step toward the development of a Canadian literature.

I have tried to suggest in this chapter the reasons why this has been the case, reasons that I believe fall largely under the often paired rubrics of Canadian nationalism and anti-Americanism. To admit that Canadian literature grew up thinking continentally would be to admit both that Canadian culture has not, as Roy Daniells would have it, "always declined to follow the American form" (216), and that Canada has derived an essential part of its identity from its continental heritage, and neither of those are admissions that Canadian critics have always wanted to make.

Themselves a product of that continental heritage, the expatriates of the 1880s and 1890s provided Canada with native models of literary success and in so doing enabled the development of Canadian literature from its imitative stage to its present existence as a recognizably distinct literature, complete with its own canon and its own set of values. Instead of being remembered for that contribution, however, most have been consciously removed from Canadian literary history--perhaps necessarily. Gradually, Canadian literature became Canadian literature through its renunciation of its expatriate stage: the selective denials and assertions of the Canadianness of the expatriates were exercises in canon formation, in Canadian

critics feeling their way toward what the Canadian identity should be, and what a Canadian literature should look like. In order for Canadian literature to reach its adulthood, it had to rewrite its adolescence.

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- BMCat British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books. 263 vols. and supplements. London: British Museum, 1965- .
- BNCat Catalogue général des livres imprimés de la Bibliothèque Nationale. 231 vols. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1897-1981.
- BRD Book Review Digest. 96 vols. to date. Minneapolis: Wilson, 1905- .
- CM The Canadian Men and Women of the Time: A Hand-Book of Canadian Biography. Ed. Henry James Morgan. 1st ed. Toronto: Briggs, 1898. 2nd ed. Toronto: Briggs, 1912.
- CPI Canadian Periodical Index 1920-37: An Author and Subject Index. By Grace Heggie et al. Ottawa: Canadian Library Association, 1988.
- CWW Canadian Who's Who. 34 vols. to date. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1910- .
- DAA A Dictionary of American Authors. By Oscar Fay Adams. 5th ed. Boston: Houghton, 1904.
- DAB Dictionary of American Biography. 20 vols. and 10 supps. to date. New York: Scribner's, 1928- .
- DLB Dictionary of Literary Biography. 201 vols. to date. Detroit: Gale, 1978- .
- GBIP Global Books in Print Plus. CD-ROM. R.R. Bowker. Oct. 1998.
- LC The Library of Congress Online Catalog. <http://catalog.loc.gov>

- MDCB            The Macmillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography. Comp. W. Stewart Wallace. 1st ed. Toronto: Macmillan, 1926. 2nd ed. in 2 vols. Toronto: MacMillan, 1945. 3rd ed. Toronto: MacMillan, 1963.
- N, NS            The National Union Catalog: Pre-1956 Imprints. 685 vols. and supplements. London: Mansell, 1968-80.
- NAW            Notable American Women 1607-1950: A Biographical Dictionary. Ed. James T. Edward. 3 vols. Cambridge: Belknap-Harvard UP, 1971.
- NCAB            The National Cyclopedia of American Biography. 63 vols. New York: White, 1891-1984.
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Appendix A

Canadian Literary Expatriates  
Active between 1880 and 1914

Name (dates) year expatriated, destination	place left	main occupation
Adam, G[raeme] Mercer (1839-1912) 1892, New York (in Chicago 1896-1902)	Toronto	editor
Adney, [Edwin] Tappan (1868-1950) c.1887, New York	Woodstock, NB	illustrator/journalist
Allen, Grant (1848-99) 1861, New Haven, CT; 1862, France; England	Kingston, ON	novelist
Barr, Robert (1850-1912) 1876, Detroit; 1881, London	Toronto/Windsor	novelist
Barry, Lily E[mily] F[rances] (1864-1955) 1893, New York (repatriated 1896)	Montreal	journalist/poet
Belford, Alexander Beaty (1854-1906) c.1880, Chicago	Toronto	publisher
Belford, Robert James (?) c.1881, Chicago/New York	Toronto	publisher
Bender, [Louis] Prosper (1844-1917) c.1883, Boston	Quebec	physician
Betts, Craven Langstroth (1853-1941) 1879, New York; 1931, California	Saint John	bookseller/poet
Brodlique (Summers), Eve H. (1867?-1949) c.1890, Chicago	London, ON	journalist
Broughton, Charles (c.1861-?) 1880, New York	Toronto	magazine illustrator
Brown, William Edgar (1866-?) 1880s, Michigan	Ontario	clergyman/poet
Bruce, Henry Addington (1874-?) c.1896, New York; Cambridge, MA	Toronto	journalist
Carman, Bliss (1861-1929) 1890, New York; 1908, New Canaan, CT	Fredericton	poet

Clark, Susanna Rebecca Graham (1848-?) childhood?, Portland, ME	Nova Scotia children's author
Collins, Joseph Edmund (1855-92) 1886, New York	Toronto (b. Newfoundland) editor
Cooke, Edmund Vance (1866-1932) childhood, Minnesota; Cleveland	Ontario lecturer/children's poet
Cox, Palmer (1840-1924) 1862, San Francisco; 1875, New York	Granby, PQ children's author
Creelman, James (1859-1915) childhood (age 12), New York	Montreal journalist
Croscup, George Edward (1851-?) c.1884, New York/New Jersey	Nova Scotia/Fredericton journalist/editor
Davies, Acton (1870-1916) 1887, New York	St. Jean, PQ drama critic
De Wolfe, Perez Morton (1850-1931) 1880s?, Boston	Wolfville, NS publisher
Dimock, Anthony Weston (1842-1918) childhood, MA; c.1860, New York	Yarmouth, NS banker/outdoor writer
Donnelley, Richard Robert (1836-99) 1857, Chicago	Hamilton, ON publisher
Doran, George (1869-1956) 1892, Chicago; 1908, New York	Toronto publisher
Dougall, Lily (1858-1923) 1900, England	Montreal novelist
Duncan, Norman (1871-1916) 1895, Auburn, NY; 1897, New York; 1902, Washington, PA; 1906, Lawrence, KS; 1914, Willoughby, OH; 1916, Fredonia, NY	Brantford/Toronto fictionist/travel writer
Duncan, Sara Jeannette (1861-1922) 1890, India/London	Toronto novelist
Eaton, Arthur Wentworth Hamilton (1849-1937) c.1880, Cambridge; 1886, New York; 1907, Boston	Kentville, NS poet/historian
Eaton, Charles Aubrey (1868-1953) 1890, Boston; 1895, Toronto; 1901, Cleveland; 1909, New York	Cumberland Co., NS clergyman/journalist

- Eaton, Edith ("Sui Sin Far") (1865-1914) Montreal  
1898, San Francisco; 1900, Seattle fictionist
- Eaton, Winnifred ("Onoto Watanna") (1875-1954) Montreal  
c.1898, Chicago; 1901, New York (repatriated to Alberta 1917)  
novelist
- Flesher (MacGill), Helen Gregory (1864-1947) Toronto  
c.1890, San Francisco; 1897, Faribault, MN  
(repatriated to Vancouver c.1903) journalist/judge
- Flewellyn, Juliette (née Colliton) (1850-?) Smithville, ON  
1881, Lockport, NY novelist
- Footner, Hulbert (1879-1944) Hamilton, ON  
childhood?, New York; 1906, Calgary; c.1910, Maryland novelist
- Graham, Margaret Horton (?)  
1890s?, United States journalist
- Gunnison, Herbert Foster (1858-1932) Halifax  
childhood; c.1880, New York (Brooklyn) newspaper publisher
- Hambidge, Jay (1867-1924) Simcoe/Ingersoll, ON  
c.1890, New York magazine illustrator
- Harte, Walter Blackburn (1868-1899) Toronto  
1890, New York; 1891, Boston; 1896, New York critic/essayist
- Heming, Arthur (1870-1940) Hamilton, ON/Montreal  
1890s, New York magazine illustrator/author
- Hensley, Sophia (Sophie) M. Almon (1866-1946) Windsor, NS  
c.1890, New York (repatriated c.1934) poet/activist
- Hobart [Philpott], George V[ere] (1867-1926) Cape Breton, NS  
1884; 1896, Baltimore; c.1899, New York humorist/playwright
- Hughes, Agnes Lockhart (1875-?) Halifax  
1890s, Boston; 1903, Seattle songwriter/poet
- Jamison, Cecilia Viets (née Dakin) (1837-1909) Yarmouth, NS  
childhood (c.1850), Boston/New York; 1878, Thibodeaux, LA;  
1887, New Orleans; 1902, Nahant?, MA novelist/artist
- Jarvis, [Thomas] Stinson (1854-1926) Toronto  
1891, New York; 1904, California critic/novelist
- Johnson, Charles Nelson (1860-1938) Brock, ON  
c.1885, Chicago dentist/novelist
- Jones, Alice C. (1853-1933) Halifax  
1907, Menton, France novelist

Keays, Hersilia (née Copp) (1861-1913) c.1897, Cambridge, MA	Woodstock, ON novelist
King, Basil (William Benjamin) (1859-1928) 1892, Cambridge, MA	Halifax novelist
Laut, Agnes C[hristina] (1871-1936) 1901, Wassaic, NY	Winnipeg novelist/historian
Le Rossignol, James Edward (1866-1969) 1892, Worcester, MA; 1892, Athens, OH; 1894, Denver, CO; 1911, Lincoln, NE	Montreal professor/fictionist
Lockhart, Arthur John (1850-1926) 1872, Maine	Wolfville, NS cleryman/poet
Logan, Daniel (1852-?) c.1884, Honolulu, HI	Pictou, NS/Montreal newspaper editor
Long, Robert James (1849-1933) 1867, Boston	Liverpool/Yarmouth, NS publisher/editor
Love, Irene Currie (?) c.1890s, United States	journalist
Lovell, John W[urtele] (1851-1932) 1875, New York	Montreal publisher
McArthur, Peter (1866-1924) 1890, New York (repatriated 1908)	Toronto humorist
McFarlane, Arthur E[merson] (1876-1945) 1900, New York	Toronto journalist/fictionist
McIlwraith, Jean [Newton] (1859-1938) 1902, New York (repatriated 1919)	Hamilton, ON publisher's reader/novelist
McKellar, D[uncan] A. (1865-1899) 1891, New York	Toronto magazine illustrator
MacLane, Mary (1881-1929) childhood, Butte, MT; 1902, New York; Rockland, MA	Winnipeg actress/journalist
McLean, Ella Norraikow (née Walton) (1853-?) 1887, New York	Saint John, NB metaphysician
McLean, John Emery (1865-?) late 1880s?, New York	Orangeville, ON magazine editor
McOuat, Mary Elizabeth (1870-?) c.1891, New York (in Ottawa c.1899-1903)	Toronto journalist

Morris, Clara (1847-1925) Toronto  
 childhood (age 3), Cleveland; by 1870, New York actress/writer

Morton, Frederick W[illiam] (1859-?) Hamilton, ON  
 childhood?, New York State; by 1887, Chicago journalist

Munro, Frank (1862-?) King's Co., NS  
 by 1893, Boston; New York journalist

Munro, George (1825-96) Halifax  
 1856, New York publisher

Nicolson, Charles Butler (1866-?) Sackville, NB  
 c.1909, Detroit journalist

O'Hagan, Thomas (1855-1939) Ottawa  
 1890, Duluth; 1893-94, Ithaca, NY; by 1900?, Chicago  
 (repatriated sometime between 1913-1921) lecturer/poet

O'Higgins, Harvey (1876-1929) Toronto  
 1900, New York novelist/playwright

Parker, Gilbert (1860-1932) Kingston, ON  
 1886, Australia; 1890, London novelist

Patterson, Charles Brodie (1854-1917) Pictou, NS  
 c.1885, Hartford, CT; 1893, New York essayist/publisher

Pollock, Francis (Frank) Lillie (1876-?) Toronto?  
 c.1898, New York (repatriated by 1906) journalist/novelist

Prat, Annie Louisa (1860-1960) Wolfville, NS  
 1896, Chicago; 1901, New York (repatriated 1904)  
 artist/bookbinder

Prat, May Rosina (1873-1965) Wolfville, NS  
 1898, New York (repatriated 1904) bookbinder

Prat, Minnie Sophia (d. 1901) Wolfville, NS  
 1897, New York bookbinder

Reed, Helen Leah (186?-?) Saint John, NB  
 childhood (1865), Boston children's author

Reid, Sydney (1857-1936) Toronto  
 1881, New York (Brooklyn) journalist

Roberts, Charles G.D. (1860-1943) Windsor, NS  
 1897, New York; 1907, Europe/London (repatriated 1925)  
 fictionist/poet

Roberts, Theodore Goodridge (1877-1953) Fredericton, NB  
 1897, New York (repatriated 1898) novelist/poet



- Roberts, William Carman (1874-1941) Fredericton, NB  
1897, New York magazine editor
- Robertson, Louis Alexander (1856-?) Saint John, NB  
1875, England; 1882, San Francisco poet
- Ross, H[edley] V[icars] (1871-?) Rustico, PEI  
1895, Roanoke, VA; New York book reviewer/journalist
- Sadlier, Anna Teresa (1854-1932) Montreal  
childhood, New York (repatriated by 1885) novelist
- Sadlier, Mary Anne (née Madden) (1820-1903) Montreal  
1860, New York (repatriated 1885) novelist
- Sandwell, B[ernard] K[eble] (1876-1954) Toronto  
c.1897, England (repatriated 1905) magazine editor
- Sandys, Edwyn [William] (1860-1906) Toronto  
1891, New York outdoor writer
- Sanford, M[ary] Bourchier (1863?-?) Toronto  
1882, Cleveland; 1890, New York humorist/novelist
- Saunders, [Margaret] Marshall (1861-1947) Halifax  
1895, Boston; 1898, California (repatriated 1901)  
children's author
- Seton, Ernest Thompson (1860-1946) Toronto  
1896; New York; 1930, New Mexico naturalist
- Sinclair, [J.?] Herbert (?) Hamilton, ON  
c.1886, New York journalist
- Skinner, Constance Lindsay (1877-1939) Vancouver  
1893, California; c. 1900, Chicago, c.1903, New York  
historian/novelist
- Stringer, Arthur (1874-1950) Toronto/Montreal  
1898, New York (repatriated 1903-21) novelist
- Sullivan, Archibald (1886-1921) Sault Ste. Marie, ON  
c.1903, New York; 1904, London; 1916, New York drama critic/poet
- Thompson, Slason (1849-1935) Fredericton  
1873, San Francisco; 1878, New York; 1879, Cincinnati;  
1880, Chicago journalist
- Thomson, E[dward] W[illiam] (1849-1924) Toronto  
1891, Boston (repatriated 1902) fictionist/editor
- Thomson, John Stuart (1869-1950) Montreal  
c.1895, New York steamship agent/poet/Orientalist

Tuttle, Charles Richard (1848-?) Cumberland Co., NS  
1870s, Boston; 1879, Winnipeg; c.1885, Chicago historian

Wetherald, [Agnes] Ethelwyn (1857-1940) London, ON  
1895-96, Philadelphia; Connecticut? (repatriated c.1897) poet

Whiting, W[illiam] I[saac] (?) Kingston, NB  
c.1889, New York bookseller

Whitmarsh, H[ubert] Phelps (1863-?) Quebec  
c.1887, New York; by 1904, Boston children's author

## Appendix B

### The Canadian Club of New York

Founded on April 30, 1885, the Canadian Club of New York formally opened two months later on Dominion Day "for the purpose of cultivating social intimacy among Canadians and former residents of Canada, and to provide for them a pleasant place of resort for their entertainment and improvement, and to meet visiting Canadians." As founding president Erastus Wiman noted in his opening-day speech, excepting the New England Society there was at this time no other New York club with a geographically defined membership (qtd. in Fairchild 284). Club membership was in theory open to "Any male person of good moral character, born in Canada or having been resident in Canada," though in practice the annual dues of twenty-five dollars by 1887 would have excluded labourers and many young professionals. A hundred non-voting memberships were set aside for non-Canadians who "may be in sympathy with the objects of the Club."

By 1887 the club had grown to 280 resident and 137 non-resident members, forcing a move from its first home on Washington Square to an ornately appointed four-story residence at 12 East 29th Street (Fairchild 288). Resident members of that year included New Brunswick poet and bookseller Craven Langstroth Betts; publisher-pirate John Wurtele Lovell, son of the Montreal publisher of the same name; Halifax theology student turned New York dime-novel publisher George Munro; and inventor Thomas Alva Edison, the last presumably a non-voting member. Among its non-resident members were Ontario Premier Oliver Mowat, Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald, journalist Goldwin Smith, and Charles G.D. Roberts.

Primarily a social organization, the Canadian Club also promoted Canadian culture, decorating the walls of its reception room with Canadian art in the hopes of attracting "the wealthy picture buyers of this city" (Fairchild 286) and in 1886

organizing a series of talks on Canadian subjects that were subsequently edited by vice-president George Moore Fairchild and published as Canadian Leaves: History, Art, Science, Literature, Commerce: A Series of New Papers Read Before the Canadian Club of New York.

Although details on the club's activities in subsequent years are sketchy, it seems to have disbanded by the spring of 1893, but reformed briefly in 1897 for a lavish celebration of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee at the new Metropolitan Opera House (Anderson 2-3).<sup>1</sup> By the spring of 1899, the club had disappeared again, with Frank Pollock reporting in University of Toronto's Acta Victoriana that "of late it seems to have dropped completely out of sight" (435). In 1903, however, the Canadian Club of New York reorganized, occupying a series of homes until it moved in the 1930s to the eighteenth and nineteenth floors of the new Waldorf-Astoria on Park Avenue, its home for over three decades (Anderson 58-59). The history of the revived Canadian Club to 1964 is told by former club president and sometime editor of its journal, The Maple Leaf, Hugh A. Anderson, in The Kinship of Two Countries: A History of the Canadian Club of New York. The club continues operations to the present day (1999), with rooms on the sixth floor of the Princeton Club at 15 West 43rd Street.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Hensley refers to it in 1893 as the "late Canadian club" and says, "its regrettable demise, which was the result of pecuniary embarrassment and not of any lack of good feeling among its members, was a severe blow to the interests of Canadians in this city" (196). According to Peter McArthur, the club dissolved shortly after Queen Victoria's Jubilee of 1887 ("Dominion Day in New York," Massey's July 1896: 27).

<sup>2</sup>Information not otherwise cited is from the Constitution and By-Laws of the Canadian Club for 1885 (New York, A.D. Smith) and 1887 (New York, n.p.).

## Appendix C

### Bibliographies of the New York Expatriates

With two exceptions (Norman Duncan and Stinson Jarvis), each of the twenty-six bibliographies that follows is the most complete yet assembled for its author.<sup>1</sup> Each, however, is still preliminary. Unfortunately, both of the existing general indexes to early North American periodicals, Poole's Index to Periodical Literature (PI) and the Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature (RG), have real limitations.<sup>2</sup> For many magazines from this period, the bibliographer's only recourse is to search magazine by magazine, issue by issue--assuming, of course, that he or she could find a complete run of the magazine in question.

For some few of the hundreds of American (as well as Canadian and English) periodicals in which the expatriates published, I have done this, searching volume indexes, content pages, and sometimes page by page for the ubiquitous Canadian. Often, however, I've been forced to rely upon Poole's and the Reader's Guide as a starting and in some cases an end point, as well as more specialized indexes such as Marion Sader's Comprehensive Index to English-Language Little Magazines 1890-1970. Two Canadiana bibliographies have also been especially useful to me: Amos Robert Rogers' 1964 bibliography of selected

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<sup>1</sup>Two others, for Peter McArthur and Charles G.D. Roberts, are selective, for reasons explained in their sections.

<sup>2</sup>Over its life, Poole's Index (1882-1908) indexed 479 periodicals, but by subject and abstracted title only. The entries in Poole's Index are incomplete: they forgo dates for volume numbers (a later companion to the index designed to rectify this problem is not always reliable), they only provide the initial page number, and they retitle most entries to accord with the index's own idiosyncratic subject-headings. For now, these limitations are reflected in this bibliography by the use of square brackets and question marks. Beginning in 1890, the more useful Reader's Guide provides an author, subject, and illustrator index to 51 periodicals, a number it increased in later volumes.

Canadian authors in American magazines (which itself appears to have been largely compiled from the Reader's Guide, but was still useful for verification purposes), and R.G. Moyles' more recent "Young Canada: An Index to Canadian Materials in Major British and American Juvenile Periodicals 1870-1950," which provides an author and subject index to four American and three English juvenile magazines (cited as YC). Periodical publications that I have myself physically verified are indicated by (V) rather than an index code.

For books, my main resources were The National Union Catalog (N), The Library of Congress Online Catalog (LC), the British Museum General Catalogue of Printed Books (BMCat), R.E. Watters' Checklist of Canadian Literature and Background Materials, 1628-1960, and the Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions (CIHM). I have listed every located edition or printing of each book by or partly by a New York expatriate, but have generally not included appearances in anthologies edited by others unless that appearance was the work's first and/or only known publication. My practice has been to list directly after each printing all appearances in N, BMCat, Watters, and CIHM, citing LC and in some cases other libraries only if they yielded additional information about a particular printing or printings that were unknown to the national catalogues. For specific libraries, I've used the institution codes established by the National Union Catalog, with adaptations based on its system to accommodate local university libraries it does not list, namely Mount St. Vincent University (CaNSHV), St. Mary's University (CaNSHSMU), the University of King's College (CaNSHK), and St. Frances Xavier University (CaNSStFX). (The National Union Catalog's code for Dalhousie University is CaNSHD.) Unless otherwise indicated, when a tentative month of publication is given for a book, it's been dated by reviews. That is, the book could have been published earlier but rarely later than the month given.

As with the periodical publications, the entries for books are selectively annotated, typically with at least a generic description and in some cases information about composition dates and circumstances, reception, changes from one appearance to another, and so on.

Space precludes inclusion of any secondary materials other than those cited in the dissertation itself. I have summarized the principal biographical, archival, and bibliographical sources in a brief introduction to each bibliography. For most of the expatriates, there has in any case been little critical attention since their deaths, and what there is is readily accessible through such databases as the MLA International Bibliography and the Academic Index. Contemporary notices, reviews, articles, and interviews are less accessible; I would be glad to share what I've collected.

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**G[raeme] Mercer Adam (1839-1912)**

**Biographical.** CM 1898, 1912; DLB 99: 3-4 (by Carole Gerson); MDCB 1926. The most substantial of these sources is Henry Morgan's CM 1898, an atypically lengthy entry of almost six columns that Juanita O'Connor later cribbed for her entry on Adam in Charles G.D. Roberts and Arthur Tunnell's Standard Dictionary of Canadian Biography (vol. 1, 1934). Marilyn Flitton's introduction to her Index to the Canadian Monthly provides a history of the magazine and of Adam's role in it, while Elizabeth Hulse's Dictionary of Toronto Printers contains entries on Adam under his own name as well as under the publishers' Adam, Stevenson, & Co., Rollo and Adam, and Williamson & Co.

Sophia Hensley's 1893 article on "Canadian Writers in New York" is the only known contemporary account of Adam in New York (he does not appear in the 1904 ed. of Who's Who in New York City and State). For background on John W. Lovell and his U.S. Book Co., see John Tebbel's History of Book Publishing in the United States (2: 344-52) and Madeleine Stern's Publishers for Mass Entertainment in Nineteenth Century America (199-210, 307-310).

**Archival.** Some few of Adam's letters are in Louisa Murray's papers in the York University Archives, Downsview, ON (ULMC 1979-80: 131). The National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections contains no archival entry for Adam, for John W. Lovell, or for Self-Culture (the New York Public Library has the most complete run of Self-Culture). The archives of the Macmillan Company, for whose New York office Adam worked ca. 1894, are in the British Library's Department of Manuscripts, and have been microfilmed, though not entirely indexed (Adam does not appear in the existing index, which is confined to readers' reports on authors' manuscripts).

**Bibliographical.** CIHM; BMCat; Flitton; N, NS; LC; PI; RG; SN; Watters. A complete bibliography of Adam's Canadian periodical publications would almost amount to a bibliography of post-Confederation Toronto magazines. As Nicholas Flood Davin asked, "Take away the literary undertaking fostered in Canada by Goldwin Smith and Mercer Adam and what remains?" (qtd. in CM 1912).

Conceding defeat, this bibliography makes no attempt to account for Adam's contributions to his own British American Magazine (1863-64) and Canada Bookseller (1865?-72), both of which he published, edited, and in the latter case almost single-handedly wrote, or for his undoubtedly numerous unsigned contributions to his and Goldwin Smith's Canadian Monthly (Flitton suspects that in particular Adam wrote the "Music and the Drama," "Fine Arts," and "Current Literature" features [xvii]). It does, however, list Adam's signed contributions to the Week, themselves amounting to fifty items over six years of regular appearances in the Toronto weekly. The main gap in the American portion of the bibliography is Adam's contributions to Self-Culture. Some few of these (presumably off-prints) have



been recorded in the National Union Catalog, and I have listed these below. Finally, according to Morgan, after his departure from Canada Adam did review work for the New York Nation as well as "other critical and literary journals" (CM 1898).

Adam's book publications are almost as elusive. I have included below attributed books and contributions to books that I've been able to locate if not verify Adam's authorship of, but he has also been credited with a number of book publications for which I can find no other record. Morgan credits Adam with a Canadian High School Word Book (1885, with J.W. Connor), a book on Sir Henry Stanley in Africa, contributions to a projected (in 1898) Cyclopædia of British and American Authors and another of Canadian Affairs, and a biography of Peter the great (CM 1898, 1912), all of which are unknown to the catalogs I've searched. The title page of the 1895 edition of Adam's revised History of Our Own Times declares Adam to be the author of "A Précis of English History," but I've been unable to locate any such work. Finally, a publisher's note in the Lovell and Williamson edition of Adam and Ethelwyn Wetherald's An Alogonquin Maiden mentions a book "by the same authors; preparing for early publication; A Tale of the United Empire Loyalists" that does not appear to have been published.

## 1872

A Letter to Sir John Rose, Bart., K.C.M.G., on the Canadian Copyright Question by Two Members of the Native Book Trade: London, August 15, 1872. By John Lovell and Adam. London, 1872. 12 pp. (NL 0517812, BMCat, CIHM #23751) [complains that Canadian publishers are unable to compete with American bids for British reprints because of the latter's larger market and thus deeper pockets (Parker 174)]

## 1874

Reform in the Education Office: A Letter to the Hon. Oliver Mowatt...on the Government Book Depository in Connection with the Education Department. Toronto: Adam, Stevenson, 1874. 24 pp. (CIHM #00010) [signed by Adam, 31 Jan. 1874, Toronto]

## 1878

"New Aspects of the Copyright Question." Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly and National Review Sep. 1878: 369-76. (Flitton)

"A Dufferin Public Library." Letter. Toronto Mail 1 Oct. 1878. Rpt. as pp. 14-15 of Testimonials in Favour of the Candidature of Mr. Graeme Mercer Adam for the Position of Librarian of the Free Public Library, Toronto. Toronto: Mar. 1883. 15 pp. (CIHM #33671) [urges creation of free

library in Toronto to commemorate Lord Dufferin's administration in Canada, then just ending; signed 27 Sep. 1878, Toronto]

## 1880

Catalogue of the Books in the Library of the Law Society of Upper Canada; with an Index of Subjects. By the Law Society of Upper Canada. Comp. and ed. by Adam. Toronto: printed for the Society by C.B. Robinson, 1880. (N, CIHM #10656-57)

## 1882

"Toronto and Vicinity" and "Georgian Bay, and the Muskokan Lakes." Picturesque Canada: The Country as It Was and Is. Ed. George Monro Grant. [36-part serial?]. Toronto: Art Publishing Co., 1882-84? 2 vols. Toronto: Belden, 1882. (NG 0386649, Watters). 2 vols. bound as one. Toronto: James Clarke, n.d. 880 pp. 1: 399-440 and 2: 579-620. (CaNSHSMU) [illus. popular guide/history of Canada; other contributors include Agnes Machar, J.G.A. Creighton, Louise Murray, and C.G.D. Roberts; Adam's essay on Toronto is a guided tour that focuses on the city's recent and "almost unrealizable civic growth" (414); his article on the Georgian Bay region begins with a history of the doomed Jesuit missions to the area in the 17th century, then guides the reader around the region, focusing on roads, agriculture, and the natural scenery]

The Librarian's Brief Suggestive List of Books, New and Old, in All Classes of Literature...Compiled for the Use of Librarians, Committees of Management, and Custodians of Free Public Libraries. Toronto, n.d. [1882?] 2 pp. (CIHM #18762) [appears to be a sample only; compiled to support Adam's 1883 application for the position of librarian of Toronto's Free Public Library?]

## 1883

Royal Canadian Readers. Ed. Adam. 5 vols. Toronto: Canada Publishing Co., 1883-? (NR 0481063, CM 1898) [unlike Adam and Robertson's Public School History (1886), this series does not appear to have been authorized for school use (see "School Readers," Jan. 1884)]

## 1884

"The School Readers." Week 3 Jan. 1884: 69-70. (V) [essay on folly of Provincial Department of Education authorizing two different sets of school readers for use in province, and rejecting a third, the "Royal Canadian"; urges new Minister of Education to take the only way out of the muddle:

authorize all three for a trial period of two years, and may the best series win; although Adam never says as much and atypically signs the article with just his initials, the "Royal Canadian" was of course his own series, from 1883]

- "The Doom of Literary Communism." Week 21 Feb. 1884: 183. (V) [essay supporting the U.S. Dorsheimer Copyright Bill, and urging Canadian legislators similarly to protect their authors]
- "Not the University, But the Public School." Week 13 Mar. 1884: 232-33. (V) [less "noise" should be devoted to Ontario's universities and more to its elementary schools, which are "confessedly a failure"]
- "Party Manœuvring v. Useful Legislation." Week 3 Apr. 1884: 280. (V) [too much of first and too little of second in Dominion and Provincial Parliaments]
- "An Interregnum in Literature." Week 12 June 1884: 438-39. (V) [essay on the "present-day dearth of original creative work in literature" (438); in Canada attributes the decline to "the dissipation of time and brain in the reading of newspapers, and the absorption of every faculty of the mind in business," and to the failure of politicians to forget party interests and start solving copyright and competition problems (439)]
- "Toronto's Semi-Centennial." Week 3 July 1884: 484-85. (V) [occasion suggests a short history of city, possibly cribbed from Adam's essay on Toronto for Picturesque Canada, 1882]
- "The Gosepel of Hope." Week 20 Nov. 1884: 810. (V) [poem of religious consolation in time of loss (Adam's first wife, Jane Beazley, died in 1884); signed G. Mercer Adam, 12 Oct., Toronto]
- "A Christmas Reverie." Week 25 Dec. 1884: 58. (V) [poem on absence of loved one at Christmas; "The hallowed Christmas-tide returns / And I, alas, must lay upon thy tomb / The kisses which I erst did'st print upon thy lips..."; signed G.M.A., 23 Dec. 1884, Toronto]

#### 1885

- "The Late Mr. Francis Rye." Week 22 Jan. 1885: 117-18. (V) [obit. for Barrie, ON, attorney and former book reviewer for the Canadian Monthly; signed G.M.A.]

Catalogue of Books and Pamphlets Presented to the Toronto Public Library by John Hallam. By Toronto Public Library.  
Toronto: C.B. Robinson, 1885. 76 pp. (NT 0275952, CIHM)

#26189) [compiled by Adam under the supervision of James Bain, Head Librarian, Toronto Public Library]

Rime of the Ancient Mariner and Select Odes, by Samuel Taylor Coleridge: Edited, with Notes, by J.W. Connor, B.A., Head Master, High School, Berlin [and] Warren Hastings: An Essay by Lord Macaulay, Edited with Notes, Introductions, and Themes for Composition, by G. Mercer Adam.... Toronto: Copp Clark, 1885. (CIHM #11857) [CIHM's copy ends abruptly at page 63 and does not include any of the Macaulay/Adam text listed on the title page; prefatory "advertisement," presumably written by Connor, is signed 21 May 1885, Berlin; the National Union Catalog contains an entry for a book with a suspiciously similar title edited by one J.M. Buchan and published by the Canada Publishing Co. of Toronto in 1885 (NC 0533796)--a pirated copy?]

From Savagery to Civilization: The Canadian North-West: Its History and its Troubles, from the Early Days of the Fur-Trade to the Era of the Railway and Settler; with Incidents of Travel in the Region, and the Narrative of Three Insurrections. Toronto: Rose; Whitby, ON: J.S. Robertson & Bros., 1885. vii, 9-390 pp. (N, BMCat). Toronto: Rose; Whitby, ON: J.S. Robertson & Bros., 1885. vi, 9-408 pp. (N, BMCat, Watters, CIHM #30264) [second edition has cover title The Northwest: Its History and Its Troubles, and an appendix on Louis Riel's trial; preface signed 15 July 1885, Toronto]

History of Toronto and County of York, Ontario: Containing an Outline of the History of the Dominion of Canada.... Toronto: C.B. Robinson, 1885. (N)

#### 1886

Public School History of England and Canada, with Introd. Hints to Teachers, and Brief Examination Questions. By Adam and W.J. Robertson. Auth. by the Educ. Dept. of Ontario. Toronto: Copp Clark, [June?] 1886. 200 pp. (N, CIHM #00746) [at head of title: History Primer]

"A Well-Nigh Forgotten Chapter of Canadian History." Week 9 Sep. 1886: 652-53. (V) [short article on the martyrdom of Catholic missionaries Jean de Brebeuf and Gabriel Lallemand at the hands of the Huron; occasioned by unveiling of plaque to same in Penetanguishene]

"On the Choice of Books." Week 4 Nov. 1886: 782. (V) [argues the necessity of selective reading in the present "chaotic condition of the book-market, with at least a hundred Barabbas publishers on the other side of the "line," pouring the filched wares of their broadsheet Libraries and other

cheap issues of the press in incredible profusion into the country"]

"Social Solecisms." Week 23 Dec. 1886: 57-58. (V) [more pompous than usual occasional essay on being bothered as an established literary man to provide letters of introduction, read the ms. of would-be writers, and endure the criticisms and questions of idiots]

Introduction. Sacred Songs, Sonnets, and Miscellaneous Poems. By John Imrie. Toronto: Imrie & Graham, 1886. xiii, 18-210 pp. (NI 0044192). Songs and Miscellaneous Poems by John Imrie, with Music and Illustrations. [2nd ed.] Toronto: Imrie & Graham, 1891. xii, 19-348 pp. (NI 0044194, CIHM #12919). 3rd ed. Toronto: Imrie & Graham, 1894. 384 pp. (NI 0044195). A Selection of Readings and Songs from the Works of John Imrie, Toronto, Canada. 4th ed. Toronto: Imrie & Graham, 1899. 96 pp. (NI 0044192). Songs and Miscellaneous Poems; with an Introduction by G. Mercer Adam and Biographical Sketch by Alexander Fraser. [5th ed.] Toronto: Press of the Imrie Printing Co., 1906. 328 pp. (NI 0044196, BMCat) [John Imrie (1846-1902) was a Toronto printer, publisher, and popular author of Scottish dialect poems (Hulse); Adam's 3-pp. introduction, which seems to have appeared unchanged in each of the five editions, recommends Imrie's "unassuming" book to the "common people" and to the "common humanity" in us all and is signed 184 Spadina Ave., Toronto]

An Algonquin Maiden: A Romance of the Early Days of Upper Canada. By Adam and A. Ethelwyn Wetherald. Lovell's Library vol. 17 no. 846. New York: J.W. Lovell, [1886]. 10-240 pp. (N). London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle, & Rivington, 1887. 240 pp. plus 32 pp. publisher's ads. (N, BMCat, CIHM #36079; tipped-in slip in N's copy claims this is the first ed.). Montreal: J. Lovell & Son; Toronto, Williamson, 1887. 240 pp. (N, Watters, CIHM #00008). University of Toronto Reprint Library of Canadian Prose and Poetry Ser. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1973. 240 pp. (LC) [historical romance]

#### 1887

"East Indian Elements in English Speech." Week 24 Mar. 1887: 266-67. (V) [review article on Col. Yule's Glossary of Anglo-Indian Colloquial Words]

Rev. of From Ontario to the Pacific by the C.P.R., by Mrs. Arthur Spragge. Week 21 Apr. 1887: 340-41. (V) [favorable review of travelogue that had appeared serially in the Week as "Jottings Along the C.P.R." and "Jottings Off the C.P.R." by E.S., i.e. Ellen Elizabeth (Cameron) Spragge]

- Rev. of A Short History of the Canadian People, by George Bryce. Week 21 Apr. 1887: 341. (V) ["Our author has nowhere committed himself to the expression of any very pronounced or mind-arresting opinion; nor does he possess any unusual attractions as a writer"; perhaps worse, Bryce describes the present crop of local and "school histories" in Canada as for-profit ventures that dishonour the practice of history, and although Adam contends that "It is a matter of little moment to whom our author here refers," the comment clearly hit too close to home--his own School History of Canada had come out less than a year before]
- "Second Love." Week 28 Apr. 1887: 354. (V) [lyric poem; epigraph is two stanzas from "In Memoriam"; speaker wrestles with himself over how he can have found a new love "While an older love doth taunt me/.../from the cruel, envious tomb"; signed Cermer Mada; first known use of this pseudonym, an anagram for Mercer Adam]
- Rev. of English as She Is Taught, by Caroline B. Le Row. Week 28 Apr. 1887: 355-56. (V) [includes samples of a book that collects stupid student answers on exams]
- Rev. of The Canadian Birthday Book, by Seranus [Mrs. J.W.F. Harrison]. Week 5 May 1887: 371-72. (V) [very positive review of an anthology of French- and English-Canadian poetry by a regular Week contributor]
- Toronto of To-Day; with a Glance at the Past. Toronto: W. Bryce, [summer?] 1887. 15 pp. (CIHM #00773). Toronto: W. Bryce, 1889. 39 pp. (N, CIHM #26224) [at head of title: "Bryce's souvenir guide to Toronto"; 1889 edition includes fold-out map]
- "Prominent Canadians II: Daniel Wilson." Week 6 Oct. 1887: 726-27. (V) [biography of U of Toronto president]
- "The Beginnings of Canadian Literature: The Discoverers, Early Missionaries, and Explorers." Week 27 Oct. 1887: 768-69. (V) [survey of early French-Canadian writing that relies heavily on Francis Parkman for its titles and descriptions]
- "Mr. Henry Blackburn's Art Talks." Week 10 Nov. 1887: 808. (V) [review and summary of two lectures by the editor of London's Academy Notes at Upper Canada College]
- "Toronto and Its Civic Administration." Week 17 Nov. 1887: 815-16. (V) [lead article; on achievements of Chief Magistrate Howland and the work yet to be done]
- Rev. of The Life and Letters of Charles Darwin. Week 1 and 8 Dec. 1887: 11-12 and 26-27. (V)

- "Orlando in Muskoka." Week 15 Dec. 1887: 38. (V) [poem; signed Cermer Mada, Toronto]
- "Christmas and Its Significance." Week 22 Dec. 1887: 53-54. (V) [obligatory essay on the disappearance of the true meaning of Christmas in a materialistic world]
- "An Outline History of Canadian Literature." An Abridged History of Canada. By William H. Withrow. Toronto: William Briggs, 1887. 179-232. (N, CIHM #34656)

## 1888

- "Native Literature and the Scoffing Spirit." Week 5 Jan. 1888: 85-86. (V). Rpt. in Search for English-Canadian Literature, 1975. [short essay on difficulty of getting people to admit the existence of a Canadian literature; occasioned by a review of Adams' own "Outline History of Canadian Literature" (above) in an unnamed Toronto paper that "derisively spoke of the work as a waste of good paper and print!" (85-86)]
- "Nationalism and the Literary Spirit." Week 19 Jan. 1888: 118-19. (V). Rpt. in Search for English-Canadian Literature, 1975. [unlike French Canada, English Canada fails to see the importance of a national literature to fostering national spirit and pride]
- "Some Books of the Past Year." Week 16 Feb. 1888: 184-85. (V) [reviews of a poetry anthology by Humphrey Ward, a new book from Tennyson, new vols. in the ninth ed. of Encyclopedia Brittanica, some military histories, etc.]
- "Society Journalism and the Infelicities of Married Life." Letter. Saturday Night 3 Mar. 1888: 6. (V) [identifies writer as someone without "much liking for society journalism," but who appreciates that at least SN may be "scanned without harm by the ladies"; especially commends their tact in reporting on the 18th ult. a "painful domestic drama" of which Adam himself may have been among "its victims" (the pasage is tortuously elliptical); signed Cermer Mada; Adam's reference is presumably to a front-page unsigned report in the 18 Feb. issue about Toronto society "suffering another disagreeable sensation, one of its leading lights having [left his wife and children and] joined the Canadian colony in the United States in company with a young lady who had been playing solos on the typewriter in his office"; letter appears to have resulted in something like a regular column for SN until Jan. 1889; subsequent contributions all bear header "For Saturday Night," and are all signed Cermer Mada]

- "Love, Romantic and Conjugal." Saturday Night 10 Mar. 1888: 11.  
(V) [how to sustain love after marriage]
- "Personal Beauty and Some of Its Canadian Characteristics."  
Saturday Night 17 Mar. 1888: 3. (V)
- "Grand Old Name of Gentleman." Saturday Night 24 Mar. 1888: 3.  
(V) [tries to define term; mentions having once seen  
Thackeray speak, and not as a gentleman]
- "The Lenten Season and the Anglican Church." Week 29 Mar. 1888:  
278. (V) [is reassured that the Anglicans, at least, still  
faithfully observe the season; comments on church union and  
ritualism]
- "(Un-)Civil Service Reform." Saturday Night 7 Apr. 1888: 3. (V)  
[on the "servant-girl question"; advice, mostly to women, on  
teaching and handling of domestic servants]
- "Matthew Arnold." Week 26 Apr. 1888: 347. (V) [evaluative  
essay occasioned by Arnold's death; Adam respects his  
criticism and likes his poetry, but is generally dismissive  
of his intellectual legacy]
- "A Spring-Morn Reverie." Week 3 May 1888: 365. (V) [love lyric  
signed Cermer Mada, Toronto, Apr. 21]
- "Their Excellencies' Leave-Taking." Saturday Night 12 May 1888:  
11. (V) [on farewell visit of Lord Lansdowne, recently  
appointed Governor-General of India, and Toronto's inability  
to do anything but bore visiting celebrities with dull  
speeches]
- "Our Summer Resorts and the Society of Women." Saturday Night 1  
Sep. 1888: 7. (V) [on summer population at Canadian  
resorts, especially on Muskoka Lakes and the pleasures of  
the company of married women ("as a rule, *married women are  
the nicest*")]
- "The Late Mr. W.A. Foster, Q.C." Week 8 Nov. 1888: 796. (V)  
[eulogy for founder of Canada First movement]
- "Regenerate Realism." Rev. of The Dream, by Emile Zola. Week 8  
Nov. 1888: 798-99. (V) [a repentant Zola, whose past work  
belongs to "a school which the clean mind must honestly  
loathe" (798), has finally "given the world a clean and  
healthy book" (799)]
- "The Christmas Festival." Saturday Night's Christmas Dec. 1888:  
3. (V) [front-page article on Christian meaning of season  
for Saturday Night's Christmas supplement]



"Christmas in Canada." Canada's Christmas. Toronto: William Bryce, 1888. 16 pp. illus. (Week 7 Dec. 1888: 13)

Canada from Sea to Sea, Historical and Descriptive. Toronto: W. Bryce, 1888. 57 pp. (N). Canada Historical and Descriptive from Sea to Sea, by G. Mercer Adam... Toronto: W. Bryce, 1888. 5-57 pp. (N, CIHM #007771; head title Bryce's Tourists' Illustrated Handbook to the Canadian Dominion; folded map mounted on inside cover) [tourist's guide; dedication signed Dec. 1888, Toronto]

"Mrs. Forsyth Grant's Hawaii." Rev. of Scenes in Hawaii. Week 21 Dec. 1888: 42. (V) [light review of a light travel book by a "Toronto lady" published serially in the Week; signed G.M.A.]

"Trade Relations with the United States." Letter. Week 28 Dec. 1888: 58. (V) [letter in support of "continental free trade"; signed Toronto, 22 Dec. 1888]

"Quebec: Historical Review." Picturesque Quebec. Ed. George Munro Grant. Preface by Julian Hawthorne. Chicago: Belford, Clarke, 1888. xii, 141 pp. (NG 0386650).

Muskoka Illustrated: With Descriptive Narrative of the Picturesque Region. Toronto: Bryce, 1888. 20 pp. (Watters, CIHM #02389) [postcard-size book; note says the "writer...has occasionally availed himself of passages from articles formerly contributed by him to the Canadian Monthly, and to that section of Picturesque Canada which deals with "The Georgian Bay and Muskokan Lakes"; possibly the same as the Picturesque Muskoka attributed to Adam by CM 1898]

Handbook of Commercial Union: A Collection of Papers Read Before the Commercial Union Club, Toronto, with Speeches, Letters and Other Documents in Favour of Unrestricted Reciprocity with the United States. By the Commercial Union Club of Toronto. Ed. by Adam. Introd. by Goldwin Smith. Toronto: Hunter, Rose, 1888. xxxvi, 294 pp. (N, LC, CIHM #00725)

#### 1889

Rev. of Tangled Ends, by Espérance [Maud Ardagh]. Week 4 Jan. 1889: 74. (V) [positive review of a book of tales by a former Canadian Monthly contributor]

"What to Wear at Fancy Dress Balls." Saturday Night 5 Jan. 1889: 7. (V) [advice to women attending costume balls with a historical theme: "elderly dames" shouldn't go as Titanias or Floras, blondes as Cleopatras, etc.]

- "International Trade Relations." Letter. Week 18 Jan. 1889: 105. (V) [follow-up to letter of 28 Dec. 1888 (above) in which Adam reiterates his belief in reciprocal trade; signed Toronto, 15 Jan.]
- "Retarding Influences on Canadian Literature." Week 25 Jan. 1889: 120. (V) [materialism of new nation; dependency status; prejudicial criticism or ignoring of native Canadian literary efforts; concludes hopefully]
- "Canadian Art: A Reminiscence of the North-West Rebellion." Week 22 Feb. 1889: 186. (V) [praise of a statue by Hamilton MacCarthy of Col. Arthur T.H. Williams, the Rebellion commander who defeated the Métis at Batoche and led the pursuit of Big Bear]
- "The Influence of the Aesthetic and the Moral Sense on Public Life." Week 12 Ap. 1889: 293-94. (V) [argues the necessity of these senses to the politician]
- "The Repression of Art Culture." Week 31 May 1889: 405-06. (V) [criticizes Lt.-Gov. Sir Alexander Campbell's remarks at the May opening of an exhibition of the Ontario Society of Artists to the effect that there is no room in Canada for any but mechanical pursuits because Campbell's remark discourages Canadian artists; but, Adam adds, he has no sympathy with the "nativist cry"; art must be good, not just Canadian]
- "A New Canadian Anthology." Rev. of Songs of the Great Dominion, ed. W.D. Lighthall. Week 7 June 1889: 421. (V) [positive, though finds the criteria for inclusion to be more historical/geographical than "purely literary," and regrets the omission of O'Hagan, Traill, and especially Wetherald, the last omitted, he suggests, because her poems are more "introspective" than overtly Canadian]
- Rev. of Profit-Sharing Between Employer and Employee, by Nicholas Paine Gilman. Week 28 June 1889: 472-73. (V)
- "Canadian Literature and the Alleged Preponderance of Verse." Letter. Week 5 July 1889: 491. (V) [in response to a Week contributor who complained of the absence of Canadian prose-writers, Adam contends that there are many such and that for there to be more the contributor should have told "how these additional writers are to find in Canada either the field or an adequate remuneration for their work"]
- "Niagara Revisited." Week 9 Aug. 1889: 567. (V) [descriptive essay written after Ontario and New York State governments cooperated in forming a National Park at Niagara, freeing the falls from "the vile clutch of Mammon"]

"Prominent Canadians XXVIII: The Hon. John Hawkins Hagarty, D.C.L., Chief Justice of Ontario." Week 23 Aug. 1889: 600-01. (V) [biography]

"Sir Edwin Arnold, Buddhism, and the Future Life." Week 20 Sep. 1889: 661-62. (V) [bio-critical essay]

"Literature, Nationality, and the Tariff." Week 27 Dec. 1889: 59-60. (V). Rpt. in Search for English-Canadian Literature, 1975. [essay on the "exodus" of Canadian writers to London, New York, and Boston and its causes: insufficient readers, inadequate copyright protection, and discriminatory postal and tariff policies]

#### 1890

"Garth Grafton's Triumph: Literary Success of a Young Canadian Lady." Rev. of A Social Departure, by Sara Jeannette Duncan. Saturday Globe (Toronto) 28 June 1890: 5. (V) [lengthy glowing review of a "literary tour de force"; regrets that a Canadian writer has had to pose as an American and publish in London, but "This is but another evidence...of the disabilities common to the status of a dependency and of the national effacement that is forced upon a clever and aspiring writer, who is only a Colonist"]

"Canadian Literature." Week 4 July 1890: 486. (V) [text of speech given at last week's banquet of the Employing Printers' Association in Toronto; there is a CanLit, it's just younger and thus less developed than AmLit; obstacles to further development include materialism of new nation and Canada's dependency status]

Warren Hastings: An Essay by Lord Macaulay; Edited for High School Use, with Introductions, Notes, etc.... By Adam and George Dickson. Toronto: Copp Clark, 1890. xxvii, 25-141 pp. (NM 0012498, CIHM #09371) [preface signed July 1890]

"In Love's Dear Thrall: A Romance of the Muskoka Lakes." Week 29 Aug. 1890: 618-20 and 5 Sep. 1890: 633-34. (V) [melodramatic short story; rising Canadian artist and littérateur Frank Leighton falls in love with an ostensibly widowed English tourist, Lady Mercedes, after saving her from a storm on the Muskoka, but Lady M's dead husband isn't as dead as she thought...]

#### 1891

Toronto, Old and New: A Memorial Volume, Historical, Descriptive and Pictorial, Designed to Mark the Hundredth Anniversary of the Passing of the Constitutional Act of 1791, Which Set

Apart the Province of Upper Canada and Gave Birth to York (Now Toronto)...with Some Sketches of the Men Who Have Made or Are Making the Provincial Capital. Introd. by Rev. Henry Scadding. Toronto: Mail Printing Company, [Apr.?] 1891. 212 pp. (N, Watters, CIHM #00724). Coles Canadiana Collection. Toronto: Coles, 1974. 212 pp. (CaNSHSMU)

Illustrated Toronto, "the Queen City of the West," by G. Mercer Adam. Montreal: McConniff, [Dec.?] 1891. 61 pp. (N, CIHM #02390) [the Week's review of 11 Dec. 1891 says this is from the Gem Souvenirs of the Principal Cities of the Dominion series and that Adam contributed the "literary portion" (28)]

Illustrated Halifax. By Norbert Metzler and Adam. Gem Souvenirs of the Principal Cities of the Dominion. Montreal: John McConniff, [Dec.?] 1891. (Week 11 Dec. 1891: 28)

Canada's Patriot Statesman: The Life and Career of the Right Honourable Sir John A. Macdonald, G.C.B...Based on the Work of Edmund Collins, Revised, with Additions to Date, by G. Mercer Adam.... London: McDermid & Logan; Toronto: Rose, [Dec.?] 1891. xvix, 17-613 pp. (N, BMCat, Watters, CIHM #08397). Toronto: Rose, 1891. xviii, 17-613 pp. (CIHM #27751). Toronto: Rose; London: McDermid & Logan; Toronto: C.R. Parish, 1891. xviii, 17-213 pp. (CIHM #26958) [Adam revised Collins' first and last three chapters, and added "no fewer" than ten new chapters (Week 25 Dec. 1891: 59)]

Illustrated Quebec (The Gibraltar and Tourists' Mecca of America) Under French and English Occupancy: The Story of its Famous Annals; with Pen Pictures Descriptive of the Matchless Beauty and Quaint Mediæval Characteristics of the Canadian Gibraltar; With a Glance at Its Picturesque Environs. Montreal: J. McConniff, 1891. 3-87 pp. (N, LC, Watters). Another ed.? with introd. by Arthur G. Doughty and supp. chapters by J.M. Lemoine. Montreal: McConniff, ©1891. 112 pp. (N, CIHM #00772). McConniff: Montreal, 1892. (BMCat). N.p., 1893. (N) [announced as "in press" in Dec. 1891 McConniff advertising circular (CIHM #09338); Week of 18 Mar. 1892 confirms BMCat's edition--greeting it as a new book--and says it's from the Gem Souvenirs of the Principal Cities of the Dominion series (251)]

#### 1892

"Alfred (Lord) Tennyson: The Spirit of Modern Poetry." Great Writers. Vol. 13 of Beacon Lights of History. By John Lord. New York, 1892. 437-77. (N) [see note under "John Ruskin," 1902]

Prominent Men of Canada: A Collection of Persons Distinguished in Professional and Political Life and in the Commerce and

Industry of Canada. Ed. Adam. Toronto: Canadian Bibliographical Publishing, 1892. 476 pp. (N, BMCat, Watters, CIHM #00030)

## 1893

A History of Upper Canada College, 1829-1892; with Contributions by Old Upper Canada College Boys, Lists of Head-Boys, Exhibitioners, University Scholars and Medal-Lists, and a Roll of the School. Comp. and ed. George Dickson and Adam. Toronto: Rowsell & Hutchison, 1893. 327 pp. (N, BMCat 1956-65 supp., LC, CIHM #02659) [noted and praised in Week's "Library Table" of 19 Jan. 1894]

Johnson's Universal Cyclopedia; a New Edition Prepared by a Corps of Thirty-Six Editors... 8 vols. Gen. ed. Charles Kendall Adams. New York: Appleton, A.J. Johnson Co., 1893-97. Rpt. 1898-99. (NJ 0132553-554) [CM 1898 credits Adam with contributing articles on Canadian subjects to "Johnson's 'Universal Cyclopædia'" sometime after his removal to New York in 1892; this encyclopedia went through many editions, but if Adam did contribute to it, this would seem the most likely edition]

The Encyclopædia Britannica: A Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, Literature, and General Literature; The Peale Reprint, with New Maps and Original American Articles by Eminent Writers, with American Revisions and Additions by W.H. DePuy. 9th ed. 25 vols. Chicago: Werner, 1893. (NE 0118724) [again according to CM 1898, Adam contributed articles on Canadian subjects to the "Americanized" Encyclopædia Britannica; Morgan doesn't specify which edition, but this would seem the most likely, as it was published by the same firm that three years later hired Adam as editor of Self-Culture, which it also published]

## 1894

Sandow on Physical Training; A Study in the Perfect Type of the Human Form...Preceded by a Biography...Compiled and Edited, under Mr. Sandow's Direction, by G. Mercer Adam. London: Gale & Polden; New York: J.S. Tait & Sons, 1894. (N, BMCat) ["A novel work is in the press of J. Selwyn Tait and Sons. It has been written by G. Mercer Adam, and it is called 'Sandow on Physical Culture.' It will be illustrated by numerous portraits of this modern Samson, who has posed in statuesque attitudes before Sarony's camera; and also by a series of 'thumb-nail' sketches made from life by M. Cassarm, that will enliven the margins of the book" (Week 12 Jan. 1894: 162); mentioned as forthcoming in "Literary and Personal" for Week of 30 Mar. 1894: 426]

A History of Our Own Times from the Accession of Queen Victoria to the General Election of 1880; by Justin McCarthy...with an Introduction and Supplementary Chapters Bringing the Work Down to Mr. Gladstone's Resignation of the Premiership (March, 1894); with a New Index, and Additions to the Survey of the Literature of the Reign, by G. Mercer Adam. 2 vols. New York: International Book Co., 1894. (N, LC, CIHM #09388-89) 2 vols. New York: American Publishers Corp., ©1894. (NM 0018936). 2 vols. New York: Hovenden Co., ©1894. (NM 0018937). 2 vols. New York: Lovell, Coryell, ©1894. (NM 0018939). 2 vols. World's Famous Literature Ser. Philadelphia: D. McKay, ©1894. (NM 0018941). 4 vols. New York: U.S. Book Co., ©1894, 1895. (NM 0018942, CIHM #32721-24) [International was a subsidiary of J.W. Lovell's U.S. Book Company, for which Adam was house editor before its collapse in 1893; preparing this book may well have been part of Adam's job, as excepting McKay the rest of the imprints listed here were all off-shoots of U.S. Book]

Scenic Marvels of the New World: A Pictorial Tour of the North American Continent, Exhibiting Its Incomparable Natural Wonders...with a Representation of the Chief Cruisers of the United States Navy. Ed. and introd. by Adam. New York: J. Clarke, 1894. (N, LC) [the Scenic America, from Alaska to the Gulf of Mexico attributed to Adam by CM 1898?]

## 1895

"Recent Fiction in Britain." Canadian Magazine Jan. 1895: 218-23. (V) [opens with an invective against "The degeneracy of the novel in the hands of the new woman," which, "if the defiling stream is to continue, would reconcile us to a censorship of the press" (218); admires A. Conan Doyle, R.L. Stevenson, J.M. Barrie, Kipling, Walter Besant, Grant Allen, Anthony Hope, Gilbert Parker, and the "legitimate" work of women in fiction, as represented by Mrs. Humphrey Ward, Olive Schreiner, and newcomers Sara Jeannette Duncan and Marie Corelli; ed. note says rpt. from advance sheets of "The Later Literature of the Reign" in A History of Our Own Times, 1894]

"Canadian Copyright." Tribune (NY) 9 Aug. 1895. (Parker 297n46)

Men and Women of the Time: A Dictionary of Contemporaries. Ed. Victor G. Plarr. 14th ed. London & New York: Routledge, 1895. 986 pp. (NM 0437234) [according to CM 1898, after leaving Canada Adam contributed articles on Canadian subjects to the "English 'Men of the Time'"; from the 13th edition, this work was titled as above, and although Plarr's preface doesn't mention Adam or any other contributors; this would seem the most likely edition for Adam to have contributed to since the 13th edition predates his arrival in the States by a year]

## 1896

The People's Standard History of the United States from the Landing of the Norsemen to the Present Time; by E[dward] S. Ellis...Assisted by, with Introduction, Annotation, Lists of Authorities, etc., G.M. Adam. London: Ward, Lock, & Bowden, 1896. (BMCat under Ellis)

## 1897

"An Acadian Pilgrimage: Halifax, and Land of 'Evangeline.'" Self-Culture Jan. 1897: 298-302. (N)

"Bayard Taylor, Poet and Traveller." Self-Culture Sep. 1897: 531-34. (N)

## 1898

Introduction. Spain in History.... By James A. Harrison. New York & Akron, OH; Werner, 1898. [i-xxvii?]. (NH 0137754, BMCat under Harrison)

## 1899

Our Picturesque Northern Neighbor: Historical and Descriptive Sketches of the Scenery and Life in and Around Toronto, Along the Canadian Shore of Lake Huron, in the Northwest Territories and in British Columbia.... By George Munro Grant. Chicago: Belford, 1899. 280 pp. (NG 0386645) [probably the "American" (Belford was run by expatriate Canadians) reissue of Grant's Picturesque Canada, which CM 1898 says Adam "supervised"]

## 1901

"Special Introduction." Classical (Imaginary) Conversations: Greek, Roman, Modern. By Walter Savage Landor. New York & London, M.W. Dunne, 19[01?]. (N). Universal Classics Library; Edition De Luxe [on spine]. Washington & London: M.W. Dunne, 1901. ix-xiii. (CaNSHD) [acknowledges that Landor is unknown to the "general reader" (ix), but recommends him "to the few choice minds who can appreciate his wondrous intellect, the power and majesty of his sonorous prose, and the grace and melody of his idyllic verse..." (xiii)]

"Walter Savage Landor." Canadian Magazine Dec. 1901: 128-30. (V) [rpt. from Adam's introduction to an edition of Landor's work published by M. Walter Dunne, NY, 1901]

## 1902

"John Ruskin: Modern Art." The New Era: A Supplementary Volume, by Recent Writers. Vol. 14 of Beacon Lights of History. By John Lord. New York, 1902. 71-112. (N) [John Lord's Beacon Lights of History ran past his own death in 1894 to 15 volumes in 1902 (NL 04899063)]

The Student's Reference Work: A Cyclopædia for Teachers, Students, and Families. Ed. Chandler B. Beach, associate ed. Adam. 3 vols. New York & Chicago: C.B. Beach & Co., 1902. (N, LC). Philadelphia & Chicago: Howard-Severance Co., 1903. (N)

## 1903

The Confessions of a Clarionet Player: A Novel; Translated from the French of M.M. Erckmann-Chatrian and Edited with Introduction by G. Mercer Adam... New York: A.L. Burt, 1903. (N)

Abraham Lincoln, a Character Sketch, by Robert Dickinson Sheppard...with Supplementary Essay, by G. Mercer Adam...also, Suggestions from the Life of Lincoln, by Prof. Francis W. Shepardson...[and] The Early Years of Abraham Lincoln, by Prof. Goldwin Smith...Together with Anecdotes, Characteristics, and Chronology. Milwaukee, WI: H.G. Campbell, 1903. (N)

Alexander Hamilton, a Character Sketch by Edward S. Ellis...with an Essay on the Patriot by G. Mercer Adam...[and] The Unusual and Remarkable in the Life of Alexander Hamilton by B.J. Cigrand...Together with Anecdotes, Characteristics, and Chronology. Milwaukee, WI: H.G. Campbell, 1903. (N)

Daniel Webster, a Character Sketch by Elizabeth A. Reed...with Supplementary Essay, by G. Mercer Adam...Together with Anecdotes, Characteristics, and Chronology. Milwaukee, WI: H.G. Campbell, 1903. (N)

George Washington, a Character Sketch, by Eugene Parsons...with Supplementary Essay, by G. Mercer Adam...and an article by Prof. Henry Wade Rogers...Together with Anecdotes, Characteristics, and Chronology. Great Americans of History Ser. Milwaukee, WI: H.G. Campbell, 1903. 180 pp. (N, LC). Rpt. as The Life of George Washington... Historic Americans Ser. Chicago: Laird & Lee, 1913. 184 pp. (N, LC)

Henry Clay, the Great Compromiser, by Howard W. Caldwell...with an Essay by G. Mercer Adam...Together with Anecdotes,



Characteristics, and Chronology. Great Americans of History Ser. Milwaukee, WI: H.G. Campbell, 1903. 180 pp. (N)

James Otis, the Pre-Revolutionist, by John Clark Ridpath...[and] The Character of James Otis by Charles K. Edmunds, Ph.D., with an Essay on the Patriot by G. Mercer Adam...Together with Anecdotes, Characteristics, and Chronology. Milwaukee, WI: H.G. Campbell, 1903. (N)

John Hancock, a Character Sketch by John R. Musick...with an Essay on the Patriot by G. Mercer Adam...Together with Anecdotes, Characteristics, and Chronology by L.B. Vaughan and Others. Milwaukee, WI: H.G. Campbell, 1903. (N)

Thomas Jefferson, a Character Sketch by Edward S. Ellis...with Supplementary Essay, by G. Mercer Adam...with an Account of the Louisiana Purchase, Together with Anecdotes, Characteristics, and Chronology. Great Americans of History Ser. Milwaukee, WI: H.G. Campbell, 1903. 180 pp. (N, LC). Rpt. as The Life of Thomas Jefferson.... Historic Americans Ser. Chicago: Laird & Lee, 1913. 180 pp. (N, LC)

#### 1904

"Professor Goldwin Smith." Canadian Magazine Dec. 1904: 113-19. (V) [eulogistic biography]

Makers of American History: The Lewis and Clark Exploring Expedition, 1804-'06, by G. Mercer Adam; [bound with] John Charles Fremont, by Charles Wentworth Upham. New York: University Society, 1904. 189; iv, 176 pp. (N, LC)

The History of Russia from the Earliest Times to 1877, by Alfred Rambaud [1842-1905]; Translated by Leonora B. Lang, with Additional Chapters Covering the Period from 1877-1904 by G. Mercer Adam. Standard ed. 2 vols. New York: A.L. Burt, 1904. (N, LC) [the life of Peter the Great attributed to Adam by CM 1912?]

#### 1905

The Water-Babies: A Fairy-Tale for Land-Babies, by Charles Kingsley; Slightly Abridged, in Words of One Syllable, and Ed. by G. Mercer Adam. Illus. Carll B. Williams. Akron, OH: Saalfield Publishing, 1905. 104 pp. (N, LC)

The Life of General Robert E. Lee, by G. Mercer Adam: The Life-Career and Military Achievements of the Great Southern General, with a Record of the Campaigns of the Army of Northern Virginia.... Burt's Library of the World's Best Books. New York: A.L. Burt, 1905. (N)

## 1906

Speeches of Abraham Lincoln, Including Inaugurals and Proclamations. Selected, ed. and introd. by Adam. Burt's Library of the World's Best Books. New York: A.L. Burt, 1906. xxiv, 417 pp. (N, LC)

Spain and Portugal: Edited from Standard Authorities by G. Mercer Adam, with Introduction by Wilfred H. Munro. History of Nations Ser. Vol. 8. Editor-in-chief H[enry?] C[abot?] Lodge. Philadelphia: J.D. Morris, 1906. xxiii, 574 pp. (N). Chicago: H.W. Snow & Son, 1910. xxiii, 574 pp. (N). Ghent ed. New York: P.F. Collier & Son, 1913. xxii, 574 pp. (N). University ed. New York: Collier, 1913. xxii, 574 pp. (N). Ghent ed. New York: Collier, 1916. xxiii, 574 pp. (N). Memorial ed. New York: Collier, 1928. xxiii, 558 pp. (N, LC). New York: Collier, 1932. xxiii, 559 pp. (N). New York: Collier, 1936. xxii, 561 pp. (N, LC). New York: Collier, [1939]. xxiii, 563 pp. (N, LC) [all editions say Vol. 8 in History of Nation Series, Editor-in-chief Lodge; probably a remnant from the original plates]

## 1908

Lovell's Gazetteer of the Dominion of Canada.... Ed. and introd. by Adam. 4th issue, "carefully revised." Montreal: J. Lovell, 1908. L, 51-973 pp. (BMCat, LC)

## Posthumous

Greece, by C[harles] W[illiam] C[hadwick] Oman...with Continuation from the Time of Alexander to the Present Day by G. Mercer Adam. Ghent ed. New York: P.F. Collier & Son, 1916. xiii, 581 pp. (N, LC). New York: Collier, 1928. xiii, 581 pp. (LC). History of Nations Ser. Vol. 2. New York: Collier, 1936. xiii, 590 pp. (LC) [Adam's continuation can't have been too close to "the present day," as he'd been dead since 1912; presumably there is an earlier ed. of this book]

The Search for English-Canadian Literature: An Anthology of Critical Articles from the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries. Ed. Carl Ballstadt. Literature of Canada Poetry and Prose in Reprint Ser. no. 16. Toronto & Buffalo: U of Toronto P, 1975. (CaNSHD) [reprints three of Adam's Week essays: "Literature, Nationality, and the Tariff" (Dec. 1889) 24-30; "Native Literature and the Scoffing Spirit" (Jan. 1888) 46-51; and "Nationalism and the Literary Spirit" (Jan. 1888) 168-70]

**Lily E[mily] F[rances] Barry (1864-1955)**

**Biographical.** CM 1898, 1912. On the editorial staff of Collier's Weekly from 1893-96, Barry did not remain in New York long enough to make it into American reference books. She is remembered in Canada in Morgan's Canadian Men and Women of the Time, and more substantially in the Canadian Newspaper Service's National Reference Book on Canadian Men and Women, 1936 edition.

**Archival.** The Dictionary of Canadian Biography project of the University of Toronto Press has a card on Barry (a copy of which I am indebted to Carole Gerson for providing) dated 17 Apr. 1962 that lists as consultant Barry's niece, Miss Lilian M. Steers, then resident at 47-265 Daly Ave., Ottawa. The National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections does not list any archival repository for Collier's Weekly during Barry's period with the magazine, but the New York Public Library does have the records of its publisher from the 1930s, the Crowell-Collier Publishing Company, which may include earlier records (NUCMC 68-1764). Barry materials may also be found in the morgue of the Montreal Star (for which she worked from 1896-1909) and in the records of the Canadian Authors' Association.

**Bibliographical.** BMCat; RG; SN; Watters. According to the National Reference Book (cited hereafter as NRB) Barry's "[p]oems, short stories, essays and translations have appeared in Canadian, American, and English periodicals." Perhaps, but the record of these appearances is scant. By all accounts (including her own) a dedicated poet, Barry does not appear in Marion Sader's Comprehensive Index to English-Language Little Magazines 1890-1970, which indexes one hundred American, English, and international titles. Despite her active membership in the Canadian Authors' Association, she is also conspicuously absent from the pages of the CAA-published Canadian Poetry Magazine. In short, if Barry published as much and as widely as the NRB entry perhaps too graciously implies, she did so neither in the little magazines or in the mainstream magazines indexed by Poole's Index and the Reader's Guide. I have been unable to locate a single American publication for Barry; atypically for the expatriates, the bulk of her known publications are Canadian.

The glaring gaps in this bibliography are Barry's editorial work for Collier's (unindexed for her period) and her contributions to the Montreal Star under the pseudonyms "Mrs. Merry Body" and "Primrose." Finally, Morgan notes in his 1912 edition of Canadian Men and Women that a volume of Barry's essays along the lines of her 1901 collection In the Paths of Peace called The Living Present is "in press," but this does not appear to have been published.

"Prominent Canadians XXV: Archibald Lampman." Week 10 Apr. 1891: 298-300. (V) [biography; signed Ottawa]

- "To the Princess Mary of Teck." Dominion Illustrated Monthly Apr. 1892: 143. (V). Rpt. in Review of Reviews (London) May 1893. (NRB) [first published poem (NRB); sympathy and encouragement for Princess Mary after her loss of "crown, kingdom, throne, and love"; signed Lily E.F. Barry]
- "Chrysanthemums." Saturday Night 17 Dec. 1892: 8. (SN) [poem]
- In the Paths of Peace. Illus. A.G. Racey. Montreal: Canada Engraving & Litho. Co., 1901. vii, 310 pp. (BMCat, Watters) [124 short inspirational and occasional essays on such subjects as "Self-Reliance," "Jealousy," "Weariness," etc.; if collected from the Montreal Star not acknowledged as such; NRB cites an unlocated English edition published by Burns & Oates]
- "Opportunities for the Convent Graduate." Catholic World Mar. 1902: 793-800. (V) [text of address to the Convent of Grey Nuns in Ottawa on the inauguration of the Alumnae Reading Association, by convent graduate Lilian J. [sic] Barry of Montreal; tells audience that "Work is the alphabet of success" (797)]
- "Laurentian Summer Song." Canadian Magazine June 1918: 124-26. (V) [poem; signed Lily E.F. Barry]
- "Poetry and Science." Poetry Year Book 1926-27. Poetry Group, Canadian Authors Association, Montreal Branch, n.d. 3-5. (CaNSHD) [lyric in praise of science because it all leads to God; "For though in eager Youth I loved thee best, / Sweet poesy, and scorned the sober page / (Of law and fact, axiom and average), / Now Time has set me a sublimer test..."; rpt. courtesy of The Poetry Review; this is the second Year Book of the Montreal Poetry Group (I could not locate a copy of the first), which printed the winning poems in its annual contest plus selected poems by group members; Barry's belongs to the latter category; the winner of the age sixteen and under category for this year was a young Dorothy Livesay for her poem "Fireweed"]
- Preface and "Love and Fear." Poetry Year Book 1927-28. Poetry Group, Canadian Authors Association, Montreal Branch, n.d. iii-iv and 2. (CaNSHD) ["This Poetry group is doing its humble best to seek out and to reveal manifestations of talent and the creative faculty among our own people" (iv); poem again not a winner, but one of "others selected by the editorial committee"]
- "Cote-Des-Neiges (A February Morning)." Poetry Year Book 1928-29. Poetry Group, Canadian Authors Association, Montreal Branch, n.d. 2-3. (CaNSHD) [descriptive poem with skillful use of sound; won Honourable Mention for best

original poem about Montreal or some local feature, from a total field of 585 poems]

- "Jobless." Poetry Year Book 1929-30. Poetry Group, Canadian Authors Association, Montreal Branch, n.d. 3-4. (CaNSHD) [religious poem about life becoming secondary to the "machine" of commerce; one of 14 winners this year from a field of 900; won Honourable Mention for best short poem in French or English]
- "Eyes." Poetry Review (London) 1930. (NRB) [poem]
- "A Poet Keeps House." Poetry of To-Day (London) 1932. (NRB) [poem; Poetry of To-Day was a supplement of The Poetry Review (ULS)]
- "Mad Girl's Song." Poetry Review (London) March 1933. (NRB) [poem]
- "The Miracle Man (Frère André)." Montreal in Verse: An Anthology of English Poetry by Montreal Poets. Montreal: Writers of the Poetry Group of the Canadian Authors Association, Montreal Branch, [1942]. 12. (CaNSHD) [fourteen-line poem for a humble priest who "covet[s] nothing" but God in "a city where a million souls / For commerce meet"]

**Craven Langstroth Betts (1853-1941)**

**Biographical.** AAB; CM 1898; CWW 1910; DAA; NCAAB 38: 227-28; WhAm 1; WVNY. Betts' life is scattered through a number of biographical sources, none without significant gaps. The most complete sketch is in the National Cyclopædia of American Biography. In addition, information on his New York years can be found in the published letters and several biographies of his close friend, American poet Edwin Arlington Robinson. In particular, Betts appears repeatedly in Edwin Arlington Robinson's Letters to Edith Brower, a collection edited by Richard Cary.

**Archival.** The Provincial Archives of British Columbia in Victoria has some 100 undated manuscript pages of Betts' work (ULMC 1: 92, 12-89), and Queen's University in Kingston has acquired another file of original Betts' papers (7.5 cm., ca. 1880-1900) (ULMC 1981-82 supp.: 37, 75-98). Several lesser Canadian holdings (mostly correspondence with other authors) can be found by consulting the index to ULMC 1981-82. In the States, Betts' letters to poet and bookseller Samuel Loveman (1887-1976) have been preserved in Loveman's papers at the University of Delaware in Newark (NUCMC 85-366). Also, the Edwin Arlington Robinson collections at Princeton, Harvard, and the New York Public Library undoubtedly contain more on Betts than I have gathered from the published portions of these papers.

**Bibliographical.** BMCat; CIHM; LC; N; RG; Watters. In addition to the periodicals listed below, Betts is also known to have contributed to the Youth's Companion in Boston, and Puck, Judge, the Brooklyn Eagle, and the Herald in New York--all probably prior to the turn of the century. He has also been credited with several works that do not appear to have ever been published, including an "extensive chronological anthology" of American poetry said to be in progress in the mid-1890s (CM 1898); a second volume of his and Arthur Wentworth Eaton's Tales of a Garrison Town, which the Week in its "Literary and Personal Gossip" for 25 Nov. 1892 claimed to be "partly completed" and already contracted with F. Warne and Company for publication in England and Canada (828); and his last project, an anthology of Canadian poetry that the New York Times reported on Betts' death to have been "in the hands of a publisher" (31 July 1941: 17).

"Lady Maud." Week 23 Dec. 1886: 63. (V) [poem]

"Spring." Week 14 Apr. 1887: 319. (V) [sonnet]

"Canada." Week 28 July 1887: 566. (V) [patriotic sonnet]

Songs from Béranger: Translated in the Original Metres by Craven Langstroth Betts. New York: Frederick A. Stokes, 1888. 253 pp. (NB 0328391, Watters, CIHM #03574). New York: Stokes, 1892. 253 pp. (NB 0328392). 2nd ed. New York: Stokes, 1893. 253 pp. (NB 0328393) [translations of the Chansons of French poet Pierre-Jean de Béranger (1780-1857) preceded by a ten-page sketch of Béranger and followed by a sonnet, "L'Envoi," to Béranger; dedicatory sonnet to Edmund Clarence Stedman (1833-1908); Stokes was then a young but reputable firm that atypically sought out young American writers, publishing the first volumes of such '90s poets as Frank Dempster Sherman, Clinton Scollard, and Samuel Minturn Peck (Tebbel 375)]

"Goring's Ride." Week 14 Nov. 1890: 790. (V) [military poem; pentameter stanzas of six lines]

The Perfume-Holder A Persian Love Poem. New York: Saalfield and Fitch, Publishers, 12 Bible House, Astor Place, [Dec.?] 1891. [i-vi], 1-49 pp. (N, Watters, CIHM #05875). New York, ©1896. 49 pp. (N). 2nd ed. New York: Monarch Press, 1910. 5-53 pp. (N) [long poem in Chaucerian pentameter: "Fair Naishápúr, two hundred years ago..."; first edition dedicated to R.G.W., second to Edwin Arlington Robinson; N's note for the first edition says based on H. Arthur Kennedy's prose story "Selim the Unsociable" in the Temple Bar of Mar. 1889, but this information does not appear in the book itself (a note was added to this effect in Betts' Selected Poems of 1916, and may also have been added to later printings of The Perfume-Holder); presumably Betts changed publishers at the eleventh hour, as the Week of 25 Sep. 1891 reported The Perfume-Holder as being "in press" with Welsh, Frecker, and Co. of NY (692); Saalfield & Fitch had been in business less than six months before publishing Betts, and dissolved shortly thereafter (Tebbel 465); copy microfilmed by CIHM is inscribed "To Mr & Mrs Reade from Craven L. Betts Dec. 8th/91" (p. [i]), probably John Reade, literary editor of the Montreal Gazette; copy in Dalhousie University's Killam Library inscribed to Charles G.D. Roberts from Betts]

"In Praise of Dr. Holmes." Critic 3 Sep. 1892: 123. (RG 1890-99) [poem]

Tales of a Garrison Town. By Arthur Wentworth Eaton and Betts. New York & St. Paul: D.D. Merrill, 1892. 250 pp. illus. (N, BMCat, LC, CIHM #09072) [fourteen prose sketches set in Halifax, NS; dedicated by both authors to Elizabeth Cushing, Betts' future wife; D.D. Merrill was a minor New York house that failed a year later (Tebbel 382)]

"Revelation." Harper's Weekly 21 Apr. 1894: 370. (RG 1890-99) [poem]

"Edmund Spenser," "Geoffrey Chaucer," and "William Morris."  
Outlook 12 Dec. 1896: 1079. (RG 1890-99). All collected in  
A Garland of Sonnets, 1899.

A Garland of Sonnets: In Praise of the Poets. New York: M.F.  
 Mansfield & A. Wessels, 1899. 7, xxxiii illus. plates. (N,  
 Watters, CIHM #05871) [thirty-three sonnets, each named for  
 the poet it honours (from Homer to Kipling), and a  
 concluding "L'Envoi"; dedicated to Titus Munson Coan;  
 Mansfield & Wessels was a small house with offices at 1135  
 Broadway]

"The Hollyhocks," "Don Quixote," and "To the Moonflower." An  
 American Anthology 1787-1900 Selections Illustrating the  
 Editor's Critical Review of American Poetry in the  
 Nineteenth Century. Ed. Edmund Clarence Stedman. Boston,  
 etc.: Houghton Mifflin, [Aug.?] 1900, [rpt. 1928?]. pp.  
 552, 552-53, and 553. (CaNSHD) [three lyrics, copyright  
 for each vested in Betts (xi): "Some space beyond the garden  
 close..."; "Gaunt, rueful knight, on raw-boned, shambling  
 hack..."; and "Pale, climbing disk, who dost lone vigil  
 keep..."]

"Defense of the Long Saut." Short Stories and Poems, by American  
 Authors: Craven Langstroth Betts, Belle Travers McCahan,  
 A.B. Woodworth, Clara McCorkle MacDonald, R.A.S. Wade, Grace  
 Hewitt Sharp, Donald L. Sutton, Mrs. Samuel Hebron Baker,  
 V.I. and E.D. Wright, Belle Middleton, C.L. Kraber, Thomas  
 Wickersham, I.M. Soley. New York: Cochrane Publishing,  
 1909. 150 pp. 5-14. (N, LC) [versification of Francis  
 Parkman's account of the defense of Montreal by seventeen  
 Frenchman and five Algonquins against the Iroquois Nation;  
 thirty-three quatrains of iambic heptameter (Cary 151n3)]

The Promise, a Greek Idyl. [New York]: Monarch Press, 1910  
 [©1911]. 50 pp. (N) [long poem in blank verse; Betts'  
 habit of reworking his poems later led him to destroy "all  
 obtainable copies of the printed version" of this poem;  
 apparently he worked on it till his death, but was never  
 satisfied with it (NCAB 38: 227)]

Selected Poems of Craven Langstroth Betts. New York: Associated  
 Authors and Compilers, 1916. xii, 353 pp. (N, Watters,  
 CIHM #76133) [includes The Perfume-Holder, all the poems  
 from A Garland of Sonnets, and some 200 other poems; "This  
 edition limited to five hundred copies" (N)]

The Two Captains at Longwood, at Trafalgar. New York: Alfred  
 Allan Watts, 1921. 16 pp. (N, BMCat, Watters) [poems;  
 "Limited to 500 [numbered] copies" (N)]



The Perfume Holder and Other Poems. New York: J.T. White, 1922.  
xii, 353 pp. (N) [the identical pagination suggests that  
this is a retitled reprint of Selected Poems, 1916]

**Undated**

"Sonnets on Art, to the Memory of Edwin Arlington Robinson."  
Typewritten. 28 cm. ff.10 (N)

**Bliss Carman (1861-1929)**

Occasional pseudonyms: Louis Norman (ca. 1890), Slim Barcans (1894-?), and Ezra Weed (1917-18).

**Biographical.** CM 1898, 1912; DAA; DLB 92: 38-44 (by Donald Stephens); NCAB 18: 172-73, 21: 429-30; WhAm 1.

Carman still awaits a biographer. The early studies are incomplete, and the only modern biography, Muriel Miller's 1985 Bliss Carman: Quest & Revolt, written by a self-proclaimed "unrelenting Romantic" (278), is both too romantic and too inaccurate, especially with regard to dates. For now, the best published source for information about Carman's life is the Letters of Bliss Carman (McGill-Queen's UP, 1981), meticulously edited by H. Pearson Gundy, Lorne Pierce's successor as Carman's literary executor.

For Carman's years in New York, the most useful secondary sources are his cousin Charles G.D. Roberts' "Some Reminiscences of Bliss Carman in New York," published in the Canadian Poetry Magazine of December 1940; his friend Arthur Stringer's "Wild Poets I've Known" in Saturday Night of 1 March 1941; and his friend and sometime publisher Mitchell Kennerley's 1932 sketch for Pierce's uncompleted biography of Carman, printed by Gundy in Canadian Poetry: Studies/Documents/Reviews, volume 14 (1984). More recently, James Doyle has included several chapters on Carman's stateside work in his study of fellow expatriate Walter Blackburn Harte, The Fin de Siècle Spirit (ECW, 1995).

**Archival.** Carman's nearly two thousand extant letters (only 630 of which are reproduced in whole or part in the Letters of Bliss Carman) are scattered among thirty-seven university and public archives across Canada and the United States. See Gundy, Appendix A, for a description of the main repositories, and Appendix B for a listing of the remainder. For dated but still useful catalogues of archival materials at three of the largest repositories of Carman's papers, see A Catalogue of Canadian Manuscripts Collected by Lorne Pierce and Presented to Queen's University (Toronto: Ryerson, 1946); A Catalogue of the Rufus Hathaway Collection of Canadian Literature (Fredericton: University of New Brunswick, 1935); and "Manuscripts of Bliss Carman in the Harvard College Library," The Canadian Collection at Harvard University, volume 5 (Harvard UP, 1947).

**Bibliographical.** BMCat; CPI; GBIP; N; NS; NYTI; PI; Rogers; RG; Sader; SN; Watters; YC.

Carman's massive corpus has long been of interest to collectors and bibliographers,<sup>3</sup> but nothing approaching a complete bibliography of his work has yet been compiled. The

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<sup>3</sup>See, e.g., New York Times Saturday Review of Books and Art 17 Aug. 1901: 579, and Nathan Van Patten, "Bliss Carman and the Bibliophile," Queen's Quarterly 33 (1925): 202-05.

following bibliography, which aspires to but does not attain completeness, was compiled from the original items and from general indexes and catalogues, but also draws upon earlier efforts at Carman bibliography, notably Frederic F. Sherman's privately printed A Check List of First Editions of the Works of Bliss Carman (1915), later revised by Rufus H. Hathaway and included in Odell Shepard's 1923 Bliss Carman (118 items); William Inglis Morse's 1941 Bliss Carman: Bibliography, Letters, Fugitive Verses and Other Data, which lists books, fugitive verse, broadsheets, and leaflets from his own and Sherman's collections (300+ items); and especially Jacob Blanck's detailed bibliography of first Carman printings in broadsheet, leaflet, and book form for volume 2 of the Bibliography of American Literature (217+ items, cited below as BAL plus item number).

At 563 items plus hundreds of reprints, the following is the most comprehensive Carman bibliography yet compiled. It is, however, still incomplete. Absent by choice is Carman's weekly syndicated literary column, begun July of 1896 in the Boston Evening Transcript as "The Modern Athenian" and later carried by the New York Commercial Advertiser (in which it was titled "Marginal Notes") and the Chicago Evening Post before its termination in all three papers in early January of 1903. (See Terry Whalen's 1990 paper, "Carman as Critic," in Bliss Carman: A Reappraisal for a partial bibliography and an intelligent discussion of these neglected writings.) Absent by necessity are publications in a number of periodicals unavailable to me. I'm doubtful, for instance, that secondary sources have provided me with a complete list of Carman's appearances in four of the periodicals he published in early in his career, the University Monthly of the University of New Brunswick, the Harvard Advocate, the Harvard Monthly, and the New York Independent. Carman is also known to have contributed to a number of other periodicals that, like these, are unindexed over this period. According to Frank Luther Mott's History of American Magazines, Carman contributed to Harte's little magazine the Fly Leaf (extant 1895-96) (4: 389);<sup>4</sup> to the "Etchings" section of Munsey's Magazine ca. 1896-97 (4: 612); to the Criterion sometime after its 1897 move from St. Louis to New York (4: 66); and at about the same time to the St. Louis weekly Reedy's Mirror (4: 654). Evidence from Carman's letters and known publications also indicate multiple unlocated publications in Life, Town Topics, Smart Set, and the Saturday Evening Post. Finally, according to Whalen, Carman contributed unlocated reviews or literary essays ca. 1890-1910 to Book News Monthly, the Criterion, the Forum, the Independent, the International Interpreter, the New York Sunday World, Saturday Night (only poems found), and The World. Clippings of many of

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<sup>4</sup>Doyle does not mention Carman as contributing to the Fly Leaf in his chapter on the magazine in Fin de Siècle. Mott may be thinking of Carman's contribution to The Philistine (see "In Philistia" below, 1897), into which the Fly Leaf merged after its fifth issue in the spring of 1896 (Fin de Siècle 98).

these are in the Lorne Pierce Collection in the Queen's University Archives, which contains 117 items of Carman's prose (Whalen 78-79n1-2).

Unless otherwise indicated, references to Carman's letters are from the Letters of Bliss Carman, cited as LBC plus the letter's number. The bibliography has also been selectively annotated with substantive references from Laurel Boone's The Collected Letters of Sir Charles G.D. Roberts (unless useful for establishing composition dates, I have generally not quoted mere compliments on Carman's poems that Roberts had seen in press or that Carman had sent to him). Although he unfortunately does not provide sources, I have in the absence of other information given composition dates noted in John Robert Sorfleet's The Poems of Bliss Carman (1976), cited as PBC (perhaps incorrectly, I have taken Sorfleet's "written" on a specific date to mean "completed" on that date--it seems unlikely, even for Carman, that all of the poems Sorfleet gives specific dates for could have been written in a single day). Broadsheets containing a single poem have generally been listed in a note to the first serial publication of that poem. Broadsheets containing more than one title are listed separately, as are those for which no serial publication is known.

### 1883

- "An Hour on the Squatook." University Monthly (U of New Brunswick) May 1883: ? (Boone 35n) [prose sketch of a canoe race on the Squatook River; has same characters as Roberts' series "Ye True and Faithfulle Hystorie of Ye Sqattyckke Trippe," which had concluded in the University Monthly in March; signed W.B.C. (Boone 35n)]
- "Ma Belle Canadienne." Week 27 Dec. 1883 [4th issue]: 54. (V). Rpt. in New York Tribune 13 Jan. 1884: ? (Boone 39n). [sixty-line poem inspired by Carman's fiancée Julia Plant (Boone 38n); signed W. Bliss Carman; "He had got hold of a little volume on 'Ballades and Rondeaux' and other French verse-forms, by Gleeson White, which fired him by the fascinating difficulties it presented. Presently he was turning out a profusion of perfectly wrought ballades, rondels, rondeaux and triolets,--but the last two especially.... When I was editor of the Toronto Week...I printed a column-and-a-half poem of his, called 'Ma Belle Canadienne, Julie,' of which every stanza was a rondeau" (Roberts, "More Reminiscences of Bliss Carman," Dalhousie Review 10 [1930-31]: 2); see also Roberts' letter accepting the poem to Carman of 3 Dec. 1883 (Boone 37)]

## 1884

NB. "I have found many to agree with me in my estimate of the 'Wee White Book' Triolet; & the rondeau you sent me at the last moment is much admired, especially by [Archibald] Lampman & [John Almon] Ritchie. Also the triolets to me, in 'Rare Poems'" (Roberts to Carman 25 Oct. 1884, Boone 44). "I have mislaid, or lost, my copy of that old triolet which Carman, long, long ago, wrote to me. It begins--

'My glad Greek boy in love with life,  
Wake the old echoes with your song.'

Could you look it up, & have a typed copy made for me? It is in that scrap-book which you lent to [Rufus] Hathaway!" (Roberts to Lorne Pierce 27 Jan. 1933, Boone 432). All unlocated.

"The Hermit of Walden." University Monthly (U of New Brunswick) Jan. 1884: ? (Boone 39n) [critical essay on Henry David Thoreau]

"Fantasy and Passion." University Monthly (U of New Brunswick) Feb. and Mar. 1884: ? (Boone 39n) [critical essay on American writer Edgar Fawcett]

"To Her Palette" and "Given with a Pair of Scissors." Week 7 Feb. 1884: 155. (V) [light love poems]

"Two Sonnets." University Monthly (U of New Brunswick) June 1884: ? (Boone 45n)

"A Paddle's Song" and "Rondel." University Monthly (U of New Brunswick) Nov. 1884: ? (Boone 47n) [unsigned poems; attributed by Boone to Carman with support from letter from Roberts to Carman of 28 Nov. 1884, which reads in part: "I think...the perceptible reminiscence of [Bayard Taylor's] 'Bedouin['s] Love Song' in the 'Paddle Song' must be counted a blemish, notwithstanding that the imitation is in its best stanzas in no degree inferior to the poem imitated" (Boone 46)]

Revs. of The Algonquin Legends of New York, by Charles Leland, and Song and Story, by Edgar Fawcett. University Monthly (U of New Brunswick) Nov. 1884: ? (Boone 47n) [unsigned; attributed by Boone to Carman with support from letter from Roberts to Carman of 28 Nov. 1884]

"In the Tent Door." University Monthly (U of New Brunswick) Dec. 1884: ? (BAL 2566) [poem; from clipping in Queen's University Library]

## 1886

NB. "I like exceedingly well your Khayyam quatrains. Send over some more of your new verse;--have not seen the new Troubadour sonnet.... / I read your 'Mid-Winter Roundel' before the [Haliburton] Club, last meeting, & it will appear in the next [King's College] Record" (Roberts to Carman 22 Mar. 1886, Boone 60). All unlocated.

"In a Volume of Aldrich's Poems." Century Mar. 1886: 81. (V) [quatrain: "With evening-star's blue tender radiance, caught..."; signed W. Bliss Carmen [sic]; Thomas Bailey Aldrich (1836-1907), poet and editor of Atlantic Monthly from 1881 to 1890]

"An October Hush." October. Ed. Oscar Fay Adams. Boston: D. Lothrop & Co., [1886]. p. 67. (BAL 2600) [Oscar Fay Adams (1855-1919) was a New England poet and anthologist who later included Carman in his Dictionary of American Authors]

"In November." November. Ed. Oscar Fay Adams. Boston: D. Lothrop & Co., [1886]. p. 135. (BAL 2601)

## 1887

NB. "Mr. [William Morton] Fullerton of the [Boston Daily Advertiser] I like as well as any young man I have met since coming here [to Cambridge].... He gives me some reviewing to do, and is a good friend" (Carman to Muriel Carman 8 Mar. 1887, LBC #16). "Send [Carman] a copy [of your Among the Millet] (to Fredericton, N.B.) and he will give it a long and glowing review in the Boston Advertiser!" (Roberts to Archibald Lampman 18 Dec. 1888, Boone 97). Advertiser not examined.

"A Waft of Summer." Harvard Monthly Jan. 1887: ? (LBC #16n) [poem; "You remember the 'Waft of Summer'--well, Mr. Howells admired it, I believe, so I suppose it is pretty good" (Carman to Muriel Carman 8 Mar. 1887, LBC #16)]

"Shelley." Literary World (Boston) 8 Jan. 1887: ? (LBC #15n) [poem; also printed in A Woman's Exile broadsheet (1888); revised as "The White Gull," 1892 (LBC #15n); "Glad you liked the 'Shelley'; it is to be published in the records of the Shelley Society of London" (Carman to Muriel Carman 8 Mar. 1887, LBC #16)]

"To Clinton Scollard." Harvard Advocate 21 Jan. 1887: ? (LBC #15n). Rpt. with "Homeward" (otherwise unlocated) in Dulce est periculum Verses from the Harvard Advocate Third Series 1886-1906. Cambridge: The Harvard Advocate, [Oct.?] 1906. pp. 6-7 and 138. (BAL 2675) [Carman met Scollard (1860-1932), a poet and professor of English at Hamilton College

in Clinton, NY, in May of 1886 while visiting Boston publishers (Miller 39; LBC #14); "Must send you the Harvard Advocate with a long poem in it to Clinton Scollard. He has just written me a note, thanking me for it. He is a good chap and lives only a few streets off" (Carman to Muriel Carman 25 Jan. 1887, LBC #15)]

"Low Tide on Grand-Pré." Atlantic Monthly Mar. 1887: 313-14. (V). Anthologized in Songs of the Great Dominion, 1889. [lyric: "The sun goes down, and over all..."; also printed in A Woman's Exile broadsheet (1888); ca. 1889-90 Copp, Clark of Toronto issued a pirated edition of "Low Tide" of 16 leaves in its "Canadian Series of Booklets" with Carman's name misspelled "Carmen" (LBC #80n, N, BAL 2606, Watters); written June 1886 (PBC); "Some day I want to write a companion piece, 'High Tide on the Bay of Fundy,' but I expect that will be later than this year" (Carman to Muriel Carman 8 Mar. 1887, LBC #16); "The first poem to gain any notice was 'Low Tide on Grand Pré' written in Nova Scotia and printed in the Atlantic while I was at Harvard" (Carman to H.D.C. Lee 29 Sep. 1911, LBC #214); "How I wish I were able to give now the date of Carman's first visit to me at King's College!... That first visit was to give us, eventually, 'Low Tide on Grand Pré' and a long line of kindred poems" (Roberts, "More Reminiscences of Bliss Carman," Dalhousie Review 10 [1930-31]: 4)]

"Home Papers, Please Copy." Week 25 Aug. 1887: 630. (V) [patriotic poem: "'English yet'--and English ever!..."; signed Fredericton, NB]

"Vita Nuova." Week 1 Dec. 1887: 10. (V) [love lyric in four quatrains: "Hast read how Harold, last great Saxon King..."]

"Bulrushes, "Buttercups," and "Maple Leaves." The Canadian Birthday Book, with Poetical Selections for Every Day in the Year. Toronto: C. Blackett Robinson, 1887. p. 230. (BAL 2602) [all three poems otherwise unlocated, but: "At this period [1883-84] also he wrote some polished sonnets and quatrains. One of these quatrains, entitled 'Bulrushes,' I sent to my friend Richard Watson Gilder, editor of the Century, who accepted it with warm praise..." (Roberts, "More Reminiscences of Bliss Carman," Dalhousie Review 10 [1930-31]: 3); Christopher Blackett Robinson (1837-1923) was co-owner and publisher of the Toronto Week and several other periodicals (Hulse)]

#### 1888

NB. "I read [a passage from your letter against annexation] to my dear friend the Poet Bliss Carman, who is an ardent Federationist. It inspired him, & he wrote a stirring little lyric thereupon,--which I will get and send to you." A copy of

Carman's poem "Clarion," in Carman's hand, is enclosed with this letter of 29 Dec. 1888 from Roberts to Canada First founder George Taylor Denison (1839-1925) (Boone 100-01). Unlocated.

"Carnations in Winter." Atlantic Monthly Feb. 1888: 177. (V). Anthologized in Songs of the Great Dominion, 1889. Rpt. in "Women's Sphere" of Canadian Magazine Feb. 1906: 380. (V) [lyric: "Your carmine flakes of bloom to-night..."; also printed in A Woman's Exile broadsheet (1888)]

"Huckster King." Week 23 Feb. 1888: 199. (V) [poem in four numbered Petrarchan sonnets: "Yes, buy a nation of free men with gold!..."; [editor's?] note at head: "[One of the great nations of modern times, having acquired by purchase the holdings upon its continent of three nationalities, ventured to express the thought of buying for fifty millions of dollars some desirable provinces of a neighbouring, much disparaged though much coveted, dominion.]]]

"Edward Thring." Century Sep. 1888: 657. (V) [sonnet: "This was a leader of the sons of light..."; follows lead article by Carman's Fredericton Collegiate head-master George Parkin about Uppingham school in Rutland, England, and its long-time head-master, Edward Thring (d. Oct. 1887); perhaps the outcome of Parkin's one-day visit with Carman in Cambridge on his way to England, 15 June 1888 (LBC #26); ms. in hands of Century editor Richard Watson Gilder by 16 July 1888 (see Roberts' letter to Gilder of that date in Boone 86)]

A Woman's Exile. [Fredericton, NB, Oct. 1888]. 60.5x32cm. broadsheet printed in four columns on recto only. (N, BAL 2597, date from Morse) [contents: "A Woman's Exile," "Through the Twilight," "Low Tide on Grand-Pre" [sic] (published serially Mar. 1887), "Carnations in Winter" (published serially Feb. 1888), "Ilicet," "The Wraith of the Red Swan" (anthologized 1889), "In Lyric Season" (anthologized 1889), "In Apple Time" (completed 16 Sep. 1886 [PBC], anthologized 1889), "A Rift," "Shelley" (published serially 8 Jan. 1887), and "First Croak" (published serially 3 May 1890) (N); "The Wraith of the Red Swan," here first printed, is about Carman's canoe, named the Red Swan "from the phenomenal rosiness of its bark" (Roberts to W.D. Lighthall 6 Oct. 1888, Boone 89)]

Death in April. [Fredericton, NB: privately printed by L.C. MacNutt, 1888.] 8 unpagged leaves. (BAL 2603) [anonymous; title poem a pastoral elegy for Matthew Arnold (d. 15 Apr. 1888), part one of a projected trilogy, published serially Apr. 1889; part two was published Nov. 1889 as "Corydon," but Carman was dissatisfied with the work and it went no further (LBC #28n; see also note to Corydon, 1898); also includes short poems "Ad Vesperum" and "E Tenebris," both rpt. in Ad Vesperum leaflet (1890?); only known original in



University of New Brunswick Library, Fredericton; "I have almost no recollection of the printing of Death in April in the shape I sent you.... My impression is that it must have been intended for distribution by itself.... But I have no remembrance whatever of its having been so distributed" (Carman to R.H. Hathaway, 11 May 1921, qtd. in BAL 2603); "Carman has almost completed his splendid elegy on Arnold" (Roberts to W.D. Lighthall 23 Dec. 1888, Boone 98)]

## 1889

"Charles G.D. Roberts." Magazine of Poetry (Buffalo, NY) 1.1 (Jan. 1889): ? (James Cappon, Charles G.D. Roberts [1925], p. 143) ["As to that Mr. Moulton's Magazine of Poetry, it has one or two good things in it, but as a whole it is surely vile. Have nothing to do with it. I wrote a sketch of Roberts for it, but the thing is wretchedly uncritical" (Carman to George Pierce Baker 8 May 1889, LBC #32); Mott seems to agree with Carman's low opinion of Charles Wells Moulton's quarterly (1889-96): "Unfortunately, Ione L. Jones neighbors with W.B. Yeats, and George W.W. Houghton with Walt Whitman" (4: 121)]

"Prudence," "Justice," and "Swinburnian Roundel." Dominion Illustrated 12 Jan. 1889: 27. (V) ["Within the sunset west a form appears...", "Far in the East, in shining silver--gray...", and "Callirhoë, what laughing days along..."; printed under the title "Bliss Carman's Provençals," with commentary by DI's literary editor John Talon L'Esperance]

"The Reed Player: [On the Flyleaf of Mr. Archibald Lampman's New Book of Poems]." Week 1 Mar. 1889: 198. (V) [sonnet: "There is a crying on the Northern lakes..."]

"Death in April." Atlantic Monthly Apr. 1889: 458-62. (V) [pastoral elegy for Matthew Arnold in eighteen twelve-line stanzas: "O Mother England, bow thy reverend head..."; "only a day or two since, I heard from the Atlantic people, and they will publish the first part of the poem in the April number of the magazine" (Carman to Frank Dempster Sherman 19 Jan. 1889, LBC #28; see note to Death in April, 1888); "Did I tell you that [Thomas Bailey] Aldrich showed me a letter from [James Russell] Lowell entirely devoted to praise of 'Death in April'?" (Roberts to Carman 5 May 1889, Boone 108)]

"The Pensioners." Harvard Monthly May 1889: ? (PBC) [poem]

Songs of the Great Dominion Selected and Edited by William Dow Lighthall. London: Walter Scott, [Sep.?] 1889. (BAL 2604) [contains five Carman poems, all previously printed privately in A Woman's Exile broadsheet (1888): first public printing of "The Wraith of the Red Swan" (pp. 157-62), "In

Apple Time" (389), and "In Lyric Season" (424), and first book printing of "Low Tide on Grand Pré" (283-84), published serially Mar. 1887, and "Carnations in Winter" (406), published serially Feb. 1888; Roberts corresponded with Lighthall about his selections for this anthology (see Boone 83-84 ff.)]

"Canoe Song." Harvard Monthly Oct. 1889: 29. (Morse) ["Softly, softly, falls the night..."]

Guendolen [and] Marjorie. Fredericton, NB: October, 1889.

50x32cm. broadsheet printed in four columns on recto only. (N, BAL 2564) [note at foot of col. 4: "As these verses are printed exclusively for private circulation, it is particularly requested that you will guard against the appearance of any part of them in the public press. B.C."; signed inscription in copy in Harvard Library: "I believe no part of Guendolen has ever been reprinted, and the only parts of Marjorie ever used are, I think, the two stanzas in italics which appear in Low Tide. Bliss Carman, February 1917" (the "two stanzas" appear as "A Sea Child" in Low Tide [1893]) (N, BAL 2564)]

"Corydon." Universal Review (London) Nov. 1889: [425-27?] (LBC #28n, Morse). Collected in Corydon, 1898. [part two of an uncompleted elegy for Matthew Arnold (see note to Death in April, 1888), apparently submitted to the Atlantic in Apr. 1889, which had just published part 1, but declined (LBC #30); "I managed to cunctate the second part of 'Corydon' (a poem of 300 lines) off on a leading English magazine. See, if you can, the Universal Review for November. I have no copy of it yet, but got a decent letter from the Editor the other day, and a cheque for five pounds. Small pay, but it will be widely read. It is even a greater scoop than the long poem ["Death in April"] in the Atlantic" (Carman to Muriel Carman Ganong 27 Nov. 1889, LBC #39); "The first part is mournful merely, and pretends to offer no escape for emotion. This second part suggests satisfaction in the power of the spirit to mould itself with art, and in the final return to nature--sleep, oblivion. It ends, however, as you will see with some slight desire for more than this" (Carman to Horace E. Scudder 9 Apr. 1889, LBC #30)]

"Signal." Dominion Illustrated 2 Nov. 1889: 279. (V) [dimeter: "The brave March morn..."; signed Fredericton; also printed as a 52x12.5cm. proof-sheet, Fredericton, NB, n.d. (BAL 2590 from copies in Queen's University Library); see note to "Tidings," below]

"Tidings." Dominion Illustrated 7 Dec. 1889: 367. (V) [dimeter: "Companionless..."; note says this and "Signal" (above) "are taken from a lyric series eventually to be called 'The Battle of Sombre Field'" (see Trail of the

Bugles, 1891); signed Fredericton; also printed with same note as a 38x16cm. broadsheet printed on recto only (BAL 2592); [another?] 26cm. copy of same has been cut into two parts and mounted on p. 37 of H.F. Hovey's Carman scrapbook in the Harvard Library (N)]

Rev. of Emerson's Essays. Progress (Saint John, NB) 14 Dec. 1889: ? (Whalen 82) [Progress, to which Roberts also contributed a number of reviews, was a weekly launched 5 May 1888 by Saint John journalist and publisher Edward S. Carter (1864-1941) (Boone 75n)]

Marian Drurie. For Private Circulation Only. [Windsor, NS, Dec.? 1889]. Single sheet folded to make four 28x21.5cm. unpagged pages. (N, BAL 2605) [poem; copy in Harvard Library inscribed "Wishing you a Merry Christmas, 1889" (N); published serially Aug. 1890]

The Kelpie Riders. [Windsor, NS,] Dec. 1889. 37.5x30.5cm. broadsheet printed in four columns on recto only. (N, BAL 2567) [poem; "For private circulation only" (N); references in Roberts' letters to Carman of 14 Feb., 11 Mar., and 23 Mar. 1890 suggest that the printing of this broadsheet, apparently by Windsor printer J.J. Anslow, may have been delayed several months past its imprinted date (Boone 114, 116, 118); during one of Carman's visits to Kingscroft Roberts told Carman at breakfast one morning that he had "dreamed a poem, of which on waking I could remember nothing except the two opening lines. I said these lines were good enough, but I couldn't do anything with them. They meant nothing to me, and did not seem to belong to me. They ran this way:--'Buried alive in calm Rochelle,/Six in a row, by the crystal well.' Bliss pounced upon them at once. 'Give them to me, Old Man,' he exclaimed eagerly. 'I feel them all right. That dream got into your brain by mistake. It was intended for me. I'll capture the whole poem.' 'Go to it,' said I. And the result, within a few days, was the fantastically haunting ballad of 'The Kelpie Riders' (Roberts, "More Reminiscences of Bliss Carman," Dalhousie Review 10 [1930-31]: 6-7; Carman stayed with Roberts at Kingscroft in Oct.-Nov. 1889 (Boone 111-12); see Duncan Campbell Scott's letter to Carman of 10 May 1890 for his praise and detailed criticisms of the poem, a copy of which Carman had mailed to Scott (Ware, "Letters to Carman, 1890-92," Canadian Poetry 27 [1990]: 50-51)]

### 1890

NB. "Your 'Last Trail,' poem, which you sent to [Joseph Edmund] Collins, is exceedingly fine" (Roberts to Carman 21 Sep. 1890, Boone 124). Unidentified.

- "The Country of Har: For the Centenary of Blake's Songs of Innocence." Athenæum (London) 15 Feb. 1890: 213. (RG 1890-99) [poem]
- "To Richard Lovelace." Athenæum (London) 12 Apr. 1890: 468. (RG 1890-99) [poem; "As for the Lovelace lines in Athenæum,-- they are exquisite, haunting, inimitable, imperishable. I have been spouting them to everybody, at all times. Old Man, they have the nameless quality that means permanence of life" (Roberts to Carman 19 May 1890, Boone 120)]
- "An April Alibi." Dominion Illustrated 12 Apr. 1890: 238. (V) [ballad: "Crispin Hjoward was my friend..."; signed New York; also printed as a 33x15.5cm. broadsheet printed on recto only, New York, [1892] (N, BAL 2553); copy of broadsheet in Harvard Library inscribed by Carman to F[rank]. D[empster]. S[herman]. (N); revised as "Olaf Hjoward," 1892]
- "First Croak." Dominion Illustrated 3 May 1890: 283. (V) [lyric in lines of three syllables: "Northward, crow..."; signed New York; previously printed as a 15.5x7cm. broadsheet or possibly proof-sheet printed on recto only, [New York, 1887?], a copy of which is mounted on p. 36 of H.F. Hovey's Carman scrapbook in the Harvard Library (N, BAL 2560), and in A Woman's Exile broadsheet (1888); written by at least Sep. of 1888, when William Douw Lighthall was considering it for inclusion in his Songs of the Great Dominion, 1889 (Roberts to Lighthall 30 Sep. 1888, Boone 87)]
- "Bairnie." Harper's Bazaar 14 June 1890: 477. (V) [lyric in four ballad stanzas: "We maun be friends, my bairnie... / For I was born in April... / And you were born in May-time..."]
- "Flower of the Rose." By Louis Norman [pseud.]. Independent 24 July 1890: ? (BAL [2615b]). Rpt. as Flower of the Rose. [Boston, 1938]. Printed on a single sheet French-folded to make four 17x12.5cm. pages, tied with green cord. (N, BAL 2769) [poem; "...under the signature Louis Norman, deceased brother of B.C., whose name Carman used for a few productions" (Morse 42); reprint has note on p. [4]: "Only fifty copies printed. WIM [William Inglis Morse]. 1/10/38. This ms. originally appeared in the 'New York Independent' under the signature of Louis Norman. Pen-work by Charles D. Platt" (N, BAL 2769); also a copy allegedly published by the Primrose Bindery, New York, 1892 (N, Morse, Watters), but according to information obtained by BAL from copy in Dalhousie University Library printed in pen and ink rather than from types and therefore not a separate publication]

"Marian Drurie." Century Aug. 1890: 595. (RG 1890-99) [poem; previously printed privately, 1889]

"Wayfaring." By Louis Norman [pseud.]. Independent 21 Aug. 1890: ? (Ware, "Letters to Bliss Carman" 64n11) [poem printed on same page as Roberts' sonnet "The Mowing"; also printed in Pulvis et Umbra broadsheet, 1890]

"Memorial: John Eliot Bowen." Independent 4 Sep. 1890: ? (BAL 2575) [poem; for a relative of Independent publisher Henry Chandler Bowen?; also printed as "Memorial: J.E.B" from the types of the Independent as a 14x8cm. broadsheet printed on recto only, [New York], Aug. 1890, a copy of which is mounted on p. 10 of H.F. Hovey's Carman scrapbook in the Harvard Library (N, BAL 2575)]

Pulvis et Umbra. [New York, 1890]. 42x14.5cm. broadsheet in two sheets, each printed in two columns on recto only. (N, BAL 2585) [contents: "Pulvis et Umbra" (completed 18 July 1890 [PBC]), "Wayfaring" (published serially 21 Aug. 1890), and "The End of the Trail" (published serially Christmas 1890); at end: "As these verses are printed exclusively for private circulation, it is particularly requested that you will guard against the appearance of any part of them in the public press. Bliss Carman"; copy in Harvard Library inscribed to F[rank]. D[empster]. S[herman]. from B.C. (N); "I liked 'Wayfaring' simply beyond measure.... Very quaint & fine the extract from 'Queerman's travels' ["The End of the Trail"?]. As for 'Pulvis et Umbra,'--methinks all the first of it is admirable; and certain stanzas truly great. But, I think it is too long. I think it 'peters out' toward the last. Gets thin & faint, as it were, by comparison with the vigor & adequacy of the earlier stanzas. It seems to me to want condensing & clarifying, toward the end. Grip it harder, old man. It seems to me as if you got going, & after the stream (inspiration) was shut off, you ran on for a while by the impetus. Then was the time for the brakes!" (Roberts to Carman 9 Sep. 1890, Boone 124); "I must thank you for the poems and most especially for 'Pulvis et Umbra.' I will confess that none of your poems that I have seen heretofore has completely satisfied me as a whole, but 'Pulvis et Umbra' does.... I like the other poems too, but not so extremely well" (Archibald Lampman to Carman 29 Oct. 1890, Ware, "Letters to Carman, 1890-92," Canadian Poetry 27 [1990]: 54); see also similar letter of praise for "Pulvis et Umbra" from D.C. Scott, 1 Nov. 1890, Ware 55]

"A Quatrain." Harper's Nov. 1890: 868. (V) ["I turn the book's great leaves with childish fingers..."]

"The End of the Trail." Independent Christmas 1890: ? (BAL 2557) [poem; also printed as a 13.5x40.5cm. broadsheet or proof-sheet printed on recto only, [New York, 1890?] (BAL

2557 from copy in Queen's University Library), and in Pulvis et Umbra broadsheet (1890); "In the poem you mention, I can find no meaning now for such phrases as 'The Hunters of the Dusk' and 'My scouting foresters'--unless they might mean the writer's senses or supersenses--but they seem to me unfortunate lapses from sane and articulate speech. The volume [?] is full of examples of the same fault. But that does not mean that the work is insincere, simply because it has no lucid meaning or interpretation. It simply means that the young poet is so carried away by the stress of his imagination and of his rapture in rhythm and sound that he permits himself to wander into the vague regions of suggestion. He overemphasizes the need of the hypnotic power in poetry and does not realize the need for common sense. I have written many lines that have no sense, it appears, but I have never deliberately meant to defraud or fool my possible readers. And of course in the latter work this blemish is quite outgrown. / 'The End of the Trail' is simply a love poem, and in places is well enough. I have no time to revise old work, and it would be worthless if I did. I have more than I can do to try to express my life of today. The past must go. That is why I never revise any of the earlier work" (Carman to H.D.C. Lee 12 Oct. 1910, LBC #302)]

A Windflower. [New York: The De Vinne Press, 1890]. Single sheet folded to make four unpagged 18x11.5cm. pages in a 25cm. half morocco case, printed throughout in brown. (N, BAL 2607) [poem; dated Christmas 1890 at foot of p. [3]; copy in Harvard Library inscribed "A Christmas Greeting to G[eorge]. P[ierce]. Baker from his friend Bliss Carman" (N)]

Stir [and] A Windflower. [New York, ca. 1890?]. Single sheet folded to make four unpagged 25.5x20.5cm. pages. (N, BAL 2609) ["Stir" in the copy in the Harvard Library is marked in Carman's hand as "First lyric to precede Death in April" and "A Windflower" is marked "Second lyric to follow Death in April" (N)]

Ad Vesperum [and] E Tenebris. [New York, ca. 1890?]. Single sheet folded to make four unpagged 25.5x20.5cm. pages. (N, BAL 2608) [poems; both printed privately in Death in April, 1888; copy in Harvard Library has ms. note by Carman to first poem "Third Lyric to precede 'Midsummer Land'" and to second "Fourth Lyric to follow 'Midsummer Land'" (N)]

#### 1891

A Sailor's Wedding. New York, 12 Mar. 1891. 37x14.5cm. broadsheet printed in two columns on recto only. (N, BAL 2588) [at foot of col. 2: "As these verses are printed exclusively for private circulation, it is particularly requested that you will guard against their appearance in

the public press" (N, BAL 2588); published serially Sep. 1895]

"The Unreturning." Independent 14 May 1891: ? (BAL 2594). Last two stanzas collected in Low Tide, 1893. (BAL) [poem; also printed from the Independent types as a 10x8cm. broadsheet or proof-sheet printed on recto only, [New York, 1891], a copy of which is mounted on p. 36 of H.F. Hovey's Carman scrapbook in the Harvard Library (N, BAL 2594)]

"The Last Watch." Atlantic Monthly June 1891: 803-05. (RG 1890-99) [poem; previously printed as a 37x12.5cm. broadsheet on blue paper, printed on recto only, New York, 15 Jan. 1891, with note at end: "As these verses are printed exclusively for private circulation, it is particularly requested that you will guard against their appearance in the public press" (N, BAL 2568); "'Last Watch' is fine, very fine & strong; but not, to [my] mind, on a par with the 'End of the Trail.' It is less inevitable, me judice, & less interpretive" (Roberts to Carman 17 Mar. 1891, Boone 131)]

"A Red Leaf." Harper's Weekly 20 June 1891: 458-59. (V) [short story, mostly setting, of a young man brushing his horse in a Grand Pré barn while watching the "train down to the seaport where you take ships for the great States" and a young woman reading a letter in Bowling Green park, at the foot of Broadway; the first of Carman's two known published short stories (see also "A White Cauldron," 1892)]

The Trail of the Bugles. [New York], July 1891. 61.5x12cm. broadsheet printed on blue paper, recto only. (N, BAL 2593). Rpt. in The Unbound Anthology, 1922. [at end: "These verses, forming one of a lyric series, The Battle of Sombre Fields, are printed for private circulation only"; signed "Bliss Carman" (N, BAL 2593); although "Signal" (2 Nov. 1889) and "Tidings" (7 Dec. 1889) were also announced as part of a forthcoming series to be called "The Battle of Sombre Fields," no such title has been located among Carman's works]

A Pagan's Prayer...For Private Circulation Only. [New York]: The De Vinne Press, [Dec. 1891]. Single sheet folded to make four 23x15cm. pages in a 25cm. half red morocco case. (N, BAL 2612) [poem; dated at end Christmas 1891; copy in Harvard Library inscribed "Merry Christmas to Frank Sherman and all his!" (N); "Many many thanks for the 'Pagan's Prayer'! C.F.B. [?] is, methinks, eliminated. I like it well, now. Shall distribute judiciously" (Roberts to Carman 19 Dec. 1891, Boone 137); published serially July 1893]

1892

NB. "'The Night Express' is a mighty fine & delightful new thing. Daring. I like every line of it save the last line,--which, it seems to me, needlessly asserts what has already been clearly indicated. But in this criticism I have no confidence" (Roberts to Carman 31 Oct. 1892, Boone 156). "I tell you, Old Man, 'The Night Express' is a hit! It gets hold of all sorts & conditions of men! [James De Mille's son Albert Bertram] De Mille read it at the Haliburton [Club] the other night, with great effect. It is quite the best thing our language has produced on the steam-engine! And the next best is also by a Canadian--Lampman's 'At the Railway Station'" (Roberts to Carman 7 Nov. 1892, Boone 158). Unlocated.

"Olaf Hjördard." Independent 31 Mar. 1892: ? (BAL 2578). Collected (revised) as "Andrew Straton" in By the Aurelian Wall, 1898. [a revised version of the ballad "April Alibi" (1890) memorializing Carman's cousin Andy Straton, who died Oct. 1891 at age thirty-two of lung complications following a heart attack (Miller 67-68, LBC #60); also printed from the types of the Independent as a 41.5x20cm. broadsheet printed in two columns on recto only, [New York], 1892 (N, BAL 2578), to which printing D.C. Scott probably refers when he writes 6 Apr. 1892 to thank Carman for "the 'Olaf' which gave my [sic] rare pleasure. It contains many beautiful things and some things you will not easily surpass--The real outgush of it is not even hampered by the absence of rhyme, but the lyrical ring is always there.... I hope you continue to do such work in that New York desert..." (Ware, "Letters to Carman, 1890-92," Canadian Poetry 27 [1990]: 61-62); "'Olaf Hjordard [sic]!' 'Tis vastly strengthened & enriched, methinks. I like it well all through, and immensely in parts, hosts of parts. I cannot feel that it is uniformly your perfect utterance as are some other poems you have done. It hath not all your inevitable note. Here & there I cannot help feeling the fluency of the measure too much--there still seem to be redundancies and needless expansions. But perchance I am over-critical. Lines, phrases, passages, are of your very best. Nothing, methinks, has been written of the breaking of winter, to surpass (or equal?)

'And the shining rough month March  
crumbles into sun & rain,'--

& the poem is full of such felicities. But I dont like 'Here amid our fury of toil,' though I do like 'alien villages of the dusk.' Would that dear old Andy could see it! How he loved the Hiawatha measure!" (Roberts to Carman 6 Apr. 1892, Boone 145-46); according to Carman, also praised by American poet-critic Richard Henry Stoddard (1825-1903), who during a visit to Carman's office at the Independent said, "Carman, you have done in that poem all that can be done for unrhymed verse. Matthew Arnold succeeded three times out of four, but I think you have it just right" (Carman to Muriel Carman



Ganong 17 May 1892, LBC #61); copy of broadsheet in Harvard Library inscribed to F[rank]. D[empster]. S[herman]. from B.C. (N)]

"A White Cauldron." Knight Errant (Boston) 1 (Apr. 1892): 20-23. (Doyle, Fin de Siècle 141) [Carman's second and last known published short story (see "A Red Leaf," 1891); a "blend of atmospheric description and melodramatic incident" in which a young man falls through a hole in the ice while braving a NB storm to visit his love; one of two signed contributions to the Knight Errant, a short-lived (1892-93) avant-garde quarterly edited by Carman's Harvard friend Ralph Adams Cram with Carman and several others as associate editors (Doyle, Fin de Siècle 43-44; Miller 77-78)]

"The Players." Fair Topics...Organ of the Actors' Fund Fair. Madison Square Garden May 2nd to 7th 1892 Inclusive (NY) No. 6: 1. (BAL 2613). Rpt. in Saturday Night 17 Nov. 1917: 21. (V) [lyric: "We are the players of a play..."; written 1 May 1892 (Morse); "I like 'The Players' immensely. There are a few touches that I dont quite like,--local touches, so to speak! But for by far the greatest part, 'tis fine! Wilt thou at all retouch it?" (Roberts to Carman 16 May 1892, Boone 148); Saturday Night printing on first page of Women's Section between thematically similar lyrics by William Henry Drummond and Archibald Lampman]

"In the Wayland Willows." Knight Errant (Boston) 3 (June 1892): 71. (provided by James Doyle). Collected in More Songs from Vagabondia, 1896. [ballad; discussing the draft of More Songs, Carman wrote Hovey 5 July 1896 that "I should quite agree with you on 'The Wayland Willows,' if it were sure that he did anything but kiss the girl" (LBC #154)]

"In the Heart of the Hills." Independent 6 [16?] June 1892: ? (BAL 2565, [Morse]) [poem; written in tribute to Charles G.D. Roberts' younger brother Goodridge, who died suddenly "of Grippe" 4 Feb. 1892 (Boone 141); previously printed as a 33x14cm. broadsheet on recto only, New York, 15 Apr. 1892, with note at end: "As these verses are printed exclusively for private circulation, it is particularly requested that you will guard against their appearance in the public press" (N); on 14 Apr. 1892, Carman sent Annie Prat a copy of this poem "with some misgiving. [It] arose from a few words in a letter from Min, my Malyn [Minnie Prat, Goodridge's fiancée and Annie's sister], to me. I was thinking of Goodie. I have not said anything about him personally, just for the very reason that I wanted to have something that we could all feel, you know... If you will, you may take a copy of it to the dear Old Man [Roberts]" (LBC #60); on 19 Apr., after seeing either Annie's copy or, more likely, a copy Carman had sent him under separate cover, Roberts wrote Carman that "As for 'In the Heart of the Hills,' all I can say is Damn!

The thing fills me with delight, & despair, and envy. Its cadences are so exquisite, so varied, so haunting. Beauty & pathos so heighten each other therein. 'Tis a poem, Old Man. As for the rounding of it, the ending of it, it seems to me entirely as it should be. Those latter stanzas which you are in doubt about seem to me not too much expanded,--and as for being superfluous, they seem to me to spring quite naturally out of the mood and suggestion of what has gone before, & in no way to break the unity of the thing. Also, they are most lovely in themselves" (Boone 147)]

"Outbound." Century July 1892: 337. (RG 1890-99). Rpt. in Christopher Columbus and His Monument Columbia. Comp. J.M. Dickey. Chicago & New York: Rand, McNally, 1892. p. 100. (BAL 2615) [poem; for Roberts' low opinion of this poem, see note to "Hilary Varen," 1893]

"The White Gull: For the Centenary of the Birth of Shelley, Aug. 4th, 1892." Independent 4 Aug. 1892: ? (BAL 2597) [poem; a revised version of "Shelley," 1887; also printed from the types of the Independent as a 45x19cm. broadsheet or proof-sheet printed in two columns on recto only with header title "From The Independent, New York, August 4th, 1892" (N, BAL 2597); 24th stanza rpt. on p. 3 of Roberts' Ave: An Ode for the Centenary of the Birth of Percy Bysshe Shelley, August 4, 1792 (Toronto: Williamson Book Co., 1892) (BAL 2614); written at Kingscroft, Windsor, June of 1892 while Roberts was working on Ave; upon seeing the broadsheet printing Roberts wrote Carman that he thought "The White Gull" was "[s]imply superb" (see note to The Master of the Isles, below), but he later said that it was a poem "crowded with passages of poignant and haunting beauty, but not, it seems to me, quite reaching the first rank among his works by reasons of some diffuseness of thought and incoherence of structure" ("More Reminiscences of Bliss Carman," Dalhousie Review 10 [1930-31]: 9)]

"Marjory Darrow." Independent 1 Sep. 1892: 1. (N). Rpt. in Week 30 Sep. 1892: 699. (V) [poem; also printed as a 42x14.5cm. broadsheet (recto only) with "From The Independent, New York, Sept. 1st, 1892" at head of title (N, BAL 2573); upon receiving the broadsheet printing from Carman Roberts wrote back on 26 Sep. that "it's damn fine,--but dont do it again! It is the sort of thing that, done once supremely well, as you have done it here, is enchanted. But more in a similar line would seem like mannerism..." (Boone 154); after several attacks in the Week by contributors and the editors on the obscurity of "Marjory Darrow" (including a parody by "E." printed on the same page as Carman's original), another Maritime expatriate, poet and Methodist clergyman Arthur John Lockhart ("Pastor Felix"), wrote from Maine to defend the poem, in part by reprinting portions of an unpublished letter from Carman to Lockhart

that defends the poem's vagueness on the basis that a thrush's precise thoughts and feelings cannot be known ("Marjory Darrow" Again," Week 11 Nov. 1892: 793-94); for D.C. Scott's opinion of the affair, see his letter to Carman of 20 Oct. 1892 in Ware, "Letters to Carman, 1890-92," Canadian Poetry 27 (1990): 63]

The Grave-Tree. New York, Sep. 1892. 41.5x27cm. broadsheet printed in three columns on recto only. (N, BAL 2562) [contents: "The Grave-Tree" (see 10 Sep. 1898), "The Wind and the Tree" (published serially 11 Nov. 1893), "Seven Wind Songs," and "Overlord"; note at foot of col. 3: "As these verses are printed for private circulation only, it is requested that you will guard against their appearance in the public press. Bliss Carman. New York City, September, 1892" (N, BAL 2562); for Roberts' response to the poems in this broadsheet, see below]

The Master of the Isles. New York, Sep. 1892. 42x27.5cm. broadsheet printed on recto only. (N, BAL 2574) [contents: "The Master of the Isles" (published serially in the Independent, ca. 1893 [LBC #72]), "An Afterword" (published serially June 1893), "A Robin Song," "The Tragedy of Willow" (published serially 7 July 1894), "The Faithless Lover" and "The Faithful Love" (both published serially Mar. 1894); note at end of col. 3: "As these verses are printed for private circulation only, it is requested that you will guard against their appearance in the public press"; signed New York City, Sep. 1892; unsigned inscription in New York Public Library copy: "Only 50 copies printed" (N, BAL 2574); "A thousand thanks for the printed sheets! Simply superb are the 'Wind Songs,' 'Over Lord,' 'Master of the Isles,' 'The White Gull.' Also I like immensely the 'Grave Tree,' 'Afterword,' & 'A Robin Song.' I like the 'Faithless Love' & the 'Faithful Love,' and rather well 'The Wind & the Tree,' with its fine concluding stanza. 'The Tragedy of Willow' I dont care for--it reminds me of [Wordsworth's] 'We are Seven'!... / By the way, we are square! My 'Hermit Thrush' is reminiscential of thee; & 'Overlord' savoureth a wee bit, in spots, of "Autochthon, '-n'est-ce pas?" (Roberts to Carman 26 Sep. 1892, Boone 154); "I am even more grateful than formerly for those last copies of poems. I am unable to express to you the pleasure they gave me. Hitherto I may confess that I had always been conscious of a certain reservation in my appreciation of your work & manner of writing but your last pieces have carried me away and conquered me completely, and I surrender at discretion. All of them to my mind are marvelously beautiful and especially I consider 'The Master of the Isles' a most noble poem. The last two stanzas in their large feeling & triumphant sweep are unsurpassable" (Archibald Lampman to Carman 10 Oct. 1892, Ware, "Letters to Carman, 1890-92," Canadian Poetry 27 [1990]: 62-63)]

"The Yule Guest." Cosmopolitan Dec. 1892: 163-68. (V) [54-stanza ballad: "And Yanna by the Yule log..."; five of six pages illustrated; first appearance in Cosmopolitan; previously printed 31 Dec. 1891 as seventy quatrains on four trimmed columns, probably proofs (BAL 2599 from copies in Queen's University library); Morse also lists an 1891 New York broadsheet, same or another; "Mr. [William Dean] Howells is a dear! I have met him lately and liked him so much. He has taken 'The Yule Guest' and will print it in the Christmas number of the Cosmopolitan. He asked me whom I would like to illustrate it; and how much I wanted for it. He also gave me orders for some prose essays on poetry. He was ever so kind and generous and delightful. I was seeking a chair on the Cosmopolitan, and Mr. Howells said he would like to be associated with me. What a gentle, modest way of putting it!" (Carman to Muriel Carman Ganong 17 May 1892, LBC #61); for a few months in early 1894 Carman did end up working on the staff of the Cosmopolitan (Miller 117), but the "prose essays on poetry" never materialized, perhaps because shortly after Carman's meeting with him Howells abandoned his brief joint editorship of the Cosmopolitan to his more journalistic co-editor John Brisben Walker (Mott 4: 483)]

"The Vagabonds." Independent 8 Dec. 1892: 1. (V). Rpt. in No. 38. Standard Recitations...Compiled by Frances P. Sullivan...December 1892. New York: M.J. Ivers & Co., [deposited 5 May] 1893. pp. 15-16. (BAL 2616) [poem: "We are the vagabonds of time..."; printed in Independent beneath Richard Hovey's "Visitation"; also printed from the types of the Independent as a 41.5x14.5cm. (trimmed) broadsheet printed on recto only, New York, [1892], with title at head: "From The Independent, New York December 8th, 1892" (N, BAL 2595); Ivers' rpt. credited to Bliss Carmen [sic]; inspired by Carman's discovery in the summer [July?] of 1892 of an old English statute in a New York library on "Vagabonds and Vagrants," defined in its preamble as "Such as wake on the night and sleep on the day, and haunt customable taverns and alehouses and routs about, and no man wot from whence they came, nor whither they go" (Miller 87, who erroneously says the poem was "The Vagabond Song," itself a mistitling of "A Vagabond Song," published serially Nov. 1895)]

### 1893

NB. "I am writing an opera--bottom-of-the-sea and first-fairy business called 'The Kraken's wife.' Would I had the music for it. If it ever goes you may hear of it. It is the only thing, almost, that I really intend for music" (Carman to Maude Mosher 24 Mar. 1893, LBC #66). Unlocated, probably unpublished.

NB. "I enclose some things you may not have seen. Please take care of 'Akbar's Dream.' It is the only copy I have. I wish I could sell it, but fear it is not quite suited to the Independent" (Carman to Peter McArthur 5 July 1893, LBC #75). Unlocated.

"Mr. Moon: A Song of the Little People." Independent 5 Jan. 1893: ? (BAL 2577). Collected in More Songs from Vagabondia, 1896. Set to music as No. 444 Modern Series Mister Moon, 1933. [poem; also printed from the types of the Independent as an "obviously trimmed" 39.5x6cm. broadsheet or proof-sheet printed on recto only, [New York, 1893], a copy of which has been cut into three parts and mounted on pp. 27-28 of H.F. Hovey's Carman scrapbook in the Harvard Library (N, BAL 2577); although included in More Songs, the publisher seems to have objected, as Carman wrote Hovey 5 July 1896 that "I do agree with [F.H.] Day that 'Mr. Moon' is too juvenile [for the book]" (LBC #154)]

"The Eavesdropper." Atlantic Monthly Feb. 1893: 230. (RG 1890-99). Collected in Low Tide on Grand Pré, 1893. [poem; "With small innumerable sound" altered to "With tiny multitudinous sound" in second edition of Low Tide after Carman's discovery of his "subconscious appropriation" of the line "A small innumerable sound" from Archibald Lampman's "Heat" (LBC #138 and note; for the subsequent charges of plagiarism, see note to "To W.W.C.," 1895)]

"Phillips Brooks." Independent 9 Feb. 1893: ? (N). [poem; also printed as a 41x14.5cm. broadsheet or proof-sheet, New York, 1893, with inscription by Carman at foot: "This is from The Independent of 9 Feb. 93" (N); Carman heard the Rev. Phillips Brooks (1835-93), episcopal bishop of Massachusetts, speak while he was a student at Harvard (LBC #25)]

"For a Memorial to John Keats." Independent 23 Feb. 1893: ? (LBC #144n) [poem: "Stand there, John Keats, in marble, in Hampstead over the sea!..."; qtd. from Sophia Hensley's May 1893 article on "Canadian Writers in New York" for the Dominion Illustrated Monthly, who quotes it from the Independent in part or whole (nine lines) to rebut the "charge of obscurity so commonly brought against Mr. Carman's poetry" (196); an earlier version of "By the Aurelian Wall: In Memory of John Keats" (Dec. 1896)?]

"A Son's Wish." Youth's Companion 23 Feb. 1893: 102. (YC F126) [poem]

"Berris Yare: A Legend of the Brier Rose." Independent 20 Apr. 1893: ? (Morse) [poem; accepted by Susan Ward, Carman's replacement as the Independent's literary editor, but obviously the subject of some puzzlement, to which Carman

responded in part 4 Apr. 1893: "In ["Berris Yare"] I admit that there is a very mild tone of discontent with the order of things; but you must remember that this is in the mouth of a lover, and is dramatic.... The 'warrior' who speaks and who is pleased to fancy he once lived in the time of Alaric is as much a dramatic creation as Berris Yare herself.... The stanza about 'wind hands of summer' is an epitome of life; it might almost stand as a separate poem. It does not carry forward the action of the poem at all, but to leave it out would make a rougher transition from the preceding to the following stanza, it seems to me. / The 'hush hounds' are the hounds that hunt with the wind, and you almost only hear them on the snow-fields of the North. Berris had the faithful trusting eyes that only dogs have. But think how awful it would be to say: 'eyes of the watch-dog' for instance. It is not necessary that the reader know what a hush-hound is. Indeed it is better that he should be ignorant of some things; his imagination will have room to work. / Of the two introductory stanzas (which should be printed in small italics) the first refers to some fairy tale, easily invented if it does not exist already. The second refers to the present story of Berris Yare. Rose Briar and Briar Rose are two different persons and not relatives at all" (LBC #68)]

"Success." Youth's Companion 11 May 1893: 240. (YC F135)  
[poem]

"Quaker Ladies." Independent 25 May 1893: ? (BAL 2586).  
Collected in Poems, 1905. Rpt. in Independent 10 Dec. 1908: 1401. (RG 2) [poem; also printed from the types of the Independent as a 19x7.5cm. broadside or proof-sheet printed on recto only, [New York, 1893], a copy of which is mounted on p. 39 of H.F. Hovey's Carman scrapbook in the Harvard Library (N, BAL 2586); "So glad you castrated the 'Quaker Ladies'! Miss [Susan Hayes] Ward is enthusiastic over them in that shape! I saw the graceful mutilation, & pronounced the scar invisible!" (Roberts to Carman 27 May 1893, Boone 172)]

"Arnold, Master of the 'Scud.'" Youth's Companion 8 June 1893: 294. (YC F139) [poem; completed 3 Mar. 1893 (PBC); "I have a ballad in the Youth's Companion for June 8th, but I have not yet secured any copies of it..." (Carman to James Elgin Wetherell 14 June 1893, LBC #72)]

"An Afterword." Independent ? June 1893: ? (LBC #72) [poem; "'An Afterword' is to appear in [the Independent] this week" (Carman to James Elgin Wetherell 14 June 1893, LBC #72); previously printed in The Grave-Tree broadsheet, 1892]

- "In the Wings." Century July 1893: 479. (RG 1890-99) [poem; for Roberts' low opinion of this poem, see note to "Hilary Varen," 1893]
- "A Pagan's Prayer." Scribner's Magazine July 1893: 100. (RG 1890-99). Rpt. in Scribner's Dec. 1898: ? (LBC #186n). Collected as "The Great Return" with seventh stanza omitted in Poems, 1905. (BAL 2612) [poem; previously printed privately, 1891]
- "The Shadow Boatswain." McClure's Aug. 1893: 205. (V) [twenty-stanza ballad: "Don't you know the sailing orders?..."; Carman's first appearance in McClure's, in its third issue, printed between Hamlin Garland's interview with Eugene Field and Conan Doyle's short story "The Slapping Sal"]
- "The Red Wolf." Cosmopolitan Aug. 1893: 436-39. (V) [lyric in 25 hexameter/tetrameter quatrains: "With the fall of the leaf, comes the wolf, wolf, wolf..."; printed as a four-page spread, each with surrounding illustration; "the Cosmopolitan has something in type for me, 'The Red Wolf,' to appear in the course of the year" (Carman to James Elgin Wetherell 14 June 1893, LBC #72); "The 'Red Wolf,' (perhaps to be cut down a little) is worth a dozen of the slighter Nature poems; and the 'War Song of Gamalbar [sic, Gamelbar]' is also a very strong & 'shouting' ballad, virile, which I have frequently quoted on the platform as showing a side of C's genius too often overlooked. Not only Mrs King but our dear R[ufus] H[athaway] tried to suppress these virile things!" (Roberts to Lorne Pierce, 20 Feb. 1941, discussing the selection of poems for Pierce's Selected Poems of Bliss Carman, 1954 [Boone 604]; for "Gamelbar," see also note to "Hilary Varen," below)]
- "Hilary Varen." Wives and Daughters (London, ON) Aug. 1893: ? (LBC #87n) [the women's monthly Wives and Daughters (1891?-?) was edited by Mrs. John Cameron and Agnes Ethelwyn Wetherald (see Week 2 Jan. 1891: 81), the latter of whom sent Carman copies of this issue after its publication (LBC #87); previously rejected by Richard Watson Gilder for the Century along with "Gamelbar," which he told Roberts was "hysterical, ridiculous, worthless"; see Roberts' letter to Carman of 27 May 1893 for his account of the ensuing "decidedly warm argument," in which Roberts questioned Gilder's taste, arguing that "those two little bits of yours which he had accepted off your coupons were the poorest things in the lot" (Boone 172); presumably the "two little bits" are "Outbound" (July 1892) and "In the Wings" (July 1893)]
- "Seven Things." Independent 3 Aug. 1893: ? (BAL 2589) [poem; also printed from the types of the Independent as a 20.5x7cm. broadsheet printed on recto only, [New York,

1893], a copy of which is mounted on p. 52 of H.F. Hovey's Carman scrapbook in the Harvard Library (N, BAL 2589)]

"Hack and Hew." Atlantic Monthly Sep. 1893: 318. (RG 1890-99)  
[poem]

"River Water." Independent 7 Sep. 1893: ? (BAL 2587).  
Collected in Poems, 1905. [poem; also printed from the types of the Independent as a [49x7.5cm.] broadsheet or proof-sheet printed on recto only, [New York, 1893], a copy of which has been cut into three parts and mounted on pp. 53-54 of H.F. Hovey's Carman scrapbook in the Harvard Library (N, BAL 2587); Morse lists another or same broadsheet dated Washington, DC, 6 Sep. 1893, and inscribed "For M.S.P." [Minnie Sophia Prat?]]

"Nell Guy." Scribner's Magazine Oct. 1893: 502-03. (RG 1890-99). Collected in Poems, 1905. [poem]

"A More Ancient Mariner." Independent 27 Oct. 1893: ? (BAL 2579). Collected in Songs from Vagabondia, 1894. Rpt. in Golden Days for Boys and Girls 14 Apr. 1906: 368. (YC D96) [poem; also printed from the Independent as a 14x47.5cm. broadsheet, New York, n.d. (BAL 2579 from copies in Queen's University Library); written by 31 Oct. 1892, when Roberts expresses admiration for it in a letter to Carman (Boone 156)]

"The Wind and the Tree." Critic (NY) 11 Nov. 1893: 305. (RG 1890-99). Collected in Poems, 1905. [poem; previously printed in The Grave-Tree broadsheet, 1892]

Low Tide on Grand Pré: A Book of Lyrics. New York: Charles L. Webster, [25 Nov.] 1893. [1]-120 pp. (N, BMCat, BAL 2617, Watters). London: David Nutt (250 copies re-bound from Webster's sheets), 1893. [11]-120 pp. (N, BMCat, LBC #86n, #106). 2nd ed. with three additional poems ("Marian Drury," "Golden Rowan," and "A Sea Drift"). Trade ed. in cloth. Cambridge & Chicago: Stone & Kimball, 15 Mar. 1894. 132 pp. (N). 2nd ed.... Limited ed. of 50 copies in printed boards. Cambridge & Chicago: Stone & Kimball, [July] 1894. 132 pp. (BAL 2620, LBC #106). 2nd [English] issue. London: D. Nutt, 1894. 128 pp. (N). 3rd ed. Boston & New York: Lamson Wolffe, Dec. 1895 [Mar. 1896]. 132 pp. (N, BAL 2630). 4th ed. Boston: Small, Maynard, 1899. 132 pp. (N). Rpt. [5th ed.] as part of Low Tide on Grand Pré and Ballads of Lost Haven, 1905. [first book, prepared for publication winter of 1892-93 in Washington (see LBC #66); "Under separate cover I send you the 'copy' for my first book. I have selected the work very carefully, and I think you will find nothing immature or trivial in the volume" (Carman to Arthur Stedman, literary editor of Mark Twain's publishing house, Charles L. Webster & Co., 24 May 1893, LBC



#70); after Webster declared bankruptcy in early 1894, Stone & Kimball bought the copyright to Low Tide (Tebbel 526; Miller 117); also publishers of the Chap-Book, Stone & Kimball specialized in avant-garde European writers such as Verlaine, Mallarmé, Yeats, and Shaw, as well as homegrown equivalents Henry James (What Maisie Knew) and Kate Chopin (The Awakening); "I have been looking over the first volume of poems by one of your favorite Canadian authors, with a view to revising it for a collected edition. And truly it seems a desperate undertaking. When I begin to cut away the superfluous verbosity, I find there is almost nothing left.... And yet, the early poems have hints of spiritual being, only they are incoherent. It is very perplexing. I don't want to leave them as they are, a mass of unmeaning and musical words, and if I touch them, they are no longer they. What to do? I believe I must discard many of them" (Carman to Gladys Baldwin 14 May 1916, LBC #398)]

"Joys of the Road." Independent 30 Nov. 1893: ? (Miller 286n89). Collected in Songs from Vagabondia, 1894. Rpt. in World Review 6 June 1927: 267. (Rogers) [poem; written Sep. 1893 in response to Independent literary editor Susan Hayes Ward's request for an article about Carman, Hovey, and Roberts' "Vagabondian Camp" at Windsor, NS, that fall (Miller 110-11); also published in Town Topics, date unknown (Morse)]

"The House on the Rath." Illus. W.A. Rogers. St. Nicholas Dec. 1893: 159-60. (V) [ballad in thirty couplets: "Now Lanty McClusky had married a wife..."]

"The Ships of St. John." Canadian Magazine Dec. 1893: 148-49. (V). Rpt. in Living Age 13 Nov. 1897: 494-95. (RG 1890-99). Rpt. in Saturday Night 12 Oct. 1907: 12. (SN) [lyric in thirteen ballad stanzas: "Smile, you inland hills and rivers!..."; completed 29 Aug. 1893 (PBC); in July 1921, Carman completely re-wrote the poem (see Dec. 1921), and several years later wrote R.H. Hathaway that he hoped he wouldn't use the "old 'Ships of St. John" for his Makers of Canadian Literature volume on Carman: "I hate to see it reprinted without alterations" (1 Feb. 1925, LBC #549 and note)]

The Crimson House. [New York, 1893?]. 22x6.5cm. broadsheet or proof-sheet printed on recto only. (N, BAL 2554) [poem; copy mounted on p. 74 of H.F. Hovey's Carman scrapbook in the Harvard Library (N)]

An Easter Market. [New York, 1893?]. 26x7cm. broadsheet or proof-sheet printed on recto only. (N, BAL 2556). Collected in More Songs from Vagabondia, 1896. [poem; copy cut into two parts and mounted on pp. 74-75 of H.F. Hovey's Carman scrapbook in the Harvard Library (N)]

Song Morning...Music by Lottie Vanderveer-Willing. New York: Wm. A. Pond; Chicago: Chicago Music Co., 1893. (BAL 2619)  
[sheet music; copy held by American Antiquarian Society, Worcester]

## 1894

- "Immanence." By Carman, Richard Hovey, and Charles G.D. Roberts. King's College Record (Windsor, NS) Jan. 1894: ? (Miller 286n88) [three-quatrain lyric: "I come before the coming of the dawn..."; written jointly in Windsor, NS, in Sep. 1893, with each poet contributing one quatrain, the authorship of each "left for the reader to determine 'on internal evidence alone'" (Miller 110); Desmond Pacey's The Collected Poems of Sir Charles G.D. Roberts (Wolfville: Wombat, 1985) identifies the second stanza ("Not only in the cataract and the thunder...") as Roberts', and says the poem was published in the Record of Dec. [not Jan.] 1894 (480)]
- "A Waif." Independent 22 Feb. 1894: ? (BAL 2596). Collected in Songs from Vagabondia, 1894. [poem; also printed from the types of the Independent as an 8.8x8.9cm. broadsheet or proof-sheet printed on recto only, [New York, 1894], a copy of which is mounted on p. 58 of H.F. Hovey's Carman scrapbook in the Harvard Library (N, BAL 2595)]
- "Dialogue: Faithless Lover; Faithful Love." Century Mar. 1894: 731. (RG 1890-99) [poems previously printed in The Master of the Isles broadsheet, 1892]
- "Golden Rowan." Independent 12 Apr. 1894: ? (BAL 2561) [poem; also printed from the types of the Independent as a 16x7.5cm. proof-sheet printed on recto only, [New York, 1894], a copy of which is mounted on p. 70 of H.F. Hovey's Carman scrapbook in the Harvard Library (N, BAL 2561)]
- "Mr. Francis Thompson's Poems." Chap-Book 15 May 1894: 5-8. (Sader) [article on English poet Francis Thompson (1859-1907); "The immediate phrase and the memorable cadence are alike beyond him. He is no little wooden Wordsworth; to read him is like chewing sand" (5; qtd. in Whalen 64); first issue of the Chap-Book; poem by Roberts, "The Unsleeping," in same issue; "I am getting hard hits for my tirade on Francis Thompson. Damn Fools people are!" (Carman to Henrietta Russell Hovey 4 June 1894, LBC #98)]
- "The Mendicants." Independent 17 May 1894: ? (BAL 2576). Collected in Songs from Vagabondia, 1894. Rpt. in Living Age 18 May 1895: 386. (RG 1890-99) [poem; completed 5 Jan. 1894 (PBC)]
- "The Gravedigger." Atlantic Monthly June 1894: 749-51. (RG 1890-99) [poem; "'The Gravedigger' is out in the Atlantic,

a great disappointment to me. It has no cadence, no tone, no music, no intoxication, but is just flat and tubby in sound--and there is nothing but sound" (Carman to Henrietta Russell Hovey 4 June 1894, LBC #98)]

"The Prayer in the Rose Garden." Chap-Book 1 June 1894: 34. (Sader) [poem]

"Sea-Child." Nation 7 June 1894: 433. (RG 1890-99) [poem]

"Nancibel." Chap-Book 15 June 1894: 103. (Sader). Collected in More Songs from Vagabondia, 1896. [poem]

Saint Kavin A Ballad. Title-page design by B[ertram]

G[rosvenor] Goodhue. [Cambridge, MA: privately] printed by John Wilson [at the University Press], "in the last days of June" 1894. [i-ii], [1]-9 pp. (N, Watters, BAL 2621, LBC #105n) ["Printed in fifty copies for the Visionists and the guests at their house at no. iii in Province Court, Boston" (N); "Did you not think Goodhue's title page to St. Kavin a masterpiece? And the colophon--I admire that above the verses" (Carman to Henrietta Hovey 11 Aug. 1894, LBC #105); Goodhue (1868-1924) was a New England architect and amateur book designer influenced by William Morris (LBC #105n); according to Roberts, Frank Edge Kavanagh, a friend of his and Carman's, was the "witty Irish original of [Hovey's] 'Barney McGee' and the 'Kavin' poems in the 'Songs from Vagabondia' books" ("Some Reminiscences of Bliss Carman in New York (1896-1906)," Canadian Poetry Magazine 5.2 [Dec. 1940]: 7)]

"Tragedy of Willow." Athenæum (London) 7 July 1894: 31. (RG 1890-99). Collected in Poems, 1905. [poem; previously printed in The Master of the Isles broadsheet, 1892]

"Fancy's Fool." Independent 9 Aug. 1894: ? (BAL 2559) [poem; also printed from the types of the Independent as a 24x6.5cm. broadsheet or proof-sheet printed on recto only, [New York, 1894], a copy of which is mounted on p. 71 of H.F. Hovey's Carman scrapbook in the Harvard Library (N, BAL 2559)]

"Miss Gertrude Hall's Verses." Chap-Book 1 Sep. 1894: 185-96. (Sader) [article; Gertrude Hall Brownell (1863-?), Boston-born poet and novelist; see note to "Contemporaries IV," below]

"Mr. William Sharp's Poems." Chap-Book 15 Sep. 1894: 214-23. (Sader) [article; Carman met the English man of letters (1855-1905) in the fall of 1889 in Windsor, NS, where Sharp was visiting Roberts; "We get on very well together," he wrote Muriel Carman, "and he thinks some of my work pretty

good" (8 Sep. 1889, LBC #36); see note to "Contemporaries IV," below]

Songs from Vagabondia. By Carman and Richard Hovey. Designs by T[h]om[as] B[uford] Meteyard. Trade ed. (750 copies). Boston: Copeland & Day; London: Elkin Mathews & John Lane, [deposited 17 Sep.] 1894. [i-xii,] 1-[55] pp. (BMCat, BAL 2622, Watters). Large paper ed. (60 numbered copies). Boston: Copeland & Day; London: Elkin Mathews & John Lane, [Sep.] 1894. [i-xii,] 1-[55] pp. (N, BAL 2622). [Abridged ed.?]. Boston: Lane, 1894. 35 pp. (N). [2nd ed.] (750 copies). Boston: Copeland & Day; London: Elkin Mathews, [Feb.] 1895. 54 pp. (N, BMCat, Bookman Feb. 1895: 8). [3rd ed.?]. Boston: [Copeland & Day?], [Jan.] 1897. (N). 4th ed. Boston: Copeland & Day; London: Elkin Mathews, 1897. 54 pp. (BMCat). Boston: Small, Maynard, 1903. vii, 54 pp. (N). 8th ed. (750 copies). Boston: Small, Maynard, 1905. 54 pp. (N). Boston: Small, Maynard, 1907. vii, 54 pp. (N). 10th ed. Boston: Small, Maynard, 1909. vii, 54 pp. (N, BMCat 1971-75 supp.). Boston: Small, Maynard, 1911. vii, 54 pp. (N). 11th ed. Boston: Small, Maynard, 1911. 79 pp. (N). Boston: Small, Maynard, 1916. vii, 54 pp. (N). Boston: Small, Maynard, 1924. 55 pp. (N). New York: Gordon Press, Oct. 1972. (GBIP). Also bound in Songs from Vagabondia (1911) and Songs from Vagabondia (1935). [contains thirteen poems by Carman and twenty by Hovey; end-paper verses by Carman (New York Times 17 Aug. 1901: 579); dedicated "To H.F.H. for debts of love unpaid,/Her boys inscribe this book that they have made"; all editions have designs by Meteyard (1865-1928), an American impressionist and friend of Hovey; first book with Copeland & Day, formed in 1893 by Herbert Copeland (d. 1923) and Fred Holland Day (1864-1933), the latter a wealthy cousin of Carman's friend Louise Guiney; the firm published some eighty titles before it dissolved and sold its list to Small, Maynard in 1899, including Stephen Crane's Black Riders and the first ten volumes of the Yellow Book (published jointly with Mathews & Lane in London), but according to publishing historian John Tebbel, Songs from Vagabondia, its first book by an American author, was also its most successful, running through 3,570 copies in its first five impressions (402-07); prepared for publication in Windsor, NS, Sep. of 1893 (Miller 109, 113); "The first copy of Songs from Vagabondia to come from the press fell to my lot, and is here now looking very well. I like the arrangement you and R[ichard] gave it very much" (Carman to Henrietta Hovey 11 Aug. 1894, LBC #105); "It will be published in September. You shall see it. There are, I hope, several notes in the major you will like, though it too often approaches the boisterous to be really very good, I fear" (Carman to Gertrude Burton [Aug. 1894], LBC #109)]; "I have a small volume out this fall, done with Richard Hovey. Only one or two things in it worth while" (Carman to George Parkin 2 Oct. 1894, LBC #113); possibly one of those

"worth while" things is [the herein first printed?] "Spring Song," rejected for Harper's by editor Henry Mills Alden, who told Roberts that "it was utterly unsuited to the Magazine, or to any American Magazine. He said that the Magazine rarely printed anything half so good. He said that it was 'a great, big, floundering thing, elemental, & magnificent.['] He said if he ran the magazine just for his own reading, he'd print that & as much more like it as he could get" (Roberts to Carman 27 May 1893, Boone 172)]

"Prayer: Lord of My Heart's Elation." Outlook 22 Sep. 1894: 461. (RG 1890-99). Rpt. in The Unbound Anthology, 1922. Rpt. as "Lord of My Heart's Elation" in Literary Digest 27 July 1929: 33. (RG 8) [poem]

"The Lodger." Harvard Monthly Nov. 1894: 43-48. (N, Morse) [poem in ninety stanzas (Morse)]

"Mr. Gilbert Parker." Chap-Book 1 Nov. 1894: 339-43. (Sader). Rpt. in Week 16 Nov. 1894: 1214-15. (V) [article on Parker's Pierre and His People that expands into praise of the manly "new romance movement," to whose world-travelling authors (Parker, Kipling, Stevenson, Richard Harding Davis) "Not analysis, but story-telling, pure and simple, is the aim..." (Week 1215); see note to "Contemporaries IV," below]

"Contemporaries IV: Louise Imogen Guiney." Chap-Book 15 Nov. 1894: 27-36. (Sader) [article; "I am doing for [the Chap-Book] a series of prose articles on some of our contemporaries, possibly to go into a book later. Richard [Hovey] will be one of the first to go into the amber of my terrifying prose" (Carman to Henrietta Hovey 11 Aug. 1894, LBC #105); although not titled as such, presumably Carman's previous articles for the Chap-Book on Gertrude Hall (1 Sep. 1894), William Sharp (15 Sep.), and Gilbert Parker (1 Nov.) were the first three in the "Contemporaries" series, which was never collected as Carman here envisioned; one more article appeared in the series, on Roberts (1 Jan. 1895), but neither the promised article on Hovey nor projected articles on Emily Dickinson and possibly Robert Louis Stevenson (LBC #123) ever materialized in this form; "I have been called a 'frenzied eulogist' for these contemporary studies, and 'mutual admirationist.' Well, a man who cannot get up to the point of 'frenzied eulogy' over something is ready for extinction like a burnt-out candle" (Carman to Muriel Carman Ganong 31 Jan. 1895, LBC #123)]

"A Prophet's Prayer." Independent 22 Nov. 1894: ? (BAL 2584) [poem; also printed from the types of the Independent as an 8x17.5cm. (trimmed) broadsheet (BAL 2584 from copy in Queen's University Library); Morse lists another or same broadsheet dated Cambridge, MA, 24 Nov. 1894, "For M.S.P."]

- "At the Voice of a Bird." Overland Dec. 1894: 664. (RG 1890-99)  
[poem]
- "The Night Washers." Chap-Book 1 Dec. 1894: 62-64. (Sader)  
[poem; "'The Night-Washers,' that is the poem you refer to. It is not much, like a Breton legend put into verse, as a study in the horrible--like those fairy tales we used to hear, when the story led you on from room to room until you reached a closet, when the door opened and 'out jumped a green mouldy man'..." (Carman to Gertrude Burton 15 Apr. 1895, LBC #134)]
- "Cuddle-Song." King's College Record (Windsor, NS) Christmas 1894: ? (Boone 188) [poem; publication inferred from letters from Roberts to Carman of 22 Nov. 1894 asking for a photo of him for the Record and "any long or longish poem (or short one, for that matter,) which thou canst not sell, & wouldst let the Record print in Xmas number?" (Boone 187) and of 15 Dec. 1894 saying "The 'Cuddle-Song' was first-rate for Record" (Boone 188)]
- "The King of Ys." Town Topics (NY) ? Dec. 1894: ? (Boone 188)  
[poem; "The T[own]. T[opics]. hath just come in, with the 'King of Ys.' It is a fine ballad, Old Man, with stanzas in it that are thy self. But, as a whole, it does not seem to me quite up to thy best. Some of it seems to lack wings,-- and the construction of the latter part does not perfectly satisfy me" (Roberts to Carman 15 Dec. 1894, Boone 188); Town Topics (1879-1937) was a society weekly published by Col. William D'Alton Mann; although Town Topics is unindexed, Morse lists the titles of some of the poems Carman published in it, many of which are probably reprints: "In the Tent Door" (see Dec. 1884) "In Early Summer," "The Joys of the Road" (see 30 Nov. 1893), "To Raphael," "An Afterword" (see June 1893), "Under the Rowans," "High Tide in Fundy," and "The Little Field by the Sea" (see 23 July 1896); also, "Spring Song" from Songs from Vagabondia (1894) was reprinted as "Make Me Over" in the June 1896 number of the weekly's quarterly, Tales from Town Topics (BAL p. 74); "On the Plaza" appeared in the Dec. 1907 issue (see below); apparently Carman also wrote some travel articles for the magazine, for which see note to A Winter Holiday, 1899; and finally, upon hearing news of Col. Mann's death, Carman recalled in a letter to Mitchell Kennerley of 13 Aug. 1926 that Town Topics had "furnished...space for our poor little 'Sea Children'!" (LBC #564), possibly reprinting them from the Chap-Book (see note to "Little Lyrics of Joy, I," 1 Mar. 1895)]

## 1895

NB. "I must tell you about an artists' festival they had there [unclear: Boston, Cambridge, or Northampton, MA]. The Art Student Association gave it. Six or seven hundred people in Oriental costume. No one admitted otherwise. Then a few of them reproduced a play for the occasion. I wrote an incantation by which spirits were summoned to appear in smoke and fire and fulmination. They did" (Carman to Gertrude Burton 19 Jan. 1895, LBC #121). Unidentified.

"A Song Before Sailing." Cosmopolitan Jan. 1895: 330. (V)  
[lyric in eleven aabb quatrains: "Wind of the dead men's feet..."]

"Contemporaries V: Mr. Charles G.D. Roberts." Chap-Book 1 Jan. 1895: 163-71. (Sader) [article; see note to "Contemporaries IV," 1894; "I cannot thank thee for the Chap-Book article. Have no words! But verily, those are the things I hungered to have thee say, & thou saidst them,-- with a point & effectiveness which will make men remember, & with a discretion that will disarm hostile criticism" (Roberts to Carman 8 Jan. 1895, Boone 190)]

"The Acknowledged Laureate of Canada." Literary Digest 19 Jan. 1895: ? (N) [probably a condensation of the Chap-Book article above]

"To a Portrait of a Western Poet." By Slim Barcans [pseud.]. Chap-Book 15 Feb. 1895: 320-21. (Sader) [verse tribute to western poet Eugene Field (1850-95): "O lean Eugene..."; "I had some amusement with my own name a few days ago. I was looking for a nom de plume, and took the letters of my own noble signature to see what they would give me. The first thing I ran against was SLIM BARCANS! Isn't that delicious! Ah, if only I were a humorist, what a name it would be!" (Carman to Gertrude Burton 20 Aug. 1894, LBC #108; see also LBC #130); according to Gundy, Carman used "Slim Barcans" a few times in the Chap-Book, but this is the only instance listed by Sader]

"At the Granite Gate." Atlantic Monthly Mar. 1895: 369-71. (RG 1890-99) [poem]

"Little Lyrics of Joy, I." Chap-Book 1 Mar. 1895: 331. (Sader) [poem; "I am good for nothing but a few more puny 'Sea Children' each week. The Chap Book (edited now by [Herbert] Stone) will print some of them in a series as 'Little Lyrics of Joy'" (Carman to Henrietta Hovey 11 Aug. 1894, LBC #105); see note to Pipes of Pan Number Three, 1903]

"Little Lyrics of Joy, II." Chap-Book 15 Mar. 1895: 374. (Sader) [poem]

- "The Sleepers." Bookman (NY) Apr. 1895: 202. (V) [poem; two carnations converse]
- "Little Lyrics of Joy, III." Chap-Book 1 Apr. 1895: 404. (Sader) [poem]
- "Little Lyrics of Joy, IV." Chap-Book 15 Apr. 1895: 434. (Sader) [poem]
- "Norse Child's Requiem." Century May 1895: 84. (RG 1890-99) [poem; "...divine is the 'Requiem' in Century. Verily, though the poor little lad had a brief life, he hath left behind him an imperishable memorial" (Roberts to Carman 9 May 1895, Boone 202)]
- "Little Lyrics of Joy, V." Chap-Book 1 May 1895: 478. (Sader) [poem]

A Seamark: A Threnody for Robert Louis Stevenson. Trade ed.

Boston: Copeland and Day, [deposited 3 May] 1895. [1-18]; printer's imprint, p. [19]; blank, pp. [20-28]. (BAL 2623, N, Watters). Large paper ed. (limited to 50 copies). Boston: Copeland & Day, [May] 1895. Same pagination. (BAL 2623, N) ["I am just finishing a long elegy for R.L.S." (Carman to T.B. Meteyard 26 Jan. 1895, LBC #85); "I have read & reread, a number of times, both Stevenson poems. On the margin of 'A Sea Mark' I have noted my comments freely. Both poems I think exceedingly fine,--worthy of their author & their subject. You did right to cut them, I am certain. 'At the Road House' [see Aug. 1895] is exquisite all through. I can find no place to criticize. The main poem ["Seamark"] seems to me less uniformly perfect,--but at the same time it reaches a higher level at its best than the other anywhere attains. All the close is splendid. The introduction does not seem to justify itself exactly. It introduces, but not much more. Methinks it should either be enriched or removed" (Roberts to Carman 6 Feb. 1895, Boone 191); "I have just finished a piece of work which I shall send you tomorrow to read: 'A Seamark, to the memory of Robert Louis Stevenson.' It is in four-line tetrameter stanzas, containing in all 168 lines. Now I am thinking of an experiment in publication with this thing. Instead of placing it with a magazine, why not bring it out by itself in small paper form...? [detailed suggestions for layout, type, binding, design, and promotion omitted] / I wish to do this on the half-profit plan, assuming half the risk and dividing the profits with you equally" (Carman to publisher F.H. Day 15 Feb. 1895, LBC #126); "I am grieved to learn that the R.L.S. Memorial [in San Francisco? (see 25 Jan. 1896)] hangs fire.... You take Fred Day by the ear (no hair) and make him unload all his gains off A Seamark into your pocket. If he will, I will donate all my princely royalties therefrom.... I have a horrible suspicion that the royalties



would amount to not more than seventeen cents, for I find that no one buys that immortal lyric save its own fond author. And at the shop [Copeland & Day's] in Cornhill they now give it away to favored buyers! I call that humiliation; ain't it?" (Carman to Louise Imogen Guiney 17 Sep. 1896, LBC #159)]

- "Little Lyrics of Joy, VI." Chap-Book 15 May 1895: 13. (Sader) [poem]
- "Creature Catechism." Outlook 29 June 1895: 1130. (RG 1890-99) [poem; "I like thy stanza from 'Creation's Catechism,' save for the 'Lord,' which somehow suggests to me that the flying fish was given to expletives under stress of emotion!" (Roberts to Carman 25 Mar. 1895, Boone 197)]
- "Lyric of Joy: Over the Shoulder and Slopes of the Dune." Century July 1895: 377. (RG 1890-99). Rpt. in Outlook 27 July 1895: 150. (RG 1890-99) [poem]
- "A Marching Song." Afternoons at Home by the Best American Authors. Boston: Lothrop Publishing Co., [deposited 18 July 1895]. Unpaged. (BAL 2624). Collected as "Buie Annajohn" in More Songs from Vagabondia, 1896.
- "At the Road-House (In Memory of R.L. Stevenson)." Poet-Lore Aug. 1895: 397-99. (RG 1890-99, N). Collected in More Songs from Vagabondia, 1896. [poem; written by at least 6 Feb. 1895 (see note to A Seamark, above)]
- "A Man Child's Prayer." Independent 1 Aug. 1895: ? (BAL 2572) [poem; also printed from the types of the Independent as a 19x8cm. proof-sheet printed on recto only, [New York, 1895], a copy of which is mounted on p. 75 of H.F. Hovey's Carman scrapbook in the Harvard Library (N, BAL 2572); Morse also lists a broadsheet or ms. copy dated Washington, DC, 20 Sep. 1895, and inscribed "For Malyn [Prat]" (see note to "Malyn's Daisy," 1896)]
- "To W.W.C." Chap-Book 1 Aug. 1895: ? (Miller 288n136) [poem: "O Willie, little Willie, / Is it envy or is it guile, / When you criticise your brother, / Makes you dip your pen in bile?..." (three stanzas qtd. in Miller 141-42); probably printed anonymously or pseudonymously, as not listed by Sader; in the Toronto Sunday World of 16 June 1895, William Wilfred Campbell had anonymously accused Carman of being "not only...a mere echo but perhaps the most flagrant imitator on this continent," and as proof (in this and a follow-up article, in which he revealed his identity) quoted parallel passages from Carman and other poets, including lines from "The Eavesdropper" and Archibald Lampman's "Heat"; Carman wrote Peter McArthur 22 June 1895 the first two stanzas of "To W.W.C.," noting that he had already

discovered his "subconscious appropriation" from Lampman, written to him "regretting the line," and altered it in a subsequent printing (see note to "The Eavesdropper," Feb. 1893), and saying that "Anyhow his drool is all damned rot. He might as well say that I had plagiarized the dictionary" (LBC #138 and note); according to Miller, Carman also wrote the Toronto Globe 13 July 1895 to explain his appropriation of the Lampman line (141); for an account of the quarrel, see D.M.R. Bentley, "Columns and Controversies Among the Confederation Poets," Canadian Poetry: Studies / Documents / Reviews 7 [1990]: 94-95]

"Moondial." Athenæum (London) 10 Aug. 1895: 191. (RG 1890-99). Rpt. in Living Age 5 Oct. 1895: 2. (RG 1890-99) [poem; possibly the same as referred to in Carman's 26 Jan. 1895 letter to T.B. Meteyard: "...I have a great scheme for a thing to be called 'The Moonstruck.' But I fear I cannot do it in time for our book [Behind the Arras], though it goes in that volume naturally" (LBC #122); "The question you ask about the 'Moondial' is more difficult. For in that the symbolism is more ambitious. There seems to have been some idea or moral purpose in my mind in writing the lines; but I don't remember what it was" (Carman to H.D.C. Lee 12 Oct. 1910, LBC #302; the comparative poem is "The End of the Trail," Christmas 1890)]

"A Sailor's Wedding." Atlantic Monthly Sep. 1895: 329-30. (RG 1890-99). Collected as Part II of "The Marring of Malyn" in Ballads of Lost Haven, 1897. Rpt. in Nation (NY) 16 Dec. 1897: 482-83. (RG 1890-99) [poem; previously printed as an 1891 broadsheet]

"The Whale and the Sprat." Life 5 Sep. 1895: ? (LBC #136n) ["I sold 'Whale and Sprat' to Life and got a check" (Carman to Harriet Hovey 16 May 1895, LBC #136)]

"Introduction." The Riverside Literature Series [No. 83]. Silas Marner...by George Eliot. Boston, New York, & Chicago: Houghton, Mifflin, and Co.; Cambridge; The Riverside Press, [deposited 28 Sep. 1895]. [iii]-xv. (BAL 2625). Rpt. as Silas Marner, the Weaver of Raveloe, by George Eliot...with an Introduction by Bliss Carman, and Aids to the Study of 'Silas Marner' by H.A. Davidson. Boston, New York, etc.: Houghton, Mifflin, ©1899. (N) [introduction unsigned in first printing, but credited to Carman by Sherman and Morse]

A Victorian Anthology 1837-1895. Ed. Edmund Clarence Stedman. Boston & New York: Houghton, Mifflin, and Co.; Cambridge: The Riverside Press, [deposited 19 Oct.] 1895. (BAL 2626) [according to BAL, all the Carman poems herein are reprints but "Song" (p. 666) and the twelve-line "Envoy" (p. 666), the first four lines of which were previously printed on the

front end-paper of Songs from Vagabondia (1894), and the final eight lines on the terminal end-paper of same]

At Michaelmas A Lyric by Bliss Carman. [Wolfville, NS: 100 copies privately printed by The Acadian Press, Oct. 1895]. [1-15] pp. (N, BAL 2627, Watters). Collected (21st stanza omitted) in More Songs from Vagabondia, 1896. (LBC #144n). [contains dedicatory poem in six stanzas, "To T[homas]. B[uford]. M[eteyard].," and title poem in 29 stanzas; "I should much like to include [in More Songs] my 'At Michaelmas' and its little preface to T.B.M. for the reason that I do not feel that I have anything in the volume as good as 'Spring Song' [in Songs from Vagabondia].... I should think it a happy substitute for 'Mr. Moon' and 'The Hearse horse'" (Carman to Hovey 5 July 1896, LBC #154)]

"A Vagabond Song." Bookman (NY) Nov. 1895: 202. (V). Rpt. in Outlook 2 Nov. 1895: 726. (RG 1890-99). Collected in More Songs from Vagabondia, 1896. Rpt. in The Unbound Anthology, 1922. Rpt. in World Review 19 Sep. 1927: 11. (Rogers). Rpt. in Golden Book Oct. 1930: 28. (RG 8). Rpt. in Library Journal 1 Oct. 1931: 790. (RG 1). Rpt. in Scholastic 5 Oct. 1942: 20. (RG 13). Rpt. in Scholastic 14 May 1945: 20. (Rogers) [lyric: "There is something in the Autumn that is native to my blood--..."; Carman's most reprinted poem in the U.S., appearing in no fewer than fifty American poetry anthologies by the end of the 1950s (Rogers 1: 79); set to music by Ruth Wright Vanderlip and published by Schirmer of New York in 1926 (Miller 296; not in BAL)]

"A Lyric of Joy." Chap-Book 1 Dec. 1895: 80. (Sader) [poem]

Behind the Arras A Book of the Unseen. Designs by T[homas]. B. Meteyard. Boston & New York: Lamson, Wolffe, [deposited 18 Dec.] 1895. [i-viii], 1-102 pp. illus. (N, BAL 2628, Watters). London: Elkin Mathews, [May 1896?]. (BAL 2628). [2nd ed.] Boston: Small, Maynard, 1899. 102 pp. illus. (N). Boston, etc.: Lamson, Wolffe, 1905. (N) [includes [first printing of?] "Beyond the Gamut," of which Carman wrote to Gertrude Burton 9 Oct. 1894 that "In verse there is nothing new save a longish thing called 'Beyond the Gamut,' a meditation of a musician over his violin" (LBC #114) and to Richard Hovey 1 Jan. 1895 asking for his comments "before it goes into print," adding that "Your mother and one or two more speak well of the thing, but I do not take it to my heart as a truly love-child. Rather it was born in lawful deadlock of haphazard and 'go-to-itiveness.' I can hear the wheels work all the time it is going off in the reader's mouth. It joggles and creaks and jolts; the 'thought' (so-called) is ill digested. Its skeleton is coming through at the elbows in several places. If you think it can be tinkered, say where," to which Hovey responded with eleven pages of suggestions and emendations (most of which Carman

adopted), reprinted verbatim in Odell Shepard's Bliss Carman (1923) (LBC #119 and note); "Here is a list of poems to be included in 'Behind the Arras'" (Carman to T.B. Meteyard 15 Oct. 1894, LBC #115); "I am busy with Meteyard on the next volume of verse, and have just finished the epilogue and the prologue, pretty well to my own easy taste" (Carman to F.H. Day 10 Feb. 1895, LBC #124); "I offered them [Copeland & Day] my new volume Behind the Arras with Tom's drawings, but they could not have illustrated poetry, so I have given it to Lamson, Wolfe & Co., another kid firm. They are energetic, have some money and want everything they can get. But I have not yet much faith in their permanence. Flighty..." (Carman to Richard Hovey 2 Aug. 1895, LBC #142); Lamson, Wolfe & Co. was a small but for Canadian letters very important Boston firm that failed four years later (Tebbel 417-18) after having published two more books by Carman and six by Roberts; according to publishing historian John Tebbel, the "Co." was Carman himself, but this seems doubtful in the light of his letter to Hovey above (407); "According to the plan pursued in Low Tide on Grand Pré--that of collecting in one volume at a time only poems of a similar character--I have brought together in the present instance such things as deal with the manifestations of the unseen Spirit of Nature. As a consequence, the work is more or less mystical and symbolistic. Yet I hope it is not too vague or unreal to appeal to the public" (Carman to the editor of the Book Buyer, enclosing a sample page and promising a review copy, 26 Sep. 1895, LBC #143); dedicated to Gertrude Burton (d. Jan. 1896), to whom Carman wrote 19 Dec. 1895 that "I am afraid you will not have my little book by Christmas. It has been delayed week after week, and I have been so anxious for it to come into your hands, since for you chiefly it was put together.... The little couplet on the page of dedication is a fragment from Rossetti--no more was ever written" (LBC #146)]

"The Little Church of the Leaves." Independent 19 Dec. 1895: ? (BAL 2569) [poem; also printed from the types of the Independent as a 37x15cm. proof-sheet printed on recto only, [New York, 1895], a copy of which has been cut in two parts and mounted on pp. 78-79 of H.F. Hovey's Carman scrapbook in the Harvard Library (N, BAL 2569)]

[Five-line statement]. "The Time Has Come, the Walrus Said...." [East Aurora, NY, 19 Dec. 1895]. p. 4. (BAL 2629) [eight-page menu prepared as a souvenir of a dinner given by the Society of the Philistines in honour of Stephen Crane (see note to "In Philistia," 1897); from copy in possession of Mr. Clifton Waller Barrett, Garden City, New York; dinner reported in "News Notes," Bookman (NY) Feb. 1896]

The Face in the Stream. [New York, 1895?]. 42x7.5cm. broadsheet or proof-sheet printed on recto only. (N, BAL 2558) [poem;

copy cut in three parts and mounted on pp. 77-78 of H.F. Hovey's Carman scrapbook in the Harvard Library (N)]

## 1896

NB. Around 8 June 1896, Carman started a "three-month job with Houghton-Mifflin.... ghost-writing a book which the publisher wanted for its substance but which had to be rewritten in a style palatable to the public" (Miller 152). Unidentified.

"The Deep-Hollow Road." "Ninety-Six" A Calendar for the Year MCCCCXCVI with Verses by Charles G.D. Roberts and Bliss Carman. Toronto: Designed and published by the Toronto Art Students' League, 1896. pp. 4-5. (BAL 2631, Morse)

"Wood-Folk Lore." Outlook 4 Jan. 1896: 17. (RG 1890-99).  
Collected in More Songs from Vagabondia, 1896. [poem]

"Stevenson Memorial: An Inscription for the Drinking-Fountain to Be Set up in San Francisco." Harper's Weekly 25 Jan. 1896: 86. (V) [four quatrains in memory of Robert Louis Stevenson (1850-94): "God made me simple from the first..."; also printed as a 6.5cm. broadsheet or proof-sheet in a 16.5cm. case and inserted in the copy of Seamark (1895) in the Harvard Library (N)]

"A Sea Song." Illus. J.M. Burnside. Massey's Feb. 1896: 103-04. (V) ["Where the blue comes down to the brine..."]

"A Song of the Sea Children." Chap-Book 1 Feb. 1896: 291. (Sader) [poem; see note to Pipes of Pan Number Three, 1903]

"But the Flesh Is Weak." Bauble (Washington, DC) Mar. 1896: 34-35. (Morse) [poem; the Bauble (1895-97) was a little magazine "whose only good feature was its biting literary criticism" (Mott 4: 390n)]

"A Song of the Sea Children." Chap-Book 1 Mar. 1896: 353. (Sader) [poem; see note to Pipes of Pan Number Three, 1903]

"A Spring Feeling." Saturday Night 4 Apr. 1896: 14. (V) [lyric in thirteen ballad stanzas: "I think it must be spring; I feel..."; speaker is "sick of" "New Art, New Movements and New Schools," including "all these Yellow Books," "all this Ibsen trash/and Maeterlinckian rot," and "of the New Woman too,/Good Lord, she's worst of all"; first of ten poems in Saturday Night over the next thirty years, most and probably all reprinted from other sources; of one of his targets, Belgian symbolist poet and playwright Maurice Maeterlinck (1862-1949), Carman had written 7 Jan. 1895 to Richard Hovey that "Maeterlinck...does not get me yet. It is trying to make literature without the use of the adjective. One Stevensonian adjective, one Meredithian phrase gives more

effect, more shiver than all of The Intruder [L'Intruse, Maeterlinck's 1890 drama trans. by Hovey in his The Plays of Maurice Maeterlinck, 1895]. This method of iteration omits the use of surprise in getting its effect. A child could drill me into madness by asking questions, but I only find Maeterlinck tiresome. It does not take hold. But mind you, this is only a first opinion. I will have to try him again and tell you how he works" (LBC #120)]

"Song of the Sea Children." Chap-Book 15 Apr. 1896: 503.  
(Sader) [poem; see note to Pipes of Pan Number Three, 1903]

"A Thrush Song." Munsey's May 1896: ? (LBC #153n)

"A Ballad of Saint Kavin." Chap-Book 1 May 1896: 559-60.  
(Sader). Collected as "The Unsainting of Kavin" in More Songs from Vagabondia, 1896. ["Maria's famous restaurant on Twelfth Street once knew all the Canadians well, with the somewhat spectacular form of Bohemia which it represented. It used to be a very delightful place, any one was privileged to get up and sing a song, tell a story, or recite an original poem, and it was here that Carman enraptured the house with his reciting of 'The Unsainting of Kavin'" (Frank L. Pollock, "Canadian Writers in New York," Acta Victoriana Apr. 1899: 435); for Kavin's original, see note to Saint Kavin, 1894]

"Sursum Coda." Independent 7 May 1896: ? (BAL 2591) [poem; also printed as a 55x15cm. broadside printed on recto only (BAL 2591 from copy in Queen's University Library)]

"Old Horse." Athenæum (London) 23 May 1896: 681. (RG 1890-99)  
[poem]

"The Little Field by the Sea." Independent 23 July 1896: ? (BAL 2570) [poem; also printed from the types of the Independent as a 17x9cm. proof-sheet printed on recto only, [New York, 1896], a copy of which is mounted on p. 100 of H.F. Hovey's Carman scrapbook in the Harvard Library (N, BAL 2570); according to Morse, also published in Town Topics, date unknown]

"In a Copy of Browning." Bookman (NY) Sep. 1896: 23-24. (V).  
Rpt. in Week 18 Sep. 1896: 1018. (V). Collected in More Songs from Vagabondia, 1896. [poem; homage to his well-thumbed copy of Browning; for another poem on Browning, see "The Two Bobbies" in Songs from Vagabondia, 1894]

Rev. of The Collected Poems of S. Weir Mitchell. Bookman (NY) Sep. 1896: 59-60. (V) ["To me the chief pleasure of the book is that it is never feverish, nor strained, nor affected, but always simple and clear and of an even tenor..." (60); argues (ironically enough) that one of the

requirements of a good poet is that he possess the "taste" to distinguish his good work from his bad; Mitchell could do this, as could Milton, Keats, Tennyson, and Arnold, but Wordsworth, Byron, Whitman, and Shelley were "great poets blessed with little taste" (59)]

- "In Scituate." Savoy 5 (Sep. 1896): 70-72. (N, LBC #161n)  
[poem; Carman was a frequent visitor at his artist friend Tom Meteyard's family home in Scituate, MA (see, e.g, LBC #99, 101, 141); "I am disappointed at reading 'In Scituate' in print. There is a good deal of prose in it. But I like the Savoy. The fiction is superfluous, but some of the papers like those of W.B. Y[eats]. on Blake and Ellis on Nietzsche are good" (Carman to Louise Imogen Guiney 15 Oct. 1896, LBC #161); the Savoy was a London little magazine that ran from the beginning to the end of 1896 (LBC #161n)]
- "The Prayer of the Reed." Independent 10 Sep. 1896: ? (BAL 2583) [poem; also printed from the types of the Independent as a 27x7.5cm. broadsheet or proof-sheet printed on recto only, [New York, 1896], a copy of which has been cut into two parts and mounted on p. 91 of H.F. Hovey's Carman scrapbook in the Harvard Library (N, BAL 2583)]
- "To Mr. Gilder's Office Cat" and "An Autobiographical Letter." Critic (NY) 12 Sep. 1896: 164 and 164-65. (RG 1890-99, N) [poem, photo, and letter in response to request for biographical information]
- "Poppies." Chap-Book 15 Sep. 1896: 392-93. (Sader) [poem]
- "The Paupers." Lotus 2.6 (Oct. 1896): 189. (provided by James Doyle) [poem; The Lotus was a short-lived Kansas City little magazine edited by Canadian expatriate Walter Blackburn Harte (1868-1899) from New York; see ch. 8 of James Doyle's biography of Harte, The Fin de Siècle Spirit]
- "Autumn Song." Chap-Book 1 Oct. 1896: 450. (Sader) [poem; rpt. or qtd. in The Echo 24 Oct. 1896: ? (Morse)]
- "To P.V." Chap-Book 1 Oct. 1896: ? (Doyle, Fin de Siècle 85). Rpt. in Critic (NY) Dec. 1898: 454. illus. (RG 1890-99) [poem for French poet Paul Verlaine (1844-96)]
- "Hem and Haw." No. 45. Standard Recitations by Best Authors...Compiled...by Frances P. Sullivan...September 1894 [sic]. New York: M.J. Ivers, [deposited 9 Oct.] 1896. p. 23. (BAL 2632). Collected in More Songs from Vagabondia, 1896.
- "Malyn's Daisy." Independent 29 Oct. 1896: ? (BAL 2571) [poem; presumably Minnie ("Malyn") Prat, Wolfville fiancée of Roberts' deceased younger brother Goodridge (LBC #36n); also

printed from the types of the Independent as an 11x7cm. proof-sheet printed on recto only, [New York, 1896], a copy of which has been cut in two parts and mounted on p. 113 of H.F. Hovey's Carman scrapbook in the Harvard Library (N, BAL 2571); Morse lists another copy dated Wolfville, NS, 29 Oct. 1896]

"A Man's Last Word." Chap-Book 15 Nov. 1896: 29-30. (Sader)  
[poem]

More Songs from Vagabondia. By Carman and Richard Hovey.

Designs by Tom B. Meteyard. Trade ed. (750 copies). Boston: Copeland & Day; London: Elkin Mathews, "Printed...During October, 1896" (p. [73]), [deposited 27 Nov. 1896]. [i]-viii, 1-72 pp. (N, NS, BMCat, BAL 2634, Watters). Large paper ed. (limited to 60 copies). Boston: Copeland & Day, 1896. Same pagination. (BAL 2634). 2nd ed. (750 copies). Boston: Copeland & Day, etc., 1896. viii, 72 pp. (N). Boston: Small, [Maynard], 1899. 72 pp. (N). 4th ed. (750 copies). Boston: Small, Maynard, 1901. viii, 72 pp. (N). 5th ed. (750 copies) cased with 1903 boxed set Vagabondia. Boston: Small, Maynard, Nov. 1903. viii, 72 pp. (N, BMCat). Boston: Small, Maynard, 1905. viii, 72 pp. (N). 7th ed. (1000 copies). Boston: Small, Maynard, Feb. 1908. 72 pp. (N). [8th ed.]. Boston: Small, Maynard, 1911. viii, 72 pp. (N). Boston & London: Copeland & Day [sic], 1917. (N). 11th ed. Boston: Small, 1924. viii, 72 pp. (NS). 12th ed. (750 copies). New York: Dodd, Mead, June 1928. viii, 72 pp. (N). Also bound in Songs from Vagabondia (1911) and Songs from Vagabondia (1935). [all editions have Meteyard's designs; contains 26 poems by Carman (New York Times 17 Aug. 1901: 579); "Both end-paper lyrics in More Songs from Vagabondia are by Hovey" (Roberts to Edmund Clarence Stedman 10 Apr. 1900, Boone 259); "...a second series of Songs from Vagabondia might be better than an enlargement of the present book [Songs from Vagabondia]--to come out in a year's time, perhaps" (Carman to F.H. Day 10 Feb. 1895, LBC #124); from Carman's comments of 5 July 1896 to Hovey on those of his poems herein not otherwise located: "I don't agree with Day's idea of 'Quince to Lilac.' It seems to me one of the best of mine in the book.... Don't agree with them about the two 'Karlenes.' Should keep them both.... I think 'Hearse Horse' is a good thing of its kind, but whether that kind ought ever to be printed is questionable. I certainly should not cut off the last stanza. But I should be quite willing to omit the poem if they wish.... I like the last end-paper immensely, save one line: 'The man of paint, the men of rhyme.' 'The men of rhyme' is too self-conscious, to my taste. Could you not say 'A fellowship of paint and rhyme' or something of that sort?... / Finally you should have no compunction about leaving out anything you wish on the score of amount. I don't see that it makes any difference if either of us



should have a hundred or two lines more than the other" (LBC #154); "I return under another cover the corrected proof of [More] Songs from Vagabondia. We hope that [Herbert] Copeland and you will see your way to letting the copy stand as it is, as we have discussed it all pretty thoroughly between ourselves and with Roberts...and we think we have got it about as we want it" (Carman to F.H. Day 26 Aug. 1896, LBC #155); despite the imprinted date of Oct., Carman had not received his own copies by 2 Dec. 1896 (LBC #163)]

- "The Time and the Place." Critic 28 Nov. 1896: 344. (RG 1890-99). Rpt. in The Month (London?) Jan. 1897: ? (N) [poem based on a quotation from Browning (N)]
- "By the Aurelian Wall: In Memory of John Keats." Blackwood's (Edinburgh) Dec. 1896: 819-21. (RG 1890-99) [poem; "...the things I most wanted to accomplish are done. Among these last was a poem on John Keats, which I hope you will see and like" (Carman to Muriel Carman Ganong 20 Oct. 1895, LBC #144); Gundy's note identifies "For a Memorial to John Keats" (23 Feb. 1893) as the "first draft" of the "poem on John Keats," but doesn't identify its present incarnation--presumably it's the above]
- "A Lyric of Frost." Massey's Dec. 1896: 402. (V) ["The red frost came with his armies..."; full-page, decorative layout of a stylized parchment against a background of maple leaves; autographed]
- "A Godfather's Advice." Memorabilia Joseph Jefferson J.M. Barrie George W. Cable Bliss Carman. [Florence, MA: prepared by the Bryant Press for sale at a fair held at Smith College, Northampton, MA, 16 Dec. 1896]. pp. 15-20. (BAL p. 74) [a reprint of "Karlene" from More Songs from Vagabondia, 1896 (BAL p. 74)]
- "The Vengeance of Noel Brassard." Boston Transcript 19 Dec. 1896: ? (LBC #145n). Rpt. as The Vengeance of Noel Brassard A Tale of the Acadian Expulsion. [Cambridge, MA: University Press, "One Hundred Copies Printed...December, MDCCCXIX [sic, 1899]. [i-ii], 1-22 pp.; colophon p. 23. (N, BAL 2644, Watters) ["Your friend the chaste Town Topics wanted a ballad for their Christmas number, and wanted it in a hurry. I had to hunt. Just then I fell upon a new history of the Acadian Expulsion which confirms our sentiments over Evangeline, and brings Parkman to confusion. Parkman, you know, condoned the deportation and maligned the Acadians; and of course the English are ready enough to quote him. I believe he lied. Also I am thankful to believe the English nation innocent. The expulsion was the work of one Lawrence, a coward, then governor of the Province, and it was carried out by his orders, unknown to the home government in England. / Well, I have secured a beautiful incident all to

my hand ready, and have only to put it in rhyme. It is called 'The Vengeance of Noel Brassard'..." (Carman to T.B. Meteyard 8 Nov. 1895, LBC #145); the poem did not appear in Town Topics (LBC #145n) and was offered 3 Apr. 1896 to but also apparently declined by Atlantic editor Horace E. Scudder (LBC #150)]

## 1897

NB. "I learn that your number of Jan 16th, or thereabouts, contains an article by Mr Bliss Carman on my new book of verse, The Book of the Native. Might I ask you to do me the favour of sending me a copy of the paper containing the article?" (Roberts to New York Evening Journal art department manager Merle DeVore Johnson 23 Jan. 1897, Boone 230). Unlocated.

"Three Prose Idylls." Time and the Hour 4.5 (9 Jan. 1897): 14-16. (provided by James Doyle) ["The Print-Collector," "The Ox-Bells," and "On Ferme"; Time and the Hour (1896-1900) was a Boston weekly little magazine edited pseudonymously "by a group that might have included some of the Boston-Cambridge circle involved with the Knight Errant [see note to "A White Cauldron," 1892].... Among its contributors were Louise Guiney, Louise Chandler Moulton, Bliss Carman, and Walter Blackburn Harte" (Doyle, Fin de Siècle 86-87)]

"In Philistia." Philistine 4.3 (Feb. 1897): 65-66. (provided by James Doyle). Rpt. in Current Literature Apr. 1901: 449. (RG 1) [poem; sometime between the spring of 1896 and Jan. 1899, Carman joined or visited Morris disciple Elbert Hubbard's Roycroft Community in East Aurora, NY, and apparently worked briefly for Hubbard's iconoclastic The Philistine (1895-1915); in Jan. 1899, Hubbard wrote in a review of some of the assistance he had received on the Philistine that "Marco Morrow and Bliss Carman...came to take Steve's [Stephen Crane] place. Neither one proved facile or felicitous in handling a pitchfork, and Ignorance (which is Bliss) was so bright that he would not get up mornings until noon, as he said he wished to give the Dawn a chance" (qtd. in Mott 4: 645)]

Rev. of Matins, by Francis Sherman. Bookman (NY) Mar. 1897: 75-76. (V) ["the most notable first volume of verse of the past year"; likes its "beautiful," "unhurried" lines, but especially the "unwritten beauties" between those lines-- i.e., Sherman's memories of "the lovely country that gave him birth"; Sherman (1871-1926) was a Fredericton poet and banker; Carman mentions St. John and Fundy, but never refers to Sherman as a Canadian poet or directly mentions Canada or New Brunswick anywhere in the review; "I am...assuming a very bad grouch because that squittering Bookman has had advanced sheets of Francis Sherman" [meaning unclear] (Carman to F.H. Day 2 Dec. 1896, LBC #163); Carman's private

opinion differed slightly from his public praise: "I think Francis Sherman has the real stuff; but what it is, is another matter. He is of the very precious Rossettian guild, and needs to be a little more burly in order to find an audience. But he is worth keeping" (Carman to Herbert Small 20 Aug. 1898, LBC #188)]

"The Green Book of the Bards." Independent 11 Mar. 1897: ? (BAL 2563). Rpt. in Current Literature Nov. 1906: 578-79. (RG 2) [poem; also printed from the types of the Independent as a 29.5x7cm. proof-sheet printed on recto only, [New York, 1897?], a copy of which has been cut in two parts and mounted on p. 112 of H.F. Hovey's Carman scrapbook in the Harvard Library (N, BAL 2563); see also same title, 1898]

"The Dustman." Athenæum (London) 27 Mar. 1897: 408. (RG 1890-99) [poem; previously printed as a 21.5x7.5cm. broadsheet or proof-sheet printed on recto only, [New York, 1893?], a copy of which is mounted on p. 73 of H.F. Hovey's Carman scrapbook in the Harvard Library (N, BAL 2555); written by at least 6 Feb. 1895, when Roberts asked Carman to send a copy of it to Jean Carré, a young Nova Scotia artist (Boone 192)]

"Scarlet Moon." Courier Innocent (Scituate, MA) Spring 1897: ? (Morse) [the Courier Innocent was the Visionists' club's replacement for the Knight Errant (see note to "A White Cauldron," 1892), and like it a fine-arts and literary magazine with a European edge; Hovey's artist friend Tom Meteyard printed the magazine on a hand-press in his Scituate studio, and Carman edited the winter 1897 number with Hovey, Meteyard, and others (Miller 153, Morse)]

"On the Stairs." Independent 5 June 1897: ? (BAL 2580) [poem; may also have been printed from the Independent as an 8.25x14cm. (trimmed) broadsheet (BAL 2580 from copy in Queen's University Library)]

"Deserted Inn." Blackwood's (Edinburgh) July 1897: 132-34. (RG 1890-99). Rpt. in Eclectic Magazine (London) 129 (1897): 537-? (PI 5: 159). Poet Lore Jan. 1901: 129-31. (Rogers) [poem]

"Above the Gaspereau." Poet Lore July 1897: 321-29. (RG 1890-99) [poem]

"A Poster (For a Design by Miss Ethel Reed)." Independent 29 July 1897: ? (BAL 2582) [poem; also printed from the types of the Independent as a 32.5x7cm. proof-sheet printed on recto only, [New York, 1897], a copy of which has been cut into two parts and mounted on pp. 112-13 of H.F. Hovey's Carman scrapbook in the Harvard Library (N, BAL 2582); reprinted as The Girl in the Poster, 1897]

"St. Bartholomew's on the Hill." Congregationalist (Boston) 26  
Aug. 1897: ? (Morse)

Rev. of A Son of the Old Dominion, by Mrs. Burton Harrison.  
Bookman (NY) Sep. 1897: 63-64. [historical romance set in  
colonial America by Virginia novelist Constance Cary  
Harrison (1843-1920); finds Harrison's too wordy history  
gets in the way of her story]

Ballads of Lost Haven A Book of the Sea. Boston, New York, &  
London: Lamson, Wolfe and Co., [Sep.] 1897. [i-ii], [1]-117  
pp. (N, BMCat, BAL 2635, Watters) ["My new book should be  
out for the summer trade. It is Ballads of Lost Haven: A  
Book of the Sea" (Carman to Muriel Carman Ganong 16 Apr.  
1897, LBC #168); "Last night I corrected the first proofs of  
Ballads of Lost Haven" (Carman to Henrietta Hovey [Sep.  
1897], LBC #175); noted as "just ready" in Publisher's  
Weekly 4 Sep. 1897 (BAL 2635)]

"Among the Aspens." Chap-Book 15 Oct. 1897: 393. (Sader)  
[poem]

"Legends of Lost Haven," "The Ships of St. John," and "Noons of  
Poppy." Living Age 13 Nov. 1897: 494-95, 495, and 495. (RG  
1890-99) ["Ships of St. John" previously printed serially  
Dec. 1893, and the other two poems are probably reprints as  
well]

The Girl in the Poster For a Design by Miss Ethel Reed.  
[Springfield, MA: Wayside Press, Dec. 1897]. [1]-9;  
colophon p. [11]. (N, BAL 2636, Watters). [Buffalo: 100  
copies privately printed, 1927]. 9 pp. (N) [poem; printed  
serially 29 July 1897; first printing colophon: "One hundred  
copies printed by Will Bradley at the Wayside Press in  
December, Mccccxcvii., for Bliss Carman and his friends"  
(BAL 2636); Will H. Bradley (1868-1962) was a Boston printer  
and artist who did posters for the Chap-Book (LBC #119n)]

The Sun and the Moon. Music by Edgar A.P. Newcomb. [Boston]:  
H.B. Stevens Co., 1897. (BAL 2637) [sheet music; poem set  
to music again in Nature Impersonations, 1917]

#### 1898

"Longfellow Through Modern Eyes." Chap-Book 1 Apr. 1898: 396-  
400. (Sader) [critical article; "His range was not wide,  
his power was not varied, his insight was not deep; he had  
no passion and little force; yet in spite of these  
incalculable defects, he had one of the chief traits of  
genius, he had the charm of benignity, the serene composure  
of an untarnished mind" (397; qtd. in Whalen 79n5)]

"Migrants." Outlook 4 June 1898: 313. (RG 1890-99) [poem]

"In Bay Street." Atlantic Monthly July 1898: 108-09. (RG 1890-99) [poem]

By the Aurelian Wall and Other Elegies. Boston, New York, & London: Lamson, Wolfe, [deposited 13 July] 1898. [3]-132 pp. (N, BMCat, BAL 2640, Watters). Boston: Small, Maynard, 1899. 132 pp. (N) Boston: Small, Maynard, 1909. 132 pp. (N) ["My new volume of verse, By the Aurelian Wall, should be out any day..." (Carman to Muriel Carman Ganong 24 June 1898, LBC #186)]

"Mr. Riley's Poetry." Atlantic Monthly Sep. 1898: 424-28. (RG 1890-99). Collected in The Poetry of Life, 1905. [for other work by Carman on Indiana poet James Whitcomb Riley (1849-1916), see 16 June 1906, Mar. 1907, 7 Oct. 1914, and James Whitcomb Riley of 1917]

"The Grave-Tree." Living Age 10 Sep. 1898: 775. (RG 1890-99) [poem previously printed in a Sep. 1892 broadsheet and in the Independent, ca. 1893 (LBC #72); rpt. in W.A. Deacon's obituary for Peter McArthur in Saturday Night 8 Nov. 1924: 2 (V)]

The Green Book of the Bards. [Cambridge, MA: University Press, Dec. 1898]. [1]-[12]; colophon p. [13]. (N, BAL 2641, Watters). Rpt. as From the Green Book of the Bards, 1903. ["One hundred copies printed by Will Bradley at the University Press, Cambridge, U.S.A., in December, 1898, for Bliss Carman and his friends" (N)]

Corydon: A Trilogy in Commemoration of Matthew Arnold.

Fredericton, NB: MacNutt, 1898. 15 pp. (Watters) [part 1, "Death in April," printed privately 1888 and serially Apr. 1889; part 2, "Corydon," printed serially Nov. 1889; according to Gundy, part 3 of this projected trilogy was never completed (LBC #28n), which leaves open the question of what this chapbook, listed only by Watters, contains; see Carman's letter to Horace E. Scudder of 9 Apr. 1889, which describes his intention to print privately the then uncompleted trilogy "in book form with six lyric interludes and preludes," four of which he had already completed, "mak[ing] a volume of from 80 to 100 pages" (LBC #30); also, in a letter of 29 Sep. 1911 Carman directed graduate student H.D.C. Lee to see the Atlantic of April 1889 and the Universal Review of November 1889 for his "threnody" on Arnold, adding, "I have never reprinted it. It is too confused and juvenile, I am sorry to say" (LBC #314)]

Songs by Frederic Field Bullard: A Stein Song. Boston: O. Dittson Co., ©1898. 5 pp. (NB 0946015) [drinking song]

using words from Carman and Hovey's More Songs from Vagabondia (1896): "Give a rouse, then, in the Maytime..."]

## 1899

NB. "Did you see the Criterion with 'Winter at Tortoise Shell'? I sent a copy" (Carman to Muriel Carman Ganong 24 Jan. 1899, LBC #192). Unlocated, probably a Nassau poem.

"A Winter Holiday." Atlantic Monthly Mar. 1899: 412-416. (RG 1890-99). Collected as "Bahaman" in A Winter Holiday, 1899. [poem; previously printed on a single sheet folded to make four 26x21cm. pages, dated Nassau, March 1898 (see note to A Winter Holiday, 1899) (N, BAL 2639); "I am sending you half a dozen copies of Winter Holiday, for your own use. I have had a hundred printed in this form, and as soon as the thing is published somewhere I will send you more. But until it is, I want to be a little careful about circulating it" (Carman to T.B. Meteyard 9 Dec. 1898, LBC #191, probably referring to the Nassau printing but possibly to an earlier printing of A Winter Holiday, 1899); "Have sold... 'A Winter Holiday' to the Atlantic" (Carman to Muriel Carman Ganong 24 Jan. 1899, LBC #192)]

"The Last Room" and "From the Departure of Pierrot." Harper's Aug. 1899: 338-40 illus. (RG 1890-99). "The Last Room" collected in Poems, 1905.

"Flying Fish." Saturday Evening Post 30 Sep. 1899: ? (PBC) [poem]

"Silent Wayfellow." Scribner's Magazine Oct. 1899: 446. (RG 1890-99) [poem; "Have sold something to Scribner's lately..." (Carman to Muriel Carman Ganong 24 Jan. 1899, LBC #192)]

"At the End of a Book." Northland Lyrics by William Carman Roberts Theodore Roberts & [Jane] Elizabeth Roberts Macdonald Selected and Arranged with a [verse] Prologue by Charles G.D. Roberts and an Epilogue by Bliss Carman. Boston: Small, Maynard, [deposited 6 Nov.] 1899. pp. 85-86. (N, BMCat, BAL 2642, Watters, CIHM #12501). Rpt. in Current Literature Jan. 1900: 33. (RG 1) [poem]

A Winter Holiday. Boston: Small, Maynard, ["This first edition...printed...November, 1899"] (colophon). [i-xiv], [1]-43; colophon p. [44]. (N, BAL 2643, Watters) [poems inspired by a trip to the Bahamas in March of 1898 on assignment for Town Topics after his friend Peter McArthur, a Town Topics regular, arranged for the financially struggling Carman to write a series of travel articles on the Bahamas for the New York weekly to help promote its owner Col. Mann's other business, a steamship line with

sailings to the Bahamas (LBC #177-78, 564; Miller 170); "I was about a month in Nassau and was so delighted with it. The colours are wonderful and the climate one of the most perfect imaginable. It is the best winter resort (though not a resort as yet) I know; and I have a lot of impressions which I have been trying to work up.... My first introduction to anything like the tropics, and the most inspiring experience since my first ride from Bloomsbury to the Strand..." (Carman to George Parkin 3 June 1898, LBC #183); "...I want to send you at once the Ms. of a volume for the Christmas trade, 'A Winter Holiday,' some five hundred and eighty lines of verse, giving some color of the Nassau trip--half a dozen poems (two short lyrics and the other longish.)" (Carman to Herbert Small 20 Aug. 1898, LBC #188); first book for Herbert Small and Laurens Maynard's firm, which was founded in the fall of 1897 with Carman as a partner and in 1899 acquired the assets of the bankrupt Lamson, Wolfe and most of Copeland & Day's list, including the rights to Carman's books that had formerly been published by the two firms; Small, Maynard would eventually publish five more of Carman's books and reprint many others before being acquired by Dodd, Mead in 1927, but Carman's partnership in the firm ceased in Feb. 1904 when it was sold at public auction to a creditor (NY Bookman Sep. 1897: 3-4; LBC #193n; Tebbel 407-08; AAB)]

"Wind at the Door." Scribner's Magazine Dec. 1899: 652. (RG 1890-99). Rpt. in Current Literature Jan. 1900: 7. (RG 1) [poem]

Nugae Illiteratae Sodalitatis "Lusuum Naturae" sive "Freaks" ex Ipsis Veterum Fontibus Scriptorum Collatae. Recensuerunt atque ad Socios Dedicaverunt Fredericus de Clot et Kenneth Gulielmus Millican. Imprimatur: Franciscus P. Foster, Praeses, MDCCCXCIV. (BAL 2645 from copy in Boston University Library) [collection of pseudonymous humorous verse "Printed for private circulation only...150 copies"; "Carman is herein listed as one of the 'Freaks,' and so, presumably, was the author of one of the contributions" (BAL 2645); "The pamphlet issued by 'The Freaks' puzzles me. I don't recall it at all. But I think "The Freaks" used to meet for lunch at Solon's, a very good restaurant in New York years ago. You might write to Mr. Harry Thompson, Editor of the Country Gentleman (Curtis Publishing Co., Philadelphia)" (Carman to R.H. Hathaway 14 Feb. 1916, LBC #389)]

#### 1900

"Richard Hovey--My Friend." Criterion Mar. 1900: 11-13. (Miller 284n31, Whalen 79n4) [Hovey died on 24 Feb. 1900 at age thirty-five from a blood clot in his heart following surgery to remove a tumour in his prostate gland (Miller 179)

"To an Iris." Smart Set Mar. 1900: ? (LBC #198n) [poem; published March 10, this premier issue of Col. William D'Alton Mann's "Magazine of Cleverness" included a satirical novel of New York society by social lions Hobart C. Chatfield-Taylor and Reginald DeKoven, a "true story" of a scandal about a former Duke by New York sophisticate Edgar Saltus, a one-act play by "Julien Gordon" (Paris-born American novelist and poet Julie Grinnell Chance), a short story by Carolyn K. Duer, a travel article by Virginia novelist Constance Cary Harrison, humour from Gelett Burgess, Sewell Ford, Oliver Herford, and Palmer Cox's old roommate R.K. Munkittrick, and verse from Theodosia Garrison, Clinton Scollard, Ella Wheeler Wilcox, and Carman (Collier's Weekly 10 Mar. 1900: 18; Mott 5: 247-48); of his own contribution, Carman wrote Henrietta Hovey 21 July 1899 that it was "of the old mystic re-incarnation-ative sort" and that he hoped "to see it in print soon" (LBC #198)]

"Prelude." Harper's Apr. 1900: 667-69. (RG 1) [poem]

"Northern Muse." Atlantic Monthly June 1900: 853. (RG 1) [poem]

"Green Dancers." Scribner's Magazine Aug. 1900: 164. (RG 1) [poems]

"Summer Magic." Harper's Bazaar 4 Aug. 1900: 858-59. (RG 1) [poem]

"The Wishing Sands." Saturday Night 4 Aug. 1900: 8. (V) [twenty-line lyric: "The summer was at August..."]

Last Songs from Vagabondia. By Carman and Richard Hovey. Designs by Tom B. Meteyard. Boston: Small, Maynard, M DCCCC I ["Printed...Autumn of 1900" (colophon), deposited 10 Dec. 1900]. [i]-vi, 1-79 pp. (N, BAL 2646). [2nd ed.] Boston: n.p., ©1900. vi, 79 pp. (N). Boston: Small, Maynard, 1901. vi, 79 pp. (N, BMCat, Watters). Boston: Small, Maynard, 1903. vi, 79 pp. (N). [4th ed.] Boston: Small, Maynard, 1905. vi, 79 pp. (N). [5th ed.] Boston: Small, Maynard, 1908. vi, 79 pp. (N). 7th ed. (500 copies). Boston: Small, Maynard, May 1916. vi, 79 pp. (N). Boston: Small, Maynard, 1919. (N). [9th ed.] Boston: Small, Maynard, [1924]. v, 79 pp. (N). Boston: Small, Maynard, 1900-1924. vi, 79 pp. (N). Also bound in Songs from Vagabondia (1911). [all editions have Meteyard's designs; "[Richard] thinks he could supply three or four hundred lines for a new Vagabondia. I am indolently dubious about putting it together" (Carman to Henrietta Hovey 21 July 1899, LBC #198); "I am feeling at present that the Vagabondia idea is played out. We could doubtless make up a third series equal to the others, very likely better. I mean, though, that I don't think it would be quite wise to



harp on that string again and again. 'Tis time now to be doing something else.... At any rate this was in our minds the other day, Richard's and mine, when we talked the matter over" (Carman to Herbert Small 6 Jan. 1900, LBC #199); "I am putting together 'Last Songs from Vagabondia,' to include some poems of Richard's already published serially and a few that have never been printed, along with a number of my own. The verses for the end papers I have already attempted, and wish you would see if you can discover any designs for them. We must be as prompt as excellence will permit, as the boys want to bring the book out at once" (Carman to T.B. Meteyard 31 July 1900, LBC #206)]

"Thanksgiving." Lippincott's Nov. 1900: 772. (RG 1) [poem]

"Yellow of the Leaf." Harper's Nov. 1900: 892-94 illus. (RG 1) [poem; completed 26 Aug. 1889 (PBC)]

#### 1901

"Pictor Ignotus." Illus. E. Hering and Horace Thompson Carpenter. Cosmopolitan Jan. 1901: 248-49. (V) [lyric in seventeen ballad stanzas: "He is a silent second self..."]

"A Water Color." Ainslee's Jan. 1901: ? (PBC). Collected in Poems, 1905. [poem]

"April Weather." Saturday Evening Post 30 Mar. 1901: ? (PBC) [poem]

"May and June." Living Age 6 Apr. 1901: 68. (RG 1) [poem]

"How the Spring Came to Pierrot." Saturday Night 20 Apr. 1901: 7. (V). Collected in Poems, 1905. [lyric in seven ballad stanzas: "Look, love, how the woods are all misty..."; printed with illus. under header "A Spring Poem Worth Reading" with note: "Bliss Carman publishes the following verses in the 'Saturday Evening Post' under the caption 'How the Spring Came to Pierrot'"]

"Point of View." Outlook 3 Aug. 1901: 787. (RG 1). Collected in Poems, 1905. [poem]

Moonshine Songs and Ballads Sold at a Labor Day Merrymaking of the Twilight Fakirs. Moonshine, Twilight Park, New York, 2 Sep. 1901. Four anonymous 26x20.5cm. broadsheets in a 26.5cm. cloth folding case, each dated at end as above. (N, BAL 2647) ["Daisies" and "Marigolds" on pink paper, "The Sceptics" on yellow paper, "The Spell" on white paper, and "A Vagabond Song" on white wove paper; all but "The Spell" had prior book publication (BAL 2647); "Moonshine" was the cottage purchased by the Kings in 1898 at Twilight Park, a summer colony at Haines Falls, NY (LBC #172n)]

Christmas Eve at St. Kavin's. New York: Ingalls Kimball, MCMII [deposited 31 Dec. 1901]. [i-viii], 1-15 pp.; colophon p. [17]. (N, BAL 2648, Watters) [verse; "two hundred and twenty two copies...one hundred and fifty on hand made paper, ten on Japan paper and two on vellum" (colophon) (BAL 2648); see note to Saint Kavin, 1894]

The Marching Morrows. Boston: The Merrymount Press, MDCCCCI. (BAL p. 75) [copy in American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, MA, inscribed in an unknown hand: "Edited by Bliss Carman"; further information wanting (BAL p. 75); "The Marching Morrows" is a Carman title, from a poem published in Songs from Vagabondia, 1894]

## 1902

NB. "In The Reader the Canadian poet Bliss Carman pronounced 'Captain Craig' [published in Captain Craig, Oct. 1902] 'worse than Browning...a mistake rather than a failure and...only saved from being the most dreary of failures by the very marked power of the author'" (Emery Neff, Edwin Arlington Robinson [NY: Russell, 1948] 128).

Ballads and Lyrics. [Ed. A.H. Bullen]. London: A.H. Bullen, [Feb.?] 1902. [i]-[viii], 1-79 pp; printer's imprint p. 80. (N, BMCat, BAL 2649, Watters) [collects poems previously published in Songs from Vagabondia, More Songs from Vagabondia, Ballads of Lost Haven, By the Aurelian Wall, along with three herein first collected: "The Last Room" (published serially Aug. 1899), "At Columbine's Grave" (rpt. as sheet music 1923), and "Above the Gaspereau" (July 1897) (N, BAL 2649); Carman met Bullen (1857-1920), founder of the Shakespeare Head Press, on his trip to London in the spring of 1896 and was "immensely taken with him. A fine modest gentleman, scholarly and simple, with a rare dry bit of humour" (Carman to Herbert Small 22 May 1896, LBC #153); apparently delayed in publication from as early as 29 Aug. 1898, when Carman wrote his publisher Herbert Small hoping he wouldn't sell his forthcoming A Winter Holiday (1899) "in England, as it would cut into Bullen" (LBC #189; see also #199)]

"Pipes of Pan." Atlantic Monthly Apr. 1902: 471-81. (RG 1). Collected in Pipes of Pan Number One, 1902. [poem]

"To One in Despair." Current Literature Apr. 1902: 432-33. (RG 1) [poem; probably a rpt.]

Coronation Ode. Boston: L.C. Page, June [May] 1902. [1]-12 pp. (N, BMCat, BAL 2650, Watters). Revised as Ode on the Coronation, 1902. [only six or nine copies printed, apparently for copyright purposes only (BAL 2650); "I am sending you herewith a thing I did for the Coronation.

Please don't let it get out until after the first of June, as it is not yet published and is to appear in the Saturday Evening Post of Philadelphia on the 31st. It will appear in book form early in June in a decent dress. This present rough print was only made to secure copyright in England. Don't be discouraged at its appearance" (Carman to George Parkin 23 May 1902, LBC #217)]

"Two Lyrics." Current Literature June 1902: 689. (RG 1)  
[probably rpts.]

Ode on the Coronation of King Edward. Boston: L.C. Page, June 1902. 1-34; printer's imprint p. [35]. (N, BAL 2651, Watters). London: Nutt, [July] 1902. (BAL 2651n). Boston: Page, 1908. 34 pp. (N) [a revision of Coronation Ode, above]

"Heretic." Century Aug. 1902: 571. (RG 1). Rpt. in Current Literature Sep. 1902: 330. (RG 1) [poem]

"In a Grand Pré Garden." Poet Lore Oct. 1902: 1-6. (RG 1890-99)  
[poem]

"Longfellow: Col. Thomas Wentworth Higginson's New Life of the Poet Reviewed by a Poet." Rev. of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, by Higginson. New York Times Saturday Review of Books and Art 18 Oct. 1902: 705-06. (V) [lead review; finds the biographical aspects of Higginson's monograph a little dry ("We thought to see a poet, and behold, only a Harvard professor!"), but is willing to attribute this to Higginson's faithfulness to his subject's character (705); half of review an assessment of Longfellow himself: Carman likes the "unconquerable charm" of "Hiawatha," but finds the narrative of "Evangeline" a little "flat" at times, and criticizes Longfellow for failing to be moved by his subject: "The thing is a tragedy, and Longfellow pipes on it as if it were a bloodless pastoral, picturesque but passionless"; this "lack of passion" was Longfellow's limitation as a poet: "The hot righteousness which burned in Whittier and glowed in Emerson never even singed the placid singer by the Charles" (706)]

[Sapphic Lyrics]. The Reader (NY) Nov. and Dec. 1902: ?  
Privately rpt. as Sappho: Lyrics by Bliss Carman (1902).  
[in June 1902, Mitchell Kennerley showed Carman a copy of Greek scholar H.T. Wharton's 1898 Sappho and suggested that he "write a poem for each of Wharton's literal translations" for a new magazine he was planning; "I printed two instalments in The Reader Magazine, November, December, 1902, with the Wharton renderings as headings" ("Kennerley on Carman," Canadian Poetry 14 [1984]: 72); by Dec. 1902, Carman had written 100 such lyrics (Miller 184), collected as Sappho (1903); "The Sappho lyrics were written in the

Catskills in 1902..." (Carman to H.D.C. Lee 29 Sep. 1911, LBC #314)]

Pipes of Pan Number One From the Book of Myths. Boston: L.C. Page, [deposited 8] Nov. 1902. [i]-[xii], 1-88 pp. (N, BAL 2652, Watters). London: John Murray, Albemarle St., 1903. 139 pp. (N, BMCat, BAL 2655). New Edition, with Added Matter. Boston: L.C. Page, Aug. 1904. ix, 124 pp. (N). Bound in Pipes of Pan, 1906. [first edition printed in two states and four bindings (three cloth, one leather), described in BAL 2652; English edition contains four poems not included in first American edition: "Syrinx," "The Magic Flute," "A Shepherd in Lesbos," and "Hylas" (BAL 2655) but added to New Edition, 1904 (BAL 2664); "It is that [prolixity] which has spoiled 'Syrnix' for you--too much of a good thing" (Carman to H.D.C. Lee 12 Oct. 1910, LBC #302)]

"Icelandic Love Song." Current Literature Dec. 1902: 729. (RG 1) [poem; probably a rpt.]

"Ballad of Father Hudson." Outlook 6 Dec. 1902: 805-09. (RG 1) [poem]

Sappho: Lyrics by Bliss Carman With Excerpts from a Literal Rendering by H.T. Wharton. [New York, privately printed, Dec. 1902]. [1-9]; colophon p. [10]; 23x15.5cm. pp., buff paper wrapper, in a 26cm. half morocco case. (N, BAL 2653, Watters) ["Sixty copies, privately printed, December, 1902" (colophon); "These fifteen lyrics are reprinted from the first and second numbers of The reader, and were selected from 'Sappho: A Hundred Lyrics' [1903], written by Bliss Carman in the summer of 1902" (N)]

### 1903

NB. "...if you can let me have a cheque for the review of Yeats, it will be a godsend" (Carman to Mitchell Kennerley 4 Oct. 1903, LBC #224). Unlocated, presumably in Kennerley's Reader.

[Authorship]. Literary World 34 (Feb.? 1903): 31-? (PI 6: 43) [excepting a two-month leave of absence July-Aug. 1903, Carman was supervising editor of L.C. Page's Literary World in Boston from early Jan. 1903 to early June of 1904 (Miller 186, 188); he contributed at least twenty-two signed articles in 1903 and 1904 to the monthly, some of these apparently after Page sold it and released Carman from his contract; "Behold me an Editor once more!... Just now I have been toiling like a patient ass, getting out the February number of the Literary World, which Mr. Page has bought" (Carman to Muriel Carman Ganong 23 Jan. 1903, LBC #220)]

"Do You Know?" Harper's Bazaar Feb. 1903: 106-07. (RG 1) [poem]

- "Now All the Twigs and Grasses." Lippincott's Feb. 1903: 226.  
(RG 1) [poem]
- "Compensation." Independent 12 Feb. 1903: 370-71. (RG 1)  
[poem]
- [Artistic inspiration]. Literary World 34 (Mar.? 1903): 56-?  
(PI 6: 35)
- "An Iris Meadow." Everybody's Magazine Mar. 1903: 210-11. (V)  
[first appearance in Everybody's; four-stanza love poem with  
decorative border]
- Wa-Wan Series of American Compositions Three Songs...Lament for  
Adonais. Music by Katherine Ruth Heyman. Volume II (Second  
Quarter). Part I: The Wa-Wan Press, Newton Center, MA, Mar.  
1903. (BAL 2654) [poem rpt. from Sappho, 1902; also issued  
separately with the joint imprint New York: G. Schirmer;  
Boston: The Boston Music Co.; London, Schott & Co., [1903]  
(BAL 2654 from copies in Harvard and NY Public Libraries)]
- [Permanence of poetry]. Literary World 34 (Apr.? 1903): 86-?  
(PI 6: 505). Collected in The Poetry of Life, 1905.
- "Emerson." Literary World 34 (May 1903): 120-21. (PI 6: 202,  
Whalen 82). Collected in The Poetry of Life, 1905.  
[critical article; "With him the main thing was not the  
creation of a detached and finished mechanism in words  
embodying so much moral truth or philosophic thought, but  
rather the expression of his convictions with the least  
possible amount of reliance on language. He cared for his  
message more than his medium" (120; qtd. in Whalen 79n5)]
- "Five Poems of the Spring." Lippincott's May 1903: 689-90. (RG  
1)
- "A Neighbor's Creed." Century May 1903: 111. (RG 1). Rpt. as  
"The Three Things" in A Christmas Portfolio Edited by J.  
Macdonald Oxley. Young Women's Christian Association,  
London, ON, [1903]. unpagged. (BAL 2659, Sherman) [poem]
- Pipes of Pan Number Two From the Green Book of the Bards.  
Boston: L.C. Page, [deposited 19] May 1903. [i-viii], 1-137  
pp. (N, BAL 2656, Watters). London: John Murray,  
Albermarle St., [Nov.?] 1903. 137 pp. (N). Bound in Pipes  
of Pan, 1906. [a reprinting of the privately printed Green  
Book of the Bards, 1898; Page edition printed in two states  
and at least two bindings, described in BAL 2656]
- [A canon of criticism]. Literary World 34 (June? 1903): 146-?  
(PI 6: 158)

"Lost Rower." Current Literature June 1903: 722. (RG 1) [poem; probably a rpt.]

[Genius and insanity]. Literary World 34 (July? 1903): 175-? (PI 6: 249)

"Mr. Allen's New Idyll: 'The Mettle of the Pasture' Quite Equal to His Best Work in the Matter of Literary Facility." Rev. of The Mettle of the Pasture, by James Lane Allen. New York Times Saturday Review of Books and Art 18 July 1903: 493-94. (V) [lead review; praises the Kentucky novelist's attention to style in an environment "where speed is all-important and quality in work counts for little" (493), but finds his latest hero priggish, "another instance of the unfortunate subservience in which art is held by conventional ideas of morality" (494)]

Rev. of Robert Browning, by G.K. Chesterton. Reader Aug. 1903: 303-04. (Whalen 82)

[Realism]. Literary World 34 (Aug.? 1903): 202-? (PI 6: 533)

[Purchase of books]. Literary World 34 (Sep.? 1903): 230-? (PI 6: 75)

"Lyrics from Sappho." Scribner's Magazine Sep. 1903: 291-92. (RG 1) [poem(s)]

The Kinship of Nature. Boston: L.C. Page, Sep. [deposited 1 Oct.] 1903. [i-ii], [i-iv]; leaf excised; v-[xii]; [1-2] (inserted); 3-298 pp. (N, BAL 2661). Toronto: Copp Clark, 1903. 298 pp. (NS). Boston: Page, 1904. xi, 298 pp. (N, Watters). London: John Murray, [Feb.?] 1904. xi, 298 pp. (N, BMCat). [6th impression]. Boston: Page, 1913. (N) [thirty-two essays on such topics as "The Art of Life," "The Crime of Ugliness," "Haste and Waste," "The Luxury of Being Poor," etc.; first edition in two printings and at least two bindings, described in BAL 2661]

[School of journalism]. Literary World 34 (Oct.? 1903): 258-? (PI 6: 346)

"Killooleet." Youth's Companion 1 Oct. 1903: 460. (YC F370) [poem]

Pipes of Pan Number Three Songs of the Sea Children. Boston: L.C. Page, Oct. [deposited 2 Nov.] 1903. [i]-[xii], 1-182 pp. (N, BAL 2662). Boston: Page, 1904. xi, 182 pp. (N, Watters). London: J. Murray, [May?] 1904. xi, 182 pp. (N, BMCat). Bound in Pipes of Pan, 1906. [a series of love lyrics, the milder of which were previously published in the Independent (unlocated) and the "more daring" in the Chap-Book; the earliest of these lyrics were inspired by Carman's

1893-95 romance with young Jessie Kappeler, which according to Miller was responsible for "eighty of the most delicately wrought love poems that Carman ever wrote" (162), and some of the later ones by Mrs. Mary Perry King, whom Carman met in late 1896 or early 1897 (LBC #105n, 166); in his letter of Aug. 1903 to Muriel Ganong, Carman lists among his new work forthcoming for that fall "a volume of short lyrics (done, most of them, ten years ago)" (LBC #221); "...I have just today sent off the copy for the third volume of Pipes of Pan--which has been delayed" (Carman to Mitchell Kennerley 12 Aug. 1903, LBC #222); "I don't think 'physical passion in various degrees of intensity' the best phrase to describe the motive of Songs of the Sea Children. They are primarily love poems, of course, but the love passion is sublimated by imagination and meditation until it transcends the physical and becomes mystic" (Carman to H.D.C. Lee 29 Sep. 1911, LBC #314)]

Sappho One Hundred Lyrics...with an Introduction by Charles G.D. Roberts. Boston: L.C. Page, MDCCCCIIII [printed in Oct. 1903, deposited 4 Dec. 1903]. [i-ii], [i-xxii], [1]-130 pp. (N, BAL 2663, Watters). Boston: L.C. Page, 1904. xx, 130 pp. (N, BMCat). Toronto: Copp, Clark, 1905. xx, 130 pp. (N). King's Classics. London: Alexander Moring, De La Mare Press, [July?] 1906. xxiv, 129 pp. (N, BMCat). King's Classics. London: Chatto & Windus, 1907. xxiv, 129 pp. (N). London: published for the Florence Press by Chatto & Windus, [Sep.?] 1910. xviii, 116 pp. (NS, BMCat). London: Chatto & Windus, [Oct.?] 1921. xxiv, 129 pp. (N, BMCat). Toronto: Musson Book Co. [printed in England by Richard Clay & Sons], n.d. [1921?]. xxiv, 129 pp. (N). London: Chatto & Windus, 1930. xxiv, 129 pp. (N). Toronto: Musson, [1930?]. xxiv, 129 pp. (NS) [first edition limited to 750 copies: 500 numbered copies by De Vinne Press on antique deckle edge paper, 200 [numbered?] copies on English handmade paper, and 50 numbered copies on Japanese vellum and bound in gold-stamped vellum (N, BAL 2663); all editions have introduction by Roberts, which describes the lyrics as an "imaginative and, at the same time, interpretive reconstruction" of Sappho's surviving fragments (see note to Sapphic Lyrics, Nov. and Dec. 1902)]

The Word at St. Kavin's. Nelson, NH: Monadnock Press, [printed 25 Oct., deposited 16 Dec. 1903]. [1]-[29]; colophon p. 30. (N, BMCat, BAL 2657, Watters) [poem; "Of this edition...three hundred copies have been printed on Alton hand-made paper, of which two hundred and fifty only are for sale. The ornaments and plan of the book are the work of Thomas Maitland Cleland" (N); see note to Saint Kavin, 1894; "I am sending you today a package of the new 'Word at St. Kavin's" (Carman to Marion Meteyard 17 Dec. 1903, LBC #225)]

[Gladness of art]. Literary World 34 (Nov.? 1903): 302-? (PI 6: 33)

A Vision of Sappho. [New York?], Dec. 1903. [i-ii], [1]-7 pp. (N, BAL 2658, Watters, Morse) [poem in 270 lines; "Sixty copies privately printed by Bliss Carman in December, 1903" (colophon); inscription on flyleaf of copy in Queen's University Library with bookplate of Carolyn Wells: "Written at Twilight Park in the Catskills to the song of thrushes one beautiful summer. Bliss Carman" (N); a few copies of revised version of same (221 lines) printed from the types of the 1905 edition of Poems as a folio in 1905 by L.C. Page for copyright reasons, pp. [285]-92, brown cloth protective covers in a half-brown morocco slip case (N, BAL 2672); BMCat 1971-75 supp. also lists a 7-pp. printing tentatively dated 1967]

Vagabondia...Complete in 3 Volumes. Boston: Small, Maynard, [1903?]. [Songs from Vagabondia (1894), More Songs from Vagabondia (1896), and Last Songs from Vagabondia (1900) cased together in an 18.5cm. board box (N)]

...Short Stories with an Introduction by Bliss Carman. Library for Young People vol. 19. New York: P.F. Collier & Son, 1903. pp. 3-[8]. (N, BAL 2660)

#### 1904

NB. "I am glad that the ballad finds favor, and I trust it will please well enough to get into your pages.

I should think a hundred dollars would be right. That seems a fair price for a poem of any considerable length, and it is what you paid me for 'Our Lady of the Rain.' I should think it worth more, but cannot honestly think any single poem worth more than that to a magazine--except, of course, one from the Mighty Rudyard, or Riley, the adorable" (Carman to American engraver John T. Willing 28 Sep. 1904, LBC #231). The "ballad" is unidentified, and "Our Lady of the Rain" unlocated. Willing appears to have edited a New York amateur photography journal called Sun and Shade, which according to Mott ceased publication in 1891 (4: 150n) but which Carman implies is extant and has Willing on staff in a letter of 16 May 1895 to Harriet Hovey (LBC #136).

[Permanently valuable books]. Literary World 35 (Jan.? 1904): 16-? (PI 6: 75)

"The Poet in Modern Life." Reader Feb. 1904: ? (LBC #224n). Collected in The Poetry of Life, 1905. [essay; Carman's portrait, by American artist John Cecil Clay, adorns the cover of this issue of Kennerley's Reader (LBC #222n; "Here is my paper on 'The Poet in Modern Life.' Hope you will like it" (Carman to Mitchell Kennerley 4 Oct. 1903, LBC #224);



according to N, an article by this title appeared in the Literary Digest of 5 Dec. 1903--either this is a cataloguing error, or Gundy's date is erroneous, or the Digest printing is a preview of the Reader article]

- [Value of imagination]. Literary World 35 (Feb.? 1904): 46-? (PI 6: 307)
- [Strenuosity]. Literary World 35 (Mar.? 1904): 74-? (PI 6: 621)
- "March Hare's Madness." Independent 3 Mar. 1904: 480-83. (RG 1)
- [Spring]. Literary World 35 (Apr.? 1904): 108-? (PI 6: 611)
- "The New Moon." Illus. Ernest Haskell. Everybody's Magazine Apr. 1904: 452. (V) [short lyric]
- [Cost of beauty]. Literary World 35 (May? 1904): 142-? (PI 6: 55)
- [Ethics of beauty]. Literary World 35 (June? 1904): 170-? (PI 6: 55)
- "Songs of the Sea Children, XCIX." Current Literature June 1904: 628. (RG 1) [poem; probably a rpt.]
- [Lack of self-consciousness in nature]. Literary World 35 (July? 1904): 198-? (PI 6: 582)
- [Seashore and mountains]. Literary World 35 (Aug.? 1904): 226-? (PI 6: 580)
- The Friendship of Art. Boston: L.C. Page, Aug. [deposited 22 Sep.] 1904. [i]-[xvii], 1-303 pp. (N, BAL 2665, Watters). London: John Murray, [Feb.?] 1905. xviii, 303 pp. (BMCat) [essays]
- Pipes of Pan Number Four Songs from a Northern Garden. Boston: L.C. Page, Aug. [deposited 24 Sep.] 1904. [i-vi], 1-121 pp. (N, BAL 2666, Watters). London: John Murray, [Jan.?] 1905. 121 pp. (BMCat). "Second impression." Boston: L.C. Page, May 1910. 121 pp. (N). Bound in Pipes of Pan, 1906.
- [Words]. Literary World 35 (Sep.? 1904): 255-? (PI 6: 707)
- [Strenuousness]. Literary World 35 (Oct.? 1904): 287-? (PI 6: 621)
- "Noiseless Growth." Youth's Companion 27 Oct. 1904: 454. (YC F397) [poem]

"The Purpose of Poetry." The World's Best Poetry in Ten Volumes...Editor-in-Chief Bliss Carman. Associate eds. John Vance Cheney, Charles F. Richardson, Charles G.D. Roberts, Francis Hovey Stoddard, Richard Le Gallienne, Lyman Abbott, William Darnall MacClintock, Washington Gladden, and Francis Barton Gummere. Managing ed. John Raymond Howard. Philadelphia: John D. Morris, [deposited 31 Oct. 1904]. 1: v-xxvii. (N, BAL 2667) [subscription book issued in a variety of bindings (BAL 2667); vols. divided thematically, e.g. 1. Home, Friendship, 2. Love, 3. Sorrow and Consolation, etc.; advertised as containing "the most perfect expression of the truths of life and the beauties of nature ever attained in any set of books. It is unique beyond all other works in the power to entertain, to create a love for the beautiful, to enhance the joy of living, and to attune to the infinite.... Makes an ideal Christmas gift, because it is delicate, chaste, ornamental, inspiring, and of priceless value" (Everybody's Dec. 1904 advertising supplement, p. 27); Carman later tried unsuccessfully to find a trade publisher for this anthology (see LBC #272 and note)]

[Mental fluctuations]. Literary World 35 (Nov.? 1904): 322-? (PI 6: 410)

"Reply to the Poet Laureate." Critic (NY) Nov. 1904: 443-47. (RG 1)

[Christmas customs]. Literary World 35 (Dec.? 1904): 366-? (PI 6: 124)

#### 1905

"The Purpose of Poetry." International Quarterly (NY) Jan. 1905: 278-92. (RG 2). Collected in The Poetry of Life, 1905. [probably a rpt. of introduction to The World's Best Poetry, 1904]

"Winter Flowers." Lippincott's Jan. 1905: 87. (RG 2) [poem]

"Yea and Nay." Youth's Companion 5 Jan. 1905: 6. (YC F403) [poem]

Poems. 2 vols. New York: Scott-Thaw Co.; London: John Murray, MCMIV [Feb. 1905]. (N, BMCat, BAL 2668, Watters). 2 vols. Limited De Luxe Edition.... (printed from same setting with "A Vision of Sappho" added). Boston: L.C. Page, [Nov.?] MCMV. (N, BAL 2673). ["complete collected" poems to date; first edition limited to 500 numbered copies signed by John Murray, issued in vellum, leather, and (possibly) buckram; Boston de luxe edition limited to 500 numbered copies signed by Carman, of which 350 were offered for sale in the U.S. and 150 in the U.K. (N, BAL 2668); Carman and his publisher

Herbert Small had discussed the possibility of a "complete edition" of his works as early as Jan. 1900, but Carman evidently didn't feel the time was right, citing the poor reception of A Winter's Holiday (1899), the Boer War, "which kills this year for publishing in England," and his concerns that it would conflict with the forthcoming English selection of his works edited by A.H. Bullen, Ballads and Lyrics, which as it turned out was itself delayed until 1902 (Carman to Small 6 Jan. 1900, LBC #199); "I am now busy working on a collected edition of 'me woiks' to appear in the spring..." (Carman to Marion Meteyard 17 Dec. 1903, LBC #225); "For the last ten days I have been at Scott Thaw's office all day at work on the collection of my poems, trying to get the copy in order for the printer so as to send to England as soon as possible.... The edition of my poems which these publishers are making will be quite overpowering. Two large volumes printed at the Chiswick Press in London. I have chosen the size of the book myself, and the paper is to be specially made for it if it cannot be had in the size I want. It will be a 'boofer' sight for you, with titles in red in the margin. It will be bigger than any book you ever saw except the venerable tomes in the Cathedral library at home. I feel myself becoming a Father of the Church in anticipation" (Carman to Muriel Carman Ganong 12 Jan. 1904, LBC #226); according to Gundy, U.S. Customs prevented importation of the Chiswick sheets because it contravened the manufacturing clause of the American Copyright Act. At this point Scott, Thaw failed, and Page secured American distribution rights on condition that the work should be sold by subscription only, and neither advertised nor reviewed. "Few copies were sold, and the English edition issued by John Murray fared little better" (LBC #226n; see also LBC #233-34, 241); "You will see the new two-volume edition before long. Be gentle and generous with it. Don't judge it critically. It won't stand that. And when I think of what it has cost in the last twenty years, I am a mass of misgiving. A result that is worth so little for all the toil! And think of the useful work that might have been done. It appals me, so that I can't take any satisfaction in the book now that it is an accomplished fact, beyond the thought that I meant well, and I fancied I was making good use of my talent. It is very sobering to strive so long for anything, and then find it so vain after all. But it only wastes time to repine. I want you, when you read it, to think of your childhood and early life when hope was a little fresher. And then maybe it won't seem such indifferent poetry. There is such delusion in the Muse" (Carman to Muriel Carman Ganong 13 Nov. 1905, LBC #246)]

"A Short Season." Youth's Companion 23 Mar. 1905: 140. (YC F405) [poem]

"A Wizard of Versification: Algernon Charles Swinburne's Poetry Read Again After a Lapse of Years--A Study of a Poet by a Poet." New York Times Saturday Review of Books 25 Mar. 1905: 177. (V) [front-page; includes Swinburne, with Browning, Tennyson, Morris, Rossetti, and Arnold, among the six "immortals" of Carman's college years in the early '80s; but "It did not occur to us in those days that restraint was any part of perfection" and with the passing of time his poems have "somehow lost their charm"]

"Longfellow." Reader June 1905: 110-15. (RG 2). Collected in The Poetry of Life, 1905?

"Camping Song." Reader July 1905: 137. (RG 2) [poem; from February to May 1905, Carman visited California with Mrs. King and her nephew Perry Macgowan. This and several other wilderness poems published over the next year or so appear to have been the product of this trip: "I did one or two pieces of work in the mountains [near Los Angeles] which I think will be good enough, and started others" (Carman to Muriel Carman Ganong 7 Apr. 1905, LBC #238)]

Pipes of Pan Number Five From the Book of Valentines. Boston: L.C. Page, [deposited 24 July] MDCCCCV. [ii]-viii, 1-103 pp. (N, BAL 2669, Watters). Bound in Pipes of Pan, 1906. [issued in both green cloth and stamped suede bindings (BAL 2669); "...my new book of verse is out, and that also makes me rather sick of disgust. What feeble stuff we do these days! Is there no greatness any more?... I suppose I will go on till I die making these efforts at expression in verse. Such is the monumental folly of mortals" (Carman to Irving Way, 3 Aug. 1905, LBC #243)]

Low Tide on Grand Pré and Ballads of Lost Haven...Two Volumes in One. Boston: Small, Maynard, [Oct.?] 1905. (N, BAL 2670) [binds together the 5th ed. of Low Tide (1893) and the [2nd?] ed. of Ballads of Lost Haven (1897)]

"Song of the Mountain." Reader Nov. 1905: 678. (RG 2) [poem; see note to "Camping Song," July 1905]

The Poetry of Life. Boston: L.C. Page, Oct. [deposited 1 Nov.] 1905. [i]-[xvii], 1-258 pp. (N, BAL 2671, Watters). London (printed in Boston): Hodder & Stoughton, [Mar.?] 1906. xiii, 258 pp. (N, BMCat) [collects sixteen critical essays, most previously printed serially, but "there are one or two essays you have not seen, I think. 'The Reward[s] of Poetry' was written in California" (Carman to Muriel Carman Ganong 13 Nov. 1905, LBC #246): "The Poetry of Life," "The Purpose of Poetry," "How to Judge Poetry," "The Poet in the Commonwealth," "The Poet in Modern Life," "The Defence of Poetry," "Distaste for Poetry," "Longfellow," "Emerson," "Mr. Riley's Poetry," "Mr. Swinburne's Poetry," "The Rewards

of Poetry," "Cheerful Pessimism," "Masters of the World," "The Poetry of To-Morrow," "The Permanence of Poetry"; "I have nearly finished my new prose book, and it isn't anything to brag of, either" (Carman to Irving Way 3 Aug. 1905, LBC #243); "I am sending you by mail a copy of a new book. I'm afraid it isn't very good, but I hope you may find it worth looking over. I don't like the portrait, since I am tired of portraits, but you will have to excuse that, as I didn't know it was to be inserted" (Carman to Muriel Carman Ganong 8 Nov. 1905, LBC #245)]

"My Friend the Music Master." Reader Dec. 1905: 20-25. (RG 2)

"If I Were Pan." Mount Tom Dec. 1905: ? (LBC #246n) [poem]

"The Wise Men from the East." Saturday Evening Post 2 Dec. 1905: ? (LBC #246n). Collected in The Princess of the Tower, 1906.

"The Christmas Stranger." Sunday Magazine 24 Dec. 1905: ? (LBC #246n). Collected in A Painter's Holiday, 1911. [poem; first known appearance in the English Sunday Magazine, the same year that the first of many of Roberts' animal stories began to appear in it, though in both cases I'm uncertain whether it's the domestic edition, the American edition, or both (see Mott 3: 278)]

"The Princess of the Tower." Booklover's Magazine (NY) 6 (1905): 667. (PI 6: 516). Collected in The Princess of the Tower, 1906. [poem]

#### 1906

Rev. of The Life of Reason or the Phases of Human Progress, by George Santayana. New York Times 27 Jan. 1906: ? (LBC #260n) [George Santayana (1863-1952), Spanish-born American materialist philosopher, poet, and novelist; "I am immersed in Santayana's philosophy...but it does not warm the heart" (Carman to Irving Way 29 Aug. 1906, LBC #260); "Have you been reading his Life of Reason? I reviewed him for the Times a year ago, and have been wholly under his spell ever since.... I even gave six talks on his philosophy this Fall, in town here [NYC], on six Sunday afternoons" (Carman to T.B. Meteyard 29 Dec. 1906, LBC #263)]

"Mountain Trail." Sunset Magazine Feb. 1906: 311-16. (RG 2) [poem; see note to "Camping Song," July 1905]

"Scroll." Cosmopolitan Feb. 1906: 377. (RG 2) [poem]

"Song of the Mother Range." Reader Mar. 1906: 357. (RG 2) [poem; see note to "Camping Song," July 1905]

- Pipes of Pan. 5 vols. in 1. "First Impression, April 1906."  
 Boston: Page, [deposited 2 June] 1906. (N, BAL 2674).  
 Boston: Page, 1917. (N). Boston: Page, 1929. (N).  
 Toronto: Ryerson, Apr. 1942. 605 pp. (N, Watters) [an  
 omnibus volume printed from the plates of the five Pipes of  
 Pan volumes, 1902-05; despite a trip to Toronto, no Canadian  
 publisher agreed to publish or even distribute the Pipes of  
 Pan series (Miller 205)]
- "Lyric." Atlantic Monthly May 1906: 670. (RG 2) [first  
 appearance since Apr. 1902 in the Atlantic, in which  
 Carman's work had been appearing regularly since "Low Tide  
 on Grand-Pré" in 1887; the gap is perhaps partly explained  
 by a 1905 letter from Atlantic editor Bliss Perry to Carman  
 in which, returning some new poems Carman had submitted, he  
 stated his preference for Carman's earlier work; for  
 Carman's apparently convincing rebuttal, in which he argues  
 that he's now trying to write clearer, more rational verse  
 than his early "vague and symbolistic" work, see his letters  
 to Perry of 23 Nov. and 4 Dec. 1905 (LBC #247-48)]
- "May comes, day comes..." Canadian Magazine May 1906: 79. (V)  
 [short (three quatrains) untitled lyric printed on lead page  
 of "Women's Sphere" section]
- "Pan in April." Current Literature May 1906: 557. (RG 2)  
 [poem; probably a rpt.]
- "The Urban Pan." Saturday Evening Post 5 May 1906: ? (PBC)  
 [poem]
- "Ghost House: A Quiet Day in the Catskills." Craftsman June  
 1906: 278-85. (RG 2) [includes port.; "Ghost House" was a  
 cabin adjoining the Kings' "Moonshine" cottage at Twilight  
 Park, Haines Falls, NY (LBC #172n)]
- "The Lights of Casa Loma." Reader June 1906: 43. (RG 2) [poem]
- "The Winged Victory." Sunday Magazine 10 June 1906: ? (PBC).  
 Collected in The Princess of the Tower, 1906. [poem  
 "inspired by a replica of the famous statue. Dating from  
 about 190 B.C., the original statue, commemorating an  
 important naval victory, depicts the goddess of Victory  
 alighting on a ship's prow" (PBC)]
- "Riley Just as He Is: A New Book in Honour of the Hoosier Poet  
 and Humorist Forms a Good Text for an Appreciation of the  
 Man." Rev. of In Honour of James Whitcomb Riley: A Meeting  
 of the Indiana State Teachers' Association Held in Tomlinson  
 Hall in Indianapolis, Dec. 28, 1905. New York Times  
 Saturday Review of Books 16 June 1906: 390-91. (V) ["Riley  
 is so entirely human and companionable, so genuine and  
 unpretentious, that it is difficult for a personal

acquaintance to regard him critically.... His mirth is the ecstatic glee of a youngster on holiday.... He has not imbibed the acid of modern thought, and feels no call to doubt the excellence of the world or the validity of old-fashioned notions"; by this time a friend of Riley's, Carman had visited him in Indianapolis the previous spring, where he found him "funnier than a goat" (Carman to Irving Way 20 May 1905, LBC #241)]

"Pan in the Catskills." Outing Aug. 1906: 558. (RG 2). Rpt. in Review of Reviews Oct. 1906: 496. (RG 2) [poem]

"To a Chickadee." Sunset Sep. 1906: 278-79. (RG 2) [poem; rpt. privately as To a Chickadee, 1933; see note to "Camping Song," July 1905]

"Out of the Dust That Bore Thee." Poet Lore Dec. 1906: 124. (RG 1890-99) [poem]

"A Poet in Color." Introduction. Exhibition of Paintings by Leon Dabo Dec. 31, 1906 to Jan. 12, 1907 at Walter Rowlands Galleries 431 Boylston Street Boston. [Boston, Leon Dabo, 1906]. pp. [2-3] of 4 pp. (N, BAL 2676) [catalog]

The Princess of the Tower[,] The Wise Men from the East and To the Winged Victory. New York: privately printed by the Village Press, 1906 [printed by 3 Jan., deposited 21 Jan. 1907]. [i-ii], [1]-18 pp.; colophon p. 19. (N, BAL 2677, Watters) [colophon: "Here ends [titles], three poems written by Bliss Carman, and now first collected. Sixty-two [numbered] copies (58 on hand-made paper and 4 on Roman vellum) printed for private distribution by Frederic and Bertha Goudy at the Village Press, New York, December, 1906" (N); "Princess of the Tower" published serially 1905, "Wise Men" 2 Dec. 1905, "To the Winged Victory" 10 June 1906; "Look out for a package I am sending you by mail. It is a copy of my latest (and late!) Xmas book.... The three poems, of course, are a year old" (Carman to Laurens Maynard 3 Jan. 1907, LBC #265)]

Introduction. The Summer Cloud Prose Poems by Yoné Noguchi. Tokyo: The Shunyodo, 1906. pp. i-iv. (NN 0287119, BAL 2678)

#### 1907

NB. "[L.C.] Page wants me to finish a novel begun by [Richard] Le Gallienne and left on his hands, but I am not sure I shall do it" (Carman to Muriel Carman Ganong 28 Oct. 1907, LBC #272).

"Songs of the Sea Children." Current Literature Jan. 1907: 107. (RG 2). [poem; same as in Current Literature June 1904?]

- "Sketch." Reader Jan. 1907: 168. (RG 2). Rpt. in Current Literature Feb. 1907: 226. (RG 2) [poem]
- "The Use of Out-of-Doors." Craftsman Jan. 1907: 422-25. (RG 2). Collected in The Making of Personality, 1908. [essay]
- "In a Garden." Current Literature Jan. 1907: 108. (RG 2) [poem; probably a rpt.]
- "The God of the Wood." Times Magazine (London?) Jan. 1907: ? (PBC) [no such periodical in Mott's A History of American Magazines]
- "Riley: Poet of the People, by a Fellow Poet." Book News Mar. 1907: 433-35 illus. (N) [see note to "Riley Just as He Is," 16 June 1906]
- "The Leaven of Art." Craftsman May 1907: 147-54. (RG 2). Collected in The Making of Personality, 1908. [essay arguing the necessity of an aesthetic sense]
- The Songs of Sappho....There Is a Medlar Tree. London: The Frederick Harris Co., [deposited 25 June 1907]. (BAL 2683) [sheet music; rpt. from Sappho One Hundred Lyrics, 1904; at head of title: Albert Mallinson...Plate number 549; for this and the following six entries of sheet music from Sappho by Mallinson, see also his The Golden Rose of Mitylene (below, 1935), which contains eleven songs from Sappho, possibly indicating that not all of the original sheet music has been located]
- The Songs of Sappho....Soft Was the Wind. London: The Frederick Harris Co., [deposited 25 June 1907]. (BAL 2681) [sheet music; rpt. from Sappho One Hundred Lyrics, 1904; at head of title: Albert Mallinson...Plate number 550]
- The Songs of Sappho....Love Is So Strong a Thing. London: The Frederick Harris Co., [deposited 25 June 1907]. (BAL 2680) [sheet music; rpt. from Sappho One Hundred Lyrics, 1904; at head of title: Albert Mallinson...Plate number 551]
- The Songs of Sappho....In the Apple Boughs. London: The Frederick Harris Co., [deposited 25 June 1907]. (BAL 2679) [sheet music; rpt. from Sappho One Hundred Lyrics, 1904; at head of title: Albert Mallinson...Plate number 552]
- The Songs of Sappho....The Song of Sappho. London: The Frederick Harris Co., [deposited 25 June 1907]. (BAL 2682) [sheet music; rpt. from Sappho One Hundred Lyrics, 1904; at head of title: Albert Mallinson...Plate number 552]
- Preface. The Holy Graal and Other Fragments by Richard Hovey Being the Uncompleted Parts of the Arthurian Dramas



Edited...by Mrs. Richard Hovey and a Preface by Bliss Carman. Ed. Mrs. Richard Hovey. New York: Duffield & Co., Sep. 1907. pp. 7-10. (NH 0550730, BAL 2686)

The Songs of Sappho....There Is a Measure to Set All Things Mortal. London: The Frederick Harris Co., [deposited 2 Oct. 1907]. (BAL 2684) [sheet music; rpt. from Sappho One Hundred Lyrics, 1904; at head of title: Albert Mallinson...Plate number 561]

The Songs of Sappho....When I Behold the Pharos Shine. London: The Frederick Harris Co., [deposited 2 Oct. 1907]. (BAL 2685) [sheet music; rpt. from Sappho One Hundred Lyrics, 1904; at head of title: Albert Mallinson...Plate number 562]

"A Thanksgiving." Collier's 23 Nov. 1907: 11. (V) [poem]

"On the Plaza." Town Topics (NY) ? Dec. 1907: ? (PBC) [poem; see note to the "King of Ys," 1894]

The Gate of Peace A Poem. New York: The Village Press, [Dec.] 1907. [1-18]; colophon p. 19. (N, BAL 2687, Watters). New Canaan, [CT: John E. Hersam, Apr.] 1909. 8 leaves. (N, BAL 2691). Rpt. in Rough Rider, 1909. ["One hundred twelve [numbered] copies...printed by Frederic and Bertha Goudy at the Village Press, New York, December, 1907" (N); "Goudy is printing a few copies of a blank verse story poem for me for Christmas" (Carman to Mitchell Kennerley 2 Dec. 1907, LBC #274); "The first edition...was almost entirely destroyed by fire before it could be distributed. In the present [Hersam] edition, of sixty copies, printed...in April, 1909, a prologue and an epilogue have been added" (p. [16])]

A Sea Drift...Music by A.U. Brander. Cincinnati: The John Church Co., [1907]. (BAL 2688) [sheet music; rpt. from 2nd edition of Low Tide on Grand Pré, 1893]

#### 1908

"Measure of Man." Independent 20 Feb. 1908: 404. (RG 2) [poem]

The Making of Personality. Boston: L.C. Page, [deposited 26] Mar. 1908. [i]-[xii], 1-375 pp. (N, BAL 2689, Watters). 2nd impression. Boston: L.C. Page, Nov. 1908. (5th impr. colophon). London (printed in Boston): J. Clarke & Co., [Oct.?] 1908. xi, 375 pp. (BMCat). 3rd impression. Boston: Page, Feb. 1910. (5th impr.). 4th impression. Boston: Page, July 1913. 375 pp. (N, 5th impr.). 5th impression. Boston: Page, June 1921. ix, 375 pp. (N, CaNSHD). Boston: Page, 1925. ix, 375 pp. (N). Boston: Page, 1929. 375 pp. (N) [collection of New Thought essays arguing the importance of physical education to ethical, spiritual, and intellectual development; some or all of the

nineteen essays copyrighted Ess Ess Publishing Company (1906, 1907), Gustav[e] Stickley (pub. of the Craftsman) (1906, 1907), and Butterick Publishing (pub. of the Delineator and other periodicals) (1907); according to Carman's preface, based on Mary Perry King's talks and co-written with her although she refused "joint signature"; according to Gundy, Page refused to publish the book unless King's name was removed from the title page and Carman rewrote it himself (LBC #263n); "There is no poetry now, but quite a lot of prose, eventually to make a volume, The Making of Personality" (Carman to T.B. Meteyard 29 Dec. 1906, LBC #263); "...[I am in Boston] trying to finish up the book of essays for Mr. Page which should have been in his hands last June. He has given me a table and room to myself in his offices, and I work here every day from morn till dewy eve with great success" (Carman to Muriel Carman Ganong 28 Oct. 1907, LBC #272); "She [Mrs. King] is working with me now on a new book of essays, which are really nearly all hers..." (Carman to Irving Way 9 Nov. 1907, LBC #273); "I am practically re-writing the whole book...and that is no small task. I only hope it will be worth the trouble when done.... It will take me until [Christmas] at least to finish the work" (Carman to Mitchell Kennerley 2 Dec. 1907, LBC #274); "I am busy reading the proofs of the new prose book, and expect it to be out before long. I shall be thankful to have it finished. It has been an arduous undertaking for the past three months with almost no immediate compensation for the labour" (Carman to Muriel Carman Ganong 27 Jan. 1908, LBC #276); "The M[aking] of P[ersonality], by the way, is doing very well indeed, I understand" (Carman to Henrietta Hovey 9 Sep. 1908, LBC #282); "...your generous liking for The Making of Personality is meat and drink to my sprit. Poetry goes without saying and gets itself done 'involuntarily' by the grace of God and the pure joy of being alive. But a prose book is a work, an opus, if you please; and this one is my pet. It isn't Stevenson by a long way, and it isn't Santayana, but it is something.... I talk as if it were all mine, but I want you to know that most of the inwards of it, the pith and philosophy, come from a better brain than mine--the friend whose name you will read in the preface" (Carman to James Carleton Young 26 Oct. 1909 (LBC #290); "...you will find in all the poems written in the past ten or fifteen years a very definite philosophy (to give it a large name!), the same that is elaborated in The Making of Personality" (Carman to H.D.C. Lee 27 Apr. 1910, LBC #295); "The book The Making of Personality gives much of the philosophy of the subject [i.e., the "great educational movement" "which chiefly engages me now"]. It is based on [Johann Heinrich] Pestalozzi, [Friedrich] Froebel, [François] Delsarte, and [Victor] Cousin, pre-eminently" (Carman to M.O. Hammond 18 May 1912, LBC #320)]

"Memorial Day." Collier's 30 May 1908: ? (LBC #276n).  
 Collected in Rough Rider, 1909. [ballad; photographs of  
 "Old Hadley" supplied by Carman's sister Muriel Carman  
 Ganong (LBC #276); "I have done two more things for  
Colliers, which I will send as they come out. They are very  
 helpful to me and seem inclined to take my lines" (Carman to  
 Muriel Carman Ganong 2 Apr. 1908, LBC #278); "Outside of  
Collier's, which is very good to me, I have almost no  
 patronage..." (Carman to Irving Way 13 Aug. 1908, LBC #281)]

"Resurgam." Collier's Easter 1908: ? (LBC #278n). Collected in  
Rough Rider, 1909. [poem]

The Path to Sankoty. [Siasconset, MA: The Gift Shop, deposited  
 21 July 1908]. Single leaf of buff cardboard folded to make  
 four 15.5x12cm. unpagged pages. (N, BAL 2690, Watters)  
 [poem; Siasconset on Nantucket Island was the family home of  
 a sister of Mrs. King; Carman and King used the property for  
 a vacation in the summer of 1907 (Miller 208); also issued  
 as 16x10cm. card of unknown date bearing the statement  
 "Copyright by Bliss Carman. Published by the Gift Shop," and  
 as a single 27x18cm. leaf printed on recto only with a  
 halftone illustration of a path on a sea-side cliff at head  
 of sheet (BAL 2690 from copies in possession of Jack Neiburg  
 of Boston and Vassar College Library, respectively)]

'Sconset. [Siasconset, MA: The Gift Shop, ca. 1908?]. 9x14cm.  
 broadside [postcard?]. (N, BAL 2749). [Siasconset, MA: The  
 Gift Shop, ca. 1927?]. 9x14cm. postcard. (N) [first  
 printing signed at end: "Bliss Carman in "Life'" (N from  
 copy in Harvard Library); BAL lists a printing on recto only  
 of a single leaf of 7x14cm. linen-weave cardboard, undated  
 but "before June 25, 1927" that is probably the same  
 (trimmed?) as the 1927? printing listed by N]

"The Angels of Man." Collier's Christmas 1908: ? (LBC #285n).  
 Collected as lead poem in Rough Rider, 1909. [ballad; "I  
 had a ballad in Christmas Collier's..." (Carman to Muriel  
 Carman Ganong 21 Dec. 1908, LBC #285)]

#### 1909

NB. "I am perishing to see you, but with a whole encyclopedia of  
 celebrities treading on my heels clamoring to be written about, I  
 am nearly insane. I have just finished Bacon and am now taking a  
 fall out of Beaconsfield. It is fun reading about these gents,  
 but not so easy to reproduce the same thing again in a new form  
 slightly disguised, without inventing. Biography gives you a cold  
 sweat, for fear of maligning some exemplary figure or white-  
 washing some hell-rake" (Carman to Alfred Drake 19 Nov. 1909, LBC  
 #292). Gundy's note adds that "Carman was doing hack work for an  
 unidentified encyclopedia."

- "The Twelfth-Night Star." Collier's 2 Jan. 1909: 7. (V).  
Collected in Rough Rider, 1909. Rpt. with four stanzas  
omitted as "The Star" in Saturday Night 12 Dec. 1925: 50  
(Women's Section). (V) [Unitrinian Epiphany poem of eleven  
stanzas: "It is the bitter time of year..."]
- "Poe and His Life Work: A Unique Character Among Authors,  
Considered in His Threefold Capacity--As Poet, Critic, and  
Story Writer; Appreciation and Depreciation; Views from  
Different Angles by Bliss Carman, Edward Cary, and Edward A.  
Dithmar." New York Times Saturday Review of Books 16 Jan.  
1909: 25-28. (V) [lead article; opens with Carman's 3½  
column contribution on Poe's poetry; on re-reading Poe after  
the lapse of many years finds that his work doesn't stand  
the test of time; it had novelty, especially metrical, but  
"He seems never to have grown up to a realization of the  
obligation which life lays upon all art and poetry--the  
demand that in the long run they shall be rational as well  
as imaginative, sane as well as beautiful" (26); "I return  
the clipping with thanks. I don't think I did Poe an ill  
turn. I didn't mean to. I only gave a personal experience. I  
had been taking him for granted, and was much surprised to  
find myself disappointed on re-reading. That is all. Perhaps  
one should not re-read" (Carman to Irving Way 11 May 1909,  
LBC #288); for more of Carman on Poe, see note to Oxford  
Book of American Verse, 1927]]
- "Richard Hovey and His Poetry." By Carman and Henrietta Hovey.  
Los Angeles Times Magazine 20 Jan. 1909: ? (LBC #290n)  
[article]
- "A Winter Piece." Delineator Feb. 1909: ? (PBC) [poem]
- "Man of Peace." Collier's 13 Feb. 1909: 16. (RG 2). Collected  
in Rough Rider, 1909. [poem]
- "The Rough Rider." Collier's 13 Mar. 1909: 8. (V). Rpt. in  
Current Literature May 1909: 564-65. (RG 2). Collected in  
Rough Rider, 1909. Rpt. in Collier's 2 Nov. 1912: 30. (RG  
3) ["Where lifts the peaks of purple..."; ballad of  
Roosevelt's "modern Roundhead,/The man who rides and reads";  
first printing in Collier's is a full-page layout  
surrounding an illustration of Teddy on horseback]
- "At the Making of Man." Atlantic Monthly Apr. 1909: 486-89. (RG  
2). Collected in Rough Rider, 1909. [poem]
- "Easter Eve." Collier's 10 Apr. 1909: 13. (RG 2). Collected in  
Rough Rider, 1909. Collected (revised) in Later Poems,  
1921. ["How do you like the new ending of 'Easter Eve'? I  
always disliked the old ending--too much in the familiar  
Vagabondia manner" (Carman to R.H. Hathaway 15 Apr. 1922,

LBC #482, presumably referring to revisions made for Later Poems]

- "Decoration Day." Collier's 29 May 1909: 15. (RG 2). Collected in Rough Rider, 1909. [poem]
- "Music of Life." Musician June 1909: 262. (RG 2) [rpt. of "The Music of Life," ch. 10 of The Making of Personality (1908)?]
- "One of the First Score Poets." "American and English Scholars Celebrate Tennyson Centenary: Tributes to the Art and Genius of Great Laureate." New York Times 1 Aug. 1909, sec. 5: 9. (V) [to mark the hundredth anniversary of Tennyson's birth, the Times publishes tributes from "leading literary men of America": Professor William P. Trent of Columbia, Century editor Robert Underwood Johnson, Harper's editor Henry Mills Alden, and Carman--"not only the chief poet of his time, he was one of the chief poets of the English race.... He was not a lover of his age. He had none of Browning's sharp inquisitiveness about the immediate drama of common life all around him, but found himself rather a perplexed bystander in the confusion, aims, and crumbling beliefs and new-sprung sciences of the nineteenth century"]
- "St. Michael's Star." Independent 9 Sep. 1909: 574. (RG 2). Collected in Rough Rider, 1909. [poem]
- "Golden West." Collier's 18 Sep. 1909: 16. (RG 2). Collected in Rough Rider, 1909. [poem]
- "Thanksgiving." Collier's 20 Nov. 1909: 22. (RG 2). Current Literature Jan. 1910: 103-04. (RG 3) [poem]
- "The Ships of Yule." Delineator Dec. 1909: 501. (RG 2). Rpt. in Scholastic 12 Jan. 1935: 13. (RG 9) [poem; later printed with picture of Carman on p. [1] on a single sheet folded to make four 15.5cm. pages, dated according to note on p. [4]: Dec. 25, 1928 (N, BAL 2752); for another private printing see note to Garden Fete, 1928]

The Rough Rider and Other Poems. New York: Mitchell Kennerley, [deposited 15 Dec.] MCMIX. [i-xiv], [1]-78 pp. (N, BMCat, BAL 2692, Watters) [collection of eighteen poems dedicated "To / Theodore Roosevelt"; "I am going to do a new volume of my alleged poems this Fall, The Rough Rider" (Carman to Irving Way 11 May 1909, LBC #288); "...the themes dealt with are more obvious than those which the earlier books ventured upon" (Carman to H.D.C. Lee 27 Apr. 1910, LBC #295); "Most of the poems in The Rough Rider and other poems were done in Boston in the winter of 1907-08, which I spent there, though some of them were done in Connecticut" (Carman to H.D.C. Lee 29 Sep. 1911, LBC #314); "I think 'On Ponus Ridge,' 'Resurgam,' and 'Easter Eve' in the volume The Rough Rider

contain the most definite presentation of what I have come to hold concerning the high (and dark) themes of man and nature and human fate. As poems, too, they are as good as any of the nature things, with the possible exception of some brief lyrics. In the same volume, too, and approximately in the same connection, don't overlook 'The Angels of Man' and 'At the Making of Man.' These two poems along with 'St. Michael's Star' and 'The Twelfth Night Star' are parts of a single projected poem to be called 'The Angels of Man' still unfinished. This accounts for their similarity in form and content. The poems dealing with the legend of the Wise Men, found in several volumes, would also be incorporated in the same work, if it were ever to be finished" (Carman to Odell Shepard 30 Jan. 1917, LBC #405; for the "Wise Men" poems, see "The Wise Men from the East" of 2 Dec. 1905 and "Sending of the Magi" of 23 Dec. 1909; "The Angels of Man" never materialized)]

"Sending of the Magi." Independent 23 Dec. 1909: 1430. (RG 2)  
[poem]

Lyrics from Sappho Cycle of Seven Songs for a Medium Voice.  
Words from "Sappho: One Hundred Lyrics" by Bliss Carman....  
By Mary Turner Salter. New York: G. Schirmer; Boston:  
Boston Music Co., ©1909. 3-19 pp. (NS 0067260, BAL 2693)  
[music; rpt. from Sappho One Hundred Lyrics (1904):  
"Hesperus, Bringing Together," "Well I Found You," "There Is  
a Medlar Tree," "If Death Be Good," "It Can Never Be Mine,"  
"I Grow Weary," "Over the Roofs"]

#### 1910

"Angel of the Twilight." Woman's Home Companion Mar. 1910: 6.  
(RG 3) [poem]

"Puritan Captain." Current Literature Mar. 1910: 341. (RG 3)  
[poem; probably rpt. from Rough Rider, 1909]

"Spring's Saraband." Collier's 19 Mar. 1910: 11. (V). Rpt. in  
Current Opinion Feb. 1913: 151. (RG 3). Rpt. with revised  
5th stanza in review of Later Poems in Canadian Magazine  
Mar. 1922: 459. (V) [six-stanza lyric: "Over the hills of  
April..."; Collier's printing a full-page layout, printed  
beneath ¼-page illustration by Ernest Haskell]

"The Last Day at Stormfield." Collier's 7 May 1910: 8. (RG 3).  
Collected in Echoes from Vagabondia, 1912. Rpt. in Mark  
Twain's Letters Arranged with Comment by Albert Bigelow  
Paine. 2 vols. New York & London: Harper & Brothers, 1917.  
2: 845-47. (BAL p. 75) [poem]

"Roosevelt's Return." Welcome Home A Dinner to Theodore  
Roosevelt Jvne Twenty Second Nineteen Hvndred and Ten at

Sherry's New York. [New York, 1910]. p. 6. (BAL 2697)  
[because of The Rough Rider (1909) and his friendship with Roosevelt, Carman was asked to write a poem welcoming Roosevelt's return to New York from an African safari (LBC #297n); "O yes, we had a dinner for T.R. at Sherry's! It was a fine affair.... The souvenirs were very charming books made for the occasion and bound in limp leather, with photographs and cartoons of T.R., and verse of welcome by Wallace Irwin, yours truly, and others..." (Carman to Irving Way 1 July 1910, LBC #297)]

"In a Garden of Lesbos." Forum (NY) July 1910: 58-59. (RG 3)  
[poem]

"Strife." Selected Poems from the Harvard Monthly 1885-1910.  
Cambridge, MA: The Graduate Council of the Harvard Monthly,  
[July?] 1910. (BAL 2694) [poem; otherwise unlocated]

"Ascending Effort." Forum (NY) Aug. 1910: 195-99. (RG 3)  
[poem]

"Te Deum." Good Housekeeping Nov. 1910: 521-22. (RG 3). Rpt.  
in Current Literature Dec. 1910: 685. (RG 3) [poem]

"El Dorado." Collier's 19 Nov. 1910: 20. (RG 3) [poem]

"Dreamers." Forum (NY) Dec. 1910: 663-64. (RG 3). Literary  
Digest 4 Jan. 1913: 44. (RG 3) [poem]

Madonna. [New Canaan, CT], Christmas 1910. Single sheet of blue  
paper folded to make four unpagged 21.5x14cm. pages, printed  
throughout in blue. (N, BAL 2695) [poem]

"The Champlain Country." The Tercentenary Celebration of the  
Discovery of Lake Champlain and Vermont. A Report to the  
General Assembly of the State of Vermont. Issued by the  
Lake Champlain Tercentenary Commission of Vermont, 1910.  
pp. 103-06. (BAL p. 75). Rpt. in The Champlain  
Tercentenary Report of the New York Lake Champlain  
Tercentenary Commission. Albany: J.B. Lyon Company, State  
Printers, 1911. (BAL p. 75) [poem; a reprint of  
"Champlain" from Rough Rider, 1909]

#### 1911

"To a Young Lady on Her Birthday." Hampton's Magazine Feb. 1911:  
216. (RG 3) [poem]

"Myrtis of Mytilene." Forum (NY) Mar. 1911: 355-57. (RG 3).  
Rpt. in Current Literature May 1911: 560-61. (RG 3) [poem]

"An Apostle of Personal Harmonizing." Good Housekeeping May  
1911: 581-85. (RG 3) Rpt. as An Apostle of Personal

Harmonizing. [New Canaan, CT: New Canaan Advertiser, 1911]. 1-8 pp. in tan paper wrapper, issued in two printings, one on laid and one on wove paper. (N, BAL 2702) ["For the present I occupy the 'Scriptorium' in 'Moonshine,' the summer home of the incomparable M[ary] P[erry] K[ing], a picture of the interior of which you saw in the May number of Good Housekeeping" (Carman to Irving Way 24 July 1911, LBC #308)]

"On Burial Hill." Collier's 27 May 1911: 6. (RG 3) [poem; occasioned by an Oct. 1907 visit to the tomb of Carman's ancestor the Reverend Daniel Bliss in Concord, MA (LBC #272n)]

A Painter's Holiday and Other Poems. New York: privately printed, [deposited 11 July] 1911. [1]-43 pp.; colophon p. 44. (N, BAL 2698, Watters) ["One hundred And Fifty Copies...on French Hand-Made Paper Privately Printed by Frederic Fairchild Sherman" (colophon; see note to "The Poetry of Morning," 1911); contents: "A Painter's Holiday," "On the Plaza" (printed serially Dec. 1907), "Mirage" (written Aug. 1910 [PBC]), "A Christmas Stranger" (printed serially 24 Dec. 1905) "The Miracle" (N); a copy of an earlier printing on Italian handmade paper in the Harvard Library is inscribed by Sherman: "This is the only copy preserved of the first edition of this work, the remainder having been destroyed because of the unsatisfactory press-work, and the book reprinted [as above]..." (BAL 2698); "The Sherman book I have almost forgotten. Early last winter it was undertaken. Sherman gave it to [Frederic] Goudy to print. That excellent artist in types, and his wife, set it with their own fair hands from a new font which he had designed for Sherman and which has not before been used. It was sent to a press in New York and a hundred and some copies struck off early in April. But the press work was so bad that neither Sherman nor Goudy would accept it, and so there was a whole edition to be destroyed, and about half of the composition to be done over again. This was done and it was sent next to a press in Baltimore where more care was taken. For the past month or so it has been promised every day; but I have not seen it yet, and my enthusiasm has all evaporated long ago" (Carman to Irving Way 24 July 1911, LBC #308); "Sherman gave me a hundred dollars for all rights in the Painter's Holiday for this limited edition. (I retain right to reprint in a collected edition.) I fear he will have no cause to be satisfied with his bargain. It is not worth five dollars a copy" (Carman to Irving Way 27 Aug. 1911, LBC #309); "I think there are some good passages in it, though it is not one of the ultra poetical books" (Carman to H.D.C. Lee 4 Jan. 1912, LBC #317)]

"The Poetry of Morning." Literary Miscellany (NY) 4.3 ([Autumn?] 1911): 54-63. (N) [The Literary Miscellany was edited and



published by Frederic Fairchild Sherman (c.1874-1940), an American poet, collector, and independent publisher who also printed A Painter's Holiday, 1911 (Morse)]

Address to the Graduating Class MCMXI of the Unitrinian School of Personal Harmonizing Founded by Mary Perry King at Moonshine, Twilight Park in the Catskills. New York: privately printed at the Tabard [Tabord?] Press, [Oct.] 1911. [i-ii], [1]-[28]; colophon p. [30]. (N, BAL 2699, Watters) ["Two hundred and fifty copies...printed...under the direction of Frederic W. Goudy...October, 1911" (colophon); "At the close of the summer term in the Unitrinian School the other day, I gave an address--very fine! Going to have two or three hundred copies printed" (Carman to Irving Way 18 Sep. 1911, LBC #312); "It is another statement of the present faith which supports this vagrant in the devious, if delightful way. Mind you, I am not a fanatic on the creed; I never force it on people, even my oldest friends..." (Carman to H.D.C. Lee 4 Jan. 1912, LBC #317)]

Foreword. Travellers Five Along Life's Highway. By Annie Fellows Johnston. Boston: L.C. Page, Oct. [deposited 9 Nov.] 1911. pp. v-xiv. (BAL 2700, Morse)

Messiah. Sunshine House, [New Canaan, CT], Christmas 1911. Single leaf of blue linen-weave cardboard, 14x11cm., printed on recto only. (N, BAL 2701) [sonnet; issued as a Christmas greeting; the Kings bought Sunshine House in New Canaan, CT, in 1907 or '08 as a country home and as Mrs. King's finishing school for society debutantes (LBC #278)]

Songs from Vagabondia; More Songs from Vagabondia; Last Songs from Vagabondia. Boston: Small, Maynard, [1911]. 3 vols. in 1. (Watters) [first printed separately in 1894, 1896, and 1900, respectively]

## 1912

"Personality and Impersonality." Forum (NY) June 1912: 641-48. (RG 3)

"Ceres." Literary Digest 31 Aug. 1912: 347. (RG 3). Delineator Sep. 1912: 145. (RG 3) [poem]

"Triumphalis." Atlantic Monthly Sep. 1912: 332-33. (RG 3) [poem]

"The Truth Keepers." American Magazine Sep. 1912: 592-93. (RG 3). Anthologized as "The Mysteriarchs" in The Lyric Year One Hundred Poems Edited by Ferdinand Earle. New York: Mitchell Kennerley, 1912. pp. 30-36. (BAL 2704). Collected as "The Givers of Life" in April Airs, 1916. (BAL

2704, LBC #322n) [poem; "...I have a longish poem accepted by the American Magazine--my ideas of 'the female of the species,' not rabid of course, rather complimentary I hope, and fairly obvious" (Carman to Irving Way 29 June 1912, LBC #322); "Have you seen the Lyric Year? The first prize poem deserves to win, but I am very disappointed with all the rest. It seems to me a monument of mediocrity. Even my own rhetorical lines haven't the magic that belongs" (Carman to Irving Way 30 Dec. 1912, LBC #325). The contentious "first prize poem" was Orrick Johns' "Second Avenue," which according to both editor Earl and Johns himself was inferior to another contender, Edna St. Vincent Millay's "Renascence" (LBC #325n); for more on Carman's ideas on women, see "Physical Freedom for Women," 13 Sep. 1913]

"Weather of the Soul." The Literary Miscellany (NY) 5.3 (Autumn 1912): 50-51. (N, Morse). Rpt. in Literary Digest 20 May 1916: 1472-73. (RG 4) [poem; see note to "The Poetry of Morning," 1911]

"Out of the East." Collier's 14 Dec. 1912: 9. (RG 3) [poem]

Echoes from Vagabondia. Boston: Small, Maynard, [late Dec.?] MCMXII [or early Jan. 1913; deposited 1 Feb. 1913]. [i]-[x], 1-65 pp. (N, BMCat, BAL 2703, Watters). [2nd ed.] Boston: Small, Maynard, 1913. vii, 65 pp. (N). Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1922. 128 pp. (BMCat). [3rd ed.] Boston: Small, Maynard, 1926. vii, 65 pp. (N). Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1926. (BMCat 1971-75 supp.) [although solely Carman's work, first edition issued (1) with authorship on front credited to Carman and Hovey, (2) with authorship on front credited to Carman by means of a pasted correction slip, and (3) with authorship on front credited to Carman only (BAL 2703); "How do you like 'Echoes from Vagabondia' for a name? Don't mention it! But I am contemplating a volume of such" (Carman to Irving Way 24 Apr. 1912, LBC #318); "I have just put together a number of miscellaneous poems to be called 'Echoes from Vagabondia.'... I am not at all anxious to emphasize that poor old Vagabondia idea, but no one will publish anything else, so what can I do?" (Carman to H.D.C. Lee 30 Apr. 1912, LBC #319); "Today's mail takes to you a copy of the Echoes" (Carman to Irving Way 11 Jan. 1913, LBC #326)]

"An Open Letter." Personal Harmonizing in Short Courses for College Schools & Clubs 1912-13. [New York: The Uni-Trinian School of Personal Harmonizing, 1912]. pp. 7-8. (BAL 2705)

### 1913

NB. "Today I have been trying to write 'In a Cathedral'--but it is not finished. It is only a shy little half-lover sort of poem

born of a thoughtful (no, not 'thoughtful,' spirit-full) hour"  
(Carman to Gladys Baldwin 16 Nov. 1913, LBC #336). Unlocated.

Daughters of Dawn A Lyrical Pageant or Series of Historic Scenes for Presentation with Music and Dancing by Bliss Carman and Mary Perry King. New York: Mitchell Kennerley, [Feb.?] 1913. [i-ii], [i]-viii, 1-118 pp. illus. (N, BAL 2706, Watters) [written 1910-11 for production at Mrs. King's Sunshine House finishing school; "...there is an attempt to make a lyrical pageant...for dances and tableaux of historic women--Balkis, Aspasia, Iseult, Mumhatz Mahal &c. &c. with choruses and some dialogue" (Carman to James Carleton Young 5 Nov. 1910, LBC #304); "I have just finished the first five scenes of my lyrical pageant, 'Daughters of Dawn,' which I have been pegging at for the past three or four months. It is great stuff. Each scene has a prologue, chorus, and dialogue between the two principal characters, and in many scenes there must be accompanying dances. I am going now to try and place it and squeeze the publishers for more money to finish it" (Carman to Irving Way 25 Jan. 1911, LBC #305); "The damned pageant is half done only, and I am up to my neck in debt for it" (Carman to Irving Way 3 Mar. 1911, LBC #306); "We have spent the past month in getting people to pose for the various female characters; M.P.K. arranged costumes &c. and [New York photographer] B[enjamin] J[oseph] Falk made the photographs, two for each scene. They...will illustrate the book very helpfully, as we took great care to have them all historically and dramatically right" (Carman to Henrietta Hovey 29 June 1911, LBC #307); "Three publishing houses and six periodicals have refused it [Daughters of Dawn] so far, and it is still on its toilsome rounds, seeking a believer. But believers in the commercial world are few" (Carman to Irving Way 24 July 1911, LBC #308)]; "Here are the names: Macmillan, L.C. Page, Small Maynard, Scribner's, Harper's. These all turned down the pageant. And I have given it to Henry Holt to read.... Next I will try Little, Brown, and Houghton Mifflin (perhaps). I have tried nearly a dozen periodicals--Forum, Smart Set, Harper's Bazaar, Good Housekeeping, Woman's Home Companion, Bookman, Century, Delineator--and have about given up hope of serial publication" (Carman to Irving Way 27 Aug. 1911, LBC #309); "My largest and most important work in poetry, in many ways, is the 'Daughters of Dawn.'" But as no one will print it, you are not likely to read it before your thesis goes in" (Carman to H.D.C. Lee 29 Sep. 1911, LBC #314); "I am very gratified to have you praise the Pageant as you do. It is a more extensive and ambitious work than any I have tried heretofore, and I am sure it is up to the mark in workmanship. It was the surprise of my life to find no one willing to publish it. That never happened to me before... / ...[T]here is no saying how much of the work is hers [Mrs. King's] and how much mine. Any lines you find in her hand on the Ms. are wholly misleading; they may have been her

suggestions or mine. She only happened to hold the pencil in that instance when we were in council over the work. / First the original plan of the whole thing was projected and the characters chosen and discussed, and then taken up scene by scene. Of course the first casting of the poem, a paragraph or a sentence, can only occur in one mind at a time. Well, the first cast, in some instances was mine, in some it was hers. Then when the first draft was done, it would be pulled to pieces, amended, criticized, and re-written in council. Many of the best lines and most telling phrases were struck out in this way, but of course I never let anything pass that did not sing to my tune. At the same time, there is a lot of vigor and freshness that I never would have had alone. / I have split up the thing and am trying to sell a few chips off it to pay for photographs" (Carman to Irving Way 10 Nov. 1911, LBC #315); "The Pageant has subsided. Requiescat" (Carman to Irving Way 24 Apr. 1912, LBC #318); "Did I tell you that Kennerley is to publish 'Daughters of the Dawn' this Fall?" (Carman to Irving Way 29 June 1912, LBC #322); "'Daughters of Dawn' are now in sheets. We may expect them in boards soon, I suppose" (Carman to H.D.C. Lee 11 Jan. 1913, LBC #327); "...if I were going to offer any suggestions [on the ms. of Shepard's Bliss Carman (1923)], one would be that possibly the two volumes Daughters of Dawn and Earth Deities are not emphasized enough--I don't mean as to their poetic quality so much as for their influence in another way. They are more sustained, more extensive, more deliberately undertaken than other volumes except Sappho.... Then, too, they are very important as products of my work with Mrs. King. They occupied two years in making in this New Canaan period. And just as I learned to see color in nature from Meteyard's work, just as I felt the importance of comradeship through association with Hovey, just as I learned to love poetry under Parkin, so I gained enormously from Mrs. King, and it was from her most of all that I got whatever clarity of creed, conviction, philosophy, or whatever you call it that I have..." (Carman to Odell Shepard 26 June 1917, LBC #413)]

"Psyche" and "Bacchante." Forum (NY) Apr. 1913: 422-23 and 423-24. (RG 3). "Psyche" rpt. in Literary Digest 16 Jan. 1915: 113. (RG 4) [poems]

"Trees." Youth's Companion 10 Apr. 1913: 196. (YC F510). [Same?] in Literary Digest 11 Dec. 1926: 31. (RG 7) [poem]

"Lyrics of Spring." Literary Digest 19 Apr. 1913: 912. (RG 3). Saturday Night 19 Apr. 1913: 31. (V) [lyric in fourteen ballad stanzas: "When you hear the white-throat pealing..."; at end of Saturday Night printing: "--Smart Set"]

"Physical Freedom for Women." Harper's Weekly 13 Sep. 1913: 12. (RG 3) [Carman later wrote to his friend H.D.C. Lee that "I

have never been an advocate of woman suffrage. Even now I doubt its great efficacy. But there can be no question in my mind of the supremacy of women in the spiritual realm, and I am in favor of giving her all the freedom she wants" (17 June 1915, LBC #337)]

"Mountain Gateway." Literary Digest 20 Sep. 1913: 501. (RG 3). Rpt. in Current Opinion Oct. 1913: 276-77. (RG 3). Rpt. in Anthology of Magazine Verse, 1913. [poem; written Feb. 1913 (PBC)]

"Because She Loved It So" and "Old Gray Wall." Ladies' Home Journal Oct. 1913: 3. (RG 3). "Old Gray Wall" rpt. in Literary Digest 20 May 1916: 1472. (RG 4) [poems; "Old Gray Wall" completed 26 Oct. 1912 (PBC)]

"The Chant of King Hacko." Saturday Night 25 Oct. 1913: 29. (V) [dramatic lyric in eight stanzas: "In the time of red October..."; printed under the heading "Songs of Autumn" on first page of Women's Section between "Hallowe'en" (anon.) and Marjorie Pickthall's "Autumn in the Islands"]

"Christmas Eve." Collier's 13 Dec. 1913: 14. (RG 3) [poem]

Christmas Eve A Choral. [New Canaan, CT: Dec. 1913]. Single leaf of blue paper folded to make four 21.5x16.5cm. unpagged pages, printed throughout in blue. (N, BAL 2707) [poem; on page [4]: Decembec [sic], 1913; written July 1913 (PBC)]

"Over the Wintry Threshold" and "A Mountain Gateway." Anthology of Magazine Verse for 1913...by William Stanley Braithwaite. Cambridge, MA: William Stanley Braithwaite, [1913]. pp. 2 and 24-25. (BAL 2708) ["Over the Wintry Threshold" otherwise unlocated; "A Mountain Gateway" published serially 20 Sep. 1913]

The City in the Sea, Poem for Orchestra, Chorus of Mixed Voices, and Baritone Solo, [music] by Arthur Shepherd, to Words by Bliss Carman. Boston: Boston Music Co.; New York: G. Schirmer, etc., 1913. (N, BAL 2709) [sheet music; rpt. from Last Songs from Vagabondia, 1900]

A Rose...Music by Kate Vannah. New York: M. Witmark & Sons, [1913]. (BAL 2709) [sheet music; rpt. of "Songs of the Sea Children" No. LI from Pipes of Pan Number Three, 1903]

To Those Who Wear Shoes. New York: H. Jantzen Shoe Co., 660 Sixth Avenue 38th & 39th Sts., ©1913. [1-15]; advertisement for the Uni-Trinian Shoe, p. [16]. Illus. (N, BAL 2710) [advertisement for a heeless shoe designed by Mary Perry King and sold by Jantzen Shoes; "I enclose also an advertising venture" (Carman to his bibliographer Frederic Fairchild Sherman 7 Apr. 1915, LBC #369)]

## 1914

NB. "I have been asked for a Christmas poem for a magazine! What sad mockery! What can one say?" (Carman to Gladys Baldwin 28 Aug. 1914, LBC #359). No Christmas poem located for 1914.

"Dance of the Sunbeams." Current Opinion Jan. 1914: 55. (RG 3) [poem; possibly that referred to in Carman's letter of 14 Jan. 1914 to poet William Griffith, who became editor of Current Opinion about this time (Mott 4: 510): "My dear Willie: You are a blue-eyed angel with golden hair--to one accustomed to the usual editorial methods of agonizing delay! And also sixteen dollars will do nicely.... Now that I have formed the habit, you may expect to be inundated quite frequently with the out-gush of the rural Muse" (LBC #339)]

"Now the Spring Is Here Once More." Ladies' Home Journal Apr. 1914: 3. (RG 3) [poem]

"The Deserted Pasture." Atlantic Monthly Apr. 1914: 476-77. (RG 3). Anthologized in Anthology of Magazine Verse, 1914. Rpt. in Current Opinion July 1916: 55. (RG 4). [poem]

"Redwing." Century May 1914: 82. (RG 3) [poem]

"Roadside Flowers." Ladies' Home Journal May 1914: 18. (RG 3). Rpt. in Current Opinion June 1914: 463. (RG 3). Primary Education Oct. 1925: 572. (Rogers). American Federationist Aug. 1931: 955. (Rogers) [poem; for a later private printing see note to Garden Fete, 1928]

"The Rainbird." Poetry (Chicago) May 1914: 49. (Sader)

"In the Garden of Dreams." Ladies' Home Journal June 1914: 6. (RG 3) [poem]

"Bliss Carman's Preference." Letter to the Editor. "What Is the Best Short Poem in English? Twenty-Five Poets Reply to This Question, Asked Them by the New York Times, Naming Twenty Poems as First Choice, Keats's 'Ode on a Grecian Urn' Getting Most Votes." New York Times 5 July 1914, sec. 5: 2. (V) [polled along with Henry Mills Alden, Thomas Hardy, Joyce Kilmer, Clinton Scollard, Richard Le Gallienne, etc., Carman calls the question "one of those essentially futile ones which form the most excellent topics for newspaper discussion" and considers a dozen or so possibilities before settling on that poem "which in the end I believe I must keep in preference to all others. It is Wordsworth's 'Daffodils'"; rpt. (abr.) as letter to Joyce Kilmer of 1 Mar. 1914, LBC #343]

Album of Six Songs [music] by Henri Duparc with Original French Words Rendered into English by Bliss Carman. Boston: Boston Music Co., [deposited 5 Oct.] 1914. 35 pp. (ND 0442434, BAL 2711) [sheet music; trans. of poems by Baudelaire, Prudhomme, Lahor, Gautier, and de Bonnières (LBC #369n); see note to Album of Songs, 1915]

"Lockerbie Street (with affectionate greetings to J.W.R.)"  
Indianapolis Evening News 7 Oct. 1914: ? (LBC #389n). Rpt. in Current Opinion Feb. 1916: 128-29. (RG 4) [poem for James Whitcomb Riley printed on his birthday; on 12 Oct. 1914, Carman wrote Irving Way from Indianapolis, where he had gone to visit Riley, that "In one of the papers I send, you will see [Riley's editor Hewitt] Howland and myself talking to him (unlocated); in the other you will find my birthday tribute to him" (LBC #362); may also have been privately printed later: "The Riley poem was published first in the News, an evening paper of Indianapolis, 7 October 1914, a year ago when I was there. So the pamphlet (whatever it is) is not a first issue of the lines" (Carman to R.H. Hathaway 14 Feb. 1916, LBC #389)]

"Phi Beta Kappa Poem: Harvard, 1914." Forum (NY) Nov. 1914: 677-83. (RG 3). Anthologized in Anthology of Magazine Verse, 1914. Collected in April Airs, 1916. ["The invitation of the Phi Beta Kappa Society to deliver their poem next June in Cambridge, which you have extended to me, is a very great honour, as I well know. I accept the call with no hesitation..." (Carman to Prof. George Herbert Palmer 7 Nov. 1913, LBC #335); "Your prayers and my persistence have at last availed somewhat. The poem (for Cambridge) is at least started" (Carman to Gladys Baldwin [June 1914], LBC #351); "...the poem did quite as well as it deserved" (Carman to Gladys Baldwin 18 June 1914, LBC #352); Gundy says the poem first appeared in the Harvard Forum of Nov. 1914, I think erroneously (LBC #352n); "I am glad that you liked the Phi Beta Kappa poem. It was not very 'poetical' perhaps, but I believe that for such occasional pieces one is forced to be rather rhetorical and frankly to write a metrical oration" (Carman to Curtis Hidden Page 24 June 1915, LBC #379)]

Earth Deities and Other Rhythmic Masques by Bliss Carman and Mary Perry King. New York: Mitchell Kennerley, [deposited 27 Nov.] 1914. [i-viii], 1-85 pp. (N, BAL 2712, Watters) [contains "Dance Diurnal," "Earth Deities," "Children of the Year," and "Pas de Trois" (N); like Daughters of Dawn (1913), written for production at Mrs. King's Sunshine House finishing school: "Today I am reading proofs of a new book, a companion volume to Daughters of Dawn, called 'Earth Deities'--made up of masques for dance. I think you will like some of the classic things on Psyche, Syrinx, Daphne, and a few more of the fair immortals...." (Carman to Irving

Way 8 Aug. 1914, LBC #357); "I have read all the proof on the new book" (Carman to Gladys Baldwin 9 Sep. 1914, LBC #360)]

"Phi Betta Kappa Poem Harvard, 1914" and "The Deserted Pasture." Anthology of Magazine Verse for 1914...by William Stanley Braithwaite. Cambridge, MA: William Stanley Braithwaite, [1914]. pp. 3-9 and 9-10. (BAL 2713) ["Phi Betta Kappa" published serially Nov. 1914 and "The Deserted Pasture" in Apr. 1914]

Four Songs...by Frances Wyman...the Daisies.... New York & London: G. Schirmer, [1914]. [sheet music; rpt. from More Songs from Vagabondia, 1896]

### 1915

NB. "...I wrote some lines the other day, but don't know if you will care for them--in reference to the Lusitania tragedy" (Carman to Gladys Baldwin 17 May 1915, LBC #374). Unidentified.

"Masks of Deity." Literary Digest 16 Jan. 1915: 113. (RG 4) [poem]

"Off Monomoy." Scribner's Magazine June 1915: 661. (RG 4) [poem]

"Lord of Morning" and "Noon." Poetry (Chicago) June 1915: 117 and 117-18. (Sader) [poems]

"In the Day of Battle." McClure's Sep. 1915: 28. (RG 4) [poem]

"Peace." Independent 27 Sep. 1915: 421. (RG 4) [poem]

"Lyric." Current Opinion Oct. 1915: 270. (RG 4) [rpt.?)

"Fireflies." Everybody's Magazine Oct. 1915: 448. (RG 4). Rpt. in Current Opinion Nov. 1915: 350. (RG 4) [poem; completed 16 June 1915 (PBC); in early 1915 Carman's friend Gilman Hall, an assistant editor with Everybody's since coming to it from Ainslee's in 1911, stayed in New Canaan for "some months," and their visits seem to have helped Carman out of a writer's block and precipitated his return to the monthly after a lapse of eleven years: "He gave me several proper talkings-to, for an idle good-for-nothing in polite language, and was most helpful and encouraging as a stirrer up of old bones...." (Carman to Gladys Baldwin 4 May 1915, LBC #373)]

"Marjorie's Thanksgiving." Ladies' Home Journal Nov. 1915: 24. (RG 4) [poem]



"World Voice." Harper's Nov. 1915: 920. (RG 4). Rpt. in Current Opinion Mar. 1916: 203-04. (RG 4) [poem]

"Measure of Heaven." Everybody's Magazine Dec. 1915: 725. (RG 4). Rpt. in Current Opinion Jan. 1916: 55. (RG 4). Literary Digest 8 Jan. 1916: 78. (RG 4). Craftsman Feb. 1916: 467. (RG 4) [poem]

Prologue. For the Benefit of the Sufferers in Tangier French Prints in Tableaux and Dances Old and New Wednesday Evening, December Fifteenth at the Plaza Tableaux Staged and Posed by Charles K. Slayter under the Management of Mrs. R.W. Hawkesworth. New York: Cameron & Bulkley, [1915]. p. [2]. (BAL 2715, Morse, Sherman) [issued as a four-page program printed in brown in a wrapper printed in brown and black]

"Winter Twilight." Youth's Companion 30 Dec. 1915: 706. (YC F526). [Same?] in Nation 29 Nov. 1917: 592-93. (RG 4) [poem]

Album of Songs by Claude Debussy with Original French Words

Rendered into English by Bliss Carman. Boston: The Boston Music Co.; New York: G. Schirmer, Inc.; London: G. Schirmer, Ltd., [1915]. (BAL 2716) [sheet music; trans. of poems by Paul Bourget, Paul Verlaine, and Pierre Louys (LBC #369n); Miller erroneously lists an 1894 edition of this work (296), and Merle Johnson's American First Editions (1942) lists another dated 1913 (BAL 2716) that may also be erroneous; "The Boston Music Co., 26 West St., Boston, are publishing two items, of six songs each, translated from the French with modern music. I have not seen them yet. They are interesting, not as poetry, but because of the difficulty of translating anything after it has been set to music" (Carman to Frederic Fairchild Sherman 7 Apr. 1915, LBC #369); the other "item" is probably the already published Album of Six Songs (1914)]

1916

"How Hovey Wrote Barney McGee." Bookman (NY) Jan. 1916: 561-63. (RG 4) [see also Carman's letter to Richard Duffy of 25 Nov. 1913 on the same subject, rpt. in Duffy's "When They Were Twenty-One" in the Bookman Jan 1914: 523]

"Spoon River Anthology." Forum Jan. 1916: 114-17. (RG 4). Rpt. in Current Opinion Feb. 1916: 127. (RG 4) [review in verse of Edgar Lee Masters' Spoon River Anthology]

"Before the Snow." Atlantic Monthly Jan. 1916: 21. (RG 4) [poem]

"Threnody." Scribner's Magazine Jan. 1916: 38. (RG 4) [poem]

- "Winter Picture." Independent 24 Jan. 1916: 125. (RG 4) [poem]
- "Homestead." Century Feb. 1916: 570-71. (RG 4) [poem]
- "Chatterers." Ladies' Home Journal Mar. 1916: 30. (RG 4)  
[poem]
- "April Morning." Atlantic Monthly Apr. 1916: 522. (RG 4)  
[poem]

April Airs A Book of New England Lyrics. Boston: Small, Maynard, [deposited 16 May] MCMXVI. [i]-[x], 1-77 pp. (N, BMCat, BAL 2717, Watters). Boston: Small, Maynard, 1920. viii, 77 pp. (N). Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1922. 64 pp. (BMCat) [first edition issued in two bindings, one in green linen-weave paper boards and one in suede with top edges gilt (BAL 2717); "Here is news. I am to have a new volume of...poetry in the spring. Fifty or sixty short nature lyrics gathered up. The work of the last five or six years before the war. I hope you will like it. There is nothing in it that cannot be understood. That I hope was only a fault of earlier work" (Carman to Helen Mowat 13 Jan. 1916, LBC #385); "I told you (yes?) that the publishers did not like my title, The Deserted Pasture and other lyrics; that they chose The Tent of Noon from another of others I gave, and then decided they did not like that. Then I called it April Airs and they don't seem to like that. Fatal to try to suit one's work to other peoples' notions! But what do you think? (Carman to Gladys Baldwin 26 Feb. 1916, LBC #390); "I have also been busy with the proofs of April Airs, as the new book is to be called, and have just completed them. Of course, one is not over-confident of a new volume, but I think there are several nice poems in this that will perhaps save it. I hope so. Anyway it is great fun getting it out, and they promise it for April" (Carman to Gladys Baldwin 13 Mar. 1916, LBC #391); "I am sending you one of the first copies of April Airs. You must take it as something new and fresh as the spring. It is a pretty volume. There is nothing great in it. But the lines, if they are not as exuberant as of old, are at least not mournful. They have no stress and strain. I don't want any more of that sickness of youth.... / The lines 'In Early May' were written on Richard's birthday three years ago, out in the orchard..." (Carman to Agnes Cook Gale 2 May 1916, LBC #395); "You should remember that all the verses were written, with a few important exceptions, before the war. Otherwise it would seem that we do not know there is such a thing here in our corner of Connecticut" (Carman to Julia Plant Cutler 12 May 1916, LBC #396); "The book is very slight and reflects nothing of our troublous times, but you will recall that all the verses were made before we fell upon war" (Carman to Irving Way 14 May 1916, LBC #397)]

"Autumn." Atlantic Monthly Oct. 1916: 521. (RG 4). Ladies' Home Journal Oct. 1916: 14. (RG 4). Library Journal 15 Nov. 1931: 940. (RG 4) [may be different poems under same title]

"Lyric." Delineator Nov. 1916: 20. (RG 4)

Four Sonnets. Boston: Small, Maynard, [Dec. 1916]. [1-15]; excepting title-leaf printed on one side of the leaf only. (N, BAL 2718, Watters) ["Four hundred and thirty-eight copies for private distribution, Christmas, nineteen sixteen..."; sonnets collected (I) in Sanctuary (1929) as "Conclusion" and in Bliss Carman's Poems (1931) as "Heaven in the Heart"; (II) in Sanctuary as "Spring Dancing"; (III) in Later Poems (1921) as "Autumn" and in Sanctuary as "Harvest"; and (IV) in Later Poems as "Winter" and in Sanctuary as "Sanctuary" (BAL 2718); possibly the outcome of Carman's suggestion to his "dearest Atom," i.e. Gladys Baldwin, that "I think I must have a few of the 'so-called sonnets' put in type for you" (Carman to Gladys Baldwin 23 Mar. 1916, LBC #392; cf. #394)]

The Yule Tree. Sunshine House, New Canaan, CT, Christmas 1916. Single 15x11cm. card printed in green on recto only. (N, BAL 2719) [sonnet; another issue noted by BAL without the imprint]

#### 1917

"The Winter Scene." Nation 18 Jan. 1917: 73-74. (RG 4). Rpt. in Literary Digest 10 Nov. 1917: 36. (Rogers). Anthologized in Anthology of Magazine Verse for 1917... Edited by William Stanley Braithwaite. Boston: Small, Maynard, [1917]. pp. 247-49. (BAL 2720) [poem]

"Moment Musicale." Bookman (NY) Feb. 1917: 624. (RG 4) [poem]

"Anticipation." Youth's Companion 9 May 1917: 226. (YC F535) [poem]

"After a Parting." Bellman (Minneapolis) 1 Sep. 1917: 238. (RG 4). Anthologized in The Bellman Book of Verse 1906-1919 Chosen and Edited by William C. Edgar. Minneapolis: The Bellman Company, 1919. pp. 174-75. (BAL 2727) [poem]

[Collection of autographed opinions on the war by English and American authors]. Ed. Mrs. Annie Nathan Meyer. ["An interesting contribution to the work of the War Library Fund has been made by Mrs. Annie Nathan Meyer in a collection of autographed opinions on the war by famous American and English authors. Mrs. Meyer is having a book made of the contributions, and will sell the volume by subscription..."; article prints contributions of eleven authors, including

William Dean Howells, Kate Douglas Wiggin, Brander Matthews, George Bernard Shaw, and Carman's one-line contribution: "Delenda est mania Germanica!" (New York Times 2 Dec. 1917, sec. 2: 8); the National Union Catalog lists nothing by Meyer (1867-1951), a New York author and playwright, that fits this description]

Nature Impersonations [The Sun and Moon] by Lucy Hale Garlin.  
Boston: C.W. Thompson & Co., [1917]. (BAL 2721) [sheet music; poem previously set to music as The Sun and the Moon, 1897]

James Whitcomb Riley An Essay by Bliss Carman and Some Letters [30 Aug. 1898-12 Oct. 1915] to Him from James Whitcomb Riley. New York: privately printed for George D. Smith, n.d. [1917]. [i-iv], 1-86 pp. (N, BAL 2724, Watters, Morse, date from Gundy 373n5). [limited to 250 copies, numbered and signed by Carman; a remainder, mistaken for a separate by N and Watters, was issued with a cancel title-page imprinted: With Holiday Greetings / Charles F. Heartman / Metuchen, N.J. / 1925-6 (BAL 2724, 2746); the essay herein probably consists of work written in the fall of 1914, at least some of which was previously published serially in the New York Metropolitan: on 12 Oct. 1914, Carman wrote Irving Way from Indianapolis, where he had gone to visit Riley, that "I am doing something about him for a magazine, and he has very generously given me leave to use any material he has.... So we ride together and talk..." (LBC #362); on 15 Jan. 1915, Carman wrote H.D.C. Lee that "After a summer in the Catskills, I went to Indianapolis to see my great friend James Whitcomb Riley, and remained there working on some articles about him until just before Christmas..." (LBC #365) and in April 1915 he wrote Riley himself that "When I finished my final essay or article on J.W.R. I sent it off to Howland so that he might have a clear idea of what I had done.... I had a good deal of difficulty in meeting the requirements of the Metropolitan. Had to re-write my material three or four times to get what they wanted. At last they seemed pleased.... It does not attempt to be an intimate study of you as a poet; merely skims the surface; but avoids those familiarities which are so unwelcome in current journalism. / My final cheque for the work came yesterday..." (LBC #368); also, "De Camp writes that the Metropolitan will use my Riley articles in the November number probably. / I shall have my other and quite different story of Riley's boyhood on hand. I suppose you don't want it for the Forum? It is quite long, six or eight thousand words or more, and could be put in two instalments if you wished. What do you say? It is my own way of talking about Riley, but the Metropolitan wanted a more conventional journalistic style of treatment. Then, too, their article covers only his mature years. Is it worth while letting you see it?" (Carman to Mitchell Kennerley 15 Aug. 1915, LBC

#380); "All the Riley letters, not more than a dozen or so, I have already sent to [Riley's nephew and literary executor Edmund Henry] Eitel to be copied for the biography" (Carman to Irving Way 1 Feb. 1917, LBC #407): "I have sold the Riley letters to a dealer in N.Y for a small fortune..." (Carman to Irving Way 31 Mar. 1917, LBC #409)]

Where Do You Stand? N.p., n.d. [1917?]. (N) [broadsheet: "Exclusive service of the Vigilantes" (N); [organized in New York in early 1917, the Vigilantes were a group of writers and artists dedicated to countering German propaganda and supporting the Allied Cause (LBC #415n); Carman joined the group at or shortly after its founding, and by Feb. 1918 was volunteering three days a week at their office at 505 Fifth Avenue, helping to edit the group's newsletter and contributing his own, usually satiric, efforts (LBC #425); "I have been doing some things [for the Vigilantes] in the manner of the Bigelow Papers, which were liked and which I enjoyed. It is a form, however, which is most effective in satire and does not lend itself very well to the Hurrah stuff. I send you a few slips of matter [unidentified] to show how it is turned out. If ever you see the name 'Ezra Weed' to a piece of verse, know that he haunts New Canaan and is an old-time upholder of New England ideals and sentiments, with no sort of damn use whatever for these here Modern Internationals, Socialists, and pro-Germans in whatsoever guise they may be prowling about--by George!" (Carman to Irving Way 30 July 1917, LBC #415); "For some time now, I have been very busy with scribblings of my own--things that come shoving themselves in, demanding to be done. Many of them semi-war moralizings, and a number of them satire in the New England vernacular--à la Bigelow Papers. How you would like them I don't know. That muck is not much for Classic elegance, but has a bountiful supply of emphatic convictions and something of the irascible fanaticism of the Bliss spirit when its lethargy becomes super-heated" (Carman to Muriel Carman Ganong 4 Feb. 1918, LBC #425)]

#### 1918

NB. "Dear Mr. Mencken: Why not re-arrange the lines of 'Peony,' to make four eight-line stanzas instead of eight as at present? I enclose the first two stanzas re-typed to indicate how it could be set. / But if this is still beyond your limits, shoot it back. I fear I have no brief lyrics for you just at present, but always keep you gladly in mind" (Carman to Smart Set editor H.L. Mencken 19 Apr. 1918, LBC #427). Unlocated; the letter suggests an exchange building towards a diplomatic rejection.

"Back Home." McClure's Jan. 1918: ? (LBC #417n). Collected as "Here and How" in Later Poems, 1921. Rpt. with first line for title as "Where Is Heaven?" in Christian Century 26 Apr.

- 1923: 529 (Rogers) and Literary Digest 9 June 1923: 35 (RG 6). [completed 17 Sep. 1917 (PBC); "I did a poem the other day, and it is to come out in McClure's. Rather nice it is" (Carman to Muriel Carman Ganong 27 Sep. 1917, LBC #417)]
- "Tecumseh and the Eagles." Saturday Evening Post 27 Apr. 1918: ? (BAL 2723). Anthologized in Patriotic Selections, 1918. Collected as "The War Cry of the Eagles" in The Man of the Marne, 1918. (BAL 2723) ["I shall have two or three considerable poems in Saturday Evening Post and McClure's before long, bearing on the war" (Carman to R.H. Hathaway 25 Apr. 1918, LBC #429)]
- "The Red Cross." Saturday Evening Post 18 May 1918: ? (LBC #429n) [war poem; see note to "Tecumseh," 27 Apr. 1918]
- "Heart of Night." Everybody's Magazine Aug. 1918: 96. (RG 4) [poem]
- "Weather-Vane." Delineator Aug. 1918: 10. (RG 4) [poem]
- "The Man of the Marne." McClure's Aug. 1918: ? (BAL 2723). Rpt. in Current Opinion Oct. 1918: 258. (RG 4). Anthologized in Patriotic Selections, 1918. [war poem; see note to "Tecumseh," 27 Apr. 1918; "My good friend Dr. Lyman Powell, who saw a good deal of Carman during his New Canaan days, once told me of Bliss's mental agitation when he discovered the false rhyme in his war poem, based on a mistake as to the pronunciation of the name of 'Foch.' In 'The Man Of The Marne' he made 'Foch' rhyme with 'hush' and 'crush' and 'rush,' and then, oh woe is me, discovered he had miscalled the old soldier. Bliss was depressed for days, claiming he'd made himself the laughing-stock of the world. He said he might as well jump in the Sound and end it all" (Arthur Stringer, "Wild Poets I've Known: Bliss Carman," Saturday Night 1 Mar. 1941: 36)]
- "Tecumseh and the Eagles" and "The Man of the Marne." Patriotic Selections for Reading and Speaking Edited by Edwin Dubois Shurter. New York: Lloyd Adams Noble, 31 West 15th St., [Oct.? 1918]. pp. 149-51 and 175-77. (BAL 2723) ["Tecumseh and the Eagles" published serially 27 Apr. 1918, "The Man of the Marne" Aug. 1918]
- "Heroes All." Carry On: A Magazine on the Reconstruction of Disabled Soldiers and Sailors (Washington, D.C.) 1.4 (Oct.-Nov. 1918): 21-22. (N, Morse) [poem]
- The Man of the Marne and Other Poems by B.C. and M.P.K. New Canaan, CT: Ponus Press, 1918. [i-viii], 1-26 pp. (N, BAL 2725, Watters) [war poems co-authored with Mary Perry King; wrapper noted in two states, one with front printed in black]

and the other with front printed in red; copy in Harvard Library inscribed by Carman "December 1918" (BAL 2725)]

"Father Vigilantius" and "Are You One of the Vigilantes?" The Vigilantes. 505 Fifth Avenue, New York, [not before 8 May 1918]. pp. 6-7 and 16. (N, BAL 2726) [see note to Where Do You Stand?, 1917]

## 1919

"Children of Dream." Current Opinion Apr. 1919: 259. (RG 5)  
[poem; probably a rpt.]

Songs of Sappho 5 Lyrics by Bliss Carman Set to Music by Alma Goatley...No. 5 Love Flutes. Boston & New York: The Arthur P. Schmidt Co., 1919. 5 pp. (NG 026035, BAL 2728) [sheet music; rpts. from Sappho One Hundred Lyrics (1904): "What the West Wind Whispers," "A Benediction," "The Courtyard," "Hesperus," and "Love Flutes" (BAL 2728)]

## 1920

A Valentine Impromptu A Rush Order...Limited Edition For St. Valentine's Party at the Ritz-Carlton February Fourteenth Nineteen Hundred and Twenty. New Canaan, CT: printed at the Ponus Press, [1920]. Single 20.5x12cm. card printed on recto only. (N, BAL 2729) [poem]

"Choristers." Saturday Evening Post 6 Nov. 1920: 84. (RG 5)  
[poem]

"An Open Letter." Canadian Forum Dec. 1920 [3rd issue]: 80-82. (V). Privately printed as "An Open Letter" from Bliss Carman. Boston: Small, Maynard, [deposited 17 Dec. 1920]. [i-viii], 1-17 pp. (N, BAL 2730, Watters) [poem: "A cold, a cough, and suddenly one day a gush of red..."; Canadian Forum printing signed the Adirondacks, 1919-20, with editorial note: "This poem, a welcome token of Mr. Bliss Carman's return to health, is printed here by courtesy of his friend, Mr. Peter McArthur"; in October 1919, just five months after ending treatment for a virus infection at Dr. John Harvey Kellogg's Battle Creek Sanatorium in Michigan, Carman suffered a lung haemorrhage and spent the winter in sanatoria at Saranac Lake and Lake Placid in the Adirondacks; a thank-you in verse to those of Carman's Canadian and American friends who had contributed to his medical expenses, "An Open Letter" was first published in "the New Canaan local paper" ca. mid-Oct. 1920, an offprint of which Carman sent to Peter McArthur (presumably the source for the Canadian Forum printing) with a letter noting that "I am going to make a good-looking pamphlet of it for my friends at Christmas. Small, Maynard & Co. are doing it

for me. Meanwhile I wanted to get it into public print, so I sent copies to one or two newspapermen in New York and to Alan Sullivan in Toronto, asking them to push it if they could. Have not heard of it appearing anywhere..." (20 Oct. 1920, LBC #456); Queen's University also reports an undated 16.5x53.5cm. broadsheet printing (BAL 2731)]

## 1921

- "Rutted roads are all like iron; skies..." Kindergarten and First Grade Feb. 1921: 56. (Rogers). Saturday Night 30 Jan. 1926: 25 (Women's Section). (V) [untitled poem in seven unrhymed pentameter lines; probably a rpt.]
- "For Charm of Diction: Bliss Carman Commends the American Speech Festival." Letter. New York Times 10 Feb. 1921: 6. (V) [letter to the editor expressing his regret at not being able to attend an upcoming festival in NY and his sympathies with those who wish to arrest "the growing depravity" of American jargon and enunciation (see also Times editorial of 12 Feb., p. 12); signed University of Toronto, 7 Feb. 1921; for some reason this letter and its concerns received two paragraphs and a subtitle in the Times' obituary for Carman (9 June 1929: 27)]
- "Vestigia." Harper's Sep. 1921: 428. (RG 5). Rpt. in Current Opinion Nov. 1921: 656. (RG 5). Anthologized in The Unbound Anthology, 1922. Privately printed as Vestigia. [New York: Mitchell Kennerley, 1922]. Single pale buff card folded to make four 14.5x11cm. pages, printed throughout in green, with note at foot of p. [4]: "From Mitchell Kennerley, Christmas, 1922." (N, BAL 2736). Rpt. as "I Took a Day to Search for God" in Christian Century 22 May 1940: 669. (RG 12) [poem; completed 20 July 1920 (PBC); for another private printing see note to Garden Fete, 1928]
- "The Ships of St. John." Canadian Magazine Dec. 1921: 112-13. (V) [lyric in fourteen ballad stanzas: "Where are the ships I used to know..."; a complete re-write of poem of same name published serially Dec. 1893; written July 1921 (PBC)]
- Later Poems...with an Appreciation by R.H. Hathaway. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, [Dec. 1921]. xxix, 203 pp. (N, BMCat, BAL 2731, Watters). Boston: Small, Maynard, [deposited 25 Aug. 1922]. xxix, 203 pp. (N, BAL 2735). [3rd printing?]. [Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, Oct. 1922?] (LBC #98). 4th printing. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1923. xxix, 203 pp. (N). Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1926. (N) [first Canadian book, issued on heels of successful Canadian reading tours; rpts. poems from Rough Rider, Echoes from Vagabondia, and April Airs "together with a number of more recent poems which have not before been issued in book form" (publisher's note to first edition);



according to Johnson's American First Editions (1942), about fifty copies of the first edition were issued with the error "murmer" for "murmur" in the verses imprinted on the front end-paper, but BAL was unable to locate any such copy; the Boston edition is printed from the same setting as the 1921 Toronto edition with an added note on p. [v]: "a number of poems...reprinted by permission of Mr. Mitchell Kennerley" (BAL 2735); "I am putting together stuff for a Canadian volume of poems to come out this fall, hardly anything new as I have done very little for the past two or three years" (Carman to Gladys Baldwin 5 June 1921, LBC #468); "I am still entirely averse to using any material but Echoes [from Vagabondia], [Aprill] Airs, and the new stuff. But if you and Mr. [Donald Graham] French [M&S editor] want to mix these three lots into one, I'm willing. In that case the title should read...simply 'Later Poems,' should it not? And it should contain a very brief note signed B.C. to go on the blank page opposite title or before Contents, merely stating exactly what the volume is made up from. This gives the public a voucher as to just what they are getting.... My prefatory note should acknowledge my indebtedness to you for making the arrangement of the poems for the first Canadian volume, of course.... / I have said nothing to McC[lelland] & S[tewart] as to make up of the volume, as I have all along thought they were going to print from plates supplied by Small, Maynard. But I don't want a big volume on any account.... Poetry should go in the pocket and be held in one hand" (Carman to R.H. Hathaway 22 Sep. 1921, LBC #472); "The new Canadian volume of verses is out, and I am sending a copy along for you to look over" (Carman to Gladys Baldwin 30 Dec. 1921, LBC #477); "Your Later Poems was a rare Christmas treat. I have nursed it continually and take much solace from the volume. The poems, as you have arranged them, make a massed effect that they did not have before, and I am quite pleased with myself at times.... / ...There are one or two misprints, but I have not yet gone over it thoroughly" (Carman to R.H. Hathaway 14 Feb. 1922, LBC #478); "I have not received the specially bound copies [?] of Later Poems yet. / Your foresight in having press copies sent to those leading papers in the U.S. was a stroke of sagacity. See what we got in the way of reviews! Five! They have created quite a fresh demand for the poems, and I heard last evening (not from the publishers) that S.M. & Co. are to bring out an edition for this country. / I am glad to know to whom we are indebted for the care and taste in the make-up of the volume. None of that escaped me. I 'got' all the decorations--the birds, the trillium, the rose, the pine. The combination--trillium, pine and rose--was a very happy one" (Carman to R.H. Hathaway 15 Apr. 1922, LBC #482); "Later Poems, published by McClelland & Stewart, was out of print last April and has remained in that state of obnoxious destruction ever since with constant promises of immediate reprint.... / [P.S.]...The new [M&S?] edition of Later Poems

is out at last. Have only run into one misprint so far, 'stern' for 'slim' in speaking of the moon [in 3rd stanza of "The Queen of Night"]. But one cannot expect everything. Only I would like to have seen a proof" (Carman to Peter McArthur 21 Oct. 1922, LBC #498); "Later Poems has done encouragingly well, but of course there is nothing worth talking of in book sales to compare with reading" (Carman to Peter McArthur 7 July 1923, LBC #522)]

## 1922

NB. BMCat lists clippings dated 1922 of an article on Sir George R. Parkin "taken from newspapers."

NB. "I have already done a number of lyrics for the Vancouver Province which I hope you will like, and which [Province owner and B.C. lieutenant-] Governor [Walter Cameron] Nichol thinks ok" (Carman to Peter McArthur 23 June 1922, LBC #488). Unlocated, possibly the product of Carman's sudden romance with Kate Eastman, whom he met at a reading in London, Ontario. After Eastman visited Carman in New York in the spring of 1922, he wrote her on 15 June that "As I told you, you have brought back a Future to my imagination. I am writing some new verses. If you are good you shall see them. What do you guess they are about?" (LBC #487).

NB. "Here is a final or near-final draft of 'The Place of Vision.' Please show it to [Vancouver physician and theosophist] Ernest [Fewster] and send his opinions in detail along with your own, will you? I'm afraid it is not very good, being rather thin and dry and abstruse--unpoetical, in fact--and I'm sorry. Of course when it appears in company with 'The Truce' it won't be so bad" (Carman to Kate Eastman 9 Dec. 1922, LBC #502). Both unlocated, "The Place of Vision" possibly unpublished: "'The Place of Vision'--you [Kate Eastman and Ernest Fewster] are both quite right about. I don't know if I can ever make anything of it. Not now, anyhow. It lacks feeling, as you say. Not because I didn't feel it, but (I fancy) because it was started wrong and grew wrong, and has been wrong all through" (Carman to Kate Eastman 31 Dec. 1922, LBC #506; cf. #507).

"All in All." Ladies' Home Journal Jan. 1922: 121. (RG 6) [poem; set to music by Charles Morse and published by Schmidt of Boston in 1924 (Miller 296; not in BAL)]

"The Tent of Noon." Canadian Magazine Mar. 1922: 459. (V) [four-stanza religious lyric: "Behold, now, where the pageant of high noon..."; rpt. with "Spring's Saraband" from Later Poems (1921) in rev. of same; completed 7 Mar. 1913 (PBC)]

Songs from Vagabondia. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, [June? 1922]. 128 pp. (BMCat, BAL 2734) [McClelland used the

titles of this and the other two volumes in the Vagabondia series (below) but with widely different contents from the American originals (BMCat); according to BAL, all three of these McClelland editions were irregularly paged, received at the British Museum in June of 1922, and were "Presumably prepared for copyright purposes only"]

More Songs from Vagabondia. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, [June? 1922]. 112 pp. (BMCat, BAL 2733) [see above]

Last Songs from Vagabondia. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, [June? 1922]. 144 pp. (BMCat, BAL 2732) [see above]

[poem on David Thompson]. Vancouver Province [ca. Aug.-Oct.?] 1922: ? (LBC #498). [according to Sorfleet, written Aug. 1922, at Invermere [sic], BC (PBC); "The Memorial Building to David Thompson, the explorer, is to be opened at Windermere on August 30, and I am planning to be there for that occasion. I have been invited to be a guest of the C.P.R...." (Carman to Kate Eastman 26 June 1922, LBC #490); "The [David] Thompson material was most excellent. Just what I wanted, and started me off on my wild career of versifying" (Carman to Kate Eastman 11 Aug. 1922, LBC #494); "It [the opening of the David Thompson Memorial Building at Lake Windermere] was a great occasion.... The pageant representing the landing of David Thompson and his reception by the Indians was very well carried out.... After that there was a meeting in the fort, as they call the memorial log house, at which speeches were made and where I read the lines on Thompson published in the Province" (Carman to Peter McArthur 21 Oct. 1922, LBC #498); according to CPI 1920-37, published as "David Thompson of H.B.C" in Beaver Jan. 1922: 150, but this would seem to be erroneous, possibly a typo for Jan. 1923]

"Dust of the Street" and "In St. Germain Street." Current Opinion Sep. 1922: 387-88 and 388. (RG 6) [poems; probably rpts.]

The Unbound Anthology. [New York: Published by the Poets' Guild, n.d., ca. 1922]. (BAL 2736-39) [includes broadsheet reprints, printed on recto only, of "The Trail of the Bugles" (privately printed July 1891), "Lord of My Heart's Elation" (published serially 22 Sep. 1894), "A Vagabond Song" (serially Nov. 1895), and "Vestigia" (serially Sep. 1921)]

### 1923

"To a Very Young Gentleman." Woman's Home Companion Jan. 1923: 11. (RG 6) [poem]

Songs by Martin Shaw...At Columbine's Grave. London: J.B. Cramer & Co.; [New York]: Chappell Harms Inc., [deposited 16 Feb. 1923]. (BAL 2740) [sheet music; rpt. from Poems, 1905 (BAL)]

"Spring Magic." Saturday Night 12 May 1923: 3. (V) [lyric in eleven ballad stanzas: "This morning soft and brooding..."; at end: "From From the Green Book of the Bards" (1903)]

"A Taste for the Modern" and "A Craftsman's Ambition." Poems from "Life" with Introductory Words by Oliver Herford and Orchestration by Charles B. Falls. New York: Macmillan, [May?] 1923. pp. 5-6 and 60-61. (BAL 2741) [rpts.?)

"Appeal of Poetry Is to Its Ear in Opinion of Bliss Carman." Interview. Toronto Star 5 Nov. 1923: 18. (Whalen 82) [Carman was in Toronto to begin his second Canadian reading tour]

Ballads and Lyrics. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1923. x, 293 pp. (N, BMCat, BAL 2742, Watters). Boston: Small, Maynard, [printed from Toronto setting], [deposited 24 June] 1924. x, [298?] pp. (N, BAL 2744) [a different selection from the 1902 collection of the same name; "The present collection of Ballads and lyrics is made up of poems taken from Low Tide on Grand Pré, Ballads of Lost Haven, By the Aurelian Wall, Behind the Arras, A Winter Holiday, and the Songs from Vagabondia series" (author's note); "I am getting out this fall a companion volume to Later Poems made up from earlier volumes, no new matter. 'Arcadian Echoes' was suggested as a title but McClelland thought Ballads and Lyrics would be better for his market. I doubt if he is right. The book was intended primarily for Canada, but Small, Maynard Co. think they can use an American edition as well" (Carman to Peter McArthur 7 July 1923, LBC #522); "Mr. Hathaway is getting together the copy for the forthcoming edition of my earlier poems, which will come out in Toronto and Boston this fall--early I hope" (Carman to Kate Eastman 7 July 1923, LBC #523)]

In Exelsis. [New York: Mitchell Kennerley, ca. 1923] 15.5x10cm. broadsheet printed on recto only. (N, BAL 2743) [poem; "According to a letter from Mitchell Kennerley [in Harvard Library] printed for Bliss Carman about 1923" (BAL 2743)]

#### 1925

"Manzanitas." Literary Digest 7 Mar. 1925: 34. (RG 7) [poem; probably a rpt.; "Many thanks for the copies of 'Manzanita!' and 'Place of Vision.' I have changed 'Manzanita' in accordance with suggestions. Please thank Ernest [Fewster]" (Carman to Kate Eastman 31 Dec. 1922, LBC #506)]

"Immortelle." Atlantic Monthly Nov. 1925: 623-24. (RG 7). Rpt. in Literary Digest 14 Nov. 1925: 36. (RG 7) [poem]

Far Horizons. Boston: Small, Maynard, [deposited 20 Nov. 1925]. [i]-[xii], 1-85 pp. (N, BAL 2745, Watters). Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1925. x, 85 pp. (N). Second printing. Boston: Small, Maynard, 1926. x, 85 pp. (BMCat) [poems; "My more than half a year [Sep. 1922-Feb. 1923] on the Coast, B.C., and Southern California desert was great. I got lots out of it--some of it already turned into verse and more to follow. I have not had any verses in the Province recently, as the Governor [Nichol] thought it would spoil the sale of the book. So I am filing the stuff away for appearance in a wholly new book next year" (Carman to Peter McArthur 7 July 1923, LBC #522); "We have been here [at Twilight Park] all summer, as for the past quarter of a century. Mornings given to work (so called). A few new poems for next year's book" (Carman to Dr. G.M. Johnson 16 Sep. 1923, LBC #527); "I'm sorry to say that a new book of poems is something still in the uncertain future. But I am getting along slowly with it. Have added a few poems to the lot this summer, and am now working on a few more. The prospect of an English edition looks a little more possible, and I am going to do what I can in an attempt to have such a desirable issue" (Carman to Ernest Fewster 8 Oct. 1924, LBC #546; despite a trip to England in May 1924 [see LBC #542], Carman was unable to secure an English publisher for Far Horizons); "Have read proofs of new book of verses--nothing startling, but one good poem I think, the 'Shamballah' which is due to you and Ernest. So you can claim it!" (Carman to A.M. Stephen 13 Sep. 1925, LBC #555); "Am asking publishers to send you a Far Horizons. It isn't very good, but you'll want to see it" (Carman to Charles G.D. Roberts 20 Dec. 1925, LBC #560)]

\*Carman's correspondence on "Shamballah," a theosophical poem that had occupied him on and off since late 1922, is quite extensive: "This is as far as I have got with the 'Shamballah,' and I am going to forget it now for a while. I'm tired of it. There's too much the matter with it. When I began it I didn't expect it to be so long, and allowed it to be excessively alliterative and sing-song. These qualities are all very well in moderation, but are tedious in such a lengthy screed" (Carman to Ernest Fewster 21 Dec. 1922, LBC #504); "'Shamballah' is quite a long rigamarole, and threatens to lose itself in verbiage. / I have spent some time in the very pleasant reading room of the United Theosophists near here [Los Angeles] in connection with these shambling Shamballistics" (Carman to Grace Fewster before Christmas 1922, LBC 505); "You are quite right about 'Shamballah'--it is rather too shambling. Like a woman that is too sweet--so gushy that she is mushy!... Well, what to do with a too facile poem? It would be easy to give it more dignity by rewriting it entirely, in blank verse, say. But it would almost

certainly lose its present good points. And, on the chance, that it is not worth while I guess, I shall first try some other means. Taking out some of the too evident alliterations and introducing more lines that do not conform absolutely to type. Variety of treatment of the present measure, rather than a new measure. / It is just as I feared and felt, the mantric effect is overdone, considering the length of the poem. And, as you perceive and say, it comes perilously near to tinkling in spots. We shall proceed to knock the tinkle out of it. As far as I have thought at present, this seems the best way. You know I have no reverence for the handicraft of my own shop; at the same time, I hesitate to cast this version aside unless I get a very definite kick in the slats from the ostrich of inspiration! I will tinker up the thing on these lines and send it to you again. Very glad you like the thing as a whole. No credit to me, of course, as it all comes from you and A.M. [Stephen] and our talk. Even in the Theosophy library here I could find nothing about the city" (Carman to Ernest Fewster 11 Jan. 1923, LBC #509); "I am sending a copy of 'Shamballah' for [theosophist lecturer] Mr. [Rev. Charles] Lazenby's use--and may Allah prosper his voice" (Carman to Ernest Fewster 8 Oct. 1924, LBC #546).

1926

Talks on Poetry and Life Being a Series of Five Lectures

Delivered Before the University of Toronto, December, MCMXXV, by Bliss Carman...Transcribed and Edited by Blanche Hume with a Prefatory Note by Mr. Carman. Toronto: Ryerson, [Aug.] MCMXXVI. [i-ii], [1]-58; colophon p. [59]. (N, BAL 2747, Watters) [transcriptions of lecture series at Canadian universities arranged for Carman by Lorne Pierce, Pelham Edgar, and Hugh Eayrs of Macmillan Canada (Miller 258) and edited by Blanche Hume, an honours English student of Dr. Edgar's at Victoria College, U of T (LBC #554n); "two hundred copies...printed" (p. [6]) "Printed And Bound...August...1926" (p. [59]); Queen's University reports possession of a large paper edition containing a certificate of issue: "Of this edition...six copies have been printed" (BAL 2747); "My plan for university lectures matures slowly of course in these holiday weeks" (Carman to Pelham Edgar 11 July 1925, LBC #554); "I had a wonderful first lecture on Wednesday evening. One of the largest lecture theatres in the University [of Toronto] filled to capacity, six or seven hundred, and standing room only. I was scared a little at first, but managed to hold them together very successfully through the hour and a half, and the authorities were very much pleased at the packed audience. The second lecture was in a smaller room, of course, holding about three hundred, but that also was crowded, the President of the University and a number of the faculty being present" (Carman to Frederika Milne 6 Dec. 1925, LBC #558)]

Letter. "Notes on Rare Books." New York Times 22 Aug. 1926, sec. 3: 19. (V). Rpt. as On Bibliomania, 1931. [unsigned article defending collectors of first editions that reprints a [21 Feb. 1895] letter from Carman to F[red] M[ead] Hopkins, a Toledo lawyer and publisher, on the "malady" of book-collecting; Carman says he prefers his own battered edition of Emerson's Essays to any first edition, but admits to caring for the first editions of his friends, such as Gilbert Parker's Pierre and His People, Louise Guiney's A Roadside Harp, Richard Harding Davis's Van Bibber and Others, Graham R. Thompson's (Mrs. Rosamund Ball Marriott Watson) The Bird Bride, Gertrude Hall's books of verse, John Davidson's Ballads, and Q's (Arthur Quiller-Couch) Naughts and Crosses; letter collected by Gundy as LBC #128]

The Dreamer. New Canaan, CT: Christmas, 1926. Single leaf folded to make four 15x12cm. pages; printed in blue on p. [1] only, otherwise blank. (N, BAL 2748) [poem]

## 1927

NB. "Did you see Carman's too brief poem on the occasion [of the Diamond Jubilee]?" (Roberts to Craven Langstroth Betts 3 Sep. 1927, Boone 358). Unidentified.

"Within My Heart." Homiletic Review Jan. 1927: 63. (Rogers)

"Sleeping Beauty." Delineator July 1927: 18. (RG 7). Rpt. as Sleeping Beauty. Illus. Arthur Rackham. New York: Butterick, 1927. 18 pp. (N) [poem]

The Oxford Book of American Verse Chosen & Edited by Bliss Carman. New York, London, Toronto, Melbourne, & Bombay: Oxford University Press, [deposited 1 Dec.] 1927. xxix, 680 pp. (N, BMCat, BAL 2750) [includes a preface by Carman, pp. iii-v; "I have just heard today that the Oxford Press has revived its interest in the Oxford Book of American Verse, which I began for them 10 years ago, and which they abandoned. Now they want me to go over it again. That will keep you busy probably..." (Carman to Kate Eastman 11 Aug. 1922, LBC #494); "Very busy putting last touches on the Oxford Book of American Verse, an anthology" (Carman to Grace Fewster 24 Apr. 1923, LBC #518); "...I am just completing the compilation of the Oxford Book of American Verse for the Oxford Press, and am now asking leave to reprint from the various authors and publishers" (Carman to Edwin Arlington Robinson 16 June 1923, LBC #521); "My new anthology is just out, which is a satisfaction after so long a wait..." (Carman to Madeleine Galbraith 25 Dec. 1927, LBC #602); despite its fifteen-year gestation, the anthology was "so widely criticized for omissions and inclusions as well as for bad copy-editing that he immediately began a revised version with the consent of the Oxford University Press"

(Gundy, LBC #602n); "Up to my eyes in a feverish activity of destruction. Have been destroying poets and despoiling them of their immortality! Revising the Book of American Verse, and have cut out a hundred pages of dead wood, including 10 pages of Poe. Fearful rubbish. Was there ever a more over-rated poet? Poor chap.... And I am putting in newer stuff. Making it an essentially different work, much better. My own initiative, and the Press agreed. Want to have it done by end of month" (Carman to Margaret Lawrence 16 Mar. 1928, LBC #607); "...I have put in these many weeks revising the Oxford Book of American Verse, and have just finished my share of the job" (Carman to Arthur Davison Ficke and Gladys Ficke 4 Apr. 1928, LBC #610)]

Two Sunshine House Sonnets by M.P.K. and B.C.. New Canaan, CT, Christmas 1927. Single leaf folded to make four 15.5x12.5cm. pages; printed throughout in blue on toned heavy sunburst paper. (BAL 2751) [contains "A Fantasy" by Mary Perry King and "Five Mile River" by Carman; "Two hundred and fifty copies printed by John E. Hersam" (p. [4]) (BAL 2751)]

"Youth in the Air." The Spirit of St. Louis. Ed. Charles Vale [pseud. for Arthur Hooley]. New York: Doran, [©1927]. pp. 37-44. (N). Rpt. as Youth in the Air, 1932. [poem]

#### 1928

"Nature's Secrets." Delineator Mar. 1928: 7. (RG 7) [poem]

Garden Fete A Local Charities' Benefit Given by Mrs. Charles Hathaway at Twilight Park, N.Y. July 28th, 1928 Ballads to Sell! White Iris [and] Marigolds. Twilight Park, NY: 1928 [©1927, Dodd, Mead]. 40.5x12.5cm. broadsheet printed on recto only. (N, BAL 2752) [Queen's University Library reports possession of the following broadsheets, issued in the same format as above: "Roadside Flowers" (published serially May 1914), printed on pink paper; "Vestigia" (serially Sep. 1921) on pink paper; "The Ships of Yule" (serially Dec. 1909) on yellow paper; and "My Teachers" on green paper (listed BAL 2752)]

"Bethlehem." Pictorial Review Dec. 1928: 11. (RG 7). [poem; rpt. privately by Lorne Pierce, Toronto, 1928, as a single sheet folded to make six 23x11.5cm. pages, text printed in red and green, red ribbon bow tied to front, issued in a limited edition "for private circulation" as a Christmas token (BAL 2753)]



## 1929

Wild Garden. New York: Dodd, Mead, [deposited 9 Mar.] 1929. [i-ii], [i]-[x], 1-76 pp. (N, BAL 2755, Watters). London (printed in U.S.): John Lane, 1929. viii, 76 pp. (BMCat). Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1929. viii, 76 pp. (N). New York: Dodd, Mead, 1930. viii, 76 pp. (N) [poems; after Small, Maynard failed in late 1926 or early 1927, Dodd, Mead purchased the firm's list and became Carman's last American publisher (LBC #574, 616n; Tebbel 233); "Here is your poem ["Devotee to M.G.]", as it is to go into the new book. And here is lots and lots of love, darling, now and always" (Carman's last letter to Madeleine Galbraith 8 Dec. 1928, LBC #622); "I am going to send you my Wild Garden. Very slight, but I want you to have it" (Carman to Arthur Davison Ficke end of May 1929, LBC #629)]

## Posthumous

In the Offing A Tribute to Bliss Carman. [Halifax: Printed for Private Circulation by the Abanaki Press, Halifax, Nova Scotia, June 1929]. (BAL 2756) ["In the Offing" p. 6]

"Forever and Forever." The Legion Book Edited by Captain H. Cotton Minchin. London: Cassell and Co., Sep. 1929. pp. 187-88. (BAL 2757). [Issued in U.S. as?] Legion The Book of the British Legion by Britain's Foremost Writers in Prose and Verse. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran, & Co., [Nov.?] MCMXXIX. "Forever and Forever" on pp. 225-27. (BAL 2758). Collected in Music of Earth, 1931, and as "Sweetheart of the Sea" in Bliss Carman's Poems, 1931.

"Passing Strange." Delineator Oct. 1929: 9. (RG 8). Rpt. in Literary Digest 23 Nov. 1929: 28. (RG 8) [poem]

Sanctuary Sunshine House Sonnets. Illus. Whitman Bailey. New York: Dodd, Mead, [deposited 27 Nov.] 1929. [i]-[xii], 1-55 pp. (N, BAL 2759, Watters). Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, [printed from the metal of the New York edition], 1929. viii, 55 pp. (N, BAL 2759, BMCat 1971-75 supp.) [first edition also issued in twenty numbered copies bound in yellow (A Catalogue of Canadian Manuscripts Collected by Lorne Pierce and Presented to Queen's University [Toronto, 1946] p. 20)]

"Pine." Delineator Feb. 1931: 46. (RG 8). Rpt. in Library Journal 15 Feb. 1936: 138. (RG 10) [poem]

The Music of Earth by Bliss Carman with Foreword and Notes by Lorne Pierce. [Toronto]: privately printed [by Lorne Pierce], [1 Sep.] M.CM.XXXI. [i-ii], [One]-Forty-five. "...Two Hundred and Fifty copies Only...First Day Of

September One Thousand Nine Hundred And Thirty One" (p. [2])). (N, BAL 2760, BMCat). [New York]: privately printed [reproduced by photo-offset from the Toronto edition by Sackett & Wilhelms Corp., NY, deposited 10 Dec.] M.CM.XXXI. [i-iv], [One]-Forty-five. (N, BAL 2762). Toronto: Ryerson, 1931. 45 pp. (Watters) ["A selection of the choicest poems by Bliss Carman in the five 'Pipes of Pan' volumes and 'Sappho: one hundred lyrics.' To these are added several verses, his earliest and last, which now appear for the first time in a collection of his poetry" (foreword); the Ryerson edition listed by Watters may be the same as the Toronto private printing]

Bliss Carman's Poems. Arranged by R.H. Hathaway. New York: Dodd, Mead, [deposited 15 Oct.] 1931. xvi, 546 pp. (N, BAL 2761). Toronto: [printed from the American setting by its original manufacturer, the Vail-Ballou Press, Inc., Binghamton, NY, for] McClelland & Stewart, 1931. xvi, 546 pp. (N, BMCat, BAL 2761, Watters)

On Bibliomania A Letter Written by Bliss Carman Thirty-Six Years Ago, and Now Printed for a Few Friends by the Union Square Book Shop. [New York], Union Square Book Shop, Christmas 1931. Single leaf of stiff paper folded to make four 26x19cm. pages. (N, BAL 2763) [reprints a letter dated Washington, D.C., 21 Feb. 1895, to F.M. Hopkins on the "malady" of book-collecting, previously printed in the New York Times of 22 Aug. 1926 (see same for description)]

Youth in the Air. Palo Alto, [CA]: Yerba Buena Press, MCMXXXIII. [i-viii], 1-4; colophon p. [5]. "Twelve copies only have been printed...March, 1932" (colophon). (N, BAL 2764, Watters) [poem; previously printed in The Spirit of St. Louis, 1927; the Yerba Buena Press appears to have been operated by Nathan Van Patten (1887-1956), an American librarian and bibliographer who was at this time Director of the University Libraries of Stanford University (see his letter to BAL re a variant binding of Youth in the Air)]

Christmas Carol. Music by Percy Lee Atherton. [N.p., deposited 23 Dec. 1932]. Single leaf of heavy, rough toothed paper folded to make four 18x15cm. pages, printed throughout in red and green. (BAL 2765) [a reprint of "Christmas Song," previously published in April Airs, 1916]

"Crossing the Bar." Saturday Review of Literature 26 Aug. 1933: 67. (RG 9) [poem]

No. 444 Modern Series Mister Moon. Music by Elinor Remick Warren. New York: The H.W. Gray Co., Sole Agents for Novello & Co., Limited, London, [deposited 3 Nov.] 1933. (BAL 2766) [sheet music; rpt. of "Mr. Moon," published serially 5 Jan. 1893]

...To a Chickadee (Sierra Madre Mountains, California). [Palo Alto, CA], Yerba Buena Press, MCMXXXIII. [i-ii], [1]-7; certificate of issue, p. [9]. "Twelve [numbered] copies printed for private distribution" (p. [9]). (N, BAL 2767, Watters) [poem; published serially Sep. 1906; see note to Youth in the Air, 1932]

"Lyric: I Grow Weary of the Foreign Cities." By Sappho. Trans. Carman. Scholastic 30 Mar. 1935: 10. (RG 9)

Our Canadian Literature: Representative Verse, English and French, Chosen by Bliss Carman and Lorne Pierce. Revised ed. "Prepared by the press by Lorne Pierce, who also added the French poems" (foreword). Toronto: Ryerson, June 1935. xxii, 361 pp. (N, Watters). English portion rev. and enlarged as Canadian Poetry in English. Chosen by Carman, Lorne Pierce, and V.B. Rhodenizer. Canadian Literature Ser. Toronto: Ryerson, 1954. xxxvi, 456 pp. (N, Watters) [At the same time that he was revising his own Oxford Book of American Verse (see above, 1927), Carman "persuaded the Canadian branch of the Oxford University Press to let him revise W.W. Campbell's Oxford Book of Canadian Verse (1913), then out of print and out of date" (Gundy, LBC #605n). Under pressure from his literary advisor Dr. S.H. Hooke, Samuel Bradley Gundy, Oxford's Canadian manager, asked Lorne Pierce to revise Carman's selection. The book was accepted for publication with Pierce's revisions, but withdrawn because of copyright problems. The Ryerson Press then bought the publication rights from Oxford, "cleared the copyrights, and finally published the volume after Carman's death" as a "revised" (3rd) edition of their own Our Canadian Literature anthology (Gundy, LBC #614; N); "So many thanks for the letter about the books of Canadian poetry...as you say, one may be inundated. Just now I am rather terrified. I realize again, as I did in the American Verse how immense is the mass of near poetry and not poetry. Also how horribly trite the old manner is, the facile outworn modes and metres. In reading over Duncan Campbell Scott, I was disappointed to find how very much of all his work suffers for want of air. Too literary and old-fashioned. And he needn't be. When he drops the conventional old style, and betakes himself to new free rhythms, he is great. For his native taste is exquisite and needs no regular forms to control it. And he has an unquestioned genius for musical and happy turns.... I have to turn in the job by June, so it will not be a lingering finish. I have looted the volumes of Roberts, Scott, Pickthall and a few more with a ruthless zeal" (Carman to Margaret Lawrence 18 Feb. 1928, LBC #605); "So many thanks for all your wise suggestions and offers of help in the new anthol[ogy]. I shall need it. But I make my own choice from myself as well as from others. Whoever doesn't like it can damn me and be damned! I have had enough of other people's choices.... / Consider--I am fed up on 'poetry old style,'

both as taster and dabster. Hence I turn modern, but not unintelligible! Also consider that I am as near despair at the mass of desperate rubbish in print under the guise of poetry. / How much of Garvin's book [Canadian Poets and Poetry, 1916, rev. 1926] or Campbell's Canadian anthology would you really care to keep? Yes, how much could you stand to read again? How many (how few) of these contributors ever rise above doggerel? [more comment on Carman's disappointment with Scott omitted] (Carman to Margaret Lawrence 25 Feb. 1928, LBC #606); "Last week I was in Toronto for a few days gathering material for the new book of 'Canadian Verse'" (Carman to Grace Fewster 8 May 1928, LBC #611); "...thanks for the invaluable second letter of suggestions for the Maritimes--which I shall follow. Bless you! / I am easily in sight of the end of my anthology, praise be..." (Carman to Charles G.D. Roberts 24 June 1928, LBC #612); "The copy for 'Canadian Verse' went to you from New Canaan yesterday. /...[T]he selections you now have are final, I think" [comments on authors' dates and bios, pagination, and copyright clearance omitted] (Carman to S.B. Gundy 3 July 1928, LBC #614); "I am delighted to have the [Martha] Ostenso lady and am using five of her pieces. / I am cutting [Robert] Norwood down, not to make him offensively prominent. I would like to omit [Hiram Alfred] Cody and [Alfred] Gordon, but haven't the hardihood.--Have I?... If [Archibald] MacMechan has anything good, I want to see it. / I am most grateful for your painstaking and assistance, and want to make the book the best possible. But I am irked by mediocrity, and eager to finish the thing up. / The reason I am so averse to including those musty old birds is that they are so out of date, and so discouraging to eager readers of today. Leave them lay! Up on the top shelf" (Carman to R.H. Hathaway 12 Sep. 1928, LBC #618); speaking of the 1935 edition, Roberts wrote to Walter McRaye 17 Sep. 1935 that it was "fine!! Lorne Pierce's revisions have eliminated Mrs K[ing]'s unfortunate influence!" (Boone 497) and to Pierce himself the same day that "I love to see your name & Carman's coupled in the authorship. But, between you & me, I know how its super-excellence is due to you! Poor darling old Bliss, in his last years the shadow of Mrs King was over nearly all he did! In this case you have lifted the shadow" (Boone 498)]

The Golden Music of Mitylene (Eleven Songs)...Music by Albert Mallinson. København & Leipzig: Wilhelm Hansen, Musik-Forlag, [deposited 13 Aug.] 1935. (BAL 2768) [music; rpt. from Sappho One Hundred Lyrics, 1904; possibly a collection of sheet music by Mallinson separately issued in 1907, of which only seven have been located (see The Songs of Sappho, above)]

Songs from Vagabondia, and More Songs from Vagabondia. By Carman and Richard Hovey. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1935. viii, 159 pp. (N) [originally published in 1894 and 1896, resp.]

"Heaven." Recreation Mar. 1938: 724. (RG 11) [poem; reprint?]

A Little Child's Prayer. [Stanford University], privately printed, [Nov.] 1939. [1-9]. (N, BAL 2770) ["Four copies privately printed for Albert Bender, esq., Dr. Lorne Pierce, Sir Charles G.D. Roberts kt., Dr. Nathan van Patten, November, 1939" (N)]

"Footnote to a Famous Lyric." "Some Reminiscences of Bliss Carman in New York (1896-1906)." By Charles G.D. Roberts. Canadian Poetry Magazine 5.2 (Dec. 1940): 8. [poem: "Abou ben Adhem loved his fellow men..."; Roberts quotes this otherwise unlocated and possibly unpublished comic poem in whole or part (four lines), and identifies the "Famous Lyric" as Leigh Hunt's "well-known poem beginning, 'Abou ben Adhem, may his tribe increase...'"]

"Fugitive Verses." Bliss Carman: Bibliography, Letters, Fugitive Verse and Other Data. By William Inglis Morse. Windhaven, CT: Hawthorn House, 1941. 71-75. (N) [reprints five fugitive poems from Morse's own collection: "To My Own People by Grand Pré (Christmas, 1892)" ("Dears, my love is common pleading..."), "In Remembrance: S.P., G.B.R." ("Once by the shadowy marshes..."), "Kelly's Kalendar" ("A was Acadia Villa one summer..."), "To E-.C-.B-." ("My dear, my dear!..."), and "Canoe Song" ("Softly, softly, falls the night..."); "Canoe Song" published serially Oct. 1889, rest of unknown provenance]

The Selected Poems of Bliss Carman. Ed. and introd. by Lorne Pierce. New York: Dodd, Mead, 1954. 119 pp. (N). Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1954. 119 pp. (N, Watters) [apparently in the works since at least early 1941, when Pierce, Carman's literary executor until his death in 1961, sent Roberts a list of the poems proposed for inclusion (see Roberts' letters to Pierce of 20 Feb. 1941, quoted in part in the note to "The Red Wolf" [1893], and 27 Feb. 1941 [Boone 604-05]); Roberts himself claimed in a letter written two years before his own death to be "busy preparing a Selected Edition of Carman's poems" (Roberts to Marguerita McLean Farquharson 20 Nov. 1941, Boone 614)]

The Poems of Bliss Carman. Selected and introd. by John Robert Sorfleet. New Canadian Library No. 9. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1976. 169 pp. (CaNSHD) [collects 79 poems, mostly shorter lyrics, "in chronological sequence based on time of composition or, where that information is unavailable, time of first printing" (5); includes chronology and notes]

Windflower: Poems of Bliss Carman. Ed., foreword, and preface by Raymond Souster and Douglas Lochhead. Ottawa: Tecumseh Press, 1985. (CaNSHD)

#### Posthumously Published Letters

Bliss Carman Bibliography Letters Fugitive Verse and Other Data. By William Inglis Morse. Windham, CT: Hawthorn House, [deposited 14 July] 1941. (N, BAL p. 76) [reprints in whole or part twenty-two of Carman's letters and describes others in Morse's collection]

The Canadian Collection at Harvard University. Bulletin V. By William Inglis Morse. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Printing Office, 1948. (Gundy, Letters 373n3) [reproduces another sixteen letters from Morse's collection along with an inventory of seventy-six Carman letters in the Harvard collection]

"The Bliss Carman Centenary." Ed. H. Pearson Gundy. Douglas Library Notes 10 (Summer 1961): 1-16. (Gundy, Letters xvii) [reproduces twenty letters in whole or part]

"Flourishes and Cadences: Letters of Bliss Carman and Louise Imogen Guiney." Ed. H. Pearson Gundy. Dalhousie Review 51.2 (1975): 205-26.

Letters of Bliss Carman. Ed. H. Pearson Gundy. Kingston & Montreal: McGill-Queen's UP, 1981. [i]-[xx], 1-388. (CaNSHD) [collects 630 letters from the almost 2000 extant; annotated and indexed]

"Letters to Carman, 1890-92, from Campbell, Lampman, and Scott." Ed. Tracy Ware. Canadian Poetry: Studies/Documents/Reviews 27 (1990): 46-66. (V) [reprints three letters from Campbell and eleven each from Lampman and Scott to Carman during and just after his tenure as literary editor of the Independent, Feb. 1890-June 1892]

"Two Unpublished Letters from Arthur Symons to Bliss Carman." Ed. Tracy Ware. English Language Notes (Colorado) 28.3 (1991): 42-46.

#### Of Unknown Date

A Vision of Better Roads. Barrett Company, Toledo, OH. 28x36cm. (BAL p. 42) [issued as an advertisement for Tarvia; copy in Queen's University Library, Kingston, ON]

The White Road. Robert Simpson Company, Toronto, ON. 24x30.5cm. (BAL p. 42) [issued as a Christmas greeting]

### Palmer Cox (1840-1924)

**Biographical.** CM 1898, 1912;; AA; AAB; DAA; DAB 4: 480 (by Muriel Shaver); DLB 42: 133-38 (by Charlotte Spivack); Kunitz and Haycraft 97-98; NCAB 7: 459-60; WhAm 1: 268; WWNY.

The only biography of Palmer Cox to date is Roger W. Cummins' 1973 Humorous but Wholesome: A History of Palmer Cox and the Brownies, now out of print. Wayne Morgan of Grimsby, Ontario, an independent scholar, has been researching Cox since 1980 and has produced several valuable bio-critical articles, notably "Now, Brownies Seldom Idle Stand: Palmer Cox, the Brownies and Curiosity," printed in The Ephemera Journal in 1994 and reprinted in the catalogue of McGill University's 1997 Brownie exhibition.

**Archival.** The Records of the Appleton-Century Company, 1896-1940, housed in the Lilly Library at Indiana University in Bloomington, contain a file on Cox (NUCMC 78-294). Cummins' acknowledgement page lists some dozen or so lesser archives that he consulted for his biography.

**Bibliographical.** CIHM; BMCat; GBIP; Marks; N, NS; PI; RG. This bibliography incorporates the selected periodical bibliography Cummins includes in his biography of Cox. Richard E. Dickerson, a Cox collector from California, has privately printed an extensively annotated bibliography of Cox's book publications (some 180 items), almost all of which are in his own collection (A Brownie Bibliography, 2nd ed. [Pasadena, CA: Golden Pippin, 1995]). Given the existence and authority of the Dickerson bibliography, I have omitted from the following three large categories of Cox's publications, all of which are listed in Dickerson: (a) advertising cards and pamphlets, both of known and possible Cox authorship (some 50 items); (b) contemporary repackagings, suspected piracies, and outright thefts of previously published Cox work (50+ items); and (c) the Russian Malyutok ("Little People") series of 1887-1912, which set Cox's drawings to new, Russian-authored stories (16 items). For convenience's sake, I have, however, listed Cox's own book publications and repackagings of more recent vintage.

Even allowing for these omissions, the bibliography is incomplete. For one, I have not listed Cox's many contributions to Harper's Young People, the bulk of which are cartoons or short illustrated poems of animals at a variety of activities (see Cummins 241-42 for a partial list), or his Brownie comics that appeared in Sunday papers in 1898-99, 1903, and 1907-09 (see Dickerson ch. 7). For another, neither Poole's Index nor the Reader's Guide index the journals Cox contributed to during his California years (Alta California, the San Francisco Examiner, and Golden Era), or the magazines he worked and/or wrote for during his early New York period (Merry Man's Weekly, Wild Oats, and Uncle Sam), or two of the magazines he later appeared frequently in, Wide Awake and Life. In addition to these

periodicals and those cited below, Cox is also known to have contributed to Babyland (Boston), the Century (NY), Little Folks (Chicago), the New York Daily Graphic, Our Little Ones (Boston), and the Youth's Companion (Boston).

## 1874

Burt's Guide through the Connecticut Valley to the White Mountains and the River Saguenay. By Henry M[artyn] Burt. Illus. by Cox. MA: New England Publishing Co., 1874. 298 pp. (NhD) [contains eleven humorous drawings by Cox (nine signed); preface identifies Cox as a "rising California artist and author" (Dickerson 15)]

Cartoon. The Daily Graphic (NY) 22 June 1874: cover. (Morgan 8) [full-page cartoon on the reciprocity controversy between Canada and the U.S.]

Squibs of California; Or, Every-Day Life Illustrated. Hartford, CT: Mutual Publishing, 1874. xi-xvi, 17-491 pp. (N). San Francisco: Mutual, 1874. 491 pp. (N, CIHM #14822). Rpt. as Comic Yarns in Verse, Prose, and Picture. Philadelphia: Hubbard, 1889. xiv, 17-517 pp. (N). [anecdotes, stories, sketches, poems, and 183 illus. based on Cox's diary of seven years; each entry is dated (a format omitted in the Comic Yarns reprint, which also removed "perceived improprieties and local California color" [Dickerson 16]); sold by subscription by local agents and by Cox himself (Morgan 8)]

## 1876-78

Hans Von Pelter's Trip to Gotham, in Pen and Pencil. New York: The Art Printing Establishment, 1876. 64 pp. illus. (N). New York: Art Printing, 1892. 64 pp. illus. (N, BMCat). [in verse; "a picaresque tale of Hans's adventures when he comes to Gotham on a visit from Hoboken" (Cummins 35)]

How Columbus Found America, in Pen and Pencil. New York: The Art Printing Establishment, 1877. 64 pp. illus. (N, CIHM #29310). New York: Art Printing, 1892. 64 pp. illus. (BMCat) [in verse]

That Stanley! New York: Art Printing, 1878. 64 pp. illus. (N) [in verse; a "ballad-burlesque" satirizing Sir H.M. Stanley's expedition in search of Livingstone (AA)]

Scrapes of Farmer Skoopendyke. M.J. Ivers, [ca. 1876-78]. 78 pp. illus. (Dickerson) [undated work in the style of Cox's books for Art Printing; like these, an "inexpensive paperback meant to be purchased at newsstands and read on the horsecar and railroad" (Morgan 9-10)]



## 1879

- "Looking Behind." Scribner's Monthly Mar. 1879: 767. (V)  
[illus. poem on the dangers of letting "attraction[s]" turn one's head; Cox works the word "Scribner" into the poem itself, which may have had something to do with its acceptance]
- "The Wasp and the Bee." St. Nicholas Mar. 1879: 316. (Cummins)  
[illus. poem; first appearance in St. Nicholas]
- "The Fairies' Gift." St. Nicholas June 1879: 524. (Cummins)
- "The Arrival of the Frolicksome Fly." St. Nicholas Sep. 1879: 764. (Cummins)
- "The Funny Mandarin." St. Nicholas Dec. 1879: 172-73. (Cummins)
- Art in the Nursery. Illus. by Cox, Boz, and J.G. Francis. Thin-paper ed. Boston: Lothrop, 1879. 60 pp. (Dickerson).  
Thick-paper ed. Boston: Lothrop, 1879. 29 pp. (Dickerson)  
[picture book containing Cox's first animal drawings; nine of sixty illus. in thin-paper edition by Cox, one of twenty-nine in thick-paper edition (Dickerson 17)]

## 1880

- "The Lazy Pussy." St. Nicholas Mar. 1880: 369. (Cummins)
- "The Alphabet in Council." St. Nicholas Oct. 1880: 976-78. (Cummins)
- "Discussing the Crops." St. Nicholas Oct. 1880: 980. (Cummins)
- "Bugaboo Bill, the Giant." St. Nicholas Nov. 1880: 38. (Cummins)

## 1881

- "The First Tooth." St. Nicholas Jan. 1881: 202. (Cummins)
- "The Rat's Happy Dream." St. Nicholas May 1881: 534. (Cummins)
- "The King and the Clown." St. Nicholas May 1881: 552. (Cummins)
- The Cats' Arabian Knights, or King Grimalkum. By Abby Morton Diaz. Profusely Illustrated by Francis, Boz, Palmer Cox and Others. Boston: Lothrop, 1881. 227 pp. (Dickerson)  
[contains ten drawings by Cox, six of which had appeared in Art in the Nursery (Dickerson 18)]

## 1882

- "The Sultan of the East." St. Nicholas July 1882: 688-89.  
(Cummins)
- "The Cat and the Mouse." St. Nicholas Nov. 1882: 56.  
(Cummins)

## 1883

- "The Brownies' Ride." St. Nicholas Feb. 1883: 263-66. (V).  
Collected in The Brownies: Their Book, 1887. [first Brownie story; the Brownies take a farmer's horse and cart for a night ride]
- "The Brownies' Feast." St. Nicholas Mar. 1883: 368-71.  
(Cummins). Collected in The Brownies: Their Book, 1887.
- "A Back Yard Party." St. Nicholas July 1883: 658-61. (Cummins)  
[not a Brownie story]
- "The Brownies' Good Work." St. Nicholas Oct. 1883: 920-23.  
(Cummins). Collected in The Brownies: Their Book, 1887.

## 1884

- "The Brownies on Skates." St. Nicholas Feb. 1884: 306-08.  
(Cummins). Collected in The Brownies: Their Book, 1887.
- "The Brownies' Balloon." St. Nicholas Mar. 1884: 396-98.  
(Cummins). Collected in The Brownies: Their Book, 1887.
- "The Brownies' Voyage." St. Nicholas June 1884: 604-07.  
(Cummins). Collected in The Brownies: Their Book, 1887.
- A Little Man. Illus. by Cox, J.G. Francis, Boz, et al. Boston: Lothrop, 1884. 32 pp. (Dickerson) [primer; several illus. rpt. from Art in the Nursery (Dickerson 18)]

## 1885

- "The Brownies' Return." St. Nicholas Feb. 1885: 298-301.  
(Cummins). Collected in The Brownies: Their Book, 1887.
- "The Brownies and the Spinning Wheel." St. Nicholas May 1885: 521-24. (Cummins). Collected in The Brownies: Their Book, 1887.
- "The Brownies at the Seaside." St. Nicholas Aug. 1885: 763-66.  
(Cummins). Collected in The Brownies: Their Book, 1887.

"The Brownies at School." St. Nicholas Oct. 1885: 920-23.  
(Cummins). Collected in The Brownies: Their Book, 1887.

"The Brownies and the Bicycles." St. Nicholas Nov. 1885: 69-71.  
(Cummins). Collected in The Brownies: Their Book, 1887.

#### 1886

"The Brownies' Tobogganing." St. Nicholas Jan. 1886: 227-29.  
(Cummins). Collected in The Brownies: Their Book, 1887.

"The Brownies' Circus." St. Nicholas Mar. 1886: 389-91.  
(Cummins). Collected in The Brownies: Their Book, 1887.

"The Brownies on Roller Skates." St. Nicholas May 1886: 543-45.  
(Cummins). Collected in The Brownies: Their Book, 1887.

"The Brownies in the Menagerie." St. Nicholas July 1886: 707-09.  
(Cummins). Collected in The Brownies: Their Book, 1887.

"The Brownies at Lawn Tennis." St. Nicholas Sep. 1886: 857-59.  
(Cummins). Collected in The Brownies: Their Book, 1887.

"The Brownies at Baseball." St. Nicholas Oct. 1886: 943-45.  
(Cummins). Collected in The Brownies: Their Book, 1887.

"The Brownies in the Gymnasium." St. Nicholas Nov. 1886: 67-69.  
(Cummins). Collected in The Brownies: Their Book, 1887.

#### 1887

"The Brownies in the Toy Shop." St. Nicholas Jan. 1887: 229-31.  
(Cummins). Collected in The Brownies: Their Book, 1887.

"The Brownies' Singing School." St. Nicholas Feb. 1887: 303-05.  
(Cummins). Collected in The Brownies: Their Book, 1887.

"The Brownies' Friendly Turn." St. Nicholas Mar. 1887: 67-69.  
(Cummins). Collected in The Brownies: Their Book, 1887.

"The Brownies' Canoeing." St. Nicholas May 1887: 549-51.  
(Cummins). Collected in The Brownies: Their Book, 1887.

"The Brownies and the Bees." St. Nicholas June 1887: 624-26.  
(Cummins). Collected in The Brownies: Their Book, 1887.

"The Brownies' Fourth of July." St. Nicholas July 1887: 700-02.  
(Cummins). Collected in The Brownies: Their Book, 1887.

"The Brownies' Fishing." St. Nicholas Aug. 1887: 789-91.  
(Cummins). Collected in Another Brownie Book, 1890.

"The Brownies at Archery." St. Nicholas Sep. 1887: 865-67.  
(Cummins). Collected in Another Brownie Book, 1890.

The Brownies: Their Book. New York: Century, [Dec.?] 1887. xi, 144 pp. (N, CIHM #17005). London: Unwin, 1887. xi, 144 p. (BMCat). New York: Century, [190-?]. xi, 144 p. (N). New York: Century, 1915. xi, 144 pp. (N). Eau Claire, WI: Cadmus-Hale, 1915. 144 pp. (N). New York: Appleton-Century, 1939. xi, 144 p. (NS). New York: Dover, 1964. (Cummins). New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967. (Cummins). New York: Merrimack, n.d. (Dickerson). Cutchogue, NY: Buccaneer, 1995. (GBIP 1998) [first Brownie book; collects first 24 Brownie stories from St. Nicholas between Feb. 1883 and July 1887]

### 1888

"The Brownies and the Whale." St. Nicholas Feb. 1888: 304-07.  
(Cummins). Collected in Another Brownie Book, 1890.

"The Brownies in the Academy." St. Nicholas Apr. 1888: 465-67.  
(Cummins). Collected in Another Brownie Book, 1890. [the Brownies visit a science academy, marvelling at "Electric currents," phrenology, microscopes, and a stereopticon machine]

"The Brownies' Kites." St. Nicholas July 1888: 704-05.  
(Cummins). Collected in Another Brownie Book, 1890.

"The Brownies in the Orchard." St. Nicholas Oct. 1888: 954-55.  
(Cummins). Collected in Another Brownie Book, 1890.

Queer People with Wings and Stings, and Their Kweer Kapers. Philadelphia: Hubbard, 1888. 76 pp. (N). London & Sydney: Griffith, Farran, Okedon, & Welsh, 1889. (BMCat). [Philadelphia]: Edgewood, 1891. 102 pp. (NS). [Philadelphia]: Edgewood, 1892. 101 pp. [Philadelphia]: Edgewood, 1895. 98 pp. (Dickerson) [fifteen illus. verse-stories about winged creatures and insects, four rpt. from Harper's Young People or St. Nicholas; Edgewood edition adds seven stories (Dickerson 18)]

Queer People with Paws and Claws, and Their Kweer Kapers. Philadelphia: Hubbard, 1888. 109 pp. (N). London & Sydney: Griffith, Farran, Okedon, & Welsh, 1889. (BMCat). [Philadelphia]: Edgewood, 1895. 92 pp. (Dickerson). [twenty-eight illus. stories about animals, nine rpt. from Harper's Young People or St. Nicholas, often "cruel"--e.g., soaking a cat's tail in kerosene and setting it afire (Dickerson 19)]

Queer People Such as Goblins, Giants, Merry-Men and Monarchs and Their Kweer Kapers. Philadelphia: Hubbard, 1888. 112 pp.

(Dickerson). London & Sydney: Griffith, Farran, Okedon and Welsh, 1889. (BMCat). Philadelphia: Edgewood, 1891. (N). Philadelphia: Edgewood, n.d. 112 pp. (Dickerson) [twenty-one illus. stories, eight rpt. from Harper's Young People or St. Nicholas (Dickerson 19)]

## 1889

"The Brownies' Snow Man." St. Nicholas Mar. 1889: 392-94. (Cummins). Collected in Another Brownie Book, 1890.

"The Brownies' Garden." St. Nicholas May 1889: 546-48. (Cummins). Collected in Another Brownie Book, 1890.

## 1890

"The Brownies in the Studio." St. Nicholas Jan. 1890: 271-73. (Cummins). Collected in Another Brownie Book, 1890. [the Brownies visit Cox's New York studio]

"The Brownies' Yacht Race." St. Nicholas Aug. 1890: 889-91. (Cummins). Collected in Another Brownie Book, 1890.

"The Brownies' Birthday Dinner." St. Nicholas Sep. 1890: 976-78. (Cummins) Collected in Another Brownie Book, 1890.

Another Brownie Book. New York: Century, 1890. xi, 144 pp. (N, CIHM #17003). London: Unwin, 1890. ix-xi, 144 pp. (BMCat). New York: Century, 1918. 144 pp. (N). New York: Appleton-Century, 1938. xi, 144 pp. (NS). New York: Dover, 1966. (Cummins). New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967. (Cummins). [second Brownie book; collects second series of eleven Brownie stories for St. Nicholas, plus thirteen previously unpublished]

## 1891

"The Brownies through the Year [October]." Ladies' Home Journal Oct. 1891: 11. (Cummins)

"The Brownies through the Year [November]." Ladies' Home Journal Nov. 1891: 13. (Cummins)

"The Brownies through the Year [December]." Ladies' Home Journal Dec. 1891: 13. (Cummins)

## 1892

"The Brownies through the Year [January]." Ladies' Home Journal Jan. 1892: 4. (Cummins)

- "The Brownies through the Year [February]." Ladies' Home Journal  
Feb. 1892: 11. (Cummins)
- "The Brownies through the Year [March]." Ladies' Home Journal  
Mar. 1892: 9. (Cummins)
- "The Brownies through the Year [April]." Ladies' Home Journal  
Apr. 1892: 11. (Cummins)
- "The Brownies through the Year [May]." Ladies' Home Journal May  
1892: 11. (Cummins)
- "The Brownies through the Year [June]." Ladies' Home Journal  
June 1892: 11. (Cummins)
- "The Brownies through the Year [July]." Ladies' Home Journal  
July 1892: 10. (Cummins)
- "The Brownies through the Year [August]." Ladies' Home Journal  
Aug. 1892: 11. (Cummins)
- "The Brownies through the Year [September]." Ladies' Home  
Journal Sep. 1892: 11. (Cummins)
- "The Origin of the Brownies." Ladies' Home Journal Nov. 1892: 8.  
(Cummins)
- "The Brownies Around the World [Canada]." Ladies' Home Journal  
Dec. 1892: 15. (Cummins)

## 1893

- The Brownies at Home. New York: Century, 1893. ix-xi, 144 pp.  
(N, CIHM #17004). London: Unwin, 1893. xi, 144 pp.  
(BMCat). Rpt. by Century in [1896?], 1920, and 1936. (N).  
New York: Dover, 1968. xi, 144 pp. (BMCat). [third  
Brownie book; collects the twelve stories in "The Brownies  
through the Year" series for the Ladies' Home J Oct. 1891-  
Sep. 1892; each story depicts the Brownies at appropriate  
seasonal activities for the month]
- "The Brownies Around the World [Cross the Atlantic]." Ladies'  
Home Journal Jan. 1893: 11. (Cummins)
- "The Brownies Around the World [Ireland]." Ladies' Home Journal  
Feb. 1893: 11. (Cummins)
- "The Brownies Around the World [Scotland]." Ladies' Home Journal  
Mar. 1893: 11. (Cummins)
- "The Brownies Around the World [England]." Ladies' Home Journal  
Apr. 1893: 17. (Cummins)

- "The Brownies Around the World [France]." Ladies' Home Journal May 1893: 11. (Cummins)
- "The Brownies Around the World [Italy]." Ladies' Home Journal June 1893: 15. (Cummins)
- "The Brownies Around the World [Turkey and Egypt]." Ladies' Home Journal July 1893: 11. (Cummins)
- "The Brownies Around the World [Germany and Switzerland]." Ladies' Home Journal Aug. 1893: 13. (Cummins)
- "The Brownies Around the World [Holland and Russia]." Ladies' Home Journal Sep. 1893: 11. (Cummins)
- "The Brownies Around the World [China and Japan]." Ladies' Home Journal Oct. 1893: 15. (Cummins)
- "The Brownies Around the World [Polar Regions]." Ladies' Home Journal Nov. 1893: 11. (Cummins)

## 1894

- "The Brownies through the Union [Massachusetts]." St. Nicholas Jan. 1894: 242-47. (Cummins)
- "The Brownies Visit Canada." Ladies' Home Journal Feb. 1894: 15. (Cummins)

Libretto of Palmer Cox's "Brownies". Music by Malcolm Douglas. New York: T.B. Harms, 1894. iv, 28 pp. (N). Chicago: Will Rossiter, 1894. 16 pp. (NS). London: Francis, Day, and Hunter, 1894. iv, 28 pp. (BMCat). Chicago, n.d. 16 pp. (N) [presumably the libretto from the full-scale musical rather than the adaptation for children below]

The Brownies in Fairyland: A Cantata in Two Acts. Lyrics by Cox, Music by Malcolm Douglas. Libretto. New York: T.B. Harms, 1894. 42 pp. (N). Piano Score. New York: Harms, 1894. 26 pp. (Dickerson). London: Francis, Day, and Hunter, 1894. (Cummins). Rpt., enlarged, New York & London: Century, 1925. xvi, 118 pp. (N) [a pageant designed for performance by children (Dickerson 27)]

- "The Brownies in Fairyland." St. Nicholas Mar. and Apr. 1894: 462-65, 535-38. (Cummins) [abr. rpt. of The Brownies in Fairyland, above (Cummins 91)]
- "The Brownies in the Land of Flowers." Ladies' Home Journal Apr. 1894: 13. (Cummins)
- "The Brownies through the Union [New York]." St. Nicholas May 1894: 612-16. (Cummins). Collected as first story in The

Brownies through the Union, 1895. [the Brownies visit upstate New York, getting a history lesson on revolutionary America, ending in the City with a visit to Columbus's statue]

"The Brownies Visit the Goddess of Liberty." Ladies' Home Journal June 1894: 13. (Cummins)

"The Brownies through the Union [Florida]." St. Nicholas July 1894: 785-89. (Cummins)

"The Brownies at Newport." Ladies' Home Journal Aug. 1894: 13. (Cummins)

"The Brownies through the Union [Kentucky]." St. Nicholas Sep. 1894: 996-99. (Cummins)

"The Brownies Play Football." Ladies' Home Journal Nov. 1894: 13. (Cummins)

"The Brownies through the Union [Pennsylvania]." St. Nicholas Nov. 1894: 52-54. (Cummins)

The Brownies Around the World. New York: Century, 1894. ix-xi, 144 pp. (N, CIHM #17972). London: Unwin, 1894. (DLB). New York: Century, 1922. 144 pp. (N) [fourth Brownie book; collects a second series written for the Ladies' Home J, "The Brownies Around the World," Dec. 1892-Nov. 1893, and six other stories: Brownies visit Canada, then by raft across the Atlantic, Ireland, Scotland, England, France, Spain...China, the Polar Regions]

#### 1895

"The Brownies Sail on a Lake." Ladies' Home Journal Feb. 1895: 11. (Cummins)

"The Brownies through the Union [Texas]." St. Nicholas Mar. 1895: 410-13. (Cummins)

The Brownies through the Union. New York: Century, 1895. ix-xi, 144 pp. (N, CIHM #34487). Akron, OH, ©1890 [sic]. 70 pp. (N). London: Unwin, 1895. (BMCat) [fifth Brownie book; collects six stories from a series of this name in St. Nicholas, along with eight new ones; new stories take them to Rhode Island, New Jersey, Connecticut, Illinois, Louisiana, Michigan, Washington, and Oregon]

Frontier Humor: Some Rather Ludicrous Experiences That Befell Myself and My Acquaintances Among Frontier Characters Before I Made the Acquaintance of My Esteemed Friends "The Brownies." Philadelphia: Hubbard, 1895. 343 pp. (N, CIHM #05407). [n.p., n.d]. 343 pp. (N). Chicago: Donahue,



Henneberry, [ca. 1900?]. 343 pp. (Dickerson) [abr. version of Squibs of California]

Brownie Yearbook. New York: McLoughlin, 1895. 26 pp. (N). [U.S.]: Tuttle, Apr. 1988. (GBIP 1998) [full-page drawing for each month on recto, commentary on verso; a calendar with drawings from the Yearbook, first issued to commemorate the fiftieth performance of Palmer Cox's Brownies in 1895; issued several times between 1895 and 1900 (Dickerson)]

## 1899

The Brownies Abroad. New York: Century, 1899. ix-xi, 144 pp. (N, CIHM #17971). London: Unwin, 1899. ix, 144 pp. (BMCat) [sixth Brownie book; the Brownies tour Europe; rpts. nineteen of a twenty-episode b&w comic strip published in the Chicago Sunday Inter-Ocean 11 Sep. 1898-15 Jan. 1899 (Dickerson)]

## 1903

"Abd-el-Ghoo, The Tyrant." St. Nicholas Apr. 1903: 489-93. (Cummins) [poem]

## 1904

"The King in Disguise." St. Nicholas Mar. 1904: 453-55. (Cummins)

"The Laughing Philosopher." St. Nicholas Apr. 1904: 543-45. (Cummins) [poem]

"The Baron and the Elves." St. Nicholas Aug. 1904: 924-28. (Cummins) [poem]

The Brownies in the Philippines. New York: Century, 1904. ix-xi, 144 pp. (N). London: Unwin, 1904. (BMCat) [seventh Brownie book; seventeen of twenty stories from NY Herald strip 7 June 1903-29 Nov. 1903 (Dickerson 24); the Brownies catch a tiger, don diving bells at Manila Bay, take their first automobile ride, etc.; Brownie Roughrider makes his first appearance (Cummins 80)]

## 1906

"The Two Travellers." St. Nicholas Apr. 1906: 548. (Cummins) [poem]

The Palmer Cox Brownie Primer. Text by Mary C. Judd, illus. by Cox, ed. Montrose J. Moses. New York: Century, 1906. 108 pp. (N). Subsequent editions by Century in 1907 (fifteen reprints of this edition), 1925, 1928, 1930. (N) [Judd, a

teacher, conceived of the idea; Cox provided a preface in which he refers to the imaginative spirit of the Brownies as a better incentive to education than "bare, spiritless statement of fact" (Cummins 95)]

## 1908

Brownie Clown of Brownie Town. New York: Century, [Sep.?] 1908. 103 pp. (N) [eighth Brownie book; rpts. twelve of the fifty-one known strips from Cox's syndicated comic strip for Sunday papers 1907-08 (Dickerson)]

## 1910

- "The Brownies' Quilting-Bee." St. Nicholas Jan. 1910: 250-54. (Cummins). Collected in The Brownies' Latest Adventures, 1910.
- "The Brownies and the Hospital." St. Nicholas Feb. 1910: 348-51. (Cummins). Collected in The Brownies' Latest Adventures, 1910.
- "The Brownies' Ice Harvest." St. Nicholas Mar. 1910: 444-47. (Cummins). Collected in The Brownies' Latest Adventures, 1910.
- "The Brownies and the Water Famine." St. Nicholas Apr. 1910: 540-42. (Cummins). Collected in The Brownies' Latest Adventures, 1910.
- "The Brownies and the Baby-Carriages." St. Nicholas June 1910: 729-32. (Cummins). Collected in The Brownies' Latest Adventures, 1910.
- "The Brownies and the Pure Milk Supply." St. Nicholas July 1910: 828-31. (Cummins). Collected in The Brownies' Latest Adventures, 1910.
- "The Brownies Aid the Nursery." St. Nicholas Nov. 1910: 60-63. (Cummins). Collected in The Brownies' Latest Adventures, 1910.
- "The Brownies' Christmas Bells." Ladies' Home Journal Dec. 1910: 13. (Cummins)
- "The Brownies Repair the Streets." St. Nicholas Dec. 1910: 163-66. (Cummins). Collected in The Brownies' Latest Adventures, 1910.
- The Brownies' Latest Adventures. New York: Century, 1910. ix-xi, 144 pp. (N, BMCat). London: Unwin, 1910. [ninth

Brownie book; nine of thirteen stories published in St. Nicholas Jan. 1910-Feb. 1911 (Dickerson 24)]

## 1911

"The Brownies and the Library." St. Nicholas Feb. 1911: 346-49. (Cummins). Collected in The Brownies' Latest Adventures, 1910.

## 1912

"The Brownies and the Grist Mill." St. Nicholas Nov. 1912: 56-60. (Cummins). Collected in The Brownies Many More Nights, 1913.

## 1913

"The Brownies and the Stalled Train." St. Nicholas Jan. 1913: 252-56. (Cummins). Collected in The Brownies Many More Nights, 1913.

"The Brownies Mend the Dam." St. Nicholas Mar. 1913: 443-40 [sic]. (Cummins). Collected in The Brownies Many More Nights, 1913.

"The Brownies at Haymaking." St. Nicholas Aug. 1913: 922-26. (Cummins). Collected in The Brownies Many More Nights, 1913.

"The Brownies Build a Bridge." St. Nicholas Nov. 1913: 60-63. (Cummins). Collected in The Brownies Many More Nights, 1913.

The Brownies Many More Nights. New York: Century, 1913. 144 pp. (N, BMCat) [tenth Brownie book; five of twelve stories previously published in St. Nicholas Nov. 1912-Nov. 1913; one, "The Brownies and the Railroad," would appear slightly abridged in it a few months later (Cummins 82)]

## 1914

"The Brownies and the Railroad." St. Nicholas Magazine Jan. 1914: 252-55. (Cummins). Collected in The Brownies Many More Nights, 1913.

## 1918

The Brownies and Prince Florimel; Or, Brownieland, Fairyland, and Demonland. New York: Century, 1918. 246 pp. (N, BMCat) [eleventh and last Brownie book; the only one in which humans and Brownies appear together; a prose story based on Cox's three-act play, Palmer Cox's Brownies (Cummins 91-93)]

1924

"The Wasp." St. Nicholas Oct. 1924: 1290. (Cummins) [poem]

**Repackagings of Recent Years**

The Brownies, by Palmer Cox. Franklin, NH: Hillside Press, 1962.  
51 pp. (Dickerson) [miniature; includes "The Brownies' Circus," "The Brownies Tobogganing," and "The Brownies' Bicycles"; limited edition of 375 copies hand-printed and bound by Frank and Eleanor Irwin, rare-book dealers in Boston and later New Hampshire (Dickerson 26)]

Adventures of the Brownies. Tilton, NH: Hillside Press, 1970.  
66 pp. (Dickerson) [miniature; includes "The Brownies in the Studio," "Brownies in November," and "The Brownies at Archery"; limited edition of 250 copies (Dickerson 26)]

Bugaboo Bill, the Giant. New York: Farrar, Straus, & Giroux, 1971. 30 pp. (Cummins) [rpt. of an 1880 Cox story with new illus. by William Curtis Holdsworth]

The Brownies' Merry Adventure. Bristol: Barefoot, Sep. 1993.  
(GBIP 1998)

**Acton Davies (1870-1916)**

**Biographical.** Davies appears in none of the standard Canadian or American biographical dictionaries. The most substantial known sources for information about his life are a short notice in Toronto's Week ("Literary and Personal Gossip," 16 Oct. 1891: 740), and obituaries in the New York Times (13 June 1916: 11) and the New York Dramatic Mirror (17 June 1916: 8). He is also briefly mentioned in Herbert Casson's 1906 article for Munsey's on "Canadians in the United States" and in Thomas Beer's idiosyncratic history of the American 1890s, The Mauve Decade (1926).

**Archival.** None found.

**Bibliographical.** BMCat; LC; Marks; N; PI; RG. The Week's notice contains some partial citations of sketches and stories by Davies, and Patricia Marks' index to drama and literary reviews in New York periodicals provided another six items (all drama reviews for the short-lived New York Impressionist). Davies is credited by several sources with authoring stories and sketches for New York newspapers and magazines (including the "Delia Quinn" sketches for the Evening Sun, at least some of which were written prior to his appointment as the paper's drama critic), but the bulk of his written work was undoubtedly his twenty years of drama reviews for the Evening Sun. Davies' obituary in the Times also attributes to him a novel, The Grand Finale, that I have been unable to locate.

## 1891

- "A Bit of Newspaper Verse." Rpt. in Current Literature Mar. 1891. (Week 16 Oct. 1891: 740) [sketch]
- "Sawed Off." Evening Sun (NY). Rpt. in Romance (NY) July 1891. (Week 16 Oct. 1891: 740) [short story; first of several in Romance (1891-97), an all-fiction reprint monthly (Mott 4: 114-15)]
- "What Mrs. Johnnie Did." Romance Sep. 1891. (Week 16 Oct. 1891: 740) [short story]
- "The Children's Children." Independent 17 Sep. 1891: 26-27. (V) [short story; elderly spinster narrator recounts births and deaths of two children in her Lower Canadian town; signed New York City]

## 1892

"Miss Pernickety." Romance May 1892: 24-36. (V) [short story about a group of boarders aiding a mysterious female tenant; rpt. from the Waverly Magazine, a Boston amateur weekly that published the "unpaid contributions of schoolgirls and their swains" (Mott 2: 42)]

## 1899

Rev. of Sherlock Holmes, by Arthur Conan Doyle, adapt. by William Hooker Gillette. Impressionist (NY) Dec. 1899: 15-16. (Marks 146) [first drama review for the Impressionist, a short-lived (1899-1900) New York monthly with "good contributors, devoted to the theater and literature" (Mott 4: 261)]

## 1900

Rev. of Ben Hur, by Lewis Wallace, adapt. by William Young. Impressionist Jan. 1900: 13. (Marks 13)

Rev. of Sappho, by Alphonse Daudet, adapt. by William Clyde Fitch. Impressionist Mar. 1900: 11. (Marks 142)

Rev. of Madam Butterfly, by John Luther Long, adapt. by David Belasco. Impressionist Apr. 1900: 19. (Marks 90)

Rev. of Quo Vadis, by Henryk Sienkiewicz, adapt. by Jeannette Gilder and Stanislaus Stangé. Impressionist May 1900: 19. (Marks 132)

Rev. of Arizona, by Augustus Thomas. Impressionist Oct. 1900: 23-24. (Marks 7)

## 1901

Maude Adams. New York: Frederick A. Stokes, Sep. 1901. vi, 110 pp. illus. (N) [large-type, profusely illustrated fan biography of the popular actress]

## 1905

"Society Amateur Actresses." Cosmopolitan June 1905: 115-24. (RG 2)

"That Uncertain Person: The American Dramatist." Cosmopolitan Nov. 1905: 81-85. (RG 2)

[Maude Adams]. Munsey's 33 (1905): 583-? (PI 6: 3)

## 1906

[The playwright and his profits]. Munsey's 34 (1906): 74-? (PI 6: 504)

[John Drew]. Munsey's 34 (1906): 630-? (PI 6: 182)

## 1911

"David Belasco." Good Housekeeping Nov. 1911: 624-25. (RG 3)

## 1912

"Madame Alla Nazimova." Cosmopolitan Nov. 1912: 835-37. (RG 3)

"Light of Light Opera." Cosmopolitan Dec. 1912: 122-23. (RG 3)

The First Lady in the Land; Or, When Dolly Todd Took Boarders.

By Davies and Charles Nirdlinger. Illus. Howard Giles. New York: H.K. Fly Company, 1912. 309 pp. (N). Illus. Giles. New York: Grosset & Dunlap, ©1912 and 1914. 309 pp. (N) [novelized version of the 1911 play of the same name by Charles Frederic Nirdlinger (1862-1940), playwright and during the mid-1890s a drama critic for the Illustrated American; Dolly Todd is Dorothy Payne Todd, Mrs. James Madison (N)]

## 1913

Romance: A Novel, by Acton Davies, from the Drama by Edward Sheldon; with Pictures from the Play. New York: Macaulay, 1913. 11-320 pp. (N, LC). London: Mills & Boon, 1915. 188 pp. (BMCat). London: Readers Library Publishing, 1927. 252 pp. (BMCat) [Edward Brewster Sheldon (1886-1946) was a Chicago-born playwright; his Romance was produced in 1913]

**Norman [McLean] Duncan (1871-1916)**

**Biographical.** AAB; CM 1912; DAA supp.; DLB 92: 94-96 (by Janet Giltrow); MDCB 1926; WhAm 1. Elizabeth Russell Miller's The Frayed Edge: Norman Duncan's Newfoundland (1992), based on her dissertation on Duncan for the Memorial University of Newfoundland, contains four biographical chapters as well as critical discussions of his Newfoundland fiction and non-fiction. Although superseded by Miller's well-researched biography, see also obituaries for Duncan in the New York Times (19 Oct. 1916: 9) and the Toronto Globe (20 Oct. 1916: 6).

**Archival.** The main repository for Duncan's papers is the Norman Duncan Collection at the Centre for Newfoundland Studies, Memorial University of Newfoundland, St. John's, NF. Other related papers are in the possession of Duncan's niece, Susan Duncan, of St. Petersburg, Florida. For several lesser archival holdings, see Miller's bibliography.

**Bibliographical.** BMCat; CIHM; LC; N, NS; PI; RG; Rogers; Watters; YC. Duncan published over a hundred short stories, another forty or so non-fiction sketches or articles, and over twenty books of fiction, biography, and travel. His earliest publications were in the Toronto Globe and University of Toronto's Varsity magazine during his student years (1891-95), followed by several years of reporting and specials' work for the Auburn Bulletin (1895-97) and the New York Evening Post (1897-1901). From his first short story in the Atlantic Monthly of February 1900, Duncan's work appeared regularly in American magazines. He appeared most often in Harper's, but he was also a regular in McClure's and the Youth's Companion, and contributed over his career to Ainslee's, Collier's, Century, Cosmopolitan, Every Week, Delineator, Ladies' Home Journal, Outing, Outlook, World's Work, Red Book, Pictorial Review, and the Saturday Evening Post. He also contributed sporadically to the British juveniles The Captain and Young England, to the Canadian Magazine, and, late in his life, to Saturday Night.

With Stinson Jarvis, Duncan is one of the two New York expatriates to have been the subject of exhaustive bibliographic investigation. Elizabeth Miller's dissertation (Norman Duncan: A Critical Biography, Memorial U, St. John's, NF, 1988) contains complete primary and secondary bibliographies of Duncan, and her Frayed Edge contains a complete bibliography of his published and unpublished Newfoundland writings, amounting to a dozen books and seventy-nine periodical and newspaper publications. Given the existence of Miller's bibliographies, I have listed below only Duncan's fiction and non-fiction on the Manhattan Syrians along with his Middle East travel writing.



## 1900

- "In the Absence of Mrs. Halloran." Atlantic Monthly Feb. 1900: 255-61. (V). Collected in Soul of the Street, 1900. [first short story, and first of the Lower Manhattan Syrian colony; an old newspaper editor, Khalil Khayat, tells a crippled tenement boy a legend from his country's past]
- "The Lamp of Liberty." Atlantic Monthly May 1900: 649-56. (V). Collected in Soul of the Street, 1900. [Manhattan Syrian story; Khalil Khayat is fired from his editor's job]
- "For the Hand of Haleem." Atlantic Monthly Sep. 1900: 347-55. (V). Collected in Soul of the Street, 1900. [Manhattan Syrian story; Khalil's student contends for a Syrian bride with a young Irishman]
- "The Spirit of Revolution: How the Party of Liberty Revolted Against Abdul Hamid." McClure's Sep. 1900: 466-73. (V). Collected in Soul of the Street, 1900. [Manhattan Syrian story; a group of Syrians plot a revolution against the Sultan of their homeland]

The Soul of the Street Correlated Stories of the New York Syrian Quarter. New York: McClure, Phillips & Company. [Dec.?] 1900. 168 pp. (N, Watters, CIHM #06072). London: McClure Phillips, 1900. 168 pp. (BMCat) [six linked short stories of Lower Manhattan's Syrian quarter: "The Lamp of Liberty," "In the Absence of Mrs. Halloran," "The Greatest Player in All the World," "For the Hand of Haleem," "The Under-Shepherd," and "The Spirit of Revolution"]

## 1903

- "A People from the East." Illus. in colour by E.M. Ashe. Harper's Mar. 1903: 553-62. (V) [n/f sketches of the Manhattan Syrians, including the editor upon whom Duncan based Khalil Khayat of The Soul of the Street]
- "The Tenement Book and Reader." Harper's June 1903: 100-06. (V) [vignettes of writing, publishing, and especially reading habits in New York's tenement districts, including anarchists' propaganda, Yiddish translations of society novels, How to Woo manuals, Mulberry Park's Italian crime novels (written from the criminals' viewpoint), the "write-it-while-you-wait" authors of "Print'emquick & Sell'em" publishers, and the Arabic romances of the Syrian quarter]

## 1905

"The Dream of Nageeb Fiani: A Story of the Syrian Quarter, New York." Illus. Fergus Kyle. Canadian Magazine July 1905: 241-43. (V) [through his interpreter Khalil Khayat, violinist Fiani tells a group of "Uptown" visitors his dream of the night before; both characters are from The Soul of the Street]

"The Fool of Skeleton Tickle." Outlook 23 Sep. 1905: 229-33. (RG 2). Collected in Every Man for Himself, 1908. [short story of a New York Syrian in Newfoundland]

## 1906

"They Who Lose at Love." Harper's Feb. 1906: 338-46. (RG 2). Collected in Every Man for Himself, 1908. [short story of a New York Syrian in Newfoundland]

## 1908

"The Minstrel." Illus. in colour by Howard Pyle. Harper's June 1908: 29-37. (V). Collected in Every Man for Himself, 1908. [Salim Awad, having lost Haleem to the Irish contender (see Sep. 1900), emigrates to Newfoundland, "there in trade and travel to ease the sorrows of love" (32)]

"Riding Down to Egypt." Illus. Lawren S. Harris. Harper's July 1908: 165-74. (V) [lead article; two full-page colour plates; first in a series of impressionistic Middle East travel articles for Harper's about a trip in the winter of 1907-08 from Damascus to Jerusalem and Cairo in a party of twenty that included only two westerners, Duncan and his companion the young Canadian artist Lawrence Harris, who illustrated all eight articles in the series and the resulting book (Going Down From Jerusalem, 1909) but later described his work for the series as the "world's worst" (E. Miller 39-40)]

"In Camp at Bir el-Abd." Illus. Lawren S. Harris. Harper's Oct. 1908: 651-61. (V) [Middle East travel; lead article]

Every Man for Himself. New York & London: Harper, [Oct.?] 1908. 305 pp. illus. (N, BMCat, Watters) [Newfoundland short stories, three of which employ Syrian characters from Soul of the Street who have migrated to Newfoundland: "The Minstrel," "The Fool of Skeleton Tickle," and "They Who Lose at Love"]

"The Camel-Trader from Ain el Kaum." Illus. Lawren S. Harris. Harper's Nov. 1908: 918-28. (V) [Middle East travel;

Duncan's brother Robert has an article on chemical invention in same issue]

"One Day's Adventures." Illus. Lawren S. Harris. Harper's Dec. 1908: 133-44. (V) [Middle East travel; expatriate Basil King's serialized novel The Inner Shrine began (anonymously) in this issue]

#### 1909

"The Diwan of Ahmed Ased-Ullah." Illus. Lawren S. Harris. Harper's Jan. 1909: 198-209. (V) [Middle East travel]

"A Sheikh of et-Tih." Illus. Lawren S. Harris. Harper's Feb. 1909: 449-58. (V) [Middle East travel]

"Breaking Camp at Kantara." Illus. Lawren S. Harris. Harper's Mar. 1909: 516-29. (V) [Middle East travel]

"Beyond Beersheba." Illus. Lawren S. Harris. Harper's Apr. 1909: 782-94. (V) [Middle East travel]

Going Down From Jerusalem: The Narrative of A Sentimental Traveller. Illus. Lawren S. Harris. New York & London: Harper, [Nov.?] 1909. 210 pp. (N, BMCat, Watters). New York: Harper, 1919. 211 pp. (N) [travelogue of trip to the Middle East the winter of 1907-08; see note to "Riding Down to Egypt," July 1908]

#### 1910

"The Carpet of Ali Hassan." Youth's Companion 14 Apr. 1910: 193-94. (YC F481) [short story]

#### 1913

"A God in Israel." Illus. F. Walter Taylor. Harper's Jan. 1913: 165-75. (V) [lead story; a successful New York salesman loses his faith in God and his job and is sent to Jerusalem, where with the help of his "dragoman" Amos Awad he recovers both; Awad learned his English in New York, and though not specified as such, seems one of the Manhattan Syrians]

**Sophia (Sophie) M[argaret] Almon Hensley (1866-1946)**

(also wrote as Sophie M. Almon, Almon Hensley, Gordon Hart, John Wernberny, and possibly as J. Try-Davies and Mary Woolston)

**Biographical.** CM 1898, 1912; CWW 1936; DAA supp.; DLB 99: 163-65; WhAm 4; WWNY. Gwendolyn Davies, Dean of Graduate Studies at the University of New Brunswick, has long been interested in Sophie Hensley. Davies' essay for the Dictionary of Literary Biography is the most comprehensive biographical source to date, and more recently she has devoted a portion of her essay on "The Literary 'New Woman' and Social Activism in Maritime Literature, 1880-1920" to Hensley as the most forthright feminist from the Maritimes of this period.

**Archival.** No main location. Davies has discovered a letter from Hensley to Montreal litterateur W.D. Lighthall (ca. late 1880s) in the McGill University Archives, and another to Charles G.D. Roberts (1935) in the University of New Brunswick Library. Although not listed as such, it's possible that the records of the several mothers' organizations to which Hensley belonged have been preserved in the New York Historical Society's Records of Societies, Clubs, and Associations, 1795-1931 (NUCMC 61-597).

**Bibliographical.** BMCat; CIHM; CPI; LC; Long; N; NYTI; RG; Watters. In addition to the periodicals listed below, Hensley is known to have contributed before leaving Canada to the Kings College Record in Windsor, NS, and to the Current, a Chicago weekly much like Toronto's Week in which Charles G.D. Roberts was also appearing at about this time (there seems to have been some sort of connection, possibly a sharing of material, between these two papers). In America, Hensley generally favoured book over periodical format, perhaps because unlike the rest of the expatriate poets she didn't require the magazine editor's twenty-five cents a line on which to live. Of the thirty poems published in A Woman's Love Letters, for instance, none are known to have appeared serially.

Hensley's bibliography poses a number of mysteries, very few of which have been resolved. Her claim to the pseudonymously published Love & Company (1895) seems certain, but her authorship of the short-story collection A Semi-Detached House (1900) is still an open question (see below, Attributed Works). Beyond these--which if nothing else are at least known to exist--there is also the testimony of a contemporary, Thomas O'Hagan, that as of 1896, a year before her first known published fiction, Hensley was "giving her time chiefly to story-writing, and is meeting with much success," and that by that time she was "both poet and novelist" (Week 25 Sep. 1896: 1053). Eight years later, Who's Who in New York noted that Hensley had a novel, The Lost Sard, "ready for publication," as well as "a work on social and moral problems to be published this winter." (Neither of these are known to exist, though it's possible the latter is a much delayed Woman and the Race, not published until 1907.) Finally, Nova

Scotian bibliographer Robert J. Long attributes to Hensley a play "dealing with modern social problems" and a novel entitled "Souls" (the latter is also mentioned by Charles G.D. Roberts in a letter of 19 Oct. 1898 [Boone 244]). Neither of these were published under her own name or her known pseudonyms, but it's certainly possible that Sophia Margaret Almon Hensley, aka Almon Hensley, aka Gordon Hart, aka John Wernberny, aka J. Try-Davies, aka Mary Woolston, had one or two more names left in her pen.

## 1887

"Sonnet: A Shadow." Week 7 July 1887: 518. (V). Collected in Poems, 1889. ["The world to-day is radiant, as I ne'er..."; printed on same page as Sara Jeannette Duncan's essay "American Influence on Canadian Thought"; signed Sophie M. Almon]

## 1888

"Rondeau." Week 23 Aug. 1888: 619. (V) ["'Pourquoi?' she breathed, then drooped her head..."; signed Sophie M. Almon]

"Tout pour l'amour." Dominion Illustrated 10 Nov. 1888: 295. (V) [poem: "The world may rage without..."; printed in the "Red and Blue Pencils" column of DI's literary editor John Talon-Lesparance, who says he received it in a letter from Charles G.D. Roberts and that its author is a "young and literary friend of his"; signed Sophie M. Abmore, probably a misreading of Roberts' letter rather than a pseudonym]

"Rondeau: I Will Forget." Week 22 Nov. 1888: 828. (V) ["I will forget those days of mingled bliss..."; signed Sophie M. Almon]

## 1889

"Probation." Week 15 Mar. 1889: 230. (V) [24-line verse inquiry into God's will: "I mused in vain over life's mystery..."; signed Sophie M. Almon]

Poems. By Sophie M. Almon. Windsor, NS: Printed for the Author by J.J. Anslow, April 1889. 17 pp. (N, Watters, CaNSHD) [six sonnets, six rondeaux, and nine short poems on miscellaneous subjects]

"Doubt." Week 1 Nov. 1889: 762. (V) [lyric: "Far from my home..."; signed Sophie M. Almon]

"Sonnet: Zenith." Dominion Illustrated 2 Nov. 1889: 283. (V) [love poem: "There are who say that in life's tale of years..."; signed Sophie M. Almon]

## 1890

- "Death." Week 17 Jan. 1890: 106. (V) [sonnet: "But now he praised my beauty, gazing down..."; signed Sophie M. Almon]
- "Affinity." Dominion Illustrated 1 Feb. 1890: 79. (V) [sonnet: "We gave no sign, no outward difference made..."; signed Sophie M. Almon]
- "Robert Browning." Dominion Illustrated 22 Feb. 1890: 127. (V) [poem: "A feeble stammerer, feeling his defect..."; calls Browning "A Poet, aye, the Poet, for the place / Second to none may be"; signed Sophie M. Almon]
- "Waiting." Dominion Illustrated 5 July 1890: 11. (V) [love lyric; "Drifts my boat so softly..."; signed Sophie M. Almon]
- "Syringa." Dominion Illustrated 2 Aug. 1890: 79. (V) [love lyric; "Beneath me are soft green grasses..."; signed Sophie M. Almon]

## 1891

- "Le Petit Savant." Week 26 June 1891: 477. [lyric about the wonders of a baby: "'Only a babe,' we say..."; first known publication to be signed Sophie M. Almon Hensley, though by now she had been married to Hubert Arthur Hensley for over two years; "La belle Sophie hath been delivered of a daughter!!" (Charles G.D. Roberts to Bliss Carman 11 Mar. 1890, Boone 116)]

## 1892

- "Canadian Nurses in New York." Dominion Illustrated Monthly Apr. 1892: 161-70. (V) [light illus. survey of their living and working conditions; nine out of fifty nurses at NY Hospital alone are Canadian; so many applying that none are now admitted to the training schools without letters of introduction and personal interview; lists some dozen Canadian nurses by name; signed Sophie M. Almon Hensley]
- "New York Letter." Week 8 Apr. 1892: 295-96. (V) [records impressions of Tennyson's The Foresters on its opening performance, including seeing William Dean Howells and Charles Dudley Warner among the audience (play opened 3/17/92 at Daly's on Broadway at 30th [Bordman, American Theatre]) and of March Health and Food Exposition at the Lenox Lyceum, including booths for Quaker Oats and Hires Root Beer and several household items "which particularly took my fancy"; references to Bland's Free Coinage (i.e.,

Silver) Bill and to the "Behring Sea trouble"; signed Sophie M. Almon Hensley]

"The Gift." Dominion Illustrated Monthly June 1892: 269. (V) [lyric love poem: "'Tis little still, when all is told, Dear Heart..."; addressed to one "whose strong mind dwarfs into nothingness / The minds of other men"; signed Sophie M. Almon Hensley]

"Christmas." Week 23 Dec. 1892: 78. (V) [sentimental poem about Christ's birth: "The mother knows..."; signed Sophie M. Almon-Hensley]

### 1893

"Regret." Dominion Illustrated Monthly Jan. 1893: 724. (V) [love poem]

"Canadian Writers in New York." Dominion Illustrated Monthly May 1893: 195-204. (V) [lead article, illus.; sketches of Bliss Carman, G. Mercer Adam, Arthur Wentworth Eaton (most space), Edwyn Sandys, Gilbert Parker, Dr. A.R. Robinson, Daniel Murray, Alexander E. Sweet, Craven Langstroth Betts, Peter McArthur, and [Duncan] McKellar; concludes, "We appreciate most heartily the cordial welcome and kind encouragement that are always accorded us in this great busy, pushing, hard-working city" (204); signed Sophie M. Almon-Hensley]

### 1894

"New York Letter." Week 2 Nov. 1894: 1162-63. (V) [report on the Lexow investigation into corruption in Tammany Hall; tongue-in-cheek comment on recent propensity of the "emancipated woman to indulge her fancy for gambling in stocks" (1162); theatre news, including praise for Richard Mansfield in Shaw's Arms and the Man, "which, owing to the fact that it was beyond the average intelligence of his audience, was not a success," and as Arthur Dimmesdale and Beau Brummel, the last "the most artistic piece of work on the American stage to-day" (1163); signed Sophie M. Almon-Hensley, 24 Oct. 1894]

### 1895

"Guiltless." Halifax Herald 10 Aug. 1895: Women's Supplement, 4. (Carole Gerson and Gwendolyn Davies, Canadian Poetry from the Beginnings Through the First World War 377) [dramatic lyric: "She felt a touch of genuine pity rise..."]

A Woman's Love Letters. By Sophie M. Almon-Hensley. The Fleur-de-Lis Poets. New York: J. Selwin Tait, 1895. 82 leaves,

printed on recto only. (N, Watters, CIHM #13037) [lengthy love poems interspersed with shorter lyrics (thirty poems altogether); J. Selwin Tait was a prominent banker with a passion for books; at this time, his firm was just three years old, and specialized in British authors (Tebbel 387-88)]

## 1896

"New York Letter." Week 5 June 1896: 667-68. (V) [like the rest of fashionable NY, Hensley will soon be leaving the city for the summer, in her case to "the peaceful oxen-driving, whitewash-loving solitudes of Nova Scotia" (667); lengthy and favourable notice of Elbert Hubbard's new monthly The Philistine; recent founding of the American Author's Guild in NYC; efforts of the Poe Memorial Association (of which Hensley is on the Executive) to save Poe's cottage from being destroyed for road widening (cottage saved, but moved sixty feet); signed Sophie M. Almon Hensley, 29 May 1896]

## 1897

Love & Company (Limited). By John Wernberny and Another. New York: J.S. Tait, 1897. 113 pp. (NW 0196094). Rpt. under the names J. Try-Davies and Mary Woolston. Montreal: W. Foster Brown, 1901. 114 pp. (BMCat under Davies, Watters) [novella in which a cynical man and woman agree to try as an experiment to make each fall in love with the other; WWNY, which claims to have compiled its entries first hand, doesn't mention a co-author; for a discussion of the authorship of this book, see Carole Gerson and Carol McIver's note in CNQ 39 (1988): 10-11]

## 1899

"The Society for the Study of Life: I. Its Organization and Aims." Arena Nov. 1899: 614-20. (V) [short essay for an Arena symposium on a recently organized group devoted to educating women in sex, parenting, and marriage; this was the second issue of the Arena to be published by Canadian expatriate Charles Brodie Patterson and edited by Canadian expatriate John Emery McLean; first publication as Almon Hensley]

## 1900

Princess Mignon; A Musical Play in Three Acts, Founded on One of Andrew Lang's Fairy Tales. By Almon Hensley. Music by Hubert A. Hensley. New York: Press of W.J. Kenworthy & Bro., 1900. 30 pp. (N, Watters) [from N's note, this appears to print the libretto only; no record of this play]



being produced in NotNAT's index to New York premiers from 1900--although it could have been produced the year before indexing began, it was more likely a parlour production, if produced at all]

## 1906-1907

Out of the Silence By Almon Hensley. Westwood, MA: Ariel Press, [1906?]. [i], 1-6, [7-10]. [blank verse poem of 157 lines on motherhood occasioned by the speaker's reactions to statuary at the Paris Morgue and a statue at Notre Dame across the street of the Virgin Mother, to whom the poem is largely addressed: "Over the grassy square where children play..."; "One thousand copies of this poem were printed at the Ariel Press in Westwood Massachusetts by a craftsman in love's service for fellowship's sake and the good that it will do and copies may be had for fifty cents each" (p. [7]); three illustrations: "The Morgue Paris" (p. [8]) and untitled illustrations of Notre Dame (p. [9]) and the Virgin Mother (p. [10]); date from Long, all else from photocopy in possession of Gwen Davies, University of New Brunswick]

The Heart of a Woman. By Almon Hensley. New York & London: G.P. Putnam's, 1906. vi, 175 pp. (N, BMCat, Watters) [poems]

"Because of You." Current Literature Aug. 1906: 223-24. (RG 2) [poem; rpt. from Heart of a Woman?; signed Almon Hensley]

Woman and the Race. By Gordon Hart [pseud]. Westwood, MA: Ariel Press, 1907. 7-264 pp. (N). New York: Ariel, 1908. 280 pp. (Watters). "Second edition, revised and enlarged." Westwood, MA: Ariel, 1911. 274 pp. (N) [n/f; eugenics]

## 1913

Love and the Woman of Tomorrow. By Almon Hensley. London: Drane's, 1913. 216 pp. (N, BMCat, Watters) [feminist n/f; argues for woman's right to stay unmarried and to vote, for social support for unmarried mothers and acceptance of women who want children but not husbands, for sex education in schools, and for recognition of female sex drive]

## 1918-19

"Somewhere in France." Everybody's Magazine Aug. 1918: 105. (RG 4) [war poem on fearful rather than glory-bound son; qtd. (in part?) in Davies, "Literary" 248]

"Full-Grown." New York Times 15 Feb. 1919: 10. (V) [sincere, insightful lyric: "It needs no chevron to denote the land..."; speaker, seemingly an older non-combatant, says it doesn't take a military uniform to spot those returning from

what is obviously the war, though not specified as such: they can be told by "Swift silences that breathe of strain and stress, / A gravity that comes with pain or prayer," etc.; signed Almon Hensley]

"The Federal Board for Vocational Education." New York Times 4 Apr. 1919: 10. (V) [poem: "Surely 'tis something Godlike to receive..." returning war veterans (again, not specified) and train them for a new career, in gratitude of which will arise among them a deeper patriotism; signed Almon Hensley]

#### 1928-34

The Way of a Woman and Other Poems. By Sophia Margaretta Hensley. San Diego: Canterbury Co., 1928. 112 pp. (N, Watters) [poems]

"Repatriated." Dalhousie Review 13 (Jan. 1934): 434. (V) [lyric: "All my dear childhood and the budding years..."; speaker, obviously Hensley herself, says in all her years in "great cities," and in the "great Western States," "always was I alien, nationless"; but now "I have come home from world-wracked troublous climes / To the calm haven of the Maritimes"; signed Sophia M. Hensley]

#### Attributed Works

Historical Sketch of "Boisbriant". By J. Try-Davies. [Montreal, 189-?] 12 pp. (ND 0070437, CIHM #04442) [promotional description of a 17th-c. fiefdom on Montreal Island being offered for sale by the family of former P.M. Sir John Abbott; signed J. Try-Davies, Real Estate Agent, Montreal; tentative attribution to Hensley by CIHM only is unlikely]

A Semi-Detached House and Other Stories. By J. Try-Davies. Illus. Robert Harris. Montreal: Lovell, 1900. 164 pp. (ND 0070438, BMCat under Davies, Watters, CIHM #05546) [title novella, eight short stories, and two plays; "In memory of many pleasant evenings, this book is dedicated to the Pen and Pencil Club of Montreal, by the author and illustrator"; J(ohn) Try-Davies is the real estate agent whose name for some unknown reason adorns the Montreal edition of Love & Company, which was almost certainly authored or at least co-authored by Hensley, but this may be the book's only connection to her; although all the contemporary biographical sources in which Hensley appears (CM, WhAm, WWNY) credit her with the also pseudonymous Love & Company, none mentions A Semi-Detached House; still, if the stories herein, which deal with experimental marriages, potent love charms, mind-reading, psychic visitations, etc., are by Davies, they're astonishingly risqué for a seventy-year-old Montreal real estate agent]

[Thomas] Stinson Jarvis (1854-1926)

**Biographical.** CM 1898, 1912; DAA; MDCB 1945. The most substantial contemporary accounts of Jarvis's life are the entry in the first edition of Morgan's Canadian Men and Women of the Time (largely written by Jarvis himself, and not entirely trustworthy), and a biographical sketch in the Arena's prospectus for 1894 that devotes more space to Jarvis's family history than it does to his own career (Dec. 1893 supp. xliv-xlix). Jarvis has, however, attracted the sustained attention of Jeffrey Wollock, a Canadian-born independent scholar resident in New Haven, Connecticut, and Wollock's "Stinson Jarvis: A Bio-Bibliography," published in the 1969 Papers of the Bibliographic Society of Canada, supercedes these early accounts. In 1977, Wollock published in The Journal of Canadian Fiction a lengthy essay on Jarvis's second novel, Dr. Perdue, that contains biographical information unearthed in the intervening years.

**Archival.** After Jarvis's death his papers (scrapbooks, letters, and manuscripts) were passed by his widow to her daughter Mrs. Ruth Scott, and as of 1977 were in the possession of Prof. Ann Firor Scott, Dept. of History, Duke University. Jarvis's letters to Henry Morgan about his entry in Canadian Men and Women are in Morgan's papers at the Public Archives in Ottawa.

**Bibliographical.** BMCat; CIHM; LC; N; PI; RG; Watters. Among the least known today of the expatriates, Jarvis has ironically received the most complete bibliographic attention, again thanks to Jeffrey Wollock. The bibliographic portion of Wollock's 1969 article lists Jarvis's six books, his almost two hundred known periodical publications, twenty secondary biographical sources, and some two dozen reviews of Jarvis's first four books (Wollock was unable to locate any reviews of She Lived in New York or The Price of Peace). For convenience's sake, I list below Jarvis's books only.

Letters from East Longitudes; Sketches of Travel in Egypt, the Holy Land, Greece, and Cities of the Levant; by Thomas Stinson Jarvis, Student at Law. Toronto: James Campbell & Son, [May] 1875. viii, 267 pp. (N, Watters, CIHM #07421) [after graduating from Upper Canada College at age seventeen, Jarvis was sent by his father for a year of travel in Europe and Asia, producing his first book, a compilation of letters home to his parents; dedicated to the Earl of Dufferin (1826-1902), then Governor-General of Canada, on whose Letters from High Latitudes (1857) Jarvis's title plays; at this time chiefly textbook publishers, Campbell & Son's advertisement at the rear of the book announced that they were "prepared to furnish estimates...to authors who desire to publish on their own account" (Wollock, "Stinson" 26-27, 29; Hulse)]

Geoffrey Hampstead: A Novel...Appleton's Town and Country Library, No. 57. New York: D. Appleton, [16 Aug.] 1890. 378 pp. (N, BMCat, Watters, CIHM #07420). Appleton's Town and Country Library [no. 57?]. Toronto: National Publishing, 1890. 378 pp. (Wollock, "Stinson" 32) [society/detective novel; titular hero is a lady-killer Toronto bank clerk who "ruins" his best friend's fiancée and then frames his friend for the bank robbery he committed; Hampstead is convicted of the crime, but at novel's end supposedly dies while attempting to swim Niagara Falls; established in 1888, Appleton's Town and Country Library was a popular cheap fiction series that eventually ran to 312 volumes and included new along with known writers such as Joseph Conrad, William J. Locke, and Anthony Hope (Tebbel 206-07); New York printing offered in both a fifty-cent paper edition and (perhaps later) a \$1.00 cloth edition (Wollock, "Stinson" 32); portions of novel probably written as early as 1882-83 (Wollock, "Anatomy" 94)]

...Dr. Perdue: A Novel...Laird & Lee's Prize Novels, No. 2. Chicago: Laird & Lee, 1892 [Feb. 1893]. 397 pp. (N, Watters). Pastime Series. Chicago: Laird & Lee, [by 1902]. (Wollock, "Stinson" 39) [sequel to Geoffrey Hampstead finds Hampstead a famous surgeon living under an assumed name in Paris and follows him through a loveless marriage to frigid Cecilia Clement, a move to England, and true love in the arms of his old sweetheart Margaret Mackintosh; according to Wollock is a "grudge novel" about Jarvis's own marital troubles in which Dr. Perdue is Jarvis, Cecilia his first wife Ann Croft, and priest Marcus Ward the Rev. Arthur C.A. Hall (1847-1930), the Boston preacher whom Jarvis blamed for turning his wife into a religious fanatic ("Anatomy"); first printing has header title The Library of Choice Fiction and wrapper caption announcing that "This novel has been awarded the \$1,000.00 Cash Prize offered by Laird and Lee for the best original American novel submitted to them between May 2 and September 30, 1892" (Wollock, "Stinson" 38)]

"The Ascent of Life: Or Psychic Laws and Forces in Nature." Arena Dec. 1893-May 1894: 1-25, 176-88, 370-83, 482-92, 601-18, 723-45. (V). Rpt. as The Ascent of Life; Or, The Psychic Laws and Forces in Nature. Boston: Arena Publishing Company, [Oct.?] 1894. iii, 120 pp. (N, Watters, CIHM #37081) [n/f; study of psychic evolutionism; argues that life did not stop evolving with man, but is still "ascending" through the evolution of the human soul; recounts personally conducted trials in mesmerism and clairvoyance; book version dedicated to actress Ellen Terry and adds three appendices, including one that reproduces Dr. Sydney Barrington Elliot's investigations into cases of the life-shaping effect of a mother's mental conditions upon her embryonic child; book and first installment of Arena publication preceded by Jarvis's portrait; endorsed by

American Theosophical Society of New York (Wollock, "Stinson" 41)]

She Lived in New York: A Novel. New York: Judge Publishing Company, [1 Dec.] 1894. 304 pp. (N, Watters) [last novel; "story of Estelle Crosby, and of the destruction of her marriage and of herself, against a background of the trailing edge of New York's 'smart set'" (Wollock, "Anatomy" 83); Jarvis's preface mentions his Ascent of Life and says "this novel is intended to partly illustrate the processes there referred to"; publication arranged while in Europe on honeymoon with second wife; last of seven novels published by Judge, a short-lived publishing offshoot of the NY humour magazine of the same name, both owned by William J. Arkell, whose company also owned Leslie's Weekly, to which Jarvis was a frequent contributor throughout the 1890s (Tebbel 379-80); Jarvis withdrew this novel from sale shortly after returning to New York in late 1894 (Wollock, "Anatomy" 108)]

The Price of Peace. Los Angeles, CA: J.F. Rowny Press, [Sep.?] 1921. viii, 9-126 pp. illus. (N, Watters) [n/f; "An attempt to show, by reference to the teachings of the Druids, the influence of mistaken religious beliefs in the bringing on of war and the menace to peace involved in the subjugation of nations to the rule of kings and priests" (N); a re-writing of "The Jarvis Letters," an unpublished book-length ms. that had been excerpted in the Los Angeles Times in 1913-14; contemporary ad describes J.F. Rowny as "Printers and publishers of books on psychology, mysticism, occultism, metaphysics, divine science, and other new age literature" (Wollock, "Stinson" 44)]

**Peter [Gilchrist] McArthur (1866-1924)**

**Biographical.** CM 1898, 1912; DLB 92: 232-33 (by John Lennox); MDCB 1926, 1945, 1963. McArthur has been the subject of two books: William Arthur Deacon's 1923 monograph for the "Makers of Canadian Literature" series, and Alec Lucas's 1975 bio-critical study for the "Twayne's World Author" series. As biographies, both of these have real limitations, but Deacon's is the more coherent and has the advantage of being written by a contemporary and a friend of McArthur's. Of particular interest for McArthur's years as a paragrapher is an 1890 Saturday Night article on "Jokes and How They Make Them," which includes an interview with McArthur (20 Dec. 1890: 7).

**Archival.** The McArthur papers at the University of Western Ontario include correspondence, manuscripts, and a diary begun 1895 in New York and continued sporadically for a few months. Queen's University in Kingston, ON, the University of New Brunswick, and Acadia University in Wolfville, NS, have lesser holdings of McArthur's papers. The National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections lists no archival repository for Truth.

**Bibliographical.** BMCat; LC; N, NS; PI; RG; Rogers; SN; Watters. Unfortunately, Lucas chose not to publish the bibliographic results of his work on McArthur's contributions to Truth and several other now rare New York periodicals: his "Selected Bibliography" includes just five American periodical publications, all from after McArthur's return to Canada. Since Lucas's bibliography, like his book, is weighted towards McArthur's years in Canada, I have left that portion of the record to him: this bibliography ends in 1907, McArthur's last year in the United States.

Most of the American periodicals McArthur wrote for remain unindexed over the period of his contributions, and in any case much of his work, especially his jokes, would have been unsigned (his jokes alone probably number well over a thousand; Lucas says he examined 841 of them [105]). I have culled some few of McArthur's signed contributions to Truth from Lucas's notes, but the rest are for now inaccessible. (No one library has anything like a complete run of Truth; see the Union List of Serials for locations by volume number.) In addition to the periodicals listed below, McArthur is said to have contributed by December of 1890 to the Mail and Grip in Toronto, the Free Press in Detroit, and Chatter, Puck, Judge, Life, The Epoch, Harper's Bazaar, the "Editor's Drawer" of Harper's Monthly, Munsey's Weekly, Town Topics, Drake's Magazine, the New York Racket, the Sun, and the Herald in New York. The bulk of these contributions were probably anonymous jokes, epigrams, and short light verse, which McArthur continued to publish into the 1890s, most regularly in Judge, Life, Puck, Truth, Town Topics, and the Sun. More substantial, signed pieces appeared over the decade in the Independent, Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly, Munsey's, Smart Set,

and Ainslee's, as well as now unrecoverable "short stories for newspaper syndicates" (Deacon 10). In the spring of 1899, McArthur apparently did some reviewing for the American edition of the English Literature, which expired that November (ULS). Finally, during his stay in England McArthur published at least eight pieces in Punch and contributed to W.T. Stead's Review of Reviews, and possibly also to Stead's short-lived Daily Paper.

## 1890

"Poet's Mission." Saturday Night 26 Apr. 1890: 6. (SN) [poem; according to Deacon, M. contributed along with other verse a poem called "My Young Moustache" to Saturday Night ca. 1887-90--when his best friend Duncan McKellar was the magazine's literary editor--but this title is not one of the five poems by McArthur listed in the SN index]

"For Love." Saturday Night special summer issue 1890: 31. (SN) [poem; McKellar's short story "Why Smith Never Married" also appears in this issue]

"Lumbering in Canada." Harper's Weekly 13 Dec. 1890: 979. (V) [informative but lifeless article on life in Ontario lumber camps; preceded (p.977) by a page of incongruously picturesque illustrations by Frank H. Schell]

"Cracklin' Walnuts." Saturday Night Christmas no. 1890: 32. (SN) [poem; again printed in same issue as a short story by McKellar, "How John Proposed"]

## 1892

"Heart of Stone." New England Magazine Apr. 1892: 271. (RG 1890-99) [Walter Blackburn Harte (1868-99), whom McArthur had worked with on the Toronto Mail, was assistant editor of the New England Magazine from the spring of 1891 to Oct. of 1893, during which period McArthur published this and three other poems in the magazine (Doyle, Fin de Siècle 49-50)]

"Treasure-Trove." New England Magazine July 1892: 684. (RG 1890-99) [poem]

"Old Man's Song." New England Magazine Sep. 1892: 136. (RG 1890-99) [poem]

"A Country Boy in Town." Youth's Companion 1 Sep. 1892: 436. (YC F108) [poem]

"Refrain: Where Barefoot Once I Careless Ran." New England Magazine Dec. 1892: 538. (RG 1890-99) [poem]

## 1893

- "Sugar Weather." Youth's Companion 16 Mar. 1893: 140. (YC F129). Collected in The Prodigal, 1907. [poem]
- "An Indian Wind Song." Youth's Companion 11 May 1893: 244. (YC F136). Collected in The Prodigal, 1907. [lyric poem]
- "Corn-Planting." Harper's Weekly 10 June 1893: 546. (V). Collected in The Prodigal, 1907. [poem]
- "The Storm-Pewit." Harper's Weekly 30 Dec. 1893: 1260. (V) [poem]

## 1894

- "On the Farm." Youth's Companion 18 Jan. 1894: 32. (YC F164) [poem]
- "A Thaw." Harper's Weekly 10 Mar. 1894: 223. (V). Collected in The Prodigal, 1907. [descriptive poem]
- "The Chief Mourners." Harper's Weekly 24 Mar. 1894: 271. (V) [more of a cynical parable than a short story; a life-long bachelor dies in the opening, and in successive paragraphs we learn of four different women, all unknown to each other, whom "The Bachelor" had lost and then pledged never to love another]
- "Shadowing Cupid: The Romance of a Commuter." Harper's Weekly 28 July 1894: 702. (V) [unremarkable short story about an amateur detective and his friends speculating on the relationship of a young couple sharing their daily commute on the Jersey ferry]
- "The End of the Drought." Harper's Weekly 1 Sep. 1894: 839. (V). Collected in The Prodigal, 1907. [poem]

## 1895

- Letter. Toronto Globe 25 June 1895: ? (Gundy, Letters 99n) [written in defense of friend Bliss Carman after William Wilfred Campbell accused him in the Toronto Sunday World of being a "flagrant imitator"; cited by H. Pearson Gundy in Letters of Bliss Carman 99 but unlocated in a search of a microfilmed copy of the Globe of this date (which appears to be complete); "I meant to tell you that the letter in the Globe was fine. Much more elaborate a defense than I deserve--and so I am all the more grateful" (Carman to McArthur 17 July 1895, Gundy, Letters 100); for an account of the quarrel, see D.M.R. Bentley, "Columns and



Controversies Among the Confederation Poets," Canadian Poetry: Studies / Documents / Reviews 7 (1990): 94-95]

[Clémence Van Den Broeck]. Monthly Illustrator (NY) 5 (1895): 58-? (PI 4: 600) [attrib. by PI to a P. McArthur; the Quarterly Illustrator was a NY review of American periodical illustrations (Mott 4: 154)]

#### 1896

"Dominion Day in New York." Illus. C.W. Jefferys and Jay Hambidge. Massey's July 1896: 24-27. (V) [light article on the rarity of Canadians celebrating Dominion Day in NY, partly because "there is so little difference between Americans and Canadians...that, unless they stop to think of it they never feel they are living under a foreign flag" (26); nonetheless, expats are loyal to Canada, and most would return to fight for the homeland if America ever invaded]

"The Genial Mr. Peabody." Truth 5 Sep. 1896: 10-11. (Lucas 169n4) [one of five tales in a satirical series called "Tales of Millionaires" for Truth; in this one, which Lucas adjudges the best, a newspaperman visits a wealthy, retired businessman who prides himself on his sense of humor and whose servants therefore pretend to find hilarious; other titles in the series included "A Good Time Coming" and "Art in Money Making" (Lucas 40-42)]

#### 1897

"The Boy and the Squirrel." Youth's Companion 14 Jan. 1897: 21. (YC F236) [poem]

#### 1898

"Birds of Passage." Youth's Companion 8 Sep. 1898: 416. (YC F259) Collected in The Prodigal, 1907. [poem]

#### 1899

"Silence." Century Mar. 1899: 706. (RG 1890-99) [poem]

Five Sonnets. New York: American Lithograph Co., 1899. 8 pp. (N, Watters) [privately printed by Calvert Bowyer Vaux, Truth's printer and M's life-long friend and correspondent, at Christmas, 1899; the "few copies" printed were distributed among friends; contents entirely rpt. in The Prodigal (Deacon)]

## 1900

"The Third Degree." Everybody's Magazine Nov. 1900: 406-11. (V)  
 [investigative article with photographs into meaning and  
 practice of the so-called Third Degree of interrogation by  
 NYC police; McArthur's only appearance in Everybody's;  
 Robert Barr's "The Wizard of Wall Street" was the lead story  
 in this issue]

## 1901

"Summum Bonum" and "Resignation." Atlantic Monthly June 1901:  
 864 and 865. (V). Both collected in Lines, 1901, and The  
Prodigal, 1907, with "Resignation" retitled as "Silence" in  
Lines and as "Solace" in The Prodigal. [sonnets]

"Sacred Arbutus." Saturday Night 29 June 1901: 4. (SN) [short  
 story]

Lines. [New York: privately printed, 1901]. 28 pp. (Watters,  
 CIHM #75415) [printed anonymously by Vaux; twenty-three  
 poems: a "Prefatory" sonnet, a sonnet sequence organized as  
 "landmarks of my struggling soul" ("Prefatory"), and four  
 lyrics; all but "Prefatory," "Faith," "Pythoness," "The  
 Bride," and "Carpe Diem" rpt. in Prodigal; copyright page  
 only acknowledges prior publication for "Summum Bonum" and  
 "Silence" in the Atlantic and "Duty" in Ainslee's; written  
 at Amityville, LI, ca. 1899-1901 (Lucas 20)]

## 1903

To Be Taken with Salt; Being an Essay on Teaching One's  
Grandmother To Suck Eggs. London: Limpus, Baker, 1903. 187  
 pp. illus. (N, BMCat, Watters, CIHM #75414) [collection  
 of satirical essays hung on the trope of a colonial  
 (Canadian) in England; two of the essays, "Canada as She Is  
 Misunderstood" and "Another 'Great Misunderstood'" rpt. from  
Punch; book "written on a bargain with the publisher to  
 advance enough royalties to meet the author's life insurance  
 premium, which was then due" (Deacon 13); very few copies  
 circulated, as the warehouse it was being stored in prior to  
 distribution burned (Lucas 110) and the publisher failed  
 after having sent out just twenty-five copies for review  
 (Deacon 13)]

## 1904

"A Confession." Youth's Companion 3 Nov. 1904: 556. (YC F400).  
 Rpt. in Current Literature Dec. 1904: 524. (RG 1).  
 Collected in The Prodigal, 1907.

## 1905

The Ghost and the Burglar. New York: McArthur & Ryder, 1905. 24 pp. (Watters) [rare booklet containing short story written as an advertisement for Yale Locks and published by his advertising firm; of this and The Peacemakers (below) "McArthur remarks ruefully that these pieces of fiction, issued anonymously and circulated free, gave him his greatest public, as they were printed and sent out by the million" (Deacon 14)]

The Peacemakers. New York: McArthur & Ryder, 1905. 24 pp. (Watters) [rare booklet containing short story written as an advertisement for the Blount Door Check]

## 1906

"The Prodigal." Youth's Companion 26 Apr. 1906: 216. (YC F417). Collected in The Prodigal, 1907.

"On Having Known a Poet." Atlantic Monthly May 1906: 711-14. (V) [neither author nor subject are identified by name in this whimsical sketch of a poet who wishes he "could rid the world of the tyranny of facts" (712), but according to J. Cappon in "Bliss Carman's Beginnings" (Queen's Quarterly 36 [1929]) it's by McArthur on Carman (657n1); seems rather a fanciful composite of, as its author admits the reader might think, "the many minor and sub-major poets I have known" (714)]

The Sufficent Life. New York: Long Island Loan and Trust Co., 1906. (Lucas) [promotional fiction]

## 1907

The Prodigal and Other Poems. New York: Mitchell Kennerley, [June?] 1907. 13-64 pp. (N, Watters, CIHM #75413) [forty-one poems, seventeen of them rpt. from Lines, 1901; mostly philosophical and religious sonnets; also includes one patriotic poem, tributes to Bernhardt and Shakespeare, and an elegy for Duncan McKellar; Kennerley, a British-born friend of Carman, had opened his literary publishing house just the year before at 116 East 28th St. (Tebbel 358-59)]

"An Ode of Empire." Saturday Night 13 July 1907: 5. (V) [poem; rpt. from The Prodigal]

"An Old Letter." Youth's Companion 17 Nov. 1907: 488. (YC F439) [poem; McArthur continued to contribute to the Companion after his return to Canada, publishing at least another four poems in the magazine before his last in 1912]

**Arthur E[mer]son] McFarlane (1876-1945)**

**Biographical.** AAB; CM 1912; WhAm 2. McFarlane is briefly mentioned in his friend Arthur Stringer's 1901 article for the Montreal Herald on "Canadian Writers Who Are Winning Fame in New York" (2 Mar. 1901: 11). Eight years later, the anonymous author of Saturday Night's "Points About People" devoted a column or so to McFarlane's career to date as "A 'Special Article' Expert" (21 Aug. 1909: 10). An obituary in the New York Times (12 Apr. 1945: 23) provides some information about McFarlane's later years, while an article published the year after his death by Stringer's biographer Victor Lauriston returns to his, Stringer's, and O'Higgins' arrival in New York ("Three Musketeers of the Pen in New York of the Nineties," Saturday Night 12 Jan. 1946: 32-33).

**Archival.** None found.

**Bibliographical.** BMCat; CIHM; CPI; LC; N; NYTI; PI; RG; SN; Watters; YC. While at the University of Toronto McFarlane edited for a time the student magazine Varsity, to which Stringer, O'Higgins, and probably McFarlane himself contributed. For his first year or so in New York, most of McFarlane's work consisted of unsigned sketches for dailies and their supplements; Morgan mentions in particular the Evening Post, and the Times obituary adds the World and the Advertiser (presumably the Commercial Advertiser). In addition to the periodicals listed below, McFarlane is also known to have contributed to the Canadian Courier (Toronto, 1906-20), the American Magazine, and the Saturday Evening Post, the latter two with some regularity. According to CM 1912, McFarlane also contributed to Saturday Night, but he does not appear as an author in Heggie and Adshead's index to Saturday Night's first fifty years, from 1887 to 1937. Finally, for the last ten years of his life McFarlane was literary editor of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace's Division of Economics and History, and according to the Times obituary he contributed to a series of "some twenty-five volumes on Canadian-American relations" produced under the direction of the Endowment. McFarlane's contribution to these volumes, however, may have been solely (and silently) editorial; he is not credited in the volumes I've seen.

**1902**

"Tales of a Deep-Sea Diver." Youth's Companion 30 Jan., 13 Feb., 13 Mar., and 20 Mar. 1902: 49-50, 77, 125-26, and 155 illus. (V) [fiction; first instalment run as lead story; an old American deep-sea diver, one of the first, recounts such adventures as his first dive and wrestling a giant squid; first of thirteen appearances in the well-paying Companion over the next nine years]

- "The Disadvantage of Too Much Law." Outing May 1902: 162-66.  
(RG 1) [short story]
- "A Boomerang Hold Up." Munsey's May 1902: 273-? (index to  
Munsey's vol. 27) ["storiette" published in same issue as  
room-mate Arthur Stringer's short story "The Benevolence of  
Montana Bill"]
- "Cissy Make-Believe." Youth's Companion 8 May 1902: 233-34  
illus. (V) [lead story; young, imaginative bookworm from  
Ohio survives being swarmed by bees by pretending she's an  
"American spy saving Cuba"]
- "The Canonic Curse." Illus. William James Hurlbut. Cosmopolitan  
Sep. 1902: 515-23. (V) [ghost story; young New York lawyer  
with a passion for medieval music discovers the cursed  
manuscript of a fifteenth-century canon in a Montreal  
monastery; editor's note compares story favourably to "Poe's  
best work"]
- "Tangled Lines." Outing Sep. 1902: 678-84. (RG 1)
- "Mr. Donnelly and the 'Carniolans.'" Youth's Companion 11 Dec.  
1902: 637-38 illus. (V) [lead story; an old country bee-  
keeper defends his prize Carniolan bees from the new  
hotel-keeper]

## 1903

- "Wager on the Wistassining." Outing Jan. 1903: 475-81. (RG 1)  
[short story]
- "Henry Melville Whitney." Cosmopolitan Feb. 1903: 470-74. (V)  
[biography of Massachusetts-born owner of Cape Breton coal  
and steel conglomerate; in Cosmopolitan's "Captains of  
Industry" series]
- "The Basswood Bees." Youth's Companion 2 Apr.-21 May 1903 [eight  
issues]. (YC F361) [novel]
- "The Bee Sermons." Atlantic Monthly May 1903: 662-71. (V)  
[short story]
- "The Seige of Bigbag." Munsey's June 1903: 349-56. (RG 1)  
[n/f? (Philippines)]
- "The 'Old Docks' and Policeman Lonigran." Youth's Companion 23  
July 1903: 349-50. (YC F366) [short story]
- "The Lost Fish." Outing Sep. 1903: 699-703. (RG 1) [short  
story]

"Great Niles-Tewksbury Turkey Hunt." Outing Nov. 1903: 169-74.  
(RG 1)

[H. Francis Clergue of New Ontario]. Idler (London) 22 (1903):  
201-? (PI 6: 131)

#### 1904

"The Last of the Breed of Plott." Outing Aug. 1904: 534-39. (RG  
1) [short story]

"Haskery's Gang." Youth's Companion 3 and 10 Nov. 1904: 552-53  
and 565-66. (YC F399) [short story]

#### 1905

"Prolonging the Prime of Life: Metchnikoff's Discoveries Show  
That Old Age May Be Postponed." McClure's Sep. 1905: 541-51  
illus. (V) [n/f]

"An Antiente Greate Companie." Illus. N.C. Wyeth. Saturday  
Evening Post 11 Nov. 1905: 1-3, 27. [anecdotal history of  
the Hudson's Bay Company; first of three articles for the  
Post on the fur-trading companies of North America;  
abstracted in Peter G. Beidler et al's The Native American  
in Short Fiction in the Saturday Evening Post: An Annotated  
Bibliography (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow, 2001) #22]

"The Nor'westers." Saturday Evening Post 18 Nov. 1905: 14-15,  
33-34. [anecdotal history of the Northwest Company;  
abstracted in Beidler et al (see above), #23]

"On the Trail of the First Trust." Saturday Evening Post 9 Dec.  
1905: 7-9, 26-27. [anecdotal history of the rise of small  
American fur companies after the Louisiana Purchase and their  
elimination by John Jacob Astor's monopolistic American Fur  
Company; abstracted in Beidler et al (see above), #24]

#### 1906

"A Subscription to the Heathen." By Margaret and Arthur E.  
McFarlane. Illus. Orson Lowell. McClure's May 1906: 51-62.  
(V) [short story]

"The Colonel's Collection." Illus. Arthur I. Keller. Century  
June 1906: 198-208. (V) [short story]

"A Return." Illus. J.A. Williams. Everybody's Aug. 1906: 217-  
24. (V) [short story]

"From the Cell." Booklover's Magazine (NY) 7 (1906): 660-? (PI  
6: 243)

## 1907

"Severed Partnership." Outing Feb. 1907: 622-25. (RG 2)

## 1908

"Chang, 'Ballyhoo,' and 'Ballyhoo's' Waistcoat." Youth's Companion 19 Mar. 1908: 134. (YC F445) [short story]

"Smiley's Tragedy." Putnam's May 1908: 213-17. (RG 2)

## 1909

"The Deceptive Showman." Collier's 9 Jan. 1909: 8-9, 19-20. (V)  
[tongue-in-cheek exposé of the tricks of travelling menageries]

"The Powers of Animals." Illus. R.F. Thomson. Collier's 23 Jan. 1909: 18-19. (V) [would-be humorous article on the "powers" of large escaped circus animals to educate humans in the art of flight, etc.]

"The Pickaninny Band and the Flag of Their Country." Century Apr. 1909: 881-85. (RG 2) [short story]

"Caled's Work." Youth's Companion 8 Apr. 1909: 166-67. (YC F459) [short story]

"Togo." Youth's Companion 6 May 1909: 218. (YC F461) [short story]

"Redney McGaw: A Story of the 'Big Top.'" Youth's Companion 3 June to 5 Aug. 1909 [nine issues]. (YC F463). Rpt. as Redney McGaw: A Story of the Big Show and the Cheerful Spirit. Illus. Arthur William Brown. Boston: Little, Brown, [Nov.?] 1909. viii, 268 pp. (N, Watters). Illus. Brown. Every Boy's Library, Boy Scout Edition. New York: Grosset & Dunlap, ©1909 and 1913. viii, 268 pp. (N). Boston: Little, Brown, 1922. illus. (N) [juvenile novel; NY street kid joins a circus to escape the city (BRD 1909)]

"Lodgings for the Rich." Everybody's Magazine Sep. 1909: 335-46. (V) [article with photos on the immense services, expenses, and profits of the new hotels and resorts built in the wake of the Waldorf-Astoria; announcement of forthcoming publication in Everybody's of former roommate Harvey O'Higgins' "The Beast" inserted in same issue, opp. p. 416]

"An Entanglement of Ties: A Christmas Comedy." By Margaret and Arthur E. McFarlane. Illus. Frederic Dorr Steele. McClure's Dec. 1909: 221-30. (V) [short story]

## 1910

- "'Gosh.'" Illus. Howard Heath. Everybody's Magazine Feb. 1910: 252-57. (V) [NY fire-dept. short story; in same issue as ch. 11 of Harvey O'Higgins' "The Beast"]
- "A Stolen March." Youth's Companion 17 Feb. 1910: 86-87. (YC F476) [short story]
- "Bobbaty: The Story of a Bad Dog." Youth's Companion 24 Mar. 1910: 153-54. (YC F479) [animal story]
- "The Work of Arthur Stringer." Globe Saturday Magazine (Toronto) 30 July 1910: 4. (V) [capsule biography and summary of Stringer's work; recent crime stories may be Stringer's "most significant work" but urges him to move on from the "laws of the criminal code" to the laws of human nature]
- "Cut off in Paris." Illus. May Wilson Preston. Harper's Aug. 1910: 360-70. (V) [short story; in same issue as first instalment of Joseph Conrad's "The Secret-Sharer"]

## 1911

- "Little Tad." Everybody's Magazine Jan. 1911: 133-37. (RG 3)
- "Great Bear Island." Youth's Companion 2 Feb.-6 Apr. 1911 [nine issues]. (YC F490). Rpt. as Great Bear Island: A Boy's Story of Adventure and Discovery. Illus. Thomas Fogarty. Boston: Little, Brown, 1911. ix, 290 pp. (N, Watters) [juvenile novel; Fogarty had illustrated several of Harvey O'Higgins' Irish stories for McClure's the previous decade]
- "Lost Job." McClure's Mar. 1911: 599-602. (RG 3)
- "Some Bears." Outing May 1911: 170-75. (RG 3)
- "Fire and the Skyscraper: The Problem of Protecting the Workers in New York's Tower Factories." McClure's Sep. 1911: 466-82 illus. (V) [lead article; polemic against inadequate building codes and fire-prevention practices in NYC "loft buildings" illustrated through a narrative of the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory fire of 25 Mar. 1911]
- "The Inflammable Tenement: How New York Has Placed Two and a Half Million People in the Worst Fire-Trap Dwellings in the World." McClure's Oct. 1911: 690-701 illus. (V) [n/f]
- "The Conflagration Hazard in New York." McClure's Dec. 1911: 153-75 illus. (V) [lengthy, detailed essay on the "fire geography" of NYC and the effects on the national economy should a conflagration occur]



## 1912

What Women Might Do with the Ballot: Fire Prevention. New York: National American Woman Suffrage Association, 1912. 3-12 pp. (N) [rpt. from McClure's (N)]

## 1913

"The Business of Arson." Collier's 8 Feb.-26 Apr. 1913: 8-10+, 8-9+, 8-9+, 8-9+, 8-9+, 12-13+, 8-9+ [eight issues]. (RG 3) [illustrated series on professional arson in the U.S. and Canada; discusses arson rings, the conspiracy of silence by cities afraid to lose their insurance, the regular cycles of arson (such as the seasonal fires of New York furriers), the complicity of insurance companies, etc.; portrait of McFarlane in first instalment]

"The Business of Arson: Insurance Companies Accused of Conniving at Criminal Fires." Letter. New York Times 23 Mar. 1913, sec. 4: 6. (V) [in response to recent editorial on fire insurance losses, writes to underline the insurance companies' ultimate profit from these losses and to urge "every newspaper with courage" to start publicizing arson instead of downplaying its extent "from reasons of National pride"; signed Forest Hills, L.I., 18 Mar.]

"Triangle Fire." Collier's 17 May 1913: 7-8+. (RG 3)

"Broadview: A Boy's Commonwealth." By McFarlane and Elizabeth Hunter. Harper's Weekly 4 July 1913: 18+. (RG 3)

"Slow Mail Deliveries: Postal Service Called Poor in Spite of Reckless Driving." Letter. New York Times 2 Dec. 1913: 10. (V) [signed Forest Hills, 30 Nov.]

## 1916

Behind the Bolted Door? Illus. Henry Raleigh. New York: Dodd, Mead, [Mar.?] 1916. viii, 342 pp. (N, Watters). London: Eveleigh Nash, 1916. viii, 342 pp. (BMCat). Illus. Raleigh. Toronto: McClelland, Goodchild, & Stewart, ©Dodd, Mead 1915, 1916. viii, 342 pp. (CIHM #77570) [mystery novel; a young couple from the Hudson Street settlement, Walter Willings and Daphne Hope, assist psychoanalyst Dr. Laneham in solving the murder of a wealthy woman (BRD 1916); dedication signed Greenwich House, Jan. 1916]

## 1923

Pure Fun: Magic, Merriment, and Mystery. By McFarlane and Frederick W. Johnston. Toronto: n.p., 1923. 33 pp. (BMCat)

**Duncan McKellar (1865-1899)**

**Biographical.** History has forgotten Duncan McKellar; he appears in none of the Canadian or American biographical dictionaries consulted. I met him as "Mr. McKellar" in Sophia Hensley's 1893 article on "Canadian Writers in New York," encountered him again as a fellow expatriate passing through Miller's biography of Bliss Carman, and finally learned his fate in Deacon's and Lucas's biographies of his close friend Peter McArthur.

**Archival.** Many of McKellar's letters to McArthur are in McArthur's papers at the University of Western Ontario.

**Bibliographical.** N; RG; SN; Watters. Heggie and Adshead's index to Saturday Night lists McKellar's signed contributions to the weekly during his stint as its first literary editor, but undoubtedly omits much of his unsigned work, in particular his double-duty as the magazine's drama critic. In New York, despite Hensley's claim that McKellar was contributing art-work to "all the leading comic papers" and prose and verse to many others, the only publication in any medium that I have been able to locate is the Harper's illustration listed below.

"Uncle Jerry." Saturday Night 21 Dec. 1889: 10. (SN) [fiction]

"Why Smith Never Married." Saturday Night special summer issue 1890: 27-28. (SN) [short story]

"How John Proposed." Saturday Night Christmas no. 1890: 25-26. (SN) [short story]

"Bohemia." By Charles G.D. Roberts. Illus. D.A. McKellar. Ninety-Six: A Calendar for MDCXXCVI; with Verses by Charles G.D. Roberts and Bliss Carman, and Wayside Notes of Wandering Over Canadian Roads by Members of the Toronto Art Students' League. Toronto, 1896. 23 pp. (Cappon, Charles G.D. Roberts 128; Pomeroy, Sir Charles 130) ["Roberts let them have 'Bohemia,' a new poem never reprinted. Proud of this privilege, they devoted two pages to the poem and its accompanying illustration by D.A. McKellar" (Pomeroy 130)]

"Considerate Maiden." Illustration. Harper's Nov. 1898: 985. (RG 1890-99) [page missing from copy in CaNSHD]

"When It Comes." Harper's July 1903: 260. (V) [short lyric on how, where, and when "would I like to die"; signed D. MacKellar, perhaps a posthumous publication]

Poems. Toronto: T. Allen, 1922. 63 pp. illus. (N, Watters) [published posthumously; Peter McArthur was instrumental in having this collection published and wrote the introductory essay, "An Appreciation" (Lucas 172n1, Deacon)]

**Ella (Walton) Norraikow McLean (Countess Norraikow) (1853-?)**

**Biographical.** CM 1898, 1912. Aside from the entries in Morgan's Canadian Men and Women of the Time, the most substantial known biographical sources for the elusive "Countess" are a short biography preceding her article in Cosmopolitan of September 1891 (see below), and the obituary of her second husband, Count Adolphus Norraikow, in the New York Times 14 Oct. 1893: 3. Her date of death is unknown.

**Archival.** None found.

**Bibliographical.** BMCat; PI; RG. According to Morgan, whose information probably dates from a few years earlier than his publication date of 1898, Ella Norraikow also (i.e., in addition to the magazines listed below) contributed to Harper's Monthly, the Independent, the Youth's Companion, and The Ledger, the last a once popular New York weekly that was by this time well past its best years. At least two sources attribute to her a book on Russian Nihilism, but there is no record of this having been published. Finally, although there is no record of this, it is entirely possible that Ella contributed in some fashion to two publications edited by her third husband John McLean, the monthlies Mind and Arena.

"Woman's Share in Russian Nihilism." Cosmopolitan Sep. 1891: 619-27. (V) [illus. article on the "heroines of Nihilism" (620); preceded by a 150w bio and a small sketch, the only known likeness of her; signed Ella Norraikow]

Ivan the Fool; Or, The Old Devil and the Three Small Devils; Also, A Lost Opportunity and Polikushka, by Count Leo Tolstoi; Translated from the Russian by Count Norraikow; Illustrated by Valerian Gribayédoff. New York: C.L. Webster, 1891. 172 pp. illus. (N, BMCat, LC) [although only her husband's name appears on the title page, the Count's obituary reveals that Ella revised these and subsequent translations for publication; Charles L. Webster was Mark Twain's venture into publishing, founded to sell its first book, Huckleberry Finn, but propelled on that success into other authors, including, in 1893, Bliss Carman's first book]

"The Russian Famine." Harper's Weekly 23 Jan. 1892: 86-87. (V) [trans. of a letter from a Russian journalist describing the famine in Kazan Province followed by an appeal to the American press for aid; signed Countess Norraikow]

"Nihilism and the Famine." Lippincott's 49 (1892): 463-71. (V) [illus. article on the history of the Nihilist movement and the present famine; signed Countess Norraikow]

Life is Worth Living, and Other Stories, by Count Leo Tolstoï;  
Translated from the Russian by Count Norraikow; Illustrated  
by Valerian Gribayédoff. New York: C.L. Webster, 1892. 208  
pp. illus. (N, BMCat, LC) [contains "Life Is Worth Living,"  
"Two Old Men," "God Is Love," and "The Candle" (LC)]

Fifty-Two Stories of Duty and Daring for Girls. By Countess  
Norraikow, L.T. Meade, et al. Ed. Alfred Henry Miles.  
London: Hutchinson, 1897. 452 pp. (BMCat under Miles)  
[one of fifty-plus Fifty-Two Stories... edited by Miles  
between 1889 and 1907 (BMCat)]

Anna Karenin.... By Leo Tolstoy. Trans. Constance Black  
Garnett. Harvard Classics Shelf of Fiction vols. 16-17.  
New York: P.F. Collier, ©1917. (N, LC) [vol. 2 contains  
Norraikow's translation of "Ivan the Fool" (LC)]

**John Emery McLean (1865-?)**

**Biographical.** CM 1898, 1912; WhAm 4; WWNY. The most substantial of these is the first edition of Morgan's Canadian Men and Women of the Time, followed by the entry in Who's Who in New York City and State. McLean is briefly discussed in Mott's sketch of the Arena for his History of American Magazines (4: 401-16), which also contains brief descriptions of two of the magazines McLean was previously associated with, The Metaphysical Magazine (4: 287) and Mind (4: 284).

**Archival.** None found.

**Bibliographical.** BMCat; LC; N; PI. Judging by the bibliographic record, McLean was more of an editor than a writer. He undoubtedly contributed to the several magazines with which he was associated (of which only the Arena has been indexed), but for the moment his only known publications are these two articles and one monograph.

"Psychic Review of Infant Prodigies." Metaphysical Magazine  
[Jan.?] 1895: 156-64. (N)

[Vivisection]. New Science Review (NY) 2 (1896): 220-? (PI 4: 606) [by a J.E. McLean; the New Science Review was a short-lived, high-quality science journal edited for its seven issues by Joseph Marshall Stoddart, former managing editor of Lippincott's (Mott 4: 308)]

Spiritual Economics: A Plea for Christianity in Action.

Pittsburgh, PA: Henry George Foundation of America, 1926 and 1928. 112 pp. (N) [monograph on Christian socialism; Henry George (1839-1897) was a Pennsylvanian economist famous in the 1880s and '90s for his books (published by Canadian expatriate John W. Lovell) advocating a single-tax system]

**Mary Elizabeth McOuat (1870-?)**

**Biographical.** CM 1898, 1912. McOuat, who also wrote under the by-line Miriam Dudley and later under her mother's maiden name of Dudderidge, does not appear in the memoirs of Ottawa Evening Journal owner Philip Dansken Ross (Retrospects of a Newspaper Person, 1931), or in Richard Kluger's massive history of the New York Herald Tribune (The Paper, 1986). From her 1921 letter to the Times (below) it seems probable that McOuat, by then in her fifties, remained in New York for the balance of her life, but no obituary has been located and the place and date of her death are unknown.

**Archival.** The National Archives in Ottawa have some genealogical records of McOuat's who came to Canada from Scotland ca. 1818 and settled in Argenteuil, Quebec, and who or may not be of the same family as McOuat's father, Walter McOuat (ULMC 1979-80: 124). Historian Marjory Lang has recently discovered some letters from McOuat to Mary Bouchier Sanford in the Sanford Papers, Public Archives of Ontario, Toronto.

**Bibliographical.** BMCat; RG. Listed below are McOuat's known publications. Assuming McOuat did work for the New York Recorder, the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, MA, has a complete run of the paper (ULN). The Ottawa Evening Journal has been microfilmed, but not indexed, and in any case very few of its articles and even columns in McOuat's day were signed. Yale University, among others, has a partial set of Practical School Problems, which McOuat edited ca. 1903 (ULS).

"Embattled Housewives." Independent 28 Nov. 1912: 1230-34. (V)  
[as Mary Dudderidge; illus. article on the Housewives' League, a 400,000-strong organization dedicated to monitoring food quality, breaking the beef tariff, boycotting over-priced products, reestablishing local markets, etc.; signed NYC]

"Marketing of Food Products." Outlook 21 Dec. 1912: 102. (RG 3)  
[as Mary Dudderidge]

"Oysters: Human and Non-Human." Forum (NY) Sep. 1913: 263-74.  
(RG 3) [as Mary Dudderidge]

"New Light Upon Our Eyes: An Investigation Which May Result in Normal Vision for All, Without Glasses." Scientific American 12 Jan. 1918: 53, 61. (V) [as Mary Dudderidge; illus. article on recent experiments by Dr. William H. Bates of NY in curing faulty vision by relaxation exercises; according to her letter to the Times (below), this article was "very widely copied and reviewed, bringing me letters from all over the world"]

"Treatment of Eye Trouble." Letter. New York Times 14 Nov. 1921: 14. (V) [refers to recent Times article on Senator Gore's blindness, suggesting editors should have been aware of Dr. Bates' recent work on relaxation treatments for eyes and of her own article on the subject (above); three asterixes concluding her letter probably mean that the editors abridged it; signed Mary Dudderidge, NY, 12 Nov. 1921]

Normal Vision By Normal Methods. New York: Friebele Press, 1927. 31 pp. (BMCat) [as Mary Dudderidge; may be a reprint of the 1918 article for Scientific American]

**Harvey [Jerrold] O'Higgins (1876-1929)**

**Biographical.** AAB; CM 1912; DAB 14: 5-6; MDCB 1945, 1963; NCAB 25: 296-97; WhAm 1; WhAmAuth 1921.

The most substantial of these is Donald A. Roberts' entry in the Dictionary of American Biography. See also O'Higgins' obituary in the New York Times (1 Mar. 1929: 25) and Victor Lauriston's 12 Jan. 1946 article for Saturday Night, "Three Musketeers of the Pen in New York of the Nineties."

**Archival.** No entries under O'Higgins in ULMC or NUCMC. Acadia University Archives (NS) has a ms. page from a draft of O'Higgins' A Grand Army Man (ULMC 2: 27-296), and the University of Chicago has a 110-page typed ms. of O'Higgins and Harriet Ford's dramatization of Sinclair Ross's Main Street (N).

**Bibliographical.** BMCat; LC; N; NS; NYTI; PI; RG; Watters. The only bibliography of O'Higgins is in Amos Robert Rogers' 1964 PhD dissertation for the University of Michigan, American Recognition of Canadian Authors Writing in English 1890-1960, which lists O'Higgins' fictional books (18 items) and articles (63 items). I have incorporated Rogers' bibliography into the following, citing him as the source when I could not myself verify the citation (Rogers did not verify any of his citations). Missing from this bibliography are O'Higgins' early contributions to Saturday Night and the Toronto Star, his work in New York for the World and the Commercial Advertiser, and any "specials" he may have written for these and other New York dailies during his first few years in the city. All or most of these would in any case have been unsigned. Finally, according to Frank Luther Mott O'Higgins "interpreted public affairs" for Leslie's Monthly ca. 1904-06 (3: 512), but neither PI nor RG index this journal.

**1897**

"The Temptation of John McNairn." Canadian Magazine Aug. 1897: 283-88. (V) [short story; an Emerson-reading [Toronto] college student tells of his date with a society girl; also illustrated by O'Higgins, his only known illustration; only known work with first Canadian publication]

**1902**

"The Trial of the 'Red-Ink Squad.'" Illus. George Wright. Scribner's May 1902: 582-91. (V). Collected as opening story in Smoke-Eaters, 1905. [NY fire-dept. short story; a group of five "probationers" fight their first fire; one (an Italian) is hospitalized after an accident en route, another (Italian) panics and jumps to his death, and a third quits that night, leaving just two (Irish) to join the department]



"A Change of Profession." Illus. Everett Shinn. McClure's Nov. 1902: 92-98. (V) [short story; two rookie NY firemen, "Delicate Pete" Hanrahan and "Bull" Gorman, barely survive a fire at the Mansard Building by spending the night in a rooftop water tank, whereupon Pete decides it's safer to become a cop; Ida Tarbell's history of Standard Oil began in this issue; other fiction in issue by Conan Doyle, Hamlin Garland, Robert Barr, and Booth Tarkington; story greatly reworked and expanded for Smoke-Eaters (1905) as "Training 'Sally' Waters"]

## 1903

"Captain Meaghan's Retirement." Illus. George Wright. Scribner's Mar. 1903: 317-25. (V). Collected as "A Question of Retirement" in Smoke-Eaters, 1905. [NY fire-dept. short story; the captain takes some chances at what he thinks is his last fire]

## 1904

"Lieut. Connors' Cowardice." Illus. Harold Matthews Brett. McClure's Jan. 1904: 287-93. (V) [probably reworked as "A Charge of Cowardice" for The Smoke-Eaters (1905), in which collection Lt. Connors has been renamed Lt. Gallagher; in the book version, the young, civil-service trained Lt. proves himself to Captain Meaghan during a fire aboard a ship loaded with oil and explosives]

"Private Morphy's Romance." Illus. George Wright. Scribner's Mar. 1904: 366-74. (V). Collected in Smoke-Eaters, 1905. [NY fire-dept. short story; a rookie firefighter struggles to rescue a jealous girlfriend from a fire]

"Larkin." Illus. Martin Justice. McClure's July 1904: 253-61. (V). Collected in Silent Sam, 1914. [short story]

"The Pine Street Revival." Illus. B. Cory Kilvert. Everybody's Magazine July 1904: 58-64. (V) [first appearance in Everybody's; domestic story of rivalry between two well-off (relative to his East Side characters) girls over whose daddy's house is bigger; much weaker than his fire dept. or Irish fiction, and does not appear to have been reprinted]

"In the Nature of a Hero." Illus. George Wright. Century July 1904: 366-74. (V). Collected in Smoke-Eaters, 1905. [NY fire-dept. short story; a legendary fire-fighter joins Company No. 0 but is discharged for his reckless heroics]

## 1905

- "Captain Keighley's Men." Illus. Martin Justice. Century Jan. 1905: 368-76. (V) [NY fire-boat short story; collected in Old Clinkers, 1909?]
- "A Personally Conducted Revolt." Illus. Howard Giles. McClure's Feb. 1905: 366-73. (V). Collected in Smoke-Eaters, 1905. [NY fire-dept. short story; in the book version, which has probably been substantially reworked, the lone Capt. Meaghan struggles to deal with a mutiny among his new crew]
- "The Prodigal Shine." Illus. Martin Justice. Collier's 18 Feb. 1905: 20-22. (V) [NY fire-boat short story; collected in Old Clinkers, 1909?]
- The Smoke-Eaters: The Story of a Fire Crew. New York: Century, Feb. 1905. 296 pp. (N, LC) [ten linked stories of NY fire-department Hook and Ladder Company No. 0, most previously published but expanded and reworked to create a developing narrative about one set of characters: "The 'Red-Ink Squad,'" "A Charge of Cowardice," "On Circumstantial Evidence," "Private Morphy's Romance," "In the Nature of a Hero," "Corrigan's Promotion," "Training 'Sally' Waters," "A Question of Retirement," "A Personally Conducted Revolt," and "Not for Publication"; no prior periodical publication located for "On Circumstantial Evidence," about Sgt. Pim trapping a fire-bug in his own fire; "Corrigan's Promotion," in which a rookie distinguishes himself by rescuing another fireman; and "Not for Publication," a weak story probably written to round out the collection in which a reporter visits the now retired company captain and takes "copious notes" about the nature and methods of fire-fighting (282)]
- "In Lovers' Meeting." Illus. Thomas Fogarty. McClure's June 1905: 184-88. (V). Collected in Silent Sam, 1914. [NY Irish short story]
- "The Steady." Illus. John Sloan. McClure's Aug. 1905: 399-405. (V) [NY Irish short story]
- "The Honeymoon Flat." Illus. Rollin Kirby. Everybody's Magazine Aug. 1905: 241-49. (V). Collected in Silent Sam, 1914. [NY Irish short story]
- "Old Clinkers." Century Sep. 1905: 685-92. (Rogers) [collected in Old Clinkers, 1909?]
- "Spring, the Sweet Spring." Reader Oct. 1905: 494-500. (Rogers)
- "The Break in the Brownies." American Magazine 60 (1905): 235-?. (PI 6: 80)

## 1906

- "The Exiles." Illus. Thomas Fogarty. McClure's Mar. 1906: 464-70. (V). Collected in Silent Sam, 1914. [NY Irish short story; O'Higgins puffed on cover]
- "Purged by Fire." American Magazine May 1906: 3-11. (Rogers)
- "A Question of Command." Illus. Martin Justice. Century May 1906: 81-88. (V) [NY fire-boat short story; collected in Old Clinkers, 1909?]
- "The Two Mickeys." Illus. Walter Jack Duncan. Everybody's Magazine Sep. 1906: 337-44. (V). Collected in Silent Sam, 1914. [NY Irish short story]
- "Tammany's Tithes." Illus. W. Clackens. McClure's Oct. 1906: 621-28. (V). Collected in Silent Sam, 1914. [NY Irish short story; an old fireman from Boss Tweed days advises honest Patrolman Feeny not to fight police corruption and pay the tithe; long after publication story rpt. for use in a campaign against Tammany Hall (NY Times 1 Mar. 1929: 25)]
- "An Appeal to the Past." Illus. Martin Justice. Century Oct. 1906: 885-90. (V) [NY fire-boat short story; collected in Old Clinkers, 1909?]
- Don-A-Dreams: A Story of Love and Youth. New York: Century, [Oct.?] 1906. 412 pp. (N, BMCat). London: Duckworth, 1906. (BMCat) [novel; young Ontario dreamer becomes successful playwright in New York]

## 1907

- "The Rag Doll." Illus. Walter Jack Duncan. Everybody's Magazine Mar. 1907: 395-402. (V) [NY Irish short story]
- "The Clowns: A Story of the Hippodrome." Illus. F.D. Steele. Collier's 11 May 1907: 20-22. (V). Collected in Silent Sam, 1914. [short story]

## 1908

- "The Doings of the Devil." Illus. Thomas Fogarty. McClure's June 1908: 230-36. (V). Collected in Silent Sam, 1914. [NY Irish short story]
- "The Mother-in-Law." Illus. John Wolcott Adams. Everybody's Magazine Aug. 1908: 168-75. (V). Collected in Silent Sam, 1914. [NY Irish short story]

A Grand Army Man, by Harvey J. O'Higgins, Founded on the Play by David Belasco, Pauline Phelps, and Marion Short. Illus. Martin Justice. New York: Century, Sep. 1908. 253 pp. (N, BMCat, CaNSHD) ["the result of a desire to translate into the form of fiction the flavor of Warfield's acting and the charm of Belasco's stage" (O'Higgins' preface)]

## 1909

- "New York." [Illus. Rullin Kirby]. Collier's 16 Jan. 1909: 16-18. (V) [short story; young would-be artist arrives in a dirty, hostile NY but through his fellow boarders learns to see the friendliness and beauty "hidden beneath the superficial cruelty" and becomes a successful artist whom the critics say "knows and loves and understands his little old New York from the gutters up" (18)]
- "In War Time: The Incident of General Morgan and the Wire Tapper." Illus. Arthur William Brown. Collier's 13 Feb. 1909: 18-19. (V) [short story; collected as "During the War" in Silent Sam, 1914?]
- "In the Matter of Art." Illus. David Robinson. Collier's 20 Mar. 1909: 21-22. (V). Collected in Silent Sam, 1914. [short story]
- "W.T." Illus. Henry J. Peck. Everybody's Magazine July 1909: 43-52. (V). Collected in From the Life, 1919. [fictional biography of an old sailor]
- "His Mother." American Magazine Aug. 1909: 346-57. (RG 2). Rpt. as His Mother. Toronto: Charles Press, 1909. 24 pp. (Watters). Collected in Silent Sam, 1914. [East-side Irish marriage story; lonely, widowed mother worries about losing her only son to an uptown wife]
- "The Beast and the Jungle." By Judge Ben B. Lindsey and O'Higgins. Everybody's Magazine Oct. 1909-May 1910: 433-52, 579-98, 770-784; 41-53, 231-44, 391-40, 528-40, 632-44. Rpt. as The Beast: A Story of Denver. By O'Higgins and Judge Ben B. Lindsey. New York: Doubleday, Page, 1910. 340 pp. (N, BMCat, LC). Americana Library 19. Seattle, WA: U of Washington P, 1970. 340 pp. (LC) [autobiography of Denver juvenile court judge Benjamin Barr Lindsey (1869-1943) "worked over and rewritten by Harvey J. O'Higgins, for Everybody's Magazine, from the original manuscript written by the Judge and from interviews and conversations with him" (ed. note, Oct. 1909: 433); exposed political corruption in Denver; Everybody's Magazine, which at this time had a circulation of around half a million, claimed to have spent \$50,000 advertising this serial (Mott 5: 82-83)]

"The Reporter: The Pursuit of Four Questions, and the Story They Unfold." Collier's 30 Oct. 1909: 15-16. (V). Collected in Silent Sam, 1914. [short story]

Old Clinkers: A Story of the New York Fire Department. Illus. Martin Justice. Boston: Small, Maynard, [Dec.?] 1909. 277 pp. (N) [adventures of Capt. Keighley and crew aboard their NYC fire-boat (BRD 1909)]

## 1910

"Under the Prophet in Utah." By O'Higgins and Frank J. Cannon. Everybody's Dec. 1910-Aug. 1911: 723-37; 29-45, 189-205, 383-99, 513-28, 652-64, 825-35; 94-107, 209-22. (RG 3). Rpt. as Under the Prophet in Utah: The National Menace of a Political Priestcraft. Boston: C.M. Clark, 1911. 402 pp. (N, LC) [n/f; exposé of polygamy and corruption in Mormon church with ex-Mormon and former Utah senator Frank Jenne Cannon (1859-?)]

## 1911

"Reply to Colonel Roosevelt." Collier's 10 June 1911: 35-37. (RG 3)

"The Dynamiters: A Great Case of Detective William J. Burns." McClure's Aug. 1911: 346-64. (V) [n/f; Detective Burns of the Burns Detective Agency tells O'Higgins how he discovered those who dynamited the LA Times building; lead story; includes photos]

"The Promoter of Counterfeits: One of Detective William J. Burns' Great Cases." Illus. Willam Oberhardt. McClure's Sep. 1911: 542-50. (V)

"The Other House." By O'Higgins and Martha Anderson. Delineator Sep.-Nov. 1911: 141-42, 222, 327. Rpt. as The Other House: A True Story of the Modern Mormon Polygamy. Boston: C.M. Clark, 1912. (N)

"The Insurance Agent: One of Detective William J. Burns' Great Cases." Illus. Willam Oberhardt. McClure's Oct. 1911: 599-608. (V)

"The Amateur Detective: One of Detective William J. Burns' Great Cases." Illus. Willam Oberhardt. McClure's Nov. 1911: 52-59. (V)

## 1912

- "The Arson Mysteries: Detective Burns' First Great Case; As Told by Him to Harvey J. O'Higgins." McClure's Jan. 1912: 329-37. (V)
- "Paladino Family." Collier's 17 Feb. 1912: 11-12. (Rogers)
- "Some Burns Plants: Great Cases of Detective Burns." Illus. Willam Oberhardt. McClure's Mar. 1912: 537-45. (V)
- "Case of Fanny." Collier's 2 Mar. 1912: 11. (Rogers)
- "Gianellis." Collier's 6 Apr. 1912: 12. (Rogers)
- "Finessing Detective Burns' Great Cases." Illus. Willam Oberhardt. McClure's June 1912: 152-59. (V) [O'Higgins drops recorder premise; reads like fiction, which all of the Burns' cases probably were to some extent]
- "A Case of Corruption: One of Detective William J. Burns' Great Cases." Illus. Willam Oberhardt. McClure's Aug. 1912: 444-53. (V)
- "In the Small." Everybody's Magazine Sep. 1912: 390-97. (Rogers)
- "Silent Sam." Everybody's Magazine Oct. 1912: 473-83. (Rogers). Collected in Silent Sam, 1914.
- "Detective Barney." Collier's 9 Nov. 1912: 18-19. (Rogers) [collected in Adventures of Detective Barney, 1915?]
- "Padages Palmer." Collier's 30 Nov. 1912: 18-19. (Rogers)
- "Though Mountains Meet Not." Collier's 7 Dec. 1912: 18-19. (Rogers)
- "Dummy." Collier's 21 Dec. 1912: 17-18. (Rogers) [collected in Adventures of Detective Barney, 1915?]
- The Argyle Case. By O'Higgins and Harriet Ford. Opened 24 Dec. 1912, Criterion Theatre, Broadway, NY; 191 performances (NotNAT). Pub. as The Argyle Case: A Drama in Four Acts, by Harriet Ford and Harvey J. O'Higgins, Written with the Co-Operation of William J. Burns. French's Standard Library ed. New York and London: S. French, 1927. 128 pp. (N, LC) [starred Robert C. Hilliard as Asche Kayton, a detective called in to solve the murder of a millionaire (Bordman 718); cowritten with Detective Burns, by then New York's most famous detective, and with American playwright Harriet French Ford (1868-1949), the first of eleven collaborations between O'Higgins and Ford]

"Lucia Ancilotti." Collier's 28 Dec. 1912: 13-14. (Rogers)

### 1913

"Anonymous Letters." Collier's 4 Jan. 1913: 18-19. (RG 3)

"Ghost." Everybody's Magazine June 1913: 795-801. (Rogers)

"Nurse." Good Housekeeping July 1913: 4-13. (Rogers)

"Barney and King Lear." Collier's 20 Sep. 1913: 5-6. (Rogers)  
[collected in Adventures of Detective Barney, 1915?]

The Argyle Case, by Arthur Hornblow, Founded on the Play by Harriet Ford and Harvey J. O'Higgins, Written in Co-Operation with Detective William J. Burns. New York & London: Harper, 1913. 249 pp. (N, BMCat, LC) [Hornblow (1865-1941) was a playwright and editor of Theatre Magazine 1901-26 (AAB)]

### 1914

Silent Sam and Other Stories of Our Day. New York: Century, Feb. 1914. 390 pp. (N, BMCat, CIHM #75340) [dedicated to John O'Hara Cosgrave, former editor of Everybody's Magazine; collects eighteen stories, most of New York's East Side Irish: "Silent Sam," "His Mother," "In the Matter of Art," "Tammany's Tithes," "The Clowns," "The Devil's Doings," "The Hired Man," "The Honeymoon Flat," "The Old Woman's Story," "The Hot-Air Harps," "The Reporter," "The Mother-in-Law," "In the Musee," "The Exiles," "During the War," "In Lovers' Meeting," "The Two Mickeys," and "Larkin"; prior periodical publication located for fourteen of the stories; "The Hired Man," previously published in an unknown magazine, was said to have been used by the Grand Trunk Railway to help avert a strike during the CP strike (NY Times 1 Mar. 1929: 25)]

The Dummy. By O'Higgins and Harriet Ford. Opened 13 Apr. 1914, Hudson Theatre, 139 W. 44th St., NY; 200 performances (NotNAT). Pub. as The Dummy: A Detective Comedy in Four Acts. French's Standard Library ed. New York: S. French, 1925. 113 pp. (N, BMCat, LC) [Ernest Truex plays sixteen-year-old "Bowery scamp" Barney Cook in a reshaping for the stage of O'Higgins' short stories about the young detective; here, Cook wins a \$10,000 reward for saving a little rich girl from her kidnappers (Bordman 740), which might explain the odd cataloguing note in N: "Copyrighted, 1913...under the title of Kidnapped"]

"Barney Has a Hunch." Collier's 5 Sep. 1914: 7-8. (Rogers)  
[collected in Adventures of Detective Barney, 1915?]

Polygamy. By O'Higgins and Harriet Ford. Opened 1 Dec. 1914, Playhouse, 137 W. 48th St., NY; 159 performances (NotNAT). [comic melodrama of Mormon marriage that may also have had Barney Cook as hero (see NY Times 27 Dec. 1914, sec. 8: 3)]

"How to Collaborate without Casualties: Those Who Wrote Polygamy Proffer a Few Simple Directions for Avoiding the Perils of Co-Authorship." By O'Higgins and Harriet Ford. New York Times 13 Dec. 1914, sec. 8: 9. (V) [always pair ignorance with knowledge, humor with humorlessness, man with woman, good- with bad-tempered ("There is no good way to write a successful play except by quarrelling about it"), and above all never collaborate with your wife or husband: "Choose a collaborator who will politely despise you and let you reciprocate in kind" so each can take credit for the good and blame the other for the bad without loyalty intervening]

"The Original of the Dummy." Saturday Night 19 Dec. 1914: 11. (V) [1000w article on the real-life model for Barney Cook, hero of The Dummy, that after a brief introduction is "from the pen of Mr. O'Higgins himself"; a letter, or, more likely, a reprint from some other published source]

"Mr. O'Higgins Is After Many Kinds of Laughter: Co-Author of Polygamy Would Mix Sensations to Prevent a Play Being Either All Growl or All Tickle." By O'Higgins. New York Times 27 Dec. 1914, sec. 8: 3. (V) [essay justifying inclusion of comic moments in Polygamy's tense or tragic situations; laughter is of all kinds, and the technique is as old as King Lear]

#### 1915

The Adventures of Detective Barney. Illus. Henry Raleigh. New York: Century, [Jan.] 1915. 305 pp. (N, BMCat, LC) [collects seven of O'Higgins' magazine stories about young East Side detective Barney Cook, also the hero of The Dummy, 1914 (BRD 1915)]

The Dickey Bird. By O'Higgins and Harriet Ford. Opened with [second run of?] Polygamy 22 Feb. 1915, Park Theatre, 5 Columbus Circle, NY; 64 performances (NotNAT). Pub. as The Dickey Bird: Comedy in One Act. By O'Higgins and Harriet Ford. New York: S. French, 1925. 99-114 pp. (N)

"Scollard and the American Stage." Century Nov. 1915: 143-48. (RG 4)

#### 1916

"Caste in Criticism." Century Mar. 1916: 662-63. (RG 4)



Mr. Lazarus. By O'Higgins and Harriet Ford. Opened 5 Sep. 1916, Shubert Theatre, 1567 Broadway, NY; 39 performances (NotNAT). Pub. as Mr. Lazarus: A Comedy in Four Acts. French's Standard Library ed. London and New York: S. French, 1926. 134 pp. (N, BMCat)

## 1917

- "Charlie Chaplin's Art." New Republic 3 Feb. 1917: 16-18. (V) [essay]
- "From the Life: Sir Watson Tyler." Century Mar. 1917: 653-65. (RG 4). Collected in From the Life, 1919. Rpt. in Scholastic 12 Jan. 1935: 4-6. (Rogers) [fictional biography]
- "From the Life: Thomas Wales Warren." Century Apr. 1917: 844-56. (RG 4). Collected in From the Life, 1919. [fictional biography]
- "Jane Shore." Century July 1917: 339-55. (V). Collected in From the Life, 1919. [fictional biography of a famous actress]
- "Freedom of Speech." Century Dec. 1917: 302-03. (V) [essay against complete freedom of speech, especially in war-time]

## 1918

- "The Issue." Century Jan. 1918: 405. (V) [short essay advocating full U.S. entry into War because there's only one issue for everyone: "Be German or be killed"]
- "Owen Carey." Illus. F.R. Gruger. Century Jan. 1918: 436-50. (V). Collected in From the Life, 1919. Rpt. in Golden Book May 1929: 59-67. (Rogers) [fictional biography of famous author]
- The Czech Exodus: A Siberian Epic; Amazing Story of the March of 50,000 Across a Continent Toward Liberty." New York Times 30 Aug. 1918: 5. (V) [2 1/2 column news report]
- "Conrad Norman." Illus. F.R. Gruger. Century Sep. 1918: 644-59. (V). Collected in From the Life, 1919. [fictional biography of a screen star]
- The German Whisper, by Harvey O'Higgins, Associate Chairman, Committee on Public Information. Issued by the U.S. Committee on Public Information. Washington: Govt. Printing Office, 1918. 30 pp. (N, LC)

March of the Czechoslovaks Across Siberia. New York: The Czechoslovak Arts Club, 1918. 9-28 pp. (N) [n/f; illus.; folding map by R. Ruzicka forms cover (N)]

## 1919

"To What Green Alter?" New Republic 15 Feb. 1919: 80-81. (V) [essay in praise of movies]

From the Life: Imaginary Portraits of Some Distinguished Americans. New York and London: Harper, [Sep.?] 1919. 335 pp. (N, BMCat, CaNSHD). Short Story Index Rpt. Ser. Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries, 1970. 334 pp. (LC) [fictional rather than biographical, as in the later American Mind, application of psychoanalysis to invented characters Owen Carey, Jane Shore, Thomas Wales Warren, Benjamin McNeil Murdock, Conrad Norman, W.T., Hon. Benjamin P. Divins, Sir Watson Tyler, District-Attorney Wickson]

On the Hiring Line. By O'Higgins and Harriet Ford. Opened 20 Oct. 1919, Criterion Theatre, NY; 48 performances (NotNAT). Pub. as On the Hiring Line: A Comedy in Three Acts. French's Standard Library ed. New York: S. French, 1923. 116 pp. (N, BMCat, LC) [domestic comedy]

"Why a Satirical Comedy?" New York Times 16 Nov. 1919, sec. 8: 3. (V) [essay; O'Higgins intended On the Hiring Line as a satire of the abuse of power, but when its hero solved his servant problem the audience took it straight, laughing when his solution failed only "so that it might not weep." "The moral seems to be that it is unwise to try to make comedy of such terrific problems as the high cost of living, the servant question or the ouija board"]

## 1920

"When a Feller Needs a Friend": A Play in Three Acts. By O'Higgins and Harriet Ford. [New York], 1920. 108 pp. (N) [includes music; production date unknown (not in NotNAT)]

The Doughboy's Religion and Other Aspects of Our Day. By O'Higgins and Ben B. Lindsey. New York and London: Harper, 1920. (N, BMCat) [BMCat says O'Higgins wrote introduction only]

The Secret Springs. New York and London: Harper, [Dec.?] 1920. 242 pp. (N, BMCat) [n/f; "Based on conversations with Dr. X" (N); first of several collaborations with psychiatrist Edward Hiram Reede, M.D. (1875-?), developer of a treatment for "mental hygiene" based on Freudian psychoanalysis with less emphasis on sex (BRD 1920)]

## 1921

- "Mark Twain as Exhibit A." By O'Higgins and Edward H. Reede. McClure's Apr. 1921: 12-13, 42-44. (N) [collected in The American Mind, 1924?]
- "Dr. Adrian Hale Hellmuth." Illus. Hanson Booth. Century June 1921: 179-90. (V). Collected in Some Distinguished Americans, 1922. [fictional biography of NY surgeon]
- Main Street. By O'Higgins and Harriet Ford. Opened 5 Oct. 1921, National Theatre, NY; 86 performances (NotNAT) [dramatization of Sinclair Ross's novel]

## 1922

- "A Note on the Novel." New Republic 12 Apr. 1922, supp.: 20. (V) [O'Higgins one of fifteen American writers, including Willa Cather and Theodore Dreiser, asked to contribute his thoughts on the "Novel of Tomorrow" to a special supplement; O'Higgins answers that novel-writing is a "collaboration" between the conscious mind and the subconscious mind, and that because the latter is unruly and intuitive, "the form of the novel will continue to change as intellect devises new patterns to include new dreams from the subconscious"]
- Some Distinguished Americans: Imaginary Portraits. New York and London: Harper, [Oct.] 1922. 335 pp. (N, BMCat). Pub. in England as From the Life: Imaginary Portraits of Some Distinguished Americans. London: J. Cape, 1922. 255 pp. (NS, BMCat). Rpt. as Some Distinguished.... Short Story Index Rpt. Ser. Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries, 1971. 335 pp. (LC) [same method as From the Life, 1919: psychoanalytic studies of fictional characters architect Henri Anthon, politician Dan Reilly, murderer Miss Murchison, prison reformer Warden Jupp, millionaire Peter Quale, surgeon Dr. Adrian Hale Hellmuth, and film director Vance Cope (BRD 1922)]

## 1923

- The Wrong Number: A Farce in Three Acts. By O'Higgins and Harriet Ford. French's Acting ed. London and New York: S. French, 1923. 75 pp. (BMCat) [production date unknown (not in NotNAT)]

## 1924

- The American Mind in Action. By O'Higgins and Edward H[iram] Reede, M.D. New York and London: Harper, [Mar.?] 1924. 336 pp. (N, BMCat) [reader-friendly psychology; argues American character is essentially Puritan, and demonstrates

this through psychoanalytic profiles of Twain, Lincoln, Emerson, Andrew Carnegie, Anthony Comstock, P.T. Barnum, Franklin, Longfellow, Whitman, Mark Hanna, Julia Ward Howe, Anna Howard Shaw, and Margaret Fuller]

"Julie Cane." Illus. Thomas Fogarty. Harper's Mar.-Oct. 1924: 425-45, 603-24, 767-83; 99-113, 231-50, 393-410, 522-38, 652-67. Rpt. as Julie Cane. New York and London: Harper, [Oct.?] 1924. 343 pp. (N). London: J. Cape, 1924. 320 pp. (N, BMCat) [psychological novel of relationship between a father and his daughter (BRD 1924)]

"Everybody's Problem." Saturday Review of Literature (NY) 11 Oct. 1924: 177-78. (RG 7)

"Dr. Churton and Dr. Deere." New Republic 29 Oct. 1924: 225-26. (V) [essay]

#### 1926

Clara Barron. New York and London: Harper, [Mar.?] 1926. 222 pp. (N). London: J. Cape. 1927. 222 pp. (N, BMCat) [psychological novel of independent young woman who leaves her home in Coulton, ON, for NY and eventually dies in WWI (BRD 1926)]

Under Twenty: A Comedy in Three Acts, by L. Westervelt and John Clements, in Co-Operation with H. O'Higgins and Harriet Ford. French's Standard Library ed. New York and London: S. French, 1926. 90 pp. (N, BMCat, LC) [production date unknown (not in NotNAT)]

#### 1927

Orphan Aggie: A Romantic Comedy. By O'Higgins and Harriet Ford. French's Standard Library ed. New York and London: S. French, 1927. 96 pp. (N, BMCat) [production date unknown (not in NotNAT)]

#### 1928

"Natural Religion." Outlook 21 Mar. 1928: 458-59. (RG 7)

"Natural Censorship." Outlook 2 May 1928: 6-7. (RG 7)

"This Strange Luster of Kings." Harper's June 1928: 29-37. (V) [short story; ghostwriter engaged to write biography of a princess]

"The Murder at Moosetail." Harper's July 1928: 175-82. (V) [short story]

- "Fogull Murder." Woman's Home Companion Aug. 1928: 7-9.  
(Rogers)
- "Gold Frames." Woman's Home Companion Oct. 1928: 11-12.  
(Rogers)
- "Election by Emotion." Outlook 17 Oct. 1928: 963-66. (RG 7)
- "Your Other Self." Outlook 28 Nov. 1928: 1227-29. (RG 7)
- "The Great Prohibition Mystery." Outlook 12 Dec. 1928: 1309-11.  
(Rogers)

Old P.O.: A Play in Three Acts. By O'Higgins and Harriet Ford.  
French's Standard Library ed. New York: S. French, 1928.  
81 pp. (N, BMCat) [production date unknown (not in  
NotNAT)]

#### 1929

- "This New Morality." Outlook 16 Jan. 1929: 83-85. (RG 8)

#### Posthumous

- "Love Charm." Woman's Home Companion Mar. 1929: 22-24. (Rogers)
- "The Nervous American." American Mercury Mar. 1929: 257-63. (V)  
[lead article in H.L. Mencken's journal; essay on American  
hysteria about the "Red Menace"]
- "Life and Religion." Outlook 20 Mar. 1929: 448-49. (RG 8)  
[presumably the "short statement" written by O'Higgins on  
his religious belief for the Outlook a "few days before he  
was stricken" and read by a Paul Ellerbe of New York at  
O'Higgins' funeral (see NY Times 3 Mar. 1929, sec. 2: 7).]
- "Alias Walt Whitman." Harper's May 1929: 698-707. (RG 8). Rpt.  
as Alias Walt Whitman. Newart, NJ: Carteret Book Club,  
1930. 49 pp. (N, BMCat 1956-65 supp.). Folcroft, PA:  
Folcroft Library Editions, 1976. 49 pp. (LC). Norwood,  
PA: Norwood, 1977. 49 pp. (LC) [n/f; colophon in Carteret  
ed.: "Two hundred copies of this book have been printed...by  
Richard W. Ellis: The Georgian Press, Westport, Ct., in the  
month of December, MCMXXIX"; article delivered to Harper's a  
week before O'Higgins' death (see Harper's Apr. 1929: 660)]
- Detective Duff Unravels It. New York: H. Liveright, [June?]  
1929. 303 pp. (N) [detective fiction; collects previously  
published cases of O'Higgins' psychoanalytic detective (BRD  
1929)]

- "In Praise of Hypocrisy." Outlook and Independent 31 July 1929: 522-26, 556 illus. (N, Rogers) [on Franklin as model and patron saint for the present (N)]
- "What True Love Did to Mr. Bamby." Harper's Sep.-Oct. 1929: 411-18, 613-23. (V) [short story]
- "Just Imagine It!" Woman's Home Companion Feb.-Apr. 1932: 22-23, 22, 22-23. (Rogers) ["novel" (RG 8)]

#### Translations

- Pochod Czechoslovaku Sibiri. Prazo: J. Mrkvicky, 1919. 26 pp. (N) [probably a Czech trans. of March of the Czechoslovaks Across Siberia, 1918]
- El sordomudo, comedia de detectives, en cuatro actos, de Harvey J. O'Higgins y Harriet Ford. Trans. Frederico Reparaz. Madrid: R. Velasco, 1919. 83 pp. (N) [Spanish trans. of The Dummy, 1914]
- Die Bestie, Denver Cronik. Trans. Hect Ilse. Leipzig: F. Meiner, [1944]. 7-287 pp. (N, LC) [German trans. of The Beast, 1910]

**Charles Brodie Patterson (1854-1917)**

**Biographical.** CM 1912; DAA; WhAm 1; WWNY. For someone credited with founding a cult that in its heyday attracted hundreds of thousands of adherents and considerable press, Patterson is a remarkably elusive figure--perhaps because the attention he received wasn't in the mainstream press, but in the now scattered and largely forgotten little magazines of the cult itself. Other than the biographical dictionaries listed above, the only other substantial source is his obituary in the New York Times (23 June 1917: 9). He appears several times in Horatio W. Dresser's A History of the New Thought Movement (1919), and according to Dresser is profiled along with other New Thought leaders in a 1902 article by Paul Tyner in the American Review of Reviews (300).

**Archival.** None found.

**Bibliographical.** BMCat; CIHM; GBIP; Long; N; PI; RG. Atypically for the expatriates, the bulk of Patterson's known published work is in book rather than periodical form. It's possible, however, even probable, that he wrote more for magazines than is represented here, but again, for New Thought organs (of which Mott says there were more than twenty by 1900) that have not been indexed or in some cases even preserved. For the moment, all we know for certain is that he wrote several articles and one short story for Arena (listed below), and that he contributed with some regularity to his own Mind. According to the New York Times, some of Patterson's books were translated into other languages, including Dutch and Italian, but I have been unable to locate any of these.

**1888**

Seeking the Kingdom: Sunday Evening Talks on Spiritual Science, Given at Our Home. Hartford, CT: The Author, 1888. 132 pp. (N) [spiritual science, mental healing, etc.; "our home" is the Mental Science Institute in Hartford; in the late 1890s, both Seeking the Kingdom and Beyond the Clouds (1895) were being advertised by the Alliance Publishing Company (see Arena Advertiser of June 1899), but whether these were the author's stock or reprints is unknown]

**1895**

Beyond the Clouds: Sunday Evening Lectures on the Spiritual Science of Life, Given Before the Alliance of Divine Unity. New York: The Author, [Jan.?] 1895. 134 pp. (N, BMCat, CIHM #52349) [dedicated to "My Students"; the Alliance of Divine Unity was a spiritual study group in Hartford with beliefs similar to those of mental science]

## 1898

New Thought Essays. New York: Alliance, 1898. 103 pp. (N).  
2nd ed. New York: Alliance, 1898. 103 pp. (N, CIHM #52350). Santa Fé, NM: Sun Publishing, 1997. 103 pp. (GBIP) [collects fourteen essays previously published in Mind; preface describes book as "a study of life in its various phases from a spiritual basis" (qtd. in Arena July 1899: 148); first book for Patterson's own Alliance Publishing, whose list ran to works on the occult and psychic phenomena, as well as New Thought; the copy microfilmed by CIHM is from the library of Harry Houdini]

The Library of Health. Ed. by Patterson. Vols. 1-3. New York: Alliance, 1898-1900. (N, CM 1912) ["A series of essays in popular form on Advanced Thought subjects.... Excellent books for beginners in the New Metaphysics"; Alliance advertised a new paper-covered set at 25 cents in the Sep. 1902 Arena]

## 1899

"Mental Healing." Arena June 1899: 772-76. (V) [brief summary of the premises and methods of mental healing]

## 1901

"What the New Thought Stands For." Arena Jan. 1901: 9-16. (V)  
Rpt. as What the New Thought Stands For. New York: Alliance, 1901. 15 pp. (N) [printed as part of an Arena symposium on "Christian Science and the Healing Art"; succinct essay on the main beliefs of New Thought and the differences between it and Christian Science]

"Organized Charity." Arena Mar. 1901: 281-86. (V)

"The New Social Apostulate: A Conversation Between Editor Charles Brodie Patterson and Professor George D. Herron on the Aim, Scope, and Purpose of the New Social Crusade." Arena May 1901: 486-91. (V)

"The Parting of the Ways." Arena May 1901: 492-98. (V)  
[critique of organized religion, especially Protestant: "The church 'organization' has outgrown its usefulness; its day is run" (497-98)]

"The Spirit of Modern Christianity." Arena Sep. 1901: 384-90. (V) [more criticisms of organized religion]

Dominion and Power: Studies in Spiritual Science. Oscawana-on-Hudson, NY: Upland Farms Alliance, 1901. 9-216 pp. (N). London: George Bell & Sons, 1902. 217 pp. (BMCat). 2nd



ed. New York: Alliance, 1902. 217 pp. (N). 7th ed., rev. and enlarged. New York & London: Funk & Wagnalls, 1910. viii, 11-297 pp. (N). 7th ed.... London: Bell, 1911. 297 pp. (BMCat) [New Thought essays and meditations "indispensable to all who who desire accurate knowledge of the New Metaphysical Movement" (publisher's ad, Arena Dec. 1901); Oscawana was the site of several early New Thought conferences organized by Patterson and others (Dresser 177)]

The Will to Be Well. New York: Alliance, [1 Dec.] 1901. 205 pp. (N). 2nd ed. New York: Alliance; London: G. Bell, 1902. 9-205 pp. (N). 5th ed., revised and enlarged. New York & London: Funk & Wagnalls, 1906, 1907, and 1910. 9-255 pp. (N). 10th ed., revised and enlarged. London: G. Bell, 1911. 255 pp. (BMCat). Santa Fé, NM: Sun Publishing, 1997. 255 pp. (GBIP) [New Thought essays principally on spiritual healing]

#### 1902

"The Plural Marriage Problem: A Conversation Between Editor Charles Brodie Patterson and C.W. Penrose on the Aim, Scope, and Methods of the Mormon Church." Arena June 1902: 604-10. (V) [interview with leading Mormon occasioned by the anti-polygamy law being debated in the legislature]

"One from the Beginning: A Psychological Story." Arena Dec. 1903: 626-48. (V) [only known attempt at fiction; the narrator, who has previously been "very much of a materialist" (627), becomes a believer as he listens to his friend tell a lengthy story of his experiences with psychic dreams, visitations, and flight]

#### 1903

"Breath." Mind Dec. 1903: ? (cover of issue reproduced as advertisement in Dec. 1903 Arena, n. pag.)

#### 1904

The Measure of a Man. New York & London: Funk & Wagnalls, 1904. xxix, 31-297 pp. (N). New York & London: Funk & Wagnalls, 1907. xxix, 31-297 pp. (N) [essays on the natural, rational, psychic, and spiritual man and on Christ as idealist, teacher, and healer (N); "An optimistic message of good will to all men, basing its cheer upon the supposition that in the great economy of the universe nothing is lost" (BRD 1905)]

## 1909

A New Heaven and New Earth; Or, the Way to Life Eternal (Thought Studies of the Fourth Dimension). New York: T.Y. Crowell, 1909. 286 pp. (N, BMCat). London & Boston: G. Bell, 1911. 286 pp. (BMCat) [New Thought; first of four books for Thomas Young Crowell]

The New Way to Educate Children; with Practical Suggestions for Mental and Physical Development. New York: New Way Publishing, 1909. (BMCat)

The New Way to Self Control; with Practical Suggestions for Mental and Physical Development. New York: New Way Publishing; London: L.N. Fowler, 1909. (BMCat)

## 1910

Love's Song of Life. New York: T.Y. Crowell, 1910. 26 pp. (N) [theology; probably New Thought]

## 1912

Living Waters; Or, Rivers to the Ocean. New York & London: Funk & Wagnalls, 1912. xi, 344 pp. (N) [collection of New Thought essays on such subjects as knowledge, happiness, self-control, success, prayer, children, etc. (N)]

## 1913

What Is New Thought? The Living Way. New York: T.Y. Crowell, [Apr.?] 1913. xv, 235 pp. (N, BMCat)

In the Sunlight of Health. New York & London: Funk & Wagnalls, 1913. vi, 449 pp. (N) [collection of New Thought essays on such subjects as "Divine Energy in Motion," "Thought-Picturing," "Mental and Spiritual Healing," etc. (N)]

## 1915

The Rhythm of Life. New York: T.Y. Crowell, 1915. viii, 303 pp. (N) [New Thought essays on the healing effects of music and color]

**Sydney [Robert Charles Forneri] Reid (1857-1936)**

**Biographical.** CM 1912; DAA supp.; WhAm 4; WWNY. The most substantial biographical entry on Reid is in Henry Morgan's Canadian Men and Women of the Time (1912 ed.), followed by the entry in Who's Who in New York City and State for 1904. See also his obituary in the New York Times of 22 July 1936: 19. Raymond A. Schroth's The Eagle and Brooklyn: A Community Newspaper 1841-1955 does not mention Reid, but is useful for background.

**Archival.** None found for Reid. The uncatalogued Eagle morgue, including writer files, clippings, photographs, and the Eagle reference library, is in the basement of the Brooklyn Public Library (Schroth 285). Columbia University Library has the largest single collection of the World's business and editorial papers (NUCMC 71-1011), and the papers of Clarence Winthrop Bowen, editor of the Independent for most of the years Reid was associated with the magazine, are held by the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, MA (NUCMC 77-6). The Long Island Historical Society, of which Reid was a member from at least 1897, is still active.

**Bibliographical.** BMCat; N; NYTI; PI; RG. According to Morgan, Reid published songs (words and music) and contributed poems and short stories to "leading mags." No songs or poems by Reid have been located, and his only known short story appeared in Lippincott's in 1896 (his two parodies in the Independent of 1901 and 1902 might also have been considered short stories by Morgan or his source). Also absent from this bibliography is Reid's journalism, most of or all of which was probably unsigned. The two periodicals Reid is known to have contributed to with some regularity, Harper's Weekly and the Independent, have only been indexed from 1890 (RG) and 1892 (PI, RG from 1900) respectively, but both of these seem to pre-date Reid's contributions.

**1881**

"The North Land." Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly June 1881: 622-24. (V) [article on farming and mining potential of Ontario's Algoma district; only known Canadian publication; signed Toronto]

**1892**

"Dog-Hunting in New York." Harper's Weekly 25 June 1892: 605-06. (V) [illus. humorous article in which Reid accompanies dog-catchers on their rounds in Harlem]

## 1894

- "A Feudal Baron Come to Justice." Harper's Weekly 24 Feb. 1894: 183. (V) [short article on trial of John Y. McKane, corrupt Chief of Police of West Brighton, Coney Island]
- "Organized Misgovernment." Harper's Weekly 7 Apr. 1894: 326-27. (V) [illus. article on political corruption in Brooklyn, esp. in public utilities' deals]
- "General Results of the Lexow Committee's Work." Harper's Weekly 14 July 1894: 663. (V) [report on investigations into corruption at Tammany Hall: "The people of the City of New York have just caught a more than usually vivid glimpse of the river of official corruption"]
- "The Trolley Mail-Car in Brooklyn." Harper's Weekly 6 Oct. 1894: 946. (V) [short illus. report on postal innovation]

## 1896

- "Jim Bowers's Hoss." Lippincott's 58 (1896): 511-18. (V) [short story; humorous western tall tale narrated by an eastern drummer about his misfortunes after renting the wrong man's horse in a prairie town]

## 1900

- "Josey and the Chipmunk." St. Nicholas Jan.-May 1900: 239-42, 333-39, 430-35, 525-32, 630-39. (RG 1). Rpt. as Josey and the Chipmunk: A Tale. Illus. Fanny Y. Cory. New York: Century, 1900. xiii, 301 pp. (N, BMCat) [children's book]

## 1901

- "The Newest Historical Novel." Independent 5 Sep. 1901: 2092-95. (V) [parody; "excerpts" from a forthcoming novel on the Revolution, Watzit All About by Uno Lloyd Balder-Dash (i.e., Reid); ed. note says, "Competent critics who have not yet read it are enthusiastic in its praise and do not hesitate to pronounce that, like all other recently published historical novels, it is the very greatest of its kind that the world has ever seen" (2092)]
- "New York Public Library." Independent 21 Nov. 1901: 2752-57. (V) [illus. article on new library to be completed by 1905]

## 1902

- "Trouble in the Jungle." Independent 20 Feb. 1902: 452-57. (V) [parody of animal stories; famous fictional animals meet to discuss declining sales of animal stories; signed NYC]

"Oliver Wendell Holmes: A Biographical Sketch." Independent 28 Aug. 1902: 2057-58. (V)

1903

"The Yacht Race." Independent 3 Sep. 1903: 2106-11. (V)  
[illus. report on 1903 America's Cup Race]

1907

"Vacation in the Leather-Stocking Country." Independent 22 Aug. 1907: 437-42. (V) [autobiographical account of a city-tired Reid escaping with wife and kids to a house in the country; signed Seneca Lake, NY, July 1907]

1908

"Because You're a Jew." Independent 26 Nov. 1908: 1212-17. (V)  
[article on anti-semitism cast as an "interview" with an unnamed rabbi and and a composite gentile; signed NY]

1910

"Tell It to Gaynor!" Independent 18 Aug. 1910: 334-38. (V)  
[praises accomplishments of NYC Mayor William J. Gaynor; ed. note says article received a few days before assassination attempt on Gaynor; signed Brooklyn]

"A Classic Municipal Skyscraper." Independent 6 Oct. 1910: 746-50. (V) [illus. report on planned NYC Municipal Building on Park Row]

1911

"The Death Sign." Independent 6 Apr. 1911: 711-15. (V) [report on the Black Hand's criminal activities in NYC]

"How to Prevent the Plague." Independent 18 May 1911: 1061-64. (V) [article and interview with Health Officer of NYC]

"The Old Ballad Folk." Independent 16 Nov. 1911: 1093-98. (V)  
[listed on cover; whimsical essay on characters from old ballads; signed Brooklyn]

1912

"The Children's Wonder House." Independent 4 Jan. 1912: 30-36. (V) [listed on cover; illus. article on Children's Museum of Brooklyn; signed Brooklyn]

"The New Grand Central Terminal." Independent 14 Mar. 1912: 550-55. (V) [lead article; illus.]

"The 'Titanic' Disaster." Independent 2 May 1912: 936-40. (V)  
[illus. article]

1914

"New York's Early History." Letter. New York Times 13 Nov. 1914: 10. (V) [letter to editor identifying Reid as Secretary of New York City Early History Petitioners, and arguing the Petitioners' case for funds to produce an official history of NYC; signed Dunton, NY, 10 Nov. 1914]

1915

"Drill for Schoolboys: Advantages Both to Individual and Nation Would Be Manifold." Letter. New York Times 16 Aug. 1915: 8. (V) [situation in Europe proves need to provide American schoolboys with military training; signed Richmond Hill, NY, 4 Aug. 1915]

"Gary Plan in New York." Independent 6 Dec. 1915: 385. (RG 4)

1919

"As to Deporting Undesirables." Review (NY) 11 Oct. 1919: 468-69. (RG 5) [probably the Weekly Review, a conservative journal that was consolidated with the Independent in 1921]

1920

"Meet the American Idol!" Independent 14 Aug. 1920: 170-71. (RG 5)

"Little Chess Wizard." Independent 18 Dec. 1920: 404-05. (RG 5)

1921

"Greatest Horse in the World." Independent 5 Mar. 1921: 229. (RG 5)

How Sing Found the World Is Round. Illus. Katharine Sturges Dodge. Chicago: P.F. Volland, 1921. 40 pp. (N)  
[children's book]

1922

"Irish Situation." Letter. New York Times 17 Jan. 1922: 16. (V) [compares it to a fight he saw recently at Barnum's between a clown and the ringmaster; signed Woodhaven, NY, 9 Jan. 1922]

## 1925

"The King of Kindness." St. Nicholas 25 Feb. 1925: 407-410. (V)  
[biog. of Abraham Lincoln, told as story for young readers]

## 1933

"A Profitable Journey: Adventurer Finds Only Kindliness Among His  
Fellow-Citizens." Letter. New York Times 12 July 1933: 16.  
(V) [an aged, "more or less deaf and blind" Reid ventures  
from his Brooklyn home to visit Manhattan publishers and is  
helped by kind New Yorkers; signed Brooklyn, 7 July 1933]

## 1934

"A Blow to Literature." Letter. New York Times 23 Jan. 1934:  
18. (V) [complains that publishers can send books at  
parcel post, but authors must send ms. at first-class rates;  
signed Brooklyn, 19 Jan. 1934]

**Attributed or Possible Authorship**

"Devile's Bond" or, Katrina. [Brooklyn, NY: 1890]. 25 pp. (N)  
[three-act comic opera; attributed by N to a Sydney Reid,  
but b. 1851, not 1857; probably not his, as not mentioned in  
any of the biographical sources or in his obit.]

Songs. (WWNY) ["words and music" (WWNY)]

**Charles G[eorge] D[ouglas] Roberts (1860-1943)**

**Biographical.** CM 1898, 1912; CWW 1-3; DAA; DLB 92: 301-08 (by Patricia Morley); NCAB 11: 398; WhAm 3; WWNY 1904.

The first biography of Roberts was Elsie M. Pomeroy's Sir Charles G.D. Roberts (Ryerson, 1943), which Roberts himself assisted with, referring to it in a letter of 3 June 1940 as "almost a sort of camouflaged autobiography!" (Boone 593). According to Roberts' next biographer, Toronto librarian John Coldwell Adams, Roberts chose Pomeroy, a Toronto public school-teacher and his biggest fan, to write his authorized biography in part because of fears that his son Lloyd might write a more revealing version, and in part so that he could not only supply her with the information while he was still alive, but also exercise "strict editorial control over the whole writing process" (191). Adams' own Sir Charles God Damn: The Life of Sir Charles G.D. Roberts (University of Toronto, 1986) fills in the side of Roberts that the Pomeroy-Roberts team would not--the affairs early and late, the precarious existence of his wife and children at home in Fredericton while Roberts was elsewhere in the world, his own ever-threatening poverty--and is at the same time an excellent overall life.

**Archival.** Roberts' presence in Canadian archives is substantial and scattered: see Glenn Clever's The Sir Charles G.D. Roberts Symposium 247-49 (University of Ottawa, 1984) for a list of locations and ULMC vol. 2 for descriptions. In the United States, the American Academy of Arts and Letters Library in New York has Roberts' correspondence (1900-41, 56 items) relating to the National Institute of Arts and Letters (NUCMC 61-2359). Letters from Roberts can also be found in the papers of Edmund Clarence Stedman at Columbia University, in the Sidney Lanier papers in the Tulane University Library (one letter only, from 1886 [NUCMC 64-12100]), and in the Bliss Carman papers at Smith College in Northampton, MA.

**Bibliographical.** CPI; BMCat; BNCat; Flitton; Marks; Mitchell; N, NS; PI; RG; Rogers; Sader; SN; Watters.

To date, no comprehensive bibliography of Roberts' publications has been compiled. However, Desmond Pacey's edition of Roberts' Collected Poems (Wombat, 1985) contains reasonably complete bibliographic information on Roberts' verse, including first and subsequent periodical publication and collection in Roberts' own books or anthologies compiled by others. For this reason, the following omits periodical publications of Roberts' poetry but includes for the sake of convenience his published and privately printed books of poetry.

This bibliography builds upon John Coldwell Adams' modestly titled "A Preliminary Bibliography" for The Sir Charles G.D. Roberts Symposium, which includes 302 fiction and 59 non-fiction publications by Roberts in American, English, and Canadian periodicals (cited below as PB). The bibliography in James



Cappon's 1925 volume on Roberts for the "Makers of Canadian Literature" series (which Pomeroy says was actually compiled by Rufus Hathaway) still proved useful as supplementary information for Roberts' books, but the main citations have been compiled from entries in the National Union Catalog, the British Museum Catalogue of Printed Books, and Watters' Checklist of Canadian Literature. Posthumous collections and translations appear in separate sections at the end.

Even allowing for the omission of Roberts' periodical verse, the bibliography is incomplete. Roberts contributed much unsigned prose to Toronto's Week during his short tenure as its editor in the winter of 1883-84, and he was also a silent and frequent contributor the winter before to Goldwin Smith's earlier venture into Canadian periodicals, The Bystander (Adams 30; Boone 34-35). Also not represented here is the "The World of Books" column Roberts wrote for the Saint John weekly Progress while teaching at King's (see Pomeroy 99-100; Boone 75n). It is certain, finally, that some, perhaps many, of Roberts' American periodical publications still await discovery. Elsie Pomeroy, for instance, wrote (with Roberts watching over her shoulder) that all twelve stories in By the Marshes of Minas (1900) had been previously published in American magazines, but only eight of these have been identified.

The bibliography has been annotated with substantive references from Pomeroy's and Adams' biographies as well as a number of other contemporary and secondary sources; unless otherwise noted, all citations from Roberts' correspondence are from Laurel Boone's The Collected Letters of Sir Charles G.D. Roberts (Goose Lane, 1989).

#### 1880

Orion, and Other Poems. Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, [fall] 1880. 113 pp. (N, BMCat, Watters) [first book, dedicated to Roberts' "father and dearest friend"]

#### 1881

Later Poems. Fredericton, NB: privately printed, 1881. 8 pp. (Watters) [nine poems]

#### 1882

"Ye True and Faithfulle Hystorie of Ye Squattyckke Trippe." University Monthly (U of New Brunswick) Apr. 1882-Mar. 1883. (Boone 33n). [prose series; pretends to narrate a 1793 excursion on the Squatook waterway, but actually about an 1877 New Brunswick canoe trip by Roberts, Carman, and friends; same material used less fancifully in "Birch and Paddle" articles for Forest and Stream (below) and as the frame for Around the Campfire, 1896 (Boone 33n); "I have ventured to suggest omitting the reference to the boyish &

comparatively non-significant 'Squattyckke Trippe' [from Pomeroy's forthcoming biography]. My note will explain why" (R. to Lorne Pierce, 18 Mar. 1943; if the "note" survives, Boone has not reprinted it)]

"Birch and Paddle." Forest and Stream 30 Nov. and 7 Dec. 1882: ? (PB). Rpt. in Outing Apr. 1885: ? (Boone 49n) [n/f; Forest and Stream was a New York hunting and fishing weekly and an early supporter of conservationism and, intentionally or not, of Canadian writers: not only was this Roberts' first known prose in a national magazine, but less than four years later, they would publish what Ernest Thompson Seton called his first published story, "The Carberry Deer Hunt"; "I have been writing some articles for Forest & Stream which pays liberally..." (R. to Carman, 12 Dec. 1882)]

Later Poems. [Fredericton, NB]: Jas. H. Crockett, [1882]. 13 pp. (Watters, Cappon) [six poems]

### 1883

"On the Bartibogue River." Forest and Stream 31 May 1883: ? (PB) [n/f; recounts a fishing expedition with friend Joseph Edmund Collins (1855-92), a Newfoundland-born writer who later became an editor for The Epoch in New York (see Adams, "Roberts, Lampman, and Edmund Collins" in Clever 5-13)]

"The Beginnings of a Canadian Literature." Daily Telegraph (Saint John, NB) 19 June 1883: ? (Boone 35n). University Monthly (U of New Brunswick) June 1883: ? (Boone 35n) [text of alumni oration at the University of New Brunswick Encaenia, 28 June 1883 (Boone 35n)]

"The Rawdon's' Luck." Continent (Philadelphia) 18 July 1883: ? (PB) [first known fiction in an American periodical; The Continent was a short-lived (1882-84) weekly that began auspiciously with a host of top illustrators and writers (Joel Chandler Harris was in the first issue, and Harriet Beecher Stowe, Julian Hawthorne, Rebecca Harding Davis, and Sarah Orne Jewett followed) but soon fell victim to its own expenses (Mott 3: 557-59); "I am writing a novelette..." (R. to Carman, 12 Dec. 1882)]

Rev. of Poems Antique and Modern, by Charles Leonard Moore. Week 6 Dec. 1883: ? (Boone 40n) [unsigned? review in the Week's first issue; "I am the writer of the review of Poems Antique & Modern which appeared in the Week, & it gives me great pleasure to find you considered it just. I did not close & shelve your volume after reviewing it, but have read it very frequently since, & ever with increasing delight. I think there is no one of the new men in American song who promises a more splendid development than you do" (R. to American

lawyer and poet Charles Leonard Moore [1854-1923], 18 May 1884)]

"The Track." Week 13 Dec. 1883: 24-25. (V) [nature essay on favourite spots lost and won by the coming of the railway; Roberts' only known signed prose contribution to the Week during his tenure as its editor Nov. 1883-Feb. 1884]

1884

"Notes on Some of the Younger American Poets." Week 24 Apr. 1884: 328-29. (V) [despite title, an essay on the probable legacy of key members of the passing and present generation of American poets mainly remarkable for its comments on Whitman; Poe, Emerson, and Longfellow have few disciples; safe to predict followers of Dr. Holmes's "society verse" "while cultured society in America continues to exist"; "with all [Whitman's] admirers he has no imitators, for which we are devoutly thankful. Yet Whitman's genius is so great that, in spite of his immodesties, his irritating egotism, his extravagant affectations, his reckless constructions, his inapt and awkward coinage of unnecessary words--in spite of the deadly dullness of his catalogues, his pages on pages of utter failure, at length the most hostile critic, unless blind of the mind's eye, is constrained to yield him homage" (328); conclusion lists "most prominent" younger poets: Joaquin Miller, Edgar Fawcett, Sidney Lanier, Richard Watson Gilder, Charles de Kay, Miss Ellen Mackay Hutchinson, H[jalmar] H[jorth] Boyesen, Maurice Thompson, F.S Saltus, Starr H. Nichols, and the especially promising Miss Edith M. Thomas (329); essay projected as part of a series on young American poets to be published in "various periodicals, in detached essays, then enlarged & issued in book form" (R. to Charles Leonard Moore, 18 May 1884), but aside from an essay on Edgar Fawcett (below) the work never materialized]

"Edgar Fawcett." Week 26 June 1884: 471-72. (V). [Rpt.?] in Current (Chicago) 28 June 1884: ? (Boone 33n). [while even in the most prominent of American poets there "exists a marked deficiency in the sense of form" (471), Fawcett is both an artist and "master of all its technicalities"; quotes from several poems and cites others, especially "Behind History"--"The unstricted praise which is so often applied to Browning's 'My Lost [sic] Duchess' may with justice be applied to this" (472)]

"New Brunswick." Illus. Frank Schell. Picturesque Canada: The Country as It Was and Is. Ed. George Monro Grant. [36-part serial?]. Toronto: Art Publishing Co., 1882-84? 2 vols. Toronto: Belden, 1882. (NG 0386649, Watters). 2 vols. bound as one. Toronto: James Clarke, n.d. 880 pp. 2: 741-88. (CaNSHSMU) [illus. popular guide/history of Canada;

other contributors include G. Mercer Adam, Agnes Machar, J.G.A. Creighton, and Louise Murray; Roberts' contribution is a guided tour with a few historical notes from Saint John to Fredericton and upriver to Grand Falls, culminating in Moncton; emphasis is on sightseeing, canoeing, and fishing, not, as in Adam's chapters on Toronto and even Muskoka, commerce and settlement; contains three poems or excerpts from poems, only one of which, "To Fredericton in May-Time," is named; contracted fall of 1881 (Boone 27) and written 1882-83; "I have been busy, & expect soon to be busier, at Ye Picturesque Canada article..." (R. to Carman, 12 Dec. 1882)]

"Echoes from Old Acadia: I. An Acadian 'Bûche de Noël.'" Current (Chicago) 20 Dec. 1884: ? (PB). Rpt. as An Acadian "Buche de Noël". 1945. [7] pp. (N) ["As for those 'Echoes from Old Acadia' of which you speak, four papers were printed in the Current, beginning with the Xmas issue & appearing fortnightly thereafter. A little misunderstanding with Wakeman led me to cut the series off short. I shall probably finish the thing one of these days, & issue in book form" (R. to Charles Leonard Moore, 16 June 1885); in its early years Edgar L. Wakeman's weekly Current (1883-88) was second among Chicago literary magazines only to the Dial (Mott 3: 54); although some or all of the "Echoes" series seem to have been re-used by Roberts as papers read to the Canadian Club of New York and printed by the Club in Canadian Leaves (1887), the series as here envisioned was never completed]

#### 1885

NB. "...two or three weeks ago I finished up a troublesome paper, for an English periodical, on our late war in our North West" (R. to Charles Leonard Moore, 16 June 1885). Unlocated.

NB. "Concerning [Sidney] Lanier, I am glad we agree upon his verse. I do not wonder at all at the opinion you formed of it, when such opinion was based on the curious 'Psalm of the West.' I cannot read that production. I wish you were right with regard to the notice in the Critic, but that was not from my pen. A brief & hasty review of the work [Poems, 1884?], however, was contributed by me to a St John N.B. journal, & I will mail you a copy of it" (R. to Charles Leonard Moore, 16 June 1885). Unlocated.

"Echoes from Old Acadia: II. At the St. Croix Mouth." Current (Chicago) 10 Jan. 1885: ? (PB) [n/f]

"Echoes from Old Acadia: III. 'French Gardens,' Sable Island." Current (Chicago) 31 Jan. 1885: ? (PB) [n/f]

Canada. Fredericton, NB: privately printed, Jan. 1885. (Pacey 413-14) [poem]

"Echoes from Old Acadia: IV. The Wife of Charles La Tour." Current (Chicago) 14 Feb. 1885: ? (PB) [n/f]

"Goldwin Smith at the Grange." Critic (NY) 11 July 1885: 13-? (PB, PI 2: 405) [n/f]

"The Stone Dog." Longman's (London) Nov. 1885: 53-? (PB, PI 2: 421). Collected in Earth's Enigmas, 1896 and 1903 eds. [narrator prevented from opening the door to a ruined city by a stone dog that comes to life; written while in Toronto early summer of 1884; called by Roberts "my first important story" (Pomeroy 140); "In looking back I feel that I wrote the story very much as a study in prose. I said, 'Go to, I will make a weird story!'" (R. to Richard Watson Gilder, 4 Mar. 1887)]

Rev. of Glenaveril; Or, the Metamorphoses, by Owen Meredith [the Earl of Lytton]. Week 24 Dec. 1885: 51-52. (V) [gently dismissive; poem recalls Don Juan, but Lytton's attempt to capture Byron's "jauntiness" seems a "pose" (51); shows talent, but "The highest poetic power, the interpretive, is not found therein" (52)]

#### 1886

NB. "In 1886 he had written for an American weekly an article entitled 'The Pan-Anglican Idea,' in which he maintained that such a federation in some form [between Great Britain and the United States] was the inevitable destiny of the two democracies" (Pomeroy 353). Unlocated.

"The Outlook for Literature." Halifax Herald 1 Jan. 1886: ? (PB) [argues that Canadian literature must be Canadian first and regional second; excerpts qtd. in Pomeroy 100-01]

"Bear vs. Birch-Bark." Wide Awake June 1886: ? (PB). Rpt. in In Peril: True Stories of Adventure. Boston: D. Lothrop, 1887. (Cappon). Collected in Around the Campfire, 1897. Rpt. in Saturday Night 12 Oct. 1907: 20. (SN) [first story to be published in a book (Pomeroy 106-07)]

"Review of Literature, Science and Art." The Dominion Annual Review [Register?] 1885 [published 1886?]. (Boone 60n) [praises growth of Canadian poetry, citing his own work first (Boone 60n); a commissioned article, written spring of 1886 (Adams 55); "The Dominion Annual Register, for which I am doing the literary chapter, is mainly responsible [for keeping me so busy]" (R. to Carman, 22 Mar. 1886)]

## 1887

In Divers Tones. Boston: D. Lothrop, [Mar.?] 1887. viii, 134 pp. (N). Montreal: Dawson, 1887. viii, 134 pp. (N, BMCat, Watters) [poems; "I expect to be able in a few days to send you my new book. It is merely awaiting the issue of the Canadian copyright edition" (R. to Richard Watson Gilder, 4 Mar. 1887); in a letter of 29 Oct. 1892 to the Williamson Book Co., Roberts refers to "what is actually, tho' not nominally, a 2nd edition of In Divers Tones being now on the market"]

"Indian Devils." Youth's Companion 30 June 1887: 286-87. (YC 539) [NB adventure; first prose contribution to the famous Boston juvenile (his first poem in it had appeared nine months earlier); the Companion would eventually publish at least sixty-six of his poems, stories, and sketches over the next forty years; better than half of these appear between 1891 and 1901, when fellow expatriate E.W. Thomson was a Companion editor, and there is an gap of at least two years between Thomson's departure and Roberts' next appearance]

"Poet and Buckboard on the Saguenay River." Outing July 1887: 336-? (PB, PI 3: 371) [n/f]

"Echoes from Old Acadia." Canadian Leaves.... Ed. G.M. Fairchild. New York: Napoleon Thompson, [Dec.] 1887. 145-73. (N, BMCat) [includes portrait; text of speech read before the Canadian Club of NY in 1886 (Pomeroy 96) on stories from Acadia's history: Cartier's arrival, De La Roche's ill-fated colonists, Champlain's "Order of the Good Times," the battle between Charnisay and La Tour, Acadian Christmases past and present; at least some of these seem to be from the series of the same name Roberts published in the Current 1884-85]

## 1888

"The Bull and the Leaping Pole." Wide Awake Jan. 1888: ? (PB) [short story]

"A Note on Russian Realism." Week 23 Feb. 1888: 200. (V) [thoughtful review article on the recently issued Great Masters of Russian Realism (from T.Y. Crowell, who would later publish several of Roberts' books); says Russian realism is rooted in sincerity and importantly discriminates in what it chooses to describe; the too scientific French realism, if it uses selection at all, does it "only to eliminate whatever might serve as an aesthetic or moral pattern"; and American realism, "which is that of the deliberately curious and conscientiously unheroic observer,"

has no real sins but "the respectable sin of dulness";  
signed King's College]

"The Barn on the Marsh." Youth's Companion 8 Mar. 1888: 114-15.  
(YC F47). Collected in Earth's Enigmas, 1896 and 1903 eds.  
[ghost story; college-educated narrator sees the hanging  
corpse of a neighbour he saw die when a child; based on a  
similar incident in Roberts' youth (Pomeroy 11, 25)]

Rev. of A Short History of the Canadian People, by George Bryce.  
Dial (Chicago) Apr. 1888: 290-? (PB, PI 3: 66)

"The Teaching of English." Christian Union (NY) 19 Apr. 1888: ?  
(PB) [the Christian Union was a Congregationalist weekly  
that in 1893 became more of a general interest magazine  
under its new name the Outlook (Mott 4: 292), which explains  
Pomeroy's erroneous claim that this essay was published in  
The New York Outlook (100)]

"Pastoral Elegies." New Princeton Review 5 (May 1888): 360-?  
(PB, PI 3: 323). Rpt. as introd. to Shelley's Adonais and  
Alastor, 1902. [regarded by Roberts as "one of his best  
pieces of prose" (Pomeroy 105)]

Introduction. Poems of Wild Life: Selected and Edited by Charles  
G.D. Roberts, M.A. Canterbury Poets Ser. London: Walter  
Scott; Toronto: Gage, [Oct.] 1888. ix-xviii, 238 pp. (N,  
BMCat, Watters) [chose poems that had an "active romantic  
element" (xiv); argues that America is the source of "our  
most abundant and distinctive wild-life verse" and singles  
out Joaquin Miller as "The prince of all wild-life poets"  
(xi); Canterbury Poets series edited by William Sharp, a  
friend of Roberts and a regular visitor to Kingscroft  
(Pomeroy 84-85); see Roberts' letters soliciting  
contributions to the anthology from Charles Mair (19 Mar.  
1888), John Reade (3 Apr.), Richard Watson Gilder (7 May),  
James Russell Lowell (23 May), John Vance Cheney (25 May),  
and Edmund Clarence Stedman (1 June)]

#### 1889

Introduction. Haliburton: The Man and the Writer. By F. Blake  
Crofton. Proceedings of the Haliburton Society of the  
University of King's College No. 1. Printed for the Society  
by J.J. Anslow, Windsor, NS, Jan. 1889. 73 pp. (Cappon)  
["In the course of a month or six weeks I will have out a  
volume of great value & literary merit--Haliburton..., by F.  
Blake Crofton. It is being issued by the Haliburton  
Society...of which I am president. Am having it printed  
under my own eye, as the Year's proceedings of the Society"  
(R. to William Douw Lighthall, 18 Nov. 1888)]

- "Civil and Mining Engineering Course at King's College." Letter. Morning Herald (Halifax) 1 Apr. 1889: ? (Boone 106n) [letter promoting King's Bachelor of Engineering program in response to a Herald editorial on the importance of technical education in Nova Scotia; rpt. in Boone 105-06]
- "Strayed." Harper's Young People 2 July 1889: 606. (YC C12). Collected in Earth's Enigmas, 1896 and 1903 eds. [juvenile animal story; ox with wanderlust killed by a panther]
- "The Panther at the Parsonage." Golden Days for Boys and Girls 13 July 1889: 524-25; rpt. 8 June 1901: 477-78. (YC D16) [juvenile animal story]
- "Fight with the Hounds of the Sea." Youth's Companion 18 July 1889: 363. (YC F59) [short story about shad-fishing in Bay of Fundy]
- "Saved by a 'Sliver.'" Harper's Young People 15 Oct. 1889: 862-63. (YC C13) [short story]
- "William Douw Lighthall." By Stanley F.W. Symonds [pseud.?]. King's College Record Nov. 1889: ? (Boone 97n) [in a letter to Lighthall of 21 Nov. 1888 Roberts pledged to write the article on Lighthall for his brother's "Canadian Poets" series in the Record "under a nom de plume!"]
- "Dan." Youth's Companion 10 Nov. 1889: 501-02. (YC F62) [short story]
- Autochthon. Windsor, NS: privately printed, Dec. 1889. 4 pp. (N, Watters, Pacey 438-39). Rpt. in Songs of the Common Day, 1893. [poem]
- "An Experience of Mr. Butterpole [sic]." Globe (Toronto?) Christmas no. 1889: ? (PB). Collected in Earth's Enigmas (1896 ed. only) as "An Experience of Jabez Batterpole."

## 1890

- "Tracked by a Panther." St. Nicholas 17 (1889-90): 213-16. (YC A15) [animal story]
- "Bruin and the Cook." Youth's Companion 9 Jan. 1890: 23. (YC F63) [first of four "Tales from the Lumber Camps" for St. Nicholas]
- "The Butt of the Camp." Youth's Companion 16 Jan. 1890: 35. (YC F63). Collected in Earth's Enigmas, 1896 and 1903 eds. [second in "Tales from the Lumber Camp" series; logger saves camp from flood, thereby going from camp "butt" to camp hero]



- "A Brush with Trespassers." Youth's Companion 23 Jan. 1890: 47.  
(YC F63) [third in "Tales from the Lumber Camps" series]
- "A 'Bluenose' Vendetta (A Story of the United Empire Loyalists)." St. Nicholas Feb. 1890: 332-35. (YC A17) [n/f]
- "Treed by a Bull Moose." Youth's Companion 20 Feb. 1890: 95.  
(YC F63) [fourth in "Tales from the Lumber Camps" series]
- "An Adventure in a Snow-Shed." Golden Days for Boys and Girls 15  
Mar. 1890: 253-54; rpt. 22 June 1902: 513-14. (YC D18)
- "Sybarites on the Tobique." Outing Apr. 1890: 40-? (PB, PI 3:  
431) [NB fishing story based on incident in trip taken to  
gather material for Roberts' contribution to Picturesque  
Canada, 1884; the "Ecclesiastic" in the story is Roberts'  
third companion on the trip, his father George Goodridge  
Roberts (Pomeroy 90)]
- "The Raft Rivals." Youth's Companion 15 May 1890: 262-63. (YC  
F69) [short story]
- "Caught by the Tide." Youth's Companion 24 July 1890: 405-06.  
(YC F74) [short story]
- "The World's First Great Ship Railway." Cosmopolitan Aug. 1890:  
435-? (PI 3: 77) [n/f; describes (aborted) railway being  
constructed across Isthmus of Chignecto connecting NS with  
NB; written Apr.-May 1890 (R. to Carman, 23 Mar. and 19 May  
1890)]
- "Jake Dimball's Wooden Leg." Independent 14 Aug. 1890: ? (PB)  
[short story]
- "Chopping Him Down." St. Nicholas Sep. 1890: 928-31. (YC A19)  
[n/f]
- "Lost Camp." Independent 18 Sep. 1890: ? (PB) [short story]
- The Canadians of Old. By Philippe Aubert de Gaspé. Trans.  
Roberts. Appleton's Town and Country Library. New York: D.  
Appleton, [Oct.] 1890. 287 pp. (N, Watters, Cappon).  
Toronto: Hart, 1891. (Cappon, Pomeroy). Rpt. with new  
preface as Cameron of Lochiel. Boston: L.C. Page, 1905.  
287 pp. (N, Watters, Cappon). Introd. Clara Thomas.  
Toronto: NCL-McClelland & Stewart, 1974. xii, 364 pp. (PB)  
[trans. of French-Canadian romance Les anciens Canadiens  
completed with the assistance of Annie Prat July-Aug. 1890  
for \$200 (Pomeroy 102); Appleton's Town and Country Library  
was a popular cheap fiction series est. 1888 that eventually  
ran to 312 volumes and included new along with known writers  
such as Joseph Conrad, William J. Locke, and Anthony Hope  
(Tebbel 206-07)]

"In the 'Forrard' Bulkhead." Youth's Companion 11 Dec. 1890: 681. (YC F79) [short story]

"Tantramar." Dominion Illustrated Christmas no. 1890: 5-11. (V) [illus. novelette; ms. completed spring of 1888 and sent to the Century but rejected (R. to Richard Watson Gilder, 7 May 1888); on resubmitting the story to DI, Roberts wrote to its editor John Reade that "I think, as it is intensely and wholly Canadian, it would suit the D.I. much better than an American periodical" (9 Oct. 1890)]

### 1891

NB. "Damn Goldwin Smith! It is the most impertinent coxcomb that ever cursed our Canada with its presence. I scarified him the other day in the Critic (Halifax), not ineffectively" (R. to Carman, 17 Mar. 1891). Article or letter criticizing Smith's attack on Sir John A. Macdonald's fears of annexation; unlocated.

"In the Accident Ward." Harper's Bazaar 21 Mar. 1891: ? (PB). Collected in Earth's Enigmas, 1896 and 1903 eds. [ghost story; narrator envisions a strange hill with a "blood-red" path guarded by two leopards and an ape before awakening in a hospital, the survivor of a train crash]

"The Star on the Marsh." Independent 28 May 1891: ? (Boone 131n). Collected as "The Eye of Gluskâp" in Earth's Enigmas (1896 ed. only) and By the Marshes of Minas, 1900 (PB). [Acadian story accepted by Carman for the Independent after it had been rejected by the Century, Harper's, the Atlantic, and Scribner's; Carman agreed with Roberts that it was the "best prose" he had done so far (R. to Carman, 17 Mar. 1891; Adams 42)]

The Canadian Guide Book: The Tourist's and Sportsman's Guide to Eastern Canada and Newfoundland. New York: Appleton, [July?] 1891. 270 pp. (N, Cappon). London: Heinemann, 1891. viii, 270 pp. (BNCat, Watters). 2 vols. (vol. 2, Western Canada, by E. Ingersoll). London: Heinemann, 1892. (BMCat). New York: Appleton, 1897. viii, 327 pp. (BMCat). Rpt. as The Canadian Guide Book...Including the Canadian Rocky Mountains and National Park, and Routes to the Yukon Gold Fields. New York: Appleton, 1898. viii, 327 pp. (BNCat). Rpt. as The Canadian Guide Book...Revised and Corrected to Date by Charles G.D. Roberts...and Western Canada to Vancouver's [sic] Island. New York: Appleton, 1899. viii, 327 pp. (BNCat) [written winter and spring of 1890-91 for \$300; Roberts later wrote of it that "This book meant a terrific lot of work for comparatively little reward" (Pomeroy 103); Pomeroy does not mention Roberts having a hand in the Appleton reissues, and the identical pagination for the 1898 and 1899 printings renders suspect the "Revised" claim in the latter's title; according to

Cappon, revised "editions" of the Guide appeared in 1892, 1894, 1895, 1896, 1897, 1898, and 1899]

"Saved by the Cattle." Independent 6 Aug. 1891: ? (PB) [short story]

"Captain Joe and Jamie." Scribner's Sep. 1891: 389-92. (RG 1890-99). Collected in Earth's Enigmas, 1896 and 1903 eds. [Acadian melodrama; small boy saved from drowning in storm by an old barrel that floats him to safety]

"Tantramar Tides." Saturday Night 19 Sep. 1891: 5. (SN) [short story]

"Left on the Isle of Sands: A Story of Acadia." Youth's Companion 8 and 15 Oct. 1891: 529-30 and 541-42. (YC F91) [short story]

## 1892

"The Raid from Beauséjour." Dominion Illustrated Monthly Feb.-May 1892: ? (PB). Collected in Raid from Beauséjour, 1894. Rpt. as The Young Acadian; Or, The Raid from Beauséjour. Illus. Blanche McManus. Cosy Corner Ser. Boston: Page, 1907. 7-139 pp. (N, Watters) ["Am at work now on a long boys' romance of Acadian life, to be called 'Beauséjour'" (R. to W.D. Lighthall, 15 Nov. 1889); sent to Carman at the Independent after it was rejected by St. Nicholas with instructions to try to place it with Harper's Young People or the Cassell Company (R. to Carman, 11 Mar. 1890) or, later, the Independent itself (R. to Carman, 16 July 1890), none of which accepted it]

"Modern Instances." Column. Dominion Illustrated Monthly Feb. 1892-Aug. 1892. (V) [literary miscellany column, begun in first issue of DIM; March column omitted owing to death of Goodridge Bliss Roberts, no column in June or July; contents as follows: Feb. 1892, "The Literary Conscience," "The Shelley Centenary," rev. of Rev. Frederick George Scott's novel Elton Hazelwood; Apr. 1892, "The Pleasant Pastime of Defining Poetry," rev. of Gilder's Two Worlds, and Other Poems; May 1892, "The Savour of the Soil" (on Canadian writing), rev. of Phillips Stewart's Poems; Aug. 1892, "The Horse for the Brainworker" recommends, tongue-in-cheek, that the brain-worker adopt a "hobby-horse" for diversion, and "The Entertaining Pursuit of Character Collecting" recommends character studying as the best hobby; on 19 Dec. 1892, Roberts wrote Archibald MacMechan to promise to review James De Mille's Behind the Veil in "'Modern Instances'--if ever I succeed in doing any more of those frivolous paragraphs" (the rev. instead appeared in the Week, 23 Feb. 1894)]

- "An Adventure on a Homeward Bound." Independent 4 Feb. 1892: ?  
(PB) [short story]
- "An Adventure on the Big Tantrammar." Independent 14 Apr. 1892: ?  
(PB) [short story?]
- "A Tragedy of the Tides." Independent 26 May 1892: ? (PB).  
Collected in Earth's Enigmas (1896 ed. only) and By the Marshes of Minas, 1900. Rpt. in Current Literature July 1900: 69-71. (RG 1) [Acadian story; Roberts submitted it to Carman at the Independent after it was rejected by both the Century and the Atlantic, calling it, "for a change, an adult story, --short, but mighty tragic! It seems to me distinctly one of my better, or best, pieces of prose. But Gilder & Scudder will none of it" (R. to Carman, 6 Apr. 1892; see R. to Carman of 19 Apr. 1892 for more of Roberts' thoughts on the story)]
- "A Boy and a Bull." Golden Days for Boys and Girls 23 July 1892: 556. (YC D37) [short story]
- "The Poetry of Wordsworth." Selections from Wordsworth. Ed. J.E. Wetherell. Toronto: Gage, [Sep.?] 1892. (Boone 158n) [textbook authorized by Dept. of Education of Ontario for use in Ontario high schools and collegiates; Roberts disagrees with Matthew Arnold's high ranking of Wordsworth, saying that he is "amid, rather than above, the little band of great singers who made the youth of this century magnificent" (qtd. in Pomeroy 105)]
- "The Hole in the Vault." Youth's Companion 29 Sep. 1892: 482. (YC F111) [short story]
- "Saved by a Tower of Babel." Golden Days for Boys and Girls 8 Oct. 1892: 721-22. (YC D43) [short story]
- "Do Seek Their Meat from God." Harper's Dec. 1892: 120-23. (Rogers). Collected in Earth's Enigmas, 1896 and 1903 eds. [illus. animal story; settler kills two panthers to save his son but causes the death of the panther's pups]
- "When Tea Was Kept Waiting." Independent 8 Dec. 1892: ? (PB) [short story]
- Ave: An Ode for the Centenary of the Birth of Percy Bysshe Shelley, August 4, 1792. Toronto: Williamson Book Co., [Dec.] 1892. 27 pp. (N, BMCat 1956-65 supp., Watters) ["I have just completed what is, I am sure, my best & most important poem" (R. to Carman, 29 Oct. 1892); Roberts proposed several times to Williamson that they become his regular Canadian publisher, but this is his only work to bear their imprint (letters of 29 Oct. 1892, 16 Nov. 1892, and 13 Jan. 1893); according to a note in the English

edition of Songs of the Common Day, 250 copies of Ave were printed (Cappon)]

"Lou's Clarionet." Youth's Companion 22 Dec. 1892: 674. (YC F120) [short story]

[Goldwin Smith on Canada.] Dial (Chicago) 13 (1892): 387-? (PI 4: 86)

### 1893

"The Perdu." Current Topics (Chicago) Mar. 1893: ? (Boone 145n). Collected in Earth's Enigmas, 1896 and 1903 eds. [strange story about the magical attraction of a deep, mysterious "backwater" upon a "reasoning visionary" and his love; Romanticism rather than romance, almost Keatsian; setting based on an inlet by that name behind the Sloat family farm in Fredericton (Pomeroy 19-20); "have just finished, & mailed to [Richard Watson] Gilder, a mystic psychological thing, a sort of story, called 'The Perdu'" (R. to Carman, 19 Mar. 1892); Gilder apparently declined the story for his Century, Roberts' memory of which may be the source for Pomeroy's erroneous claim that it "appeared in no magazine" because "It was too completely in advance of its time" (108-09)]

"The Cart Before the Steer." Independent 20 Apr. 1893: ? (PB) [short story]

"The Bull and the Bicycle." Youth's Companion 25 May 1893: 266-67. (YC F138) [short story]

"Within Sound of the Saws." Longman's June 1893: 171-? (PB, PI 4: 625). Collected in Earth's Enigmas, 1896 and 1903 eds. [lumber camp melodrama; father vows revenge upon the man who impregnated his daughter, but recants when man returns seven years later and saves his grandson from drowning]

"A Tiger's Plaything." Youth's Companion 17 Aug. 1893: 399. (YC F149) [animal story]

"A Night Encounter." St. Nicholas Sep. 1893: 803-07. (PB, YC A21) [short story; presumably the same as "A Narrow Escape from a Panther" mentioned in "Periodicals" column of the Week for 15 Sep. 1893 (1002) as appearing in the Sep. St. Nicholas]

Songs of the Common Day, and Ave! An Ode for the Shelley Centenary. London: Longman's, Green, [Sep.?] 1893. xi, 126 pp. (BMCat). Toronto: W. Briggs; Montreal: C.W. Coates; Halifax: S.F. Huestis, [Sep.?] 1893. xi, 126 pp. (N, Watters) [first draft of ms. sent to Longman's by Mar. 1891, but publication delayed "because I am too busy to

complete the revision of certain poems it is to contain" (R. to James Elgin Wetherell, 1 Nov. 1892)]

"Labrador Wolves." Youth's Companion 19 Oct. 1893: 503. (YC F155) [short story?]

"Bear and Hawk." Youth's Companion 23 Nov. 1893: 604. (YC F159) [animal story]

#### 1894

"A Great Modern Elegy." Rev. of Seaward, by Richard Hovey. University Monthly Jan. 1894: ? (Boone 180n)

"De Mille's 'Behind the Veil.'" Week 23 Feb. 1894: 301. (V) [criticism; "both the quality and the bulk of James de Mille's [prose] work entitle him, I think, to be ranked as one of the most distinguished of Canadian writers"; not as crazy about "Veil," but admires it as an exercise; says poem's "cadences seems to owe something to Poe's 'Raven'"]

"European Militarism and an Alternative." Review of Reviews Mar. 1894: 337. (RG 1890-99) [excerpted from an unknown source]

"Wrecked in a Boom-House." Independent 29 Mar. 1894. (PB) [short story, a "sketch of river life in New Brunswick"; submitted to the Independent Mar. 1894 (R. to Susan Hayes Ward, 10 Mar. 1894)]

"The Young Ravens that Call Upon Him." Lippincott's May 1894: ? (PB). Collected in Earth's Enigmas, 1896 and 1903 eds. Rpt. in Current Literature July 1903: 59-60. (RG 1) [animal story; starving family of eagles survives by killing a ewe's newborn lamb; "I have lately sold a short story to Stoddard of Lippincott's" (R. to Carman, 17 Mar. 1893)]

"Peril Among the Pearls." St. Nicholas May 1894: 638-41. (PB, YC A23) [juvenile adventure story; submitted to St. Nicholas Mar. 1893 (letter to Mary Mapes Dodge, 18 Mar. 1893)]

"Mr. Bliss Carman's Poems." Chap-Book 15 June 1894: 53-57. (Sader). Rpt. in Library of the World's Best Literature, Ancient and Modern. Ed. Charles Dudley Warner. Vol. 6. New York: R.S. Peale & J.A. Hill, 1891 [sic]. (PB, Pomeroy) ["This collection [Low Tide on Grand Pré], being made up of poems exclusively in the minor key, leaves unrepresented one side of Mr. Carman's genius,--a side which is of particular importance in these dilettante days. Certain poems in the periodicals have shown him to possess a joyous major note, masculine and full-throated" (qtd. in Pomeroy 104)]

- "Saved by a Hornet's Nest." Youth's Companion 28 June 1894: 299.  
 (YC F173) [short story]
- "The Den of the Gray Wolf." Cosmopolitan July 1894: 360-? (PB,  
PI 4: 152) [short story]
- "At the Rough-and-Tumble Landing." Lippincott's Aug. 1894: 240-?  
 (PB, PI 4: 34). Collected in Earth's Enigmas, 1896 and 1903  
 eds. [lumber camp melodrama; logger saves the life of his  
 enemy, thereby gaining the affections of the boss's  
 beautiful daughter]
- "Unexpected Rescuers." Harper's Young People 25 Dec. 1894: 137-  
 40. (YC C30) [short story]
- "Sunday in the Lumber Camps." Independent 27 Dec. 1894: ? (PB)  
 [n/f]
- "Adventure in a Coaling Schooner." Youth's Companion 27 Dec.  
 1894: III. (YC F193)

The Raid from Beauséjour, and How the Carter Boys Lifted the  
 Mortgage: Two Stories of Acadie. New York: Hunt & Eaton;  
 Cincinnati: Cranston & Curts, 1894. 230 pp. (N, Watters)  
 [first book of fiction; juvenile; collects the previously  
 published "Raid from Beauséjour" (Feb.-May 1892) and another  
 (prev. unpublished?) story; Cappon says there was a second  
 edition that bears the name Eaton & Mains on the back; Hunt  
 & Eaton, who also published Roberts' next book, Reube Dare's  
 Shad Boat, must have been a relatively small firm at the  
 time, as Tebbel mentions them only as a bookstore located in  
 1893 at the corner of Fifth Ave. and 20th St. (18)]

## 1895

- "Bruin's Boxing Match." St. Nicholas Feb. 1895: 267-71. (PB, YC  
 A25) [animal story]
- "Ben Christie's Bull Caribou." Golden Days for Boys and Girls 9  
 Feb. 1895: 177-78; rpt. 4 Aug. 1906: 620. (YC D70) [animal  
 story]
- "A Swimming Adventure." Independent 11 June 1895: ? (Boone  
 197n) [short story; "I enclose a bit of humorous adventure  
 of this region, founded on fact. Will it 'go'?" (R. to Susan  
 Hayes Ward, 20 Mar. 1895)]
- "The Capture of Louisburg by Pepperell and His New Englanders."  
Independent 20 June 1895: ? (PB) [n/f; unsuccessfully  
 pitched to Gilder at the Century in a letter of 6 May 1895]
- "The Junior Latin Scholarship." Independent 27 July 1895: ?  
 (PB) [short story]

- "The Romance of an Ox-Team." Lippincott's Aug. 1895: 230-? (PB, PI 4: 489). Collected in Earth's Enigmas, 1896 and 1903 eds. [Acadian melodrama; country boy saves country girl from advances of city men, thereby redeeming himself in her eyes]
- "The Bull and the Bees." Independent 5 Sep. 1895: ? (PB) [juvenile short story; completed early Feb. 1895 (R. to Susan Hayes Ward, 7 Feb. 1895)]
- "The Loyalists of the American Revolution." Canadian Magazine Dec. 1895: 127-? (PB, PI 4: 344) [n/f; unsuccessfully pitched to Gilder's Century in a letter of 6 May 1895; first prose appearance in J. Gordon Mowat's Canadian Magazine; all of his subsequent prose in the magazine is reprinted material]
- Reube Dare's Shad Boat: A Tale of the Tide Country. New York: Hunt & Eaton; Cincinnati, Cranston & Curts, 1895. 9-145 pp. (N, Watters). Rpt. as The Cruise of the Yacht "Dido": A Tale of the Tide Country. Cosy Corner Ser. Boston: Page, 1906. 145 pp. (N, Watters). Toronto: Copp, Clark, 1906. (Cappon) [juvenile fiction]
- The Land of Evangeline and the Gateways Thither, by Charles G.D. Roberts, with Many Illustrations and Appendices for Sportsman and Tourist.... Kentville, NS: Dominion Atlantic Railway, 1895. 92 pp. (N, BMCat, Watters) [see Pomeroy 103-04 for description; "Doing a Guide book to Nova Scotia just now. The pot must be kept boiling" (R. to F.G. Scott, 15 Dec. 1894)]

## 1896

- Ninety-Six: A Calendar for 1896. Verses by Charles G.D. Roberts and Bliss Carman. Toronto: Toronto Art Students' League, 1896. (Morse)
- "The Chapel at Grand Pré." Independent 27 Jan. 1896: ? (PB). Collected as "La Mouche" in By the Marshes of Minas, 1900. ["Ever so many thanks for your response to my needs, by printing the 'Chapel of Grand Pré' & sending me \$25.00 for it!" (R. to Susan Hayes Ward, 22 Feb. 1896)]
- "A City Girl Tested." Youth's Companion 13 Feb. 1896: 80. (YC F221) [short story]
- Earth's Enigmas: A Volume of Stories. Boston & New York: Lamson, Wolfe, [Mar.] 1896. 290 pp. (N, Watters). Revised as Earth's Enigmas, 1903. [first short story collection; collects fifteen stories, mostly melodramas of the tide and camps, all previously published in a variety of mostly American magazines as far back as 1885: "Do Seek Their Meat



from God," "The Perdu," "The Young Ravens That Call Upon Him," "Within Sound of the Saws," "The Butt of the Camp," "In the Accident Ward," "The Romance of an Ox-Team," "A Tragedy of the Tides," "At the Rough-and-Tumble Landing," "An Experience of Jabez Batterpole," "The Stone Dog," "The Barn on the Marsh," "Captain Joe and Jamie," "Strayed," and "The Eye of Gluskâp"; initially offered to Stone & Kimball: "I have today sent you by registered mail the MS of my volume of short stories Earth's Enigmas--, complete except for one tale, 'The Romance of an Ox Team,' which is to appear at once [Aug. 1895] in Lippincott's Magazine.... / May I ask you to let me have your report on the MS at the earliest possible date, as I have a publisher waiting to take the work if you do not want it. I had promised to give you the first chance at it, so I put it together as quickly as possible after my return from N.Y. It is a quite different volume from that which I planned at first, under the title of 'Tales from the Backwoods,'--a volume of better work & more distinctive flavour" (R. to Stone & Kimball, 30 Apr. 1895); later "given" to Lamson, Wolfe (R. to Bliss Carman 25 Aug. 1895), possibly because Stone & Kimball dissolved their partnership in April 1896, though both kept publishing, Stone as Herbert S. Stone until 1906, and Kimball as Stone & Kimball until July 1897 (Tebbel 433-34); Lamson, Wolfe was a small but for CanLit very important Boston firm that itself failed three years later (Tebbel 417-18) after having published six books by Roberts, three by cousin Carman, and the first book of poems by Ethelwyn Wetherald; "My volume of stories, Earth's Enigmas, published some six weeks ago...has already run through its first edition, & a second edition is now in press" (R. to Snowdon Dunn Scott, 27 Apr. 1896)]

- "The Attitude of Canada." Independent 26 Mar. 1896: ? (PB)  
[historical sketch]
- "The Eagle's Nest." Youth's Companion 16 Apr. 1896: 205. (YC  
F227) [animal story]
- "Jacques Cartier in New France." Independent 23 Apr. 1896: ?  
(PB) [historical sketch]
- "The Apple Lands of Acadie." Illus. C.M. Manly. Massey's May  
1896: 289-95. (V) [lead article; n/f; Roberts had pitched  
this article to Gilder at the Century in a letter of 4 Nov.  
1890]
- "Savoury Meats." Chap-Book 15 June 1896: 97-104. (Sader).  
Collected in Kindred of the Wild, 1902. Rpt. in Current  
Literature Sep. 1902: 318-20. (RG 1) [animal story]
- "Tom's Uncle." New York Times 23 and 24 June 1896: ? (Boone  
229n). Rpt. in Saturday Night 27 June 1896: 4. (SN) ["As

for the story which you find fault with, the 'Tom's Uncle' affair, I am ashamed that you should have seen it. It is a rank pot-boiler. I simply could not resist the cheque, being, as I am, in the throes of impecuniosity this year" (R. to Thomas Wentworth Higginson, 14 Oct. 1896)]

"A Brave Little Britisher: An Incident in the War of 1812." Youth's Companion 13 Aug. 1896: 409. (YC F231) [n/f]

"Carpe Diem." Philistine 3.5 (Oct. 1896): 143-44. (provided by James Doyle) [poem?]

"The Fire on the Water." St. Nicholas Oct. 1896: 984-87. (PB, YC A29) [short story]

Around the Campfire. Illus. Charles Copeland. New York & Boston: Thomas Y. Crowell, [Oct.?] 1896. iv, 349 pp. (N, Watters). Toronto: W. Briggs, [Oct.?] 1896. iv, 349 pp. (N, BMCat). Toronto: Musson, [1896?]. iv, 349 pp. (N). London: George G. Harrap, 1906. iv, 349 pp. (BMCat) [juvenile adventure stories based on 1882-83 series for the University Monthly (see above); prepared for publication late April-early May 1895 (Boone 201); "I have a volume of adventure stories, strung on the thread of a fishing-trip through the Temiscouata and Squatook waters [NB], coming out in September.... It will be a handsome illustrated book, & will appeal not only to adventure lovers but to fishermen as well" (R. to Snowdon Dunn Scott, 3 May 1896); stories narrated by the trip's six members: Stranion (Andrew Straton), Magnus (Frank McInnis), Queerman (Bliss Carman), Sam (Lee Babbitt), Ranolf (Allan Randolph), and the Old Man (Roberts) (Pomeroy 24); Roberts received \$150 advance royalties for Around the Campfire and several years later sold it outright to Crowell for \$300 (Pomeroy 142); Crowell was by this time an established house notable for having introduced Tolstoy and other Russian writers to America and for its multi-volume editions of Browning and Shakespeare (Tebbel 365-69)]

"Stony-Lonesome: A Story of the Provinces." Atlantic Monthly Nov. 1896: 655-72. (RG 1890-99). Collected as "The House at Stony Lonesome" in Earth's Enigmas, 1903 ed. [Acadian melodrama; old man cripples himself to prevent his granddaughter from running off to the bright lights of Boston]

"The Capture of Quebec." Independent 5 Nov. 1896: ? (PB) [historical sketch]

"On the Tantramar Dyke." Lotus 2.8 (Dec. 1896): 273-77. (provided by James Doyle). Collected in Earth's Enigmas, 1903 ed. [Acadian melodrama; a runaway father returns and regains the love of the woman he left by saving their son from drowning; previously titled "Episode of the Dikes,"

under which name Carman rejected it for the Chap-Book (R. to Carman, 6 May 1894); the Lotus was a short-lived Kansas City little magazine edited by Canadian expatriate Walter Blackburn Harte from New York; see ch. 8 of James Doyle's biography of Harte, The Fin de Siècle Spirit (ECW, 1995)]

The Book of the Native. Boston, New York, & London: Lamson, Wolfe, [Dec.?] 1896. 156 pp. (N, BMCat). Toronto: Copp, Clark, 1896. 156 pp. (Watters) [fourth book of verse; "I have a new volume of poems...almost ready" (R. to Sir George Parkin, 6 June 1895); "My new volume of poems, The Book of the Native, containing my latest verse, will be out in a few days" (R. to Alfred Myrick Pound, 28 Nov. 1896)]

"Mrs. Buckler's Sweet Apples." Independent 24 Dec. 1896: ? (PB) [short story]

### 1897

NB. "A piece of work which he remembered [during his first year or years in New York] was an article describing the manœuvres of the American fleet off the Atlantic Coast. It was the poet's intense interest in the subject which led [Francis] Bellamy [editor of the Illustrated American] to ask him to write it, and, according to his custom, he mastered the details so thoroughly that he was able to write as an expert. He even criticized the performance of individual battle ships, and found some fault with several of the types. He wrote so authoritatively, indeed, that the article was reprinted in a magazine devoted to military and naval affairs. In fact, Roberts was present at a luncheon when a certain Admiral referred to it as the work of some high naval authority, adding that naturally the writer did not wish to give his name to the public" (Pomeroy 149-50). Unidentified, presumably an unsigned article in the Illustrated American of 1897 or early 1898.

"The Victorian Jubilee: Suggestions...As to How It Should Be Marked in Canada." Globe (Toronto) 16 Jan. 1897: ? (Boone 230n) [full-page feature to which Roberts contributed two paragraphs at the invitation of Globe editor John Stephen Wilson (see R. to Wilson, 2 Jan. 1897)]

"A Sanctuary of Shavings." Illustrated American 6 Mar. 1897: ? (PB) [short story; first of Roberts' signed contributions to the Illustrated American during his tenure as its assistant editor from Feb. 1897 to Jan. 1898]

The Forge in the Forest: Being the Narrative of the Acadian Ranger, Jean de Mer, Seigneur de Briart; and How He Crossed the Black Abbé; and of His Adventures in a Strange Fellowship. Boston, New York, & London: Lamson Wolfe, 1896 [Mar.? 1897]. 311 pp. illus. (N, BMCat, Watters, Cappon). "Second edition." Boston, etc.: Lamson Wolfe, 1897. (N).

Toronto: W. Briggs; Montreal: C.W. Coates; Halifax: S.F. Huestis, 1897. 311 pp. (N, BMCat, Watters). New York, etc.: Silver, Burdett, [190-?]. 311 pp. (N). Boston: Page, 1902. (N). New York: Grosset & Dunlap, ©1896 [prob. printed later]. 311 pp. illus. (N). Everett's Library. [London?]: Everett, 1913. 253 p. (BMCat). London: Dent, 1923. xiii, 226 pp. (N, BMCat) [first novel; "I have just completed a historical romance of old Acadian life, the scene of which is laid at & about Grand Pré, in 1746" (R. to James Burt Best, 15 Sep. 1896); began "working up the scheme" early 1895 (R. to Herbert Stone, 20 Mar. 1895); "written during the past summer" (R. to Susan Hayes Ward, 22 Sep. 1896); "We have just read The Forge in the Forest...a copy of which we received in advance, but not in time to review it in this number. The book will be out about the beginning of the month" ("Chronicle and Comment," NY Bookman Mar. 1897: 11).

A History of Canada. Boston, New York, & London: Lamson, Wolfe, [Mar.?] 1897. xi, 493 pp. (N, BMCat). Toronto: G.N. Morang, 1897. xi, 493 pp. (NS, Watters). Toronto: Morang; Boston, etc.: Lamson, Wolfe, 1898. xi, 493 pp. (N). London: Kegan Paul, 1898. xi, 493 pp. (BMCat, BNCat). Toronto: Morang, 1901. xi, 493 pp. (N). Boston: Page, 1903. 329 pp. (N). Morang's Modern Text-Books. Toronto: Morang, 1904 and 1909. xxii, 492 pp. illus. (N, BMCat). Boston: Page, [1910?]. xi, 493 pp. (N). Toronto: Macmillan, 1915. (N). "7th Impression." Boston: Page, 1918. xi, 493 pp. (N). Toronto: Macmillan, 1922. xx, 492 pp. (N) [history of French, English, and Canadian dominion; written 1893-June 1895 for the Dominion History Competition's \$2,000 prize but lost to a submission by Judge W.H.P. Clement of BC; dedicated to E.C. Stedman, to whom Roberts sent a copy, "just out," 19 Mar. 1897; "I have made a good history--clear, interesting, and of literary quality. It is the best work I can do in prose" (R. to George Parkin, 6 June 1895); Page brought out a second edition in 1915 (not located) and arranged with Macmillan of Toronto to add another chapter "by another hand" but claimed in a preface that the work had been "revised and brought up to date by Mr. Roberts" (Adams 59-60); Pomeroy says Roberts' "work ends with Chapter XXVII of the original edition and covers nothing later than the year 1895" (106); hard to square claims for a revised second edition with the consistent pagination; Canadian editions after 1904 added the subtitle "For High Schools and Academies" or a variant]

"The Greek Defiance to Europe." Illustrated American 17 Apr. 1897: ? (PB) [n/f]

"Grant." Illustrated American 24 Apr. 1897: ? (PB) [n/f]

- "The Ramparts of Port Royal." Atlantic Monthly May 1897: 624-29. (RG 1890-99). Collected in By the Marshes of Minas, 1900. [Acadian story]
- "How Coeducation Became Popular at St. Kavins." Independent 6 May 1897: ? (PB) [short story; submitted to Susan Hayes Ward 22 Sep. 1896 as a "story of College life, based on incidents which fell within my own experience"]
- "The Indian's Gift to Modern Recreation." Illustrated American 8 May 1897: ? (PB) [n/f]
- "Victoria's Private Life and Public Influence." Illustrated American 15 May 1897: ? (PB) ["His six articles commemorating the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria are examples of the decidedly British bias of much of his writing for the periodical" (Adams 73)]
- "The Political and Social Reforms of the Age." Illustrated American 22 May 1897: ? (PB) [n/f]
- "The Colonial Expansion and Scientific Discoveries of the Reign." Illustrated American 29 May 1897: ? (PB) [n/f]
- Rev. of The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, ed. Reuben Gold Thwaites. Bookman (NY) June 1897: 34-42. (V) [may have been solicited to do this review on the basis of the favourable review of his A Forge in the Forest in the April Bookman--if he knew about one priest, he must know about them all]
- "The Great Wars of the Reign." Illustrated American 5 June 1897: ? (PB) [n/f]
- "The Indian Empire." Illustrated American 12 June 1897: ? (PB) [n/f]
- "Victorian Writers." Illustrated American 19 June 1897: ? (PB) [n/f]
- "The Homes of the Queen." Illustrated American 26 June 1897: ? (PB) [n/f]
- "The Coming King and Emperor." Illustrated American 7 Aug. 1897: ? (PB) [n/f]
- "How to Camp with Comfort." Independent 12 Aug. 1897: ? (PB) [n/f]
- "The Four Ambassadors to the United States." Illustrated American 14 Aug. 1897: ? (PB) [n/f]

- Rev. of New Light on the Early History of the Greater Northwest, ed. Elliott Coues. Bookman (NY) Sep. 1897: 70-71. (V) [an annotated edition of the journals of Alexander Henry with selections from David Thompson's journals; Roberts praises Coues' scholarship and the authors' "bold fidelity to fact"]
- Rev. of Ballads of Lost Haven, by Bliss Carman. Bookman (NY) Oct. 1897: 147-48. (V) ["A new volume of poems by Mr. Bliss Carman is a literary event which appeals not only to the love of beauty but to the love of novelty as well"; each of Carman's previous books "has a note of its own"; the prevailing note of Ballads is "one of a large sadness and overbrooding mystery. It is the most elemental, massive, unshattering of Mr. Carman's books" (147); Roberts gets his digs in, diplomatically, at Carman's obscurity--says that Ballads, like each of his previous books, contains "at least one poem...which the illuminated may love, indeed, but which surely no one, not even Mr. Carman himself, can wholly understand" (here it's "The Kelpie Riders"); especially likes "the splendidly masculine" "The Gravedigger" and "The Yule Guest," "one of the most remarkable and genuine of all modern ballads"]
- "An Estimate of Francis Thompson." Criterion 23 Oct. 1897: 19-20. (provided by James Doyle) ["I review for that journal [the Criterion] regularly" (Roberts to E.C. Stedman, 16 Nov. 1897); the Criterion also published poems at about this time by Carman and Hovey, as well as at least one by Roberts ("Night in the City," in the 27 Nov. 1897 issue [Doyle])]
- "An Appreciation of Hall Caine." Criterion 6 Nov. 1897: 9. (provided by James Doyle)
- Rev. of Golden Treasury, ed. Francis Turner Palgrave. Criterion 20 Nov. 1897: 8-9. (provided by James Doyle)
- "An Enemy's Thanksgiving." Illustrated American 20 Nov. 1897: ? (PB) [short story]
- Rev. of Hugh Wayne, Free Quaker, by Silas Weir Mitchell. Illustrated American 27 Nov. 1897: 694. (Marks 255)
- "Mr. Stedman's New Poems" and "The National Savor in American Poetry." Criterion 27 Nov. 1897: 14-15 and 24. (provided by James Doyle)
- "The Poetry of Nature." Forum (NY) Dec. 1897: 442-45. (RG 1890-99). Rpt. in Public Opinion 30 Dec. 1898: ? (PB). Rpt. in The World's Best Poetry, 1904. [n/f?]
- Rev. of A Hero in Homespun, by William E. Barton. Bookman (NY) Dec. 1897: 360-62. (V) [historical romance of the Civil War between a Tennessee mountaineer and a Kentucky girl;

Roberts likes that the novel's history doesn't impede its story as well as the vividness of its local touches and its "strong human feeling, pathos, and wholesome sentiment"]

"An Epic of the Grand Banks." Rev. of Captains Courageous, by Rudyard Kipling. Criterion 4 Dec. 1897: 16. (provided by James Doyle)

"Some Verse of Today." Criterion 25 Dec. 1897: 17-18. (provided by James Doyle)

Rev. of An Enemy to the King, by Robert Neilson Stephens. Illustrated American 25 Dec. 1897: 815. (Marks 277)

"Grul's Hour." Living Age 212 (1897): 781-? (PI 5: 251). [reprint?]

#### 1898

Rev. of Vivian of Virginia, by Hulbert Fuller. Illustrated American 1 Jan. 1898: 22-23. (Marks 218)

Rev. of In Kedar's Tents, by Hugh Stowell Scott. Illustrated American 8 Jan. 1898: 57. (Marks 272)

"Mr. Le Gallienne's Paraphrases of Omar Khayyam." Bookman (NY) Mar. 1898: 77-79. (V) [very positive review of Gallienne's paraphrase of several translations]

New York Nocturnes and Other Poems. Boston, New York, & London: Lamson, Wolfe, [Apr.?] 1898. 84 pp. (N, BMCat, Watters) [in a letter of 21 Mar. 1898 to Harrison Smith Morris, Roberts says Nocturnes is "to appear early in April"]

"Richard Le Gallienne as a Literary Man." Cosmopolitan Aug. 1898: 459-? (PB, PI 5: 329)

"Vixen and the Panther." Youth's Companion 22 Sep. 1898: 437. (YC F262) [animal story]

"The Bewitchment of Lieutenant Hanworthy." Illus. Harrison Fisher. Saturday Evening Post 19 Nov. 1898: 321-23 [lead story]. (V). Collected in By the Marshes of Minas, 1900. [Acadian melodrama; a New England officer with the Boston expedition to capture Port Royal wins an Acadian bride; first of Roberts' many stories for the Post, then just through its first year of Cyrus H.K. Curtis's ownership and five months away from George Horace Lorimer's editorship, which together would take its circulation from about 250,000 at the time of this story to two million fifteen years later (Mott 4: 686, 694)]

A Sister To Evangeline: Being the Story of Yvonne de Lamourie, and How She Went into Exile with the Villagers of Grand Pré. Boston, New York, & London: Lamson Wolfe, [late?] 1898. viii, 289 pp. (N, BMCat, Watters). Toronto: Morang, 1899. (N). London: John Lane, 1900. vii, 289 pp. (BMCat). "New ed., with illus." New York, Boston, etc.: Silver, Burdett, 1900. viii, 289 pp. (N). "New ed...." Toronto: Copp Clark, 1902 and 1904. viii, 289 pp. (N). "New ed...." Boston: Page, 1912. viii, 289 pp. (N). "New ed...." New York: Grosset & Dunlap, ©1900 [prob. printed later]. viii, 289 pp. (N). Rpt. as Lovers in Acadie. London & Toronto: Dent, 1924. ix, 278 pp. (N, BMCat, Watters) [historical romance, quasi-sequel to Forge in the Forest; Acadian deportation separates soldier-poet Paul Grande from his love Yvonne de Lamourie; he finds her, weds her, and at novel's end waxes enthusiastic about the bliss of their marriage and life under the English régime; novel "well under way" by mid-Jan. 1898, completed Aug. 1898 in Fredericton (Adams 78, 80; Boone 242); last book for Lamson, Wolfe, which failed the next spring (Tebbel 418)]

"Grûl's Christmas Gift: Captain Samson's Rescue Party." Illus. B. Martin Justice. Saturday Evening Post 24 Dec. 1898: 405-06. (V). Collected as "Grul's Gift" in By The Marshes of Minas, 1900. [Acadian melodrama; a New Hampshire woman and her son are rescued from a band of Micmacs through the good agency of the madman Grûl, who also appears in A Sister to Evangeline]

## 1899

"Mr. Richard Hovey's Arthurian Dramas." Book Buyer (NY) Jan. 1899: 616-? (PB, PI 5: 273)

"Gaspar of the Black Le Marchands." Atlantic Monthly Feb. 1899: 246-54. (RG 1890-99). Collected in By the Marshes of Minas, 1900. [Acadian story]

"By the Thickness of a Door." Illus. Martin Justice. Saturday Evening Post 1 Apr. 1899: 629-30. (V) [Acadian story]

[John Burnet of Barns: a romance]. Book Buyer (NY) 18 (1899): 147-? (PI 5: 81) [a review?]

"Facts and History." Book Buyer (NY) June 1899: 355-? (PB, PI 5: 201) [n/f]

"In the Land of Evangeline." Saturday Evening Post 17 June 1899: 814-15. (V) [article on history, land, and culture of the Acadians that describes the Deportation as "harsh and terrible" but politically necessary and enacted "at the demand of New England, not Old England" (815); concludes with Roberts' "Blomidon" sonnet, here untitled]



"Saving the Team." Youth's Companion 28 Dec. 1899: 685. (YC F280) [short story]

[night song in the streets]. Cosmopolitan 26 (1899): 336-? (PI 5: 411) [rpt. of poem "Night in a Down-Town Street"?)

Northland Lyrics by William Carman Roberts Theodore Roberts & [Jane] Elizabeth Roberts Macdonald Selected and Arranged with a [verse] Prologue by Charles G.D. Roberts and an [verse] Epilogue by Bliss Carman. Boston: Small, Maynard, [deposited 6 Nov.] 1899. ix, 86 pp. (N, BMCat, BAL 2642, Watters, CIHM #12501)

Introduction. Walden; Or, Life in the Woods. By Henry David Thoreau. New York: Crowell, 1899. [i-xvi?]. (NT 0193067)

"How Viardeau Obeyed the Black Abbé." One of Those Coincidences, and Ten Other Stories. New York & London: Funk & Wagnalls, 1899. 315 pp. illus. (NO 0092803, BMCat under title). Collected in By the Marshes of Minas, 1900. [Acadian story]

#### 1900

NB. In Arthur Stringer's memories of his first meeting with Roberts in New York, probably in the fall of 1900, he mentions thinking that in addition to his literary works, "the man before me had written a treatise on banking" ("Eminent Canadians in New York: The Father of Canadian Poetry," National Monthly of Canada Feb. 1904: 62). The "treatise on banking" is unidentified.

"A Maid and Two Swords." Chamber's Journal (Edinburgh) 20 Jan. 1900: 125-? (PB, PI 5: 356). Canadian Magazine May 1900: 74-78. (RG 1). Living Age 17 May 1900: 713-18. (RG 1) [short story]

"Haunted by a Mad Horse." Youth's Companion 25 Jan. 1900: 41. (YC F282) [short story]

By the Marshes of Minas. Boston, New York, etc.: Silver, Burdett, [1 Feb.] 1900. v, 285 pp. (N, BMCat, Watters). 2nd printing of same 20 Feb. 1900 (Pomeroy 166). Toronto: William Briggs, 1900. 285 pp. (BMCat). Illus. Oliva Rush. Boston: Page, 1903, 1909, and 1917. v, 285 pp. (N). [collects twelve Acadian stories: "The Ramparts of Port Royal," "The Bewitchment of Lieutenant Hanworthy," "Gaspar of the Black Le Marchands," "Brown Witch and Black Abbé," "La Mouche," "A Tragedy of the Tides," "The Blue Dwarf of Belle Mare," "By the Thickness of a Door," "How Viardeau Obeyed the Black Abbé," "Grul's Gift," "The Maid of the Drift," and "The Eye of Gluskâp"; according to Pomeroy all twelve were previously published in American magazines (166) but only eight have been located; first of four books with Silver, Burdett, a Boston publishing house that Roberts'

former managing editor on the Illustrated American, Francis Bellamy, had joined two years earlier (Adams 78); collection prepared for publication during 1899 trip to England (Pomeroy 160)]

"An Acadian Coquette." Saturday Evening Post 14 Feb. 1900: ? (PB) [short story]

"In the Rapids of the Ashberish." St. Nicholas Mar. 1900: 397-401. (YC A30, RG 1) [short story]

"The Heart of the Ancient Wood." Lippincott's Apr. 1900: 483-578. (RG 1). Rpt. as The Heart of the Ancient Wood. Illus. James L. Weston. New York, Boston, & Chicago: Silver Burdett, [late fall] 1900. 276 pp. (N, BMCat, Watters, Cappon). Toronto: Copp, Clark, ©1900. 276 pp. (N). London: Methuen, 1902. 276 pp. (BMCat). New York: A. Wessels, 1906. 276 pp. (N). London: Dent, 1923. illus. (Boone 326n). London & Toronto: Dent, 1925. viii, 234 pp. illus. (BMCat). Boston: Page, 1928. (N). Introd. Joseph Gold. New Canadian Library No. 110. Toronto: NCL-McClelland, 1974. 276 pp. (CaNSHD) ["my best romance," written during 1899 trip to England (R. to E.C. Stedman, 3 Feb. 1900); story of a young girl (Miranda Craig) growing up an exile in the Canadian wilderness conceived while "sitting in Kensington Gardens and thinking wistfully of his own Canadian Wilds" (Pomeroy 161; cf. Adams 87); Dent edition licensed to them by Methuen, who were unwilling to relinquish wholly their rights to the book (Pomeroy 265)]

"A Terrible Follower." Youth's Companion 26 Apr. 1900: 217. (YC F287) [short story]

"A Treason of Nature." Outing Oct. 1900: 2-6. (RG 1). Collected in Kindred of the Wild, 1902. [animal story]

"Jean Michaud's Little Ship." Saturday Evening Post 1 Dec. 1900: ? (PB). Rpt. in Short Story Classics. Ed. William Patten. 5 vols. New York: Collier, 1905. (R. to William Patten, 9 Dec. 1905)

[A Micmac raid in Acadie]. Living Age 224 (1900): 589-? (PI 5: 374) [reprint?]

The Nineteenth-Century Series: The Story of Human Progress and the Events of the Century. Ed. W.H. Withrow, Roberts, J.C. Hopkins, and T.S. Linscott. 26 vols. London: Linscott, 1900-05. (BMCat). 25 vols. Toronto & Philadelphia: Linscott; London: W.&R. Chambers, 1902-06. (BMCat) [in addition to co-editing this series, Roberts also wrote one of the volumes, Discoveries and Explorations, 1902; Adams says this series was edited by the Irish historian Justin McCarthy (100), but BMCat does not mention McCarthy]

## 1901

- "The Moonlight Trails." Outing Jan. 1901: 371-75. (RG 1).  
Collected in Kindred of the Wild, 1902. [story of the son  
of a rural clergyman; "It seems almost certain that "The  
Moonlight Trails" is largely autobiographical" (Adams 6)]
- "Watchers of the Trail." Current Literature Feb. 1901: 202-03.  
(RG 1) [reprint of ch. 1 of Heart of the Ancient Wood,  
1900?]
- "Wild Motherhood." Outing Feb. 1901: 500-06. (RG 1). Rpt. in  
Canadian Magazine June 1901: 134-40. (RG 1). Collected in  
Kindred of the Wild, 1902. [animal story]
- "The Homesickness of Kehonka." Outing May 1901: 123-28. (RG 1).  
Collected in Kindred of the Wild, 1902. [animal story]
- "The Boy and Hushwing." Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly Nov.  
1901: ? (PB). Collected in Kindred of the Wild, 1902.  
[animal story; first of three appearances in Leslie's, all  
during the editorship of Ellery Sedgwick (1900-06), former  
assistant editor of Youth's Companion (Mott 3: 512)]
- "Mrs. Edgerly's New Maid." Smart Set Nov. 1901: ? (PB) [short  
story previously offered to Peter McArthur at Truth (R. to  
Arthur Stedman, 26 Nov. 1898); although Roberts also  
contributed verse to Smart Set, this is his only known prose  
contribution to Col. Mann's new high-society monthly--  
perhaps because of the Colonel's notoriously low penny-a-  
word payments for prose, but more likely because Roberts'  
animal stories weren't exactly Smart Set fare]
- "The Red Oxen of Bonval." A House Party: An Account of the  
Stories Told at a Gathering of Famous American Authors, the  
Story Tellers Being Introduced by Paul Leicester Ford.  
Boston: Small, Maynard, 1901. 418 pp. (N, Watters). Rpt.  
as The Red Oxen of Bonval. New York: Dodd Mead, 1908. 71  
pp. (Watters) [twelve short stories, each anonymous, each  
by a different well-known author; purchasers were invited to  
guess the identity of the twelve authors and submit their  
guesses using an enclosed coupon, with the correct or  
closest set of answers receiving a \$1000 prize from Small,  
Maynard (ad. in Collier's Xmas 1901 no.)]
- Poems. New York, Boston, & Chicago: Silver, Burdett, [Dec.]  
1901. xi, 222 pp. (N, Watters). Westminster: Constable,  
1903. xii, 222 pp. (BMCat). Boston: Page, 1903. xii, 222  
pp. (N). Toronto: Copp, [Clark], 1903. 222 pp. (N).  
Rpt. as part of Poems, 1907. ["I am about to bring out a  
collected edition of my verse, up to 1900,--in one volume"  
(R. to W.D. Lighthall, 19 Dec. 1901)]

## 1902

- "The Haunter of the Pine Gloom." Outing Feb. 1902: 542-49. (RG 1). Collected in Kindred of the Wild, 1902, and Haunter of the Pine Gloom, 1905. [animal story]
- "The Animal Story of Today." Book Buyer (NY) Apr. 1902: 210-13. (RG 1890-99) [n/f; collected as introduction to Kindred of the Wild, 1902?]
- "The King Moose of the Mamozekel." Criterion May 1902: ? (PB). Collected in Kindred of the Wild, 1902, and King of the Mamozekel, 1905. [animal story]
- "The Lord of the Air." Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly May 1902: ? (PB). Collected in Kindred of the Wild, 1902. Rpt. in Pearson's Magazine (London?) Jan. 1903: ? (PB). Rpt. in Lord of the Air, 1905. [animal story; Pearson's was an English magazine that had an American edition from 1899, with separate content (Mott 4: 228); it's unclear whether this and at least one other story by Roberts that were reprinted in Pearson's appeared in its American or its English edition, but the latter seems more likely given that they had already been published in America]
- "In Panoply of Spears." Independent 8 May 1902: 1108-14. (RG 1). Collected in Kindred of the Wild, 1902. [animal story]
- "Fredericton, New Brunswick, Canada." National Magazine (Boston) June 1902: 362-? (PB, PI 6: 240) [n/f]
- "The Watchers of the Camp-Fire." Outing June 1902: 311-17. (RG 1). Collected in Kindred of the Wild, 1902, and Watchers of the Camp-Fire, 1905. [animal story]

The Kindred of the Wild: A Book of Animal Life. Illus. Charles Livingston Bull. Boston: Page, [July?] 1902. xi, 15-374 pp. (N, Watters). London: Ward, Lock, 1902. 374 pp. (BMCat). Toronto: Copp, Clark, 1902. xi, 15-374 pp. (N). London: Duckworth, 1903. xi, 15-374 pp. (N, BMCat). New York: Stitt, 1905. 374 pp. (N). Boston: Page, ©1896-1910 and ©1900-1910. 374 pp. (N). New York: Grosset & Dunlap, ©1902 [prob. printed later]. xi, 15-374 pp. (N). London: Nelson, 1923 and 1930. 256 pp. (BMCat). Boston: Page, 1953. 374 pp. (N) [collects twelve animal stories, Roberts' first collection completely devoted to the genre: "The Animal Story" (introductory essay), "The Moonlight Trails," "The Lord of the Air," "Wild Motherhood," "The Homesickness of Kehonka," "Savoury Meats," "The Boy and Hushwing," "A Treason of Nature," "The Haunter of the Pine Gloom," "The Watchers of the Camp-Fire," "When Twilight Falls on the Stump Lots," "The King of the Mamozekel," and

"In Panoply of Spears"; prior periodical publication located for all but "When Twilight Falls on the Stump Lots," six in Outing 1900-02 and the rest scattered through other American magazines 1896-1902; all editions (except Nelson's?) reprint Bull's illustrations; first of nine books for L.C. Page, which subsequently reprinted many of his earlier books and brought out a revised edition of Earth's Enigmas; Page continued publishing editions of at least six of Roberts' books after he left them in 1908, so far as is known without paying any royalties (see note to House in the Water, 1908)]

Barbara Ladd. Illus. Frank Ver Beck. Boston: Page, [fall] 1902. 11-377 pp. (N, Watters). London: Ward, Lock, 1902. 377 pp. illus. (BMCat). Illus. Ver Beck. Toronto: Copp, Clark, 1902. 11-377 pp. (N, BMCat says "without illus."). Westminster: Constable, 1903. 377 pp. (BMCat). Illus. Ver Beck. New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1908 and 1911. 377 pp. (N). Illus. Verbek [sic]. Boston: Page, 1914. 377 pp. (N) [historical novel set in New England during American Revolution; "I am at a new romance now--historical--to be called 'Mistress Barbara'" (R. to W.D. Lighthall, 25 Apr. 1901); heroine based on Jean Carré, a young Nova Scotian artist who designed the cover for this and several of Roberts' other books and with whom he had earlier had an affair (Adams 43); Pomeroy claims that "the English edition was entirely due to the interest of George Meredith, who personally recommended the novel to the English publishers, Constable & Co," but she does not mention the earlier English edition by Ward, Lock and dates the Constable ed. 1902 (197)]

"The Poetry of Sappho." Reader (NY) Nov. 1902: ? (PB) [n/f; the Reader, of which this is the first issue, was founded and edited for two years by Carman's and Roberts' friend Mitchell Kennerley; according to Pomeroy (who mistakenly calls this The Writer, no doubt relying upon Roberts' memory some forty years later), Roberts also published a short story set in Sappho's era in Kennerley's magazine, but the earliest publication yet located for this story is nine years later, in the Fortnightly Review of Feb. 1911 (Pomeroy 172-73, 199-200; Mott 4: 46)]

"The Little People of the Sycamore." Outing Dec. 1902: 291-99. (RG 1). Rpt. in Idler (London) May 1903: 180-? (PB, PI 6: 380). Rpt as [part of?] The Little People of the Sycamore, 1905.

Shelley's Adonais and Alastor. Ed. and introd. by Roberts. Boston: Silver, Burdett, 1902. 108 pp. (N, Watters) [textbook; introduction a reprint of "Pastoral Elegies," May 1888 (Pomeroy 105); Cappon implies that Adonais and Alastor were also published separately by Silver, Burdett, also in 1902; last book with Silver, Burdett, appropriately enough a

return to the house's origins as a textbook publisher (Tebbel 578-79); on 29 Dec. 1888 Roberts wrote to Martin J. Griffin that he had "just completed, for the London market, a College Edition of Shelley's Adonais & Alastor, which will be published in the Spring"; Roberts' letter implies a publisher in place, but no such work has been located prior to the Silver edition of 1902 (for other attempts to publish it, see letters of 23 Jan. 1892, 6 Apr. 1892, and 8 Feb. 1900), although Roberts himself said years later that "back in 1898 I brought out in New York a College textbook, annotated fully, on Shelley's Alastor & Adonais, with extensive introductions. A great portion of this introduction was taken up with the evolution of the Pastoral Elegy..." (R. to George Herbert Clarke, 18 Nov. 1939)]

Discoveries and Explorations in the Century, by Charles G.D. Roberts.... Vol. 14 of The Nineteenth-Century Series. London & Edinburgh: W. & R. Chambers; Philadelphia, Detroit, & Toronto, 1902. xvii, 529 pp. (Cappon). London & Edinburgh: W. & R. Chambers; Philadelphia, Detroit, etc.: Bradley-Garretson, 1903. xvii, 529 pp. (N). London, Philadelphia, etc.: Linscott, 1904. xvii, 529 pp. (N, Watters). London & Edinburgh: W. & R. Chambers; Philadelphia & Toronto: Modern Progress Publishing, 1905. (Cappon). Toronto: Linscott, 1906. xvi, 529 pp. (N) [thirty-one lengthy chapters, some possibly salvaged from the unpublished history of England Silver, Burdett sent Roberts to England to write in the spring of 1899 (Boone 207); all editions identified as vol. 14 in Nineteenth-Century Series, which Roberts also co-edited (see 1900, above); not mentioned in the Pomeroy-Roberts biography, which leads Adams to believe that Roberts was "not particularly pleased" with it (100)]

### 1903

- "The Passing of the Black Whelps." Outing Feb. 1903: 541-51. (RG 1) [short story]
- "The Keeper of the Water Gate." Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly Mar. 1903: ? (PB). Rpt. in Pearson's Magazine Feb. 1904: ? (PB) [short story]
- "The Master of the Golden Pool." Metropolitan Magazine Aug. 1903: ? (PB). Rpt. in Windsor Magazine June 1904: ? (PB) [animal (trout) story; first of three stories in the New York Metropolitan, est. 1895 as one of several new "nude in art" magazines but by this time a more respectable if not especially noteworthy general-interest monthly (Mott 4: 46)]
- "My Panther Kittens." Youth's Companion 12 Nov. 1903: 569. (YC F375) [animal story; first story in the well-paying

Companion in 3 1/2 years--accident, or coincident with Canadian E.W. Thomson's departure as editor in 1901?]

"The Home of a Naturalist." Photographs by A. Radclyffe Dugmore. Country Life in America Dec. 1903: 152-56. (V) [description of grounds and wildlife of Ernest Thompson Seton's Wyndygoul, CT, estate]

"The Freedom of the Black-Faced Ram." Success Dec. 1903: ? (PB). Collected in Watchers of the Trails, 1904. [animal story; only known publication in Success, a New York monthly for which fellow expatriate Arthur Stringer had just become literary editor; story completed at Seton's Wyndygoul estate (Adams 96)]

The Book of the Rose. Boston: Page, 1903. 83 pp. (N, Watters). Toronto: Copp, Clark, 1903. 83 pp. illus. (N). London: R. Brimley Johnson, 1904. 3-83 pp. (N, BMCat). Rpt. as part of Poems, 1907. [on Lorne Pierce asking Roberts years later if the love poems in this volume were autobiographical, Roberts said yes, "I was intensely in love. The lady is also in New York Nocturnes and Sister to Evangeline" (qtd. in Adams 79)]

Earth's Enigmas. Illus. Charles Livingston Bull. Boston: Page, 1903. 285 pp. (N, Watters). Toronto: Copp, Clark, 1903. (Cappon). Illus. Bull. London: Duckworth, 1904. 285 pp. (BMCat) [revised edition of Earth's Enigmas (1896): drops "A Tragedy of the Tides," "An Experience of Jabez Batterpole," and "The Eye of Gluskâp" and adds "The House at Stony Lonesome" (Nov. 1896), "On the Tantramar Dyke" (Dec. 1896), and the previously unpublished "The Hill of Chastisement," an allegorical piece in which the self-flagellating narrator strives to reach an inner cave and "atonement"]

#### 1904

"The Kill." Metropolitan Magazine Jan. 1904: ? (PB) [short story]

"The Alien of the Wild." McClure's Mar. 1904: 451-59. (RG 1890-99) [first of three stories by Roberts to make it into McClure's, probably the best of the new ten-cent monthlies; for comparison's sake, fellow expatriate Norman Duncan saw at least six of his stories published in McClure's, and beat Roberts into its pages by over three years, while Harvey O'Higgins published eighteen stories in it between 1902 and 1921]

"The Return to the Trails." Youth's Companion 5 May 1904: 220-21. (YC F388). Rpt. in Windsor Magazine May 1904: ? (PB). Rpt. as [part of?] Return to the Trails, 1905. [first of

some eighty animal stories to appear fairly regularly over the next thirty years in Roberts' most loyal outlet for the genre, the Windsor Magazine of London; for the first few years of their relation, many of the stories it published had been previously printed in an American periodical, but by about 1908--shortly after Roberts moved to England--they had become his first and increasingly only periodical outlet]

"The Truce." McClure's June 1904: 168-77. (RG 1). Rpt. in Windsor Magazine Oct. 1904: ? (PB) [animal story (bear)]

The Watchers of the Trails: A Book of Animal Life. Illus. Charles Livingston Bull. Boston: Page, [Aug.?] 1904. xv, 361 pp. (N, Watters). London: Duckworth, 1904. xv, 361 pp. (N, BMCat). Toronto: Copp, Clark, 1904. xv, 361 pp. (N). New York: A. Wessels, 1906. xii, 361 pp. (N). Boston: Page, 1907. xv, 361 pp. (N). London: Nelson, 1919. 253 pp. (BMCat) [animal stories: "The Freedom of the Black-Faced Ram,"...?; all editions (except Nelson's?) reprint Bull's illustrations]

"The Rivals of Ringwaak." Windsor Magazine Sep. 1904: ? (PB) [short story]

"The Little Tyrant of the Burrows." Harper's Oct. 1904: 752-55. (RG 1). Collected in Haunters of the Silences, 1907. [animal story]

"The Decoy." Windsor Magazine Nov. 1904: ? (PB) [short story]

"The Prisoner of Mademoiselle de Biencourt." Lippincott's Nov. 1904: 513-609. (RG 1). Short story expanded as The Prisoner of Mademoiselle: A Love Story. Boston: Page, 1904. 265 pp. (N, BMCat, Watters). London: Constable, 1904. (BMCat). Toronto: Copp Clark, 1904. 265 pp. (N, BMCat). Boston: Page, 1908. 265 pp. (N). New York: Grosset & Dunlap, ©1904 [prob. printed later]. 265 pp. (N) [historical novel set in Acadia; all editions contain frontispiece by Frank T. Merrill; purchased by Lippincott's as a short story but at their suggestion turned into a novel; written summer of 1904 in Amsterdam and Luchon (Pomeroy 185-87); Pomeroy (presumably with Roberts' approval) called it "the least important of all the author's novels" (198)]

"The Ringwaak Buck." New York Herald 18 Dec. 1904: ? (PB). Collected in Haunters of the Silences, 1907. [animal story]

The World's Best Poetry... Ed.-in chief Bliss Carman. Associate eds. John Vance Cheney, Charles F. Richardson, Roberts, Francis Hovey Stoddard, Richard Le Gallienne, etc. Philadelphia: J.D. Morris, [Dec.?] 1904. 10 vols. (N)



[reprints "The Poetry of Nature" (Dec. 1897) in vol. 5, pp. ix-xv (N)]

Introduction. Sappho: One Hundred Lyrics. By Bliss Carman. Boston: Page, 1904. [describes Carman's lyrics as an "imaginative and, at the same time, interpretive reconstruction" of Sappho's surviving fragments; written at Carman's cabin, Ghost House, on Mary Perry King's property in the Catskills (R. to Lorne Pierce, 28 Apr. 1934); Sappho reprinted many times, always with Roberts' introduction]

#### 1905

- "The Duel on the Trail." Saturday Evening Post 11 Feb. 1905: ? (PB). Rpt. in Pall Mall Magazine July 1909: ? (PB). Collected in Kings in Exile, 1909. [animal story]
- "From Buck to Bear and Back." Youth's Companion 23 Feb. 1905: 89. (YC F404). Rpt. in Pall Mall Magazine Mar. 1905: ? (PB) [animal story?]
- "The Terror of the Air." Windsor Magazine June 1905: ? (PB). Rpt. in Canadian Magazine Nov. 1905: 12-13. (RG 2). Collected in Haunters of the Silences, 1907. [animal story]
- "Red Fox." Outing June-Sep. 1905: 325-35, 453-62, 609-17, 737-46. (Rogers). Rpt. (expanded) as Red Fox: The Story of His Adventurous Career in the Rinkwaak Wilds and of His Final Triumph Over the Enemies of His Kind. Illus. Charles Livingston Bull. Boston: Page, [Oct.?] 1905. xv, 340 pp. (N, Watters). London: Duckworth, 1905. xv, 340 pp. (BMCat). Toronto: Copp, Clark, 1905. xv, 340 pp. (N). New York: A. Wessels, 1907. xv, 340 pp. (N). Boston: Page, 1913. 340 pp. (N). Nelson's Shilling Library. London: Nelson, 1916. 276 pp. (BMCat). Toronto: Ryerson, 1948. x, 227 pp. (N). Boston: Page, [©1954, ©1933]. xv, 340 pp. (N). Introd. David McCord. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1972. xii, 187 pp. (PB). Illus. John Schoenherr, etc. Harmondsworth: Longman Young Books, 1974. xiv, 187 pp. (BMCat 1971-75 supp.) [novel about a Canadian fox's capture and shipment to the U.S. for a hunting club; Roberts' son Lloyd was then assistant editor of Outing and may have accepted the serial on his own initiative while editor Caspar Whitney was away on a three-month expedition (R. to Harrison Smith Morris, 14 Mar. 1905); all early editions illustrated by Bull; the novel was also serialized (abr.?) after its publication in book form in the New York Evening Sun between 25 Mar. and 18 Apr. 1907 (PB)]
- "Love of Sport." Outing July 1905: 477-78. (RG 2)
- "The Fooling of the Mongrels." Independent 27 July 1905: 186-90. (Rogers) [reprinted as chapter 9 of Red Fox (PB)]

- "The Scourge of the Forest." Outlook 5 Aug. 1905: 871-75.  
(Rogers) [reprinted as chapter 14 of Red Fox (PB)]
- "The Royal Marauder." Sunday Magazine 20 Aug. 1905: ? (PB)  
[reprinted as chapter 11 of Red Fox; first of many stories  
to appear in the English Sunday Magazine, though whether  
it's the home-printed or the American edition is unclear]
- "The Presumption of Black Mink." Independent 7 Sep. 1905: 551-  
53. (Rogers) [reprinted as chapter 10 of Red Fox (PB)]
- "Punishing the Red Buck." Sunday Magazine 17 Sep. 1905: ? (PB)  
[reprinted as chapter 15 of Red Fox (PB)]
- "The Summons of the North." Metropolitan Dec. 1905: ? (PB).  
Rpt. in Pearson's Magazine Aug. 1906: ? (PB). Collected in  
Haunters of the Silences, 1907. [animal story]
- The Haunter of the Pine Gloom. Illus. Charles Livingston Bull.  
Roberts' Animal Stories. Boston: Page, 1905. 61 pp. (N,  
Watters) [presumably reprints "The Haunter of the Pine  
Gloom" and another story or stories from Kindred of the  
Wild, 1902]
- The King of the Mamozekel. Illus. Charles Livingston Bull.  
Roberts' Animal Stories. Boston: Page, 1905. 84 pp. (N,  
Watters) [presumably reprints "The King of the Mamozekel"  
and another story or stories from Kindred of the Wild, 1902]
- The Lord of the Air. Illus. Charles Livingston Bull. Roberts'  
Animal Stories. Boston: Page, 1905 and ©1902-14. 59 pp.  
(N, Watters). [presumably reprints "The Lord of the Air"  
and another story or stories from Kindred of the Wild, 1902]
- The Watchers of the Camp-Fire. Illus. Charles Livingston Bull.  
Roberts' Animal Stories. Boston: Page, 1905 [1904] and  
©1902-1912. 49 pp. (N, Watters). [presumably reprints  
"The Watchers of the Camp-Fire" and another story or stories  
from Kindred of the Wild, 1902]
- The Little People of the Sycamore. Illus. Charles Livingston  
Bull. Roberts' Animal Stories. Boston: Page, 1906 [1905].  
58 pp. (N, Watters) [presumably reprints "The Little  
People of the Sycamore" (Dec. 1902) and another story or  
stories]
- The Return to the Trails. Illus. Charles Livingston Bull.  
Roberts' Animal Stories. Boston: Page, 1906 [1905]. 50 pp.  
(N, Watters) [presumably reprints "The Return to the  
Trails" (May 1904) and another story or stories]

## 1906

- "The Last Barrier." Harper's Feb. 1906: 415-21. (Rogers).  
Collected in Haunters of the Silences, 1907. [animal story  
about a salmon; sold to Harper's for \$300 Dec. 1906 (R. to  
Richard Watson Gilder, 20 Jan. 1906)]
- "'Melindy' and the Lynxes." Youth's Companion 12 Apr. 1906: 183-  
84. (YC F416). Rpt. in Windsor Magazine Feb. 1909: ? (PB)  
[animal story]
- "Answerers to the Call." Youth's Companion 20 Sep. 1906: 445-46.  
(YC F423). Rpt. in Pall Mall Magazine Oct. 1906: ? (PB).  
Collected in Haunters of the Silences, 1907. [animal story]
- The Heart That Knows. Boston: Page, [Sep.?] 1906. viii, 378 pp.  
(N, Watters). Toronto: Copp Clark, 1906. viii, 378 pp.  
(N). London: Duckworth, 1906. viii, 378 pp. (BMCat).  
Boston: St. Botolph Society, April 1923. viii, 378 pp.  
(N). Sackville, NB: Ralph Pickard Bell Library/Mount  
Allison U, 1984. (CaNSHD) [romance set mostly in Westcock,  
NB, during the days of sail; Luella Warden must raise her  
son Seth alone when a lie from a rival leads her fiancé Jim  
Calder to abandon her on her wedding night; Seth grows up to  
become a sailor, ending up on the same ship as his father,  
who eventually recognizes what the "heart knows"--that Seth  
is his son, and that he left for a lie; planned shortly  
after Roberts' father's death in Oct. 1905, started during a  
working trip to Cuba winter of 1905-06 (Adams 102), and  
finished in Fredericton July 1906 (R. to Harrison Smith  
Morris, 29 July 1906); Roberts called it "the most intimate  
and personal of all my prose works," saying its Rector and  
wife were based on his parents, and much of Seth on his own  
boyhood (qtd. in Pomeroy 198), but later agreed with his  
daughter Edith that "Your criticism of the ending of The  
Heart That Knows is entirely correct. In fact, I did not  
myself feel the reality of the conclusion; & it did not  
interest me" (R. to Edith Roberts, 31 Oct. 1937)]
- "In the Unknown Dark." Youth's Companion 29 Nov. 1906: 607. (YC  
F426). Collected in Haunters of the Silences, 1907. Rpt.  
in Windsor Magazine Jan. 1909: ? (PB) [animal story]
- "In the Deep of the Snow." Everybody's Magazine Dec. 1906: 809-  
20. (Rogers). Rpt. in Windsor Magazine Dec. 1907: ? (PB).  
Rpt. [rev.?] as In the Deep of the Snow, 1907. [animal  
story]
- "Mac Phairrson's Happy Family." Appleton's Magazine Dec. 1906: ?  
(PB). Rpt. in Windsor Magazine Apr. 1909: ? (PB) [short  
story]

- "A Stranger to the Wild." Century Dec. 1906: 165-74. (Rogers).  
Collected in Haunters of the Silences, 1907. [although Richard Watson Gilder published dozens of Roberts' poems during his tenure as editor of the Century, he steadily rejected his short stories for over eighteen years until finally accepting "Stranger to the Wild" (see note to "Tantramar," Dec. 1890, and Roberts' letters to Gilder of 31 Dec. 1905 and 20 Jan. 1906, in which he offers "Stranger" as "my latest child, one of my out-door, backwoods things" and under protest accepts the \$100 payment upon its acceptance)]
- "The Story of a Moose." Young England 28 (1906-07): 222-24. (YC E52)

## 1907

- "On the Night Trail." McClure's Jan. 1907: 295-98. (Rogers).  
Collected in Haunters of the Silences, 1907. [animal story; man is saved from wolves by the lynx he's just trapped; see Everybody's Magazine of June 1907 for Theodore Roosevelt's use of this story in particular to denounce Roberts as one of the "nature fakirs"]
- "The Terror of the Sea Caves." Everybody's Magazine Jan. 1907: 3-14. (Rogers). Collected in Haunters of the Silences, 1907. Rpt. in The Strand June 1908: ? (PB). [animal story]
- "A Duel in the Deep." Captain Apr.-Sep. 1907: 123-27. (YC G20).  
Collected in Haunters of the Silences, 1907. [animal story]
- "The Peril of the Green Pool." Youth's Companion 18 Apr. 1907: 187. (YC F432). Collected in Kings in Exile, 1909, English edition only.

The Haunters of the Silences: A Book of Animal Life. Illus. Charles Livingston Bull. Boston: Page, [May?] 1907. v-xiv, 3-316 pp. (N, Watters). Montreal: Montreal News Co., 1907. xiv, 3-316 pp. (N). London: Duckworth, 1907. xiv, 316 pp. (BMCat). London: Duckworth, 1913. (Cappon). New York: Grosset & Dunlap, ©1907 [prob. printed later]. xiv, 316 pp. (N). London, etc.,: Thomas Nelson, 1919. 255 pp. (BMCat). Nelsonian Library no. 25. London: Nelson, 1934. (BMCat) [collects eighteen animal stories, most of New Brunswick animals but some of sea creatures: "The Summons of the North," "The Last Barrier," "Answerers to the Call," "The Prisoners of the Pitcher-Plant," "The Prowlers," "A Stranger to the Wild," "When the Logs Come Down," "A Duel in the Deep," "The Little Tyrant of the Burrows," "The Ringwaak Buck," "The Heron in the Reeds," "In the Deep of the Silences," "On the Night Trail," "When the Tide Came Over the Marshes," "Under the Ice-Roof," "The Terror of the Air," "In the Unknown Dark," and "The Terror of the Sea Caves";

prior periodical publication located for eleven of the eighteen, virtually each one in a different American periodical 1902-07; all editions prior to Nelson's reissues illustrated by Bull]

- "The House in the Water." Illus. Philip R. Goodwin. Ladies' Home Journal June-July 1907: 9-10, 17-18. (Rogers). Collected in House in the Water, 1908. [animal (beaver) story]
- "The Glutton of the Great Snow." Saturday Evening Post 27 July 1907: ? (PB). Rpt. in Windsor Magazine Jan. 1908: ? (PB). Collected in House in the Water, 1908. [animal story?]
- "Lost Bell." Independent 26 Sep. 1907: 751. (Rogers) [poem?]
- "In Blackwater Pot." Everybody's Magazine Oct. 1907: 449-58. (Rogers) [backwoods melodrama (Adams 104)]
- "The White-Slashed Bull." Saturday Evening Post 12 Oct. 1907: ? (PB). Collected in House in the Water, 1908. Rpt. in Windsor Magazine Oct. 1908: ? (PB) [animal story]
- "The Gentling of Red McWha." Delineator Nov. 1907: ? (PB). Collected in The Backwoodsmen, 1909. [story of a New Brunswick lumber camp written Mar. 1907 in Naples, Italy (Pomeroy 189)]
- "Under the Ice-Roof." Windsor Magazine Nov. 1907: ? (PB) [rpt. from Haunters of the Silences, 1907]
- "The Moonlight Ship." Appleton's Magazine Dec. 1907: ? (PB) [short story]
- In the Deep of the Snow. Illus. Denman Fink. New York: Crowell, 1907. 77 pp. (N, Watters). ["A short Christmas story of the northern frontier in which a stout-hearted father takes a long snow-shoe journey to bring Santa Claus to his wilderness cabin" (BRD 1907); possibly an expanded version of "In the Deep of the Snow" (Dec. 1906) and according to Adams reprinted in The Backwoodsmen, 1909 (PB)]
- Poems, by Charles G.D. Roberts...New Complete Edition, Including for the First Time the Poems Hitherto Published Separately in "The Book of the Rose".... Boston: Page, 1907. xiii, 257 pp. (N, Watters). Toronto: Copp, Clark, 1907. xiii, 257 pp. (N) [collects Poems (1901) and Book of the Rose (1903)]

#### 1908

- "The Window in the Shack." Circle (NY?) Jan. 1908: ? (PB). Rpt. in Windsor Magazine July 1908: ? (PB). Collected in

House in the Water, 1908. Rpt. in Saturday Night 16 May 1914: 29, 37. (SN) [animal story?; Circle, which would publish two more of Roberts' stories over the next two years, is probably the NY Circle and Success Magazine (1907-15) (ULS)]

"The Lord of the Glass House." Broadway Magazine Feb. 1908: ? (PB). Rpt. in Windsor Magazine May 1909: ? (PB). Collected in Kings in Exile, 1909. Rpt. in Canadian Magazine June 1920: 143-47. (CPI) [first of several contributions to Broadway and its successor Hampton's Magazine, a NY monthly edited until the year before Roberts' appearance by Theodore Dreiser; at this time it had a circulation of about 125,000 (Mott 5: 145, 150)]

"Sonny and the Kid." Pearson's Magazine Mar. 1908: ? (PB). Collected in House in the Water, 1908. [animal story?]

"The Fight at the Wallow." Circle (NY?) June 1908: ? (PB). Rpt. in Windsor Magazine Aug. 1908: ? (PB). Collected in House in the Water, 1908. [animal story?; for Circle see note to "Window in the Shack," Jan. 1908]

"The Sun Gazer." Red Book July 1908: ? (PB). Rpt. in Windsor Magazine July 1909: ? (PB). Collected in Kings in Exile, 1909. Rpt. in Maclean's 19 Apr. 1919: 31-32, 67-71. (Mitchell) [animal story]

"The Grey Master." Sunday Magazine 19 and 26 July 1908: ? (PB). Rpt. in Windsor Magazine June 1909: ? (PB). Collected in Kings in Exile, 1909. [animal story]

"From the Teeth of the Tide." Everybody's Magazine Aug. 1908: 266-71. (Rogers). Collected in House in the Water, 1908. Rpt. in Windsor Magazine Sep. 1908: ? (PB). Rpt. in Saturday Night 17 Oct. 1914: 25. (SN) [animal story]

The House in the Water: A Book of Animal Life. Illus. Charles Livingston Bull and Frank Vining Smith. Boston: Page, [Aug.?] 1908. viii, 301 pp. (N, Watters). Illus. Bull and Smith. London, Melbourne, & Toronto: Ward, Lock, 1908. 323 pp. (N, BMCat, Cappon dates this 1909) [collects ten animal stories previously published in American and English magazines (Pomeroy 199) (six of the ten located); American edition contains "The House in the Water," "The White-Slashed Bull," "When the Blueberries Are Ripe," "The Glutton of the Great Snow," "When the Truce of the Wild Is Done," "The Window in the Shack," "The Return of the Moose," "From the Teeth of the Tide," "The Fight at the Wallow," and "Sonny and the Kid"; English edition has same stories in different order; last of Roberts' books to be published by Page, who refused to pay him royalties for his previous books when Roberts denied Page's claim to royalties for the

English edition; account never settled, and according to Pomeroy responsible for his late-life financial troubles]

- "The Vagrants of the Barren." Century Sep. 1908: 701-10.  
(Rogers) [short story; "I am so glad the story has pleased you. I wanted, very much, your approval of it, because I think it is the kind of thing I do best in prose,--the kind of thing I best love to do in prose" (R. to Richard Watson Gilder, 1 Mar. 1907)]
- "The Monarch of Park Barren." Saturday Evening Post 10 Oct. 1908: 12-14, 34-36. (PB). Rpt. in Windsor Magazine Aug. 1909: ? (PB). Collected in Kings in Exile, 1909. [animal story about a captured New Brunswick moose]
- "The Iron Edge of Winter." Windsor Magazine Dec. 1908: ? (PB). Rpt. in Saturday Night 21 Nov. 1914: 25. (SN) [short story]

#### 1909

- "The Grip in Deep Hole." Chamber's Journal (Edinburgh) Feb. 1909: ? (PB). Rpt. in Hampton's Magazine June 1909: ? (PB). Rpt. in Canadian Magazine Sep. 1913: 522-26. (RG 3) [short story; Hampton's was Broadway Magazine retitled]
- "The Ladder." Collier's 27 Feb. 1909: 13-15. (Rogers). Collected in Eyes of the Wilderness, 1933. [animal story?; written early Feb. 1909 in Pont-Levoy, France (Adams 109); apparently offered previously to Ladies' Home Journal but not accepted (R. to William Valentine Alexander, [1908])]
- "In the Silences." Windsor Magazine Mar. 1909: ? (PB) [short story]
- "The Daring of Stripes Terror-Tail." Delineator Apr. 1909: 630. (Rogers). Collected in the U.S. in Children of the Wild, 1913, and in the English Hoof and Claw, 1913. [juvenile animal story]
- "The Little Pig That Wouldn't Go to Market." Delineator July 1909: 77. (Rogers). Collected in Hoof and Claw, 1913, English edition only. [juvenile animal story]
- "The King of the Flaming Hoops." Windsor Magazine Sep. 1909: ? (PB). Collected in Kings in Exile, 1909. [animal story; apparently offered previously to Ladies' Home Journal but not accepted (R. to William Valentine Alexander, [1908])]
- "The Bear's Face." Pall Mall Magazine Oct. 1909: ? (PB). Rpt. in Hampton's Magazine Nov. 1909: ? (PB). Collected in Kings in Exile, 1909. Rpt. in Canadian Magazine Oct. 1913: 589-94. (RG 3) [animal story]

"Last Bull." Windsor Magazine Oct. 1909: ? (PB). Collected in Kings in Exile, 1909. [animal story; offered the year before to Ladies' Home Journal and Saturday Evening Post but not accepted: "I can do nothing, in prose at least, better than this work" (R. to William Valentine Alexander, [1908])]

"Lone Wolf of Lost Mountain." Collier's 30 Oct. 1909: 20-21. (Rogers). Rpt. in Chamber's Journal Dec. 1909: ? (PB) [animal story; possibly collected as "Lone Wolf" in American edition of Kings in Exile, 1909, and as same in Neighbours Unknown, 1910?]

"The Little Sly One." Delineator Nov. 1909: 461. (RG 2). Collected in the U.S. in Children of the Wild, 1913, and in the English Hoof and Claw, 1913. [juvenile animal story]

"On the Roof of the World." Windsor Magazine Dec. 1909: ? (PB). Rpt. in Sunday Magazine 30 Jan. 1910: ? (PB). Collected in Neighbours Unknown, 1910. [animal story]

The Backwoodsmen. London, Melbourne, & Toronto: Ward, Lock, 1909. 317 pp. illus. (N, BMCat). New York: Macmillan, 1909. vii, 269 pp. illus. (N, Watters, Cappon). New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1912. (N) [collection of fifteen stories about wilderness life; first of twelve books with Macmillan, Roberts' new and last American publisher; unlike L.C. Page, Macmillan never bothered to reprint Roberts' backlist, perhaps because Page was still reprinting the cream of it]

Kings in Exile. Illus. Paul Bransom, Charles Livingston Bull, etc. London, Melbourne, & Toronto: Ward, Lock, [Dec.?] 1909. 305 pp. (N, BMCat, Watters, Cappon). New York: Macmillan, [Apr.?] 1910. vii, 299 pp. illus. (N, Cappon). Toronto: Ryerson, 1947. 299 pp. (N) [ten animal stories; English edition contains "Last Bull," "The Lord of the Glass House," "The King of the Flaming Hoops," "The Sun-Gazer," "The Grey Master," "The Bear's Face," "Back to the Water World," "The Monarch of Park Barren," "The Duel on the Trail," and "The Peril of the Green Pool"; American and presumably Canadian edition replace "The Peril of the Green Pool" with "Lone Wolf"; prior periodical publication located for all but "Back to the Water World" and possibly the added American story, "Lone Wolf" (see 30 Oct. 1909); half first published in American magazines, half in English magazines]

#### 1910

"Grey Lynx's Last Hunting." Windsor Magazine Jan. 1910: ? (PB). Rpt. in Sunday Magazine 6 Mar. 1910: ? (PB). Collected in Neighbours Unknown, 1910. [animal story]



- "The Antlers of the Caribou." Sunday Magazine 2 Jan. 1910: ? (PB). Rpt. in Windsor Magazine Apr. 1910: ? (PB). Collected in Neighbours Unknown, 1910. [animal story]
- "Black Swamp." Circle (NY?) 10 Feb. 1910: ? (PB). Rpt. in Windsor Magazine May 1910: ? (PB). Collected in Neighbours Unknown, 1910. [animal story; for Circle see note to "Window in the Shack," Jan. 1908]
- "The Sentry of the Sedge Flats." Windsor Magazine Mar. 1910: ? (PB). Rpt. in Sunday Magazine 8 May 1910: ? (PB). Collected in Neighbours Unknown, 1910. [animal story]
- "The Isle of Birds." Windsor Magazine June 1910: ? (PB). Rpt. in Sunday Magazine 12 June 1910: ? (PB). Collected in Neighbours Unknown, 1910. [animal story]
- "Little Bull of the Barrens." Windsor Magazine July 1910: ? (PB). Rpt. in Sunday Magazine 9 Oct. 1910: ? (PB). Collected in Neighbours Unknown, 1910. [animal story]
- "The Tunnel Runners." Sunday Magazine 10 July 1910: ? (PB). Rpt. in Windsor Magazine Sep. 1910: ? (PB). Collected in Neighbours Unknown, 1910. [animal story]
- "A Torpedo in Feathers." Sunday Magazine 31 July 1910: ? (PB). Rpt. in Windsor Magazine Oct. 1910: ? (PB). Collected in Neighbours Unknown, 1910. [animal story]
- "A Tree-Top Aeronaut." Windsor Magazine Aug. 1910: ? (PB). Rpt. in Sunday Magazine 18 Sep. 1910: ? (PB). Collected in Neighbours Unknown, 1910. [animal story]
- "The Avenger." Sunday Magazine 21 Aug. 1910: ? (PB). Rpt. as "The Theft" in Windsor Magazine Nov. 1910: ? (PB). Collected as "The Theft" in Neighbours Unknown, 1910. [animal story]
- "The Tiger of the Sea." Saturday Evening Post 27 Aug. 1910: ? (PB). Rpt. in Windsor Magazine Mar. 1911: ? (PB) [animal story?]
- "Mothers of the North." Sunday Magazine 30 Oct. 1910: ? (PB). Rpt. in Windsor Magazine Feb. 1911: ? (PB).
- "Marooned." Windsor Magazine Dec. 1910: ? (PB). Printed as "How a Cat Played Robinson Crusoe" in Ladies' Home Journal 15 Dec. 1910: 9-10. (Rogers, Boone 295n). Collected in Neighbours Unknown, 1910. [animal story]
- "The Moose that Knocked at the Door." Ladies' Home Journal 1 Dec. 1910: 19-20. (Rogers). Collected in Feet of the Furtive, 1912, American edition only. [Roberts to William

Valentine Alexander, literary editor of Ladies' Home Journal, 11 June 1910: "I am mailing you today...the MS of that Christmas story.... It is not a child's story by any means. But I believe it is one of my best in its way"]

"When the Colonel Came." Sunday Magazine 11 Dec. 1910: ? (PB)  
[short story]

Neighbours Unknown. Illus. Paul Bransom. London, Melbourne, & Toronto: Ward, Lock, 1910. 279 pp. (N, BMCat, Cappon). Illus. Bransom. New York: Macmillan, 1911. vii, 266 pp. (N, Watters). St. Martin's Classics. Toronto: Macmillan, 1933 [©1924]. 266 pp. (N) [animal stories; English edition contains thirteen: "Grey Lynx's Last Hunting," "On the Roof of the World," "The Sentry of the Sedge Flats," "Black Swamp," "The Antlers of the Caribou," "Isle of Birds," "Marooned," "A Torpedo in Feathers," "A Tree-Top Aeronaut," "Little Bull of the Barrens," "The Tunnel Runners," "The Theft," and "Lone Wolf"; American edition's fewer pages could be result of dropping the thirteen full-page illustrations from the English edition, or of cutting "Lone Wolf," which Macmillan had already collected in Kings in Exile, 1909; all stories previously published serially, and [all?] but "Black Swamp" and "Lone Wolf" appeared first in English magazines, making it Roberts' first collection in which the majority of the stories were not first published in American magazines (I'm not certain Sunday was English, and I don't yet know the contents and thus the provenance of The Backwoodsmen)]

#### 1911

"A Harassed Householder." Sunday Magazine 8 Jan. 1911: ? (PB). Rpt. in Windsor Magazine June 1911: ? (PB). Collected in Feet of the Furtive, 1912, American edition only. [animal story]

"Heliodore of the Myrtles." Fortnightly Review (London) Feb. 1911: 355-62. (RG 3) Rpt. in Queen's Quarterly 41 (winter 1934): 454-65. (CPI) [only story written for a projected series set in Greece in the time of Sappho; relates an incident in the life of Greek poet Meleager; according to Pomeroy a "gentle jibe" at lyric love poets, especially Carman; also according to Pomeroy, this story was first published in Kennerley's The Reader (prob. ca. 1902-04), but this publication has not yet been located (Pomeroy 199-200; see note to "The Poetry of Sappho," Nov. 1902)]

"Ishmael of the Hemlocks." Sunday Magazine 5 Feb. 1911: ? (PB). Rpt. in Windsor Magazine July 1911: ? (PB). Collected in Feet of the Furtive, 1912, American edition only. [animal story]

- "Keepers of the Nest." Sunday Magazine 2 Apr. 1911: ? (PB).  
Rpt. in Windsor Magazine Aug. 1911: ? (PB). Collected in  
Feet of the Furtive, 1912, American edition only. [animal  
story]
- "Puck o' the Dusk." Windsor Magazine May 1911: ? (PB).  
Collected in Feet of the Furtive, 1912, American edition  
only. [animal story]
- "Animal Story." Edinburgh Review July 1911: 112-18. (Rogers)  
[n/f]
- "A Day and a Night with a Bat." Ladies' Home Journal Aug. 1911:  
22. (Rogers)
- "In the Year of No Rabbits." Windsor Magazine Sep. 1911: ?  
(PB). Rpt. in Sunday Magazine 24 Mar. 1912: ? (PB).  
Collected in Feet of the Furtive, 1912, American edition  
only. [animal story]
- "The Stuff of Heroes." Sunday Magazine 22 Oct. 1911: ? (PB)  
[short story]
- More Kindred of the Wild. Illus. Paul Bransom. London,  
Melbourne, & Toronto: Ward, Lock, 1911. 264 pp. (N, BMCat,  
Watters, Cappon). Illus. Bransom. New York: Macmillan,  
1911. (Cappon, Pomeroy) [animal stories]
- 1912
- "The Sleeper in the Snow." Good Housekeeping Jan. 1912: 11-21.  
(Rogers). Collected in Feet of the Furtive, 1912, English  
edition only.
- "In the World of the Ghost Lights." Windsor Magazine Jan. 1912:  
? (PB). Collier's 30 Mar. 1912: 24-25. (Rogers).  
Collected in Feet of the Furtive, 1912. [animal story]
- "The Spotted Stranger." Windsor Magazine Feb. 1912: ? (PB).  
Collected in Feet of the Furtive, 1912. [animal story]
- "The Invaders." Windsor Magazine Mar. 1912: ? (PB). Collected  
in Feet of the Furtive, 1912. [animal story]
- "In the Morning of Time." London Magazine May-Oct. 1912 (six  
instalments): ? (PB). Sunset (San Francisco) Sep. 1913-  
Jan. 1914, Apr. 1914, Dec. 1914-Mar. 1915 (ten instalments):  
482-85, 686-96, 908-18, 1204-14, 129-39, 821-32, 1156-65,  
115-23, 271-81, 455-62. (Rogers). Pall Mall Magazine Mar.-  
Apr. 1914: ? (PB). Rpt. (expanded) as In the Morning of  
Time, 1919. [early serial publications of Roberts' 1919  
prehistoric romance, which Pomeroy says was published in  
"sundry" American magazines (i.e., more than Sunset?); the

chapters in Pall Mall were printed under the title "When the World Was Young" (PB)]

"Red Dandy and MacTavish." Windsor Magazine June 1912: ? (PB).  
Christian Herald 19 June 1912: ? (PB). Collected in Feet of the Furtive, 1912. [animal story?]

"The Leader of the Run." Windsor Magazine July 1912: ? (PB).  
Collected in Feet of the Furtive, 1912. [animal story?]

"A Digger of Tubes." Windsor Magazine Aug. 1912: ? (PB).  
Collected in Feet of the Furtive, 1912. [animal story?]

"With His Back to the Wall." Windsor Magazine Sep. 1912: ?  
(PB). Cosmopolitan Dec. 1912: 34-43. (Rogers). Collected  
in Feet of the Furtive, 1912. [animal story?]

"The Feud." Windsor Magazine Oct. 1912: ? (PB). Collected in  
Feet of the Furtive, 1912. [animal story?]

"King of Beasts." Windsor Magazine Nov. 1912: ? (PB).  
Collected in Feet of the Furtive, 1912. [animal story]

"The White Wolf." Windsor Magazine Dec. 1912: ? (PB).  
Collected in Hoof and Claw, 1913. [animal story]

Babes of the Wild. Illus. Paul Bransom. London, Melbourne, &  
Toronto: Ward, Lock, 1912. (Cappon). Illus. Warwick  
Reynolds. London, New York, Toronto, & Melbourne: Cassell,  
1912. ix, 243 pp. (N, BMCat, Watters). London & Toronto:  
Dent, 1924. vi, 249 pp. (N, BMCat). Printed in U.S. as  
Children of the Wild. Illus. Bransom. New York: Macmillan,  
1913. 300 pp. (N, Watters) [English edition contains  
twelve (juvenile?) animal stories, previously published in  
Windsor Magazine and various American periodicals (Pomeroy  
252); American edition reprints the English stories and adds  
three more, "The Little Sly One," "The Daring of Stripes  
Terror-Tail," and "Dagger Bill and the Water Babies"]

The Feet of the Furtive. Illus. Paul Bransom. London,  
Melbourne, & Toronto: Ward, Lock, 1912 and 1915. 9-277 pp.  
(N, BMCat, Watters). Illus. Bransom. New York: Macmillan,  
1913 and 1925. vii, 384 pp. (N). Toronto: Ryerson, 1947.  
384 pp. (N) [animal stories; English edition contains ten:  
"King of Beasts," "In the World of the Ghost-Lights," "The  
Feud," "The Invaders," "The Leader of the Run," "The Spotted  
Stranger," "Red Dandy and MacTavish," "With His Back to the  
Wall," "A Digger of Tubes," and "The Sleeper in the Snow";  
American (and presumably Canadian) edition drops "The  
Sleeper in the Snow" and adds seven stories: "The Gauntlet  
of Fire," "The Keepers of the Nest," "In the Year of No  
Rabbits," "The Moose That Knocked at the Door," "Puck o' the  
Dusk," "A Harassed Householder," and "Ishmael of the

Hemlocks"; all but one of the stories in the English edition ("Sleeper in the Snow," in Good Housekeeping Jan. 1912) collected from Windsor Jan.-Nov. 1912; the stories added to the American edition are mostly uncollected older stories from Ladies' Home J, Sunday, and Windsor of 1910-1911, though a prior periodical publication for one, "Gauntlet of Fire," has not been located]

## 1913

- "The Teddy-Bear's Bee-Tree." St. Nicholas Jan. 1913: 231-66. (YC A55) [juvenile animal story; first of four in "Babes of the Wild" series for St. Nicholas; presumably American serial publications of stories previously published in England in Babes of the Wild (1912)]
- "The Fisher in the Chutes." Windsor Magazine Jan. 1913: ? (PB). Collected in the American Hoof and Claw, 1914, and the English Secret Trails, 1916. [animal story]
- "Adventures of Young Grumpy." St. Nicholas Feb. 1913: 291-96. (YC A55, Rogers) [second in "Babes of the Wild" series]
- "A Master of Supply." Windsor Magazine Feb. 1913: ? (PB). Collected in Hoof and Claw, 1913. [animal story]
- "The Little Furry Ones that Slide Downhill." St. Nicholas Mar. 1913: 397-401. (YC A55, Rogers) [third in "Babes of the Wild" series]
- "Baby and the Bear." St. Nicholas Apr. 1913: 486-90. (YC A55, Rogers) [fourth in "Babes of the Wild" series]
- "The Bear That Thought He Was a Dog." Windsor Magazine Apr. 1913: ? (PB). Collected in Hoof and Claw, 1913. [animal story]
- "Hoof and Claw." Windsor Magazine June 1913: ? (PB) [probably collected in Hoof and Claw (1913) under a different title]
- "The Tragedy of White Face Mountain." Ladies' Home Journal July 1913: 5-6. (Rogers)
- "The Trail of the Vanishing Herds." Windsor Magazine July 1913: ? (PB). Collected in Hoof and Claw, 1913. [animal story]
- "The Eyes in the Bush." Windsor Magazine Aug. 1913: ? (PB). Collected in Hoof and Claw, 1913. [animal story]
- "The Runners in the High Peaks." Windsor Magazine Sep. 1913: ? (PB). Collected in Hoof and Claw, 1913. [animal story]

- "The Shadows and John Hatch." Windsor Magazine Oct. 1913: ? (PB). Collected in Hoof and Claw, 1913. [animal story]
- "The Pool." Windsor Magazine Oct. 1913: ? (PB). Collected in Hoof and Claw, 1913. [animal story]
- "The Assault of Wings." Windsor Magazine Dec. 1913: ? (PB). Collected in the American Hoof and Claw, 1914, and the English Secret Trails, 1916. [animal story]
- "Ernest Thompson Seton." Bookman (London) Dec. 1913: 147-49. (V) [illus. panegyric: credits Seton with the "vogue of the modern 'Animal Story'"; argues that he is "careful not to humanise" his animals, that his stories are "fact disguised as fiction" that "aim above all to get at the psychology of their subjects" (147)]

A Balkan Prince. London: Everett, 1913. 248 pp. (N, BMCat, Watters) [previously published serially; novel of political intrigue in the Balkans that incorporates Roberts' visit to the Aviation Exhibition and Fortnight at Paris, Oct. 1909; written in Pont-Levoy, France, between summer 1909 and Oct. 1910 (Pomeroy 237; Adams 111)]

Hoof and Claw. Illus. Paul Bransom. London, Melbourne, & Toronto: Ward Lock, 1913. 267 pp. (N, BMCat, Watters). Illus. Bransom. New York: Macmillan, 1914. 291 pp. (N, Cappon) [animal stories; English edition contains fifteen stories: ... "Red Brush and Little Quills," "The Bumptiousness of Billy Gitchemos," "The Little Pig that Wouldn't Go to Market," "The Little Sly One," "The Daring of Stripes Terror-Tail," and "Dagger Bill and the Water Babies"; American edition contains fourteen: "The Bear That Thought He Was a Dog," "The Trail of the Vanishing Herds," "A Master of Supply," "The White Wolf," "Up a Tree," "The Eyes in the Bush," "The Runners of the High Peaks," "The Pool," "The Shadows and John Hatch," "The Fisher in the Chutes," "The Assault of Wings," "The Cabin Door," "A Basket of Fish," and "Brannigan's Mary" (the last five of these were later collected in England in the English edition of Secret Trails, 1916)]

#### 1914

- "A Little Alien of the Wilderness." Red Book Mar. 1914: ? (PB)
- "Brannigan's Mary." Windsor Magazine Mar. 1914: ? (PB). Collected in the American Hoof and Claw, 1914, and the English Secret Trails, 1916. [animal story]
- "The Cabin Door." Windsor Magazine May 1914: ? (PB). Red Book Nov. 1914: ? (PB). Collected in the American Hoof and

Claw, 1914, and the English Secret Trails, 1916. [animal story]

- "A Basket of Fish." Windsor Magazine June 1914: ? (PB). Collected in the American Hoof and Claw, 1914, and the English Secret Trails, 1916. [animal story]
- "The Black Boar of Lonesome Water." Windsor Magazine July 1914: ? (PB). Collected in Secret Trails, 1916.
- "The Calling of the Lop-Horned Bull." Windsor Magazine Sep. 1914: ? (PB). Printed as "Joe Peddler and the Lop-Horned Bull" in Red Book Mar. 1915: ? (PB). Collected in Secret Trails, 1916. Rpt. in Golden Book June 1934: 723-30. (Rogers) [animal story]
- "The Cabin in the Flood." Windsor Magazine Nov. 1914: ? (PB). Collected in Secret Trails, 1916. Rpt. in Golden Book July 1933: 48-55. (Rogers)
- "The Aigrette." Sunday Magazine 29 Nov. 1914: ? (PB). Rpt. in Windsor Magazine Dec. 1914: ? (PB). Collected in Secret Trails, 1916. [animal story; Roberts' last story for Sunday Magazine]

#### 1915

- "The Dog That Saved the Bridge." Windsor Magazine Feb. 1915: ? (PB). Collected in Secret Trails, 1916. [animal story; written just after Roberts enlisted (Pomeroy 252)]
- "The Trailers." Windsor Magazine Dec. 1915: ? (PB). Collected in Secret Trails, 1916.

#### 1916

- "The Brothers of the Yoke." Windsor Magazine Feb. 1916: ? (PB). Collected in Secret Trails, 1916.

The Secret Trails. Illus. Paul Bransom and Warwick Reynolds. London, Melbourne, & Toronto: Ward, Lock, 1916. 273 pp. (N, BMCat). New York: Macmillan, 1916. 212 pp. illus. (N, Watters, Cappon). New York: Macmillan, 1922. illus. (N) [English edition contains twelve stories, all but one rpt. from Windsor 1913-15: "The Black Boar of Lonesome Water," "The Dog That Saved the Bridge," "The Calling of the Lop-Horned Bull," "The Fisher in the Chutes," "The Aigrette," "Brannigan's Mary," "A Basket of Fish," "The Cabin in the Flood," "The Assault of Wings," "The Brothers of the Yoke," "The Cabin Door," and "The Trailers"; American edition drops five stories that had already been collected in the American Hoof and Claw ("The Fisher in the Chutes," "Brannigan's

Mary," "A Basket of Fish," "The Assault of Wings," and "The Cabin Door") and adds the new stories "Cock-Crow," "The Ledge on Bald Face," and "The Morning of the Silver Frost" (see R. to George Platt Brett, president of Macmillan of NY, 12 May 1916)]

- "Cock-Crow." Windsor Magazine Apr. 1916: ? (PB). Collected in the Secret Trails, 1916, American edition only. Rpt. as Cock-Crow. New York: Federal Print, 1916. 14 pp. (Watters)
- "The Morning of the Silver Frost." Windsor Magazine Aug. 1916: ? (PB). Collected in the Secret Trails, 1916, American edition only. Rpt. as The Morning of the Silver Frost. New York: Federal Print, 1916. 8 pp. (Watters)
- "The Ledge on Bald Face." Windsor Magazine Dec. 1916: ? (PB). Collected in the Secret Trails, 1916, American edition only, and Ledge on Bald Face, 1918.

## 1917

- "The Eagle." Windsor Magazine Dec. 1917: ? (PB). Collected in Ledge on Bald Face, 1918, and Jim: The Story of a Backwoods Police Dog, 1919. [animal story written ca. Dec. 1914 about an eagle's escape from a zoo in the war zone (Pomeroy 252-53)]

## 1918

Canada in Flanders. Vol. 3 of The Official Story of the Canadian Expeditionary Force. London, New York, & Toronto: Hodder & Stoughton, 1918. 144 pp. (BMCat, BNCat, Watters) [history of C.E.F. from June 1916 (after Ypres) to Nov. 1917 (Desire Trench); all profits to Canadian War Memorials Fund; preface by Lord Beaverbrook, who wrote the first two volumes in the series and assigned the third to Roberts, then attached to the Canadian War Records Office of the C.E.F. (Pomeroy 235)]

The Ledge on Bald Face. Illus. Paul Bransom et al. London, Melbourne, & Toronto: Ward Lock, [fall] 1918. 255 pp. illus. (N, BMCat, Watters, Cappon). [animal stories: "Jim, the Story of a Backwoods Police Dog," a novelette Roberts had been working on since before enlisting but completed during the War (Pomeroy 253), "The Eagle," "The Ledge on Bald Face," "Cockcrow," and "The Morning of the Silver Frost"; excepting "Jim," stories collected from Windsor 1916-17]

- "The Mule." Windsor Magazine Dec. 1918: ? (PB). Collected in Jim: The Story of a Backwoods Police Dog, 1919.



## 1919

Jim: The Story of a Backwoods Police Dog. New York: Macmillan, 1919. 216 pp. (N). New York: MacMillan, 1924. 216 pp. (BMCat 1966-70 supp., Watters) [American version of Ledge on Bald Face: "Jim, the Story of a Backwoods Police Dog," "The Eagle," "The Mule" (Dec. 1918) and the previously unpublished "Stripes the Unconcerned" (see R. to George Platt Brett, [Sep. 1918])]

In the Morning of Time. London: Hutchinson, [fall] 1919. 319 pp. illus. (N, BMCat, Watters). New York: Frederick A. Stokes, ©1919 [1922?]. 311 pp. (N, Cappon). Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1922. 311 pp. (N). London & Toronto: Dent, 1923. vii, 320 pp. illus. (N, BMCat). King's Treasuries of Literature vol. 125. London & Toronto: Dent, 1925. 192 pp. (BMCat) [romance set in prehistoric era; early portions published serially in several English and American magazines beginning May 1912 (see above); first six chapters written in Munich before outbreak of the War, remainder completed between spring 1918 and summer 1919 (Pomeroy 253); interesting that Macmillan apparently chose not to bring this novel out, just as they had passed on acquiring American rights to Roberts' only other non-animal novel written during their relationship, A Balkan Prince in 1913; F.A. Stokes, Roberts' stand-in American publisher, may have been hoping to repeat with Roberts' fantasy their recent success with the Dr. Dolittle books of Hugh Lofting, the first of which they brought out in 1920]

"Stripes the Unconcerned." Windsor Dec. 1919: ? (PB). [previously published in the U.S. in Jim: The Story of a Backwoods Police Dog, 1919]

New Poems. London: Constable, 1919. 44 pp. (N, BMCat, Watters) ["So glad you think as I do about my New Poems. I myself consider it my best stuff" (R. to Lorne Pierce, 2 Nov. 1925)]

## 1920

"The Watchers in the Swamp." Windsor Magazine July 1920: ? (PB). Collected in Wisdom of the Wilderness, 1922. [animal story]

"Quills the Indifferent." Windsor Magazine Nov. 1920: ? (PB). Collected in Wisdom of the Wilderness, 1922. [animal story]

"Star-Nose of the Under Ways." Windsor Magazine Dec. 1920: ? (PB). Rpt. in Sunset May 1922: 20-22. (Rogers). Collected in Wisdom of the Wilderness, 1922. [animal story]

Some Animal Stories. King's Treasuries of Literature. London, [1920]. 128 pp. (BMCat). King's Treasuries. New York: Dutton; London and Toronto: Dent, 1921. 128 pp. illus. (port.) (N, Watters). [animal stories selected from previous collections; first book with English publisher Dent & Sons; BMCat and N copies may be the same edition]

## 1921

- "The Winged Scourge of the Dark." Windsor Magazine Feb. 1921: ? (PB). Collected in Wisdom of the Wilderness, 1922. [animal story]
- "The Fishers of the Air." Windsor Magazine Oct. 1921: ? (PB). Collected in Wisdom of the Wilderness, 1922. [animal story]
- "Mustela of the Lone Hand." Windsor Magazine Nov. 1921: ? (PB). Collected in Wisdom of the Wilderness, 1922. [animal story]
- "The Little Homeless One." Windsor Magazine Dec. 1921: ? (PB). Collected in Wisdom of the Wilderness, 1922. [animal story; life-history of Snow-Shoe, a rabbit of the Ottanoonis Valley, NB; written in Algiers and Biskra, Algeria, ca. Jan.-May 1921 (Pomeroy 263)]

## 1922

- "The Citadel in the Grass." Saturday Evening Post 8 July 1922: 20-21. (Rogers). Collected in Wisdom of the Wilderness, 1922. [first story for the Post in twelve years; at this time its circulation was about 2.5 million (Mott 4: 696)]
- "The Black Fisherman." Windsor Magazine Aug. 1922: ? (PB). Collected in Wisdom of the Wilderness, 1922. [animal story]

Wisdom of the Wilderness. London & Toronto: Dent; New York: Dutton, 1922. v, 218 pp. illus. (N, BMCat, Watters, Cappon). New York: Macmillan, 1923. 3-184 pp. (N, Watters). Illus. John A. Hall. Toronto: Ryerson, 1948. 184 pp. (N) [animal stories; Macmillan edition contains nine stories, all but the last reprinted from Windsor 1920-21: "The Little Homeless One," "The Black Fisherman," "Starnose of the Under Ways," "The Winged Scourge of the Dark," "Quills the Indifferent," "The Watchers in the Swamp," "Mustela of the Lone Hand," "Fishers of the Air," and "The Citadel in the Grass"]

More Animal Stories. The King's Treasuries of Literature. London & Toronto: Dent; New York: Dutton, 1922. 127 pp. (BMCat, Watters, Cappon). New York: Dutton, 1922. 127 pp. illus. (N). London: Dent, 1925. (N) [animal stories selected from previous collections; companion volume to Some

Animal Stories, 1921; both collections ran into so many editions that "the poet came to look upon them as one of his most lucrative sources of income" (Pomeroy 265)]

## 1923

"Queen Bomba of the Honey-Pots." Saturday Evening Post 1 Sep. 1923: 16-17. (Rogers). Collected in They Who Walk in the Wilds, 1924. Rpt. in Family Herald and Weekly Star (Montreal) 18 Jan. 1939: ? (Boone 561) ["I'm pleased to see my story 'Queen Bomba of the Honey Pots,' in the Family Herald & Weekly Star for Jan 18; but I'm anxious to know from whom the permission to reprint was procured. I have had no word on it. Was it from the Macmillan Co., or from Dents? My contract with both requires them to pay me half of any sums they receive for permission to reprint. Can you tell me whom you got the permission from, and what was the price paid?" (R. to Family Herald editor Roderick Stuart Kennedy, 29 Jan. 1939; thanks Kennedy for resolving matter in letter of 10 Feb. 1939)]

"A Gentleman in Feathers." Saturday Evening Post 13 Oct. 1923: 11. (Rogers). Collected in They Who Walk in the Wilds, 1924.

## 1924

They That Walk in the Wild. Illus. Charles Livingston Bull. London & Toronto: Dent, 1924. vi, 290 pp. (BMCat, Watters). Pub. in U.S. as They Who Walk in the Wilds. New York: Macmillan, 1924. 212 pp. (N, Watters) [animal stories; American edition contains "Mishi of Timberline," "Wild Adoption," "The King of the Floes," "Bill," "Mixed Breed," "Queen Bomba of the Honey-Pots," "A Gentleman in Feathers," "The Case of the Bear," and "In the Moose-Yard"; prior periodical publication located for just two of these, both in Saturday Evening Post of previous year]

## 1925

The Sweet o' the Year and Other Poems. Ryerson Poetry Chap-Books. Toronto: Ryerson, [Nov.?] 1925. 8 pp. (N, Watters) [excepting title poem all others reprinted from New Poems, 1919]

"Bill Runs Amuk." Toronto Star Weekly 5 Dec. 1925: ? (PB). [short story]

"The Guardian of the Cave Mouth." Red Book [1925?]. (Boone 366) ["One of my latest, & best, prehistoric tales is 'The Guardian of the Cave Mouth,' published in the Red Book Magazine, of Chicago, sometime in 1925.... I could give you

the use of that story, if you wished it, for your Anthology, as long as I retained the Copyright. I shall be including it, of course, in my next prehistory volume" (R. to Raymond Knister, 3 Feb. 1928); Boone could not locate any such story, and there was no "next prehistory volume," though this may refer to Overlords of Earth, a sequel to his 1919 prehistoric romance In the Morning of Time begun while in England but never completed (see Pomeroy 338 and letter to Hugh Railton Dent of 18 Apr. 1933, in which Roberts hopes "soon to get on with 'Over-Lords of Earth'...which is about one-third written")]

## 1926

"The Steam Driver's Revenge." Youth's Companion 25 Mar. 1926: 231-32. (YC F553) [short story; first Companion publication in nineteen years]

"How Nat Simons Found Himself." Youth's Companion 15 Apr. 1926: 287-88. (YC F554) [short story]

Introductory Note. The Captive Gypsy. By Constance Davies Woodrow. Toronto: Ryerson, [spring?] 1926. (Adams 140). ["I have done the 'Introductory Note' for my Beloved, & sent it to Lorne Pierce. It is very brief,--but to the point--; & I do so hope it will please my Darling One" (R. to Woodrow, 3 Nov. 1925); "There is no reason to doubt the sincerity of Roberts' graceful compliments to her poetry even though it was his way of meeting his obligations for a brief but tempestuous affair that had just ended between them" (Adams 140)]

"My Religion." Toronto Star Weekly 30 May 1926: ? (PB) [article; mistakenly credited in the Star to a Mrs. Grace Dean McLeod Rogers, who actually wrote just the last three paragraphs (R. to Rufus Hathaway, 29 May 1926)]

"Fisherman's Luck." Youth's Companion 7 Oct. 1926: 711-12. (YC F555) [short story]

"The Lure of the Wild." Christian Science Monitor [1926?]. (Boone 341n). Rpt. as introduction to Eyes of the Wilderness, 1933. [article; ms. dated 27 Jan. and 10 Feb. 1926 sent by R. to Rufus Hathaway 29 May 1926]

## 1927

"Rusty Jones's Moose." Youth's Companion 13 Jan. 1927: 23-24. (YC F557) [short story; presumably the same as "The Moose and Rusty Jones" mentioned by Pomeroy (329)]

"Wolf! Wolf!" Youth's Companion 14 Apr. 1927: 255-56. (YC F560) [animal story?]

"The Buck and the Bull." Youth's Companion 28 Apr. 1927: 287-88. (YC F561) [animal story]

The Vagrant of Time. De Luxe ed. Toronto: Ryerson, 1927. 46 pp. (N, Watters). Toronto: Ryerson, 1927. 63 pp. (N, Watters) [poems; 500 copies printed of de luxe edition, "of which four hundred and eighty-five are for sale" (N); library edition adds "These Three Score Years" (Pomeroy); see Roberts' letter to Ryerson's accountant Fred H. Ellins of 25 Mar. 1935, in which he notes that the "limited" edition of Vagrant has been out of print for years, and complains that the "popular edition, \$1.50, 1928, has never been properly put on the market. From Halifax to Vancouver, inquiring at the leading book-shops, I have invariably been unable to find it on sale.... And I have had innumerable complaints to this effect"]

#### 1928

"When Judson Froze." Youth's Companion July 1928: 326-27. (YC F563). Rpt. in Canadian Magazine Apr. 1930: 18-19. (CPI) [animal story]

#### 1929

Be Quiet Wind; Unsaid. Toronto, privately printed, 1929. 2 pp. (PB) [two poems]

#### 1930

"King of the Triple Horn." Canadian Magazine Jan. 1930: 19-20, 36+. (CPI) [reprinted from In the Morning of Time]

"Bliss Carman." Dalhousie Review 9 (Jan. 1930): 409-17. (V) ["I have promised to do an article on Carman for the Dalhousie Review, their January number. It will be both critical & reminiscential, & pretty exhaustive..." (R. to Lorne Pierce, 11 Sep. 1929); the article as published forgoes criticism because Roberts fears he's too close to his subject and because it had just been "brilliantly" treated by James Cappon in the Queen's Quarterly; instead recalls Roberts' and Carman's childhood; education at Fredericton Collegiate and importance to both of its headmaster George Parkin (417); NB canoe trips; poetic flowering of Fredericton under the "vitalizing influence" of Parkin (417)]

"Eyes of the Wilderness." Maclean's 15 Feb. 1930: 17-18, 52. (Mitchell) [short story]

"Carman and His Own Country." Acadie 1.1 (15 April 1930): 9-10.  
(CaNSHD)

"More Reminiscences of Bliss Carman." Dalhousie Review 10 (Apr. 1930): 1-9. (V) [continues from DH v. 9 (above): Carman's studies at Oxford and Edinburgh; his early interest in French verse-forms; time at Harvard and influence of Royce and Hovey; the writing vacations at Kingscroft of Roberts, Carman, and Hovey]

Introduction. Verses of the Sea. By E.J. Pratt. Toronto: Macmillan, 1930. (PB)

### 1931

"Fire." Maclean's 1 Mar. 1931: 12-13, 73-75, 79.  
(Mitchell) [short story]

"The Poetry of Robert Norwood." Issa. By Norwood. New York: Scribner's, 1931. (PB)

"A Note on Modernism." Open House. Ed. William Arthur Deacon and Wilfred Reeves. Ottawa: Graphic, 1931. 19-25. (PB)  
["Joy--I finished the article, 'A Note on Modernism'! About 1600 words. I am revising it carefully, and will get it typed at once" (R. to Deacon, 1 May 1931)]

### 1933

"Canadian Poetry in Its Relation to the Poetry of England and America." Ed. D.M.R. Bentley. Canadian Poetry: Studies, Documents, Reviews 3 (fall/winter 1978): 76-86. (PB)  
[transcript of Roberts' address to the Elson Club, Burwash Hall, Toronto, 18 March 1933 (Pomeroy 313)]

"Tabitha Blue; Or, the Indiscretions of a Persian Cat." Windsor Magazine Apr. 1933: ? (PB). Chatelaine Apr. 1933: 10-11, 26+. (CPI). Collected in Eyes of the Wilderness, 1933.  
[animal story; rejected by Paul Reynolds, Roberts' American agent (Adams 160); last known appearance in Windsor]

Eyes of the Wilderness. Illus. Dorothy Burroughes. London: Dent, [fall] 1933. xvi, 267 pp. (N, BMCat). New York: Macmillan, [fall] 1933. 269 pp. (N, Watters). Toronto: Macmillan, 1933. 269 pp. (N) [includes animal stories written after Roberts' return to Canada plus three written after his illness in 1930 ("The Bear Woke Up," "Good for Evil," and "Tabitha Blue or the Indiscretions of a Persian Cat") and two earlier stories: "The Ladder" (pub. Feb. 1909) and "The Quiet Village," an Acadian story written "many years before" (Pomeroy 334)]

## 1934

"Francis Sherman." Royal Society of Canada: Third Transactions (1934), Series 28. Section II: 1-9. (CPI). Revised as foreword to The Complete Poems of Francis Sherman. Ed. Lorne Pierce. Toronto: Ryerson, [Aug.] 1935. [i-ix?]. (NS 0499924) [presidential address at the Royal Society meeting of 22-24 May 1934, Chateau Frontenac, Quebec (Boone 469n); Roberts was president of Section II of the Royal Society for 1933-34 (Pomeroy 303); Complete Poems printed in both a de luxe and popular edition (R. to Lorne Pierce, 3 Sep. 1935)]

A Standard Dictionary of Canadian Biography: The Canadian Who Was Who. Ed.-in-Chief Roberts. Managing ed. Arthur R. Tunnell. Vol. 1. Toronto: Trans-Canada Press, [Sep.] 1934. (N, BMCat, Watters) [Roberts and Tunnell worked for several years before publication of vol. 1; Roberts "read every biographical sketch, making all revisions which he considered necessary, and then gave it the final proof-reading" (Pomeroy 338; cf. Adams 179); see Roberts' form and personal letters soliciting contributions to the Dictionary in Boone 437 ff.]

The Iceberg and Other Poems. Toronto: Ryerson, 1934. 31 pp. (N, Watters) [title poem written Feb.-Apr. 1931 (Boone 322): "I have a new volume of poems coming out before Christmas.... I will send you the first copy that comes from the press. If you can find time to glance at it I shall be glad, because I believe 'The Iceberg' to be the most important piece of verse I have written since my Shelley Centenary Ode, 'Ave,' done some forty-odd years ago" (R. to Prime Minister Richard Bedford Bennett, 6 Nov. 1934); according to the copyright page, "Five hundred copies have been printed...of which one hundred copies only are for sale," but according to Ryerson's 1937 report to Roberts, 116 copies had been sold, 17 used for review, 287 for gifts, and 130 were left in stock, for a total of 550; Ryerson eventually remaindered both The Iceberg and Selected Poems (1936), which caused an irate Roberts to complain to Ryerson general manager Clarence Heber Dickinson that "in all these years no one of my other publishers...has ever subjected me to having one of my books 'remaindered off,' even when its sales had temporarily dropped to one or two copies a year. It remained for a Canadian house to do this!" (letter of 18 Feb. 1940)]

## 1935

"Bliss Carman." Dalhousie Review 14 (Jan. 1935): 410-17. (CPI)

"Francis Sherman." Dalhousie Review 14 (Jan. 1935): 419-27.  
(CPI) [reprint of 1934 address to Royal Society of Canada,  
above]

"The Great White Owl." Chatelaine Oct. 1935: 14-16, 37+. (CPI).  
Rpt. as "The Odyssey of the Great White Owl" in J of  
Canadian Fiction 4.1 (1975): ? (PB) [animal story;  
probably one of the three "Wild Life stories" Roberts  
mentions as having written within the last few months and  
offers second serial rights in a letter to Chicago literary  
agent William Gerald Chapman of 10 June 1935]

"The Den of the Otter." Liberty (NY) Nov. 1935: ? (PB). Rpt.  
in Pearson's [?] 1935: ? (PB) [probably another of the  
three stories mentioned in Roberts' 1935 letter to Chapman  
(above); Liberty was an illustrated weekly edited at this  
time by Fulton Oursler, who thus has the distinction of  
printing Roberts' last story in an American magazine]

"In a Summer Pool." John O'London's Weekly (London) Nov. 1935: ?  
(PB) [probably another of the three stories mentioned in  
Roberts' 1935 letter to Chapman (above)]

Further Animal Stories. King's Treasuries of Literature.  
London: Dent, 1935. 128 pp. (BMCat, Watters) [animal  
stories selected from previous collections]

#### 1936

"A Quiet Village." Toronto Star Weekly 29 Feb. 1936: ? (PB)  
[reprinted from Eyes of the Wilderness, 1933]

The Selected Poems of Sir Charles G.D. Roberts. Toronto:  
Ryerson, [Nov.] 1936. xii, 188 pp. (N, BMCat, Watters)  
["One thousand copies have been printed, of which fifty  
copies are de luxe, and autographed" (N); "I have the list  
of poems for the 'Selected' Edition all made out &  
classified, & ready to submit to you at once. I think the  
book should appear as speedily as possible, to catch the  
Christmas market. I will be writing a rather important  
Preface for it" (R. to Lorne Pierce, 11 Sep. 1936); although  
Ryerson reported sales to Roberts in 1939 of 37 copies by 31  
August, that year or early in the next they remaindered the  
Selected Poems along with his previous book for the house  
(see note to The Iceberg and Other Poems, 1934)]

#### 1937

Twilight over Shaugamauk and Three Other Poems. Toronto, Ryerson  
Press, 1937. 10 pp. (N, Watters) [four poems; 165 copies  
"printed by Sir Charles G.D. Roberts and Lorne Pierce for  
their friends at Christmastide 1937" (N); "During 1937 I



have been working on Vol. 2 of my Who Was Who in Canada, which will appear sometime in 1938. I have had no time for strictly creative prose. A few poems, however, have got themselves done somehow. I brought out for Christmas a deluxe edition of 150 copies, entitled Four Poems, of verse written since Christmas of /36" (note enclosed in letter to Grace Davis Vanamee, 4 Dec. 1937)]

## 1938

A Standard Dictionary of Canadian Biography: The Canadian Who Was Who. Ed.-in-Chief Roberts. Managing ed. Arthur R. Tunnell. Vol. 2. Toronto: Trans-Canada Press, [Dec.] 1938. (Watters) [future wife Joan Montgomery assisted with this volume (Adams 179); "In December, 1938, I brought out Volume II of the Standard Dictionary of Canadian Biography (the Canadian Who Was Who) on which I had been working for the past two years. I have had no time for other work, beyond two or three lectures and a couple of poems" (note enclosed in letter to Grace Davis Vanamee, 7 Jan. 1938)]

## 1939

NB. "[In 1939?] the poet's personal welcome to Their Majesties [King George VI and Queen Elizabeth] on their visit to Canada appeared in the Royal Welcome Number of the Montreal Standard" (Pomeroy 348). Unlocated.

"New Brunswick." The Spirit of Canada, Dominion and Provinces, 1939: A Souvenir of Welcome to H.M. King George VI and H.M. Queen Elizabeth. Canadian Pacific Railway, [Apr.?] 1939. (Boone 563n) ["I should have written you long ago, but I was struggling desperately with an article on New Brunswick for the C.P.R.'s book of welcome to the King & Queen. It was difficult to do,--such an immense mass of material to be squeezed into so small a space--& yet kept interesting & picturesque. I have just mailed it..." (R. to Lorne Pierce, 12 Feb. 1939)]

## 1940

Foreword. Up the Hill '40. University of New Brunswick Yearbook, 1940. (Boone 585n) ["I am writing Mr. Colby to the effect that I will take pleasure in doing the brief sketch which he asks for..." (R. to Cecil Charles Jones, Jan. 1940); James E. Colby, editor-in-chief of Up the Hill '40]

"Some Reminiscences of Bliss Carman in New York (1896-1906)." Canadian Poetry Magazine 5.2 (Dec. 1940): 5-10. (V) [a follow-up to Roberts' 1930 and 1935 articles on Carman in The Dalhousie Review and Acadie; "rambling notes," mostly of

their circle of friends in New York and how each wore his hair]

#### 1941

Canada Speaks of Britain and Other Poems of the War. Toronto: Ryerson, 28 March 1941. 15 pp. (N, Watters) [on 1 Oct. 1940, Roberts wrote to Lorne Pierce that he wanted to collect some recent war poems from Maclean's and Saturday Night "in paper covers & at a popular price, & call it 'The Empire Speaks of Britain and Other Poems of the War,' & I want the proceeds to go to, say, the Canadian Red Cross, or the I.O.D.E. War Services, or whatever other great object you may think best suited to give it big circulation. Besides these latest poems, which I enclose, I want to include the poem of the late Spanish War--'Those Perish, These Endure,' & also, I think, three poems from the last War--'To Shakespeare in 1916,' 'Cambrai & Marne,' and 'A Girl's Voice in the Night,' in a separate division. What do you think of the scheme?"]

#### 1942

Flying Colours. Ed. and foreword by Roberts. Beverley House Library. Toronto: Ryerson, July [Nov.?] 1942. xii, 126 pp. (N, Watters) [anthology of contemporary British, Canadian, and American patriotic poetry for school-use; dedicated to Pelham Edgar; Roberts chooses for the American section poems that show American poets "turning passionately, in time of stress, to the land of their origin and traditions" and omits those inspired by loyalty to the United States "in the hope of promoting, by even a little, that spiritual if not political unity of the English-speaking peoples toward which events would seem at last to be leading us" (qtd. in Pomeroy 354; cf. Boone 630n); "Have you seen my Flying Colours, just out a few weeks ago?... I have included in it a couple of my own most recent lyrics" (Roberts to John Coldwell Adams, 29 Nov. 1942)]

#### Published Letters

The Collected Letters of Sir Charles G.D. Roberts. Ed. Laurel Boone. Introd. by Fred Cogswell. Fredericton, NB: Goose Lane, 1989. 7-664 pp. (CaNSHD)

#### Posthumous Collections

Thirteen Bears. Selected and ed. by Ethel Hume Bennett. Illus. John A. Hall. Toronto: Ryerson, 1947 and 1954. 254 pp. (N, Watters) [animal stories]

- Forest Folk. Selected and ed. by Ethel Hume Bennett. Illus. John A. Hall. Toronto: Ryerson, 1949. 237 pp. (N, Watters) [collects twelve stories "chosen (within the limits of copyright possibilities) as representative of Roberts's finest achievement in the telling of animal stories" (viii): "A Master of Supply," "The Nest of the Mallard," "The Trail of the Vanishing Herds," "The Keepers of the Nest," "The Vagrants of the Barren," "The Feud," "The Watchers in the Swamp," "Gray Lynx's Last Hunting," "The Antlers of the Caribou," "The Invaders," "The Sun-Gazer," and "The Tiger of the Sea"]
- The Selected Poems of Sir Charles G.D. Roberts. Ed. and introd. Desmond Pacey. Ryerson Library of Canadian Poets. Toronto: Ryerson, 1955. xxv, 100 pp. illus. (N, BMCat 1971-75 supp., Watters)
- The Last Barrier, and Other Stories. Introd. by Alec Lucas. New Canadian Library No. 7. Toronto: NCL-McClelland, 1958. x, 153 pp. (Watters) [short stories]
- King of Beasts and Other Stories. Ed. and introd. by Joseph Gold. Toronto: Ryerson, 1967. 240 pp. (PB)
- Selected Poetry and Critical Prose: Charles G.D. Roberts. Ed. and introd. W.J. Keith. Literature of Canada Poetry and Prose in Reprint Ser. No. 9. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1974. xxxviii, 326 pp. (PB)
- Seven Bears. Richmond Hill, ON: Scholastic, 1977. 124 pp. (PB) [animal stories]
- Eyes of the Wilderness and Other Stories. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1980. 123 pp. (PB) [except for title story, contents completely different from Roberts' own collection of this name (PB)]
- The Lure of the Wild: The Last Three Animal Stories. Ed. and introd. John Coldwell Adams. Ottawa: Borealis, 1980. 38 pp. (PB)
- The Collected Poems of Sir Charles G.D. Roberts. Ed. Desmond Pacey. Asst. ed. Graham Adams. Introd. Fred Cogswell. Wolfville, NS: Wombat, 1985. xxxii, 672 pp. (PC)

#### Translations

- The Heart of the Ancient Wood. Louisville, KY: American Printing House for the Blind, 1902. 144 pp. (N) ["Printed in the New York system of tangible point for the blind" (N)]
- Elainvaltiaita; suomentanut I.K. Inha. 1912. (N)

Ylamaan kansa; suomentanut I.K. Inha. 1918. (N)

Vildmarkens børn; tolv fortaellinger om dyr [af] Charles G.D. Roberts. Oversat af. [trans.?] E.Th. Bjørn. Copenhagen: Danske Drenges Forlag, 1922. 237 pp. illus. (N) [Danish?]

Ved Baeversøen og andre fortaellinger om dyr. Overs. af. [trans.?] E.Th. Bjørn. Copenhagen: Danske Drenges Forlag, 1923. 179 pp. illus. (N) [Danish?]

Augen im Busch. Trans. Gertrud Zeissner-Winther. Illus. Jan Blisch. Berlin: Universitas, 1927. 191 pp. (N) [German trans. of Hoof and Claw, 1913]

Die burg im grase. Trans. Gertrud Winther. Berlin: Universitas, 1927. 200 pp. [German trans. of one of Roberts' collections of animal stories; N's entry lists story names in German]

Voisins mysterieux. Trans. J.G. Delamain. Paris: Delamain and Boutelleau, 1929. 253 pp. (BNCat)

Goupil de Rouge. Trans. Lasnier-Lachaise and Ch.-Roger Dessart. Paris: Delamain & Boutelleau, 1932. x, 245 pp. (BNCat) [French trans. of Red Fox? On 20 Sep. 1932, Roberts mailed copies of "Danish & French translations of Red Fox" to UNB president Cecil Charles Jones]

Herrscher im walde: tiergeschichten. Trans. Gertrud Winther. Berlin: Universitas, 1935. 205 pp. illus. (N) [German trans. of one of his collections of animal stories; N's entry lists story names in German]

Cineadh an fhásaigh [transliterated]. Trans. Niall Ó Domhnaill. 1935. (NR 0318599, BMCat). [trans. of Kindred of the Wild (1902) into a script I can't identify, let alone read; all publication data but title and author in same script; might be Gaelic?]

**William Carman Roberts (1874-1941)**

**Biographical.** CWW 2. In the absence of separate biographical treatment, William's life must be pieced together from his appearances in the biographies and correspondence of his better remembered older brother Charles. He shows up about a dozen times each in Pomeroy's and Adams' biographies, and some three dozen times in Laurel Boone's edition of Charles' Collected Letters. Frank Pollock briefly mentions William in his 1899 survey of Canadian writers in the city, and the deaths of both William and his wife Mary were reported at some length in the New York Times: see, respectively, 23 Nov. 1941 (p. 51) and 15 Oct. 1956 (p. 25). Mott's sketch of the Literary Digest in his History of American Magazines provides useful background (4: 569-79), as does Arthur E. Bostwick's chapter on his years as the Digest's science editor in his A Life with Men and Books (New York: Wilson, 1939).

**Archival.** The National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections lists no single repository for the Literary Digest, or any entry for William himself. The New York Public Library does have the papers of Frederick Allen King (1865-1939), an editor with the Digest late in William's tenure (NUCMC 70-1753), and Mary Fanton Roberts' papers have been preserved in the Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Yale University and in the Archives of American Art in Detroit.

**Bibliographical.** BMCat; CIHM; LC; N; PI; RG; Sader; Watters. In addition to the publications listed below, William is also said to have contributed poems to Munsey's and the Independent, both prior to 1899 (Pollock 436), and to have published at least two poems in the Illustrated American during his short stint with the magazine in 1897. The bulk of William's written work was for the Literary Digest, which he served in various editorial capacities from 1897 until shortly before the magazine's final issue in February of 1938. As a reprint magazine, the Digest made a virtue of anonymity--what mattered to its readers was the source of the digested articles, not the name of their compiler or editor. William's name may appear in later issues of the Digest, but neither he nor any other contributor or editor is named in the issues I've seen, from several years after William joined the magazine to the close of the First World War.

"Trioleet." Dominion Illustrated 1 Mar. 1890: 131. (V) ["O, Trioleet, when thou wast young..."]

"Roundel." Dominion Illustrated 8 Mar. 1890: 159. (V) ["On pine-clad hills the light of day..."]

"Sojourning." University Monthly (Fredericton, NB) [Dec.?] 1893. (Periodicals, Week 15 Dec. 1893) [poem]

- "One Light." Week 26 Oct. 1894: 1167. (V) [vaguely mystic poem more in the manner of Carman than Roberts]
- "Smoke-Wreaths." Chap-Book 1 June 1896: 78-79. (Sader) [poem]
- "At Twilight." Century July 1897: 330. (RG 1890-99) [poem]
- "To Lilith." Chap-Book 15 Sep. 1897: 322. (Sader)
- "Nachstück." Bookman (NY) July 1899: 448. (V) [lyric: "The sky is remote and forgotten..."; speaker a lonely, depressed "shadow" in a "hurrying" city missing the touch of "Her hand"]
- Northland Lyrics by William Carman Roberts Theodore Roberts & [Jane] Elizabeth Roberts Macdonald Selected and Arranged with a [verse] Prologue by Charles G.D. Roberts and an [verse] Epilogue by Bliss Carman. Boston: Small, Maynard, [deposited 6 Nov.] 1899. ix, 86 pp. (N, BMCat, BAL 2642, Watters, CIHM #12501)
- "Inscrutable." Canadian Magazine Sep. 1900: 429. (V) ["Her gold hair, fallen about her face..."; rpt., probably from Northland Lyrics, in A.B. de Mille's "Canadian Celebrities No. XVI: The Roberts Family" (426-30)]
- "Guardians of the Northwest." Munsey's Sep. 1903: 933-36. (RG 1) [on North-West Mounted Police]
- "The Strong Man of Canada." Munsey's Dec. 1904: 683-86. (V) [illus. biography of Sir Wilfrid Laurier in the wake of his party's November victory at the polls]
- "Are We Becoming Civilized Too Rapidly?" Craftsman Jan. 1910: 355-59. (RG 3)
- "Vitality of the Monroe Doctrine." Craftsman Jan. 1914: 311-14. (RG 3)

**H[edley Duncan] V[icars] Ross (1871-?)**

**Biographical.** Of the biographical sources consulted, Ross appears only in Morgan's 1912 edition of The Canadian Men and Women of the Time; no obituary has been located, and nothing is known of him after 1912.

**Archival.** None found.

**Bibliographical.** N; PI; RG. By its very nature, the bulk of Ross's writing in New York is probably forever lost to the bibliographer: "specials" for the daily press in this period were rarely signed, and book reviews in the Literary Digest, like everything else in it at this time, were never signed. The short bibliography that follows is all that the records preserve.

Samson Agonistes: Its Autobiographical Character and Its Relation to the Greek Drama. PhD. Dissertation, Cornell University, Ithaca, NY, 1899. iv, 237 pp. (N) [available on microfilm from Photo Science, Cornell, #N2859]

"Schools for the Out-of-School." Review of Reviews (NY) Sep. 1906: 315-21. (V) [article on rise of night classes in business, trades, and arts for "employed men"; focuses on example of West Side (NY) YMCA, which among many other courses, taught the first real-estate class in America in Oct. 1904; many photos; signed H.V. Ross]

"Vicereines of Canada: Being Sketches of the Nine Ladies Who Have Led Canadian Social Life at Ottawa Since Confederation." Canadian Magazine July 1907: 225-32. (V) [biogs. with illus. of wives of Governors-General; signed H.V. Ross]

"Last Letters of Wolfe and Montcalm." Canadian Magazine Feb. 1908: 306-13. (V) [history in light of recently discovered and published (1902) correspondence; signed H.V. Ross]

**Edwyn (or Edwin) [William] Sandys (1860-1906)**

Sandys used the pseudonym "Nomad" ca. 1888-92, and perhaps also later; in the early 1890s, he often signed his work Ed. W. Sandys.

**Biographical.** CM 1898; WhAm 1. Biographical information on Sandys is scant, and what little there is is incomplete and often inaccurate. Sophia Hensley's 1893 article on "Canadian Writers in New York" contains a brief glimpse of Sandys in his New York office, and his obituary in the New York Times (27 Oct. 1906: 9) at least corrects Watters' death-date of 1909, but adds little else. Frank Luther Mott's sketch of Outing in his History of American Magazines is useful for background on Sandys' principal employer and publisher (4: 633-38).

**Archival.** None found. Sandys does not appear in the author's index to the archives of the Macmillan Company, publisher of all four of his books. Substantial portions of these archives are, however, unindexed.

**Bibliographical.** BMCat; BNCat; CIHM; N; PI; RG; SN; Watters. The bulk of Sandys's periodical publications appeared in Outing (NY) between 1889 and 1905. Unfortunately, The Readers' Guide did not begin indexing Outing until 1900, which means the bibliographer without access to the magazine must turn instead to its predecessor, Poole's Index to Periodical Literature. For now, the limitations of Poole's Index (see the introduction to this appendix) are reflected in this bibliography by square brackets and question marks.

In addition to Outing and the several other Canadian and American magazines listed below, Sandys is also known to have contributed articles to Toronto's Canadian Sportsman and New York's American Field, as well as "specials" to other New York periodicals, probably dailies or their weekly supplements.

1887

Fishing Resorts Along the Canadian Pacific Railway, Eastern Division: Where to Go for Trout, Bass and Maskinonge, and What It Costs to Get There; From Special Explorations by Commissioners of The Canadian Sportsman. Montreal: Passenger Dept., Canadian Pacific Railway, 1887. 32 pp. (CIHM # 00431). [the C.P.R. seems to have published this free guide almost annually, with slightly variant titles: the CIHM also has microfilmed copies of editions from 1893, 1896, and 1899, and the Week's "Publications Received" for 10 July 1891 acknowledges receipt of a third edition, titled Fishing and Shooting by the Canadian Pacific Railway and printed by D. MacNicoll of Montreal; according to CM 1898, Sandys was hired by the C.P.R. upon its completion "to write the literature of hunting and fishing published by that co.," but the only evidence of Sandys' authorship is for the



third edition, for which the Week lists him as author; given that Sandys also worked for the Canadian Sportsman, he probably contributed to the guide from 1887 to at least 1891, and his work may have been reprinted in later editions]

## 1888

"Random Casts: Fishing in the Thames [ON]." Saturday Night 11 Aug. 1888: 6. (SN)

"Random Shots: To and Fro in the Nor'West." Saturday Night 25 Aug. 1888: 7. (SN) [illus.]

"Christmas Turkey." Saturday Night Christmas no. 1888: 4. (SN) [illus.]

## 1889

[St. Andrews, NB]. Saturday Night 11 May 1889: 7. (SN)

"Real Tangled Fish-Lyin." Saturday Night 1 June 1889: 7. (SN) [illus.]

"Study in Black and White." Saturday Night 22 June 1889: 7. (SN) [on railroad porters]

"Montreal Mutterings." Saturday Night 3 Aug. 1889: 3. (SN) [illus.]

"Idyl [sic] of Lake Megantic." Saturday Night 21 Sep. 1889: 7. (SN) [illus.]

[Muskalonge at Thousand Islands]. Outing 14 (1889): 270-? (PI 3: 293) [first of over a hundred contributions to Outing over the next sixteen years; edited during most of this time by James Henry Worman, Outing was a "gentleman's outdoor magazine" published in NY (see Mott 4: 633-38)]

## 1890

"Gleam from a Glacier." Saturday Night 8 Feb. 1890: 7. (SN)

"Over the Ice." Dominion Illustrated 26 Apr. 1890: 271. (V) [poem: "Over the ice with a curving swing..."]

[Grouse]. By Sandys and D. Currie. Outing 16 (1890): 339-? (PI 3: 186)

"Woodcock Shooting in Canada." Outing 17 (Oct. 1890): 55-60. (V) [illus. article on the habits and hunting of woodcock in Western Ontario]

## 1891

- [Turkey tracking in Canadian snow fields]. Outing 17 (1891): 393-? (PI 3: 438)
- [Canoe and rod on the Thames]. Outing 18 (1891): 241-? (PI 3: 66)
- [A day with woodcock]. Outing 18 (1891): 355-? (PI 3: 471)
- "A Coyote Hunt in Assiniboia." Dominion Illustrated 5 Sep. 1891: 227. (V) [500w; rpt., presumably in part, from Sep. Outing]

## 1892

- "When Bill Came Down." Dominion Illustrated Monthly Mar. 1892: 96-100. (V) [illus. western short story set in British Columbia of the 1860s; first of five contributions to the Dominion Illustrated Monthly during 1892, which ceased publication the next year]
- "A River of Geese." Dominion Illustrated Monthly May 1892: 207-11. (V) [illus. account of a Manitoba hunting trip two seasons ago by narrator "Nomad" and his friend "Billy"]
- "Fooling and Fishing about Megantic." Dominion Illustrated Monthly July 1892: 344-49. (V) [illus. article; Sandys escapes Montreal office of C.P.R. for a quick fishing trip up the new C.P.R. "Short Line" to the Maritimes; presumably older work (or at least an older event) than its publication date]
- "A Day on Alberta Plains." Dominion Illustrated Monthly Aug. 1892: 409-15. (V) [grouse-hunting with two new friends near Calgary; illus.]
- "Pages from the Past." Dominion Illustrated Monthly Oct. 1892: 563-68. (V) [short story or memoir?; the narrator, who seems a much older man than Sandys' thirty-two years, sees a report in an Ontario newspaper about a judge convicting a man for stealing melons and recalls perpetrating that same crime with the judge in question when the two were boys]
- [Upper peninsula runaways]. Outing 19 (1892): 81-? (PI 3: 405)
- [Bout with a king-fish]. Outing 20 (1892): 97-? (PI 4: 201)
- [Muskoka marvel-lands]. Outing 20 (1892): 163-? (PI 4: 390)
- [Moeran's Moose.] Outing 20 (1892): 419-? (PI 4: 376)

- [Quail and quail-shooting]. Outing 21 (1892): 25-? (PI 4: 468)
- [A day with quail]. Outing 21 (1892?): 112-? (PI 4: 468)
- "Canadian Winter Pastimes." Outing 21 (Dec. 1892): 183-?  
("Periodicals," Week 16 Dec. 1892: 62; PI 4: 624)

## 1893

- [Glance at game fish]. Outing 21 (1893): 301-? (PI 4: 219)
- [Sport with Canada geese]. Outing 22 (1893): 52-? (PI 4: 221)
- [Shore-shooting birds]. Outing 22 (1893): 219-? (PI 4: 61)
- "The Madam's Chicken Shoot." Outing 22 (1893): 365-? (PI 4: 348) [short story]

## 1894

- [A mixed bag]. Outing 23 (1894): 65-? (PI 4: 270)
- [Trapping and home-made traps]. Outing 23 (1894): 136-? (PI 4: 582)
- [Fish-spearing in winter]. Outing 23 (1894): 295-? (PI 4: 200)
- [Winter spear-fishing]. Outing 24 (1894): 54-? (PI 4: 201)
- [Spring snipe-shooting]. Outing 24 (1894): 121-? (PI 4: 531)
- [A day in a catboat]. Outing 24 (1894): 260-? (PI 4: 201)
- [Bear and for bear]. Outing 24 (1894): 416-? (PI 4: 48)

Rancho Del Muerto, by Capt. Chas. King, and Other Stories of Adventure. New York & London: Outing, 1894. (NS 0106909)  
[attrib. by N to Sandys but probably just contains one of his stories; Charles King (1844-1933) was an Albany-born army officer and novelist (AAB)]

## 1895

- [Deer and deer-shooting]. Outing 25 (1895): 132-? (PI 4: 151)
- [Two tries for turkey]. Outing 25 (1895): 292-? (PI 4: 587)
- [Conversion of Trapper Lewis]. Outing 26 (1895): 64-? (PI 4: 131)
- [Paw Duckett's coon-hunt]. Outing 26 (1895): 434-? (PI 4: 431)

## 1896

- [Guns and shooting]. Outing 27 (1896): 63-? (PI 4: 244)
- [Muskallonge fishing]. Outing 27 (1896): 134-? (PI 4: 390)
- [Skating]. Outing 27 (1896): 200-? (PI 4: 528)
- [Winter fishing]. Outing 27 (1896): 282-? (PI 4: 201)
- [A good old fox hunt]. Outing 28 (1896): 29-? (PI 4: 210)
- [Trout fishing]. Outing 28 (1896): 144-? (PI 4: 585)
- [Swimming]. Outing 28 (1896): 285-? (PI 4: 560)
- [A bout with blue-fish]. Outing 28 (1896): 323-? (PI 4: 64)
- [Rail and reed-bird]. Outing 28 (1896): 462-? (PI 4: 470)

## 1897

- [A day hunting on the uplands]. Outing 29 (1897): 72-? (PI 4: 270)
- [Trial of turkey tracking]. Outing 29 (1897): 153- ? (PI 4: 587)
- [Hares and hare-hunting]. Outing 29 (1897): 236-? (PI 4: 248)
- [Christmas with Trapper Lewis]. Outing 29 (1897): 376-? (PI 5: 115)
- [The setter dog]. Outing 29 (1897): 479-? (PI 5: 164)
- [The pointer dog]. Outing 29 (1897): 540-? (PI 5: 164)
- [Bird-shooting]. Outing 30 (1897): 54-? PI 5: 63)
- [Two days' trout-fishing]. Outing 30 (1897): 172-? (PI 5: 592)
- [Bass and bass-fishing]. Outing 30 (1897): 216-? (PI 5: 49)
- [A highland holiday]. Outing 30 (July 1897): 323-? (PI 5: 395).  
 Rpt. as Grand Trunk Railway; A Highland Holiday from "Outing"; Muskoka. [Battle Creek, MI: Grand Trunk Railway, 1897?]. 15 pp. illus. (CIHM #61910) [fictionalized travel article rpt. from Outing "for the benefit of those who in a few weeks will be planning and mapping out their annual summer tour" (3); "the writer" takes two New Yorkers to Muskoka for relief from the city heat; includes "How to Reach Muskoka" and a map]

- [Camps and camping]. Outing 30 (1897): 373-? (PI 5: 89)  
 [Fish of our boyhood]. Outing 30 (1897): 433-? (PI 5: 208)  
 [Vancouver salmon]. Outing 30 (1897): 539-? (PI 5: 505)

#### 1898

- [Goose-shooting]. Outing 31 (1898): 34-? (PI 5: 240)  
 [A day over dogs]. Outing 31 (1898): 137-? (PI 5: 164)  
 [Quail in December]. Outing 31 (1898): 284-? (PI 5: 473)  
 [Rabbiting]. Outing 31 (1898): 345-? (PI 5: 475)  
 [Tobboganning]. Outing 31 (1898): 484-? (PI 5: 581)  
 [The fox-terrier]. Outing 31 (1898): 531-? (PI 5: 216)  
 [Taxidermy for sportsmen]. Outing 32 (1898): 33-? (PI 5: 568)  
 [A description of a river]. Outing 32 (1898): 176-? (PI 5: 490)  
 [A people's playground: the Muskoka Lakes]. Outing 32 (1898):  
 267-? (PI 5: 395)  
 [One day on Georgian Bay]. Outing 32 (1898): 394-? (PI 5: 230)  
 [A bit of sea-fishing]. Outing 32 (1898): 511-? (PI 5: 209)  
 [Duck-shooting]. Outing 32 (1898): 615-? (PI 5: 170)

#### 1899

- [Trapping with steel traps]. Outing 33 (1899): 152-? (PI 5:  
 589)  
 [Christmas in moose-land]. Outing 33 (1899): 400-? (PI 5: 385)  
 [Plover and plover-shooting in Canada]. Outing 34 (1899): 181-?  
 (PI 5: 455).  
 [Ouananiche fishing in Canada]. Outing 34 (1899): 237-? (PI 5:  
 245)  
 [Trout fishing in Pennsylvania]. Outing 34 (1899): 333-? (PI 5:  
 591)  
 [An August outing]. Outing 34 (1899): 489-? (PI 5: 38)  
 [Shooting in the field]. Outing 34 (1899): 616-? (PI 5: 227)

## 1900

Uncongé dans les Highlands (Muskoka), par Ed. W. Sandys.  
 Montreal: Gazette Printing, 1900. 15 pp. illus. (BNCat)  
 [BNCat says "extrait de Outing," but I doubt Outing  
 published anything in French; probably a translation of A  
 Highland Holiday, 1897]

[A novice on the trail]. Outing 35 (1900): 284-? (PI 5: 276)

"An Evened Score." Outing May 1900: 138-42. (RG 1) [short  
 story]

"Bit about Bass." Outing June 1900: 268-73. (RG 1)

"Woodcock and His Ways." Outing Oct. 1900: 19-23. (RG 1)

"Practice for Field-Shooting." Outing Nov. 1900: 193-95. (RG 1)

"Sidelights on 'Still-Hunting.'" Collier's 3 Nov. 1900: 24-25.  
 (V) [illus. article]

"On the Trail of the Wild Turkey." Outing Dec. 1900: 299-304.  
 (RG 1)

## 1901

"Skirmish with the Squirrels." Outing June 1901: 264-68. (RG 1)

"Ruffed Grouse and Its Shooting." Outing Oct. 1901: 3-9. (RG 1)

"One November's Day's Shooting." Outing Nov. 1901: 142-45. (RG  
 1)

"Way of the Indian Cross." Outing Dec. 1901: 289-95. (RG 1)

"The Way of a Woodsman." Canadian Magazine Dec. 1901: 151-58.  
 (V) [light piece in which the narrator, an experienced  
 woodsman, helps a young Englishman win his intended during a  
 Wisconsin hunting trip; fiction or autobiographical?]

## 1902

"Chased by the White Wolf of the North." Outing Jan. 1902: 417-  
 21. (RG 1)

"In the Haunts of the Hare." Outing Mar. 1902: 654-62. (RG 1)

"Witchery of Wa-Wa." Outing Apr. 1902: 1-12. (RG 1)

"Truths about Troutng." Outing May 1902: 193-200. (RG 1)

- "Chat about Camping." Outing July 1902: 412-16. (RG 1)
- "Matter of Mascalonge." Outing Aug. 1902: 576-82. (RG 1)
- "Best of the Bass." Outing Sep. 1902: 706-12. (RG 1)
- "In the Marsh with 'Reedies' and Rails." Collier's "The Sportsman's Number" 27 Sep. 1902: 10. (V) [half-page article on marsh-hunting for the "poor tied-to-business chap who can only slip away for a day now and then"]
- "Wizard of the Wet Lands." Outing Oct. 1902: 84-90. (RG 1)
- "Trifle about Turkeys." Independent 23 Oct. 1902: 2522-26. (RG 1)
- "Wood Duck." Outing Nov. 1902: 163-71. (RG 1)
- "A Glance at the Grouse." Outing Dec. 1902: 286-91. (RG 1)
- Upland Game Birds. By Sandys and T[heodore] S[trong] Van Dyke. Illus. L[ouis] A[gassiz] Fuertes, A[rthur] B[urdett] Frost, J.O. Nugent, and C[harles] L[ivingston] Bull. The American Sportsman's Library. New York: Macmillan; London: Macmillan, 1902. ix, 429 pp. (N, BMCat). Rpt. Oct. 1904. (N) [contains "Upland Game" by Sandys and "The Quail and the Grouse of the Pacific Coast" by Van Dyke, another Outing regular; the illustrators are among the best of their day and kind: Frost, best known as the illustrator of Joel Chandler Harris's Uncle Remus stories, also illustrated books by Twain and Thomas Nelson Page, as well as many issues of Scribner's, Harper's, etc., and Bull, a regular Outing and Saturday Evening Post illustrator, was by this time Charles G.D. Roberts' regular illustrator; either just a hundred copies of the first edition were printed "on large paper," or a hundred were printed in a special large-paper edition (N's note is ambiguous)]

### 1903

- "Caring for the Bird Dog in Close Season." Outing Feb. 1903: 649-51. (RG 1)
- "Angling of the Free People." Outing Apr. 1903: 80-86. (RG 1)
- "Trout-Fishing for Everybody." Outing May 1903: 210-14. (RG 1)
- "How to Catch Pickerel." Outing June 1903: 318-20. (RG 1)
- "Under the Rod." Outing June 1903: 345. (RG 1) [poem]
- "Joys of Fresh-Water Fishing." World's Work June 1903: 3528-38. (RG 1)

Trapper "Jim". New York: Macmillan; London: Macmillan, [July?] 1903. ix, 441 pp. illus. (N, BMCat, Watters) [boy's outdoor novel]

"Woodcock Philosophy." Outing Aug. 1903: 626-29. (RG 1)

"Four of a Kind." Outing Sep. 1903: 735-38. (RG 1)

"Quail in Painted Covers." Outing Nov. 1903: 149-53. (RG 1)

"Robert White Jr." Canadian Magazine Nov. 1903: 23-29. (V)  
[animal story]

"Some Miles of Marsh-Meadow." Outing Dec. 1903: 330-35. (RG 1)

"Swimming." Athletics and Out-Door Sports for Women. Ed. Lucille Eaton Hill. New York: Macmillan, 1903. 91-108 illus. (N) [probably a rpt. of an Outing article]

#### 1904

"Skirmish in the Bush." Outing Feb. 1904: 579-82. (RG 1)

"Game Field." Outing Apr., May, and Nov. 1904: 126-28, 257-58, and 243-45. (RG 1)

"Trout-Visions of a Vandal." Outing May 1904: 180-82. (RG 1)

"Robbing Birds' Nests." Outing June 1904: 387. (RG 1)

"Some Salt-Water Fishing." Outing July 1904: 444-48. (RG 1)

"Bluefish and Blue Waters." Outing Aug. 1904: 563-68. (RG 1)

"How to Find Upland Game Birds." Outing Oct. 1904: 104-07. (RG 1)

Sportsman "Joe". Illus. J.M. Geeson and C.W. Pancoast. New York: Macmillan; London: Macmillan, Oct. 1904. ix, 338 pp. (N, BMCat, LC, Watters) [adventure novel; a young, sickly son of a NY stockbroker is sent to Canada to spend the summer hunting by car in the lake country and Rockies with a college friend of his father's, now a woodsman and nature-writer]

"Scarcity of Game Birds." Outing Dec. 1904: 373-75. (RG 1)

#### 1905

"How to Improve Duck Waters." Outing Jan. 1905: 508-09. (RG 2)

"Wide Marshes of Manitoba." Outing Feb. 1905: 529-32. (RG 2)



- "Raising Quail for Sportsmen." Outing Feb. 1905: 636-37. (RG 2)
- "How to Offset Winter Depletion of Game." Outing Mar. 1905: 757.  
(RG 2)
- "Spring Music in a Marsh Meadow." Outing Apr. 1905: 69-72. (RG  
2)
- "Choosing a Game Dog." Outing Apr. 1905: 122. (RG 2)
- "Fishing for Fun." Outing May 1905: 229-33. (RG 2)
- "Return of Bob White." Outing May 1905: 251-53. (RG 2)
- "Fit of the Blues." Outing Aug. 1905: 590-95. (RG 2)
- "How to Shoot Upland Game Birds." Outing Oct. 1905: 116-19. (RG  
2)
- "Wildfowling in Manitoba." Canadian Magazine Nov. 1905: 17-22.  
(V) [hunting sketch]

Sporting Sketches. New York: Macmillan, 1905. vi, 389 pp.  
illus. (N, BMCat, Watters) ["Many of these sporting  
sketches originally appeared in Outing" (N)]

#### Posthumous

- "White Woodlands." Illus. Lynn Bogue Hunt. Outing Mar. 1907:  
775-83. (V) [nature essay; narrator observes sign and  
sight of birds and small animals in a winter forest; no  
mention of Sandys' death the previous Oct. on copied pages,  
though there may be elsewhere in issue]

**M[ary] Bouchier Sanford (1863?)**

**Biographical.** CM 1898, 1912. Little is known of Sanford--even her birth and death dates have thus far escaped discovery. What little we do know comes from her entry in Morgan's Canadian Men and Women of the Time, which appears like many of the entries to have been largely written by Sanford herself, and from letters she wrote in 1909 to a Rev. W.A. Laughlin in Willow City, North Dakota. I am indebted to Carole Gerson of Simon Fraser University for providing me with copies of these letters, and for sharing her notes on Sanford from her ongoing database on early Canadian women writers.

**Archival.** The M.B. Sanford Papers, which include her letters to the Rev. Laughlin, are housed in the Public Archives of Ontario, Toronto (ULMC 2: 1106).

**Bibliographical.** BMCat; Flitton; N; PI; RG; Rogers; Watters. As a free-lance humorist for the periodical press in 1890s' New York, the bulk of Sanford's work would almost certainly have been unsigned, and is now lost to all but a detective mission vastly disproportionate to its value. Most of her more substantial periodical work appears to have been for magazines that, though popular in their day, were not and have not been deemed of sufficient interest to merit indexing. In addition to the periodicals listed below, Sanford is also supposed to have contributed, all in the 1890s or shortly after, to the established women's magazines Godey's, Arthur's, Demorest's, and Harper's Bazaar and the newcomers Vogue (NY, 1892-) and Household (Topeka, 1902-); to the Woman's Cycle and its successor as organ of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the Home-Maker; to Far and Near (1890-94), conducted by the Association of Working Girls' Societies of New York and later by the National League of Women Workers; to the juveniles Harper's Young People (NY), Sunbeams (Annville, PA), and Boy's Own Paper (London); to the all-fiction Black Cat in Boston; to the general-interest magazines New Peterson (Philadelphia), Independent (NY), and Kate Field's Washington; to the New York religious periodicals Observer (Presbyterian), Christian Advocate (Methodist), and Churchman (Episcopalian); to the literary magazines Critic and Epoch, both in New York; and finally to the Tribune, Herald, Evening Post, and other New York newspapers. Of these, only the Critic has been indexed (by PI) over the period during which Sanford is likely to have contributed to it, but Sanford is not listed as a contributor.

Thanks to Morgan, however (or, more likely, to Sanford herself), we do know at least the titles of some of Sanford's contributions to these periodicals: as of the publication of Canadian Men and Women in 1898, Sanford had contributed "The Pretty Typewriter," "Chinese Sunday Schools," "An Ode to the Starlit Sky," and "Ban Vibber's Tragedy" to Kate Field's Washington; "Religion and Public Education in Canada" to the

Independent; "Nagging," "Obstinate Children," "The Canadian Woman," and "Humour and Pathos of the Almshouse" to the Tribune; "Bridget O'Flanagan on Christian Science and Cockroaches" to Puck; "De Leet'l Feller" to Boy's Own Paper; and "The Story of Dorothie Lamourette" to Far and Near. She also wrote at least one piece, "Tares and Wheat," for McClure's syndicate. To date, however, the one poem, two essays, two short stories, and seven novels listed below are all of this apparently considerable body of work that I have been able to locate.

"A Christmas Hymn." Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly Jan. 1879: 19. (Flitton) [Morgan says Sanford wrote "poems and sketches" for the Canadian Monthly (CM 1898), but Flitton's index to the magazine lists this poem only]

"In Favor of the Jew." North American Review Jan. 1891: 126-28. (V) [essay arguing that while we condemn anti-Semitism in Russia, we continue to practice it here; printed, as was her other contribution to the Review, in the "Notes and Comments" section at the back rather than as a full-fledged article]

"Rescue Work Among Fallen Women." North American Review Jan. 1892: 119-22. (V) [essay arguing the efficacy of homes for fallen women; seemingly based on written inquiries from Sanford to women's homes in NY and Ontario]

"The Deserted Cottage." Illus. Dudley Warner. English Illustrated Magazine 11 (1893-94): 1051-54. (V). Also printed, slightly revised, as "The Deserted Cottage: A Canadian Peasant Woman's Story" by M. Bouchier-Sandford [sic] in Saturday Evening Post 4 June 1898: 2. (V) [mercifully short French-Canadian dialect story of "de Anglisman dat live' een dat leetl' 'ouse dat ees now desert'....bacose dey say 'ees ghos' walk near" (1051)]

The Romance of a Jesuit Mission: A Historical Novel. New York: Baker & Taylor, [July?] 1897. 7-292 pp. (N, CIHM #12999). Toronto: Revell, 1897. 292 pp. (Watters) [Parkmanian romance set during the 17th-century Brébeuf/Lalemant massacre, both of whom appear as characters; two-page preface (half of it a long quote from Parkman) sketches in the history of the Jesuit mission on Lake Huron; reported in the Nation's book notes for 18 Mar. 1897 as in press (204)]

The Wandering Twins: A Story of Labrador. Illus. H.C. Ireland. Chicago: A.C. McClurg, [fall] 1904. 300 pp. (N, Watters). London: C.F. Cazebove, 1904. 300 pp. (BMCat) [juvenile novel]

"Deborah of Fort Yaivik." Lippincott's Aug. 1905: 229-40. (RG 2)

The Young Gordons in Canada. London: Religious Tract Society, 1913. 286 pp. (BMCat, Watters) [fict.]

The Trail of the Iroquois: A Pioneer Romance of Canada. Illus. Alfred Pearse. London & Edinburgh: Sands, 1924. 256 pp. (N). Toronto: Longman's, 1925. 256 pp. (Watters) [fict.]

Urania's Training. London: Religious Tract Society, 1925. 237 pp. (Watters) [fict.]

Isle of Gladness. London: Religious Tract Society, 1929. 224 pp. (Watters) [fict.]

The Happy Harfords. London & Glasgow: Collins, 1930. 128 pp. (BMCat, Watters). London: Collin's Cleartype Press, 19[--]. 128 pp. (N) [fict.; BMCat and N editions may be the same]

**Ernest Thompson Seton** (1860-1946)

Note: Born Ernest Evan Thompson, Seton legally added "Seton" (purportedly the family's ancestral surname) to the end of his name in 1883. In 1887, he promised his mother he would use "Seton-Thompson" as a nom de plume only, which he did until her death in 1897, thereafter legally becoming (on 24 October 1901) Ernest Thompson Seton (Seton 391-93; Keller 70-71). Obviously, these changes complicate bibliographic work on Seton, who published as Ernest E.T. Seton, Ernest E. Thompson, and Ernest Seton Thompson (or Seton-Thompson) before permanently becoming Ernest Thompson Seton with "The True Story of Daddy Binks" in Recreation of January 1902.

**Biographical.** AAB; CM 1898, 1912; CWW 10-36; DAA supp.; DAB supp. 4: 735-38 (by Robert H. Welker); DLB 92: 349-54 (by Patricia Morley); NCAB 36: 68-69; WhAm 2; WhAmAuth; WWNY.

Seton's 1940 autobiography, Trail of an Artist-Naturalist, is often more of a naturalist's notebook (from which much of it was taken verbatim) than a record of his life, and is sketchy after about 1896. In 1967 his second wife Julia collected unpublished extracts from his journals along with some biographical notes of her own as By a Thousand Fires (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1967). The first biography of Seton was Shannon and Warren Garst's Ernest Thompson Seton, Naturalist (New York: Messner, 1959), followed in 1976 by John Henry Wadland's PhD dissertation for York University, Ernest Thompson Seton: Man in Nature and the Progressive Era 1800-1915, and in 1978 by Magdalene Redekop's Ernest Thompson Seton (the last aimed more at a high-school than a scholarly audience). Betty Keller's Black Wolf: The Life of Ernest Thompson Seton (1984), styled as "the private life of a creative genius" (8), is the best overall biography to date, though like Seton's autobiography it too devotes most of its considerable energy to his early life. Wadland's extensively researched dissertation is best for its careful examination of Seton's place in the histories of natural science, environmentalism, and the outdoors movement.

**Archival.** The largest Seton repository--papers, sketches, and paintings--is the Ernest Thompson Seton Memorial Museum on the Philmont Boy Scout Reservation in Cimarron, NM (DAB). Thirty-eight of Seton's fifty-odd journals were sold at auction in 1965, and are now in the Rare Book Room of the American Museum of Natural History, NY. Also in New York, the Library of the American Academy of Arts and Letters contains Seton correspondence (60 items, 1905-46) chiefly related to the National Institute of Arts and Letters (NUCMC 61-2560). Boston University has the papers of daughter Anya Seton, which contain a "few records" of her father (NUCMC 69-85). The Records of the Appleton-Century Company (1846-1952), housed at Indiana University's Lilly Library (Bloomington), contain an author file on Seton (NUCMC 78-294). Scattered Seton correspondence can also be found in the papers of American ethnologist Charles Fletcher

Lummis in the Southwest Museum Library, Los Angeles (NUCMC 62-1097); American ornithologist Charles Emil Bendire, Library of Congress (NUCMC 71-1333); and American businessman George A. Loud, Michigan Historical Collections, Bentley Historical Library, University of Michigan (NUCMC 81-1864). In Canada, the Glenbow-Alberta Institute has 25 pages of Seton letters and papers, 1901-55 (ULMC 2: 11-129), and the Provincial Archives of Manitoba in Winnipeg has a 35-page file on Seton, including correspondence with John Willing and a letter to his father. Finally, Queen's University Library in Kingston, Ontario, has a letter of 19 Dec. 1903 from Seton to E. Pauline Johnson (ULMC 2: 75-172).

**Bibliographical.** BMCat; BNCat; GBIP; N, NS; PI; RG; Rogers; Watters; YC. Wadland's dissertation contains the most complete bibliography of Seton's work to date (the DAB entry on Seton mentions a bibliography assembled by Bonnie Stecher of the University of Wisconsin in 1964, but this does not seem to have ever been published.) At some 440 items, the Wadland bibliography would seem to contain virtually all of Seton's periodical publications, excepting only his many signed and unsigned contributions to his own irregularly published Totem, organ of the Woodcraft League of America. (Certainly I've added very few periodical publications to Wadland's list.) Wadland does not, however, list any but the first editions of Seton's books, or the many translations of those books into dozens of languages. The following incorporates Wadland's alphabetical bibliography into a chronological bibliography of Seton's periodical and book publications, including, in separate sections, posthumous collections and translations. Missing from this bibliography because unlocated is the "comic opera" based on Seton's animal characters that, according to a January 1901 interview with Seton in Everybody's Magazine, Seton was then co-writing with playwright Edwin Milton Royle.

#### 1882

"The Striped Gopher, *Spermophilus tredecemlineatus* (Mitchell)." Annual Report of the Manitoba Department of Agriculture and Statistics, 1882. Winnipeg: Queen's Printer, 1882. 169-72. (Wadland)

#### 1883

"The Prairie Chicken or Sharptailed Grouse, *Pedioecetes phasianellus* (Baird)." Proceedings of the Canadian Institute 1 (1879-83): 405-12. (Wadland). Rpt. in [Annual Report of the Manitoba?] Dep[artment] [of] Agriculture [and Statistics?]. Winnipeg: [Queen's Printer?], 1883: 438-86. (Seton, Birds of Manitoba bibliography)

- "The Life of the Prairie Chicken." Canadian J 1 (Feb. 1883): 405-12. (Seton, Birds of Manitoba bibliography) [same as above?]
- "The Great North West." Herts and Essex Observer 24 Mar. 1883: [?]. (Wadland)
- "Prairie Fires." Annual Report of the Manitoba Department of Agriculture and Statistics, 1883. Winnipeg: Queen's Printer, 1883. 491-92. (Wadland). Rpt. in Transactions of the Manitoba Historical and Scientific Society Transactions 16 (1884): 13-14. (N, Wadland)

## 1884

- "Nest and Habits of the Connecticut Warbler (*Oporornis agilis*)." The Auk (Boston) Apr. 1884: 192-93. (Wadland) [first of many contributions to The Auk (1876-), organ of the American Ornithologists' Union, edited from 1883 by American ornithologist and author Elliott Coues (1842-1890) (Mott 3: 111)]
- "The Prairie Chicken: Scientific Description of the Bird and Its Habits; Hints on Rearing and Domestication." Transaction 14, 22 May 1884. Manitoba Historical and Scientific Society, Winnipeg...Papers Read Before the Society, Season 1884. Winnipeg: Manitoba Daily Free Press, 1884. 13-18. (N, CIHM #16769) [according to Seton, also previously printed in full in the Winnipeg Free Press (Birds of Manitoba bibliography)]
- "Our Canadian Birds." Canadian Science Monthly 1 (June-Oct. 1884): 55-57, 75-78, 108-12, 130-35 and 2 (Feb. 1885): 19-21. (Wadland)

## 1885

- "Manitoban Notes." Auk Jan. 1885: 21-24. (Wadland)
- "On Architecture." Toronto Truth 4 Apr. 1885: [?]. (Wadland)
- "The Swallow-Tailed Flycatcher in Manitoba and at York Factory." Auk Apr. 1885: 218. (Wadland)
- "Notes on Manitoban Birds." Auk July 1885: 267-71. (Seton, Birds of Manitoba bibliography; not listed by Wadland)
- "Nest and Eggs of the Philadelphia Vireo" and "The Western Grebe in Manitoba." Auk July 1885: 305-06 and 314. (Wadland)
- "Interesting Records from Toronto, Canada." Auk Oct. 1885: 334-37. (Wadland)

"A Manitoban Blizzard." Manitoba Described. By Robert Miller Christy. London: Wyman, 1885. 57-58. (Wadland)

## 1886

"The Ruminants of the North-West." Proceedings of the Canadian Institute 3 (Feb. 1886): 113-17. (Wadland)

"The Birds of Western Manitoba." Auk Apr., July, and Oct. 1886: 145-56, 320-329, and 453. (Wadland) ["an annotated list of 258 species" (Seton, Birds of Manitoba bibliography)]

A List of the Mammals of Manitoba. Transactions of the Manitoba Scientific and Historical Society 23 (May 1886). 26 pp. Toronto, 1886. (N, BMCat, CIHM #18068) [on cover: by Ernest E. Thompson, "Formerly of Carberry, and a Corresponding Member of the Society"; printed by Oxford Press, Toronto]

[Prairie gophers aerate soil]. Manitoba Historical [and Scientific] Society, 27 May 1886. (Seton, Trail 196n)

"Outlines of Ornithology." Proceedings of the Canadian Institute 3 (June 1886): 180. (Wadland)

"A Carberry Deer Hunt." Forest and Stream 3 June 1886: 366-68. (Wadland) [in a 1901 interview with William Wallace Whitelock, Seton called this his first published story, and said it "contained the material afterward embodied in 'The Sandhill Stag' [Aug. 1899], although neither so extensively nor so well worked out" (Critic Oct. 1901: 324-25)]

"Bear and Moose Queries." Forest and Stream 24 June 1886: 427. (Wadland)

"Domestication of the Buffalo." Forest and Stream 8 July 1886: 467. (Wadland)

## 1887

"Canadian Game and Fish Resorts." Forest and Stream 10 Feb. 1887: 42-43. (Wadland)

"Do Squirrels Hibernate?" Forest and Stream [?] Feb. 1887: 65. (Wadland)

"A Record of Failures." Forest and Stream 24 and 31 Mar. 1887: 178-79 and 198. (Wadland)

"The Drummer on Snow-Shoes." St. Nicholas Apr. 1887: 414-17. (Wadland, YC A7) [nature sketch; called by Seton the "precursor" of "Redruff, the Story of the Don Valley



Partridge" (interview with William Wallace Whitelock, Critic Oct. 1901: 325); "In 1886 I had finished 'The Drummer on Snowshoes,' describing the drumming grouse that grows a set of snowshoes each winter at snow time, and sheds them every spring. I showed this to Joe Collins, a Canadian writer who came to see me [in New York], as the naturalist from the West. He read it over, and said: 'You call sell things like that as fast as you can write them.' This went into St. Nicholas, and was exceedingly well received as a new viewpoint of nature writing; and was followed by experiences that justified Joe Collins' appraisal" (Trail 247); Joe Collins is probably Charles G.D. Roberts' and Bliss Carman's friend Joseph Edmund Collins (1855-92), a Newfoundland-born journalist who moved to New York in 1886 and became editor of the Epoch before dying of alcoholism (see John Coldwell Adams' "Roberts, Lampman, and Edmund Collins" in The Charles G.D. Roberts Symposium [U of Ottawa P, 1984], pp. 5-13)]

"Hibernation of the Hare." Forest and Stream 7 Apr. 1887: 226. (Wadland)

"An Exhibition of Snakes." Forest and Stream 16 June 1887: 451. (Wadland)

"Occurrence of the Evening Grosbeak (*Coccothraustes vespertina*) at Toronto, Canada." Auk July 1887: 256-57. (Wadland)

#### 1888

"Tracks in the Snow." St. Nicholas Mar. 1888: 338-41. (Wadland, YC A9) [juvenile natural history]

"Ontario Game Laws." Forest and Stream 29 Mar. 1888: 185. (Wadland)

"The Song of the Prairie Lark." American Magazine Apr. 1888: 717-20. (Wadland) ["popular article on habits, with musical notation of song and two woodcuts"; rpt. "with slight alterations" in Birds of Manitoba (Seton, "Birds of Manitoba bibliography)"]

"Notes on the English Sparrow." Forest and Stream 5 Apr. 1888: 204-05. (Wadland)

"The Song Sparrow: An Investigation of His Life History." Forest and Stream 19 Apr. 1888: 244. (Wadland)

"Nights with the Coons." Forest and Stream 19 July 1888: 518-20. (Wadland)

"The Pintail." St. Nicholas Sep. 1888: 826-27. (Wadland, YC A11). Excerpted in The Worlds of Ernest Thompson Seton, 1976. [juvenile natural history]

"The Western Meadow-Lark." St. Nicholas Nov. 1888: 63-64. (Wadland, YC A12). Excerpted in The Worlds of Ernest Thompson Seton, 1976. [juvenile natural history]

#### 1889

"Critical Note on Mr. J.B. Tyrell's Paper, Entitled 'Catalogue of the Mammalia of Canada Exclusive of the Cetacea,'" "On the Use of Faunal Lists," and "Reply to Mr. Tyrell's Note." Proceedings of the Canadian Institute 7 (1888-89): 178-80, 275-80, and 285-86. (Wadland) ["Critical Note" from Oct. 1889]

"The Extermination of the American Bison, with a Sketch of Its Discovery and Life History." By William T. Hornaday. Illus. by Seton. Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, 1887: Report of the United States National Museum, Part II. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1889. 367-458. (Wadland)

"Strawberry Finch," "*Sturnella magna* Wintering Near Toronto," "Disappearance of Forest Birds," "*Linota cannabrua* at Toronto," "Rare Birds in Toronto University Museum," "First *Sialia sialis* at Lorne Park," and "Spring Notes." Transactions of the Canadian Institute 1 (1889-90): 41-42, 42, 47, 54-55, 55-56, 56, and 60. (Wadland)

The Century Dictionary: An Encyclopedic Lexicon of the English Language. Ed. William Dwight Whitney. 6 vols. New York: Century, 1889-1891. (CaNSHD) [Seton contracted to do 1000 drawings, one artist of several; not named in title page or preface (nor is any other individual artist); for samples of his work, signed E.E.S.T., see entries under *agapornis* and *alligator*]

#### 1890

"The Screech-Owl." St. Nicholas Mar. 1890: 432-33. (Wadland) [juvenile natural history]

"Evening and Pine Grosbeaks in Ontario." Auk Apr. 1890: 211. (Wadland)

"The Ovenbird." St. Nicholas Apr. 1890: 520-21. (Wadland, YC A18) [juvenile natural history]

"The True Story of a Little Gray Rabbit." St. Nicholas Oct. 1890: 953-55. (Wadland, YC A20) [juvenile natural history;

precursor of "Raggylug, the Story of a Cottontail Rabbit" in Wild Animals I Have Known, 1898; confusingly, Seton frequently refers to this story in both its incarnations as "Molly Cottontail," the name of Raggylug's mother but a title unknown among his published works (Trail 283, 351, 353; Lives of the Hunted 10-11)]

The Birds of Manitoba. Proceedings of the United States National Museum 13 (1890): 457-643. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1891. pp. 457-643. (N, CIHM #30625) [after being refused by several Canadian publishers, Seton's first book-length work of natural history, eight years in the making, was reluctantly accepted for publication by friends at the Smithsonian, who admired Seton's art but not his science; Robert Ridgway, the Smithsonian's Curator of Birds, agreed to edit the manuscript but refused to pay for it--according to Wadland, "He found the work amateurish but probably felt that the Smithsonian should publish it out of gratitude for Seton's efforts in building its Manitoba specimen collection" (99); Seton's note dated July 1890, 86 Howard St., Toronto, thanks his father and cousin, Miss M[ary] A[nn] Burfield, for help in preparing the ms.; "The first copy reached me [in England] on January 24, 1891" (Trail 285)]

#### 1891

"The Big Buck We Didn't Shoot." Forest and Stream 10 Sep. 1891: 143. (Wadland)

Illustration. Scribner's Magazine Nov. 1891: 543. (RG 1890-99)

#### 1892

"'Sport' in France." Forest and Stream 16, 23, and 30 June 1892: 560, 586, and 611. (Wadland)

"Wild Rice." Forest and Stream 25 Aug. 1892: 157-58. (Wadland)

"Last of the Buffalo." Illus. by Seton. Scribner's Magazine Sep. 1892: 267-86.

"More About the Scream (of the Panther)." Forest and Stream 17 Nov. 1892: 421. (Wadland)

"Report of the Occurrence of the Evening Grosbeak (*Coccothraustes vespertina*) in Ontario During the Winter of 1889-90." Transactions of the Canadian Institute 3 (Dec. 1892): 111. (Wadland)

## 1893

- "Additions to the List of Manitoba Birds." Auk Jan. 1893: 49-50.  
(Wadland)
- "The Birds That We See." Scribner's Magazine June 1893: 759-76.  
(RG 1890-99, Wadland) [juvenile natural history]
- "Haunt of the Platypus." By S. Dickerson. Illus. by Seton.  
Scribner's Magazine June 1893: 791-97.
- "Why the Chickadee Goes Crazy Once a Year." Our Animal Friends  
Sep. 1893: 17-18. (Wadland). Collected in Woodland Tales,  
1921. [juvenile natural history]
- "Notes of a Trip to Manitoba." Forest and Stream 18 and 25 Nov.  
1893: 424-25 and 446-48. (Wadland)
- "Not Caught Yet." Our Animal Friends Dec. 1893: 89. (Wadland)
- "Going to Water." Illustration. American Big-Game Hunting: The  
Book of the Boone and Crockett Club. Ed. Theodore Roosevelt  
and George Bird Grinnell. New York: Forest & Stream, 1893.  
(NR 0412153) [Roosevelt established the Boone & Crockett  
Club in NY in 1887; membership was restricted to a hundred  
men who had killed "in fair chase, at least one adult male  
individual of each of three of the various species of  
American large game" and included Owen Wister, Madison  
Grant, and other eastern Republicans (Wadland 230);  
Grinnell, owner-editor of the Club's official mouthpiece,  
Forest and Stream, was like Seton a member of the American  
Ornithologists' Union]

## 1894

- "Hybrid *Pinicola enucleator* + *Carpodacus purpureus*." Auk Jan.  
1894: 1-3. (Wadland)
- "The Strange Animals of Thibet." Forest and Stream 14 Apr. 1894:  
311-12. (Wadland)
- "Climbing for White Goats." By George Bird Grinnell. Illus. by  
Seton. Scribner's Magazine May 1894: 644-48. (Wadland)
- "The Goldenrod." Our Animal Friends Aug. 1894: 280-81.  
(Wadland)
- "The Wood Rabbit or Hare." Our Animal Friends Nov. 1894: 65.  
(Wadland) [juvenile natural history]
- "The King of Currumpaw: A Wolf Story." Scribner's Magazine 7  
Nov. 1894: 618-28. (Wadland). Collected in Wild Animals I

Have Known, 1898. Rpt. as "Lobo" in Golden Book July 1930: 58-65. (Wadland). Rpt. [abr.?] as "Lobo, King of the Currumpaw" in Reader's Digest Nov. 1942: 103-06. (Wadland) [animal story based on a wolf captured by Seton in Jan. 1894 in northern New Mexico's Currumpaw Valley while working as a wolf-killer on Louis Fitz-Randolph's ranch near Clayton, NM; "My great problem was to get this notorious wolf, the 'Lobo of Currumpaw.'" In my book, Wild Animals I Have Known, I give the story at length; but in my lectures I have adopted the briefer form, the one given here" (Trail 331; story occupies chapter XXXV)]

## 1895

"Modern Bad Manners." Letter. Week 26 Apr. 1895: 516. (V)  
[presumably in response to something in an earlier issue, Seton argues that manners are best "in countries where duelling is in vogue"; signed 51 Rue St. Jacques, Paris, 5 Apr. 1895]

"Domesticated Birds." Illus. by Seton. Scribner's Magazine Oct. 1895: 501-13. (RG 1890-99)

"Playing Pretend." Our Animal Friends Nov. 1895: 65-66.  
(Wadland)

Handbook of Birds of Eastern North America. By Frank M. Chapman. New York: Appleton, 1895. [Seton contributes a key to bird recognition, p. xv (Trail 140)]

## 1896

"The Pack-Rat." Quartier Latin (Paris?) 1.1 (July 1896): 25.  
(N, Wadland)

"What Is a True Sportsman?" Forest and Stream 26 Sep. 1896: 245.  
(Wadland)

Studies in the Art Anatomy of Animals: Being a Brief Analysis of the Visible Forms of the More Familiar Mammals and Birds; Designed for the Use of Sculptors, Painters, Illustrators, Naturalists, and Taxidermists. London & New York: Macmillan, 1896. xii, 96 pp. (N, CIHM #35627)  
[introduction dated Paris, 1895]

"The Baron and the Wolves." Forest and Stream 26 Dec. 1896: 504-06. (Wadland)

## 1897

"Intercommunication of Wolves." Forest and Stream 23 Jan. 1897: 64-65. (Wadland)

- "How Bull-Fighting Was Suppressed in France." Our Animal Friends Feb. 1897: 128-29. (Wadland)
- "A Horned Cow Elk." Forest and Stream 20 Feb. 1897: 145. (Wadland)
- "Some More about Wolves." Forest and Stream 6 Mar. 1897: 183-84. (Wadland)
- "An Interview with Whitman's Spirit." Recreation June 1897: 480. (Wadland) [first appearance in Recreation (1894-1912), a New York monthly founded and edited by naturalist-author George Oliver Shields (1846-1925) and the organ of the Shields-organized conservationist Camp Fire Club of America (1897-?) (Wadland 233; Mott 4: 381)]
- "The Wood-Duck." Our Animal Friends July 1897: 256-57. (Wadland)
- "Elkland." Recreation Sep. 1897-Feb. 1898: 199-201, 286-90 ("The Beaver Pond"), 369-72 ("Old-Timers"), 456-57 ("Flies and Weather"), 33-34 ("Puss and the Bear"), 117-17 ("Duels"). (Wadland)
- "Comments on the Art Anatomy of Animals." Quartier Latin 2 (1897): 177. (Wadland)
- Illustration. Century Oct. 1897: 929, 933. (RG 1890-99)
- "Directive Coloration of Birds." Auk Oct. 1897: 395-96. (Wadland)
- "Chanticleer vs. Egret." Forest and Stream 9 Oct. 1897: 283. (Wadland)
- "The Yellowleg and the Hens." Our Animal Friends Nov. 1897: 64-65. (Wadland)
- "The Timmer-Doodle." Recreation Dec. 1897: 445-46. (Wadland)
- "Reply to a Puritan's Denunciation of *The Decameron*." Quartier Latin 2 (1897): 210. (Wadland)
- "Wolves and Wolf Nature." Illus. by Seton. Trail and Camp-Fire. Ed. George Bird Grinnell and Theodore Roosevelt. New York: Forest and Stream, 1897. 152-203. (Wadland)
- "Communications Regarding the Needs of Artists in the Zoological Park." First Annual Report of the New York Zoological Society. New York: New York Zoological Society, 1897. (Wadland)

Bird-Life: A Guide to the Study of Our Common Birds. By Frank M. Chapman. Illus. by Seton. New York: Appleton, 1897. (BMCat). Edition in Colors. New York: Appleton, 1898. (N). New York: Appleton, 1901. (N)

## 1898

"Silverspot, the Story of a Crow." Scribner's Magazine Feb. 1898: 212-18. (Wadland). Collected in Wild Animals I Have Known, 1898. ["Kipling wrote in a letter, now before me, that he had read 'Silverspot' and 'Molly Cottontail' (1890) in St. Nicholas, and had been greatly influenced by them before writing his Jungle Tales, 1895 [sic]" (Trail 353); Seton misrepresents, and perhaps invents, this account of his influence upon Kipling: although what appears to be an earlier version of "Molly Cottontail" (Seton's regular mistitling of "Raggylug") did appear in St. Nicholas of Oct. 1890 under the title "The True Story of a Little Gray Rabbit," no story by Seton titled "Silverspot" or "Molly Cottontail" ever appeared in St. Nicholas, and both were first published four years after Kipling's The Jungle Book appeared in 1894]

"The Wolf Question" and "Poem Addressed to a Brass Paper Weight in the Form of a Mouse." Recreation Feb. 1898: 126-27 and 153. (Wadland)

"Hunting with the Camera" and "How to Measure an Animal." Recreation Apr. 1898: 263-64 and 270-72. (Wadland)

"Mammals of the Yellowstone Park." Recreation May 1898: 365-71. (Wadland)

"The Wood Thrush." Our Animal Friends May 1898: 207-08. (Wadland)

"A List of Fishes Known to Occur in Manitoba." Forest and Stream 10 Sep. 1898: 214. (Wadland)

"A List of the Big Game in North America." Forest and Stream 8 Oct. 1898: 285-86. (Wadland)

Wild Animals I Have Known: Being the Personal Histories of Lobo, Silverspot, Raggylug, Bingo, the Springfield Fox, the Pacing Mustang, Wully, and Redruff. New York: Scribner's, [20 Oct.] 1898. 359 pp. (N). London: David Nutt, 1898. 359 pp. (BNCat). New York: Scribner's, 1900. 359 pp. (N). London (NY-printed): Nutt, 1900. 358 pp. (BMCat). Toronto: Morang, 1900. 359 pp. (N). New York: Scribner's, 1901. 358 pp. (N). London: Nutt, 1902. 357 pp. (N). London: Nutt, 1903. 358 pp. (BMCat). Toronto: Morang, 1903. 357 pp. (CaNSHD). New York: Scribner, 1904. 359 pp. (N). New York: Scribner, 1908. 357 pp. (N). New

York: Scribner's, 1910. 358 pp. (N). New York: [?], 1911. 357 pp. (N). New York: Scribner's, 1913. 359 pp. (N). London (NY-printed): Hodder & Stoughton, 1914. 357 pp. (BMCat). New York: Grosset & Dunlap, ©1898. 359 pp. (CIHM #34194; pub. "by arrangement" with Scribner's; probably a later reprint, ca. 1914?). New York: Scribner's, 1920. 357 pp. (N). New York: Scribner's, 1922. 358 pp. (N). New York: Scribner, 1924. 358 pp. (N). "Forty-fourth impression." New York: Scribner's, 1925. 357 pp. (N). New York: Scribner's, [1926]. 357 pp. (N). New York: Bantam-Scribner's, 1946. ix, 179 pp. (N). New York: Looking Glass Library, 1959. 218 pp. Webster Everyreaders Ser. St. Louis: Webster-McGraw Hill, 1972. 138 pp. (MSVU). New Canadian Library No. 141. Toronto: NCL-McClelland, 1977. 298 pp. (CaNSHD). Cutchogue, NY: Buccaneer, [Jan.] 1986. (GBIP 1998). Kila, MT: Stevens, [July] 1994. 354 pp. (GBIP 1998). St. Leonards, N.S.W., Aus.: Allen & Unwin, [Oct.] 1996. (GBIP 1998). Toronto: Tundra-McClelland, [?]. (GBIP 1998). Toronto: McClelland, [?]. (GBIP 1998). [animal stories: "Lobo, the King of Currumpaw," "Silverspot, the Story of a Crow," "Raggylug, the Story of a Cottontail Rabbit," "Bingo, the Story of My Dog," "The Springfield Fox," "The Pacing Mustang," "Wully, the Story of a Yaller Dog," and "Redruff, the Story of the Don Valley Partridge"; "When one has published a series of successful magazine stories, the next step naturally is their book presentation. So I gathered up eight of them, most of them having had periodical publication some years before.... These, with many illustrations, and plans for more, I offered to Charles Scribner's Sons." / After Scribner offered ten per cent on the published price and "something extra for illustrations," Seton countered by reminding him that "'my plan is not simply to throw this into the hopper with a hundred other new books. I am going forth to talk about it, lecture about it, give exhibitions of my illustrations, and sell copies in every town where I lecture. I am so sure of its success that I will forego all royalties on the first 2000 copies, which lets you out, provided you will double it ever afterward.' / I had completely surrounded him with a fence of his own construction, so there was nothing for him to do but consent. / ...The contract was signed on July 1, the book copyrighted October 20, 1898. Within three weeks the 2000 of the first edition were sold; and, before Christmas, three more large printings. The book was a best seller. The boom did not die out for several years, so that it left me in easy circumstances" (Trail 351-52); despite Seton's claim that most of these stories "had periodical publication some years before," only two of the eight stories had previous serial publication: "Lobo" on 7 Nov. 1894, and "Silverspot" in Feb. 1898; "There can be no doubt that this book founded the modern school of animal stories, that is, giving in



fiction form the actual facts of an animal's life and modes of thought" (Trail 352)]

"The Protection of Birds in France." Our Animal Friends Nov. 1898: 56-58. (Wadland)

Birds of Village and Field. By Florence Augusta Bailey. Illus. by Seton. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1898. (Wadland) [American ornithologist Florence Augusta Merriam Bailey (1863-?), sister of Seton's friend and patron Doctor C. Hart Merriam, secretary-treasurer of the American Ornithologists' Union (Trail 248)]

Four-Footed Americans and Their Kin. By Mabel Osgood Wright. Ed. Frank M. Chapman. Illus. by Seton. New York: Macmillan, 1898. (N) [drawings made during 1897 trip to Yellowstone]

Bird World. By J.H. Stickney. Illus. by Seton. Boston: Ginn, 1898. (Wadland) [children's book]

"A School of Animal Painting and Sculpture in the New York Zoological Park." Second Annual Report of the New York Zoological Society. New York: New York Zoological Society, 1898: 69-75. (Wadland)

"The Captive Fox." Living Age 219 ([?] 1898): 665-[?]. (PI 5: 216; not listed by Wadland) [probably a re-titled reprint]

#### 1899

"The New Sportsman" and "The Fantail, Flagtail, or Gazelle Deer, *Odocoileus texanus*. Mearns." Recreation Jan. 1899: 39-40 and 59-60. (Wadland)

"The Injun's Christmas Spree." International Magazine Jan. 1899: 35-36. (Wadland)

"A Poetic Exchange of Compliments." Recreation Feb. 1899: 106. (Wadland)

"The Myth of the Song Sparrow." Bird-Lore Apr. 1899: 59. [first volume of Frank Chapman's Bird Lore, probably first issue]

"Preliminary Description of a New Caribou, *Rangifer montanus*." Ottawa Naturalist Aug. 1899: 129-30. (Wadland)

"The Trail of the Sandhill Stag." Scribner's Magazine Aug. 1899: 191-204. (Wadland). Rpt. as The Trail of the Sandhill Stag. New York: Scribner's, [12 Oct.] 1899. 93 pp. (N). London (NY-printed): David Nutt, 1899. 93 pp. (BMCat). "Second Impression." New York: Scribner, 16 Feb. 1900. 93

pp. (N, CIHM #33036). New York: Scribner's, 1901. 93 pp. (N). New York: Scribner, 1902. 93 pp. [bound with His Monarch, the Big Bear of Tallac]. (N). New York: Scribner's, 1904. 15-93 pp. (N). New York: Scribner's, 1908. 3-93 pp. (N). London: Nutt, 1910. 3-93 pp. (N). "Cheap reissue." London: Nutt, 1914. 93 pp. (N). New York: Scribner's, [1914?]. (NY Times 13 Sep. 1914, sec. 5: 383). London (NY-printed): Hodder & Stoughton, 1914. 93 pp. (BMCat). London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1920. 93 pp. (U of King's Coll., NS). New York: Scribner's, 1925. 93 pp. (N). London: Hodder & Stoughton, [©1899, ca. 1925]. 112 pp. (N, CIHM #34185; flyleaf lists Hodder's 1925-30 repackagings as "uniform with this volume"). New York: Scribner's, 1926. 93 pp. (N). London: Hodder & Stoughton, [1929]. 112 pp. (BMCat). New York: Scribner's, 1932. 93 pp. (N). Kila, MT: Stevens, [July] 1994. 93 pp. (GBIP 1998) [animal story; at different times in his life, Seton described this as a reworking of his first published story, "The Carberry Deer Hunt" (see note to same, 3 June 1886) and as being based on a fall 1884 moose hunt in the sandhills to the south of Carberry, MB: "Those who have read my story The Trail of the Sandhill Stag, will recognize in that the quintessence of this earlier story, 'The Hunting of the Moose' [ch. 29 of Trail]" (Trail 275)]

"Notes for Observation of Habits of Birds." Osprey Sep. 1899: 6-8. (Wadland)

"The Waterhen or Gallinule." Our Animal Friends Sep. 1899: 14-15. (Wadland)

"The Biography of a Grizzly." Century Magazine Nov. 1899-Jan. 1900: 25-40, 200-12, 351-62. (Wadland). Rpt. as The Biography of a Grizzly. New York: Century, 14 Apr. 1900. 167 pp. (N). London (US-printed): Hodder & Stoughton, 1900. (BMCat). New York: Century, 1903. 167 pp. (N). New York: Century, 1904. 167 pp. (N). New York: Century, 1906. 167 pp. (N). "Ninth Impression October 4, 1907." New York: Century, 1907. 167 pp. (N). New York: Century, 1910. (N). New York: Century, 1912. 167 pp. (N). New York: Century, 1918. 167 pp. (N). "Eighteenth Impression November 17, 1925." New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1925. 167 pp. (N). London: Hodder & Stoughton, [1925]. 128 pp. (BMCat). New York: Century, 1926. 167 pp. (N). New York: Thrushwood-Grosset & Dunlap, [1927]. 167 pp. (N). New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1928. 167 pp. (N). New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1958. 167 pp. Lincoln, NE: U of Nebraska P, [Feb.] 1987. 167 pp. (GBIP 1998). Kila, MT: Stevens, [July] 1994. 167 pp. (GBIP 1998) [juvenile biography of Wahb the grizzly from cubhood]

Lobo, Rag, and Vixen...Being the Personal Histories of Lobo, Redruff, Raggylug, & Vixen. Scribner's Ser. of School

Reading. New York: Scribner's, 1899. 147 pp. (N, CIHM #59253). New York: Scribner's, 1908. 147 pp. (N). New York: Scribner's, 1910. 147 pp. (N) [abridged reprint for school use of Wild Animals I Have Known, 1898]

## 1900

- "*Rangifer dawsoni*, Preliminary Description of a New Caribou from Queen Charlotte's Islands." Ottawa Naturalist Feb. 1900: 257-61. (Wadland)
- "The National Zoo at Washington: A Study of Its Animals in Relation to Their Natural Environment." Century Mar. and May 1900: 649-60 and 110. (Wadland). Rpt. in Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution, 1901. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902. 697-716. (N, Wadland)
- "The Kangaroo Rat." Scriber's Magazine Apr. 1900: 418-27. (Wadland). Collected in Lives of the Hunted, 1901.
- "To Jim." Outing Apr. 1900: 44. (Wadland) [poem]
- "A Legend of the Bloodroot." Outing May 1900: 177. (Wadland) [poem]
- "The Origin of Dick Cissel." Bird-Lore June 1900: 88. (Wadland)
- "The Wild Animal Play." Ladies' Home Journal July 1900: 3-4, 28. (RG 1, Wadland). Rpt. as The Wild Animal Play for Children, with Alternate Reading for Very Young Children. Philadelphia: Curtis; New York: Doubleday, Page, 1900. 79 pp. (N). London (NY-printed): David Nutt, 1900. 79 pp. (BMCat). Toronto: Morang, 1901. 79 pp. (N) [verse musical; "written for some children who wanted help to play the characters in my books..." (Foreword)]
- "New Music from the Old Harp." Century Aug. 1900: 639. (Wadland)
- "Tito, the Story of a Coyote That Learned How." Scribner's Magazine Aug. and Sep. 1900: 131-45 and 316-25. (Wadland). Collected in Lives of the Hunted, 1901.
- "Some Famous Wolves of France." Collier's Oct. 1900: 6. (V) [illus. article]
- "A Welcome Superstition." Bird-Lore Oct. 1900: 166. (Wadland)
- "Johnny Bear." Scribner's Magazine Dec. 1900: 658-71. (Wadland). Collected in Lives of the Hunted, 1901.

"Mother Love in the Cows of the Western Range." Breeder's Gazette 19 Dec. 1900: 947-48. (Wadland)

Pictures by Popular American Artists Selected from "Scribner's Magazine". New York: Scribner's, 1900. (Wadland)  
[includes work by Seton]

Raggylug, the Cottontail Rabbit, and Other Animal Stories. London: David Nutt, 1900. 147 pp. (BMCat, CIHM #34337)  
[selected from Wild Animals I Have Known (1898); includes "Lobo," "Raggylug," "Redruff," and "The Springfield Fox"]

#### 1901

"Chink: The Development of a Pup." Youth's Companion 17 Jan. 1901: 28-29. (Wadland, YC F299). Collected in Lives of the Hunted, 1901. [animal story]

Hoffman, Ralph. Bird Portraits. Illus. by Seton. Boston: Ginn, [June?] 1901. [40?] pp. (N) [children's book]

"Krag, the Kootenay Ram." Scribner's Magazine June-July 1901: 693-707, 43-51. (Wadland). Collected in Lives of the Hunted, 1901. Rpt. [abr.?] in Reader's Digest July 1961: 162-65. (Wadland)

"The Mother Teal and the Overland Route." Ladies' Home Journal July 1901: 5-6. (Wadland). Collected in Lives of the Hunted, 1901.

"The World's Most Wonderful Zoo." London Daily Express 16 Aug. 1901: [?]. (Wadland)

"A Fifth Avenue Troubadour." Ladies' Home Journal Oct. 1901: 13-14. (Wadland). Collected as "A Street Troubadour: Being the Adventures of a Cock Sparrow" in Lives of the Hunted, 1901?

Lives of the Hunted: A True Account of the Doings of Five Quadrupeds and Three Birds, and in Elucidation of the Same, Over Three Hundred Drawings. First impression 12 Oct., 2nd impr. 12 Nov. New York: Scribner's, 1901. 360 pp. (N, CaNSHD). "Third impression." London (NY-printed): David Nutt, 1902. 360 pp. (BMCat). New York: Scribner's, 1902. 360 pp. (N). "Fourth impression." London (US-printed): Nutt, 1904. 360 pp. (BMCat). London: D. Nutt, 1905. 360 pp. (N). New York: Scribner's, 1906. 360 pp. (N). New York: Scribner's, 1908. 360 pp. (N). New York: Scribner's, 1910. 360 pp. (N). New York: Scribner's, 1912. (N). London (NY-printed): Hodder & Stoughton, 1914. (BMCat). Nelson's Shilling Library. [London?]: Nelson, [1917]. 285 pp. (BMCat). New York: Scribner's, 1920. (N). New York: Scribner's, 1928. 359 pp. (N). London:

Hodder & Stoughton, 1929. 359 pp. (N). Kila, MT: Stevens, [July] 1994. 360 pp. (GBIP 1998). [collects eight animal stories: "Krag, the Kootenay Ram," "A Street Troubadour: Being the Adventures of a Cock Sparrow," "Johnny Bear," "The Mother Teal and the Overland Route," "Chink: The Development of a Pup," "The Kangaroo Rat," "Tito: The Story of the Coyote That Learned How," and "Why the Chickadee Goes Crazy Once a Year" (N)]

"The Legend of the White Reindeer." Century Magazine Nov. 1901: 79-89. (RG 1, Wadland). Collected in Animal Heroes, 1905.

"Recognition Marks of Birds." Bird-Lore Nov-Dec. 1901: 187-89. (Wadland) [reprints plate from Oct. 1897 Auk article with new text (Trail 172)]

Pictures of Wild Animals. New York: Scribner's, [1901]. (N, Wadland) ["Twelve large pictures for framing (no text), viz., Krag, Lobo, Tito Cub, Kangaroo Rat, Grizzly, Buffalo, Bear Family, Johnny Bear, Sandhill Stag, Coon Family, Courtaut the Wolf, Tito and her family" ("Books by Ernest Thompson Seton," Wild Animals at Home 1930 ed.)]

#### 1902

"The True Story of Daddy Binks." Recreation Jan. 1902: 19-20. (Wadland)

"Ernest Thompson Seton's Boys." Ladies' Home Journal May-Nov. 1902: 15, 41 ("Trailing"), 15 ("The Second Chapter on Tracks"), 17 ("Playing 'Injun'"), 16 ("Archery"), 15 ("Teepees"), 14 ("Woodcraft Indians and Getting Lost"), 15 ("Freezing"). (Wadland) [illustrated column on woodcraft; called by Seton the first manual of the Woodcraft League of America (see How to Play Indian, 1903) (Wadland 364n121); according to Wadland, Journal editor Edward Bok invited Seton to write this column after hearing of Seton's idea for a "woodcraft dictionary" from their mutual friend Rudyard Kipling (334); according to Keller, Seton approached Bok, signing a contract for the column 29 July 1901 (151)]

"On Journal Keeping." Bird-Lore Nov-Dec. 1902: 175-76. (Wadland)

"The Winnipeg Wolf." Ladies' Home Journal Dec. 1902: 11-12. (Wadland). Collected in Animal Heroes, 1905.

Krag and Johnny Bear...Being the Personal Histories of Krag, Randy, Johnny Bear & Chink. School ed. New York: Scribner's, 1902. 141 pp. (N). New York: Scribner's, 1914. 141 pp. (N) [abridged reprint for school use of Lives of the Hunted, 1901]

## 1903

- "Two Little Savages." Ladies' Home Journal Jan.-Aug. 1903: 11-12, 11-12, 13-14, 11-12, 11-12, 11-12, 11-12, 15-16, and 32. (RG 1, Wadland). Rpt. as Two Little Savages: Being the Adventures of Two Little Boys Who Lived as Indians and What They Learned. London & New York: Doubleday, Page, ["in time for Christmas" (Wadland 337)] 1903. xvii, 19-552 pp. (N). Toronto: Briggs, 1903 (Parker 237). Montreal: Montreal News, 1903. 552 pp. (CaNSHD). London (NY-printed): Grant Richards, 1904. 552 pp. (BMCat). New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1905. xiv, 19-548 pp. (N). New York: Doubleday, Page, 1910. xvii, 19-552 pp. (N). New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1911. xiv, 552 pp. (N). Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, 1917. 551 pp. (N). Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, 1925. 552 pp. (N). Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, 1926. 552 pp. (N). Vol. 3 of The Library of Pioneering and Woodcraft. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, 1927. xiv, 552 pp. (N). Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran, 1929. 552 pp. (N). Garden City: Doubleday, 1959. 416 pp. London: Edmund Ward, 1960. 416 pp. (BMCat supp. 1956-65). New York: Dover, 1962. 286 pp. (N, GBIP 1998). Magnolia, MA: Peter Smith, [Jan.] 1990. (GBIP 1998). Mattituck, NY: Ameron, [?]. (GBIP 1998). Kila, MT: Stevens, [July] 1994. 550 pp. (GBIP 1998) [juvenile adventure and woodcraft; fictionalized version of Seton's several adolescent convalescences in 1875-76 at his family's old farm, then owned by William Blackwell, on Stony Creek near Lindsay, ON: "The activities, exploits, and adventures of that time I have set down so fully in the Two Little Savages that it seems unnecessary to repeat them here" (Trail 109, ch. xv-xvi; Keller 58, 61)]
- "More Wild Animals I Have Known: The Boy and the Lynx." Ladies' Home Journal Nov. 1903: 13-14. (Wadland). Collected in Animal Heroes, 1905.
- "Fable and Woodmyth." Century Nov. 1903-Mar. 1904: 35-39, 276-79, 346-51, 496-500, 750-56. (RG 1, Wadland). Rpt. as Woodmyth and Fable. New York: Century, [May?] 1905. 181 pp. (N). Toronto: Briggs, 1905. (DLB 92: 349). London (NY-printed): Hodder & Stoughton, 1905. (BMCat) ["A collection of fables, woodland verses, and camp stories" ("Books by Ernest Thompson Seton," Wild Animals at Home 1930 ed.)]
- "The Road to Fairyland." St. Nicholas Dec. 1903: 103. (Wadland, YC A32) [poem]
- "Snap, the Bull Terrier: The Story of a Christmas Dog." Ladies' Home Journal Dec. 1903: 10, 49. (Wadland). Collected in Animal Heroes, 1905.

How to Play Indian: Directions for Organizing a Tribe of Boy Indians and Making Their Teepees in True Indian Style. [2nd ed. of Birch Bark Roll; 1st ed. published in Ladies' Home J May-Nov. 1902]. Philadelphia: Curtis, 1903. 32 pp. (N). The Red Book; Or, How to Play Indian. [3rd ed.] New York: The author, 1904. 31 pp. (N). The Birch Bark Roll of the Woodcraft Indians, Containing Their Constitution, Laws, Games, and Deeds. [6th ed.?] New York: Doubleday, Page, 1906. 71 pp. (BMCat). The Birch-Bark Roll of the Outdoor Life: Containing the Standards, Games, Constitution, and Laws of the Woodcraft Indians. New York: Doubleday, Page, 1908. vi, 86 pp. (N). The American Boy Scout: The Official Handbook of Woodcraft for the Boy Scouts of America; Being the Eighth Edition of 'The Birch Bark Roll' by Ernest Thompson Seton. New York: Doubleday, Page, 1910. vi, 86 pp. (N). The Book of Woodcraft and Indian Lore. ["This book is really the eleventh edition of the "Birch-Bark Roll," which I have published yearly and expanded since 1902" (Pref.)]. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, 1912. xxi, 567 pp. (N). London: Constable, 1912. xxiii, 567 pp. (BMCat). Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, 1913. xxi, 567 pp. [preface contains same note as 1912 imprint]. (N). The Manual of the Woodcraft Indians. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, 1915. (Wadland). The Woodcraft Manual for Girls: The Fifteenth Birch Bark Roll. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, 1916. xxi, 424 pp. (N). The Woodcraft Manual for Boys: The Fifteenth Birch Bark Roll. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, 191[7]. [440] pp. (NY Times 24 June 1917, sec. 7: 240). The Woodcraft Manual for Girls: The Eighteenth Birch Bark Roll. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, 1918. Rpt. in 1920. xxv, 424 pp. (N). Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, [1921]. xxvi, 590 pp. (N). Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, 1922. xxvi, 590 pp. (N). Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, 1923. xxvi, 590 pp. (N). Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, 1925. xxvi, 590 pp. (N). Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, 1926. 590 pp. (N). Vol. 4 of The Library of Pioneering and Woodcraft. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, 1927. xxvi, 590 pp. (N). Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran, 1929. xxvi, 590 pp. (N). New York: Doubleday, 1930. (N). The Birch-Bark Roll of Woodcraft: The 29th Edition of the Manual for Boys and Girls from 4 to 94. Rev. by Julia M. Buttree. New York: A.S. Barnes, 1931. xxi, [298?] pp. (N). Rpt. as ...The Book of Woodcraft... New York: The Sun Dial Press, [1939]. xxvi, 500 pp. (N). 1925 ed. rpt. as The Birch Bark Roll of Woodcraft: The Twentieth Edition. New York: Brieger Press, [ca. 1950s-'60s]. xxxxi, 493 pp. (BMCat supp. 1956-65). Berkeley, CA: Creative Arts Book Co., [Apr.] 1988. 600 pp. (GBIP 1998). Kila, MT: Stevens, [July] 1994. 590 pp. (GBIP 1998) [the roughly annual manual of the Woodcraft League of America, published for the League by Seton's publisher, Doubleday, Page; unless otherwise indicated above, the title is The Book of Woodcraft and Indian Lore]

## 1904

- "Monarch the Grizzly." Ladies' Home Journal Feb.-Apr. 1904: 5-6, 47; 13-14, 15-16, 60. (Wadland). Rpt. as Monarch: The Big Bear of Tallac. New York: Scribner's, 1904. 214 pp. (N). London: Constable, 1905. 214 pp. (BMCat). London: Constable, 1907. 217 pp. (N). London: Constable, 1920. (BMCat). New York: Scribner, 1928. 213 pp. (N). Kila, MT: Stevens, [July] 1994. 213 pp. (GBIP 1998). [animal story of a California grizzly]
- "Stories on the Tree Trunks." Country Life May 1904: 37-39, 90. (PI 6: 656, Wadland)
- "How to Make a Fire by Rubbing Sticks." Country Life June 1904: 145-46, 204. (PI 6: 225, Wadland)
- "Little War Horse: The Story of a Jack Rabbit." Ladies' Home Journal June 1904: 13-14. (Wadland). Collected in Animal Heroes, 1905.
- "The Master Plowman of the West." Century June 1904: 300-07. (Wadland) ["fuller form" of May 1886 paper on gophers for Manitoba Historical Society; rpt. in Lives of Game Animals 4: 395-418 (Seton, Trail 196n)]
- "How to Stuff a Bird." Country Life July 1904: 267-69. (PI 6: 68, Wadland)
- "The Slum Cat." Ladies' Home Journal Aug. 1904: 9-10. (Wadland). Collected in Animal Heroes, 1905. [animal story modelled on Orange Billy, the Setons' tom-cat in Toronto ca. mid-1870s (Trail 81)]
- "What to Do When Lost in the Woods." Country Life Aug. 1904: 359. (Wadland)
- "Emergency Foods in the Northern Forest." Country Life Sep. 1904: 438-40. (PI 6: 231, Wadland)
- "The Woodcrafter and the Stars." Country Life Nov. 1904: 61. (Wadland)
- "How to Study a Bird." Bird Lore Nov.-Dec. 1904: 181-84. (Wadland)
- Third Reader: Stories of Birds and Beasts. By Mabel Osgood Wright. Illus. by Seton and Louis Agassiz Fuertes. New York and London: Macmillan, 1904. (N)
- "On Nature Study." The Library of Natural History. Ed. Richard Lydekker. New York: Saalfield, 1904. iii-viii. (Wadland)



## 1905

- "A Wild Animal Bedquilt." Ladies' Home Journal Jan. 1905: 9.  
(RG 2, Wadland)
- "The Revival of the Bow and Arrow." Country Life Jan. 1905: 273-75. (RG 2, Wadland)
- "New Deer Hunt with the Bow." Country Life Feb. 1905: 370-71.  
(RG 2, Wadland)
- "Arnaux, the Homing Pigeon." Ladies' Home Journal Apr. 1905: 13-14. (Wadland). Collected in Animal Heroes, 1905.
- "Blazes and Indian Signs." Country Life Apr. 1905: 632-34. (PI 6: 70, Wadland)
- "Building a Log Cabin." Country Life May 1905: 79-80. (PI 6: 382, Wadland)
- "The Secrets of the Trail." Country Life June 1905: 202-05. (RG 2, Wadland)
- "Laws of the Seton Indians." Association [of?] Boys June 1905: 99-108. (Wadland)
- "Making Permanent Records of Animal Tracks." Country Life June 1905: 228-29. (RG 2, Wadland)
- "Billy, the Big Wolf." Ladies' Home Journal Aug.-Sep. 1905: 5-6, 10, 49. (Wadland). Collected as "Badlands Billy" in Animal Heroes, 1905?

Animal Heroes: Being the Histories of a Cat, a Dog, a Pigeon, a Lynx, Two Wolves and a Reindeer and in Elucidation of the Same over 200 Drawings. New York: Scribner's, [Oct.?] 1905. 362 pp. (N). Toronto: Morang, 1905. 363 pp. (CaNSHD). London: Constable, 1906. 362 pp. (BMCat). London: Constable, 1909. 362 pp. (N). Boy Scout ed. New York: Grosset and Dunlap, [1914]. (N). "Fourth impression." London: Constable, 1920. 362 pp. (BMCat). New York: Thrushwood-Grosset and Dunlap, [1951]. 256 pp. (N). Berkeley, CA: Creative Arts Book Co., [Oct.] 1987. 368 pp. (GBIP 1998). Ann Arbor, MI: Books on Demand, 1987. 363 pp. (GBIP 1998). Lincoln, NE: U of Nebraska P, [Feb.] 1988. 363 pp. (GBIP 1988). Kila, MT: Stevens, [July] 1994. 362 pp. (GBIP 1998) [animal stories; collects "The Slum Cat," "Arnaux: The Chronicle of a Homing Pigeon," "Badlands Billy: The Wolf That Won," "The Boy and the Lynx," "Little Warhorse: The History of a Jack-Rabbit," "Snap: The Story of a Bull Terrier," "The Winnipeg Wolf," and "The Legend of the White Reindeer"]

"Meddy She Was Sorry: A Poem." Bookman (London) Nov. 1905: 93.  
(RG 1890-99, Wadland)

"Elephant Hunting in New York." Four Track News Dec. 1905: 469-70. (Wadland)

#### 1906

"The Wapiti and His Antlers." Scribner's Magazine Jan. 1906: 15-33. (Wadland). Collected in Life-Histories of Northern Animals, 1909. (Wadland 266n110)

"Raising Fur-Bearing Animals for Profit." Country Life Jan. 1906: 294-97. (RG 2, Wadland)

"The Moose and His Antlers." Scribner's Magazine Feb. 1906: 157-78. (RG 2, Wadland). Collected in Life-Histories of Northern Animals, 1909. (Wadland 266n110)

"The Caribou and His Kindred." Scribner's Magazine Apr. 1906: 426-43. (RG 2, Wadland). Collected in Life-Histories of Northern Animals, 1909. (Wadland 266n110)

"The Prong-Horned Antelope." Scribner's Magazine July 1906: 33-49. (RG 2, Wadland). Collected in Life-Histories of Northern Animals, 1909. (Wadland 266n110)

"The White-Tailed (Virginian) Deer and Its Kin." Scribner's Magazine Sep. 1906: 321-41. (RG 2, Wadland). Collected in Life-Histories of Northern Animals, 1909. (Wadland 266n110)

"The American Bison or Buffalo." Scribner's Magazine Oct. 1906: 385-405. (PI 6: 86, Wadland). Rpt. as The American Bison or Buffalo. [New York]: Scribner's, 1906. (N). Collected in Life-Histories of Northern Animals, 1909. (Wadland 266n110)

#### 1907

"The Snow-Shoe Rabbit." Everybody's Magazine May 1907: 599-608. (RG 2, Wadland). Collected in Life-Histories of Northern Animals, 1909. (Wadland 266n110)

"The Merry Chipmunk." Success Magazine May 1907: 328-31, 368-70. (Wadland). Collected in Life-Histories of Northern Animals, 1909. (Wadland 266n110)

"Dogs of Song: The Life, Habits, and Wonderful Vocal Abilities of the Coyote." Success Magazine (NY) Aug. 1907: 537-40, 562-63. (V). Collected in Life-Histories of Northern Animals, 1909. (Wadland 266n110) [illus.]

- "The Habits of Wolves: Including Many Facts about Animal Marriage." American Magazine Oct. 1907: 636-45. (RG 2, Wadland). Collected in Life-Histories of Northern Animals, 1909. (Wadland 266n110)
- "The Natural History of the Ten Commandments." Century Nov. 1907: 24-33. (RG 2, Wadland). Rpt. as The Natural History of the Ten Commandments. New York: Scribner's, [Dec.?] 1907. 3-78 pp. (N). Santa Fe: The Seton Village Press, [1938]. 77 pp. (N). Rpt. as The Ten Commandments in the Animal World. New York: Doubleday, Page, 1907. (N). Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, 1923. 78 pp. (N). Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, 1925. 3-78 pp. (N). Kila, MT: Stevens, [July] 1994. 78 pp. (GBIP 1998) [proves the Commandments are "not arbitrary laws given to man, but are fundamental laws of creation" by testing them against the behaviour of various animals; concludes that although the first four are spiritual and apply only to man, the remaining six apply to all animate nature (NY Times 25 Nov. 1907: 10)]
- 1908
- "Bird Records from Great Slave Lake Region: A Preliminary List of Birds Observed by My 1907 Expedition into the Arctic Barren Grounds of Canada." Auk Jan. 1908: 68-74. (Wadland) [see note to "Arctic Prairies," Nov. 1910]
- "The White Man's Last Opportunity." Canada West Magazine Apr. 1908: 525-32. (Wadland)
- "Recent Bird Records for Manitoba." Auk Oct. 1908: 450-54. (Wadland)
- "Making a Hollow Tree and What Came Into It." Country Life Nov. 1908-Apr., July-Oct. 1909: 47, 84; 226; 310; 414; 542; 658, 660, 662, 664; 354, 356; 455; 552; 662. (RG 2, Wadland) [series based on observations from within a 35-foot artificial hollow tree Seton constructed at Wyndygoul]
- "Domino Reynard of Goldur Town." Century Magazine Dec. 1908-Feb. 1909: 208-19, 374-89, 545-54. (Wadland). Rpt. as The Biography of a Silver Fox; Or, Domino Reynard of Goldur Town. New York: Century, [Apr.?] 1909. 209 pp. (N). London (NY-printed): Constable, 1909. [209 pp.?] (BMCat). Lincoln, NE: U of Nebraska P, [Dec.] 1998. 212 pp. (GBIP 1998) ["the life history of a fox in the form of fiction"; a practical illustration of the ideas advanced in The Natural History of the Ten Commandments (1907), especially the monogamous fox's innate respect for the Seventh Commandment (NY Times 18 Oct. 1908, sec. 5: 10)]

## 1909

- "The Hollow Tree." Bird Lore Jan. 1909: 1-3. (Wadland)
- "The Yak: A North American Opportunity." Country Life Feb. 1909: 354-56. (RG 2, Wadland)
- "The Story of Coaly-Bay." May Court Magazine Feb. 1909: 5-11. (Wadland). Rpt. in Collier's Magazine 22 Jan. 1916: 10-11. (RG 4). Collected in Wild Animal Ways, 1916. [Wadland alone lists this 1909 printing of "Coaly," and does not list its 1916 Collier's appearance]
- "The Story of Wyndygoul." Country Life Aug. and Sep. 1909: 399-404, 446, 448, 450 and 505-08, 540, 542, 544. (RG 2, Wadland)

Life-Histories of Northern Animals: An Account of the Mammals of Manitoba. 2 vols. New York: Scribner's, [Sep.] 1909. (N). London (NY-printed): Constable, 1910. (BMCat). Natural Sciences in America Ser. North Stratford, NH: Ayer, [Nov.] 1974. (GBIP 1998) ["a book of popular natural history on a strictly scientific basis"; covers 59 animal species of North America, divided into grass-eaters (vol. 1) and flesh-eaters (vol. 2); advances evolutionist thesis that "we find among the wild animals the germs of man's material [, moral, and mental] make-up"; 1200+ pages, 68 maps, 560 illus. (NY Times 19 Mar. 1910, sec. 2: 150); researched 1904-07; written winter of 1907-08, ms. with publisher by mid-Aug. of 1908 (Keller 184)]

- "The Oldest of All Writing" Country Life Dec. 1909: 169-73, 242, 244, 246, 248, 250. (RG 2, Wadland) [on animal tracks]
- "Fauna of Manitoba." British Association Handbook. Winnipeg: British Association, 1909. [?-?]. [Also printed separately as?] Fauna of Manitoba. [Winnipeg, 1909]. 47 pp. (N)

## 1910

- "The Porcupine at Home." Country Life Feb. 1910: 415-16. (Wadland)
- "Boy Scouts in America." Outlook 23 July 1910: 630-35. (RG 3, Wadland)
- "How Long Do Animals Live?" Ladies' Home Journal Aug. 1910: 6. (RG 3, Wadland)
- "Thanksgiving and the Yule-Log." Country Life 1 Nov. 1910: 37. (RG 3, Wadland)

"Arctic Prairies." Scribner's Magazine Nov. 1910-Feb. 1911: 513-32, 725-34, 61-72, 207-23. (RG 3, Wadland). Rpt. as The Arctic Prairies: A Canoe Journey of 2,000 Miles in Search of the Caribou; Being an Account of a Voyage to the Region North of Aylmer Lake. New York: Scribner's, 1911; London: Constable, 1912. xvi, 415 pp. (N). Toronto: Briggs, 1911. xvi, 415 pp. (CaNSHD). New York: Scribner's, 1917. xii, 308 pp. (N). New revised edition. London (NY-printed): Constable, 1920. 308 pp. (BMCat). New uniform ed. New York: Scribner's, 1923. xii, 308 pp. (N). New York: International University P, 30 Oct. 1943. xi, 308 pp. (N). Kila, MT: Stevens, [July] 1994. 308 pp. (GBIP 1998) [results of May-Nov. 1907 expedition to region northeast of Great Slave Lake with Edward A. Preble of the Smithsonian Institution and U.S. Department of Agriculture (NY Times 20 May 1907: 9 and 7 Nov. 1907: 1); data also incorporated in Life-Histories of Northern Animals, 1909]

"Organized Boyhood: The Boy Scout Movement; Its Purpose and Its Laws." Success Magazine Dec. 1910: 804, 805, 843, 849. (Wadland)

The War Dance and the Fire-Fly Dance. New York: Doubleday, Page, 1910. 3-10 pp. (N)

Boy Scouts of America: A Handbook of Woodcraft, Scouting, and Life Craft, by Ernest Thompson Seton: With Which Is Incorporated by Arrangement General Sir Robert Baden-Powell's Scouting for Boys. New York: Doubleday, Page, 1910. xii, 192 pp. (N) ["partly reprinted from various periodicals" (N); first official BSA manual]

#### 1911

"Indian Words in Common Use." Forest and Stream 8 July 1911: 55. (Wadland)

"Forest Secrets: The Soul-Song of Baba-Moss-Anib." Country Life July 1911: 39-42, 66, 68. (Wadland)

"Scouting." American Boy July 1911-May 1913: 5, 21; 4-5; 3-4; 3-4; 6, 29; 3, 31; 3, 31; 3, 26; 3, 27; 7, 27; 22. [eleven-part series]

Rolf in the Woods: The Adventure of a Boy Scout with Indian Quonab and Little Dog Skookum. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, [July?] 1911. xv, 437 pp. (N). London (NY-printed): Constable, 1911. xv, 437 pp. (BMCat). New York: Grosset & Dunlap, [1913]. xv, 436 pp. (N). New York: Grosset & Dunlap, ©1911 [ca. 1917?]. 437 pp. (CaNSHD). Toronto: Briggs, [1917]. xv, 3-437 pp. (N). Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, 1925. xv, 437 pp. (N). Garden City, NY:

Doubleday, Page, 1926. xv, 437 pp. (N). Vol. 1 of The Library of Pioneering and Woodcraft. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, 1927. (N). London: Constable, 1927. 436 pp. (NS). Kila, MT: Stevens, [July] 1994. 436 pp. (GBIP 1998) [juvenile novel; young Connecticut boy finds refuge with a lone Indian, and when godly neighbours threaten to separate the boy from the pagan, the two travel to the North Woods, eventually joining the U.S. Army as scouts during the War of 1812 (NY Times 13 Aug. 1911, sec. 6: 495); dedicated to the Boy Scouts, but takes as its theme the evils of militarism and the nobility of the Indian]

"Two Successful Fur Farms." Country Life 1 Sep. 1911: 39-40. (RG 3, Wadland)

"The Hollow Tree." Country Life Sep. 1911: 88. (Wadland)

"If Da Vinci Came to Town." American City (NY) Nov. 1911: 252-54. (RG 3, Wadland)

"More About the Yak." Country Life Dec. 1911: 44. (Wadland)

#### 1912

The Forester's Manual; Or, the Forest Trees of Eastern North America. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, [May?] 1912. (N) [No. 2 in the "Scout Manual series" (BRD 1912); "One hundred of the best-known forest trees of eastern North America, with 100 maps and more than 200 drawings" ("Books by Ernest Thompson Seton," Wild Animals at Home 1930 ed.); by 1917 incorporated in The Birch Bark Roll (Wadland 375)]

"Further Annals of a Hollow Tree." Country Life Oct. 1912: 64, 66. (RG 3, Wadland)

"Annals of a Fur-Farm." Country Life Nov. 1912-Jan. 1913: 38-40, 61-62, 30-32. (RG 3, Wadland)

"'Bow Skirmish' or 'Arrow Fight.'" Forest and Stream 30 Nov. 1912: 693. (Wadland)

"Smoke Signals, Sign Talk and Totems." Boy's Life Dec. 1912: 24. (Wadland)

The Red Lodge. New York: The Author, 1912. (Wadland) [an edition of The Book of Woodcraft?]

#### 1913

"Boy Scout Initiations" and "Peace and Patrol Names." Boy's Life Jan. 1913: 19 and 21. (Wadland)

- "The Indian Sign Language for Boy Scouts." Boy's Life Feb. 1913: 15. (Wadland)
- "How to Get Cool Water." Boy's Life May 1913: [?]. (Wadland)
- "Poison Ivy." Boy's Life July 1913: 31. (Wadland)
- "Around the Camp Fire." Boy's Life Oct., Dec. 1913; Jan., Mar.-June, Sep., Oct, Dec. 1914. (Wadland) [ten parts]
- "The Badger Who Was Brother to a Boy." Boy's Life Nov. 1913: 12-13, 34. (Wadland)

Wild Animals at Home. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, [Nov.?] 1913. xvi, 226 pp. illus. (N). London: Hodder & Stoughton, [Dec.] 1913. xvi, 223 pp. (BMCat). New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1913. xv, 226 pp. (N). Toronto: Briggs, 1913. (DLE). Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, 1917. xvi, 226 pp. (N). Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, 1922. 226 pp. (N). Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, 1925. xv, 229 pp. (N). Vol. 6 of The Library of Pioneering and Woodcraft. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, 1926. 229 pp. (N). Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, 1927. xv, 226 pp. (N). Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran, 1930. 229 pp. (CaNSHD). London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1942. 211 pp. (BMCat). Kila, MT: Stevens, [July] 1994. 226 pp. (GBIP 1998) [animal studies, most based on observations made at Yellowstone Park (BRD 1914)]

Introduction. The Shagganappi. By E. Pauline Johnson. Toronto: Ryerson, 1913. (Wadland)

#### 1914

"A Greeting from the Chief Scout." Boy's Life Jan. 1914: 2. (Wadland)

"Practical Fur-Farming." Field and Stream Mar.-May, July, Aug., Nov. 1914, and Jan. 1915: 1146-51, 1299-1302 ("The Care and Feeding of Skunks"), 19-24 ("The Diseases and Breeding of Skunks"), 296-99 ("Marking and Disarming"), 391-94 ("Marketing Skins"), 746-51 ("Mink Farming, with a Note on Skunk Farming"), and 923-25 ("Marten Farming"). (Wadland) [seven-part series]

#### 1915

Woodcraft Boys, Woodcraft Girls: How to Begin. New York: The Author (Press of Edgar Ptg. & Sty. Co.), 1915. 21 pp. (N)

The Legend of the White Reindeer; Arnaux; The Boy and the Lynx. Thompson Seton Readers Ser. "School ed." London:

Constable, 1915. 125 pp. (BMCat, CaNSHD) [selected from Animal Heroes (1905); other titles in series: The Biography of a Silver Fox, Monarch, The Slum Cat, and Little Warhorse (flyleaf in CaNSHD)]

## 1916

- "The Making of Silly Billy." National Sunday Magazine 23 Jan. 1916: 620. (Wadland). Rpt. in Current Opinion June 1920: 848-50. (Rogers)
- "The Wild Geese of Wyndygoul." Country Life Apr. 1916: 19-21. (Wadland). Collected in Wild Animal Ways, 1916.
- "The Story of Atalapha, a Winged Brownie." Scribner's Magazine Apr. 1916: 441-58. (RG 4, Wadland)
- "The Twelve Secrets of the Woods." Craftsman June 1916: 231-39, 329-31. (RG 4, Wadland)

Wild Animal Ways. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, [June?] [1916]. viii, 3-140 pp. (N). Another ed., with three more chapters. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, 1916. xi, 3-247 pp. (N). London & Garden City, NY: Hodder & Stoughton, [1916]. xi, 242 pp. (BMCat). Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, 1917. xi, 246 pp. (N). Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, 1925. xi, 243 pp. (N). Vol. 2 of The Library of Pioneering and Woodcraft. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, 1926. 243 pp. (N). Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, 1927. xi, 242 pp. (N). Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, 1929. 242 pp. (N). Kila, MT: Stevens, [July] 1994. 242 pp. (GBIP 1998) [animal stories; first edition contains only the first four stories; subsequent editions contain seven (six?): "Coaly-Bay, the Outlaw Horse," "Foam, or the Life and Adventures of a Razor-Backed Hog," "Way-Atcha, the Coon-Raccoon of Kildeer Creek," "Billy, the Dog That Made Good," "The Wild Geese of Wyndygoul," and "Jinny, the Taming of a Bad Monkey"]

- "An Amateur Circus I Once Gave." Ladies' Home Journal Sep. 1916: 57. (RG 4, Wadland)
- "Larger North American Mammals." By E.W. Nelson. Illus. by Seton. National Geographic Nov. 1916: 385-472. (Wadland)

## 1917

- "The Woman Bear: A Poem." Ladies' Home Journal May 1917: 11. (Wadland). Collected in Great Historic Animals, 1937.
- The Preacher of Cedar Mountain: A Tale of the Open Country. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, [May?] 1917. ix, 428 pp. (N). London (NY-printed): Curtis Brown, 1917. ix, 426 pp.



(BMCat). London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1917. 357 pp.  
 (BMCat). Santa Fe: Seton Village Press, 1943. ix, 426 pp.  
 (N). BCL1-PS American Literature Ser. Temecula, CA:  
 Reprint Services Corporation, [Mar.] 1992. 428 pp. (GBIP  
 1998). Kila, MT: Stevens, Mar. 1995. 426 pp. (GBIP 1998)  
 [novel; young Irish pastor in boom days of West preaches  
 gospel near Deadwood and wrestles with his own weaknesses,  
 including gambling]

"Spiritual Thrift, Number 2: Helping to Develop Democracy with  
 Nature's Aid Through the Woodcraft League." Touchstone (NY)  
 1 (June 1917): 119-22. (RG 4, Wadland)

"The Lovers and the Shining One: A Prose Poem." Scribner's  
 Magazine June 1917: 751-53. (Wadland). Collected in Great  
 Historic Animals, 1937.

#### 1918

"Smaller Mammals of North America." By E.W. Nelson. Illus. by  
 Seton. National Geographic May 1918: 371-493. (Wadland)

"Achieving the Picturesque in Building." Country Life Oct. 1918:  
 44-47. (RG 4, Wadland)

"A List of the Turtles, Snakes and Batrachians of Manitoba."  
Ottawa Naturalist Nov. 1918: 79-83. (Wadland)

"The Nation Awaits a Song." New York Tribune 1 Dec. 1918: [?].  
 (Wadland)

Wild Animals of North America. By E.W. Nelson. Illus. by Seton.  
 Washington: National Geographic Society, 1918. (Wadland)

Sign Talk: A Universal Signal Code, Without Apparatus, for Use in  
 the Army, the Navy, Camping, and Daily Life.... Garden  
 City, NY: Doubleday, Page, 1918. [v]-li, 237 pp. (N).  
 London (NY-printed): Curtis Brown, 1918. li, 233 pp.  
 (BMCat). [prepared with assistance from Gen. Hugh L. Scott;  
 French and German words added by Lilian Delger Powers  
 (BMCat)]

Woodcraft. The Woodcraft Way Ser. No. 1. London: The Order of  
 Woodcraft Chivalry, 1918. 10 pp. (N). [although  
 attributed to Seton, probably a later version of Aubrey T.  
 Westlake's Woodcraft Chivalry (1917), itself adapted from  
 Seton's Woodcraft manual (BMCat)]

#### 1919

"On the Popular Names of Birds." Auk Apr. 1919: 229-35.  
 (Wadland)

"Chicaree." World Outlook Dec. 1919: 38-39. (Wadland)

#### 1920

"Migrations of the Gray Squirrel (*Sciurus carolinensis*)," "For a Methodic Study of Life Histories of Mammals," "Does the *Cuterebra* Ever Emasculate Its Host?" "English Names of Mammals," and "Locality, Date and Name with Observations." J of Mammalogy 1 (Feb. 1920): 53-58, 67-69, 94-95, 104-05, and 107. (Wadland)

"One Egg, Separated." Ladies' Home Journal Mar. 1920: 184. (Wadland)

"Notes on the Breeding Habits of Captive Deermice," "Acrobatic Skunks," "Bobcats and Wild Turkeys," and "Food of the Red Fox." J of Mammalogy 1 (May 1920): 134-38, 140, 140, and 140. (Wadland)

"The Mole-Mouse, Potato-Mouse, or Pine-Mouse." J of Mammalogy 1 (Aug. 1920): 185. (Wadland)

"Why Wear Clothes?" Hearst's Magazine Aug. 1920: 21, 73. (Wadland) [see "Nudity as Aid to Virtue" in New York Times 6 Jan. 1921: 16]

"Notes on Snapper." Forest and Stream Sep. 1920: 499. (Wadland)

"The Jaguar in Colorado." J of Mammalogy 1 (Nov. 1920): 241. (Wadland)

"Why Do Birds Bathe?" Bird Lore Nov.-Dec. 1920 and May-June 1921: 334-35 and 124-37. (RG 5, Wadland)

#### 1921

Woodland Tales. Garden City, NY, & Toronto: Doubleday, Page, [Apr.?] 1921. xv, 238 pp. (N). London (NY-printed): Hodder & Stoughton, [1921]. xv, 238 pp. (BMCat). Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, 1922. xv, 238 pp. (N). Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, 1923. xv, 238 pp. (N). Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, 1925. xv, 238 pp. (N). Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, 1926. xv, 238 pp. (N). Vol. 5 of The Library of Pioneering and Woodcraft. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, 1927. xv, 235 pp. (N). Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran: 1930. xv, 235 pp. (N). Santa Fe: Seton Village Press, 1940. v-xv, 150 pp. (N). Kila, MT: Stevens, [July] 1994. 235 pp. (GBIP 1998) [stories and activities for "children six years of age and upward" (Preface vi)]

- "The Sea-Mink, *Mustela macrodon* (Prentiss)." J of Mammalogy 2 (Aug. 1921): 168. (Wadland)
- "Early Bird Banding." Auk Oct. 1921: 611. (Wadland)
- "What Do Birds Signal With Their Tails?" Bird Lore Nov-Dec. 1921: 286-87. (RG 6, Wadland)
- "Gray Squirrels and Nuts" and "Wild Life and the Motor Car." J of Mammalogy 2 (Nov. 1921): 41 and 240. (Wadland)
- "The Spirit of the Woods." Century Dec. 1921: 213-24. (Wadland)
- The Brownie Wigwam. New York: Woodcraft League of America, 1921. (Wadland)

## 1922

- "The Narrowest Escape I Ever Had from a Wild Beast." Farm and Fireside Jan. 1922: 13, 34, 35, 37. (Wadland)
- "A Roving Band of Say's Bats" and "More Acrobatic Skunks." J of Mammalogy 3 (Feb. 1922): 52 and 53. (Wadland)
- "Bannertail, the Story of a Gray Squirrel." Ladies' Home Journal Feb.-May 1922: 157-58, 141-42, 177-78, 149-50. (Wadland).  
Rpt. as Bannertail: The Story of a Grey Squirrel. New York: Scribner's, 1922. ix, 265 pp. (N). London: Hodder & Stoughton, [1923]. 230 pp. (BMCat). New York: Scribner's, 1926. (N). Kila, MT: Stevens, [Mar.] 1995. 265 pp. (GBIP 1998)
- "Magpie as Sentinel for Rabbits." J of Mammalogy 4 [sic] (May 1922): 119. (Wadland)
- "The Evolutionary Force of a Wide Range." J of Mammalogy 3 (Aug. 1922): 167-69. (Wadland)
- "Woodcraft Extolled as the Science That Makes Men: A Gospel for Out-of-Doors." Current Opinion Oct. 1922: 461-64. (RG 1922-24, Wadland) [probably a reprint or excerpt]
- "Dipo: Sprite of the Desert." Century Nov. 1922: 106-15. (Wadland). Collected in Great Historic Animals, 1937.
- "Joy Comes with a Job Well Done." New York American 8 Nov. 1922: 10. (Wadland)
- Introduction. The Autobiography of John Macoun, M.A.. Ottawa: Ottawa Field Naturalist's Club, 1922. (Wadland)

Manual of the Brownies, the Little Lodge of the Woodcraft League of America. New York: Woodcraft League, 1922. (Wadland)  
[probably a version of The Birch Bark Roll]

## 1923

- "The Value of Moles." J of Mammalogy Feb. 1923: 51. (Wadland)
- "The Story of Carrots." Farm and Fireside June 1923: 12, 13, 30, 31, 33. (Wadland)
- "The Mane on the Tail of the Gray Fox." J of Mammalogy 5 (Aug. 1923): 180-82. (Wadland) [Wadland also lists "Tail Glands of the *Canidae*" as published in the same issue, with the same pagination--presumably same article?]
- "Some Prints of Leaves." Nature Sep. 1923: 142-43, 191. (Wadland)
- "The House That Is Mine." House and Garden Oct. 1923: 62, 63, 112, 114, 116. (Wadland)

## 1924

- "Is Our Fur Supply in Danger?" World's Work Mar. 1924: 491-502. (RG 6, Wadland)
- "Little Burnt All-Over." American Girl Apr. 1924: 5, 6, 7, 26, 27. (Wadland)
- "Nature and Human Nature." Nature May 1924: 279-80, 318. (Wadland)

## 1925

- "Is the World's Fur Supply in Danger?" World Today Feb. 1925: 200-03. (Wadland)
- "On the Study of Scatology." J of Mammalogy 6 (Feb. 1925): 47-49. (Wadland)
- "They're Still Wild in Spots." Collier's 1 Aug. 1925: 12-13. (RG 7, Wadland)

Lives of Game Animals: An Account of Those Land Animals in America, North of the Mexican Border, Which Are Considered "Game," Either Because They Have Held the Attention of Sportsmen, or Received the Protection of Law. 4 vols. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, 1925-28. (N). London (NY-printed): Hodder & Stoughton, 1925-28. (BMCat). Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran, 1929. (N). New York: Literary Guild of America, 1937. (N). Boston: C.T. Branford, 1953.

(N). Temecula, CA: Reprint Services Corporation, [Mar.] 1994. (GBIP 1998) [first edition limited to 177 sets; includes 50 maps and 1500 illustrations; written 1917-25 with assistance of secretary (later second wife) Julia Moss Buttree; "I don't consider it an ordinary book in any sense. I have not the least doubt that it is the greatest natural history written within a hundred years. It is my monument. The consummation of my life work, and will stand for a hundred years to come as the standard on the subject..." (Seton to Grace Gallatin 14 May 1924, qtd. in Keller 197)]

Animals Worth Knowing: Selected from "Life Histories of Northern Animals". Arranged by Robert M. McCurdy. Little Nature Library-Doubleday, 1925. xv, 275 pp. (N). [Garden City, NY]: Doubleday, Page, 1926. xiii, 299 pp. (MSVU). [Garden City, NY]: Little Nature Library-Doubleday, Doran, 1928. xiii, 295 pp. (N). [Garden City, NY]: Little Nature Library-Doubleday, Doran, 1934. 299 pp. (N). Also published as Animals: Selected from Life Histories of Northern Animals. [Garden City, NY]: Doubleday, Page, 1926. xiii, 299 pp. (N). New York: Wise, 1930. 295 pp. (N)

Raggylug, and Other Stories from Wild Animals I Have Known. London: Hodder & Stoughton, [1925]. 126 pp. (BMCat) [abridged reprint of Wild Animals I Have Known, 1898]

Lobo, and Other Stories from Wild Animals I Have Known. London: Hodder & Stoughton, [1925]. 125 pp. (BMCat) [abridged reprint of Wild Animals I Have Known, 1898]

Johnny Bear, and Other Stories from Lives of the Hunted. London: Hodder & Stoughton, [1925]. 124 pp. (BMCat, CIHM #58629) [abridged reprint of Lives of the Hunted, 1901; includes "Johnny," "Tito," and "Why the Chickadee Goes Crazy"]

Old Silver Grizzle, the Badger, and Other Stories from Wild Animals at Home. London: Hodder & Stoughton, [1925]. 128 pp. (BMCat) [abridged reprint of Wild Animals at Home, 1913]

Billy, and Other Stories from Wild Animal Ways. London: Hodder & Stoughton, [1925]. 128 pp. (N) [abridged reprint of Wild Animal Ways, 1916]

#### 1926

"The Prairie Dogs (*Cynomys ludovicianus*) at Washington Zoo." J of Mammalogy 7 (1926): 229-30. (Wadland)

The Library of Pioneering and Woodcraft. 6 vols. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Page, 1926. (N). Rpt. 1928. (N) [vol. 1 Rolf in the Woods (1911); vol. 2 Wild Animal Ways (1916);

vol. 3 Two Little Savages (1903); vol. 4 The Book of Woodcraft (1093; 1927 edition?); vol. 5 Woodland Tales (1921); vol. 6 Wild Animals at Home (1913)]

## 1929

- Foam Razorback...and Other Stories from Wild Animal Ways.  
London: Hodder & Stoughton, [1929]. 128 pp. (BMCat)  
[abridged reprint of Wild Animal Ways, 1916]
- Chink, a Woolly Coated Little Dog; and Other Stories from Lives of the Hunted and Wild Animals at Home. London: Hodder & Stoughton, [1929]. 128 pp. (N) [abridged reprint of collections originally published in 1901 and 1913, resp.]
- Krag, the Kootenay Ram, and Other Animal Stories. Treasuries of Modern Prose Ser. London: U of London P, 1929. 176 pp. (BMCat) [probably all reprints]
- Katug the Snow Child. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, [1929]. 51 pp. (BMCat) [reprint?]

## 1930

- Introduction. The Rhythm of the Redman: In Song, Dance, and Decoration. By Julia M. Buttrees. New York: Barnes, 1930. [introduction, art section, and illustrations by Seton (BMCat)]
- The Cute Coyote, and Other Animal Stories...taken from Wild Animals at Home, Wild Animal Ways, Lives of the Hunted. Treasuries of Modern Prose Ser. London: U of London P, 1930. 159 pp. (BMCat) [reprints]
- Billy, the Dog That Made Good. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1930. (NCAB 36: 69, Samson) [reprinted from Wild Animal Ways, 1916]
- Lobo; Bingo and the Racing Mustang. N.p.: State, 1930. (Samson) [reprinted from Wild Animals I Have Known, 1898]
- Spartans of the West. Oraibi, AZ: Independent Hopi Nation, [n.d.]. 60 pp. (N). Santa Fe: Seton Village Press, 1930. 60 pp. (N) [reprinted from The Book of Woodcraft, 1912]

## 1931

- "Two Records for New Mexico." J of Mammalogy 12 (May 1931): 166. (Wadland)
- "The Woodcraft League or College of Indian Wisdom." Homiletic Review 101 (June 1931): 434-39. (Wadland)

## 1932

"The Song of the Porcupine (*Erethizon epixanthum*). " J of Mammalogy 13 (May 1932): 168-69. (Wadland)

Famous Animal Stories: Animal Myths, Fables, Fairy Tales, Stories of Real Animals. Ed. by Seton. New York: Brentano's, 1932. xii, 686 pp. (N, BMCat). London: John Lane, 1933. xii, 665 pp. (BMCat) [anthology selected from an international range of authors; includes sixteen stories and adaptations by Seton, none by Charles G.D. Roberts]

"The Rocky Mountain Goat." Records of North American Big Game. Ed. Prentiss N. Gray. New York: Derrydale, 1932. (Wadland)

## 1933

"Occurrence of the Least Weasel (*Mustela rixora*) near Denver." J of Mammalogy 14 (1933): 70. (Wadland)

## 1934

"Holy Smoke!" Rotarian Aug. 1934: 9-11, 57. (Wadland)

## 1935

Johnny Bear, Lobo, and Other Stories. New York & Chicago: Scribners, [1935]. vii, 3-162 pp. (N) [probably all reprints]

## 1936

The Gospel of the Redman: An Indian Bible. Comp. by Seton. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran, [July?] 1936. xii, 121 pp. (N). Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran, 1936. xii, 121 pp. (N). London: Methuen, 1937. xvi, 112 pp. (BMCat). Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran, 1938. xii, 120 pp. (N). Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran, 1939. 120 pp. (N). Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran, 1941. xii, 120 pp. (N). Garden City, NY: Doubleday, Doran, 1948. xvi, 108 pp. (N). London: Psychic Press, 1970. xvi, 108 pp. (BMCat supp. 1971-75). Irving, TX: Boy Scouts of America, [Sep.] 1997. (GBIP 1998) [later editions, beginning with the 1936 imprint via a label on the title-page, add Julia M. Seton as assistant compiler]

## 1937

The Biography of an Arctic Fox. New York: Appleton-Century, [July?] 1937. 126 pp. (N)

Great Historic Animals: Mainly About Wolves. New York: Scribner's, [Aug.?] 1937. xv, 319 pp. (N). Rpt. as Mainly About Wolves. London: Methuen, 1937. xv, 319 pp. (BMCat). 2nd ed. London: Methuen, 1938. (N) [animal stories, mostly fictionalized stories of famous wolves]

Pictographs of the Southwest, by Seton Village Poets. Cedar Rapids, [IA?]: Parnassian Press, [1937]. (N)

#### 1938

"The Mackenzie River Ghost." Boy's Life Dec. 1938: 16-17. (Wadland)

The Indian Costume Book. By Julia M. Seton. Illus. by Seton. Santa Fe: Seton Village Press, 1938. (N)

The Buffalo Wind. Santa Fe: Seton Village Press, 1938. 12 pp. (N) [imprinted: "Put forth from the Seton village press, Santa Fe, on the seventy-eighth birth date of the author in the green corn moon, nineteen thirty-eight. There have been printed by hand two hundred copies for Mrs. Ernest Thompson Seton" (qtd. in N)]

Foreword. Animals of a Sagebrush Ranch. By Alice Day Pratt. New York: Rand McNally, 1938. (Wadland)

#### 1939

Introduction. Edible Wild Plants. By Oliver Perry Medsger. New York: Macmillan, 1939. (Wadland)

#### 1940

Trail of an Artist-Naturalist: The Autobiography of Ernest Thompson Seton. New York: Scribner's, 1940. xii, 412 pp. (N). London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1951. 320 pp. (N). Biologists and Their World Ser. New York: Arno, 1978. xii, 412 pp. (CaNSHD). Temecula, CA: Reprint Services Corporation, [Jan.] 1991. 412 pp. (GBIP 1998) [rejected by Farrar and Rinehart, accepted by Scribner and edited by Maxwell Perkins; detailed on life up to ca. 1896, sketchy afterwards; bulk tells the stories behind his animal stories and Two Little Savages with chapters on Burroughs quarrel and Woodcraft movement; began writing in 1937, in part because others were beginning to write the history of the BSA and Seton wanted to get his version out, but as it turned out, he was persuaded to delete the chapter dealing with the BSA controversy because Baden-Powell died while the work was being edited and it was neither "good manners nor good business" to speak ill of the dead; also deleted nasty chapters on his father at his surviving brothers' insistence]



(later published by Julie in By a Thousand Fires) (Keller 211, 212-13)]

Ernest Thompson Seton's Trail and Camp-Fire Stories. Ed. Julia M. Seton. New York & London: Appleton-Century, 1940. xvii, 155 pp. (N). Santa Fe, NM: Kings' Press, 1944. xvii, 155 pp. (N). San Gabriel, CA: Willing, 1950. 113 pp. (N)

#### 1945

"Shishoka." Boy's Life Feb. 1945: 8-9, 40. (Wadland)

"The Sea Otter." The Book of Naturalists: An Anthology of the Best Natural History. Ed. William Beebe. New York: Knopf, 1945. (Wadland) [excerpted from Lives of Game Animals?]

Santana, The Hero-Dog of France. Los Angeles: Phoenix Press, 1945. 61 pp. Limited printing of 500 copies. (N) [in 1942, Vanguard Press commissioned Seton to write a book on animals at war, but the army refused to allow it to be published because his research had included classified training methods; converted some of his work into this fictional animal biography, his last book (Keller 214-15)]

#### Posthumous Selections and Collections

The Best of Ernest Thompson Seton. Selected by W. Kay Robinson. London: Hodder & Stoughton, [1949]. 408 pp. (N)

"Lure of the Wild: The Story of a Dog." Coronet Sep. 1954: 123-28. (Wadland) [excerpted from Wild Animals I Have Known]

Ernest Thompson Seton's America: Selections from the Writings of the Artist-Naturalist. Ed. Farida A. Wiley. American Naturalists Ser. New York: Devin-Adair, 1954. 413 pp. (N, BMCat supp. 1956-65) [also contains biographical contributions by Julia Seton]

[The Best of Ernest Thompson Seton]: The Trail of the Sandhill Stag [and Other Stories]. Panther Books No. 537. London: Hamilton, 1957. 192 pp. (BMCat supp. 1956-65) [an abridged version of The Best of Ernest Thompson Seton, 1949?]

Animal Tracks and Hunter Signs. Doubleday: Garden City, NY, 1958. 160 pp. (BMCat supp. 1956-65; their copy has a slip pasted over the original imprint that reads "Edmund Ward: London, 1959"). Laurentian Library No. 64. Toronto: MacMillan, 1958. 160 pp. (St. Frances Xavier U, NS). Reduced photographic rpt. London: Edmund Ward, 1960. 160

pp. (BMCat supp. 1956-65). Toronto: Macmillan, 1984. 160 pp. (GBIP 1998)

The Trail of the Sandhill Stag, and Other Lives of the Hunted. Children's Illustrated Classics No. 67. London: Dent; New York: Dutton, 1966. xi, 179 pp. (BMCat supp. 1971-75)

By a Thousand Fires: Nature Notes and Extracts from the Life and Unpublished Journals of Ernest Thompson Seton. By Julia Moss Seton. Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1967.

The Worlds of Ernest Thompson Seton. Ed. John G. Samson. Foreword by Bob Kuhn. New York: Knopf, 1976. 204 pp. (CaNSHD) [lavishly produced 11x10" coffee-table book of half-tone and color reproductions of Seton's art matched with excerpts from his published writing on animals and the Woodcraft League; each section introduced by Samson, a RI-born journalist who grew up in NM and at the time of publication was editor of Field and Stream]

Selected Stories of Ernest Thompson Seton. Ed. Patricia Morley. Canadian Short Story Library. Ottawa: U of Ottawa P, 1977. 168 pp. (CaNSHD)

Raggylug, A True Story. Illus. by Susan Heinonen. Seattle, WA: Storytellers Ink, [May] 1989. 48 pp. (GBIP 1998).

Lobo the Wolf: King of Currumpaw. Illus. by Donna Ryan. Seattle, WA: Storytellers Ink, [Nov.] 1991. 72 pp. (GBIP 1998). [revised]

The Pacing Mustang. Illus. by Donna Ryan. Seattle, WA: Storytellers Ink, [Dec.] 1991. 72 pp. (GBIP 1998). [revised]

Redruff the Partridge of Don Valley. Illus. by Susan Heinonen. Seattle, WA: Storytellers Ink, [July] 1994. 48 pp. (GBIP 1998).

Animals. Kila, MT: Stevens, [Mar.] 1995. 295 pp. (GBIP 1998)

#### Translations

Raggylug. Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Institution for the Instruction of the Blind, 1900. 59 pp. (Wadland) [braille?]

Lobo. Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Institution for the Instruction of the Blind, 1900. (Wadland) [braille?]

Redruff. Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Institution for the Instruction of the Blind, 1900. 65 pp. (Wadland) [braille?]

- Vixen. Philadelphia: Institute for the Instruction of the Blind, 1900. 45 pp. (Rogers) [braille?]
- Wild Animals I Have Known. Louisville, KY: American Printing House for the Blind, 1900. 154 pp. (Rogers) [braille?]
- Villejä eläimiä. Trans. Pentti Eskola. Porvoosa: Werner Söderström Osakeyhtiö, [1909]. 299 pp. (N). Porvoosa: W. Söderström, [1931]. 299 pp. (N) [Finnish or Swedish trans. of Wild Animals I Have Known]
- Ptači příběhy (Stříbroleb, Rudokrček, Vrabčák hřmotil) [Bird Stories (Silver[skull?], Red [hamster?], [Noisy Sparrow?]). Trans. J.F. Khun. Praha [Prague]: F. Topič, 1910. 82 pp. (N) [Czech: probably trans. of "Silverspot," "Redruff," and "Fifth Avenue Troubador"]
- Beran rek [ram?]; medved seda [grizzly bear?]; zivotopisy svirat [?]. Trans. J.F. Khun. Praha [Prague]: F. Topič, 1911. 126 pp. (N) [Czech]
- Prärietiere und ihre Schicksale, mit vielen Bildern [Prairie Animals and Their Fates with Numerous Pictures]. Trans. Max Pannwitz. Stuttgart: Kosmos, [191?]. 233 pp. (N) [German]
- Ouonab de Indiaan en Rolf zijn blanke vriend: de avonturen van een boy scout met den Indiaan Ouonab en zijn hond Skookum door Ernest Thompson Seton "chief-scout" [Ouonab the Indian and Rolf his White Friend: The Adventures of a Boy Scout with His Indian Ouonab and His Dog Skookum, as Told by Ernest Thompson Seton]. Trans. Gosewinus de Voogt. 's-Gravenhage [The Hague]: J.P. Kruseman, [19??]. 355 pp. (N) [published before 1918, probably before 1912; Dutch trans. of Rolf in the Woods]
- Tierhelden: die Geschichte einer Katz, einer Taubes, eines Luchses, eines Hasen, eines Hundes, zweier Wolfe und eines Renntiers. Trans. Max Pannwitz. Stuttgart: Kosmos, [1914?]. vii, 302 pp. (N). Stuttgart: Kosmos, 1947. 232 pp. (N) [German]
- Arno i drugi junaci [Arno and Other Heroes?]. Zagreb: Naklada Hrv. Prirodoslovnoga Društva, 1917. 120 pp. (N) [Serbocroatian]
- Povídky o zvíratech [Stories of Animals?]. Trans. J.F. Khun. Praze [Prague?]: F. Topič, 1919. (N) [Czech]
- Lobo, i druge pripovijesti iz zivotinjskog svijeta [Lobo and Other Stories from Wild Animals (?)]. Zagreb: Izdanje Hrv. Prirodoslovnog Društva[?], 1919. 123 pp. (N) [Serbocroatian trans. of Wild Animals I Have Known]

- Animali Eroji. Trans. Laura Torretta. Milano: L.F. Cogliati, 1920. 345 pp. (N) [Italian trans. of Animal Heroes?]
- Hayot Ha-Bar [transliterated title]. Frankfurt am Main, 1923. 213 pp. (N) ["Vocalized text"; trans. of Wild Animal Ways; title text in some script I don't know, perhaps Cyrillic]
- Wahb, Lebensgeschichte eines Grislybären. Trans. Max Pannwitz. Stuttgart: Kosmos, Gesellschaft der Naturfreunde, Franckh, [1922]. 87 pp. (N). Stuttgart: Franckh, [1947?]. 87 pp. [German? trans. of The Biography of a Grizzly]
- Deti Divociny. Trans. Z. Nekovarik. Praha [Prague]: A. Konicka, 1923. 188 pp. (N) [Czech trans. of Wild Animal Ways]
- Dzielny rogaca i inne opowiadania z zycia zworiat [Brave (deer?) buck?] and Other Stories of Living Creatures (?)]. Trans. Marja Arct-Golczewska. Warsaw: Arct, [1924]. 203 pp. (N) [Polish]
- Urechiusa-sbarlita si alte povesteri ou animale si pasari. București [Bucharest]: Vacarescu, 1925. 197 pp. (N). Bucharest, 1929. 107 pp. [Rumanian]
- Moi znakomi (Harisi z zhittia zviriv, iaki ia znay) [My Acquaintances: Sketches from the Life of Animals Whom I Have Known]. [Trans. Slfiia Kulikivna?]. L'viv, Moloda Ukraina, 1925. 277 pp. (N) [Ukranian trans. of Wild Animals I Have Known]
- La Vie des bêtes pourchassées. Trans. Marc Logé. Paris: Stock, Delamain, & Boutelleau, 1928. 219 pp. (BNCat). Rpt[?]. as Krag le Mouflon. Trans. Marc Logé. Illus. Henri Dimpres. [Paris]: Hachette, 1954. 253 pp. (BNCat) [French trans. of Lives of the Hunted]
- Wild Animals I Have Known. Trans. Mlle. Salomon. Paris: F. Lanore, [1929]. 4 vols. (BNCat) [French trans. of Wild Animals I Have Known]
- Bingo und andere Tiergeschichten. Stuttgart: Kosmos, Gesellschaft der Naturfreunde, [1930?]. x, 272 pp. (N, CIHM #51579). Trans. Karl Ernst Poeschel. Stuttgart: Kosmos, Gesellschaft der Naturfreunde, [1940]. 251 pp. (N). Stuttgart: Kosmos, Gesellschaft der Naturfreunde, [1947]. 214 pp. (N) [German trans. of Wild Animals I Have Known]
- Jochen Bär und andere Tiergeschichten. Stuttgart: Kosmos, Gesellschaft der Naturfreunde, [19??]. 109 pp. (N) [German trans. of Johnny Bear and Other Stories?]

- Monarch, der Riesenbär. Stuttgart: Kosmos, Gesellschaft der Naturfreunde, [193?]. 101 pp. (N). Stuttgart: Franckh, [1947]. 63 pp. (N) [German trans. of "Monarch, the Big Bear of Tallac"]
- Taile Tréanmhór an Rí-Bhéar. Trans. Mícheál O Siochfhradha. Baile Atha Cliath: Oifig Díolta Foillseacháin Rialtis, 1931. 157 pp. (N, BMCat) [Irish?]
- Costumbres de animales salvajes. Trans. Emilio M. Martínez Amador. Barcelona: Ediciones Leo, [1932]. 275 pp. (N). Barcelona: Gili, 1951. (N). [Spanish]
- Animales salvajes en libertad. Trans. Emilio M. Martínez Amador. Barcelona: Ediciones Leo, [1932]. 254 pp. (N). Barcelona: Gili, 1951. (N). [Spanish trans. of Wild Animal Ways?]
- Rolf gosdovnik, dozivljaji gozdovnika Rolfa indijanes kvonaba in psa skok[u?]ma. [Trans.?] Peter Donat. Ljubljana, 1938. 301 pp. (NS) [Slovenian trans. of Rolf in the Woods]
- Dos lebn fun di geyogte [transliterated title]. [Mocksa?], 1939. 151 pp. (N) [title text in some script I don't know; BMCat lists two entries, both pub. 1920, also pub. in "Mocksa," in a script I can't reproduce]
- Tiere der Wildnis. Trans. Max Pannwitz. Stuttgart: Franckh, [1946]. 251 pp. (N) [German? trans. of Wild Animal Ways]
- Domino Reinhard, die Lebensgeschichte seines Silber-Fuchses. Stuttgart: Franckh, [1946]. 88 pp. (N) [German trans. of The Biography of a Silver Fox]
- Zwei kleine Wilds, ein Buch von Jan und Sam und [deren?] Treiben in ihrem Reich und auf der Farm in Sanger. Trans. Hermann Dengler. Stuttgart: Franckh, [1946]. 221 pp. (N). Stuttgart: Franckh, [1950]. 193 pp. (N) [German? trans. of parts 1 and 2 of Two Little Savages]
- Tito, die Geschichte einer Präriewölfin. [Stuttgart: Kultministerium, 1947. 32 pp. [German trans. of "Tito: The Story of the Coyote That Learned How," from Lives of the Hunted]
- Črni kljusač in druge povesti [Black (bird?) and Other Stories?]. Ljubljans Mladinska Knjign, 1950. 173 pp. (N) [Slovenian]
- Jan und Sam im Walde: Was Zwei Kleine Wilde als Indianer in Walde Erlebten. Trans. Hermann Dengler and T. Kellen. Stuttgart: Frankch, [1950]. 247 pp. (N) [German trans. of part 3 of Two Little Savages]

Odmetsnik Koli-bej, i drugo pripovetke o živetinjama. [Prevela Nada Prodanović], Beograd: Novo Pokolenje, 1952. 257 pp. [Serbocroatian trans. of Wild Animal Ways] (N)]

Rasskazy o zhivotnykh [Stories about Animals]. Moscow: Detgiz [Children's State Publisher], 1958. (U of IL-Urbana-Champaign) [Russian]

Shitoydobutsuki. Tokyo: Kaisrisha, 1962. (U of IL-Urbana-Champaign) [Japanese?]

Kaksi partiopoikaa: kertomus kahdesta pojasta, jotka elivät kuin intiaanit, ja siitä mitä [b?]e oppivat. I.K. Inhan uudistettu suomennos, [n.d.]. (NS) [Finnish]

## [J.?] Herbert Sinclair (?)

**Biographical.** Sinclair appears in none of the Canadian or American biographical sources consulted. He came to my attention in Sophie Hensley's 1893 article "Canadian Writers in New York," in which he's mentioned as a Canadian journalist then working in the city. Oddly, Sinclair's father, according to Hensley a judge from Hamilton, Ontario, does not appear in Thomas Melville Bailey's Dictionary of Hamilton Biography (Hamilton, 1981-91).

**Archival.** The Hamilton Public Library in Ontario has some few papers, apparently legal documents ca. 1859-85, of Judge James Shaw Sinclair, probably Herbert's father (ULMC 1979-80: 168). The archives of the Canadian Club of New York, of which J.H. if not Herbert Sinclair was a member (see below), are on microfiche at the New York Public Library.

**Bibliographical.** Although his contributions to the paper would almost certainly have been unsigned, the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, MA, has a complete run of the Morning Advertiser (ULN). Despite Hensley's claim that by 1893 Sinclair had "written most creditably for the magazines" (204), no American periodical publications for Sinclair have been found, and no Canadian publications other than the tentatively attributed article for the Week, below.

"Canadians in New York." Week 19 Aug. 1886: 603. (V) [lead article; the "Canadian colony" in NY has within the last few years won a certain prominence; "All the professions are receiving their quota of Canadian patrons," especially law, medicine, and journalism; discusses founding and operation of Canadian Club of NY; signed J.H. Sinclair, probably Herbert Sinclair]

**Arthur [John Arbuthnott] Stringer (1874-1950)**

**Biographical.** AAB; CM 1912; CWW 1-4; DAA supp.; DLB 92: 374-77 (by Dick Harrison); MDCB 1963; NCAB 15: 293-94; WhAm 3.

The most extensive work to date on Stringer was done in the 1940s by Victor Lauriston, a contemporary of Stringer's from his home county in Ontario. Lauriston's Arthur Stringer, Son of the North contains a short but useful overview of Stringer's life to about 1940; a brief later article, "Three Musketeers of the Pen in New York of the Nineties," focuses on his early years in New York with Harvey O'Higgins and Arthur McFarlane (Saturday Night 12 Jan. 1946: 32-33). Stringer himself fictionalized aspects of this period, especially his work for the American Press Association, in his 1903 novel The Silver Poppy. For Stringer's later years see his second wife Margaret's Confessions of an Author's Wife (Bobbs-Merrill, 1927) and his obituary in the New York Times (15 Sep. 1950: 25). Finally, Barbara Meadowcroft's unpublished 1983 dissertation for McGill University, "Arthur Stringer as Man of Letters," contains a bio-critical introduction and an annotated selection of his letters.

**Archival.** Some few Stringer manuscripts have been obtained by McGill University in Montreal, the University of Toronto, and Acadia University in Wolfville, NS (see ULMC 2: 1187). Mount St. Vincent University in Halifax, NS, has microfilmed copies of the manuscripts of three plays by Stringer, The House of Oedipus, The House of Fear, and Fool's Gold (the last two of which are unpublished). The A.S. Bourinot papers held by the University of Toronto contain some letters from Stringer (ULMC 1: 117), as do the J.D. Logan Papers at Acadia (see Toby A. Foshay's John Daniel Logan: Biography, Bibliography, and Checklist of the Logan Papers in the Acadia University Library). For a more detailed list of Stringer repositories, see Meadowcroft's dissertation.

**Bibliographical.** AFI; CPI; BMCat; BNCat; BRD; CIHM; LC; Mitchell; N; NYTI; PI; RG; Rogers; Sader; SN; Watters; YC.

Stringer's bibliography spans almost sixty years of continuous work in every major genre. Although totals are complicated by frequent revision and retitling, it's safe to say that between 1891 and his death in 1950 he published a dozen books of poetry (all told, he wrote something in excess of 350 poems), four extended works of non-fiction and over forty critical and occasional essays, a dozen plays, three collections of short stories plus another fifty or more uncollected, and at least thirty-six novels. He also wrote dozens of film scenarios and scripts during the silent era, including the scenarios for The Perils of Pauline, the silent climax-a-week movie serial that made actress Pearl White famous (NY Times obit.). Most of Stringer's work for Hollywood was anonymous; in his words, he worked primarily as a "movie doctor," fixing and filling out weak scripts given to him by the studios ("Doctoring," 17 Feb. 1924). The American Film Institute does, however, give Stringer a



writing credit for at least one film, a 1926 adaptation of a Somerset Maugham play called The Canadian (listed below), and more credits might well exist. Finally, although I've been able to verify just ten of these, according to Lauriston some thirty of Stringer's own short stories and novels were made into movies (18). Available details on film versions of Stringer's fiction are given below either as a note to the original story or as a separate entry if Stringer received a writing credit.

I have listed every known edition of Stringer's books, but the possibility of omissions looms large. Stringer was a very popular novelist, and today that popularity works against the bibliographer: his fast-paced adventures appealed to readers, not librarians. Victor Lauriston, who has the advantage of having been there, records in his bibliography a surprising number of editions of Stringer's books not known to any other source. I'm suspicious of the existence of many of these, as Lauriston is often bibliographically inaccurate, but I've listed them below, citing Lauriston as the source.

In his selected bibliography of Stringer for the Dictionary of Literary Biography, Dick Harrison of the University of Alberta consistently lists any Canadian editions of Stringer's books first, followed by any American or English editions. It's very doubtful that this reflects the actual order of publication. All of Stringer's novels for Bobbs-Merrill (his publisher from 1915 to his death) in the 1930s and 1940s are identified on the copyright page as the "first edition," and there's no reason to doubt that this wasn't the case for his earlier books for the company. At some point, the New York reprint house A.L. Burt reprinted at least twenty-one of Stringer's pre-1936 novels in "arrangement with" the original publisher, usually Bobbs-Merrill. Although this omission isn't always obvious from library catalogues, all of the Burt reprints I've seen are undated, bearing only the original copyright date or dates copied intact from the source plates. The evidence suggests, however, that all of these reprints were issued in the same year, 1936, and I have for now tentatively assigned the Burt reprints this date.

In addition to the periodicals listed below, Stringer is also known to have contributed in the mid-1890s to the University of Toronto student publication Varsity, and to the Oxford Magazine, the Pall Mall Gazette, and the London Chronicle during his subsequent studies at Oxford (Lauriston 5-6). According to Lauriston, while on staff at the Montreal Herald (1897-98) Stringer started a column for the paper under the pen-name "The Infant" and contributed occasional poems and sketches that may bear his name (7). In New York, Stringer's work for the American Press Association was by own account anonymous or pseudonymous, and is probably now lost to the bibliographer. We do know, however, that during his first decade in the city he contributed signed prose and verse to Ainslee's, the Saturday Evening Post, Collier's, Smart Set, and the Popular Magazine, all of which are unindexed for this period. He also probably contributed to the New York monthly Success during and perhaps after his tenure as its literary editor (1903-04), and according to Mott was a

founding contributor to the Valley Magazine (St. Louis, 1902-07) (4: 101). From about 1908 on, most of Stringer's novels were initially published serially, and although I've located the serial publication for most of these, for some the only knowledge of serial publication is the copyright page of the book version, which especially in later years gives the magazine's publisher rather than the magazine itself (this information is noted below under the relevant titles). Several of these unlocated serials appear to have been published in the women's magazines Harper's Bazaar and Pictorial Review, but there may well be other locations. In the 1920s, Stringer occasionally contributed verse to The Maple Leaf, organ of the Canadian Club of New York, and although oddly unrecorded by the New York Times Index, his obituary in the Times notes that he contributed "scores of short poems" to the paper, the most recent appearing less than a month before his death. Finally, several sources, the earliest of which appears to be CM 1912, attribute to Stringer an unlocated work called The Occasional Offender, dated by some 1907.

## 1891

"Twilight." Dominion Illustrated 21 Mar. 1891: 288. (V)  
[poem: "Oh, twilight hour of faint and mystic  
light..."]

## 1892

"Indian Summer." Week 2 Dec. 1892: 12. (V) [poem; personifies rather than, like W.W. Campbell's better lyric of the same name, describes; "One fine day he invaded the editorial sanctum of The Week, wherein the jovial Mr. Thomas Moberley presided, and soon after his first poem [sic] went out to Canadian readers. It was that irregular but remarkably beautiful little lyric on 'Indian Summer.' He became a frequent contributor to the Week..." (H.A. Bruce, "Canadian Celebrities XIV: Arthur J. Stringer," Canadian Magazine June 1900: 144)]

## 1893

"Northern Lights." Week 20 Jan. 1893: 177. (V) [sonnet; signed Wycliffe College, Toronto]

"World-Worship." Week 17 Feb. 1893: 275. (V) [poem]

"On Reading 'Faust.'" Week 24 Mar. 1893: 396. (V) [quatrain epigram]

"Changed Nature." Week 28 Apr. 1893: 517. (V) [short poem about calming of the sea]

"A Sunset Sail." Week 18 Aug. 1893: 901. (V) [five-stanza poem about returning to land]

"A Dream Face." Week 8 Sep. 1893: 975. (V) [erotic, Keatsian poem about beautiful dark-haired dream woman who leans over speaker in his sleep]

"The Fulfillment." Week 29 Sep. 1893: 1044. (V) [love poem]

"Art's Endeavour." Week 13 Oct. 1893: 1906. (V) [poem]

"The Minstrel." Week 22 Dec. 1893: 86. (V) [lyric from a minstrel to his love]

#### 1894

"On Lake Erie." Week 12 Jan. 1894: 160. (V) [descriptive; probably his best poem to date]

"On Lake St. Clair." Week 26 Jan. 1894: 206. (V) [poem]

"Isolation." Week 23 Feb. 1894: 300. (V) [poem]

"A Glance at Lampman." Canadian Magazine Apr. 1894: 545-48. (V) [criticism; calls Lampman "the most thoroughly Canadian, and in Canada the most popular" of the new Canadian poets (545); quotes approvingly from a half-dozen poems, including "Heat"; "but it seems to me he has done his best work.... He has felt his limitations" (548)]

"The Rock and the Rose." Week 6 Apr. 1894: 448. (V) [poem; signed Toronto University]

"Shakespeare and the Moderns." Week 20 Apr. 1894: 495. (V) [likens occasional pleasure of turning from the sea to inland streams to occasional pleasure of turning from Shakespeare to the moderns, "from his deep notes.../...to hear the voices of today,/The daintier music, and the less substantial flow"]

"Ruth." Week 29 June 1894: 731. (V) [couplet ballad]

"Summer." Week 20 July 1894: 800. (V) [poem]

"The Old Violinist." Week 27 July 1894: 824-45. (V) [first known fiction, about a country boy making a living in the city (Toronto?) selling verses to the papers who hears from an old musician the story of a "love sick" singer]

Watchers of Twilight, and Other Poems. London, ON: Printed by T.H. Warren, 1894. 43 pp. (N, Watters, CIHM #24402) [thirty-two poems and five verse epigrams; at least seven previously published in the Week]

## 1895

"Some College Sketches." Column. Saturday Night 8 June-13 July 1895. (SN) [light sketches of life and characters at University of Toronto]

Pauline, and Other Poems. London, ON: Printed by T.H. Warren, 1895. 64 pp. (N, Watters, CIHM #28921) [forty-eight poems and verse epigrams; at least three previously published in the Week, and several later published in American magazines]

"She Seemed a Wild Bird Caged on Earth." Living Age 1 June 1895: 514. (RG 1890-99) [poem; same as in Watchers of Twilight, 1894?]

## 1896

"Canada to England." Week 24 Jan. 1896: 204. (V) [patriotic poem pledging Canada's fidelity to England, written during Venezuelan Border crisis; signed 1896, Oxford]

Epigrams. London, ON: Printed by T.H. Warren, 1896. 42 pp. (Watters, CIHM #24400) [forty quatrains, at least seven rpt. from Watchers of Twilight (1894) and Pauline (1895), and several later published in American periodicals]

## 1897

"The Unremembered Harvester." Canadian Magazine Dec. 1897: 165-66. (V) [poem: "Among earth's brown-armed reapers came..."; a harvester sows words rather than grain to feed the "one strange hunger" other harvesters cannot appease]

A Study in King Lear. New York: American Shakespeare Press, 1897. (Lauriston) [n/f; while at Oxford Stringer "became interested in Shakespearean scholarship and produced several volumes of criticism rejecting the thesis that Sir Francis Bacon was the real author of Shakespeare's works.... Several of Mr. Stringer's books, especially his definitive study of King Lear, are used today as reference works by Shakespearean scholars and college students" (NY Times 15 Sep. 1950: 25); aside from an essay on Iago in the Canadian Magazine of Dec. 1911, this is Stringer's only known "volume" of Shakespeare scholarship, and even it is unknown to all but Lauriston; may be a rpt. of "Was Cordelia the King's Fool?" an unlocated essay arguing that Cordelia and the fool were originally the same character but became split in later textual corruptions that Lauriston says Stringer published in The Fortnightly Shakespeare (NY, 1895-98?) (Lauriston 162-63; ULS)]

## 1899

- "Omar Khyyám." Bookman (NY) Jan. 1899: 448. (V) [quatrain:  
"Deep in the spring their empty Pitcher dips..."]
- "Remorse." Harper's Feb. 1899: 475. (RG 1890-99) [poem; same  
as the epigram in Watchers of Twilight, 1894?]
- "A Woman's Hand," "At the Comedy," and "A Tragedy." Harper's  
Mar. 1899: 574-75. (RG 1890-99) [header title: "Stories in  
Verse"; "The dawn grew golden in the east...", "Last night,  
in snowy gown and glove...", and "She passed me in the  
crowded square..."; Stringer's first big New York sale, for  
which he received an unusually high \$60 from editor Henry M.  
Alden ("Wild Poets I've Known: Bliss Carman," 1 Mar. 1941)]
- "The Shadowing Gods." Harper's Weekly 18 Mar. 1899: 261. (V)  
[quatrain: "'I scorn your empty creeds, and bend my  
knee..."; previously printed in Epigrams, 1896]
- "To the Voice that Failed." Harper's Weekly 1 Apr. 1899: 309.  
(V) [quatrain: "Art is long, live thou the part..."]
- "The Anarchist." Harper's Weekly 29 Apr. 1899: 425. (V)  
[quatrain: "From out her golden palace Fortune thrust...";  
previously printed in both Watchers of Twilight (1894) and  
Epigrams (1896)]
- "The Pessimist." Harper's Weekly 27 May 1899: 537. (V)  
[quatrain: "He pines, upon a maple spray..."; previously  
printed in Epigrams, 1896]
- "From the Age of Gold." Bookman (NY) June 1899: 357. (V) [love  
poem: "Enthralled within the sculptured stone she slept..."]
- "Philosophies." Harper's June 1899: 135. (V). [verse epigram:  
"We know not what doth lie beyond the Door..."]
- "On Shotover Hill." Canadian Magazine June 1899: 180. (V)  
[lyric: "Muffled and dark and warm the evening dwells...";  
signed Oxford, England, 1898]
- "Non Omnis Moriar." Bookman (NY) Oct. 1899: 122. (V) [lyric:  
"In the teeth of the gale that hurls me back..."; speaker  
battles a symbolic gale at sea]
- The Loom of Destiny. Boston: Small, Maynard, [Nov.?] 1899. 3-  
208 pp. illus. (N, BMCat, Watters, CIHM #24401). Boston:  
Sherman, French, 1907. 208 pp. illus. (N). Short Story  
Index Reprint Ser. Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries, 1969.  
207 pp. illus. (LC) [fourteen stories about NY slum kids,  
some previously published in Ainslee's Magazine:  
"Premonitions," "The Undoing of Dinney Crockett," "The Fly

in the Ointment," "The Iron Age," "The King Who Lost His Crown," "Life's Loaded Die," "The Crucible of Character," "The Essentials of Aristocracy," "The Honour of the House of Hummerley," "Thicker Than Water," "Instruments of Eros," "An Essay in Equality," "The Heart's Desire," and "Not in Utter Nakedness" (N); each story preceded by a verse epigraph and illustrated with drawings of cute, sad, round-faced urchins; written while Stringer was working full-time for the American Press Association in NY (Lauriston 139); Small, Maynard, of which Bliss Carman was then a part-owner and director, was a small Boston house that began business two years before with new editions of Whitman's Leaves of Grass and Complete Works (Tebbel 407)]

"The Sons Beyond the Border." Canadian Magazine Dec. 1899: 128-29. (V) [poem: "They held us but a puny folk..."; alternating ballad and hexameter stanzas; manifesto of expatriates who "yet shall turn to our Homelands"]

"Shipping on the Great Lakes." Saturday Night 9 Dec. 1899: 7. (SN)

#### 1900

"Labor." Harper's Feb. 1900: 473. (RG 1) [poem]

"As the Green Sea in Fishers' Nets." Bookman (NY) Mar. 1900: 79. (V) [quatrain: "In some dark sea that through us ebbs and sweeps..."]

"War." Current Literature July 1900: 32. (RG 1) [poem]

"Colonial." Canadian Magazine Aug. 1900: 361-62. (RG 1) [poem]

"Dreams." Bookman (NY) Sep. 1900: 58. (V) [short poem: "Through Sleep's blue dome wheel fondly to and fro..."]

"Boy and the Burglar." Canadian Magazine Dec. 1900: 138-43. (RG 1)

#### 1901

"Canadian Writers Who Are Winning Fame in New York." Montreal Herald 2 Mar. 1901, sec. 2: 11. (V) [brief sketches of Peter McArthur, C.G.D. Roberts, Bliss Carman, E.T. Seton, artist Arthur Heming, Norman Duncan, Harvey O'Higgins, and Arthur McFarlane]

"To Dorothy." Current Literature Apr. 1901: 432. (RG 1) [poem]

"Woman in the Snow." Canadian Magazine Apr. 1901: 513-20. (RG 1)

- "The Miracle of the Medicine Wire." Illus. Frederic Remington. Collier's 4 May 1901: 8-9. (V) [short story; first appearance in Collier's; all but the title and credits of the copy microfilmed is unreadable, so I can't tell the story's subject matter, but from the illustrations it looks to have a western or Canadian north-west setting]
- "Fugitive." Century July 1901: 356. (RG 1) [poem; same as in Watchers of Twilight, 1894?]
- "Emmeline." Canadian Magazine July 1901: 280-82. (RG 1) [short story]
- "Hephaestus." Atlantic Monthly Aug. 1901: 247-50. (RG 1) [poem]
- "Poem of Loss and Gain ['Hephaestus']." Saturday Night 10 Aug. 1901: 7. (SN) [probably rpt. from Atlantic Monthly, above]
- "Stars." Youth's Companion 26 Sep. 1901: 472. (YC F310) [poem]
- "On a Child's Portrait." Century Oct. 1901: 860. (RG 1) [poem]
- "Song in October" and "Northern Reverie." Canadian Magazine Oct. 1901: 501 and 549-50. (RG 1) [poems]
- "On a Chopin Nocturne." Bookman (NY) Oct. 1901: 156. (RG 1) [poem]
- "Death and a Child." Harper's Nov. 1901: 988. (RG 1) [poem; same as "Concerning Death and a Child" in Pauline, 1895?]
- "War Spirit." Bookman (NY) Dec. 1901: 416. (RG 1) [poem]
- "The Sad Case of Harmony John." Illus. Frederic Remington. Collier's 21 Dec. 1901: 13, 18. (V) [western short story in the tall-tale, dialect mode; an old miner arrives to play the piano for the boys at the Alberta Rest saloon for Christmas]

## 1902

- "The Quest of the Golden Marten." Illus. Arthur Heming. Collier's 15 Mar. 1902: 15, 18. (V) [short story about a French-Canadian trapper; Heming, whom Stringer had profiled the year before in "Canadian Writers," was another expatriate, a Hamilton-born artist who came to NY after becoming the "first illustrator to make a living at his profession in Canada" and became a regular illustrator for Harper's and other magazines (CM 1912)]
- "The Benevolence of Montana Bill: How a Rocky Mountain Napoleon Restored the Health of Fourteen Invalids from the East."

Munsey's Magazine May 1902: 287-92. (V) [western tall-tale that employs an external narrator à la Twain's "Jumping Frog"; cowboy opens a "horspit'l" for sickly easterners in the Canadian Rockies near the "Alberta Rest"; in same issue as roommate Arthur E. McFarlane's story "A Boomerang Hold Up"]

"Two Rooms." Harper's July 1902: 197. (RG 1) [poem]

"Through the Valley of Illusion." Harper's Sep. 1902: 625-33. (RG 1)

"Storm." Bookman Oct. 1902: 187. (RG 1) [poem]

"White Nights." Century Dec. 1902: 254. (RG 1) [poem]

### 1903

"Seer." Century Feb. 1903: 591. (RG 1) [poem]

"When Closing Swinburne." Bookman Apr. 1903: 159. (RG 1) [poem]

"William Morris as I Remember Him." Craftsman (NY) May 1903: 126-32. (V) [biographical sketch informed by Stringer's acquaintance at Oxford with the English artist, poet, and social reformer just before his death in the summer of 1896; the Craftsman was a fine-arts magazine begun by a Morris disciple that in 1904 dropped its Morris format to become a more general house-and-garden magazine (Mott 4: 148); Mary Fanton Roberts, wife of William Carman Roberts, was the magazine's long-time managing editor]

"O Summer Moon." Harper's May 1903: 875. (RG 1). Rpt. in Current Literature June 1903: 723. (RG 1) [poem]

"On a Portrait of R.L.S. the Invalid." Bookman (NY) June 1903: 420. (RG 1) [poem]

The Silver Poppy. New York: D. Appleton, [Aug.?] 1903. vi, 291 pp. (N, BMCat, Watters). Toronto: Briggs, 1903. vi, 291 pp. (CaNSStFX). London: Methuen, 1904. vi, 291 pp. (BMCat). London & New York: Houghton, Mifflin, 1905. Frontispiece by W.B. King. New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1924. (Lauriston). Front. by King. New York: A.L. Burt, ©1924 [1936?]. vi, 291 pp. (N, LC) [first novel, the story of the failed career and lost love of a young English writer in New York who falls in love with a plagiarizing woman novelist from Kentucky; badly written and thoroughly predictable, the novel remains interesting for its consistent theme of corruption and deception in New York publishing, and for the light it casts on Stringer's early years in the city; written in New York while living with



Arthur McFarlane and Harvey O'Higgins (Lauriston 140); dramatized by Stringer as The Narrow Door and by Owen Davis as The Wire Tappers (Lauriston 163; neither in NotNAT or Bordman)]

"Threadbare Theme." Bookman (NY) Oct. 1903: 168. (RG 1) [poem]

"At the Tragedy." Century Nov. 1903: 67. (RG 1) [poem]

"The Glaciers of Regret." Everybody's Magazine Dec. 1903: 838. (V) [first appearance in Everybody's; quatrain epigram]

"In the Open." McClure's Dec. 1903: 126. (RG 1). Rpt. in Literary Digest 2 Jan. 1904: 28-29. (V) [short poem spoken by an engineer on God's train-track]

Hephaestus; Persephone at Enna; and Sappho in Leucadia. London: Grant Richards, 1903. 43 pp. (N, BMCat). Toronto: Methodist Book and Publishing, 1903. 43 pp. (N, Watters) [blank verse on classical subjects; third section is Act IV of the blank verse drama Sappho in Leucadia, printed in full in Woman in the Rain, 1907]

#### 1904

"Recipe for Certain Society Fiction." Bookman (NY) Jan. 1904: 484. (RG 1) [poem]

"Canadians in New York: America's Foremost Lyrist." National Monthly of Canada (Toronto) Jan. 1904: 3-5. (V) [bio-appreciative essay on Bliss Carman]

"Eminent Canadians in New York: The Father of Canadian Poetry." National Monthly of Canada Feb. 1904: 61-64. (V) [bio-appreciative essay on Charles G.D. Roberts]

"Progress." Harper's Mar. 1904: 601. (RG 1). Rpt. in Literary Digest 19 Mar. 1904: 421. (V) [poem]

"Ascent of Man." Harper's May 1904: 887. (RG 1) [poem]

"Rockies." Harper's June 1904: 146. (RG 1) [poem]

"What I Think of Keats." Reader July 1904: 221. (RG 1) [poem]

"Larry Doogan." Bookman (NY) Dec. 1904: 340-48. (RG 1) [short story]

Poems, by James Alexander Tucker, B.A.; with a Prefatory Memoir by Arthur Stringer. Ed. Joseph Thomas Clark and Reuben Butchart. Toronto: W. Briggs, 1904. xx, 25-133 pp. (N, BMCat, LC)

## 1905

- "Belated Crown." Harper's Feb. 1905: 385. (RG 2) [poem]
- "The Two Valentines (1892-1905)." Everybody's Magazine Feb. 1905: 233. (V) [poem]
- "The Modern Speaks." Everybody's Magazine Mar. 1905: 354. (V) [lyric poem]
- "In Sport, and Love, and Death." Reader Apr. 1905: 538. (RG 2) [poem]
- "The End of Art." Everybody's Magazine June 1905: 836. (V) [poem]
- "Deeper Note." Everybody's Magazine July 1905: 10. (RG 2) [poem]
- "Redemption." Reader Oct. 1905: 493. (RG 2) [poem]
- "There Lies a Way." Everybody's Magazine Oct. 1905: 445. (RG 2) [poem]
- Lonely O'Malley: A Story of Boy Life. Illus. Frank T. Merrill. Boston & New York: Houghton, Mifflin, [Oct.?] 1905. xi, 383 pp. (N, BMCat, Watters). Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1924. xi, 383 pp. (N). Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1924. 383 pp. (Watters, CaNSHD) [autobiographical novel set in Ontario about a young boy with a vivid imagination and a talent for trouble (BRD 1905); McClelland (and presumably Bobbs-Merrill) edition has a new preface dated 30 May 1924, Mountain Lakes]
- "Call of the City." Current Literature Oct. 1905: 456. (RG 2) [poem]
- "Race to the Death." Macmillan's 92 (1905): 469-? (PI 6: 526). Rpt. in Living Age 11 Nov. 1905: 363-74. (RG 2)
- "River of Youth" and "Sir Henry Irving." Current Literature Nov. 1905: 571 and 572. (RG 2) [poems]

## 1906

- "Kings of Laughter." Bookman (NY) Mar. 1906: 48. (RG 2) [poem]
- "Beside the Martyr's Memorial." Bookman (NY) May 1906: 253. (RG 2) [poem; same as in Epigrams, 1896?]
- "Lyoners of Lyonesse." Harper's May 1906: 854-55. (RG 2) [poem]

The Wire Tappers. Illus. Arthur William Brown. Boston: Little, Brown, May 1906. 324 pp. (N, BMCat, Watters). London: T. Werner Laurie, n.d. (N). Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1922. 301 pp. (N). Supertales of Modern Mystery. New York: McKinlay, Stone, & Mackenzie, 1922. 301 pp. (N). New York: A.L. Burt, ©1922 [1936?]. 301 pp. illus. (N). [crime novel; a pair of wire-tapping lovers, one English and one vaguely Canadian, run confidences on New York gamblers and brokers before reforming and quitting the city to live honest lives in England; Little, Brown was the first American publisher to bring out more than one of Stringer's books, publishing in the next year both the sequel to Wire Tappers and his new collection of poems, Woman in the Rain]

"Heritage." Everybody's Magazine June 1906: 840. (RG 2) [poem]

"Wanderers." American Magazine Oct. 1906: 585-86. (RG 2) [poem]

"Poet." Everybody's Magazine Nov. 1906: 684. (RG 2) [poem; same as in Pauline, 1895?]

#### 1907

"Her Portrait, in Girlhood." Everybody's Magazine Feb. 1907: 208. (RG 2) [poem]

"Spirit-Rapping of Dynamite Spindel." Cosmopolitan Feb. 1907: 433-39. (RG 2)

Phantom Wires: A Novel. Illus. Arthur William Brown. Boston: Little, Brown, [Mar.] 1907. 295 pp. (N, Watters). Illus. Brown. Toronto: Musson, 1907. 295 pp. (CaNSHD). Daily Mail Sixpenny Novels no. 78. London: n.p., 1909. vi, 154 pp. (BMCat). Frontispiece by Sidney L. Hydeman. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1923. 306 pp. (N, BMCat). New York: A.L. Burt, ©1923 [1936?]. 306 pp. (N) [sequel to Wire Tappers, 1906]

"Outlaw Gordon Dies in Prison: Jamaican Desperado Who Terrorized Costa Rica Shot from Ambush." New York Times 15 Apr. 1907: 4. (V) [unsigned report, but almost entirely a long quotation from Stringer, who was in Costa Rica at the time of the incident and saw Gordon's body; either an interview or a letter to the editor that the Times thought important enough to be recast as a news story]

"Two Captives." Century Aug. 1907: 622. (RG 2) [poem]

"Autumn." Everybody's Magazine Oct. 1907: 562. (RG 2) [poem]

"Colonial in England." Current Literature Nov. 1907: 571. (RG 2) [poem]

- "Turn of the Year." Everybody's Magazine Dec. 1907: 744. (RG 2)  
[poem]
- "Kings of Hate." Everybody's Magazine Dec. 1907: 810-21. (RG 2)
- "Morning in the Northwest." McClure's Dec. 1907: 148. (RG 2)  
[poem]

The Woman in the Rain, and Other Poems. Boston: Little, Brown, 1907. vii-ix, 264 pp. (N, Watters). Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1949. vii, 264 pp. (N, Watters) [four-act blank verse drama "Sappho in Leucadia" plus poems collected from the Canadian Magazine, Oxford Magazine, Bookman, Century, Smart Set, American Magazine, Reader, Ainslee's, McClure's, Everybody's, and Harper's (colophon)]

Sappho in Leucadia. Boston: Little, Brown, 1907. 115-264 pp.  
(N, Watters) [extracted from The Woman in the Rain, 1907]

#### 1908

- "Woman in the Rain." Current Literature Jan. 1908: 103-04. (RG 2)  
[poem; probably rpt. from Woman in the Rain, 1907]
- "Some Day, O Seeker of Dreams." Everybody's Magazine Jan. 1908:  
46. (RG 2) [poem]
- "Spring in England." Everybody's Magazine May 1908: 698. (RG 2)  
[poem]
- The Under Groove: A Novel. New York: McClure, [May?] 1908. 3-  
335 pp. (N, Watters). Toronto: Musson, 1908. 335 pp.  
(N). Rpt. as Night Hawk: A Novel. New York: Bobbs-Merrill,  
1923 [sic, 1926?]. (Lauriston). New York: A.L. Burt, ©1926  
[1936?]. 307 pp. (N, BMCat, Watters). [New York crime  
novel; an old criminal tells seven stories about detecting  
crimes to further his own activities]
- "Habit." Everybody's Magazine June 1908: 817. (RG 2) [poem]
- "Guarded House." Everybody's Magazine Aug. 1908: 244-57. (RG 2)
- "Prescience." Everybody's Magazine Aug. 1908: 278. (RG 2)  
[poem]
- "Kalsomining of Dakota Sam." Putnam's Aug. 1908: 539-46. (RG 2)
- "Trouble." Everybody's Magazine Sep. 1908: 310. (RG 2) [poem]
- "Dusk in the Barren Grounds." Everybody's Magazine Oct. 1908:  
454. (RG 2) [poem]

"The Canada Fakers." Canada West (London, ON) Oct. 1908: 1137-47 illus. (V) Rpt. in Current Literature Dec. 1908: 642-44. (RG 2) ["...there are two Canadas. One is the Canada of fact. The other is the Canada that comes out of ink-wells" (1137); essay criticizing romanticization of and inaccuracies about the Canadian north by writers Robert Service, Caspar Whitney, Jack London, Rex Beach, Richard Harding Davis, Gilbert Parker, Stewart Edward White, and one "industrious young lady" whom "chivalry forbids" naming (Agnes C. Laut?) (1143); "The sad fact is that by far the greatest portion of this fiction about Northern Canada is written by men who do not know the country" (1140); includes portrait of Stringer by Arthur William Brown, perhaps reproduced from Phantom Wires]

"Star." Harper's Weekly 12 Dec. 1908: 7. (RG 2) [poem]

#### 1909

"Music Room at Dusk." Good Housekeeping Jan. 1909: 62. (RG 2) [poem]

"Snowbird." Everybody's Magazine Feb. 1909: 199. (RG 2) [poem]

"To Bliss in Bankruptcy." Current Literature Feb. 1909: 216-17. (RG 2). Rpt. in Literary Digest 24 Apr. 1920: 34. (RG 5) [poem]

"Height." Cosmopolitan Mar. 1909: 398. (RG 2) [poem]

The Gun-Runner: A Novel. New York: B.W. Dodge, [May?] 1909. x, 370 pp. (N, Watters). Frontispiece by W.B. King. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1923. 316 pp. (N). Frontispiece by King. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1923. 316 pp. (N, BMCat, Watters). New York: A.L. Burt, ©1923 [1936?]. 316 pp. (N). Rpt. in England as Risk. London: Hutchinson, 1912. (Lauriston) [wireless-operator hero becomes embroiled in a Latin-American revolution; "A portion of this novel was printed in the January, 1909, number of The Popular Magazine" (note in Dodge ed.); source for The Gun Runner, a Tiffany-Stahl Productions' silent film released 20 Nov. 1928, directed by Edgar Lewis, and starring Richard Cortez as Julio and Nora Lane as Inez (AFI F2.2278)]

"Children of Spring." Delineator June 1909: 780. (RG 2) [poem]

"Toime for Love." Canadian Magazine July 1909: 288. (RG 2) [poem]

"Wimmen Folk." Current Literature Aug. 1909: 219. (RG 2) [poem]

"When the Bank Moved." Illus. Herbert Dunton. Everybody's Magazine Dec. 1909: 739-52. (V) [crime fiction; Creegan of the Central Office foils a bank robbery; in same issue as third instalment of O'Higgins' "The Beast and the Jungle"]

## 1910

"One Night in the Northwest." Everybody's Magazine Jan. 1910: 53. (V) [short lyric: "When they flagged our train because of a broken rail..."; printed on last page of fourth instalment of O'Higgins' "The Beast and the Jungle"]

"Bridge Lights." Canadian Magazine Jan. 1910: 286. (RG 3) [poem]

"Mother Ireland." Travel Feb. 1910: 226. (Rogers)

"Burglar." Everybody's Magazine Mar. 1910: 327-37. (RG 3)

"When the Stars Are Old." Hampton's Magazine Mar. 1910: 366. (RG 3) [poem]

"Lost Song." Everybody's Magazine Apr. 1910: 455. (RG 3) [poem]

"Maple Tree." Hampton's Magazine Apr. 1910: 600. (RG 3) [poem]

"Dusk in the Bay of Naples." McClure's Apr. 1910: 669. (RG 3) [poem]

"Chains." McClure's June 1910: 168. (RG 3) [poem]

"Nora." Hampton's Magazine June 1910: 880. (RG 3) [poem]

"Love and Sleep." Everybody's Magazine July 1910: 63. (RG 3) [poem]

"Stolen Code." Hampton's Magazine July 1910: 19-29. (RG 3)

"The Blot." Canadian Magazine July-Oct. 1910: 205-12, 324-34, 394-404, 536-44. (V) [four-act drama copyrighted 1910; set in Canadian Rockies and New York]

"I'll Niver Go Home Again." Everybody's Magazine Sep. 1910: 379. (RG 3) [poem]

"Mask of Fame." Hampton's Magazine Sep. 1910: 315-25. (RG 3) [short story]

"Wimmen." Cosmopolitan Sep. 1910: 459. (RG 3) [poem]

"Schooling of Typhæus." Harper's Oct. 1910: 777. (RG 3) [poem]

- "Secret." Everybody's Magazine Oct. 1910: 485. (RG 3) [poem]
- "Superman." Forum Oct. 1910: 462-63. (RG 3) [poem]
- "Age End." Everybody's Magazine Nov. 1910: 677. (RG 3)
- "Sense of Drama." Hampton's Magazine Nov. 1910: 574-86. (RG 3)
- "Man Who Made Good." Everybody's Magazine Dec. 1910: 784-99.  
(RG 3)
- "Homesteader in the Strand." Canadian Magazine Dec. 1910: 142-  
43. (RG 3) [poem]

## 1911

- "Caoch O'Lynn." Everybody's Magazine Jan. 1911: 28. (RG 3).  
Rpt. in Current Literature Feb. 1911: 219. (RG 3) [poem]
- "Songs of the Ould Sod." Delineator Jan. 1911: 19. (RG 3)  
[poems]
- "Wings." Everybody's Magazine Feb. 1911: 239. (RG 3) [poem]
- "Anglo-Saxon Brood." Hampton's Magazine Feb. 1911: 242. (RG 3).  
Rpt. in Literary Digest 25 Jan. 1919: 36. (RG 5)
- "Dish and the Spoon." Hampton's Magazine Mar. 1911: 284-94. (RG  
3)
- "If Canada Should Come In." Hampton's Magazine Apr. 1911: 402-  
14. (RG 3)
- "Seventh Disappearance." Everybody's Magazine May 1911: 690-703.  
(RG 3)
- "Drolls." Hampton's Magazine May 1911: 638. (RG 3) [poem]
- "Oonagh of Ballybree." Everybody's Magazine June 1911: 824. (RG  
3) [poem]
- "Pride of Erin." Hampton's Magazine June 1911: 661. (RG 3)  
[poem]
- "Irish Poems." Forum July 1911: 71-76. (RG 3) [review?]
- "Woman in the Case." Hampton's Magazine Aug. 1911: 180-91. (RG  
3)
- "Cloidna of the Isle" and "Evening Up." Current Literature Sep.  
1911: 335 and 335-36. (RG 3) [poems]

- "There is Strength in the Soil." Hampton's Magazine Sep. 1911: 269. (RG 3). Rpt. in National Education Association Journal 16 (May 1927): 138. (RG 7) [poem]
- "Meeting." Canadian Magazine Sep. 1911: 484. (RG 3) [poem]
- "Stool Pigeon." Hampton's Magazine Oct. 1911: 431-43. (RG 3)
- Irish Poems. New York: Mitchell Kennerley, [Oct.?] 1911. 5-110 pp. (N, BMCat, Watters). Rev. and enlarged as Out of Erin, 1930. [first collection of Irish poems; "a record of fleeting impressions caught from the West of Ireland character" (foreword); Kennerley, a British-born friend of Bliss Carman, Charles G.D. Roberts, and Peter McArthur, had two years before brought out McArthur's first published collection of poems (The Prodigal) and Carman's The Rough Rider]
- "Return to the Tragedies." Everybody's Magazine Nov. 1911: 680. (RG 3). Rpt. in Literary Digest 20 Apr. 1912: 836. (RG 3) [poem]
- "My Cousin av [sic] the City." Everybody's Magazine Dec. 1911: 774. (RG 3)
- "Study of Iago." Canadian Magazine Dec. 1911: 110-13. (RG 3)
- 1912
- "Cleverest Woman in the World." Hampton's Magazine Jan. 1912: 739-51. (RG 3). [one-act play collected in Cleverest Woman in the World, 1939?]
- "New Year's Eve in New York." Collier's 6 Jan. 1912: 10. (RG 3) [poem]
- "Hope." Hampton's Magazine Feb. 1912: 11. (RG 3) [poem]
- "The House of Oedipus." By Ferdinando Fontana. Trans. Stringer. Canadian Magazine Feb.-Apr. 1912: 341-56, 423-36, 520-36. (V) [three-scene interpretation of the Oedipus story "adapted and put into English blank verse by Arthur Stringer from the Italian of Ferdinando Fontana"]
- "Matter of Thumbs." Hampton's Magazine Mar. 1912: 92-95. (RG 3)
- "Tiny Folk." Delineator Apr. 1912: 286. (RG 3) [poem]
- "Children's Theater." Century Apr. 1912: 872-73. (RG 3) [poem]
- "Mystery of the Churchill Pearls." Hampton's Magazine May 1912: 254-57. (RG 3)



- "Indian Summer." Collier's 25 May 1912: 22. (RG 3)
- "One April Dusk in England." Canadian Magazine July 1912: 237.  
(RG 3) [poem]
- "Renaissance of Women." Collier's 27 July 1912: 20-21. (RG 3)
- "Beauty." Canadian Magazine Aug. 1912: 366. (RG 3) [poem]
- "In Glastonbury Abbey." Canadian Magazine Dec. 1912: 168-69.  
(RG 3) [poem]

## 1913

- The Shadow. New York: Century, Jan. 1913. 3-302 pp. (N, BMCat, LC, Watters). Toronto: Bell & Cockburn, 1913. 302 pp. (N). Rpt. as Never-Fail Blake. New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1923 [sic, 1924?]. (Lauriston). Supertales of Modern Mystery. New York: McKinlay, Stone, & Mackenzie, ©1924. 302 pp. (N). New York: A.L. Burt, 1924 [1936?]. 302 pp. (N, Watters). [detective novel; "Never-Fail" Blake obsessively tracks con-man Connie Binhart through the U.S., the Far East, and South America (BRD 1913)]
- "The Girl Who Went to Alley." Forum Feb. 1913: 157-59. (RG 3).  
Rpt. in Current Opinion Aug. 1913: 130. (RG 3) [poem]
- "Crime in Fiction: Lack of True Realism in Current Stories of Criminals." New York Times 6 Apr. 1913, sec. 6: 192-93. (V) [essay denouncing the inaccuracies and unrealistic characterizations in the present spate of "crook plays" and crime/detective novels]
- "A Woman at Dusk." Poetry (Chicago) Aug. 1913: 153-58. (Sader) [poem]
- "Northern Pines," "On a Child's Portrait," "Non Omnis Moriar," and "Keats." The Oxford Book of Canadian Verse. Chosen by Wilfred Campbell. Toronto: Oxford UP, n.d. [1913?]. 260-62. [no prior publication located for "Northern Pines"; all others previously published at least serially]

## 1914

- "Summer in Arcady." Everybody's Magazine June 1914: 741. (RG 3) [poem]
- Open Water. New York: John Lane; London: John Lane, [Nov.?] 1914. viii, 9-132 pp. (N, Watters). London: John Lane, 1916. 132 pp. (BMCat) [collection of free verse; revised and enlarged as Dark Soil, 1933; "For the poet to turn his back on rhythm, as at times he has been able to do with

rhyme, is an impossibility. Rhythm is in man's blood. The ear of the world instinctively searches for cadences. The poet's efforts towards symphonic phrasing have long since become habitual and imperative" (foreword)]

The Master of Arms. Chicago: Volland, 1914. (Lauriston)  
[fiction]

#### 1915

"The Prairie Wife." Saturday Evening Post 16 Jan.-6 Feb. 1915  
[four consecutive issues]. Rpt. as The Prairie Wife: A Novel. Illus. H[arvey] T. Dunn. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, [Sep.?] 1915. 316 pp. (N, BMCat, Watters). Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1915. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1921. 315 pp. (BMCat). New York: A.L. Burt, ©1915 [1936?]. 317 pp. (N, CaNSHD). Rpt. as vol. 1 of Prairie Stories, 1936, and in Prairie Omnibus, 1939. [Canadian prairie novel in epistolary form; first in a trilogy about a New England socialite married to a dour Scots-Canadian; filmed as The Prairie Wife, 1925; after twelve publishers in sixteen years, Stringer with The Prairie Wife finally acquired a permanent publisher, remaining with Bobbs-Merrill throughout his life]

"Man from the Front." McClure's Apr. 1915: 38-45. (RG 4)

The Hand of Peril: A Novel of Adventure. New York: Macmillan, Apr. 1915. 3-331 pp. (N, Watters). New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1923. (Lauriston). New York: A.L. Burt, ©1915 [1936?]. 331 pp. (N) [detective novel; Lewis Kestner of the Secret Service tracks down a beautiful lady counterfeiter (BRD 1915); note in Burt edition says copyright 1914 and 1915 by the International Magazine Co.]

#### 1916

"Silent Company." McClure's Feb. 1916: 26. (RG 4) [poem]

The Door of Dread: A Secret Service Romance. Illus. M. Leone Bracker. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, [June?] 1916. 375 pp. (N, BMCat, Watters). London: Amalgamated Press, 1917. (Lauriston). Thriller Library no. 17. London: Amalgamated Press, 1935. 96 pp. (BMCat). New York: A.L. Burt, ©1916 [1936?]. 375 pp. (N) [detective novel; three Secret Service agents must retrieve stolen U.S. Army secrets from German agents (BRD 1916)]

#### 1917

"Exile." Everybody's Magazine Jan. 1917: 112. (RG 4) [poem]

"Christmas Bells in War Time." Maclean's Dec. 1917: 18.  
 (Mitchell) [poem]

1918

The House of Intrigue. Illus. Armand Both. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, [Mar.?] 1918. 363 pp. (N, BMCat, Watters). London: Hutchinson, 1918. (Lauriston). Supertales of Modern Mystery. New York: McKinlay, Stone, & Mackenzie, ©1918. 363 pp. illus. (N). New York: A.L. Burt, ©1918 [1936?]. 363 pp. (N) [crime novel; a former criminal loses her job in a detective agency and becomes involved in an elaborate con (BRD 1918)]

"The Sleep Walker." Maclean's Apr. and May 1918: 17-20, 93-96 and 21-24, 83-89. (Mitchell) [short story; possibly reworked as "Running Out of Pay-Dirt," the opening ch. in The Man Who Couldn't Sleep, 1919]

"Strange Adventure of the Stolen Wheel-Code." Maclean's June 1918: 42-46, 90-92. (Mitchell). Collected as ch. 3 of The Man Who Couldn't Sleep, 1919.

"Strange Adventure of the Open Door." Maclean's July 1918: 32-34, 84-92. (Mitchell). Collected as ch. 4 of The Man Who Couldn't Sleep, 1919.

"Strange Adventure of the Man from Medicine Hat." Maclean's Aug. 1918: 29-32, 85-88. (Mitchell). Collected as ch. 5 of The Man Who Couldn't Sleep, 1919.

"Our Mary." Maclean's Sep. 1918: 22-25, 98-104. (Mitchell) [illus.; probably first instalment of "Life of Mary Pickford," below, but listed by Mitchell as a separate article on her]

"Strange Adventure of the Irreproachable Butler." Maclean's Sep. 1918: 33-36, 85-88. (Mitchell). Collected as ch. 6 of The Man Who Couldn't Sleep, 1919.

"Strange Adventures [sic] of the Panama Gold Chests." Maclean's Oct. 1918: 36-39, 75-81. (Mitchell). Collected as ch. 7 of The Man Who Couldn't Sleep, 1919.

"Life of Mary Pickford." Maclean's Oct. and Nov. 1918: 19-22, 98-103, and 39-42, 75-82. (Mitchell) [illus.; written while working in Hollywood (Lauriston 18)]

"Strange Case of the Staring Canvas." Maclean's Nov. 1918: 27-30, 94-98. (Mitchell) [short story; part of an ongoing series later collected as The Man Who Couldn't Sleep but not included in that collection]

"With Peace Impending." New York Times 11 Nov. 1918: 14. (NYTI 1918, 4: 289). Rpt. in Literary Digest 25 Jan. 1919: 36. (RG 5) [poem]

"Strange Adventure of the Dummy Chucker." Maclean's Dec. 1918: 45-48, 71-84. (Mitchell). Collected as ch. 8 of The Man Who Couldn't Sleep, 1919.

## 1919

"Strange Adventure of a Rialto Rain-Storm." Maclean's Jan. 1919: 32-33, 53-56. (Mitchell). Collected as ch. 9 of The Man Who Couldn't Sleep, 1919.

"Strange Adventure of the Thumb-Tap Clue." Maclean's Feb. 1919: 22-23, 60-65. (Mitchell). Collected as ch. 10 of The Man Who Couldn't Sleep, 1919.

"Strange Adventure of the Nile-Green Roadster." Maclean's Mar. 1919: 20-21, 69-73. (Mitchell). Collected as ch. 11 of The Man Who Couldn't Sleep, 1919.

The Man Who Couldn't Sleep: Being a Relation of the Divers

Strange Adventures which Befell one Witter Kerfoot When, Sorely Troubled with Sleeplessness, He Ventured Forth at Midnight Along the Highways and Byways of Manhattan.

Frontispiece by Frank Snapp. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, [Apr.?] 1919. 351 pp. (N, BMCat, Watters). Front. Snapp. New York: A.L. Burt, ©1919 [1936?]. 351 pp. illus. (N) [eleven linked stories, at least nine previously published in Maclean's; successful Canadian author of virile Alaskan adventure stories living in New York battles insomnia by wandering the streets at night, there encountering various adventures; dedicated to former roommate Harvey O'Higgins:

To Harvey, of the dome-like pate,  
The dreamy eye, the Celtic wit,  
And kindly heart, I dedicate  
This blithe romance conceived and writ  
By one of that triumvirate  
Who knew Defeat, yet conquered it.

The Stranger. Toronto: Dominion Publicity Com. Victory Loan, 1919. 16 pp. (Watters) [Watters says fiction, Lauriston n/f]

## 1920

"Cuff Shooter." Saturday Evening Post 22 May 1920: 5-7. (RG 5)

The Prairie Mother. Illus. Arthur E. Becher. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, [July?] 1920. 359 pp. (N). Illus. Becher. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1920. 359 pp. (N, Watters).

London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1920. 315 pp. (BMCat).  
Frontispiece by Becher. New York: A.L. Burt, ©1920 [1936?].  
359 pp. (N). Rpt. as vol. 2 of Prairie Stories, 1936, and  
in Prairie Omnibus, 1939. [second novel in Prairie trilogy]

"The Lost Titian." Saturday Evening Post 30 Oct. 1920: 5-7. (RG  
5). Collected in Twin Tales, 1921. [story of the finding  
of a lost painting in the attic of an old Ontario manor  
house (Lauriston 160)]

"The City of Peril." Maclean's 1 Nov. 1920-15 Feb. 1921: 9-11,  
55-63; 26-28, 55-56; 29-32, 50-55; 21-23, 62-74; 10-12, 45-  
51, 54-55; 22-23, 37-42; 19-20, 45-49; 32-33, 46-47.  
(Mitchell) [novel serialized over eight issues; rpt. as The  
City of Peril, 1923]

"The Autobiography of a Mere Author." Saturday Night 25 Dec.  
1920: 5. (V) [autobiographical fragment entirely on  
boyhood in Chatham, which he maintains is the most important  
time in his or anyone else's life]

#### 1921

"Our Authors Get Together." Maclean's 15 Apr. 1921: 24-25, 42.  
(V) [article on the first assembly of the Canadian Authors'  
Association in Montreal the month before; lists of elected  
executive and photos of eighteen of the members, including  
Stringer]

The Wine of Life. New York: Borzoi-Knopf, [May?] 1921. 389 pp.  
(N, LC, Watters). Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, n.d. 389  
pp. (CaNSHD). New York: A.L. Burt, ©1921 [1936?]. 389 pp.  
(N) [novel; young Canadian sculptor moves to New York,  
falls in love, is dragged by lover into a "distasteful"  
life, and gives her up and returns to Canada (BRD 1921);  
Lauriston, for whom this is Stringer's best novel, rejects  
the apparently extant misconception that the novel is  
autobiographical, a fictionalized version of Stringer's  
first marriage and subsequent divorce (156); completed while  
doing studio work in Hollywood, ca. 1916 (Lauriston 18); I  
don't know why this and a later book (City of Peril, 1923)  
went to the already prestigious Alfred A. Knopf (who started  
his house in 1915 after spending a year with Mitchell  
Kennerley's firm) rather than Stringer's regular publisher--  
perhaps Bobbs-Merrill balked at something in the content?]

Twin Tales: Are All Men Alike and The Lost Titian. Indianapolis:  
Bobbs-Merrill, 1921. 288 pp. (N, Watters). Toronto:  
McClelland & Stewart, 1921. 288 pp. (CaNSHD). New York:  
A.L. Burt, ©1921 [1936?]. 288 pp. (N) [rpts. an unlocated  
story copyrighted McClure's 1920 and "The Lost Titian" from  
Saturday Evening Post 30 Oct. 1920]

## 1922

The Prairie Child. Illus. E.F. Ward. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, [May?] 1922. 382 pp. (N, Watters). Illus. Ward. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1922. 382 pp. (N). London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1923. 312 pp. (BMCat). Frontispiece by Ward. New York: A.L. Burt, ©1922 [1936?]. 382 pp. (N). Rpt. as vol. 3 of Prairie Stories, 1936. [third novel in Prairie trilogy; Chaddie McKail leaves her unfaithful husband and finds happiness with her old lover (BRD 1922); printed serially in The Pictorial Review (BRD 1922)]

"Cowgirl." Saturday Evening Post 9 Dec. 1922: 8-9. (RG 6)  
[short story]

## 1923

The City of Peril. New York: A.A. Knopf, [Jan.] 1923. 317 pp. (N, Watters). Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1923. 317 pp. (N). London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1924. (Lauriston). New York: A.L. Burt, ©1923 [1936?]. 317 pp. (N, CaNSHD) [novel about Bolshevik intrigue (Lauriston 147); previously published serially in Maclean's Nov. 1920-Feb. 1921]

"One Arabian Night." Saturday Evening Post 30 June-14 July 1923: 3-5, 22-23, 20-21. (Rogers). Rpt. (expanded?) as In Bad with Sinbad, 1926.

"My Work and My Workshop." Arts and Decoration (NY) Aug. 1923: 9-10. (RG 6)

The Diamond Thieves. Frontispiece by W.B. King. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, [Dec.?] 1923. 416 pp. (N, Watters). London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1925. 320 pp. (BMCat). New York: A.L. Burt, 1923 [1936?]. 416 pp. (N) [crime novel]

## 1924

"Doctoring of Weak Pictures is Confessed by Author." New York Times 17 Feb. 1924, sec. 7: 4. (V) [1 1/4 column abridged text of an address to the Authors' League; says for the last year he's been working as an anonymous "movie-doctor," fixing and filling out scripts; bulk of address on the incompatibility of the novelist and the film-maker; until films can talk, Stringer advises writers to stay writers]

"Manhandled." Saturday Evening Post 22 and 29 Mar. 1924: 5-7 and 22-23. (RG 6) [society story used as the basis for Manhandled, a Paramount silent film released 4 Aug. 1924, directed by Allan Swan, and starring Gloria Swanson (AFI F2.3448); subsequently appeared as a book of the film (see below)]

"As Uncle Sam Sees Canada." Saturday Night 12 Apr. 1924: 21.  
(SN)

"Rich Cinderella." Maclean's 15 June 1924: 13-15, 64-67.  
(Mitchell) [short story]

Manhandled, by Arthur Stringer and Russell Holman; Illustrated with Scenes from the Photoplay, a Paramount Picture Starring Gloria Swanson. New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1924. 312 pp. (Watters). New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1924. 312 pp. (N, BMCat). London: Hutchinson, 1925. 243 pp. illus. (N, BMCat) [book version of the Aug. 1924 film, itself based on Stringer's "Manhandled," Mar. 1924]

The Story Without a Name, by Arthur Stringer and Russell Holman; Illustrated with Scenes from the Photoplay, a Paramount Picture. New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1924. (Lauriston). New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1924. 316 pp. (N, BMCat, Watters). London: Hutchinson, 1925. (Lauriston) [book version of a Paramount silent film of the same name released 5 Oct. 1924, directed by Irvin Willat and starring Tyrone Powers as the villain; screenplay by Victor Irvin from an unlocated 1924 spy story of the same name by Stringer (AFI F2.5417)]

"The Cat." Maclean's 15 Oct. 1924: 20-23, 53. (Mitchell)  
[short story]

Empty Hands. Illus. Herbert M. Stoops. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1924. 360 pp. (N, BMCat, Watters). Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1924. (Lauriston). London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1924. 320 pp. (N, BMCat). [first northern novel; urban heroine Claire Endicott and taciturn, woman-hating woodsman hero Shomer Grimshaw struggle for survival after being swept by rapids into a wilderness enclave; originally serialized in Harper's Bazaar (copyrighted 1923, 1924 International Magazine Company); filmed in 1924 as Empty Hands, dir. by Victor Fleming and starring Montreal-born Norma Shearer (International Directory of Film); according to Lauriston, the story prompted a number of couples to "test for themselves the possibilities of Adam-and-Eve life and survival in the wilderness" (154)]

## 1925

"Power." Saturday Evening Post 21 Feb.-28 March 1925: 3-5, 30-34, 32-33, 38, 34-36, 32. (RG 7). Rpt. (expanded?) as Power. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, [Apr.?] 1925. 308 pp. (N, Watters). Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1925. 308 pp. (BMCat). New York: A.L. Burt, ©192-? [1936?]. 308 pp. (N) [fictional biography of a Michigan farm boy who rises to become president of a railroad (BRD 1925); dedicated to Stringer's former supervisor on the Père Marquette Railway]

The Prairie Wife. Dir. Hugo Ballin. Story by Stringer. Metro-Goldwyn, 1925. (AFI F2.4312) [silent b&w film released 23 Feb. 1925; starred Dorothy Devore as Chaddie and Herbert Rawlinson as Duncan, with a young Boris Karloff as Diego; seems to be a condensation of the entire Prairie trilogy]

"Killer's Daughter." Saturday Evening Post 4 Apr. 1925: 5-7. (RG 7) [short story]

"Ancient Feud." Saturday Evening Post 11 Apr. 1925: 10-11. (RG 7) [short story]

"Woman-Handled." Saturday Evening Post 2 May 1925: 10-11. (RG 7) [short story; presumably source for Buck Benny Rides Again, a Paramount Pictures, Inc., b&w film that opened in New York the week of 25 Apr. 1940, dir. Mark Sandrich, scr. William Morrow and Edmund Beloin, adapt. Zion Myers, "based on the original, unpublished [sic] short story 'Woman Handled' by Arthur Stringer," starring Jack Benny as himself (AFI F3.0519)]

"Conquered." Saturday Evening Post 5, 12, 19 Sep. 1925: 3-5, 36-37, 40-44. (RG 7) [novella]

"Fifth Avenue." Saturday Evening Post 19 Sep. 1925: 12-13. (RG 7) [short story]

#### 1926

"Wilderness Woman." Saturday Evening Post 16, 23, 30 Jan. 1926: 3-5, 20-21, 22-23. (RG 7) [novella; source of The Wilderness Woman, a First National Pictures' silent comedy that premiered in NY 9 May 1926, with general release a week later; directed by Howard Higgin, starred Chester Konklin as Alaskan miner Kadiak MacLean who strikes it rich and with daughter Junie (Aileen Pringle) sells out and heads for New York (AFI F2.6388)]

"Childe Roland Leaves the Tower." Century Feb. 1926: 462-63. (RG 7) [marks return to regular poetry publication after an eight-year lapse]

"Capture." Saturday Evening Post 6 Feb. 1926: 10-11. (RG 7) [short story]

"Angel at the Pool." Maclean's 15 May 1926: 11, 58-59. (Mitchell) [short story]

In Bad with Sinbad. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, [May?] 1926. 186 pp. (N, BMCat, Watters) [adventure novel; stranger asks a young Canadian going to New York to deliver a camera to Wu Fang Low in Chinatown (BRD 1926); copyrighted by



Stringer under the periodical title "One Arabian Night,"  
June 1923]

"A Fragile Thing Is Beauty." Century June 1926: 178-79. (RG 7)  
[poem]

The Canadian. Dir. William Beaudine. Adapt. by Stringer.  
Paramount, 1926. (AFI F2.0759) [silent b&w film released  
27 Nov. 1926; adapted from Somerset Maugham's 1913 play The  
Land of Promise about a Canadian wheat farmer; filmed on  
location in Alberta]

"Weaker Sex." Saturday Evening Post 18 Dec. 1926: 10-11. (RG 7)  
[short story]

#### 1927

"Came the Viking." Saturday Evening Post 5 Feb. 1927: 14-15.  
(RG 7) [short story]

"Dew of Suspicion." Saturday Evening Post 9 Apr. 1927: 16-17.  
(RG 7) [short story]

"Gun Play." Golden Book July 1927: 85-97. (RG 7) [short story;  
rpt.?)

"White Hands." Saturday Evening Post 30 July and 6, 13, and 20  
Aug. 1927: 3-5, 24-25, 24-25, 30-32. (RG 7). Rpt.  
(expanded?) as White Hands. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill,  
[Nov.?] 1927. 11-302 pp. (N, BMCat, Watters) [novel;  
businessman temporarily abandons his two spoiled daughters  
on an uninhabited Canadian island to teach them a lesson in  
self-reliance (BRD 1927)]

#### 1928

"Blond Woman." Pictorial Review Nov. 1928-Jan. 1929: 11-13, 25-  
28, 21-23. (RG 8) [novella]

"When I Acted with Terry." Maclean's 15 Nov. 1928: 13, 69.  
(Mitchell) [n/f?]

The Wolf Woman: A Novel. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1928. 331  
pp. (N, Watters). Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1928.  
(Lauriston). London: Stanley Paul, 1929. 288 pp. (BMCat)  
[northern girl comes to New York; copyrighted 1927, 1928 by  
Consolidated Magazines Corporation]

A Woman at Dusk, and Other Poems. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill,  
1928. 11-156 pp. (N, BMCat, Watters) ["All of the verse  
in this volume is new to the dignity of book-print, with the  
one exception of 'Hephæstus,' which in shorter form and

under the title of 'The Passing of Aphrodite' appeared in my Woman in the Rain" (1907)]

## 1929

The Woman Who Couldn't Die. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, [Apr.?] 1929. 11-314 pp. (N, Watters) [novel of a fugitive Viking princess frozen in the northern ice and worshipped as a goddess by the natives; begun in Montreal, completed thirty years later when field trips to research other northern novels gave Stringer a background (Lauriston 155)]

Cristina and I. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, [Oct.] 1929. 301 pp. (N, BMCat, Watters) [novel; "entirely composed of a dialogue between a novelist who fancies his knowledge of psychology and his sister-in-law who fancies herself" (Herald Tribune, qtd. in BRD 1929); copyrighted 1926 by Metropolitan Newspaper Service]

## 1930

"Rejoicing in Jersey: Several Mosquitoless Weeks Arouse Mr. Stringer's Enthusiasm." Letter. New York Times 22 July 1930: 20. (V) [tongue-in-cheek letter about the unexplained but welcome departure of the Jersey mosquito; signed Mountain Lakes, NJ, 19 July 1930]

"The Squaw Woman." Saturday Evening Post 20 and 27 Sep. and 4, 11, 18, and 25 Oct. 1930: 3-5, 22-23, 22-23, 24-25, 37, 28. (RG 8). Rpt. (expanded?) as A Lady Quite Lost. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, [Apr.?] 1931. 11-303 pp. (N, BMCat, Watters). London: Stanley Paul, 1931. 288 pp. (BMCat). Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1931. (Lauriston) [novel about conflict between an urban couple isolated for a summer in the Canadian woods; ending changed for book (BRD 1931)]

Out of Erin (Songs in Exile). Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, [Oct.?] 1930. viii, 15-155 pp. (N, BMCat, Watters) [revised and enlarged edition of Irish Poems, 1911]

"Terence's Mother" and "Lead and Larch." Literary Digest 1 Nov. 1930: 24. (RG 8) [poems]

"What Would We Do Without Them?" Parent's Magazine (NY) 1 Nov. 1930: 24. (RG 8)

## 1931

"The Mud Lark." Saturday Evening Post 28 Nov. and 5, 12, 19, 26 Dec. 1931: 3-5, 20-21, 18-19, 24, 26. (RG 8). Rpt. (expanded?) as The Mud Lark. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill,

[Feb.?] 1932. 331 pp. (N, BMCat, Watters). London: Readers Library Publishing, 1932. 252 pp. (BMCat). Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1932. (Lauriston). New York & Chicago: A.L. Burt, ©1931, 1932 [1936?]. 331 pp. (CaNSHD) [western novel; upper-class heroine, having lost her lover and her fortune, takes the place of a maid leaving England for a blind marriage in Alberta to a wheat farmer; source for The Purchase Price, a Warner Bros. Pictures b&w film released 23 July 1932, dir. William A. Wellman, scr. Robert Lord, starring Barbara Stanwyck; setting changed in film to Montreal and North Dakota (AFI F3.3570)]

## 1932

"Marriage by Capture." Ladies' Home Journal Dec. 1932-May 1933: 3-5, 16-17, 16-17, 22-23, 20-21, 20-21. (RG 9). Rpt. (expanded?) as Marriage by Capture. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, [Apr.?] 1933. 9-316 pp. (N, BMCat, Watters). Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1933. (Lauriston). London: Methuen, 1934. 250 pp. (BMCat) [novel; woman meets gentlemanly murderer after becoming lost on a camping trip in Canada (BRD 1933)]

## 1933

"My Madness Was Melons." Saturday Evening Post 24 June 1933: 10+ (RG 9) [includes portrait]

"Speed Hound." Ladies' Home Journal July 1933: 12-13. (RG 9) [short story]

Dark Soil. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, [Nov.?] 1933. 123 pp. (N, BMCat, Watters) [free verse; revised and enlarged edition of Open Water, 1914]

"Canada and Outside Influences." Canadian Author Dec. 1933: 12-13. (OCL 12)

"Earthquake" and "Steel Workers." Canadian Bookman Dec. 1933: 178. (RG 9) [poems]

## 1934

"Philosophies." Saturday Review of Literature 27 Jan. 1934: 441. (RG 9) [poem]

"Juggler." Golden Book June 1934: 761-68. (RG 9) Rpt. (abr.?) in Reader's Digest Dec. 1938: 129-32. (RG 11) [short story; rpt.?)

"Man Lost." Ladies' Home Journal June-Oct. 1934: 5-7, 14-15, 18-19, 22-23, 47. (RG 9). Rpt. (expanded?) as Man Lost.

Indianapolis & New York: Bobbs-Merrill, [Oct.?] 1934. 328 pp. (N, BMCat, Watters). Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1934. (Lauriston). New York: A.L. Burt, ©1934 [1936?]. 328 pp. (N) [adventure novel; three urban sophisticates are tested by the barrens of Labrador (BRD 1934)]

Alexander Was Great; in One Act. New York: Samuel French, 1934. (Lauriston). Tournament plays. 1937. 49-71. (N) Rpt. in Cleverest Woman in the World, 1939. [drama]

## 1935

"Still Fishing." American Magazine May 1935: 22-23. (RG 9)  
[short story]

"Red-Plush Pioneers." Saturday Evening Post 28 Dec. 1935: 8-9+. (RG 10). Rpt. (abr.) in Reader's Digest Mar. 1936: 29-32. (RG 10)

## 1936

The Wife Traders: A Tale of the North. Indianapolis & New York: Bobbs-Merrill, [Feb.?] 1936. 9-319 pp. (N, BMCat, Watters). Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1936. 319 pp. (N). A Harlequin Book no. 328. Toronto: Harlequin, 1955. 224 pp. (N). Printed in England as Tooloona: A Novel of the North. London: Methuen, 1936. 248 pp. (BMCat, Watters) [adventure novel set among Eskimos of Labrador; Bobbs-Merrill and McClelland both say "first edition" (N)]

"The Old Woman Remembers." Canadian Poetry Magazine 1.3 (July 1936): 7-10. (V). [narrative poem in voice of old Irish woman remembering the days "When Ireland was still Ireland"]

"Highway Urged for Alaska." Letter. New York Times 9 Nov. 1936: 18. (V) [signed Mountain Lakes, NJ, 7 Nov. 1936]

Prairie Stories, Containing The Prairie Wife, The Prairie Mother, The Prairie Child. 3 vols. New York: A.L. Burt, [1936?] (N, Watters) [collected edition of the Prairie trilogy; N dates this 1922?, but Watters' date of 1936 is more likely]

## 1937

"The Music Box." Saturday Evening Post 17 Apr. 1937: 18-19, 122-24, 126. (RG 10) [short story about a Labrador prospector who inadvertently trades a music box for an Inuit woman]

"Lines for a Lodge Hearthstone," "The Voyageur on Broadway," "Our Guide Bateese Observes," and "At the Sign of the Balsam-Bough." Canadian Poetry Magazine 2.1 (June 1937): 30-32. (V) [poems: "Let us learn quietness here..." ("Lines"), "In

the deep North, and the dark north..." ("Voyageur"), and "Our Guide," a French-Canadian dialect poem à la W.H. Drummond]

Heather of the High Hand: A Novel of the North. Indianapolis & New York: Bobbs-Merrill, [June?] 1937. 291 pp. (N, BMCat, Watters). Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1937. (Lauriston) [romance between an engineer with a Canadian timber company and a young Scottish girl who heads the opposition of a private fishing club to his company's activities (BRD 1937); source for The Lady Fights Back, a Universal Pictures b&w film released 29 Sep. 1937, dir. Milton Carruth, scr. Brown Holmes and Robert T. Shannon, starring Kent Taylor (Owen Merrill) and Irene Hervey (Heather McHale), set in Pacific Northwest (AFI F3.2345)]

"Dreamy Doreen," "Mary's Son and Martha's," and "Miss Rosanna." Canadian Poetry Magazine 2.2 (Oct. 1937): 51-53. (V) [Irish dialect poems]

"Old Margotty," "Origins," "Saint Bridget's Day Snow," and "Housewife." Saturday Evening Post 13 Nov. 1937: 30. (RG 11) [poems]

#### 1938

"Shelter" and "Travelers." Saturday Evening Post 12 Feb. 1938: 31. (RG 11) [poems]

"Cruach Woman" and "Dublin Lecture." Saturday Evening Post 10 Sep. 1938: 30. (RG 11) [poems]

The Lamp in the Valley: A Novel of Alaska. Indianapolis & New York: Bobbs-Merrill, [Sep.?] 1938. 314 pp. (N, BMCat, Watters). Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1938. (Lauriston). New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1940. (Lauriston) [Alaska-born woman returns to Alaska to teach in an Indian school after several years in the U.S. (BRD 1938)]

"The Difficulty of Dressing Heroines." Canadian Bookman Oct. 1938: 9-14. (RG 11) [n/f]

"Lover in the Subway." Canadian Poetry Magazine 3 (Oct. 1938): 15. (CPI 1938-47) [poem]

"Village Idiot" and "Surrender." Saturday Evening Post 8 Oct. 1938: 31. (RG 11) [poems]

"When Maple Leaves Turn Red." Saturday Night 9 Oct. 1938: 2. (CPI 1938-47) [poem]

The Old Woman Remembers, and Other Irish Poems. Indianapolis & New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1938. 9-57 pp. (N, BMCat, Watters) [second collection of Irish poems]

## 1939

"Why Women Make No Sense." North American Review June 1939: 296-311. (RG 12)

The Dark Wing. Indianapolis & New York: Bobbs-Merrill, [June?] 1939. 311 pp. (N, BMCat, Watters). Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1939. (Lauriston) [novel about a narrowly averted affair between a young Irish poet and the wife of a wealthy businessman (BRD 1939)]

The Cleverest Woman in the World and Other One-Act Plays. Indianapolis & New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1939. 272 pp. (N, BMCat) ["On the Roof," "Weathered Oak," "Alexander Was Great," "Evidence," "The Angle of Adventure," "The Spotted Veil," "The Death Cup," "The Spotted Oyster," and "The Cleverest Woman in the World" (N)]

The Prairie Omnibus; Containing Two Complete Novels: The Prairie Wife; The Prairie Mother. By arrangement with Bobbs-Merrill. New York: Grosset & Dunlap, ©1920 [1939?]. 316, 359 pp. (N, Watters, Lauriston)

## 1940

"Twelve Students of Prague." Saturday Night 10 Feb. 1940: 2. (CPI 1938-47) [poem]

The Ghost Plane: A Novel of the North. Indianapolis & New York: Bobbs-Merrill, [Aug.?] 1940. 304 pp. (N, BMCat, Watters). Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1940. (Lauriston) [adventure novel among the Eskimos (BRD 1940)]

"Luckless Brigid" and "Stay-at-Home." Saturday Night 21 Sep. 1940: 14 and 22. (CPI 1938-47) [poems]

"Pacifist Speaks" and "Singing Sheelah." Saturday Night 28 Sep. 1940: 5 and 25. (CPI 1938-47) [poems]

"Peadar Remembers His Youth." Saturday Night 5 Oct. 1940: 17. (CPI 1938-47) [poem]

"Donegal Toast" and "Writin' Man." Saturday Night 12 Oct. 1940: 4 and 11. (CPI 1938-47) [poems]

"Those Hats They Wear, What Do They Mean?" Saturday Night 12 Oct. 1940: 25. (CPI 1938-47) [n/f?]

- "Saint Martin's Summer." Saturday Night 19 Oct. 1940: 15. (CPI 1938-47) [poem]
- "Old Man Advises." Saturday Night 9 Nov. 1940: 3. (CPI 1938-47) [poem]
- "Copperheads and Critics." Saturday Night 23 Nov. 1940: 29, 36. (CPI 1938-47) [n/f?]
- "The King Who Loved Old Clothes." Canadian Poetry Magazine 5.2 (Dec. 1940): 11-20. (V). [long poem about an ancient Irish king narrated by an old harper]
- "Old Margoty's Creed." Saturday Night 7 Dec. 1940: 3. (CPI 1938-47) [poem]

## 1941

- "Thoughts on Making a Trundle-Bed." Saturday Night 8 Feb. 1941: 26. (CPI 1938-47) [poem]
- "Wild Poets I've Known: Bliss Carman." Saturday Night 1 Mar. 1941: 29, 36. (V) [n/f; memories of Carman's days in New York and his stay at the Stringers' in Chatham during his 1920? Canadian tour]
- "Quarrel's End." Saturday Night 22 Mar. 1941: 14. (CPI 1938-47) [poem]
- "Aran Mother." Saturday Night 19 Apr. 1941: 18. (CPI 1938-47) [poem]
- "Wild Poets I've Known: W.H. Drummond." Saturday Night 26 Apr. 1941: 33. (CPI 1938-47) [n/f]
- "Wild Poets I've Known: Archibald Lampman." Saturday Night 24 May 1941: 29. (CPI 1938-47) [n/f]
- "Wild Poets I've Known: Marjorie Pickthall." Saturday Night 14 June 1941: 41. (CPI 1938-47) [n/f]
- "William Butler Yeats." Saturday Night 9 Aug. 1941: 25, 32. (CPI 1938-47) [n/f?]
- "Place of Silence." Saturday Night 30 Aug. 1941: 3. (CPI 1938-47) [poem]
- "Wild Poets I've Known: Pauline Johnson." Saturday Night 11 Oct. 1941: 29. (CPI 1938-47) [n/f]
- "Wild Poets I've Known: Richard Le Gallienne." Saturday Night 25 Oct. 1941: 33. (V) [n/f; memories of the British poet when

he was a member of the "Angora School" in New York in the days of the "Pink Parade"]

The King Who Loved Old Clothes, and Other Irish Poems.

Indianapolis & New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1941. 105 pp. (N, BMCat, Watters). Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1941. (Lauriston) [third and last collection of Irish poems]

1942

"Sunset in the Aleutians." Saturday Evening Post 9 Jan. 1942: 56. (RG 13) [poem]

"Wild Poets I've Known: Edwin Markham." Saturday Night 10 Jan. 1942: 25. (CPI 1938-47) [n/f]

"Cold Women Are Not Remembered." Canadian Poetry Magazine 6.2 (Apr. 1942): 9-10. (V) [poem]

"Wild Poets I've Known: Charles G.D. Roberts." Saturday Night 11 Apr. 1942: 25. (V) [more eulogy than memoir; memory portion consists largely of a lengthy paragraph quoted whole from Stringer's 1904 article on Roberts for the National Monthly]

Intruders in Eden: A Novel. Indianapolis & New York: Bobbs-Merrill, [May?] 1942. 308 pp. (N, BMCat, Watters) [Canadian nurse invalidated home for shell-shock and an American war correspondent abandoned by his wife rebuild their lives on a run-down Canadian farm (BRD 1942)]

"Lonely Boy." Saturday Evening Post 25 July 1942: 71. (RG 13) [poem]

"The Rainy Roads of Ireland." Saturday Evening Post 8 Aug. 1942: 52. (RG 13) [poem]

"In His Far Camp." Saturday Evening Post 5 Dec. 1942: 46. (RG 13) [poem]

"Aircraft Spotter." Saturday Evening Post 19 Dec. 1942: 39. (RG 13) [poem]

1943

"Prayer Before Bread." Saturday Evening Post 6 Feb. 1943: 44. (RG 13) [poem]

"A Ghost Walks Valley Forge." Saturday Evening Post 20 Feb. 1943: 86. (RG 13) [poem]



- "Youth." Saturday Evening Post 20 Mar. 1943: 44. (RG 13)  
[poem]
- "With the Goth at the Gates." Saturday Night 19 June 1943: 3.  
(CPI 1938-47) [poem]
- "The Prisoners Sang." Saturday Evening Post 19 June 1943: 41.  
(RG 13) [poem]
- "Wild Poets I've Known: William Watson." Saturday Night 26 June  
1943: 37. (CPI 1938-47) [n/f; Pauline (1895) includes a  
poem "To William Watson"]
- "Autumn Furrows." Saturday Evening Post 16 Oct. 1943: 39. (RG  
14) [poem]
- "Wild Poets I've Known: Robert Frost." Saturday Night 30 Oct.  
1943: 41. (CPI 1938-47) [n/f]
- "Things We Dash Off." Saturday Review 30 Oct. 1943: 40. (RG 14)  
[poem]
- Shadowed Victory. Indianapolis & New York: Bobbs-Merrill, [12  
Nov.] 1943. 78 pp. (N, BMCat, Watters, NY Times obit.).  
London: Hodder & Stoughton, Aug. 1944. 77 pp. (N, BMCat)  
[long narrative poem with Canadian background and  
characters; "the poet's tribute to those who served and  
suffered in the struggle of those years" (Elsie Pomeroy,  
"The Poetry of Arthur Stringer," Canadian Poetry 14.3  
[1951]: 23)]
- "I Heard the Curlews Calling." Canadian Poetry Magazine 7 (Dec.  
1943): 15-16. (CPI 1938-47) [poem]
- "Shadowed Victory." Canadian Poetry 7 (Dec. 1943): 12-14. (CPI  
1938-47) [poem; excerpted from Shadowed Victory, 1943?]
- Star in a Mist: A Novel. Indianapolis & New York: Bobbs-Merrill,  
1943. 312 pp. (N, BMCat, Watters) [a young girl leaves  
Chamboro, ON (i.e., Chatham) for a stage career but gives it  
up for marriage; "A portion of this novel has been  
previously published as a serial in the Saturday Evening  
Post, under the title 'The Call' (A.S.)"]
- "Pot-Boiler." Queen's Quarterly 50.1 (1943): 25-27. (CPI 1938-  
47) [short story]

## 1944

- "Wild Poets I've Known: James Whitcomb Riley." Saturday Night 11  
Mar. 1944: 32-33. (CPI 1938-47) [n/f]

"The Old Editor Is Remembered." Saturday Review of Literature 18  
Mar. 1944: 28. (RG 14)

The Devastator: A Novel. Indianapolis & New York: Bobbs-Merrill,  
[Sep.?] 1944. 198 pp. (N, BMCat). Toronto: McClelland &  
Stewart, 1944. 198 pp. (Watters) [last novel; war-time  
romance between an English authoress and an American film  
star (BRD 1944)]

"Parallels." Saturday Night 11 Nov. 1944: 39. (CPI 1938-47)  
[poem]

"Returning Transport." Saturday Night 18 Nov. 1944: 15. (CPI  
1938-47) [poem]

"Philosophies." Saturday Night 9 Dec. 1944: 32. (V) [lyric:  
"We, walled and chained in darkness, view the stars..."]

#### 1945

"Neutral Race." Saturday Night 31 Mar. 1945: 25. (CPI 1938-47)  
[poem]

"Laggard Knight." Saturday Night 7 Apr. 1945: 29. (CPI 1938-47)  
[poem]

"'Varsity Tower After Fifty Years." Saturday Night 7 July 1945:  
3. (CPI 1938-47) [poem]

"Reprisal." Good Housekeeping Sep. 1945: 20-21. (RG 15) [short  
story]

"Those Prize Boners." Good Housekeeping Oct. 1945: 25+. (RG  
15). Rpt. (abr.) in Reader's Digest Dec. 1945: 69. (RG 15)

"Case Against Santa Claus." Saturday Night 24 Nov. 1945: 48-49.  
(CPI 1938-47) [short story]

"To an Emotional Lady." Saturday Night 8 Dec. 1945: 10. (CPI  
1938-47) [poem]

"Memories." Saturday Night 15 Dec. 1945: 23. (CPI 1938-47)  
[poem]

"Ars Longa" and "Lost Poet." Saturday Night 29 Dec. 1945: 12 and  
15. (CPI 1938-47) [poems]

#### 1946

"Clearing Skies." Saturday Night 30 Mar. 1946: 29. (CPI 1938-  
47) [poem]

"Shropshire Poet." Saturday Review of Literature 30 Mar. 1946: 58. (RG 15)

"Father and Son." Saturday Night 20 Apr. 1946: 36. (CPI 1938-47) [poem]

"Crazy Shane" and "Tired Dancer." Saturday Night 15 June 1946: 23 and 37. (CPI 1938-47) [poems]

"Compromise." Saturday Night 17 Aug. 1946: 3. (CPI 1938-47) [poem]

"Time of the Trouble." Saturday Night 14 Sep. 1946: 39. (CPI 1938-47) [poem]

"Harper Lad." Saturday Night 5 Oct. 1946: 41. (CPI 1938-47) [poem]

"Rupert Brooke in Toronto." Saturday Night 19 Oct. 1946: 33. (CPI 1938-47) [n/f?]

"Falcon at Innisfray." Canadian Poetry Magazine 10.2 (Dec. 1946): 27-30. (V) [poem]

#### 1947

"Eclipse of the Haymow." Rotarian Mar. 1947: 24-26. (RG 15)

"Rupert Brooke in the West." Saturday Night 22 Mar. 1947: 37. (CPI 1938-47) [n/f?]

"Intrusion at Innisfree." Saturday Night 5 Apr. 1947: 29. (CPI 1938-47) [poem]

"Glen Child's Prayer," "Art Gallery at Dusk," and "Song's Return." Saturday Night 12 Apr. 1947: 5, 23, and 36. (CPI 1938-47) [poems]

"Lovers." Saturday Night 19 Apr. 1947: 39. (CPI 1938-47) [poem]

"Intimate Note." Saturday Night 26 Apr. 1947: 5. (CPI 1938-47) [poem]

"Homing Sail." Saturday Night 24 May 1947: 37. (CPI 1938-47) [poem]

"Leaves and Life." Saturday Night 31 May 1947: 5. (CPI 1938-47) [poem]

"To a Certain Millionaire." Saturday Night 19 July 1947: 5. (CPI 1938-47) [poem]

"Old Apple-Woman of Dublin." Saturday Night 26 July 1947: 5.  
(CPI 1938-47) [poem]

1948

"Old Things." Saturday Evening Post 17 Apr. 1948: 44. (RG 16)  
[poem]

"Survivor and the Psalmist." Saturday Night 24 Apr. 1948: 5.  
(CPI 1948-59) [poem]

"Poet's Postscript." Saturday Night 26 June 1948: 37. (CPI  
1948-59) [poem]

Red Wine of Youth: A Life of Rupert Brooke. Indianapolis & New  
York: Bobbs-Merrill, [July?] 1948. 287 pp. illus. (N,  
BMCat). Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1972. 287 pp. illus.  
(LC) [biography based on "material collected by Richard  
Halliburton before his death in a Pacific typhoon" (NY Times  
obit.)]

"Trawler-Man's Wife." Canadian Poetry Magazine 12 (Sep. 1948):  
7-8. (CPI 1948-59) [poem]

"White Lilac." Saturday Night 16 Oct. 1948: 29. (CPI 1948-59)  
[poem]

"Deirdre of the Mists." Canadian Poetry Magazine 12.2 (Dec.  
1948): 12-14. (V) [poem]

New York Nocturnes. Ryerson Poetry Chapbooks no. 132. Toronto:  
Ryerson, 1948. 12 pp. (N, Watters) [twenty poems; five  
hundred copies printed]

"Canada Finds Her Voice." Empire Club Addresses (1948-49): 316-  
26. (OCL 12)

1949

"The Old Irish Harp." Canadian Poetry Magazine 12.3 (Mar. 1949):  
24-25. (V) [poem]

"Journey's End." Saturday Night 8 Mar. 1949: 32. (CPI 1948-59)  
[poem]

"Warning." Saturday Night 19 Apr. 1949: 11. (CPI 1948-59)  
[poem]

"Night Train." Saturday Night 26 Apr. 1949: 36. (CPI 1948-59)  
[poem]

- "Westerner in England." Saturday Night 10 May 1949: 19. (CPI 1948-59) [poem]
- "Wayward Lady." Saturday Review of Literature 18 June 1949: 38. (RG 17) [poem]
- "Bowery Flop-Joint." Saturday Review of Literature 8 Oct. 1949: 64. (RG 17) [poem]
- "You Came to Me Singing." Canadian Poetry Magazine 13.1 (fall 1949): 9. (V) [love poem]
- "Father to Daughter." Saturday Evening Post 5 Nov. 1949: 87. (RG 17) [poem]
- "Man with the Freckled Wife." Saturday Evening Post 19 Nov. 1949: 77. (RG 17) [poem]
- "Captive." Saturday Evening Post 26 Nov. 1949: 79. (RG 17) [poem]
- "Questioner." Queen's Quarterly 56 (winter 1949-50): 557-59. (CPI 1948-59) [poem]

#### 1950

- "Those Vital Ifs." Rotarian Feb. 1950: 29-30. (RG 17) [includes portrait]
- "The Bride of Ailey" and "Black Maura." Canadian Poetry Magazine 13.4 (summer 1950): 10-11 and 24. (V) [Irish poems]
- "White Birches." New York Times 19 Aug. 1950: 12. (V) [short lyric: "I never think of them as trees..."; like the other "scores of short poems" Stringer's Times' obit. says he contributed to the paper, this one is not listed in NYTI]

#### Posthumous

- "Midnight Corn." Saturday Night 26 Sep. 1950: 6. (CPI 1948-59) [poem]
- "Was There No Eve?" Canadian Poetry Magazine 13.6 (winter 1950): 4-5. (V) [free verse: "There was, the sons of wisdom claim, no Eve..."; although science says we come from "uncouth she-things" and "rough-muscled hes," Eve's "ghostly presence" remains "an emblem of our broken hopes"; followed by a black-bordered obit. that says in part, "We are proud to lead this issue with the last poem received from him"]
- "Seeker." Saturday Night 13 Feb. 1951: 31. (CPI 1948-59) [poem]

"Summer Commuter." Saturday Night 5 June 1951: 24. (CPI 1948-59) [poem]

"Park Cannon." Saturday Night 21 June 1952: 5. (CPI 1948-59) [poem]

#### Translations

Note: Although it includes the only titles known to the national catalogues of the United States, Britain, and France, this list is incomplete. A note in CM 1912 cites a translation of one of Stringer's novels by a Professor Stanislas Millet that appeared in the Paris Journal des Debats under the title La Porte Inconnue, and Lauriston mentions a Danish translation of The Wire Tappers (Copenhagen, 1909), a Swedish translation of Marriage by Capture (Stockholm, 1935), and Hungarian translations of The House of Intrigue, The Wolf Woman, and The Mud Lark (Budapest, all 1933).

Robinzon-romantika... Budapest: Palladis kiadasa, n.d. 176 pp. (N) [Hungarian trans. of Empty Hands, 1924]

Av Elveszett leány, regény. Fordította Földes Jolán. Budapest: Palladis, u.d. 192 pp. (BNCat) [Hungarian trans. of A Lady Quite Lost, 1931]

#### Letters

Meadowcroft, Barbara. "Arthur Stringer as Man of Letters: A Selection of His Correspondence with a Critical Introduction." PhD. Diss. McGill U, Montreal, 1983. [includes chronology, check-list of Stringer's books, and a list of the repositories of his letters; abstracted in DAI 44.5 (1983): 1451A]