THE DIVIDED WORLDS OF DUNCAN CAMPBELL SCOTT

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ABSTRACT

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The objective of this thesis is to investigate as a unit the work of Duncan Campbell Scott, and to discuss how he endeavoured to come to terms with the polarities which he perceived within and around him. Chapter I reviews previous criticism and provides an overview of the thesis. An empirical analysis of the chronology of Scott's creative output reveals that his work falls into five periods of productivity. These periods are separately examined in Chapters III--VII, while Chapter II looks at early influences in his life and attempts to draw tenuous connections with his later attitudes and work. Chapter III (1887-1893) discusses the exploratory nature of Scott's early writing, in which the tensions which were to become his trademark are clearly discernible. Chapter IV (1894-1907), covering the period of his most intense literary activity, shows

Scott, as artist and civil servant (in Indian Affairs), exploring in increasing depth the division he found in his personal and official worlds, including apparent contradictions related to assimilation of the Indians into white society. Chapter V (1907-1927) demonstrates that, after a period of inactivity following his daughter's death, Scott reached an artistic climax in the maturing of his personal and literary philosophies, at the same time arriving at a resolution of some of the divisions which preoccupied him. Chapter VI (1927-1935) looks at Scott's work during years of great change and renewal in his life, while Chapter VII (1935-1947) draws the study to a close with an examination of his last writings, especially The Circle of Affection which, by including samples from his life's work, provides the reader with a review of the divided worlds which stimulated Scott to write.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In recent years, a renewed interest in early Canadian writers has brought critical attention to bear on those writers known as "The Confederation Poets": Sir Charles G. D. Roberts, W. Bliss Carman, Archibald Lampman and Duncan Campbell Scott. Of the four, Scott has received, perhaps, the least critical attention, and although, since 1963, seven theses have been written on Scott, none has attempted to examine his work as a whole or to investigate at length the tension between Scott as civil servant and Scott as artist and man. It is the purpose of this thesis to explore this and other tensions as they are revealed in the body of Scott's work.

Critical works on Scott tend to deal almost exclusively with his poetry, and this is particularly true of criticism during his lifetime. An exception is Allan Douglas Brodie's brief article for the Canadian Magazine in praise of Canadian short story writers, one of whom was Scott.[1] Very few critics refer to his prose writing, and if they do so it is usually to imply that such work is inferior to his verse. Early critics such as V. B. Rhodenizer and Lionel Stevenson stress Scott's concern with

the perfection of technique, and draw parallels between his poetry and his great love, music. Raymond Knister admired Scott's stories sufficiently to dedicate his Canadian Short Stories to him in 1928; however, his critical work on Scott is devoted to the poetry. He talks of Scott's knowledge of the north country and his faithfulness to that knowledge but, curiously, finds Scott's prose lacking in the qualities which make his poetry unique. Knister mentions, too, Scott's knowledge of the Indian and his astute observation of them, but refers to the poems only as "nature pieces," nothing more.[2]

It is E. K. Brown, a close friend of Scott in his later years, who is recognized as the poet's chief critic. His "Memoir" of Scott, written for Selected Poems of Duncan Campbell Scott published in 1951, is the most comprehensive biographical study of, and critical comment on, his work to date.[3] This memoir traces Scott's development as a writer and gives interesting insights into his personal life. However, although Brown discusses Scott's prose in its appropriate period with regard to Scott's progress as a writer, he too focusses most of his critical attention on the medium which Scott himself seemed to prefer.

After Scott's death, comment on his work tended to take the form of reminiscences by such friends and colleagues as George Herbert Clarke, Arthur S. Bourinot, Madge Macbeth and Pelham Edgar. While these articles are of interest in creating an image of Scott as an individual, we find little

to help formulate an idea of the totality of his work. However, in the late fifties, perhaps because of an aesthetic distancing, critics began to take positions on the interpretation of Scott's poetry. Desmond Pacey writes of Scott portraying "violent death in a wilderness setting"[4] while A. J. M. Smith stresses Scott's balancing of opposites, especially in the love poems.[5] R. E. Rashley also talks of opposite tendencies in Scott in Poetry in Canada: The First Three Steps,[6] in which the second step deals mainly with the new concept of man and nature demanded of the poets by nineteenth-century science.

In the sixties, academic interest in poets of the turn of the century increased, and a few theses were written, again concentrating on Scott's poetry.[7] At this time, too, Roy Daniell's "Crawford, Carman and D. C. Scott" was published in Carl F. Klinck's Literary History of Canada.[8] E. Palmer Patterson II tentatively investigated relationships between the civil servant and the writer in Scott in his article for Ontario History in 1967,[9] the first critic to do so in any detail.

More recently, articles by Melvin H. Dagg[10] and Glenys Stow[11] discuss Scott's attitude towards the Indians, the former questioning the common assumption that Scott advocated assimilation, the latter exploring beyond the cultural level to the psychological. Part of the Ph.D. thesis of S. L. Dragland deals with the apparent contradictions in Scott's attitudes towards Indians as revealed in

his official versus creative writing.[12] The writings on Indians were not the only area of Scott's work to reveal tension, however; in Scott's divided world tension is also created by man's efforts to come to terms with the polarities within and around him.

During the course of my research into Scott's writing, both official and creative, I have found that empirical analysis of the chronology of his creative output reveals that his work falls into five periods of productivity. These five periods cover an impressive time span of sixty years--from 1887 to 1947, the year of his death--and show a gradual maturing of the writer as his vision becomes clearer to him. It was also fascinating to explore Scott's childhood briefly, and in an initial chapter I have drawn a tenuous connection between the early influences in his life and the later personality of the man and artist who was Duncan Campbell Scott.

It is interesting to note that Scott did not begin to write either prose or poetry until he joined the civil service in 1879 and--some four years later--became friendly with a new colleague, Archibald Lampman. The two writers worked together closely in the fifteen years until Lampman's death, publishing a column in the Toronto Globe in 1893, privately issuing poems at Christmas to their friends, and taking canoe trips into the wilderness. In his memoir on Scott, E. K. Brown reveals how strong the bond between them was:

> To me he usually called his friend "our poet," with a special sad inflection; sometimes when he spoke of the circumstances so many and so various that had combined to prevent Lampman from giving his full measure as man or poet, he would say in a whisper "Poor Archie!" and fall silent. It is impossible to convey how much feeling he put into the simple phrase.[13]

Close though the friends were, Scott was not permanently influenced by Lampman's philosophy and style, evidence of which is most noticeable in Scott's first volume of poetry, The Magic House and Other Poems, published in 1893. In this early work, half of which Scott chose not to include in his collected edition of 1926, the tensions which were to become his trademark are clearly discernible. Many of the poems reveal his fascination with the contrasting moods of the natural world in which he felt there was a correspondence with the divided nature of man. In nature's cyclical resolution of polarities lay the hope for man to reach harmony also. The few love poems express a tenderness which has undertones of passion, as if such strong feeling frightens the poet so that he is incapable of giving it full expression. Scott's flair for the dramatic narrative is also evident, touched here and there with the dream and fantasy which were to be sources of poetry and prose in his life. In general, the volume shows a poet experimenting with topics and forms which are important to him.

During this exploratory period from 1887 to 1893, Scott is known to have published at least thirteen short

stories, mainly in Scribner's, ten of which were to form In the Village of Viger issued in 1896. This first volume of prose and The Magic House and Other Poems introduce us to Scott's nature philosophy which, in tune with that of the other members of the Sixties Group, reflects an adjustment to the new concept of life which nineteenth-century science required. As did his contemporaries, Scott addressed himself to the question of evolutionary theory and its relation to the spiritual element in man. Upholding the continuity of all life as part of the divine plan, Scott views man's contribution as that of the individual striving for his brief span towards an ultimate perfection, a state perceived only through occasional illumination. The natural world, for Scott, is the fundamental source of life, a symbol of right order. It represents the balance of negation and affirmation, stability coexisting with change. Such ideas were to become a major aspect of Scott's writing.

As previously mentioned, from February, 1892, to July, 1893, Scott, with Lampman and W. W. Campbell, contributed articles to the Toronto Globe in which the column "At the Mermaid Inn" was featured. Mainly because of Campbell's influence, the column was rather controversial, and in later years Scott never liked to be reminded of his association with this experiment. The experience, however, provided stimulation of thought and a refining of statement for the developing writer who was inclined to be involved

with that stream of opinions and ideas which were not always in sympathy with the establishment view.

The period 1894 to 1907 was one of intensely creative literary activity for Scott and also one of emotional upheaval in his personal life. During this time he released six volumes of prose and poetry and published fourteen short stories, some of which were to be included in The Witching of Elspie which was not published until 1923. In 1894 Scott married Belle Warner Botsford, and in 1895 Scott's only child, Elizabeth Duncan, was born. She was the focus of her parent's lives, and her sudden death in 1907 cast a shadow over them which was never completely lifted.

In 1896 Scott was made Secretary to the Department of Indian Affairs, a position which was the same as Assistant Deputy Superintendent General. Thus Scott established increasingly direct contact with the Indians for whom his department was responsible, and the results of his experiences began to be expressed in his poetry in Labor and the Angel in 1898, New World Lyrics and Ballads in 1905, and Via Borealis in 1906. Scott also wrote about the problems related to the civilizing of the Indians in his prose work of this period, notably in his article for Scribner's in 1906, "The Last of the Indian Treaties," and in his short stories "Charcoal" (published in The Canadian Magazine in 1904) and "Expiation" (published in Munsey's Magazine in

1907). Those poems and stories with Indians as their subject reveal attitudes which, for that time, were unusually sympathetic and dramatically realistic, yet as a civil servant Scott did little to preserve Indian traditions and supported assimilation as the long-term solution to Indian problems. An exploration of documents relating to his work as Deputy Superintendent General also reveals Scott's apparently divided attitude with respect to assimilation policies.

In addition to poetry, Scott produced a biographical study on Lord Strathcona for Ainslee's Magazine in 1901-02, worked on a novel which he declined to publish when it was completed about 1905, and contributed John Graves Simcoe to the Makers of Canada series of biographies which he edited jointly with Pelham Edgar, also in 1905. After Lampman's death in 1899, Scott compiled a memorial edition of his friend's works which he published with a Memoir in 1900. Scott had also been appointed a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada in 1899, and his concern for a sound Canadian culture may be reflected in the diversity of his work of this period.

The death of Elizabeth brought this intensely productive period to an abrupt end, as Scott was so deeply affected that he was unable to write creatively for several years. E. K. Brown recounts the experience in his "Memoir":

> It was to be four years before Duncan Scott could write to any effect. Always a very nervous man,

> even his handwriting, which was normally angular and decisive, became a shaky formless thing.[14]

When Scott published Lundy's Lane and Other Poems in 1916, he included a section entitled "The Closed Door" in memory of his daughter to whom the volume is dedicated. Also included in the volume is another memorial poem, "Lines in Memory of Edmund Morris," published in 1915 as a tribute to an artist friend who had accompanied Scott on his official journeys amongst the Indians. This poem is particularly interesting for its fine sections on the Indians whom they had visited together. The other Indian poem in this volume, "The Half Breed Girl," indicates that Scott endeavoured to enter the psyche of the people whose very existence was a result of the white man's arrival. In dramatic fashion, he outlines the conflicts he feels that they must experience but provides little hope for their future happiness. Both these poems and "Powassan's Drum" (from The Poems of Duncan Campbell Scott, issued in 1926) show a view of the Indian which is unromanticised yet sensitive.

During this period of his development, Scott contributed prose articles which reflected his findings as an administrator of Indian Affairs. In 1914, he was responsible for several chapters in the series of volumes entitled Canada and Its Provinces: A History of the Canadian People and Their Institutions By One Hundred Associates. Naturally, Scott relies heavily on his Departmental reports for these chapters and for his article "The Aboriginal Races" which

appeared in the Annals of the American Academy of Political Sciences in 1923. Both works conclude that the best solution to the Indian problem is absorption into the white society whose influence Scott stresses has been far from beneficial in many respects. Such documents reveal the official Scott as detached and paternal in attitude, in contrast with his more penetrating examination of the Indian in his creative work.

Beauty and Life, Scott's favourite volume, indicates his deep involvement with the philosophy of his art, a suspicion of science, and a belief in intuition, initially expressed in Lundy's Lane but more firmly emphasized in this collection. The "Ode for the Keats Centenary" and his presidential address to the Royal Society of Canada in 1922 represent the maturing of Scott's philosophy and reveal conclusively that the main interest of his life was not the civil service but the search for illumination which came to him mainly in the Canadian wilderness.

From 1908 to 1926 there is no record of any of Scott's stories being published, but in 1923 Scott released The Witching of Elspie: A Book of Stories. This volume, half of which was written and published before 1907, explores aspects of human communication, or lack of it, usually between two individuals. As in In the Village of Viger and Other Stories, there continues a sense of a positive order, basic to the natural world, which if followed by man leads to happiness. Scott shows, however,

that man has a tragic tendency to make the wrong choice, that human nature tends to pervert the order to serve itself. Thus the volume has in its "wilderness" stories a darkness of spirit which is not completely dispelled in the more "civilized" tales making up the remainder of the work.

New poems in The Poems of Duncan Campbell Scott show that Scott at sixty-four was concerned with the brevity of life and with the value of memory. In general, moods of sadness and finality pervade these poems, but a vibrant note is struck by the hypnotic "Powassan's Drum," an "Indian" poem in the complete sense of the word with, uncharacteristically for Scott, no mention of the white man or his influence. There still remains, however, the imagery of death and destruction which Scott tends to favour in his stories and poems which have Indians as their subject. The appearance of this collection in 1926 marks the end of a period during which Scott himself felt that he had reached the high point of his artistic life.

The penultimate period of Scott's life, from 1927 to 1936, is an interesting one. After a brief period of emotional decline, Scott received a new stimulus to his creative ability in 1931 when he married the poet Elise Aylen, two years after the death of his first wife. In that same year, Scott prepared a paper on "The Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada" for the Fourth Bi-Annual Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations. This paper sums up his experience of fifty-three years with the

Department of Indian Affairs and is his last official publication as Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, a position he had held for nineteen years. His conclusion once again predicts the end of the Government's responsibility as the Indians progress into civilization by gradual assimilation with their fellow citizens.

Scott's report to the Superintendent General for the year 1931 stresses that the aim of the Government since Confederation has been to make the Indians self supporting and that the policy has met with remarkable success. The report of the previous year mentions that tuberculosis was still a serious problem, and apparently the finances to extend efforts to combat the disease simply were not forthcoming. Scott the artist depicts some of the realities of the situation in "A Scene at Lake Manitou" from the volume The Green Cloister, published in 1935, three years after his retirement from the civil service. In his final poem about Indians, "At Gull Lake: August 1810," Scott returns to the theme of the half breed and the conflict of cultures implied, but this time the theme is woven into a framework of history and legend with the natural order as the prevailing motif. The result is a work which reflects Scott at his best, with vibrant nature imagery supporting a narrative of dramatic realism which blends finally into the mystery of legend at the close, thus providing a resolution based on the natural order of things.

Other poems in The Green Cloister show the outcome of Scott's new leisure after his retirement in 1932. He and his wife travelled extensively in Europe for several years, and many of his poems are memories of places visited which inspired him to write of love and of the love of life which may lead to illumination. Apart from some poems associated with his temporary emotional decline there is very little of the tension so strongly felt in the earlier stages of his development, and this volume ends on a note of resolution.

Over the remaining twelve years of his life, the conclusion of his poetic career, Scott spent more time on the work of Lampman, and with E. K. Brown he published At the Long Sault and Other New Poems by Archibald Lampman in 1943. Selected Poems of Archibald Lampman was published in 1947, the year of Scott's death, as was the biographical study of the artist Walter J. Phillips. Any new works by Scott appeared in his final collection The Circle of Affection, published in the summer of 1947. In this volume the importance of affection, which had been evident in The Green Cloister, is emphasized more strongly. This work also gives further expression to Scott's belief in the close connection of art with the fulfilment of life. There are no radical changes in his vision which was coloured by the awareness of approaching death. The Circle of Affection provides a fitting conclusion to a study of Scott, for in rounding out the circle of his own life he includes all

aspects of his writing and leaves us with a sense of the consistency of his vision and a realization of the enduring quality of his work as a whole.

CHAPTER II

THE MOULDING OF THE MAN

(1862-1879)

If one's childhood is of much importance in influencing how one copes with life in maturity, then an examination of Duncan Campbell Scott's early life should reveal some interesting data, and though there is very little biographical information available concerning Scott's youth, there is enough to reveal that Scott learned at a very early age the distinction between public and private life.

Duncan Campbell Scott was born in a Methodist parsonage at 100 Queen Street in Ottawa on August 2, 1862. This scene of his early childhood was converted by 1908 to part of a Government warehouse, the residential district having moved much further south by that time. As a man, he returned to this same general area; by 1889, Scott had built a red brick house at 108 Lisgar Street which E. K. Brown tells us was "within ten minutes' walk of his birthplace."[1] Here Scott lived for the rest of his life.

In his memoir of Walter J. Phillips, Scott says that "The birthplace of a Methodist minister's son in the

days of the itinerancy is fortuitous, it may be here or there, it carries with it no ancestral ties or even lengthy residence."[2] However, Scott seems to have completed a cycle by returning after several years to the city of his birth, and the fact that he lived in the same house for over fifty years indicates a desire to remain in one place, perhaps induced by the impermanent nature of the lifestyle which his Methodist minister father was obliged to follow. E. K. Brown lends support to this assumption when He tells us "Like most children who have borne it, Duncan Scott was unhappy over the constant flitting from place to place; but in retrospect his childhood and boyhood seemed to him to have been good. He was never given to repining."[3]

As the son of a Methodist minister and, therefore, a member of the establishment, Scott would learn early the division between the private and the public figure. Again, Brown tells us: "He was a restless inquisitive boy and appears to have felt the pressure on an itinerant minister's children to avoid offending by an unusual act or word the censorious members of the parish."[4] Perhaps as a result of these early repressions, Scott may have adjusted to his social position by preserving a reserved manner which the community would commend and which would protect him from embarrassment.

In an interesting study of her friendship with Scott, Madge Macbeth remembers that Scott was easily hurt and easily embarrassed.[5] He worried over trifles, especially

those that seemed to indicate tactlessness or stupidity on his part. She goes on to say that he was a fierce though unaggressive individualist. He never sought an argument and never took part in one if he could help it. "Duncan was warmed by sincere appreciation, by simple attentions, just as he was revolted by fulsome praise, by kow-towing and boot licking of which he saw entirely too much in Government circles."[6] No doubt Scott witnessed much of this kind of behaviour in his youth also, for the local minister would hold a position of some power and respect in the community, as did the postmaster and the schoolmaster.

Scott was not without a sense of humour, however, as several of his short stories reveal. He enjoyed a joke on himself or any kind of joke when there was no risk of hurting others. Madge Macbeth finishes her article on Scott by telling a story about his childhood which he must have recounted to her himself:

> I never heard him swear, in the ordinary way, or lose his temper. Early Bible training may have had something to do with this, although once, at least, it proved embarrassing . . . .
>
> When a tiny child in Stanstead, he used to be left to amuse himself--decorously--in the churchyard while his father was conducting the service. His favourite pastime was pushing through the blazing hollyhocks that stood higher than his head and defying swarms of bees, press [sic] against the back wall of the church in order to feel the delicious vibrations when the organ was playing.
>
> One morning, piercing screams shattered the peaceful atmosphere of the church. His mother hurriedly left her pew but not soon enough to stem the words:
>
> "Oh mummie, look! I've been bitten by a harlot!"[7]

This humorous anecdote reveals not only an early love of music but also a sensuality which he learned to conceal in his life. It is, however, to be found in his writing and in his love of the arts.

In an address which Scott delivered at the dedication of the Archibald Lampman Memorial Cairn at Morpeth, Ontario, he reveals his belief in inherited characteristics. Both of Lampman's grandmothers were Highland Scots, and Scott had firm ideas of the traits implied by such an ancestry: "Surely his nature must have been influenced by these Celtic origins. That melancholy which ever and anon settles upon the Highlander visited him and often coloured his thoughts, and he had the Celtic shyness which is so often mistaken for pride, and he also had the aversion to material activities."[8] The subject of this description could very well have been Scott himself. Scott's maternal grandparents were emigrants from Killin in Perthshire and his maternal grandmother was a Campbell who stood in close relationship with the Bredalbane family.[9] In 1946, Scott still recalled his grandmother Isabella Campbell as she lay dying: "I remember my maternal grandmother, being held up to see her on her death-bed; then I was about five, and I can see an old face and a head with a lace nightcap; she had the Gaelic, as they say, and I've been told that her pet name for me was Gagey."[10]

When Scott at first decided to make medicine his career, it was no doubt because of the influence of his uncle, Dr. Duncan Campbell MacCallum, a well-known physician of Montreal and a professor at McGill University. It would seem plausible, then, to assume that Scott's sense of family would have been derived more from his mother's side than his father's, and consequently the Scottish influence would prevail. The authenticity of Scott's Scottish characters in his short stories probably results from his Scottish background.

In an article for Saturday Night commemorating Scott's eightieth birthday, Leonard W. Brockington, one of Scott's closest friends, remembers Scott's mother as "a woman of deep, unspoken certainties, of great Scottish reticences, of many prides and affections."[11] Another intimate friend, Pelham Edgar, also comments on Scott's mother's background as influential in moulding Scott's personality: "Those who discern the 'natural magic' of the Celt in the work of their poet son are permitted to attribute this to the infusion of a Highland Scottish strain into his blood."[12]

Scott was the only boy in William Scott's second family. Presumably the four children from his first marriage were much older than Duncan and his two sisters and probably soon left home to make lives of their own. Certainly, Scott makes no reference to this first family in

any of his writing. Thus his childhood was largely spent in a world of controlled behaviour, one in which he must have been continually aware of female values. In her article on Scott entitled "The Wound Under the Feathers," Glenys Stow expresses the belief that this mainly female influence which pervaded his youth helped to emphasize the polarities which the adult Scott seemed to find within himself: "Culture and affection tie him to the quieter patterns of life; yet while he fears the wilder powers, they attract him irresistibly. His masculinity seems to be crying out for expression. His better writing is filled with urgent emotion, with suffering characters both male and female, longing for release."[13]

Since Scott's father and mother were not young parents--William Scott was fifty and his wife Isabella was thirty-five when Duncan was born--it is not surprising to find that Scott's aesthetic development was moulded by his parents' already firmly established interest in the arts. Scott's father was well read; in Scott's own words: "Father had considerable literary ability, good prose, a reader of the best literature, library stocked with it; I browsed there and read everything there was to read."[14] William Scott particularly admired the works of Carlyle and Emerson whose essay on self-reliance was an early discovery for Duncan Scott and for which he was lastingly grateful.[15]

When William Scott came to Canada in 1837 he was a trial representative of the Wesleyan church and was first

stationed at Brockville. In 1840 he was received into full connection with the church and spent the next seven years as a missionary among the Indians of Lake Huron and Manitoulin Island. From 1847 to 1881 he was engaged in the work of the church in all the principal villages and towns in the Montreal conference.[16] According to E. K. Brown, William Scott's interest in the Indians was lifelong and one of the main bonds with his son, though the fact that Scott was given a position with the Department of the Interior seems to have been a matter of chance.[17] It is easy, however, to imagine the only son being fascinated by tales of his father's experiences with the Indians, and perhaps the religious overtones in some of Scott's works which have Indians as their subject may be traced to this family connection. In addition, several of Scott's poems and stories reflect his familiarity with the ways of French Canadians and other country people amongst whom he spent his youth.

Not ~~least~~ important in a study of the childhood of Scott is the fact that he spent all his youth living in a rural environment. Surely his knowledge and appreciation of the natural world must have been acquired during these formative years? The study of the birds and their songs, of wild flowers, trees, the changing skies and of the round of the seasons would have delighted the sensitive child. As previously mentioned, it was fortuitous that Scott gained a position with the civil service which eventually

allowed him to spend much of his time travelling in the wilderness which he loved. Had he achieved his original desire of a medical career, thwarted because of lack of funds, one wonders if he would ever have written a line of poetry or prose, for Scott admitted that he had never thought about writing creatively until he was about twenty-five and met Lampman, who worked in the Post Office department.[18]

Scott's mother was interested in music and encouraged Duncan when he began to study the piano at the age of seven. This interest in music stayed with him throughout his life, and he became a pianist proficient enough to act as accompanist to visiting performers in Ottawa social circles. It was during such an engagement that he met Belle Warner Botsford, an accomplished violinist who was later to become his wife. Much of Scott's creative work, both in form and content, reflects his musical gift, and it is no surprise to learn that he kept a silent keyboard in his office where he would practise during quiet moments to keep his fingers supple. In his advanced years Scott suffered greatly from neuritis in his right hand and received what he called short-wave treatment to alleviate the pain.[19] This affliction frequently prevented him from both playing and writing, his two great pleasures in life; however, ever resourceful, he learned to type--though rather badly--and enjoyed an extensive record collection which he proudly kept up to date.

The young Scott's interest in art began with the woodcuts in Good Words and Good Words for the Young, children's periodicals which were bound and carefully preserved by his necessarily thrifty parents.[20] In these works were stories and poems illustrated by such notable artists as Sir John Everett Millais who was a brilliant painter of romantic and literary subjects. Holman Hunt, founder of the Pre-Raphaelite brotherhood, also contributed art work often of a religious nature, as did Dante Rossetti, who studied under Millais and Hunt and many of whose poems were written as commentaries on his own pictures.

This group of artists and critics "sought to infuse art with moral qualities through a scrupulous study of nature and the depiction of uplifting subjects."[21] Such work was probably considered eminently suitable for young eyes by the Scott parents, and may help to explain the occasional moral and didactic tones of some of Scott's writing, particularly in his early years. Shortly before his death Scott remembered these periodicals with fondness when he told E. K. Brown: "These books were the possessions of happy children brought up by indulgent parents whose influence was ever for the best in letters, music, and in art, and who encouraged every evidence of talent."[22]

Thus, by the time Scott was established in the new Department of Indian Affairs, he had been introduced to creative writing by a close friend who shared many of his artistic interests and who encouraged him in his efforts.

Scott's sensitivity together with the store of memories and observations from his childhood days provided him with a firm foundation upon which to build his literary interest, one which he always considered a form of leisure, a part of his private life removed from the rather formal and restrictive world of the civil service.

CHAPTER III

EARLY WORK

(1887-1893)

The young Scott began his career in the Public Service of Canada on December 15, 1879, when he was apprenticed to a clerkship in the Department of the Interior as a result of his father's acquaintance with the newly re-elected Prime Minister, Sir John A. Macdonald. In a letter dated December 11, 1879, from Edgar Dewdney, Indian Commissioner for the Northwest Territories, to Mr. L. VanKoughnet, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, the request is made for the services of a clerk, and across the top of the letter is written the authorization of Sir John A. Macdonald: "Approved - Employ Mr Scott at $1.50 [a day]. J.A. McD."[1]

It was not until Lampman joined the Post Office Department in 1883 and the two became firm friends that Scott laid aside music as his main interest and began to write. This sudden change of artistic direction is mentioned by E. K. Brown to whom Scott related that it had never occurred to him to write a line of prose or poetry until he was about twenty-five, and after he had

met Lampman.[2] Scott enjoyed his work in the Service, and although he was promoted to Second-Class Clerk in December, 1883, his position was not an arduous one, and he found sufficient time in which to indulge his new interest. Scott describes the special attraction that the Service had for the artist in his Memoir in The Poems of Archibald Lampman which he edited and published in 1900:

> If an artist be possessed of a private fortune, he is happy indeed; if not, some occupation not subject to the ordinary stress and change of business life is best for him. In the Canadian Civil Service at head quarters there is that element of security.[3]

He goes on to say that Lampman "recognized that the life had its compensations in periods of leisure secure and serene, which he might devote to his one great passion, poetry."[4] Scott's creative writing blossomed in this conducive atmosphere also, but apart from the dates of publication of his first work very little is known as to the development of his talent during this early period. It is only after 1889 that one may consult Scott's notebooks as to the possible dates for his compositions, and these refer exclusively to his poetry.[5]

If one considers Scott's early work, it seems that poetry and prose were explored by him in fairly equal measure, for both short stories and poetry appeared in various Canadian and American periodicals. His first published work, the short story "The Ducharmes of the Baskatonge," was featured in the first issue of Scribner's

in February, 1887, while his first published poem, "The Hill Path," appeared in the same magazine in May, 1888. However, E. K. Brown notes that Scott's first printed poem was a sonnet, "Ottawa before Dawn," requested by an Ottawa stationer for an illustrated card.[6] During the next five years Scott produced sufficient material in both genres to enable him to issue The Magic House and Other Poems in 1893, by which time he had also published all but two of the stories collected into In the Village of Viger, which was not published until 1896. It is to be wondered, perhaps, whether Scott was experimenting with the two genres, testing which was the more congenial medium for the expression of his new-found talents.

When we examine Scott's fiction as a unit, it is interesting to note that all of his narratives are set in the early 1800's when Canada was beginning to feel the effects of an expanding civilization. As mentioned earlier, Scott had spent his formative years living in various rural areas of Quebec and Ontario, during which time he would have become familiar with the lifestyles and heritages of the people around him--many of whom would be of pioneer stock: Irish, Scottish, and French Canadian. It is natural that Scott should have drawn on his own experience as the basis for his first narratives. It is also in keeping with Scott's character that he would choose to write about a time which provided him with the objectivity of an aesthetic distancing. In addition, Scott was one of

the first Canadian writers to endeavour to establish a tradition of Canadian as distinct from American literature, and this desire in part explains the background against which he unfolds the conflicts of these first characters.

Scott's first short story, "The Ducharmes of the Baskatonge," reflects the tendency in writers of the time to focus on the popular local-colour narrative, set as it is in the wilderness north of Ottawa, home of the loggers and trappers of the early 1800's. Woven into a story of brotherly love and self-sacrifice is a sense of the pioneer's development of the Canadian wilderness. Scott frames his story with sensitive descriptions of the balancing of positive and negative natural forces in the wilds. Here the pioneer trapper Hypolite Ducharme had built his cabin, now crumbling in ruins amid "the eternal silence that dwells forever in the waste places of the world," while "the haunts of men seem as far away as the stars that throb faintly in the lonely vastness of the summer sky."[7]

But the story is very much about the haunts of men, beginning with the drama of François being saved from drowning by his brother Octave. They have become seasonal woodsmen and return to their old home only in the summer when they revert to the old ways. The two brothers are inseparable, the extrovert Octave complementing the sensitive and introspective François who always follows Octave's lead. Complications arise when both fall in love with a

neighbouring farmer's daughter. François, however, does not reveal his feelings to the unsuspecting Octave. The situation is compounded when Keila promises to marry Octave and then falls in love with François. When Octave overhears their plans to deny their love in order to be true to him, he retreats to the lonely shores of a distant lake where the natural world provides solace for his pain and brings the calm of resolution as twilight falls. Out of love for them both, he relinquishes Keila to François and returns to the healing wilderness. The story ends with the happy voices of François' children, a new Octave and his brother, calling the cattle home to their farm set in an area now cleared and producing fields of grain.

This first story embodies the dual nature of many of the themes which Scott explores in his subsequent work: the agony and ecstasy of love, the ironic strength of family ties, the sacrifice frequently involved in positive human relationships. Here, too, are pictures of early Canadian life sensitively but not sentimentally drawn. Not least in importance is the delineation of nature mirroring moments of deep feeling experienced in the primal wilderness lying on the fringes of a developing country.

"Pleasant Viger by the Blanche" is the charming French-Canadian village which is the setting for the majority of Scott's early stories: however, other lines from the introductory poem to this first collection give the reader a hint of the real subject matter when he reads

that he can staunch the "complex joys and ills of life" for only one hour in this seemingly idyllic spot, untouched by time.[8] The stories focus mainly on the ambivalence in human nature as it is illustrated in the lives of the villagers. Viger is the world in microcosm, and in its cross section of humanity those who survive, even in defeat, are those whose positive values allow them to shape their fates according to their own best powers.

In a more subtle fashion, the stories also explore the influences which the nation's development is having upon such small communities as Viger which are about to be absorbed into a city's outer limits. Bytown, renamed Ottawa in 1854, brings new life to the old village whose mill has closed down and whose gold mine has died with its owner. In "The Little Milliner," Mlle Viau arrives from the city to bring competition for the widow Laroque by selling stylish bonnets; in "Paul Farlotte," the match factory provides work for the local women who make match-boxes; Josephine Labrosse's mother finds employment in a city office, and Eloise Ruelle finds potential suitors from the city to look at her non-existent antique furniture. Yet these stories deal also with the complex ills of life. The city is the source of the corruption which brings tragedy to the little milliner's life. It is city-bred technology and mass production which bring ruin to the St. Denis family in "Paul Farlotte." Eloise Ruelle's ambition for city wealth blinds her to her brother's real

needs and leads her to abandon 68 Rue Alfred de Musset, a street whose name is associated with the disillusionment that infatuation brings.[9]

A recurring theme of self-denial based on love pervades those stories in which some balance between the opposing forces is achieved, in which the personal vision of happiness is modified by an acceptance of reality. The sometimes rather bleak nature of such a situation is tempered in each case by the affection of those who genuinely care. The Desjardins deny themselves the joy of love and marriage because Phillipe's insanity is hereditary. Blanche and old Garnaud feel sadly impelled to give the bobolink the freedom which they will never experience for themselves. Paul Farlotte gives up his trip to France in order to protect his young neighbours. Maurice Ruelle sacrifices his remaining strength so that his beloved sister can fulfil her ambition. In every case, the final result is bitter-sweet for the character whose tenacity has brought about the resolution.

Scott also explores how this same tenacity may be misdirected in man's nature, the right order perverted, as it were. Corrupted, the virtue of persistence leads to tragedy. Such is the case in "Sedan" in which Paul Arbique's obsessive love for his birthplace leads him to regard the local German watchmaker as a personification of the Prussian threat to France. Paul challenges Hans to a duel so that he might have some control over the fate of

the place which has become the only positive aspect of his life, but he collapses at the moment of challenge and eventually dies, still clinging to the dream of the Sedan he once knew.

A less idealistic obsession forms the centre of "The Tragedy of the Seigniory." Louis Bois' desire to win the grand prize in a lottery becomes the controlling passion of his monotonous life. The two other characters in the story are also driven by materialistic greed. Potvin, the bank messenger, advises Louis to embezzle his master's money, and Rioux, the young master, has been corrupted by his experiences in the civilized world. Louis wins his prize just as he learns of Rioux's imminent return after an absence of ten years. Planning to surprise his young master, the naive Louis arranges with Potvin for the delivery of the money in secret; however, Rioux has overheard the plan and unaware of Louis' identity, prepares to rob him. The box is delivered and Louis is attacked but manages to drive off his assailant after having fatally wounded him. The dramatic ending reveals Louis cheated and faced with the unbearable knowledge that he has killed his beloved master who has managed to stagger back to his old home before Louis' return. The shock is too much for the old retainer, and he dies overwhelmed by guilt and remorse.

In "Paul Farlotte," Marie St. Denis finds herself responsible for her orphaned brothers and sisters because

of her father's "perseverance which . . . became a frantic passion." His fanatical ambition to perfect the invention of a matchbox machine ruined his health and eventually claimed his life. This tragedy seems about to be repeated when Guy St. Denis becomes equally obsessed by the machine, leaving the family once again destitute. However, as he had done so often in the past, Paul Farlotte once more comes to the rescue of his needy neighbours and postpones his life's ambition to visit his old home in France and finds "the comfort that comes to those who give up some exceeding deep desire of the heart."[10] In this, the closing story of In the Village of Viger, Scott demonstrates that if life is to be purposive, man must direct his energies in a positive direction, making use of his own best powers. This cannot be achieved in isolation, for the spiritual principle of brotherhood is basic to human success.

"John Scantleberry," an uncollected story which was published in the February, 1892, issue of the Dominion Illustrated Monthly, demonstrates graphically the tragedy of the isolato, the far driven soul, alone, without any real human contact. Here, the split between the individual and his society is virtually complete, caused by some traumatic childhood experience which Scantleberry has so successfully repressed that "all the incidents of his childhood and youth were as darkness to him."[11] His self-imposed isolation is further emphasized as we learn:

"If he ever felt the need of companionship he was warned by the stress of his mind that some past experience had been disastrous, and he would allow the feeling to lapse."[12] Solitary and independent, the little tailor changes lodgings whenever the security of his isolation is threatened until he finds a flat which brings him happiness. Slowly, a passionate hatred grows for the one remaining restraint in his life, his creditor Dagon. As the murder plan forms in his mind, Scantleberry's isolation is broken by the screams of a neighbour's child. To keep her quiet he devises a method of playing angel with a basket of sweets lowered to the alley from his window. Her innocent gratitude fills his heart with a strange warmth which struggles to compete with his hatred for Dagon. However, the negative passion prevails, and Scantleberry proceeds with his plan. Fate intervenes when the girl's screams interrupt him just as he is about to stab Dagon, and the opportunity is lost. The child's family leaves, and Dagon dies of apoplexy, thus depriving Scantleberry of the two sources of his "passion time." He returns to his old lethargy, and the reader is left with an image of a soul broken and unresponsive, except for times when he hears the cry of a child. Then, "momentarily, a light flames up in some blind alley of his heart, and casts a moving glamour and shadow on the darkness."[13] For Scott, such darkness characterizes the life of the individual whose passion leads to some form of self-destruction. The lack of positive communion with

one's fellow man serves only to deepen that darkness.

"Coiniac Street," the only short story Scott is known to have published between 1887 and 1891, is his first experiment with the gothic narrative. Its chief interest lies in its revelation of Scott's fascination with the worlds of nightmare and dream, memory and vision--worlds which would be explored further in his later works. The central character, Alexander Vinal, is the victim of a hopeless passion for a mysterious, witch-like young woman, agent for a group of coiners. Their headquarters is a gloomy, abandoned country mansion which holds frightening childhood memories for Vinal whose whole life seems to have been haunted by despair. As his relationship with Elise develops, she demonstrates through her visionary powers that their fortunes seem inextricably linked in a sinister way.

When Elise reveals that she is married to one of the coiners, Vinal's spirit is broken, a moment which Scott describes vividly: "...the knowledge of his old despair came back upon him, and he saw the whole length of his life with all its diffusion of troubles, whirl before him like a line of dusk birds."[14] Sublimating his grief in action, Vinal confronts the coiners, fulfils Elise's premonitions, and in so doing meets his death. Although The Globe describes this story as "strong and original writing," it lacks the coherence of the Viger stories, and no doubt its flaws

prevented Scott from including it in any of his collections. Nevertheless, it marks an interesting development in Scott's writing.

Three of four stories published in Massey's Magazine in 1896, but which remained uncollected, also have visions and premonitions functioning as important elements in the working out of their conflicts.[15] Their rather contrived plots, however, weaken their impact, and their inclusion in any of Scott's collections would have done little for his reputation, a fact of which he seemed well aware. All are types of mystery story and focus more on solution of the mystery than on the revelation of human nature. "Ends Rough Hewn" is of passing interest as it quite clearly contains the germ of Scott's unpublished novel. The theft of public money held in trust by the father, the son suspected, the close relationship between the absent brother and ailing sister--all appear more fully developed in the work which Scott was working on in 1905.[16]

Scott's experiments in creative writing led him into the world of prose commentary when, from February 6, 1892, to July 1, 1893, Scott, Lampman and William Wilfred Campbell joined to write an informal Saturday column for the Toronto Globe. A. S. Bourinot explains the origin of the series in his introduction to selections from the column:

> W. W. Campbell needed money and so Lampman and Scott decided to see if the Globe would give him space for a couple of columns of paragraphs and

> short articles weekly at whatever pay they could get from them. Sir John Willison suggested a weekly literary column to be written by the three at $3.00 each a week. They were to have carte blanche as to quantity and subject and the monthly editorship of the column was to pass from one to the other in succession.[17]

Scott suggested the title "At the Mermaid Inn," and, reflecting the spirit of the motto credited to an Old Play, the column allowed the contributors to express their views on current topics or on subjects of personal interest.[18] Scott's contributions focussed mainly on art and literary criticism, but in later life he did not care to be reminded of this sortie into journalism. Perhaps his negative memories of the experience were connected with the controversial nature of some of Campbell's articles, for in a letter to E. K. Brown in 1943 Scott comments on the short-lived nature of the column and explains:

> Yes, Campbell was a source of worry when we were doing "At the Mermaid Inn"; in fact, the irritation of some of his stuff on the public, and the constant watch that had to be kept on his opinions went far to stop the series; but it was pretty well played out, simply because, situated as we were, there was not enough material available to keep the thing fresh.[19]

We find here in the elderly Scott an attitude unchanged from his youth--that of a man conscious not only of his public image but also of providing his readers with only his best effort. Scott detested controversy and would not relish being connected with writing of which he did not approve.

It is quite evident also, by the content of many of Scott's articles, that his interest in writing was by this

time centered more on poetry than on fiction. Nevertheless, throughout his life, Scott continued to write articles, many of which were associated with his work in the Department of Indian Affairs, the remainder being literary or commemorative in nature. This area of Scott's work, though small in proportion, is of value as it provides us with the very little that is known about his poetic theories and about his attitude as a governmental official.

The Magic House and Other Poems, published in 1893, contains, presumably, most of the poetry written by Scott in his exploratory period. As with his fiction, the poetry shows Scott experimenting with various subjects, forms and themes. The result is an interesting blend of love poems mingling with fantasy, philosophy and mood pieces. Evident also in this collection is Scott's espousal of the new evolutionary theory and its spiritual implications for man. Expression is given to distaste for materialism, particularly in the forms of power and fame. Instead, he advocates individualism in a life guided by ideals.

A poem entitled "The Ideal" is in fact one of Scott's better known poems from this first collection. Here Scott encourages the individual to meet the challenge of life by expanding the spiritual dimension of the self:

> Let your soul grow a thing apart,
> Untroubled by the restless day,
> Sublimed by some unconscious art,
> Controlled by some divine delay.

For life is greater than they think,
Who fret along its shallow bars:
Swing out the boom to float or sink
And front the ocean and the stars.[20]

Another poem, uncollected and unpublished, gives more explicit expression to Scott's distaste for the goals of power and fame, the pursuit of which tended to be one of the more material aspects of the political scene. The poem is from a typescript for The Magic House; the original title "To a Nationalist" is scribbled out, and in Scott's handwriting the word "Nationalist" is replaced by the word "Politician." A bold pencil stroke is scored through the entire poem, no doubt indicating rejection. Perhaps he felt that the reference to "squallid booths of pelf" would not sit too well with his employers!

This is an idle dream of empty power
To drive men like a flock, for though they keep
The path, thou art the shepherd, they the sheep,
And thou may'st only drive them for an hour;
Such hope is false and withers like a flower:
A man's own spirit is his true dominion,
Where all his greatest fights are lost or won.
Conquer thyself, reclaim thy ancient dower,
Leave dabbling in the blood about the camps
Of faction, leave the squallid booths of pelf,
Where dull ambition hangs her fiery lamps;
Pass by the tumult into space and light,
With the large wind, stars, and the anxious night:
To make a nation great be great thyself.[21]

Scott seems to have rejected any type of formal religion by the time he began his creative writing, and by embracing the evolutionary philosophy he and his fellow poets obtained a new vision of man. Through positive individual effort, man makes his contribution to the divine plan which is unfolding but not yet complete. An important aspect of

this new philosophy was the effect it had on the poets' response to nature. In Poetry in Canada: The First Three Steps, R. E. Rashley comments:

> It is the reaching for self knowledge, not knowledge of nature but knowledge of human nature as it is revealed in the light of the evolutionary concept of life . . . . It was the discovery that the exterior nature of the pioneers was a mirror through which they could see themselves in new perspectives that gave these poets their release and their elation. The function of the group was to explore this new knowledge of themselves created by the interaction of the environment and people and the concept of evolutionary growth, the consciousness of society created by its environment as well as conquering it.[22]

Scott shows, however, that the new perspectives did not always bring him elation and release, that he was sometimes grieved by the division between reality and the achievement of ideals. Perhaps because of his Celtic temperament, or perhaps because his vision was less idealized than that of his contemporaries, he also expresses a sadness at failure to find in life the spiritual well-being which nature seems to promise. Frequently, this sadness is suggested in his nocturnes which are a prominent feature of his first collection of poems. The closing stanza of "Night and the Pines," from The Magic House, is one instance of the suggestive nature of Scott's treatment of night:

> And so we cannot come within this grove,
> But all the quiet dusk remembrance brings
> Of ancient sorrow and of hapless love,
> Fate, and the dream of power, and piercing things
> Traces of mystery and might,
> The passion-sadness of the soul of night.

A more intense expression is evident in the closing lines

of "From the Farm on the Hill":

> All the ancient desire
> Of the human spirit
> Has returned upon me in this hour,
> All the wild longing
> That cannot be satisfied.
> Break, O anguish of nature
> Into some glorious sound!
> Let me touch the next circle of being,
> For I have compassed this life.

Other poems render a less bleak view of man's desire to attain perfection. "Youth and Time" dwells on the irony of man's temporal nature:

> More not so lightly, Time, away,
> Grant us a breathing space of tender ruth;
> Deal not so harshly with the flying day,
> Leave us the charm of spring, the touch of youth.

The seemingly unattainable nature of perfection is expressed in "An Impromptu" which has an interesting simile as its central motif:

> We are like things in a river bed
> The stream runs over,
> They see the iris, and arrowhead,
> Anemone and clover.
>
> But they cannot touch the shining things,
> For all their strife,
> For the strong river swirls and swings--
> And that is much like life.
>
> For life is a plunging and heavy stream,
> And there's something bright above;
> But the ills of breathing only seem,
> When we know the light is love.

This last line seems lacking in conviction after the pessimism of the preceding stanzas, but it does underline the belief in the universal spirit which gives man the strength to strive his best toward perfection, no matter how infinitely distant it may be. No such hope, however,

is offered in another interesting uncollected poem entitled "Song (a dirge from a play)" which gives expression to some of the central paradoxes of nature and life:

> Life is death;
> Life is grief;
> The shore for the sea;
> The flail for the sheaf;
> The moon for the stars;
> Ebb tide for the bars;
> And silence for song;
> The sea for the shore;
> The frost for the leaf;
> Life is death;
> Life is grief.[23]

Scott's love poems reveal the same ambivalent attitude. The love expressed may be carefree and light as in "The Hill Path," but it is more frequently concerned with the difficulties that attend the passionate relationships in human nature. In his article on Scott in Our Living Tradition, A. J. M. Smith comments on what he calls "the divided and often ambiguous love poems that bulk large in the body of Scott's collected poetry."[24] In a somewhat indirect fashion, Smith traces the source of this ambiguity to Scott's cultural background which has already been outlined in Chapter II of this thesis. Smith explains:

> Duncan Campbell Scott's love poems are the product of the clash between a fervid and indeed passionate sensibility and a courtly, gentle and rather nobly archaic--but firmly held--conviction about the nature of love as a school of ideals. According to this conviction, love is an act of adoration and the Beloved is the object of a truly religious worship, of a service which paradoxically involves an act of desecration, both real and symbolic as its central mystery and culminating hope.[25]

"The Message" employs the parallel of the conflicting moods of the summer wind to express this division of the

passionate self:

> For my heart is sometimes strange and wild,
> Bitter and bold and free,
> I scare the beautiful timid child,
> As you frighten the ships at sea;

The lover sees the night as "hawk-hunted" and does not trust himself to convey the message to his love. "The Silence of Love" expresses the speaker's inability to give full expression to the intensity that he feels. In "At the Lattice," he declares "My love is like a fire that flows," and although his touch in "tender," it will leave "a tiny scar" after which he predicts "You will not rest, my love, you will not rest." Nor will the speaker, is the implication. Here is the restraint in expression, so characteristic of Scott, which serves to heighten the intensity by its very understatement.

Other poems deal with studies of nature in which the objective world is the inspiration for the inner stuff of mood and meaning. One of the better known of these from the first volume is "In the Country Churchyard," dedicated to the memory of his father who died in 1891. Scott contemplates the peace of the evening scene in the "acre of unfathomed rest" and is tempted momentarily by the idea of death:

> For I am weary of this eager care
> That never dies;
> I would be born into your tranquil air,
> Your deserts crowned and sovereign silences.

However, surrounded by evidence of the beauty and continuance of all life, he determines:

Not to forget
This quiet beauty, not to be Time's fool,
I will be man a little longer yet.

Still others deal with the correspondences and contrasts nature offers, as in "A Night in June" in which Scott describes the silent intensity of the pre-storm atmosphere, broken only by occasional lightning flashes and highly amplified sounds. Contrast is heightened in "A Summer Storm" as the poem moves from a description of air which can "only sway and beat" to one of the rain which descends "with a roar like fire, / Full-voiced and clamorous and deep." The final three stanzas reveal the calm after the storm with nature in harmony and repose--a resolution-motif common to Scott's work:

'Tis very sweet to be alive,
On a morning that's so fair,
For nothing seems to stir or strive,
In the unconscious air.

In one of his contributions to "At the Mermaid Inn," Scott discusses how important such a peaceful resolution is to his concept of "the highest poetry." Such poetry has the "power of comforting and sustaining the spirit . . . . This is the final test of the highest poetry; it may not be picturesque or vivid with images, but it brings peace."[26] Scott, however, does not define what he means by "peace." Throughout his work he was to explore many different ideas of resolution for the divisions which he observed in man and in the world around him.

Of particular interest because it emerges as distinct from the rest of his poetry in this volume is the

narrative "At the Cedars." Simple, fast-moving and dramatic, it describes the death of a lumberjack caught in a log jam and the apparent suicide of his lover who attempts to rescue him. The vivid realism of the narration, void of sentiment, reveals an aspect of Scott's talent already noted in his short stories--that of the objective observer, so instrumental in making his later Indian poems some of the more memorable of his works.

Evident in these first examples of Scott's poetry and fiction is an impressive diversity of subject matter and technique. The idea that much of this work was experimental can be supported by the fact that several of the stories and half of the poetry remained uncollected by Scott who was perhaps his best editor in that respect. However, what is conveyed clearly in these early efforts is the sense of a man deeply committed to a personal vision which recognizes the paradoxes and polarities of life, and which attempts to find some resolution of these conflicts which echoes the positive order of nature where stability coexists with change.

CHAPTER IV

ARTIST AND CIVIL SERVANT

(1894-1907)

Although the pace of Scott's personal and artistic life continued to be deliberate during this period, a gradual strengthening of his artistic vision is evident in his writing. This slow progress was commented upon by Scott himself in an autobiographical note for Pelham Edgar in February, 1905: "I am now getting older and better acquainted with my own heart, a slow process in many of us."[1] The treaty journey was still to come which would confirm the accuracy of Scott's self-assessment. It would also signal the conclusion to this stage of intense literary activity in his creative life which began with a fleeting interest in socialism evident in both prose and poetry. More strongly stated, and enduring in these and later works, is the belief in the struggle for perfection which is necessary for all progress, social, evolutionary or otherwise. Scott's promotion within the Civil Service at this time widened his contact with the Indians and resulted in a growing sensitivity to their situation, a development which can be traced in the increase of Indian material in his

creative work. Not least in importance in a study of Scott is that this period reveals in the poet a sincere literary conscience and a determination to bring Canadian writing to public attention.

Understandably, there is no record of any published work of Scott's in 1894 or 1895, for those two years were perhaps more important in marking the social recognition of his emotional development. At Greenfield, Massachusetts, on Wednesday, October 3, 1894, Scott married Belle Warner Botsford in a quiet ceremony at which there were no attendants and the bride was given away by her mother.[2] E. K. Brown informs us that the two met because of their mutual interest in music. "Duncan Scott met her when he was her accompanist at a recital in Ottawa; and from the time he knew her, music became an even larger part of his life, with effects of increasing and finally of extraordinary beauty on his poetry."[3] Brown also observes that, in his opinion, Belle Scott was a rather highly strung and imperious woman and that "a man of Duncan Scott's disposition, shy and slow to mature, might sooner have come to a full self-understanding if he had not lived in the shadow of so dominant a wife."[4]

As has already been outlined earlier, Scott's childhood was spent in an atmosphere in which female values prevailed because his father, being an itinerant minister, was frequently absent from the home. Scott's portrayal of

women in his writing does not seem to have been prejudiced in any way by this upbringing. Indeed, the variety of female personalities revealed in his writing shows that Scott was an astute observer of feminine ways. His apparent preference for women of strong character is evident in his selection of female protagonists whose complexities range from the reserve of Mlle Viau in "The Little Milliner" to the passion of the Indian women of his poems. Many are also portrayed as innocents who must struggle with the hardships of life and love until peace is found. Women are not romanticised, however, for characters like the widow Laroque, Eloise Ruelle, Félice Arbique, Adrienne Godchère and Watkwenies all fight in less than innocent ways for satisfactory resolutions to their conflicts. It is easy to understand, then, how Scott might be drawn to a woman of strong personality who was also musically sophisticated and cared about poetry. Unfortunately, Brown's reservations concerning Scott's bride were matched by those of Scott's mother and sisters, for Brown mentions that a rift developed between Scott and his family soon after his marriage. The break with his mother was to be a permanent one.

Scott's only child, Elizabeth Duncan, was born on July 22, 1895, and his complete devotion to her is reflected in those poems which she inspired. Resembling her mother in appearance, Elizabeth also had a talent for music which amounted to genius.[5] It was in 1907 while she

was at school in a convent near Paris that she was stricken by a virulent type of fever and died immediately. Scott was so deeply affected by her death that he could not write effectively for four years.[6] Clearly, the trauma caused by this sad event accounts for the break in Scott's creative effort, for Lundy's Lane and Other Poems which appeared in 1916 consists of poems written or begun before the year of Elizabeth's death.

During the 1890's Scott was a member of the Ottawa group of the Fabians, a socialist society which differed with the revolutionary theories of Marx by holding that social reforms and socialistic "permeation" of existing political institutions would bring about the natural development of socialism.[7] Such a view was not incompatible with the evolutionary hypotheses developed by the artistic community which supported, among others, the theory that man should tolerantly allow his fellows the right of developing themselves according to their own best powers, secure in the knowledge that man's task is one of service in the cause of racial advancement.[8] Although Scott later claimed to have been merely "playing lightly with socialistic ideas" at this time, a socialistic as well as an evolutionary bias characterizes the early work of this period.[9]

In 1896 five of Scott's stories were published in Massey's Magazine. Four of these were the gothic mysteries

already mentioned in Chapter III, but "The Return" is a Viger story which gives some hints of Scott's socialistic interest at the time. In this, the only one of the five that Scott retained for book publication, Pierre Desrocher epitomizes the man who is disenchanted with the inequalities of society and with the lack of opportunity offered when he does not fit into its mould: "There's no use in working, the men at the top get everything, and we at the bottom get nothing, and so long as you people keep on working, things will be the same."[10] Love, affection and family ties are not sufficiently strong to persuade the embittered tramp to stay at home, and he hurries off into the stormy night to resume the dissolute way of life which has taught him only self-preservation and animal cunning. Scott subtly emphasizes the bleak nature of such an attitude to life and work by having Pierre take with him his chief boyhood treasure, a leaden image of St. Anthony, the guardian and discoverer of lost things.

The title poem of Labor and the Angel, published in 1898, provides a clearer picture of Scott's philosophy with regard to work and the worker. Positive individual effort striving towards an ultimate perfection is personified in the blind man gathering roots. The inspiration provided by the potential perfectability of man, "The fire at the heart of the deed," is given female form in the golden-haired angel "that watches o'er work."[11] Unlike the rewards of

Pierre Desrocher's materialistic and power hungry world, those of the angel's world are ultimately satisfying to all workers--"Ditching as precious as rhyme, / If only the spirit be true." Scott also acknowledges that such effort may at times appear pointless or bring misery instead of satisfaction for, as in nature, "The shadow's afoot with the shine." The solution, according to Scott, is to renew one's effort in striving towards perfection, and in doing so the negative aspects of life will be lessened:

> She offers no tantalus cup
> To the shrunken, the desperate lips;
> But she calms them with lethe and love,
> And deadens the throb ,and the pain,
> And evens the heart-beat wild,
> Whispering again and again,
> "Work on, work on, work on,
> My broken, my agonized child."

Scott was to express himself in much the same fashion as late as 1925 when he wrote the introduction to Lyrics of Earth. Discussing Lampman's vision of the ideal brotherhood of man in 1894-95, Scott says of "The Land of Pallas": "An Utopia where physical pain and mental struggle are non-existent and where all human effort is slowed down to gathering the fruits of perfection may be momentarily attractive as a contrast to our perilous existence but cannot serve the ambitious heart as a goal, or the eager mind as a logical resting place."[12]

"Labor and the Angel" represents one version of the troubled world in which man is depicted as suffering in a passive way with "hearts too crushed down to burst." By

striving towards spiritual goals man can escape the limitations of social inequality. In the same collection "The Harvest," however, draws a much darker and more dynamic picture of man's efforts to reach brotherhood. Here Scott uses as his metaphor an appropriate Canadian symbol, fields of the wheat which was becoming more and more the focus of the new country's economy. The first lines of the poem stress the richness of the imminent harvest, yet in his warlike imagery Scott gives an indication of potential violence. The sun is "a gold sword / Striking the wheat-fields"; shade is "like a buckler / Kindly and ample," and the mist is a "pyre of the sunset." In the distance a cloud is seen as a sloop "Moored to the world / With cables of rain." Nature has united its positive and negative forces to provide abundance for all; it is man who is responsible for the miseries of exploitation and inequality.[13] Scott demonstrates that the harvest will go to those in need, to eliminate hunger and poverty; however, this may occur only through revolution if negative world attitudes prevail. For too long man has been kept passive by social and religious philosophies which have led him to accept poverty as a necessity. Soon, Scott warns, with "Sickles of carnage, . . . Hilted with teen" the delirious horde of starved reapers will claim their birthright.

The closing section returns to the peace of midnight in the valley and the wind blowing gently in the wheat. The symbolic threat of the storm of revolution is still distant far to the southward, while high overhead the skies are clear with the constant stars "Steady and absolute, / Ancient and sure." If nature can achieve harmony through balance of positive and negative forces, surely man should endeavour to use his best powers to do the same?

These two poems represent Scott's strongest comment on the conditions which prevailed during the two to three decades of seemingly endless depression before the Laurier administration came to power in 1896. Thereafter followed a surge in growth and prosperity throughout the country, and Canada began to emerge as a major trading nation. Work was the keynote, and along with the new prosperity came its attendant problems of exploitation and inequality.[13] No regulatory system existed to alleviate the misery of the mass of industrial labour, and under these conditions, forward-looking intellectuals formulated plans for social reorganization, but a member of the establishment would not be expected to subscribe to socialistic ideals.

The allegorical ballad "The Piper of Arll" is the best known poem from Labor and the Angel. Ironically, its importance has been noted mainly because of the stimulus it gave to John Masefield's creative genius. In a letter to Scott, Masefield writes of his experience on reading the

poem: "I had never (till that time) cared very much for poetry, but your poem impressed me deeply, and set me on fire. Since then poetry has been the one deep influence in my life . . . ."[14] The poem, however, is more important for the insight it gives us into Scott's attitude concerning the state of Canadian poetry at this time. Scott felt very keenly the lack of recognition given in Canada to his work and to the work of his fellow poets. He was one of the few who did not go south to live and work where his talent was already acknowledged. Scott seems to have felt more strongly than the others the importance of remaining within Canada and discussed this feeling in "At the Mermaid Inn":

> It will be a bright day for Canada when men of such ability can find it to their advantage to remain at home and exercise their faculties in helping to build up the country in which they were born and to which they must often turn with longing . . . . But at present it is not the Utopia of authors . . . and when a man feels that letters is his calling he must depart from our shores and be a sojourner in an alien land.[15]

Perhaps the poignant poem "The Canadian's Home Song" from his "Group of Songs" is a reflection of the longing to which Scott refers.

"The Piper of Arll" seems to tell of the frustration of the Canadian poet who seeks to be recognized amongst the great poets of the world. The piper-poet is landlocked, "longing for the sea," yet in close touch with the elemental rhythms of nature. He strives to communicate his peculiar vision, to be at one with the immortals of the poetic

tradition. Moments of success are balanced by moments of failure which in turn bring despair. However, the young colonial spirit must persist if it is ever to take its place amongst the great. The piper repairs his broken pipe and "singing into nature's heart, / Guiding his will by the world's will," succeeds in gaining true and complete expression of his unique poetic vision.

By an unconscious giving of self the poet has for a brief time transcended mortal limitations and has communicated with the great poets of the past. This artistic "death" and communication process is conveyed in the imagery of the mariners launching a "sombre boat" and singing the piper's "true tune" as they transport him to the ship. At this point, the poem introduces images which suggest the necessity of communicating the poetic vision to the world in order to complement its expression. All wait to be transported by the "magic sails / That charmed the wind in other seas." Significantly, they await a wind from the west, "But in the world there was no stir," and so the ship sinks, but is not destroyed. As Scott says in "Words After Music," the concluding poem of the volume, "Beauty is not feof to death: (Ah, no--no!) / Beauty lives in essence free, / In the inner heart we see / Beauty's immortality." The poet and his craft are gathered into the eternity of literary immortality, "Empearled within the purple heart, / Of the great sea for aye and aye." Ship,

piper and crew are in a state of suspended animation until due recognition of excellence will be given by posterity: "And at the keel a vine is quick, / That spreads its bines and works and weaves / O'er all the timbers veining thick / A plenitude of silver leaves."

Such recognition was to elude Scott for most of his life. Arthur Bourinot mentions this fact in More Letters of Duncan Campbell Scott: "For many years Scott did not receive the recognition that his work deserved and at one time this hurt him keenly. Ultimately, he became more or less resigned to it and took it philosophically."[16] However, as late as 1944, in a letter to E. K. Brown, Scott displays his sensitivity on the subject:

> I have read all Charles Lamb's letters lately, and in one I find a sentence that is applicable to my case; to this effect, nothing with my name will sell, 'there is a blast upon it.' Well, as he said in another letter, 'Damn the age; I will write for Antiquity.'[17]

Thirty-four years after his death, Scott has yet to be accorded the recognition he deserves.

Scott's interest in finding new metric and stanzaic forms in which to express his philosophy is shown in "The Cup" and "The Happy Fatalist," two of the poems which Lampman and Scott had privately printed to send to their friends each Christmas.[18] In an interestingly terse form each demonstrates that man must make the best of his brief existence no matter how unfair life may seem to be. "The Cup," however, is less reassuring than "The Happy Fatalist,"

for the reader is exhorted to drink the cup of life "bravely like a lord," but the reason for doing so is not given. Indeed, the poet says that nobody knows: "You must drink because you must." The paradoxical nature of man's existence is depicted in such lines as "Pain and pleasure is one sword / Hacking out your destiny." And when man has completed his effort, the "something good" that awaits him is death. The poem lacks any note of encouragement, apart from its tone, and is almost cynical in its conclusion. How such a poem could be considered appropriate for a Christmas card is difficult to comprehend.

On the other hand, "The Happy Fatalist" projects a much more positive view of man's effort: "All is for good, / Sweet or acerb, / Laughter or pain." Image and metre combine to give a sense of positive purpose: "The god is astir, / Firm and free, / Weaving his plan, / Swelling the tree, / Bracing the man." The parallel with nature's right order is clearly drawn, and the poem finishes on a note of peaceful resolution. Taken together, the two poems seem to epitomize negative and positive aspects of the determinist view of life, the more positive view being augmented by the application of the evolutionary philosophy that man is in some way contributing to the divine plan:

> Like the kernels in quern,
> Each in turn,
> Comes to his hour,
> Nor fast nor slow:
> It is well: even so.

In "From Shadow" Scott demonstrates that illumination experienced in moments of calm and contemplation gives man the strength to persist in his efforts. Calmed by the rest which both winter and the approaching night bring, the poet finds an answer to his cry of despair:

> A message comes up to the soul
> From the soul of inanimate things:
> A message that widens and grows
> Till it touches the deeds of man,
> Till we see in the torturous throes
> Some dawning glimmer of plan.

Scott's belief in intuition, which is expressed much more strongly in later collections, is clearly evident here.

On July 6, 1893, Scott was appointed Chief Clerk and Accountant of the Department of Indian Affairs and consequently came into closer contact with the people whose lives were influenced by the decisions of his department. The Accountant's branch was a very important one as it had control of the expenditure and revenue, being the custodian of the Trust Fund, and had vital connection with all schemes for the improvement of the Indians' condition and education.[19] Perhaps because of this increased contact with the native people Scott's first "Indian" poem, "An Onondaga Mother and Child," appeared in The Atlantic Monthly of September, 1894. In this vibrant portrait of a young half-breed mother and child, Scott captures the irony of the progress advocated by his department: the inevitable contact with the white man contributes to the disappearance of a proud people whose innate qualities have no place in the new society. Scott,

however, was a man of his time in that he saw no alternative to assimilation. The Indians were considered a disadvantaged people, bereft of their way of life because of the disappearance of the buffalo and the arrival of white civilization. If the Indians were to survive as a race, according to social Darwinism, favourable individual differences had to be preserved and those that were injurious, destroyed. This theory seems to be the basis of the Government's policy to encourage the Indians to adapt to the superior ways of the white man. It was a white man's world and progress was to be interpreted in a white man's way. Scott's official work explains the practical difficulties in carrying out such a policy; his creative work describes the human cost.

Even if Scott had shifted his socialistic theories to a concern for Indian autonomy, it is doubtful if his position at the Department would have allowed him to influence policy at this time. Scott's work dealt in the main with matters of established policy which ensured the smooth running of the Department. Although appointed Secretary to the Department in 1896, thus automatically becoming the Assistant Deputy Superintendent General, Scott's work was still characterized by an incredible variety of services which would leave little time for pursuing radical changes. The following excerpt serves as an illustration:

> This branch controls the correspondence of the department, the preparation of reports to His Excellency The Governor General in Council, the

> legal work of the department, the issue of stationery supplies to officials of the department both inside and outside service, the supply of books etc. to Indian schools, the issue of licences to trade on Indian reserves, the printing required by the department, the elections of Chiefs and Councillors under the provisions of the Indian Act, the collection of statistics for the annual report and the supervision of the preparation of returns and answers to questions for the Senate and House of Commons.[20]

On his journeys of inspection into the wilderness Scott would travel with Indian guides and meet with the people in their own environment. He witnessed the realities of the Indian culture clashing with those of the white man's and translated his impressions of this divided world into poetry and prose. The stories and legends he heard on his journeys also became part of the new and more realistic image of the Indian which Scott presented to the literary world, first in Labor and the Angel and later in both prose and poetry.

"Watkwenies" and "The Onondaga Madonna," read in this order rather than that of Labor and the Angel, trace, through three generations, Indian attitudes to the encroachment of the white man on their way of life. This developmental pattern is perhaps the reason for the reversal of their order of appearance in Scott's The Poems of Duncan Campbell Scott, published in 1926. The two sonnets seem to work together to reveal Scott's appreciation of the human cost involved in the assimilation of one culture by another, and they hint at some dissatisfaction with the official approach to dealing with the problem of civilizing the Indian.

In "Watkwenies" the octave paints a vivid picture of how a young Iroquois woman earned the name of "Woman who Conquers" by violently resisting the intrusion of the white man. Now an old woman, she has lived to see her vengeful people tamed, restricted to a reservation where they must accept the annual treaty money from their former enemies. She still lives up to her name, however, by subtly reminding the Agent of the debt he and his kind owe her. As Melvin Dagg says in "Scott and the Indians,"

> She knows what is owed her, "she weighs it," it is only "the interest money" and as head of Indian Affairs Scott also knew what was owing--the principal. Treaty money is merely interest, tokenism."[21]

By finishing the poem with a revelation of the old woman's inner triumph, Scott shows that he is conscious of the loss of cultural identity for the Indian and of how inadequate the atonement for that loss seems to be.

There is the same indomitable quality of spirit in the young mother who is the Onondaga Madonna. As in "Watkwenies," Scott shows a stage in the passing of the Indian way of life through a mingling with the white man. Of added interest is the suggestion of the psychic conflict which might attend such a blending of cultures. In this and later poems with half-breeds as their subject, Scott seems to be supporting the nineteenth-century notion that cultural traits could be passed biologically from one generation to the next, the means of inheritance being blood rather than genes. Both the woman and her son have

been fathered by white men but still have the spirited and violent characteristics of their Indian inheritance:

> Her blood is mingled with her ancient foes,
> And thrills with war and wildness in her veins,
> . . . . . .
> Paler than she her baby clings and lies,
> The primal warrior gleaming from his eyes.

The baby is not to be the saviour of his race as the title seems to imply. On the contrary, as Stanley Dragland points out, he seems to have "a primitive Christ's foreknowledge of his fate and that of his race."[22] The title thus serves to emphasize the irony of the poem while underlining Scott's attitude of saddened admiration.

While Scott is remembered today chiefly for his poems about Indians, only two appeared in Labor and the Angel and such poems were never to be a major feature of any of his collections (except, perhaps, New World Lyrics and Ballads[23]). Canada's native people were one of many topics which inspired Scott to write. Indeed, in this early collection of his poetry Scott focusses most of his attention on a group of thirteen songs celebrating the seasons and "music's magic spell." Other poems explore the world of dream, as in "Avis," or deal with the thoughts inspired by everyday situations such as finding a violet in a copy of Shakespeare, or contemplating the innocence of a sleeping child. The variety in form and content of Labor and the Angel attests to Scott's belief that poetry was adequate for all forms and purposes of expression.

Indians appear more frequently in Scott's fiction during this period, but rarely as major characters. In two short stories which Scott published in 1898, the function of the Indian references is to establish a link with the pioneer past, thus contributing to the moulding of the Canadian identity which was so important to Scott. In "A Legend of Welly Legrave," Laurent Pombère tells the tale told him by his grandfather about "the strange life and the turmoil, wild intrigue, and sudden spring of danger in those old days when the toil of the lumbermen on the Ottawa had a dash of romance."[24] Legrave's origins are shrouded in mystery and magic. The legends say he was of aristocratic French blood with the dark, burning eyes of an Algonquin mother. Others say he was part Spanish, while still others maintain he was a child of the spirit which lives in the pine woods. Such theories prepare us for the unfolding of an exciting narrative about the man who has been immortalized in the woodsmen's songs.

The other story published in 1898, "Their Wedding Eve," tells a tale of the war of 1812.[25] An eloping couple have been captured by the bride's father on Christmas Eve and are being held in his cabin on the shore of Lake Erie. The ruthless trapper, Ebenezer Allen, and his henchman, Man-Looking-Beyond, both support the American cause and hate the British Captain Pring who has won the heart of Berenice, Allen's half-breed daughter. In this tale Scott relies on the tradition of violence in the nature of the

Indian to convey the ominous presence of Allen's accomplice. In contrast, Berenice embodies the positive qualities of her dual heritage--alertness, spirit and courage, not to mention her dusky beauty, making her a suitable heroine. At the end of the story we learn that the narrator is the son of the young couple when he says with a sigh, "My mother was an angel." With its emphasis on suspense and romance the story is entertaining, but its lack of character development explains why Scott never included it in any of his collections.

In the introduction to "The Winning of Marie-Louise," Indians give a sense of history to the area where the story is set--the plateau above the High Falls on the Rivière des Lièvres.[26] Just as the Indians would gather there in days before the white man came, so now the loggers gather at Monique Bellefontaine's Iroquois Farm to rest on their way up or down the river. During one of these sojourns Pierre Voyer dares to ask the formidable Monique for the hand of Marie-Louise, and thereafter follows an amusing account of how Monique tests Pierre's worth in various feats of endurance. The presentation of the Indian in these stories is neither exaggerated nor romanticized. He is included as one of the many characters of different cultural heritage employed by Scott to create his impressions of early Canadian life.

Although not published until 1904, "Charcoal" is Scott's only story with a full-blooded Indian as its

protagonist. It is a fictionalized account of a widely publicized incident which took place on the Blood Reservation in Alberta during the autumn of 1896. Scott explained the origin of his story when he wrote to John Masefield in 1947 that it was based on "a transcript of the evidence at his trial plus facts the Indian Agent gave me and my thorough familiarity with the Indian Reserves in South Alberta."[27] The story is an example of Indian-white confrontation where the clash of two cultures is the result of neither completely understanding the other.

In his portrayal of Charcoal, Scott draws a sympathetic picture of the Indian's confusion concerning the white man's justice:

> They had driven away the buffalo, and made the Indian sad with flour and beef, and had put his muscles into harness. He had only shot a bad Indian, and they rose upon him.[28]

Here Scott chooses to present the character of Charcoal as somewhat naive and therefore vulnerable to the sophistication of the white man's laws. The act of killing his wife's lover is presented as merely an act of revenge, to be expected of a "savage" nature seeking relief for humiliation. The consequent pursuit of Charcoal is shown by Scott as the Indian's attempt to lead everyone "a long and merry chase," one which is ended by the treachery of his own family. Had Scott been more familiar with the importance to the Indian of his personal spiritual life, the figure of Charcoal might have taken on tragic rather than pathetic proportions.

According to Hugh A. Dempsey, who spent twenty-five years researching Charcoal's story, Charcoal had done more than take his revenge on his wife's lover. He had chosen to follow an ancient tradition of his tribe--iskohtoi-im'ohk'si-ow.[29] He had decided to "sacrifice himself" or "throw his life away," thereby becoming a dangerous man, not only to his enemies but to everyone around him. It was all part of the old way of life, the Indian way. The danger to others lay in the Indian's need to be preceded in the ghostly land of the Sand Hills by some important figure whom he had killed and who would speak his name. Then the spirits would recognize him on his death and would welcome him as a great leader. For Charcoal, the killing of a chief or white official would ensure him a satisfactory entry into the spirit world, hence the attempt on the instructor's life. Dempsey makes it clear that Charcoal was aware of the simple facts of the white man's law: never kill, or the police will put a rope around your neck. The bullet that had killed Bad Young Man had also meant the death of Charocal.

In the light of this knowledge, the explanation of the shooting of Sergeant Wales becomes clearer. The deliberate second shot, requiring great courage on Charcoal's part, was taken because Wales' three gold stripes marked him as a leader--a chief. Now, Charcoal felt, when he and his wife, whom he also planned to kill, took that last long

walk, he would be welcomed to the spirit world where he would remain forever as a great leader and holy man.[30] Apparently, Scott was ignorant of this aspect of the Bloods' religious beliefs, otherwise the explanation he gives for Charcoal's not having escaped to Montana might have been more profound:

> . . . with a sort of bravado he chose to circle like a hawk about his own reserve. He well knew what an excitement his escapade was causing, and his gratified vanity bore him through perils and hardships which he might have shunned.[31]

One feels that Scott's imagination would have responded to Charcoal's spiritual conflict had he been aware that there was one. As it stands, Scott's explanation has a diminishing effect.

Scott's account of Charcoal's final days in prison tells of the spiritual comfort he gains from the Medicine Pole Bag he had once given to his wife. Thus he is able to go to his death with the calm of the stoic. Dempsey takes the ending one step further, and we learn that the prison priest insisted on a Christian burial for Charcoal, claiming that he had converted to Christianity during his final days in jail. As a result, Charcoal's spirit would never reach the Sand Hills. "It was trapped beneath the earth in a white man's coffin, trapped forever with underground spirits."[32] As one who had rejected formal religion in his own life, Scott, one feels, would have appreciated this final irony.

In February of 1899 Archibald Lampman died after a lengthy illness, and in the following months much of Scott's time as literary executor was devoted to compiling a memorial edition of his friend's work. This volume, containing almost everything that Lampman had written, was published to relieve the financial distress of Lampman's young widow and family. In the letter seeking advance orders for the publication, Scott and his two friends, S. E. Dawson and W. D. LeSueur, emphasize the lack of financial reward to be found in the pursuit of literature in Canada, and stress the importance of the Canadian literary image at home and abroad:

> In reality, we all profit by every true poetic utterance, for it is through the work of poets and other literary men that the community gains its rank in the world of letters; and when they demonstrate abroad the ability of Canadians to wield with power the resources of their mother tongue, every Canadian shares the lustre of their labours and their triumph.[33]

Thereafter, throughout his life, Scott was constant in his effort to keep alive the memory of Lampman through editing and publishing further editions of his works. In his Memoir on Lampman, Scott comments that his friend received the only honour that Canada could then offer a literary man--election as a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada. It seems fitting that Scott himself was elected to the Society the following year.

As mentioned earlier, Scott's position in the Department of Indian Affairs involved him in inspection

trips which took him into the northern wilderness, the home of the Hudson's Bay posts which became the setting for several of his stories written during this period of his development. Scott may also have found additional inspiration in his research on the early background of Lord Strathcona, the governor of the Hudson's Bay Company whose history he discussed in Ainslee's Magazine in 1901.[34] The then Canadian High Commissioner in England had first come to Canada from Scotland in 1838 as an employee with the Hudson's Bay Company, and it is interesting to note that Scott's "post" protagonists are all Scots.

The first story with such a setting is "The Vain Shadow" which appeared in Scribner's in 1900.[35] Through the journal of the young clerk we trace the physical and emotional deterioration of Donald Murchison as he follows with more than usual interest the trial of a man accused of murder as reported in the Glasgow Herald. In this and later stories set in the trading posts, Scott shows how the rigours of working under such isolated conditions served to test severely man's ability to co-exist positively with his fellow man. The stories in particular reveal how man is often blind to his own need to communicate openly with his companions. Scott notes that tragedy is often the result of such blindness, and in "The Vain Shadow" Murchison's deeply felt guilt and reticence to confess to his crime lead to his derangement and death. While the geographical

setting is significant as a source of conflict in these stories, the focus is still on man and his essential nature. As with his earlier "pioneer" stories Scott uses natural phenomena to illustrate human nature and, at the same time, presents material distinctly Canadian to his readers.

The publication of "A Decade of Canadian Poetry" in 1901 shows Scott's continued interest in bringing to public attention the national contribution to be made by Canadian poets. The article deals with works published between 1890 and 1900, the fullest appreciation being given to the work of Lampman. Scott returns to the theme of the lack of recognition given Canadian poets in England and discusses how important foreign opinion is to the encouraging of the Canadian reader's interest and support. Towards the end of the article he declares that the poet as "bondman of his time . . . moulding bricks without straw" helps form the basis of tradition. Thus, he concludes, the accumulated work of the decade has considerable value in that it "forms a standard and reference for future Canadian writers."[36]

Although Scott's notebooks indicate that he was busy with poetry for the next four years, his published work was all in prose. The stories reflect an interesting variety which begins with the ironic, gossipy account of "An Adventure of Mrs. Mackenzie's," a story set in Montreal at the turn of the century. The superior narrator is also featured in the humorous "The Stratagem of Terrance,

O'Halloran." In this story and in "How Uncle David Rouse Made His Will," Scott makes extensive use of dialect which brings his wily protagonists to life. It seems, however, that Scott was not satisfied with these rather shallow, humorous accounts for neither was included in his later collected works. Before returning to poetry, Scott introduced once more his northern theme of the trading posts in "Vengeance is Mine" and "Expiation." These were to be his last published stories until the appearance of The Witching of Elspie in 1923.

In 1905 the volume New World Lyrics and Ballads appeared, and for the first time Indian poems and poems about the wilderness are dominant. This collection is interesting also because it is composed mainly of poems taken from a list which Scott himself titled, about 1900, as "Poems that have not been printed in a book."[37] Fourteen of the twenty-one poems in the volume are included in this list which precedes 1902. Thus it is logical to assume that Scott's work on The Makers of Canada, for which he wrote the biography of John Graves Simcoe published in 1905, must have taken up a great deal of his time. For this series, he and his friend Pelham Edgar had been appointed editors, and E. K. Brown tells us how time-consuming such an endeavour must have been:

> They were devoted editors, pruning and enlivening the prose of their associates, softening expressions of prejudice and trying to escape with honour from mistaken commitments by the publisher to authors who had lapsed into senility or laziness.[38]

The wilderness poems of this volume are the result of Scott's early journeys of inspection into the remote regions of the country after being made Secretary to the Department in 1896. On such journeys Scott would doubtless hear stories told by the agents and by the Indians themselves. The first of these poems is "On the Way to the Mission," which tells how an Indian trapper is attacked and killed for his pelts by "Two whitemen of greed."[39] Here Scott shows the white man ruthlessly murdering for gain, reversing a common conception of the "pagan" Indian. In addition, the victims are Christian, a characteristic of "civilization" which has not prevented them from being the prey of the universal evil of greed.

The rather sentimental ballad "The Mission of the Trees" also has a Christian motif. The Ojibway are starving and blame this misfortune on the presence of a Christian father and son in their camp. The son is very ill, and in response to his request to return to the Mission the father sets off with him through the storm. When the son imagines he hears the mission bells he dies, as does the father when he too imagines with joy that he hears the tone of the vesper bell. The poem's ending somewhat unconvincingly converts the incident to legend, but what remains is an example of the kind of "injuries" to which Scott later referred in "The Last of the Indian Treaties":

> But any forecast of Indian Civilization which looks for final results in one generation or two is doomed to disappointment. Final results may be attained, say,

> in four centuries by the merging of the Indian race with whites, and all these things--treaties, teachers, missionaries and traders--with whatever benefits or injuries they bring in their train, aid in making an end.[40]

By accepting the civilizing influences of Christianity many of the Indians exposed themselves to social and physical abuse by their non-Christian fellows. Scott seems to be expressing certain misgivings concerning the power of conversion to help the Indian adapt to the white man's way, and in these poems he shows that he recognizes the human cost of departmental policies.

"Night Hymns on Lake Nipigon" reflects these doubts in a less direct manner. White men and Ojibway sing the hymn "Adeste Fideles" as the canoe travels the lake during a midnight storm. There is suggested an incongruous blending of ages and cultures in their combined voices:

> Tones that were fashioned when the faith
> brooded in darkness,
> Joined with sonorous vowels in the noble Latin,
> Now are married with the long-drawn Ojibwa,
> Uncouth and mournful.

Scott goes on to say that all wild nature is merely stirred. The phrases, dove-like, wheel for a moment and return "in circles of silver / To nest in the silence." They "thrill and falter / Back into quiet" and are overwhelmed by the powerful forces of nature in the form of the storm.

The overwhelming presence of nature is described also in "Rapids at Night," written about the same time as "Night Hymns on Lake Nipigon." It is easy to imagine the official party asleep on the trail while the poet listens to the

incessant roar of the rapids and hears "One voice, deep with the sadness / That dwells at the core of all things." Such is the sadness of the evolutionist whose heart like the poet's is "Wild with rushing dreams" even as he realizes the impossibility of their fulfilment in the near future.

In her article on Scott's poem "The Forsaken," Susan Beckmann suggests that Scott may have been stimulated to write this poem after reading Samuel Hearne's Journey from Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean, which is in turn the likely source of Wordsworth's "The Complaint of a Forsaken Indian Woman" composed and first published in 1798.[41] Scott hints that he shares Wordsworth's moral indignation when he tells us that in abandoning the old woman her family "slunk away through the islands." There is also an ironic suggestion in Scott's original title, "Gratitude," listed in his first poetry notebook; however, unlike Wordsworth's condemnatory aim, Scott's purpose is to portray the stoical courage and heroic nature of the Indian whose "mental constitution is rooted in physical conditions" and in whom "A rude patience has been developed through long ages of contact with nature which respects him no more than it does the beaver."[42] There is no conflict with the influences of white civilization in this poem. The Fort is represented merely as a haven where, after tramping for two days "valiant, unshaken," the Chippewa woman and her sick baby finally find rest. As an advocate of assimilation Scott must have viewed only as beneficial the ending of the need

for such traditions as abandoning the aged, yet his poem has that verisimilitude which has made it one of Scott's better-known poems over the years.

As mentioned earlier, Scott at this time was also busy with the biography of John Graves Simcoe. According to E. K. Brown, the value of this book is not in the portrait of Simcoe but "in the admirably composed pictures of life among the pioneers and Indians in the last decade of the eighteenth century."[43] In one remark Scott shows that he regrets the passing of the heroic spirit of the old ways: "The Indian nature now seems like a fire that is waning, that is smouldering and dying away in ashes"--a statement he felt strongly enough about to include later in "The Last of the Indian Treaties."[44] The same imagery is used to express the same feeling in "Indian Place Names":

> The race has waned and left but tales of ghosts,
> That hover in the world like fading smoke
> About the lodges . . . .

Both poems echo the time of the self-sufficient Indian, unexposed to white civilization, and help to form a link with the past which Scott was intent on forging for Canadian readers. Here too is the sense of romance to which Scott referred much later when discussing the influence of Indian life on literature.[45]

The poems which frame New World Lyrics and Ballads remind us of Scott's fascination with the paradoxes of life. "The Sea by the Wood," which begins the work, portrays the

speaker as yearning from "weary solitude" towards the wood, an ancient symbol of life. In "The Wood by the Sea," which closes the collection, the speaker longs for "the swaying deep, / The mother of restful things," an image of both life and death. Both poems deal with the speaker's rejection of his existing state of being, in favour of a condition of peace yet to be attained. According to Scott's philosophy, this longing is a necessary part of man's earthly life, for the goal of perfection may be perceived from time to time in mystical moments but never attained. A similar longing is reflected in "Peace":

> Give me the peace for which I seek
> From ocean, vale and hill;
> The peace that shines from the sea and the pines,
> The peace that is white and still.

Scott shifts to a more positive stance in "The Wood Pewee," in which the speaker identifies with the bird's compulsion to sing:

> Yet is his heart with joyance filled
> And not with brooding sadness;
> If he might utter as he willed
> His strain would mount in gladness;
> It meaneth joy in simple trust,
> Though pensively it rings;
> Not as he would but as he must
> He sings.

Just as the bird seems to find joy in its best creative effort, so must man find happiness and peace by answering life's challenges to the best of his ability. The same message is inherent in "Life and a Soul." The narrator firmly rejects the idea that "Life is a vacant scroll; / The past but seems; / The future is sought / As a drug to

charm dreams," and draws a rather chilling picture of the eternal soul of one who has made no effort in life, doomed to wander for ever.

In this third volume of poetry Scott captures many aspects of the New World of the title. There are portraits of Indians and impressions gathered on long journeys by canoe into the wilds of Ontario. Natural landscapes, flora and fauna act as inspiration for philosophical comment. The heroic exploits of a French New World pioneer, Dominique de Gourgues, are recounted in dynamic free verse format, while the frightening ballad "Catnip Jack" reminds us that early Canada was not immune to the ravages of smallpox. Variety in form and content are still the keynotes of Scott's poetry in this collection, the only one which is dominated by poems with Indians as their subject.

Scott never published the novel he was writing about this time. In his single attempt at a longer work of fiction, set in Ottawa during the latter half of the nineteenth century, Scott explores the conflicts experienced by the characters whose lives are touched and altered by contact with Firmian Underwood and his sister Cornelia. The novel graphically demonstrates the unhappiness which awaits those whose lives are controlled by corrupted values in their efforts to find personal fulfilment.

Firmian's keen apprehension of the ways of man leads him to reject a conventional life for the challenge and

excitement of the underworld of the blackleg. When man's evil touches him personally in the form of Purcell Shortreed's betrayal of both Cornelia and Barbara Applegarth, the "lurking savage temper below that might spring, bit, rend"[46] is given full rein, and Purcell is found dead on the stairs of his organ loft in Baltimore. His method of helping his friend Robin Garrabrant win the Conservative nomination is to buy votes, to disrupt meetings of the opposition, and to teach deputies how to spoil ballots, all performed with consummate skill. Apart from one brief period when he falls in love with Barbara, Firmian remains unchanged and in his final appearance answers Robin's question of where he has been with Satan's reply to the Almighty: "From going to and fro in the earth and walking up and down in it."[47] Clearly, Firmian's negative use of his abilities has led him only to a conscious self-destruction.

Firmian's alter ego in the novel is Robin Garrabrant, the illegitimate son of wealthy lumber mill owner John Applegarth. The two young men become firm friends when one of Firmian's escapades leads him to spend time with Robin's family. Robin is the soul of honour and is seen by Cornelia as her ideal of strength, constancy and courage. Ironically, it is these qualities which force him to repress his growing love for Cornelia when he discovers his true parentage. The same qualities lead him to despise

Applegarth and to reject his rather clumsy efforts to buy Robin's respect and affection. It is not until after Cornelia's death that he is able to take stock of himself. Unable to diminish his heartache by plunging himself in the political world, he goes to Lake Achigan thinking that the solitude will restore him. There he becomes "an item in the tranquil life" and "the rest, the quiet, the balm of silence" bring self-knowledge in flashes to him. He finally realizes that his wilful nature has been the source of his conflict. Scott shows, however, that man is not always capable of directing his life positively. Robin experiences no reversal in his hatred for Applegarth and later resigns his political position when he learns that Applegarth's influence was instrumental in his success. The only hope Scott gives us for Robin's full acceptance of his circumstances lies in the hands of his step-sister Barbara who emerges as the protagonist toward the end of the novel.

Early in the novel we learn that Barbara Applegarth's tranquil temperament and great force of character appeal to Aimé Godchère who likes her frankness and her pleasant manner, and hopes that she will have some influence on his worldly daughter, Adrienne, who has grown away from him since his wife died. Scott as narrator tells us Barbara has "no worldly instincts, and there are none so valuable if one is to play strongly in the game of life."[48] Thus the shock of being betrayed by both her husband and her

friend almost destroys her. However, she follows M. Godchère's advice and cultivates the habit of contemplation. Slowly her anger and humiliation fade through her efforts to find "some future that would reveal how she might be brave in knowledge, accept in love, and become human in warm helpfulness."[49] At the end of the novel, as she and her parents begin their voyage to England to begin a new phase of her life, it is she who advocates accepting things past and planning for the future. She refuses to share her father's distress at the news of Robin's resignation and vows to break down the barrier between the two proud men. Scott presents some hope for a reconciliation when, in symbolic fashion, the surrounding mists begin to evaporate and the ship springs on into the sunlit air.

Adrienne Godchère is portrayed as a female equivalent to Firmian Underwood. Passionate in nature, she possesses a soul wounded by a cynicism and a bitterness which she cannot control. Her strong personality and utter selfishness have combined to alienate her father who, in contrast, is "neither dismayed at life nor embittered." Her obsession with Purcell causes her to encourage his liaison with the innocent Cornelia and finally leads her to betray Barbara by going off to live with him. Cheated of happiness by Firmian's vengeful slaying of her lover, she remains embittered by her experience with life at the close of the novel, unrepentant to the end.

Scott's love of music is reflected in the character of Cornelia whose musical genius is an important factor in the development of the conflicts of the novel. Shortly after Firmian departs in disgrace she finds herself isolated "amid the disillusionment which came from the absence of all understanding by those around her of what manner of person she was."[50] Her music becomes her whole life, "the medium into which she translated all the gropings and desires of a passionate spirit." Her talent expands under the tutelage of Herr Fausolt who finally declares she must go to Leipzig to continue her artistic development. As Scott says, "to create or even to reproduce beauty the artist must gain knowledge of himself, of the world and of his art."[51] Adrienne's desire for continued contact with Purcell results in Cornelia's being offered to him as her protégé, a genius for him to mould and develop. Ironically, Purcell becomes obsessed by the innocence, beauty and talent of his new pupil, and eventually persuades her to go away with him. In her innocence Cornelia believes that she will find happiness by seeking an artistic haven in the company of the corrupt Purcell. There, "in harmony with the highest law that watched over creative energy, and above all in a mystical union, one with the other, they would find happiness."[52] The last-minute intervention of those who love her brings her the suffering of self-awareness, and after a reconciliation with Robin, she finally experiences a joyful serenity.

In his article on George Meredith for Munsey's Magazine, Scott calls him a novelist of character and says "Meredith's aim has been to render events as consequent as a piece of logic through an exposure of character.[53] It seems possible that Scott was following Meredith's example when he focussed on character delineation rather than plot development. Scott also mentions Meredith's "sympathy with woman in her individual life as well as in her sex relation," and again this approach may be found in Scott's novel. A rather ironic parallel becomes evident when Scott says of Meredith towards the end of the article, "he never completely masters the development of his story."[54] Scott's dissatisfaction with his own novel might very well have stemmed from this source. Regardless of Scott's negative view, the novel is of interest in that it shows Scott's innovative qualities. Glenn Clever sums up the novel by saying "Scott was writing fiction in about 1905 that was, for the Canadian scene, ahead of its time in several features: absence of religious tone, amoral fictional world, negative and defeating interpersonal relationship, anti-heroic stance, labour and other social disorder, sexual and family malaise, as well as effaced author and psychological cause-effect sequence."[55] Scott's philosophy, however, remains unchanged. The novel demonstrates the essential isolation of man in making his decisions as to the direction of his life for good or ill. To those who face the reality of life--and deal with it as positively as circumstances allow--comes some kind of peace,

frequently attained only after considerable suffering.

It is evident from Scott's letters to Pelham Edgar that, about 1904, the Scott family began extensive visits to Europe, for in February, 1905, Scott writes to Edgar, "I have good news from my wife who is hearing a lot of good music and having time, is working at her violin. E. [Elizabeth] is with French kids in the convent all day and is beginning to gabble with the best of them."[56] In the same letter he talks of Italy's influence on his imagination: "After Italy, I have some new colours in my mind if not on my palette." Although Scott was working on "Meditation at Perugia" at this time, it seems he was not ready to articulate clearly his ideas on how poetry would reach the root-mystery of things before Science.

Scott's descriptions of the first journey to negotiate the James Bay treaty in 1905 are characterized by negative impressions of the landscape "desolate beyond compare, loneliness seven times distilled--a country never to be the glad home of any happy people."[57] The short story "Vengeance is Mine" deals with the effects of long-term exposure to such conditions--the breaking of body and soul. In contrast, the mood of Via Borealis, written during the 1906 journey to complete the treaty, is more positive. In her article on the friendship between Scott and Edgar, Sandra Campbell suggests that Scott's two sympathetic companions, Edgar and Edmund Morris, intensified the poet's

perception.[58] Scott had asked Edgar to act as Secretary to the expedition, and in his unfinished autobiography, Across My Path, Edgar records his impressions of the journey:

> Scott was exceptionally prolific throughout his trip. One poem of major length, "Spring on Mattagami," was written and a number of shorter pieces also, which bear marks of their place of origin.[59]

In a letter to Brown in 1943 Scott tells of how Meredith's "Love in the Valley" was the source of inspiration for the major poem of Via Borealis: "I said to myself (or out loud) I will write a love poem in the same form here in these surroundings . . . and so I did it in three days."[60] If "Spring on Mattagami" is interpreted in the light of Scott's visit to Europe, it is possible to deduce that the poem explores the dilemma of the New World artist who is unable to free himself from the stultifying charm and passion of the European literary ideal. The lady of the Lido then becomes a personification of the source of this conflict, and her reluctance to respond to his appeals suggests ambivalent European attitudes to New World literary effort. The narrator speculates that if, from "the land of fraud and fame and fashion," he could somehow transpose to his own literary environment those literary ideals "pure as gold, staunch and keen and brave," then he would have a vision uniquely his own. Just as the lady would respond to the primal Eden sway and give herself totally to her love, so the ancient literary influences would unite with the burgeoning artistic impulses of the New World and bring a

resolution to the artist's conflict. This vision of the perfect artistic union is, however, an illusion which haunts the narrator, bringing him despair; yet, vain or not, the pursuit of the dream is essential to the artist. It is the "passion dream, deep at the red core" of life, which drives the artist to be the contact point between his eventful past and his lofty future. Thus it is not inconsistent for the poem to close with the evolutionist's plea for comfort and guidance in his constant effort: "Hold me, O Law, that deeper lies than Justice, / Guide me, O Light, that stronger burns than Love."

Various moods of the wilderness are captured in the other poems included in Via Borealis. "Dream Voyageurs" recreates the magic stillness of the twilight hours. One imagines the canoe gliding to shore for the night "To ports of balm through isles of musk / The gentle airs are leading us; / To curtained calm and tints of dusk, / The wood-wild things unheeding us." The poem floats along in a dreamlike rhythm with liquid consonants and softened vowel sounds. The same mood of reverie is maintained in "Song." Detachment from the hectic world is complete, and the tranquillity of the surroundings has allowed loving thoughts to creep into the poet's heart. "Ecstasy," on the other hand, rejoices in an exalted state of feeling. The shore lark "singing at the height where morning springs" inspires the poet to the pinnacle of effort. In contrast, "An Impromptu" reminds the reader of the ambivalent

character of both nature and man. Just as the mellow tones of the vireo's song can be destroyed by the wild winds which tear through the forest, so the joyous harmony of man's life may be altered by the wind of destiny.

The wind takes on another image in "Night Burial in the Forest"--the sound made by the wings of the angel of death. Teeming with "inscrutable eyes" the wilderness is silent witness to the results of the passions of man as the dead lover is laid to rest. This poem, the first to be written on the expedition, is a reconstruction of an incident that had occurred at a spot the travellers passed. Brown tells how Scott reacted to the tale; "When the story was told him Scott left the encampment alone, and paddled to the site of the quarrel over a woman which had ended in one man's death and another's flight into the wilderness."[61] The night, the flaring torches, the silent wilderness lend dramatic impact to the account of the clandestine burial, and over all is the prevailing atmosphere of desolation.

In "The Half-breed Girl" Scott returns to his theme of the psychological confusion of the métis which he hinted at in "The Onondaga Madonna." In a series of conflicting images he describes the trauma experienced by the divided personality caught between two civilizations. The girl's struggle reflects the nineteenth-century theory that cultural traits and memories could be inherited. The poem closes with a dramatic rendering of the human heart at war with itself. Such a poem suggests that, despite

the fact that the large number of métis had helped the Indian survive biologically, Scott considered their mixed blood a human tragedy. At a time when most Indians and especially half-breeds were treated with contempt by the white man, Scott's attitude was unusually sympathetic.

Although Via Borealis was the immediate result of Scott's artistic response to his wilderness trip with his friends, Edgar tells us "Much important work written later by Scott emanated from moods and observations of this summer season, and losing nothing from the after glow."[62] The two important works to which Edgar refers are "Lines in Memory of Edmund Morris" and "The Height of Land," both of which appeared in The Battle of Lundy's Lane and Other Poems in 1916. Meanwhile, in the winter of 1906 Scott seems to have turned to fiction once more. In November he wrote to Edgar that he was working again on his novel--"I had become stale, then I showed what I had done to Thomson who was so interested and pleased and who demanded that I abandon all else and finish it that I went to work again."[63] Early in 1907 he was writing "How Uncle David Rouse Made His Will" for the Christmas Globe in what he called "a new vein for this solemn cuss." The other story, not at all amusing "but far otherwise," was "Expiation." With official duties demanding an increasing amount of his time, it is amazing that Scott could still be so diversified in his writing.

In April, 1907, Scott was granted a four-month leave, and once again the family set off for Europe. After

visiting Elizabeth in Paris they left for Spain, where a few days later they received the news of their daughter's sudden death. Brown reports that Scott was unable to write to any effect for the next few years--a fact borne out by entry dates in Scott's poetry notebooks. The depth of Scott's suffering is poignantly revealed in his letter to Edgar in July:

> We have both suffered too much. I think every fibre of ourselves was ingrown and tangled with hers. In no mere rhetorical way I say it seems impossible to go on.[64]

Only a few of the poems in Lundy's Lane and Other Poems were written after Elizabeth's death, and those which are memorable were inspired during the happiness of the expedition to James Bay. No new short stories were published until The Witching of Elspie appeared in 1923, and six of the twelve stories had already been published before the summer of 1907. Not until Beauty and Life was issued in 1921 does Scott appear to have returned to his former level of productivity.

During this period of literary activity Scott explored in increasing depth the divisions he observed in his personal and official worlds. As civil servant his contact with the Indians in his Government work made him sensitive to the human cost involved in the application of Department policy, a reaction which found expression in creative work which seems to contradict his support of assimilation as

the solution to the Indian problem. In addition, much of the work reveals his fascination with the contrasting moods of the natural world in which he felt there was a correspondence with the divided nature of man. In nature's cyclical resolution of polarities lay the hope for man to reach harmony also. Had it not been for the untimely death of his daughter, Scott's artistic development might well have climaxed about this time.

CHAPTER V

THE MATURING OF THE MAN

(1907-1927)

The full expression of the maturing of Scott's artistic vision was delayed for several years due to the traumatic impact which the death of Elizabeth had upon his creativity. In a letter to Pelham Edgar in July, 1908, Scott admits "my mind is in a ruin, fallen down flat and it has always seemed impossible to write, but I suppose it was at no time impossible and if I had forced myself I should have accomplished something."[1] It is evident from Scott's notebooks that he worked on a few new poems during this lapse in his productivity; however, more important work was held in suspended animation, as it were, and gradually there emerged poetic material explored earlier but now tempered by suffering. Lines from Wordsworth's "Ode on Intimations of Immortality" seem singularly applicable to Scott's state at the start of this period in his life:

> Though nothing can bring back the hour
> Of splendour in the grass, of glory in the flower;
> We will grieve not, rather find
> Strength in what remains behind;
> In the primal sympathy
> Which having been must ever be;

In the soothing thoughts that spring
Out of human suffering;
In the faith that looks through death,
In years that bring the philosophic mind.

For Scott, these years were to bring an increasing reliance on spiritual intuition as the means of acquiring knowledge of those mysteries of life which are normally inaccessible to human understanding. Scott felt that the world of Science with its material concerns explained things but left the "root mystery" untouched; thus it was the function of poetry to illumine and, through the poet's inspiration, to eventually reach the core of the mystery.[2] The outcome of such a belief is clearly discernible in Lundy's Lane and Other Poems and is given stronger expression in the 1921 collection, Beauty and Life. The latter volume, dedicated to Pelham Edgar "in constant friendship," contains work which, together with "Poetry and Progress" in 1922, represents the maturing of Scott's personal and artistic philosophy.

Scott's career with the Civil Service also reached a high point during this stage in his life. In 1909 the records show that he was classified as Chief Accountant and Superintendent of Indian Education, although it is not clear when this classification became effective, and in 1913, Scott was promoted to the highest post which could be held by a civil servant, that of Deputy Superintendent General.[3] In his reports and other official publications connected with the Indians Scott now acted as spokesman for the

government. By their very nature official reports have an uncompromising tone, and Scott has been the object of some criticism in this connection. A close study of the Department's annual reports and of Scott's more personal comments in connection with his official work reveals a tension which suggests that Scott was more an apologist for, than an advocate of, Department policy. In his creative work, the Indian as subject is incorporated into an artistic expression of illumination, which at this point has become the main interest in Scott's life.

"Meditation at Perugia," which Scott had begun during the winter of 1904-05, opens the "Lyrics" section of Lundy's Lane, and it is in this poem that Scott's ideas concerning Science are first expressed. He explains that scientific knowledge informs, yet is temporal, whereas "Literature engaged with the creation of beauty is ageless."[4] It is this eternal element, not scientific revelation, which seems to tell us more of the secret of the universe:

> For we are troubled by the witching lure
> Of Science with her lightning on the mist;
> Science that clears,
> Yet never discloses what she wist,
> And leaves us half with doubts and half with fears.[5]

The depth of peace which St. Francis was able to inspire in his followers is denied to more sophisticated modern man, and so the poet must keep "the foreappointed quest" and endeavour to prove:

That all the powers of earth and air are one,
That one deep law persists from mole to sun
. . . . . .
Until all things that are in matter and mind
Throb with the secret that began the world.

In the dying glow of the sunset over the Umbrian valleys, the poet then experiences a spiritual elevation linking him in vision and purpose with the source of his inspiration.

The idea of the poet being more than simply a writer of verses is continued in "The Woodspring to the Poet," upon which Scott was working in July, 1908.[6] The speaker is the poet's genius in the guise of the woodspring, suggesting the springs sacred to the Muses in classical mythology and thus affirming the universal aim of all poets which is to quicken the imagination and the soul:

Give, Poet, give!
Thus only shalt thou live.
Give! for 'tis thy joyous doom
To charm, to comfort, to illume.[7]

Artistic death in the form of completion of expression brings joy and a recreation of self to the poet, while those who read his work enjoy a multiplicity of benefits, the most dynamic being reserved for those who are world-weary:

Helve them a song of life,
Two-edged with joyous life,
Tempered trusty with life,
Proud pointed with wild life,
Plunge it as lightning plunges,
Stab them to life!

The world-weary, too, will be recreated. The vitality and energy with which the poet sings his song will stimulate new life in those who have succumbed to the ills of the

world. The poem closes with a final exhortation to the poet to give of himself as the spring does unbidden, "Striving to sweeten / The oceans of the world." By always answering the call of his genius, just as the woodspring never checks its flow, the poet ensures the continuity of the life-giving properties of his art.

Scott was to continue writing on this theme during the winter of 1913-14 when he wrote "Lines in Memory of Edmund Morris", to commemorate the death of his artist friend who drowned off Ile d'Orléans in August, 1913. In this poem Scott adopts an epistolary style which is initially familiar, even jocular, and addresses Morris by reminiscing over times spent together on the Treaty expedition in 1906 and in western Canada in 1910.[8] From this set of memories Scott derives a philosophy of life in relation to the creative urge:

> Persistence is the master of this life;
> The master of these little lives of ours;
> To the end--effort--even beyond the end.[9]

Scott's memorial poem will itself be an act of creation in which he will "try to render / The tissues of fugitive splendour / That fled down the wind of living" (p.181). It will be an expression of awareness which will enrich the bareness of future lives.

The first section of the poem recalls the illuminating experiences of the Treaty expedition and the challenge to the artist that the expression of such experiences demands.

How shall we simulate the thrill of announcement
When lake after lake lingering in the starlight
Turn their faces towards you
And are caressed with the salutation of colour? (p.182)

The next two sections deal with the Saskatchewan trip in 1910 during which Scott as Superintendent of Indian Education probably introduced Morris to Sakimay and Ne-Pah-Pee-Ness.[10] Morris had been commissioned by the governments of Saskatchewan and Alberta in 1909 to do portraits of Indians living in those provinces.[11] Scott's memories of Morris on those visits again concentrate on the need of the artist to make record of significant moments in his life. The circle of stones with which Morris "for a pastime" marked the site of Crowfoot's tepee becomes more significant when Scott links it to the legend of Old Napiw the Indian creator of life who marked out his being with stones.[12] Scott's poem becomes his way of raising a memorial, a circle of stones, to mark out Morris' being.

The brotherhood of the meeting with Sakimay is well conveyed by Scott's description of the evening spent in the wigwam at Qu'Appelle:

He showed us his painted robe
Where in primitive pigments
He had drawn his feats and forays,
And told us the legend
Of the man without a name,
The hated Blackfoot. (p.185)

In image and in song, like Scott and Morris, Sakimay had recorded the significant events of his life. In another memory, Morris' skill as an artist is described as he paints

the portrait of Ne-Pah-Pee-Ness. The inconsequential song which Scott remembers Morris singing as he worked now becomes the focus of this section of the poem. Scott imaginatively reshapes the song, now "something wistful and strange," into an expression of the striving for perfect artistic and human response--"the meaning of life in one phrase caught." In the closing section of the poem Scott synthesizes his memories and references to demonstrate that Morris, Crowfoot, Sakimay, and people like them have enriched the world "with effort and with love," and have contributed to the "sum of life" which deathless like the phoenix will rise renewed to "kindle otherwhere." The Indians are not portrayed as members of a "weird and waning race" but as artists, in their own way recording life for posterity. It is with this sense of brotherhood that the poem closes.

"The Height of Land" written in November, 1915, was also inspired by the Treaty journey taken by Scott in 1906, and the poem emphasizes that journey's importance in his artistic development. A strengthening of his belief in intuition is revealed in his descriptions of the illuminations he experienced on reaching the height of land. The watershed takes on a symbolic significance for it is the point of balance between the lonely north and the "welter of the lives of men." Significantly, it is here that Scott's insight is sharpened and refined; it is not possible to experience illumination in the "stormy scene"

of life, but here the union of opposities is possible both geographically and mystically. However, the peace needed for mental clarity is not a permanent feature of the wilderness for the wind intrudes on the poet's contemplation bringing with it the pungent odours of stagnant water and charred earth--there is dissonance in nature just as there is in the lives of men. Yet when all of nature combines to create the peace of ideal circumstances reflecting the poet's spiritual state, then

> . . . Something comes by flashes
> Deeper than peace,--a spell
> Golden and inappellable
> That gives the inarticulate part
> Of our strange being one moment of release
> That seems more native than the touch of time,
> And we must answer in chime.[13]

The clarity of thought which this influx of spirit brings to the poet allows him to visualize the "desperate shock" of life transformed by "noble thought and noble deed immingled," just as in nature "from the rain and sunlight spring the rainbow."

As the dawn breaks at the close of the poem, and as the poet once again joyfully feels his intuitive response to the forces emanating from nature, he wonders whether at some time in "the autumn of the world," when present ideals have long been realized, the poet of that time will not also stand at sunrise "with heart entranced and burning" at the zenith of wisdom. Thus he feels that the cycle will continue until that perfection of knowledge is attained of which he has experienced only the flash of illumination.

Here Scott gives his clearest hopeful expression of his faith in a positive life force. In the mystic moment created by the union of opposites--north and south, light and dark, peace and discord--the promise of man's evolution towards greater spiritual perfection is confirmed for him. In this conclusion Scott gives a much fuller treatment to a similar concept initially expressed in 1912 in "The November Pansy," when the poet imagines the flower recreating itself "a thousand fold . . . Till the full hour / And the full light and the fulfilling eye / Shall find amid the ferns the perfect flower."[14]

In May 1919, Scott wrote another poem which had its origin in the Treaty expedition of 1906. Originally titled "A Note to Pelham Edgar," "The Fragment of a Letter" expands on the statement made by Scott in "The Height of Land." Here he answers the question with which the latter poem ends by explaining:

> . . . what we gain from living,
> When we possess our souls or seem to own,
> Is not the peak of knowledge, but the tone
> Of feeling; is not the problem solved, but just
> The hope of solving opened out and thrust
> A little further into the spirit air.[15]

Illumination brings a certain wisdom which in turn holds the potential for further intuitive experiences. Given the tentative nature of such a philosophy, it is little wonder that at times Scott was reduced to despair.

In the light of what has been discussed above, it is understandable that Scott would feel a close affinity with Keats who, he felt, was able "To compass knowledge, to

unravel the dense / Web of this tangled life?" Keats was able to do so by "seeing great things in loneliness" in much the same way as Scott had received illumination in the seclusion of the Canadian wilderness. Scott's major poem in Beauty and Life is "Ode for the Keats Centenary" and is significant to students of Scott because of the precepts it contains.[16] If Beauty has "taken refuge from our life / That grew too loud and wounding," the conditions for its return are those that the poet must strive to create through a renewed appreciation of both nature and man. Scott recognizes the bitter-sweet quality in such a quest when he says:

> Truth, 'tis a doubtful art
> To make Hope sweeten
> Time as it flows.

Nevertheless, by calling upon the spirit of Keats to aid the artist in the expression of the illuminations that he does experience, Scott hopes that Beauty may yet again be discovered.

It is interesting that in this ode Scott acknowledges more positively than he does in "Meditation at Perugia" the contribution of the scientist to the sum of knowledge. The scientists, too, "brood alone in the intense serene / Air of their passion" until intellectual illumination is experienced. However, again Scott stresses, as he does in "Poetry and Progress," that the nature of the perfection sought by the scientist is fleeting, whereas beauty has the eternal element in its composition.[17] When the scientist

by experiment and logical faculty reaches a point of completion "the distracted world and men / Are no more what they were," but regardless of world change, Scott claims "still is Beauty and of constant power." The function of the poet is to endeavour to recapture beauty and to crystallize it in the form of immortal truth. In this way the poet contributes an unique dimension to progress. Outlined in these major poems and in "Poetry and Progress" we have, as it were, Scott's poetic manifesto, which was to remain virtually unchanged for the rest of his life.

Although Scott continued to write short stories, it is clear that this stage in his development marks the end of a series of regular contributions to literary magazines. The break in production occurred at the time of his daughter's death, for when The Witching of Elspie was published in 1923, only six of the stories had not been published before 1907. It is also evident that Scott was preoccupied with the improvement of his novel, a task which evaded him for he did not publish it in his lifetime.[18] Whether it was because of the increased responsibilities of his official position or because of his choice of poetry as the main vehicle for his expression, Scott's interest in fiction writing seems to have waned during this period.

The Witching of Elspie does not have the unity of setting which was evident in In the Village of Viger. There is, however, the movement between the lonely north and the civilized south that runs through Scott's work as a whole.

In this collection, the stories set in the northern wilderness in general reveal conditions which suppress man, pervert the flow of love. The destructive tendencies of man's perverse nature tend to be more emphasized under such conditions, and the consequences are frequently tragic. Of the previously unpublished stories, "In the Year 1806" demonstrates that madness often results from such suppression. For Pendarvies, there is no relief from the absence of human understanding in the trader Nairn who, we are told, is "without a trace of fine feeling." Although Nairn seems to learn nothing from his experience, Scott usually shows that those who accept their situation or at least learn to grapple with its complexities eventually learn some kind of self-development. This is true of both Muir and his assistant in "Labrie's Wife," which is a sequel to "The Vain Shadow." At the end when Muir is made aware of his lack of perception regarding Madaline and Alec's feelings for her, he declares: "I pray to God to forgive me for the sin of blindness, and for always being so dead to others in my own affairs."[19] In the light of Muir's new awareness, Alec is seen as a changed man also. Instead of being destroyed by his heartbreak, he shoulders it in manly fashion "bearing it as if he was proud of it, with energy and trust in himself."[20]

Isolation and its effects on the human psyche are not the focus of "Spirit River" which is set on the shore of

Lake Superior. It is the only story with Indians and half-breeds as central characters, and it shows Scott's ability to adapt his experience with the Indians into a study of human nature rather than one of Indian nature as he had done in "Charcoal." Petit Bonhomme's age and blindness make him feel that he is losing power as chief man of the village. In order to maintain his dignity he withdraws into seclusion, deaf to all expression of love and understanding from his granddaughter Trasey, who adds to his hurt by planning to marry Amab the son of his old enemy. His wounded pride causes him to pervert his ancient skills to prove his prowess, and this leads him to plan to murder Amab. Providentially, at the crucial moment Petit Bonhomme has a vision of his dead friend Father Dugas "whose word was comfort as well as law to him." Shattered at first by his failure to carry out his plan because of the intervention of the one person he felt really understood him, Petit Bonhomme experiences a rebirth of his positive spiritual powers. Sensing the arrival of spring he lights the traditional fire which he has long before prepared and to a certain extent moves towards regaining his dignity in a positive way.

The title story of The Witching of Elspie is set in the St. Lawrence valley near Quebec City. It is a "loup-garou" story whose verisimilitude is established partly by the rural setting and partly by the sincere tone of the narrator who is a priest. The story relates how Philemon and Elspie's

lover, Jacques, release her from the evil spell of Joubert by branding him with a white-hot cross. Years later, on a visit to the Trappist monastery at Oka, Philemon recognizes as Joubert one of the monks who flagellates himself until the sign of the cross appears on his body. Underlying the gothic atmosphere of this story is the theme of love and faith counteracting evil, and despite the horrifying nature of the "cure" we see in Joubert an example of a penitent soul. Perversion of love, as in the case of Joubert whose love is corrupt, brings tragedy which may be averted if man is capable of recognizing his flaws and learning from them. It can be seen from these few examples of Scott's second prose collection that whether it be in the wilderness or in the "crowded southern land," the primal emotions of love, hate and pride are never far below the surface of man's nature. It is the inner frailties and shortcomings of the individual which fascinate Scott. The extent to which man can secure his sense of personal dignity without attendant heartbreak seems to be the focus of these narratives, few of which can be termed "happy" even when the healing powers of love and understanding are operative. In this characteristic lie their realism and their enduring appeal.

For Scott, the realities of life also included the Indian presence in the white man's world. That there were difficulties associated with the Government's policy of assimilation becomes clear when the Department's annual

reports are studied. Those reports for which Scott was responsible appear after 1909 when he was promoted to Superintendent of Indian Education. In these reports and in other publications dealing with the Indians, Scott takes on the role of apologist in defence of government policies.

In 1909, Scott wrote the Introduction to Amelia Paget's People of the Plains, no doubt because "the Dominion Government set apart a small appropriation for the purpose of gleaning such memories as remain of the bygone domestic life of the western tribes."[21] Scott feels that he must explain the "tone of championship" adopted by the author whose knowledge of Indians had helped her family survive the period spent as Big Bear's prisoners in 1885. Scott mentions that all things in the account are judged by the Indian idea of happiness and that consequently hardship, squalor, starvation, inhumanity and superstition are not in evidence. While recognizing that a frigid critic would reflect "the arrogance of our so-called civilization," he implies that the reader should be aware of the idealistic nature of the account.[22] Scott closes his Introduction with an acknowledgement that the book does present a "faithful record of many old things that have passed away," but in doing so the emphasis is not only on the book's accuracy but also on his belief, expressed elsewhere in his creative work, (e.g., "Indian Place Names" and "The Last of The Indian Treaties"), that the old Indian ways had essentially disappeared.[23]

Latent guilt feelings perhaps inspired Scott's need to explain his negative attitude to Paget's account, for he was well aware that assimilation meant the destruction of a way of life, as is evident in his report on "The Aboriginal Races""written in 1923.

> It will be gathered . . . that the policy is to protect the Indian, to guard his identity as a race and at the same time to apply methods which will destroy that identity and lead eventually to his disappearance as a separate division of the population.[24]

He was equally well aware of the evil influences to which the Indian was exposed when coming into contact with civilization; however, Scott seems to subscribe to the principles of social Darwinism in his belief that culturally and biologically the Indian must bow to the inevitability of progress.

Although Scott worked to effect assimilation, he also recognized and supported the Indians' need to record their legends and history. In 1911, in his Introduction to The Traditional History of the Confederacy of the Six Nations, Scott explains:

> It is only natural for a people undergoing transition from a state of paganism to that of civilization and Christianity to evince a desire to have their past mythological legends and crude history preserved.[25]

As we read these words today, the tone seems patronizing and thus belies Scott's real concern for recognizing the Indian contribution to Canadian heritage. As a story teller himself, he was interested in Indian lore and he incorporated

it into some of his better poems which have Indians as their subject.

Perhaps Scott's best Indian poem was written during this period, appearing in 1926. As with much of the other important poetry of this period in Scott's life, "Powassan's Drum" is linked to the Treaty expedition of 1906. In his journal of the trip, Pelham Edgar mentions long arguments with an old medicine man, "a cunning old devil with a swollen jaw. Powassan the head medicine man had sent . . . word to make medicine."[26] Scott also describes in an account of an earlier experience the sound of a conjuror's drum pervading the solitude "like an aerial pulse."[27] This pulse becomes central to the poem when he equates the throbbing of the drum with a negative pulse of Being.

In the wizened, ascetic figure of Powassan, Scott presents the symbol of a flawed creator drumming to propitiate the spirits who will help him make "great medicine" to deal with "hated things."[28] Negative images taken from Indian legend build throughout the poem, keeping pace with the insistent throbbing of the drum. The scene becomes one of world destruction for "The world seems lost and shallow, / Seems sunken and filled with water."[29] Symbolized by the Sun, the positive order of nature recognizes but cannot respond to the destructive elements in Powassan's will, for Father Sun is the master of life.[30] With the arrival of darkness, Powassan receives his answer. Clouds form in the

north, the dwelling place of the evil spirits, and with the aid of his patrons the Thunders, the medicine man fulfils his demonic, hate-formed vision.[31] In a canoe, a headless Indian, symbolic of the enemy slain ~~in~~ battle, drifts "impotent" in power, trailing his severed head through the dead water. Powassan's success is momentary, for the cosmic tension created by his mystic drumming is released in a storm which will restore order--an order which contains both constructive and destructive elements, for at "the core of the rushing fury" the triumphant throb of Powassan's drum lives on. The poem is powerful in both form and content, and demonstrates Scott's ability to follow his own poetic theory which calls upon the poet to "interpret the world in new terms of beauty, to find unique symbols, images and analogies for the varied forms of life."[32]

On October 11, 1913, Scott was promoted to Deputy Superintendent General, the highest civil service rank in the Department and one which he held until his retirement in April, 1932. All matters affecting policy of the Department were referred to the Deputy Head for final directions, but it is clear from official records that Scott never openly disagreed with recommended procedure. A letter from Scott to the Agent for the Blood Reserve in 1916 reveals something of Scott's philosophy and approach in administrative matters. Scott has cautioned Mr. Dilworth against pushing the Bloods to complete self-support:

> As in the past I shall give you every support consistent with prudence, and I have lately been able to speak favourably to the Minister about your energy in promoting the interests of the Blood Indians. I do not think it wise to be venturesome.[33]

Although there is no common ground for comparison, it is curious that the interest in innovation which informs much of Scott's creative work found no place in his work with the Department.

As previously mentioned, much of Scott's published work of this period relates to the recording of the development of the Canadian Indian under the auspices of the Government of Canada. In 1914, Scott was responsible for several chapters in the series of volumes entitled Canada and Its Provinces: A History of the Canadian People and Their Institutions By One Hundred Associates.[34] Scott's contribution is an explanation and justification of the British and subsequently the Canadian methods of Indian administration. Much the same information appeared in shorter format in "The Aboriginal Races" which was published in The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences in May, 1923. In his conclusion to this article, Scott remarks:

> The Indian has proved that he can survive the shock of contact with our civilization, that he can survive the manifold evils of that contact, and transfer his native energy into the channels of modern life.[35]

The picture of the Indian experiencing this contact is positively drawn in Scott's official publications, but it

is the drama of the manifold evils that stimulates his imaginative expression of the same situation.

During this significant period of his life Scott reached a full formulation of his artistic vision with his address to the Royal Society of Canada in 1922. The appearance of The Poems of Duncan Campbell Scott in 1926 also marked a high point in Scott's poetic career, a fact which was recognized by the academic world when the Royal Society of Canada awarded him the Lorne Pierce Medal for his contribution to Canadian literature in 1927. Not all of Scott's poetry was included in his collection; instead, he apparently tried to choose only his best work, endeavouring to leave "an unblurred impression of poems highly imagined and nobly wrought"--the criterion he employed in the selection of Lampman's poems for Lyrics of Earth, published in 1925.[36] The fact that his own collection of poems, his life's work, failed to gain the attention of important papers or reviews both at home and abroad must have been a bitter disappointment to Scott,[37] who knew that in this period of his life he had given expression to the most significant work of his career. He had further explored the divisions he saw in his official and personal worlds, and had arrived at some conclusions. First, he had confirmed his resolution of the apparent contradictions inherent in the Indian assimilation question: it lay in what was seen as the inevitable outcome of Darwinian

evolutionary theory--if the Indians were not assimilated, their race would eventually become extinct, and his report on "The Aboriginal Races" justified his position. For other tensions in himself and the world around him, Scott the artist found a resolution similar to that he observed in nature. At some points opposites touch and balance is achieved between light and dark, rain and sun, storm and calm; correspondingly, within man similar tensions can be resolved in moments of mystic illumination. Of course, aside from moments of illumination, the best way to ensure evolutionary progress and a "successful" life is for each individual to actively pursue the positive elements in human existence.

CHAPTER VI

THE SUM OF LIFE: DECLINE AND RENEWAL

(1927-1935)

In the natural decline in productivity which followed the period of artistic climax in Scott's creative life, a certain emotional depression is also evident. The early poems of this final period show Scott's growing consciousness of the passing of life, an awareness which was no doubt heightened by the death of his wife, Belle, in April, 1929. Brown also describes how Scott was unhappy that the Civil Service was attracting young men whose interests were shifting to social sciences away from the great poets and prose writers through whose works he had found his own education.[1] The final years of Scott's life are of most interest, however, because of the period of renewal in both his personal and creative life which began with his marriage in 1931 to Elise Aylen, a woman who, although much younger, shared to the full his interest in music and art. More importantly, she was also a poet upon whose sensitivity to beauty and range of intense feeling Scott commented in his Foreword to her first volume of poems issued in 1930.[2] Much of the joy Scott experienced in this new relationship

is expressed in the later poems of The Green Cloister and in The Circle of Affection, both of which volumes are dedicated to Elise. In the years following his retirement from the Civil Service in April, 1932, Scott and his bride travelled extensively in Europe as well as in Canada and the United States, visiting places which were to be the inspiration for further creative work in both poetry and prose.

When Scott's Poems was published in 1926, Brown records that the collection was "greeted respectfully by the few Canadians who could or cared to be articulate about their feeling for poetry,"[3] a cool reception indeed for an artist's best work. Scott claimed that he had long been satisfied not to be taken seriously as a poet, but there is an air of despondency in his letter to Pierce commenting on being awarded the Lorne Pierce Medal in 1927: "I feel that if it was not awarded to me this year I should never have it."[4] Clearly, Scott himself felt that he had reached an artistic zenith with the publication of the collection.

Some of the disenchantment he must have felt is revealed in "Reality," the first poem of The Green Cloister and written in October, 1927. The poet / merchant wishes to sell his dreams at the Inn of life where "the shadow merges with the sun." But no-one wishes to buy his dreams that are "lovely beyond compare":

Hope goes out with a sigh
For nobody heeds the beauty
You spread in the sun;
And you fold the dream-tissues
When the day is done.[5]

In "Poetry and Progress" Scott had stressed the need to have faith in the power of Canadian writers. He felt that the Canadian position in arts and letters would be secured when foreign critics accepted a clear lead from Canadian comment.[6] That his own work inspired no such reaction hurt him keenly. Time and again Scott, like the poet / merchant in "Reality," must have gained solace from the awareness that the only true reality for the artist lies in the expression of the dream. Yet the appreciation of the dream by others, while not essential to its realization, is nevertheless an important aspect of its reality.

Other early poems from The Green Cloister describe the melancholy that aging brings. "Under Stars," written in 1927, is a nocturne in sonnet form in which the song of the hermit thrush--"The song that has no yearning and no fear"--has inspired the poet to illumination. But even as he experiences the spiritual contact with "the highest things that men have ever thought," the poet hears in the thrush's song "mingled moods of death and love." This awareness of the closeness of death also seems to be present in "The Fields of Earth," written in September, 1929. In this symbolic poem the poet recounts the contrasting attitudes of Youth and Age to Delight which is the fruit of the Tree of

Joy. Youth is described as "the glorious spendthrift," careless of where the seeds of Truth are scattered, whereas Age eats of the core of Beauty "that stills / The yearning of years," and carefully buries the seed "in fullness of knowledge / And with secret fears." Yet the seed that Age plants will never germinate though it come from the finest fruit. In this combination of images, Scott conveys the tragic implications of the artist growing old.

Other early poems in The Green Cloister are also tinged with melancholy. "Past and Present" emphasizes the value of memory and reveals a yearning for happier times "free of delusions and of dreams," while "A Song" focusses on the passing of time which takes with it the colour of life. The series of lyrics "In the Rocky Mountains," written over a period of five years, vividly captures the poet's response to the mountains' shifting moods, and something of Scott's depression is reflected in the images of death and desolation in the first sections which were written in 1927.

"En Route," written in 1929, offers none of the hope inspired by nature which is a feature of Scott's work as a whole. From the train which has stopped "for no apparent reason in the wilds," the poet observes traces of wild-life in the snow:

> They're going fast where all impressions go
> On a frail substance--images like these,
> Vagaries the unconscious mind receives
> From nowhere, and lets go to nothingness.

"Time the Victor" also gives bleak expression to the universal truth of impermanence:

> Clouds will march with thunder
> Moons will glow and wane,
> Men will write their hearts out,
> And ask for truth in vain;
>
> And Time the careless victor,
> In spite of hopes and tears
> Will crush the stones of memory
> With the falling years.

Written in the late 1920's, these few dispirited poems, when considered in a group, seem to indicate, as Scott's friends felt at the time, that his career as a poet was nearly over.[7] In the following years Scott proved them wrong, however, by continuing to write to some effect, and it is not unreasonable to presume that the stimulus came from the loving contact with a woman whose artistic traits so closely paralleled his own. Scott himself gives us the clue to their compatibility in the conclusion to his Foreword to Roses of Shadow. There he describes Elise as a poet "whose sensibility to things personal and general is acute, who suffers on both grounds and who communicates her moody interest in the beauty of life."[8]

A number of the later poems in The Green Cloister were written on the long European holidays taken after Scott retired from the Civil Service. The majority of these poems are nocturnes whose prevailing mood is one of a new tranquillity, not only in the scene described but also in the poet's heart. In "Autumn Evening," the yearning associated with memory in the earlier poems of

the volume is replaced by the contentment of reliving precious, shared moments: "These are the real, the native things / The heart remembers." The melancholy of impermanence is now tempered by appreciation of the joy of life and love. This emotional stability is particularly evident in "Compline" which depicts the tranquil joy of two lovers resting in the twilight, watching the sun set. Swallows ranging themselves on the wires suggest to the poet's imagination an old music staff--"a vellum page / In an old Mass book"--which in turn leads to thoughts of prayer and death. But such thoughts inspire no melancholy in the poet for he prays that when death comes, he and his love will still remember this moment:

> May we remember these of all life's loveliest things,
> This evening and the swallows' wings,
> When infinite love was reflected in the heart
> And trembled only when the heart trembled.

The poet's search for the elusive "Beauty in loneliness" continues, but Scott now shows that love and simple love of life may also lead to illumination.

In "Chiostro Verde," one of the last poems to be written before The Green Cloister was published in 1935, Scott returns to the themes of impermanence and man's mortality. The source of inspiration is the old green cloister at Santa Maria Novella in Florence. Observing the inroads made by time on the fading frescoes, the dry well and the worn walls, the poet wonders:

> Will no one be left to cherish
> The beauty of life and the world,
> Will the soul go blind of the vision?

He finds his answer as he gazes at his surroundings, noting nature's regenerative powers in the music of the pigeons and in the beauty of the trees and flowers. "Chiostro Verde," the title poem of the volume, is its thematic centre in that it poses questions which many of the remaining poems echo and attempt to answer.

Two Indian poems in The Green Cloister remind us that the beginning of a new phase in Scott's personal life coincided with the end of his long and distinguished career as a civil servant. When he retired in April, 1932, after fifty-three years of service, Scott showed no regret at leaving behind the highly complex problem of Indian administration. Brown explains:

> His work in the civil service interested him; but the centre of his life was not in his office, where he seldom came early and never stayed late. After he retired his conversation did not run on the Indian department.[9]

The previous year Scott had prepared for the Fourth Bi-Annual Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations a paper entitled The Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada. In this historical survey Scott outlines the duties and aims of the Department with regard to the advancement of the Indians towards civilization, and as spokesman for government policy he claims that the Government has more than fulfilled the letter of its obligations. He concludes as follows:

> It is the opinion of the writer, however, that by policies and activities such as have been outlined the Government will in time reach the end of its responsibility as the Indians progress into civilization and finally disappear as a separate and distinct people, not by race extinction but by gradual assimilation with their fellow citizens.[10]

In 1906, in "The Last of the Indian Treaties," Scott had predicted that assimilation "might be attained, say, in four centuries by the merging of the Indian race with the whites."[11] After a quarter of a century, Scott has not significantly changed his point of view, except to stress that extinction of the race is no longer a danger, despite the evils associated with white civilization.

One of the evils of civilization which the Indians found difficult to withstand was tuberculosis, and concern over the high incidence of the disease amongst Indians is shown in Scott's annual reports from 1915. It is interesting to read P. H. Bryce's The Story of a National Crime which criticizes the Department's handling of the tuberculosis problem from 1904 to 1921.[12] The account, though ostensibly "An Appeal for Justice" for the Indians, is more an expression of Bryce's wounded pride at being ignored for promotion. In this article Scott is depicted as being, in 1910, actively opposed to Bryce's recommendations for improvement of the general health of the Indian population. One suspects that Scott as Chief Accountant would be governed by prudence in all matters relating to Government expenditure, even when it concerned disease. To be fair to

Scott, it should be mentioned that the establishing of a definite Medical Branch within the Department did not take place until 1928. In his final publication, however, Scott had to acknowledge that tuberculosis was still rampant:

> It is regretted that it is not possible to report more progress in combatting this the most important of diseases among Indians. The necessity far exceeds both the facilities and the funds available.[13]

The tone of the article is on the whole one of guarded optimism for the future of the Indian race.

In "A Scene at Lake Manitou," written in 1933, we have perhaps a more accurate expression of Scott's feelings on the subject of the Indians' inability to adapt other than very slowly to civilization. The Indian was supposed to learn how to gain a livelihood from the soil, but at Lake Manitou the girls gather only a light yield of hay from a small, stony field. The Department was responsible for the health of the Indians, yet the Widow Frederick is watching her son fade away in death. The truly valuable native skills which she has passed on to her son are now lost to posterity as Matanack lies dying of the same disease which claimed his father twelve years before. The then-civilized cure for tuberculosis, fresh air and sunlight, has proved useless, doubtless because of the advanced stage of the disease. In trying to save her son's life the widow has exhausted Christian ritual which, she has been taught, can raise a man from the dead. In her despair, she turns to the pagan way of propitiating the spirits by giving all her treasured possessions to the lake god. Ironically, amongst these are

products of civilization--a gramophone and a hand-sewing machine. When both religions fail to restore her son, resignedly she constructs her own confused version of paradise: "He had gone to his father / To hunt in the Spirit Land / And to be with Jesus and Mary." At the end of the poem the widow becomes "resolute as of old" and experiences a return of strength and spirit as she plans to survive by reverting to the ways she knows best. Scott frames the poem with nature images which begin with illusion and end with reality. The tale of the Widow Frederick follows the same pattern, and in her eventual stoical acceptance of the situation lies the only positive note in a poem which otherwise demonstrates the human cost of assimilation.

The same awareness of the negative impact of civilization is revealed in a more sophisticated narrative, "At Gull Lake: August, 1910," Scott's last Indian poem which was written in 1934. Indian lore and historical fact blend to form the dramatic story of the ill-fated love of the half-breed Keejigo, star of the morning. Like the protagonist of "The Half-Breed Girl," Keejigo's divided heritage is the cause of her tragedy. She too is troubled by "fugitive visions" and seeks a resolution of the racial and cultural division which she represents by offering herself to Nairne, the white trader. In this way she believes she will "heal the wound under the feathers." But in attempting to resolve her conflict, she is rejected by both white and Indian

cultures. Nairne rejects her because of his interest in trade; Tabashaw does so because of pride. Blinded and scarred by her angered husband, Keejigo is thrown out of the camp, presumably to her death.

As a child of nature, Keejigo embodies the beauty of both terror and peace. D. G. Jones comments in Butterfly on Rock: "Keejigo's is the wild beauty of nature, embracing its violence and its gentleness, its demonic as well as its idyllic moods."[14] Here the parallel ceases, for after the terror, Keejigo cannot return to the beauty of peace as nature does after the storm, except in death. Mortal man is incapable of the cyclical resolution of conflict which is evident in nature.

As previously mentioned, the poem is also a blend of legend and history. According to M. Dagg, a full understanding of this poem relies on a knowledge of the religious beliefs of the Plains Indians.[15] The morning star is one of a holy triad of Sun, Moon and morning star. The poem begins in the present tense, establishing that all three are in their natural order. In the narrative, however, set one hundred years before, Keejigo, as the morning star, is out of her natural place. Both spiritual and cultural displacement result in angered reactions. The gods vent their fury in storm while man employs a punitive physical violence. Both bring destruction, but in the spiritual sense Keejigo is freed by death to take her rightful place as the daughter of the moon. Thus the heavenly circle is

completed, the tensions on earth and in the heavens are reconciled, and the balance of nature is maintained for the subsequent century. In this, his final Indian poem, Scott shows that his expression of Indian material has been enriched and refined by his long years of contact with the Indian people. His deeper understanding, however, has not changed the pessimism with which he presents the Indian in transition.

Although Scott wrote no more Indian poetry, Indians and half-breeds were to be central characters in two of the four short stories which he wrote in this final period of his life. Dealing only indirectly with the clash of cultures, these stories focus more on the destructive effect of passion in human, and especially Indian, nature. Published in 1934, "Clute Boulay" is a story about a vendetta between the white and Indian families of a primitive French-Canadian trapper.[16] Boulay is "Frenchman by blood, savage by habit and inclination" and pays only lip service to the presence of civilization, thus making him virtually an Indian character. To avoid being drawn into too close a contact with the settlement, he marries one of the girls from the Mission orphanage, but after five years it is discovered that he also has a Chippewa wife whom he has taken "in the manner of ancient, natural persons." When the priest tries to intervene, Boulay threatens to kill him and continues moving between his two households.

Attacked and rendered powerless in a village brawl, Boulay remains with his settlement family until his half-breed

daughter Epinette abducts him. The Boulays attack the Indian family and in the resulting carnage all but one of Boulay's children, including his favourite Epinette, are killed. In the dramatic conclusion, Boulay's characteristic lethargy is pierced as Epinette falls dead across his knees. Roused to his old violent anger, he crushes to death his own son who, having survived the battle, has come to lead his father home to the settlement. The story ends with the priest's reiteration of his earlier prophecy that "though the wicked be strong as a lion his sin shall abide, and presently he shall be no more in the desert of his iniquity." Scott shows, however, that Boulay is not a wicked man but one who freely indulges his primitive passions. By doing so in a society which attempts a more controlled order, he eventually brings tragedy both to himself and his families. His positive attributes of kindness and affection are not sufficiently developed to counteract the negative characteristics which dictate his way of life. Once again we are reminded of Scott's belief in the positive nature of a right-ordered existence, which when perverted leads to tragedy.

In the other story, which Scott published with "Clute Boulay," he gives a more positive emphasis to the theme of affection and shifts the setting to a gentler way of life in a small town much like Viger. In "The Flashlight," Marie Latourneau's compassionate nature is contrasted with the unsympathetic character of her employer, Mrs. McGuire.[17] Both have husbands who get drunk, but while Marie treats

Achille with the tenderness of understanding and forgiveness, Mrs. McGuire locks her husband in the bedroom and leaves him to his misery. As Marie awaits her husband's return, we learn that Mrs. McGuire has unjustly accused her of stealing a flashlight, and in her indignation at having also been denied her wages, Marie has released Mr. McGuire when he implored her to do so. Her worries are quickly forgotten when Achille arrives in the final stages of intoxication. Scott's amusing account of Marie's practised skill in manoeuvering Achille into his bed is softened by the love with which she performs the task. Happily, the flashlight is discovered in the folds of Marie's work dress, seemingly in answer to her prayer to St. Anthony, the guardian and discoverer of lost things. With deceptive simplicity and gentle humour, Scott affirms love and tolerance as basic to achieving harmony in dealing with the complexities of life.

In June of the same year as the publication of the above stories, Scott was awarded the C.M.G., a decoration which represented a high tribute to Canadian literature, and the publication of The Green Cloister in 1935 seems to signal the ending of a satisfactory period of renewal. The early depression revealed by Scott in the consideration of his own divided world has now been replaced by an emotional stability which brings him to a more positive resolution of life's difficulties.

CHAPTER VII

COMPLETING THE CIRCLE: CONCLUSION

(1935-1947)

For the next seven years, Scott and his wife continued to travel widely, and some of Scott's impressions of these vacations are to be found in the poems and prose collected into The Circle of Affection. At this point in his life Scott's poetry notebooks contain very few entries, and those indicate that all he wrote appeared in his final collection, yet he remained active in the field of letters until 1947, the year of his death.

No doubt part of the reason for Scott's reduction in productivity at this stage in his life was his constant involvement with other areas of the arts. He was active in the Canadian Authors' Association, a founding member of The Canadian Writer's Foundation, and in 1935, after a long term of office, he resigned from the Ottawa Drama League of which he was the first president. In 1937 he was also a member of the Editorial Committee of the Canadian Poetry Magazine. In addition, music and art continued to interest him, although contemporary works in neither field gave him any consolation towards the end of his life. Writing to Pelham

Edgar in 1946, Scott said: "Extremes of Painting and Music seem to be hopeless; Poetry seems to have an advantage."[1] The work of Walter J. Phillips he did not find hopeless, as is evident in the warm study Scott wrote of his artist friend in 1947.

Not least important amongst Scott's many activities was his continued loyalty as literary executor for Archibald Lampman. At the dedication of the Archibald Lampman Memorial Cairn at Morpeth, Ontario, in 1930, Scott delivered an address which was later published by the Canadian Authors' Association. In 1943, E. K. Brown asked Scott to guide him in a search of Lampman's notebooks for material to add to the published works. As a result, At the Long Sault and Other New Poems by Archibald Lampman appeared in 1943 edited jointly by Brown and Scott. There followed in 1947 Scott's Selected Poems of Archibald Lampman, the editing of which he apparently placed ahead of his own final collection. It is characteristic of Scott's sense of responsibility to the world of letters that to the end of his life he continued to draw attention to significant work in all the arts.

Scott returned to his Indian theme in "Tête-Jaune" which he published in 1939.[2] It is set on the northern shore of Lake Superior during the late 1800's when the railroad was being built, bringing with it the inevitable changes associated with progress. Bonhomme Laroche, the village patriarch, is deeply affected by such changes when

he develops a strong attachment for the blonde child borne by his wife during one of his long absences from the settlement. Rather than follow custom and send him to the Mission orphanage to become a priest, he accepts the child into his family. In years following, attracted by the boy's resolute character, he treats him like a true son, teaching him all he knows. This affectionate relationship is watched with jealous hatred by Laus, Bonhomme's eldest son whose evil character has been further corrupted by his contact with the hard life of the railroad builders.

During one of Laus' long absences, Bonhomme becomes troubled by the growing relationship between Laus' wife and Tête-Jaune, and warns him about meddling with another man's wife. When his advice is ignored, Bonhomme realizes that he is no longer able to control the positive order of the life of the village. Following native custom Laus should be Bonhomme's successor, but he has been usurped by Tête-Jaune, and Bonhomme fears Laus' return. When Laus' wife gives birth to Tête-Jaune's boy, the news reaches Laus and he returns seeking revenge. Tête-Jaune is killed, and Bonhomme drives Laus from the village, abandoning him to the forces of civilized law. Broken in spirit, Bonhomme resumes his hunting but without the old vigor. A hunting accident leaves him physically and mentally disoriented, reduced in power to sitting on the beach watching the children. One evening he sees the blonde hair of Tête-Jaune's son reflected in the firelight and is roused for a moment,

thinking the child is Tête-Jaune. As with Clute Boulay, affection has momentarily penetrated Bonhomme's mental confusion and has brought him into harmonious contact with his past, but the moment is fleeting and Bonhomme lapses into his former lethargy. The cycle moves on into perhaps a more positive revolution as is indicated by the re-appearance of Tête-Jaune in his son.

About this time in his life, perhaps when he was working on Lampman's Selected Poems, Scott began preparing what he called a prose and verse Miscellany. Initially he had difficulty seeing it as a unit, as he explained in a letter to Brown in 1943: "The poems I have got together and they include some early work and I think I can arrange them; but so far I have trouble with the prose."[3]

Scott found the clue to providing a unity when he wrote "The Circle of Affection" during the winter of 1944. In this poignant story of the circle of affection formed by Julia Maggs, her father and their dog Tasso, Scott once more explores the complex joys and ills of human life. Early in the story Scott introduces a certain tension by observing that though the circle meets all their needs, it also constitutes a stultifying life-style for the unworldly Julia. The theme of aging is also subtly introduced: first by the arrival of Abner to replace the elderly milkman and then by the gradual deterioration of Tasso, who eventually dies and breaks the circle of affection. People are sympathetic, but it is Abner who responds to the Maggs' needs by presenting

them with another terrier very like Tasso. Apparently, the circle is once again complete. Further tension occurs with the introduction of the growth of love between Julia and the handsome milkman. Absorbed by her feelings and by her new pet, Julia fails to notice her father's increasing physical decline. Combining humour and pathos at the end of the story, Scott gently illustrates one of the ironies of life. In the death of her father lies the hope for a new life for Julia. With Abner, her circle will once again be complete.

In a wider thematic context, the breaking and forging of the circle parallels the cyclical pattern of human life with its attendant contradictions of joy and sorrow, youth and age, stability and change. If man is to transcend the rigours of such an existence, then he must cultivate what Scott believed to be the most important human virtue, that of a conscious human understanding, rooted in the stability of affectionate love. Thus man neutralizes conditions which suppress his positive characteristics and prepares instead a condition of life in which the human personality is able to realize itself. In "The Circle of Affection," then, Scott gives a final expression to this philosophy so that the story represents a crystallization of the many and varied representations of the same theme in all of his narrative work.

The arrangement of the material in The Circle of Affection, Scott says, makes a foreword almost unnecessary.[4]

The selections of prose and verse, organized into five sections--"Short Stories," "Poems 1935-1946," "Essays," "Early Poems," and "Early Short Stories"--are arranged in a reverse chronological order that is in keeping with a circle ending at its starting point. In the centre of the collection, and significant in its location, is Scott's essay "Poetry and Progress," whose maxims had been central to his artistic vision. Scott claims that the unity of the collection lies in his own "affection for persons and places, for his own country and other countries, an affection for moods, for passions and aspirations."[5] Obviously, it is an affection with which we can all identify. At a time when his life was about to complete its own circle, in this volume Scott has collected together samples from his life's work, and by doing so has provided us with a review of the divided worlds which stimulated him to write.

As in Scott's earlier work, The Circle of Affection shows his fascination with the interplay of life's contradictions and with man's frequently tragic inability to reconcile them in harmonious fashion. His prose and verse narratives explore the lives of everyday characters, sometimes in dramatic, more often in understated, fashion; the fact that some of these characters are Indian or half-breed adds to their interest. His themes all testify directly or otherwise to his central belief that life is purposive. Indeed the selections in The Circle of Affection reveal that

there has been no radical change in Scott's narratives over the years.

Both early and later stories in the collection reflect the above characteristics of subject matter and theme, although early experiments in symbolism and allegory like "A Night in Cordoba" and "The Rose of Hope" were not repeated in Scott's later fiction. (In poetry, however, he continued to employ such devices to the end.) French-Canadian villagers appear in both the early and later sections of the collection. They remind us of the Viger stories in which Scott examines the inner lives of his characters as they struggle with mixed success to reconcile the joys and ills of human life. In "The Return," Pierre finds that, as a corrupt wanderer, ironically he can no longer tolerate the close family atmosphere from which he has so long been absent, and to which he is tempted to return. Diane Gosselin, in "Coquelicot," is torn between love for her cat and her loyalty to her obsessed brother, when he plans to burn the house for the insurance money. Coquelicot is to die in the fire to give the crime the appearance of an accident. Diane solves the problem by giving the cat to a neighbour and then rushing into the flames, apparently to sacrifice herself in his place. Fortunately, her gesture fails, and with a touch of grim poetic justice, Scott has the brother die in the blaze. The uneasy resolution of the joys and ills of life in these stories is given a more positive treatment in "The

Flashlight," but the familiar tension is still very much in evidence. "The Lark" is set in a French-Canadian community on Isle Aux Coudres, and the conflict focusses on the shame brought to Olivine Berger and her family because of her illegitimate child. Her desire for personal happiness leads her to betray her family's smuggling plans to her lover, and thus she sets off a sequence of events which ends in his death. Sadly, her efforts to resolve her personal unhappiness end only in further loss and suffering. The family honour is satisfied, but it brings no comfort to anyone except the vengeful Vincent, Olivine's brother, whose pride has led him to act in destructive fashion. In these as in the majority of his stories, Scott closes on a poignant note which underscores the dual nature of the reality of life.

In the "Essays" of the collection, Scott chose to include "The Last of the Indian Treaties," no doubt in acknowledgement of the many years spent as an official in the Department of Indian Affairs. These years form an integral part of his circle of affection since they brought to Scott a contact with the wilderness which became a major source of inspiration in his creative work. The account of the 1905 Treaty expedition to James Bay also provides us with a review of Scott's divided attitude concerning the Indian in transition. In describing his most vivid memory of the expedition, Scott writes:

> There was the Indian at the best part of a transitional state, still wild as a lynx, with all the lore and instinct of his race undimmed, and possessed wholly by the simplest rule of the Christian life, as yet unspoiled by the art of sly lying, paltry cunning and the lower vices which come from contact with such of our debased manners and customs as come to him in the wilderness.[6]

In this description lies the essence of Scott's dilemma. He knows that progress is not always gain, and that for the Indian people it means loss in the form of the destruction of their way of life. Yet as civil servant and evolutionist he was bound to support assimilation as the only way to preserve the race. In describing the divided world of the Indian, Scott reveals a latent sense of guilt by consistently dealing with negative aspects of assimilation, especially in his poetry. In later stories such as "Clute Boulay" and "Tête-Jaune" (both included in the "Short Stories" section of Circle), the focus has shifted away from the clash of cultures evident in "Charcoal" and the Treaty essay, to a more penetrating psychological study of the Indian facing in his peculiar fashion the same personal challenges as his white counterparts.

In the circle of Scott's life, the expression of his artistic vision through the medium of poetry was of central importance. It is with a certain symbolic significance that the early and recent poetry in his collection frames the centre which contains "Poetry and Progress," the precepts of which Scott follows faithfully in his own creative work. In his search for perfect expression, Scott says, the poet

must deal with the complex emotions of life and, seeking diversity of expression, endeavour to interpret the world in new terms of beauty. In this way the poet contributes to literature that is ageless, as did those literary immortals who were the reason for Scott's "pilgrimages" which he describes in "Wayfarers." Scott tells us that he felt a sense of obligation, "a desire to acknowledge a debt that can never be paid."[7] As a result of their contribution to literature their spirits will never die for their minds are as vital as life itself. In his own efforts to interpret the world in terms of beauty Scott was sustained by a belief in the evolutionary theory of the ultimate perfectability of man, finding in nature's cyclical resolution of polarities a symbol of hope for a corresponding harmony in human life.

In the section containing the early poems, there are very few which reflect what has been discussed above. Scott himself, always his own best editor, gives a reason in a letter to Brown in 1947:

> The early poems were done so long ago that I have no dates but of course after The Magic House but I did not think it worthwhile to print them in any of the other books and they would not have appeared here if it had not been for Elise who decided the matter.[8]

Nevertheless some have a lasting appeal. In "Remembrance," the sadness of parted lovers is explored through the withering of flowers that had bloomed on happier days when the lovers were united. A bitter-sweet resolution, common to Scott's vision, shows that though the flowers will bloom

again, the happy days cannot return. That Scott rejected the idea of nature's being only an escape from life is presented in the companion pieces "Nature to Man" and "Man to Nature," a juxtaposition of ideas of which Scott was fond. Invited by Nature to "heal the flowing pain you call your life," the poet responds:

> Thy heart is peace and peace gives comfort--yet
> Something commands and will not let me stay;
> I was defeated, broken,--I do not forget;
> But Life is Victory in the dawning day.

Here the evolutionist in Scott affirms the driving spirit with which man must face the exigencies of life if he is to contribute positively to the divine plan.

Several of the poems written between 1935 and 1946 show that Scott's artistic vision has not radically changed since his early work, although there has naturally been a refining of its expression. In "Power," the poet watches sea-birds struggling against the gale and finds a positive parallel in the efforts of his heart to meet the challenge of life despite the sadness memories bring. In a contrasting mood, "At Derwentwater" describes the sadness felt by the poet as he contemplates twilight over the lake. Instead of experiencing an influx of spiritual joy in the tranquil beauty of the scene, he finds sadness in the knowledge that the "ultimate secret" that lies beyond all appearance cannot be apprehended by man. Melancholoy also pervades "At Delos" in which the poet grieves over the fading of beauty symbolized

by an iris-flower with topaz leaves. The world expresses no sorrow at its passing: it is the poet / pilgrim who "with heavy heart / Brings to the grave his tears." Illuminations are still a part of a poet's life, however, and in "These Are in the Beginning," he describes the intuitive response he receives when contemplating the network of elm branches outlined in the twilight:

> A throb in the secret heart,
> A warning of vision,--
> A gleam,--not a thought,
> Before the image is caught,
> Sullied or blurred
> By the touch of a word.

There is joy in the poet's perception, but regret in his inability to capture the perfect moment in words. Here Scott expresses the eternal dilemma of the artist, which is also addressed in "Twelfth Anniversary," a group of four sonnets which Scott wrote for Elise. The poet attempts to give complete expression to the depth of his love and finds that it is impossible to do so:

> For how is delicacy to be shown,
> How is perception of beauty to be snared,
> How can the truth of impulse be made known,
> And how can tenderness of heart be shared?[9]

The love poems do not reflect the spiritual despair of the philosophical verses because the poet derives comfort in the sharing of his feelings with another. The fluctuation between hope and despair which is characteristic of Scott's spiritual expression no doubt stems from the indefinite nature of the goal towards which man is expected to strive,

and which he may perceive in only the briefest of illuminations. In these later poems, as in earlier work on the same themes, Scott continues to reflect on the polarities inherent in artistic and spiritual aspiration. There is however a general air of tranquillity to the section as a unit, established by "Old Olives at Bordighera" and continued in "The Days of a Rose" and "Time." Free from tension also are the imaginative poems Scott wrote for the children of his friends. The most poignant of these is "To Deaver Brown," not only because of the beauty of the central image of the rainbow, "The pure, prismatic arc of love / That bears the promise in the glow," but also because it reveals Scott's awareness of his age and approaching death. This section, which presumably contains all the poetry that Scott wrote between 1935 and 1946, supports the unifying principle of his affection for places, people, and passions more than does the section on early poems. It also upholds the philosophy of Scott's "Poetry and Progress" and consequently serves to emphasize his faith in the accuracy of his artistic vision.

The last two stories of the collection, although originating in Scott's early period, nevertheless round off the volume both literally and figuratively. Their position is significant in that both deal with the harmony of fulfilment. This is the central artistic purpose of the collection as demonstrated in "Poetry and Progress." "A Night in

Cordoba" is the story of a modern tourist who spends the night in a Moorish palace-house. Surrounded by tradition, he falls asleep and experiences a dream which clearly has symbolic overtones. A procession materializes, led by a Spanish grandee. In the centre of the group is a prisoner, an artist who is then released and compelled to draw the head of a decapitated youth. The profile is one of ethereal beauty and the shape of the head "of an ideal contour, blanched and delicate." The artist is faced with what seems to be an impossible challenge to his talent--the recreation of a beauty that is dead. However, as he works, he gradually captures the image perfectly. The grim faces of the entourage lose their severity and the prisoner achieves tranquillity in the fulfilment of his art. Scott seems to be saying that the restraining influences of tradition contribute to the death of beauty. The artist must be free from such confines, for only then will he be able to fulfil his artistic purpose in the recreation of a beauty with the eternal element in its composition.

In "The Rose of Hope," Scott presents in allegorical form a union of the principles basic to his vision of art and life. The village symbolizes the world in which the church ostensibly takes care of all matters of the spirit. Thus the village is represented in the shape of a cross and much of the action takes place in and around the church of which Stephen Rede is the pastor. However, the church is described as being merely functional, "prized for its mundane

offices," and Stephen has lost faith in life seeing nothing in it but a mockery. As we know, Scott was not a religious man in the conventional sense but had a faith of his own, rooted in evolutionary philosophy. In the story he calls this faith "the unperverted earth-spirit lying at the core of all life."[10]

In the village, opposite the church, lives Agnes Lynn who cherishes faith and has "spiritual apperceptions" seeing "manifest analogies in material things." In her garden, amidst the perfection of her flowering rose bushes, there stands one which has never flowered though it has intrinsic beauty in the vitality of its leaves and branches. Agnes has inherited the house and garden of her ancestors and intuitively knows that the bush will eventually flower and surpass in beauty all the others. Here there is a clear parallel with Scott's belief in a divine process moving slowly to a perfection. The mystic rose then becomes the symbol of hope for the ultimate perfectability of man, a hope which Stephen does not possess.

The growing love between Agnes and Stephen is strong against the external forces of evil, but Stephen's lack of spiritual joy places a blight on their affection since, for Agnes, joy is the essence of love which in turn is the source of all faith. When Stephen must leave for a year, Agnes gives full artistic expression to her love and faith in the creation of a gown of perfect beauty upon which she traces,

just over the heart, the semblance of the precious rose of the world. In a blending of the images of self-sacrifice and artistic death, Scott shows that in completing the gown Agnes redeems Stephen's spiritual life, for in perfect love she has woven her own life into the garment.

Further hope for the renewal of Stephen's faith is symbolized by the rose tree's producing a bud of unparalleled loveliness, a development mystically linked with Agnes' creation of perfection. As Agnes nears death, Stephen is urged to pray for her with his whole being, and as he does so, Agnes appears transfigured, "like a cloud of light" bearing between her hands a rose of unimaginable beauty. The renewal of Stephen's faith is thus affirmed in Agnes' death and in the blooming of the Rose of Hope which Stephen has clasped safe to his heart.

By closing with "The Rose of Hope," Scott completes his personal circle of affection on a mystical note. In allegorical fashion he portrays man's need for spiritual significance in life with which to combat the many and contradictory forces which complicate his contact with his fellow man. For Scott, such a significance was found in the belief that man and nature are not separate but one manifestation of spirit, each striving towards the beauty of perfection. The remoteness of such a goal might bring despair, but man is sustained in his efforts and comforted in his failures by the redeeming power of love. The indeterminate nature of this philosophy lies at the root of much of

the tension displayed in Scott's creative work in which he endeavoured to express the polarities he perceived within and around him.

In The Circle of Affection the organization of the material is such that the collection finishes with examples of Scott's early work. These poems and short stories remind us that he was committed from the beginning of his creative career to a personal vision that recognized the paradoxes of life, a vision which he consistently maintained throughout his creative work as a whole. Man's attempts to resolve such conflicts soon became a major feature of Scott's writing in both prose and verse which covered a wide range of subjects, and this variety is also reflected in the collection. As his personal life developed, there also occurred a period of intense literary activity when the deepening of his artistic vision was aided by his espousal of an evolutionary philosophy which was to sustain him to the end. Although his daughter's death brought his writing to a virtual stop for some years, the eventual work of the subsequent period indicates a full maturing of Scott's personal and artistic beliefs. The resolution that he achieved through evolutionary philosophy was augmented by the truths he perceived in such moments of mystic illumination as that embodied in "The Height of Land," and this stage marked a high point in Scott's creative development. Later, after a brief emotional decline, another renewal of Scott's writing stimulus came with his marriage to Elise. The increased emotional stability which

Scott enjoyed thereafter is reflected in his final collection, for the tranquil later poems reveal that the tensions of life are now also tempered by love and affection. Thus in his final work Scott completes his personal circle on a note of affection, leaving us with an impression of the totality of his vision.

In recent years, a renewed interest in early Canadian writers has brought critical attention to bear on the writers of the turn of the century, and in particular on Sir Charles G. D. Roberts, W. Bliss Carman, Archibald Lampman and Duncan Campbell Scott. Of the four, Scott has received, perhaps, the least critical attention. Scott's contribution to Canadian literature should not, however, be underestimated. His formulation of a definite poetic theory and his consistent effort to maintain high standards are noteworthy. Essentially innovative, he shows a diversity in form and technique which allows him on occasion to stand alongside our modern poets. In poetry and prose he captures the Canadian scene and its people with a feeling for actuality which he himself defined as being the essence of modernity. In his ability to express his ideas dramatically and realistically in terms of human narrative, Scott creates a new awareness of the problem of the Indian caught between two cultures, a problem which still has relevance today. All of the above mark Scott as a "modern," but therein alone does not lie the enduring quality of Scott's work as a

whole. His work will stand the test of time because it confronts the questions all men must ask; in his divided worlds, Scott examines the essential contradictions of the human condition.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

[1]Allan Douglas Brodie, "Canadian Short Story Writers," Canadian Magazine, 4 (February 1895), 336-339.

[2]Raymond Knister, "Duncan Campbell Scott," Willison's Monthly, 2 (January 1927), 295-296.

[3]E. K. Brown, "Memoir," Selected Poems of Duncan Campbell Scott (Toronto: Ryerson, 1951), xi-xlii, reprinted in E. K. Brown's Responses and Evaluations: Essays on Canada, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977), pp. 112-144.

[4]Desmond Pacey, "The Poetry of Duncan Campbell Scott," The Canadian Forum, 28 (August 1948), 107-109.

[5]A. J. M. Smith, "The Poetry of Duncan Campbell Scott," Dalhousie Review, 28 (1948), 12-21.

[6]R. E. Rashley, Poetry in Canada: The First Three Steps (Toronto: Ryerson, 1958).

[7]Daniel Francis Crozier, Imagery and Symbolism in the Poems of Duncan Campbell Scott. (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of New Brunswick, 1963). William Paul Denham, Music and Painting in the Poetry of Duncan Campbell Scott. (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Western Ontario, 1964).

[8]Roy Daniells, "Crawford, Carman and D. C. Scott," in A Literary History of Canada, ed. Carl F. Klinck et al. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), pp. 416-421.

[9]E. Palmer Patterson II, "The Poet and the Indian: Indian Themes in the Poetry of Duncan Campbell Scott and John Collier," Ontario History, 59 (June 1967), 69-78.

[10]Melvin H. Dagg, "Scott and the Indians," The Humanities Association Bulletin, 23 (1972), 3-11.

[11]Glenys Stow, "The Wound Under the Feathers: Scott's Discontinuities," in Colony and Confederation: Early Canadian Poets and Their Background, ed. George Woodcock (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1974), pp. 161-177.

[12]S. L. Dragland, Forms of Imaginative Perception in the Poetry of Duncan Campbell Scott. (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Queen's University, 1971).

[13]Brown, "Memoir," p. 121.

[14]Ibid., p. 126.

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

[1]Brown, "Memoir," p. 115.

[2]Duncan Campbell Scott, Walter J. Phillips R.C.A. (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1947), p. 2.

[3]Brown, "Memoir," p. 114.

[4]Ibid., p. 113.

[5]See Madge Macbeth, "I Am Rich in the Friendship of Duncan Campbell Scott," Over My Shoulder (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1953), p. 137.

[6]Ibid., p. 138.

[7]Ibid., p. 147.

[8]Duncan Campbell Scott, "Archibald Lampman," Addresses Delivered at the Dedication of the Archibald Lampman Memorial Cairn, Morpeth, Ontario (London, Ontario: Western Ontario Branch of the Canadian Authors' Association, 1930), p. 12.

[9]Pelham Edgar, "Duncan Campbell Scott," The Dalhousie Review, 7 (1927-28), p. 38.

[10]Duncan Campbell Scott to E. K. Brown, 29 September 1946, E. K. Brown Papers, Public Archives of Canada.

[11]Leonard W. Brockington, "Duncan Campbell Scott's Eightieth Birthday," Saturday Night, 57 (1942), p. 25.

[12]Edgar, "Duncan Campbell Scott," p. 38.

[13]Stow, "The Wound Under the Feathers," p. 172.

[14]Duncan Campbell Scott, "An Autobiographical Note," in Some Letters of Duncan Campbell Scott, Archibald Lampman and Others, ed. Arthur S. Bourinot (Ottawa: Bourinot, 1959). [n.p.].

[15]Brown, "Memoir," p. 113.

[16]See Anon. "The Late 'Father Scott'," Montreal Gazette, 9 October, 1891.

[17]Brown, "Memoir," p. 112.

[18]Ibid., p. 115.

[19]See Duncan Campbell Scott to Pelham Edgar, 23 July, 1939, E. K. Brown Papers, Public Archives of Canada. This treatment was probably some type of electro-massage to relieve the pain of inflammation.

[20]Brown, "Memoir," p. 113.

[21]Sir Paul Harvey, ed., The Oxford Companion to English Literature, 4th ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), p. 662.

[22]Brown, "Memoir," p. 112.

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

[1]See Lorne Pierce Papers in the Douglas Library, Queen's University, Kingston, for a note on Scott's career compiled by Indian Affairs for Desmond Pacey, October 16, 1953.

[2]Brown, "Memoir," p. 115.

[3]Duncan Campbell Scott, "Memoir," The Poems of Archibald Lampman (Toronto: Morang, 1900), p. xvii.

[4]Ibid.

[5]See the Duncan Campbell Scott Papers in the Thomas Fisher Rare Books and Special Collections Department of the Robarts Library at the University of Toronto.

[6]Brown, "Memoir," p. 115.

[7]Duncan Campbell Scott, "The Ducharmes of the Baskatonge," Scribner's, 1 (1887), p. 236.

[8]Duncan Campbell Scott, Introductory poem to In the Village of Viger (Boston: Copeland and Day, 1896), [n.p.].

[9]Alfred de Musset (1810-57) was a French writer who combined classic clarity with romantic subjectivity. In 1883, his romantic infatuation with George Sand ended in disillusionment.

[10]Duncan Campbell Scott, "Paul Farlotte," In the Village of Viger, p. 13.

[11]Duncan Campbell Scott, "John Scantleberry," Dominion Illustrated Monthly, 1 (1892), p. 38.

[12]Ibid.

[13]Ibid., p. 45.

[14]Duncan Campbell Scott, "Coiniac Street," The Globe, November 23, 1889, p. 11.

[15]Duncan Campbell Scott, "The Mystery of the Red Deeps," Massey's Magazine (Toronto), 1 (1896); "John Greenlaw's Story," Massey's Magazine, 2 (1896); "The Nest of Imposture," Massey's Magazine, 2 (1896); "Ends Rough Hewn," Massey's Magazine, 2 (1896).

[16]See the Duncan Campbell Scott Papers at the University of Toronto. Scott's novel has now been published by Penumbra Press under the title Untitled Novel, ca. 1905 and is edited by John Flood.

[17]Arthur S. Bourinot, ed., At the Mermaid Inn, Conducted by A. Lampman, W. W. Campbell, Duncan C. Scott. Being Selections from Essays . . . Which appeared in the Toronto Globe, 1892-93 (Ottawa: Bourinot, 1959), p. 1.

[18]Duncan Campbell Scott, "Introduction," Lyrics of Earth: Sonnets and Ballads by Archibald Lampman (Toronto: Musson, 1925), p. 24. The motto which Scott wrote is as follows:

Sir Roger: What have we here?
Giles: There is everything under the sun set down with some show of reason; they run atilt at the world and treat men and manners as familiar as an old hat.
Sir Roger: Think you they protest too much? I like a matter disposed bravely, but--
Giles: Methinks they have a genial tongue. Will you hear them?
Sir Roger: I will, an' it be not too long. I'll have some sack and you read on.

[19]Arthur S. Bourinot, ed., More Letters of Duncan Campbell Scott (Ottawa: Bourinot, 1960), p. 25.

[20]Duncan Campbell Scott, The Magic House and Other Poems (Ottawa: Durie, 1893), p. 22.

[21]See the Duncan Campbell Scott Papers in the National Library Rare Books Room in Ottawa.

[22]Rashley, Poetry in Canada: The First Three Steps, pp. 97-98.

[23]Duncan Campbell Scott Papers, Ottawa.

[24]A. J. M. Smith, "Duncan Campbell Scott," in Our Living Tradition, 3d ser., ed. R. L. McDougall (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959), 79.

[25] Ibid., p. 80.

[26] Bourinot, At the Mermaid Inn, p. 32.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

[1]Scott, "An Autobiographical Note," in Some Letters of Duncan Campbell Scott.

[2]See Mrs. Belle Scott's Social Scrapbook in the Duncan Campbell Scott Papers at the National Library, Ottawa.

[3]Brown, "Memoir," p. 119.

[4]Ibid.

[5]Elsie Pomeroy, "A Favourite Lesson," in the Duncan Campbell Scott Papers at the National Library, Ottawa.

[6]Brown, "Memoir," p. 126.

[7]W. Bridgewater and S. Kurtz, eds. The Columbia Encyclopaedia, 3rd ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1963), p. 690.

[8]Lionel Stevenson, Appraisals of Canadian Literature (Toronto: Macmillan, 1926), pp. 98-99.

[9]Scott, "Introduction" to Lyrics of Earth, p. 41.

[10]Duncan Campbell Scott, "The Return," Massey's Magazine, 2 (1896), 352-57. Reprinted in The Circle of Affection, pp. 201-211.

[11]Duncan Campbell Scott, Labor and the Angel (Boston: Copeland and Day, 1898), p. 2.

[12]Scott, "Introduction" to Lyrics of Earth, p. 41.

[13]See Greg Kealey, ed., Canada Investigates Industrialism: The Royal Commission on the Relations of Labor and Capital, 1889 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973).

[14]John Masefield to D. C. Scott, November 8, 1905, Duncan Campbell Scott Papers at the National Library, Ottawa.

[15]Bourinot, At the Mermaid Inn, p. 74.

[16]Bourinot, More Letters, p. 6.

[17]See D. C. Scott to E. K. Brown, January 30, 1944, E. K. Brown Papers at the Public Archives of Canada.

[18]See the Lorne Pierce Papers in the Douglas Library at Queen's University, Kingston, for a copy of the 1896 card with "The Happy Fatalist." "The Cup" appeared in 1894 with Lampman's "The Hermit Thrush." A copy of this card may be seen in Scott's Scrapbook in the Duncan Campbell Scott Papers in the Rare Books Room of the National Library in Ottawa.

[19]Frederick H. Abbot, The Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada: A Report of an Investigation made in 1914 under the direction of the Board of Indian Commissioners, (Washington, D. C.: U.S. Government, 1915), p. 34.

[20]Ibid.

[21]Dagg, "Scott and the Indians," p. 7.

[22]Dragland, Forms of Imaginative Perception in the Poetry of Duncan Campbell Scott, p. 200.

[23]Duncan Campbell Scott, New World Lyrics and Ballads (Toronto: Morang, 1905). Six of the sixteen poems have Indian themes.

[24]Duncan Campbell Scott, "A Legend of Welly Legrave," Scribner's, 23 (1898), 470-79. Reprinted in The Witching of Elspie: A Book of Stories (New York: Doran, 1923).

[25]Duncan Campbell Scott, "Their Wedding Eve," The Christmas Globe, 1898, pp. 14-16. A copy of this story is in Scott's Scrapbook, p. 312.

[26]Duncan Campbell Scott, "The Winning of Marie-Louise," Outlook, 62 (1898), 523-37. Reprinted in The Witching of Elspie.

[27]D. C. Scott to John Masefield, August 10, 1947, Bourinot Papers at the National Library, Ottawa.

[28]Duncan Campbell Scott, "Charcoal," Canadian Magazine, 23 (1904), 251-56. Reprinted in The Circle of Affection (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1947), pp. 218-21.

[29]Hugh A. Dempsey, Charcoal's World (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1978), p. 16.

[30]Ibid., p. 142.

[31]Scott, "Charcoal," pp. 217-18.

[32]Dempsey, Charcoal's World, p. 156.

[33]See Douglas Lochhead, ed., "Bibliographical Note," in The Poems of Archibald Lampman (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), p. xxxi.

[34]Duncan Campbell Scott, "Lord Strathcona," Ainslee's Magazine, 8 (1901-02), 552-60.

[35]Duncan Campbell Scott, "The Vain Shadow," Scribner's, 28 (1900), 72-82. Reprinted in The Witching of Elspie.

[36]Duncan Campbell Scott, "A Decade of Canadian Poetry," The Canadian Magazine, 17 (1901), 153-8.

[37]See Scott's notebook dated 1900-10 in the Duncan Campbell Scott Papers at the University of Toronto.

[38]Brown, "Memoir," p. 122.

[39]Duncan Campbell Scott, New World Lyrics and Ballads (Toronto: Morang, 1905), p. 3.

[40]Duncan Campbell Scott, "The Last of the Indian Treaties," The Circle of Affection (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1947), p. 122.

[41]Susan Beckmann, "A Note on Duncan Campbell Scott's 'The Forsaken'," The Humanities Association Review, 25 (Winter 1974), 32-37.

[42]Scott, "The Last of the Indian Treaties," p. 114.

[43]Brown, "Memoir," p. 123.

[44]Scott, "The Last of the Indian Treaties," p. 110.

[45]See a clipping from the Regina Post dated September 14, 1927, in Scott's Scrapbook, p. 262.

[46]Duncan Campbell Scott, unpublished and untitled novel (ca. 1905), Duncan Campbell Scott Papers at the University of Toronto Library, p. 54. Scott's novel has now been published under the title Untitled Novel, ca. 1905, edited by John Flood (Moonbeam, Ontario: Penumbra Press, 1979), p. 52.

[47]Flood, ed., Untitled Novel, ca. 1905, p. 303.

[48]Ibid., p. 74.

[49]Ibid., p. 307.

[50]Ibid., p. 161.

[51]Ibid., p. 162.

[52]Ibid., p. 224.

[53]Duncan Campbell Scott, "George Meredith, The Dean of English Novelists," Munsey's Magazine, 38 (1908), 802.

[54]Ibid.

[55]Glenn Clever, "Duncan Campbell Scott's Fiction: Moral Realism and Canadian Identity," in K. P. Stich, ed., The Duncan Campbell Scott Symposium (Ottawa: Ottawa University Press, 1980), p. 94.

[56]Bourinot, More Letters, p. 27.

[57]D. C. Scott to Pelham Edgar, October 9, 1905, in More Letters, p. 29.

[58]Sandra Campbell, "A Fortunate Friendship: Duncan Campbell Scott and Pelham Edgar," The Duncan Campbell Scott Symposium, pp. 113-24.

[59]Pelham Edgar, Across My Path, ed. Northrop Frye (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1952), p. 60.

[60]Bourinot, Some Letters, p. 31.

[61]Brown, "Memoir," p. 125.

[62]Edgar, Across My Path, p. 61.

[63]Bourinot, More Letters, p. 33.

[64]Ibid., p. 34.

NOTES TO CHAPTER V

[1]Bourinot, More Letters of Duncan Campbell Scott, p. 28.

[2]Ibid.

[3]See note on Scott's career compiled by Pacey.

[4]Duncan Campbell Scott, "Poetry and Progress," The Royal Society of Canada Proceedings and Transactions, 3d ser., 16 (1922), xlvii-lxvii. Reprinted in The Circle of Affection, p. 126.

[5]Duncan Campbell Scott, Lundy's Lane and Other Poems (New York: Doran, 1916), p. 50.

[6]Bourinot, More Letters, p. 36.

[7]Scott, Lundy's Lane, p. 50.

[8]Leon Slonim, "Notes on Duncan Campbell Scott's 'Lines in Memory of Edmund Morris'," Canadian Poetry, 2 (1978), 39.

[9]Scott, Lundy's Lane, p. 190. Further quotations from this poem will be identified by page numbers in parentheses within the text.

[10]Slonim, "Notes on Duncan Campbell Scott's 'Lines in Memory of Edmund Morris'," p. 39.

[11]Slonim notes that some of this work can be seen in the Provincial Legislatures in Regina and Edmonton.

[12]Dagg, "Scott and the Indians," p. 5.

[13]Scott, Lundy's Lane, pp. 70-71.

[14]Ibid., p. 67.

[15]Duncan Campbell Scott, Beauty and Life (Toronto: McClelland, 1921), p. 31.

[16]Ibid., pp. 9-15.

[17]Scott, "Poetry and Progress," p. 126.

[18]Bourinot, More Letters of Duncan Campbell Scott, p. 39.

[19]Scott, The Witching of Elspie, p. 163.

[20]Ibid., p. 164.

[21]Duncan Campbell Scott, Foreword to People of the Plains by Amelia Paget (Toronto: William Briggs, 1909), p. 14.

[22]Ibid.

[23]Ibid., p. 15.

[24]Duncan Campbell Scott, "The Aboriginal Races," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, 107 (1923), 65.

[25]Duncan Campbell Scott, Introduction to Traditional History of the Confederacy of the Six Nations by a Committee of the Chiefs (Ottawa: Royal Society of Canada, 1912), p. 197.

[26]See entry dated July 6, 1906, in Edgar's journal of this expedition in RG 10, vol. 1028 at the Public Archives, Ottawa.

[27]Scott, "The Last of the Indian Treaties," p. 119.

[28]Duncan Campbell Scott, The Poems of Duncan Campbell Scott (Toronto: McClelland, 1926), p. 59.

[29]B. Johnston, Ojibway Heritage (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), p. 13.

[30]Ibid., p. 149.

[31]Ibid., p. 150

[32]Scott, "Poetry and Progress," p. 137.

[33]See D. C. Scott to W. J. Dilworth, August 15, 1916, in RG 10, vol. 1547 at the Public Archives, Ottawa.

[34]Adam Shortt, ed., Canada and Its Provinces: A History of the Canadian People and Their Institutions By One Hundred Associates (Toronto: Glasgow Brook and Company, 1914).

[35]Scott, "The Aboriginal Races," p. 65.

[36]Scott, "Introduction" to Lyrics of Earth, p. 4.

[37]See Some Letters, More Letters and the E. K. Brown Papers for Scott's comments on his lack of recognition. Although made in a joking fashion, the remarks reveal his sensitivity to the situation.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VI

[1]Brown, "Memoir," p. 134.

[2]Duncan Campbell Scott, Foreword to Roses of Shadow, by Elise Aylen (Toronto: Best Printing Co., 1930), p. iv.

[3]Brown, "Memoir," p. 136.

[4]D. C. Scott to Pierce, 25 March, 1927, Lorne Pierce Papers, Queen's University, Kingston.

[5]Duncan Campbell Scott, The Green Cloister: Later Poems (Toronto: McClelland, 1935), p. 10.

[6]Scott, "Poetry and Progress," p. 130.

[7]Brown, "Memoir," p. 137.

[8]Scott, Foreword to Roses of Shadow, p. vi.

[9]Brown, "Memoir," p. 134.

[10]Duncan Campbell Scott, The Administration of Indian Affairs in Canada (Toronto: Canadian Institute of International Affairs, 1931), p. 27.

[11]Scott, "The Last of the Indian Treaties," p. 122.

[12]P. H. Bryce, The Story of a National Crime (Ottawa: James Hope and Sons, 1922), p. 5.

[13]Scott, "The Administration of Indian Affairs," p. 20.

[14]D.G. Jones, Butterfly on Rock (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), p. 47.

[15]Dagg, "Scott and the Indians," pp. 8-9.

[16]Duncan Campbell Scott, "Clute Boulay," Queen's Quarterly, 41 (1934), 216-27. Reprinted in The Circle of Affection.

[17]Duncan Campbell Scott, "The Flashlight," Queen's Quarterly, 41 (1934), 287-92. Reprinted in The Circle of Affection.

NOTES TO CHAPTER VII

[1]Bourinot, More Letters, p. 74.

[2]Duncan Campbell Scott, "Tête-Jaune," Queen's Quarterly, 46 (1939), 267-79. Reprinted in The Circle of Affection.

[3]D. C. Scott, to E. K. Brown, 10-16 September, 1943, E.K. Brown Papers, Public Archives of Canada.

[4]Duncan Campbell Scott, The Circle of Affection (Toronto: McClelland, 1947), p. xi.

[5]Ibid.

[6]Ibid., p. 122.

[7]Ibid., p. 81.

[8]Bourinot, More Letters, p. 86.

[9]Ibid. Scott confessed to Brown that, as good as he could make the verses, they were not worthy of Elise.

[10]Ibid., p. 232.

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