

Literary Life After Death

Commemorations
of Writers in
English-Speaking
Canada



Carole Gerson

LITERARY LIFE AFTER DEATH

AUTHORS, PUBLISHERS, READERS, TEXTS

Studies in Book History and Print Culture

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Literary Life After Death

COMMEMORATIONS OF WRITERS IN
ENGLISH-SPEAKING CANADA

Carole Gerson

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LITERARY LIFE AFTER DEATH

INTRODUCTION

On October 7, 2023, the *Globe and Mail* carried a full-page ad from the Riopelle Foundation listing all of the activities underway to celebrate the centenary of artist Jean Paul Riopelle, born in Montreal on October 7, 1923. This announcement cited educational and cultural programs, musical creations, theatre performances, and a commemorative two-dollar coin, alongside public art projects and museum exhibitions in Canada and France. *Crossroads in Time*, a chronological exhibition of Riopelle's artistic career, opened at the National Gallery of Canada in the fall of 2023 before travelling to the Winnipeg Art Gallery in 2024 and to the Vancouver Art Gallery in 2025. The foundation claimed, "Never before has a Canadian artist been celebrated in this way." Nor, may I add, has any Canadian cultural figure of any genre, including writers, whose works tend to reach much wider audiences than the creations of avant-garde painters. Authors who have been read by millions, such as novelists Ralph Connor, Mazo de la Roche, Marshall Saunders, and L.M. Montgomery or poet John McCrae, author of the annually recited "In Flanders Fields," penned in 1915, receive occasional recognition from dedicated admirers and from significant public bodies but not quite on this scale. In the future, might we see similar centennial celebrations of other Canadian cultural figures who "pushed the boundaries of creativity and captured the attention of the world," as did Riopelle according to the ad?¹ Perhaps for Margaret Atwood in 2039?

Recognition of writers varies tremendously from one country to another, signalling the importance granted to literature and its creators in shaping a nation's self-image, whether instigated by the state itself or by various elements within it. The construction of a historically based national literary identity takes different forms, from the expectation that every citizen will be familiar with a canonical text such as *Tom Sawyer* or *Hamlet* to the sanctification of a writer's personal existence and its associated materiality, traced from birthplace to gravesite. In Ireland, a significant portion of the tourist industry focuses on the country's literary heritage, directing visitors to the Writers' Museum in Dublin and to landmarks such as William Butler Yeats's tower in County Galway and James Joyce's Martello tower in Sandycove. England's long tradition of literary tourism has produced many published guides to classic settings such as the London of Charles Dickens and of Sherlock Holmes, to Thomas Hardy's Wessex, to Brontë country, and even to the literary history of Bath,² as well as specialized guidebooks, among them A.C. Ward's poignant *A Literary Journey through Wartime Britain* (1943), with photos of bomb damage to many hallowed sites. In the United States, more than one hundred guides for literary tourists were published between 1853 and 1940,³ ample illustration of the premise that such activity reinforces "broader national narratives of inclusion" in the American imagined community.⁴

There are many ways for fans to connect emotionally and physically with their favourite writers. The collection of autographs has been a long-standing practice, as has the acquisition of an author's books, especially first editions and signed copies. Other dedicated readers like to visit the sites of cherished stories or poems, places associated with the writer's life, or museums with displays of handwritten manuscripts or treasured personal artifacts. Fandom merges with higher levels of significance when governments participate in cultural recognition by designating writers' homes as historic sites, by formally acknowledging authors' achievements with commemorative currency or postage stamps, or by unveiling official plaques. Few objects can

have a stronger material presence than a historic plaque: a solid metallic rectangle, fixed to a building or a sturdy stone cairn, whose words and images endure through time and weather in a meeting of national and cultural interests that transforms undifferentiated landscapes into places with specific stories to tell.⁵

The focus of this book on literary commemoration in Canada is not on how writers preserve memory⁶ but on how memory preserves writers. In the following chapters, selected case studies illustrate how cultural memories have modified over time as they have been refashioned in response to various concerns. Some writers have simply been forgotten, some have been deliberately discarded for features deemed no longer acceptable, and some have been belatedly discovered as notions of value change with new attention to issues of colonialism, gender, and marginalization. Whereas much literary writing reflects on the past and shapes later perceptions of earlier eras and events (expertly analyzed in the Canadian context by D.M.R. Bentley),⁷ I invert this paradigm by paying attention instead to the authors themselves as subjects of historical recognition rather than to representations of their fictional characters as actors in history. In this book, “commemoration” refers to the cultivation of cultural memory by enhancing a sense of the documentary past in the public sphere and often engages people who might not otherwise come into contact with the person being recognized. Significant commemorative gestures include postage stamps, coins, parks, gardens, statues, museums, civic celebrations, plaques, and the names of public sites such as schools, libraries, streets, parks, and mountains. Alongside these mainstream formats, some instances of commemoration can be seen as crass or exploitative or even funny, occasionally intersecting with what is now known as fan culture. I use the term “afterlife”—a word frequently employed by those who analyze cultural production⁸—primarily in relation to the enhancement of an author’s legacy in more selective environments that involve adaptations, scholarship, and the arts, especially on the stage, the screen, and the page, including biographical interpretations

and publications, novels, plays, and poems. Although overlaps among these various forms of expression abound, distinctive patterns emerge that are specific to individual writers or areas of activity. The organization of this book is premised on the notion that broader generalizations are best reached and understood through individual instances, thereby elucidating different aspects of Canadian cultural memory.

The commemoration of recognized authors—especially poets—has been a longstanding European tradition that accelerated during the nineteenth century as cultural figures were deployed in Europe and America to bolster national identity, a topic well examined in the British context in Tom Mole’s *What the Victorians Made of Romanticism* (2017). The essays in Joep Leerssen and Ann Rigney’s *Commemorating Writers in Nineteenth-Century Europe: Nation-Building and Centenary Fever* (2014) focus on the centennial celebrations of selected European authors during the second half of the nineteenth century, mapping out the role of such recognition in shaping the political landscape and cultural ethos of their nation’s specific identity, thereby demonstrating the “general-European typology of these commemorative practices.”⁹ Building on Astrid Erll’s assertion in her book *Memory in Culture* (2011) that “cultural memory is unthinkable without media,”¹⁰ they argue that “literature more than any of the other arts has a ‘memory-reflexive’ character as well as a ‘memory productive’ one: a capacity to convey and reflect on stories. For this reason, literary works have played a key role in helping to produce and reproduce cultural memory.”¹¹ Whenever politicians or journalists invoke a literary quotation or example to make a point, they implicitly recognize the significance of literature as a guardian and repository of cultural identity and national memory.¹²

As summarized in Erll’s first chapters, memory studies have become increasingly abundant during this current era of swift technological and cultural change, often drawing on the foundational research and theorization about the formation of historic values that underpin the chapters in Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Rider’s *The Invention of*

Tradition (1983). The growth of this area is evident in the capacious revisions to David Lowenthal's *The Past Is a Foreign Country*, first published in 1985 and reissued thirty years later, with its length increased by 200 pages, as *The Past Is a Foreign Country Revisited* (2015). Studies of a tourist industry that does much to reinforce national identities by supporting commemorative sites have also vastly expanded, with John Urry and Jonas Larsen's *The Tourist Gaze* (1990) now into its third edition as *The Tourist Gaze 3.0* (2011), some fifty percent longer than the original text. In Britain and the United States, recent scholarly books by Nicola J. Watson, noted below, and by Harald Hendrix, namely his edited volume *Writers' Houses and the Making of Memory* (2008), focus specifically on the recognition of authors and on literary tourism. Some of the discussions in these studies intersect in the book now in your hands, which investigates a small corner of these fields by tracing patterns of commemoration of writers in Canada.

Canada

English-speaking Canadians were quite familiar with forms of literary commemoration long before Confederation, as settlers transplanted traditions from their homelands. Most conspicuous was veneration of Scotland's national poet, Robbie Burns (1759–1796), brought to British North America by immigrant Scots. Advertisements of his books appeared in the earliest Canadian newspapers at the end of the eighteenth century,¹³ and celebrations of his birthday were documented in several colonies during the 1830s.¹⁴ In 1859, the centennial of Burns's birth was commemorated in thirty-six different communities in the colonies of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Canada East, and Canada West, with accounts of their banquets and other festivities amply reproduced in James Ballantine's edited volume *The Chronicle of the Hundredth Birth Day of Robert Burns* (1859).¹⁵ Today, Burns remains a prominent component of Canada's cultural landscape, whose statues in Halifax, Fredericton, Montreal, Toronto, Windsor, Winnipeg,

Edmonton, Vancouver, and Victoria prompted literary historian John Robert Colombo to declare, “There are more statues of Robert Burns in Canada than of any other literary figure.”¹⁶ As an embodied image, he appears far more frequently than other hallowed Old World writers such as Walter Scott, a statue of whom stands in Halifax, and even William Shakespeare, whose only outdoor Canadian figures seem to be a bust in Vancouver’s Stanley Park, various images in Stratford, Ontario, and his inclusion in the host of great thinkers in William McElcheran’s composite memorial outside the library of St. Michael’s College in Toronto. As well, every January 25, Burns’s birthday is celebrated at social gatherings across Canada attended by those (not necessarily of Scottish descent) who enjoy a winter evening of whisky, singing, and even haggis, thereby confirming the view of Burns scholars that “there is no similar literary or national celebration dedicated to a poetical or heroic figure held with broadly recognisable ritual around a given date.”¹⁷ In Vancouver, in recent decades, the combination of Robbie Burns Day with Chinese New Year as Gung Haggis Fat Choy has inspired creative activity of sufficient interest to merit a Wikipedia entry.¹⁸

However, celebrations of Burns’s birthday have not inspired regular commemorations of Canadian writers or even the recognition of significant literary anniversaries. Lacking hallowed national figures, our occasional events reflect the context of the particular time in which they occur. For example, the widespread celebration of the centennial of Pauline Johnson’s birth in 1961 was not followed by similar recognition of the 100th anniversary of her death in 2013. With L.M. Montgomery, the opposite occurred. Her 100th birthday in 1972 received scant recognition, whereas her 150th birthday in 2024 enjoyed considerable local and national acknowledgment.

As for the most celebrated English writer of all, how has Shakespeare fared? *Shakespeare in Canada: A World Elsewhere* (2002), edited by Diana Brydon and Irena R. Makaryk, focuses on the reception and performance history of his plays, not on attention to the author per se.

Shakespeare's writings have long been revered in Canada, beginning with performances by British officers stationed in Lower Canada in the eighteenth century,¹⁹ and they have also held an enduring presence in school curricula.²⁰ Starting in the 1830s and 1840s, a network of Shakespeare clubs and societies flourished across the North American British colonies²¹ whose purpose was both the study and the performance of his works. Veneration of Shakespeare's words has continuously imbued English Canadian culture,²² yet such canonization has been accompanied by few landmarks other than the images of the Bard that abound in Stratford in line with the town's refashioning of its identity to highlight its annual Shakespeare Festival. Several unique commemorative gestures appeared in British Columbia during its first century in line with that province's assertion of an English identity, notably a replica of Anne Hathaway's Cottage (the childhood home of Shakespeare's wife, near Stratford-upon-Avon), which was a commercial attraction on the grounds of the Old English Inn in Esquimalt (near Victoria) before yielding to property developers in 2016.²³ Still flourishing in Vancouver's Stanley Park is the Shakespeare Garden, founded in 1916 and enhanced in 1936 with a monument depicting the author.

Following Confederation, concern with landmarking the new country's identity vastly expanded, as noted by historians Colin Coates and Cecilia Morgan, who have studied the construction of Canadian cultural memory in relation to the stories of Laura Secord and Madeleine de Verchères. They conclude that Canada as a whole (French and English together) was distinguished by a "widespread, popular desire to commemorate the country's past, at least during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Indeed, the anxious, integrative desire to create a common sense of destiny in the various sections of a disparate country remains one overriding theme of the studies of historical memory in Canada."²⁴ Although this desire endures as a consistent (if now somewhat muted) aspect of our national formation, its actual manifestations are shifting entities. Tonya K. Davidson's

comments about changing views of material monuments may be extended to historical memorials in general: “Rather than static figures ... destined to offer fixed representations of the past, monuments are dynamic, changing, and [often] deeply ambivalent urban objects” that produce “all sorts of affective engagements in the cities and societies of which they are a part.”²⁵ Such shifts are woven into my analysis of literary commemoration in Canada.

This book’s engagement with research on cultural memory, tourism, and the formation of national identities also connects with celebrity studies, especially in relation to the two authors who have their own separate chapters, L.M. Montgomery and Pauline Johnson. A major difference between my interests and celebrity studies in general relates to the time frame under consideration. Celebrity studies usually concentrate on the life-time reception of a famous figure, noting that most celebrities “owe their status first and foremost to the fact that they know how to generate attention.”²⁶ Fittingly, Lorraine York’s groundbreaking *Literary Celebrity in Canada* (2007) concentrates on the lived experiences of her subjects, including Johnson and Montgomery. Commemoration, in contrast, relates to the long-term reception and posthumous canonization of a historic individual. Both Johnson and Montgomery were popular celebrities while they were alive and retained extensive public interest after their deaths (in 1913 and 1942 respectively), with their writings remaining abundantly in print. But for much of the twentieth century, this popularity (coupled with their gender) lowered their status in relation to the realm of high culture that prevailed in universities and in intellectual criticism,²⁷ until dislodged by late-twentieth-century scholars and critics whose efforts have taught readers and students to appreciate women’s writing and the work of Indigenous authors. As a result, Johnson and Montgomery have enjoyed substantial memorialization during recent decades.

Literary commemoration is a complicated enterprise, entwining authors and their works as well as involving numerous individuals, community organizations, jurisdictions, and levels of government.

Outside of Canada, scholars have paid increasing attention to this complex field of inquiry, examining changing attitudes toward the cultural value of individual authors in relation to patterns of national identity as demonstrated through the preservation and sanctification of sites, buildings, and artifacts with which they are associated. Nicola J. Watson's three brilliant volumes that document and analyze the growth and significance of British literary tourism over the course of the nineteenth century delve into "the wider cultural history of how literature is consumed, experienced, and projected within the individual reader's life, and within a readership more generally."²⁸ In *Homes and Haunts: Touring Writers' Shrines and Countries* (2016), Alison Booth expands the national dimensions of authorial veneration by discussing American literary pilgrims and literary shrines alongside their European counterparts. According to Klara Stephanie Szlezak, nationalism blends with the preservation of social class in the United States, where these two significant motives underlie the commemoration of cultural sites.²⁹ Jennifer Harris and Hilary Iris Lowe's edited volume *From Page to Place: American Literary Tourism and the Afterlives of Authors* (2017) examines individual literary sites for their ability to "tell us about the kinds of narratives that have been historically valued in the United States" in chapters that "draw back the curtain" at numerous American sites, ranging from "the well-known Walden Pond to the endangered home of Susan Warner on Constitution Island in New York."³⁰

In Canada, the recording and researching of literary commemoration have followed approaches different from those prevailing in Britain and the United States. In the 1980s, two monumental inventories of Canada's literary landscape mapped references to writers and to the settings of literary works. As catalogues, John Robert Colombo's *Canadian Literary Landmarks* (1984) and Albert Frank Mortiz and Theresa Anne Moritz's *The Oxford Illustrated Literary Guide to Canada* (1987) are invaluable resources with regard to documenting literary locations, but they provide little specific analysis. These volumes were

followed by Denise P russe’s *Pays litt raires du Qu bec: guide des lieux d’ crivains* (1998), which includes travel information in line with the support that she received from that province’s Ministries of Tourism and of Culture and Communications. Yet these landmark compilations have led to scant concern with Canada’s larger literary heritage. Analytical studies of commemoration, mostly written by historians, look primarily at events, sites, and figures from the country’s military and political past rather than at those associated with literature and the arts.³¹ A recent such example is Tonya K. Davidson’s *Tours Inside the Snow Globe: Ottawa Monuments and National Belonging* (2024), whose compelling discussion of war memorials frequently cites John McCrae’s “In Flanders Fields,” thus reflecting the power of this poem in Canada’s cultural memory. Yet Davidson otherwise overlooks literary commemoration by omitting John McCrae’s statue, unveiled in 2015, in the Remember Flanders memorial beside the National Artillery Memorial in Ottawa’s Green Island Park,³² as well as the city’s attention to Canadian writers with its Poets’ Pathway and in its Beechwood Cemetery.

On occasion, my study involves more inventory than analysis, gathering information that has not been previously collected. I have done my best to ascertain accuracy, but the reader should never assume that details are complete. Unforeseen events and rapidly shifting values may result in changes in focus, including site names (such as the change of Haliburton House to Clifton Park Museum, described in this book’s conclusion). Moreover, the sources themselves are dispersed, seldom inclusive, and often ephemeral, as websites are wont to be. For example, the website of the Dead Poets Society includes more than eighty memorials for poets in Canada submitted by individual contributors, the authors ranging from Burns to obscure writers, many of whom are local figures, such as William Dawson Lesueur of Ottawa, who were too inconsequential to generate enduring attention.³³ Throughout this book, readers might notice that much atten-

tion is paid to the regions with which I am particularly familiar, namely Vancouver and British Columbia as well as Toronto and Ontario.

Who Is Commemorated in Canada?

In addition to Canadians' affection for Robbie Burns, we have frequently celebrated local contacts with international literary celebrities. Because commemoration is largely decentralized in this country, there is no Canadian version of the Sydney Writers' Walk in Australia, created by the New South Wales Ministry for the Arts in 1991. This series of sixty plaques set into the pavement of the pedestrian promenade at Sydney Harbour identifies well-known Australian writers and a surprisingly long list of notable overseas authors who lived in or visited Australia, including Charles Darwin, Arthur Conan Doyle, Jack London, Anthony Trollope, and Umberto Eco. In contrast, commemorative efforts to connect Canada with international writers are highly localized, as with the blue plaques in Quebec City's Ici Vécut program, whose sites include the house where Antoine de Saint-Exupéry (author of *Le Petit Prince*, 1943) briefly resided in 1942³⁴ and the hotel where H.P. Lovecraft (American master of horror fiction) stayed during visits in the 1930s (both properly described as "ici séjourna," or "stayed here," rather than as "ici vécu," or "lived here"). Oscar Wilde's 1882 lecture tour of Canada has been well documented,³⁵ but the only material acknowledgment that I have found is a plaque on Prince Edward Island's Confederation Trail (built on a former railway line), which notes that on his way to deliver his lecture in Charlottetown, Wilde travelled on the PEI Railway. Charles Dickens's 1842 visit to Toronto, when he stayed in the American Hotel at Yonge and Front Streets, is remembered with a "Charles Dickens slept here" plaque, installed by Legacy Toronto in 2015.³⁶ Ernest Hemingway's stint with the *Toronto Star* in 1923–24 was similarly recognized in 1985 with a plaque from the Toronto Historical Board on the

Bathurst Street apartment building where he had resided. The draw of his name was retained when the building was later transformed into an upscale condo complex named “The Hemingway.”³⁷ Such recognition has not been accorded to the many other celebrity authors who came to this city on lecture tours or for other reasons, as recorded in Greg Gatenby’s comprehensive *Toronto: A Literary Guide* (1999), which recounts visits by Matthew Arnold, Ralph Waldo Emerson, William Dean Howells, Rider Haggard, Anthony Trollope, Mark Twain, and Mrs. Humphrey Ward.

One such foreign author, Rudyard Kipling, whose popularity increased after he received the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1907, crossed Canada at least three times. He is landmarked in the town of Kipling, Saskatchewan, where he may not even have stopped, and in Kipling Reef, “southwest of Manitoulin Island,”³⁸ as well as in street names in many Canadian cities and a major transit station in Toronto. His most substantial Canadian memorial is the Kipling Collection, donated to the Dalhousie University Library in 1954 by a dedicated Halifax collector who was a Dalhousie alumnus and member of an illustrious Nova Scotian family. This addition significantly enhanced the library’s stature. In the gleeful words of head librarian Douglas Lochhead, “With the acquisition of this large book collection the University Library automatically entered the ranks of the continent’s rare book libraries.”³⁹ A second bequest from the donor’s friends paid for the Kipling Room to house the collection; both the collection and room have been continually upgraded over the decades. In the 1950s, this acquisition of a collection concerning a world-renowned writer was seen as a coup that secured the status of an obscure Canadian site on the international literary map.

Reflecting Canada’s cultural colonialism of the time, this Kipling collection emblemized both local literary taste and elite social connections in the Atlantic region. The same cannot be said of the Arthur Conan Doyle Collection in the Toronto Public Library, which bears little relation to the author’s Toronto visits in 1894 and 1922 to deliver

well-attended lectures at Massey Hall.⁴⁰ The library's commitment to Doyle commenced with the 1967 purchase of a private collection related to Doyle and Sherlock Holmes, which was soon enhanced with additional purchases, such that it now comprises "13,000+ books, 200+ manuscripts, 150+ periodical titles and 15,000+ collectibles."⁴¹ Supported by Friends of the Arthur Conan Doyle Collection, the library sponsors exhibitions and events and attracts visitors to the Arthur Conan Doyle Room, which is styled as Sherlock Holmes's study, "where people can browse the open shelves in a manner unusual in a special collection, but suited to a celebration of popular literature," in the words of the library's publicity brochure. In this regard, the library's commitment to the Doyle collection constitutes a remarkable tribute to the enduring fan appeal of a foreign male popular figure, thanks to prominent Canadian supporters.⁴² Although one might say something similar about Canadians' infatuation with Robbie Burns, the difference is that Burns represents an emotional connection with his admirers' culture of origin and, as a poet of the people, helped to sustain scattered immigrants,⁴³ none of which can be attributed to Doyle, who was essentially a producer of entertainment.

Today, the most relevant effort to foreground a Canadian connection with an earlier foreign writer concerns Harriet Beecher Stowe. She is now commemorated in the Josiah Henson Museum of African History, previously known as the Uncle Tom's Cabin Historic Site, in Dresden, Ontario, which is supported by the Ontario Heritage Trust.⁴⁴ This site centres on the restored home of formerly enslaved Rev. Josiah Henson, whose autobiography was one of Stowe's sources for her influential anti-slavery novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852), subsequently enhanced with historic structures moved to this locale to memorialize the Underground Railroad. Reflecting the common Canadian trope of self-congratulatory benevolence, the site's supporting commentary whitewashes our racist history by characterizing Upper Canada as "a haven for Black refugees from slavery,"⁴⁵ a description that is countered in Robin W. Winks's description of Canadians'

reception of fugitive slaves in *The Blacks in Canada: A History* (1971). As Toronto-based scholar Cheryl Thompson crisply reminds us, “Sentimental novels like *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* may have galvanized the abolitionist cause, but they did not refute widely held beliefs about the supposed inferiority of Black people.”⁴⁶ Questions of veracity notwithstanding, Josiah Henson’s cabin is one of the two Canadian sites noted in Shannon McKenna Schmidt and Joni Rendon’s *Novel Destinations: Literary Landmarks from Jane Austen’s Bath to Ernest Hemingway’s Key West* (2008), an international travel guide issued by National Geographic that also includes Stratford’s annual Shakespeare Festival but makes no reference to L.M. Montgomery.⁴⁷

Whatever their various links to Canada, neither Doyle, Kipling, nor Stowe can be viewed in any sense as Canadian (even though Kipling purchased property in Vancouver in 1909).⁴⁸ Their recognition leads to two related questions that imbue a study of the commemoration of Canadian writers: who counts as Canadian, and who counts as an author? With regard to the first, Canadians are quite generous in embracing famous people whose direct involvement with this country might comprise a small and even accidental component of their lives, as with the Bibliothèque Saul Bellow in Lachine, Quebec, which recognizes the Canadian birthplace of this winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature even though, from the age of nine, Bellow resided in the United States and identified as American for the rest of his life. Canadians are especially prone to acknowledging visiting authors who wrote about Canada, such as Louis Hémon, a resident for just two years but celebrated in Quebec as the author of the canonical *Maria Chapdelaine*, which was serialized in Paris in 1914 and published in Montreal in 1916. His copious recognition includes several plaques and monuments in Quebec as well as a museum in Péribonka, the setting of his novel, and a plaque in English in Chapleau, Ontario, where he was buried after being killed by a train in 1913, without ever seeing his manuscript appear in print.⁴⁹

In this regard, I have taken guidance from those who have made the effort to commemorate writers whom they view as sufficiently connected with Canada to warrant recognition here. Two such examples are Americans Wallace Stegner and Elizabeth Bishop, who each spent childhood time in Canada. Their Canadian domiciles have recently been acknowledged by residents of Eastend, Saskatchewan, in the case of Stegner, and of Great Village, Nova Scotia, where Bishop spent much time at the home of her grandparents.

The question of who counts as a writer is nicely illuminated by Emily Carr, whose writing took over from her painting during her last years when ill health reduced her physical capacity. During her lifetime, she published three books; posthumously, four more quickly followed, and additional volumes have recently been issued, presenting material from her journals and archives. In much of British Columbia, where there are several major collections of her paintings, her art usually takes prominence, whereas her overall reputation is based equally on both genres. Following the chronology of her life, “artist” usually appears before “author” on her commemorative plaques. The plaque from the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, at her former home in Victoria, British Columbia, describes her as “Artist and author,” as does her gravestone, and the plaque on the Emily Carr Bridge in Victoria’s Beacon Hill Park describes her as a “Canadian artist and writer.” Her statue that was unveiled in 2010 in Victoria’s Harbour Park states that she is “British Columbia’s most famous artist. Her art and writing are recognized across Canada.” This representation poses her with a notebook on her lap and a pen in her right hand; I think it is significant that the observer cannot tell whether she is sketching or writing—or perhaps doing both, as was often the case in her notebooks. Nellie McClung presents a somewhat similar situation in that during her lifetime she was best known as a popular writer who was also a feminist activist. Most of her posthumous commemoration celebrates her role in campaigning

for women's suffrage, and this recognition usually includes some acknowledgment of her literary success.

Although I have just argued that Emily Carr belongs in this book (where she is discussed in chapter 5), I find that different problems are posed by Leonard Cohen, who here receives only occasional attention because most instances of his commemoration involve formats and reception patterns outside the scope of this study. In Canada, to date, his visible memorialization has comprised two huge outdoor Montreal murals, a set of postage stamps, several dedicated mailboxes, and a stunning museum exhibition, all of which are addressed through the course of this book. Yet other than a single park in the city of Sherbrooke, his name remains unattached to such customary memory sites as streets, schools, and libraries, nor are any of his Montreal residences distinguished as such. Prominent among the many media of his recognition is the electronic realm, where the focus is on his music, not his literary achievements; as described by biographer Michael Posner⁵⁰ and critic Owen Percy, Cohen the international "rock star" prevails over Cohen the Canadian poet in collective cultural memory.⁵¹ This image is further bolstered by his appearance as a created character in the 2024 television series *So Long Marianne*, based on the romance underlying his song of the same title, whose opening credits claim that it was "inspired by true stories."⁵² With a soundtrack largely composed of Cohen's songs, this series recognizes his early writing but presents him more as an incipient musician than a published poet. Hence I have followed Lorraine York's decision not to treat Cohen as a major subject in her *Literary Celebrity in Canada* because "his celebrity was taken to an international level through his work in the recording industry,"⁵³ an area that has since vastly expanded into the unmapable dimensions of fan sites and electronic media that are beyond my purview.

Characterized by sporadic national scope, this book includes selected examples of literary commemoration in French-speaking Canada such as Maison Gabrielle-Roy in the St. Boniface area of

Winnipeg, Manitoba, and statues of Émile Nelligan in Quebec. One feature of Québécois recordkeeping that does not have a counterpart elsewhere in Canada is the provincial government's database of place names, which enables the identification of toponymic references.⁵⁴ However, use of this resource is complicated in that it must be searched by name rather than by a descriptor such as "écrivain" or "poète." Here can be seen the Canadian application of the French custom of naming public spaces after famous people. For example, a search for Émile Nelligan brings up twenty-eight hits attached to two parks, one library, and twenty-five streets in as many municipalities.⁵⁵ Gabrielle Roy's name distinguishes a similar number of streets as well as a library, several parks, and a mountain, and Anne Hébert is remembered with sixteen streets, one library, and a "parc-école." Entries that reference parks or public buildings such as schools and libraries are outnumbered by those that record street names, with more than thirty named for Félix Leclerc, who is also commemorated with a highway. On the whole, this practice recognizes a canon of earlier writers, such as Laure Conan (sixteen streets and one library), Alfred Desrochers (eleven streets and one mountain), and Louis Fréchette (fifteen streets and a park), rather than those associated with the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s and 1970s, such as Roch Carrier, Michel Tremblay, and Marie-Claire Blais.⁵⁶

Despite occasional attention to French Canada, my discussion primarily concerns writing in English since, for the most part, francophone literary culture is a separate entity with its own history, theoretical models, and copious academic expertise. Hence the French writers who appear here are primarily those who have received attention in English-speaking Canada. Similar points can be made about the literary cultures of other language groups that have flourished in this country, including Ukrainian and Yiddish. As well, Canada houses memorials for writers from immigrants' parent countries such as the bust of Portugal's great poet Luis Vaz de Camoes in the Toronto area known as Little Portugal and the statue of Ukrainian poet Lesya

Ukrainka (pen name of Larissa Kosach) in Toronto's High Park.⁵⁷ These examples notwithstanding, given the British colonial nature of Canada's cultural history, it is not surprising that few of the writers who have been seen as sufficiently prominent to merit commemoration by the English-language mainstream represent alternative identities. As described in later chapters, Pauline Johnson's stature owes much to her attributed role as Canada's Indigenous spokesperson, and the prominence of Joy Kogawa (one of the few living writers to appear in this book) rests in large part on her writings that concern Canada's atrocious treatment of Japanese Canadians during the Second World War. In recent decades, the quest for Canada's Black history has brought substantial acknowledgment to Mary Ann Shadd as the country's first notable Black writer. Less visible are the country's first Chinese Canadian writers, sisters Edith and Winnifred Eaton, a reflection of anti-Asian bias that is now being addressed thanks to the dedicated work of Mary Chapman and others.⁵⁸

This Book

Adaptations and appropriations of earlier writers can involve a vast range of formats and media, including films, stage plays, video games, various electronic formats, souvenir items, and modernized versions of older works, all of which have inspired a growing body of critical analysis.⁵⁹ Familiar adaptations include the 1995 film *Clueless* based on Jane Austen's *Emma* (1815); the intertextuality between Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew* and the 1948 musical *Kiss Me Kate*; and the retelling of the story of *King Lear* in Jane Smiley's novel *A Thousand Acres* (1991). Some writers are commemorated with forgeries, as with the vast array of false compositions attributed to Oscar Wilde that are analyzed by Gregory Mackie in *Beautiful Untrue Things: Forging Oscar Wilde's Extraordinary Afterlife* (2019). Other authors are commemorated with ingenuity, as with novelist Claudia Gray's weaving of many

of Jane Austen's characters into one narrative by having them all participate in a house party that involves a mystery in her clever novel *The Murder of Mr. Wickham* (2022). Writers' afterlives often include geographical factors, as indicated in Anne Rigney's *The Afterlives of Walter Scott: Memory on the Move* (2012), which describes the ubiquity of place names derived from Scott's novels. She notes that "there are towns called Waverley spread across the globe," which she analyzes as "part of a larger-scale transplanting of memories or, what might be called memorial colonization."⁶⁰ Rigney demonstrates that with Scott, patterns of commemoration blend fictional, geographical, historical, and biographical references in a mixture of modes that applies as well to scores of other popular writers. In addition to the fan fiction that abounds today,⁶¹ yet another approach, tracing the afterlife of a single book, appears in Mary Hammond's *Charles Dickens's Great Expectations: A Cultural Life, 1860–2012* (2015).

In contrast to all of these examples, the book you are now reading narrows the enormous scope of literary commemoration to focus on the continuing recognition of writers as persons rather than on the longevity of their books or their characters—for example, on L.M. Montgomery rather than on her best-known character, Anne Shirley of Green Gables.

As the following chapters investigate different modes of commemoration, the discussion alternates between general patterns of acknowledgment and detailed attention to specific instances. Several noted writers who are very much alive (Joy Kogawa in Vancouver and Dionne Brand in Toronto) are included because their recognition contributes to this book's spectrum of memorial practices involving the material aspects of public recognition. The first chapter, "Modes of Posthumous Commemoration," enumerates many different ways that writers are highlighted in the public sphere, ranging from such common formats as plaques, statues, and the names of public buildings to less expected formats such as chocolate and watercraft.

The second chapter turns to the topic of writers' houses, which is sufficiently large to require its own study, noting how such buildings serve as various kinds of paratexts to the works for which the writers are known and, in a larger sense, to the identities of the writers themselves. Likewise, chapter 5 examines the textual and artistic afterlives of writers whose personal histories have been recreated on the stage and/or on the page. Here, the primary focus is less on presentations of the writers' own words than on interpretations of writers as created characters in plays, novels, and suites of poems. It begins with an extensive discussion of reincarnations of Susanna Moodie during the second half of the twentieth century, followed by similar attention to Emily Carr. Also considered are varied representations of exploration writer Samuel Hearne, as well as the appearances of Ethel Wilson, Sinclair Ross, and Gwendolyn MacEwen as characters in recent novels and plays.

Two writers who stand apart from the more generalized discussions have chapters of their own. Pauline Johnson and L.M. Montgomery have enjoyed extensive, long-term recognition in remarkably different ways, due not only to their very different identities and literary practices but also to the fact that, in Canada, literary commemoration has often been idiosyncratic and unpredictable, shifting in response to changes in the larger cultural environment. Both authors challenge David Perkins's analysis that "the possible plots of literary history can be reduced to three: rise, decline, and rise and decline."⁶² They exemplify a pattern now common with pre-modernist women writers (especially those who preferred traditional formats) whose decline at the hands of masculine modernists during the first half of the twentieth century has been countered by feminist recuperation toward the century's end. With no other Canadian writers from the past have there been the volume and the range of commemorative activities that are associated with Johnson and Montgomery. Their diverse careers, which have appealed to popular audiences for over a century, continue to generate fresh attention across an ever-widening range of

reception, from crass commercialization to serious scholarly engagement. It is now impossible to think of Indigenous writing in Canada without recognizing the influence of Johnson or to contemplate Prince Edward Island without attending to the ubiquity and impact of Montgomery in shaping that province's public identity, and indeed Canadian identity as a whole.

Yet there are also once-celebrated Canadian writers whose decline seems irreversible, one of the most notable being Mazo de la Roche (1879–1961). In the middle years of the twentieth century, she surpassed both Montgomery and Johnson in stature and likely in sales as well. In 1938, she was the first woman to receive the Lorne Pierce Medal, awarded by the Royal Society of Canada to recognize special merit for creative or critical work concerning Canadian literature, and in 1976 she was named a national historic person with a plaque outside of Benares, the house believed to have been the model for the Jalna estate that figures in her best-known novels, which is now preserved by the City of Mississauga as a historic site. Her birthplace of Newmarket features a plaque from Ontario's Archeological and Historic Sites Board and a school bearing her name;⁶³ the town of Orillia, where she spent some of her childhood, includes her in its hall of fame.⁶⁴ Online searching brings up a Mazo de la Roche Society. Despite such local attention, her national recognition has been sparse, essentially limited to the ambitious 1972 CBC TV series *The Whiteoaks of Jalna*, based on her Jalna stories and subsequently regarded as an overpriced flop. She has not been commemorated with a postage stamp, currency, a statue, a dedicated house museum, or personal landmarks that attract tourists, nor has she been revived in the creative work of recent authors or playwrights. Her grave in the cemetery of St. George's Anglican Church at Sibbald Point on Lake Simcoe (where Stephen Leacock is also buried) is not especially highlighted (nor is his). Yet she remains a fascinating figure whose unusual life is documented in several films and books⁶⁵ and whose career has been studied by scholars working on literary celebrity in Canada⁶⁶ and on

Canadian publishing history.⁶⁷ Given that both Montgomery and de la Roche led complicated lives that are stories in themselves, the question as to why Montgomery basks in an ever-brightening commemorative spotlight whereas de la Roche has been consigned to the shadows is perhaps best answered by looking at shifts in audience appeal. Whereas Montgomery's fans continue to adore her creation of Anne Shirley, the universal unwanted child (Canada's Jane Eyre or Oliver Twist), de la Roche is identified with a now irrelevant (and largely mythical) colonialist culture whose risqué romantic adventures have retained little interest for middlebrow readers. In a 1989 interview, Timothy Findley, who had worked on the CBC dramatization of the Jalna books, nicely summarized the situation, stating that "Mazo was an icon" who had become "the *colonial's colonial* of literature."⁶⁸

In his 1927 poem "Among School Children," W.B. Yeats famously asked, "How can we know the dancer from the dance?" It is often difficult to distinguish between writers and their creations, given the propensity of readers to treat literary writing as autobiography. This question is particularly relevant to Montgomery, whose chapter disentangles commemoration of the author from commemoration of her well-known characters. Here, I include biographical studies of the author alongside details about the assiduous tracking of her geographical history. In addition to the houses where she lived, the places where she taught and travelled have been distinguished in minute detail, both on-site and via electronic maps. Taking a different route, my chapter on Pauline Johnson discusses not only the preservation of her birthplace and grave but also the extensive attention given to the centennial of her birth in 1961. As well, she is the only Canadian writer whose physical books have received an extraordinary range of posthumous treatments by publishers and fans, whose image is known to have been preserved in a death mask, and whose name has been attached to a chocolate company, a luxury yacht, and a First World War machine gun.

Although this book is organized thematically rather than chronologically, a chronological arrangement of its contents would illustrate how formal cultural acknowledgments echo the shifting self-construction of Anglo-Canadian society, especially with regard to gender and race, thereby exemplifying John R. Gillis's observation that "memories and identities are not fixed things, but representations or constructions of reality, subjective rather than objective phenomena ... We are constantly revising our memories to suit our current identities."⁶⁹ Here—as in much of my academic work before this project—I have consciously and implicitly adjusted the historical gender imbalance of patriarchal Canadian cultural history by devoting extensive space to women writers, who are easy to find when you look for them. Racial issues are more complex, in line with Helene Voster's analysis that "whereas the common definition of commemoration—a ceremony or service in memory of a person or event—conveys a kind of neutrality, there is nothing neutral about performances that commemorate the nation or its privileged subjects ... Who and what is memorialized or commemorated is intricately associated with who and what is forgotten or cast outside of social memory's national narrative."⁷⁰ And that narrative keeps changing. During our current revisionist era, when statues of once-venerated men are being toppled and their names deleted from universities, awards, and other commemorative instances, even the formats of commemoration are occasionally deconstructed—sometimes playfully, as with the mock plaques described in chapter 1, and sometimes seriously, as with the dissolution of the printed page in the work of Jordan Abel, discussed in this book's concluding chapter.

Mary Ann Shadd was active during the middle of the nineteenth century, yet the significance of her writing and activities was not recognized until the end of the twentieth, when the country's Black history began to receive attention. Similarly, in the anti-Orientalist nationalism of the early twentieth century, there was no place for the

part-Chinese Eaton sisters of Montreal, who received scant posthumous recognition even though their fiction and journalism were widely read. This trajectory of expanding racial consciousness receives attention in chapter 1, which looks at modes of commemoration. In contrast, in the late nineteenth century, a Romantic version of Indigeneity was welcomed in the person of Pauline Johnson, whose “dark and exotic grandeur” and “stately presence” fed into the stereotype of the “Indian Princess.”⁷¹ Her recognition by mainstream Canadian culture has altered over the decades, much enhanced by attention to her significance to Indigenous communities and writers. Such adjustments demonstrate the aptness of Eva Mackey’s comments about Canada’s “core culture.” She argues that although there can never be “a common culture for all classes, regions, or cultural groups,” integral to the project of nation building in Canada is “the *ideal* of, and the work to *create* a common core culture through flexible strategies.”⁷²

My last chapter addresses recent developments in the ongoing process of commemoration by looking at changing conceptual values and at instances of new material formats, including the expanding realm of electronic creativity. Its opening section, titled “Reconsiderations: Duncan Campbell Scott and Others,” looks at the ex-commemoration of several writers due to aspects of their personal or professional lives that are now deemed unacceptable. Primary focus is given to the censure of Duncan Campbell Scott as enacted by various institutions and addressed in many recent creative pieces by Indigenous writers because of his now-acknowledged abhorrent role in administering Canada’s residential schools. As well, I briefly consider the quandary presented by the July 2024 revelation by Alice Munro’s daughter about her mother’s inadequate response to her abuse by her stepfather.

The final section notes examples of innovative technical and creative applications to modes of commemoration. Especially significant are the new perspectives presented in the work of Indigenous authors who “write back” to prevailing narratives of cultural value, thereby

engaging in a process that can be thought of as “re-memoration.” Hence this book ends with an inconclusive conclusion that is an invitation to ongoing engagement in line with social geographer Adrienne L. Burk, who asks, “The question of what to valorize and how to meaningfully remember in [today’s] shifting circumstances is provocative ... How do we use memory meaningfully?”⁷³ Writers and memories of writers have been, and will continue to be, significant components of this endeavour.

Modes of Posthumous Commemoration

Astrid Erll’s thesis that “cultural memory is unthinkable without media” also asserts that “the history of memory is the history of media.”¹ In this book, I treat media as an expansive term (recognizing that the word itself is plural, despite its now common grammatical treatment as a singular noun). Its dimensions range from the common understanding of media as comprising methods of communication such as print and performance (discussed in chapter 5’s focus on writers’ afterlives on the stage and on the page) to this chapter’s host of other material formats that preserve memory, subsequently extending to chapter 2’s focus on historic houses and related sites. The chapter you are now reading assembles assorted modes of authorial commemoration in Canada, ranging from literary maps to postage stamps to chocolates. In addition to familiar manifestations in public spaces, such as historical plaques or names of parks, many writers have been recognized in intriguing and unexpected ways that derive from a particular occasion or from the creativity of a particular individual. The relatively few commemorative activities that occur at the federal level declare national significance to all Canadians, whereas those that abound locally reflect community engagement with authors deemed worthy of recognition in places with which they have some association, or are esteemed by residents wishing to proclaim cultural connections with canonical writers from afar. Hence this chapter introduces pertinent moments in Canadian cultural history and many of the themes

and issues that appear in later chapters, including representations of women and other marginalized groups.

Mapping the Literary Landscape

Many Canadian streets and schools bear the names of places and characters linked to canonical figures such as William Shakespeare, Walter Scott, Robbie Burns, and authors of American literary classics. As in other settler countries, names taken from the writings or the lives of foreign authors enact a form of cultural colonialism that is so familiar that it may pass unnoticed. For example, streets in the Poet's Corner neighbourhood of Oak Bay, developed in the early twentieth century as a working class suburb of Victoria, British Columbia, are named for Geoffrey Chaucer, John Milton, Lord Byron, and Oliver Goldsmith. Places associated with Walter Scott and characters from Shakespeare frequently appear as names of lakes, towns, regions, and roads, as well as mountain peaks. Typical are the references to Scott's novels that designate streets in Vancouver—Dinmont, Durward, Ivanhoe, Mantering, Marmion, Midlothian, Nigel, Peveril, Talisman, Waverley, and Woodstock—representing the literary taste of one particular city employee circa 1929–32 when the amalgamation of neighbourhoods necessitated the renaming of a number of roads.² Laurel Ryan's analysis of "the Arthurian invasion of Canadian cartography," such that "Camelot" or "Avalon" is "almost as ubiquitous as Main Street," traces the frequency of these names to the popularity of Alfred Tennyson's *Idylls of the King* (1859).³ Whereas many of these choices reflect the imperialist orientation of early colonizers and record the nostalgia of immigrants, others appeared much later, as with the 1960 approval of names from *Macbeth* for a cluster of mountains in British Columbia's Purcell range and the 1963 approval of names from Herman Melville's *Moby-Dick* (1851) for peaks in the Selkirk Mountains.⁴ An intriguing array of characters from Shakespeare's plays (including Iago, Othello, Romeo, Juliet, Lear, Jessica, Shylock, and Portia) now marks sites

along British Columbia's Coquihalla Highway, largely constructed in the 1980s and 1990s, thereby retaining the preferences of the engineer who named the stops along the first railway in the region that opened in 1916. Even with the recent restructuring of the highway to accommodate a new pipeline, these names have not been changed to reflect Canada's current recognition of Indigeneity.⁵ Names representing the popularity of Henry Longfellow's epic poem *The Song of Hiawatha* (1855) are especially common in Ontario. Presenting an illusion of authenticity, they validate a fabricated story by an American poet rather than recognizing place names associated with local Indigenous people.

Overall, our geographical maps feature the names of relatively few Canadian writers, some of which appear in unexpected places. These lucky individuals include Alexander Muir, author of "The Maple Leaf Forever" (1867), whose name distinguishes a mountain on the Alberta-BC border;⁶ Emily Carr, whose close association with coastal British Columbia is recognized with Emily Carr Inlet;⁷ and once-popular Toronto poet Jean Blewett, whose name was given to a township in Ontario and to a town in Saskatchewan. That province also boasts towns named after western poet Charles Mair and Ottawa poet Archibald Lampman. Carman, Manitoba, recognizes poet Bliss Carman, most of whose commemorative namesakes appear in his native New Brunswick, including Fredericton's subdivision of Bliss Carman Heights and Bliss Carman Middle School.⁸ Stephen Leacock's mountain is in the Yukon (a region he never visited), a territory that includes several features named after its best-known literary celebrity with Mount Robert Service and Robert Service Creek. In 1986, the seventy-fifth anniversary of Louis Hémon's arrival in Quebec was marked by attaching his name to a mountain near Péribonka, the setting of his novel *Maria Chapdelaine* (1914).⁹

Developers of new residential areas occasionally turn to Canadian writers in their quest for distinctive street names. A subdivision in Georgetown, Ontario, features "Johnson Crescent, Berton Blvd.,

Callaghan Cresc., Newman Place, Munro Circle, Mowat Cresc., Atwood Ave., Poet's Path and Grey Owl Run."¹⁰ Several of these names also appear in a newer section of the City of North Vancouver where Berton, Birney, Carman, Lampman, Layton, and Mowat are sprinkled among a host of British and American canonical authors (including Brontë, Emerson, Keats, and Whitman). In Toronto, David French, Al Purdy, and Sky Gilbert are among the writers now recognized in the names of city lanes, thanks to the Laneway Project, which is revitalizing the cityscape by turning neglected alleys into "essential urban public spaces."¹¹ Most distinctive is bpNichol Lane, located beside the office of Coach House Press, with which he was long associated, featuring one of his brief poems inscribed in the pavement: "A / LAKE / A / LANE / A / LINE / A / LONE." Despite Toronto's example, such programs remain rare among those who make cartographic choices, even though Canadian authors have received expanded public attention since the 1970s. In 2014, Vancouver gave such recognition to its first (and so far, only) Canadian author when a West End lane was named for Julia Henshaw, the novelist and botanist who had once lived nearby.

Essential information has been collected in several significant projects that chart the Canadian literary landscape on a national scale. Most inclusive is John Robert Colombo's foundational *Canadian Literary Landmarks* (1984), a compendium that cites virtually every kind of literary association with Canadian and international writers, including places where they lived, set their works, or achieved recognition. In contrast, Albert Frank Moritz and Theresa Anne Moritz's *The Oxford Illustrated Literary Guide to Canada* (1987) focuses only on Canadian writers, with a strong emphasis on biographical associations with specific locales. Literal mapping has not been as prominent in Canada as in the United States, whose literary cartography commenced in 1898 and has been well studied by Kyle Carsten Wyatt as creating "consequential artifacts that have consistently equated canonized writers with pioneers and conquerors."¹² Canadian maps

began more modestly with a little-known effort in 1926, Paul Mayo Paine's *The Northward Map of Truthful Tales*, which displayed a very limited acquaintance with Canadian books by assigning generalized (hence less than "truthful") locations to the home of Maria Chapdelaine (heroine of the novel that bears her name) and to fictions by Gilbert Parker and Ralph Connor. The mythical nature of this artifact accords with Wyatt's observation that across the border, such maps "have helped to shape the perception of a 'national' US literature in which historic and generic approaches play second fiddle to a mythic filling of geographic space."¹³ Subsequent Canadian maps have preferred more accurate cartographic delineation. Documenting the complex links between place and cultural memory, Sarah Wylie Krotz analyzes the selections made by compiler W.A. Deacon for his *A Literary Map of Canada* (1936), drawn by Stanley Turner (issued by Macmillan and accessible in the rare maps collection at McMaster University), and the revised version created by David Macfarlane and Morris Wolfe (issued by Hurtig in 1979) as resembling anthologies in the way that they "tell stories about changing tastes and cultural politics."¹⁴ A similar mapping motive underlies Project Bookmark, incorporated in 2007, which aims to make it possible to "Read Your Way Across Canada." However, to date, its Ontario origin is evident in that nineteen of its current twenty-nine plaques are in that province, with one or two from each of the other provinces and none from New Brunswick.¹⁵

Several provincial efforts of this nature now flourish, most of them as electronic compilations. Open Book Ontario, an online project sponsored by the Organization of Book Publishers of Ontario,¹⁶ includes writers, publishers, bookstores, festivals, and the Ontario sites of Project Bookmark. In British Columbia, the Literary Landmarks project, devised by *BC BookWorld's* Alan Twigg, documents nearly 200 geographical places across the province directly associated with writers, bookstores, literary events, and the like. Featured are specific residences, settings of literary works, and sites associated with the

personal activities of individual writers.¹⁷ Even more inclusive are *BC BookWorld*'s two literary maps of British Columbia—one that lists more than 100 Indigenous authors¹⁸ and another that cites locations for hundreds of non-Indigenous authors, ranging in detail from the names of cities to specific street addresses.¹⁹ The only municipal effort of this nature that has come to my attention is Shaun Hunter's remarkably detailed literary map of Calgary, which includes literary visitors as well as writers' homes, graves, memorials, literary settings, and various public markers.²⁰ Books and maps, however effective, usually reside indoors; more directly visible in our commemorative landscape are physical markers on our streets, parks, and buildings, including plaques, statues, gardens, and names of public buildings, along with items created by Canada Post and the Royal Canadian Mint that once resided in everyone's wallet.

Federal Commemoration: Stamps and Currency

Farthest reaching is the official federal commemoration of Canadian cultural figures through the essential items of postage stamps²¹ and currency. The first stamp recognizing a Canadian author, issued in 1961 for the centennial of Pauline Johnson's birth, is discussed in her dedicated chapter. It was followed with a stamp commemorating John McCrae's poem "In Flanders Fields" (1915), issued in 1968 on the fiftieth anniversary of the poet's death, and another in 1969 to mark the centennial of the birth of humourist Stephen Leacock. The 1970s saw sporadic recognition of additional authors, the first of whom were better known for accomplishments in areas other than their writings: painter Emily Carr (1971), politician Joseph Howe (1973), and suffragist Nellie McClung (1973). The list became more distinctly literary in 1975 with stamps for L.M. Montgomery and Louis Hémon (or rather, for their best-known books, *Anne of Green Gables* and *Maria Chapdelaine*), followed in 1976 by stamps for Yukon poet Robert Service and Quebec novelist Germaine Guèvremont.

Stamps commemorating writers have tended to appear in pairs or groups, frequently balancing French and English authors: Frederick Philip Grove and Émile Nelligan in 1979; Laure Conan and E.J. Pratt in 1983; and poets Louis Fréchette and Archibald Lampman in 1989. The Authors Series issued in 1996 included T.C. Haliburton, Gabrielle Roy, Felix-André Savard, Donald Creighton, and Margaret Laurence. In 1999 and 2000, Canada Post issued several stamps in its Millennium Series (for Great Thinkers, Literary Legends, and Great Entertainers) that included writers Northrop Frye, Gratien Gélinas, Félix Leclerc, Roger Lemelin, Marshall McLuhan, and Hilda Neatby. Another selection followed in 2003 with the Canadian Authors Series, issued to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the National Library of Canada. Here, separate stamps featured Morley Callahan, Anne Hébert, and Hector Saint-Denys Garneau, with one stamp shared by pioneer sisters Susanna Moodie and Catharine Parr Traill. Subsequently, there was a return to single issues, with a stamp to commemorate the centennial of literary publisher McClelland and Stewart in 2006. Robertson Davies appeared in 2013, then Alice Munro in 2015, presumably in response to her receipt of the Nobel Prize for Literature in 2013, although this honour is not mentioned on the stamp itself. In 2016, the portrait of Archie Belaney/Grey Owl by Yousuf Karsh appeared in a series on Canadian photography. No author was recognized with more than one stamp until 2019, when Leonard Cohen was celebrated with a set of three stamps bearing different photographs. Margaret Atwood was celebrated with a solitary stamp in 2021, and the year 2024 brought a set honouring five francophone authors (several still very much alive)—Marie-Claire Blais, Jean Marc Dalpé, Dany Laferrière, Antonine Maillet, and Marguerite-A. Primeau—who “have brought French-Canadian literature to the world stage.”²²

Recognition of Canadian authors on currency commenced much later, at the beginning of the twenty-first century, when the Bank of Canada initiated a new series, *Canadian Journey, L'Épopée Canadienne*,²³ which featured literary quotations on the obverse sides of

banknotes in both English and French (in a tiny font that is difficult to read without a magnifying glass). Lines from poet Miriam Waddington appeared on the hundred-dollar bill, from novelist Gabrielle Roy on the twenty-dollar bill (accompanied by a sculpture by Bill Reid), the first stanza from John McCrae's "In Flanders Fields" on the ten-dollar bill, and a quotation from Roch Carrier's *The Hockey Sweater* (1979) on the five-dollar bill. (The fifty-dollar bill cited the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, alongside images of the Famous Five who had fought for votes for women.)²⁴

Other than royal personages, previous images on Canadian banknotes almost exclusively portrayed men, especially British kings and former prime ministers. This imbalance could have been slightly rectified in 2016 when the bank claimed that it wanted to pay further attention to notable women. However, rather than acknowledging the unequal representation of women in Canada's historical consciousness by initiating a series of banknotes that would recognize women who were significant in various domains, the bank sought just one "iconic" figure, thereby perpetuating the tokenism that allows us to feel good about recognizing one person from a marginalized demographic sector while ignoring the rest.²⁵ In this competition, to which hundreds of names were submitted, writing figured in the lives of nine of the twelve finalists. L.M. Montgomery and Gabrielle Roy were there because they were authors, and with others, namely Emily Carr, Thérèse Casgrain,²⁶ and Nellie McClung, publication likewise contributed to their prominence. Even more significantly, authorship inflected the public impact of four of the five on the final short list: poet Pauline Johnson, feminist electrical engineer Elsie MacGill,²⁷ Olympic athlete Bobbie Rosenfeld (who became one of Canada's first female sports columnists),²⁸ and suffragist Idola Saint-Jean.²⁹ Indeed, the only exception was the winner, Viola Desmond. (Previously almost unknown, she has now deservedly entered Canada's historical consciousness for her resistance to racial discrimination.) These ex-



Fig. 1.1 Alice Munro commemorative five-dollar silver coin, 2014.

amples testify that writing has historically been a significant factor in the recognition of women's activity and that the documentation of women's presence in print is also documentation of their presence in history. Subsequent series of Canadian banknotes have abandoned the arts, returning to more conventional themes of scientific, military, and political accomplishment.

On rare occasions, the Royal Canadian Mint has released commemorative coins that recognize artistic achievement. Usually issued in small numbers aimed at collectors, the few that relate to writers include three mintages concerning L.M. Montgomery, detailed in her separate chapter, and recognition of the achievement of Alice Munro, who in 2013 became the first (and thus far only) Canadian to receive the Nobel Prize for Literature. Munro's five-dollar silver coin, released in 2014, cites a passage that she had selected—the last words from her last book, *The View from Castle Rock* (2006)—alongside

its translation into French. The information on this coin appears to mask its significance, as the Nobel prize is signalled only with a laurel branch and Munro's name does not appear at all. Given that she had collaborated on this design, it seems that Munro preferred a degree of discretion that reduced her exposure to public attention.

Public Spaces and the Prevalence of Plaques

Plaques are a common medium by which readers and communities commemorate authors in the public landscape. In Canada's wintry climate, plaques are easier to manage than cairns or statues and are certainly less costly. They seem to turn up everywhere—especially in areas marked by early European settlement—sponsored by myriad cultural associations and heritage organizations, from civic and community efforts to the federally focused Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada (HSMBC). Such is their ubiquity that several Toronto residents have recently been inspired to create mock plaques sprinkled across their city that implicitly query received notions and processes of local recognition and have been cleverly dubbed “plaque fiction.”³⁰ Many are the work of artist Jode Roberts, whose Toronto Sign Reimagination Unit³¹ has placed imaginative signs and plaques in various public sites to enhance the urban environment with playful reminders about such unexpected topics as the disappearance of payphones and newspaper boxes, the presence of venerable trees, and recognition of local wildlife (raccoons and a wild turkey). Along the same lines, in 2018, an ironic plaque attributed to the Toronto Historical Board, titled “The Toronto Recursive History Project of Toronto's Recursive History,”³² appeared in the front yard at 390 Montrose Avenue. This parodic sign commemorates its own commemoration, telling readers that “By reading this plaque, you have made a valuable addition to the number of people who have read this plaque.” Its creator, a journalist who regards “placemaking as an oft overlooked part of community building,” feels that tongue-in-cheek efforts such

as this one have “helped shift the way the city thinks about itself” by enriching Toronto’s public space.³³

These parodies invite us to contemplate normative modes of recognition, yet none concern the commemoration of writers, unlike the HSMBC, whose magisterial bronze plaques, which now appear in two or three languages, honour some 70 authors on its list of more than 730 names.³⁴ The HSMBC’s mandate is to identify national historic persons under the current definition: “A national historic person is an individual or a representative of a group that has made a lasting contribution to the history of Canada.”³⁵ Their designations demonstrate the intersection of local and federal recognition: although sanctioned by this federal body, their subjects are nominated by specific organizations or communities to promote the acknowledgment of individuals associated with historic causes, events, activities, cultural groups, notable places, and the like.

The HSMBC was created in 1919 to advise the National Parks Branch and the minister of the interior on the “selection, commemoration and preservation of national historic sites.”³⁶ Closely associated with the Canadian Historical Association,³⁷ the board’s first members were mostly historians interested in Canada’s military and fur-trade past, or advocates of specific causes such as recognition of the Loyalists. Most of their selected historic sites were located in Quebec and Ontario. Limited racial and political ideologies prevailed as board members rejected proposals to commemorate sites important to the history of Blacks, Jews, Mennonites, and Ukrainians.³⁸ In 1937, the board added a program of secondary plaques aimed in part at redressing regional and thematic imbalances by including political figures and people from the arts and letters. In the words of historian C.J. Taylor, author of the only full-length study of the HSMBC, “Anyone of sufficient fame would be considered to be worthy of a secondary tablet including provincial premiers, painters, poets, and popular novelists.”³⁹

A timeline of the HSMBC’s recognition of writers offers an insightful chronology of normative Canadian literary values. While women

have become increasingly visible,⁴⁰ it has taken longer for writers from other marginalized groups to be designated. The first author to be honoured was Archibald Lampman. Declared a nationally significant poet in 1920, he received a plaque in 1930 that was placed on a cairn at his birthplace, the village of Morpeth, Ontario, prompting a dedication ceremony that was organized by the Canadian Authors Association and attended by Canada's senior poets.⁴¹ Few other writers were thus recognized until the late 1930s. Those canonized between 1936 and 1939 were all men, many of whom were well known for their professional activities as historians, journalists, or educators as well as for their writing. The list of English-language writers continued with Thomas Chandler Haliburton in 1936, followed in 1937 by Charles Mair and James de Mille, who were joined in 1938 by Grant Allen, William Wilfred Campbell, Charles W. Gordon (Ralph Connor), James MacPherson Le Moine, Gilbert Parker, George Parkin, John Richardson, E.W. Thomson, and J. S. Willison. The first French writers, named in 1937, were Joseph Bouchette, Octave Crémazie, Louis Fréchette, and François-Xavier Garneau. The next wave of writers, in the mid-1940s, included the 1943 designations of L.M. Montgomery (the first female writer to be recognized), Oliver Goldsmith, and Michel Bibaud. They were joined in 1945 and 1946 by Jean Blewett, George Frederick Cameron, Bliss Carman, Pauline Johnson, William Kirby, Stephen Leacock, Peter McArthur, John McCrae, Archibald MacMechan, Charles G.D. Roberts, and Francis Sherman, followed by Marshall Saunders and Isabella Valancy Crawford in 1947. After his death in 1947, Duncan Campbell Scott completed the list of Confederation poets in 1948; Emily Carr was added in 1950 and Julia Catherine Beckwith Hart in 1951. This attention to writers during the late 1940s coincided with the interest in fostering Canadian culture that underpinned the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences (known as the Massey Commission), whose 1951 report recommended the creation of institutions that subsequently shaped the country's artistic landscape.

During the 1950s and 1960s, in contrast, writers all but vanished from the list of new HSMBC designations, with the exception of Maritimers Thomas McCulloch and Jonathan Odell in 1959. The cultural nationalism of the mid-1970s initiated a fresh phase of recognition that included Philippe-Joseph Aubert de Gaspé, Mazo de la Roche, Margaret Duley, Susanna Moodie, Émile Nelligan, E.J. Pratt, Goldwin Smith, and Catharine Parr Traill. The first Black writer to be acknowledged by the HSMBC was Mary Ann Shadd, recognized in 1994, and the first Jewish writers, honoured in 2007, were Yiddish journalist Hirsch Wolofsky and poet A.M. Klein. Recent designations encompass a moderate spectrum of English-language writers, from philosopher Marshall McLuhan to novelist Margaret Laurence and Labrador Inuit diarist Lydia Campbell, all honoured in 2009. Surprisingly, the first (and still the only) francophone female author to be proclaimed a national historic person is Gabrielle Roy, designated in 2008.

Many of these authors were long dead when chosen, whereas others were recognized within a year or two of their demise. Such immediacy has not been possible since regulations were changed during the 1980s to limit nominations to those who had been dead for at least twenty-five years. Because designations depend on nominations arising from the community at large, they are sometimes more reflective of local enthusiasm than of widely recognized literary accomplishment. One of the first female writers to be named a national historic person was Jean McKishnie Blewett (1862–1934), a Scottish Canadian poet and journalist of modest renown who was recognized in 1946. Yet Sara Jeannette Duncan (1862–1922), a novelist and journalist of the same generation and ethnic background as Blewett and much more significant both during her lifetime and later, was not thus honoured until 2016. Why Jean Blewett so long before Sara Jeannette Duncan? Presumably because supporters from Chatham, Ontario, where Blewett died in 1934, were more proactive about their local literary celebrity than were Duncan's fans from her hometown of Brantford, which she had left in the 1890s to pursue an international career.

Other absences of nineteenth- and twentieth-century authors include Marjorie Pickthall, Felicité Angers (Laure Conan), and Laura Goodman Salverson, to cite a few women—along with Norman Duncan, Charles Sangster, and William Henry Drummond. This somewhat capricious pattern of gaps and achievements dovetails with the observation of historians Nicole Neatby and Peter Hodgins that “any given act of public remembering is usually the product of a wide variety of often contradictory motivations ranging from the ideological, the pecuniary, and the manipulative to the sincere and heartfelt to the traumatic.” Moreover, “there is growing recognition that every memory text or performance is the product of a series of complex negotiations between cultural producers, their patrons, and the communities whose past they are purporting to be commemorating.”⁴² Although the importance of maintaining and focusing public memory is often national, scholars continually remind us that the local is the level where sites of memory are usually selected and developed. In their introduction to a recent collection of articles about memory in Canada, James Opp and John C. Welsh point to the importance of the local as a “centre of meaning” where memorial acts may affirm or resist the national narrative.⁴³

Successful nominations for memorial plaques are easier to track than stories of thwarted efforts. Author Trevor Carolan recounts that in 1999, two years after the death of poet Dorothy Livesay, he attempted in vain to persuade the City of North Vancouver to create a plaque to honour the poet who had spent much of life in that community.⁴⁴ It took another ten years for a memorial to appear, this time from the public library rather than the municipality: “In 2009 the North Vancouver Library allocated part of its public plaza at their new building’s entrance on Lonsdale Avenue to be engraved with four lines from one of Livesay’s best-known poems, ‘The Unquiet Bed.’”⁴⁵ Even though the annual BC and Yukon Book Prizes’ award for poetry, the Dorothy Livesay Poetry Prize,⁴⁶ is named for this active left-wing

feminist and prolific author, Livesay has yet to be designated a national historic person.

Writers' plaques are to be found in various public spaces. Some are outdoors on the grounds or exterior walls of former residences; others appear at sites associated with the subject's life such as schools, churches, libraries, parks, and post offices. For example, the HSMBC plaques for Yiddish journalist Hirsch Wolofsky and poet A.M. Klein are inside Montreal's Jewish Public Library. Early HSMBC plaques were unilingually English or French; those installed since the 1980s present parallel texts in French and English, with the occasional addition of a third language. Plaques for Pauline Johnson and for her childhood home of Chiefswood in Ohsweken, Ontario (separately recognized as a national historic site), are written in three languages, Mohawk, French, and English, and the 2017 HSMBC plaque for Vancouver sculptor Charles Marega (1871–1939), on an outdoor wall of Vancouver's Italian Cultural Centre, is in English, French, and Italian. A rare multiple plaque, titled "Poet's Corner," honours Charles G.D. Roberts, Bliss Carman, and Francis Sherman, who had been students at the University of New Brunswick, although not all at the same time. Their plaque is the centrepiece of a recently renovated monument that includes welcoming benches and is strategically placed outside the Harriet Irving Library at the heart of the university's campus.

The stories of plaques can be complex. Poet Isabella Valancy Crawford (1846–87), who was designated a national historic person in 1947, has been recognized in plaques from three levels of government: an undated early plaque in Paisley (one of her childhood residences) from the Archeological and Historic Sites Board of Ontario, a 1983 plaque from the federal Historic Sites and Monuments Board in Peterborough (another of her many homes), and a third from the Toronto Historical Board at the entrance to Isabella Valancy Crawford Park near the site of the house where she died in downtown Toronto. Each plaque does different cultural work, highlighting Crawford's

association with the locale in which it appears: the Peterborough text does not mention Paisley, and the Toronto plaque offers the most information about her writing.

Dated 1989 and mounted in 1992, the latter owes its existence to the confluence of several concerns. In 1980, journalist Donald Jones discovered that 57 John Street, the house in which Crawford had died, was still standing at the corner of John and King Streets.⁴⁷ Six years later, he called for an effort to preserve the building and mark the site for the 1987 centenary of the death of Canada's first significant woman poet.⁴⁸ His *Toronto Star* column sparked responses from a number of quarters, including the literary nationalists in the Writers' Union of Canada and the Women's Canadian Historical Society, which offered to pay for the plaque that was eventually mounted in Isabella Valancy Crawford Park.⁴⁹ After the old house was demolished during downtown redevelopment, a small nearby park at the intersection of John and Front Streets, adjoining the headquarters of the Royal Bank of Canada, was donated by the bank to the City of the Toronto to be named for the poet. Hence a combination of literary nationalism, feminist historical recuperation, corporate self-promotion, and civic pride converged in the unveiling of the plaque in 1992, whose placement in the park prompts reflection. Marking the entrance to the park are two imposing brick pillars, about 12 feet tall and 2 feet square. The sides of the pillars facing Front Street each bear plaques: one naming the park and the other announcing, "This public park is made available to the residents of the City of Toronto by the Royal Bank of Canada, October 19 1987." Only as one enters the park does one see the Toronto Historical Board's informative plaque about Crawford on the inside of one of the columns, its tiny font requiring the inquisitive visitor to come close in order to read about one of "our finest poets," whose poems were posthumously "admired for their evocative images of the lush and sparkling wilderness." One might query the relative status given to the bank and to the writer, yet there is a sense of poetic appropriateness in these placements given that Crawford lived in poverty and

died in obscurity. Recently, her park was given fresh attention when it received new signage as a stop within the city's network of Discovery Walks.

From the examples that I have cited, it is evident that Toronto is a city of many plaques sponsored by many different organizations. In addition to the parodic guerilla plaques noted at the beginning of this section, this plenitude has inspired the creation of serious visual markers by private individuals such as the occupants of Northrop Frye's former home. After his death in 1991, the purchasers of his house also bought some of his furniture. By the front door, they placed an unattributed plaque stating that this author and literary critic had resided at 137 Clifton from 1945 to 1991. Not noted in any online or published resource, this memorial came to my attention only because it was noticed by my daughter, a professional gardener who was working in the vicinity.⁵⁰

Recuperative Commemoration: The Confluence of Race and Gender

This attention to Crawford more than a century after her death was generated by the feminist recovery of women's history that gained momentum in the 1980s and continues to reshape much of Canada's cultural identity. As a result, the proportion of women designated as national historic persons has increased over the past decades. A more recent shift in attention characterizes the commemoration of Mary Ann Shadd (1823–93), who was scarcely acknowledged for decades and is now regarded as a major figure in Canada's Black history. Her 200th birthday was celebrated in the fall of 2023 by the Toronto History Museums with events captured on YouTube and broadcast by the CBC,⁵¹ followed by the unveiling of a commemorative postal stamp in January 2024.⁵² Although Shadd spent most of her life in the United States,⁵³ she lived in various communities in southwestern Upper Canada from 1851 to 1863, where she wrote *A Plea for Emigration: Or, Notes of Canada West* (1852) and founded *The Provincial Freeman*

(1853–57), thereby becoming the first Black woman to publish a newspaper in North America.

This paper was preceded by *The Voice of the Fugitive* (1851–54), founded by Mary and Henry Bibb, who moved to Sandwich (now part of Windsor, Ontario) shortly after the United States passed the Fugitive Slave Act in 1850, in order to ensure Henry's freedom, as he was an escaped slave. In 2002, the Bibbs were declared national historic persons, with a plaque in Windsor,⁵⁴ and in 2021 Mary was also commemorated in the naming of a Windsor park.⁵⁵ Mary did the majority of the work on the newspaper and is therefore regarded as the first Black female journalist in Canada,⁵⁶ yet she has received less public attention than has Shadd, a discrepancy recently addressed by Jewon Woo, who argues that "Mary Ann Shadd and Mary Bibb shared more commonalities than differences in their work for Canada's Black community in the 1850s."⁵⁷ Both women owe their current profiles to the pioneering research of Black studies scholars during the 1990s, notably the publication of Afua P. Cooper's essay on Mary Bibb in 1994 and Jane Rhodes's *Mary Ann Shadd: The Black Press and Protest in the Nineteenth Century* (1998), reprinted in 2023 with an epilogue describing Shadd's recent recuperation in Canada and the United States.⁵⁸

A staunch abolitionist and advocate of integrated schools and communities, Shadd began to enjoy serious recuperation following the appearance of her biography in 1977,⁵⁹ eventually leading to the republication of *A Plea for Emigration* in 1998.⁶⁰ She was first recognized in her home base of Chatham with two undated plaques from the Province of Ontario—one for herself and one for her newspaper. In 1985, her name was attached to a new school in Toronto's multicultural neighbourhood of Scarborough.⁶¹ In 1994, she was declared a national historic person, with an associated HSMBC plaque in Chatham, and in 2009 a bust sculpted by Artis Lane was installed in the BME Freedom Park by the Chatham-Kent Black Historical Society.⁶² Two years later, the site of the building at 143 King Street that had served as her Toronto newspaper office from 1854 to 1855 received a plaque from



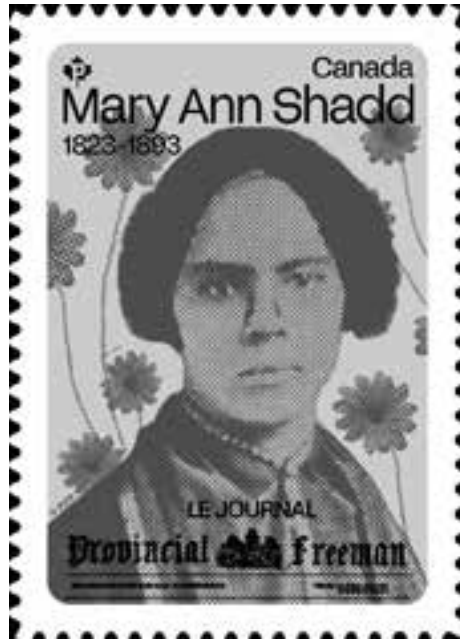
Fig. 1.2 Bust of
Mary Ann Shadd
Cary by Artis Lane,
BME Freedom Park,
Chatham, Ontario,
2009.

Heritage Toronto. Commemoration extended to Windsor, where Shadd resided during her first two years in Canada, with her inclusion in a 2005 mural titled *Reaching Out* that “celebrates the Black community’s vital role in Windsor’s development.”⁶³ Images of Shadd are instantly recognizable because they are all drawn from a sole surviving photograph (which is also the case with Crawford). In 2022, a striking life-sized statue was unveiled at the University of Windsor. As cited in a newspaper article, the official statement from the university’s president reflects the self-congratulatory idealism that characterizes the Canadian reception of Harriet Beecher Stowe, earlier described in this book’s introduction: “The sculpture has Shadd Cary looking determined as she steps forward against the forces of discrimination which are symbolized by her skirt being pulled back...Held close to her heart is ‘The Provincial Freeman,’ a blueprint for Canadian



Fig. 1.3 (opposite) Statue of Mary Ann Shadd by Donna Mayne, University of Windsor, 2022.

Fig. 1.4 Commemorative stamp, Mary Ann Shadd, issued in 2024.



ideology, equality and social justice. A truly inclusive future for our university begins with our actions today.”⁶⁴

Other recent commemorative gestures include the Mary Ann Shadd Cary Award for newspaper columns, initiated in 2021 by the Canadian National Newspaper Awards, and the recent establishment of Carleton University’s Mary Ann Shadd Cary Centre for Journalism and Belonging to support research and advocacy for equity in journalism.⁶⁵ In *Insensible of Boundaries: Studies in Mary Ann Shadd Cary* (2025), editor Kristin Moriah assembles an impressive range of scholarship engaging with Black history in Canada and the United States to examine the significance of this woman who was “adventurous, unpredictable, and prolific” and whose American recognition included significant tributes leading up to the 200th anniversary of her birth.⁶⁶ The

chapter that offers a detailed, illustrated account of a dance-based theatrical production titled *Mary Ann Shadd Cary: Her Life and Legacy*, performed in 2021 in Delaware, Alabama, Texas, and Belize, shows how the arts can effectively enhance general public awareness of historically significant figures.⁶⁷ This project exemplifies the didactic use of theatre to commemorate early authors, a topic that I discuss in further detail in chapter 5.

In 2021, a different image was created by Black Canadian artist Adeyemi Adegbesan, who honoured Shadd by clothing her in African-style regalia for a virtual mural projected onto Mackenzie House at 82 Bond Street in Toronto, which you can see in this book's concluding section (figure C.1).⁶⁸ More conventional is the image on the postage stamp issued in 2024 to mark Black History Month.⁶⁹

Belated recognition of Canadian authors marginalized by race and gender likewise characterizes the reception history of the Montreal-raised Eaton sisters. Their mixed heritage from their English father and Chinese mother gave them a hybrid identity that they deployed performatively to advance their literary careers, especially in the United States, where most of their publications appeared. The exoticism that helped to sell their work excluded them from the literary mainstream and serious canonical consideration, such that they still lack official plaques in the places where they lived. Edith Maud Eaton (1865–1914) took on a Chinese identity as Sui Sin Far, whereas her twice-married younger sister, Winnifred Eaton Babcock Reeve (1875–1964), at first represented herself as Japanese under the pseudonym of Onoto Watanna and later passed as essentially unraced after her 1917 marriage to Francis Reeve, a Calgary businessman and rancher.⁷⁰ Until the late twentieth century, critics were slow to recognize the extent of the sisters' output of stories, fiction, and Hollywood scripts or to acknowledge their significance as Canada's first notable Asian Canadian authors. Recent scholarship has brought them considerable academic attention, but thus far their presence is scarcely evident in

Canada's commemorative landscape. Edith's grave in Montreal is marked with a later monument "erected by her Chinese friends in grateful memory," whose date (in or after 1927) and donors remain uncertain.⁷¹ Winnifred's distinctive presence in Calgary, her home base for the second half of her life, included active membership in the Canadian Authors Association and has resulted in more concrete recognition. The Reeve Theatre, which opened in 1981 at the University of Calgary, is named for Winnifred and was funded by a bequest from her daughter. As well, she is one of the thirty women included in the city's Wheel of Women monument, completed in 2015 to commemorate women "chosen for their contributions to Calgary in various fields, making it the city it is today."⁷² At least one author has created textual afterlives for the sisters: in the summer of 2023, a play about them by Cecilia J. Pang, titled *Bi-Passing*, was performed in Boulder, Colorado.⁷³ Much credit for our current awareness of the Eaton sisters goes to researcher Mary Chapman, creator of the fulsome Winnifred Eaton Archive.⁷⁴

Visualizations: Statues and Portraits

In *What the Victorians Made of Romanticism* (2017), Tom Mole analyzes the expanding role of publicly visible statues in establishing a national pantheon of great men to bolster cultural unity in Victorian Britain—a practice then also underway in the United States, Scotland, and France. Using the public sphere to forge a "shared identity in the present" required the construction of a "shared past,"⁷⁵ traced by Mole in relation to prominent images of Lord Byron and Walter Scott. Focusing instead on statues of Robbie Burns in the United Kingdom, Scottish historian Christopher A. Whatley describes the nineteenth century's love of large-scale monuments as "Statuemanía."⁷⁶ In Canada, however, statues are a form of public commemoration enjoyed by few writers other than Burns, so beloved of Scottish immigrants and their

descendants that there are at least nine replicas of him sprinkled across the country from Halifax to Victoria, forming what Mole would describe as a “distributed pantheon.”⁷⁷

Although Toronto displays an abundance of outdoor sculptures of military, political, and other public figures, as documented in *Creating Memory: A Guide to Outdoor Public Sculpture in Toronto* (2010), author John Warkentin notes that “writers are just beginning to be recognized” in this fashion and regrets the failure to develop a “Writers’ Grove” that had been proposed by the Toronto Parks Department in 1984 “with the intention to memorialize important Toronto writers.” Most of the city’s sites of literary recognition, such as Marian Engel Park, Matt Cohen Park, and George Faludy Place, are close to the writers’ former homes and marked with plaques. Gwendolyn MacEwen’s park includes a bust of just her head,⁷⁸ whose modesty stands in marked contrast to the larger-than-life statue of Al Purdy casually sitting on an arrangement of rocks in Queen’s Park. Unveiled in 2008, Purdy’s was the second full-size statue of a poet to be displayed in Toronto after that of Robbie Burns.⁷⁹ Its placement is symbolic rather than biographical. In his younger days, Purdy briefly lived in a working-class neighbourhood where his residence on Sackville Street has been plaqued by the Cabbagetown People project; the prominent site of his posthumous statue is due to the lobbying of Dennis Lee, who insisted “it be placed in Queen’s Park to demonstrate how essential poetry is in a nation’s cultural life.”⁸⁰

Multiple images of Canadian writers are rare, and I have found no evidence that any author enjoys more than three statues representing them as literary figures. Three different images of L.M. Montgomery are described in her chapter, and three replications of Québécois poet Émile Nelligan are mentioned later in this chapter. Northrop Frye has two such incarnations, reflecting different biographical associations, both unveiled in 2012 to celebrate his 100th birthday. The original image of him sitting on a bench outside the library in his hometown of Moncton, New Brunswick, was duplicated in a modified copy on the



Fig. 1.5 Statue of Northrop Frye by Darren Byers and Fred Harrison, Victoria College, University of Toronto, 2012.

campus of Victoria College in Toronto, the site of his professional life, where he relaxes just outside the E.J. Pratt Library with a pile of books, none of which are identifiable. Rather than the monumental format that characterized most earlier memorials, these sculptures of Frye, like the 1999 statue of Glenn Gould reclining on a bench outside the CBC headquarters in Toronto, are positioned such that there is room for a visitor to sit beside him and pretend to engage personally with the lifelike bronze figure, or at least to pose for a photograph. Several of the recent statues of Montgomery are similarly arranged, reflecting her very sociable personality. However, I find this representation a rather ironic image for Frye, who was not comfortable interacting with strangers,⁸¹ and especially for Gould, who isolated himself from direct contact.

Although Nellie McClung, with commemorations in Calgary, Winnipeg, Manitou, Edmonton, and Ottawa, enjoys a greater number of life-sized images than Montgomery, most refer to her significance as one of the Famous Five who successfully campaigned for the recognition of women as persons in Canadian law, with only two (in Edmonton and Manitou) bearing captions that also identify her as a writer. Similarly, the monument to Joseph Howe in Halifax commemorates his political impact rather than his literary influence. Generally speaking, most Canadian writers have been embodied in stone or bronze just once, often with imagery representing their literary fame: John McCrae at a prominent site in his hometown of Guelph holding a handwritten copy of "In Flanders Fields"; Al Purdy in Queen's Park in Toronto with a notebook in his right hand and a pen in his shirt pocket;⁸² and Emily Carr, with her pet monkey on her shoulder, writing (or sketching) in a notebook as she sits by the harbour in Victoria, British Columbia.⁸³ Alice Munro, however, is represented only by her hat in the monument outside the Clinton Library that commemorates her Nobel Prize. Whereas most statues honouring writers intentionally offer a sense of physical presence, Munro's monument (like her celebratory coin) creates a sense of absence that will only be deepened if the reaction to the scandal about her family life results in significant alterations to the relatively few commemorative gestures that she has accrued. Rarely are Canadian writers included in group representations. In the crowd of thirty-two literary and cultural celebrities in the 1973 statue by William McElcheran outside the library of St. Michael's College in Toronto, titled *Great Minds in Conversation as the World Goes By*, are two Canadian authors: Marshall McLuhan, whose inclusion seems quite appropriate since he had taught at this college; and, curiously, Stephen Leacock, who scarcely seems to occupy the same sphere as such internationally influential figures as James Joyce, Karl Marx, Mohandas Gandhi, and Charles Darwin.⁸⁴ More fittingly, a bust of Leacock resides in his hometown inside the Orillia Public Library.



Fig. 1.6 Statue of John McCrae by Ruth Abernethy, Guelph, Ontario, 2015.



Fig. 1.7 Statue of Emily Carr by Barbara Paterson, Victoria, British Columbia, 2010.

Formal portraits also enhance the status of recognized writers, especially when hung in public places, although being indoors, their accessibility is more limited. In the absence of a national portrait gallery, Canadians are most likely to find these images in locales associated with the authors in question. For example, in Toronto, the Victoria University Library contains portraits of two of its best-known authors, Northrop Frye and E.J. Pratt. A commissioned posthumous portrait of L.M. Montgomery, hanging in the historic Leaskdale Manse, is composed of details reflecting her life and career.⁸⁵ Whereas Edwin Holgate's portrait of Stephen Leacock belongs to the National Gallery of Canada in Ottawa rather than to an institution in Montreal, where he lived, McGill University, where he taught, houses a similar portrait by Montreal artist Frederick Taylor. This painting usually hangs in the McLennan Library's Special Collections, which also hold a significant collection of his archives.⁸⁶ However, Pauline Johnson's posthumous portrait by J.W. Forster, discussed in her chapter, remains in storage at the Royal Ontario Museum.

Patterns of Local Recognition

Given Canada's vast expanse and regionalized historical consciousness, it is not surprising that projects of literary commemoration have been especially numerous at the local level. Some focus exclusively on literary connections, whereas others include writers within a larger effort. A common antecedent is the Blue Plaques endeavour in London, United Kingdom, initiated in the 1860s and formalized in 1954, whose aim is to "celebrate the link between person and building, and to emphasize the social, human element of London's architecture which would not otherwise be widely recognized."⁸⁷ These plaques mark short-term associations, such as the lodgings of Van Gogh, Émile Zola, and other notable people who lived briefly in London, as well as the residences of major British cultural, political, and other figures, including hundreds of writers. In Canada, London's scheme has

been emulated by Quebec City, whose Ici Vécuit program now numbers 142 blue plaques commemorating residents and visitors in many walks of life, including individual authors who left their mark, among them Philippe Aubert de Gaspé, author of the classic novel *Les Anciens Canadiens* (1863), and Anne Hébert, whose best-known book is probably her novel *Kamouraska* (1970).

Urban efforts do not necessarily reflect the size of the municipality. The 5,000 residents of Neepawa, Manitoba, have put considerable effort into celebrating Margaret Laurence for the writings that transformed her home community into the fictional town of Manawaka, as discussed in the next chapter, which considers writers' houses. The Arts Wall of Sackville, New Brunswick (a town of similar size), features a series of outdoor plaques initiated in 2008 that includes two poets (Charles G.D. Roberts and Douglas Lochhead) among seventeen musicians, artists, theatre professionals, and other practitioners who were significantly associated with the region, often in relation to Mount Allison University.⁸⁸ The only collective site in the much larger city of Montreal is the small downtown memorial in the Writers' Chapel in Saint James the Apostle Anglican Church (now known as St. Jax), which commemorates eleven writers associated with the city. All are anglophone, with the exception of Louis Hémon,⁸⁹ whose lodgings also received a plaque in 2011 from the Montreal Historical Society to mark the centenary of his arrival in Canada in 1911.⁹⁰

The inspiration for this chapel was a marker for poet Émile Nelligan,⁹¹ who is probably the most abundantly commemorated author in Montreal (if still absent from the Writers' Chapel), with memorials from a wide range of local and national organizations, including the Fondation Émile Nelligan⁹² and Les Amis-es d'Émile Nelligan.⁹³ His home at 3686 Laval Avenue is marked with a plaque from the Cécile Chabot Foundation, a few blocks from his HSMBC plaque in front of the Maison des Écrivains at 3492 Laval. Across the street from this heritage house stands his bronze bust in Saint Louis Square, part of

which has been designated Parc Émile Nelligan.⁹⁴ Other memorials bookend his life: in Saint Patrick's Basilica, his baptism in 1879 has been recognized with a plaque from the St. Patrick's Society of Montreal and Les Amis-es d'Émile Nelligan,⁹⁵ and a distinctive monument marks his gravesite in Notre-Dame-des-Neiges Cemetery. Not surprisingly, Nelligan is also commemorated with two monuments in the provincial capital of Quebec City, one of which cites his best-known poem, "Le Vaisseau d'Or" (1899).⁹⁶ The other is a bust that stands beside a similar bust of Alexander Pushkin in a central city park, the two marking a 2002 friendship agreement with St. Petersburg.⁹⁷ At the same time, a statue of Nelligan was sent to Russia to be mounted outside the St. Petersburg State Institute of Culture,⁹⁸ where its current status is uncertain.

Complementing Montreal's attachment to Nelligan is the city's loving memory of Leonard Cohen. Since his death in 2016, Cohen has been commemorated with two huge outdoor murals, both on privately owned downtown buildings, the larger of which received city support.⁹⁹ These commemorations have been enhanced by Canada Post's creation of three Cohen stamps whose images appeared on Canada Post panel trucks (one of which was spotted in Vancouver by a friend of mine) and on several custom mailboxes placed on streets in Montreal neighbourhoods associated with Cohen. One was in Westmount near his upscale childhood home, one on Sherbrooke Street across from McGill University where he received his bachelor of arts degree in 1955, and one in the Plateau district, on Saint Laurent Boulevard, near the house where he lived for many years at 28 Vallières Street—a building that remains unacknowledged.

In contrast to Montreal's fostering of posthumous visual representations of Cohen, the streetscape of Toronto connects with the living presence of Dionne Brand, the city's poet laureate from 2009 to 2012, inviting us to read her work rather than to recognize her face. Her words appear on a mural in Etobicoke,¹⁰⁰ on a paving stone at

Grange Park,¹⁰¹ on a Project Bookmark plaque on Lakeshore Boulevard,¹⁰² and on a city bench at the corner of Bloor and Dufferin Streets that greets passers-by:

Walking here, I turned my face to you and said,
How on earth will we live, who will dance with us,
will there be music? And you said, sure,
the usual birds will sing, the usual hours will pass at night,
and I asked you, will there be fame? And
you said, sure, But only between us.
It will be spring, forsythia will follow us and
we will hear the lake breathe.
Waiting then, I felt the world coming toward me.¹⁰³

As well, Brand is one of the few writers whose name appears twice in the Toronto Book Garden, which contains plaques for all of the winners of the Toronto Book Awards.¹⁰⁴

Like Brand, a number of other well-known writers are noted more than once, some during their lifetime and most after death. In addition to the joint plaque for Milton Acorn and Gwendolyn MacEwen from the Toronto Legacy Plaques program, issued in coordination with Heritage Toronto to mark their brief residence on Ward Island during their equally brief marriage in 1962,¹⁰⁵ they are each memorialized with individual Legacy Plaques, as are Margaret Avison, Morley Callaghan, Robertson Davies, Northrop Frye, Anna Jameson, Marshall McLuhan, E.J. Pratt, and Raymond Souster.¹⁰⁶ Adding to this list, the Cabbagetown People project has plaqued the homes of former literary residents whose tenures range from the nineteenth-century with authors Sarah Curzon and Ernest Thompson Seton through the twentieth century with Charles G.D. Roberts, Morley Callaghan, Don Bailey, Sandra Gwynn, Phyllis Grosskurth, Fredelle Bruser Maynard, and Flos Jewell Williams.¹⁰⁷ On the west side of the city, the entrance to the park named for Communist activist and author Margaret Fair-

ley is flanked on one side by a bust “Presented to the City of Toronto by her friends, 1973” and on the other by a plaque, affixed to a large rock, that describes her as “A Citizen Who Cared For Her Community.” As well, the city’s memory sites are enhanced by two publications that align civic locales with literary references. Greg Gatenby’s encyclopedic *Toronto: A Literary Guide* (1999) offers sixty-two walking tours of selected neighbourhoods, detailing associations between specific addresses and the biographies of writers who inhabited or wrote about these places, from the earliest days to the present. In contrast to Gatenby’s historical perspective, Amy Lavender Harris’s *Imagining Toronto* (2010) focuses instead on literary representations of the city, primarily in works by recent writers.

Whereas such endeavours reflect the enduring histories of Montreal and Toronto as literary centres, Vancouver’s many memorial gestures show that a city’s age does not determine the degree of its interest in literary commemoration. Its first memorial was Pauline Johnson’s grave in Stanley Park, where she was buried in 1913, a story recounted in this book’s chapter devoted to Johnson. It was significant that the city’s first literary shrine celebrated an Indigenous author whose writings validate Indigenous stories about this region, but subsequent literary memorials reflect instead the city’s settler culture. The full-size figure of Robbie Burns in Stanley Park is believed to be the first statue erected in Vancouver, “a replica of the famous Ayr statue,” sponsored by the Vancouver Burns Fellowship and unveiled in August 1928.¹⁰⁸ This commemoration was followed in 1936 by the opening of the park’s Shakespeare Garden, the culmination of a process that had begun in 1916 with the planting of an oak on behalf of the Vancouver Shakespeare Society to honour the tercentenary of Shakespeare’s death.¹⁰⁹

Although Greater Vancouver has few parks and streets named for Canadian writers, the city enjoys two commemorative projects that were initiated early in the twenty-first century: Places That Matter,¹¹⁰ launched in 2011, and Literary Landmarks, launched in 2015. The first

mounts blue plaques at many different historical sites, few of which concern the arts, whereas the second is entirely literary. Sponsored by the Vancouver Public Library,¹¹¹ it features forty-five descriptive plaques, most of them placed on city lampposts close to the identified sites.¹¹² The only duplication is that both projects recognize Joy Kogawa, albeit at different locales: Places That Matter plaqued Historic Joy Kogawa House, whereas Literary Landmarks plaqued Hastings Park (described in her 1981 novel *Obasan*), where Japanese civilians were held in 1942 before being transferred to camps in British Columbia's interior. Complementing these efforts is the Writers' Walk of Fame, jointly sponsored by the Vancouver Public Library and *BC BookWorld*. Established in 1995, its engraved paving stones on the outdoor plaza of the library's main downtown branch recognize recipients of the George Woodcock Lifetime Achievement Award, given for "an outstanding literary career in British Columbia."¹¹³

Sidewalk markers also appear in Stratford, Ontario, where commemoration is dominated by homage to Shakespeare and to participants in the city's annual theatre festival. In 2006, two writers were added to the city's program of bronze sidewalk stars—poet and playwright James Reaney and Timothy Findley—the latter identified as "playwright & actor, inaugural season."¹¹⁴ Findley spent his last years in Stratford, where his dual prominence as an actor and a major Canadian author is also commemorated with a modest plaque on a bench in the park outside the Festival Theatre, and with "Findlay Place," a street bearing his name, unfortunately misspelled.¹¹⁵

Everyday Sites: Libraries, Schools, Parks, and Gardens

Usually decided at the municipal level are the names of public schools, libraries, and local parks. Given the ubiquity and engagement of public libraries across Canada, one might expect many to be named for writers. This practice is indeed common in French Canada but

seldom occurs in the rest of the country, where most public libraries bear names that identify their locations. Institutional and other libraries that are named after people tend to recognize donors or revered librarians rather than authors. As well, assumptions may prove incorrect. The Pauline Johnson Library in Lundar, Manitoba, is named after “a retired teacher”¹¹⁶ rather than the poet, although the poet may well have been the teacher’s namesake. Even though it is generally believed that the McLennan Library at McGill recognizes author Hugh MacLennan (who taught there for many years), the building is actually named for donor Isabella McLennan,¹¹⁷ a confusion that would be avoided if we paid closer attention to spelling variants (and if her first name were to be included in the name of the library). A few university libraries commemorate writers who were associated with these institutions: the E.J. Pratt Library at Victoria College recognizes Pratt’s time there as a student and later as a teacher, and the Robertson Davies Library at the University of Toronto recognizes Davies’s colourful tenure as the master of Massey College. According to biographer David Legate, the memorialization of Leacock at McGill arose from the university’s embarrassment at its lack of recognition when visited by American fans “seeking our Leacock shrine,” hence the eventual construction of the Stephen Leacock Building for the social sciences and the designation of a special Leacock Room in the main library. Outside McGill, Leacock is still commemorated at the University Club, his “favourite haunt,” which for many years preserved his chair in one of their reading rooms, now known as the Leacock Room.¹¹⁸

The earliest example of a library named for a Canadian writer might well be the John Richardson Library in Windsor, Ontario, which opened in 1928.¹¹⁹ In recent decades, there has been an increase in the naming (or renaming) of public libraries after (English) Canadian writers, beginning with the 1976 opening of the Nellie McClung branch of the Victoria Public Library, followed in 1999 by renaming

another branch after Emily Carr. Such recognition is usually a posthumous gesture. For example, the Timothy Findley Branch of the Brock Public Library (with its Timothy Findley Reading Room) was dedicated in 2011, nearly a decade after Findley's death in 2002. In 2015, the name of Mordecai Richler, who had died in 2001, was appended to a Montreal public library (ironically, housed in a building that is a former church) following a rather convoluted effort to commemorate him with a park gazebo.¹²⁰ He is also commemorated at Concordia University in the Department of English's Mordecai Richler Reading Room, which opened in the J.W. McConnell Building in 2013 to house his personal book collection.¹²¹

In 2017, in line with the recommendations of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Cree leader and author Freda Ahenakew was honoured in the renaming of a branch of the Saskatoon Public Library five years after her death. Alice Munro is one of the few writers to have been thus recognized during her lifetime, when the library in her hometown of Wingham, Ontario, was named the Alice Munro Public Library two years after she received the Nobel Prize for Literature in 2013.¹²² Shortly before his death in 2004, Pierre Berton was likewise celebrated with his name on the library in Vaughan, Ontario, near his home in Kleinburg.

Some writers enjoy multiple recognitions: at least three libraries in Quebec bear the name of Gabrielle Roy, yet I have found none in her native Manitoba. In francophone Canada, public libraries named for writers follow the French tradition of historical commemoration in the public sphere. Outstanding is Quebec City, most of whose public libraries celebrate significant writers, including Gabrielle Roy, Étienne Parent, Roger Lemelin, Félix Leclerc, and Chrystine Brouillet.

A somewhat different pattern appears with schools, where there is a greater tendency to honour local authors. In the past, when English Canadian schools were named for individuals, the choice was usually heroic figures such as Winston Churchill, administrators such as gov-

ernors general or prime ministers, or occasionally, canonical English writers such as Alfred Tennyson and Charles Dickens (both in Vancouver). In contrast, names of Canadian writers usually highlight local connections, as with Evelyn A. Richardson in Shag Harbour, Nova Scotia; Northrop Frye in Moncton, New Brunswick; L.M. Montgomery in Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island; and Pierre Berton in Vaughan, Ontario. Those whose names appear outside of associated regions seem to be largely female, notably Carr, Montgomery, McClung, and Johnson in anglophone Canada and Roy for francophone and French immersion schools. Across the country, there are at least five schools named for Carr (as well as Vancouver's Emily Carr University of Art and Design) and seven for Roy.¹²³ Attending a school named for a writer does not guarantee that students learn about that person; in the past, I met graduates of École Pauline Johnson in West Vancouver who had little idea of the significance of their school's name, a situation that has fortunately since improved, as evidenced by the school's website.

When writers associated with specific places are commemorated with dedicated parks or gardens, their sponsors confirm the Romantic association between literature, nature, and "emotion recollected in tranquility," as articulated by William Wordsworth in "Preface to *Lyrical Ballads*" (1800). This nineteenth-century convention of disciplined horticultural expression (which contrasts sharply with images of the untamed wilderness celebrated in much Canadian art and poetry) has consistently appealed to designers of civic spaces in relation to memorial ventures. Guelph, Ontario, the birthplace of John McCrae, not only maintains the family residence (where he spent his first two years) as the McCrae House museum with a memorial garden on the grounds but also sponsors the John McCrae Community Garden, located beside John McCrae Public School.¹²⁴ Similarly noted is Alexander Muir, who authored the patriotic song "The Maple Leaf Forever" (1867) while a schoolteacher in Toronto, where

he is remembered with the Alexander Muir Memorial Gardens.¹²⁵ Alice Munro has been honoured with a dedicated garden in her hometown of Wingham, Ontario, which was initiated in 2002 and includes a statue of a girl reading a book. A particularly complex horticultural endeavour is the Children's Garden of the Senses, which celebrates L.M. Montgomery at the site of the manse where she lived in Norval, Ontario, from 1926 to 1935.¹²⁶ Completed in 2016, this project recognizes Montgomery's extensive botanical knowledge and great sensitivity to plants and flowers, both cultivated and wild. Similarly inclusive is the Shakespeare Garden in Vancouver's Stanley Park, perhaps the only garden in Canada devoted to a foreign author, which opened in 1936 and is now "a secluded arboretum of trees mentioned in the Bard's plays and poems."¹²⁷

Congruently with gardens, several flowers bear the names of Canadians whose public careers included writing. Claire Wallace, one of the country's leading female broadcasters and journalists during the middle decades of the twentieth century, was honoured in 1947 with a named gladiolus, unveiled "at the Vancouver gladioli show at which she presided."¹²⁸ Emily Carr, famous for both her writing and her painting, and poet-chansonnier Félix Leclerc were recognized posthumously as the first two names in the Canadian Artist series of roses, initiated in 2007 by "a consortium of Canadian rose growers and breeders" who developed a strain of hardy roses to suit the challenges of our climate.¹²⁹ More overtly literary is Joy Kogawa's cherry tree in the gardens at Vancouver City Hall, planted in 2005 as a graft from the tree at her childhood home, which figures prominently in her semi-autobiographical fictions.¹³⁰

Literary gardens might celebrate one author or might be inclusive projects, as are two sites in central Toronto. Grange Park, behind the Art Gallery of Ontario, features fourteen paving stones inscribed with quotations "from a selection of Canadian or Canada-based personalities relating to the theme of nature or to the diversity of our community," chosen because "the words of these authors, poets and

civic minded activists reflect the history and diversity within our community, now permanently included in our park.”¹³¹ Represented are a mixture of the living (Margaret Atwood, Dionne Brand, Tomson Highway) and the dead (Milton Acorn, Gilles Vigneault, Gwendolyn MacEwen). Some of these authors also appear in the Toronto Book Garden, opened in 2017 at 207 Queens Quay West, featuring “paving stones engraved with the names of every winning author and title since the Toronto Book Awards were founded in 1974.”¹³² As oft-frequented civic spaces, these urban parks are effective sites of literary commemoration that invite local communities to remember their authors. And, as mentioned earlier, Toronto is particularly noteworthy, with many parks and parkettes named for neighbourhood authors, including Matt Cohen, Isabella Valancy Crawford, Robertson Davies, Marian Engel, Gwendolyn MacEwen, Agnes MacPhail, Lucy Maud Montgomery, and E.T. Seton.

Literary pathways constitute yet another form of site-specific commemoration, the longest of which must be Ottawa’s Poets’ Pathway, whose plaques cite a dozen early Canadian poets who wrote in English and four who wrote in French, most of whom were associated with the region.¹³³ This 35-kilometre walking and cycling trail links many pre-existing public parks and green spaces, including Poet’s Hill in Beechwood Cemetery, which features flowerbeds representing four local writers.¹³⁴ Such pathways are often closely linked to the life or work of a specific author, as with the Malcolm Lowry Trail in North Vancouver, whose distinctive stone marker points out the location of Lowry’s “celebrated shack.”¹³⁵ In Burnaby (a suburb of Vancouver), Deer Lake Park features a steep 550-metre trail marked with thirteen plaques that recount an abbreviated version of Pauline Johnson’s story “A Legend of Deer Lake” (1911).¹³⁶ Less walking is required to visit the previously mentioned Writers’ Walk of Fame in downtown Vancouver, which recognizes recipients of the George Woodcock Award in a nice blend of a local literary honour with the city’s central streetscape.

Memorial Awards, Prizes, and Lectures

The common practice of naming prizes and lectures for deceased writers invokes yet another genre of recognition. At the national level, the Writers' Trust of Canada organizes the annual Margaret Laurence Memorial Lecture and bestows awards that commemorate Timothy Findley, Marion Engel, Matt Cohen, and Bronwen Wallace; similarly, the League of Canadian Poets presents the annual Anne Szumigalski Lecture and distributes awards named for Pat Lowther and Raymond Souster. Although geographical connections are sometimes irrelevant—as with the Banff Centre's Bliss Carman Poetry Award, administered through the Winnipeg literary magazine *Prairie Fire*, thereby linking Alberta and Manitoba with Carman's home province of New Brunswick—particularly notable are honours that reflect local significance. These instances sometimes emanate from major institutions, such as the lectures named for Montrealers Hugh MacLennan and F.R. Scott sponsored by McGill University's Friends of the Library, the Henry Kreisel Memorial Lecture Series presented by the Canadian Literature Centre at the University of Alberta, where he had taught, and the Margaret Laurence Lecture Series at Trent University, close to her home in Lakefield, Ontario.

Administered through institutional, provincial, and municipal organizations, such awards and events commemorate many regional authors, some of them widely known and others whose audiences have been more specialized. Representative examples abound across the country. The Nova Scotia Book Awards honour poet Maxine Tynes and memoirist Evelyn Richardson. At the University of New Brunswick, undergraduates may compete for the Bliss Carman Memorial Prize in poetry. Awards administered by the Quebec Writers' Federation are named for A.M. Klein (poetry), Hugh MacLennan (fiction), and Mavis Gallant (nonfiction).¹³⁷ Similarly, the BC Book Awards carry the names of BC writers Ethel Wilson, Dorothy Livesay, Hubert

Evans, Roderick Haig-Brown, and George Woodcock. Examples from the Prairies include the Sage Hill writing program in Saskatchewan, whose scholarships are named for Robert Kroetsch and W.O. Mitchell,¹³⁸ and the Writers' Guild of Alberta, whose extensive website lists awards in various categories that commemorate Georges Bugnet, Wilfrid Eggleston, Stephan G. Stephansson, Gwen Pharis Ringwood, James H. Gray, Howard O'Hagan, and Jon Whyte, as well as the City of Calgary W.O. Mitchell Book Prize and the Robert Kroetsch City of Edmonton Book Prize.¹³⁹ The names of commemorative prizes from the Manitoba Book Awards range from major authors like Margaret Laurence and Carol Shields to authors recognized more locally such as Eileen McTavish Sykes and Alexander Isbister.¹⁴⁰ In light of this practice, Edna Staebler (1906–2006), best known for her writings about food and other nonfiction, ensured her own legacy at Wilfrid Laurier University toward the end of her long life with an endowment that established the Edna Staebler Award for Creative Non-Fiction in 1991. After her death, her recognition was expanded with the Edna Staebler Laurier Writer-In-Residence program, initiated in 2008.

How far does such naming extend? This book lacks a discussion of designated literary chairs, professorships, distinguished visitors, and the like, often housed in universities, libraries, and other institutions, in part because such entities are difficult to enumerate and also because they frequently bear the names of their donors rather than of creative figures. The current uncertainty regarding Western University's Alice Munro Chair in Literary Creativity (discussed in this book's conclusion) cautions that the cultural capital provided by a famous name may carry unforeseen risk, and we can never anticipate when difficulties might arise with other named entities.

Some prizes focus on distinctive literary approaches, such as the Milton Acorn People's Poetry Award, established in 1987 to recognize poetry that, like Acorn's, speaks for Canada's workers and underclass. Similarly specific, the Grant Allen Award for Canadian crime

writing (inaugurated in 2004) is named for the prolific Canadian-born nineteenth-century author identified as “Canada’s first crime writer.”¹⁴¹ Defined by format rather than by content, the bpNichol Chapbook Award supports Canadian poetry published in English in chapbooks of ten to forty-eight pages, with prizes for both the author and the publisher.¹⁴²

The lifespan of literary awards is unpredictable, as illustrated by the end of the prestigious Charles Taylor Prize for Literary Non-Fiction (later known as the RBC Taylor Prize), which flourished from 2000 to 2020,¹⁴³ yet others continue to arise. New awards include the Austin Clarke Prize in Literary Excellence, launched in 2021 by *The Puritan* literary magazine in Clarke’s hometown of Toronto, and the Betsy Warland Between Genres Award, also established in 2021, to recognize Warland’s role in setting up the Vancouver Manuscript Intensive program administered through the Writers’ Union of Canada.¹⁴⁴ Most prominent is the Carol Shields Prize for Fiction, initiated in 2023 as “the first major English-language literary prize to celebrate creativity and excellence in fiction by women and non-binary writers in Canada and the United States, awarding \$150,000 USD to its winner, and \$12,500 USD to each of its four finalists.”¹⁴⁵

Unexpected Commemorations: From Outer Space to Underwear

And then there are the single, unexpected commemorative gestures that challenge classification and may signal creativity, entrepreneurial inspiration, or simple stupidity. Emily Carr appears to be the only Canadian writer who has given her name to a string quartet, founded in Victoria, British Columbia, in 2006, which has been involved in many commemorative performances,¹⁴⁶ as well as the only one whose name has travelled to outer space, as a participant in an effort to christen all craters on Venus with female first names or names of famous women. Her sole possible companion is the eighteenth-century writer Frances Brooke, author of *The History of Emily Montague* (1769),

now canonized as the first Canadian novel—although in this instance Brooke is identified as English.¹⁴⁷ As well, Carr is commemorated with the Klee Wyck asteroid, which bears the name that she was given by her Indigenous friends.¹⁴⁸

Another distinctive mode of commemoration concerns chocolate. Pauline Johnson was invoked in 1921 when a Vancouver candy business took her name, inspired by the success of the Ontario venture that had capitalized on the celebrity of an earlier Canadian cultural heroine, Laura Secord. In 1913, Frank O'Connor christened his Toronto candy company after Secord, famous for her actions in warning the British troops of an impending American attack during the War of 1812. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, a sector of Canada's patriotic feminists campaigned for greater recognition of Secord as a loyal heroine, resulting in the unveiling of several monuments and other commemorative activities. O'Connor recognized the commodity value of Secord's name, which he claimed he chose "out of a desire to identify his products with wholesomeness, purity, domesticity, and cleanliness."¹⁴⁹ By the time the Johnson enterprise commenced in Vancouver eight years later, O'Connor's Secord business had expanded across Ontario and Quebec; it would prove so successful that more Canadians would associate the name of Laura Secord with chocolate than with history. In contrast, Vancouver's Pauline Johnson candy business seems to have remained a local enterprise. A 1926 advertisement in the *Vancouver Daily Province* advised, "After a quarrel with your best girl, present her with a box of Pauline Johnson Chocolates and see how quickly the sun will shine for both of you again. It's also wise to give her those delicious sweets to prevent a quarrel too. Pure and wholesome, made daily in our studio and sold only from our five shops or by mail from 606 Granville Street. Send stamps for a pound at 60c."¹⁵⁰ Such appeals notwithstanding, the company folded after the death of president Russ Grant in the late 1960s,¹⁵¹ leaving no archives; the name itself survives in a distributorship named Pauline Johnson Confectionary with outlets in several Vancouver suburbs.



Fig. 1.8 Box from Pauline Johnson Candies, likely from the 1920s.

Early Johnson candy boxes closely resemble Laura Secord boxes, both featuring the woman's cameo portrait and simulated autograph signature. In later years, each box contained a small printed leaflet with a photograph of the poet and a mini-biography.

In 1999, further capitalization on the association of chocolate with literature (or with historical Canadian women) occurred with the appearance of Anne of Green Gables Chocolates in Prince Edward Island, albeit the name chosen for recognition was Montgomery's fictional character rather than the author.¹⁵² This company began as an extension of COWS ice cream company and later became a separate entity, with the two businesses functioning as "sister companies" whose head offices were next door to one another in Charlottetown.¹⁵³ The rather opportunistic nature of this enterprise was evidenced in the Anne of Green Gables Chocolates shop in Whistler, British Colum-

bia, where in 2018 the same array of candies could be purchased in an “Anne of Green Gables” box or a “Treats from Whistler” box. This outlet has since closed, likely a victim of the Covid-19 pandemic.

The spectrum of Canadian commemorative efforts ranges from the brilliant to the ridiculous. At the inspirational end (albeit not literary) is the Group of Seven Guitar Project sponsored by the McMichael Art Gallery in 2017, which matched eight outstanding guitar makers with eight canonical painters (the Group of Seven plus Tom Thomson).¹⁵⁴ Most insulting is the misstep taken in 2018 by Simons department store in Montreal, whose president apologized for naming a new underwear series after famous Canadian women “trailblazers,” including Supreme Court justice Beverley McLachlin (now also known as an author of detective fiction and autobiography), Gabrielle Roy, and Nellie McClung. As the only living subject of this misadventure, McLachlin received copious apologies—and I am sure that Roy and McClung would have felt similarly affronted were they still alive.¹⁵⁵ Whereas associating famous women with chocolate feeds into a gendered stereotype, representing them with underwear is simply demeaning.

Perhaps, at some level, this abandoned project shared an underlying connection with the desire of fans to enter writers’ homes and private lives, as discussed in the next chapter. In the literary realm, the blurring of distinctions between private and public that dogs celebrities not only involves the buildings that writers once inhabited but also extends to the minutiae of their daily lives, including their clothing, domestic and personal possessions, writing implements, and anything preserved on paper.¹⁵⁶

Writers' Homes

The 152nd birthday of Emily Carr, on December 13, 2023, was celebrated with a publicly accessible Zoom panel titled “House to House: A Conversation between the Literary Houses of Emily Carr, Jane Austen, and L.M. Montgomery,” conducted by Pascale Halliday, curator of Carr House in Victoria, British Columbia. She and the curator of the former home of Jane Austen presented virtual tours of these two house museums, which are organized to tell the stories of the authors who once lived there. With Montgomery, however, the house on display was not a former residence but her cousin’s home, which had loosely served as the setting of her best-known novel, *Anne of Green Gables* (1908), and has since been furnished to mimic the titular house. This renovated farmhouse may be “the most famous house in Canada” according to historian Alan MacEachern, who spoke at this session (thereby expanding D.M.R. Bentley’s “most famous house in Canadian literature”), but *Green Gables* is the home of a fiction, not of its author. Belonging to Parks Canada, this building, described by MacEachern as “not just a fantasy but a fantasy of a fantasy,”¹ is now the focal point of *Green Gables Heritage Place*. This disjunction between historical veracity and imaginative desire represents a major complication with many commemorative sites: in the realm of public memory, it can be difficult to separate writers from their creations and to distinguish the homes that they once occupied from the sites of their fictions and from the various public functions that these

buildings have subsequently served for those who have taken the pains to restore them. Alongside increasing public interest in documenting writers' material history, the association of literary figures with specific structures, however authentic or mythic the connection may be, validates them as sites of both memory and public engagement—if not directly with the writers themselves, then with these sites as locations associated with matters such as the First World War (in the case of McCrae House in Guelph), as residences for practising authors and artists (such as Berton House in Dawson City), or as the headquarters of a prestigious organization (as with Ralph Connor House in Winnipeg).

So current is the topic of house museums around the world that in 2025, April 5 and 6 were designated as National House Museum Days, with an informative website linking to participating institutions in twenty-seven countries, from Argentina to Turkey.² Notably absent were English-speaking nations—Great Britain and all its former colonies, including Canada and the United States. Although the majority of the museums included in this project focus on figures and topics other than writers, their aggregation demonstrates the international attention given to this mode of memorialization.

Authors' residences have attracted considerable attention from scholars researching the growth of literary tourism in Europe and the United States, where writers' houses have become "banner destinations for heritage tourism." However, these buildings have received relatively little attention in Canada, a gap briefly addressed in Brooke Pratt's analysis of the preservation of Al Purdy's house in Ameliasburgh, Ontario.³ In *Homes and Haunts: Touring Writers' Shrines and Countries* (2016), Alison Booth demonstrates how fresh interest in writers' biographies inspired the literary tourism that was quickly established in Europe and the United States during the nineteenth century, thanks to improved transportation as well as to the greater wealth and leisure time enjoyed by middle-class fans.⁴ In the words of Nicola J. Watson, this movement represented "a Europe-wide cultural drive to connect

up books and localities in the service of national identities and national literary cultures” that was “progressively enabled by the development of mass readership and mass travel.”⁵ Rebecca Bullard’s account of the history of Samuel Johnson’s houses lists the dates when many homes of British writers were bought for preservation purposes from the middle of the nineteenth century onward, adding that “from 1867 the Society of Arts (later the Royal Society of Arts) erected plaques to mark the places where writers and other notable figures lived, worked, and died—forerunners of the blue plaques that adorn many houses in London, and beyond, today.”⁶ In the United States, house museums, including those of writers, were a significant component of the colonial revival movement that sought to stabilize American identity after the Civil War (1861–65) by constructing the past as a time of authenticity. Historians of American culture, such as Klara Stephanie Szlezak, argue that the identification and maintenance of sites associated with US literary history were integrated with the consolidation of the country’s new governing class: “Preservation was a means for these elites to formulate a collective identity that was based on what they perceived to be inheritance, and this set them apart from immigrants and the working-class as well as from parvenus.”⁷ In this vein, Patricia West shows that as “products as well as purveyors of history,” house museums have served as “agents of American cultural politics,” frequently promoted by conservative women’s organizations such as the Daughters of the American Revolution.⁸

Countries that emphasize the significance of writers’ houses in the construction of national identity often foster dedicated organizations with associated websites. France’s *Fédération des Maisons d’Écrivain et des Patrimoines Littéraires* includes more than 360 literary sites and offers tour itineraries and school programs.⁹ Less inclusive is *Lithouses: Literary Houses and Museums of Great Britain*, which links to just thirty sites.¹⁰ More than fifty literary sites in Spain and Portugal are included on the website of the *Asociación de Casas-Museos y Fundaciones de Escritores*.¹¹ Italy’s *L’Associazione Case*

della Memoria links to more than two dozen literary residences, including those once occupied by Elizabeth Barrett Browning and Robert Browning in Florence and by John Keats and Percy Bysshe Shelley in Rome.¹² In the United States, the American Writers' Museum, which opened in Chicago in 2017, lists more than eighty affiliated house museums, with many major writers represented by two or three of the residences that they once occupied.¹³ (In Canada, the only similar organization appears to be Quebec City's Maison de la Littérature,¹⁴ which seems not to concern writers' houses.) The topic moved into the realm of parody when Miriam Levine's reverential *Guide to Writers' Homes in New England* (1984, updated 1991, 1997) inspired Brock Clarke's brilliantly titled but otherwise disappointing novel *An Arsonist's Guide to Writers' Homes in New England* (2007) and Anne Trubek's often sardonic study *A Skeptic's Guide to Writers' Houses* (2011). Limited to homes of American authors, Trubek's focus is summarized in the title of her first chapter, "The Irrational Allure of Writers' Houses," which she impudently describes as "celebrity lust ... literary voyeurism, worship or, more crudely, lit porn."¹⁵

Due in part to the later development of transportation networks, patterns of literary tourism developed later in Canada than in Europe or the United States, so it is perhaps not surprising that the first prominent Canadian literary site to attract tourists was associated with a popular American poem, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's *Evangeline* (1847). Although Longfellow wrote this epic without ever visiting Nova Scotia, his fictional tale had real-world impact. The popularity of this narrative about the expulsion of the Acadians from 1755 to 1763 influenced the construction of Nova Scotia's identity, leading to the "wholesale reorganization of an actual landscape in order to make it conform to a bestselling historical romance," in the words of historians Ian McKay and Robin Bates,¹⁶ with the Grand Pré region of Nova Scotia soon becoming known as "the land of Evangeline." The ongoing appeal of this story of exiled lovers led to the sanctification of its mythical heroine at what is now the Grand-Pré National Historic

Site, long regarded as a destination for pilgrims of Acadian descent and currently maintained by Parks Canada. One of the first publications designed to attract tourists to the region was an 1895 pamphlet by the well-known author Charles G.D. Roberts, issued by the Dominion Atlantic Railway, titled *The Land of Evangeline and the Gateways Thither*.¹⁷ In a similar fashion, the desire to attach real sites to imaginary events and characters prompted fans of *Anne of Green Gables* to search for the fictional town of Avonlea shortly after the book appeared in 1908. As detailed in Montgomery's chapter, Montgomery herself proved to be a keen literary tourist during her 1911 honeymoon in England and Scotland.

Not surprisingly, the early settlement of the Atlantic provinces has rendered that region particularly rich in preserved writers' residences. McCulloch House Museum in Pictou, Nova Scotia, once the home of Rev. Thomas McCulloch (1776–1843), offers a portrait of a colourful character whose satires are still read today. Here, “among some of McCulloch's possessions—from his desk to items from his natural history collection—you can discover a man who wore many hats and had a talent for stirring up controversy.”¹⁸ In Fredericton, a city with a long literary history and relatively little redevelopment, the list of extant writers' houses includes Bliss Carman's childhood home, which sports a plaque from the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire;¹⁹ Mary Grannan's home, which still awaits an official plaque;²⁰ Jonathan Odell House, one of the city's oldest buildings, whose fate remains uncertain;²¹ Alden Nowlan House, occupied by the poet during his fifteen-year position as writer-in-residence at the University of New Brunswick and now serving as the university's Graduate Centre;²² and the Old Rectory, “the home of the literary Roberts family.”²³ An hour outside of Fredericton is the town of Codys, where the home of popular writer H.A. Cody still stands. It is included by Parks Canada on “The Canadian Register,” which lists “recognized historic places of local, provincial, territorial and national significance,”²⁴ with no indication of further development.²⁵

Generally speaking, there is a qualitative difference between seeking the sites that serve as settings for imaginative literature and seeking the sites connected with the documented lives of authors. Both ventures represent the desire for real-life verification of fictional entities, but few literary tourists relish the notion that in the view of literary scholars, authorship is itself a construct. Instead, they prefer to think that the closer they can physically engage with the lived experience of favourite writers via residences, associated places, writing implements, clothing, furniture, birthplaces,²⁶ graves,²⁷ or even body parts, the more they can understand about that person's creativity—while also seeking correlations between authors' material lives and their literary works. Indeed, visitors who might have little direct acquaintance with writers' books are nonetheless drawn by the mystique of famous people whose names have value in themselves, the visit sometimes serving as a substitute for reading rather than a complement to literary fandom. In *The Author's Effects: On Writer's House Museums* (2020), Nicola J. Watson examines the yearning of readers for direct physical contact with canonical authors as a "desire to develop intimacy with dead authors on the part of readers [that emerged] around the turn of the eighteenth century. In this view, the writer's house, as a vastly enlarged paratextual apparatus, came into being to host a practice of reading, understanding, materializing, and above all encountering the author as the embodied origin of his or her works." As paratexts, Watson continues, such house museums "all construct 'a writer' by evoking a writer's life and writings through objects located in pseudo-domestic spaces. Such objects and spaces speak of the absence, or (more accurately) of the once-but-no-longer presence of the author's body 'at home.' Their value lies in the closeness and longevity of their association with the writer's life, the work of writing, and the 'content' of that writing. The driving impulse is to assert the ongoing 'liveness' of the writer by locating him or her in a specific domestic time and space, so enabling personal encounter between reader and writer."²⁸ Alison Booth notes that the process of

creation is a particular topic of attention: “Writers’ houses ... spotlight items that represent the act of writing: the study, the desk and chair, the pen (or typewriter or computer).”²⁹ In the analysis of Aaron Santesso, “by gazing at a literary site ... we are granted a power over the text created there, which allows us to understand it more fully than we would only by reading literary criticism. Indeed, within the logic of this model, gazing upon a controlled literary site is the most efficient critical literary activity, as the suasive influence of the site allows interpretations to be directed, controversy to be ‘reduced,’ and a more uniform literary experience to be imparted to the viewer. The literary site, in other words, becomes a critical text.”³⁰ As Anne Trubek concludes, “Writers’ house museums are fictions and we the visitors their readers.”³¹ This relationship seems especially relevant to houses that figure in authors’ proto-biographical writings (discussed below) and also colours our understanding of the writer’s literary persona. For example, Stephen Leacock’s conservatively ironic perspective on Canadian life becomes less abstract when one visits his comfortable study at his lakeside estate in Orillia.

Such interest in writers’ homes was not manifested in Canada until many decades after the models for expressing fascination with literary residences and significant sites were well established in older countries. The first inventories of “homes and haunts” of Canadian authors (that I have found) appeared in 1907 and 1908. From July 1907 to April 1908, in its anonymous “In the World of Books” column, the *Saturday Magazine* section of the *Toronto Globe* presented a series of “Literary Landmarks of Canada” that reproduced photographs of authors’ homes, identifying locations without specifying addresses and offering little additional commentary. Simultaneously, the *Canadian Magazine* of January 1908 published E.J. Hathaway’s³² article on “Canadian Literary Homes.” A number of writers appeared in both projects, sometimes in relation to different sites and always with different photographs. Both articles included Haliburton’s Clifton estate in Windsor, Nova Scotia, Bliss Carman’s childhood home in

Fredericton, New Brunswick, and W.H. Drummond's house in Montreal. However, different residences were selected for Gilbert Parker (his birthplace in Camden East and his later home in Belleville) and for Louis Fréchette (his birthplace in Lévis and his later home in Montreal). Beyond this list of shared names, writers whose homes were pictured in the *Globe* but not in the *Canadian Magazine* included Archibald Lampman, William Kirby, Tom Moore, Pauline Johnson, Theodore H. Rand, and Lily Dougall. Photos in the *Canadian Magazine* but not the *Globe* showed the homes of Charles G.D. Roberts, Earnest Thompson Seton, Goldwin Smith, and Ralph Connor; also mentioned were other writers associated with various locales, including W.W. Campbell, Duncan Campbell Scott, Archibald Lampman, W.A. Fraser, Basil King, and Robert Barr. Not surprisingly, Louis Fréchette is the only francophone author to be named, his presence in both articles indicative of his engagement with English-speaking Canada. Among all the authors who appear in these articles, just two are women. Poet Pauline Johnson was to be expected; now more obscure is Montreal-based Lily Dougall, who was once highly regarded as a philosophical novelist and deserves more attention than she has subsequently received. Several other writers, such as Moore and Rand, are likewise virtually unknown today. Given the canonicity of the so-called Confederation poets, it is surprising that only Carman appeared in both articles, with Lampman, Roberts, and Scott each cited just once, but it is not surprising that the two articles confirm the dominance of Atlantic Canada, Montreal, and Ontario as major sites of English Canadian literary activity.

The following discussion includes many examples of the enshrining of writers' birthplaces; however, the buildings in which they died tend to be less commonly recognized, with their graves sometimes serving instead as commemorative locales (as with Pauline Johnson). In Canada, only a few "death places" are noted as such. Two have been recognized by the Toronto Historical Board: the downtown address of Isabella Valancy Crawford's now vanished last home is identified

on her plaque in nearby Isabella Valancy Crawford Park, and the house where L.M. Montgomery died (which remains in private hands) is indirectly acknowledged on her plaque in nearby L.M. Montgomery Park. Some houses in which authors did much of their writing, such as the residence at Stephen Leacock's estate in Orillia and the two manses where Montgomery wrote most of her books, also enjoy sanctification.

The notion of turning a writer's former home into a public memorial often begins when the building is threatened with demolition, its imminent demise reinforcing the sense of loss of a significant person, and is additionally bolstered if the writer has already been recognized as a national historic person by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada (HSMBC). The effort to preserve and restore these old buildings is usually generated by local groups seeking both to recognize their community's identity and to attract tourists, and involves considerable commitment and hard work (usually by volunteers) with regard to fundraising and dealing with multiple levels of government.

Stories of Several Houses

One of the earliest efforts to preserve a writer's birthplace as a public site in Canada concerns Chiefswood in Oshweken, Ontario, the home of Pauline Johnson, whose story is told elsewhere in this book. Among the more recent is the "maison natale" of poet Louis Fréchette, in Lévis, Quebec, where he was born in 1839 and spent his first thirteen years. Restoration was first adumbrated in 1992 with the foundation of the Corporation de la Maison de Louis-Honoré-Fréchette de Lévis. The rented house became the site of literary events before it was eventually purchased and renovated as a cultural centre that opened its doors in 2014 on Fréchette's 175th birthday.³³ Citing Fréchette's interest in his native environment and daily life, the corporation's goals and activities primarily concern local francophone culture, with

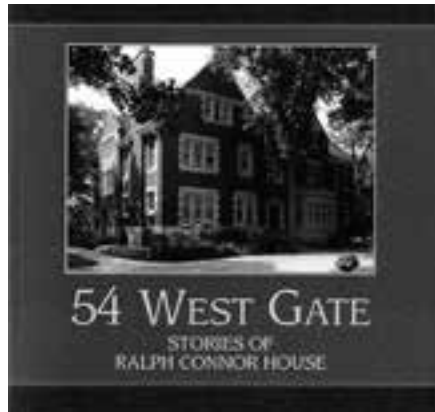


Fig. 2.1 Two books about writers' houses in Winnipeg: *La Maison Gabrielle-Roy: où la fiction rencontre la réalité* (2006) and *54 West Gate Street: Stories of Ralph Connor House* (2005).

events including art exhibitions and an annual storytelling festival. Fréchette's home in Montreal, where he resided from 1892 until his death in 1908, is marked with a plaque but not otherwise developed, the fate of most such buildings in Canada.

The city of Winnipeg (symbolically located in the middle of the country) offers well-documented examples of two different patterns of commemoration that prevail in Canada: the writer's birthplace, exemplified by the childhood home of Gabrielle Roy in the Franco-Manitoban neighbourhood of St. Boniface, and the trophy house, exemplified by the mansion built by Ralph Connor in an upscale neighbourhood as an emblem of his success. The preservation of both sites represents ongoing efforts on the part of local organizations with very different orientations. Moreover, of all the preserved writers' houses in Canada, these two in Winnipeg are among the few whose keepers have produced publications about the buildings.³⁴

La Maison Gabrielle-Roy, a modest middle-class cottage, was bought by the Corporation Maison Gabrielle-Roy in 1997. After con-

siderable renovation, it was opened to the public in 2003 and was designated a national historic site in 2008, the same year that Roy herself was designated a national historic person. Most of the restored house has been furnished to show what it was like when it was built in 1905, although it contains few actual artifacts from Gabrielle's family that date from her time there (from her birth in 1909 until she left in 1937). On display is the typewriter on which she wrote her most famous book, *Bonheur d'Occasion* (1945, translated into English as *The Tin Flute*), when she was living in Montreal, along with informative placards about her life and her books. Until 2018, the house issued annual calendars (supported by local businesses) and ran an associated fundraising lottery. These calendars, which sold for \$10, were illustrated with photographs related to Roy's family and to editions of her books, amplified with quotations from her works and information about events at the house. More enduring has been an informative spiral-bound booklet in English or in French. Simply titled *La Maison Gabrielle-Roy* (2006) and subtitled *où la fiction rencontre la réalité* (where fiction meets reality), this booklet traces Roy's references to her childhood home in her semi-autobiographical *Rue Descambault* (1955), noting many contrasts between her eloquent descriptions and the family's actual circumstances. Today, this historic site maintains a strong electronic presence by offering educational content about Roy's life and writings.³⁵

Less than 5 kilometres from the unassuming home of the Roy family stands Rev. Charles W. Gordon's trophy house—the mansion he built in 1914 in an elegant Winnipeg neighbourhood with the substantial earnings from his bestselling novels issued under his pen name, Ralph Connor. This enterprise modelled the “self-mythologization in bricks and mortar” that Nicola J. Watson analyzes in relation to the extravagant dwellings constructed by Walter Scott and Mark Twain as markers of their success.³⁶ However, Gordon's finances declined and were so precarious when he died in 1937 that the house was seized for taxes owed and destined for demolition. In 1945, it was rescued by

Winnipeg's University Women's Club, which was in need of headquarters. Maintaining the building's literary connections by naming it Ralph Connor House, club members decorated it in the style of an elegant 1920s mansion and acquired a few of the Gordon family's original pieces of furniture, along with an oak library table donated by Nellie McClung. Whereas the focus at Maison Gabrielle-Roy is the writer, the focus at Ralph Connor House is the building, as demonstrated by having the house act as the narrator of its own story in the chapter headnotes for the book issued by the club titled *54 West Gate, Stories of Ralph Connor House* (2005).³⁷ Its second chapter begins, "I am not the kind of house most clergymen hope to own. I am a mansion, built in a location that was home to some of Winnipeg's wealthiest families."³⁸ Within the house, which has received heritage designation from the City of Winnipeg and the Province of Manitoba and was named a national historic site in 2009,³⁹ are displayed random copies of Connor's books and some family and publicity photographs, especially in relation to Gordon's role as an army chaplain during the First World War,⁴⁰ but there is little effort to document his literary life. His name is preserved in a more modest fashion in the Ralph Connor United Church in Canmore, Alberta, which he built in 1890–91 during his first ministry assignment for the Presbyterian Church of Canada.⁴¹

In addition to Gordon, Canada has been home to a few other men who were able to earn enough from their writings to fund a stately residence. The first such enterprise was Clifton, built by Thomas Chandler Haliburton in Windsor, Nova Scotia, in 1837. After it was sold in 1856, this mansion passed through various private owners until 1939, when it was bought by the Province of Nova Scotia and opened as the Haliburton Memorial Museum in 1940. In 1960, Clifton came under the management of the Nova Scotia Museum. Recently renamed Clifton Museum Park,⁴² the house maintains the demeanour of a stately residence and is best known for hosting the Birthplace of Hockey Museum, which commemorates Windsor's claim to the origins of Canadian hockey, drawing on Haliburton's 1844 description of

boys playing “hurley on the long pond on the ice.”⁴³ Stronger links with its first owner characterize Stephen Leacock’s summer residence in Orillia, Ontario, built in 1928, which has been a national historic site since 1992, when it was rescued from being turned into a condominium development.⁴⁴ Leacock did much of his writing there until his death in 1944. As a memorial to the author, the house retains most of its original furnishings and houses Leacock’s books and “the world’s largest archival holding of Leacock manuscripts.”⁴⁵ These Canadian examples of display houses, all built by successful men, support Harald Hendrix’s observation that for such writers, a house is “an object of prestige” that expresses “social or cultural status or the hope for it, and [is] a means to immortalize and remember such success.”⁴⁶ In contrast, the only Canadian women writers who earned enough money to purchase spacious homes, Mazo de la Roche and L.M. Montgomery, bought existing houses, which they inhabited briefly toward the ends of their lives. Both residences are still standing in greater Toronto, but neither is set up as a memorial to the author.⁴⁷

Some preserved birthplaces have little to do with the author’s actual life and are essentially symbolic, such as McCrae House in Guelph, Ontario. This was the site of John McCrae’s birth in 1872, but the family moved out before he was two years old, and the house had no bearing on his subsequent life or on his writing. However, as McCrae’s First World War poem “In Flanders Fields” (1915) achieved increasing canonical status over the years, the City of Guelph paid him increasing attention, with his name appearing on a school and a community garden. In 2015, the centennial of the poem’s publication was commemorated with two larger-than-life statues that depict him, pen in hand, writing the words for which he is best known today. “One sits in front of the National Artillery Memorial in Ottawa, and one, unveiled by Canadian Governor General David Johnston ... sits atop the hill at the Guelph Civic Museum overlooking the city,”⁴⁸ a site that represents civic prominence rather than biographical relevance. McCrae House was purchased in 1966 by the Lt. Col. John McCrae Birthplace Society,

which raised money for its restoration, and it has been operated since 1983 as a museum run by the City of Guelph. Robert Zacharias nicely documents the history of this building, recognized by its curators as “first and foremost a historical museum rather than a literary site.”⁴⁹ Its exhibitions are primarily cast as a memorial of the First World War rather than of McCrae. With informative displays and programming—largely for school groups—it is especially busy during the weeks leading up to November 11. (When we visited on a quiet day in March, my young granddaughter enjoyed dressing up as a First World War nurse.) Zacharias’s article contrasts McCrae House with another preserved building that was also briefly inhabited by a famous writer, Robert Service’s Yukon cabin. He analyzes this sub-Arctic site, now furnished as a typical prospector’s cabin, as a “materialized fiction” (like Green Gables) that has been arranged to reinforce “Klondike mythology,” thereby doing “less to inform visitors about Service’s Yukon experience than to satisfy visitors’ preconceived expectations of the site ... as imagined in Service’s poetry.”⁵⁰ Together, these two museums bearing the names of McCrae and Service show how community values and consumer expectations often factor into restoration projects.

Memorable Childhood Homes

More directly relevant to many writers’ lives and readerships than their happenstance birthplaces or later trophy residences are the childhood homes that figure significantly in their published writings. With Joy Kogawa, Margaret Laurence, and Emily Carr—as with Gabrielle Roy—the preserved house is both a biographical and a literary *lieu de mémoire*, each building representing a different story of ongoing paratextual significance.

Like McCrae House, Kogawa House commemorates not just the writer but also an associated historical trauma. Much of Joy Kogawa’s writing is informed by the wartime internment of the Japanese Can-

adian civilians living in coastal British Columbia, the impetus for her best-known book, *Obasan* (1981). In a campaign that began in 2003, the house in South Vancouver that had been the Kogawa family home before they were expelled in 1942 was rescued from demolition and restored as the Historic Joy Kogawa House, which opened in 2009 with programming as a literary centre.⁵¹ In Gregory Dean Gibson's astute analysis, the campaign to save the building represented more than homage to Kogawa's status as a writer; rather, "the house and Kogawa herself became cognitive metonyms for the larger injustice" of the Japanese internment, finally recognized with restitution and reconciliation.⁵² Extending the convergence of Kogawa's fictionalized narrative with her family's real-life history (effectively parsed by Gibson), the cherry tree in the house's back yard has taken on a symbolic role in Kogawa's writings as "represent[ing] her family and community."⁵³ In 2005, a graft from the dying old tree was planted in the garden at Vancouver's City Hall, and in 2008 the regenerated tree was designated a Friendship Tree and plaqued on behalf of the Canada-Japan Friendship Association. Kogawa's identification with the house continued with her contribution of a poem titled "happy birthday dear house" to an anthology of Vancouver poetry issued in 2009.⁵⁴

However, memorializing a living writer can precipitate unforeseen complications. Whereas nearly all of the preserved writers' houses in Canada were secured after the writer's death, Kogawa was herself a participant in the process of rescuing her family's home, as she outlines in chapter 13 of *Gently to Nagasaki* (2016). After the house was saved, painful opposition arose among some members of Vancouver's Japanese community—not only because some Japanese Canadians opposed aspects of the redress movement but also because, as Kogawa belatedly discovered, her beloved father had been a known but unreported pedophile. In her own words, "Thousands had had their homes stolen. Why should the completely unworthy house of horrors win the lottery?"⁵⁵ This history is now recognized with an acknowledgment and apology on the house's website, which describes the

building as “a site of healing and reconciliation.”⁵⁶ Yet distress continues to linger: in 2022, the house’s application for heritage status from the City of Vancouver was put on hold because of objections from members of Vancouver’s Japanese Canadian community,⁵⁷ a situation that remained unresolved in 2025.⁵⁸

More harmonious have been the circumstances surrounding the preservation of Margaret Laurence’s childhood home, the old Simpson House in Neepawa, Manitoba, where she lived with her grandparents from 1935 until 1944. This house figures prominently in her Manawaka fictions, especially *A Bird in the House* (1974). According to Sarah Payne, the town of Neepawa overwhelmingly supported the restoration of the house by the Margaret Laurence Home Committee, which acquired it in 1985, because most of the town’s meagre tourist industry is based on its association with the author.⁵⁹ Neepawa’s website describes the house as a “Provincial Heritage Site and Level 2 Museum” and a “MUST SEE!” home that serves as “a cultural centre where such events as writers’ workshops, book launches and Elder Hostel education programs take place.” On exhibit are “Gifts from Margaret’s children,” including “her typewriter, doctoral robes, award certificates and much more. Many books, papers, magazines, letters, video and audio tapes are available for research or to peruse,” and there is a “Gift Shop on site.”⁶⁰ A more expansive prairie site is Stephansson House in the Markerville area of Alberta. The former home of Icelandic-born poet Stephan Stephansson (1853–1927) is set up as “a snapshot-in-time of the year 1927, complete with original furnishings, serene landscape, the smell of baking, and, of course, the poetry of Stephan himself.” Its publicity focuses not only on the writer but also on educational programming “to bring to life the story of the Icelandic immigrants and how these pioneers built a vibrant community in central Alberta.”⁶¹

One of Canada’s most frequently visited house museums is Emily Carr’s birthplace and childhood home in Victoria, British Columbia. Built by her father in 1863, this elegant residence figures prominently in her writing but not in her painting. In 1964, the deteriorating build-

ing was rescued from demolition by member of Parliament David Groos, who turned it over to the Emily Carr Foundation three years later for use as an art gallery and school known as the Emily Carr Arts Centre. In 1976, the BC provincial government purchased the site, designated it a provincial heritage property, and helped to return the Gothic-revival residence to its original condition. For many years, it flourished under the dedicated management of curator Jan Ross; upon her retirement in 2021, the house was taken over by the Carr House Community Society, a nonprofit organization. Open year-round for literary and arts events, it contains exhibition spaces and a classroom for art classes.⁶² Much of it is furnished in the style of the 1860s to 1880s, with many family artifacts, including the bed in which Emily was born in 1871. Its signage features quotations from Carr's writings, especially from her childhood memoir *The Book of Small* (1942). Also on the radar are lesser buildings on the original Carr property that Emily inhabited from time to time,⁶³ which are not open to the public. Whereas Canadians are generally more aware of Carr as a painter than as a writer, when I spoke with Jan Ross in 2015, she told me that the majority of visitors to Carr House knew her as a writer, an identity that harkens back to the time when readings of Carr's stories were broadcast by CBC Radio during the Second World War. Despite all of the attention to Carr House, a nearby building closely associated with her remains privately owned and under-recognized. Featured in her writing as *The House of All Sorts* (1944), this was her home from 1913 until 1936 and features two large eagles that she painted on the ceiling under the attic roof.⁶⁴

The writers discussed thus far are fortunate to have been commemorated by the preservation of one of their houses as a public site. In this regard, the writer enjoying the most such recognition is unquestionably L.M. Montgomery, whose life and career are highlighted in virtually every place that she inhabited, however briefly.⁶⁵ As detailed in chapter 3, she is the only Canadian author to enjoy two historic sites designated by the HSMBC: L.M. Montgomery's Cavendish, the

name given to the site that includes the remnants of her childhood home in Prince Edward Island; and the Leaskdale Manse in Ontario, where she resided from 1911 to 1926. Each of the many Montgomery museums in Prince Edward Island and Ontario attempts to present an authentic sense of her documented life with period decor and furnishings, although few display items that were actually in her possession.

Gender differences clearly inflect this inventory. The purpose-built trophy houses all belonged to men (Haliburton, Connor, and Leacock) for whom the building is paratextual to their lives rather than to their writing. In contrast, the preserved childhood houses associated with the writers' identity because of significant appearances in their writing were all inhabited by women (Roy, Laurence, Kogawa, and Carr). Here, the house is paratextual to their publications, as indicated in the signage at Maison Gabrielle-Roy, which notes connections and disconnections between historical accuracy and literary representation in the writer's oeuvre.

Residencies in Residences and Related Events

Now significant in Canada's literary landscape are renovated residences set up less as shrines to particular authors than as restored buildings where short-term placements for writers and artists are offered, thereby fostering a legacy that links past, present, and future. Sometimes competitive and sometimes by invitation, such opportunities enhance the status of participating authors by associating them with illustrious predecessors. Although identification with a notable author attaches memory value to these historic sites, they engage the public less as museums for tourists than as places that enable participation in events such as literary readings, talks, and workshops. In some instances, writer-in-residence programs have been added to houses that had previously been restored to reflect the writer's life, such as Maison Gabrielle-Roy, which began to host residencies in 2011. Similarly, before its residency program began in 2004–2005, the

home of Roderick Haig-Brown (1908–76) in Campbell River, British Columbia, which was taken over by the BC Heritage Branch in 1992, was restored to look as it did when the writer lived there from the 1940s to the 1970s.⁶⁶

In other cases, the restoration of the house has coincided with the establishment of residency programming, sometimes involving the participation of late-twentieth-century writers in securing their own old homes for this purpose. Among the first was the house in Dawson City where Pierre Berton and his family had resided during his boyhood, which he helped to set up as a writers' retreat that opened in 1996 and eventually became part of the Writers' Trust of Canada.⁶⁷ In 2006, Historic Joy Kogawa House in Vancouver began to host writers' residencies, likewise with her involvement. In both instances, the decision was made not to restore the house as a museum of the writer's life; Berton House was fully renovated and updated to ensure that its guests could enjoy the modern comforts of heating and plumbing, which were absent when it was occupied by the Berton family. Similarly updated rather than restored as a historical entity is the house in Eastend, Saskatchewan, where the American writer Wallace Stegner (1909–93) had spent several childhood years (1914–20), which became a writers' retreat in 1995.⁶⁸ Among the best-known such projects has been the preservation of Al Purdy's A-frame cottage in Prince Edward County, Ontario, long a gathering place for Purdy's literary community, which has become "a celebrity in its own right," to cite Brooke Pratt, and has maintained an active residency program since 2014.⁶⁹

Some Canadian residences associated with writers have proven more precarious. The house in Great Village, Nova Scotia, where poet Elizabeth Bishop spent much time with her maternal grandparents and which figures significantly in her work, was set up as an artists' retreat in 2004 but reverted to a private residence in 2015.⁷⁰ After George Ryga's death in 1987, his house in Summerland, British Columbia, was preserved as the George Ryga Centre, which opened in 1995 and closed in 2013 because of funding difficulties.⁷¹ In this

instance, all was not lost: after the house was sold to a private owner, Ryga's local recognition was restored with the annual Ryga Arts Festival, which started in 2015–16 and was further renewed in 2021 when the Summerland Arts and Cultural Centre was renamed the George Ryga Arts and Cultural Centre.

Canadians now enjoy scores of literary festivals during the summer and fall, relatively few of which bear the names of specific writers. Most take place in communities where the noted individual once lived.⁷² For example, in Ontario, the mandate of the Lakefield Literary Festival, which began in 1995 as a celebration of Margaret Laurence, now includes earlier local authors Susanna Moodie and Catharine Parr Traill.⁷³ The Alice Munro Festival of the Short Story, a three-day event in Huron County, where Munro resided for much of her life, celebrated Munro's mastery of that genre from its founding in 2001 until its abrupt cancellation in 2024 following the revelation of Munro's failure to respond appropriately to her daughter's abuse. The bilingual Frye festival in Northrop Frye's hometown of Moncton, New Brunswick, which claims to be "Atlantic Canada's Biggest Literary Happening," focuses on promoting literary activities among youth.⁷⁴ Some of these festivals, such as that named for Munro, have included competitions; other contests and prizes named after writers exist separately. The Dr. William Henry Drummond Poetry Contest, one of the longest-running nongovernmental poetry competitions in Canada, was established in 1970 in Cobalt, Ontario—where Drummond had died, plaqued as such by the Ontario Archeological and Historic Sites Board⁷⁵—"to honour the memory and legacy of one of the most popular poets in the English speaking world" with cash prizes and an award ceremony at the Spring Pulse Poetry Festival in Cobalt.⁷⁶ Perhaps best known is the Stephen Leacock Memorial Medal for Humour, annually presented since 1947 in a ceremony near Leacock's home in Orillia.⁷⁷

Needless to say, the location of residential structures associated with deceased Canadian writers has much to do with the nature of

their preservation and recognition. Even though Grey Owl's Cabin in Prince Albert National Park can be reached only by a 20-kilometre hike, which brings the visitor to a bare log cabin, it continues to be maintained.⁷⁸ This "example of rustic construction in the log cabin tradition" enjoys recognition as a federal heritage building, preserved for its "historical associations." According to Parks Canada, as "a symbol of Grey Owl's fame it was a well-known attraction for park visitors during the time he lived there and continues as such."⁷⁹ A more utilitarian fate befell Emily Murphy's former residence in Edmonton, identified with a plaque from the Edmonton Historical Board.⁸⁰ Although this building is well documented on the register of Canada's historic places,⁸¹ its location on what is now the campus of the University of Alberta has resulted in its use as an administrative building rather than its restoration as a site of historical recognition. Among Nellie McClung's many residences, it is her home in Manitou, Manitoba, where she wrote her best-selling novel, *Sowing Seeds in Danny* (1908), which has been preserved as a visitable site with period furnishing.⁸² Her houses in Calgary and Saanich are also registered,⁸³ as is her home in Winnipeg, whose provincial historical plaque was sponsored by the Manitoba Real Estate Association.⁸⁴

Because there is no central registry of localized commemorations, their presence is often underacknowledged. For example, recognition of Arthur Stringer (1874–1950), a prolific popular novelist who spent much of his life in southern Ontario, has been rather sporadic. The Stringer family house in London, Ontario, received heritage designation in 1984,⁸⁵ and Stringer is also recognized with his name on a public school. Yet the plaque that had been prepared by the London Public Library and placed on the home in 1975 was not formally unveiled until 2000; I have been unable to discover the story behind this unusual delay. Various other authorial recognitions are scattered across the country, such as the cottage in Belleville, Ontario, where Susanna Moodie spent the second half of her life, which bears a plaque from the HSMBC,⁸⁶ and William Kirby's home in Niagara-on-the-Lake, which

enjoys plaques from both the HSMBC and the Ontario Archeological and Historic Sites Board.⁸⁷ Not all such attributions are correct. The cottage in greater Toronto where Alexander Muir is mistakenly reportedly to have written the words for “The Maple Leaf Forever” has been commemorated for decades.⁸⁸

Alison Booth notes that “reassessments of literary tourism since the 1990s can be aligned with renewed interest in affect and audience response, material culture and environment, as well as the lives and social networks of writers.”⁸⁹ In other words, literary sites such as writers’ houses join myriad other paratexts as significant components in our ever-expanding comprehension of the intertwining of literary reception and public recognition, often feeding into narratives of national identity, implicitly if not explicitly. Nowhere is this more evident than with L.M. Montgomery, the subject of the next chapter. The title of her most famous book, *Anne of Green Gables*, links Canada’s best-known literary character to the beloved farmhouse of her adoptive parents, underscoring the significance of house and home to the sense of belonging that in turn underpins many commemorative activities. The following discussion includes the preservation of Montgomery’s various residences, none of which she owned until the end of her life, as one of the many modes of her commemoration.

The Phenomenal Appeal of L.M. Montgomery

In 2007, Lorraine York described L.M. Montgomery's celebrity as "reflected" fame derived from Anne Shirley, her fictional creation that "has attained celebrity status in its own right." According to York, "fans will tend to talk about Anne with greater frequency than they talk about Montgomery."¹ Although Anne has long been a major focus of tourist attention in Prince Edward Island, nicely documented in Sarah Gothie's recent analysis of visitors' patterns of "playing 'Anne,'" replete with red braids and enactments of favourite aspects of their beloved childhood novel,² this pattern has shifted during the past two decades. The engagement with Anne that continues to flourish in every possible medium and genre is now accompanied by an expanded focus on Montgomery as a person, due to growing attention to her copious self-documentation and to the broader range of her writing (some of which is presented in the volumes of the L.M. Montgomery Library curated by Benjamin Lefebvre), along with ongoing interest in women's history and in expanding critical approaches to the study of cultural history. Montgomery's 100th birthday in 1974 met with surprisingly little fanfare, other than her former church in Cavendish marking the occasion by dedicating a window to her.³ But her 150th in 2024 accrued considerable recognition, with a dedicated conference at the University of Prince Edward Island, the L.M. Montgomery Institute's collection of "#Maud150" tributes from scholars and fans, a special issue of the *Journal of L.M. Montgomery Studies*,⁴ and

a commemorative one-dollar coin from the Royal Canadian Mint.⁵ The 2024 edition of *The Shining Scroll*, the annual periodical of the L.M. Montgomery Literary Society, describes additional celebratory gestures that included anniversary events in Japan and a “handmade bench honouring L.M. Montgomery, for reflection, remembrance, and acknowledgement,” donated by the Prince Edward Island division of Canadian Mental Health Association, which was placed at the Macneill homestead in Cavendish.⁶ This anniversary also inspired the creation of *In the Time of Maud: A Trip to the Past*, an activity initiated in 2024 by the PEI Museum and Heritage Foundation that turns Orwell Corner Historic Site (in Vernon Bridge, an hour’s drive from Cavendish) into a performative encounter with late-Victorian island life.⁷

The many forms of acknowledgment associated with Montgomery present a rich context in which to explore specific dimensions of a celebrated Canadian writer’s public commemoration and ongoing afterlife. Some forms of recognition blur the boundaries between the actual person, her fictional characters, and fictive details about her life. Montgomery’s biography illustrates both sides of authorial veneration, as before becoming an object of commemoration herself, she avidly participated in the literary tourism of her time. When she began to receive such attention, her response was ambivalent, enjoying the recognition but resisting the intrusion into her personal life. During her 1911 honeymoon in Scotland and England, Montgomery approached the Old World through its literary associations, especially in relation to the fiction and poetry of Walter Scott. Although her available personal records do not tell us whether she consulted the proliferating guidebooks for British and American literary tourists described by Alison Booth,⁸ she told one correspondent that she planned her journey “to see every notable place I’ve read about.”⁹ Other than taking a brief Cook’s tour to Robbie Burns sites in Ayr and a Cook’s excursion around Edinburgh, she managed her itinerary so that she could escape “the chattering, exclaiming mob of tourists” as

she visited the birthplaces, homes, monuments, and graves of Burns, Scott, William Wordsworth, Oliver Goldsmith, William Shakespeare, Charlotte Brontë, and John Milton, as well as Anne Hathaway's Cottage. She was surprised to find Milton's tomb in London "forgotten and neglected" rather than "as noted a shrine as Shakespeare's or Burns's." At Abbotsford, which was "filled by a chattering crowd," she presciently "wondered if Scott would have liked this—to see his home overrun by hordes of curious sight seers. I am sure I would not." Her preference during this journey, which would prove to be her only venture overseas, was to visit historic sites in relative solitude in order to "dream and muse," particularly enjoying places that "[reek] with romance and tragedy."¹⁰

Montgomery's travels demonstrate how literary commemoration frequently blends sites associated with an author's life with those associated with the author's imaginative writings. Whereas the majority of Montgomery-related sites, activities, and adaptations¹¹ focus primarily on her fictions, such as the furnishing of the home of her Macneill cousins as Green Gables to accord with the novel, others blend references to her life and her work (usually focusing on Anne) in a variety of genres and media that foster biographical interpretations of her writings. Examples abound, such as Deirdre Kessler's *Green Gables: L.M. Montgomery's Favourite Places* (2001), which mingles photos from the author's life with photos of museum displays concerning her novels; Bala's Museum, which commemorates Montgomery's 1922 visit to Muskoka but gives primary focus to Anne;¹² and the Anne and Maud Experience, established in 2021, which promotes a self-driven car tour through the Ontario sites of Leaskdale and Zephyr, where Montgomery lived from 1911 to 1926.¹³ This route includes the Pickering Village Museum site, where the *Anne with an "E"* television series (2017–19) was filmed, as well as murals recently painted on an outside wall of the Pickering Civic Centre that celebrate Anne and Maud together.¹⁴ Additionally, alongside the never-ending popularity and commercial value of Anne-related content, there now flourish many

gestures that relate directly to Montgomery herself, tracing places where she lived, worked, studied, or visited. The growing trend to commemorate her identity apart from her characters involves various government and community efforts resulting in the expansion of her afterlife in numerous posthumous formats, including biographies and fictional representations.

Public Commemorative Formats

In the public sphere, Montgomery has been commemorated in a variety of media generated by a variety of sponsors. As demonstrated throughout this book, Canadian authors are often recognized through initiatives arising from the desires of specific communities to honour esteemed figures in locally significant activities and material gestures such as preserved buildings, plaques, and parks. For example, in 1992, the coincidence of Canada's 125th birthday with the 50th anniversary of Montgomery's death was marked in Norval, one of the Ontario towns where she had lived, by the Norval Community Association's public celebration of the opening of its new L.M. Montgomery Heritage Garden with a large birthday cake for Canada.¹⁵

Yet despite international honours, which included being the first Canadian woman named a Fellow of the Royal Society of Great Britain in 1923, followed in 1935 by election to the Literary and Artistic Institute of France and appointment to the Order of the British Empire,¹⁶ Montgomery has not enjoyed some of the most common forms of local recognition. Given her national popularity, it is surprising that no library bears her name, and her sparse representation in the educational realm is limited to Montgomery Hall, the student residence that opened in 1961 at the former Prince of Wales College in Charlottetown (and now serves as space in Holland College)¹⁷ and two schools—the L.M. Montgomery Elementary School in Charlottetown, opened in 1983, and the Lucy Maud Montgomery Public School in Scarborough, Ontario, opened in 1989. Street names referencing

Montgomery are also rare; all that I have found is her appearance on a list of suggested new street names in Woodstock, Ontario (along with Margaret Atwood and Alice Munro).¹⁸ Given Montgomery's affinity for trees and flowers, it has taken a long time for her to be memorialized with parks and gardens, other than the inclusion of what is now known as Green Gables Heritage Place in Prince Edward Island National Park. The latter was largely about Anne until the 1990s, when Parks Canada expanded its focus to add more attention to the author.¹⁹ Although mostly associated with Prince Edward Island (the setting for most of her fiction), Montgomery lived in Ontario after her marriage, her husband serving as Presbyterian minister in the small communities of Leaskdale and Norval before they retired to Toronto. One of the first sites in that province distinctly named for Montgomery is the small Toronto park (originally designated a "parkette") near her final home of Journey's End, whose 1983 plaque was updated and expanded in 2019. Her Norval residence includes the above-mentioned L.M. Montgomery Garden, which was later transformed into the Children's Garden of the Senses, opened in 2016.²⁰ Most recent is the new L.M. Montgomery Park in Cavendish, officially opened in 2019.

Statues are a hallowed form of public commemoration enjoyed by few writers in Canada other than Robbie Burns, of whom there are at least nine replicas tracking the presence of Scottish immigrants across the country. Montgomery probably tops the list of Canadian writers, with three current statues,²¹ all by locally based sculptors. First was the bust by New Brunswick-based Acadian artist Claude Roussel, which now resides in the entry of the University of Prince Edward Island's Robertson Library and was originally commissioned in 1964 for Prince of Wales College's aforementioned Montgomery Hall. In 2015, some fifty years later, it was followed by *Maud in the Garden* by Uxbridge sculptor Wynn Walters, created for the church garden at Leaskdale. Here, she sits on a bench in a pose that welcomes social contact, very much like the statues of Northrop Frye and Glenn Gould described in chapter 2 and probably a more accurate representation



Fig. 3.1 Statue of
L.M. Montgomery
by Claude Roussel,
Robertson Library,
University of Prince
Edward Island, 1964.

of her actual character than the statues of these two men.²² The new life-sized statue in L.M. Montgomery Park in Cavendish, designed by Summerside artist Grace Curtis, was unveiled in 2019 when the existing Cavendish Heritage Park commemorating the area's early settlers was transformed into a Montgomery site with paths connecting to nearby places related to her life. In this configuration, there is again



Fig. 3.2 Wynn Walters, *Maud in the Garden*, 2015. Statue of L.M. Montgomery, Leaskdale, Ontario.

room for a person to sit beside her, creating a favourite spot for tourists to pose for photos, but this Maud ignores her visitors: with her eyes closed and her face turned upward, she appears to be lost in thought about the unidentified book that lies open in her lap. While maintaining the park's original recognition of "the founding families of Cavendish: the MacNeils [*sic*], the Clarks and the Simpsons, who emigrated to Canada from Scotland in 1790,"²³ the renovations to highlight Montgomery demonstrate the current power of her cultural capital to shape the region's larger historical narrative.

Publicly displayed portraits constitute a related form of recognition. Photography was one of Montgomery's major interests, and formally posed photos abound from her childhood onward. Her only painted portrait, *A Moment with Maud* by Arnold Hodgkins, commissioned by



Fig. 3.3 Statue of L.M. Montgomery designed by Grace Curtis, L.M. Montgomery Park, Cavendish, Prince Edward Island, 2019.

the Uxbridge-Scott Historical Society in 1974 to mark her 100th birthday and now hanging in the historic Leaskdale Manse,²⁴ was recently joined by the image of her wedding dress. Completed in 2019, Jane Eccles's painting was donated to the L.M. Montgomery Society of Ontario in Leaskdale in 2023.²⁵

To date, such recognition of the historical Montgomery has largely resulted from community-generated efforts and has scarcely penetrated the federal level's widely disseminated commemorative formats of postage stamps and currency, where Anne has remained the primary focus. Many products of the Royal Canadian Mint are aimed at collectors, such as the \$200 22-karat gold coin—priced at \$399, with the image of “a young girl under a gazebo, daydreaming about the adventures of Anne of Green Gables,” in the words of its publicity brochure—that was issued in 1994, not a significant year for Anne or



Fig. 3.4 Commemorative one-dollar coin, L.M. Montgomery, 2024.

her author.²⁶ In 2008, to celebrate the centennial of the publication of *Anne of Green Gables*, the Mint created an *Anne of Green Gables* “quarter” that was larger than a silver dollar and priced at \$19.95. Canada Post, in turn, marked 2008 with a pair of stamps—designed by Ben Stahl, who illustrated the covers of the Bantam editions of Montgomery’s books—that focus entirely on Anne, with imagery that replicates the previous stamp of 1975. This earlier effort had missed by a year the centennial of Montgomery’s birth in 1874 and had commemorated the book rather than the author with the uninformative words “Lucy Maud / Montgomery / Anne of / Green / Gables / Anne de / Green / Gables.”

In 2024, Montgomery’s 150th birthday finally brought more federal attention to her than to Anne with a celebratory loonie that was also issued as a silver coin ostensibly worth \$20 and selling for \$119.95.²⁷ Its imagery addresses the tension between recognition of the author and recognition of her major fictional character by foregrounding a large profile of Montgomery, pen in hand, along with her signature,

including the sketch of a cat that she often added. Relegated to the background is a smaller depiction of Anne, with her face averted.²⁸ This production is certainly a welcome gesture, yet I cannot help wondering why Montgomery's coin is worth one dollar whereas Jean Paul Riopelle is celebrated with a coin worth twice as much, as described in this book's introduction. Do these different denominations reflect an implicit elevation of the elite realm of abstract art above the middlebrow realm of popular fiction, or of a male painter over a female writer?

Alongside these usual commemorative measures are unexpected gestures, some with a particularly Canadian valence. For thirty years, Montgomery's name identified a ferry that was acquired by the Canadian National Railway in 1969 to serve various Atlantic routes before being sold to private interests,²⁹ a marine distinction that she shares with the Mohawk poet Pauline Johnson, whose name once graced a West Coast luxury yacht (thereby balancing coast-to-coast representation). Montgomery is one of the few Canadian writers to be recognized in a Heritage Minute, in company with poet John McCrae (author of "In Flanders Fields," 1915), Grey Owl (actually Archie Belaney, the English writer best known for his Indigenous imposture), and novelists Emily Murphy and Nellie McClung, although McClung and Murphy are here memorialized for their achievements regarding women's rights rather than for their popular novels. Montgomery is also one of the few Canadian writers of sufficient stature to generate a named scholarly journal, putting the *Journal of L.M. Montgomery Studies* (founded in 2019) in league with *Margaret Atwood Studies* (founded in 2007 to replace *The Newsletter of the Margaret Atwood Society*, founded in 1984) and with the *Margaret Laurence Review* (founded in 1991). Apart from these shared distinctions, Montgomery is the only English-language Canadian writer whose name is attached to a research institute, the L.M. Montgomery Institute (LMMI), founded in 1993 at the University of Prince Edward Island; whose personal library and reading history are being carefully reconstructed (by Emily Woster for

the LMMI); and whose life has been documented via her kitchen, in Elaine Crawford and Kelly Crawford's *Aunt Maud's Recipe Book* (1996). These contrasting entities of scholarly research and domestic accomplishment nicely capture the range of current interest in myriad aspects of her life and her writings.

The Proliferation of Montgomery Sites

In contrast to the formats considered thus far, commemorations of Montgomery's lived geography abound, amply illustrating Harald Hendrix's point that transformations of writers' houses into monuments and museums "attract readers that feel the need to go beyond their intellectual exchanges with texts and long for some kind of material contact with the author of those texts or the places where they originate."³¹ Tourist interest in sites associated with Montgomery began early in her career, primarily in relation to Anne. Shortly after the 1908 publication of *Anne of Green Gables*, the farmhouse belonging to Montgomery's cousins that had loosely served as the setting for the book was on its way to becoming "the most famous house in Canada"³² when a reporter from the *Charlottetown Guardian* set out to "visit Avonlea and Green Gables and take in the scenes of Miss Montgomery's famous novel."³³ At first, Montgomery was flattered when visitors to Cavendish explored such places as Lover's Lane, happily noting in her journal that "the old lane is famous."³⁴

But as her fame increased, Montgomery's enthusiasm for popular attention rapidly diminished. On the one hand, she was pleased to be "lionized" in literary circles such as the Canadian Authors Association, but on the other, she recoiled when literary tourists, from whom she had dissociated herself during her honeymoon travels, invaded her personal geography. On her 1911 journey through Old World literary sites, she was happy to be one of those nosy tourists who wanted to peer into writers' personal lives and was disappointed that at Hawthorn she "could not see the interior of the old Parsonage where

[Charlotte Brontë] lived her strange life and wrote her compelling books.” Whereas all the sites that she had visited in England and Scotland concerned long-dead authors who were no longer troubled by invasions of privacy, Montgomery soon learned that for a living author, enthusiastic fans were a different matter. In 1923, when her uncle John Macneill tore down the deteriorating farmhouse that had been her childhood home, she commented that people in Charlottetown were “indignant” at the destruction of the province’s “only ‘literary shrine.’” Yet she claimed not to mind, as “it would not please me to think of it being overrun by hordes of curious tourists and carried off piecemeal.” She regarded Cavendish’s Anne-based burgeoning tourism of the 1920s, which included artificial sites such as “Avonlea Restaurant,” as “desecration,” a term that she used again in 1936 after the “Anne of Green Gables” farmhouse was purchased for a national park.³⁵

In contrast, during the 1920s and 1930s, her Webb cousins, who owned and inhabited the house, happily benefited from the area’s growing popularity and the income that they received by accommodating paying guests and, beginning in 1939, by running a tearoom and souvenir shop in the newly opened Prince Edward Island National Park.³⁶ Montgomery’s contribution to the development of tourism as one of the province’s major industries has been addressed by historians Alan MacEachern and Edward MacDonald, who note that the increasing affection for Anne Shirley was matched by the rise of the automobile from the 1920s onward, which greatly facilitated visitors’ access to the island’s most popular sites.³⁷ The discernible jump in tourism that followed the opening of the Confederation Bridge in 1996 accelerated many islanders’ resistance to the dominance of Anne—who even appeared on the PEI licence plate from 1993 to 1997—but such “Anne rage”³⁸ did little to impede the ongoing growth of Montgomery-related activities.

During the decades after Montgomery’s death, as the textual documentation of her life expanded with the publication of her cor-

respondence, selected journals, and Mary Henley Rubio's landmark biography *Lucy Maud Montgomery: The Gift of Wings* (2008), so too did recognition of her residences and other significant sites. No other Canadian authors have been treated to such specific tracing of their geographical presence. In a country where writers are fortunate to be commemorated with occasional plaques and perhaps the preservation of one noted residence, Montgomery stands out. Her life and career are noted in nearly every place with which she has been associated, however briefly; for example, recently recognized is the building at Dalhousie University where she attended courses for a year in 1895–96.³⁹ Her connections with buildings are assiduously noted on the register of Canada's historic places, which includes the home of her grandfather, Senator Donald Montgomery, in Park Corner;⁴⁰ the house of Cornelius Leard, where she boarded while teaching at Lower Bedeque School and had an impassioned affair with his son, Herman Leard;⁴¹ and even the house where "it is rumoured that she stayed" in Charlottetown when she attended Prince of Wales College in 1893–94.⁴² In Prince Edward Island and Ontario, the online tours and maps that trace her steps and associated literary references include virtual tours created by Carolyn Strom Collins and Bernadeta Milewski.⁴³

Decades after being named a national historic person in 1942, Montgomery became the only Canadian author to enjoy two historic sites designated by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada (HSMBC). First was the Leaskdale Manse, her home from 1911 to 1926 during her husband's tenure as Presbyterian minister, which received HSMBC designation in 1997, well before the Cavendish National Historic Site, her second HSMBC recognition, was created in 2004 to link the foundations and grounds of her demolished childhood home with the nearby "Green Gables" farmhouse that had belonged to Parks Canada since 1936 and to which an HSMBC cairn and plaque had been added in 1948.⁴⁴ This area has been transformed into Parks Canada's

majestic Green Gables Heritage Place Visitor Centre, which opened in 2019 and now includes a “scrapbook style” outline of Montgomery’s life. As well, the Norval Manse, her home from 1926 to 1935, is in the process of becoming the Lucy Maud Montgomery Museum and Literary Centre.⁴⁵

Most of the Montgomery museums aspire to a sense of authenticity with period decor and furnishings but few display items that were actually in her possession. Some highlight associations with her stories to the point that they “[collapse] the worlds of Montgomery and of fictional characters created by her,” to cite Benjamin Lefebvre’s critique of the commodification of Montgomery in Avonlea Village.⁴⁶ This commercial site near Cavendish boasts “10 eateries and 6 shops” and claims to be “the best place to eat in PEI.”⁴⁷ Whatever their orientation, all Montgomery sites maintain substantial gift shops well stocked with items that demonstrate the extent of the Montgomery souvenir industry, some of which are approved by the Anne of Green Gables Licensing Authority and many that are not, such as nail clippers and shot glasses. Dolls dressed as Anne Shirley and her best friend Diana Barry abound, but there is no large-scale commercial production of dolls of Montgomery.⁴⁸ To quote Lefebvre further, “The name L.M. Montgomery, itself a trademark of Heirs of L.M. Montgomery Inc., is likewise a commodity that pushes to new limits [Michel] Foucault’s concept of the ‘author function,’ whereby the author becomes a cultural capital that develops, through cultural association, into an ideological entity separate from the actual individual who bears that name.”⁴⁹ Notable in this regard is the effort of the Lucy Maud Montgomery Society of Ontario, managers of the Leaskdale Manse, to differentiate between biography and fiction. They firmly assert that “Leaskdale is not a site associated with any particular fictional character. It is the place where the author actually lived for fifteen years, as minister’s wife and mother and neighbour, and where she wrote fifteen of her novels ... We are not Anne of Green Gables; we are L.M. Montgomery.”⁵⁰

Such differentiation also pertains to many places in Prince Edward Island where Montgomery sites are marked from her birth to her death, including some with which she was associated for less than a year. The little house in which she was born in New London endured a fraught few decades as it passed through various hands before it was officially opened to the public on July 1, 1965.⁵¹ The Lucy Maud Montgomery Birthplace now operates as a museum whose display includes a replica of Montgomery's wedding dress and some of her original scrapbooks. Although the Bideford school, the first place where Montgomery taught, is no longer standing, its site is marked by a 1977 cairn whose memorial inscription includes her name.⁵² The nearby Bideford Parsonage, where she boarded in 1894–95, is now a museum promoted as a "Historical Residence of Island Author L.M. Montgomery." Its website invites her readers to "gaze through the same window as Montgomery and see Island life as she did,"⁵³ as if the intervening decades can be magically reversed when visitors imagine they share Montgomery's reality. This experiential approach also characterizes the survival of her third school in Lower Bedeque, where she taught in 1897–98, which has been restored as a typical one-room schoolhouse, officially named the Lucy Maud Montgomery Lower Bedeque School. Its preservation was recently ensured when it was moved to the town of Central Bedeque to join the Bedeque Area Museum, maintained by the Bedeque Area Historical Society.⁵⁴ Her second school, in Belmont, has been moved to the commercial site of Avonlea Village, along with "the original Long River Presbyterian Church Lucy Maud attended with her Montgomery and Campbell cousins from Park Corner."⁵⁵ After her death in Toronto, she was buried in the Cavendish Community Cemetery, which is well marked with an arch proclaiming its significance as the "Resting Place of L.M. Montgomery."⁵⁶

In Ontario, the two-week vacation that Montgomery enjoyed in 1922 in Muskoka is commemorated in Bala's Museum, where, among other Montgomery-related objects, her silver tea set is on display.⁵⁷

Her final home, Journey's End, at 210 Riverside Drive on the western side of Toronto, remains in private hands, recognized only by a plaque from the Toronto Historical Board in nearby Lucy Maud Montgomery Park. Missing from this inventory is on-site recognition of the year that she spent with her father in Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, in 1890–91, during the course of which she turned sixteen. A photo of that now-demolished house survives at the University of Guelph,⁵⁸ but the only local recognition that I have found is several newspaper articles about Melanie Fishbane's visit to Prince Albert upon the publication of her book *Maud* (2017), followed by a 2021 column on local history that enlightens readers about Montgomery's connection with their town.⁵⁹

Journey's End, which she purchased in 1935, was the only home that Montgomery actually owned. In *A House of Her Own: Women Writers of New England and Their Homes* (2023), Beth Luey recounts the residential histories of a score of American women whose success in the business of writing enabled them to build or purchase their own houses. Montgomery's earnings were ample enough that she would have been able to do the same as her American peers, but until their retirement to Toronto, her husband's ministerial career obliged the family to live in church-owned manses, whose lack of modern plumbing and other discomforts remained a consistent sore point. Despite the abundance of recognized Montgomery sites and residences, there is no single former home dedicated to her life story, as there is for Jane Austen, Emily Dickinson, the Brontës, and Emily Carr.

Montgomery's Afterlife: Following a Biographical Imperative

Alongside attention to her geographical associations, Montgomery's life has become an increasingly busy area of research and discussion. In her study of early-twentieth-century literary celebrity, Faye Hammill notes, "In the earliest instance, [Montgomery] found herself

being reinvented in Anne's image: journalists and publicists projected onto the author the qualities they discerned in the heroine, notably wholesomeness, youthful modesty, and identification with a rural environment," and "different periodicals appropriated her into different ideologies, such as cultural nationalism, regionalism, Protestant ethics, and literary idealism."⁶⁰ Similarly, according to E. Holly Pike, during Montgomery's lifetime, the image created by her publishers' marketing strategy "was to present her as a suitable companion and guide for the young women and girls who were her readers."⁶¹ Given this orientation, it is not surprising that the first biographical summaries tended to follow the success arc of Montgomery's self-representation in her autobiographical essay "The Alpine Path," serialized in *Everywoman's World* in 1917 and eventually issued in book form in 1974. Maud's story was generally cast as a reflection of Anne's, itself a modification of the Jane Eyre trope of the lonely orphan who finally reaches "the City of Fulfillment," to cite the last words of *The Alpine Path* (echoing John Bunyan's "Celestial City" in *The Pilgrim's Progress* of 1678).⁶²

After Montgomery's death, emerging details began to complicate earlier narratives as the public slowly learned about her troubled marriage, worries about her sons, and deteriorating physical and mental health. Publications related to her biography appeared long before creative works about her life; most of the relatively few later fictions and dramatizations would reinforce the compelling nature of Montgomery's documented history by obeying a biographical imperative. In contrast, chapter 5's discussion of creative recreations of other female writers shows that biographical documentation is sometimes countered by speculative fictions about the private lives of deceased women.

In general, accounts of Montgomery's life vary according to the age of their intended audience, whether adult or juvenile. During the middle decades of the twentieth century, biographical materials prepared for adult readers were remarkably sparse, reflecting the

prevailing perspective that Montgomery was essentially a children's author who merited little serious attention.⁶³ Other than Wilfred Eggleston's edition of Montgomery's early letters to Ephraim Weber, issued as *The Green Gables Letters* (1960), and the pamphlet of reminiscences printed by the Women's Association of Leaskdale in 1965,⁶⁴ significant biographical accounts did not appear until the centennial of Montgomery's birth in 1974. The surrounding years, 1973 to 1975, saw the first book version of *The Alpine Path* (1974), Francis Bolger's *The Years before "Anne"* (1974), and the published findings of biographer Mollie Gillen, first in a 1973 *Chatelaine* article and then in her book *The Wheel of Things* (1975). Gillen's use of Montgomery's correspondence with her two long-term pen pals, Ephraim Weber and George MacMillan (which Gillen had the great fortune to rescue from likely destruction by one of his relatives), alongside the references to Montgomery's private journals by the creators of the CBC documentary *Lucy Maud Montgomery: The Road to Green Gables* (1975), darkened the adult narrative to that of the tragic artist—the troubled woman whose writings masked her own difficulties and whose last days were spent in despair. (Might we describe this as the Virginia Woolf trope?)

During the 1980s, the textual landscape of Montgomery's afterlife altered significantly with the appearance of her selected letters to MacMillan in *My Dear Mr. M* (1980), along with the first volumes of her *Selected Journals* in 1984 and 1987.⁶⁵ The 1990s saw a surge of biographically based publications for both adult and young readers as well as several coffee-table books with stunning photos that capture Montgomery's geographical settings and reflect her visual sensibility, such as Bolger's *Spirit of Place: Lucy Maud Montgomery and Prince Edward Island* (1982), Nancy Rootland's *Anne's World, Maud's World: The Sacred Sites of L.M. Montgomery* (1996), and Kessler's previously mentioned *Green Gables: Lucy Maud Montgomery's Favourite Places* (2001). However, after the appearance of Rubio's definitive 2008 biography, biographically oriented volumes aimed at adults significantly tapered off, although biographical concerns remained, as evidenced in Rubio's

important postscript essay “Uncertainties Surrounding the Death of L.M. Montgomery” (2013).⁶⁶

Possibly because it was widely known that Rubio’s book was in progress, most books with biographical content issued during the decade and a half before 2008 appear to complement this forthcoming volume rather than trying to cover the full story of Montgomery’s complicated life. This list includes Rubio and Elizabeth Waterston’s *Writing a Life* (1994); the 1996 CBC documentary *The Many Mauds*; Jack and Linda Hutton’s *Lucy Maud Montgomery and Bala* (1998); Kevin McCabe and Alexandra Heilbron’s monumental *L.M. Montgomery Album* (1999) and Heilbron’s follow-up volume, *Remembering L.M. Montgomery* (2001); Hildi Tiessen and Paul Tiessen’s *After Green Gables: L.M. Montgomery’s Letters to Ephraim Weber, 1916–1941* (2006); Irene Gammel’s edition of Montgomery and Nora Lefurgey’s joint 1903 diary in *The Intimate Life of L.M. Montgomery* (2005); Deborah Quail’s documentary volume *L.M. Montgomery: The Norval Years, 1926–1935* (2006); and Elizabeth Epperly’s edition of Montgomery’s *Island Scrapbooks* (2008). Indeed, the only notable adult-oriented full-length biographical narrative published after Rubio’s book is novelist Jane Urquhart’s eloquent personal discussion in her contribution to Penguin Canada’s Extraordinary Canadians series. Under the simple title *L.M. Montgomery* (2009), Urquhart engages in an impressionistic and speculative conversation with previous biographical sources. Biographical interest largely shifted from interpretative works to primary sources with the appearance of the first volumes of Montgomery’s *Complete Journals* (2012), seven of which are now available. An important addition to her archive will be Mary Beth Cavert’s forthcoming edition of the complete MacMillan correspondence. Episodes of the LMMI’s podcast concerning Montgomery’s life, *The MaudCast*, now contribute a new medium (but seldom new content) to the range of biographical treatments.⁶⁷ Taking the innovative approach of treating *Anne of Green Gables* as autofiction by intertwining the biography of the book with the biography of its author, Irene Gammel offers fresh

insights in *Looking for Anne of Green Gables* (2025), a revision of her earlier *Looking for Anne* (2008), by probing Montgomery's emotional engagement with Anne as her fictional alter ego.

Independently from the community of Montgomery researchers and devotees clustered around the LMMI, a pair of admirers from Owen Sound recuperated Montgomery as a "feminist icon of her time"⁶⁸ in their recent podcast series *Maud: Books, Babes and Barbiturates*. Their focus on mental health (greatly indebted to Rubio), along with a 2020 article on "L.M. Montgomery's Agonizing Drug Addiction" in *Maclean's* and the recently launched "L.M. Montgomery and Mental Health" collection in the *Journal of L.M. Montgomery Studies*, bring Montgomery directly into this new context, which is of increasing concern in Canada.⁶⁹

A different pattern characterizes the proliferation of biographies for younger readers that began in 1956. At first, this genre was largely shaped by publishers' interests, starting with Hilda Ridley's *The Story of L.M. Montgomery* (1956), which drew heavily on *The Alpine Path*. Described on the front flap of its dust jacket as the "first biography of L.M. Montgomery, author of the immortal *Anne of Green Gables*, ever to appear in book form,"⁷⁰ this volume was issued by Ryerson Press, which in 1942 had become the first Canadian publisher of Montgomery's fiction. Following standard practice, Ryerson's editions of Montgomery's novels were carefully listed on the back of the dust jacket of their author's biography. Harrap, the British co-publisher of this book, similarly engaged in self-promotion with an inserted "Publisher's Postscript" reminding readers that this firm had been Montgomery's major publisher outside of North America since 1924.⁷¹ Harry Bruce's *Maud: The Life of L.M. Montgomery* (1992)⁷² was similarly packaged by Bantam Seal to establish continuity with its editions of her novels, again listed on the back of the book. Bruce maintained Ridley's positive perspective by highlighting Montgomery's romantic life and essentially concluding with the success of *Anne of Green Gables*. Other biographical works with upbeat endings, such as

Michael F. Hennessey's play *Young Maud* (staged in 1990), and Janet Lunn's *Maud's House of Dreams* (2002), close with a similarly happy take on Montgomery's engagement or marriage, invoking a fairy-tale convention that was far from the truth.

Most of Montgomery's juvenile biographies have appeared in publishers' series focusing on historically significant people and/or events and are therefore formatted according to each series' established conventions, usually paper-bound with bright covers featuring youthful portraits that reproduce familiar photos of Maud or artists' renditions thereof. Those that acknowledge Montgomery's troubles often follow the *Jane Eyre* trope of triumph over adversity; to quote Jacqueline Langille's 1992 treatment in the Famous Canadians series from Four East Publications of Nova Scotia, "Through all her years of troubles, with court cases, accidents, sickness, and Ewan's melancholy, Maud's writing spirit triumphed. She published eight books between 1926 and 1936, none of which betrayed her inner sorrows."⁷³ Other narratives more directly acknowledge Montgomery's distress, beginning with Gillen's 1978 juvenile account, included for decades in publisher Fitzhenry and Whiteside's *The Canadians* series, which details her troubles during her last years "on a downhill path."⁷⁴ From the 1990s onward, as new volumes of her published journals revealed more information about Montgomery's unhappy private life, authors selected aspects of her difficulties that would be appropriate for adolescent readers, such as her conflicts with her first publisher, Ewan's car accident, and Maud's declining health,⁷⁵ but generally eschewed mental illness and drug addiction. Their tone is sometimes foreboding: Stan Sauerwein's *Lucy Maud Montgomery: The Incredible Life of the Creator of Anne of Green Gables* (2004; originally published by Altitude and later issued by Formac Lorimer) grimly opens, "She was born under a dark star and destined to walk a hard path."⁷⁶ In the same vein, Charis Cotter's Montgomery chapter in *Born to Write: The Remarkable Lives of Six Famous Authors* (2008), published by Annick Press, begins with the poisoning of the little girl's kitten, an episode

taken from the middle of *The Alpine Path*, and concludes, “In her books, Maud created the world the way she wanted it to be. In her life she didn’t have that kind of control.”⁷⁷ Other biographies that focus on authorship, such as Marylou Kjelle’s *L.M. Montgomery* (2005), in the Who Wrote That? series from Chelsea House, and Alexandra Wallner’s *Lucy Maud Montgomery: The Author of Anne of Green Gables* (2006), tend to be less dramatic and often include details about the pragmatics of publishing.

The last fifteen years have seen a curious divergence in juvenile biographies. On the one hand, several engaging chapter books aimed at adolescents have recently appeared, notably Liz Rosenberg’s *House of Dreams: The Life of L.M. Montgomery* (2018), “the first biography of L.M. Montgomery for young readers to include recent revelations about the author’s last days and to encompass the complexity of a brilliant and checkered life,”⁷⁸ and Melanie Fishbane’s *Maud* (2017). Categorized as fiction, *Maud* enriches the documented course of Montgomery’s adolescence and fraught year in Prince Albert by probing her emotions and her choices. After several juvenile biographies had been translated into French, the first to be written originally in that language was Josée Ouimet’s *Lucy Maud Montgomery: écrivaine* (2020), published in a history series aimed at ten year olds. Overtly feminist, Ouimet’s book concludes with an appendix outlining “Les droits des femmes à l’époque de Lucy Maud Montgomery.”⁷⁹ During the same period, Montgomery also began to appear in formats that address very young or marginal readers, such as Ann Dublin’s *L.M. Montgomery: A Writer’s Life* (2005), published in Pearson Canada’s Canadian Biographies (Reaching Readers) series, and Terry Barber’s brief *Lucy Maud Montgomery* (2011), published in The Maple Leaf series from Grass Roots Press, a division of Literacy Services Canada. Beginning readers can now glimpse Maud’s story in Maria Isabel Sánchez Vegara’s *L.M. Montgomery* (2018), published in her inspirational Little People, Big Dreams series, as well as in Sarah Howden’s *Lucy Maud*

Montgomery: Creator of Anne of Green Gables (2019), published in the first level of HarperCollins's familiar I Can Read series.⁸⁰

Creative Treatments

Many prominent Canadian authors—including Margaret Atwood, Margaret Laurence, Jean Little, Alice Munro, Heather O'Neill, and Louise Penny—have warmly credited their youthful reading of Montgomery's books as a source of inspiration,⁸¹ yet few have written about her in their own creative work. In the genres of fiction and drama, Montgomery's textual afterlife stays close to the biographical record, sometimes realizing Maud through her own words, in recognition of the power and fluency of her personal voice, as with Conrad Boyce's one-woman play *Maud of Leaskdale*, whose script is taken entirely from her journals. Since its premiere in 2011, this play has been performed continually by Jennifer Carroll under the sponsorship of the L.M. Montgomery Society of Ontario. Montgomery's dramatic appeal also underpins the Spirit of Maud Theatre Company, based in Norval and run by Marion Abbott, who has been working on "Upward Climb: A Musical—The Life Story of Lucy Maud Montgomery," which enjoyed a stage reading in October 2022.⁸²

Some creative works address Montgomery's love life, as with Hennessey's play *Young Maud*, whose heroine speaks like a young woman of 1990 rather than of 1890, more reflective of the era of the audience than of Maud's own time. Other efforts ambitiously try to include most episodes of her documented life, as in *The Nine Lives of L.M. Montgomery* (2008), a play by Leo Marchildon and Adam-Michael James. Described in chapter 5 are fictions about other Canadian women writers, such as Pauline Johnson, Emily Carr, and Susanna Moodie, whose authors have fabricated undocumented lovers, fictitious travels, and unlikely literary encounters. However, creative writings about Montgomery have been more restrained, the most inventive being

Lynn Manuel's delightful picture book *Lucy Maud and the Cavendish Cat* (1997), which credits her cat, Daffy, with the publication of *Anne of Green Gables* after he is found hiding in a hatbox containing the forgotten manuscript. Funniest is the episode in the televised *Murdoch Mysteries* in which comedian Danny Harris, in the role of George Crabtree, tries to persuade Montgomery that rather than writing a story about a girl, she should treat the public to the gothic adventures of a boy known as "Dan of Green Gables."⁸³ Otherwise, the modifications are mild, as when Fishbane's *Maud* identifies Edie Skelton, the student boarder who shared Maud's room in Prince Albert, as a Métisse who understands Cree—a fictive addition within the realm of historical possibility given that Edie's mother has never been identified.⁸⁴ Less authentic is Hennessey's addition of a fictional event in *Young Maud* when Montgomery's lower-class lover, Herman Leard, visits the Montgomery home in Cavendish. Innovation can be movingly effective, as when Don Hannah's play *The Wooden Hill* (1994), brings Maud's childhood imaginary friend, Katie Maurice, onstage as a young girl who never grows up and serves as an alter ego for the adult Montgomery.

The recent books that expand the small list of fictions about Montgomery scarcely alter her story. Two young adult novels, Bernice Thurman Hunter's *As Ever, Booky* (1985) and Mary Frances Coady's *Lucy Maud and Me* (1999), approach Maud through invented peripheral characters when adolescent girls meet the author of their favourite books during her last years in Toronto; this experience was recently presented to younger children in Catherine Little's picture book *Anne of the Library-on-the-Hill* (2024). More inventive is Marianne Jones's adult novel *Maud and Me* (2021), about an artist struggling with her situation as a minister's wife in a small northern Ontario town during the 1970s and 1980s. Unpredictable visits from Montgomery's ghost, who offers wry comments and advice (in citations taken from the published journals), aid the narrator in successfully resolving her various conflicts in a book praised by critic Irene Gammel as "a trib-

ute to intertextuality.”⁸⁵ However, Anne remains the major reference point in the two most recent fictional contributions to Montgomery’s afterlife. In John Passfield’s *L.M. Montgomery: I Gave You Life* (2023), a repetitive, circular inner narrative focuses on Maud’s obsession with Anne, as both her creation and her alter ego, as she struggles to write her last Anne book, *Anne of Ingleside*, in 1938. Here, her introverted thoughts dwell on motherlessness, her legal battles with her publisher, her anti-modernism, and her husband’s driving accident, yet they omit other major concerns that shaped Montgomery’s life, such as her ongoing grief over the death of her beloved cousin and bosom friend, Frede Campbell, in the 1919 flu epidemic, and her affection for cats. In contrast, by developing Maud’s relationships with other people, Logan Steiner’s *After Anne: A Novel of L.M. Montgomery’s Life* (2023) aims to fill some of the gaps in Montgomery’s biography. Consciously shaping her journals for publication, this Maud burns many pages as well as letters, including her correspondence with Frede. In a central fictional episode in which Maud celebrates her thirty-third birthday following the acceptance of *Anne* for publication, Steiner effectively brings to life several significant figures, including Maud’s grandmother, her cousin Frede, and her husband, Ewan Macdonald. Steiner also gives Maud inner conversations with Anne that enrich the relationship between the author and her best-known character.⁸⁶ Taking few liberties with the documented record, the best of these novels enhance the presentation of Maud’s lived experience, rounding out the perspective contained in her journals and letters. The same biographical focus appears to underscore the recently announced filmed series *Lucy, Maud*, being prepared under the leadership of Megan Follows, who will play Montgomery during the last two decades of her life.⁸⁷

Montgomery considered her poetry a significant component of her career and would have been thrilled to know that in Project Bookmark she is represented by a poem on a plaque in Cavendish,⁸⁸ yet surprisingly few poets have responded to her in verse and no major Canadian writer has engaged with her in a dedicated volume such as Atwood’s

The Journals of Susanna Moodie (1970) or Joan Crate's *Pale as Real Ladies: Poems for Pauline Johnson* (1989). The closest work of this nature to appear in English is Anne Compton's poignant six-poem "Suite for L.M. Montgomery," published in the *Dalhousie Review* in 1985, which concludes with Maud's yearning for Frede.⁸⁹ In 2018, a young Finnish writer, Vappu Kannas, published a ninety-three-page volume of poems about Montgomery whose title, *Morsian*, means "The Bride," that has not yet been translated into English.⁹⁰ Montgomery's childhood fantasy companion, Katie Maurice, who might be expected to appeal to creative writers, reappears in Rosalee Peppard Lockyer's poem "My Maud by Katie Maurice" (2022), issued as a free-standing book and illustrated with colourized photos from the Montgomery archives. Representing Maud through the voice of her imaginary friend, Lockyer offers a fresh lyrical perspective on Montgomery's creative imagination. Less direct is *In L.M.'s Garden* (2002), a "collection of short poems, haiku, haiga, sketches, and photography" that was "dedicated to the memory of L.M. Montgomery" by six contributors who engaged with Maud's sensibility by spending "an afternoon in the Lucy Maud Montgomery Memorial Garden, and the Willow Park Ecology Centre, in Norval."⁹¹ Montgomery would likely have enjoyed this book's appreciation of nature in its attention to details of plants and insects. Less pastoral are two recent single poems that create a strong emotional connection as they address the doubleness/duplicity of her existence. Sara Peters's "Your Life as Lucy Maud Montgomery" (2013) explores how Anne, the much-loved fictional orphan, took over her author's life armed with a butterfly knife—which, despite its innocent name, is a kind of switchblade banned in many places. The poem ends with Anne "plac[ing] her knife on the thinnest skin you own," a troubling image of the author's vulnerability to her own creations.⁹² Kat Cameron's 2014 poem, simply titled "L.M.M.," similarly concludes in ambiguity by contrasting Montgomery's nostalgia for an idealized past with the troubles revealed in her journals, which may or may not disclose "the secrets we never reveal." This line

poses a troubling question: what might Maud's journals, prepared for posterity and apparently honest about "marriage failures, war, despair, madness, death," actually conceal in their rewritten state?⁹³ This concern appears again in Richard Lemm's wry "L.M. Montgomery Meets Milton Acorn Near the Arts Centre" (2018, republished 2024), in which the two PEI writers, both feeling "love and anger for [their] Island home" as they find themselves reincarnated in modern-day Charlottetown, end up sharing tea in the relatively unchanged "old hotel" with "the elegant dining room." Here, Montgomery's response to her posthumous celebrity, which "helps keep the Island in business," remains masked, her face, as always, "revealing / so little, concealing / the most important things."⁹⁴

The poems written about Montgomery all focus far more on Maud than on their authors. In contrast, outside the mainstream genres of fiction, drama, biography, and poetry lie two recent books motivated by their authors' fervent desire to engage with Montgomery on a more personal level. Whereas readers' identification with Anne or Emily, or other characters, has long been a significant component of Montgomery's reception, fans' direct identification with Maud signals a new development in her afterlife within a genre that can be best characterized as "self-help." The better of the two books, Lorilee Craker's *Anne of Green Gables, My Daughter and Me: What My Favorite Book Taught Me about Grace, Belonging and the Orphan in Us All* (2015), explores the stories of both Anne and Maud to come to terms with Craker's personal experience as an adoptee who later contacted her birth family, followed by her subsequent adoption of a daughter from Korea. Through her sense of connection with Maud, Craker probes her own life in parallel with her analysis of Montgomery's use of Anne to resolve her issues of loss and need for parental love, especially in *Anne of the Island* (1915). Craker's dedication to this approach included a family trip to Prince Edward Island and a visit with then eighty-four-year-old Jennie Macneill to receive her first-hand description of Montgomery's last days and funeral. Altogether, Craker's combination of textual and material

experiences results in an engaging instance of self-engendered bibliotherapy. The same cannot be said of Robert V. Smith's *Modern Messages from Green Gables on Loving, Living, and Learning* (2021), which contains several pages commending Montgomery and Anne as examples of resilience and commitment to community that pertain today and hundreds more that recount Maud's biography and Anne's story without adding to what has already been said by acknowledged Montgomery scholars such as Rubio, Gammel, and Lefebvre. Indeed, this book omits much that should have been included, such as Montgomery's self-representation in her journals and the significance of Emily Starr, of the *Emily of New Moon* trilogy, as a reflection of her creator's experience of authorship.

Whereas commemorative gestures taper off with many writers as their appeal diminishes over time, the opposite seems to be the case with Montgomery, whose afterlife continues to expand in new directions. Some of these recent developments were to be anticipated, such as the enhancement of primary material with the publication of her *Complete Journals* (2012) and editions of her correspondence, as well as further research into individuals who touched her life. Others have been less expected, such as the proliferation of biographies for younger readers and the personal "self-help" approach recently adopted by several adult fans. As new technologies surge, it is not surprising that new formats abound. Since 2007, Ben Lefebvre's invaluable database, "L.M. Montgomery Online,"⁹⁵ has carefully documented events, formats, and publications that refer to Montgomery's life as well as to her works. Recent innovations include the series of "Maud's Moments" that commenced in July 2025, transmitted on Instagram by the Leaskdale Manse, whose first episode concerns Montgomery's kitchen and recipes.⁹⁶ It is inevitable that electronic and social media formats such as websites, Facebook groups, and podcasts, which have already added to her profile, will continue to flourish as new technologies and new theoretical perspectives inspire fresh approaches to be taken by future readers, scholars, and fans.⁹⁷

Pauline Johnson's Multiple Media of Commemoration

Born thirteen years apart, L.M. Montgomery and Emily Pauline Johnson were contemporaries during the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first of the twentieth, when both achieved extensive recognition as prominent English Canadian authors, yet their paths seldom crossed.¹ Best known for her fiction, Montgomery represented the English-speaking Protestant mainstream of normative Canadian culture; best known for her poetry and stories, Johnson was heralded as Canada's representative Romantic "Indian." Similarly contrasting are their patterns of commemoration.²

Although it is impossible to calculate which Canadian writer has enjoyed the largest number of posthumous commemorative gestures (perhaps L.M. Montgomery if one could tally all the buildings, plaques, parks, statues, and other items and events that comprise her afterlife), the writer with the widest range is Pauline Johnson, whose recognition includes not only her birthplace, home, grave, and a wide variety of incarnations in print but also a First World War machine gun, a luxury yacht, a chocolate company, and the reading of a stanza from her suite of poems "Autumn's Orchestra" (1912) by actor Donald Sutherland at the opening ceremonies of the 2010 Winter Olympics in Vancouver.³ As well, she seems to be the only Canadian writer whose image has been captured in a death mask. In this chapter, I expand this book's growing inventory of commemorative activities by considering the creation of Johnson's gravesite memorial (a rare structure in Canada) and the elaborate celebration of the centenary of her birth in

1961 (equally rare for a Canadian author). As well, Johnson stands out for the posthumous treatment of her books, which appeared in many different material formats created by publishers and fans, as intrinsic elements in her enduring afterlife.

Pauline Johnson's personal identity was a significant factor in her celebrity during her life and in her later recognition. Born in 1861 in her family home of Chiefswood on the Six Nations Reserve at Ohsweken (near Brantford, Ontario), she was the youngest child in an unusual mixed-race family. Her Mohawk⁴ father was both a hereditary and elected chief whose fluency in the reserve's six languages enabled his work as a translator, and her English-born mother was a cousin of the American writer William Dean Howells. Pauline was educated in the English literary classics and was also an avid canoeist. After her father's death in 1886, she turned to writing as a means of support, developing a career as a performer who presented only work that she had written, some of it serious and some quite comical. Having no Indigenous name of her own, she adopted her great-grandfather's Mohawk name of Tekahionwake (meaning double wampum). For her stage appearances, she enhanced her charisma by appearing in a constructed "Native" buckskin dress, with her hair flowing down, for the first part of her program, returning for the second part transformed into an elegant Victorian lady in evening dress, with her hair pinned up. Her travels on the performance circuit often took her across Canada, occasionally to the United States and to England three times. She never married, and much has been made of a publicly announced engagement that was subsequently broken. Many of her 165 poems appeared in three volumes published during her lifetime; there were also three volumes of stories and sketches,⁵ but much of her prose remains uncollected. Johnson spent her last years in Vancouver, where she died in 1913 at the age of fifty-one.

The unmatched variety of commemorative media associated with Johnson reflects her appeal as both a person and a persona: both the historical woman and the self-representations that she crafted

on the stage and on the page. Often stereotyped as an “Indian Princess,” she never used this term herself, in implicit resistance to the popular vaudeville “Indian” acts brilliantly documented by Christine Bold.⁶ Instead, she described herself as a reciter or elocutionist, thereby identifying as a dignified literary figure whose stage presentations complemented her frequent contributions to the mainstream press. The majority of Johnson’s fans and admirers have been English-speaking Canadians, her history disputing the truism that to become valued in Canada a cultural figure has to first achieve recognition in the United States (as did Montgomery). Alongside the many instances of commemoration that have arisen from English Canada, there has also been a steady stream of Indigenous recognition. At her home base of Six Nations, attention has included the preservation of her family home of Chiefswood and the retelling of her story in the annual pageants that began in 1948, founded by teacher Emily General to preserve traditional stories. In an outdoor theatre at Ohsweken, a cycle of eight plays was established, one of which concerned Pauline Johnson.⁷

During the decades after Johnson’s death, several Mohawk women, notably Bernice Loft Winslow and Ethel Brant Monture, invoked Johnson in their advocacy of education about Indigenous issues. In 1961, the centenary of her birth was marked by many events at Six Nations as well as by a delegation who visited her grave in Vancouver. Since the 1970s, Johnson’s Indigenous recognition has become increasingly literary, with significant attention from the rising wave of writers who regard her as an important antecedent. Rather than separating Indigenous and non-Indigenous recognition, the following discussion interweaves these threads on the occasions when they intersect.

Beginning with the End

During her lifetime, Pauline Johnson was regarded as “the most unique fixture in the literary world of today,”⁸ and her untimely death

on March 7, 1913, three days before her fifty-second birthday, proved a significant factor in her subsequent recognition. She was an established celebrity in Canada and especially in Vancouver, where she had settled in 1909, when it became publicly known that she was terminally ill, although her diagnosis of breast cancer was not specified. Her staunch circle of friends and supporters, which included members of the Canadian Women's Press Club and representatives of the city's social elite in the Vancouver chapters of the Women's Canadian Club and the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire, organized the Pauline Johnson Trust Fund in September 1911 under the patronage of Prince Arthur, Duke of Connaught and Strathearn, who was about to be appointed as Canada's tenth governor general. Organizers of this trust oversaw the publication of Johnson's first book of stories, *Legends of Vancouver* (1911), as a fundraiser to cover her personal and medical expenses. Members of this group also selected the contents of her major collection of poems, *Flint and Feather* (1912). The same impulse prompted their management of Johnson's funeral, gravesite, and subsequent monument in Stanley Park.

Government involvement in Johnson's commemoration began when she received an elaborate funeral from the City of Vancouver on March 10, 1913, "the largest funeral the young city had ever seen."⁹ Her request to be buried in Vancouver's Stanley Park (rather than joining her family and Mohawk ancestors at Six Nations) was honoured by municipal and Dominion governments, which together granted special permission for the poet's ashes to rest in a site that was a federal military reserve leased to the city as a public park, not normally sanctioned for burials. However, with regard to the marking of her grave, social ritual prevailed over Johnson's own wishes. She reportedly said that her spirit would be happy "if they would scatter my ashes within sight and sound of the sea, near some great tree in Stanley Park."¹⁰

Fig. 4.1 (opposite) Death mask of Pauline Johnson by Charles Marega, 1913.





Fig. 4.2 Unveiling of the memorial to Pauline Johnson, Stanley Park, Vancouver, British Columbia, 1922.

But poets' admirers require monuments, a topic well analyzed by Samantha Matthews in *Poetical Remains: Poets' Graves, Bodies, and Books in the Nineteenth Century* (2004). Johnson's ashes were placed under a marked granite boulder, still discernible at her gravesite, and the Women's Canadian Club began to raise funds for a substantial memorial titled "The Spirit of Siwash Rock" that was to include "a bronze statue of life-size, with ... accompanying symbols,"¹¹ a model of which appeared as an illustration tipped into the first edition of *The Moccasin Maker* (1913), issued posthumously. Designed by sculptor Charles Marega, who also created Johnson's death mask (now in the Museum of Vancouver), this massive structure became one of the few

fortunate casualties of the First World War, as fundraising for wartime priorities took precedence. In 1922, the Women's Canadian Club unveiled a smaller, less expensive and more elegant stone cairn on which are carved Johnson's profile and name, along with several images from her work, the whole structure graced with a small fountain and a pool.

It is surprising that the face on this monument does not resemble Johnson, a misstep that would be repeated with the postage stamp created in 1961 on the centenary of her birth. Images of Johnson abounded, such as the publicity photos reproduced as frontispieces in many editions of her books, yet in both instances the artist hired for the occasion lacked sufficient guidance to ensure a faithful reproduction. This combination of sporadic enthusiasm and inconsistent supervision characterized much of Johnson's commemoration, including the maintenance of her gravesite, which was vandalized in 1945 and not fully restored until 1981. Often overgrown, it received renewed care from the Vancouver Parks Board following the centennial of her death in 2013, but it remains minimally signposted, overshadowed by the large restaurant nearby.

Local Initiatives

Other than the maintenance of Johnson's grave and monument in Stanley Park and the preservation of her costume, death mask, and other artifacts in the Museum of Vancouver, material commemoration has been sparse in the city with which she is most fully identified. In 1961, a proposal to name a new civic theatre after Johnson lost to the building's mundane designation as the Vancouver Playhouse. In the late 1970s, the noted sculptor Elek Imredy designed a statue for a proposed Pauline Johnson Park downtown, at the corner of Dunsmuir and Burrard Streets, that was never developed.¹² In the future, her name may adorn part of a lane in the West End of Vancouver near her former home, a proposal that still awaits implementation.¹³ Pauline Johnson Elementary School in West Vancouver, built in 1922, is

now known as École Pauline Johnson, dedicated to French immersion. Its website, like those of other Pauline Johnson schools built in Ontario—in Hamilton in 1967, Burlington in 1968, and Scarborough in 1969—provides basic identification of its namesake.

In recent years, Johnson has appeared in several inclusive programs that commemorate writers in Canadian parks and streetscapes. She is one of the forty-five Vancouver writers recognized in the Vancouver Public Library's Literary Landmarks project, with a plaque near her former residence at 1117 Howe Street. As well, in the neighbouring city of Burnaby, a trail has been marked at Deer Lake, the site of one of the stories in *Legends of Vancouver* and now a public park, with a series of plaques that recount an abbreviated version of "A Legend of Deer Lake." In Ottawa, she is one of the fourteen Canadian poets sufficiently connected with that city to be recognized in the Poets' Pathway, but she has yet to be recognized in the nationally focused Project Bookmark, described in chapter 1.

In contrast, the municipality of Brantford, Ontario, where the Johnson family resided after leaving Chiefswood in 1885 following the death of their father, has copiously commemorated its best-known poet. In 1914, the Brant Historical Society wanted to place a memorial plaque in the Mohawk Chapel on the Six Nations Reserve. Instead, after the Pauline Johnson Memorial Tablet was unveiled in 1917 at the Conservatory of Music, it was first mounted in the Carnegie Public Library and then moved in 1992 to the new Brantford Public Library, where it remains today.¹⁴ A 1915 bequest from Pauline's sister, Evelyn, resulted in the Pauline Johnson Ward of the Brantford General Hospital.¹⁵ Her name was again recognized with the 1955 opening of the Pauline Johnson Collegiate Institute (now the Pauline Johnson Collegiate and Vocational School). In 1983, Johnson was included in a set of outdoor mural portraits of prominent Brantford residents, the only woman to accompany local celebrities Joseph Brant, Jay Silverheels, Wayne Gretzky, and Alexander Graham Bell,¹⁶ and in 1998 her name was added to Brantford's Walk of Fame.¹⁷ Such outdoor recognitions

continued both in 2015, when a line of her poetry was engraved into the sidewalk in front of Brantford's Carnegie Building (the former public library), which is now part of the campus of Wilfrid Laurier University,¹⁸ and in 2017, when her image was included in a new mural at the Brantford Public Library dedicated to artist Lawren Harris.¹⁹

Street names represent a common way to commemorate historic individuals, yet other than Pauline Johnson Road in Caledonia, one of the routes to Chiefswood on the Six Nations Reserve, my online searches (for street, avenue, road, boulevard, way, and crescent) yield no such memorializing, other than the above-mentioned potential lane in Vancouver. However, she might well be the figure behind some of the many Johnson streets scattered across the country.

Federal Recognition

Pauline Johnson almost achieved a new level of recognition when she was one of the five nominees short-listed in 2017 as candidates to appear on the new ten-dollar bill to be dedicated to celebrating a Canadian woman. This selection was praised by Mohawk poet Janet Rogers: "we have good reason to celebrate her / and place this lady on our notes / with every transaction / she'll be there / reminding us / remembering / remember how we got here / what it took to survive."²⁰ However, Rogers's prophecy proved futile when Viola Desmond was chosen.²¹

Federal sanctification first occurred with the involvement of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board (HSMBC), which now operates within Parks Canada and designates national historic persons, sites, and events. Johnson was named a national historic person in 1945²²—the second Indigenous person to be thus honoured, after Tecumseh—followed by the selection of her family's home of Chiefswood as a national historic site in 1953.²³ Both designations have complicated histories. The board continually delayed production of a plaque for Johnson and then withdrew her name in 1951, arguing that "other

organizations had already suitably commemorated her at her grave in Vancouver and with a tablet at the Brantford public library, near the Six Nations Reserve.”²⁴ In July 1958, Johnson and Chiefswood were recognized together in a single plaque from the Ontario Archeological and Historic Sites Board,²⁵ but she was not redesignated a national historic person until 1983.

Chiefswood’s preservation history is more convoluted. In 1926, Pauline’s sister, Evelyn, bequeathed the Johnson family home to Six Nations to serve as a residence for the elderly. The HSMBC had previously been approached about recognizing the house as a national historic site, and “in 1929 it declined a proposal to make the site a national park.”²⁶ By the time the house received its HSMBC designation in 1953, it was in need of major repairs, but lobbying for funds from various federal sources proved fruitless.²⁷ The Six Nations Council then raised sufficient capital to open Chiefswood as a museum in 1963, with 10,000 annual visitors reported in 1967.²⁸ A new process of restoration began in 1985, when the unveiling of Pauline’s HSMBC plaque in front of Chiefswood brought fresh attention to the deterioration of the house. Considerable fundraising from private and public sources, including a benefit concert with Buffy Sainte-Marie,²⁹ eventually culminated in a grand reopening in 1998,³⁰ although Chiefswood’s plaque did not arrive until 2011. Current plaques from the HSMBC present information about the poet and her home in three languages—English, French, and Mohawk—and now sit alongside the old unilingual English plaque from 1958.

Today the house serves as both a museum and an educational centre run by Six Nations, a development congruent with the interaction between canon construction and the transformation of writers’ homes into “timeless’ literary shrines,” as noted by scholars of literary tourism.³¹ An effort to further memorialize Johnson at Six Nations by constructing the Pauline Johnson Public Library in Ohsweken was initiated by Bernice Loft Winslow in 1937, but the fundraising stalled

due to her health difficulties.³² The library that finally opened in 1969 was named the Six Nations Public Library rather than for Johnson.³³

In 1961, the coincidence of the centenary of Johnson's birth with the decision to finally grant status Indians the right to vote in federal elections rendered Johnson suddenly useful to the Canadian state. As a result of extensive lobbying by Indigenous, historical, and United Empire Loyalist associations,³⁴ Canada's post office issued 32 million copies of a five-cent commemorative stamp that embraced Johnson as the essential Indian, incorporating her into an agenda of bettering "race relations," in the discourse of the period. In the words of the official brochure, "This new stamp has been issued to honour Canadians of the Indian race. During recent years particularly, Canadian Indians have made tremendous advances. They have achieved the federal franchise, made striking practical gains in the fields of education, health and sociology, and contributed at a vastly accelerated pace to the economic and industrial growth of the nation."³⁵ Johnson herself had not participated in any of these assimilationist goals: she could not vote and she had nothing to do with the areas of practical and economic advancement into which she was symbolically appropriated. Moreover, despite celebrating Johnson, the stamp visually misrepresented her. In his study of the 1908 commemoration of the tercentenary of the founding of Quebec City, historian H.V. Nelles asks whether it is the past or the present that is the object of such events.³⁶ With the Johnson stamp, the focus was so entirely on the 1961 concept of the generic Indian that popular stereotypes replaced historical accuracy. According to the brochure, the stamp depicted "the profile of the poetess wearing the high ruffled collar of the Victorian era, superimposed on a background of snow-capped mountains. In the middle distance, a full-length likeness of Miss Johnson in tribal costume is shown, the two portraits depicting her two personalities of Indian and Victorian lady."³⁷ Although Johnson did indeed possess this dual identity, neither figure on the stamp presents a recognizable likeness. She was



Fig. 4.3 Pauline Johnson commemorative stamp, issued in 1961.

never photographed in conventional Indigenous dress with her hair in two braids, standing with both arms raised to the heavens, nor was she frequently depicted wearing a high ruffled collar. Moreover, the setting is misleading, as the background of snow-capped mountains links her only with the West Coast, ignoring her primary affiliation with Six Nations in southern Ontario.

Few other examples of federal involvement survive. On October 4, 1965, the *Brantford Expositor* noted that “Citizen and Immigration Minister Nicholson, who is also superintendent general of Indian affairs,” praised Johnson as “a Canadian and a citizen of the world” in his address to the participants in Chiefswood’s first “Pauline Johnson Indian Day.” Despite the article’s headline suggesting that “Pauline Johnson Indian Day May Become an Annual Event,”³⁸ no subsequent celebrations are on record.

1961 Centennial

The centennial of Johnson's birth inspired fresh attention in a number of realms. As reported by the *Brantford Expositor*, Canadian Library Week was marked with an evening of speeches and performances sponsored by the Brantford Arts Council and by the Institute of Iroquoian Studies that included recognition of McClelland and Stewart's new edition of *Legends of Vancouver*, a book that was perceptively reviewed by novelist Ethel Wilson;³⁹ her old friend Lionel Makovski donated various items to the Vancouver Public Library, including moccasins that she had worn during her first London season in 1894;⁴⁰ and the *Saturday Magazine* of the *Toronto Globe* published a long, appreciative biographical article by historian Marjorie Freeman Campbell.⁴¹ As well, two films were apparently made of the "Indian Pageant telling her life story," one by the National Film Board and one by the Canadian National Railway,⁴² both of which seem to have vanished.

This centennial foregrounded differing evaluations of Johnson among various cultural communities. Members of Canada's masculine literary elite expressed egregious prejudices, sometimes communicated in private, as when Indigenous historian Olive Dickason asked Professor Desmond Pacey, "as an authority on Canadian literature," why he had omitted Johnson from his influential *Creative Writing in Canada* (1952). He replied that she "wrote one or two pretty lyrics ... but the great bulk of her work is cheap, vulgar, and almost incredibly bad."⁴³ This opinion was echoed publicly in newspaper articles in which Robertson Davies described her verse as "elocutionist-fodder,"⁴⁴ Mordecai Richler mocked the program at a commemorative dinner that he attended,⁴⁵ Earle Birney was quoted as saying, "I don't consider her at all important in Canadian literature," and Professor R.E. Watters justified having omitted her from his *BC Centennial Anthology* (1958) because "her verse doesn't have very much philosophical or intellectual content."⁴⁶

However, such disparagement carried little weight against the commemorative celebrations at Johnson's memorial cairn in Stanley Park on March 10, 1961, instigated by the Vancouver Library Board and attended by civic officials, along with members of the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire and the Women's Canadian Club. The event began with an unusual firing of the city's Nine O'Clock Gun at 2:00 p.m.⁴⁷ The *Vancouver Province* published reminiscences by Makovski, who had facilitated the first publication of Johnson's stories in the *Saturday Magazine* of the *Province* in 1910 and 1911, most of them subsequently collected in *Legends of Vancouver*.⁴⁸ Three weeks after the commemoration, *Vancouver Sun* columnist Harold Weir commented, "It has been pleasantly astonishing to have so many letters and telephone calls from persons now resident in Vancouver who, as children of varying ages, had some sort of contact with Pauline Johnson and who, to this day remember her with deep personal affection."⁴⁹ In Ontario, Premier Leslie Frost made a brief statement in the provincial legislature praising Johnson as "a very great Canadian citizen" and proposed to erect a plaque near her birthplace, unaware that such a plaque had been unveiled three years previously by his province's Archeological and Historic Sites Board.⁵⁰

Indigenous acknowledgment included dinners and ceremonies at Six Nations⁵¹ as well as two larger efforts: the production of a commemorative issue of *The Native Voice* (vol. 15, no. 7, July 1961), the monthly publication of the Native Brotherhood of British Columbia; and the cross-Canada pilgrimage of representatives of Six Nations to Johnson's grave in July 1961. According to Enos Montour, this delegation comprised some thirty Indigenous teachers who "chartered a coach on the transcontinental rail line" that was "placarded with a large sign reading 'Pauline Johnson Pilgrimage—Six Nations'" to take them from Brantford to Vancouver, the aim being to "pay tribute to her spirit and her work at her Shrine in Stanley Park." Carrying Indigenous artifacts and books in Mohawk, they acted as cultural ambassadors, presenting

themselves as well-dressed, educated professionals as they welcomed visitors into their train car. They were hosted by the Squamish Nation of North Vancouver and by a committee that included the president of the Vancouver Tourist Association, the local member of the Legislative Assembly, and the mayor of North Vancouver. To honour Johnson's memory at her gravesite, "they brought with them a silver urn filled with soil from Chiefswood... This precious and symbolic Indian soil was sprinkled around the cairn. Then, soil from the Stanley Park area was brought back and sprinkled on the sparkling waters of the Grand River, near her ancestral home... These people felt that they had repaid an old debt to the memory of their Feathered poetess."⁵² They also contacted Vancouver newspapers to call attention to the monument's state of disrepair.⁵³

The "Special Pauline Johnson Centenary Edition" of *The Native Voice* featured congratulatory messages from an array of dignitaries, including Prime Minister John Diefenbaker, the federal minister of citizenship and immigration, the lieutenant-governor and premier of British Columbia, the mayoral offices of Vancouver and Burnaby, and a large personal ad from Lester B. Pearson that did not identify him as leader of the Opposition. Inside, the magazine featured various photos of Johnson and images of an autographed letter, Chiefswood, and her grave, alongside citations from her work. Indigenous voices appeared in interviews and in a long piece by Big White Owl, the magazine's eastern associate editor, who had led the campaign for the commemorative stamp. Tributes by non-Natives included Nellie McClung's reminiscence from her memoir *The Stream Runs Fast* (1945).

A few years later, Johnson was invoked in a different centenary project when Vancouver artist Molly Bobak was commissioned by Ocean Cement to paint the scene of Johnson's poem "The Lost Lagoon" (1912) for its Building BC collection, issued in 1966–67 "to celebrate B.C.'s centenary." In this set of twelve paintings featuring British Columbia's history and topography, Johnson represents the only

acknowledgment of Indigeneity, included because her recounting of the “glories and legends of the famous coastal tribes ... [made] her an inseparable part of B.C.’s history.”⁵⁴

In contrast to the extensive publicity that surrounded the centennial of Johnson’s birth in 1961, the centennial of her death in 2013 received surprisingly little attention. In 1961, Johnson was still well remembered by people who had known her personally as well as by those who had read her poems in school or recited them in public. At that time, she was the only Indigenous writer to have received significant attention, but such was no longer the case in 2013, by which time many Indigenous authors had become prominent cultural figures. This later anniversary was marked with localized events in Vancouver and southern Ontario but with no participation from any level of government, so far as I know. On the evening of March 9, 2013, in a Vancouver cafe, Indigenous authors Garry Gottfriedson and Janet Rogers recited poetic tributes that invoked Johnson as a living presence. This performance was followed by a gathering on March 10 at Johnson’s grave in Stanley Park organized by Janet Rogers, who is descended from the Mohawks of Six Nations and at the time was poet laureate of the City of Victoria. This event, Poems in the Park for Pauline, attracted a range of Indigenous participants, including Juno-winning jazz musician Murray Porter (who sang a spontaneous blues solo) and young hip hop artist Sino General (Chief Rock).⁵⁵ Ontario events included programs and an exhibition at Chiefswood. At McMaster University (which holds the major Pauline Johnson archive), there was a symposium on “E. Pauline Johnson: Her Life, Work and Legacy,” which blended scholarly papers with Cheri Maracle’s performance as Pauline in *Paddle Song* (2009), the play by Dinah Christie and Tom Hill that receives further attention later in this chapter.⁵⁶ As well, a concert of songs set to Johnson’s poems took place at Western University. Although not performed until 2014, Margaret Atwood’s chamber opera *Pauline* received advance centennial publicity during 2013. That same year, Vancouver’s Midtown Press issued a new edition of *Legends of*

Vancouver, presented as the “100th Anniversary Edition,” soon followed by the first translation of this book into French.

Memorial Editions

Many Canadian writers have remained in print long after their death, yet the works of few have been issued in memorial volumes that are cast as tributes to the deceased author, such as the posthumous edition of Archibald Lampman’s poetry that was prepared by Duncan Campbell Scott in 1900.⁵⁷ Although L.M. Montgomery’s books have been extensively reprinted (especially now that their copyright has expired in many countries), these editions are presented as the stories of her fictional characters, with little attention to their author. Samantha Matthews’s *Poetical Remains* offers important insights into links between death and celebrity in nineteenth-century European culture that, in Canada, prevailed well into the twentieth. Her conclusion that “the metaphor of the book as a body has resonances beyond the conventional and the figurative; [that] the book functioned as a substitute for and transformed incarnation of the [dead] poet’s body,”⁵⁸ describes a physical connection between the body of the poet and the body of her work that is especially evident with Johnson. Four of her six books are essentially memorial collections of earlier material that were assembled when she was known to be dying or shortly after her death and that therefore fit Matthews’s category of literary “remains.” This term describes Johnson’s best-known titles, which have consistently stayed in print: the stories issued as *Legends of Vancouver* and the collection of poems titled *Flint and Feather*, which includes all the poems published in her two previous volumes. After Johnson died, *Flint and Feather* acquired a memorial introduction from her early admirer, the British critic Theodore Watts-Dunton. In line with Matthews’s point that last poems acquired “poignant interest and authority,”⁵⁹ later editions of this book added a poem—“And He Said, Fight On!”—that Johnson was believed to have written when she was informed that her illness

was terminal. In 1914, *Flint and Feather* was the only volume of poetry to appear on the Canadian bestseller list.⁶⁰

Johnson's two posthumous volumes of stories were published in the fall of 1913 shortly after her death in March. *The Shagganappi*, a selection of her stories for boys (mostly from *Boys' World*) and *The Moccasin Maker*, a selection of her stories for women (mostly from *Mother's Magazine*), likewise feature memorial introductions by prominent male authors Ernest Thompson Seton and Gilbert Parker. For several decades, the aura surrounding Johnson's demise and the ensuing publication of her literary remains continued to inflect her celebrity. In 1927, when Ryerson Press brought out new editions of *The Shagganappi* and *The Moccasin Maker*, it played into a Romantic prototype by misleadingly advertising the two books as containing stories from "manuscripts left lying dormant for a long time."⁶¹

For much of the twentieth century, the most enduring material medium of Johnson's posthumous renown was not the marking of sites associated with her life and writing (in contrast to the memorializing of Montgomery's geographical presence) but rather her material books, evidenced in the embodiment of her identity in ensuing editions of *Legends of Vancouver* (1911) and *Flint and Feather* (1912). These titles present two different patterns of celebration: those of publishers and those of fans. Following each pattern reveals how her commemoration was simultaneously fostered on a large commercial scale and maintained in more individualized formats.

If we regard commercial book design as indicative of cultural attitudes, it quickly becomes evident that Johnson's poetry (and, metonymically, Johnson herself) was honoured with tasteful design at the same time as it was stereotyped through reductive images of popular Indigeneity, exemplified by the packaging of different editions of *Flint and Feather*. First issued in demure pale blue cloth by Toronto's Mussion Book Company, Johnson's major poetry collection quickly acquired a cover image of a feather crossed over an arrow—representing "flint" and "feather"—for its second edition of 1913. This design pre-



Fig. 4.4 Two 1930 covers of Pauline Johnson's *Flint and Feather*, published by Musson Book Company, Toronto.

vailed until 1922, well into the fourth edition. In 1924, the images on the title page, endpapers, and stamped cover were coordinated, the latter now featuring a more stylized pattern of flint and feather on the cover and spine, designed by artist Thoreau MacDonald.⁶² By 1930, this elegant edition, bound in calf or suede, was available in a boxed gift version. To appeal as well to general readers, from 1924 through the 1930s, Musson issued the same book with a plasticized (“fabrikold”)⁶³ cover featuring the stereotypical image of an Indigenous man with braided hair wearing a headband and feathers and equipped with a bow and a quiver full of arrows.

The same impulse characterizes Musson's dust jacket, used from 1917 through the 1940s, which depicts several surprised Indigenous men sighting an ancient vessel reminiscent of the ships of Jacques

Cartier or Christopher Columbus in a scene that has nothing to do with Johnson's poetry. In the 1960s, when Hodder and Stoughton took over Musson, the book's design continued its trajectory toward stereotypes, with a glossy bright yellow dust jacket featuring a generic tepee. With few changes, this cover was retained by PaperJacks for its cheap paperback edition produced from 1972 to 1987. Here, too, conventional imagery prevailed over Johnson's actual content, which seldom mentions tepees. The book's physical design placed it firmly within the realm of mass culture, thereby widening the gap between popular and serious attention to Johnson that was so evident in the 1960s and began to close in the 1990s.

Johnson's *Legends of Vancouver*, in contrast, benefited from the talents of one of Canada's most illustrious book designers, J.E.H. MacDonald, a member of the Group of Seven and father of the above-named Thoreau. In its first decade, before being taken over by McClelland and Stewart, this text went through numerous publishers, their designs presenting the same dialectic of reduction and respect to be found in the production history of *Flint and Feather*. First issued in Vancouver, most early impressions of *Legends* were adorned with the very non-West Coast cover image of a Plains chief in full eagle headdress, a choice that confirms the observation of curator and historian Ruth Phillips that during the early twentieth century there was a general "expectation that all Indians should look like Plains Indians—the only 'real' Indians left in North America, according to most people."⁶⁴ Yet many of these early editions also included authentic-looking internal illustrations of West Coast Indigenous artifacts by O.B.A., recently identified as Rev. O.B. Anderson.⁶⁵ In contrast, MacDonald's *Legends of Vancouver*, in print from 1922 until 1949, is a masterpiece of book design, with integrated title page, endpapers, stamped cover, and dust jacket. Some of the recurring images are taken from the stories themselves, whereas others reference common motifs in West Coast Indigenous art.

It is unfortunate that at McClelland and Stewart, the Johnson centenary of 1961 was marked by the same essentializing vision that produced the unrepresentative postage stamp. MacDonald's elegant version of *Legends of Vancouver* was replaced by a smaller volume with new illustrations (by Ben Lim) in a primitive style. The book's material representation changed again more than three decades later when feminism and fresh attention to Indigenous culture inspired new interest in Johnson (whose books were now out of copyright and therefore available to any publisher). The 1997 edition from the Vancouver firm of Douglas and McIntyre added an abundance of vintage photos of sites of the legends and also of Johnson herself, who is featured prominently on the cover, but it lacks images of Joe and Mary Capilano, who were Johnson's source for most of the stories.⁶⁶ The sepia tones adopted for this volume as a whole suggest an appeal to consumers of heritage nostalgia and construct Johnson as a link with the past. A different audience was addressed in Quarry Press's 1991 reprint of *Legends of Vancouver* in its Canadian Children's Classics series, whose bright illustrations by Salish artist Laura Wee Lay Laq connote Johnson's currency in the ongoing resurgence of First Nations art and culture. Treating Johnson as a continuing presence rather than a remnant of the past, Midtown Press's edition of 2013 includes current photos of the stories' sites in Stanley Park and Vancouver, refuting any notion of timelessness by depicting the built environment of the Lion's Gate bridge and views of downtown office towers.

Such wide variation in publishers' material presentations of the same set of Johnson's writings shows the extent to which the design of a book can reflect the context of its production and inflect the cultural work that it performs. A further feature of Johnson's celebrity appeared in the personal connection between the poet and her readers forged by the customized, hand-tooled, and painted leather covers found occasionally on old copies of *Flint and Feather* and more often on *Legends of Vancouver*. Whereas Johnson's publishers included soft



Fig. 4.5 Various custom covers of the author's copies of Pauline Johnson's *Legends of Vancouver* and *Flint and Feather*.

leather covers among their variant bindings, the books in question feature individualized covers that either replace the publishers' original bindings or are superimposed as slipcovers. These examples of what has been described as “folk art”⁶⁷ were made of sueded leather

and decorated by burning, which involved a process known as poker work or pyrography, often supplemented with coloured paint. Some of these handmade covers are skillfully rendered, likely for commercial purposes; the cruder examples may represent the efforts of amateurs or young hobbyists. Although the designs vary somewhat, the prevalence of the profile of a Plains chieftain takes its cue from the original cover of *Legends of Vancouver*. The books that I have seen with these custom covers are assorted editions from 1911 through 1936, and those with inscribed dates cite years from 1911 to 1930. Several are early printings of *Legends of Vancouver* signed by Johnson herself in 1911 or 1912 and presumably re-covered by their owners after Johnson's death in 1913. During the 1920s, such leather-covered volumes were marketed through a Vancouver souvenir shop and proved so popular that Musson, then the publisher of *Flint and Feather*, produced some leather-bound volumes with a similarly hand-painted cover in 1930,⁶⁸ or possibly with blank covers to be painted by purchasers. Johnson's books with hand-painted covers often travelled as gifts or souvenirs, with copies later to be found in antiquarian bookstores in Australia and the United Kingdom.

These customized books are intriguing for several reasons. Their use of sueded leather to clothe Johnson's printed stories and poems makes a suggestive link with her buckskin stage costume, in line with the vogue for dressing up as "Indians" for formal costume balls such as Lady Aberdeen's 1896 Historical Fancy Dress Ball in Ottawa, photographs of which document "the greatest number of Indigenous impersonations [to appear] at a single event" in Victorian Canada.⁶⁹ On a more personal level, I suggest that clothing Johnson's books in buckskin also signals the desire for intimacy underlying the fetishization of authors' autographs and the preservation of writers' distinctive clothing in house museums.⁷⁰ We can take this discussion further by noting that in *How to Do Things with Books in Victorian Britain* (2012), Leah Price comments on the frequency of anthropomorphism in

material descriptions of books, including references to bindings as books' clothing.⁷¹ This image is enhanced by Nicola J. Watson in *The Author's Effects: On Writer's House Museums* (2020). Her first chapter, effectively titled "Burns's Skull and Keats's Hair," analyzes readers' fascination with authors' physical remains, followed by a discussion of the mystique of items once close to the skin of celebrity authors in the chapter titled "Clothing: Brontë's Bonnet and Dickinson's Dress." This thread leads to Megan Rosenbloom's *Dark Archives: A Librarian's Investigation into the Science and History of Books Bound in Human Skin* (2020), which examines the phenomenon of using human skin in bookbinding, a practice that peaked in the second half of the nineteenth century. Literary examples include several volumes of Phillis Wheatley's *Poems on Various Subjects Religious and Moral* (1773), rebound by a later collector, and Arsène Houssaye's *Des destinées de l'ame* (1879), a volume of poems addressed to his deceased wife, which he had bound in the skin of a different woman with a note that read, "A book on the human soul merits that it be given human clothing."⁷² In sum, this line of discussion suggests a depth of physical connection felt by many of Johnson's admirers, materially embodied in their attachment to her books, that is unequalled with any other Canadian writer—even the myriad adoring fans of L.M. Montgomery.⁷³

Moreover, many of these buckskin-covered volumes are highly personalized. Copies in my possession are inscribed on the flyleaf with birthday or Christmas greetings and also have owners' initials or other words burned into their leather covers. On the back of one is "J.M.C.W. Xmas 1914"; on another, "From Polly to Aunt Polly, Xmas 1917." The back cover of a volume of *Legends of Vancouver* now in Special Collections at Simon Fraser University features the words "To Lillian Xmas 1928" and had been a childhood gift from the owner's best friend. That Johnson's books served as vehicles for expressions of strong personal friendship attests both to their suitability as a medium of symbolic gift exchange and to an uncommon affinity between the writer and her public.

When poet Daphne Marlatt arrived in Vancouver as a child in 1951, she was given one of these custom-covered copies of *Legends of Vancouver*. In a 2003 interview, she explained that the book was “perfect for a nine-year-old” and proved a “springboard”⁷⁴ in bonding with her new home. She wove a reference to Johnson into one of the poems in her collection *Liquidities: Vancouver Poems Then and Now* (1972)⁷⁵ and later returned to Johnson in her long narrative poem *The Given* (2008), where she describes the physical and emotional sensations of an immigrant first touching such a book:

running a finger over the cover, its doe-soft leather with a painted Indian head and the name hand-burnt in capital letters below: E. PAULINE JOHNSON, as if skin might absorb the words inside. Sagalie Tyee, fire-flower, tillicum and Trafalgar Square, new words, and old words she thought she knew, put together strangely.⁷⁶

Another affiliation with children appears in the recent publication of two beautifully illustrated picture books of Johnson’s stories and in a brief graphic novel. The first, *The Lost Island*, issued in 2004 by Simply Read Books, is actually not easy to read because it replicates Johnson’s full text, which was not aimed at children. The second, *The Two Sisters*, issued in 2016 by Waterlea Books, reduces the story to core details that a child can understand, followed by the full text and details about current environmental issues.⁷⁷ Neither illustrator nor publisher is Indigenous, unlike the producers of the graphic novel *The Poet Pauline Johnson* (2014). Authored by David Alexander Robertson (Swampy Cree) and illustrated by Scott B. Henderson, this is one of six graphic stories for school-aged readers about Indigenous figures from Canadian history that have been published by Winnipeg’s Highwater Press, which specializes in “Indigenous peoples’ culture and experiences.”⁷⁸ In this narrative, knowledge of Johnson’s success inspires a shy student at Big Spirit First Nations School to overcome

her stage fright and successfully recite her own poetry to her fellow classmates.

Alongside the books that I have described, Johnson's appeal to graphic artists can be traced in the approaches taken by fine presses to individual works, several examples of which have come to my attention. She inspired the calligraphic talents of two Vancouver acquaintances: Wilson MacDonald, who created a lavishly decorated print of his 1914 memorial poem to Johnson,⁷⁹ and Lionel Haweis, whose pamphlet version of "The Legend of the Salt-Chuck Oluk" (extracted from *Legends of Vancouver*) was issued by the Vancouver Handicrafts Guild during the 1920s.⁸⁰ In 1959, Toronto typographer Carl Dair prepared a special version of "A Cry from an Indian Wife" for the International Exhibition of Book Design held in Leipzig,⁸¹ and in 1997 artist Jim Rimmer supervised a student typography project that produced a limited edition of several poems issued as *Shadow River: The Selected and Illustrated Poems of Pauline Johnson (Tekabionwake)*.⁸²

For Canadians of many generations, engagement with the work, words, or person of Pauline Johnson has been a powerful experience that forges an emotional bond with a physical being whose poetry has been instrumental in developing Canada's cultural identity. In March 2023, I was contacted by a woman who wanted to donate her family's copy of a first edition of *Flint and Feather* to an appropriate repository (it is now in the Simon Fraser University Library). It had belonged to her great-grandmother, Elizabeth Jane McGeary, who had known Pauline in Brantford. Upon Johnson's death, McGeary had copied onto the flyleaf Johnson's poem "Good-Bye" (which is printed within the book), adding the words, "Pauline Johnson's last message. Died March 7th 1913." Whereas collectors of Montgomery's books are usually motivated by their identification with her fictional characters, many collectors of Johnson's books are motivated by their sense of connection with the poet. In the words of one of them, "She will remain on our shelves. We will never let Pauline go away. There is too much of her books in all of us."⁸³

Music

Like owning memorial editions of a poet's writings, singing a poet's words enhances personal contact with a long-deceased writer, a form of recognition that links with other types of commemorative performance discussed in the next chapter. Annual New Year's Eve renditions of "Auld Lang Syne" (1788) keep Robbie Burns in view for many who are not otherwise acquainted with him. L.M. Montgomery's "The Island Hymn" (1908), enshrined as Prince Edward Island's official anthem in 2010, is one of her few poems to have endured. Johnson's list of musical settings commenced during her lifetime, complementing her own history of performance, and expanded after her death. For example, in 1914 Bert Hilliam composed a memorial song cycle for her suite of poems "Autumn's Orchestra" and also set "A Toast" to music under the title "Here's a Ho! Vancouver."⁸⁴ Musical activity has been particularly evident in the twenty-first century, headed by Jeff Smallman, who has composed vocal and choral music for more than twenty of Johnson's poems, many captured on recordings available from his website.⁸⁵ Several of Johnson's poems, including "Life" and "At Sunset," were recently set to music by Jeff Enns,⁸⁶ and in 2015 Timothy Corliss composed melodies for four other poems from *The White Wampum* (1895).⁸⁷

These musical settings are difficult to compile because composers have occasionally modified her titles, and are a challenge to track due to inconsistent and often sparse records of composition, performance, publication, and recording.⁸⁸ Over a span of 125 years, from 1887 to 2013, more than thirty-five different poems by Johnson were set to music. Most popular have been "The Song My Paddle Sings," "Lullaby of the Iroquois," "Good-Bye," and "Lost Lagoon." Other titles that have appealed to musicians include "Autumn's Orchestra," "Christmastide," and "The Songster." As well, early in the twentieth century, selected verses were sometimes adapted as "Indian Love Songs."⁸⁹ Johnson's centennial year of 2013 generated considerable musical activity, such as

the concert at Western University featuring her poems set to music by three Canadian composers, prompting author James Reaney to propose that “we should call 2013 Pauline Johnson’s year.”⁹⁰ Also released that year was *The Song My Paddle Sings*, an album of Johnson songs by the Woodstock Fanshawe Singers, which includes three different settings of the title poem.⁹¹ Among more recent ventures is a setting of Johnson’s poem “Moonset” by Big Brave, a heavy metal trio based in Montreal, whose members discovered Johnson while looking for appealing verses with female narrators written by women other than Emily Dickinson.⁹²

Beyond Books: A Gun, a Yacht, a Summer Camp, and Museum Holdings

Johnson’s distinctive array of memorabilia reflects attitudes that run from respectful to opportunistic, one such venture being the Pauline Johnson candy business discussed in chapter 1. Quite different is the story of her gun. When the First World War broke out a year after her death, a small bequest from her estate became the basis for a fundraising campaign mounted by the *Vancouver World* newspaper to purchase a machine gun for Canadian troops in France, concretely linking literary commemoration with current events. This “M1895 Colt-Browning .303-calibre machine gun”⁹³ was returned to the newspaper in 1920 and displayed in its office window with a poster recounting its presence at major battles, including St. Éloi and Ypres. It was clearly identified with a bronze plaque stating, “This gun was presented to the 29th (Vancouver) Battalion by The Vancouver World and named ‘Tekahionwake’ in memory of the late Miss Pauline Johnson.” After the *World* was absorbed by the *Vancouver Sun* in 1924, the gun vanished. In 2016, it was finally discovered in Vancouver’s Beatty Street Drill Hall, where it was on display but with the identifying plaque on the inside, facing a wall. There it remains, now properly labelled.

At the same time that the Tekahionwake machine gun was firing on German soldiers in France, a power yacht named the *Epauline* was

cruising the waters off Vancouver. This 68-foot luxury craft, launched in 1911, was built by businessman Samuel Lyness Howe. Elected to the provincial legislature in 1920, Howe went on to a career in politics and seems to have disposed of the boat in 1924. It remained in the region at least until the 1960s, renamed by other Vancouver area owners.⁹⁴ I have found no evidence of a direct connection between Howe and Pauline Johnson that would account for this use of her name, although he (or more likely his wife) could well have been among the many Vancouverites who rallied to assist Johnson toward the end of her life. Moreover, it is possible that the yacht's name had nothing to do with Johnson: a Vancouver local history blog speculates that it might have been named after Howe's daughter, known as Edna Pauline (although her birth name was Laurel Pauline), who died in 1924, the year that Howe sold the boat.⁹⁵ Today, involving water in a different fashion (and implicitly recognizing Johnson's skill as a canoeist), younger people may encounter Johnson through the name of a Girl Guides summer camp near Paris, Ontario, known as Camp Teka. According to the Guides' website, it was christened Camp Tekahionwake as a result of a contest held in 1952: "The word means 'laughing waters' and was chosen in memory of Pauline Johnson."⁹⁶

The disjunction that I previously mentioned between the abundance of photographs of Johnson and the inaccuracy of the created images on the postage stamp and on her grave comes to a head when we consider her portrait painted by J. W. Forster in the late 1920s, long after her death, and now in storage in the Royal Ontario Museum.⁹⁷ The costume worn by this idealized Indigenous girl is Johnson's, but the face is not. Forster could not have lacked talent given that he made a good living painting the portraits of a vast array of Canadian and international public figures. Rather, this lack of likeness seems to reflect a particular aspect of Johnson's canonicity. Unlike a movie star whose face is the recognizable image, Johnson was identified with her costume and the eagle feather in her hair—the trappings of the persona rather than the person.

These markers of identity are accessible today. Whereas some of Montgomery's possessions that have been incidentally preserved by friends or family are now on display at various sites where she lived or visited, Johnson deliberately enabled public access to her artifacts by willing many personal items to the Museum of Vancouver, where, along with her death mask, they can now be viewed online. These objects range from photographs and autographed copies of her books to her pen, bonnet brush, lingerie bag, and articles of clothing, including not only a pair of her moccasins and her two-piece buckskin performance dress but also the undergarments that she wore beneath.⁹⁸ Unlike the Brontës, Jane Austen, and Emily Dickinson, whose clothing remains in their former homes,⁹⁹ Johnson's most famous garments are objectified in accordance with the conventions of museum cataloguing and display, as are the two pairs of her moccasins in the Vancouver Public Library. Her fonds at McMaster University contain some personal items (donated by her performance partner, Walter McRaye), including a purse and an address book. Her sister, Evelyn, donated many family items to the Royal Ontario Museum, some of which have direct associations with Pauline.¹⁰⁰ Some Indigenous artifacts that Johnson sold are now in the National Museum of the American Indian in Washington, DC.

On the Stage and on the Page

Impersonations of Pauline Johnson were common during the first half of the twentieth century, when non-Native women donned buckskin dresses and recited Johnson's poems at public events. For example, in 1925, the celebration of Canada Book Week by the Women's Canadian Club of Vancouver included "two poems from the pen of Pauline Johnson ... given by Miss Jessie Robertson in Indian costume."¹⁰¹ There were also performances by Indigenous women, most notably Cree recitalist Frances Nickawa, who enacted Johnson during the 1920s. Whereas white elocutionists usually performed Johnson's

poems for entertainment, Indigenous reciters did so for more serious purposes. During the 1930s, Ethel Brant Monture and Bernice Loft Winslow included recitations of Johnson's poems in their educational presentations about Indigenous culture,¹⁰² exemplifying what Ruth Phillips has termed "reverse appropriation of the stereotype"¹⁰³ by exploiting Romantic paradigms to make their audiences aware of serious concerns about Indigenous education and cultural preservation.

Since the 1970s, Johnson (like Susanna Moodie, discussed in chapter 5) has enjoyed a rich array of reincarnations in Canadian theatre, beginning with Carol Bolt's play *Pauline*, mounted at Theatre Passe-Muraille in Toronto in March 1973. A recent highlight is the 2014 opera composed by Tobin Stokes and featuring a libretto by Margaret Atwood. Atwood once said that she had dreamed about writing an opera about Susanna Moodie,¹⁰⁴ but then she actually wrote one about Pauline Johnson, focusing on the last week of Johnson's life—an interesting recuperation given her now regretted omission of Johnson from *Survival: A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature* (1972).¹⁰⁵

Distinct patterns emerge when this performance corpus is examined as a whole. Most of the formal plays have been written by non-Native authors and display a variety of approaches. Some, such as scripts by Pauline Carey (who wrote several Johnson plays in the 1970s) and Betty Donaldson (who wrote one simply titled *Pauline Johnson* in 1993), are overtly informative. Motivated by a desire to teach schoolchildren and the general public about an important historical figure, they present Johnson as a successful popular writer and include substantial recitations of her poetry and prose. Other dramatizations, such as Cherie Thiessen's prize-winning play *Who's Pauline* (performed on CBC Radio in 1977), animate Johnson's complexities as a mixed-race performer coping with racial stereotypes. Simon Johnston's *Wildcat* (2002) dramatizes tensions within the Johnson family and accounts for the termination of Pauline's engagement as a feminist rejection of the fetters of conventional marriage in favour of artistic freedom. Because the documentation of Johnson's romantic

relationships has been confounded by her sister's destruction of Pauline's personal papers shortly after her death, several of these plays feature a scene in which Eva/Evelyn tosses letters into the fireplace. This gap has opened room for creative speculation about the identities of the men in Pauline's love poetry. Erika Ritter's CBC Radio play *Pauline Johnson: The Concert She Never Gave* (1986) focuses more extensively on Johnson's mysterious love life than on her literary career, representing her as a sensual character who enjoys a few drinks as well as romping in bed with her lovers. In contrast, the depiction of Johnson's life in Dinah Christie and Tom Hill's one-woman play *Paddle Song*, first performed by Mohawk actor Cheri Maracle in 2009 and frequently remounted (with performances in Vancouver in 2021 and 2024), offers a clear account of Johnson's career, focusing on her creativity and good humour.

Although Indigenous actors have often been involved in these performances—for example, Betty Donaldson's 1993 play involved Robin Melting Tallow—their production context has largely been non-Native, even though Tom Hill was from Six Nations, as is actor Cheri Maracle, who essentially “owns” the role of Pauline in *Paddle Song*. A different dynamic imbued the representation of Johnson at Six Nations in their annual pageants mounted by the Forest Theatre, which commenced in 1948 and continued until at least 2014.¹⁰⁶ As recalled by Mohawk author Daniel David Moses, who participated as a child,

Hers [was] the only woman's story among those of Tom Longboat, Joseph Brant, Cornplanter, Seneca, Tecumseh, the Peacemaker and Hiawatha, stories from recorded and local history or from so far back that the records don't hold the story to one shape and it starts to shift into mythological territories.

The Forest Theatre is in a woodlot with a stream, a natural amphitheatre with plank bleachers, the stage a grassy spot on the inside of a crescent-shaped pond. Canoes would come around that curve, gliding elegant entrances useful for per-

forming Pauline's most famous poem. The recorded narrator over the public address system always interrupted the particular story being told to give an explanation of a scene that took place in an Indian village as an educational illustration of traditional culture. Audiences included first timers as well as veterans from other years, tourists and folks from Brantford, Hamilton, Buffalo, the States, and often a busload from the Toronto Indian Friendship Centre.

What excitement for us kids. We get to costume up to tell the history and during intermission wander, still in our outfits, among the visitors along the midway between the theatre and the parking lot where my Grandpa George directs traffic. For the audience, crafts are available, some having already been promoted with explanations in the Indian Village Scene. Is it the winner of a beauty pageant, one of our young women ruling this year as Miss Ontario, who poses and portrays Pauline on the August evening I'm remembering?¹⁰⁷

Despite Johnson's recognition in so many genres, film has proven relatively sparse. A 1933 four-minute dramatization of her poem "Shadow River" seems to have disappeared. Her 1999 biography in *The Canadians* television series was initially directed by Loretta Todd, who left the project and never fulfilled her plan for a longer dramatic film.¹⁰⁸ Other Indigenous films include Shelley Niro's *It Starts with a Whisper* (1993), which directly cites Johnson in relation to a young Mohawk woman's efforts to find her way in modern life, and Elle-Maija Tailfeathers's use of the title of one of Johnson's stories, "A Red Girl's Reasoning," for her 2012 film about an abused Indigenous woman taking revenge. Johnson has been featured in the biography series produced by Historica Canada,¹⁰⁹ but she has not yet been the subject of a Heritage Minute or a commercial feature film, unlike Grey Owl—the Englishman Archie Belaney, known for masquerading as Indigenous—who has been portrayed in both. Fiction has also

not proven to be a major factor in Johnson's afterlife. She appears as a continuing presence in Linda Wikene Johnson's *Vancouver!* (2002), a novel that considers whether Pauline Johnson and Emily Carr—who lived in Vancouver at the same time—ever met in person; here, they cross paths informally (as further described in my discussion of Emily Carr in chapter 5). As well, in *Gwen* (2012), a juvenile novel by Carolyn Pogue, Johnson serves as an inspirational figure for an adolescent orphan who comes to Canada in the Barnardo program, which sent thousands of British children to work on Canadian farms.¹¹⁰ John Passfield's *Pauline Johnson: I Know Who I Am* (2021) is the only full-length novel dedicated to her story, here cast as a quest for identity that is presented as a collage of real and imaginary voices interspersed with lines from her poems, paraphrases from her prose, and quotations attributed to her.

Johnson's association with the geography of greater Vancouver has recently been taken up by several local writers. Wayde Compton (best known for his advocacy of Black Canadian writers) riffs on her story "The Lost Island" (1911) and its lament for the loss of culture and identity in his book *The Outer Harbour* (2014), a set of linked stories swirling around a fictional volcanic "Pauline Johnson Island" that suddenly appears in the Gulf of Georgia. After the police thwart efforts to claim the island as "UNCEDED NATIVE LAND,"¹¹¹ it becomes the site of a high-rise apartment that is then repurposed as a "Special Detention Facility" to hold unwanted migrants. A more personal motif infuses Betsy Warland's book of prose poems *Lost Lagoon, Lost in Thought* (2020), which is dedicated to Johnson as "Canada's first performance artist and Indigenous poet."¹¹² Warland commemorates Johnson by picking up on her association with the small body of water in Stanley Park that received its name from Johnson's poem "Lost Lagoon." Adding occasional documentary references to Johnson's association with the site, Warland invokes her in a meditation on human interventions into nature, thereby acknowledging her own indebtedness to Johnson as a literary predecessor.

It seems fitting that the most prominent literary genre in Pauline Johnson's afterlife has been poetry. During her lifetime, poems addressed to her by white writers occasionally turned up in newspapers and periodicals; at the time of her death, verse tributes substantially increased and continued into the 1950s. In recent decades, she has figured significantly in work by Indigenous writers, many of whom became familiar with her poems during childhood. Researcher Alix Shield recounts meeting writer Maria Campbell, who "shared a story ... about her love for E. Pauline Johnson as a young girl. She explained that as a child, she had admired Johnson—and was particularly drawn to her poem, 'The Cattle Thief' (because Campbell's father, like the character in the poem, was also a poacher). Her family would pay 25 cents for a box of assorted books; and Campbell was happiest when she received a book by Johnson." In Shield's estimation, "This connection between Campbell and Johnson is not coincidental—both women have left their mark on Indigenous literature, and represent a continued legacy of resilience in the face of colonial oppression."¹¹³ In interviews and other comments, Lee Maracle has similarly acknowledged her affinity with Johnson.¹¹⁴ Today, Indigenous literary critics frequently affirm that political significance is intrinsic to the work of all Native North American writers because they "live resistance," to cite Patricia Monture Angus,¹¹⁵ and all their writing is "a call for liberation, survival, and beyond to affirmation," in the words of Armand Garnet Ruffo.¹¹⁶ Hence he voices not only a poignant memory but also a call to action in the lines "For grandma poetry is Pauline Johnson / in her buckskin / and bear-claw costume / singing the old glories of her people."¹¹⁷

The first Indigenous writer inspired by Pauline Johnson was Bernice Loft Winslow (1902–97), born at Six Nations and of Cayuga and Mohawk descent. Her Mohawk name was Dawendine, which translates as Dawn; this name is also the title of one of Johnson's better-known narrative poems, about a young Indigenous woman who makes peace for her people by marrying her nation's foe. Dawendine's poems,

which echo some of Johnson's motifs, were written in the 1930s and 1940s but not formally published until 1995.¹¹⁸ Johnson's current appeal is exemplified in Joan Crate's volume *Pale as Real Ladies: Poems for Pauline Johnson*, first issued in 1989 and reprinted many times. Like Crate (who is Métis), Indigenous poets frequently identify with Johnson's complex negotiations between multiple cultural realms and engage with her as a mirror. Looking at her reflection in the night window of a Greyhound bus—an echo of Johnson's poem "Prairie Greyhounds"—the speaker in Crate's preface says, "I write poems for you. I re-invent you. It is not your words I want, your books of verse, stories and legends. It is the sound of your voice, your breath cool on my cheek, your insistent geniality, your travel, your toughness, your pretense. And your loneliness, your stretched-thin days, desolation, illness, suffering. Your death. Under headlights, a thin white tongue unravels the night. A face shifts. It is either you or me, Pauline."¹¹⁹ Crate's Johnson confronts the silences behind her popular representation as a "Mohawk princess"—an identity fabricated by her publicists—and links her outwardly glamorous life with the realities of Indigenous experience. A poem titled "The Poetry Reading" describes "one stale memory-corner" where "a small girl shivers on the steps / of a tarpaper shack. / Her daydreams are bruises behind her eyes, / oozing songs of suicide." Its conclusion—titled "Can you hear me?"—reverberates through the entire book, which asks current readers whether they really grasp what Pauline was trying to tell her audience and, by extension, what Crate is telling us now. In another poem, Crate concisely uses the details of Johnson's buckskin costume, decorated with porcupine quills and bear teeth, to describe the physical exploitation and silencing of Indigenous women:

Bill me as the Mohawk Princess
Exhibit me buckskinned on a platform
chanting, my skin bitten
by teeth, quills, clawed,

To have you hear my voice,
I will turn any trick at all.¹²⁰

Subsequent Indigenous writers echo Beth Brant's 1994 identification of Johnson as an inspirational foremother who should be recognized "for the revolutionary she was" because "she began a movement that proved unstoppable in its momentum—the movement of First Nations women to write down our stories of history, of revolution, of sorrow, of love."¹²¹ Such Indigenous commemoration creates an alignment between present and past, claiming Johnson as a personal antecedent in the ongoing struggle for acknowledgment and justice. Jeannette Armstrong, a prominent figure in this new wave of Indigenous authorship, chose Johnson's poem "Moonset" to open her novel *Whispering in Shadows* (2000), about an Okanagan woman artist and activist. Other Indigenous authors have written Johnson into their creative works in poems such as Chief Lindsay Marshall's "My Paddle Does Not Sing" (1997),¹²² Garry Gottfriedson's "Dangerous Words: The Trio" (2014),¹²³ and Marie Annharte Baker's "Geriatric Canoe Princess" (2003).¹²⁴ Whereas complimentary references to Johnson appear in contributions to *Indigenous Poetics in Canada* (2014) by seasoned writers like Daniel David Moses and younger writers like Jessie-Ray Archibald and Rosanna Deerchild,¹²⁵ some Indigenous critics query Johnson's language. Emma LaRoque resolves her discomfort with Johnson's use of the stereotypical terms "red-skin," "brave," and "wild" by conceding that such words reflected the dominant discourse of her time.¹²⁶ Others take such questions in stride. For Alicia Elliott, Johnson's essay "A Strong Race Opinion" (1892), which decries Romantic stereotypes of Indigenous women in works by white writers, serves as a critical touchstone in both of her recent books.¹²⁷ Especially strong has been the voice of Janet Rogers, who hails from Six Nations and identifies with Pauline, claiming her as an antecedent of spoken word poets like herself.¹²⁸ According to one of Rogers's biographical statements, she is "a literary descendant of

E. Pauline Johnson, and understands that she is continuing the work Pauline started as a Mohawk poet who found inspiration on the lands and who reported social injustices of her time.”¹²⁹ Hence in her many volumes of poetry, Rogers “says what E. Pauline Johnson (Tekahionwake) wanted to say, but couldn’t, because the time wasn’t ripe, a century back, for a voice that is unhindered by politeness and un-diplomatic in outrage.”¹³⁰ These writers implicitly endorse Rosanna Deerchild’s succinct summary that Pauline “writes us alive.”¹³¹

In conclusion, the multiple media associated with Johnson reflect the complexity of her contexts and myriad ways of assigning meaning in relation to literary canonization and cultural documentation. I have not pursued all genres and media equally, and more remains to be researched. To museums, her donated possessions are classified as Indigenous artifacts; to book collectors, her custom covers are desirable curiosities; to cultural historians, her associated chocolates and machine gun signal her unprecedented popularity; to literary modernists, she was anathema; to cultural nationalists, she represented an idealized blending of Indigeneity and colonialism; to feminists, she is a prominent example of groundbreaking independence; and to many Indigenous writers, she is a revered foremother.

Afterlives of Canadian Writers on the Page and on the Stage

When literary and cultural critics now use the term “afterlife,” they are not talking about the posthumous activities of a departed writer’s spirit but about the ways that an author’s works and characters acquire fresh significance and new incarnations in the hands of subsequent writers and admirers. Although the term often applies to adaptations of writers’ texts (such as the 2009 book *Pride and Prejudice and Zombies*), I reserve it here for posthumous depictions of the writers themselves. How does cultural memory recognize the creators of literature by invoking them as fictive elements within various literary and other artistic formats, including those with which they have been associated as authors? The preceding two chapters consider the afterlives of L.M. Montgomery and Pauline Johnson in the works of later novelists, playwrights, and poets. This chapter expands that discussion by looking at additional instances in which various Canadian writers have reinvented other predecessors by writing them into their plays, novels, or poems.¹

In this analysis, creative endeavours to bring earlier writers back to life may be divided into three general categories which I simply label “relatively objective,” “subjective,” and “enactment.” To explore these categories of convenience, I focus largely on the cases of individual writers in order to appreciate the variety of approaches that can attach to a single author.

Least complicated is “enactment,” which refers to actors impersonating writers in order to deliver their published words orally in

entertaining performances such as “An Evening with Mark Twain” or Charles Dickens or Stephen Leacock or Robert Service.² The actors may be costumed as the authors, but the effort to get into their clothing is seldom matched by an effort to get into their mind beyond what has already been published for public consumption. Humour usually prevails as the actors recite the poems or stories that were the authors’ most popular works during their lifetime. A related creation is Morris Panych’s play *Wanderlust*, which debuted at Stratford in 2012 and depicts a fictionalized version of Robert Service, the English-born, sometime-Canadian bard who gave us the enduring gold-rush ballads “The Shooting of Dan McGrew” and “The Cremation of Sam McGee,” both published in 1907.

Within this category, I know of few such staged impersonations of female writers. As described in chapter 4, during the first half of the twentieth century, it was common for non-Indigenous amateur recitalists to dress up in buckskin and feathers to recite poems by Pauline Johnson but not to otherwise impersonate her. This would happen during the following century in the play *Paddle Song*, written by Dinah Christie and Tom Hill for Mohawk actor Cheri Maracle, which premiered in 2009 and is performed regularly. The script of Conrad Boyce’s one-woman play *Maud of Leaskdale* (2011), taken entirely from Montgomery’s posthumously published journals and letters and performed by an actor costumed as Maud, almost fits this category of “enactment” but differs significantly in that it seriously examines the author’s private life (in the vein of William Luce’s 1976 play about Emily Dickinson, *The Belle of Amberst*) rather than presenting the published works that underpin her public persona. An entertaining event resembling the masculine norm could easily be constructed from Montgomery’s many lighthearted magazine stories and from the humorous anecdotes within her novels, but to my knowledge that has not yet been done.

More nuanced are the works that I categorize as “relatively objective.” These texts treat the writer as a historical figure who is ap-

proached from the outside by a fictional character such as a biographer or researcher who is trying to learn more about a long-deceased author. A significant non-Canadian example is Julian Barnes's novel *Flaubert's Parrot* (1984), in which an English doctor seeks the deeper story of Gustave Flaubert. An apt Canadian example is Carol Shields's first novel, *Small Ceremonies* (1976), whose protagonist, Judith Gill, is writing a biography of Susanna Moodie. In such fictions, questing protagonists reveal much about themselves as they assemble information in the hope of achieving insight into the person they are researching and with whom they tend to identify. Such works may have a documentary (and didactic) quality, especially in theatrical dramatizations that quote the words of commemorated writers, as in the representation of four pioneer Canadian women—Susanna Moodie, Catharine Parr Traill, Anne Langton, and Anna Jameson—in Molly Thom's play *The Bush-Ladies: In Their Own Words* (2000).

Another version of “relatively objective” engagement with an earlier writer informs Margaret Laurence's *The Diviners* (1974), where Morag Gunn occasionally invokes Catharine Parr Traill, who once lived in the Lakefield region that Morag now inhabits and whose textual persona represents a pioneer success story that Morag cannot hope to emulate. Less known but more extensive instances invoke L.M. Montgomery and BC writer Ethel Wilson in fictions where they retain their known voices, serving as guides to female characters who (like Morag) are trying to disentangle their complicated personal lives. Here, the early writers are quoted but not reinvented; rather, their role is to inspire and mentor the primary characters. Mentioned previously is Marianne Jones's *Maud and Me* (2021), in which a minister's wife in northern Ontario receives unpredictable visits from Montgomery's ghost, whose wry comments and advice help the narrator to resolve her conflicts. In Constance Beresford-Howe's *A Serious Widow* (1991), the primary character, Rowena Hill, converses occasionally with Prince Charles and regularly with deceased Vancouver-based writer Ethel Wilson (1888–1980). At first, Rowena

reads Wilson's books for distraction; then, as her loveless marriage disintegrates, she seeks Wilson's counsel in her quest for her own identity. Described as "dead but living ... with her offhand eccentricity and understated wisdom," Wilson supplies the book's title and offers enigmatic pronouncements taken from her publications, such as her words from *Swamp Angel* (1954): "Everything happens again ... and it's never the same." At the conclusion of the novel, Wilson refuses to depart, telling Rowena, "I'll be around."³

More complex and diverse are the poems, novels, and plays that I categorize as "subjective," which constitute the primary focus of the rest of this chapter. Here, the historical author is fictionalized as a character depicted from the inside by a later creative writer who probes the gaps and shadows in the earlier author's life, often adding material to enhance the available biographical sources. Non-Canadian examples include Colm Toibin's *The Master* (2004, about Henry James) and Michael Cunningham's *The Hours* (1998, about Virginia Woolf). Canadians have produced several such novels about foreign literary figures: Ania Szado's *Studio St.-Ex* (2012) fictionalizes Antoine de St. Exupéry's time in New York in the early 1940s, and Audrey Thomas's *Local Customs* (2014) speculates about the last weeks of Victorian poet Letitia Landon, whose life ended mysteriously in what is now Ghana in 1838. In book-length suites of poetry, Canadian writers have recreated predecessors from their own national narrative, interrogating their minds and hearts in Margaret Atwood's *The Journals of Susanna Moodie* (1970), Florence McNeil's *Emily* (1975, about Emily Carr), and Joan Crate's *Pale as Real Ladies: Poems for Pauline Johnson* (1989). Beyond Canada, the use of this genre to create intimacy is evident in Katrina Naomi's *Charlotte Brontë's Corset*, published by the UK Brontë Society in 2010.

There are clear gender differentiations in the afterlives of Canadian writers beyond my observation that it is mostly male writers who are impersonated by actors to present an amusing evening of recitations from their published work. When we turn to novels and plays

about women writers, it quickly becomes evident that many of these fictions display less interest in the women's literary activity than in their private emotional lives and often invoke artistic licence to invent love interests not documented in the author's known biography. Of course, interest in writers' amours is international, to be found in volumes such as Shannon McKenna Schmidt and Joni Rendon's, *Writers between the Covers: The Scandalous Romantic Lives of Legendary Literary Casanovas, Coquettes and Cads* (2013), which recounts the love affairs and marital misadventures of several dozen well-known writers from the British Isles, Europe, and the United States (but none from Canada). Not that sex is far from the mind of many Canadian writers, as we can see from those who have created lovers for the cultural figures reincarnated in their fiction and drama. As noted in chapter 3, two of the plays about L.M. Montgomery—Don Hannah's *The Wooden Hill* (1994) and Michael F. Hennessey's *Young Maud* (1990)—focus more fully on her personal relationships, including those with men, than on her literary career. The same pattern appears more extensively with Pauline Johnson, inspired by the eroticism of some of her love poems, likewise discussed in her chapter. Even Susanna Moodie was not immune to this impulse. In the fall of 1984, CBC Radio ran a twenty-part serial by James W. Nichol (within host Peter Gzowski's show *90 Minutes Live*) titled "The Secret Life of Susanna Moodie," in which she has a passionate affair with Brian the Still-Hunter—one of the strange characters she encounters in the backwoods of *Roughing It in the Bush* (1852)—who is even identified as the father of her next child. More subtle is poet Armand Garnet Ruffo's creation of a fictional meeting between Moodie and "a young Mohawk / whom she thought handsome and for a period flirted / with the notion of what it would be like to be swept away / by him. But she soon tired of such thoughts and nothing / became of it."⁴

In these speculative fictions, the representations of the women as writers seem to diminish in proportion to the fabrication of their hidden sex lives. From my sampling, it appears that the same does not

occur when male writers are reincarnated as literary characters, as in Ruffo's book of poems *Grey Owl: The Mystery of Archie Belaney* (1996). Because Grey Owl's biography is publicly available, including his many marriages (few of them legal), the mysteries that intrigue Ruffo are intellectual and emotional, not sexual. Instead, he probes how and why a British boy transformed himself into a North American Indian, asking whether his "pretendian" identity benefited or hindered his environmental activism and what we can make of him in hindsight.

Among the many writers mentioned in this book, I focus on the creative reinventions of five: L.M. Montgomery and Pauline Johnson (in their separate chapters) and three more in the following discussion: Susanna Moodie, Emily Carr, and Samuel Hearne. I have discovered that it is easier to collect and enumerate writers' reappearances—to document who, what, when, and where—than to account for the biggest question, namely why, especially why some writers and not others. Answering "Why Pauline Johnson?" is less problematic in light of her enduring popularity and the current recuperation of Indigenous culture than "Why Susanna Moodie?" whose revival is substantially indebted to the interventions of Margaret Atwood. Especially intriguing is "Why not?"—notably, why has there been less creative attention to L.M. Montgomery given that she remains one of Canada's all-time best-selling writers, with fans who are fascinated by her personal life?

Susanna Moodie (1883–85)

Susanna Moodie is probably the Canadian writer with the most complex afterlife on the page and on the stage. Whereas creative treatments of Montgomery appeared long after many publications concerning her documented life, with Susanna Moodie, the case is the reverse. Full-length biographical publications were largely inspired by the creative work, with scholarly volumes of her letters and researched biographies appearing several decades after she was resurrected in



Fig. 5.1 Susanna Moodie and Catharine Parr Traill commemorative stamp, issued in 2003.

plays and poems.⁵ Authors of “subjective” fictions about earlier writers seem particularly attracted to those who represent a divided self. With Pauline Johnson, issues of embodied self-division arise in part from the complex heritage of her dual Mohawk-English parentage. In comparison, Susanna Moodie’s self-division is viewed as circumstantial and self-generated, beginning with the identity conflict of the emigrant who must say farewell to all that is familiar and then greatly amplified by later writers who expand upon the fissures that they find in her self-representation in her published and unpublished writings.

An established British author before she crossed the Atlantic in 1832, Moodie exploited her family’s misadventures as rural settlers in present-day eastern Ontario by composing a series of entertaining “Canadian Sketches.” These first appeared in local periodicals in the 1840s⁶ and were soon transformed into her best-known book, *Roughing It in the Bush*, published in London in 1852. The work of a seasoned storyteller, Moodie’s narrative of personal hardship captivated

readers in England and the United States. It stands apart from other pioneer narratives for its skillful anecdotes of humorous incidents and strange characters and for the diversity of the narrator's emotions, which swirl through homesickness and despair, resigned accommodation, and Romantic joy in the beauties of nature. Consistent in her inconsistency, Moodie simultaneously celebrated the democracy of the New World and deplored the disintegration of British social norms. In the late nineteenth century, as post-Confederation Canada looked to literary works to bolster its sense of national identity, Moodie's memoir was taken up as a foundational text. During the first half of the twentieth century, it was available in many editions, including an abbreviated school version issued by Nelson in the 1930s that was edited to stress Moodie's pioneer heroism and given the subtitle *Forest Life in Canada a Hundred Years Ago*.

The first time that Moodie expresses herself in words penned by someone else occurs in Robertson Davies's play *At My Heart's Core*, written in 1950. Here, Davies examines the dialectic of free choice and obligation by sending a devilish tempter to visit three historical women: Moodie, her sister Catharine Parr Traill, and their friend and neighbour Frances Stewart. These three might indeed have enjoyed tea together in an Upper Canadian log cabin in the 1830s, albeit not at the specific time assigned by Davies, who sets his play in December 1837 during the course of the Mackenzie Rebellion, a gesture that enhances the historical significance of these women. In his examination of "the intellectual loneliness of the pioneers who had left the world of the mind behind them,"⁷ Davies represents Moodie as a rational and opinionated busybody while also recognizing her literary ability.

Margaret Atwood's Susanna Moodie, in contrast, displays scant evidence of being a writer.⁸ Atwood's highly influential volume of poems *The Journals of Susanna Moodie* was first published in 1970 and reflects that era's preoccupation with the psychology of Canadian identity. Illustrated with Atwood's black and white collages that accentuate the Moodies' alienation from the Canadian wilderness, this volume

constructs Susanna as an archetypal instance of what Atwood described as Canada's "paranoid schizophrenia," a mindset that is "divided down the middle"⁹ in its relationship with the new land that it now occupies. In the book's first poem, Moodie describes herself as "a word / in a foreign language"¹⁰ and later proclaims, "There is no use for art."¹¹ The contrast between Davies's purposeful Moodie and Atwood's dysfunctional Moodie demonstrates how fictionalized recreations of early authors often tell us less about the original historical person than about the concerns and attitudes of the later writers who project contemporary issues onto figures from the past. In this instance, Atwood uses Moodie to exemplify her thesis about Canadian literature that informs *Survival: A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature* (1972), her reductive study that took on a life of its own.¹²

Subsequent recreations of Moodie tend to seesaw between those that follow Atwood's interpretation of Moodie as a psychological basket case and those that assert her historical status as a capable pioneer who overcame the culture shock of emigration. In the 1970s and 1980s, as feminist writers and scholars sought to recuperate the marginalized history of Canadian women, Moodie became a significant figure. For example, the 1976 play by poet Donna Smyth, simply titled *Susanna Moodie*, acknowledges Moodie's identity as a writer¹³ and further animates Atwood's tormented figure with creative dramatizations of Susanna's nightmares and direct citations of many of Atwood's poems. In contrast, *Daughter by Adoption*, written in 1981 by Anne Joyce and Beth Hopkins—the latter a member of the editorial team who published Moodie's correspondence—quotes from Moodie's letters to portray a competent writer who meets difficulty with humour and determination. This Moodie is divided too but not against herself. Rather, the argument of this play is that "the emigrant is two people in one—the person she was and the person she becomes"¹⁴—an argument developed through a storyline that depicts this process of becoming.

Davies's model of putting Moodie on stage with some of her historical peers was taken up in the mid-1980s in *Love and Work Enough*

(1986), a play created by the Toronto-based Love and Work Enough Collective, and later in Molly Thom's *The Bush-Ladies: In Their Own Words* (2000). Both plays are motivated by a desire to "celebrate the role of Canada's pioneer women"¹⁵ and thus qualify for my "relatively objective" category: their goal is to educate the audience by dramatizing scenes from the women's documented experiences rather than to probe their unspoken thoughts. In *The Bush-Ladies*, whose script is taken entirely from the women's published words, Moodie is the most complex of the play's four characters, with her range of emotion distinguishing her from the authoritative voice of Anna Jameson and the informative contributions of Catharine Parr Traill and Anne Langton. This play concludes with the immigrants expressing their love for their new home. Fittingly, Susanna Moodie enjoys the last word as she picks up her pen to write *Roughing It in the Bush*.¹⁶

The relative objectivity of these plays may be seen as a reaction against Atwood's "subjective" interpretation of Moodie; in contrast, novelists Timothy Findley and Carol Shields were clearly indebted to Atwood for their emphasis on Moodie's psychological instability. In Shields's first novel, *Small Ceremonies* (1976), biographer Judith Gill readily subscribes to Atwood's analysis of Moodie as someone to whom "there is a pleasingly schizoid side" and whose self-representation must be probed for "the chinks in the varnish"; one of the many ironies in this novel is that in seeking Moodie's chinks, Judith fails to recognize her own.¹⁷ In Findley's chillingly dystopian novel *Headbunter* (1993), characters leap out of books into a Toronto heart of darkness in which Joseph Conrad's Kurtz (still pursued by Marlowe) runs a horrific version of the Queen Street Mental Health Centre and Emily Brontë's Heathcliff has fathered a nonexistent baby. In this book, Susanna Moodie—who in real life had visited the Provincial Lunatic Asylum (the former name of this treatment facility) shortly after it opened in 1850 in order to write about it—is reincarnated as the confidante of Lilah Kemp, a mad librarian who is the only person able to see her and who also owns a pair of Peter Rabbit's shoes.

Just as Atwood ended *The Journals of Susanna Moodie* with a poem about the spirit of Moodie haunting present-day Toronto, Atwood herself remained captivated by Moodie, as reflected in their shared obsession with Grace Marks, the nineteenth-century “celebrated murderess.”¹⁸ Atwood learned about Grace through Moodie’s accounts of visiting her in the early 1850s while Grace was incarcerated alternatively in the Kingston Penitentiary and in the Lunatic Asylum. In two plays written during the 1970s, Atwood dramatized the story of Grace’s trial for the 1843 murder of her employer and his mistress. The first version was aired on CBC television in 1974; the second, completed in 1979, was written for the theatre but was never performed and remains in Atwood’s archives.¹⁹ Atwood claims that she abandoned this project because the play’s dramatic format was “all too much for me.”²⁰ When I looked at these draft scripts, I felt that part of the problem was Atwood’s inability to separate the story of Grace Marks from Moodie’s connection to it. Atwood returned to Grace Marks—and Susanna Moodie—in *Alias Grace*, her wonderful novel of 1996. Here, Moodie is represented without the interiority that informs Atwood’s earlier poems (hence sliding into my “relatively objective” category). Moodie’s published words are frequently quoted in the book’s many epigraphs, and her accounts of seances were likely the inspiration for Atwood’s representation of spiritualism at the end of the novel.²¹ This narrative offers no direct insight into the fictional character of Susanna Moodie, here presented externally through the opinions of powerful male characters who dismiss her as an unreliable “literary lady” prone to “embroidering”²² her stories.

In the twenty-first century, creative interest in Moodie has tapered but not vanished. She is the subject of prize-winning author Julie Johnston’s young adult novel *Susanna’s Quill* (2005), which characterizes Moodie as a determined survivor and tells us much about women’s lives and issues of authorship in the nineteenth century. She is visualized in Charles Pachter’s Canadian alphabet book *MIs for Moose* (2008) under the heading “S is for Susanna” (a few pages after

Atwood's image under "P is for Poet")²³ and again in a lurid graphic novel of *Roughing It in the Bush* issued in 2016. Here, the long arm of Margaret Atwood appears in her endorsing "Introduction," which recounts her own lifetime engagement with Moodie and diplomatically notes, "Each incarnation of Moodie has been different."²⁴ In this instance, the collapsing of Moodie's account to leap from one highlight to the next creates many narrative gaps while accentuating her receptive attitude toward Indigenous and Black people and maintaining her allegiance to social class. Style becomes problematic as the formal language of extracts from Moodie's text clashes with the elementary dialogue typical of graphic fiction. Perhaps for dramatic purposes, the supportive relationship between Susanna and her sister Catharine is here distorted with tensions and conflicts that are historically inaccurate.

Similar tension appears in Cecily Ross's adult novel *The Lost Diaries of Susanna Moodie* (2017), where the publications of Catharine, who is tiresomely upbeat and naive, arouse Susanna's jealousy. Ross omits much of the detail of *Roughing It in the Bush* and concludes the narrative in 1839 with the Moodies' departure from the bush to live in Belleville. Ross is particularly inventive with regard to the pre-Canadian portion of Moodie's life, creating a resistant young Susanna Strickland—a "wild Suffolk girl"²⁵ who reads Mary Wollstonecraft and Jane Austen. After enjoying *Frankenstein*, she meets Mary Shelley, who invites her for tea, admires her poems, and offers a relationship that appears "Sapphic in nature."²⁶ Recoiling from this proposition, Susanna quickly marries and moves to the Canadian backwoods, where her fictional diary records her exasperation with her husband's gullibility, as all his ventures conclude in financial loss. Once again, Atwood's influence remains visible, appearing in the book's first epigraph (from *The Journals of Susanna Moodie*) and in the depiction of Susanna's relation with the wilderness, at times putting Atwood's words into Moodie's mouth, such as the term "bush garden."²⁷

Emily Carr (1871–1945)

According to Susanna Egan and Gabrielle Helms, authors of the entry on “Life Writing” in the *Cambridge Companion to Canadian Literature* (2004), in the realm of literary biography, “no Canadian has received more attention than Emily Carr.”²⁸ More acerbically, in 2004, arts journalist Robin Laurence summarized, “Emily Carr has become the West Coast’s most overburdened cultural entity. In the past 30 years, some six dozen poets, painters, novelists, playwrights, photographers, songwriters, choreographers, and curators have used Carr as a vehicle for conveying a heap of themes and issues, from feminism, First Nations cultures, and identification with place to childhood sexual abuse and the long, lonely struggle of the woman artist.”²⁹ Carr’s dual identity as painter and writer complicates her afterlife, as evidenced in the various genres, and different approaches within those genres, deployed by the writers who have engaged with her. Among the many creative writers intrigued with Carr, no single individual prevails in the way that Atwood has dominated representations of Moodie. Seasoned biographers who have researched the documented record of Carr’s life seem to have expanded her appeal to poets, novelists, and playwrights seeking to capture her complexity in their own representations, as if she had not expressed herself sufficiently in her published memoirs.

Many want to communicate a personal sense of engagement, “to uncover the real Emily,” as in John Barton’s subtle use of Carr to resolve his own identity as a gay man, with Carr serving as his “drag persona.” In the second edition of his *West of Darkness* (1999), he explains that he first wrote this book of poems in 1987 “as a refutation of Atwood’s Susannah [*sic*] Moodie to show a different kind of survival.”³⁰ Other poets take a less personal approach and link Carr with internationally renowned innovative painters (notably Georgia O’Keeffe and Vincent Van Gogh) whose art, like hers, has indelibly shaped the



Fig. 5.2 Emily Carr commemorative stamp, issued in 1971. The blurred text on the left describes her as “Artist and Writer.”

ways that we see the world around us. More recently, novelists have sought to fill in biographical gaps and give her an alternative life story. Most of the reinventions of Carr have appeared since 1987, in line with second-wave feminism’s recuperation of underacknowledged women in the arts and other areas.

As with Moodie, Carr’s first substantial reincarnations occurred on the stage, well documented in Eva-Marie Kröller’s article “Literary Versions of Emily Carr” (1986).³¹ At that time, significant creative representations of Carr were limited to Herman Voaden’s expressionist play *Emily Carr: A Stage Biography with Pictures*, first performed in 1960; a rather lighthearted 1971 musical by Don Harron and Norman Campbell (best known for the enduring musical of *Anne of Green Gables*) titled *The Wonder of It All*; and Florence McNeil’s 1975 suite of poems simply titled *Emily*. In a first-person voice, McNeil excavates the surface of historical detail (marked by dates and place names) to interpret Carr’s feelings and insights as she wrestles through the phases of her career as a painter and a writer, McNeil’s spare style occasionally

resembling Atwood's poems about Moodie.³² Kröller also notes a 1975 ballet, a 1971 musical composition by Harry Freeman, and various single poems.³³ It is fitting that the earliest of these was written by left-wing feminist Dorothy Livesay, who also spent much of her life on the West Coast. In her much-anthologized poem "The Three Emily's" (written ca. 1950–52),³⁴ Livesay links Carr with writers Emily Brontë and Emily Dickinson as creative visionaries whose childlessness freed them to inhabit "mountain snows" despite the gender restrictions that they experienced. Over time, Carr has appealed to additional western Canadian poets, including Wilfred Watson (1955),³⁵ Charles Lillard (1973),³⁶ and Susan Musgrave (1976),³⁷ as well as to Kathleen C. Moore (1979)³⁸ and E.D. Blodgett (1983).³⁹ All admire the unconventionality of Carr's life and the power of her art and appreciate her influence in shaping our conceptions of the West Coast landscape.

Since Kröller's article, Carr has been the focus of several more plays, at least four volumes of poetry, three novels for adult readers, and several fictions for children, along with making occasional appearances in other literary works. For the most part, the plays and suites of poetry align quite faithfully with Carr's documented biography, often citing or paraphrasing her words from her published collections of stories, sketches, and memoirs, with each author developing different aspects of Carr's story. For example, the entire text of *The Remarkable Emily Carr*, a play by Susan Shillingford first staged in 2008, is taken from Carr's reminiscences in *Growing Pains* (1946).⁴⁰ More surrealist are the plays of Jovette Marchessault (*The Magnificent Voyage of Emily Carr*, 1990) and Joy Coghill (*Song of This Place*, first performed in 1987 and published in 2003), which enact the complexities of Carr's life with multiple instances of role playing and mystical transformations. Each uses one of Carr's older sisters to embody the conventionality that Emily continually resisted. Whereas Marchessault highlights the significance of Lawren Harris in the development of Carr's career, Coghill's sole male character is Harold, a mentally disabled friend mentioned briefly in Carr's memoirs. Coghill's metatheatrical and

multimedia composition dramatizes the challenge of attempting to capture Carr by presenting her through a character who is an actress trying to master the role of Carr in a play. This labyrinthine self-reflexivity is enhanced with original musical compositions, masks, and multiple puppets manipulated by real-life actors in the roles of stage actors. Both playwrights develop Carr's engagement with Indigenous culture by giving substantial stage time to Sophie Frank, Carr's Salish friend from North Vancouver who buried all of her twenty-one children and is memorialized in Carr's story "Sophie" (1941). Indigenous concerns also imbue Anna Wyman's *Klee Wyck: A Ballet for Emily Carr*, staged at the Vancouver Art Gallery in 1975 with props and costumes that "suggested resemblances with both Indian and Carr's own art without attempting to imitate either," to cite Kröller.⁴¹ However, Indigeneity does not figure in Kate Braid's collections of poems *To This Cedar Fountain* (1995), where Braid, in daily life a barrier-breaking professional carpenter, responds to Carr's paintings of trees and forests through their shared understanding of timber: "Now I know who you are. Another woman who knows wood."⁴²

Fictions in various genres speculate about Carr's engagement with other artists of her time. Braid's second collection of poems about Carr, *Inward to the Bones* (1998), links her to Georgia O'Keeffe, whom Carr met briefly during a visit to New York in 1930 and who can be seen as Carr's American counterpart as a groundbreaking twentieth-century artist. This volume is narrated entirely from O'Keeffe's point of view, differentiating the two artists' preferred environments (the hot, dry, sun-drenched Southwest desert for O'Keeffe, in contrast to the damp, foggy BC rainforest for Carr) while underlining their shared isolation as iconoclastic creative women contesting patriarchy. What might have unfolded, Braid asks, if these two artists had found sufficient common ground to travel together and learn from each other? Margaret Hollingsworth's novel *Be Quiet* (2003) speculates instead about Carr's relationship with New Zealand painter Frances Hodg-

kins, with whom Carr studied briefly in France in the summer of 1911, and creates scenes of intimacy in which the two “kindred spirits” contemplate becoming “partners in paint.”⁴³ Both O’Keeffe and Hodgkins appear in Susan Crean’s *The Laughing One: A Journey to Emily Carr* (2001), a prize-winning work of creative nonfiction that explores the author’s personal engagement with Carr. Included in Crean’s contemplations are “an imagined meeting between Frances Hodgkins and Emily Carr in Paris in October 1911” and an imagined conversation between Carr and Georgia O’Keeffe based on sentiments “taken from the published record.”⁴⁴

Similar speculation underscores Stephanie McKenzie’s *Saviours in This Little Space for Now: Poems for Emily Carr and Vincent van Gogh* (2013), which builds not on a personal meeting but on the possibility that Carr may have seen an influential Van Gogh exhibition when she visited Paris in 1901. In her posthumously published journals, Carr commented occasionally on Van Gogh,⁴⁵ an awareness reinforced by art critics who find similarities in their subjects and especially in their painting techniques. McKenzie’s poems create links and seek parallels between two painters who “shared certain core sensibilities”⁴⁶ as social and aesthetic nonconformists by offering imagined conversations and connections that appear to be supported by documentation.

Closer to home are creative efforts to bring Emily Carr into direct contact with Pauline Johnson, thereby linking two major cultural figures who lived in Vancouver for some of the time between 1906, when Carr first set up a studio,⁴⁷ and Johnson’s death in 1913. Both women transgressed mainstream norms: Johnson as an unmarried Mohawk writer and performer and Carr as an unmarried eccentric artist and author. Given the small size of the city at that time and the even smaller size of its cultural community, it is quite likely that the women shared some common acquaintances, even though there is no record of a personal encounter—an event that would likely have been recorded in Carr’s journals if it had occurred. Their first manufactured

engagement appears in Janet Rogers's play *Pauline and Emily* (2000),⁴⁸ in which they happen to meet while canoeing on English Bay. When the wake from a passing freighter swamps their canoes, they unite in confronting the racial and sexist prejudices of their rescuers. Their revenge cements their friendship, and in the last scene, Carr is with Johnson when she dies. In Linda Wikene Johnson's historical novel *Vancouver!* (2002), Pauline Johnson is eager to meet Carr, but she demurs, thinking of Johnson as "too formidable." Nonetheless fate intervenes when they unexpectedly cross paths in Stanley Park, "two slightly crazy artists ambling through the woods." This event occurs in the summer of 1910, a crucial moment for both: Carr is saving money for her imminent trip to Paris, whereas Johnson is coming to terms with her diagnosis of terminal breast cancer. When the two meet again shortly before Johnson's death, Carr's gift of a rough sketch of geese in a pond cements their connection.⁴⁹ Together, these two creative works speculate about what might have developed if Johnson and Carr had indeed become acquainted.

The primary aim of children's books about Carr, whether nonfiction or fiction, is to acquaint young readers with an important Canadian painter while paying minimal attention to her writing. In addition to many straightforward biographies (some in publishers' series), several volumes approach Carr through her animals: the biography of her pet monkey in Constance Horne's *Emily Carr's Woo* (1995) and Carr's own writings about her dogs in *Emily Carr & Her Dogs*, first published in 1997 and reissued several times. This endearing little book reprints Carr's accounts of her dogs that were previously included in *The House of All Sorts* (1944), interspersed with twelve visual sketches taken from a hitherto unpublished calendar. As well, several fiction writers have found appealing ways to relate Carr's story to juvenile readers without significantly altering the historical record. Anne Alma's *Under Emily's Sky* (1997) features modern-day children who time-travel back to visit Carr and her monkey in her caravan in 1936; in *A Day of Signs and Wonders* (2016), Kit Pearson expands on details from *The House of*

All Sorts to create a possible youthful friendship between Carr and another historically significant Victoria resident, Kathleen O'Reilly.⁵⁰

Greater liberties appear in several adult novels, the most blatant being the manipulated photo of Carr in a wedding dress on the front cover of Veronica Knox's self-published *Woorwo: The Posthumous Love Story of Miss Emily Carr* (2012). Along with Susan Vreeland's earlier novel, *The Forest Lover* (2004), such fantasies attest to the dominance of romantic tropes in stories of women's lives as they try to compensate for Carr's spinsterhood by inventing fictional male lovers. Obsessed with Carr, Vreeland admits in her afterword, "Though one might wish for Emily to have had an experience like the one I invented with Claude du Bois, there is no evidence for such a one."⁵¹ Similarly speculative are the sexual details about Carr's treatment in the East Anglia Sanitarium in 1903, which contribute to one of the many plot lines running through Hollingsworth's *Be Quiet*.

Samuel Hearne (1745–92)

Most of my discussion thus far has concerned creative interpretations of literary women. In contrast, I have found few such representations of male Canadian writers beyond actors presenting lighthearted enactments of Leacock and Service. One man who has received considerable posthumous attention was not a creative writer but an explorer. The textual afterlife of Samuel Hearne (1745–92), whose published account of his efforts to reach the Arctic Ocean in 1769–71 in quest of a rumoured source of copper comprises one of Canada's best-known exploration narratives, is almost as varied and complex as that of Susanna Moodie. In contrast to Moodie's oeuvre, the precise nature of Hearne's authorship of his posthumously published *A Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean* (1795) has become a significant question among scholars.

As I have discussed elsewhere,⁵² some published versions of Hearne's experiences recount his story in nonfictional formats—from



Fig. 5.3 Samuel Hearne commemorative stamp, issued in 1971 for the 200th anniversary of his arrival at the mouth of the Coppermine River.

weighty scholarly and facsimile editions of the book that appeared under his name to lively later accounts stressing Hearne's heroism by popular historians such as Ken McGoogan and Farley Mowat—whereas others are by writers who have approached him with overt creativity. Several poets have focused on what is now usually seen as the central episode in Hearne's story, his helpless witnessing of a massacre of sleeping Inuit by his own Dene guides at a site henceforth known as "Bloody Fall." When considering this incident, it is important to recognize that because Hearne's book was published three years after his death, there was ample opportunity for editorial intervention. During the 1980s and 1990s, Ian MacLaren and other scholars presented bibliographical evidence to show that the sensational details of this assault were added by Hearne's first editors (for whom sales were more important than accuracy), especially the enduring image of the naked, dying Inuit girl, pierced with a spear, writhing around his legs.⁵³

But such questions of authenticity had not arisen when John Newlove composed his much-anthologized poem “Samuel Hearne in Wintertime” (1968), which contemplates gaps in Hearne’s published narrative. Here, a self-reflexive present-day speaker celebrates Hearne’s desire for knowledge (and copper), which sent him on his Arctic quest, in contrast to the Inuit girl who is “never to know.” The poem’s conclusion with a reference to the massacre is one of many such citations that contribute to the highlighting of this episode in Hearne’s canonical identity.⁵⁴ A similarly climactic ending closes Robin McGrath’s poem “They Came in Early Spring” (1998). Representing Hearne’s presence obliquely, McGrath mentions him only as “the trader who made it possible” and “dreamed of copper,” suspending confirmation of his identity until the concluding words, “Bloody Fall.”⁵⁵ Given the endurance of such references, it is scarcely surprising that in 1991 MacLaren opined that “the figure of Hearne in Canadian literature cannot free himself from the Inuit girl who is always there.”⁵⁶ Also appealing to creative writers has been Hearne’s indispensable Indigenous guide, Matonabee, whose skills and ingenuity enabled the success of Hearne’s extraordinary ventures. He is a focal point in Don Gutteridge’s long narrative poem *Coppermine* (1973) and in E.H. Carefoot’s poetic tragedy *Matonabee* (1980).⁵⁷

Following the pattern especially common in fictionalized accounts of historical women, a love interest is injected into Hearne’s story in Daniel Pouliquin’s *Samuel Hearne: le marcheur de l’Arctique* (1995), number eight in publisher XYZ Éditeur’s series of fifty historical *biographies romancées* addressed to younger readers. Here, Hearne’s secret love for young Marie Norton, the mixed-race daughter of the governor of the Hudson’s Bay Company’s Fort Prince of Wales, where Hearne was posted, is presented as one of his motives for embarking on his epic journey, notwithstanding that when Hearne first set out in 1769, he was twenty-four years old and Mary was about nine. (Later, when she was about sixteen, she became his “country wife” in a faithful relationship that lasted until her early death.) Mary Norton also figures in the

only full-length adult novel about Hearne, Pauline Holdstock's *Into the Heart of the Country* (2011), which exploits the liberty of fiction to foreground Mary (renamed Molly) as a principal narrative consciousness. Holdstock responded to the quandary of how to narrate the history of colonization in this postcolonial era by shifting the focus from the original primary storyteller to characters on the margins. She decentres Hearne by fleshing out the characters of Mary's grandfather and father, as well as English-born Richard Norton and his mixed-race son Moses, and by naming and acknowledging the many Indigenous women ignored by the official historical record. Telling the story of Fort Prince of Wales through characters other than Hearne, from its founding in 1717 until its destruction in 1783, Holdstock depicts Hearne sympathetically and movingly details the dilemmas confronted by Indigenous people as they struggled to cope with the catastrophic changes wrought by European contact.

Afterlives of Other Writers

In addition to the few Canadian authors who have enjoyed multiple creative reincarnations are the occasional others who have been revived in a single instance by a later writer who connects in a specific way with a predecessor. These unique moments of engagement follow different patterns and formats, some of which defy easy categorization. Two examples of subjective involvement come from major Canadian poets of the 1970s. Shortly after Frederick Philip Grove's true life story was revealed in 1973 by Douglas O. Spettigue, who dispelled Grove's false Swedish identity with documentation of his German origins and faked suicide,⁵⁸ Robert Kroetsch addressed Grove as a fellow prairie writer in his poem "F.P. Grove: The Finding" (1975), asking the "old liar" for the truth behind the stories contained in his faux autobiographies.⁵⁹ During the same decade, fascination with the hidden life of Archibald Lampman (1861–99) drew attention to his manuscript

poems addressed to Katherine Waddell, the soul mate who was not his wife. The publication of these verses as *Lampman's Kate: Late Love Poems of Archibald Lampman* (1975) inspired Doug Jones to articulate and sexualize the lovers' concealed relationship in his thirteen-poem sequence "Kate, These Poems," published in his Governor General Award-winning *Under the Thunder the Flowers Light up the Earth* (1977). Here, in the analysis of critic Anne Archer, Jones adopts Lampman's persona to compose a "sort of sequel" to the poems about his relationship with Waddell, "writing for Lampman the kind of love poems he could not manage himself," in the words of Tom Marshall.⁶⁰

As shown throughout this chapter, fiction is the genre that seems to enable the greatest liberty on the part of authors who create afterlives for their predecessors. A fictionalized version of the English intellectual Anna Jameson, whose eight months in Upper Canada are recorded in her *Winter Studies and Summer Rambles in Canada* (1838), serves as a reference point in Janet Hamilton's brief satirical novel *Sagacity* (1981). An unusual variant in writers' afterlives appears in Lee Gowan's novel *The Beautiful Place* (2021), described on its back cover as an "audacious sequel" to Sinclair Ross's novel *As for Me and My House* (1941), which was canonized during the 1970s and 1980s as a foundational work of modern Canadian fiction. Gowan pays tribute to Ross by picking up the story of his novel's "hero," Philip Bentley, and giving him a grandson who has moved to Vancouver in order to emulate his grandfather's artistic career. Following through on Keath Fraser's suggestion that *As for Me* "drew directly on [Ross's] own intimate history,"⁶¹ Gowan transforms Ross's fictional character into a more obvious representation of its author, drawing on Fraser's depiction of Ross's final years in his meditative memoir *As for Me and My Body* (1997). Whereas Ross's novel ends with the Bentleys' reconciliation, Gowan's sequel imagines Bentley later deserting his wife and child to become a painter best known for his "Main Street Series."⁶² Gowan's characterization of Philip Bentley—a closeted gay man with a strong

sense of irony who lives in Vancouver's West End and is slowly succumbing to Parkinson's—closely resembles Ross himself.

The stage offers another platform for one-off engagements with deceased writers. In *Alien Creature: A Visitation from Gwendolyn MacEwen* (2000), Linda Griffiths reincarnates MacEwen in a gripping one-act monologue that captures the poet's intensity as she spirals toward her death. Occasionally citing MacEwen's verse (for a total of thirty-four lines),⁶³ Griffiths builds her drama on MacEwen's belief in magic, drawing from Rosemary Sullivan's biography *Shadow Maker: The Life of Gwendolyn MacEwen* (1995). A different kind of dramatization appeared nearly two decades later when famed Newfoundland novelist Margaret Duley was brought to life on stage in a production of Berni Stapleton's play *The Haunting of Margaret Duley* (2019) that was well received in St. John's, Newfoundland.⁶⁴

Although posthumous appearances on the stage and on the page have shaped the afterlives of many different Canadian writers, rare is the author who has written creatively about more than one such precursor, other than Atwood, who has been obsessed with Susanna Moodie and written an opera about Pauline Johnson. In recent years, John Passfield has published a biographical novel about Pauline Johnson, subtitled *I Know Who I Am* (2021), and another about L.M. Montgomery, subtitled *I Gave You Life* (2023). In both instances, the narratives' lack of contextual information presumes that readers are already familiar with the lives and writings of these authors, who are presented as narrators of their stories toward the end of their lives. Johnson is talking to a reporter as she comes to terms with her diagnosis of terminal cancer, and Montgomery is writing her last Anne book (*Anne of Ingleside*) in 1938. Their self-reflective thoughts swirl in repetitive collages that mix biographically accurate memories, imagined scenes and characters, direct and paraphrased citations from their writings, fictional critiques from outsiders, and fragments of poetry. These fictions are subjective, indeed, and often confusing, even for

a reader familiar with the writers' biographies and writings. Passfield's distinctive effort to engage with deceased writers contributes to the array of formats produced by inventive cultural creators whose opportunities have vastly expanded with the new tools of digital composition, some of which are addressed in the following inconclusive conclusion.

CONCLUSIONS / RECONSIDERATIONS / CONTINUATIONS

The previous chapter discusses many of the ways that creative writers have continued to develop performative and print approaches to the memorialization of predecessors whose works did much to shape national and personal narratives.¹ Addressed in this inconclusive conclusion are some of the new developments that are always on the horizon, thanks to innovative technologies as well as to inventive uses of the old medium of print on paper. Before attending to these evolving formats, I consider recent adjustments shaped by the shifting cultural values that embody the dynamism of cultural memory. In contrast to the belated recognition of some writers (such as Mary Ann Shadd) discussed in previous chapters, the last few decades have brought instances of the reverse, when yesterday's literary heroes become today's literary villains due to the disclosure of new information and to changing notions of acceptability.

Reconsiderations: Duncan Campbell Scott and Others

What should we do when horrendous flaws are discovered in the lives or careers of admired writers? In the context of this study, this problem has become particularly visible with four well-known authors: Thomas Chandler Haliburton, Joy Kogawa, Duncan Campbell Scott, and most recently, Alice Munro. Confronting the irreconcilability of monstrosity and genius embodied by celebrated artists whose transgressions have become known, American film critic Claire Dederer

asks, “How do we separate the maker from the made?”² Exemplifying the question of whether it is possible to engage with artistic works without validating their creators is the reception history of composer Richard Wagner, whose notorious anti-Semitism and later uptake by Adolf Hitler as a Teutonic champion have done surprisingly little to reduce the performance of his music (except in Israel).

In the Canadian context, sometimes it is quite easy to recast a writer’s significance in relation to changing values, as with the recent renaming of the museum housed in Thomas Chandler Haliburton’s former home in Windsor, Nova Scotia. In 2024, Haliburton House became Clifton Museum Park. The Nova Scotia Museum explains that restoring the property’s original name refrains from unnecessarily honouring a writer whose “racism, sexism, and bigotry” have come under increasing scrutiny while still acknowledging Haliburton’s significance as a nineteenth-century “literary pioneer” and best-selling author.³ In a somewhat similar fashion, the tarnished story behind Historic Joy Kogawa House (addressed in my discussion of writers’ childhood homes in chapter 2) seems to have been resolved with an apologetic acknowledgment of her father’s pedophilia prominently displayed on the house’s website. Its programming of events, workshops, and residencies continues to flourish with the support of considerable public and private funding, thus offering an example of what Dederer describes as the “benign acceptance” that can follow admirers’ sense of betrayal.⁴

In contrast, censure of Duncan Campbell Scott has continued unabated for the past three decades in reaction to increased attention to his role as a senior civil servant with the federal Department of Indian Affairs, where he administered the residential school program. Scott’s literary accomplishments had been recognized in conventional commemorative formats such as the 1963 plaque from the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada (HSMBC) at the site of his former home in Ottawa, but he was not resurrected by creative writers until he was designated a primary villain in the history of Canada’s policies

of assimilation of Indigenous children and suppression of First Nations culture. Most instances of commemoration pay tribute in some fashion to admired individuals and their accomplishments, whether with celebratory public landmarks or with investigative creative endeavours. However, such is no longer the case with Scott. Whereas his literary writings that include “Indians” were once admired as Romantic expressions of sympathy, built on “the contrast of the savage powerful past of the race with its humbled present and hopeless future,” in the words of the respected mid-twentieth-century literary critic E.K. Brown,⁵ today these works are viewed as implicit justification of Scott’s administration of Canada’s Indian Act. His professional career now taints his entire body of work to the extent that in 2015 his plaque in Ottawa’s Beechwood Cemetery was altered to minimize his literary accomplishments,⁶ followed by the removal of his HSMBC plaque in 2024.⁷ Poet and critic Stan Dragland wrestled with the dilemma of reconciling the administrator and the poet in his book *Floating Voice: Duncan Campbell Scott and the Literature of Treaty 9* (1994); more recently, Mark Abley took up the challenge in his contemplative study of Scott, *Conversations with a Dead Man: The Legacy of Duncan Campbell Scott*, first published in 2013 and expanded in 2024. That Abley felt the need to return to this subject roughly ten years later illustrates how revocations and critiques of problematic writers may accumulate over time.

This problem of re-evaluation has been raised by Emily Nussbaum, Claire Dederer, and other critics of current American culture who ask, especially in light of #Me Too revelations about major filmmakers and actors, “What should we do with the art of terrible men?” For Nussbaum, this question has primarily involved reassessing the work of Woody Allen, whose movies had been her hallmark of excellence in American film. Her view that “You don’t have to solve that contradiction to engage with it”⁸ well describes Abley’s book and indeed the position of anyone who wants to give Scott some recognition as a talented writer without also crediting his untenable role in Canadian history. Since the 1990s, Scott has become a symbol of

the residential school system and therefore subject to such acts of ex-commemoration⁹ as the removal of his name from *ARC* poetry magazine's Lampman-Scott poetry award in 2010, a process described by Abley, who tells us that "likewise Ottawa's main literary festival would no longer sponsor a Duncan Campbell Scott Address."¹⁰ Scott's involvement with the Royal Society of Canada (RSC), where he served for two years as president in 1921 and 1922, inspired a recent collection of scholarly essays edited by Constance Backhouse, Cynthia E. Milton, Margaret Kovach, and Adele Perry, *Royally Wronged: The Royal Society of Canada and Indigenous Peoples* (2021), which deploys his career as a unifying thread in critiquing many aspects of the RSC's engagement with the country's Indigenous peoples. Along similar lines, in February 2025, Scott was "de-recognized" by the University of Toronto when it withdrew the honorary degree that it had awarded him more than a century earlier.¹¹

For Indigenous writers, the situation is quite straightforward. Numerous Indigenous poets have taken Scott to task for the disjunction between his apparently sympathetic poetry about Indigenous characters and his role in implementing the government's assimilationist agenda, captured in Armand Garnet Ruffo's "Poem for Duncan Campbell Scott" (1994), which concludes, "the way he's always busy writing / stuff in the notebook he carries. Him, / he calls it poetry / and says it will make us who are doomed / live forever."¹² Less subtle is Garry Gottfriedson's articulation of Scott's desire to see "Canada whitewashed / its museums dotted with Indian corpses," and to "forge assimilation policies / mapping trails of hatred from coast to coast for eternity."¹³ In "The Keeper of the Stories" (2004), Bernice Halfe associates Scott's name with the personal suffering of an Indigenous woman whose "son is hung."¹⁴ Garry Thomas Morse's *Discovery Passages* (2011) is sprinkled with quotations from Scott's archival correspondence regarding the suppression of the potlatch. Especially wrenching is his poem "Hot Blooded: A Love Poem for Duncan Campbell Scott," which cites passages from Scott's "Indian" poems

throughout its extended metaphor of Indigenous experience as rape.¹⁵ For the second edition of *Conversations with a Dead Man* (2024), Abley compiled additional instances of the responses of Indigenous artists, including Alanis Obomsawin's film *Trick or Treaty?* (2014), a sarcastic letter to Scott in D.A. Lockhart's poetry collection *Devil in the Woods* (2019), Jordan Abel's citations from Scott in *NISHGA* (2021), and Keir Cutler's one-man play *Civilized* (2019), which recounts Scott's actions in implementing government policies of forced assimilation.¹⁶ Seldom has a once-celebrated literary author been so thoroughly dethroned and subjected to what one cultural theorist has termed "statuecide."¹⁷ In comparison, in 1938, the posthumous unmasking of Grey Owl as the Englishman named Archie Belaney created a wave of scandal but did not denigrate his books about the wilderness or interfere with his influence in conserving beaver populations and establishing national parks. Whereas recognition of Grey Owl endures with the preservation of his cabin by Parks Canada, as described in chapter 2, current derogation of non-Indigenous writers and others in public life who have fabricated an Indigenous identity, now known as "pretendians," likely precludes their future commemoration, regardless of any accomplishments.

Where does Alice Munro now fit into this troubling landscape of disappointment and discredit? My concern is not to judge her but to situate reactions to her recent scandal in relation to the devaluation of other cultural icons. In July 2024, less than two months after Munro's death, the literary world was shocked when her daughter, Andrea Munro Skinner, published a front-page revelation of her mother's inadequate response when she belatedly learned about her second husband's abuse of her youngest child. As I complete this book a year later, it is too early to assess the full impact of this disclosure on Munro's various honours. In addition to receiving the Nobel Prize for Literature, which led to national recognition with a postage stamp and a commemorative coin, she saw her name appear on a literary festival, a public library, a public garden, and Western University's Chair in

Literary Creativity. Andrea's story aroused strong reactions and generated a number of rapid responses. The Alice Munro Festival of the Short Story was quickly discontinued, and its associated literary competition has been taken over by the Huron County Library, renamed the Huron County Short Story Contest. The Alice Munro garden will remain, but the name of the Alice Munro Library is still under consideration. At Western University, the Alice Munro Chair in Literary Creativity has been "paused," and there is no word regarding the fate of the honorary degree that Munro received from Western in 1976, which was the only honorary degree she ever accepted. On a more personal level, writer Robert McGill quickly changed all references to Munro in a short story that was going to press, substituting a fictional name for the character in question.¹⁸

Some contextualization of the voluble public censure of Munro that quickly arose in the Canadian and international media can be found in Claire Dederer's *Monsters: A Fan's Dilemma* (2023). She devotes several chapters to problematic creative women, subsequent to her much longer discussion of monstrous men from the world of the arts, which addresses a roll call of famous authors, painters, musicians, actors, and filmmakers whose unforgivable offences have included sexual abuse, racism, and anti-Semitism. When she turns to women, Dederer argues that it is still the case that "an ambitious woman is to be castigated or mistrusted." She defines the major "sin" of creative women as "negligent motherhood. If the male crime is rape, the female crime is the failure to nurture."¹⁹ Noting that "the divided self is a common story for female artists,"²⁰ she relates representations of this theme in the writings of Doris Lessing and Muriel Spark to their own abandonment of their children. Dederer's attention to the conflicted maternity of Anne Sexton, Sylvia Plath, and Joni Mitchell, among others, offers a context that puts Munro in the company of many outstanding women who wrestled with the simultaneous demands of their art and their family. In his above-mentioned article, McGill's revisiting of Munro's

story “Vandals” (1994) demonstrates how her complicated personal life will now often be regarded as a prototype of her stories about women who prove unable to free themselves from long-term relationships with abusive men, as in “Runaway” (2004) and “Dimensions” (2006). This approach invites biographical interpretations of her fictions as projections of her fraught family and personal experiences, implying an inseparable blending of texts and paratexts.

Museums and Media

This book’s discussions of the many ways that selected writers have been remembered and at times resurrected offers a small window into the much larger topic of the creation and preservation of cultural memory in Canada. The previous chapters have shown that even when focusing on selected individuals and modes of representation, it is impossible to be fully inclusive. Although poets other than Pauline Johnson may flourish in public memory when their verses are set to music, tracking them down would require considerable effort. There are likely many statues, busts, portraits, and memorial plaques that have failed to come to my attention, especially those inside libraries, museums, colleges, and other institutional buildings. Other genres of practice and preservation also deserve notice, such as the sound recordings of writers discussed by Katherine McLeod.²¹ And the messy, complex, and ever-engaging realm of print surely contains numerous commemorative poems, stories, and published tributes that await discovery.

A historian of British print culture once asked me about Canada’s inclusion of writers in a national portrait gallery. The answer was easy—Canada has yet to create an iconic institution like those in London, Edinburgh, Canberra, and Washington, DC, that perpetuate the faces of a pantheon of national figures. The few formal painted portraits of Canadian writers that I know of are scattered in assorted repositories

ranging from the National Gallery of Canada (Stephen Leacock) to small museums (L.M. Montgomery). Photographer Yousuf Karsh took memorable portrait photos of many twentieth-century Canadian authors (including Grey Owl, Leacock, and Margaret Atwood), records of which can be found in an online inventory, but not all of these images are readily viewed.²² Instead, we have the Portrait Gallery of Canada, an entirely online creation established in 2020 that describes itself as a “decentralized museum” that “collects and shares the stories of the individuals and communities that define Canada.”²³ Its opening exhibition, *Personae: Indigenous and Canadian Portraits 1861–2020* (2020), included just one figure affiliated with literature, namely Leonard Cohen, who also happens to be the only person represented in two separate images in this display.²⁴

This unconventional portrait gallery exists because plans to create a more traditional exhibition space in collaboration with Library and Archives Canada, as announced by Prime Minister Jean Chrétien in 2001, were later vetoed due to rising costs and changing priorities, leading to the gallery’s current status as a federally registered not-for-profit corporation with an illustrious board.²⁵ Its turn to electronic display media, with a broad “mission to examine the many ways in which we choose to give form to our human identity,”²⁶ is just one manifestation of how recent concerns about colonialism and inclusivity have been changing the narrative with regard to selecting which participants in Canada’s cultural history deserve recognition. This book has presented several literary examples of changing values in its accounts of the part-Chinese Eaton sisters, Mary Ann Shadd and other Black writers, and Indigenous responses to Pauline Johnson and to Duncan Campbell Scott. Together, they confirm Tonya K. Davidson’s statement that monuments of all sorts, despite their material solidity, “have dynamic social lives and produce all sorts of affective engagements in the cities and societies of which they are a part.”²⁷ This dynamism includes the use of new media to expand the ways that historical concerns are recognized, with new technologies producing

new opportunities and results. For example, Mary Chapman's substantial database on Winnifred Eaton,²⁸ the electronic portrayal of Shadd, titled "Awakenings," by Toronto artist Adeyemi Adegbesan,²⁹ and a GPS self-guided tour through Mary Ann Shadd's Toronto³⁰ represent the successful application of new media to traditional modes of commemoration.

These electronic efforts often display brilliant creativity, yet their immateriality raises questions about audience and about durability that will be answered only over time: who is likely to learn about commemorative gestures that must be sought on a machine rather than encountered on the street or in print? How likely is it that an online resource will last as long as a published volume, a metal plaque affixed to a brick wall, or a portrait on canvas? The Winnifred Eaton Archive enjoys sufficient support to guarantee considerable longevity, but will it endure as long as traditional print publications such as biographies and bibliographies? Adegbesan's 2021 portrait of Shadd, projected on the exterior of Toronto's Mackenzie House Museum (the last home of William Lyon Mackenzie), had a limited lifespan in this format. By their very nature, exhibitions in galleries and museums are short-lived, although frequently recorded for posterity in published exhibition catalogues, some of which link to online components. An interesting example is provided by the Leonard Cohen exhibition *A Crack in Everything*, mounted by Montreal's Musée d'Art Contemporain. According to the curators, planning of this tribute began when Cohen was still alive; following his death in 2016, the exhibition then evolved into a commemorative display that opened on 20 November 2017, "exactly one year after Cohen's passing."³¹ In 2018, an impressive catalogue was published in book form. After the scheduled closure of the material exhibition, a virtual exhibition was accessible until 25 June 2024; now we have just the print catalogue as a long-term memorial.³²

Museum display has also been deployed by Shaun Hunter, author of *Calgary through the Eyes of Writers* (2018), who is doing much to assert her city's literary identity. Her 2020 *Storied City* installation at the



Lougheed House National Historic Site (once the home of Senator James Lougheed and his wife, Isabella Lougheed) created an imaginary dinner party attended by twelve authors associated with Calgary, from Chief Buffalo Long Lance to P.K. Page, few of whom likely met in real life. Hunter has also created a detailed online literary map of Calgary as well as a brief paper version—“City of Romance: The Literary World of 1920s Calgary”—sold through Calgary bookstores.³³

The City of Berkeley, California, probably resembles many jurisdictions in its recent expansion of commemorative markers to include electronic plaques (along the lines of the electronic literary maps described in chapter 1). This endeavour arose from the Berkeley Historical Plaque Project, which was initiated in 1997 to mark significant sites with traditional material plaques and soon expanded to include electronic formats that enable the addition of citizen-initiated resources. Its website informs visitors,

Unlike traditional plaques, which are real objects, e-Plaques exist only on this website. They document our city’s past online. Written by you and by us, they present a serendipitous overview of Berkeley. With time e-Plaques will grow into a collaborative self-portrait of our city—a crowd-sourced mosaic of entries revealing how Berkeley became Berkeley. E-Plaques exist in relation to specific locations: actual places on our website’s interactive map. They document a broad array of sites where interesting things have happened, where compelling people from all walks of life have lived, or where unique natural phenomena exist.³⁴

Backed by the Berkeley Historical Society and Museum with duly archived records, this thoughtful website includes a good search engine

Fig. C.1 (opposite) Adeyemi Adegbesan’s image of Mary Ann Shadd projected on Mackenzie House, Toronto, 2021.

with defined categories such as “Artists and Writers”—of which Berkeley has known many, among them Jack Kerouac and Pauline Kael.

The brave new world of what is now called “digital tourism” or “virtual tourism,” an expansion of what used to be known as “armchair tourism,” offers copious innovative opportunities to engage with historic sites such as writers’ houses as well as with manuscripts and artifacts in museums and archives. These institutions can now present detailed electronic displays of fragile items that are rarely seen firsthand. In this regard, asks American professor Mara Scanlon in her personal account of comparing students’ responses to various materials related to Walt Whitman, “Can we make a case, when excellent visual representations and explanatory text are available online, that seeing things in person is worth the expense and time?” Her response is that these different modes of engagement are complementary but not “the *same* thing”—that scholarly analysis and on-site fandom supplement each other in offering enriched opportunities to engage with deceased authors.³⁵

However well intentioned, some electronic endeavours can be difficult to find and to search. For example, the Queering the Map project, which began in Montreal, offers a much-needed site-specific reference source concerning the region’s LGBTQ history.³⁶ It includes some literary references, such as Librarie L’Androgyne, the first Queer bookstore in Montreal, founded in 1973,³⁷ but because the site lacks the search capacity that would enable identification of writers, its literary contents are not easily discovered.

Alongside such engagements with new media, some recent memorial projects display inventive uses of old media, such as the playful mounting of mock plaques, described earlier in this book, and creative uses of print, as exemplified in Yvonne Bloomer and D.C. Reid’s edited volume *Hologram: An Homage to P.K. Page* (2023). More than a decade after Page’s death in 2010, Bloomer and Reid celebrated Page’s importance as a creator and a mentor by inviting some forty poets who had known her to contribute new poems and brief accounts of

relevant memories. The resulting volume also includes several items from Page scholars and reproductions of almost twenty of Page's art works. Altogether, this *mélange* of genres, words, and images constitutes a commemorative collage of creative, personal, and scholarly writing and art that captures Page's keen vision, multiple talents, and broad significance to the Canadian cultural community in a genre that defies standard categorization and can perhaps best be described as an album. Rather than accepting such normalization of the printed page, other recent writers have challenged the hegemony of print by dismantling the words and formats of earlier authors, thereby "writing back."

Writing Back

The title of *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-colonial Literatures* (1989), a foundational international study,³⁸ summarized a key concept in the discussion of responses of Indigenous populations to dominant settler narratives. In Canada, many Indigenous writers and artists in various media continue to challenge imposed cultural norms by "writing back" to prevailing Eurocentric artistic values, using new media and/or irreverently deploying conventional formats to invert the imperialistic perspective implicitly or explicitly transmitted by traditional artifacts. Their oblique take on Canada's cultural landscape can be slyly comical, as in Thomas King's brilliant novel *Green Grass, Running Water* (1993), where King ushers four early Canadian writers into the Dead Dog Cafe (of Blossom, Alberta) without explaining their identities.³⁹ The reader's appreciation of the ironic significance of this fabricated meeting depends on recognition of P. Johnson, S. Moodie, J. Richardson, and A. Belany as Pauline Johnson, Susanna Moodie, John Richardson, and Archie Belaney (Grey Owl)—four earlier Canadian authors who wrote about Indigenous people. In King's narrative, they travel together on a tourist bus, having come west to see the "Indians," yet they seem rather oblivious to real Indigenous

people in daily life, including those who run the café, where they all order Old Agency Puppy Stew for lunch.

Among the most prominent such challenges is the work of Cree artist Kent Monkman, whose detailed oil paintings deploy an Indigenous perspective to critique canonical motifs and subjects from European and Canadian art and history. Many of these pieces are reproduced in his two-volume work *The Memoirs of Miss Chief Eagle Testickle: A True and Exact Accounting of the History of North America Turtle Island* (2023), co-authored with Gisèle Gordon, which adds textual storytelling to Monkman's pictorial oeuvre and uses an extensive Cree vocabulary. The first volume—in which his time-travelling fantasy alter ego, Miss Chief Eagle Testickle, flies through the centuries, “from the creation of the universe to the confederation of Canada”⁴⁰—occasionally cites current writers Thomas King, Thomson Highway, and Maria Campbell while also jousting with several major nineteenth-century European authors, including Charles Baudelaire, Charles Dickens (who derogated the “noble savage”),⁴¹ and Georges Sand. In the second volume, which covers the post-Confederation era to the present, literary references are replaced by direct citations concerning the historical figures who were key players in the dispossession and forced assimilation of Indigenous people that underpinned European settlement across Canada.

Engaging in retaliatory commemoration on the page in an approach that aligns with Monkman's achievement on canvas, Nisga'a poet Jordan Abel reclaims West Coast Indigenous culture by writing back to a selection of authors and texts that have shaped colonialist perceptions and actions, developing inventive formats that challenge the hegemony of the printed page. His attention to earlier writings seldom differentiates between Canadian and American sources, implicitly treating Canadians as knowing participants in the values propagated in American popular culture with regard to the appropriation of North American land and attempted erasure of Indigeneity. In his first

book, *The Place of Scraps* (2013), Abel dismantles writing by the influential salvage anthropologist Marius Barbeau (an associate of Duncan Campbell Scott), who fostered the housing of West Coast artifacts in the Royal Ontario Museum. Through the course of this book, words vanish from the page as Abel invokes archival photographs of Indigenous people and artifacts in an effort to link to the lost past.

A similar pattern shapes his subsequent book, *Un/inhabited* (2014), in which ninety-one stories of western settlement by twenty popular American writers dissolve into figurative images as words and pieces of text (selected by computer word-searches) fade into blank pages.⁴² The same selection of novels (“just over ten thousand pages”) formed the corpus of his next book, *Injun* (2016), whose poems are constructed with the words brought forward in association with these white writers’ use of the term “injun,” identified via a computer search that brought 509 hits.⁴³ Abel’s latest book (winner of the 2024 Governor General’s Award for fiction), *Empty Spaces* (2023), is a “conceptual project” that takes off from James Fenimore Cooper’s *Last of the Mobicans* (1826), an American novel sometimes taught as a foundational text in Canada as well as the United States. Rather than “re-presenting James Fenimore Cooper’s vision of land as *terra nullius*,” Abel describes his aim as “overwriting *terra nullius*” with the goal of “rearticulating Indigenous presence.”⁴⁴ Such writing back shifts commemoration to a zone that might be better described as “re-memoration,”⁴⁵ to coin a word that corresponds to the focus of this book.

Alongside Abel’s technique of dealing with published words rather than with their authors, other Indigenous writers critique specific Canadian writers. Countering Susanna Moodie’s status as an emblematic European pioneer is Leanne Betasamosake Simpson’s poetic novel *Noopiming: The Cure for White Ladies* (2020), whose title means “in the bush” in Anishinaabemowin. Although Moodie’s name appears only in the back cover blurb, the book itself reclaims Indigenous landscapes and values in an act of “decolonization, degentrification,



"Coffin House" is the "Crest in the 'Crest' (1891, 18).

This story, of the only one in the Kintsestah society belongs to the house of the first. Having seen it, of 1888, it was first square. In the centre of the this frog and a fifty or sixty feet the drying of Charlotte Island.

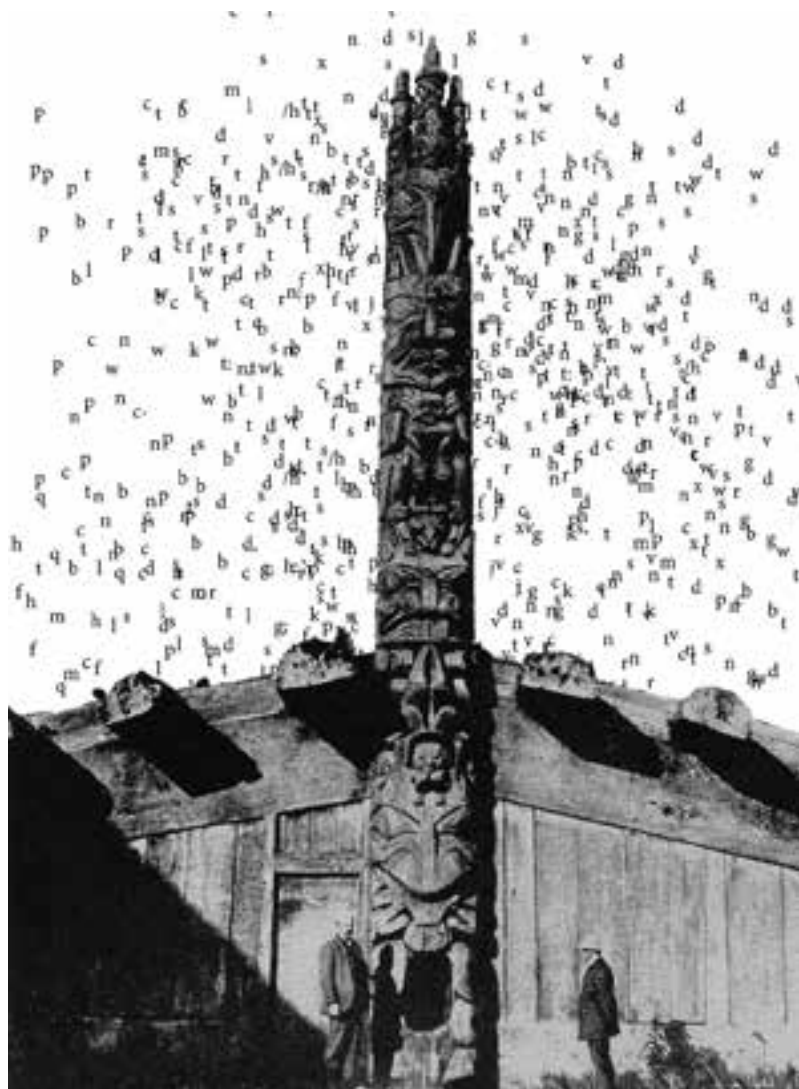
Marion Barbeau

ing. The first crest connected with the Bear of the frog, as recorded by James Deans,

connected with the Cho-its-tou or bear crest, is far as I have seen about 1888, connected with crest. I have seen that this was a secret to women. This society had their "Coffin House" (1891, 18). I have been inside of it. description of "Whale" saw it in the summer of 1888, it was a square twenty feet square. It was made of cedar planks, the top being a square armed with iron spikes. The poles were made of wood, and above the other, bears of the same species. In each one were human figures, and they are from the Queen

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Fig. c.2 Jordan Abel, *The Place of Scraps* (2013), pages 177 (left) and 249 (right).



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 s, let's go," the Happy En
 s. They pulled these horses
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 se had been visible around
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 l the party of white men;
 he parched mess that was
 to the dust, mounted his
 mply, were where the r
 the Happy Family dinner
 air quarry, and Lark's hat
 in direction of scenes. "It
 h to come running." "Will
 yuh go up." "Sure," said I
 upon the ground watching
 dleak up through a narrow
 pug his face with his hand
 s precision of look abbas
 ing across at Lark, waved
 h, nervously raising his voice
 we below." "Miss office,"
 By the time we got down
 d up by the tail a goat wa
 a long ways back where it
 at a mile gained on that lo
 ing for a clew, kept to the
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 low his of fetsman which
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 d not credit Bill Holmes w
 James was cheated of too
 n. Already the heat was le
 i stress, no longer showing
 for some distance, his ene
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 ngling fire of its stumps;
 e these bones. But they were
 y, a gray hat-crown came f
 d face wearing a reluctant
 n, an' Applehead, he's all
 set to feel jubilant over the
 e into the deepening dusk
 ing out their beds and dis
 ted to the new familiar ho
 a is fresher a half lot than
 "Why, certainly," Lark a
 They's grass here, yuh nari
 goned. These ponies ain't
 y you will remember that
 ous. For after they had
 mess doled by the coom
 igherish states, held hope
 ous mist of Applehead's
 de out to stand good over
 e another hour. Don't pul
 nize and the show, were
 e—where there were no l
 ly, so that the bell he was
 fully, so as to make no no
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 For some time he was not
 ray at night unless they w
 ously away from camp. Fi
 l at all, and when he did it

Lark had eaten and drunk
 be understood as including
 ists—away from the gorge,
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 was nothing visible to thin
 out the trail he approached.
 ley spread out a yard thro
 ons and crowd with noisy,
 unobscured galleys. "CHIEF
 ls pushed up into the dim
 ous while they yielded by
 ily when he turned back in
 pockets," he explained. "Get
 up in mind, Lark." Appleh
 says with Peck, Big Medicine
 s. Then blating left of a row
 was now a mile, a row, a row
 ng of possible level for an
 ng Medicine and Peck wa
 s that was shaded by a light
 ous now, though a lot of this
 igationous sneaking fitted out
 shadows." He glanced down a
 die workings. "The're such
 loose water, it's a—" The
 inding the catfish of the tra
 g every bit of self-gained
 Lark dismissed him to be a
 irectly upon one street cor
 d Bill Holmes, and he had g
 responsible. "It's a terrible
 k-scaled mancher. Kaman,
 that before he existed it w
 e those manufacturers of inst
 ounded while they lay out
 deepened with the swing of
 a began to think they were
 dismissed that noisy and gr
 ily over the middle branch
 uments whatever of stepping
 ge of rocky ground this con
 he announce it to you as he
 fillers (movers)." One of the
 tre-hole. Even the horses ma
 e while they slipped into a
 uika for comfort in camp. A
 as his "Lark" the horses of
 ous ranch. Morn' had over
 ous as his other two horses
 put the bell on a horse, and
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 each prophet may survive this
 away she dead, and he's all
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 whose duty it was to get on
 into this country, des, or to
 ous movements during this
 I for a minute. The Harriet
 Nck lay back with a sigh of
 y overalls and gaiters, she
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 ured, and the Lark's grass
 horse would have made it
 at he could live here with
 them within the way. It is
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Fig. c.3 Jordan Abel, *Un/inhabited* (first edition, 2015), n.p.

and willful resistance,” following up on Simpson’s earlier critique of Moodie in *As We Have Always Done: Indigenous Freedom through Radical Resistance* (2017).⁴⁶ In *Devil in the Woods* (2019) by Anishnaabe author D.A. Lockhart, colonialist poet Duncan Campbell Scott is joined by other literary figures. This volume of poetic letters written to a gamut of prominent non-Indigenous Canadians addresses a selection of writers alongside various luminaries from Canada’s past and present, including actors, politicians, and media and sports personalities. In the realm of the literary, Lockhart’s letter to Sarah Polley notes that Montgomery’s Avonlea represents “the childhood we couldn’t have.” He takes Margaret Atwood to task over her apparent support for Joseph Boyden’s false claim to Indigenous identity, cynically opining that “when one sets out to build a national literature / one does it better in faux gaslight with distant rattles of Bloor.” In Lockhart’s view, Pierre Berton’s achievement was to “build every Confederation / myth into the stuff a school librarian had to fill / those stationary, engineered bookcases with,” and in the case of Robertson Davies, “every story worth telling / to folks in the glass buildings down in old Hogtown / revolves around coming from or going to a university.” Because Duncan Campbell Scott cannot “tell many of us apart,” he is presented as complicit with Grey Owl’s disguise, thereby demonstrating that “white guys being Indians was / the only way to be Indigenous around here.” More sympathetic is Lockhart’s address to Emily Carr, who “captured the best of us just being” and whose art helps “two Anishnaabe guys” to remember “the things you remind us of.” His recuperation of Indigenous values includes a sense of connection with Al Purdy as a “vagabond poet” and with Leonard Cohen as a “survivor of a thousand holocausts ... Sitting on the edge of things.” Especially strong is his accolade for Mary Bibb, “the first black journalist on Three Fires land,” to whom he declares, “we are children of the same mother.”⁴⁷ New recognition, Lockhart suggests, is to be forged by alliances among those who know the history of marginalization: workers, Jews, Blacks, and Indigenous peoples. Their participa-

tion—as both subjects and agents of commemoration—creates a very different cultural landscape from the one inherited by writers shaped by Eurocentric values.

Such writing back illuminates how posthumous literary recognition is an ever-transforming entity, compelling us to recognize how the past impacts the present, and showing us how the present makes use of the past. Apt indeed is the oft-cited quip by one of William Faulkner's characters that "the past is never dead. It's not even past."⁴⁸ To return to Adrienne Burk's comment cited in this book's introduction, "The question of what to valorize and how to meaningfully remember in [today's] shifting circumstances is provocative ... How do we use memory meaningfully?"⁴⁹ Writers and memories of writers will long continue to be significant participants in the shaping and uses of our cultural memory. As Canada evolves, so too will the recognition of how diverse cultural groups influence the selection of authors deemed worthy of note and the reasons for honouring them on currency, postage stamps, schools, libraries, streets, and parks as well as in the creative work of their successors.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

- 1 “Jean Paul Riopelle Foundation,” *Globe and Mail*, October 7, 2023, R10. Two months later, there followed a similar full-page ad, this time focusing on the Espace Riopelle at the Musée National des Beaux-Arts du Québec, due for completion in 2026. See *Globe and Mail*, December 9, 2023, R12.
- 2 “Read All about It – The Literary Map of Bath Is Here,” *Dennis Maps*, n.d., <https://www.dennismaps.co.uk/2024/05/21/read-all-about-it-the-literary-map-of-bath-is-here/?syclid=cpqnm4omo4s73es794o>, archived on August 13, 2025, at <https://perma.cc/5AXN-Y9PT>.

In the interest of preserving web-based sources and preventing link rot, we have used Perma.cc, a service developed at Harvard University’s Law Library, to capture online materials. We have done so when DOIs or other permalinks are not already available. We have included the original URL for the source as well as the Perma.cc link as a safeguard or backup, as recommended by the *Chicago Manual of Style*, eighteenth edition. The Perma.cc links that we have created are for critical digital resources for this text. We have not archived every link, only those that we consider to be critical digital resources for this text and when the source seems potentially at risk of erasure.

- 3 Susann Bishop, “The Allure of American Authors’ Homes: Surveying Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Literary Guides,” in *From Page to Place: American Literary Tourism and the Afterlives of Authors*, ed. Jennifer Harris and Hilary Iris Lowe, 205–30 (Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2017).
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- 5 See Kent C. Ryden, *Mapping the Invisible Landscape: Folklore, Writing, and the Sense of Place* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1993), 36–40.
- 6 Such is the case with the essays collected in Cynthia Sugars and Eleanor Ty, eds., *Canadian Literature and Cultural Memory* (Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press, 2014).
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- 9 Joep Leerson and Ann Rigney, “Introduction,” in *Commemorating Writers in Nineteenth-Century Europe: Nation-Building and Centenary Fever* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 5.
- 10 Astrid Erll, *Memory in Culture* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 113.
- 11 Erll, *Memory*, 12.
- 12 For example, see the references to *Anne of Green Gables* in a profile of Alberta premier Alison Redford by Katherine Ashenburg, “Her Way,” *The Walrus*, updated April 13, 2020, <https://thewalrus.ca/her-way/>, archived on August 13, 2025, at <https://perma.cc/8EQD-ZXAK>.
- 13 See Fiona A. Black, “Tracing the Transatlantic Bard’s Availability,” in *Robert Burns in Transatlantic Context*, ed. Sharon Alker, Leith Davis, and Holly Nelson, 55–69 (London and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012).
- 14 Clark McGinn, *The Burns Supper: A Concise History* (Edinburgh: Luath, 2018), 81–82. Canada occasionally appears in Arun Sood, *Robert Burns and the United States of America: Poetry, Print, and Memory, c. 1786–1886* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).
- 15 James Ballantine, ed., *The Chronicle of the Hundredth Birth Day of Robert Burns* (Edinburgh and London: Fullarton, 1859), 512–48.
- 16 John Robert Colombo, *Canadian Literary Landmarks* (Willowdale, ON: Hounslow, 1984), 281. The ubiquity of Burns statues in Canada is congruent with their prominence in Scotland, studied by historian Christopher A. Whatley, *Immortal Memory: Burns and the Scottish People* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2016), 4. In Canada, the presence of Shakespeare is examined by Diana Brydon and Irene R. Makaryk, eds., *Shakespeare in Canada: A World Elsewhere* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), and the presence of Burns is examined both by Carole Gerson and Susan Wilson, “The Presence of Robert Burns in Victorian and

- Edwardian Canada,” in *Robert Burns in Transatlantic Context*, ed. Sharon Alker, Leith Davis, and Holly Nelson, 117–30 (London and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012), and by Leith Davis, “The Robert Burns 1859 Centenary: Mapping Transatlantic (Dis)location,” in *Robert Burns in Transatlantic Context*, ed. Sharon Alker, Leith Davis, and Holly Nelson, 187–205 (London and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2012).
- 17 Clark McGinn, *The Burns Supper: A Concise History* (Edmonton: Luath, 2018), 13.
- 18 Leith Davis, “Gung Haggis Fat Choy,” *The Bottle Imp*, May 2009, <https://www.thebottleimp.org.uk/tag/gung-haggis-fat-choy/>; Wikipedia, “Gung Haggis Fat Choy,” n.d., https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gung_Haggis_Fat_Choi, archived on August 13, 2025, at <https://perma.cc/SDR7-H8ET>.
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- 20 Dana M. Colarusso, “Rhyme and Reason: Shakespeare’s Exceptional Status and Role in Canadian Education,” in *Shakespeare and Canada: “Remembrance of Ourselves,”* ed. Irena R. Makaryk and Kathryn Prince, 215–40 (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2017).
- 21 Makaryk, “Introduction,” 15.
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- 25 Tonya K. Davidson, *Tours Inside the Snow Globe: Ottawa Monuments and National Belonging* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2024), 3–4.
- 26 Gaston Fransson and Rick Honings, “Introduction,” in *Idolizing Authorship: Literary Celebrity and the Construction of Identity, 1800 to the Present* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2017), 14.

- 27 See Peggy Lynn Kelly and Carole Gerson, *Hearing More Voices: English-Canadian Women in Print and on the Air, 1914–1960* (Ottawa: Tecumseh, 2020).
- 28 Nicola J. Watson, *The Literary Tourist: Readers and Places in Romantic and Victorian Britain* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 8. See also Nicola J. Watson, ed., *Literary Tourism and Nineteenth-Century Culture* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009); and Nicola J. Watson, *The Author's Effects: On Writer's House Museums* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020).
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- 37 “The Hemingway,” *Condos.ca*, n.d., <https://condos.ca/toronto/the-hemingway-1597-bathurst-st-1599-bathurst-st>, archived on April 25, 2025, at <https://perma.cc/S9SD-MNU4>.
- 38 Colombo, *Canadian Literary Landmarks*, 235, 129.
- 39 Douglas Lochhead, “The Kipling Room,” *Dalbousie Review* 36, no. 2 (1956): 117.
- 40 Greg Gatenby, *Toronto: A Literary Guide* (Toronto: McArthur, 1999), 65.
- 41 Toronto Public Library, “Arthur Conan Doyle Collection,” n.d., <https://www.torontopubliclibrary.ca/books-video-music/specialized-collections/literature-genre-doyle.jsp>, archived on April 25, 2025, at <https://perma.cc/2PN7-L4RQ>.
- 42 See Clifford S. Goldfarb, ed., *The Four Pillars: The Foundations of the Arthur Conan Doyle Collection* (Toronto: Friends of the Arthur Conan Doyle Collection, 2014).
- 43 Christopher A. Whatley notes that there was “a particularly intense relationship between ordinary Scots and the ploughman poet.” Whatley, *Immortal Memory*, 2.
- 44 National Trust for Canada, “Josiah Henson Museum of African-Canadian History,” n.d., <https://nationaltrustcanada.ca/destinations/josiah-henson-museum-of-african-canadian-history>, archived on April 25, 2025, at <https://perma.cc/APS3-RA8N>; Parks Canada, “Uncle Tom’s Cabin – Henson House,” n.d., <https://www.historicplaces.ca/en/rep-reg/place-lieu.aspx?id=8200&pid=0>, archived on February 24, 2026, at <https://perma.cc/RW22-YZ2S>. Note that Parks Canada plans to shut down the Canadian Register of Historic Places website in spring 2026. Toronto’s Stephen Taylor has created a modernized, privately hosted

- version of the site's 13,500 listings, called Heritage Guide Canada, at <https://heritageguide.ca/>. We have created Perma.cc archives for all references to the original [historicplaces.ca](https://www.historicplaces.ca/) pages, but Taylor's site may offer more complete records. See Vernon Ramesar, "Parks Canada Planned to Delete a Heritage Website — But One Proud Canadian Hit 'Save,'" *CBC News*, January 31, 2026, <https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nova-scotia/parks-canada-heritage-site-replacement-passion-project-ai-9.7068611>.
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 - 47 Shannon McKenna Schmidt and Joni Rendon, *Novel Destinations: Literary Destinations from Jane Austen's Bath to Ernest Hemingway's Key West* (Washington, DC: National Geographic, 2008), 9, 66.
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CHAPTER TWO

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CHAPTER THREE

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CHAPTER FOUR

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- 91 Woodstock Fanshawe Singers, *The Song My Paddle Sings*, November 13, 2013, <https://music.apple.com/ca/album/the-song-my-paddle-sings/758037906>.
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- 93 John Mackie, “Of Bullets and Bards,” *Vancouver Sun*, November 19, 2016, A2.
- 94 Norman Hacking, *Annals of the Royal Vancouver Yacht Club, 1903–1965* (Vancouver: Evergreen, 1965), 90, 92.
- 95 “Howe, Samuel Lyness (1864–1939),” *WestEndVancouver: Vancouver West End History*, n.d., <https://westendvancouver.wordpress.com/biographies-a-m/biographies-h/howe-samuel-lyness-1854-1939/>, archived on April 30, 2025, at <https://perma.cc/ZH7N-T23Y>.
- 96 Girl Guides of Canada, “The History of Our Camps: Camp Tekahionwake (Teká),” n.d., https://www.guidesontario.org/web/ON/Our_History/The_History_of_our_Camps.aspx?WebsiteKey=318eeeb7-c427-43af-9d49-966db4of550a#teka, archived on April 30, 2025, at <https://perma.cc/6Z72-GKZX>.

- 97 A proposed exhibit about Forster's never-realized plan for a Canadian portrait gallery was itself never realized, as recounted by Arlene Gehmacher of the Royal Ontario Museum, email correspondence with author, 2014–23.
- 98 Museum of Vancouver, "Pauline Johnson's Dress," n.d., <https://www.openmovportal.ca/argus/final/Portal/Main.aspx?lang=en-CA>.
- 99 See Watson, *Author's Effects*, ch. 3.
- 100 Trudy Nix, "Evelyn Johnson and the Chiefswood Collection," in *Faithfully Yours, E. Pauline Johnson*, exhibition catalogue, 17–46 (Brantford, ON: Woodland Cultural Centre, 2009).
- 101 "'Canadian Book Week' Is Observed by Women's Club," *Vancouver Province*, December 1, 1927, 8. In Robertson Davies' novel *Fifth Business*, the ceremonies welcoming the soldiers returning from the First World War include "a female child... who recited Pauline Johnson's poem *Canadian Born*, wearing Indian dress." Robertson Davies, *Fifth Business* (Toronto: Penguin Random House Canada, 2015), 97.
- 102 See Cecilia Morgan, "Performing for 'Imperial Eyes': Bernice Loft and Ethel Brant Monture, Ontario, 1930s–50s," in *Contact Zones: Aboriginal and Settler Women in Canada's Colonial Past*, ed. Katie Pickles and Myra Rutherdale, 67–89 (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2005).
- 103 Phillips, "Performing the Native Woman," 28.
- 104 Margaret Atwood, "Afterword," in *The Journals of Susanna Moodie* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1970), 62.
- 105 Atwood later mused, "Why did I overlook Pauline Johnson? Perhaps because, being half-white, she somehow didn't rate as the real thing, even among Natives; although she is undergoing reclamation today." Margaret Atwood, "A Double-Bladed Knife: Two Stories by Thomas King," in *Native Writers and Canadian Writing*, ed. W.H. New (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1991), 243.
- 106 Jen MtPleasant, "Community Play Looking to Fill Roles," *Two Row Times*, January 29, 2014, <https://tworowtimes.com/news/local/community-play-looking-to-fill-roles/>, archived on April 30, 2025, at <https://perma.cc/3FYW-MYQ6>.
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- 108 Jason Silverman, "Uncommon Visions: The Films of Loretta Todd," in *North of Everything: English-Canadian Cinema since 1980*, ed. William Beard and Jerry White (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2002), 387.
- 109 Historica Canada Teacher Community, "Pauline Johnson," Historica Canada, n.d., <http://education.historicacanada.ca/en/tools/228>.

- 110 Carolyn Pogue, *Gwen: West Wind Calling* (Toronto: Sumach, 2012).
- 111 Wayne Compton, *The Outer Harbour* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp, 2014), 44, 167.
- 112 Betsy Warland, *Lost Lagoon, Lost in Thought* (Halfmoon Bay: Caitlin, 2020), ii.
- 113 Alix Shield, “Kwaskastahsowin (‘Put things to right’): Case Studies in Twentieth-Century Indigenous Women’s Writing, Editing, and Publishing in Canada” (PhD diss., Simon Fraser University, 2020), 26.
- 114 See Hartmut Lutz, *Conversations with Canadian Native Authors* (Saskatoon: Fifth House, 1991), 171; Lee Maracle, “Toward a National Literature,” in *Across Cultures / Across Borders: Canadian Aboriginal and Native American Literatures*, ed. Paul DePasquale, Renate Eigenbrod, and Emma LaRocque (Peterborough, ON: Broadview, 2010), 78.
- 115 Patricia Monture Angus, “Native America and the Literary Tradition,” in *Native North America: Critical and Cultural Perspectives*, ed. Renée Hulan (Toronto: ECW, 1999), 26.
- 116 Armand Garnet Ruffo, “Why Native Literature?” in *Native North America: Critical and Cultural Perspectives*, ed. Renée Hulan (Toronto: ECW, 1999), 110.
- 117 Armand Garnet Ruffo, “Far Away Hills I See,” in *At Geronimo’s Grave* (Regina: Coteau, 2001), 16.
- 118 Bernice Loft Winslow, *Iroquois Fires: The Six Nations Lyrics and Lore of Dawwendine* (Ottawa: Penumbra, 1995).
- 119 Joan Crate, *Pale as Real Ladies: Poems for Pauline Johnson* (1989; reprint, London, ON: Brick Books, 1991), 8.
- 120 Crate, *Pale as Real Ladies*, 41.
- 121 Beth Brant, *Writing as Witness: Essay and Talk* (Toronto: Women’s Press, 1994), 6, 5.
- 122 Lindsay Marshall, “My Paddle Does Not Sing,” in *Clay Pots and Bones* (Sydney, NS: Solus, 1997), 82.
- 123 Garry Gottfriedson, *Chaos Inside Thunderstorms* (Vancouver: Ronsdale, 2014), 106–14.
- 124 Marie Annharte Baker, *Exercises in Lip Pointing* (Vancouver: New Star, 2003), 21–25.
- 125 Neal McLeod, ed., *Indigenous Poetics in Canada* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2014).
- 126 Emma LaRoque, *When the Other Is Me: Native Resistance Discourse, 1850–1990* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2010), 124–25.
- 127 Alicia Elliott, *A Mind Spread Out on the Ground* (Toronto: Anchor Canada, 2020), 27–28; *And Then She Fell* (Toronto: Dutton, 2023), 247–48.
- 128 Janet Rogers, “E. Pauline Johnson Research at the NMAI, by Janet Rogers,” *YouTube*, June 29, 2012, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hmdBN-m_ZNI.

- 129 Dorothy Christian and Rita Wong, eds., *Downstream: Reimagining Water* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2016), 278.
- 130 “What Pauline Couldn’t Say,” *BC BookLook*, November 1, 2016, <https://bcbooklook.com/what-pauline-couldnt-say/>.
- 131 Rosanna Deerchild, “My Poem Is an Indian Woman,” in *Indigenous Poetics in Canada*, ed. Neal McLeod (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2014), 241.

CHAPTER FIVE

- 1 Although academic activities such as scholarly conferences, lectures, and collections of critical essays may also be viewed as commemorative, these endeavours seldom have much to do with the writer’s afterlife in broader public contexts.
- 2 Lorraine York notes that Leacock’s American fans ranked him with Mark Twain and that, early in the twenty-first century, “actors Neil Ross and Aaron Duncan perform[ed] a two-man show based on a selection of Leacock stories ‘in Monty Python style.’” Lorraine York, *Literary Celebrity in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007), 47–48, 51.
- 3 Constance Beresford-Howe, *A Serious Widow* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1991), 46, 68, 209, 283. This citation occurs near the end of Ethel Wilson, *Swamp Angel* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1954), 150.
- 4 Armand Garnet Ruffo, “Creating a Country,” in *Opening in the Sky* (Penticton: Theytus, 1994), 33.
- 5 Susanna Moodie, *Letters of a Lifetime*, ed. Carl Ballstadt, Elizabeth Hopkins, and Michael Peterman (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985); Susanna Moodie and John Moodie, *Letters of Love and Duty: The Correspondence of Susanna and John Moodie*, ed. Carl Ballstadt, Elizabeth Hopkins, and Michael Peterman (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993); Michael Peterman, *Susanna Moodie: A Life* (Toronto: ECW, 1998); Charlotte Gray, *Sisters in the Wilderness* (Toronto: Penguin Canada, 1999). In contrast, the correspondence of Pauline Johnson remains uncollected and unpublished, despite her continuing significance.
- 6 See Carole Gerson, “Periodicals First: The Beginnings of Susanna Moodie’s *Roughing It in the Bush* and Pauline Johnson’s *Legends of Vancouver*,” in *Home Ground: Foreign Territory: Essays on Early Canadian Writing*, ed. Janice Fiamengo, 45–66 (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 2014).
- 7 Robertson Davies, “Epilogue,” in *Two Plays: At My Heart’s Core and Overlaid* (Toronto: Clarke Irwin, 1966), 113.

- 8 Margaret Atwood, *The Journals of Susanna Moodie* (Toronto: House of Anansi, 1970). The only direct references to writing occur in “Later in Belleville: Career” (“I wrote / verses about love and sleighbells,” 47) and in “Thoughts from Underground” (“I constructed / desperate paragraphs of praise,” 55).
- 9 Margaret Atwood, “Afterword,” in *Journals of Susanna Moodie*, 62.
- 10 Margaret Atwood, “Disembarking at Quebec,” in *Journals of Susanna Moodie*, 11.
- 11 Margaret Atwood, “Later in Belleville: Career,” in *Journals of Susanna Moodie*, 47.
- 12 Davies briefly returned to Moodie, including her in a cast of resurrected Canadian authors who float through the library of Massey College in one of his ghost stories. Robertson Davies, “The Great Queen is Amused,” in *High Spirits* (Toronto: Penguin, 1982), 28.
- 13 Donna Smyth, *Susanna Moodie*, typescript, 1976, Acadia University Archives.
- 14 Beth Hopkins and Anne Joyce, *Daughter by Adoption* (Toronto: Playwrights Canada, 1981), 1.
- 15 Love and Work Enough Collective, *Love and Work Enough* (Toronto: Playwrights Union of Canada, 1986), 5.
- 16 In 1993 and 1994, 4th Line Theatre, located in the Peterborough area, mounted a play about the Strickland sisters that drew from their writings and was cleverly titled *The Moodie Trail*, directed by Susan Spicer. As I have not been able to see the script, it remains a footnote. 4th Line Theatre, “Past Plays,” n.d., <https://www.4thlinetheatre.on.ca/past-plays>, archived on April 30, 2025, at <https://perma.cc/82N8-52DX>.
- 17 Carol Shields, *Small Ceremonies* (Don Mills, ON: Totem, 1978), 6, 7. Judith’s goal is to confirm her early feeling that “you are crazy, crazy” (33), and of course she lacks access to the correspondence that would be published in 1985 and 1993.
- 18 Margaret Atwood, *Alias Grace* (Toronto: Seal Books, 1996), 23.
- 19 Margaret Atwood, “Grace Marks,” television play, 1973–74, and “Grace,” play, 1978–79, Margaret Atwood papers, MS. Coll. 200, box 86, Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, University of Toronto.
- 20 Margaret Atwood, *In Search of Alias Grace* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1997), 31.
- 21 See Moodie and Moodie, *Letters of Love and Duty*.
- 22 Atwood, *Alias Grace*, 223.
- 23 Charles Pachter, *MIIs for Moose* (Toronto: Cormorant, 2008), n.p. Pachter was Atwood’s long-time friend and collaborator.
- 24 Margaret Atwood, “Introduction,” in Carol Shields and Patrick Crowe, *Susanna Moodie: Roughing It in the Bush* (Toronto: Second Story, 2016), ix.

- 25 Cecily Ross, *The Lost Diaries of Susanna Moodie* (Toronto: HarperCollins, 2017), 36.
- 26 Ross, *Lost Diaries*, 110.
- 27 Ross, *Lost Diaries*, 371. Best known as the title of a book by Northrop Frye, the term “bush garden” originates with Atwood, from whom Frye admits he “pilfered” it. Northrop Frye, *The Bush Garden: Essays on the Canadian Imagination* (Toronto: House of Anansi, 1971), x.
- 28 Susanna Egan and Gabrielle Helms, “Life Writing,” in the *Cambridge Companion to Canadian Literature*, ed. Eva-Marie Kröller (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 234.
- 29 Robin Laurence, “Review of *Be Quiet*, by Margaret Hollingsworth,” *Georgia Straight*, April 15, 2004, <https://www.straight.com/article/be-quiet-by-margaret-hollingsworth>.
- 30 John Barton, *West of Darkness: A Portrait of Emily Carr*, first edition (Kapuskas-ing, ON: Penumbra, 1987), 128, 136; John Barton, “Afterword,” in *West of Darkness: A Portrait of Emily Carr*, second edition (Vancouver: Porc Epic, 1999), 128; John Barton, “My Emily Carr,” in *West of Darkness: A Portrait of Emily Carr*, second edition (Vancouver: Porc Epic, 1999), 136, 134. See Kevin Shaw, “Ekphrastic Drag: Temporal Transgressions in John Barton’s *West of Darkness: Emily Carr: A Self-Portrait*,” *Canadian Literature* 224 (2016): 65–81.
- 31 Eva-Marie Kröller, “Literary Versions of Emily Carr,” *Canadian Literature* 109 (1986): 85–98.
- 32 Kröller, “Literary Versions,” 93.
- 33 Kröller, “Literary Versions,” 94.
- 34 This date is derived from Dorothy Livesay, *The Papers of Dorothy Livesay* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Library, 1986), 122. Many items in this inventory reflect Livesay’s interest in Emily Carr.
- 35 Wilfred Watson, “Emily Carr,” in *Friday’s Child* (1955), reprinted in *Skookum Wawa: Writings of the Canadian Northwest*, ed. Gary Geddes (Toronto: Oxford University Press Canada, 1975), 313.
- 36 Charles Lillard, “Scorned as Timber,” in *Drunk on Wood* (Victoria: Sono Nis, 1973), reprinted in *Skookum Wawa: Writings of the Canadian Northwest*, ed. Gary Geddes (Toronto: Oxford University Press Canada, 1975), 315.
- 37 Susan Musgrave, *The Impstone* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), 94–95.
- 38 Kathleen C. Moore, “Klee Wyck (for Emily Carr),” *Athabor* 1, no. 1 (1979): 54. She edited this journal at the University of Toronto and is identified as

- a former student of Irving Layton in notes to his 1980 letter to her in Irving Layton, *Wild Gooseberries: The Selected Letters* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1989), 326.
- 39 E.D. Blodgett, "Totem for Emily Carr," in *Arché/Elegies*, 49–50 (Edmonton: Longspoon, 1983).
- 40 Talonbooks, "The Remarkable Emily Carr," August 26, 2010, <https://talonbooks.com/news/the-remarkable-emily-carr>. The script is not available, and reviews are sparse, so I am not sure whether this play fits my category of "enactment."
- 41 Kröller, "Literary Versions," 94.
- 42 Kate Braid, "Wood Interior," in *To This Cedar Fountain: Meetings with Emily Carr* (Victoria, BC: Polestar, 1995), 37.
- 43 Margaret Hollingsworth, *Be Quiet* (Vancouver: Blue Lake Books, 2003), 265, 270.
- 44 Susan Crean, *The Laughing One: A Journey to Emily Carr* (Toronto: HarperFlamingo, 2001), 450, 459.
- 45 Emily Carr, *Hundreds and Thousands* (1966; reprint, Madeira Park, BC: Douglas and McIntyre, 2006), 143, 154, 239.
- 46 Stephanie McKenzie, *Saviours in This Little Space for Now: Poems for Emily Carr and Vincent van Gogh* (Cliffs of Moher, Ireland: Salmon Poetry, 2013), 76.
- 47 Carr maintained her studio from 1906 until she left for France in July 1910, returning to Vancouver in 1912–13. Johnson spent her last years, from 1909 until 1913, in Vancouver.
- 48 Janet Marie Rogers, *Pauline and Emily, Two Women*, first electronic ed. (Alexandria, VA: Alexander Street Press, 2006).
- 49 Linda Wikene Johnson, *Vancouver!* (Ottawa: Borealis, 2002), 376, 383, 481–82.
- 50 Her family home is now the Point Ellice House museum on Vancouver Island. Point Ellice House, n.d., <https://pointellicehouse.com/>.
- 51 Susan Vreeland, *The Forest Lover* (New York: Viking, 2004), 329.
- 52 See Carole Gerson, "Literary Legacies and Afterlives of Samuel Hearne," *Studies in Canadian Literature* 42, no. 1 (2017): 110–29.
- 53 I.S. MacLaren, "Samuel Hearne's Accounts of the Massacre at Bloody Fall, 17 July 1771," *ARIEL: A Review of International English Literature* 22, no. 1 (1991): 25–51.
- 54 John Newlove, "Samuel Hearne in Wintertime," 1968, reprinted in *Canadian Literature in English: Texts and Contexts*, vol. 2, ed. Laura Moss and Cynthia Sugars (Toronto: Pearson Longman, 2009), 430.

- 55 Robin McGrath, *Escaped Domestic*s (St. John's, NF: Killick, 1998), 24–27.
- 56 I.S. MacLaren, "Exploring Canadian Literature: Samuel Hearne and the Inuit Girl," in *Probing Canadian Culture*, ed. Peter Easingwood, Konrad Gross, and Wolfgang Kloos (Augsberg, Germany: AV-Verlag, 1991), 106.
- 57 E.H. Carefoot, *Matonabee* (1980), transcript, Twenty-Fifth Street Theatre fonds, University Archive and Special Collections, University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon.
- 58 Douglas O. Spettigue, *F.P.G.: The European Years* (Ottawa: Oberon, 1973).
- 59 Robert Kroetsch, "F.P. Grove: The Finding," in *The Stone Hammer Poems* (Lantzville, BC: Oolichan, 1975), 47. See also Spettigue, *F.P.G.*
- 60 Anne Archer, "The Story of an Affinity: D.G. Jones, Archibald Lampman, and 'Kate These Flowers,'" *Canadian Literature* 122–23 (1989): 46, 47, 51; Tom Marshall, "Review of *The Lampman Symposium* and *The E. J. Pratt Symposium*," *English Studies in Canada* 5, no. 3 (1971): 371.
- 61 Keith Fraser, *As for Me and My Body: A Memoir of Sinclair Ross* (Toronto: ECW, 1997), 43.
- 62 Lee Gowan, *A Beautiful Place* (Saskatoon: Thistledown, 2021), 41.
- 63 Linda Griffiths, *Alien Creature: A Visitation from Gwendolyn MacEwen* (Toronto: Playwrights Canada, 2000), 10.
- 64 Persistence Theatre Company, "Berni Stapleton's *The Haunting of Margaret Duley*," n.d., <https://www.persistencetheatre.com/the-haunting-of-margaret-duley.html>.

CONCLUSIONS / RECONSIDERATIONS / CONTINUATIONS

- I Other than some attention to L.M. Montgomery, this book does not discuss the biographical print formats that keep authors in view as distinct individuals, such as researched biographies, friends' memoirs, and posthumous editions of their correspondence and of their scattered periodical publications. For example, although there are not yet any substantial creative interpretations of Margaret Laurence, she enjoys a different kind of textual afterlife in such volumes as J.A. Wainwright, *A Very Large Soul: Selected Letters from Margaret Laurence to Canadian Writers* (Toronto: Cormorant, 1995); John Lennox and Ruth Panofsky, eds., *Selected Letters of Margaret Laurence and Adele Wiseman* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997); Paul G. Socken, ed., *Intimate Strangers: The Letters of Margaret Laurence and Gabrielle Roy* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2004); and Nora Foster Stovel, ed., *Recognition and Revelation: Short Nonfiction Writings* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2020). As well, she is regularly honoured with the Margaret

- Laurence Annual Lecture, established in 1989 by the Writers' Trust of Canada, and at the annual Lakefield Literary Festival, which commenced in 1995.
- 2 Claire Dederer, *Monsters: A Fan's Dilemma* (New York: Knopf, 2023), 14.
 - 3 Clifton Museum Park, "Haliburton the Author and Sam Slick," n.d., <https://clifton.novascotia.ca/about/haliburton-author-and-sam-slick>, archived on August 18, 2025, at <https://perma.cc/P9BQ-Q4HM>.
 - 4 Dederer, *Monsters*, 79.
 - 5 E.K. Brown, "Memoir of Duncan Campbell Scott," in Duncan Campbell Scott, *Selected Poems of Duncan Campbell Scott* (Toronto: Ryerson, 1951), xix.
 - 6 For his revised plaque in Ottawa's Beechwood Cemetery, see "The Reconciliation Plaques of Beechwood Cemetery," *Project of the Heart*, blog, June 27, 2018, <https://projectofheart.ca/blog/2018/06/27/the-reconciliation-plaques-of-beechwood-cemetery/>, archived on April 30, 2025, at <https://perma.cc/Y6HS-MJFH>.
 - 7 Nelle Oosterom, "Personae Non Gratae," *Canada's History*, October 25, 2024, <https://www.canadahistory.ca/explore/politics-law/personae-non-gratae>, archived on April 30, 2025, at <https://perma.cc/8N93-934S>.
 - 8 Emily Nussbaum, *ILike to Watch: Arguing My Way through the TV Revolution* (New York: Random House, 2019), 110.
 - 9 The term used by Lauren Beck is "de-commemoration," whereas I prefer "ex-commemoration" because it echoes "excommunication." Lauren Beck, *Canada's Place Names and How to Change Them* (Montreal: Concordia University Press, 2022), 174.
 - 10 Mark Abley, *Conversations with a Dead Man: The Legacy of Duncan Campbell Scott*, second edition (Victoria, BC: Stonehewer, 2024), 112.
 - 11 Office of the President, "U of T De-recognizes Duncan Campbell Scott for Role in the Indigenous Residential School System," University of Toronto, February 27, 2025, <https://president.utoronto.ca/u-of-t-de-recognizes-duncan-campbell-scott-for-role-in-the-indigenous-residential-school-system/>.
 - 12 Armand Garnet Ruffo, *Opening in the Sky* (Penticton: Theytus, 1994), 25.
 - 13 Garry Gottfriedson, "Dangerous Words Trio," in *Chaos Inside Thunderstorms* (Vancouver: Ronsdale, 2014), 112–13.
 - 14 Louise Bernice Halfe, "The Keeper of the Stories," in *Blue Marrow* (Regina: Coteau, 2004), 21.
 - 15 Gary Thomas Morse, *Discovery Passages* (Vancouver: Talonbooks, 2011).
 - 16 Abley, *Conversations with a Dead Man*, 13.
 - 17 Sathnam Sanghera, *Empireland: How Imperialism Has Shaped Modern Britain* (London: Viking, 2021), 1.

- 18 Robert McGill, "Namesake," *Literary Review of Canada*, March 2025, 33–35, https://reviewcanada.ca/magazine/2025/03/namesake/?utm_source=substack&utm_medium=email.
- 19 Dederer, *Monsters*, 141.
- 20 Dederer, *Monsters*, 168, 147.
- 21 Katherine McLeod, "Audible Collections: What Remains of Voices on the Radio," in *Collection Thinking: Within and Without Libraries, Archives, and Museums*, ed. Jason Camlot, Martha Langford, and Linda M. Morra, 137–52 (New York: Routledge, 2022).
- 22 Yousuf Karsh, "Selected Archive," n.d., <https://karsh.org/photographs/>.
- 23 Portrait Gallery of Canada, "A New Kind of Museum," n.d., <https://portraitcanada.ca/about/a-new-kind-of-museum/>, archived on April 30, 2025, at <https://perma.cc/38SM-3CVL>.
- 24 Portrait Gallery of Canada, "Personae: Indigenous and Canadian Portraits 1861–2020," July 2020, <https://portraitcanada.ca/exhibitions/personae/>.
- 25 Wikipedia, "Portrait Gallery of Canada," n.d., https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Portrait_Gallery_of_Canada, archived on April 30, 2025, at <https://perma.cc/8Z79-SZEX>. The collection of portraits at Library and Archives Canada is accessible through its own website.
- 26 Portrait Gallery of Canada, "Max Dean: Portrait of the Artist as Artist," n.d., <https://portraitcanada.ca/exhibitions/max-dean/>.
- 27 Tonya K. Davidson, *Tours Inside the Snow Globe: Ottawa Monuments and National Belonging* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2024), 4.
- 28 Winnifred Eaton Archive, n.d., <https://winnifredeatonarchive.org/>, archived on April 25, 2025, at <https://perma.cc/DY7M-NCEH>.
- 29 Adeyemi Adegbesan, "Mary Ann Shadd, Commission for Toronto History Museums, Toronto, ON," *Yemi*, n.d., <https://yungyemi.com/public-art-installations/zy4s28dmpu059234ykb8mgkxz8kmw>, archived on April 30, 2025, at <https://perma.cc/QGZ6-AGZB>; Vidar, "Mural of Mary Ann Shadd, the First Black Woman to Publish a Newspaper in North America," *Street Art Utopia*, February 13, 2024, <https://streetartutopia.com/2024/02/13/portrait-of-mary-ann-shadd-in-toronto/>, archived on April 30, 2025, at <https://perma.cc/A3S6-4MBY>. On his symbolism, see Adeyemi Adegbesan, "Awakenings: Reflections with Adeyemi Adegbesan," *YouTube*, August 10, 2021, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5tqvYAGITIQ>.
- 30 Natasha Henry-Dixon, "Tracing Mary Ann Shadd Cary's Footsteps in Mid-19th C. Black Toronto," *Balado Discovery*, n.d., <https://baladodiscovery.com/circuits/1303/tracing-mary-ann-shadd-carys-footsteps-in-mid-19th-c-black-toronto>.

- 31 John Zeppetelli and Victor Shiffman, *Leonard Cohen: A Crack in Everything* (Montreal: Musée d'Art Contemporain de Montréal, 2018), 14.
- 32 Musée d'Art Contemporain de Montréal, "Virtual Exhibition – Leonard Cohen," n.d., <https://macm.org/en/exhibitions/virtual-exhibition-leonard-cohen/>.
- 33 Shaun Hunter, "A Literary Map of Calgary," n.d., <http://shaunhunter.ca/map>, archived on April 30, 2025, at <https://perma.cc/8MVF-XDHB>.
- 34 Berkeley Historical Plaque Project, "Berkeley e-Plaques," n.d., <http://berkeleyplaques.org/e-plaques/>.
- 35 Mara Scanlon, "'Afoot with my vision': Whitmania and Tourism in the Digital Age," in *From Page to Place: American Literary Tourism and the Afterlives of Authors*, ed. Jennifer Harris and Hilary Iris Lowe (Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2017), 115, 116, original emphasis.
- 36 Queering the Map, n.d., <https://www.queeringthemap.com/>.
- 37 Audrey Gray, "Representing Queer Histories through the National Trust's Historic Places Days," National Trust for Canada, February 8, 2024, <https://nationaltrustcanada.ca/online-stories/representing-queer-histories-through-the-national-trusts-historic-places-days>, archived on April 30, 2025, at <https://perma.cc/FH2U-5Z7K>.
- 38 Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin, *The Empire Writes Back: Theory and Practice in Post-colonial Literatures* (London: Routledge, 1989).
- 39 Thomas King, *Green Grass, Running Water* (Toronto: HarperPerennial, 1994), 156–59.
- 40 Kent Monkman and Gisèle Gordon, *The Memoirs of Miss Chief Eagle Testickle*, vol. 1 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 2023), i.
- 41 Monkman and Gordon, *Memoirs*, vol. 1, 220n229, citing Charles Dickens, "The Noble Savage," *Household Words* 8, no. 168 (June 1853): 337.
- 42 This process is described in the book's two appendices: Tracy Stefanucci, "Afterword," i–v; and Kathleen Ritter, "Ctrl-F: Reterritorializing the Canon," vii–xix. Jordan Abel, *Un/inhabited* (Vancouver: Talonbooks, 2014).
- 43 Jordan Abel, *Injun* (Vancouver: Talonbooks, 2016), 83.
- 44 Jordan Abel, *Nishga* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 2020), 261, 266. This process is visible in his earlier piece "The Silhouette of a Pole on the Shore of the Nass River," *Canadian Literature* 215 (2012): 11–15, which erases the English words from Marius Barbeau's description of a pole.
- 45 Re-memoration stands in contrast to ex-commemoration, discussed above in connection with Duncan Campbell Scott.
- 46 Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, *Noopiming: The Cure for White Ladies* (Toronto: House of Anansi, 2020), back cover. See Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, *As We*

- Have Always Done: Indigenous Freedom through Radical Resistance* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2017), 97–101; reprinted as “White Supremacy in the Bush,” *Geist* 110 (2022): 1–6.
- 47 D.A. Lockhart, *Devil in the Woods* (London, ON: Brick Books, 2019), “Letter to Polley from Sandbanks Provincial Park, ON,” 15; “Letter to Atwood from the Tribal Voices in Port Perry, ON,” 9; “Letter to Berton from the Lift Lock at Peterborough, ON,” 17; “Letter to Davies from McKecks Tap & Grill in Haliburton, ON,” 6; “Letter to Campbell Scott from Upstate New York,” 64; “Letter to Carr from the Coffee Time at Fowler’s Corners, ON,” 42; “Letter to Purdy from Thursday’s in Peterborough, ON,” 18; “Letter to Cohen from the Highway 2 Swiss Chalet in Bowmanville, ON,” 6; “Letter to Bibb from Ashburnham Mister Convenience, Peterborough, ON,” 48.
- 48 William Faulkner, *Requiem for a Nun* (New York: Random House, 1951), 91.
- 49 Adrienne L. Burk, *Speaking for a Long Time: Public Spaces and Social Memory in Vancouver* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010), viii–ix.

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