ÖSTERREICHISCHE AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN
PHILOSOPHISCH-HISTORISCHE KLASSE
SITZUNGSBERICHTE, 865. BAND

WALDEMAR ZACHARASIEWICZ
and DAVID STAINES (Eds.)

Narratives of Encounters in the North Atlantic Triangle

VERLAG DER
ÖSTERREICHISCHEN
AKADEMIE DER
WISSENSCHAFTEN

Vorgelegt von w. M. Waldemar Zacharasiewicz
in der Sitzung vom 28. April 2015

Diese Publikation wurde einem anonymen, internationalen
Peer-Review-Verfahren unterzogen.

This publication has undergone the process of anonymous, international peer review.

Die verwendete Papiersorte ist aus chlorfrei gebleichtem Zellstoff hergestellt,
frei von säurebildenden Bestandteilen und alterungsbeständig.

ISBN 978-3-7001-7832-3

Druck und Bindung: Prime Rate kft., Budapest

Printed and bound in the EU

http://epub.oeaw.ac.at/7832-3
http://verlag.oeaw.ac.at

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements

The present volume is the result of an international conference that took place in Vienna in October 2013. Twenty-five writers and scholars from North America and from five European countries had been invited to explore the broad topic of the reciprocal perception of the societies on the two sides of the North Atlantic, apparent in individual encounters of visitors with members of their host countries.

Experts in the fields of Canadian and American studies, cultural historians and historians of medicine, sociologists and specialists in travel literature dealt with a wide range of experiences documented in pictorial art, in autobiographical accounts or fictional texts in the 19th and 20th centuries. Their contributions revealed the significant differences in outlook between the U.S., Canada and Europe while bringing out the remarkable interdependence of the two continents. The lectures thus focused on the impact of deliberate emigration or forced exile on individual Europeans in the mid-19th century and in the turbulent decades between 1910 and 1950. They investigated the significant connections between Europe and the U.S. and Canada in the fields of medicine, law and the social sciences, manifest, for instance, in the presence of hundreds of American physicians in Vienna in the 1920s and 30s and their attendance of special courses at the medical faculty, and the consultation of European constitutional lawyers by their American peers. They also explored the close observation by European social scientists of the puzzling societal innovations in the New World and analyzed the diverse responses of European visitors to the U.S. and Canada. Conversely, the detailed accounts of North American foreign correspondents of the ominous developments in Europe in the first half of the 20th century were also examined and the roles of significant cultural mediators on either side of the North Atlantic were discussed, thus illustrating the importance of specific transatlantic meetings and relationships. Particular attention was also paid to the perception of post-Second World War Europe by prominent Canadian writers and the reception of Québecois literature in Central Europe.

The interdisciplinary conference and the publication of its proceedings were made possible by the generous support of the Austrian Academy of Sciences, which is gratefully acknowledged. The organizers also received a grant by the Austrian Zukunftsfonds, in tune with the concern of the commission of the Academy which convened the conference with a critical phase in Austria's difficult history in the inter-war years. A grant from the

U.S. Embassy similarly supported this conference on the transatlantic exchange by helping scholars from the United States to attend, while the Austrian Federal Ministry for Europe, Integration and Foreign Affairs and the Cultural Office of the City of Vienna equally provided welcome assistance. As on earlier occasions, the Canadian Embassy again supported the conference which also received a grant from the University of Vienna through its Faculty of Philological and Cultural Studies. Additional help was given by the Association for the Promotion of North American Studies at the University of Vienna.

A very small team of graduates and advanced students was largely responsible for the completion of the manuscript, including initially Dr. Bettina Thurner, and especially Astrid Neundlinger and Kirsi Swoboda, M.A. Their unstinting support is here gratefully acknowledged. The editors would like to express their gratitude to Zachary Abram from the University of Ottawa who prepared the index to this volume. Dr. Leigh Bailey's advice in checking and emending the style of a number of essays by Austrian contributors was appreciated.

The two editors of this volume would also like to thank the Austrian Academy of Sciences for including this volume in its series of *Sitzungsberichte*. The editors wish to dedicate this volume to their many friends on both sides of the Atlantic who have engaged in the study of cultural ties and encounters across the Atlantic.

WALDEMAR ZACHARASIEWICZ & DAVID STAINES

Introduction

The conference on which this volume is based was convened in October 2013 by the committee "The North Atlantic Triangle" of the Austrian Academy of Sciences. It had been founded out of an awareness that the ties across the North Atlantic between Europe and the USA and Canada have been so close and the demographic links - through the movement of millions of people as immigrants since the early nineteenth century and of hundreds of thousands as tourists in both directions in the last century - that this interconnection deserved close scholarly consideration. Above all the cultural, scientific and scholarly exchange has been so intense and the shared democratic values in the past – especially in the critical decades after World War II – so crucially important for Europe that an analysis (and ensuing synthesis) of this remarkable interdependence, which despite significant scholarly work has not been exhaustively investigated, merits further investigation. The transatlantic relationship continues to be a significant aspect of global reality, and despite some phases of seemingly increasing distance and temporary differences in attitudes to some major problems recent global developments and challenges have invigorated this connection. But an analysis is also needed as there are nevertheless significant differences in outlook between the USA, Canada and Europe which a study from an interdisciplinary perspective can bring out.

This goal is to be achieved through the collaboration of experts from several disciplines, ranging from literary studies, especially in Anglophone and francophone literatures, to history, from philosophy and sociology to the history of medicine and of music, and art history. This collection reflects this joint (interdisciplinary) endeavor to deepen the understanding of the basically different societies on opposite sides of the North Atlantic through the analysis of representative examples illustrating the long-standing contacts across the Atlantic and of the often fruitful relations resulting from such cross-cultural encounters. As the title of the collection indicates, the focus will be on narratives which bring out the specific nature and consequences of such contacts and the resulting / ensuing reciprocal perception of the societies on the other continent.

Like the conference the volume approaches this goal by arranging the analyses in clusters, which broadly follow in diachronic sequence, opening with a cluster of such transatlantic encounters in the nineteenth century.

Taking its departure from a series of contemporary paintings by native artist Robert Houle depicting the fateful 'contact zone' between the indigenous

and the European populations in North America, the essay by Birgit Däwes, which opens the first cluster of essays on nineteenth century cross-Atlantic travelers, studies mid-nineteenth century observations and travel reports of three Anishinaabe Methodist ministers in the European 'contact zone' they visited. These travelers from a nation living on both sides of the USA- Canada border may occasionally plead for economic and political support, but even more so they expose the shortcomings of European societies and the imperialist policies perceived as they reverse the "ethnographic gaze".

Members of Victorian society are shown to have moved in the opposite direction across the Atlantic and to have been shaped by their encounter with indigenous people in Heinz Antor's analysis of a historical novel by the Canadian novelist Guy Vanderhaeghe. *The Last Crossing*, the second novel of a trilogy, offers the narrative of the search for a brother in the Canadian West, who by becoming a missionary tried to escape his authoritarian Victorian father. In his attempt to convert the First Nations he was himself reshaped by the lifestyle of the indigenous as his brothers discover to their amazement. Antor carefully studies the character traits of the protagonists and the consequences of intercultural encounters between Europeans and First Nations rendered in multiple perspective seen from different angles.

In his essay Wynfrid Kriegleder compares the strikingly different narratives of three emigrants from German-speaking parts of Europe who spent parts of their lives in nineteenth century America, and he neatly distinguishes between the images of the transatlantic world they presented in their fiction; two of the three, also in autobiographies they produced after their return to Europe. Charles Sealsfield, who had abandoned his clerical vocation and lived under an alias in the Deep South before settling incognito in Switzerland, is shown to have adopted the mask of a well-informed native of America appreciative of the utopian potential of the frontier world in a series of novels underlining the differences between the Old World and the USA, while Frederic Strubberg offers fanciful adventure stories in the West, aggrandizing his own role in the management of settlements in Texas, which appears as merely a stage for his imagined feats. Heinrich Boernstein (in his turn) is presented as a very versatile theatre manager and effective journalist, first in Austria, then in Paris, and eventually in St. Louis, before his consular role in Bremen, conferred on him by Abraham Lincoln uproots him, thus costing him his political influence, and compelling him to return to Austria for theatrical work, while allowing him to reminisce about his cosmopolitan experiences and encounters in a globalized world, in which he had discovered sameness.

In his essay on "The Cosmopolitan Vision of LaFarge" Charles H. Adams surveys the early work of the immensely versatile artist John LaFarge and relates it to his transatlantic and then global encounters. Adams shows how La Farge as a painter of landscapes and masterful stained glass artist greatly impressed and at times also perplexed his American audience, after having been inspired by French *plein-air* paintings of the Barbizon School and the scientific study of color and optics in France. Both influences shaped his fine artistic sensibility, deeply admired by his friends, such as the James brothers and Henry Adams, for two years his travel companion, and helped generate his original canvases and a puzzling self-portrait before he integrated a whole range of other artistic forms and excelled as a decorative artist.

Carmen Birkle's essay "Capitals of Medicine" opens a second cluster of articles dedicated to the transatlantic movement of practitioners of medicine from North America to the more advanced medical schools and hospitals of Europe, in Paris, Zurich, and especially Vienna. After referring to the benefit hundreds of American doctors like O.W. Holmes Sr derived from attending lectures at the Sorbonne and studying at French medical institutions (led by Pierre Louis and later Louis Pasteur), the essay focuses on the many obstacles to women's entering the medical profession. It cites extensively from strong statements by opponents of higher education for women on both sides of the Atlantic, which accounts for the motivation of North American women to get the training from which they were barred at home in Zurich, which pioneered in the 1860s by admitting women as students of the medical profession. Birkle then traces in some detail the careers of four North American medical women, Elizabeth Blackwell, who pioneered as the chair of "Hygiene" in the Women's Medical College of New York, Mary Putnam Jacobi, later at the same institution, the Canadian Maude E. Abbott, who later established herself at McGill, and – until her untimely death – the extremely promising young physician Susan Dimock.

In his essay "Exploring Vienna between the two World Wars," Franz Lackner offers a broad survey of the close transatlantic ties involving members of the medical profession, and provides both eyewitness accounts and photographs of cohorts of the American Medical Association of Vienna. Sketching stages in the history of the AMA of Vienna from its foundation in 1904, Lackner lists prominent North American doctors who appreciated the progress in diagnosis and therapy of the renowned Vienna Medical School. He augments his essay with the observations in Vienna of the young doctor D.P. Abbott and his mother from Chicago, on the eve of World War One, and later cites the testimony of Alexander Mahan, who witnessed the recurrent crises in the Austrian Republic. The society's notices in the journal *Ars Medici* furnish

evidence of the close social links between American doctors and diplomats and politicians at the well-attended Christmas parties. Lackner also explores the ties between AMA and the Austro-American Institute, which promoted transatlantic cooperation and interaction, and dwells on the professional benefits the prominent poet William Carlos Williams derived from his 1924 attendance at specialist courses, especially those offered by the prominent pediatrician von Pirquet, but also on his literary response to his exposure to the cultural sites of Vienna, including the art museums. One and a half decades later the program offered by AMA ended as a consequence of the *Anschluss* and the expulsion of many distinguished members of the Medical Faculty of Vienna.

While Waldemar Zacharasiewicz revisits the issue of the encounter of medical practitioners with Vienna as exemplified by W. C. Williams' fictionalization of his professional stay "on the banks of the Danube" in tune with current stereotypes of the region, the focus in his article is on the impressions of other American writers, who rendered them in autobiographical texts, highlighting the unique musical culture of the city as well as its cafés (J. P. Bishop, Louis Untermeyer, Ludwig Lewisohn, Joseph Hergesheimer). The article deals especially with the role of the dozen or so foreign correspondents frequenting these favorite venues, who used the city as a suitable point from which to observe social and political problems in Central and Southeastern Europe, which they mediated to their readership in a large number of American newspapers. They also did this in popular non-fiction texts and novels (e.g. John Gunther and, perhaps merely on the basis of these accounts, Joseph Freeman), not eschewing glib generalizations. Significant for the future were the ties of friendship which they developed with locals (cf. Dorothy Thompson and Eugenia Schwarzwald) and which helped some of the emigrés to find a safe haven in North America after the catastrophe of the *Anschluss*.

The transatlantic experiences and links in those decades are the topic in another cluster of articles. In her essay on the distinguished legal scholar Josef Redlich, Doris Corradini chronicles the frequent journeys to the USA in the remarkable career of this prominent Austrian constitutional lawyer and scholar in administrative law. On the basis of his recently published diaries and of his correspondence, Corradini traces the development of his ties to US American academics and politicians, which secured for him not only international recognition as an expert in the field of public law, but also, for the better part of a decade from 1926 onwards, a professorial position at Harvard. The essay also takes note of Redlich's role as a deputy in the *Reichsrat*, and his brief stints as Minister of Finance in the final months of the Habsburg Monarchy,

and again briefly in 1931 for the small Austrian Republic in a critical economic phase. The essay also highlights Redlich's role as an intermediary who assisted the Austrian government in its effort to receive loans to stabilize the currency, and traces the unique role played by this remarkable scholar, and sometime public official, to his earlier pre-war contacts with British and North American scholars in his areas of expertise.

In his essay on Rupert Brooke's *Letters from America* Martin Löschnigg provides vivid sketches of the response of the young poet on the eve of the Great War – in commissioned articles and in his private correspondence - to the urban and rural settings he visited during the roughly eight months he spent in the USA and Canada. The essay highlights the often supercilious comments of the young Cambridge don, proud of his Englishness, on the alleged absence of cultural traditions and on materialism especially in Canada, and illustrates his interest in raw and 'desolate' nature as well as revealing his failure to acknowledge the ties of aboriginal peoples to the seemingly empty land.

In his analysis of the responses of three prominent European scholars and scientists, two German economists, and the prominent Dutch historian John Huizinga, to their experiences in the USA, Manfred Prisching offers abundant evidence for the fascination of these travelers with the dynamic developments in American society in the boom years of the 1920s. He also illustrates in comparative fashion the ambivalence in their reactions to puzzling phenomena, as they registered not only the spirit of optimism and reform in the economy, and belief in unlimited progress and perfectibility, but also showed skepticism when faced with the apparent destruction of the past, and the consequences of unfettered capitalism. They were perplexed by the tendency to promote consumption, a seeming paradox in view of the puritanical origins of this wealthy, future-oriented society.

A further cluster of essays presents the significance for and impact of European contacts on prominent American intellectuals and social critics.

On the basis of his recent edition of a selection from the extensive correspondence of Malcolm Cowley, Hans Bak provides a survey of the life-long preoccupations of this important mediator between the continents across the North Atlantic. Highlighting the formative influence of two years spent in France, first in Montpellier and then in Paris, Bak traces the development and the shifts in Cowley's appreciation of French poets and fiction writers from his early admiration of Laforgue and the symbolists, and especially for Paul Valery, through his interest in the Dadaists, especially Aragon, to the radical phase in the 1930s when Cowley turned away from the symbolist "religion of art", embracing leftist attitudes, which are all mirrored in his attitude to

individual French writers. The essay documents the indefatigable efforts of the author of countless reviews and excellent translations of French poems and essays from 1924 onwards, and establishes the unique importance of this minor poet, literary critic, reviewer, and translator as a champion and mediator of French literature to a sophisticated North American readership.

Drawing on his thorough familiarity with the Max Eastman manuscripts in Bloomington, which will form the basis for a biography of the prominent political activist, writer, and hedonist, Christoph Irmscher sketches a narrative of the delayed encounter of Max Eastman in 1927 with Freud, his admired 'father confessor' in Berggasse 19. Irmscher explores the tensions between the prominent socialist and popularizer of Freudian concepts in America, in whose private life psychoanalytic techniques seem to have served as a justification for his inability to keep intimate relationships intact, legitimizing his own powerful libidinal impulses, and documents the deliberate distance Freud seems to have kept in his letters to his admirer from America, which Freud skeptically termed a "mistake". The detailed analysis of this remarkable encounter is enriched by reproductions of Freud's brief letters to his American admirer.

Robert Brinkmeyer in his essay on "Lillian Hellman and European Fascism" underlines the impact of Hellman's visit to Spain during the Civil War in 1937, which intensified her political commitment and strengthened her awareness of parallels between the violent racism in the American South and European fascism. He highlights her sense of the social injustice in the South she was to expose in plays like *The Little Foxes* and *Another Part of the Forest*, and, drawing on her autobiographical writings despite their notorious unreliability, underlines her criticism of those who watch the destructive forces at work in society as non-committed observers, whom she castigates in *The Searching Wind,* while showing decisive action against the supporters of fascism (for instance in *Watch on the Rhine*).

As in travelogues by other leftist American visitors to the Soviet Union in the 1930s, a plea for understanding the political project there and the reforms on the margins of that empire is contained in the notebooks, correspondence and public lectures of the influential American glaciologist William O. Field based on his observations during several expeditions to a region in the central Caucasus. In the essay by Tim Youngs, Field's ambivalence in his assessment of the transformation of the society in Swanetia in Georgia with its archaic customs is, however, acknowledged.

The essay by Don Sparling, which inaugurates a group of essays related to the transatlantic links between Canada and Europe, relates Ernest Thompson Seton's impact on Czech society to the general growth and rise/of youth

culture to which he prominently contributed. Sparling offers an account of the rivalry of Seton's "Woodcraft Indians" with Baden-Powell's "Boy Scouts" and numerous others offshoots, and focuses on the remarkable effect he had, culminating in the keen attention his visit to Czechoslovakia in 1936 received. Sparling also takes into account the ongoing popularity in the Czech Republic of Seton's pronouncements reflecting his holistic vision of nature.

In his essay "Mavis Gallant and Mordecai Richler: Abroad and at Home," David Staines surveys and contrasts the careers of two major writers from Canada, who stayed abroad during long periods of expatriation caused by their frustration with the stagnant character of Canadian literary life before its dramatic efflorescence. The essay also juxtaposes the concerns of the cosmopolitan writer of short fiction permanently settled in Paris and those of the Jewish-Canadian author, primarily of novels, who returned to Canada and, apart from apprenticeship work reflecting his temporary sojourn in Spain, continued exploring the intricate ethical problems of members of his own ethnic and cultural group, and those burdened by a history of racist guilt as perpetrators or victims. This collective experience is also shown to haunt many characters in Mavis Gallant's stories set in Germany, who are often exiles from their homeland and especially of themselves.

Based on her research for the commissioned biography of Timothy Findley, Sherrill Grace establishes the crucial importance for the writer's creativity of his sojourn as a young actor in London and his two visits to Berlin in the 1950s. The detailed study of his diaries and private letters reveals (not only Findley's frustrations in getting only minor theatrical parts but) the formative impressions of three years in London, filled with intensive reading and exposure to the musical scene, and his confrontation with the destruction evident in the rubble in postwar Berlin. These experiences engendered his concept of memory and the (urgent) need to avoid forgetting, preoccupations which were to shape the fiction of this sensitive observer, earlier marginalized in a family focused on male roles, and strengthened his pacifist leanings.

Taking its departure from a broad consideration of the general issue of typicality and individuality in the late nineteenth century fiction of "moral realists" like Henry James, and of immigrant memoirs and fiction (for instance, by Mary Antin) aiming at a "national American" narrative, Kasia Boddy approaches Lore Segal's work by considering the stages in her partial integration in American society as reflected in her memoirs and in the semi-autobiographical characters of her fiction. She argues that in Segal's later stories the tension between voluntary affiliation and the dominant individualistic strain in American society is still mirrored as it was in her thinly veiled autobiographical novel *Her First American*. This progress is marked by

the extent of the cultural space covered by the return of Ilka Weissnix, who resurfaces as Ilka Weisz, decades after her first confrontation with an alien society.

While the majority of contributions focus on the links and contacts between Anglophone North Americans with European individuals and / or groups, a final cluster of essays is devoted to the study of transatlantic voyages undertaken by francophone authors from Canada, as well as the impact they had on significant parts of the European public.

In the first of four essays written in French on the literatures of Canada, Peter Klaus takes a serious look at two remarkable writers, Edmond de Nevers (1862-1906) and Marguerite Andersen (b. 1924). The former, a twenty-six-year-old Quebec journalist, wrote detailed "Letters from Berlin," sobering reflections on the Germany of his time, which appeared in *La Presse* between July 1888 and March 1891. The latter, a novelist, essayist, and leading authority on Franco-Ontarion writing, born in Germany and now Toronto-based, has been richly honored by Canada for her contributions to the literary and cultural life of Canada.

In "Les figures de l'absence: migration et maternite dans *L'Empreinte de l'ange* (1998) et *Reflets dans un oeil d'homme* (2012) de Nancy Huston," Jörg Türschmann explores these two major works from the prolific author, one a major novel *The Mark of the Angel*, the other her essay, *Reflections in a Man's Eye*. Writing about the relationship of motherhood and migration in her work, he studies the multidimensional fabric of her intricate writings. "Writing non-fiction," comments Huston, "is more compatible with motherhood (because both are avowedly and as it were intrinsically ethical activities) than writing fiction." And Huston maintains a personal stance in her non-fictional essays while she employs her novel's plot to work out her layered themes.

Fritz Peter Kirsch explores the 2010 novel, *L'Âme du Minotaure*, by the young francophone Quebec writer, Dominique Audet. In this love story set in Germany, occupied Czechoslovakia, and Switzerland in the last years of World War II, the main characters observed by the narrator and expressing themselves alternatively in the first person are Reinhard Heydrich, Holocaust-instigator, called the "Butcher of Prague" and considered a monster by other members of the Nazi elite, and Katharina Lindemann, a secretary working for the SS who is unaware of the crimes committed by the regime and her lover. An attempt to make peace, a long time after the Quiet Revolution, with Quebec's Catholic heritage, the novel fills a double gap in the history of Quebec literature: on the one hand, embracing central Europe in its most horrifying experiences, and, on the other hand, doing this by means of the

relationship with Christian spirituality as a controversial element of Quebec culture.

One of the more perceptive commentators on Huston's writing, Ursula Mathis-Moser studies the critical reception of Quebec and her authors in "'Des illustres invisibles': À propos de la réception du Québec et de ses auteurs dans les médias imprimés germanophones (1960-2013)." Citing Peter Klaus's 1995 major article on the reception of Quebec in Germanic countries, she examines the growing interest there in Quebec and its writers. Basing her close analysis on a body of 900 articles which appeared in Germanic newspapers, she concludes that, as opposed to the 1960s and 1970s when there was little or no interest in Quebec, now there is discernible and discriminating commentary on the Quebec scene.

The sequence of essays on various kinds of encounters on both sides of the Atlantic concludes with Aritha van Herk's "A Bridge to Trieste," a meditative account of the journey undertaken by the North American writer. Van Herk reflects on the multiple bridges, literary and imaginary, which literary seekers from North America cross when encountering "the European." The encounter is epitomized by the penumbra of a city like Trieste, its multiplicitous history of having been part of many empires arguing a cultural genealogy. In exploring the triangulation of writing and its concomitant place-source, her essay uncovers a new perspective on the imprimatur of place within literature, seeking to understand cultural genealogy, to access sites of inspiration, and to re-visit already-delineated literary connections.

BIRGIT DÄWES

"My first business will be to make observation of things": First Nations Navigators and North Atlantic Triangulations

I. ANISHINAABE TRIANGULATION: 2013

In an exhibition entitled "Before and After the Horizon: Anishinaabe Artists of the Great Lakes," the Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian in New York currently shows a series of paintings by Saulteaux artist Robert Houle.[1] The series, termed *Premises for Self Rule,* is subdivided into five parts; they all engage with legal documents or treaties that affect First Nations sovereignty in North America. In part I, Houle thematizes the Royal Proclamation of 1763, or "what Aboriginal peoples have come to refer to as the Indian Magna Carta" (McMaster 80), by which King George III intended to organize the North American colonies after the acquisition of French territories.[2] The proclamation reserves all lands west of the Appalachian mountains for "the several Nations or Tribes of Indians with whom We are connected, and who live under our Protection" (George III 357). More significantly, it stipulates that Native people "should not be molested or disturbed in the Possession of such Parts of Our Dominions and Territories as, not having been ceded to or purchased by Us, are reserved to them, or any of them, as their Hunting Grounds" (George III, 357). Since the proclamation clearly acknowledges the aboriginal entitlement to the land, and – by granting the right for negotiation exclusively to the Crown – also recognizes indigenous sovereignty, it represents a legal milestone in the history of North America. Robert Houle's 1994 painting simultaneously foregrounds and

[1] The exhibition ran from 10 August 2013 to 15 June 2014 and was curated by David W. Penney. A photograph of the painting is reproduced in the exhibition catalogue (Penney and McMaster 82).

[2] The Royal Proclamation was issued after the Treaty of Paris, which ended the French and Indian Wars (1756-63).The other four parts of the series deal with the British North America Act (1867), Treaty No. 1 (1871), the *Indian Act* (1876), and the Constitution Act (1982).

undermines the document's importance, highlighting its broken historical promise by partly covering the text with a photograph of precisely the "hunting grounds" that were supposed to remain untouched. In addition to showing this artistic First Nations intervention with what John Bartlet Brebner later called the "North Atlantic Triangle," I would like to use the painting's tripartite structure – of a legal text, a historical photograph, and an abstract section of color – as a backdrop to my analysis of Anishinaabe travel writing in order to address three particular sets of questions: of historical authenticity and agency, of intercultural communication, and of the possibilities of remapping the Atlantic space by alternative metaphors of triangulation.

Houle's painting visualizes, in a complex cartography of power relations, what Mary Louise Pratt defines as the "contact zone": "the space of colonial encounters, the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict" (6). This contact zone is traditionally understood – and accordingly marked in this painting – as located on the North American continent, and infused by one-way cultural traffic: First Nations people were either annihilated or educated at mission schools, Christianized, and assimilated into mainstream culture. In the following, by contrast, I would like to look at travel accounts which move this contact zone to a different arena, back to the "old" world. In 1831, 1845, and 1850, respectively, three Methodist (or former Methodist) missionaries with remarkably similar backgrounds traveled to Europe and published their impressions. Whereas research has traditionally focused on European encounters with indigenous people *within* North America, a look at these travel accounts by Kahgewaquonaby (or Peter Jones), Maungwudaus (or George Henry) and Kahgegagahbow (or George Copway, who was "Canada's first international literary celebrity," according to Kevin Hutchings [217]) helps us to de-hierarchize the dichotomously coded space of the "contact zone," and thus "to foreground the interactive, improvisational dimensions of colonial encounters [that have been] so easily ignored or suppressed by diffusionist accounts of conquest and domination" (M. Pratt 7). In fact, as I hope to show, these travelers do not merely reverse the ethnographic gaze, but their strategically shifting poses of cultural encounter serve in more complex ways as what Gerald Vizenor terms "traces of Native survivance" (*Native Liberty* 9), the shadows of history that "create, at their best, a singular sense of presence by natural reason, customary words, perceptive tropes, observant irony, and imagic scenes" (*Native Liberty* 1).

The "shadows," Vizenor writes, "or the traces of native names in stories, are the ventures of a continent, a habitat and landscape, even in the distance of translation" (*Native Liberty* 7). Even though causing public spectacles wherever they went, these travelers were not merely showcased or commodified; nor did they enact a reverse kind of tourism: they came instead with specific agendas of securing economic and political support, and of giving voice to more or less explicit criticism of British and American policies. Their documents, I will argue here, not only substantially expand the genre of travel writing, but they revise the North Atlantic space as such and open up new dimensions for both Canadian Studies and Transnational American Studies.

II. 1831: KAH-KE-WA-QUO-NA-BY (PETER JONES)

Kah-Ke-Wa-Quo-Na-By, or Peter Jones, was "the first Aboriginal Methodist minister in Canada" (Smith, *Mississauga* 18), with both Mississauga (Anishinaabe) and English heritage. Born and raised on the western shore of Lake Ontario, he was educated at a log-cabin school (Smith, *Sacred Feathers* 41) and, at the age of twenty-one, converted to the Methodist faith. On his first of three trips to England in 1831, Jones spent a little over a year abroad, traveling around the country "to make appeals to the benevolent people of England, in order to support the Missions and schools" in Upper Canada (Jones 299). Even though Jones did not write a travel report for the public his journals and letters document all the more reliably his impressions of the foreign country.[3]

Like Samson Occom before him, a Mohegan minister on a fund-raising tour in England in 1765/1766, Jones frequently and unfavorably comments on the weather, especially the "dampness of the air" (298) and its negative effects on his health (cf. 300-03). Jones was very popular in England and drew large crowds, which irritated rather than pleased him:

[3] In light of the fact that he relates some of his encounters in great detail, it is all the more surprising that there is no mention of a rather crucial experience of his trip: as his biographer outlines, Jones fell in love with an upper-class Englishwoman named Eliza Field, whom he probably met in the fall of 1831 (cf. Smith, *Sacred Feathers* 130-49), and whom he convinced to return to Canada with him. They were married in New York in 1833.

> Ever since I came to London, my presence, or rather the report of an Indian going to appear at a public meeting, created no little excitement,and brought out many to the meetings. The English people are desperately fond of new things, and when anything novel is announced to the public it is always sure to bring a large congregation. They eat four times a day—morning, at 2 P.M., at 6, and at 9 or 10 o'clock. I have found them thus far a most friendly and hospitable people, and very candid and sincere in their friendship. (300)

Just as he notes down the seemingly unrelated schedule of British meal times, Jones is somewhat disturbed by the fact that "they ask more questions than I am able to answer, or they throw questions on top of the other, so I can get no time to answer one before another is brought forth" (300, cf. also 306-07). This intrusive behavior is only one of various cultural differences that he notices "in this strange land," (303) but his comments always remain polite and reserved.

Like Samson Occom before him, and George Henry after him, Jones encounters the King – in this case, William IV – initially seeing him only from afar. From the very beginning of intercultural contact, as Carolyn Foreman reminds us, "English rulers lost no opportunity to exhibit their armies" (13) in order to underline their military, political, and economic power; especially when they had visitors from abroad. At least at first glance, it seems as if this show of prosperity in the royal possession does not fail to impress Jones: "The King's carriage was most splendid, and appeared to be like a mass of gold, and was drawn by eight horses. The other carriages belonging to the royal family, were also very elegant, and the King's Life Guards appeared to great advantage, being mounted on beautiful horses" (325). Similarly, when the Reverend is invited to Windsor Castle for an audience, he admits to being "struck with the magnificence of the rooms, which are painted with the portraits of the old kings and other illustrious personages. The dinner hall and the ball room were most exquisitely beautiful, and gilded with gold leaf" (325). The next sentence, however, emphasizes the economic dimension of what he sees rather than its aesthetics: "The King's palace is a most costly and expensive edifice," (325) a remark that indicates critical reflection rather than blind admiration.

Moreover, when he finally meets the King in person in April 1832, the selection of what he mentions and what he neglects is quite telling as well. Jones explains that he was not the only visitor on that day: a Micmac chief from Nova Scotia and his son were scheduled for an audience at the same time. They all went in together, and "[t]heir Majesties bowed their heads when we bowed to them. They were standing when we entered the room, and stood the whole time while we remained with them" (342). These details go

beyond mere interest in royal protocol: by foregrounding that they were literally on an equal footing, Jones – as a representative of his nation – assumes a position of similar dignity and power. This lack of difference in rank is also underlined by the verbatim documentation of their dialogue:

> I told him that I belong'd to the Chippeway nation, residing in Upper Canada. He then asked how many of us there were in the nation. I told him about 40 or 50,000. He asked me how old I was. I replied thirty-one. When I was baptized? I told him about nine or ten years ago. What my name was? I replied, Kahkewaquonaby, in the Indian—Peter Jones in the English. (342)

The Mississauga visitor gets to have not only the answers, but also the last word, his name – before he presents King William with his Ojibwe translation of the Gospel of St. John.

Over dinner at the castle, Jones offers a toast of praise: "Long may they live to be a blessing to their nation and people! May God direct them in the good and right path of righteousness! God bless the King and Queen!" (344). Again, there is no explicit criticism, but the reference to God's necessary direction and guidance relativizes the sovereign's earthly power once more. In the protectively secluded frame of the journal, then, Jones is a little more explicit when he describes, a few months earlier, the tomb of John Wesley, "the Father of the Methodists": "It is right that good and holy men should be honoured and esteemed, but never to be worshipped, as God is the only proper object of worship" (312).[4] His criticism of class differences and materialism, however, is most pointed in a letter to his brother: "their motto seems to be 'Money, money; get money, get rich, and be a gentleman.' With this sentiment they fly about in every direction, like a swarm of bees, in search of the treasure which lies so near their hearts" (qtd. in Ruoff 209).

These scenes are even more significant when read in relation to the Methodist's visit of Westminster Abbey two months previously. Again, if the display of royal wealth is to impress the Native visitors and demonstrate British power to them, this symbolic act fails in Jones's case: in his depiction of the monument to the English monarchy's genealogy, Jones notably refrains from using upbeat adjectives or linguistic decorum, adding instead a tongue-in-cheek performance of his own:

---

[4] Similarly, he expresses his disapproval of a Catholic service, where he "saw the superstitions of the people, in going through their several maneuvres, all to make a show, and attract the poor deluded multitude, who are fools enough to bow to the priests" (322).

> After breakfast, I went through Westminister Abbey [sic], and saw everything that was to be seen in it. The statues, monuments, tombs, vaults, &c., of the kings, queens, and great men, were numerous. I also saw the place where the Kings of England are crowned, and the royal chairs that they sit on when they are thus crowned. I took the liberty to seat myself down upon them as we passed by, so that I can now say that I, a poor Indian from the woods of Canada, sat in the king's and queen's great crowning chairs. (328)

In contrast to the monotony by which he refers to "everything that was to be seen," his adoption of the royal pose marks a shift in tone and clearly turns into what Gerald Vizenor calls an "imagic moment" – one of those moments of resistance in which "Native stories create, at their best, a singular sense of presence by natural reason, customary words, perceptive tropes, observant irony, and imagic scenes. That authoral sense of presence is the premise of a distinctive aesthetics of survivance" (*Native Liberty* 1). Kate Flint concludes in her study on *The Transatlantic Indian* that "[t]o read Jones's journal is to see the muddying of the boundaries between religion, politics, and – if one happened to be both an object of curiosity *as* an Indian and to feel curious about the country one was visiting – entertainment" (209). Her reading stays at the surface of the text, however, and rather than muddied boundaries, I believe we find very consciously transgressed ones – by a traveler who skillfully moved across different registers and expectations.

III. 1845: MAUNG-WU-DAUS (GEORGE HENRY)

Quite obviously, Jones was not the first Aboriginal American to visit Europe. By the early eighteenth century, as Jace Weaver reminds us, "Indians were already old hands at oceanic travel, having been sailing to Europe for at least seven hundred years, many voluntarily but many more less so" (423). From the first sixteen captives that Columbus brought to Spain in 1493 (cf. Foreman 20) to the Lakota performers in Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show and Emily Pauline Johnson, tens of thousands of Native North Americans had gone across the Atlantic, more or less voluntarily, for various purposes: as slaves, guides, or interpreters, as expert sailors on whaling ships, as performers and 'show Indians,' or as diplomats, fundraisers, and official political delegates. In a pioneer study from 1943, Foreman outlines various transatlantic encounters in great historical detail, and various other historians, including Jack D. Forbes and Alden Vaughan, have followed suit (see also Feest, Flint, and Fulford). While Christian Feest deplores "the

absence of a sufficient body of Native American personal documents that is unimpeachable in terms of its truly native perspective" (621), there are quite a few "traces" (again in Vizenor's sense) of Native agency in early encounters. In 1710, for instance, four Haudenosaunee delegates had met with Queen Anne and posed for paintings; Samson Occom wrote about his visit to England in his journal and letters.[5] Maungwudaus, or George Henry, however, and George Copway after him, were the first who published their impressions *as* travel reports, engaging with a genre that was enormously popular at the time (cf. Ruoff 208), and that was intimately linked to the construction of national identity, as Judith Hamera and Alfred Bendixen underline (1). All three Anishinaabe men knew each other personally,[6] and George Henry and George Copway share an even larger number of similarities: both had started their careers as Methodist missionaries in Canada; both had then left (or been expelled from) their congregations and, facing financial problems, reinvented themselves in ever new settings and with a clear eye for their audience. Both lived in the United States, gave lectures, and staged themselves as *indian* doctors later – and they were both highly controversial. While many critics have attacked both writers for their shifting roles and loyalties, I argue instead that they skilfully navigate their identities between Canadian, American, and Anishinaabe coordinates, strategically adopting whichever affiliation suits their purpose best.

Maungwudaus, or George Henry, had been raised on the west side of Lake Ontario and worked in Canada as a government interpreter (cf. Smith, *Mississauga* 135) before he founded a performance group in 1844. In his vaudeville-like spectacle of *indian* dances and ceremonies, which toured

[5] While there is material on these sources, it has not been dealt with in the framework of travel writing studies, and (trans)atlantic studies have only recently begun to address texts like Occom's or Copway's. Allison Lockwood's 1981 study, *Passionate Pilgrims,* for instance, mentions neither Occom nor Jones (let alone Henry or Copway); and even in Larzer Ziff's *Return Passages: Great American Travel Writing* (published in 2000), these Native travelers find no mention. This scholarly neglect may also have to do with the fact that travel writing itself has been, as Tim Youngs and Peter Hulme write, "a vast, little-explored area" (1) for the longest time.

[6] Peter Jones and George Henry were, in fact, half brothers: Whereas Donald Smith more cautiously assumes that the relation between Peter Jones and George Henry was on the level of cousins (cf. *Mississauga* 127), Maureen Konkle documents that they had the same mother (181). Joshua Bellin explains the uncertainty by assuming that their half-brotherhood was "apparently unbeknownst to either" (247).

Europe for several years, he advertises himself as part of "eleven Native Canadian North American Indians . . . from the Western Wilds of North America" (qtd. in Smith, *Mississauga* 142-43). This performance clearly instrumentalizes the pose of the noble savage, but his purpose was to make a living for himself and his family: as a "hunter of audiences" (151) and "Ojibwe showman" (152), as Donald Smith describes him, Henry toured through Britain, Ireland, France, and Belgium quite successfully, and his travel report – which comprises less than a dozen pages – was enormously popular at the time.

Like the show itself, Henry's written account caters effectively to audience expectations. His syntax is flawed, his vocabulary often slightly off register, and he depicts European differences from an angle of innocent observation. Announcing himself as "a self-taught man" (66) who "was born and brought up in the wilderness, and never lived in a house but in a wigwam" (66), the author stages himself as an *indian* – the "ironic noun, a simulation of dominance that transposes native memories, imagic moments, and stories of survivance," in Gerald Vizenor's terminology ("Imagic" 162).

In addition to the occasionally missing articles and odd syntax, Maungwudaus emphasizes his alien position by rather naïve descriptions, when, for instance, he witnesses an execution in Norwich.

> Many thousand people got together where the man was to be killed, before a large stone house, on a high hill, long time before the appointed hour arrived. Then he began to kick and twist about for life, and one of the murderers ran down and caught hold of his legs and pulled him down, and very soon killed him. They said that he was not fit to live on earth, but they believed that he is gone to the happy country in the other world, where he will be out of mischief forever. (71)

Given his Methodist background and experience in mission schools, as well as his long experience as a translator, the "happy country in the other world" is hardly credible, and it is precisely in the gap between his background and his pose, I believe, that Native agency and survivance emerge most clearly. This gap allows him to voice critique outside the protocols of politeness, especially when he cleverly mixes his own interpretation of the event with the one he is given by others. By distancing himself from the moral judgment ("*They said* that he was not fit to live on earth"), while simultaneously terming the executioner a "murderer," Henry's subtle irony undermines the authority of English jurisdiction and thus, by extension, of America's British foundation.

Quite a few critics take Henry at face value, arguing that his "description combined naiveté and insight to generate the special quality of wisdom

demanded for the reinterpretation or revision of common experience" (Mulvey 267) or, in Kate Flint's words, that "he is translating the culturally unfamiliar into terms that would make his experiences vivid to an Indian audience" (82). The intended audience is, however, not "Indian" by far: his pamphlet was first published in Britain and, as Maungwudaus well knew, read almost exclusively by non-Native people.[7] Therefore, his apparently innocent observations can be taken as a strategic pose, which allows him not only to ironically reverse the ethnographic framing of *indians* as an exotic spectacle (cf. Konkle 209), but also to overturn the power relations on which such an ethnographic gaze is based.

Thus, for instance, when he was repeatedly invited to meet European Kings and Queens, Maungwudaus refuses to be impressed by their demonstrations of wealth and power. Instead, he counterbalances the discourses of dominance with rather cursory summaries: "Shook hands with Louis Phillippe," he writes about the French King, ". . . he showed us all the rooms in his house" (69). Queen Victoria's palace is equally uninspiring: "Her house is large, quiet country inside of it. We got tired before we went through all the rooms in it" (67). In similar style, the Queen herself is handled in less than two lines: "She is a small woman but handsome. There are many handsomer women than she is" (67).

The amusing character of Henry's text renders such resistance palatable to the audience, especially when, in convincing astonishment, he describes gender relations and social customs: "The English women cannot walk alone; they must always be assisted by the men. They make their husbands carry their babies for them when walking" (67). Similar to Jones's irritation with the frequent meal-times, Henry is annoyed by "their too many unnecessary ceremonies while eating, such as, allow me Sir, or Mrs. to put this into your plate. If you please Sir, thank you, you are very kind Sir, or Mrs. can I have the pleasure of helping you?" (68). What strikes him most about the outward appearance of both the English and the French is their beards: in France, "[m]any of the gentlemen never shave their faces, this makes them look as if they had no mouths," (67) and in England, he notes,

[7] Other critics do notice the discrepancy between Henry's education and his style: Maureen Konkle remarks that "[t]he naiveté is somewhat stylized," and Bernd Peyer writes that the text "lies entirely within the eighteenth-century European 'rational savage' tradition with its pretended naiveté and seemingly harmless observations of continental society delivered in a (purposely?) faulty 'Indian' English" (274); and Joshua Bellin sees the "goggle-eyed naivety" as "itself part of the act" (249).

"[t]hey do not shave the upper part of their mouths, but let the beards grow long, and this makes them look fierce and savage like our American dogs when carrying black squirrels in their mouths" (67). In this passage, the play with the ethnographic gaze becomes most evident: the "savage" looks of the Europeans underline, of course, the civilized character of both Anishinaabe and American culture by contrast. Comparisons to animals reinforce this effect, and Henry's critique of economic inequalities is all the more pointed: "Like musketoes in America in the summer season, so are the people in this city, in their numbers and biting one another to get a living. Many very rich, and many very poor" (67).[8]

At the time of Henry's stay, the European grand tour was emerging as a well-trodden path for wealthy Americans and Canadians alike. "Whereas only a few thousand Americans were going abroad annually before this time [the 1840s], steam travel allowed as many as thirty thousand per year in the 1840s and up to one hundred thousand in the 1890s" (Sides 12). Most of the travelogues from this time, however, were far from praising the Old World: according to Alfred Bendixen, North American travel writing in the nineteenth century mainly served the purpose of affirming "a greater appreciation of one's home and country" (104).[9] George Henry's text perfectly follows this generic convention: he is appalled by the filthiness of Scottish streets, notices that women's necks are "rather longer than those of our women" (68), and finds that "[t]he steamboats in this river are not so handsome as those in America" (67). Even more explicitly, he ends his report with the scene of return, which becomes the stage for a comparison between English and American values:

> Since the 4th of June we have visited many towns between New York and Boston; went to see Plymouth Rock, where our forefathers first saw the white men; saw the stone first touched by white man's foot; went in the Pilgrim Hall. The Americans have been very kind to us in all places; they are not so fleshy as the English, but very persevering in all their ways. They pay more respect to their females than the English, and they like to see

[8] He also explicitly criticizes British colonization: "The Irish are very kind-hearted people. The country people make fire of turf; many of them are very poor; the British government is over them" (71). By political analogy, of course, this criticism of colonial dominance also extends to North America's treatment of Native Americans and thus adds to the sharpness of his critique.

[9] It is interesting that among Europeans, too, "the grand tour may stand as a paradigm of travel undertaken to the center of a self-confident cultural tradition for the purposes of self-cultivation and the reaffirmation of a common civilized heritage" (Porter 19). See also Pratt's chapter on science and planetary consciousness (*Imperial Eyes* 15-36).

> things belong to others without leave. . . . They are not so much slaves to their civilization as the English; they like to be comfortable, something like ourselves, placing one leg upon the other knee, while basking ourselves in the sun. A real comfort is better than an artificial one to the human nature. (74)

In this triangular comparison, Henry achieves two things: by praising American virtues and thus following the recipe of North American travel writing, he firmly inscribes himself into the canon of mainstream American literature. At the same time, he also emphasizes his culturally distinct identity as a descendant of the original owners of the continent – and thus effectively triangulates a position of cultural sovereignty.

IV. 1850: KAH-GE-GA-GAH-BOWH (GEORGE COPWAY)

If the main purpose of North American travel writing was to demonstrate the superiority of the New World, as Bernd Peyer also suggests, "to demonstrate by comparison the moral, political, and physical superiority of the new world" ("Nineteenth" 145), then George Copway also proves a master of the genre. As "the first travel book written by a Native American" (Sweet, "Copway" 69), his *Running Sketches of Men and Places* documents his trip as a delegate of the Christian Indians of America to attend the Peace Congress in Frankfurt in 1850 (cf. 43).[10] The monograph comprises some 350 pages and thus provides plenty of room for favorable comparisons with the Old World.[11] Even though the author claims neutrality, promising that

[10] The finest analysis of the text, including its historical backgrounds, is provided by Bernd Peyer ("Nineteenth-Century"); see also Ruoff and Fulford's chapter on Copway in *Romantic Indians.*

[11] The book is often discarded by critics because, by different estimates, "approximately one-sixth of the text" (Sweet, "Copway" 71) or even "approximately half of it" (Peyer, *Tutor'd* 273) are "passages taken verbatim from contemporary British travel guides and periodicals, poetic citations, and excerpts from his own previous publications" (Peyer, *Tutor'd* 273). Indeed, the text is a patchwork of different sources: mixing travel impressions with poems, biographical sketches, newspaper reports, and excerpts from histories and travel guides, Copway embeds his own speeches, lectures, and travel impressions within discourses of authority. But also in general, the author is a controversial figure among scholars, and many critics "seem to enjoy ganging up on Copway, mocking his sentiment, questioning his psychological state" (Konkle 189). See also Cathy Rex, who summarizes: "Because of the general downward trajectory of Copway's life, his constant (and often disreputable) self-reinventions and identity changes,

"my first business will be to make observation of things, and to describe them as I see them" (44), the very beginning of his account abounds with praises of the homeland: "I may see other countries equally beautiful and grand in scenery, yet let me be an enthusiast for my own dear native land" (12). The word "native" is crucial here, for throughout the text, Copway shifts between Canadian, American, and Anishinaabe affiliations, depending on the role that provides him with the widest range of agency. "Our" Hudson river is particularly "beloved" from afar (45), and even if places in Britain seem comparable to America in size, they can never match the latter's beauty. Like other travelers before him (including Samson Occom), he praises "the garden-like appearance of the whole country [England]" (83), but, at the same time, also points out the sociopolitical flaws to which the landscape points: "Unfortunately, they who till the soil have generally little time, and still less opportunity, for mental improvement. Without this, all this landscape beauty is but an outside shell, and when our country shall have become as old as England now is, we may excel the English in cultivation and refinement" (82). Belgium leaves him equally unimpressed, as "a monotonous country – no hills to see. But one continual level of mud and stagnant pools of water" (168). When he travels down the Rhine river, he does acknowledge the beauty of some of the places he sees, but once more, the German landscape cannot stand up to a comparison with the United States: "The Germans rightly think that there is only one Rhine in the world. We give them credit for love of country, and we ask them the same, when we say it would take twenty-five or thirty such rivers to make one Mississippi! When any nation comes to boasting of rivers, we have one too that could swallow all the German rivers at once" (199-200).

The cultural difference that strikes him most, however, is the same that other Native travelers before have also extensively described: the economic imbalances within British society are as appalling to Copway as they were to Jones or Henry before him. London is described as a "Babylon" (275), where he meets so many beggars that "I find it hard to get small change for them all" (41). He dislikes the "noise and confusion" (275) and "in the poor districts of this great city I find much misery and wretchedness" (278).

Likewise, when he meets Prince Frederick (Wilhelm Ludwig) of Prussia right after the Peace Congress, he exposes the ironies of European militarism

---

as well as his (perceived) failure to project any identity beyond that of the 'Noble Christian Savage' . . . scholars have tended to criticize Copway and his body of texts from a purely psychological standpoint" (2).

in contrast to his own former self as a 'warrior':

> As I was passing though the Parade Grounds the Prince was having a review of the soldiers. Ten thousand soldiers in arms! The sight was an imposing one. Their burnished weapons and splendid equipage glittered before the sun, and the tall plume of the Prince, who was conspicuous of the field, waved before us as we passed. These soldiers make a brilliant and formidable appearance, but such things are altogether repugnant to my feelings since my warrior's creed has been changed to a harmless one. (255)

Here too, as in Peter Jones's and George Henry's encounters with members of the Royal Family, he centers on outward appearance and thus demolishes any impressive effect: his cursory summary of the scene indicates that the power of the aristocrats stems from neither their capacity for leadership, their personalities nor their political skills, but is vested merely in interchangeable items of clothing, such as the "tall plume" of the Prince. He also relativizes, in a manner similar to Peter Jones's engagement with Westminster Abbey, the British House of Commons, the hall of which "is an ill-constructed thing" (111), and the seats of which he finds "very ordinary" (111). While St. Paul's Cathedral and Westminster Abbey are only mentioned in passing, he does spend a few paragraphs on the impressive postal system (cf. 92-93).

In accordance with his intention to educate Europeans "on the present condition and prospects of the Indian races in America" (55-56), Copway too stages the noble savage cliché for effects of authenticity and popularity: emphasizing his background in the "forest, where the white man with his axe had hardly ever entered" (16), he claims that it was "eleven years ago when I first attempted to learn the ways and language of the Pale Face" (15). This is hardly credible, however: in 1839, Copway had already graduated, done extensive missionary work, and published his own texts in a Methodist newspaper (cf. Smith 174-77). Yet his Canadian background is used as a marker of his Romantically coded childhood and, by extension, the indigenous past. When Copway visits the London Zoo, the otter reminds him of the time "when I used to hunt them in the woods of Canada. Wolves, foxes, deer – all are here" (123). The animal metaphor is – similar to George Henry's zoological rhetoric – also used for political ends: when Copway sits down at the bird cage, watching an eagle, he muses, "how humble now his habitation. The air has been his kingdom and the sun the goal of his flights. But here you are – what sad reverses of fortune you have experienced! These pale faces are unmerciful to you – never mind, here is *one* that sympathizes with you" (124). By an analogy which is hard to miss, the imprisonment of Canadian wildlife in a British zoo is also a subtle comment on the colonial

politics of British North America: "These pale faces are unmerciful to you," he addresses an eagle, but "never mind, here is *one* that sympathizes with you" (124).

Like Maungwudaus, he uses apparently innocent imagery to soften his criticism of imperialist politics. If a Canadian identity thus signifies the nostalgic past, Copway draws on an American identity in order to reinforce his current political agenda, for instance when he deplores the worship of alleged heroes, who "expelled the red man from his native soil" (e.g., at Bunker Hill, 16), and when he hears that President Zachary Taylor died. "My only wish on hearing of this event was for his safety," he notes, "and I hoped the Great Spirit had forgiven him for killing so many of the red men of my country" (13). By this country, he rather interestingly refers to the United States: like Henry before him, he firmly inscribes himself into American national identity. "My heart can but ONE native country know," he asserts in a poem, "And that, the fairest land, beneath the skies, / America! . . . thou art that gem / Brightest and fairest in earth's diadem" (15). This doubly endows the explicit comments on historical injustices with authority; and they are, in fact, more than merely rhetoric: Copway was planning a proposal to the U.S. Congress "to give to us, at the north-west, a territory" (318) – fulfilling precisely what the Royal Proclamation had promised in 1763 – with a sovereign government of Christianized Native North Americans, both from Canada and the U.S. This territory was not to be a reservation, on the contrary, Copway envisioned it to be a State within the American Union (cf. Smith 190-91).[12] His purpose in England and Germany, therefore, was to find influential supporters for his plan. Staging himself as an American, he sells the project as a political move from within, rather than an oppositional tactic, and thus dons an aura of credibility and reason.[13]

---

[12] Copway submitted the proposal to Congress, but it seems not to have been seriously considered (cf. Smith 192, Ruoff, "Copway" 44). For more details on Copway's motivation and the intended design for the territory, see Timothy Sweet's "Pastoral Landscape with Indians."

[13] Britain, too, is criticized in subtle but powerful ways:"And this is England! The land about which I have heard and read so much! It is but a small island, and I remember that when I was a young lad, away in the forest, I often looked at the little spot it occupied on the map (for geographies had found their way to us), and as I was told it was Great Britain, I inquired, and wondered as I asked, why such a diminutive place should be called 'Great.' I thought I might put it in my pocket, it looked so portable and insignificant. But now I find it large . . . " (84). On the pretext of praising the island, his critique of imperialist policy is all the more pointed; the logical argument is contrastively reinforced by his pose of an innocent

In his triangular movements between American, Canadian, and Anishinaabe coordinates, Copway simultaneously utilizes and resists the fixation of the 'noble savage': his performance of a dynamic and flexible subjectivity is as much a strategy of political empowerment as it is a deconstructionist comment on cultural difference at large. Like George Henry, however, this comment is gently embedded in a rhetoric of humor. Copway mocks the accent of the "*H*inglish" and complains about the excessive requests for tips on the part of British hotel staff: "Hotel servants in this country are constant plagues," he notes. Once a customer believes he has paid for his bill, "[t]hen come the servants like a regiment of starved turkeys clamoring for food" (50). He pays a gratuity to one after another, but there seems no end to them, and he concludes: "Job is said to have had a great deal of patience, but sure I am he never was in England" (51). His irony, however, is also directed at himself: after a speech that he himself did not consider particularly successful, he notes that "I was glad to get through with my lecture, whether my audience was or not" (148), and when he starts to quote from a letter to his father in Ojibway, he stops himself: "I had better not write this letter in Indian, on the pages of this book, for fear some one will come on me for damages for the breaking of his jaw while trying to speak the words" (39-40).

All of these travel writings achieve much more than merely "reversing" the ethnographic gaze: their poses are part of what Joshua Bellin calls "the savage tour," by which he means both the practices of exhibiting *Indians* as consumer-oriented objects (by George Catlin and others) and their possibilities of Native resistance. Savage tours, according to Bellin, are "touring exhibitions that are 'savage' in their exploitation of Indian peoples, yet that hold the prospect of the supposed savages turning the tour to their own purposes" (243): "In the savage tour, Indian performers are at once subject to and suspect of the processes of dislocation . . . : if the tour assails their identities as Indians, by the same token it offers practical experience with colonialist representation that assists Indian performers in negotiating the colonial arena" (243).

V. OCEANIC SPACES

When John Bartlet Brebner coined the term of the "North Atlantic Triangle"

---

and ignorant youth "away in the forest."

in 1945, he wanted to emphasize the "interplay" between Canada, the U.S., and Great Britain, which had crucially shaped and continued to influence Canadian foreign policy. This concept is historically useful and, as political scientist David Haglund defends it, "the most fecund symbol ever applied to the study of Canada's or perhaps any country's foreign policy" (118). In the twenty-first century, however, the gaps and weaknesses of the metaphor come more visibly to the forefront. In a provocative article entitled "What North Atlantic Triangle?" Gordon Stewart argues that the metaphor is merely "kept on life support by a relatively small network of scholars" (6) and has no corresponding signified in contemporary political realities. David Haglund, too, argues that while the concept was still viable as recently as the 1990s, the changes of the twenty-first century (especially the "alteration in the threat environment" [134] and the impact of Asian relations) have changed that situation. Nevertheless, he claims, the North Atlantic Triangle still serves, at least from the point of view of foreign policy, as a framework for a shared "value set" comprising "liberal democracy, the rule of law, respect for minority rights, and reliance upon market economic forces accompanied by a societal safety net" (136). Tony McCulloch adds that "[g]iven the vagueness of Brebner's concept of a North Atlantic Triangle it is perhaps not surprising that some writers have doubted whether it existed at all" (3).

Based on the idea of common political interests and democratic structures, a shared language, and the shared economic systems of capitalism,[14] the term of the North Atlantic Triangle neglects, on a horizontal level, various other trajectories across the Atlantic – most of all the Middle Passage and further routes of traffic involving Africa, the Caribbean, and Europe – but also, on a vertical level, the interior ethnic and cultural diversities that have formed each nation. The travel reports of First Nations visitors to England substantially widen this angle in three ways. First of all, as Peter Jones, George Henry and George Copway demonstrate – together with many travelers after them, including, for instance, Emily Pauline Johnson – Vizenorian "traces of a distinctive native aesthetics" (Vizenor 6) abound in the North Atlantic space. Through strategies of selection, omission, comparison, semantic relocation, irony, or simulated ignorance,

[14] Gordon Stewart sees another flaw in the asymmetrical relations of the triangle: it presupposes that "relations between the three parties have been generally benign and that all three parties accepted the triangle notion" but in fact, "the fundamental direction of US policy towards Canada since 1776 has been to break the link between Britain and Canada" (5).

these narratives rewrite the contact zone as a site of encounter among equals. Far from Romantic *indian* stereotypes, they develop positions of Native American authority, agency, and knowledge, which they locate within popular genre conventions: as Gerald Vizenor puts it elsewhere: "Natives have, . . . as strategic visionaries and emissaries, embraced the very simulations of their absence to secure the chance of a decisive presence in the historical narratives of colonial and constitutional democracies" (162).

Second, instead of fitting theoretical triangles, these texts serve the triangulation of the Atlantic space in the mathematical sense of the word: as a strategy of determining the location of a point by measuring angles from points that are already known. In light of the long neglected transnational traffic routes of Native North Americans, Tim Fulford and Kevin Hutchings promote a terminological and conceptual move toward the "Indian Atlantic" as a larger geopolitical structure which places indigenous people in direct relation to "a capitalised transatlantic commerce" (2): "[T]here was a 'Red Atlantic' just as deserving of our attention as the 'Black Atlantic'" (18). Jace Weaver has recently developed this concept further; foregrounding particularly the active share indigenous people had in shaping transatlantic relations. The aim is to "restor[e] Indians as actors in the transoceanic story. In helping create the Red Atlantic, they were integrated into – and integrated themselves into – the nascent world economy. Not merely slaves and victims (though they were that, too), they were self-determined and not simply selves-determined" (456).

Evaluations of the impact of this new geopolitical structure differ, however: whereas Tim Fulford later wrote that "[t]he Indian Atlantic died, as a personal and political reality" after 1783 (121), I believe that it continues as an important tool in reconsidering the cartographies of imperialism, of cultural exchange, and of Native American sovereignty and agency, far beyond eighteenth-century boundaries. Specifically, Fulford writes that "[t]he Indian Atlantic died, as a personal and political reality, although Indians still came to Europe as representatives and in shows. It did not die, however, as a circulation of words and images – but there was less and less opportunity for the whites who included Indians in their writings to meet them, their culture, and their writing, at first hand" (121). The double use of a concessive adverbial clause indicates an uncertainty of argument here; and indeed, Fulford seems to rely on a Eurocentric position, when he assigns crucial importance to the opportunities for "the whites" to meet North Americans.

Especially at the time that is still called the "American Renaissance,"

when Margaret Fuller wrote about her impressions of Europe and travel writing became central in the narrative constitution of national identities, Jones, Copway and Henry help to define the Red Atlantic, remapping the geographical space as well as the literary canon that unfolds from it. American travel writing, as Judith Hamera and Alfred Bendixen remind us, "simultaneously exposes inter- and intra-cultural contradictions and contains them. It creates American 'selves' and American landscapes through affirmation, exclusion, and negation of others, and interpellates readers into these selves and landscapes through specific rhetorical and genre conventions" (1). This is particularly true for the indigenous texts analyzed here, and they deserve a more central place in both the study of travel writing and the study of North American literature at large.[15]

Third and finally, these texts engage with intercultural communication and an ethics of encounter within the very space that they remap. This is nicely illustrated when Copway, in a separate chapter on "The Ocean," imagines himself sailing, "like an eagle in upper air" (21) across hidden landscapes and creatures underneath the water. While crossing the sea, he envisions an unmapped space of unknown coordinates, which is not captured in analogy or simile but left intact in its difference: "What wonders lie in the world beneath," Copway writes, "familiar to the monsters of the deep, but strange and mysterious to us" (21). This passage brings us back to Robert Houle's painting: its left-hand section is not only monochromatic ocean blue, but it is abstract, a format that Houle himself considers "a different type of mapping" ("Artist Statement" 16). This commitment to the non-hierarchical and non-mimetic, the acknowledgement of the Other as different without attempts at eradicating or smoothing the edges, is at the heart of what I have called, for the present purpose, "Atlantic Triangulation." Like the triangles of the teepees within the threefold structure of Houle's painting, all three Anishinaabe works of art thus allow us to remap the discourse of intercultural encounter by non-binary transnational flows. And like the abstract section of

[15] Gordon Stewart also envisions an expansion of the metaphor of the "North Atlantic Triangle: "Imagine what a fully conceptualized and opened up history of the North Atlantic triangle would be like," he concludes. "It would not simply be a triangle of Canadian, British, and American political leaders and policymakers. Such a history would be shaped by all the recent scholarship on the Atlantic world, and it would include social, cultural, and migration history, taking into consideration the histories of the native peoples living in it, and the slaved and freed people of colour who were part of it, as well as all the intellectual and literary interconnections" (20).

blue, we may understand even those remappings as metaphorical – as mere "Premises," to cite Houle – for an ongoing conversation.

WORKS CITED

Apess, William. "An Indian's Looking Glass for the White Man." *On Our Own Ground: The Complete Writings of William Apess, a Pequot.* Ed. Barry O'Connell. Amherst: U of Massachusetts P, 1992. 155-61.

Bannet, Eve Tavor. *Transatlantic Stories and the History of Reading, 1720-1810.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2011.

Bellin, Joshua David. "The Savage Tour: Indian Performance Across the Atlantic." *Native Americans and Anglo-American Culture, 1750-1850.* Ed. Tim Fulford and Kevin Hutchings. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2009. 241-55.

Bendixen, Alfred. "American Travel Books about Europe before the Civil War." *The Cambridge Companion to American Travel Writing.* Ed. Alfred Bendixen and Judith Hamera. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2009. 103-126.

Bhabha, Homi. "Signs Taken for Wonders." 1985. *Literary Theory: An Anthology.* Ed. Julie Rivkin and Michael Ryan. 2nd ed. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2004. 1167-84.

Blanton, Casey. *Travel Writing: The Self and the World.* London: Routledge, 2002.

Bond, Richmond P. *Queen Anne's American Kings*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1952.

Brebner, John Bartlet. *North Atlantic Triangle: The Interplay of Canada, the United States, and Great Britain*. New Haven: Yale UP, 1945.

---. *Canada: A Modern History*. Ann Arbor: U of Michigan P, 1960.

Copway, George (Kahgegagahbowh). *Running Sketches of Men and Places in England, France, Germany, Belgium, and Scotland.* New York: J. C. Riker, 1851.

Feest, Christian F. "Indians and Europe? Editor's Postscript." *Indians and Europe: An Interdisciplinary Collection of Essays.* Ed. Christian F. Feest. Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1989. 609-28.

Flint, Kate. *The Transatlantic Indian, 1776-1930.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 2009.

Forbes, Jack D. *The American Discovery of Europe.* Urbana: U of Illinois P, 2007.

Foreman, Carolyn Thomas. *Indians Abroad: 1493-1938.* Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 1943.

Fulford, Tim. "Transatlantic American Indians." *Transatlantic Literary Studies, 1660-1830.* Ed. Eve Tavor Bannet and Susan Manning. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2012. 106-23.

---. *Romantic Indians: Native Americans, British Literature, and Transatlantic Culture, 1756-1830.* Oxford: Oxford UP, 2006.

---. and Kevin Hutchings. "Introduction: The Indian Atlantic." *Native Americans and Anglo-*

American Culture, 1750-1850. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2009. 1-38.

George III. "The Royal Proclamation." 1763. *The Quest for Justice: Aboriginal Peoples and Aboriginal Rights.* Ed. Menno Boldt and J. Anthony Long. Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1985. 357-58.

Haglund, David G. "Brebner's *North Atlantic Triangle* at Sixty: A Retrospective Look at a Retrospective Book." *London Journal of Canadian Studies* 20 (2004/2005): 117-40.

Hamera, Judith, and Alfred Bendixen. "Introduction: New Worlds and Old Lands – The Travel Book and the Construction of American Identity." *The Cambridge Companion to American Travel Writing.* Ed. Alfred Bendixen and Judith Hamera. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2009. 1-9.

Hargittay, Clara. "Robert Houle: Identity and Multiplicity." *Real Fictions: Four Canadian Artists.* Ed. Linda Michael. Sydney: Museum of Contemporary Art, 1996. Sep 8, 2013. http://www.ccca.ca/c/writing/h/hargittay/harg002t.html

Henry, George (Maungwudaus). "An Account of the Chippewa Indians, Who Have Been Traveling Among the Whites, in the United States, England, Ireland, Scotland, France, and Belgium." *The Elders Wrote: An Anthology of Early Prose by North American Indians 1768-1931.* Ed. Bernd C. Peyer. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1982. 66-74. Also in *American Indian Nonfiction: An Anthology of Writings, 1760s-1930s.* Ed. Bernd C. Peyer. Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 2007. 197-205.

Houle, Robert. "Artist Statement for Troubling Abstraction." *Troubling Abstraction: Robert Houle.* Ed. McMaster Museum of Art. Montreal: Art Books Canada, 2007. 15-17.

---. *Premises for Self Rule.* 1994. Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian, New York.

Jones, Peter. *Life and Journals of Kah-Ke-Wa-Quo-Na-By (Rev. Peter Jones): Wesleyan Missionary. Published Under the Direction of the Missionarry Committee, Canada Conference.* Ed. Anson Green. Toronto: Wesleyan Printing, 1860. Columbia University Online Archive. Web. June 4, 2013. https://archive.org/details/lifejournalsofke00jone

Konkle, Maureen. *Writing Indian Nations: Native Intellectuals and the Politics of Historiography, 1827-1863.* Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 2004.

Lockwood, Allison. *Passionate Pilgrims: The American Traveler in Great Britain, 1800-1914.* London: Cornwall, 1981.

McCulloch, Tony. "Revisiting the North Atlantic Triangle: The Brebner Thesis After 60 Years." *London Journal of Canadian Studies* 20 (2004/2005): 1-4.

McMaster, Gerald. "The Anishinaabe Artistic Consciousness." *Before and After the Horizon: Anishinaabe Artists of the Great Lakes.* Ed. David W. Penney and Gerald McMaster. New York: Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian, 2013. 71-105.

Mulvey, Christopher. "Among the Sag-A-Noshes: Ojibwa and Iowa Indians with George Catlin in Europe, 1843-1848." *Indians and Europe: An Interdisciplinary Collection of Essays.* Ed. Christian F. Feest. Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 1989. 253-75.

Occom, Samson. *The Collected Writings of Samson Occom, Mohegan.* Ed. Joanna Brooks. New York: Oxford UP, 2006.

Penney, David W., and Gerald McMaster, eds. *Before and After the Horizon: Anishinaabe Artists of the Great Lakes.* New York: Smithsonian National Museum of the American Indian, 2013.

Peyer, Bernd C. *The Tutor'd Mind: Indian Missionary Writers in Antebellum America.* Amherst: U of Massachusetts P, 1997.

---. "Biography: George Henry." *American Indian Nonfiction: An Anthology of Writings, 1760s-1930s.* Ed. Bernd C. Peyer. Norman: U of Oklahoma P, 2007. 206-07.

---. "A Nineteenth-Century Ojibwa Conquers Germany." *Germans and Indians: Fantasies, Encounters, Projections.* Ed. Colin G. Calloway, Gerd Gemünden, and Susanne Zantop. Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 2002. 141-64.

Porter, Dennis. *Haunted Journeys: Desire and Transgression in European Travel Writing.* Princeton: Princeton UP, 1991.

Pratt, Mary Louise. *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation.* London: Routledge, 1992.

Pratt, Stephanie. "Iroquois Portrayed: Images of the Haudenosaunee from Three Centuries." *On the Trails of the Iroquois.* Ed. Sylvia Kasprycki. Bonn: Bundeskunsthalle, 2013. 43-49.

Rex, Cathy. "Survivance and Fluidity: George Copway's *The Life, History, and Travels of Kah-ge-ga-gah-bowh.*" *Studies in American Indian Literatures* 18.2 (Summer 2006): 1-33.

Rosenberg, Ruth. "Samson Occom." *Native American Writers of the United States*. Ed. Kenneth M. Roemer. Dictionary of Literary Biography 175. Detroit: Gale Research, 1997. 203-07.

Ruoff, A. LaVonne Brown. "George Copway." *Native American Writers of the United States.* Ed. Kenneth M. Roemer. Dictionary of Literary Biography 175. Detroit: Gale Research, 1997. 43-46.

---. "Reversing the Gaze: Early Native American Images of Europeans and Euro-Americans." *Native American Representations: First Encounters, Distorted*

Images, and Literary Appropriations. Ed. Gretchen M. Bataille. Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 2001. 198-221.

Sides, Ashley. "'That Humane and Advanced Civilization': Interpreting Americans' Values from Their Praise of Saxony, 1800-1850." *Crossing the Atlantic: Travel and Travel Writing in Modern Times.* Ed. Thomas Adam and Nils H. Roemer. College Station: Texas A&M UP, 2011. 11-49.

Smith, Donald B. "Jones, Peter." *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*. Vol. 8. University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003. Web. Sep. 3, 2013. http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/jones_peter_8E.html

---. *Mississauga Portraits: Ojibwe Voices from Nineteenth-Century Canada.* Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2013.

---. *Sacred Feathers: The Reverend Peter Kones (Kahkewaquonaby) and the Mississauga Indians.* Toronto: U of Toronto P, 1987.

Stewart, Gordon. "What North Atlantic Triangle?" *London Journal of Canadian Studies* 20 (2004/2005): 5-25.

Sweet, Timothy. "George Copway (Kah-ge-ga-gah-bowh)." *American Travel Writers, 1776-1864.* Ed. James Schramer and Donald Ross. Dictionary of Literary Biography 183. Detroit: Gale Research, 1997. 68-72.

---. "Pastoral Landscape with Indians: George Copway and the Political Unconscious of the American Pastoral." *Prospects* 18 (Oct. 1993): 1-27.

Vaughan, Alden T. *Transatlantic Encounters: American Indians in Britain, 1500-1776.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2006.

Vizenor, Gerald. "Imagic Moments: Native Identities and Literary Modernity." *Imaginary (Re-)Locations: Tradition, Modernity, and the Market in Contemporary Native American Literature and Culture*. Ed. Helmbrecht Breinig. Tübingen: Stauffenburg, 2003. 167-83.

---. *Native Liberty: Natural Reason and Cultural Survivance.* Lincoln: U of Nebraska P, 2009.

Weaver, Jace. *That the People Might Live: Native American Literatures and Native American Community.* New York: Oxford UP, 1997.

---. "The Red Atlantic: Transoceanic Cultural Exchange." *American Indian Quarterly* 35.3 (Summer 2011): 418-77.

Youngs, Tim, and Peter Hulme. "Introduction." *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing.* Ed. Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002. 1-13.

Ziff, Larzer. *Return Passages: Great American Travel Writing, 1780-1910.* New Haven: Yale UP, 2000.

HEINZ ANTOR

When Europe Meets the North American West: Intercultural Encounters in Guy Vanderhaeghe's *The Last Crossing* (2002)

The Canadian novelist Guy Vanderhaeghe has made a name for himself as a writer of historical fictions with American and Canadian prairie settings which bring together characters from different cultural backgrounds. This positions his works as critical ethical engagements with questions as to how the past is constructed in historical accounts of the North American frontier and issues of intercultural encounters in this context. This has been demonstrated extensively with regard to Vanderhaeghe's arguably most famous novel to date, i.e. *The Englishman's Boy* (1996). Consequently, in what is to follow here, we will have a look at how intercultural encounters are constructed in his more recent novel *The Last Crossing* (2002).

As in *The Englishman's Boy* and in *A Good Man* (2011), his latest novel and the text that completes what has by now come to be referred to as a trilogy, Vanderhaeghe, in *The Last Crossing*, looks back to the late nineteenth century in the American and Canadian North-West. In this novel, he tells the tale of an expedition into the frontier regions of the North-West in search of Simon Gaunt, the lost brother of Addington and Charles Gaunt. Simon went to North America as a missionary intending to bring the Gospel to native Americans and Canadians but vanished seemingly without a trace. This is not primarily a mystery novel dealing with the riddle of Simon's disappearance, however, because right from the beginning, the reader knows that the young British missionary is lost in a snowstorm, but saved from a freezing death by a native Canadian. Our attention thus is focussed on the various members of the search expedition and their interactions with each other and with the indigenous population. In this way, the stage is prepared for a critical engagement with intercultural contacts in a late nineteenth-century North American context of encounters.[1]

[1] Wyile also stresses the intercultural theme of the novel when he points out that "*The Last Crossing* stages an encounter between the ossified, stifling social codes of Victorian England and the emerging, seemingly anarchic social codes of the Western frontier" (59).

The Last Crossing is told by different narrators who are all involved in one way or another in the search expedition trying to find Simon. Vanderhaeghe thus manages to produce a multiple point-of-view narrative that is able to convey the various perspectives of the representatives of different cultures and in a Bakhtinian manner to heteroglossically negotiate their distinct positionalities in a typically novelistic dialogic fiction which turns into a critical engagement with issues of intercultural encounters, alterity and hybridity.[2]

The various members of the Gaunt family are a case in point here. Right at the beginning of the novel, in the frame narrative set in 1896, in which Charles Gaunt, Simon's twin brother, looks back a quarter of a century to the events of 1871, when he took part in the expedition to find his lost brother, we learn that he did not do so voluntarily, but because "I am asked to perform another's bidding . . . my father set my feet on the *Pasha*, 1,790 tons of iron steamship breaching the Irish Sea, bound for New York" (3).[3] This sentence already aptly characterizes the authoritarian, patriarchal, but also colonialist quality of the 1871 adventure that forms the bulk of the book. This is stressed by the naming of the ship which, like an omnipotent Oriental ruler, is not to be deflected from its purpose and violently ploughs through the sea separating England from its first real colony, Ireland. The involuntary role played by Charles in the 1871 expedition and forced upon him by his father[4] is underlined by Charles's behaviour on board the *Pasha* where he misses dinner "to gaze upon what I was leaving, to recall those figures in the Ford Madox Brown painting, *The Last of England*" (4). Interestingly, the young lady depicted in this painting is compared to Charles's missing brother, "[a] lady flying from England just as Simon, my twin brother, had fled it" (4). The patriarchal energy of the father colonizes his son Simon, who becomes a missionary in order to flee his father and his father's country, but in turn

[2] The novel thus is a typical example of one of Vanderhaeghe's main concerns, which he defined himself in an interview: "I . . . feel that history is a narrative about intersections among peoples, cultures, economic forces, etc. It's what brings about change and modifications of the status quo . . . it's the story of how intersections and collisions work themselves out in surprising and startling ways" (Vanderhaeghe "Making History," 47).

[3] All page references for passages in the novel to the edition are listed in the bibliography.

[4] Wyile, in this context, characterizes the search expedition as "a paternally legislated quest" (60) and rightly claims that Vanderhaeghe "exposes the corruption and stifling social stratification of Victorian patriarchy and challenges its authority" (ibid.).