

MISDIRECTING MODERNISMS: THE GULF BETWEEN REHTORIC AND  
PRACTICE IN RAYMOND SOUSTER'S *DIRECTION*

By

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## ABSTRACT

By using Raymond Souster's little magazine, *Direction* (1943-46), as a case study, this thesis addresses the gulf between rhetoric and practice in the development of Canadian modernism. In the Forties, Canadian modernists argued for the importance of their form of modernism by creating little magazines that pushed a rhetoric of bold manifestos, aggressive arguments, and radical idealism that justified overturning outdated literary modes. Until recently, scholars have accepted this rhetoric as fact. They hardly questioned if the prose fiction and poetry being practiced by their writers matched desired outcomes. Additionally, they would flatten modernism's history in Canada around a single cohesive narrative, ignoring the nuance, complexity, and confusion that actually occurred in Canada in the Forties.

My objective is not to entirely invert or invalidate what has been previously written, but to identify the overlooked aspects of the magazine, and to tug at the inconsistent relationship between rhetoric and practice.

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## CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The well-worn narrative of Canadian literary modernism in the early forties is dominated by a convenient pseudo-rivalry between two little magazines: *First Statement* and *Preview* (both 1942-5). The work of *Preview* was “cosmopolitan, internationalist, Anglophile, upper-class, academic, reactionary, exclusive, politically doctrinary, and formalist” (Trehearne, “Critical” 4). *Preview* is pitted against *First Statement*, as a magazine that produced work that was “nationalist, Americanophile, working-class, proletarian, progressive, inclusive, politically flexible, and experimental” (4). As Brian Trehearne points out, each camp “argued with equal exuberance over the potential of an emphatically Canadian modern writing.” Tethered to the cultural zeitgeist, “they struggled over the war years’ ideas and challenges, [leaving] a rich documentary record of Canadian poetry in its great modern transition” (*Forties* 3). This was the point at which modernism gained real traction in Canada. Here is where “we have the first examples of the *genuine* little magazines in operation in Montreal” (Gnarkowski, “Role” 220; emphasis added). The literary battle between these two political and aesthetic opposites raged for years until a victorious party was named and “*Preview* was absorbed by *First Statement* under a new banner” (Norris 43). This new banner was *Northern Review*, and with its diminished “fighting spirit” it stumbled onwards as a magazine “peripheral to the evolution of modern poetry in Canada” (Norris 53). The rivalry was gone, and with it left the productive aggression *First Statement* brought to prove itself against *Preview*.

This easy narrative deserves more nuance because on closer inspection, it is murkier than the story told by literary historians like Ken Norris, Michael Gnarkowski,

Louis Dudek, Wynne Francis, and Neil Fisher. The circulation record of *Northern Review* does not play out the claim of it being peripheral. Regardless of its attempted pivot to a more mainstream audience, its initial contributors were the most prominent literati of the time, and its run far outlasted its previous two counterparts. And, despite their rivalry, *Preview*'s poets, like Patrick Anderson and P.K. Page, were valued and occasionally published by *First Statement*. I draw attention to this critical history because it demonstrates the convenient narrative of modernism's development in Canada wherein assertive, masculine, and experimental writing proved itself against its supposed English, cosmopolitan opposite. Rather than consider the overlap between these two magazines, or the possibility that the categorizations of macho experimental writing and English cosmopolitan writing held many exceptions and inaccuracies, earlier scholars took the successfully divisive rhetoric of *First Statement* as a litmus test for the era.<sup>1</sup> When the time came to write of the other Canadian little mag productions shaping the trajectory of modernism in the forties, scholars like Norris, Gnarowski, Dudek, Francis, and Fisher wrote of their successes and failures in relation to the successes and failures of *First Statement* and *Preview*.

Other little magazines of the era were more eccentric, decentered, and less ground-breaking. They did not have the sustained energy or quality that was generated from a large coterie of talented writers. In their collection of "essential" essays, *The Making of Modern Poetry in Canada*, Dudek and Gnarowski place little magazine production in Canada into three categories – each with its own set of value statements:

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<sup>1</sup> The history of this scholarly narrative is the central thesis of Trehearne's article "Critical Episodes in Montreal Poetry of the 1940s," *Canadian Poetry*, vol. 41, 1997, and his book *The Montreal Forties: Modernist Poetry in Transition*.

the canonically more successful coterie magazines, like *First Statement* and *Preview*, the quickly burnt-out product of an individual author with outspoken ideas, like Raymond Souster's *Contact* (1952–54), or, a product with a broad ranging editorial group that, like Allan Crawley's *Contemporary Verse* (1941–52), left “their pages open to submissions from all literary lines, and [published] material from a wide range of sources and styles” (Dudek and Gnarowski 204). For these open submission magazines publishing quality literature was only a “pious hope” (204). It must be noted that Dudek and Gnarowski are quick to omit a large swath of literary or literary-adjacent magazines that supported the development of Canadian modernism simply because they don't fit a particular narrative. Many canonically “modernist” authors that contributed to magazines like *First Statement* and *Preview* would also see their name in the more mainstream, anti-modernist Canadian Authors Association Magazine *Canadian Poetry*. Additionally, they neglect to mention a robust verity of 1930s political literature that not only existed but was noticed by mainstream critics long before Dudek and Gnarowski published their book.<sup>2</sup> Even if we work within the narrow framework Dudek and Gnarowski establish, many examples of the latter two varieties of little magazines (open submission and outspoken individual) exist during the timeframe of the *Preview*, *First Statement* rivalry. Yet Dudek and Gnarowski consider these two varieties the “natural” progression of the first. It was the first coterie magazines that allowed a later “stage of variety and confidence” (204) that would embolden writers like Crawley and Souster.

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<sup>2</sup> Among many other authors, Candida Rifkind cites in her book *Comrades and Critics* Northrop Frye's “Letters in Canada: 1951, 7”, and Frank Watt's chapter on “Literature of Protest” in the 1965 *Literary History of Canada* (7).

These three categories: coterie magazines with a swath of prominent literati supporting each other, magazines open to submission, and magazines driven by the ideals and passions of an individual, all insist upon a homogeneity crafted artificially by Dudek and Gnarkowski. While some magazines did fit neatly into these categories, many resisted easy categorization, or were miscategorized, scholars slotting them into spaces without addressing the nuances and inconsistencies that make a little magazine more than what it purports to be. As a perfect example of this we may turn finally to my thesis' focus: *Direction* (1943–46), a little magazine run out of multiple RCAF bases in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick during the Second World War. As both a coterie magazine – produced primarily by Raymond Souster, William Goldberg (nephew to Irving Layton), and a small but shifting handful of Air Force men – and a magazine that took submissions from within the local bases alongside the work of prominent writers from major metropolitan Canadian cities, *Direction* resists easy categorization. Its contributors were a mix of prominent Montreal literati (Souster, Sutherland, Patrick, and Miriam Waddington, among others), and complete unknowns. Production was far outside any metropolitan center and considering the editors' ability to “borrow” military mimeograph machine, far outside the scarcity and impoverishment of conventional little magazine economics.

Despite this, *Direction* has been historically aligned with *First Statement*. Ken Norris' *The Little Magazine in Canada 1925–80*, writes of *Direction* in relation to the *Preview - First Statement* binary; *Direction* is another experimental, individualist, anti-cosmopolitan periodical produced in line with *First Statement*. Norris spends much of his short analysis of the magazine focusing on the critical work sparsely dispersed



throughout the magazine's ten issues, criticism that advocated for a more aggressive approach to defeat "the last vestiges of Victorianism" (42–43). This short commentary seems to suggest that one need not pay much attention to the works within *Direction*; they simply prove that *First Statement*'s rhetoric and approach to progressing Canadian literature was a widely felt sentiment. Gnarowski confirms this in his index to *Direction*. Despite writing that it was "a periodical quite unlike the other [major] magazines" of the era, Gnarowski confirms that this periodical is chiefly an indication of "progressively stronger tendencies to internationalism and *North-Americanism* in our literary culture and a corresponding drift away from English cultural influences" ("Index to *Direction*" 4-5).

However, much like Canadian modernism's heritage of binary literary development (the English leaning cosmopolitan writing of *Preview* set against the American experimental writing of *First Statement*), Norris and Gnarkowski's description is deceptive and near-sighted. Yes, the critical pieces in *Direction* offer a consistent "declaration of [the editor's] fighting faith," and their ambitions to produce "anything that will shock the dull witted [sic] Canadian imagination out of its lethargy" (*Direction* 1:1).<sup>3</sup> The critical pieces scattered throughout *Direction*'s ten issue run hardly waver in their aggressive tone, sentiment, and desire. However, the poetry, prose, and drama contained within the journal's mimeographed leaves are far more uneven and inconsistent in their aggression and experimentation. The critical pieces were consistent in their desire for a radically new Canadian literature and what that Canadian literature

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<sup>3</sup> Unless indicated otherwise, all references to the magazine will be made in this form: (author issue number: page number). Should the author not be listed in the sentence or in-text citation, the reference is to an unauthored piece written by the editorial team.

should look like; however, the actual literary productions published in *Direction* were not.<sup>4</sup> I argue that despite *Direction*'s intentions and rhetoric, its poetry and prose showcased a multitude of differing ideological and aesthetic perspectives that run counter to a linear rhetoric of aggressive avant-gardism. While *Direction* only tempered its expectations near the end of its run, publishing with the broad desire "that the work be young (if possible), that it be honest" (9:2), a broader undercurrent of subversion ran through the production of the magazine: subversion of capitalist politics, of aesthetic forms, air force materials, and conventional sources of literary talent – all manifesting in a reality that *Direction*, much like the progression and development of Canadian modernism, was not a linear and masculine series of experiments, but a sometimes-haphazard radicalism, an assembly of often contradictory and counterintuitive attempts pushing and pulling in progressive and conservative directions.

One might look to *Direction*'s 9<sup>th</sup> issue (written as WWII was concluding, see Appendix A) and compare John Sutherland's essay "Great Things and Terrible" against a poem that proceeds it. Sutherland's essay is an attack on Sir Charles G.D. Roberts for writing with a deprivation of individuality that resulted in generic, indistinguishable nature poetry. As expected, the rhetoric of the piece is completely in line with Sutherland's aggressive poetics found in *First Statement*, featuring attacks on character and hyperbolic criticisms of the Confederation Poets. The poem that follows shortly after, "The Dark Path," by RCAF member Charles Fox, appears as a foil to Sutherland's aesthetic bombast. It is sweeping and cosmopolitan in scope, expanding outwards from

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<sup>4</sup> This unclear relationship between rhetoric and practice extends itself to *Preview* and *First Statement* writers. Trehearne notes that what writers of the period have said about themselves, and what scholars have written about them have often "been in almost perfect alignment for half a century." Unfortunately, this alignment does not "bear any clear relation to" the poems they wrote (*Forties* 10).

factories and rooftops until the poem encompasses the entirety of humankind in its final stanza:

Now, sleeping beneath the bitter stars

Man pauses on his dark path

to question the reality in his dreams

and waking, dimly wonders,

before he strides loose-limbed,

onwards into mystery. (9:8)

While these two works starkly juxtapose critical theory and critical practice, a multitude of practices and approaches exist throughout the magazine's run, the totality of which complicates the linear trajectory and easy categorization desired by its editors and circulating within scholarship. Half of extant scholarship finds *Direction* quickly slotted into the development of little magazines in Canada as a peripheral yet important piece that one ought not to neglect when providing a complete history, as is the case with the surveys by Norris, Gnarkowski, and Dudek. Gnarkowski and Dudek, while recognizing the magazine's maritime roots, and "only by a kind of imaginative extension," nonetheless consider it "a Montreal little mag" (221). It still had a dedication to "hard-hitting poetry in which the social theme is submerged by the presence of war" (222). For their overarching critical narrative to hold, *Direction* was peripheral because of its locale and its scattered quantity of quality contributions, but central because of its contributors, spirit, and ideology.

The other half of extant scholarship places *Direction* in the trajectory and early growth of its most famous and frequent contributor Raymond Souster, as is the case with multiple master's theses from the late sixties and early seventies.<sup>5</sup> Only a single in-depth work of scholarship on *Direction* exists, Robert Campbell's thesis, "A Study of the History and Development of Raymond Souster's *Direction, Conflict, and Combustion*" (1969). While we are indebted to Campbell for his history of the magazine, including interviews with its now deceased contributors, his thesis' goal is to provide an unbiased history. His goal is not to address the complex development of Canadian modernism (Campbell 1).

Both scholarly approaches to *Direction* were written long before scholars like Trehearne, Dean Irvine, and Bart Vautour complicated the narrative of Canadian modernism's development, and long before the theoretical methodologies on modern periodical studies emerged in the last twenty years from authors like Sean Latham, Clifford Wulfman, and Robert Scholes.<sup>6</sup> With these authors in mind, I approach *Direction* not as a stepping stone in the history of a single author, as important as Souster was to the creation and dissemination of the magazine, nor as a piece to be easily charted within a specific cultural trajectory, but as a textual "network: a way of connecting people, things, texts, ideas, and places in dynamic feedback loops over which [the editors] exercise only very weak control" (Latham 425). Just as *Preview* and *First Statement* hold inconsistencies, contradictions, and overlap between the approach of their

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<sup>5</sup> See Harry Hugh Cook's "The Poetry of Raymond Souster" – MA thesis SFU 1968; Karen Margeret Wood's "Raymond Souster: A stylistic analysis and chronology of Poems" – MA thesis Sir George Williams University 1973; Robert Campbell's "A study of the history and development of Raymond Souster's *Direction, Conflict, and Combustion*" – MA thesis UNB 1969.

<sup>6</sup> For a survey of the development of periodical studies as a field see Sean Latham and Robert Scholes' "The Rise of Periodical Studies," *PMLA* vol. 121, no. 2, 2006, pp.517-531.

works, I consider *Direction* as less a cohesive and visceral “attack” than an inconsistent and variable product with differing, and at times contradicting, aesthetics, politics, and approaches.

Wulfman and Scholes’ *Modernism in the Magazines* (2010), outlines seven dimensions of the little magazine: implied reader, circulation, regular contributors, contents, editor, format, and history (146–8). Each of these internal and external elements contribute to a periodical’s identity more than any landmark canonical editor, author, or work that made up a fraction of its entire run. *Direction* is more than Souster (its primary contributor), more than its handful of well-known contributions, and more than the fact that it ran sections of Henry Miller’s *Tropic of Cancer* for the first time in Canada. Magazines shouldn’t be approached as novels, complete narratives with a cohesive intention and form in mind, but as a malleable, shifting product wherein its expectations for continuation, size, dissemination, production, and readership are often reconsidered and revised issue to issue (45).

Scholes and Wulfman emphasize the necessity of recategorizing and digitizing resources, work I support by aggregating the work of previous scholars into multiple appendices.<sup>7</sup> Yet merely tackling our “hole in the archive” is not enough, as it potentially draws the energy and work of research away from generating challenging and progressive scholarship into simply collecting historical data. Ann Ardis, Matthew

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<sup>7</sup> Two appendixes accompany my thesis. Appendix A provides a timeline for the magazine’s production alongside the movement and reposting of *Direction*’s RCAF editors. Appendix B offers an updated index. It attempts to provide a comprehensive list of contributors (writers and non-writers), their contributions, and their role within the magazine’s production.

Philpotts, and Patrick Collier have expressed concern in this regard, worrying that we might fall into what is described as one of “two traps”:

on the one hand simply reproducing “a modernist map of twentieth-century literary and cultural history,” and on the other hand producing a plethora of micro-studies that have incommensurate aims and methods, are not speaking to each other, and thus are not contributing to an overall understanding of how periodicals functioned within the cultural field at the turn of the twentieth century, or of that cultural field itself. (Collier 94–95)

To address this, responsible scholarship must follow a pattern of “expansion” and assess a periodical’s place in and outside of historically prevalent narratives of national, local, and translational modernisms, insofar as those narratives shape and alter the presentation of the work in question.<sup>8</sup> In recent years, scholarship on the development of Canadian modernism has followed this path by complicating our lineage of straightforward narratives, narratives that insist the progression of modernism was an evenly paced Eurocentric (if not in style than in its emphasis of the avant-garde and experimental) effort that was propagated by a small number of idealistic and talented men. Irvine’s *Editing Modernity: Women and the Little Magazine Cultures in Canada 1916–1956* (2008) exposed the patrilineal negligence of female editing work in generating and shaping Canadian modernism. Vautour’s dissertation *Writing Left: the Emergence of Modernism in English Canadian Literature* (2011) argues for an uneven and multiplicitous development of Canadian modernism and its alignment with various

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<sup>8</sup> On the expansion of modernist studies in the last twenty-five years see Douglas Mao and Rebecca L. Walkowitz’s “The New Modernist Studies.”

socialist politics. Trehearne's *Montreal Forties: Modernist Poetry in Transition* (1999), a work that is the catalyst for my thesis, outlines and disrupts the narrative that has been handed down by the many modernist writers turned academics. Keeping in line with this more uneven, multiplicitous model of Canadian literary development, this thesis aims to fill in and complicate the easy categorization and use of *Direction* found in scholarly surveys by bringing its critical work into conversation with its literary productions.

What follows is a four part interrogation into the most commonly used classifications of *Direction*: (1) its alignment with the linear development of modernism, often written by scholars' reliance on the *First Statement - Preview* dynamic, and the projection of a European model of modernism onto Canada; (2) its associations with a less "English," more "North-American" style of writing poetry and prose; (3) its championing of the social left with diverse, and at times contradictory, frameworks for how socialism should be brought about; and, (4) its contrast between the engagements with gender men preformed in their works, and the engagement with gender women preformed in their works. My objective is not to invert or invalidate what has been previously written, but to identify the overlooked aspects of the magazine, and to tug at the inconsistent relationship between rhetoric and practice.

## CHAPTER 2: READY-MADE NARRATIVES – READY-MADE EXPECTATIONS

To begin, we approach *Direction* with the readiest of modernisms: through the problematic and idealized expectations for little magazines written by the “founder of modern periodical studies” Ezra Pound (Scholes and Wulfman 1). Though Souster would go on to directly co-opt Pound’s mantra – “Make It New” – in his later little magazine venture *Contact* (1951) (Davey, Dudek & Souster 183), neither he nor Goldberg directly reference Pound, or his influential 1930 article entitled “Small Magazines” during their time publishing *Direction*. Nor would they ever directly connect their publication to any American or European “high modernist” little magazine like *Blast*, *The Little Review*, or *Poetry*. The editors were Canadian bound *Direction* was manifested “with *First Statement* as their bible and Montreal as their spiritual home” (Campbell 31). Nevertheless, by initially looking to Pound we may better identify how the linearity of European modernism was grafted onto Canada’s literary products via the histories of little magazine production written up until the turn of the century.<sup>9</sup> By looking to Pound we may better understand how a framework of machismo, anti-establishment writing, experimentation, and individuality was overemphasized in relation to the magazine’s critical components, even though these elements were continuously reconstructed and redefined throughout the wide array of poems and stories published during *Direction*’s run.

Pound’s influence on the literary production of European and American modernism cannot be overstated. Within just twenty years (1906–1926) he was involved

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<sup>9</sup> Trehearne puts it best when he writes that “their youth, iconoclasm and survivable poverty gave the ‘forties in Montreal some of the cast of the Paris ‘twenties and a lingering literary nationalism perhaps made us vaunt that status and play up the parallel – which exists, of course, only on the level of scene” (“Critical” 2).



in the editorial work of over ten major literary little magazines, making over five-hundred separate contributions to various outlets (Scholes and Wulfman 5–7). Pound’s influence on the development of Canadian modernism is widely known. Dudek’s lengthy correspondence with Pound starting in the 1950’s, lasting for years after, culminating in the publication of their correspondence after Pound’s death, demonstrates one of his persistent influences on the development of Canadian modernism. Given that Dudek was at a point Pound’s “leg man, obtaining for him many of the books, newspapers, magazines, and other materials that he needed for his research and writing” (Dudek & Souster 9), that Dudek and Souster later advertised *Contact* magazine with Pound’s Mantra “MAKE IT NEW” (37), it’s no wonder that Davey considers Dudek “a successor to Pound” (*Texts* 7). As Tremblay and Rose effectively summarize, “it was Pound’s brand of republican constitutional modernism (modernism that was bottom-up, non-aligned, non-commercial, and radically socially democratic, aimed, that is, at the emancipation of the polis) that would come to dominate the field of Canada’s little magazines” (Tremblay and Rose, 17).<sup>10</sup>

Pound’s “ideal” or “model” little magazine was built on the necessary mortality of periodicals and the elevation of experimentation over commercial or financial upkeep. The “original motivation” or drive of editors and creators must be coupled with “a need for intellectual communication unconditioned by considerations as to whether a given idea or given trend in art will ‘git ads’” (“Small” 690). Clarity of ideas and intention is what will generate new thoughtful poetry, not a smattering of attempts: “healthy

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<sup>10</sup> If Pound’s influence cannot be overstated than one may also not overstate the tremendous work women editors did for Pound and the progression of European, American, and Canadian modernism. For more see Jayne Marek’s *Women Editing Modernism: “Little” magazines and literary history* (1995) or Irvine’s *Editing Modernity*, mentioned above.

reaction, constructive reaction, can start from a wrong idea clearly defined, whereas mere muddle effects nothing whatsoever” (697). Above all, the greatest platitude Pound provides in his assessment of modernity’s literary magazines is directly in line with the ideals of Sutherland’s *First Statement* and, by extension, *Direction*: “honest literary experiment, however inclusive, however dismally it fails, is of infinitely more value to the intellectual life of a nation than exploitation (however glittering) of mental mush and otiose habit” (699).<sup>11</sup> For Pound, the little magazine was a medium dedicated to the publication of new work, unfettered from capital concerns, but still fettered to an ideal or a direction that anchored its texts.

At first glance, *Direction* met all these expectations. The material costs of start-up and production were negligent due to the permitted use the Air Force’s mimeograph machine and paper. Oversight was equally negligent. The magazine’s production was first permitted through the coercion of the officer in charge of mimeographing at the Sydney Station Orderly room, and then permitted by a junior officer at Port aux Basques (Campbell 32, 37). The only clause the officer at Port aux Basques had Goldberg agree to was that “he kept it quiet and didn’t write anything crazy in it” (Tremblay, “Heart Still” 188). There is an impression that the RCAF administration was too busy, or unconcerned, to strictly regulate and censor radical literary production and distribution. According to Campbell, “Socialist and Communist theory and literature was permitted relatively wide dissemination even in the armed forces” (21). *Direction* would publish

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<sup>11</sup> Sutherland introduces *First Statement* to Canada with this exact kind of literary martyrdom: “we want to remove every shred of practicality and make it certain that we have nothing to lose. We are going on a diet of cheap, mimeographed paper, a kind of literary bread and water. We intend asking no charge for the magazine, to prevent the petty hope of making a profit. We are going to rid ourselves of practical encumbrances, to have freedom in which to move” (*First Statement* 1:1).

numerous anti-war poems, coupled with a handful advocating for socialist revolution. Souster and Goldberg would take these freedoms in the magazine's material production and bring to the content a radical spirit that sought to redefine and reinvent Canadian literature.

The first page that introduces the magazine, an essential piece to all commentary large and small on *Direction*, effectively narrativizes these factors into an origin story. Goldberg is accosted by "two madmen," Souster and Mullen, to get a magazine out. They pitch names like "attack or sperm," and denounce the same decrepit institution F.R. Scott famously satirized years earlier, the Canadian Authors Association. Through the narrative Goldberg considers himself to be a "sobering influence," at one point addressing the two rowdy children with the question: "is it going to be constructive or is it going to look like the Devil took over the editing?" Despite his sobriety, Goldberg succumbs to their aggressive rhetoric, concluding the narrative with a desire to "blast a road through the jungle of Canadian literature" (1:1).

The magazine would publish a mixture of criticism, verse, short stories, novel excerpts, and a single piece of drama, from known and unknown, seasoned, and first-time Canadian authors. Over the magazine's run, three quarters of the pieces were published by the initial three editors and Wesley Scott, an author who would have his name listed as editor from the fourth edition onward. Nearly half of all contributions were written by Souster. Furthering its status as a proto-typical little magazine was its short length of operation. It couldn't sustain itself without the material support of the military base, ending its production soon after the end of the war. One of two advertisements (the other for a never-published book of poems by Souster) found the

editors pleading with their readership for subscription fees. The meager response provided them with barely enough money to publish the next and final edition of the magazine (Campbell 57). *Direction*'s mortality was like most little mags – a short-lived effort that, despite publishing a wide array of authors, attitudes, modes, and mediums, was in retrospect, only a medium for its authors like Souster “just to have a chance to get published” (Campbell 62).

Considering Pound's influence on Canadian literature, it is no surprise that *Direction* would be treated just as any other little magazine pressing their brand of anti-romantic, aggressive literature onto the stale and outdated domination of confederation poetry. In *The Making of Modernism in Canada*, Dudek and Gnarkowski grant Souster his wish when they imaginatively extend the definition of “Montreal little mag” to fit *Direction* within it. Despite being a product of military service boredom, *Direction* produced “prosy, hard-hitting poetry in which the social theme is submerged by the presence of war” (222). The magazine held with it a “notable optimism” for a better world after the war and boasted “a respectable list of contributing poets” (222). In his index and introduction to *Direction*, Gnarkowski focuses on the magazine's “stated purpose,” while only providing a single quote from the narrativized manifesto discussed above. No indication is given whether this stated purpose is achieved, or if the achievement of its stated purpose even matters. The editors are described as finding parallel with Henry Miller and “his elaborate formlessness, his angry vitality and his complete disillusionment with modern civilization [which] paralleled their own striving for a realistic style.” Gnarkowski concludes by nearly plagiarizing sections of Northrop Frye's March 1944 review of the magazine, a review written only four issues into the

magazine's production,<sup>12</sup> and states that they were writing "in the tones of disillusioned youth caught between the ironic certainty of war and a vague, bitter hope of a better world." The editors offered "an urban mechanical and slightly futile North America" (5–6). In his two-page description of *Direction* Norris provides no examples of poetry or fiction, instead permitting his description to rest exclusively on the critical works that appeared sporadically within the magazine's run. When he does summarize the poetry and prose, Norris writes that "much of the writing is directly concerned with the war—stories about soldiers on furloughs and poems about the distance between lovers as the poet sits alone and melancholy in his bunk" (42–43). *Direction*, paired neatly with its military bound genesis, was one of the fighters that "helped to defeat the remnants of the Roberts tradition, and to create a new poetic approach" (43).

None of these descriptions of *Direction* speak of any complication, nuance, or inconsistency between the magazine's theory and practice. While theory did align with practice at times, these scholars give the impression of a unified and cohesive front contributing to a centrist trajectory of Canadian modernism, rather than a magazine published on the peripheries of Canada, with a predominantly peripheral coterie, publishing experiments in an uneven fashion. This logic of seeing value in a little magazine for a single attribute, a single author, or a single publication has its origins in the Poundian rhetoric that considers the short lifespan of little magazines necessary to produce and distribute radically inventive work: "the work of writers who have emerged

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<sup>12</sup> I understand that an accusation of plagiarism is not something to be thrown out lightly, but the similarity between Gnarkowski's introduction and Frye's review is unnerving. Frye writes: "...and the ironic contrast between the certain fact of war and the vague hope of a better world after it" (cited in Campbell 37). Gnarkowski writes in his index: "and as for disillusionment – well this was a periodical which spoke in the tones of disillusioned youth bought between the ironic certainty of war and a vague, bitter hope of a better world" (6).

in or via such magazines outweighs in permanent value the work of writers who have not emerged in this manner” (Small 702). However, those generalizations do not help us better understand why the other content gets a pass and is set into circulation, what ideological—aesthetic—technical attributes made their work valuable in the eyes of their editors, what experiments were more successful than others, how strict a devotion to experimentation the editors had, or where that dedication lacked.

Despite what Norris, Gnarkowski, and Dudek write, *Direction*’s critical texts themselves did not contain a stable and consistent perspective. While the mission statement and focus of a magazine is expected to change and grow between issues, contributors, editors, implied readers, etc., what exists from the start is a multiplicity of styles, expectations of editorial styles, and approaches that play out differently from editor to editor. Despite the rhetoric of “hard hitting poetry,” and the insistence of an almost mythic origin story, *Direction*’s bombastic opening contains rhetoric that is intentionally contradictory, illogical, and bawdy.<sup>13</sup> When Goldberg presses Souster and Mullen on what type of magazine they wish to produce, his question is ambiguous in its pretense: “well what is it going to be? Is it going to be constructive or is it going to look like the Devil took over the editing? The literary Herrenvolk, and other almighties will say, ‘it’s the work of cranks, some crazy Hooligans’” (sic 1: 1). Why would it matter if the “devil took over the editing” if the literati one is appeasing are equated to Nazis? Goldberg’s likely expectation here is professionalism coupled with aggression and

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<sup>13</sup> While Campbell tries to take the perspective of historic observer for most of his thesis, there are many lapses. One such lapse occurs in his description of *Direction*’s origin. Campbell suspends all historical documentation in favor of romantic scene-setting that lends itself far more to creative writing than impartial historical documentation. His flair is appreciated, but problematic in its prescription that the idealistic origins are of primary importance. I would exclude this note, but it is important to stress that our best source for the magazine’s history is heavily biased towards its editors.

“constructive” anti-establishment writing. But why appease elites that you don’t respect? Why have one of the few requirements for a name be that it “sock the dull-witted Canadian imagination out of its lethargy,” as Mullen writes? If the magazine “doesn’t have to be logical,” and must simply “attack attack attack,” as Souster insists, then what specific *literary* editorial guidelines are the editors holding themselves to? Why would the great well of talent “dying of virginal shame” within the Air Force base matter if aggression and offense, not talent or quality, is the only guideline (1:1)? My critical concern comes not with the internal discrepancies in rhetoric between editors, but with the fact that these introductory words are taken out of their muddled, messy, and unclear context when scholars quote them.

This opening manifesto provides no indication of what makes modern poetry good or bad. It only states that what is popular—the work of authors who make up and support the CAA—is completely estranged from their zeitgeist. The stale state of literature needed an upheaval, needed to be attacked, to be given a literary enema. Little care is made for reception. The very next page of this first issue, in a much more subdued tone, provides us with some indication of where quality lies. It considers the three major canonical Canadian little magazines of the time, *Contemporary Verse*, *Preview*, and *First Statement*. In this consideration, Souster aligns the editorial team of *Direction* with *First Statement* by saying it “has been the most experimental, and perhaps for that reason, the least successful. But its experimentation is healthy, and it has less interest in names and more of literature than its contemporaries” (1: 2). Much like the Poundian approach mentioned above, experimentation, not success, is presented as the healthiest means of generating quality Canadian literature.

Strangely, the first complimentary copies of the *Direction* were not sent out as insularly as one might expect. The magazine was sent out to three unnamed Canadian little magazines (likely those mentioned above), and to many American little magazines. But also, to “most of the commercial magazines in Canada,” alongside major Canadian newspapers, and most better-known Canadian writers of the time (Campbell 33). It was all of these locations, not exclusively fellow modernist writers that would likely be receptive to *Direction*, where these authors thought the magazine would “do the most good” (33). As aggressive as the magazine’s initial rhetoric was, its desired “bayonet attacks of the young,” is entirely undercut by the small note attached to all free copies of the first issue of *Direction*:

Please accept this complimentary copy of the first issue of *Direction*. We would appreciate any review or publicity which you would can [sic] to give it. As this is our first venture into the field of Canadian literature and being in the service pretty much isolated from literary coteries we are depending upon you to give us a helping hand. (1:1)

In this first issue the editors simultaneously state that they will pave their own way through the current literary landscape, while timidly asking for entry into the very landscape they previously tarnished. Their rhetoric and hopeful expectations may have been in stark opposition, or their objective was possibility not to liberate Canada from its reliance on an outdated mode of romantic poetry (thus establishing a more open field for literary experimentation), but to convince the public that their specific new brand of poetry was what Canada needed. Either way, the note easily complicates and tempers the



aggressive anti-establishment tone of the opening manifesto often cited in scholarship and casually used as a ready-made marker for the magazine's content.

There were several other beats of trepidation and caution present throughout the magazine's run that scholarship often overlooks. The magazine was nearly twice sued for libel: once for Goldberg's "The Village," a short story problemed with the "misrepresentation" of Port aux Basque villagers (Campbell 44), once for Avalon's "Offensive," a poem that offended an employee of St. John's *Evening Telegram* "who felt that Avalon's poem reflected unkindly on the nature and behaviour of all Newfoundland women" (Campbell 45). In both instances the editors backed off, once deciding never to publish the remaining parts of the novel the short story was excerpted from, the other time issuing an apology and a strategic change of address for the magazine's center of production.

Despite a history that aligns the magazine with an aggressive rhetoric of bold anti-establishment experimentation, the reality is more complicated, ambiguous, and contradictory than studies have reflected. Previous scholars have neglected critical analysis of the magazine's primary manifesto, the magazine's more tepid paratextual materials, and later-day reflections from its authors and editors, instead choosing to prioritize the bold rhetoric found in *Direction's* manifesto at its face value. Prior to even interrogating any discrepancy between theory and practice, we can see that the theory itself is something less definite, more fluid and self-serving in its construction than the conventional Poundian narrative of modern little magazine production would have us believe.

CHAPTER 3: STYLE, FORM, AND THE UNACHIEVED RHETORIC OF  
AGRESSION

To properly address the style of works within *Direction* it is best to outline two stylistic traditions that dominated the narrative of the forties in Canadian modernism: “nativism” and “cosmopolitanism.” In *Other Canadians: An Anthology of the New Poetry in Canada 1940–1946* (1946), John Sutherland defends the nativist approach by responding to A.J.M. Smith’s *The Book of Canadian Poetry* (1943). According to Smith, both nativism and cosmopolitanism process Canada’s colonialism with polarizing methodologies. Smith writes that the native group

“has attempted to describe whatever is essentially and distinctly Canadian and thus come to terms with an environment that is only now ceasing to be colonial. The [cosmopolitan] from the very beginning has made a heroic effort to transcend colonialism by entering into the universal, civilizing culture of ideas” (qtd. in *Other* 5).<sup>14</sup>

In a statement where, according to Sutherland, “native tradition and national school go out the window,” Smith writes “the claim of this (native) poetry to be truly national... must on the whole be denied to a body of work which ignored on principle the coarse bustle of humanity with the hurly burly business of the developing nation” (7).

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<sup>14</sup> The colonial shackles Canadian modernists are breaking free from are imposed upon them by British literary traditions. This does not mean these Canadian modernists were not practicing their own colonialism by centering their whiteness and new literary tradition as “anti-colonial” while neglecting the judicial and economic plight many black and indigenous folks faced under British colonialism in Canada. Multiple levels of colonialism functioned historically, and presently, and we would be remiss to neglect that.

After Sutherland pokes fun at Smith's reduction of native poetry and his praise of good Catholic Canadian poetry (12), he turns to the affirmative. New Canadian writing, according to Sutherland, must relinquish its connections to England and its lofty abstractions: it must ground itself "in events and ideas whose importance is neither ephemeral nor imaginary to the living and thinking individual... to speak to the average man of everyday realities" (15). Relinquishing English modes of literature ironically meant attaching oneself to a new nation: America. It was American imagism and social realism that was "admired and frequently imitated by Canadians," with modes "more easy going and natural" that would allow Canada to connect more with the "common man" and support the progress of socialism (17–18). Cosmopolitanism was not just another mode or school of writing, but one held in distaste, as it only "spoke to a coterie of Eliot and Yeats devotees" (Livesay qtd. in Norris 39). Canada needed independence. It needed to produce "a poetry that has stopped being a parasite on other literatures" (Sutherland qtd. in Norris 39). The native work was from a "working-class tradition, unrefined, and unpolished, filled with a sense of the land" (Norris 41). Most importantly it was consistently branded retroactively by authors like Norris, Davey, Gnarkowski, and Dudek as the "correct" way forward for modern poetry in the forties.

*Direction* is consistently branded, by itself and its scholars, as a magazine producing poetry in this "North-American" nativist style. Norris writes that "*Direction* pointed towards an American connection that would become increasingly important to Canadian poetry" (43). Sutherland supports him in his review of the magazine: "writing in easily communicable forms, employing the language of everyday speech, they [writers in this magazine such as Raymond Souster, Irving Layton, and Miriam and Patrick

Waddington] show the influence of American tradition of poetry rather than the English” (qtd. in Mansbridge 27). Northrop Frye, while not referencing the American tradition, would write something similar, if not more biting. For him, *Direction* was “too readily content with a pitch-back free verse which is really a series of flat prose statements and are inclined to overestimate the poetic value of nostalgia” (qtd. in Campbell 37).

When the “plain speech” of an American connection was not directly summoned, much of this stylistic categorization was set in proxy, either to *First Statement* or to the work of the magazine’s primary contributor, Souster. Gnarkowski, in his index to the magazine, connects *Direction* to *First Statement*, and Davey directly compares Souster’s voice in the critical pieces of *Direction* to Sutherland’s (7), and, as mentioned above, *First Statement* was branded as *Direction*’s “bible.” As the primary contributor, Souster is typically associated with more a more American style.<sup>15</sup> He was one of “the Canadian poets for whom American poets were more important than British” (Mansbridge 2). Souster praised W.W.E. Ross’s work for its “American Influence,” and Davey identifies him as a romantic realist who used direct language to express the superiority of the social perspective of the “common man” (*Louis Dudek & Raymond Souster* 171)

No doubt the scholarly categorization of aligning *Direction* with a “native,” working class, North-American style was influenced by *Direction*’s assertion of its own identity. The editors would praise modern American writers such as Hemingway (1:7)

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<sup>15</sup> Among other sources, the connection between Souster and American style can be noted in Davey’s *Louis Dudek & Raymond Souster* (see the chapter entitled “Canadian Modernists” for more information on the stylistic connections between Souster and American modernism) and in Norris’ *The Little Magazine in Canada 1925-80* (see chapter 3, particularly the association with Souster and *First Statement*, and first statement and American poets).

and Kenneth Patchen (2:1) and would famously publish sections of Henry Miller's *Tropic of Cancer*. As mentioned above, they published a piece by Sutherland, one that, while supporting the magazine's distaste for artificial and ridged poetry, ultimately expresses a distaste for the English connection to the confederation poets. While some of these appreciations were general and generic, editorial statements like "this poem had lines in it which haunted me then and which haunted me still with their beauty" (10:2), some offer concrete articulations on how one should write new modern poetry. New poetry should have "a definite point of view and no scruples for calling a spade a spade" (4:1), it should be aggressive and unafraid to paint "pictures of life ... too deeply cut into the entrails, too eager to pull the cloth from writhing loins" (2:1). Notable of these pieces that describe stylistic intentions is Souster's "A Letter: from the Other Side of the Fence," a piece written to Goldberg that picks apart a rejection letter Souster received from a "well-known Canadian publishing house." Souster receives criticism that his work "lacks discipline," that he has "too much vitality, too much freedom," that to "express himself frankly becomes (for the young poet) a sort of false, artistic heroism," and that he needs "a little fine chiselling restraint" (6:8). Souster flips this criticism of his work, aligning his work in opposition to the restrictive ideals of the current literary landscape. He concludes his article by boldly claiming

No. Poetry cannot be healthy or even possible as long as such ideas are cherished and held up for future generations to follow. They must be stamped out, if need be, ruthlessly. It will be a pleasure of a few of us to fight this challenge and defeat it. (6:8)

Both editor and scholar claim that *Direction* produced works that were plain-spoken, often in free verse, aggressive in intent, experimental, personal and individualistic, yet with a social realist nationalism that pointed towards the betterment of society, and that was aesthetically and stylistically anti-establishment. While these descriptors match most works within the magazine's run, there is a lack of clarity as to what stylistic engagements were used over others, what kind of experiments were made, how strict this stylistic form was set, and how the stylistic approach differed from prose to poetry. Most importantly, in the corpus of critical material on *Direction*, there is a lack of scholarly engagement with the aggressive rhetoric for which *Direction*'s editors called and the ways in which that penchant for ferocity translated itself into the magazine's poetry and prose works.

Despite scholarship's primary focus on *Direction*'s poetry, prose fiction and creative non-fiction is an important percentage of the magazine's make-up. Prose accounts for over forty-four pages of the magazine's content, compared to poetry's seventy pages of content. The numbers do shift more in poetry's favor when looking at the quantity of individual works. There are a total of fourteen prose fiction pieces published, compared to 105 poems.<sup>16</sup> Nevertheless, every issue does include prose fiction. Compared to poetry, the fiction evidences little variety in experimentation. Almost all pieces were written in a colloquial, informal, descriptive language. They were often unadorned with metaphor, metaphysical conjectures, poetic syntax, and wordplay. Almost all the works of fiction take on conventional first or third person perspectives. A

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<sup>16</sup> These numbers are omitting the excerpts of *Tropic of Cancer* that make up nearly the entirety of the seventh edition.

few pieces experiment with second person, but only in small sections of their narratives (See: Goldberg's "The Village"). Most fiction entries are limited in perspective to individuals and their relationships, rather than engaging with large swaths of people, conceptual ideas, or abstractions. A notable exception to this is Patrick Waddington's "All in Fun," a short story that shifts between the perspective of reporters and the social bodies they are reporting on. The story gives equal narrative agency to the reporters, and to the plight of draft dodgers and nomads being raided by the police.

Most prose fictions stick within their lane, with two notable exceptions: Souster's single paragraph "excerpt from the novel *Nostalgia*," and Lois Darroch's "Upgrading 1943." Souster's excerpt is written entirely in second person, and offers a fractured, stream-of-consciousness style unlike other pieces of fiction that appear in the magazine. The speaker, possibly a self-projection of Souster, flips at whim between military and civilian life with lengthy, multi-clausal sentences:

It was funny, but the things you worried about then were far different than what you had though, were so important before, now it was pay day, and a piss-up, and girls, how many you had had since the last time, leave, the new perfect prick of a flight sergeant you never talked about war news or strikes or politics or weekends at the cottage or getting the car for a little evening of you know very well what, simply because the war news didn't matter, you couldn't strike or belong to political parties, there was no cottage or no car. (1:4)

With its use of jarring single-word clauses and forceful conjunctions that are stripped away for impact as the sentence goes on, this Souster's narrative is best aligned with the rhetoric and language of aggression set out in the manifesto.

Darroch's piece is unusual in an entirely different way. She represents one of three contributors who are women and does so by engaging her personal struggles as a student in an almost autofictional mode. Stylistically, Darroch's fiction is a clear engagement in cosmopolitanism. Her personal experiences are mediated through scientific, and universal abstractions. Atoms, wires, life, death, grand statements on civilization's relationship to child growth, all are smattered sporadically throughout a page and a half of autobiographical prose. To introduce a series of reflective introspections she does not plainly call back as Souster might, but commands, "go back to die. Drag the long length back to where beginning was and dwell within the past a little while before the close" (8: 10). She shifts temporality in a nonlinear way, moving freely between personal past, social presents, and hopeful futures. None of her ideas are put simply. Darroch's piece, which is discussed in greater detail in the section on masculinity and femininity, offers an alternative to a masculine, "native," social realism in which *Direction* is entrenched, while also providing evidence that the magazine's adherence to publishing nativist prose wasn't strict. Her work is bold, aggressive, radically experimental, yet clearly cosmopolitan, and represents a form of feminist writing not found elsewhere in the magazine.

The spirit of experimentation was far more present in *Direction*'s poems. Plain speech and blank verse dominated the magazine's poetry contributions. This ranged from more imagist efforts (see Souster's "The Good Rain" [5:7] where he writes: "It is raining not / Shells / But gray gobs of rain") to efforts that embraced slang and conversational speech (see Souster's expert from "The Carousel of Madness" [2:8] where he writes: "And now I am reading / A poem and some guy is shooting the shit / About the blue



skies...”). In terms of form, a number of experiments exist outside of *Direction*’s typical “pitch-beck free verse which is really a series of flat prose statements” (Frye qtd. in Campbell 36). Experiments ranged from the surrealist single stanza poems of Mullen; to fragmented pieces like Souster’s “Camp,” that sought to capture the near death conditions of a Nazi death camp; to wide ranging uses of repetition, emphatic at times, monotonous at others. Certain conventional modernist innovations were not embraced as frequently as others. Only a few experimentations with more elevated language exist within the magazine, notably Layton’s “Newsboy,” wherein he mixes a complex lexicon with the mundanity of a paperboy’s work: “Intrusive as a collision, he is / The Zeitgeist’s too public interpreter, / A voice multiplex and democratic” (2:9). Cosmopolitan writing made infrequent appearances throughout *Direction*. Stream of consciousness pieces were sparse, although Souster’s short story “Interval,” written about break from the RCAF when he returned home, and excerpts from *Tropic of Cancer*, offer clear efforts in this style. Experimentations with white space were equally infrequent yet did occur on rare occasions (see Westley Scott’s “On the Wheel of this Bitter Night”).

Free verse made up most of the magazine’s poetic content. When structured verse appears, it is only to satirize the concept of structure itself. John Avalon’s, “Song of the Psychopaths (From: The Nazi Nihilists),” is written in four-line stanzas of iambic tetrameter with an ABAB rhyme scheme. The poem mixes elevated language, references to ancient Greek mythology, with the violent and horrific evils of Nazism in a dialogue between the Nazi speakers (we), and the Western allied reader (you):

You sing of larks across the sky;

And upland lawns in melting blush.

Ours a blood-song as thousands die

Under the bomb bursts' rend and crush

Your scholars teach the dance of life - -

The sweet phenomena of breath.

Our unrelenting tombs are rife

With somber syllabi of death. (3: 8)

Individuality, personal expression, and “freedom” are set against the fetters of Nazi ideology: “You speak of freedom of the seas / Our stories tell of men in gyves” (19-20). Restriction of movement, intellect, independence, and of course poetic form are figured as unnatural and ungodly. Despite its modernist style, this poem engages in romantic idealism. Poetic freedom is generated entirely through a connection with nature and the natural as a source of beauty rather than any positive engagement with urban modernity. As Avalon equates poetry restrictive in form to Nazism, his description equally restricts poetry to settings and scenes away from urban life.

Within the same edition a similar, albeit far tamer and more satirical, effort is made by Souster with “Dreams Were Always Cheap.” The poem is short enough to be cited in full:

Goodnight darling go to sleep now

Close your eyes and dream and dream and dream

Dreams were always cheap and they're cheap now

And the bad ones are not really as bad as they seem

I also have my dreams but they're too tender

To risk having them maimed and broken by this time - -

These lean nervous years when the password is surrender

And a poem is a poem because it has a rhyme. (3:5)

The first stanza, written as if the speaker placates a child or beloved, is intentionally oversimplified and trite. The second stanza shifts towards the personal. Just after the speaker makes it clear that one should not ruin self-expression with a restrictive beat or time, the speaker turns outwards. The speaker reminisces on their life and dreams ambiguously, but with an obviously nod towards the deep and profound. The poem then concludes with a jarring and comical anti-climax. Souster isn't permitted greater self-expression because of the need to meet the formal rhyming requirements of the poem.

While plain speech, blank verse, and experimentation are the bedrock of *Direction's* poetry, the production of the magazine was associated with aggression, vulgarity, and violence. Regardless of whether, its intended purpose was to manifest anger within style and form of the works themselves, or if its intention was only to attack the society that rejected alternative efforts in literature, *Direction* actively tethered itself to a language of aggression and militarism. As mentioned above, *Direction's* editors pitched names like "attack" and "sperm," and they talked of "blasting" their way through

Canadian literature. In their anniversary issue, editors hoped readers will consider *Direction* “advancing” on a road towards a sort of “victory” for Canadian literature, much like the war hero Bernard Montgomery in Africa (4:1). An editorial in their first edition expresses disappointment that “no great novel or poem has been produced by this war.” Nevertheless, they are hopeful that “a Wilfred Owen” or “a Hemingway” is fighting overseas, “sharpening [their] hate” or “learning the real meaning of blood,” so that they may better craft a piece on the war (1:7). Souster’s letter to Goldberg ends with a need to “stamp out” the current ideals of poetic excellence (6:8). This aggression would be mirrored by the scholarship on *Direction* during, and after its run. In his review Frye claimed that the editors “look forward to a post-war period, not merely of reconstruction, but of *a general hell-raising* with the ‘way of life’ that blundered into the war” (qtd. in Campbell 37, my emphasis). Norris equally talks of *Direction* helping “to defeat the remnants of the Roberts tradition” (43, my emphasis).

Despite the rhetoric of violence and militarism, *Direction*’s poetry and prose rarely used either violent language or hyper-avant-garde styles and forms. Outside of the two satires on style I mentioned prior (Souster’s “Dreams Were Always Cheap,” and Avalon’s “Song of the Psychopaths”) above, the poems and fiction in *Direction* rarely attacked the old tradition the same way F.R. Scott’s “The Canadian Authors Meet” did. “Dreams Were Always Cheap,” and “Song of the Psychopaths,” provide the clearest attacks on style and form outside of the magazine’s critical pieces.<sup>17</sup> The most avant-garde works within *Direction* come in the form of surrealist experiments. However, these

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<sup>17</sup> Most of the work published was written in the social realist mode that sought a radical transformation away from Canadian capitalism and social injustice. This critique on capitalism and social injustice is made more effective by sticking to a regular stock of approaches, rather than a radical variety of inventive styles and forms.

experiments were not representative of the magazine as a whole and came almost exclusively from the small handful of poems produced by *Direction's* illustrator, Dave Mullen. When poetic works engaged with a language of violence it was almost always to attack the barbarism of Nazism. As an example, we might look to Souster's unnamed poem in the eighth issue that directly accuses and confronts those that spilt the blood of innocents during the war, refusing any kind of forgiveness (8:8).

Perhaps extracting a clear methodology or definition for what aggressive and violent poetry should look like is an inevitably futile and subjective effort. How exactly did the editors expect to perform the literary skirmishes they had planned against the old, cemented mode of poetic expression in Canada? Certainly, something needed to be done to wake up the Canadian public from its lethargy that shunned development. What was necessary was jarring, "new" forms of poetry and prose; something that would shock the literari into a new world uncorrupted by war and capital – but how? What kind of attacks needed to be carried out, and how would naming a literary magazine "sperm" hope to accomplish those attacks? Even Souster was aware that the aggression he sought was not a lifestyle of "general hell-raising," as Frye put it in his review, but a means to an end. In his review "A Debt," Souster eloquently summarizes the social necessity of violence in the work of Patchen: "he shouts and screams again and again, the filthy smell of our money must go, the lust of our power-crazy statesmen must go, the desire to kill and destroy must go; only then can we enter into the other kingdom" (2:1). The rhetoric of aggression is consistently undercut by a recognition for forthcoming peace and calm.

Ultimately, despite *Direction*'s goals, presented in the critical articles throughout the magazine's run, that emphasized an undercurrent of literary anarchism, new forms, experimentation, and antagonism towards writing conventions, what actually occurred in the run of their magazine was an effort to usurp the current Canadian literary conventions with their own nativist style of writing that prioritized social justice in the form of social realism. *Direction* was not the experimentalist attack that it claimed to be, but a set of fractured efforts that ended up producing a small array of experimental works, alongside many works of conventional styles, forms, and approaches. Beyond infrequent efforts towards the alteration of standardized form and rhyme scheme, or the occasional wily rhetoric of aggression and violence, *Direction*'s poetry and prose rarely held up to their idealistic goals for form and expression. The entirety of the magazine, prose, poetry, articles, all worked together to remark on the coming post-war socialist Canada. The only problem was that the brand of socialism they wrote on was undefined and fractured.

#### CHAPTER 4: AN UNDEREMPHASIZED SPECTRUM OF LEFTIST SENTIMENTS

Scholarship on the socialist and leftist attitudes found in modern Canadian little magazines has been traditionally underemphasized. In *Progressive Heritage : The Evolution of a Politically Radical Literary Tradition in Canada* (2006), James Doyle considers this negligence emblematic of a widespread acceptance of Frye's "sweeping judgment of politically leftist writing" found in *The Bush Garden* (1971), and in his conclusion to *The Literary History of Canada* (1965) (2). Frye considered the writing of the social left to be of lesser quality, even though "much of it was competently written and marginalized by Canadian literary historians and critics with pro-capitalistic conceptions of Canadian society and culture" (Doyle 2). More recent work from scholars like Doyle, Vautour, Irvine, and Rifkind tell of an inseparability of socialist politics from modern literary production in Canada. While "socialist and modernist projects come together most *visibly* in attacks on the bourgeoisie as the target of political and aesthetic opposition to capitalism" (Rifkind 15, my emphasis), *Direction* often uses a diverse spectrum of background and foreground representations (methods deployed using definite empathetic characters, situations, and mentalities), more than it does brazenly attack grand capitalistic ideologies.<sup>18</sup>

Many literary approaches have been defined broadly by scholars of social realism. Scholars like György Lukács who discuss the use of 'active' social realism: "from the inside human beings whose energies are devoted to the building of a different future, and whose psychological and moral make-up is determined by this" (95-6). There

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<sup>18</sup> I use "background representation" to indicate works that don't have socialist themes as their central focus but have these themes operating in the subtext of the story. I use "foreground representation" to indicate works that directly engage in representing socialist themes and plights.

are also scholars like Caren Irr who outline social realist engagements in the form of more simple texts that focus exclusively on descriptive representation (30). Irr also remarks that there are more transparent authors: “writers [who] explicitly articulated their partisan views and attempted to demonstrate that the events they reported corroborated these views” (26). The approaches outlined by Irr and Lukács manifest through anti-war works, where visceral descriptions make clear the necessity and senselessness of mass violence; narratives of industrial might, where the impoverished awaken their true power; and in narratives that explicitly villainize the bourgeoisie.

I don’t consider these guiding approaches used by writers of the left as a metric to rigidly define a singular type of political commitment within the entirety of *Direction*. I outline a small variety of techniques to not only insist upon centrality of leftist writing when describing the magazine, but to describe the range of literary experimentation taken by contributors whose social message shifts in intensity from poem to poem, fiction to fiction. In this way, I align myself with Vautour, who sees more benefit “in looking for the political arrangements and slippages within Canadian modernism rather than examples of either committed individuals or committed formal strategies” (*Writing Left* 4). The fiction and poetry within *Direction* represents an “uneven spectrum” of leftist engagement through a wide range of experimental pieces. Leftist works are not few and far between, but frequent and essential to any accurate description of the magazine’s situation in modern Canadian literary production. On one side of the leftist spectrum, leftist themes present in *Direction* are often “background” and descriptive, creative prose and poetry that represent working-class individuals without relating their experiences to uneven means of production or income inequality, as is the case with



Goldberg's "Jewish Tailor Shop" or Miriam Waddington's "Bastard Country Prospect." On the other side of the leftist spectrum we find active engagements, often in the form of anti-capitalist characters, poor working conditions, impoverished working-class individuals, or needlessly cruel employers, as was the case with works like Goldberg's short story "Summer on the Farm," or his "Storms over the Grand Bay." Beyond representation, some works within the magazine go so far as to briefly outline communist or socialist ideologies, and various methods to enact them in Canada.

While my reading is in lockstep with current surveys of Canadian modernism, it takes a different perspective than the scholarship on *Direction*. Looking to the scholarship on *Direction*, we can easily identify a hesitation to align the magazine with leftist literary productions. Frye's review carefully tiptoes around associating the magazine with socialism or leftist policies. Yes, *Direction* thematically focused on "the ironic contrast between the certain fact of war and the vague hope of a better world after it," but the "better world" was specifically concerned with the impoverishment of the working class, rather than something general and unspecified (39). In Gnarkowski's article "The Role of 'Little Magazines' in the Development of Poetry in English in Montreal" he ignores labels like socialist, communist, or Marxist by stating that that *Direction* created "poetry in which the social theme is submerged in the presence of war" (222). Wartime realism was a focus for much of the poetry and short prose, but this statement glosses over the many more works that represented working-class situations separate from the war. Gnarkowski's introduction to the index of *Direction* neglects to mention any "social theme" at all. Norris makes no mention of socialism or leftist politics, but he does ironically discuss Souster's short article "A Debt." Norris writes of

the piece as though it is simply a tribute to Miller and Patchen, not as an article that rounds itself out with an aggressive anti-capitalist message (43). Joanne Meis' dissertation "Little Magazines and Canadian War Poetry 1939 – 1945," does engage with *Direction*'s social grievances, but in a general way that sidesteps associating the social grievances with leftist issues and politics. Collett Tracey's extensive description of *Direction* only contains a single sentence about the editors being "convinced of the necessity for political change," because of witnessing "the bleak existence of coal miners who lived around in Nova Scotia" (142). Tracey doesn't mention how the editors' need for political change affected the fiction and poetry they published. At the very least, Campbell solidifies the magazine's association with the left by stating that Goldberg, a socialist, was the magazine's "philosopher" (21); that the editors were worried about being too anti-war (33); that Sutherland, published within the magazine, was "certainly" a Marxist (although he buffers this with a sentiment about Sutherland's Marxism being "based in people not in political ideology") (27). Campbell's addressing of leftist content and socialist ideology within the magazine is notable. However, his remarks are peripheral to his central focus on the development of Canadian modernism, Souster's contributions, and the magazine's publication history.

If styles of aggression, violence, and militarism were touted in the magazine's articles, but rarely appeared within its poetry and fiction, then the inverse is true of the magazine's socialism, leftism, and anti-capitalist sentiments. As mentioned above, *Direction*'s articles habitually posit grievances against the current literary establishment. Among these frequent grievances, we can find overlooked glimpses of leftist sentiment within these articles. In Souster's attack on the Canadian Author's Association (CAA), he

praises Morley Callaghan's work, work that has been categorized by scholars as containing "many sympathetic accounts of the Marxist critique of capitalism, even though Callaghan rejects organized socialist politics" (MacDonad 231). As mentioned above, Souster's "A Debt" concludes by aligning the magazine with Patchen, who, as far as Souster is concerned, is "screaming" that "the filthy smell of our money must go, the lust of our power-crazy statesmen must go" (2:1). Despite this screaming, Souster's articles (the articles most often referenced by scholars) only align the magazine in an associational manner with a leftist sentiment. Mullen's article, "Letter from A Young Artist," takes specific grievances with capitalism, noting that the "world they are planning for the youth is dreadful" (4:4). Mullen writes that he "simply cannot swallow all they are trying to force down my throat. They can have their silent eight-passenger-cars – I prefer to walk" (4:4). He is not worried about the war, but more concerned with the mass consumerism that will come after it: "this world of helicopters and plastic ice-boxes and planned living," that offers "no hope – no ideals – no purpose – nothing to live by" (4:4). Scholars that write about *Direction* by using its articles neglect Mullen's "Letter." Instead, these scholars focus exclusively on trends as they relate to Canadian modernism's narrative of anti-conservative rhetoric, rather than see this rhetoric as a cross section of different theoretical approaches, histories, and ideologies.

Despite being situated within the military, *Direction* produced numerous anti-war poems. War was written as a violent and monstrous necessity, one that did not remedy a greedy society insistent on glamorizing war and neglecting care for the working class. Some of the magazine's poetic contributions simply described the horrific violence of the war in a way that didn't associate it with larger social issues. Souster's "Beachhead"

describes the mundanity of burying thousands of dead with a bull-dozer. Mullen's "Campaign" outlines the impact of war indifferent of the parties fighting, choosing instead to focus on the dead and the weapons used to take their lives. Many poems took direct aim at Hitler and the Nazi party (Avalon's "Song of the Psychopaths," mentioned above, is a good example). However, Souster was never content to just represent the genocide perpetrated by Nazis. Even a poem like "The Camp," whose speaker is a holocaust detainee, is concerned with the world outside Dachau. This poem questions what world will exist for those after the holocaust:

Some day I shall be a free man

A FREE MAN

Walk out of here

WALK OUT OF HERE

\*

Into what waiting hell (4:8)

Rather than seeing the war as a field for acquiring glory or "becoming a man," Souster was frequently concerned with the social impact of the war and its misrepresentation.<sup>19</sup> The first line in his "Letter to Newmarket" reads "Will they be changed when they come back?" (6:5). His "Phoney War" concludes with satire that "every man is a hero" and "if you should accidently die, your soul will lie at rest on the breasts of a dozen angels" (8:6). Further, "When I Write About the Murder," describes how necessary it is to fight

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<sup>19</sup> As will be discussed in the next chapter, masculinities were constantly being renegotiated and redefined throughout *Direction*.

against “the butchery the heavy-helmeted / men with baby faces of killers,” but “not out of any love of destruction.” The war is a reality that doesn’t distract from Souster’s coterie of individuals that have fundamentally different ideologies: “our underlining of love and tenderness and truth and freedom / our savage and bristling hate of all war all lies all greed all slavery” (5:7).

Beyond war poetry, a handful of poems did simply stake themselves as descriptive representations of working-class individuals. Miriam Waddington’s “Bastard Country Prospect” tells of a “bruised and battered” farming family living in a “peeling farmhouse,” with fruit that “wouldn’t fetch a penny at market” (2:3). Goldberg’s “Song of the Fishermen” offers an imagistic eight-line snapshot of a fisherman working and being mourned after his death (8:10).

Other poems used more direct lines to engage and implicate the reader in socialist action. In Souster’s section from “the Carousel of Madness,” a poem that lives up the magazine’s manifesto of vulgarity, the speaker expresses vehement anger, not only at “snot-slinging politicians,” but at

the rich having a crap

On the faces of upturned,

Trusting, docile, poor bastards

Who had all the guts

That they need to have now

Knocked out of them by their little bosses (3:8)

As is neatly summarized by Meis, “the poet’s point of view is that of one entirely disillusioned – the war is not *the* evil in the world – it only seems worse than the other evils man perpetrates because it is focusing of all man’s usually dispersed negative capabilities” (153).

Saul Brott’s “MONTREAL” takes a more positive spin by continuously redefining “power” in relation to the city’s industrial might. After introducing Montreal as a city “shaking” with its “Generating power,” Brott spends a whole stanza describing armament production lines: “The whole city trembling with convulsions of war” (1:8). Brott does not see this mechanical power untethered from the common people, but as a marker of their vast unclaimed influence:

A conglomeration of people – Canadians.

French, English, Scottish and Irish.

Italians, Ukrainians, Poles and Jews.

Canadians –

Walking the earth,

Owning vigor

And Power,

Oblivious of the unconquerable strength still unused in their hands. (1:8)

Despite these examples above and a consistent undercurrent of diverse leftist perspectives, many poets forwent writing on social issues in favor of expressing personal desires for romantic partners, or the constant boredom of life on an RCAF base. Poetry

was more frequently used as a medium of affective personal expression or documentation, rather than a tool for enacting change or expressing societal grievances. A comparative example can be seen by looking at Goldberg's work. Of the few poems he writes for the magazine, most express longing for a woman back home (see "Letter to C. C." and "Blue Hills"). However, nearly all the fictions he produced had working-class characters struggling under poverty or experiencing injustice from inconsiderate employers.

Fiction in *Direction* offered more consistent engagements with leftist themes and representations. Given that most short stories were written by Goldberg, the magazine's socialist philosopher, it's no surprise that many centered around factory workers, farm hands, and fishermen. In some way or another, all fiction published in the magazine represents either poor working-class individuals, or military service members like the editors. Some short stories or novel excerpts, like Souster's "The Creek," or Alik Grasic's "No Accidents," are representational descriptions of working environments or military life unbridled from apparent social critique. These stories don't represent an exclusively downtrodden class, but people with ups, downs, human emotions, and desires. "The Creek" is little more than Souster's take on a contemporary pastoral. The short story describes a farmhand going out for a stroll, little more.

Other short stories do explicitly present an oppressed working class struggling with poverty, economic inequality, or social injustice. By writing of police brutality and systemic raids levied against war deserters, Patrick Waddington's "All in Fun" is an effort at generating empathy for draft dodgers. Goldberg's single page "Useless," centers on a conversation between a judgmental service member, nicknamed "useless," because

that is what he calls everyone else, and the narrator. Useless – actually named Brady – drunkenly criticizes the narrator for trying to “better himself.” The narrator turns this back at Brady, asking him the obvious question: “don’t you want to better yourself?” Brady defies the narrator by insisting his class and position in society limits capability for financial and personal growth: “I come from Cabbage Town. It’s a different section from the rich bugs [sic]. And the only way I want to better myself is to become the headman of Cabbage Town” (3:1).<sup>20</sup>

Similarly, Goldberg’s “Jewish Tailor Shop” tells the story of a military man conversing with the wife of a tailor shop owner while getting his uniform cleaned. The wife is proud that her daughter is going to marry a doctor. Her primary concern is neither her daughter’s happiness, nor the fact that this man is “a fine boy too,” but the unusual opportunity to move above their family’s cycle of economic hardship. The wife continues talk of her family, “no single member of which was considered unimportant,” her financial stresses and familial successes out of financial stresses, before the narrator meets with the tailor shop owner (6:10). His uniform is cleaned, he is offered wine in the back of the shop, and a reluctant discount for his military service. Our narrator rejects this offer, pays him in full, and notices a Marxist pamphlet on the way out. Associating this pamphlet with the shop owner and not his wife, the narrator figures that of all the shop owner’s hardships, Marxism is what allows the shop owner to go on: “To-day he hoped for Socialism, about a man named Karl Marx who would relieve him of his toil” (sic 6:12).

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<sup>20</sup> Cabbagetown is a small, then impoverished neighbourhood in Toronto, nicknamed for the cabbages that immigrants grew in their front yards. Four years later, it would be immortalized in Hugh Garner’s novel of the same name.



More than describing working-class individuals, “Jewish Tailor Shop” follows a character who seeks a society relieved of financial hardships. We are most sympathetic towards the would-be socialist, who, despite not having the means to share his labour, acts generously anyway. Rather than striving to better herself, the tailor shop owner’s “overbearing wife,” hopes to “mend” the destiny of her family, rather than sew herself a new one (6:11). She never discusses a means outside of the system that generates her plight. She never considers her position within capitalism to be changeable.

Goldberg’s characters are not always trapped in oppressive capitalist mentalities. They also face exploitation by a corrupt Bourgeoisie. His “Summer on the Farm” is a pastoral corrupted by the spite of a farm owner (Mr. Tate) who not only sees it fit to withhold pay from his employee (Mr. Neiman) when they quit the farm to attend university, but to later call them back with the promise of his owed money, just to keep that owed money on a bureaucratic basis of covering costs from the Neiman’s supposed poor quality of work, work that was never previously criticized. It is worth noting that Neiman’s anger with Mr. Tate is not expressed after he leaves without pay for university, but only after Mr. Tate calls him back with the purpose of ridiculing him through arbitrary technicalities.

Far from being a peripheral theme with which contributors and editors engaged occasionally or considered less important than a reconfiguration of Canadian aesthetics, works describing and defending the social left are an essential part of *Direction*’s makeup. Their experiments in poetry, and especially in fiction, reflect not a single utopian ideal to be worked towards, but a spectrum of social issues and experiences desiring an unspecified leftist solution untethered from specific ideologies. Even the

narrator in “Jewish Tailor Shop” bemoans, “alas,” when he sees the Marxist pamphlets (6:12). Much like the stylistic approaches described above, *Direction*’s uniformly consistent narratives are in short supply. This is not to say clear ubiquitous themes did not exist across the entirety of the magazine.

## CHAPTER 5: ELASTIC MASCULINITIES AND STATIC FEMININITY

Along with shifting the trajectory of Canadian literary style and insisting upon a post-war leftist society, *Direction* offered many poems of longing, romance, and sexual desire. More than just insisting that this aspect of the magazine has been downplayed or misanalysed by scholars, which in ways it has, I wish to remark on the ways masculine and feminine gender conventions were reinforced throughout the entire scope of the magazine's publishing life. While the magazine presented a disjunction between rhetoric and practice when it comes to style and leftist sentiment, an undercurrent of gendered expectations for men and women were identical across almost all articles, poems, and stories.

Despite Frye commenting that one of the central themes of the magazine is the "sexual loneliness of army life" (cited in Campbell 36), love poems don't make much of an appearance in the scholarly critiques of the magazine. The closest Norris gets is mentioning that *Direction* contained some "poems about the distance between lovers as the poet sits alone and melancholy in his bunk" (43). McKnight only mentions "loneliness," with no clear associations with romance or longing (10). No critical statements are made about how this genre of love and longing reflects expressions of gender and sexuality among the men and women writing the poetry in *Direction*.

Except for three writers—Kay Smith, Miriam Waddington, and Lois Darroch—every aspect of the magazine's production, editing, and writing was performed by men.<sup>21</sup> This dominance of localized male producers and contributors manifests an almost

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<sup>21</sup> In Campbell's production history there is no mention of anyone outside the male exclusive military bases working on the magazine. While his history is incomplete, he does include the shifting handful that assisted with the mimeographing and distribution of the magazine. All of them are men (see appendix B).

uniform representation of gender norms from all male writers. Male agency extends to masculinity and male desire. Being a proper man meant engaging with new modes of an elastic masculinity that sought to counter the strict, dominant form of masculinity. Despite the pomp of the magazine's rhetoric, the desire to overturn literary norms and social structures, women were still placed into traditional passivity. Femininity and womanhood were still static caricatures of domesticity, passivity, and objecthood.<sup>22</sup> For the three women who produced romantic prose and poetry, representing desire was always an effort towards mutuality, towards representing two consenting parties coming together on equal footing. For male writers, this mutuality was at best summoned up as mournful rhetoric after a breakup; at worse, not mentioned at all.

I ground myself in this theory of elastic masculinity and static femininity with a nod towards the "crisis of masculinity" that was present during *Direction's* production. Due to the increased uncertainty in gender roles set alongside the economic upset of the great depression, the interwar period held a "threat of gender uncertainty and ambiguity" (Dummitt 4). Male modernist writers responded to this crisis in many ways, often fighting against "a perceived feminization of literary culture" by writing stories or poems that reconceptualized masculinity as "an exceedingly elastic category that might be mobilized in ways that are reactionary or innovative, ridged or adaptable – and sometimes both at the same time" (Lusty and Murphet 9).

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<sup>22</sup> The male dominated production of the magazine presents an interesting case study, as it lives up to a myth about the gendered editing and production of Canadian modernist little magazines. Irvine's *Editing Modernity: Women and Little Magazine Cultures in Canada, 1916-1956*, insists that despite a constant linking of masculinity and the production of little magazines in Canada, many prominent little magazines had an overwhelming number of women on the editorial team making essential, often uncredited, decisions.

This need to reestablish and rework masculinity is a frequent occurrence in *Direction*. Outside of romantic poetry, concepts of masculinity are defined against a society obsessed with machismo and the glory of bloodshed, often using a dialectic between men. Goldberg's works are notorious for this dialectical critique of masculinity. Twice he sets up fictions with an older character whose masculinity is base and oversimplified, in opposition to a younger, more levelheaded counterpart (see "Useless" and "Storms Over the Grand Bay"). Goldberg's "Bread Over the Snows," a one-act love triangle drama, focuses on two men (Heinz and Greg), their desire for the same woman (Ada), and their distaste for one another by way of oppositional masculinities. Heinz is described as "sentimental" and child-like by Ada. He proclaims his desire for "mutual love" above all. Heinz describes Greg as an "individualist," that Ada should not marry because "he would circumscribe every phase of your life to you. He would pick your friends, determine your conduct – meanwhile he leads a merry dance himself" (10:10). While Greg is initially the more successful of the two, both financially and romantic, he nonetheless loses his partner to the more "compassionate" Heinz by the end of the play. Regardless of whether we see Heinz's mansplaining of Ada's life as something that betrays his love of mutuality, or as part of a playful back and forth banter wherein each party flirtatiously pokes fun at the other, we can acknowledge that new modes of masculinity are being elevated above old domineering modes.

The myth of being transformed into a "strong and noble" man by living through the war was continuously criticized. These criticisms of masculinity did not necessarily posit new definitions, so much as they questioned the old ones. Souster's "Letter to Newmarket" asks a series of questions interrogating the myth of war-made manhood:

“Will the years of loneliness, of learning to be men / Give them the strength they will need in the new world” (6:5), all before implying the opposite: “Or will the years teach them nothing / And they came back / To the eager arms of the exploiters” (6:5). Francis Lambert’s “Invasion” recognizes how detached the war is from its conception: “I saw the men – / Whose soul dying in despair / Of half-forgotten contracts – awake” (6:9). It’s worth noting that these reconfigurations or reassessments of masculinity were often linked to leftist grievances with society; conforming to the ideas of being a man meant conforming to a capitalist society that exploited individuals for personal gain.

Nathan Ralph’s “Forgotten Regiments (Pre-Invasion)” offers a more nuanced representation of the wartime masculinities. Ralph writes of an initial enthusiasm turned into disillusionment. He writes that “we were ready / and eager for the test.” Despite various initial hesitations, parting with significant others, and nervousness, the men come together for deployment:

We held a mixture of bravado  
and belief ... a dash of boredom,  
and a breach of society  
shook it to a cocktail of war  
we drank...  
but that was long ago (5:1)

Ralph considers men currently in the war (written in 1944) as a group left behind and disregarded: “we have been forgotten / we waited ... we waited patiently” (5:3). These

men are only made real through a tenuous tether with a distant home front. Lovers back home, “Hold our lives in a letter” (5:3). Though he admits even with this trace, they might not be real, “perhaps families were a dream” (5:3). For Ralph, wartime “bravado” did not mean being less of a man, or living up to some impossible idea, it just didn’t matter. The war was ultimately an experience completely alien to civilian conceptions of masculinity.

While articulations of manhood were bountiful and diverse, depictions of women that were not romantic were far less frequent. Often, male writers wrote women characters in ways that were rigid, domestic, passive and at times negative and corrupt. The wife in “Jewish Tailor Shop” is obsessed with her family’s wellbeing to the point of being “overbearing.” Two women are mentioned in Goldberg’s drama “Storms Over the Grand Bay:” one a mistress who “loves vulgarity,” the other a wife whose only purpose is to mourn her husband who dies in an accident near the end of the story. Oddly, the final remarks from the wife are not of her tragedy, but of her being an object of attraction. The speaker notes that even through her tears “she is quite pretty in her cheap cotton print dress” (4:10). It’s a cinematic concluding sentence that may have held more impact had she any characterization. Sadly, its current function reduces this unnamed wife to a stock trope of tragic beauty. Goldberg’s depiction of Ada is one of his few more well-rounded women characters: she writes a socialist pamphlet entitled “To My Leisure Class,” and goes “to art school and wears modern, yes, even swanky clothes.” Yet still, she exists to fuel a rivalry of philosophies between the two young bachelors. Goldberg is also not quick to let us forget her physical appearance, writing in a stage

direction near the end of Scene II that her “pigtales are hanging loosely at her sides” (10:9). This type of physical description is not given for Ada’s male counterparts.

Two works are of particular note when it comes to men representing women: Avalon’s poem “St. John’s Woman,” and Goldberg’s “The Village.” Avalon’s work is the only poem or short story written by a man that describes a woman at length without their relation to a specific male character or speaker. The poem’s subject, an experienced sex worker in St. John’s, is written about as a sort of city fauna, only existing to bring “the night a dark and ancient dignity” (3:6). Despite being given a “dignity,” she is repeatedly likened to “an old ship in some backwash of harbor” (3:6). Her occupation is not one she was pushed to by necessity, but by the corrupted “lading she carried in her soul.” Unable to consider her occupation anything else, Avalon postulates that she has “been burdened” with a “queer overflow of lust.” For Avalon, those who seek her were numerous and varied (“The aged and timid sought her; and the very young.”), but equally flawed. He notes their “bruise” of spirit, desiring not any kind of enlightenment through sexual gratification, but a deprivation, a “raucous sneer for frantic incompetence” (3:6).

Avalon’s use of the word “dignity” is at best a bad joke. Avalon consistently muddles the occupational conditions of the woman, unnamed – for why fully characterize an individual when you can improperly homogenize an entire trade? Making certain that she isn’t simply performing a job, she is following her calling, the burden of her “queer overflow of lust.” Is she seeking men in the middle of the night for recreation or for occupation? Other than reference to performing her acts for “An old dollar upright,” there is little indication of where sexual deviancy as a hobby starts and sexual



deviancy as work ends. Regardless, her sex work is severed from her poor economic conditions. She is not performing these acts as a high-class escort in a luxury hotel, but around “old fences and basements of old buildings.” Little concern is given to her life outside her work. The focus is on how her occupation “corrupts” her womanhood. It doesn’t seek to elevate or engage with the class conditions of the “ancient dignity” that is sex work. The “burden of lust” that Avalon writes about may be read as a personal attribute, or something given to the woman by the men who pay her. The woman is sullied by these men as they “bruise the spirit further, of harried libidos, / come not from her. That tired, granny’s face” (3:6). Either she is spiritually corrupted in her desire to perform this sex work, or the sex work has spiritually corrupted her. Regardless, Avalon considers the act doubly immoral, without discussing social and class conditions, the male demand for sex, and any accountability for the men “corrupting” these women.

While less egregious, Goldberg’s creative non-fiction story features an unnamed female character in her early teens attending Sunday school. Her “face is drawn and thin from undernourishment” and she doesn’t have the knowledge to educate herself on why Goldberg, a grown man, wouldn’t be attending Sunday school. Her only excitement comes from her brother and his ability to work on the railroad. Her clothes are much like the clothes of the other Port-Aux-Basque residents: “lackluster, threadbare” (3:11). The story gives her little space on the page, and instead focuses its attention on the narrator’s interactions with other impoverished, drab, and unhappy male characters.

I draw attention to these two pieces because their issues with representation are not simply an anachronistic criticism that I push upon them from the privileged present, but one that had immediate consequences for the editors. Both poem and story resulted

in libel suits being placed against the editors. Avalon's poem resulted in a suit "filled by an employee of the St. John's Evening Telegram who felt Avalon's poem reflected unkindly on the nature and behavior of all Newfoundland women" (Campbell 45). Similarly, Goldberg's story had "the town fathers of Port Aux Basque ... outraged at Goldberg's 'injustices' to their village and his 'misrepresentation' of the villagers" (44).

Campbell published little information on why these men may have been angry with Goldberg and Avalon, likely because he was sympathetic towards the authors. It's obvious that Goldberg's offense was because of his mistreatment of the entire village, not just the single young girl described. Yet Campbell clearly identified Goldberg as not misrepresenting these people but painting them in a sympathetic and homely manner. For him Goldberg's short observational story "saw a people who were rustic, poor, and touching in their simplicity" (43). Likewise, when Campbell describes "Avalon's 'offensive' poem" he sees fit to place doubting quotations around the word offensive (44). I cannot comment on whether those that saw Avalon's poem as offensive felt that way because the sex worker was described without intellectual complexity, or if it was because of a culture of male protectiveness towards women. So little information is given about these two serious interactions with the public. However, I think we may infer that given Campbell's close association with the editors of the text, that he chooses to spend little time describing these libel suits, and that the editors are always placed in sympathetic light, the editors may have felt little remorse or accountability for their misrepresentations. Yes, Goldberg decided to not serialize "The Village" after legal action is threatened. But we aren't given any indication whether this is because of remorse, or just a desire to avoid a litigation.

Beyond the magazine's lack of stories and poems that feature complex and empathetic female characters who have a lively and meaningful existence outside of their relationships to men, one might note *Direction*'s occasional direct attacks on womanhood and femininity. It was not enough to simply belittle womanhood by aligning new powerful poetry exclusively with masculinity, (remember Souster's possible naming of the magazine "sperm"?) they saw fit to equate "petty" critique and dated literary modes to femininity. Let's look again at Souster's "Letter from the Other Side of the Fence." In this letter, Souster is criticized for his lack of restraint and discipline with poetic technique. However, when Souster snaps back and ridicules the criticism that he has received (that his work needed "a little fine chiseling restraint") he equates the ridiculousness of the criticism to a fault in womanhood: "O I love that. I love the smallness, the perfect pettiness, the womanish touch of that phrase. Doesn't it describe Canadian poetry of the last fifty years?" (6:8). Not only is "womanish" phrasing something small and petty, but something faulty and reminiscent of the stale old poetry of the last generation. Furthermore, this begs the question, were the women publishing in *Direction* doing so in a masculine way? When they described mutuality of love in a genuine and empathetic way, when they discussed the struggles of an independent woman in education, when they brandished their longing with metaphors of vaginal discharge – were they somehow doing all this in a masculine way? I think not. I think these women were using the latest poetic styles, forms, and approaches in a way that sought a reconciliation between their existence as women and a mode of expression that was restrictive through its naturalized masculinity.

To better establish Souster's comments as a trend of devaluing women's literary productions, it's worth briefly looking to Irvine's chapter in *Editing Modernity* on P.K. Page, Miriam Waddington, and the difficulties of being a woman involved in little magazines. Both authors had difficulties with male headed little magazines. Waddington's struggle was "exacerbated" by the "masculine editorial manner" that she succumbed to at *First Statement* (132). Irvine speculates that it was the "blatantly masculinist editorial practices of Sutherland, Dudek, and Layton," practices unsympathetic in their limiting and funneling Waddington's poetic voice, that caused Waddington to temporarily suspend her contributions to *First Statement* (152). Waddington even resigns herself to accepting "that men were top dog in this world" (153). While Page's experience at *Preview* was far less ostracizing, it demonstrates the ostracization and isolation brought on by the clerical work done by most women contributors to little magazine production. Irvine paints a picture of being overworked (141), of office work being a "crisis of communication" (144), and of office work forcing "women's inability to express their personality" (143). I draw attention to these two difficulties faced by famous women authors in the forties to stress the sheer frustration in finding modes of expression or contribution that allowed for personality and sympathy. Historically, "feminine" writing was not "petty," but was systemically muddled and confused against a backdrop of masculine literary production.

With Souster's devaluation "feminine" writing, it's no surprise that when other male authors wrote love poetry their women were often not written as equals, but as static muses onto whom the authors projected their desire. Male desire is expressed primarily in two modes: physical, reductive descriptions of women; or with a stock of

metonymic tropes. Many instances exist where women are reduced only to the sensation of touch in a dynamic wherein men act, and women are acted upon. In every instance, these modes of expression insist upon the objecthood of their lover.

When Souster describes the world in “Deception,” he writes that “the world is the beautiful body of a young girl / With the inflamed sores on her body / Well-hidden behind her scarlet-flowing cape” (3:4). In “The Street of This City” Souster’s only mention of his partner is one that likens her “beautiful body” to Braille (8:11). Goldberg’s “Song” in the 8<sup>th</sup> edition, could not insist more transparently on the man, actor / woman, object dynamic:

Moon

Stir the salmon

Between his thighs

Moon

The lisse worn flowers (sic)

In your diamond saddle.

Love. Awake.

When my lover sighs

Rose petals

Open and close. (8:8)

The poem would make a generous statement on how women are capable of controlling the entirety of nature (When my lover sighs / Rose petals / Open and close), if the nature being controlled wasn't a conventional stand-in for vulvic imagery that reduces the woman down to her ability to invoke desire in a man.

A mastercraft of many objectifying techniques (and an entire lack of poetic technique) can be found in Souster's unnamed blazon "Poem" in the magazine's 8<sup>th</sup> issue. The poem continuously establishes masculinity as an active force that pursues a passive, yet elevated woman. Multiple mentions are made of the woman's body parts: her breasts, which are described as "all the world," her smile, her "quieter waters," a place in which an individual could take shelter after their "manhood had ridden the storm" (8:11). There is only one mention of the lover, her "perfect awareness," that is not physical or without physical associations. Thankfully, she is more than a just sexual partner: her smile is "a rose sky flooding down the world," a site where the male actor "could turn to / Long after his hands were tired of their work over you." Ironically, despite never fleshing out this woman beyond her flesh, the poem ends with a claim of indescribability. Apparently, they would need to spend "... a thousand days and nights / Before a man could really know / What a miracle had showered / his days..." (8:11). Souster attempts to create a power imbalance that elevates the woman to a status of unachievable beauty and desire, but in the process recreates a dynamic that identifies men as the actors and agents, and women as passive and receptive.

When we shift our attention to the few examples of poetry written by Miriam Waddington, Lois Darroch and Kay Smith, the dynamic between the sexes is entirely different. What exists within these poems is a persistent mutuality of desire.

Waddington's poetry expresses mutuality through a means not overly reliant on physical objectification, but on an intimacy that is expressed through partnership and camaraderie. In her poem "Festival," Waddington considers love to be an expansive force or passion, not immediately associated with an individual's body, but with the world. A short poem, the first stanza discusses the way the sky ("this bubble of blue") "Contains" the lovers. Their love however is not one limited by the earth ("this cave of light / Curving around the sun") but is a phenomenon that "Magnifies" them. The poem ends by considering the celebrations, the "Festival" in question, that will be created after they have lived their passionate lives (3:2). Her poem "The Hub" similarly attempts to invoke a kind of worldly love. The lovers are described as parallel trajectories running over oceans. However, their parallel trajectories don't allow them to meet or be together. It's important here that when Waddington describes the differences between the two, she does so in terms of a yet to be attained equality of social and physical mutuality:

We say words that are similar

But the context is different worlds,

We are cast in the bronze of curving joy

But we are not alive. (3:2)

Waddington continues by observing that their love can only cross paths if it is associated with a love throughout the all the world. Waddington layers a desire for socialist utopia on top of the speaker's desire for her beloved, reaching out to the "lightened factories," "The crowded busses and clanging offices" (3:2). It is only when the earth reaches its "final freedom," whether that freedom be a victory in the war, or socialist utopia, that the

two lovers can come together. Stylistically, “Festival” doesn’t use a conservative form or pastoral tropes found in dated “womanly” poetry. She connects her lovers to the modern setting of the city, to the modern so-called desire for a socialist utopia which recognizes income equality necessitates gender equality.

Similar to Goldberg’s “Song,” Waddington’s “Avenues” offers the only refreshing reversal of common images of male physical desire. This sonnet uses heavy veiled metaphors to convey the speaker’s desire to have sex with her beloved, and her masturbatory practices in lieu of his physical proximity: images of “dark channels,” “avenues,” “caving waters,” “Multiplied the finger touch / To a million messengers” (2:2). Actions associated with this water are returned to frequently and are often associated with parts of the speaker’s body. Her limbs are “Bathed bated / In the dry pile of leaves,” and she concludes the poem by being drowned by loneliness. This is likely because she cannot have “The golden fish of my wish / Into the caving waters” (2:2). In both Goldberg’s “Song” and Waddington’s “Avenues,” the poems’ speakers are positioned as actors in their desire and potential copulation. The difference in Waddington’s poem is that the speaker’s desire is always carried forth through the movement and action of her body, rather than the passive and distant moon in Goldberg’s poem.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> While not relevant to the expression of desire and romance, an important story about Waddington’s relationship to the production history of *Direction* should be noted. When discussing *Direction*, almost all scholars note that it was the first Canadian publication of Miller’s “Tropic of Cancer.” However, except for Campbell’s thesis, none mention that Souster was only able to obtain Miller’s text by deliberately manipulating and lying to Miriam Waddington. According to Campbell, Souster lied to Patrick Waddington, claiming that Miriam had given him permission to borrow the book. Miriam had in fact refused. Getting another RCAF member to copy the entire book out, Souster then sent back Miriam’s copy, using his new document to publish excerpts for the seventh edition of the magazine. Miriam was “terribly upset” with Souster. In Campbell’s interviews, Goldberg is quoted as ridiculing Miriam, not



While Kay Smith only had three poems published during the run of *Direction*, she offers a more complicated, cosmopolitan reading of her present, than the “native,” stylized male writers. Similarly, her poem “Heat” offers a more nuanced ode to male desire. The poem begins with a lengthy description of the springtime heat of “heavy blossoms” that frames “the feet of a far boy stutter” (10:5). Similar to Waddington, Smith invokes a multitude of desires: “threads from a thousand desires,” being reduced to a “single wish” (10:5). While unclear, she talks about this reduction as “singular the moment / when a man fully and simply knows his thirst for an essential” (10:5). This “essential” is described with overtly sexual connotations: “liquid on a parched tongue,” or “the curve of a breast cool fruit to his touch” (10:5). This desire is when “he is most beautiful his honesty like a new whistle” (10:5). Smith praises male beauty for its lack of mutuality. However, his independence is not one of power and control, but of isolation. Throughout this poem the male figure is diminished by his environment. Male desire in this form is given praise, but it isn’t given the gravity of bold action and authority.

While there were only a few contributions by women throughout the course of the magazine’s production, they offer a stark contrast to the male-centered poetry and prose of authors like Goldberg and Souster. Despite masculinity being expressed in a plethora of different ways, some reliant on women for fulfillment, some contrasted against older men, some against the society which constricts them to a particular form of male expression, only one article of writing describes femininity without reliance or contrast to masculinity. Darroch’s “Upgrading 1943” offers a comparative approach by

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considering it a matter of respect and consent, but one of absurd ownership: “she thought she had a private concession or monopoly on Miller” (50).

using quotes from Tennyson's "The Princess" to express the speaker's personal independence from men. The speaker modernizes a short section from Tennyson's poem, associating the dying warrior from the section "Home they Brought her Warrior Dead," with futuristic advancements in modern technology. This warrior lies dying "as he vision-talked of future where matter was controlled for man" (8:9). As does the Princess in Tennyson's poem, the speaker refuses to spend her life for a dying warrior. However, unlike Tennyson's Princess, who accepts instead the warrior's child, the speaker refuses the child. The child will not be able to work for the fruits of their own labour, it will not be able to overcome the unnatural capitalistic division of labour: "no child to set the atom to their rounds." Darroh's speaker concludes her interrogations of Tennyson's poem by rejecting both man and his offspring: "I cannot live for thinking of him no more in life or child" (8:9).

The speaker instead commands death and time, pushing herself and society back to a point of nature prior to technological modernism: "Go back to die. Draw the long length back to where the beginning was and lie within the past a little while before the close" (8:9). Commanding time, the speaker shifts the prose poem towards the autobiographical past. In her childhood she recalls a life devoid of male associations, surrounded by nature, "full of little plans and busy." Associating her agency as a young girl with the natural, the speaker subtly recognizes the constraints a patriarchal society forces. Swiftly afterwards the speaker skips from her childhood, to adolescence, and into adulthood. Her hometown recognizes her as a person of potential or "promise," and wonders about the speaker while she attends college. When she returns, she has grown into the potential and promise everyone in her town had expected of her. Playing against

an expectation for women to be uneducated in comparison to their male counterparts, Darroch's speaker finds achievement and local recognition as an exceptionality within the patriarchy, while choosing not to give the patriarchy any space within her history. She concludes by claiming that her independent journey has allowed her to succeed where Tennyson's Princess has not: "she saw the girl indeed was greater than the woman who cannot rise again" (8:10). This girl is the same girl of the speaker's past: unfettered by patriarchal shackles tethering womanhood to domesticity, able to enact plans and ideas without the pressure of domesticity.

Given its recurring rejection of patriarchal space, Darroch's poem is the only one of its kind within *Direction*. It exists as a bright outlier in a magazine dominated by notions of diverse masculinity and passive femininity. Yet unlike Miriam Waddington, Darroch takes the rejection of gender norms one step further by asserting that women's current passivity within society insists upon producing offspring for men, offspring that these men will in turn offer to an oppressive capitalist society that robs not just women of their agency, but all people. Intersectional, feminist, experimental: I consider Darroch's poem to be one of the few living up to the radical idealism of *Direction's* manifesto.

## CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSIONS

To conclude, I would like to take another look at Michael Gnarowski's preparatory notes in his index to *Direction*, and how he defines the magazine's importance to the development of Canadian modernism. For Gnarowski, *Direction*'s importance comes from the unusual fact that it is a "child of the war," and the fact that "in the development of certain trends" it showed itself as representative of "the progressively stronger tendencies to internationalism and *North-Americanism* in our literary culture and a corresponding drift away from English cultural influences" (5). In essence, according to Gnarowski, it is significant for who it published, its publication of small sections from *Tropic of Cancer*, and its neat fit into the common narrative on the development of Canadian modernism.

Gnarowski does not trick us into considering *Direction* as more than it is. I have no intentions to overstate the importance of this magazine either. *Direction* is a very small piece of the much larger puzzle that is the development of Canadian Modernism and its relationship to the little magazine. Its contributors would either slip into obscurity, as was the case with most RCAF contributors outside the coterie of Goldberg, Souster, and Mullen, or they would treat *Direction* as another small publication that had little impact on a much larger writing career, as was the case with writers like the Waddingtons, Irving Layton, and John Sutherland. No doubt Souster would put his experience at *Direction* into his later little magazine projects *Enterprise* (1948) and *Contact* (1952-54), but these would have a much greater impact on the development and distribution of modern Canadian literature.

*Direction*'s importance comes not from its production of landmark pieces, nor from its history to the later literary productions of Souster, but in being a literary example of the disjunction between theory and practice. In theory and in subsequent scholarship, *Direction* is defined as a magazine of North American aggression and fight that helped defeat a longstanding Canadian tradition of colonialism and European influence. In reality, *Direction* was a mish-mash match of contributions and approaches that complicate any concept of a categorical monolith. *Direction* published poems and short stories in a variety of stylistic and formal modes, harbouring romantic era influences and occasional brushes with surrealism. It worked primarily in unstructured forms but wasn't afraid to use structured meter and longstanding conventional literary modes like the sonnet to make a point. *Direction* was also a magazine that represented Canadian modernism's long-documented love affair with literature of the social left; just as much as *Direction* contributed to a supposed tradition of "nativism," so too did it contribute to a discussion on the discontents with capitalism and the supposed upcoming socialist utopia. Additionally, it must be noted that looking at the entirety of *Direction*'s production history reveals that the writers were not the aggressive avant-garde radicals they sought to be. They in fact attempted to brand their rebelliousness into a potentially palpable mainstream style. And lastly, despite being given little to no attention from scholars, *Direction* made many diverse statements on structures of masculinity and femininity, how gendered desire is expressed, and the social standing of men and women.

There is also much of this magazine I have neglected to consider. I have not been able to do a comprehensive study of the magazine's public reception and have needed to

rely instead on anecdotal pieces from secondary sources. Additionally, *Direction's* unique site of publication was only mentioned in passing, and more could be discussed of the magazine's use of military resources and the publication's relationship to its maritime roots. Much more can be said of the centralization of Canadian modernism, and how the literary products of the East Coast get relegated to the status of marginal and unimportant. Lastly, I did not have the space to delve into the complexities of the many theoretical roots pertaining to the social left, gender and sexuality, or periodical studies, that encircle the production of this magazine, and instead had to content myself with a more general theoretical survey.

Much like scholarship on *Direction*, scholarship on little magazines should do more than accept that a publication's intentions match its execution, or that the execution doesn't have other aspects unspoken of or unmentioned. If we are to properly assess the place of little magazines in the development of Canadian modernism, we need to allow more complex and nuanced categorizations that consider old biases and new approaches. The little magazine, much like the development of Canadian modernism, is a complex web of approaches, styles, political ideologies, and gendered ideologies, all expressing themselves with methods and tactics that can't just be boiled down to one of two simple literary traditions.

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## APPENDIX A: CHRONOLOGY

Below is a timeline chronologizing the history of *Direction*, its editors' relationship to military enrollment, and a few major events that happened during the time. The publication history of *Direction* is taken entirely from Campbell's dissertation. Campbell's short chronology, marked below by italics, is prioritized over others because of his close relationship with the editors, and his minor corrections of other scholarly work that often incorrectly dates the first edition of the magazines.

*Edited by:*

*Raymond Souster*

*William Goldberg*

*David Mullen*

*Issue Dates:*

February 1942 – Souster posted to the RCAF base at Sydney, Nova Scotia (Campbell 18-9).

March 1942 – *Preview* magazine releases its first issue.

September 1942 – *First Statement* magazine releases its first issue.

June 29<sup>th</sup> 1942 – Goldberg is trained as a radar operator in Montreal in 1942 and eventually posted to Sydney, Nova Scotia on the date listed (Campbell 22).

November 19<sup>th</sup> 1943 – According to Campbell, this is the point at which all three editors came together and began putting their ideas for the magazine to paper (31).

*n.1 [12 December]<sup>24</sup> 1943*

December 21<sup>st</sup> 1943 – Goldberg is transferred from Sydney to Port aux Basques  
Newfoundland

January 20<sup>th</sup> 1944 – Souster is transferred from Sydney to Scoudouc New  
Brunswick.

Sometime between issues Souster contacts Miriam Waddington asking her to  
contribute to the second issue of *Direction*. As a result, six of her poems appear  
within its pages (Campbell 40).

*n.2 [February – March]<sup>25</sup> 1944*

*n.3 [May], 1944*

Goldberg faces threats of litigation from “the town fathers of Port aux Basque”  
for his publication of the first instalment of “The Village.” Nothing comes from  
this threat (Campbell 44).

April 1944 – Mullen is transferred to Cape Ray, Newfoundland.

Summer 1944 – shortly before the publication of the fourth issue Wesley Scott  
(listed as one of “the four original editors,”) is sent back to Quebec (Campbell  
45-46). He would continue to mail his work to Goldberg in Port aux Basque from  
his Montreal home.

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<sup>24</sup> A letter appearing on the first page of the first issue is dated 20 November, 1943. Most critics consider this date to be the issue date. In fact, the first issue was mailed out within a few days of 12 December, 1943.

<sup>25</sup> The dates enclosed in square brackets are the issue dates as closely as they can be determined from internal and external evidence.

*n.4 [July], 1944*

After receiving backlash and threats of litigation from an employee at the St. John's *Evening Telegram* for the production of John Avalon's poem "St. John's Woman," Goldberg changes the address listed on *Direction* to his parents' Montreal address "1717 Ducharme Avenue, Outremont Quebec." He keeps this address for all proceeding issues, except the sixth – wherein he reverts back to the Newfoundland address for reasons unlisted (Campbell 45).

*n.5 October, 1944*

*n.6 December, 1944*

*n.7 March, 1945*

March 18<sup>th</sup> 1945 – Souster embarks for England in one of the last overseas drafts. He is posted to a base at Croft, in Durham, where he meets Goldberg's brother, Nathan, and Charles Fox, both contributors to the ninth edition of the magazine. Souster is posted back to Dartmouth, Nova Scotia a few months later in June (Campbell 52).

May 8<sup>th</sup> 1945 – An allied victory in Europe is announced.

*n.8 July, 1945*

August 15<sup>th</sup> 1945 – Victory over Japan is announced.

Late August 1945 – Souster is discharged from service.

Mid-September 1945 – Goldberg is discharged from service.

*n.9 November, 1945.*

Late 1945 - Souster and Goldberg make a three-day trip to New York City. It is during this time that they meet with Louis Dudek (Davey, *Dudek & Souster* 8).

December 1945 - January 1946 – *Preview* and *First Statement* merge into *Northern Review*.

Early 1946 – after asking for paid subscriptions in their ninth issue, *Direction* editors only receive enough funds to run one more edition of the magazine (Campbell 57).

*n.10 February, 1946.*

Despite their desire to continue the production, and hopefully run their own press, the editors were unable to secure enough funds from their readership and could not continue production. (Campbell 57-8).

## APPENDIX B: CONTRIBUTORS AND CONTRIBUTIONS

This appendix couples Grunkowski's index on *Direction* with small notes of production history found in Campbell's dissertation.

AVALON, John. Due to its insensitive description of a woman in St. John's, Avalon's poem "St. John's Woman" would cause the magazine to change its listed address to avoid facing potential legal trouble. He was also one of six amateur, debut RCAF writers that would appear in the first three issues of *Direction*.

"St. John's Woman;" poem. 3:6

"Song of the Psychopaths (From the Nazi Nihilists);" poem. 3:7-8

BROTT, Saul. One of six armature, debut RCAF writers that would appear in the first three issues of *Direction*. Campbell also makes an interesting note of the fact that Brott "led a communist cell while billeted at the home of a Sydney clergyman" (21).

"Montreal;" poem. 1:8

DARROCH, Lois. One of three authors who were women.

"Interim;" poem. 8:8

"Upgrading 1945;" prose. 8:8-10

FOX, Charles.

"Dark Patch, The;" poem. 9:7-8

"May Evening;" poem. 9:6

"Poem;" 9:8

GOLDBERG, William. Goldberg, as the head editor, was responsible for the mimeographing and distribution of the magazine for most issues. This was because he

was posted at a smaller station in Port aux Basques with little oversight most of his time in the military (Campbell 38).

“Beginning, The;” letter and manifesto. 1:1

“Blue Hills;” poem. 1:11

“Bread over the Snows;” one-act comedy. 10:6-13

“Let's Get Married;” short story. 5:4-5

“Letter to C.O.,” poem. 1:6

“Lost Cities;” poem. 1:3

“Polishers of Gems;” poem. 1:11

“Prokosch;” poem. 1:11

“Song;” poem. 8:8

“Song of the Fisherman;” poem. 8:10

“Storms over the Grand Bay;” short story. 4:7-10

“Summer on the Farm;” short story. 8.1-3

“Useless;” short story. 3:1-2

“Village, The;” excerpt from a prose work. 2:10-3

“When I Come Home;” poem. 1:5

“White Days;” poem. 2:4-5

GRASIK, Alik. One of six armature, debut RCAF writers that would appear in the first three issues of *Direction*.

“No Accidents;” short story. 3:8-11

HODGE, Jim. Assisted Fred Lawrence in the production of the third edition of the magazine. Assisted Goldberg in producing editions four through eight of *Direction* (Campbell 38).

JOCK, Tony C. One of six armature debut RCAF writers that would appear in the first three issues of *Direction*.

“Poem;” 1:5

LAMBERT, Francis.

“Invasion;” poem. 6:9

“Patch of Green, A;” poem. 6:8

“Stones for Bread;” poem. 6:9

LAWRENCE, Fred. Assisted in the technical production of the second and third edition of the magazine. According to Campbell he was “willing to do much of the typing, mimeographing, and mailing” (38).

LAYTON, Irving.

“Newsboy;” poem. 2:9

“Petawawa;” poem. 3:5

LOGAN, James. One of six armature debut RCAF writers that would appear in the first three issues of *Direction*.

“Trial by Fire;” poem. 2:9

MILLER, Henry

“Paris of Henry Miller, The;” selections from *Tropic of Cancer*. 7:1-13

MULLEN, David

“Campaign;” poem. 4:1-2

“Departure;” poem. 4:1

“Diabola;” poem. 2:5

“Letter from a Young Artist;” critical article. 4:4

“Poem;” 1:6



“Reflection;” poem. 1:9

“Sleep;” poem. 8:8

“Song for Kaj;” poem. 1:12

“Triskaidekaphobia;” poem. 2:4

PORRITT, William. One of six armature RCAF writers that would appear in the first three issues of *Direction*. Unlike most of RCAF “talent,” Porritt was published previously in *The Canadian Form* and *Contemporary Verse* (Campbell 41).

“Gaze Deep As You Dare;” poem. 2:6

“Longer Night, The;” poem. 2:6

RALPH, Nathan [pseud] (Goldberg, Nathan Ralph).

“Forgotten Regiments (pre-invasion);” poem. 5:1-3

“Indifference;” poem. 6-6-7

“New Identity;” poem. 6:6

SCOTT, Wesley. As mentioned in Appendix A, shortly before the publication of the fourth issue Wesley Scott (listed as one of “the four original editors,”) is sent back to Ontario due to his inability to get adjusted to “air force life” (Campbell 45-46).

“Escape;” poem. 1:5

“Going to Bed with Someone on Your Mind;” poem. 2:5

“Great Harlot Winter;” poem. 2:7

“Hades;” poem. 5:3

“On the Wheel of This Bitter Night;” poem. 6:7

“Record Hour;” poem. 3:6

“Tintinabulation;” poem. 3:5

SMITH, Kay. One of three authors who were women, Smith was solicited by Goldberg for contributors shortly after he was discharged from service (Campbell 56).

“From Clock to Clown and Back Again;” poem, 10:5

“Heat;” poem. 10:5

“Thanksgiving 1946;” poem. 10:4

SOUSTER, Raymond. As mentioned in Campbell’s dissertation, Souster’s contributions make up almost half of the total material published by the magazine.

“Absence;” poem. 9:11

“Air Raid;” poem. 1:8

“Apple Blow;” poem. 1:9

“Balm;” poem. 4:2

“Beachhead;” poem. 5:7

“Because of This;” poem. 9:11-2

“Behold a Child Is Born;” poem. 8:6

“Cape Ray;” poem. 4:2

“Camp, The;” poem. 5:8-9

“City, The;” poem. 6:5

“Cold Eye of Morning, The;” poem. 6:5

“Creek, The;” short story. 8:4-6

“Debt, A;” comment on Henry Miller and Kenneth Patchen. 2:1

“Deception;” poem. 3:4

“Dreams Were Always Cheap;” poem. 3:5

“Excerpt from an unfinished novel.” 4:5-7

“Excerpt from the novel Nostalgia.” 1:4

“False Spring;” poem. 3:3

“Forgotten Canadian: Raymond Knister, The;” critical/biographical note 10:2-3

“Friday Night;” poem. 9:13

“From ‘The Carousel of Madness’;” poem. 2:8

“Going Down of the Wind, The;” poem. 9:12

“Good Rain, The;” poem. 5:7

“Hitting the Deck;” short story. 5:9-10

“I Wonder if the Boys on the Beach-heads Tonight Are Thinking of Bouchard's  
Dismissal;” poem. 4:3

“Interval;” short story. 9:8-10

“Invader, The;” poem. 8:7

“Lagoon, The;” poem. 6:4

“Letter: From the Other Side of the Fence, A;” letter of comment on  
contemporary Canadian poetry. 6:8

“Letter to Newmarket (2);” poem. 6:5-6

“Nada;” poem. 1:4

“Need of an Angel;” poem. 10:13

“Night Train Leaving Montreal;” poem. 2:2

“Night Watch;” poem. 1:6

“Old Men;” poem. 3:4

“Phoney War;” poem. 8:6

“Place of Meeting: Prologue;” poem. 2:7

“Poem;” 3:5

“Poem;” 9:11

“Poem [for the Heroes];” 8:7-8

“Poem in Prose: Meet You at the Arcade;” 4:3

“Present State of Canadian Literature, The;” signed editorial. 1:2

“Return;” prose excerpt from an unfinished novel. 4:5-7

“Revelation;” poem. 8:7

“Room, the Radio, Their Love, The;” prose poetry. 5:6

“Snakes, The;” poem. 1:11

“That Year;” prose piece. 3:3

“This Street of This City;” poem. 9:10-1

“Three Poems;” poem. 1:10

“Tireanness;” poem. 9:11

“Village by the Sea;” poem, 5:7

“When I Write About the Murder;” poem. 5:7-8

“When We Are Young;” poem. 8:6-7

“With Spring;” poem. 3:4

SUTHERLAND, John.

“Great Things and Terrible;” critique on the poetry of Charles G.D. Roberts. 9:2-6

SWIM, Robert. A friend of Goldberg’s, a Montreal resident and YMCA director, responsible for drawing the cover for the final edition of the magazine (Campbell 55).

WADDINGTON, Miriam. One of three authors who were women, Miriam Waddington was also responsible for owning the copy Henry Miller’s *Tropic of Cancer* that Souster used to publish excerpts of the banned book (Campbell 50-51).

“Avenues;” poem. 2:2

“Bastard Country Prospect;” poem. 2:3

“Festival;” poem. 2:2

“Hub, The;” poem. 2:2

“People's Army;” poem. 2:3

“Snow-whorls;” poem. 2:3

“Strange Country;” poem. 3:6

“Susie and the Man Travelled with Samples;” prose piece. 3:7

WADDINGTON, Patrick

“All in Fun;” short story. 5:1-4