

TORONTO SATURDAY NIGHT 1887-1906:

A STUDY OF THE SHEPPARD YEARS

by

Evelyn Fox

B.A., University of British Columbia, 1975

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF  
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF  
MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department  
of  
English

© Evelyn Fox 1982

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

May 1982

All rights reserved. This thesis may not be reproduced in whole or in part, by photocopy or other means, without permission of the author.

PARTIAL COPYRIGHT LICENSE

I hereby grant to Simon Fraser University the right to lend my thesis, project or extended essay (the title of which is shown below) to users of the Simon Fraser University Library, and to make partial or single copies only for such users or in response to a request from the library of any other university, or other educational institution, on its own behalf or for one of its users. I further agree that permission for multiple copying of this work for scholarly purposes may be granted by me or the Dean of Graduate Studies. It is understood that copying or publication of this work for financial gain shall not be allowed without my written permission.

Title of Thesis/Project/Extended Essay

Toronto Saturday Night 1887-1906: A Study of the Sheppard Years

---

---

---

---

Author: \_\_\_\_\_

(signature)

Evelyn Jean Fox

\_\_\_\_\_  
(name)

August 16, 1982

\_\_\_\_\_  
(date)

APPROVAL

NAME: EVELYN JEAN FOX

DEGREE: Master of Arts

TITLE OF THESIS: Toronto Saturday Night 1887-1906: A Study  
of the Sheppard Years.

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

Chairman: Prof. Michael Steig

---

Prof. Kathy Mezei, Senior Supervisor  
Assistant Professor of English

---

Prof. David Stouck,  
Associate Professor of English

---

Prof. Veronica Strong-Boag,  
External Examiner  
Associate Professor of History/  
Women's Studies

Approved: May 10, 1982

## ABSTRACT

First published in 1887, the Canadian popular magazine Toronto Saturday Night, was, to a great extent, a reflection of the man who edited it during the period, 1887-1906. Edmund E. Sheppard not only controlled the content but also wrote a good deal of the material himself. Characterized by a charming but exasperating innocence, the Sheppard years were chosen for this study because they reveal much about the Canadian culture and, in particular, literature of the time.

The first two chapters of this thesis examine the editorials and fiction by Sheppard: Chapter One focuses on the range and content of the editorials and Chapter Two, on the fiction written by Sheppard for Toronto Saturday Night. Chapter Three provides an overview of the fiction that appeared in the magazine from 1887-1906. While several hundred stories appeared during this time, the fiction of the early years relied on the cliches of the day: the triumph of justice, the reward of virtue and the value of hard work. This writing reveals that moral virtue was the primary message presented to the reader. The modern reader's initial impatience when confronted with the didactic nature of the fiction of early Toronto Saturday Night should therefore be tempered by an understanding that it reflected the popular Victorian conviction

that fiction had to have a high moral purpose. Chapter Three examines the moral purpose of Toronto Saturday Night's fiction, as well as its range and quality.

Toronto Saturday Night's attitude toward Canadian literature was ambiguous; although the magazine regularly promoted and praised Canadian writing, proportionately few of the magazine's stories were by Canadian writers. Chapter Four first explores the character of this Canadian writing in the popular forms--the moral story and the fantasy story of mystery and suspense--and then explains the scarcity of good Canadian fiction in the magazine by examining how the demands of readers and editors and the expectations of writers hampered originality of expression.

The Conclusion summarizes the idiosyncratic stamp imprinted by Sheppard on Toronto Saturday Night and discusses the changes in the magazine after his departure. Although the format of Toronto Saturday Night varied over the years, Sheppard's emphasis on social responsibility and support of Canadian writers have emerged as key features of the magazine.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
APPROVAL PAGE	ii
ABSTRACT	iii
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER I: "SIMPLE DEMOCRACY AND COMMON SENSE": THE EDITORIALS OF E. E. SHEPPARD	17
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER I:	59
CHAPTER II: A FETTERED VISION: THE FICTION OF E. E. SHEPPARD	70
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER II:	99
CHAPTER III: TORONTO <u>SATURDAY NIGHT</u> FICTION: AN OVERVIEW	103
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER III:	132
CHAPTER IV: TORONTO <u>SATURDAY NIGHT</u> CANADIAN FICTION: PROBLEMS BETWEEN EDITOR AND WRITER, WRITER AND READER	138
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER IV:	173
CONCLUSION	183
BIBLIOGRAPHY	191

## Introduction

The experiment of magazine publishing has been tried in all the chief cities of the Dominion, but it has failed in every instance, though the trial has been made honestly and at considerable sacrifice on the part of the promoters of the enterprise. 1

On December 3, 1887 the first issue of Toronto Saturday Night<sup>2</sup> appeared on the newsstands in Toronto and by early afternoon all 10,000 copies were sold out. Toronto Saturday Night went on to become one of the few Canadian magazines to survive the nineteenth century and to carry on into the twentieth where it now enjoys a respected position among Canada's magazines.

The record of periodicals in Canada up to that point had been surprisingly bleak, with most magazines folding within two years of their inception, among them the Canadian Magazine and Literary Repository (Montreal, 1823-25), the Canadian Review and Literary and Historical Journal (Montreal, 1824-26), the Acadian Magazine (Halifax, 1826-28), the Canadian Literary Magazine (York, 1833), the Monthly Review (Toronto, 1841), Barker's Canadian Magazine (Kingston, 1846-47), the Victoria Magazine (Belleville, 1847-48), the British Colonial Magazine (Toronto, 1853), the Canadian Merchant's Magazine (Toronto, 1857-59), the British American Magazine (Toronto, 1863-64), and the Canadian Quarterly Review and Family Magazine (Toronto, 1863-64). If this

were not enough, the optimism following Confederation resulted in the founding of still more periodicals, all of which had folded or merged with another by the time Toronto Saturday Night had appeared on the scene. They included the New Dominion Monthly Magazine (Montreal, 1867-79), Stewart's Literary Quarterly (St. Johns, 1867-72), the Canadian Illustrated News (Montreal, 1869-83), as well as the Canadian Monthly and National Review (Toronto, 1872-78).

When Toronto Saturday Night first appeared there were a number of Canadian magazines on the market. The Week (Toronto, 1883-96), was a magazine aimed at an intellectual audience. Dominated by Goldwin Smith in its early years, The Week's subject matter reflected his interest in politics, literature and social affairs. Its style was one which encouraged thought and discussion and its tone was "aggressively controversial."<sup>3</sup> Smith also founded and contributed to the politically oriented The Bystander (1880-82 ; 1890-91), which came out on an irregular basis. Still another magazine of a political nature available to Canadians at that time was Grip (Toronto 1872-94), edited by J.W. Bengough, whose gift for political satire and wry, sharp comment provided much of the magazine's appeal. In addition to magazines that focused on politics, there were a number of religious magazines on the market, the primary Canadian periodicals



being the Christian Guardian (Toronto, 1829-1925), a Methodist magazine which contained both political and religious news and The Methodist Magazine (Toronto, 1875-1906), which was published under various titles throughout this time and, as one might expect, featured religious news primarily, although occasionally it carried book reviews and discussions of literary subjects. Also of some note was the Anglican Canadian Churchman (Toronto, 1871- ).

As well as the political and religious magazines, there were those magazines of general interest such as the Canadian Magazine (Toronto, 1893-1939) that were aimed at the middle-class audience of the day. While the format of the Canadian Magazine was less flamboyant than that of Toronto Saturday Night, the two has a number of features in common: their subject matter was aimed at a general audience; their tone was genial, and their uncomplicated style offered light entertainment in a format that was designed to capture the interest of the reader. If The Week was aggressively controversial, the Canadian Magazine and Toronto Saturday Night were agreeably amiable.

Generally speaking, the Canadian Monthly, The Week and even the Canadian Magazine, all periodicals from Toronto, appealed to a more sophisticated audience than that of Toronto Saturday Night which saw itself as the magazine for the average Canadian reader and hoped for a national readership. In addition, the publishers of Toronto Saturday Night

saw the magazine filling a particular need, for while periodicals like The Week appealed only to an educated, sophisticated Canadian audience, and dealt with serious issues of concern to that audience, Toronto Saturday Night offered a form of reading pleasure that aimed to entertain as it educated.

Because education was regarded as a means of unifying, building and strengthening Canada, educating the public was a primary goal of the periodicals of the day. This goal was not confined to Toronto Saturday Night; editors of all popular magazines felt their task was to reach the adults of their community and to provide them with reading matter that would educate as it entertained by presenting examples of good behaviour, introducing the reader to foreign countries and customs, as well as informing him of scientific advancement and innovation. The popular magazine in Canada fulfilled a particular need in this area because it attracted a section of the populace that the other, more literate, magazines did not reach. The intention was to reach this audience through fiction. This aim, not surprisingly, had a profound effect on the nature and quality of the fiction chosen for publication by the popular magazine

such as Toronto Saturday Night.

In the early years particularly, Toronto Saturday Night borrowed much of its fiction from British and American sources. Reprints were common, as were translations of French and German stories. Unfortunately, the desire to educate-by-example produced a glut of poor copies and weak imitations by Canadian writers. Even when a story did originate in Canada, it was all too often an imitation of one which had found fame elsewhere. The majority of Toronto Saturday Night's stories were set in places like London or New York or Paris. Very few were set in Canada. The result is that a study of the fiction from 1887 to 1906 reveals much more of what the culture hoped to be than what it was. We see more of what the Canadian culture admired than what it achieved; we see its longing to possess the traditions of other nations, rather than an eagerness to find its own.

To fulfill its aims, the popular magazine encouraged the habit of reading. By making reading as pleasant and effortless as possible, magazines such as Toronto Saturday Night, the Canadian Magazine, and the Dominion Illustrated (Montreal, 1888-92)--a magazine similar to TSN but not so successful--appealed to the majority and succeeded because they were written for a wide popular audience. But these magazines had to compete with others for their audience since

both England and the United States had mass-produced magazines aimed at the general public. Import regulations allowed the almost free passage of periodicals with the result that the Canadian magazine faced stiff competition from British and American daily and weekly newspapers, religious publications, weekly story papers and monthly storypapers. All offered fiction that ranged from stories for children to the historical romance and included adventure fiction, religious material, novels of adventure, mystery and crime fiction and the domestic romance. Toronto Saturday Night hoped to usurp this market by using many of the popular writers of England and the United States, by offering Canadian material by Canadian writers and by providing the same range of reading material as that offered by the foreign magazines.

The cultural climate of the period also lent itself to the success of a popular magazine. There was contagious enthusiasm for the development of a national literature and a distinctive Canadian culture which reflected the intellectual community's pride in the new Dominion. Movements such as the Canada First, founded in 1868, and the Royal Society of Canada, in 1882, spurred this desire to create a Canadian literature. In addition, because there were inter-relationships within the Canadian literary community, and it was common for editors and writers to

to move about from one magazine or newspaper to another, the publishing community was fairly cohesive. Throughout the nineteenth century editors shared the desire to develop and support a national literature in Canada, a unified goal despite the variety in both style and content of the various magazines they edited. The fact that Canadian poets were becoming recognized by other countries gave added assurance to those desiring a national literature for not only were Canadian periodicals publishing the work of the poets Charles G.D. Roberts, Archibald Lampman, William Wilfred Campbell and Duncan Campbell Scott but also the poems of these writers were being published internationally. As well, a number of writers of fiction in Canada were gaining recognition, among them Gilbert Parker, Ernest Seton Thompson, Mrs. S.F. Harrison and Sara Jeannette Duncan.

The year Toronto Saturday Night first appeared, 1887, Confederation was already beginning its third decade. Only the year before, the railroad had connected the two coasts of Canada. The country had a national policy: tariff laws such as those introduced in 1879 meant that goods manufactured in Canada were now more saleable. Land was cheap and immigrants were being encouraged to come and settle.

Canadians were convinced that Canada was destined to

play a very important part in the future of the world. To many Canadians, change, growth, and development, meant progress. What stiffened their conviction was the fact that change was clearly evident: the land was being cleared, cities were growing, industries were proliferating. The country was becoming more habitable, more civilized. Canadian leaders such as Wilfred Laurier were implying that the twentieth century would belong to Canada:

As the 19th century was that of the United States...  
so I think the 20th century shall be filled by Canada.<sup>4</sup>

As the historian Carl Berger points out, the Canadians' conception of history

...was rooted in the belief in progress, in the conviction that history was the record of steady improvement in material conditions and in intellectual and moral life. The idea of progress was the major certitude of Victorian culture...<sup>5</sup>

Canadians believed their country would rise to and exceed the advances made by Britain and the United States, two countries whose influence had heretofore dominated Canada. The assumption was that the people of Canada would not only be equal, but also superior, citizens:

Canadians...were a strong and serious race, enjoying advantages over Britain as well as the United States. Canada, alone of all the Dominions lay above the forty-fifth parallel, and because of the energy inherent in the personality of her people she was surely pre-destined to assume an important position in the world. <sup>6</sup>

The eventual population of Canada was expected to be phenomenal. In an article titled "The Future of the Dominion of Canada" published in 1887, Edmund Collins said that the Saskatchewan Valley alone could support 800,000,000 people.<sup>7</sup> Canadians were convinced that Canada would become stronger than either the United States or Britain because she would not make their mistakes. She would be able to do better because her people lived in a "new" land where it was still possible to mould and shape human characteristics. This sense of Canada as the new Eden was supported by another, equally strong, conviction that can be best described as an idealized view: a sense of freedom from past sin. The handicaps of a history often stained by violence and oppression were not to be Canada's. As Susanna Moodie put it "Bad spirits cannot be supposed to linger near a place where crime has never been committed."<sup>8</sup>

The new Eden would, of course, require a new vision. As Thomas D'Arcy McGee put it "The popular mind must be trained and educated according to the physical appearances and social condition of the country..."<sup>9</sup> If Canada were to fulfill its promise, its inhabitants would need to be educated to the new environment. Magazines such as Toronto Saturday Night could provide such an education. Edmund Sheppard and other editors believed that, despite widely diversified backgrounds, Canadians could be taught to agree on such matters

as moral correctness and social responsibility. The impetus for such training was already being felt in the United States where social reform was a major undertaking:

In the northern states almost every department of life was being examined and given a new evaluation. The old Puritan theology was fading away and in its place there was a rising interest in such matters as temperance, prison reform, care of the insane, labour conditions, education and anti-slavery. National societies interested in such fields were increasing their memberships by thousands yearly. 10

In the popular magazine the emphasis on social responsibility and social awareness often manifested itself in what Claude Bissell describes as "the unreflecting convictions of the heart,"<sup>11</sup> a description which nicely captures the attitude of Toronto Saturday Night. In the fiction particularly, the convictions, although generous, were not always fully thought out with the result that much of the fiction was sentimental and didactic. By encouraging a response from the heart, Toronto Saturday Night intended to provide the patterns which illustrated social awareness and exemplified the perfection possible in man; the new Canadian would have to be made aware of the ideal in order to achieve it. This didacticism was founded on a sense of duty and instigated by a vision of progress. Unfortunately, as this study of Canadian Toronto Saturday Night fiction reveals, the intention to educate had inherent problems which profoundly affected the quality of the work of Canadian editors and writers alike.



From the first, one of Toronto Saturday Night's major aims was to appeal to the hearts of the general public by providing stimulating reading:

It is the intention of the publishers to make the editorial columns of Saturday Night the most piquant and entertaining of any Canadian paper...

(3 December 1887 p.6.)

Concerned with capturing the widest audience possible, Toronto Saturday Night promised to make every attempt to be interesting and genial:

To be good-natured will be the chief aim of this journal.

(3 December 1887 p.6.)

However, it would do so within the borders of good taste:

...avoiding always anything that is scurrilous or improper...Saturday Night, while devoting itself largely to literature, will be essentially a paper of to-day, dealing with current topics...

(3 December 1887 p.6.)

But most significantly, as its first editorial "Salutory" indicates, it was determined to succeed where others had failed:

While newspapers have multiplied in Toronto and throughout the whole of Canada there is no competitor to contest the field with Saturday Night. The Canadian Illustrated News, published some years ago in Montreal, failed because of its lack of excellence, but we feel confident that a really good pictorial paper cannot but succeed if its scope is wide enough to meet the tastes of the general public. In order to enlarge our constituency Saturday Night will not only present illustrations as its leading feature, but will supply departments of social and family reading which cannot fail to amuse and instruct.

(3 December 1887 p.6.)

Printed on newsprint sheets twelve by eighteen inches and illustrated with handdrawn sketches by local artists which accompanied the articles and fiction, that first issue set the tone for the next two decades. The character of the magazine was, even then, clearly established: it would be colourful but its commercial aspects would be tempered by an enthusiasm that was boyish, contagious and sassy:

HA! HA! HA!  
Great Humbug Sale  
For Sixty Days  
Dissolution of Partnership

Or, to explain ourselves more fully, our office boy will sever his connection with us on February the 1st. He goes by mutual consent and the flight of time, and from now until that date we will hold

A Great Humbug Sale

All goods will be slaughtered, as we will require on February 1st. the sum of

ONE MILLION DOLLARS

to pay him his salary in full up to that date.  
In order to raise this amount we  
will sell. You say:

BOSH, HUMBUG, NONESSENSE!

And so it is. Thank Goodness...

That first issue also introduced other constants: the broad range of its subject matter and a focus on Toronto

centered topics. About a fifth of the space was taken up with advertising and the rest of the twelve pages offered the reader a pot pourri of reading material which was colourful and kaleidoscopic in style and form. For example, the editorial page, dealing with events in and about Toronto, featured a discussion on the Toronto mayoralty race, a short sketch about a country and a city boy, some remarks about reciprocity, and a condemnation of low necked dresses. The following pages were devoted to social events, a lesson in language, a diatribe on fog-horns, a list of out-of-town visitors plus features on sporting, fashion, art and university events. Also in the issue were columns concerned with the army and thoroughbred horses. In addition to this, there were columns titled "Singers of Sacred Song," "Hints for Housekeepers," "Talks About People" and "Amusement Notes," as well as a rather captivating filler encouraging the writing of "passionate literature" by women.

There were several stories included in that first issue of Toronto Saturday Night. One, "A Life's Burden," set in England, dealt with youthful romance, blackmail, married love, murder and forgiveness. Scattered among the stories, columns and articles, were the advertisements which provided Toronto Saturday Night readers with information about novel-ties, hats, dress goods, shoes, corsets, hair goods, furs and butcher shops. The magazine offered features on the

the theatre, art galleries and church functions. There were jokes and cartoons for the reader's amusement as well as bits of gossip for his titillation.

During the next twenty years, although its purpose to entertain and educate remained fixed, the tone and content of Toronto Saturday Night gradually changed. Reflecting changes in Edmund Sheppard himself, the magazine became more conservative, less flamboyant, more cautious, less adventuresome.

Toronto Saturday Night has since gone on to play a leading role in the support of Canadian culture but even in the early years, with a circulation varying between ten and fifteen thousand, Toronto Saturday Night was both shaped by and helped to shape the literary tastes of the time.

Footnotes

<sup>1</sup>George Stewart Jr. Literature in Canada, an address. Rpt. New York: 1877. (Toronto: Canadiana House, 1970?) p.140. Stewart, a Maritimer, founded Stewart's Literary Quarterly (St. John: 1867) and edited Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly (1879-96). This quotation was part of an address by Stewart before the Canadian Club in New York city in 1877.

<sup>2</sup>Toronto continued to appear on the masthead of Saturday Night throughout the period Sheppard was editor, and was not dropped until he sold the magazine in 1906.

<sup>3</sup>Claude Bissell, "Literary Taste in Central Canada During the Late Nineteenth Century," Twentieth Century Essays on Confederation Literature (Ottawa: Tecumseh Press, 1976) p.31.

<sup>4</sup>Carl F. Klinck ed., Literary History of Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970) p.466. Laurier saw the eighteenth century as belonging to Britain, the nineteenth to the United States and the twentieth to Canada.

<sup>5</sup>Carl Berger, The Sense of Power (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970) p.109.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p.109.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p.114.

<sup>8</sup>In an interesting study of the Canadian novel during the nineteenth century, "Shaping the English Canadian Novel 1820-1900" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of British Columbia, 1977) Carole Gerson discusses this characteristic:

For Mrs. Moodie, the presence of ghosts required the consciousness of sin. She found Canada's lack of supernatural associations to be a measure of the greater innocence of a land undefiled by civilization." (p.87.)

Footnotes (cont'd)

<sup>9</sup>Thomas D'Arcy McGee, "Protection for Canadian Literature," The New Era, 144, 24 April 1858 p.2.

<sup>10</sup>Fred Landon, "The History of Upper Canada in Frontier Perspective," The Frontier Thesis and the Canadas (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1970) p.29.

<sup>11</sup>Bissell, p.24.

## Chapter I

"Simple Democracy and Common Sense": The  
Editorials of E. E. Sheppard

Edmund E. Sheppard, Toronto Saturday Night's<sup>1</sup> first editor, is not held in high regard today--even by the magazine he helped found where he is dismissed by Jack Batten as a "wily opportunist"<sup>2</sup> and by Ramsay Cook as

...a wonderful expression of that nineteenth-century Anglophone nationalist mentality that has contributed so much to our present problems...He was no more willing to change those views than he was to stop drinking whiskey. And he was known as a man with a powerful thirst.<sup>3</sup>

Sheppard was a nationalist<sup>4</sup> and he did have a "thirst:" (He enjoyed shocking new employees by announcing that he could "drink all the whiskey the staff required.")<sup>5</sup> It is also true that he was irascible and contrary, inconsistent and difficult. Both "a dreamer and a schemer,"<sup>6</sup> a man who could "find the money for what he wished to do,"<sup>7</sup> a man who "would at certain periods work prodigiously and at others loaf"<sup>8</sup>; he was all of these and more:

he habitually chewed tobacco, and his aim at a distantly placed cuspidor...was invariably accurate. On one occasion the late Sir George Ross visited his office on a political mission: and Sheppard with a view to convincing the Premier of Ontario of his brusque independence practised this gift throughout the interview, occasionally ejaculating an unprintable synonym for buncombe which has its origin in ranch-life. Sir George was never in danger, but would jump nervously every time a quid flew past him to the cuspidor.<sup>9</sup>

Hector Charlesworth, an employee of Sheppard's who made no attempt to conceal his fondness for the man while revealing his foibles, observed that Sheppard was "a natural rebel against all conventions,"<sup>10</sup> an observation gained through an association of many years. Charlesworth admired Sheppard's wit and intelligence but admits he was controversial and idiosyncratic: "The contrast between the mind of the man given to so much abstract, if not entirely lucid, thinking and his daily conversation was startling."<sup>11</sup> Sheppard was never to be conventional; his rebellious attitude, the source of both the strengths and weaknesses of his character, in the early TSN years gave his writing a lively and energetic quality. In the later years, however, it contributed to make him a disillusioned, cranky old man, disappointed and disgruntled with his lot. Although the chief concern of this examination of TSN is literary, because Sheppard, as editor and writer of fiction himself, had so much influence on what appeared in the magazine, it seems useful to describe something of his nature and interests before going on to examine the fiction that TSN offered during the period he was editor.

Born in 1855 on a farm near St. Thomas, Ontario, one of



twelve children, Sheppard had a desire at an early age to study medicine and in his teens managed to find enough money to attend Bethany College in West Virginia, one of the less expensive colleges in the Southern United States. For reasons unknown he never did complete his education there; instead, he taught in a small college for nearly a year before going on to live a "plainsman's life" in Texas and Mexico. Returning to Canada in 1878, he married Melissa Culver of Mapleton, Ontario, in 1879, after which they moved to the mid-western United States where he worked for a variety of small town newspapers.<sup>12</sup> In 1881 he returned to St. Thomas where he worked for the St. Thomas Journal before finally joining the Toronto News where he was editor-in-chief from 1883 to 1887.

The family settled permanently in Toronto when Sheppard began at the News. Beyond the fact that the Sheppards had four children, three girls and a boy and that one of their children, a girl, died when she was only a child, little is known about Sheppard's family life during his years at TSN. It was a subject he never wrote about in his editorials. Mrs. Sheppard, interviewed in her eighties, described her husband simply as a man who was away a great deal of the time because of his job, but was hard working and "anxious to provide well"<sup>13</sup> for his family. Hector Charlesworth is more explicit about Sheppard's personality,

describing him as a rather eccentric individual whose appeal lay in a curious mixture of characteristics which Charlesworth depicts as "The most unique mingling of likeable and offensive traits that I have ever known."<sup>14</sup> Charlesworth describes Sheppard as moody and "morose" and Reuben Butchart, another long-time employee of Sheppard's, agrees, although he tends to make excuses for Sheppard's moodiness:

Naturally, at times he seemed to vary: but that was due to the working upon him often of problems pressing for answer, that sometimes could not be told. <sup>15</sup>(1 January 1938 p.8.)

Robert Fulford's assessment of Sheppard is that he was a bitter man because he suffered a number of disappointments in his political career. Fulford argues that Sheppard, a popular speaker at Toronto gatherings, had his sights on a goal beyond that of being editor of a magazine:

Sheppard's life went far beyond the pages of Saturday Night. He was a renowned public speaker, and a man of considerable stature on the Toronto scene....To Sheppard a political career seemed, after successful journalism, an obvious next step. In 1887 he ran for the House of Commons as a Labour candidate in West Toronto; in 1890 he ran in Haldimand for the Ontario Legislature as an Independent Conservative; in 1892 he ran against R.J. Fleming for mayor of Toronto. Each time he was defeated, and in the end he was embittered. <sup>16</sup>

Butchart suggests that Sheppard failed in politics because "he could not organize either his mind or habits to the task,"<sup>17</sup> an observation which appears consistent with what we see of Sheppard's work at the magazine where his

enthusiasm made him leap to assumptions that he later had to modify. Still, while the political failure may have contributed to his bitterness, such failure does not adequately explain the complexity of Sheppard's attitude and temperament. In fact, the more one learns about Sheppard, the more one comes to recognize that from its very beginning, Sheppard's career was highly unorthodox and filled with stops and starts that might well have caused bitterness in anyone else but, in Sheppard's case, only appeared to add impetus and energy to his pursuits.

In the introduction to Saturday Night Scrapbook, Fulford describes how Sheppard began his newspaper career:

He worked for the London Advertiser, the Toronto Mail, and the Toronto News, newspapers now all long dead or amalgamated. At the News he was given complete charge and a chance eventually to become owner. He responded by...making it as sensational as possible, and for a time it was the most talked-about newspaper in Canada. 18

Charlesworth adds to the picture:

The methods adopted by Sheppard to gain fame and circulation for the News were lurid, and anticipated many of the "circulation stunts" of to-day. For a time he printed it on pink paper; and when I was a youngster, most boys desired their fathers to take the News in order that they might have pink kites. Less innocuous was the institution of the "Peek-a-Boo" column containing offensive and often malicious gossip about leading men and women of Toronto society. This is a very old journalistic trick to get circulation...19

He goes on to point out some of the more comic elements of Sheppard's "stunts":

I recall seeing a Labour procession in the mid-eighties when the entire staff of the News, editors, reporters, business clerks, compositors, and pressmen were compelled to walk wearing white "plug" hats like a minstrel company....I learned in after years that the white plug hats were a job lot picked up by Sheppard at a dollar apiece. 20

An interesting aspect that neither Fulford nor Charlesworth discuss is that Sheppard's News was part of a rebellion of daily newspapers in the 1870s and 1880s against the more conventional newspapers of the time. Sheppard, one of the prime movers to establish and maintain political independence of the press, was running the News. At this time the News, along with other Toronto dailies such as the Telegram (1876), the World (1880), the Star (1892); and the Montreal papers, the Star (1869) and La Presse (1884) and the Hamilton Herald (1889), became known as the people's journals, the worker's voice in Canadian society. Determined to make newspapers more democratic and representative of the working class, their battle was, in part, a class struggle, as Paul Rutherford points out, "made up of workingmen and clerks who often resented both the values and the leadership of the 'better classes'":

If there was not a serious class struggle in Victorian Canada, there was considerable class tension between the local establishments and the masses in the cities. And this tension fuelled, if it did not inspire, the rebellion of the people's journals. 21

The party newspapers, owned by wealthy partisans who were primarily interested in using their papers to further the

aims of a particular political group, were under attack by this group of journalists. In "The People's Press: The Emergence of the New Journalism in Canada, 1869-99" Rutherford describes Sheppard as "the most daring of the new Toronto journalists"<sup>22</sup> as he explains something of the motivation behind the movement:

At first the "people's journalists" were imbued with an extraordinary sense of mission. Angered by the contempt of their fellow journalists, these men resurrected the old creed of professionalism, first outlined by the legendary pressmen of eighteenth-century England, to justify their rebellion against the trammels of party journalism. They condemned their better established rivals for their subservience to the parties...The press had to be independent of all cliques and factions. To be more specific, the task of the press was to act as a public educator and as the people's tribune. 23

In "Brainworkers and the Knights of Labor: E.E. Sheppard, Phillips Thompson, and the Toronto News, 1883-1887" Russell Hann sees Sheppard, and Sheppard's assistant editor, Phillips Thompson, as members of the radical intelligentsia aimed at influencing the working man who formed the audience of the News.<sup>24</sup> Damned by both Tory and Grit for his views, in his editorials Sheppard offered some novel suggestions for achieving greater democracy as Hann points out:

Hostile to the "divine rights of kings" and a "titled or privileged class" the democratic News advocated on its first day the separation of church and state, the abolition of the office of Governor General and its replacement by an elected Chief Magistrate, and government issue of a national currency. He [Sheppard] was cautious enough to add that this program of "simple democracy and common sense" was not to be associated with socialism, communism, nihilism, or annexationism. 25

The peek-a-book column that Charlesworth referred to as one of Sheppard's attempts to "gain fame" for the News was part of Sheppard's campaign to reveal the patronage of the existing leadership of the Canadian bureaucracy and to encourage a system whereby appointive office would be replaced by elected ones. The column "Open Letters to Prominent Men" signed Ranger, written by John Charles Dent, was designed to expose the inadequacies of those in power:

Appearing weekly, these letters were written as evaluations of the personal histories of the leaders of church and state. The second published letter, addressed to Charles Tupper, set off a storm of criticism throughout the Ontario press. Tupper's career was held up to critical scrutiny and found lacking. Opponents of the News did not challenge Dent's depiction of Tupper's lacklustre career. However, an old charge that Tupper had seduced a female patient while in medical practice was referred to obliquely in the letter...

Stung by the charges, the establishment of the time launched attack after attack against Sheppard with Goldwin Smith's comments in The Week being among the more vehement. Hann continues

For Smith, they those operating the News were "medacious" journalists, "malignant" secularists, and socialists intent on fomenting "class hatred." A greedy capitalist "who would be equally ready to make money by the ownership of a brothel," was the culprit whom Smith deemed to have brought together these "purveyors of slander."

Commercially oriented because they received no funding other than through advertising, newspapers like the News

needed publicity to survive. At the same time, however, they were sincere in their efforts to expose inadequacies and they did constitute a genuine threat to the establishment:

The Ranger letters attempted to provide a critical picture of the backgrounds of Canadian public men and such public men viewed these attacks with considerable alarm. The unanimous denunciation by their literary defenders suggested that from the beginning the News was perceived as a threat by established Toronto journalism. 26

Sheppard's daring and reckless methods of gaining publicity for his causes were wedded to an often spontaneous and impulsive generosity that frequently got him into difficulty--a situation he did not always regard askance. In fact, Sheppard lost the newspaper because of an incident which began with him accepting responsibility for an article in the News he had not seen prior to its appearance in print. The article was an attack on a French-Canadian unit, the 65th Rifles of Montreal, and charged that they had shirked their duties in the Riel Rebellion of 1885. Sheppard, the paper and the article's author, Louis Kribs, were sued.<sup>27</sup> Sheppard paid the fine of two hundred dollars<sup>28</sup> but in order to avoid going to court on the same charge laid by a second officer, he played a game of hide and seek with the policemen trying to serve the warrants on him and for two years he succeeded--with the help of a few of his friends. The details provided by Charlesworth read like a score from

a Keystone Cops' routine:

For months the Quebec police officials had great difficulty in securing the signature of a Toronto magistrate to the warrant. Col. Denison, then the sole police magistrate, was usually conveniently absent from his office, or on the bench, when the High Constable from Montreal would appear...local justices of the peace were also diffident....the game of evasion went merrily on. Sheppard had convenient exits broken in the offices of the News on Yonge Street, Toronto, which enabled him to vanish when the alarm was given. The office was indeed a curious rookery. There was a platform or balcony on the second floor where you might stand unseen and watch anyone moving about in a corridor below, through which a police officer searching for the accused must necessarily pass. One of the News stereotypers told me that on one occasion when the High Constable of Montreal was known to be in town, he and a fellow employee had arranged to douse the official with a barrel of flour from this vantage point. Fortunately the information leaked to the "boss," who gave stern orders against violence. 29

The week of Sheppard's trial in Montreal was the week that the first issue of TSN came out. The fine assessed and paid, Sheppard returned to Toronto to begin his new job as editor of TSN.

Although the idea for TSN actually began with Walter C. Nichol and another employee of Sheppard's at the News, Sheppard was the power behind its success. Once Nichol had convinced him that a popular magazine devoted to "political commentary, social gossip and musical and dramatic criticism"<sup>30</sup> could succeed in Canada--despite the fact that so many other magazines had failed--Sheppard went ahead and found the necessary financial backers. Within only a few months the two had a falling out and Nichol left



the magazine<sup>31</sup> while Sheppard remained the editor for the next twenty years, and to a great extent, the reason for its success.

Sheppard's work at TSN was never as sensational in nature as his work at the News--perhaps his court experience had mellowed him, for his efforts to publicize TSN were much more discreet. However, he remained independent, restless and impatient. Given to doing things on impulse, he would suddenly pick up and leave the magazine to holiday in Europe or Asia--ostensibly for a month but invariably for three--leaving those at the magazine to manage without him as best they could.<sup>32</sup> During the interim, the familiar nom de plume, Don, would be replaced by Mack (Joseph Clark) who filled in for Sheppard when he was away. Still, when he was there, he worked long hours with unflagging enthusiasm and energy, contributing to nearly every department of the magazine in those early years. And although the flamboyant style he had used at the News was tempered for TSN, Sheppard's work remained distinctive: the writing was spirited, vigorous and innovative. At the News Sheppard had used a variation of the traditional paragraph style in his editorials in order to draw the reader's attention to points he was making. He often structured the sentences with a view to using the blank space surrounding

the words to add emphasis to his rhetoric. In TSN, while his paragraph format was traditional, his diction was often colloquial and he frequently coined terms and used slang expressions. The tone of his editorials varied: sometimes it was that of a friendly philosopher giving out homespun advice:

If the person who is buying a ten-dollar present for someone who expects a present of that value, would save twenty-five cents on the purchase and with it buy some trifle for another person who expects nothing, the quarter would produce more happiness at Christmas than the ten dollars.

(18 December 1897 p.1.)

Occasionally, he became irritated and crankily chastized, his energetic prose colouring subjects ranging from the quality of the writing contained in a letter from the gas company: "full of bad spelling and worse grammar"<sup>33</sup> to the questionable propriety of "prolonged public kissing."<sup>34</sup> Equally quick in praise as in condemnation, Sheppard used language that had an energy of its own. Ignoring the more staid conventions of editorial columns of the day, he brought language to life by using diction familiar to the man on the street; terms like "American jingoism" described the chauvinistic tendencies he saw in United States nationalism while those who owned the big businesses in Canada were dismissed as "bloated monopolists." He used colourful metaphor and simile to make his writing sparkle. If a horse was uncomfortable to sit, it was a "bone rack left

over from the Inquisition";<sup>35</sup> if something was dangerous, it was "as dangerous as a dray load of dynamite."<sup>36</sup> Alliteration was only one of his favourite techniques; he sprinkled his writing with rhetorical devices and figures of speech designed to catch and keep his reader's attention. A populist figure, he always had a large following of readers for his editorials which took up the whole of the first page and often ran over onto one of the back pages as well. He had very definite, and often extraordinary, opinions on everything from table manners to politics and never hesitated to make these opinions known in his editorials, often becoming annoyed at the most innocuous things. Editorial diatribes on the impertinence of the telephone were not unusual and bad manners on streetcars was another subject he favoured, his major annoyance being people who got off before the vehicle had stopped moving.<sup>37</sup> He had a number of other idiosyncracies: he was horrified at the idea of women bleaching their hair, claiming it could drive them insane;<sup>38</sup> he argued that few cooks know how to boil potatoes correctly;<sup>39</sup> he insisted that the Quebec Winter Carnival's "portrayal of winter" gave Canada a bad name;<sup>40</sup> and he concluded that the "experiment" in female voting in the United States had failed.<sup>41</sup> Still, while he had his idiosyncracies, he also had a number of redeeming qualities and the major themes running through his editorials had

to do with social reform and justice. Sympathetic and perceptive by nature, Sheppard wrote moving articles on the suffering of the lonely, the poor and the aged. In tones seething with indignation, he exposed injustice and argued for those less fortunate than himself.

Through tone, mood and subject range, the editorials of Edmund Sheppard present a picture of a man caught up in conflicting and chaotic times with his work reflecting the temper of those times. Typical of R.K. Webb's "liberal Victorians" Sheppard was someone who had an "incredible vision; that men could reach perfection and that a perfectly functioning society could be created."<sup>42</sup> For all his idiosyncracies, Sheppard was convinced that both man and society could be changed and he worked to make that change come about. His preoccupation with social justice was a part of this contribution and reflects his idealism and his dedication to the values of "simple democracy and common sense."

The tone of Sheppard's work was subjective and intimate.<sup>43</sup> He spoke directly to his reader and used examples from his own personal experience to illustrate his points. He wrote as if he and his reader, already acquainted, were resuming a conversation begun earlier. For example, in one editorial, he describes a young woman he had seen the night before at a theatre performance struggling to cope

with three small children:

I am positive that she did not hear a word of what was said or have the least particle of comfort or pleasure, though I will warrant you she had counted on that evening for weeks, and had darned those little stockings with special care, and brushed her jacket of the fashion of 1880 or '81 with many misgivings as to whether it would be noticeably threadbare and out of date.

(17 December 1887 p.1.)

Sheppard was a strange combination of characteristics in that he held himself aloof and, at the same time, he was disarmingly frank. Pragmatic by nature, he was sympathetic but never romantic so while he could commiserate with lovers betrayed by those they had loved "well but not wisely,"<sup>44</sup> the idea of dying for love drew nothing but his scorn:

That a man kills himself for a woman is no sign that he loves her. As a rule it proves nothing more than that the man is a dangerous fool.

(25 February 1888 p.1.)

Yet he always tempered this pragmatism with a dash of humour and, while he loved talking about people, he was never give to malicious gossip. A shrewd and occasionally cynical observer of human motives, some of his outrageous opinions such as the one below often drew letters of criticism from his readers:

...it remains true that habit and animalism hold more families together than purer and nobler attachments.

(30 August 1890 p.1.)

But it is equally easy to imagine that some of his

insights endeared him to his readers and made him lasting friends. His sympathy for the woman whose situation was typical of many nineteenth-century women was evident:

The bright summer time of her life is being spent in having babies as fast as nature will permit and in taking care of them as far as nature will provide strength.

(4 October 1890 p.2.)

He was often caustic about the way women were treated by society and by their husbands. When honours were being bestowed on John L. Sullivan as a result of a recent boxing-match win in London, Sheppard ignored the accolades and zeroed in on Sullivan with Swiftian sarcasm:

In his idle hours, as many a great artist has done before, Mr. Sullivan used to practise upon the partner of his bosom. When he was tired of his salon and sandbags and other athletic exercises, he found it pleasant, and instructive to thump upon Mrs. Sullivan. It is said that the wife of Dickens, Bulwar, Mrs. Philosopher Carlyle, and the partners of a great many notable people have objected to being used as models and subjects of dissection by their husbands. It is evident Mrs. Sullivan is not in sympathy with greatness.

(17 March 1888 p.1.)

The mood of Sheppard's editorials was often established by his humour, the range of which varied from scurrilous wit to gentle amusement. In commenting on a social scandal in Montreal he observed dryly that the husband "had reason to suspect his wife of trying to fill his system with powdered glass."<sup>46</sup> In answering a question on how to choose a husband he replied "love the man who is not a fool except

when you are around."<sup>46</sup> However, there were also times when he was pompous and surprisingly predisposed to decorum. Of the man who pleaded his case from the gallows, Sheppard commented dourly "sermonizing from the scaffold is in bad taste."<sup>47</sup>

His editorials focused on national and international concerns as well as those of local interest; he wrote about Canada's Imperial Federationists and the effects of the Spanish American War with the same zeal and interest that he discussed local food prices and the state of Toronto's sidewalks. But of all the subjects he discussed, the most fascinating were what we today would call human interest stories.

His curiosity about human nature was consummate and diversified. Constituting his major interest, the subjects of these stories ranged from young mothers burdened with too many children and not enough money, to spoiled and self-indulgent Czars to young, uninitiated Ontario farm boys who came to Toronto looking for work and found hardship and loneliness.

Although he was not a socialist, Sheppard was socially responsible. Socialists were not highly regarded by TSN as an entry in the column "Leaves from a Cynic's Diary," unsigned, indicates: "Empty heads often bear a more intimate

relationship to their stomachs than the socialist reformer cares to admit." (23 June 1900 p.7.) Yet, as his editorials suggest, Sheppard was always concerned about "looking carefully after those who are unable to look after themselves." (21 October 1905 p.2.) He editorialized on orphan's homes, slum conditions and prison life as well as the individual's religious, political and economic responsibilities. Continuing in the vein he had established with the News in the series "Toronto by Gaslight," (May-June 1884) where he examined the effects of industrialization on Canadian society, Sheppard regularly featured articles and series on what he saw as society's responsibilities. He wrote about foundling homes and "baby farms" and encouraged the implementation of Infant's Homes (places where mothers were offered help and ~~shelter~~ until they were able to find work).<sup>48</sup> Indignant about the state of Canadian prisons and the pointless labour of breaking rocks, he argued that convicts should be usefully employed:

Convicts could do as much work as free men and a portion of their earnings be set apart for their families, while the result of their labours would be good for the whole country.

(26 July 1890 p.1.)

He was especially aware of the problems of poverty and dismayed about the lack of reform which would "drive people out of the slums and saloons on Sunday into more wholesome



surroundings." (24 April 1897 p.1.) Equally sympathetic toward the concerns of the aged, in one editorial he captured the poignancy of one old woman's situation by describing her idea of heaven as being a "clean apron" and "a rest." (24 March 1888 p.1.) It was his ability to identify with his subjects that marked Sheppard's writing, for his treatment of human interest stories always had a personal touch. By identifying with those he wrote about and using his own experience, he appealed to the reader on a personal level at the same time he illustrated the story's larger context. In addition, instead of simply reporting the facts, Sheppard attempted to analyze the stories by looking for motives and causes. He questioned the values of those who set up rules for others, but did not obey these rules themselves. Appalled when a minister was fired by his congregation because he smoked, Sheppard exploded:

More than half the professed Christians of the masculine persuasion use tobacco...The smell of hypocrisy is more dangerous on a man's breath than tobacco smoke.

(11 February 1888 p.1.)

He pleaded the case of a man who was sentenced to prison for his debts:

Sami is no friend of mine, I frankly confess I never trusted him, but he has become as great an object of pity as many of the characters in Dicken's stories of the Fleet prison.

(29 December 1888 p.1.)

Particularly angry when the helpless individual was mistreated and justice miscarried, Sheppard was outraged when he learned that an eight year old boy had been sentenced to a two month prison term. And, even when he reported that the sentence had been suspended, his anger was unappeased; he continued to argue indignantly that it never should have been imposed in the first place! (23 April 1904 p.2.)<sup>49</sup>

A frequent concern of his editorials, the well-being of the children of the community prompted regular discussions on child-raising, and engendered critical comments regarding women who "yank" their children.<sup>50</sup> The subject of child abuse and "unnatural crimes committed by brutal fathers" drew an indignant editorial from him in the 14 July 1888 issue. And after a sixteen year old girl killed herself by taking rat poison because her mother beat her, he wrote a long article on the question of corporal punishment for adolescents, arguing that it was a brutalizing and humiliating custom. (10 March 1888 p.1.) He was shocked by the number of suicides among young people and there were times when he showed a preoccupation with the death of children. On one occasion, he wrote a touching entry regarding a young widower who lost his four little boys in a drowning accident that was particularly tragic because three of the children died in an attempt to rescue the

fourth. (28 July 1888 p.1.)

The struggle between his newspaperman's eye for the sensational and his sympathetic inclination for the victims of the crime was often evident in his editorials. For example, in an article he said was not intended to be sensational (but almost certainly was) he discussed the effects of an indecent assault court case on both the victim and the accused commenting on the negative reflections cast upon both the woman and the man involved. (12 December 1891 p.1.) Another sensational exposé that piqued both Sheppard's curiosity and sympathy was the unhappy case of Oscar Wilde whose trial and imprisonment had a deep effect on many thinking people of that day. Sheppard published a section of Wilde's "Ballad of Reading Gaol" prefaced by the following remarks:

Speaking of haunting things which recur to one's mind in sleepless moments...I think there is nothing more insistent than Oscar Wilde's poem entitled "The Ballad of Reading Gaol"...the weird reiterations and strange suggestions which belong to the atmosphere of the event seem to me to enable us to understand the whole suggestion of imprisonment and punishment.

(26 July 1902 p.1.)

In the same article he went on to express his philosophy on criminality as he told of an execution he witnessed in Mexico where a horse thief was repeatedly hung and revived in order to get him to confess to the whereabouts of the stolen horses. Shaken by the whole experience<sup>51</sup> Sheppard

wrote

We got the horses back and let the Mexican go free, though it is said that his confederates killed him before another sunset cast its shadow over the bottom lands of the Rio Grande. That experience robbed me of much of my belief in criminals...

But nothing equalled the editorial that appeared in October of 1901 on the subject of the lynching of a Black in Paris, Texas for the alleged murder of a four year old girl. What Sheppard had to say remains powerful reading even today. Judging from the tone of the article, lynchings of Blacks were an all too common occurrence in those years. What was particularly horrible about this one was the manner in which the man died and the fact that a recording was purported to have been made while he was tortured and burned to death. The recording was being featured in a Toronto store and was advertised as follows:

HEAR THE NEGRO YELL AND PLEAD FOR WATER AS THE  
FLAMES SLOWLY CONSUME HIM. YOU CAN HEAR IT INSIDE.  
GET YOUR TICKET AT THE COUNTER AND HEAR IT. THIS  
WEEK ONLY.

Sheppard had this to say:

There is no question that the record is authentic. For pure horror the thing was beyond words. The yells and curses of the mob, the screams and pleas for mercy...nothing short of a glimpse into hell itself...That such an attraction could play to big business in the heart of a city that boasts of its schools and churches, and that is regarded as being the center of culture in the Dominion, suggests some very unpleasant reflections. To what extent are the people of this country serious in denouncing the deeds

of Southern mobs, seeing that in an enlightened Canadian city, hundreds can find pleasure in flocking to see and hear what purports to be a true-to-life reproduction of one of the most awful excesses of mob trial on record?

(26 October 1901 p:1.)

Sheppard's criticism occasionally had an immediate and visible effect such as in this case where his editorial drew the attention of the Toronto police and shortly thereafter the record was withdrawn from sale.

Always conscious of the need to make people morally aware of the injustices in their society and eager to encourage social reform, he pursued the humanitarian's aims of prison reform and improved conditions for the aged, poor and those whose lives were blighted by neglect or mistreatment. Significantly, however, while Sheppard's sympathies were with the "little" man, there were other areas of concern which revealed a quality of inconsistency in his attitudes and opinions and which remain the most puzzling feature about the man's character. In fact, by careful selection of quotations from the TSN editorials, one can make an argument for either side on many of the key issues of the time and this was particularly true of religious and political issues.<sup>52</sup> For example, Sheppard's attitude toward the French Catholics of Quebec, was, to say the least, perplexing. Ramsay Cook accuses Sheppard of being anti-French:

Two things in particular characterized Sheppard's outlook: he believed in the superiority of everything Anglo-Saxon, and he was almost fanatical in his insistence on the complete separation of church and state. Both beliefs brought him into violent opposition to French Canadians. 53

He goes on to suggest that Sheppard's "perception of Quebec was uncomplicated" and uses the following remarks from one of Sheppard's editorials to support this conclusion:

Quebec is more French than France, more popish than Rome itself. The priests control everything.

On 16 February 1889 p.1. Sheppard did make a remark about priests controlling "everything" in an editorial against the Jesuit's Estate Bill, a bill passed by the Quebec legislature, which approved financial compensation for lands the Jesuits once held. Sheppard even went on to say

There is an old saying down there that the habitant goes to market through mud up to his horse's belly, and to heaven through a church that could pave every road in the province.

His antagonism is perfectly clear, but I would argue that Sheppard's perception of Quebec was complex, for he both attacked and defended Quebec--and the Catholics--with a frequency that was dismaying. Only months before, he had been arguing that the Quebec Catholics were not under the control of their priests and he had been quick to dismiss the theory that all Catholics would automatically vote

according to the dictates of their priests or Catholic leaders:

...it is absurd to speak of the Catholic vote as something that always goes together, or is cast solid for the man of their creed. It is just as apt to be split up as the Methodist vote or the Presbyterian vote or the Church of England vote, and I am glad to say no clerical influence will be brought to bear to make it otherwise.

(17 December 1887 p.1.)

And in July of the same year that he made the accusation against the Jesuits, Sheppard himself criticized the attacks being made on the Catholic Church from Protestant pulpits:<sup>54</sup>

One would gather from some of the sermons that a man needs to understand nothing but the errors of Romanism, without comprehending the truths of Christianity, and that a man need not hate sin if he sufficiently detests the Pope.

(20 July 1889 p.1.)

Yet during the Manitoba school crisis Sheppard wrote editorial after editorial against the idea of separate schools, blistering his opposition with a mixture of fact and innuendo similar to that used by Ramsay Cook to describe Sheppard's attitude toward Catholics. But the man is not to be pegged easily, for during Laurier's first prime ministerial campaign, Sheppard openly supported him--to the extent that he was rewarded in 1896 by being named trade commissioner to Central and South America. (He took time off during the winter of 1896-97 to travel extensively and work for the Laurier government.)<sup>55</sup>

Edmund Sheppard was a paradox; the driving force behind a magazine that was succeeding where so many others had failed, he was more often ruled by emotion than by business accumen and if his editorials are an indication, his convictions were based more on the impulses of the heart than the conclusions of the head. The result was that his position on many subjects often lacked depth and consistency and he frequently appeared to contradict himself.

Sheppard treated the English Protestant in much the same way he did the French Catholic: he praised him in one editorial and condemned him in the next. Oddly enough, although he wrote dozens of editorials on the subject of religion, and was a church-goer, Sheppard, a Methodist,<sup>56</sup> criticized no group of people more often, or with more vigour in his editorials, than Protestant ministers. Particularly leery of the man who "parades his goodness," he attacked anyone he thought might be doing so, and if he suspected a man of using his ministry as a wedge for political or financial gain, he became incensed:

...let no loud-mouthed protestations of sanctity lead us from a proper examination of every detail of public expenditure.

(10 December 1887 p.1.)

Concerned with the role Protestant "preachers" were playing in Canadian politics, he grumpily cautioned his readers about the dangers of the preacher/politician combination



even caustically suggesting that some of these preachers had even been known to

...endorse the gentleman who has a well-known tendency to raise the price of coal when the weather is coldest and the cash in the locker is the lowest.

(10 December 1888 p.1.)

However, at the same time that he was writing this kind of editorial, Sheppard's magazine was featuring complimentary articles on local preachers. TSN even ran a series introduced as "pulpit criticism"--which was anything but critical--featuring diagrams and explanations of the various pulpit "deliveries" around town.<sup>57</sup>

Sheppard's attitude toward ethnic groups was as contradictory as his attitude to the French Catholics and the Protestant ministers. He was given to criticizing the American for his treatment of the Negro<sup>58</sup> and the European for his treatment of the Jew<sup>59</sup> yet while he was editor of TSN, the magazine often printed cartoons of Blacks<sup>60</sup> which suggested they were something less than human and he, himself, once referred to Toronto's Polish Jews as "leather lunged itinerants."<sup>61</sup> In addition to this, TSN regularly feature ethnic jokes as a matter of course.<sup>62</sup> In one column alone there were jokes about Germans, Negroes, Scots, Irishmen, Americans and South Africans. (11 November 1905 p.12.) Although they were not necessarily cruel jokes, they

often focused on what were regarded as ethnic "peculiarities." For example, the "Bridget" jokes. In one, Bridget is being chastized by her mistress for not doing a thorough job of washing the windows. Bridget replies:

"Sur mum, I claned thim inside so as we could look out, but lift the dirt on the outside so's the people could not look in."

(21 October 1905 p.12.)

Sheppard's attitude toward money was as puzzling as his attitude toward French Catholics, Protestant ministers and minority groups: he championed the free enterprise system but criticized those who profited from it.

On 14 April 1888 Sheppard featured a poem on the front page which neatly captures this attitude toward money. "Pappa, What Would You Take for Me?" is a poem in which a child, seeking reassurance of his love, asks her father what she means to him by asking what she is worth. In answer to her question he replies idly:

... "A dollar, dear little heart,"  
 And she slept, baby weary with play,  
 And I held her warm in my love-strong arms,  
 And I rocked her and rocked away.  
 O, the dollar meant all the world to me,  
 The land and the sea and the sky  
 The lowest depth of the lowest place,  
 The highest of all that's high

(Stanza 2 of 6)

(7 April 1888 p.1.)

Sheppard was convinced that an obsession with the material aspects of life was a severe hindrance to the enjoyment of life. Of Jacob Sharp of New York, he commented,

"Like most rich men his money was his greatest curse."  
 (14 April 1888 p.1.) Equally sceptical of a rich man's philanthropy, Sheppard was unimpressed when H.A. Massey offered money to help the financially troubled Victoria College. Insisting that Massey's name "has no other cause for living in history than that the owner of it made some money," he was also highly suspicious about the source of the money, suggesting that Massey

...made his money by exacting high prices and demanding exemplary services from employees whose riches have not increased in proportion to his own.<sup>63</sup>

(24 November 1888 p.1.)

Sheppard was equally difficult to pin down when it came to deciding whether or not he approved of British influence in Canadian affairs. Contrary to what some critics say about Sheppard's magazine being "pro-British," that is not entirely accurate.<sup>64</sup> Although Robert Collison suggest he was "courting...the approval of English Royals and aristocrats,"<sup>65</sup> a closer look at the whole range of his editorials argues that Sheppard could be as critical of the British, and the aristocracy, as he was of anyone else. He often took a dim view of both.<sup>66</sup> He described Lord Stanley of Preston as "A genial though commonplace gentleman" and added "The Govenor General is brought here to do nothing, and he exceeds his duty if he does more." (15 September 1888 p.1.) Hostile to the concept of the "divine right of kings' and to the idea of a titled class in Canada, Sheppard's sympathies lay

with the working classes. His Labour sympathies, begun with his work as editor of the News, kept him at odds with the whole idea of support for a privileged class in Canada. And while he was never openly disloyal to the British Monarchy, he did not hesitate to be critical of the European aristocracy:

The ruling families have married and inter married until the children have all become runts, idiots, lunatics or epileptics and are sore-eared and sore-eyed and ill tempered beyond comparison.

(4 May 1889 p.1.)

Not only did he view the idea of British government representatives having power in Canada as unacceptable but Sheppard also suggested there were times when being anti-British was advisable:

It is pure nonsense to advise the rejection of a wise custom on the sole ground that it is anti-British.

(9 January 1892 p.1.)

He was sharp tongued about the nature of the relationship between Canada and Britain:

We have a livelier belief in the human might of British arms than in the divine right of British kings.

(30 January 1892 p.1.)

So while it is true that in any encounter between them, his policy was to side with the British against the Yankee, there were times when the Britisher in Canada fared no better than did the Yank.<sup>67</sup> A cartoon which appeared 6 January 1906 p.6. only a few weeks before he left the magazine, typifies Sheppard's attitude toward the British and the Americans throughout the period he was editor of TSN.

There are two pictures. The first shows an English wife trailing behind her husband and carrying his golf clubs; the second shows an American husband trailing his wife and carrying her golf clubs.

At least a part of the answer to Sheppard's inconsistency on the subject of the British and American influence on his country lay in his strong sense of nationalism; for this is what motivated him to play on the tensions established between the British and the Americans. To judge from his editorials, he believed that Canada's destiny lay in developing a lifestyle that was neither British nor American but uniquely Canadian.<sup>68</sup> Like many Canadians of his time, Sheppard firmly believed in the future of Canada. With an enthusiasm that seems naive today he unashamedly extolled the virtues of his country and its people:

All Northern people are more hardy, more aggressive and braver than children of sunnier climes. Canadians are made of good stuff. Canada is full of big men, brave men, and independent men. They are bigger than their fathers. They have preserved the traditions, are inspired by the glory, and feel in their veins the blood of races which dominated Europe.

(1 September 1888 p.1.)

Claiming that his country was not only equal to but better than either of the two powerful nations that dominated her culturally and economically, Sheppard was convinced she could solve her own problems if she were given the

means to do so:

Surely it is time for Canada to adopt the methods necessary to weld our Confederation into one patriotic whole. If we neglect this duty we are neglecting what we owe to the Empire and to ourselves. The youngest child alive to-day in Canada will never see this Dominion a part of the republic or severing its present bonds unless Great Britain absolutely refuses to be a Motherland in Commercial reality as well as in name ....Canada must cement its own fragments in order to be a welcome and worthy member of the league of nations which, instead of belonging to Great Britain as at present, shall in the near future become a portion of the greatest Empire that the earth has ever seen.

(11 June 1892 p.1.)

(Twelve years later he was still talking about the need for a change in Confederation. See: 23 July 1904 p.1.) Clearly, he saw the problems between French and English speaking Canadians in Canada as a genuine threat and he despaired of the forces which seemed to be driving the two groups apart:

Here we are disturbed by dual language....We as Canadians have battle fields which the French esteem because they won victories over the English; we have battle fields which we prize because they echo back our victories over the French; we have our battle fields which recall our contests with one another, but we have nothing which apparently rouses the heart of every citizen...

(11 June 1892 p.1.)

And for all his disagreements with the Jesuits of Quebec he knew the threat that division presented:

There is no greater danger to Canada than the divided allegiance of its people. Those of us who cling with tenacity to English traditions cannot blame the descendents of the old French adventurers for

holding with equal, if not more fervid love, to the language, religion and laws of their forefathers. Thoughtful people who have heard the dual language in the House of Commons must feel how great a menace it is to our future to be thus unintelligible to one another.

(17 November 1888 p.1.)

Interestingly, Sheppard envisioned TSN as a potential force for helping to unify Canadians and originally intended the magazine to be national in scope. In 1893 he introduced Winnipeg Saturday Night as the first of what he hoped would be a series representing each of Canada's major cities; however, this plan did not work out and Winnipeg Saturday Night folded after only a few issues. Still, he always made a point of saying that TSN was written, illustrated, edited and printed "by Canadians for Canadians" arguing that it epitomized "what Canada is and what Canadians can do."<sup>69</sup> Constantly, his pride in his magazine and his belief in the future of his country were linked.

As a final comment on Sheppard's habit of contradicting himself, it should be noted that while Sheppard wrote most of the editorials, he did not write all of them so occasionally we have a situation where what appears to be an editorial contradiction is, in fact, simply two different writer's opinions. A typical example of this is the conflicting attitudes towards the role of women that appeared on

the editorial pages. Sheppard was sympathetic toward, and insightful of, the situation of the nineteenth-century woman. He argued that women needed to assert themselves. In one editorial he said the names of saints would never appear on the list of the world's greatest women because "true greatness requires self assertion as well as self repression, activity even more than submission..." (15 December 1888 p.6.) But Mack had this to say about women who wish to "assert" themselves (in this case by gaining the vote):

...all the noise comes from those unattached women who, having dismally failed as females, turn desperate and covetous eyes upon male prerogatives.

(13 May 1893 p.1.)

Because of this problem of more than one editorial writer, Sheppard often bears the brunt for what other writers have said. And, while, as editor-in-chief he was, in a sense, responsible for everything that went into the magazine, he was not always responsible for some of the things that have been directly attributed to him. For example, in his article "Purity: The Struggle for WASP Supremacy," SN December 1977 p.73.) Morris Wolfe charges Sheppard with racism, a charge not totally unfounded, but in this case, based on an editorial comment inaccurately attributed to Sheppard:

An 1892 editorial opposing Chinese immigration typifies Saturday Night's attitude, not only during this period



but right through the 1920's: "It will be time enough to receive the Chinaman on an equality, wrote Edmund E. Sheppard, when the true religion has eradicated the social and moral decay resultant from centuries of heathenism, and has done for him some portion of what it has accomplished for his Western brother."

But Sheppard did not make those remarks. They were made by Mack in the 8 October 1892 issue. Another example of Sheppard being held responsible for something he did not do occurs in "Hey! That's me in the Anaconda Ad" SN December 1977 p.73. where Jack Batten begins an article on the history of SN advertising:

Edmund Sheppard, that wily opportunist, had promised in the first issue of Toronto Saturday Night that the magazine was above such advertising. "The advertisements will be clean," he wrote in a lead editorial, "No quacks or 'before taking' and 'after taking' illustrations will ever appear in Saturday Night's columns..."

However, according to the editorial of 3 December 1887, Sheppard had nothing whatever to do with the first issue. Batten goes on to describe Sheppard as someone whose "editorial comment cheered the British Empire, free enterprise, and the Church of England...." That is not entirely correct either. Sheppard, a staunch nationalist, saw the threat that such a loyalty to the British Empire might present to the unity of Canada because many of Canada's citizens did not feel bound by loyalty to the Empire. Instead, he wanted "a written constitution more just than the British North America Act and more applicable to the

to the exigencies of our condition than that nebulous affair." Sheppard saw the constitution as a bridge between those like himself, who felt some loyalty to the empire and others who were Canadian but had no ties with Britain:

Such a constitution would make us safer as a permanent portion of the empire that so many of us are unalterably attached to, and yet to which many of our citizens pay no sentimental homage.

(11 June 1892 p.1.)

In addition, Batten is mistaken about Sheppard's free enterprise sympathies; he was a champion of a reformed system. The greatest "championing" of free enterprise came about after Sheppard left the paper with the advent of a number of columns on business and eventually a whole section of the magazine devoted to business affairs. As to Batten's comments about the Church of England, Sheppard did not champion the Church of England either. He wrote a good deal about churches, particularly the Methodist, but his tendency was to be dour on the subject of organized religion, as the examples used in this chapter suggest, and he would rarely, if ever, have taken the occasion to praise the Church of England any more than he would praise any other.

As well as being charged with things he did not do, Sheppard has not always been given credit for his contributions to TSN and in some cases credit has been given to

other editors of the magazine for what Sheppard initiated. "William Arthur Deacon and Saturday Night 1922-28," <sup>70</sup> by John Lennox and Clara Thomas, credits Deacon for coming up with "two new and exciting columns" the "Letter from Paris" and "Letter from London" (See: p.227 and p.230 respectively) but both these columns--plus a "Letter From New York" were initiated during the Sheppard years and only revived during Deacon's. See: "Letter From Old London" in 1900. "Our Washington Letter" and "Notes From Washington" 1897 and 1898 respectively and "Letter From Paris" appeared intermittently throughout his time at TSN as did "Letter From New York".

Of all the inaccuracies though, the only one which would have upset Sheppard himself is the mistake made regarding the literary supplements. Lennox and Thomas give Deacon credit for initiating these but Sheppard introduced these supplements in Christmas of 1888 and they ran nearly every Christmas and at least one summer for many years. He was exceedingly proud of them because they contained poems and stories by Canadians--exclusively in the early years and in later years he used outside material only when he did not have enough Canadian writing to fill the issue.

Unfortunately, these inaccuracies have been picked up and repeated by others and this is not entirely fair, for

although Sheppard was a rascal of sorts, and he did attack those in whom he saw a lack, his tendency was to condemn the sin rather than the sinner. The nature of his perception of humanity is perhaps best summed up in an editorial comment of 22 February 1896 when he cautioned:

None can judge the sin save those who can weigh the temptation.

After reading his editorials, one comes to feel that this perception is born out of an understanding of human frailty --his own as well as that of others.

Sheppard and his magazine were at their best in the early years of TSN. The vitality apparent in the editorials and articles, the vigour of the attitudes, even the colourful diction used to express ideas and opinions were more than enough to compensate for the occasional lack of professionalism in content and format. But as time went on, the tone and temper of the magazine began to change. Although it is not possible to pinpoint exactly when the change began, it was already evident in the mid-nineties; something of its former zest had left the magazine. The editorials began to lose their spontaneity and the enthusiasm of the early years vanished as once lively commentaries were replaced by cranky diatribes on matters such as Toronto elections and local road conditions. Sheppard's magazine--always the best

barometer of his mood--offers a clear pattern of his waning interest in TSN. Although the length of his editorials increased, their frequency decreased, with Mack gradually assuming more and more responsibility for the editorial page, and, as time passed, often writing the whole page himself. Sheppard, often away on holiday or business, took less and less interest in TSN. He stopped signing his editorials and those he wrote in those last years were no longer characteristic of his earlier style; they could have been written by anyone. Sheppard, becoming increasingly gloomy and pessimistic, wrote long rambling editorials attacking issues such as the anti-cigarette bill before Parliament, the advent of commercial travellers, and the audacity of the French Bishops he saw as "pandering to Quebec prejudice." (18 November 1906 p.1.)

As Sheppard slowly lost interest, the magazine's format began to change. By the early 1890s the advertisements were being aimed almost exclusively at the well-to-do reader. Items such as Persian rugs and baby-grand pianos were featured and new columns such as "Social and Personal", designed to appeal to the upper class reader, featured social events and detailed discussions of the cultural growth

of Toronto. There was an increased interest in the aristocracy, an interest which was to intensify steadily, lasting well into the first two decades of the twentieth century. Pictures of English, French and Russian aristocrats appeared, along with discussions, frequently precocious in tone and gossipy in nature, featuring items such as the description of Queen Wilhemena and her "bad boy" husband. As well, the magazine attempted to be more cosmopolitan and the "Letter From New York" and "Letter From London" columns which contained amusing anecdotes about famous people, appeared more often. The use of photographs increased as did the size of the "Books and Authors" columns--now sometimes running to a full page.

By the late 1890s, although it was a much more sophisticated and professional looking magazine, TSN was not as interesting. There was no poetry, which had once been a major feature of the magazine, and in the mid-nineties the number of stories had begun to drop off radically only to pick up again toward the end of the decade and then finally, during the last year Sheppard was editor of the magazine, 1906, some issues had no fiction at all. The items receiving the most attention now were printed sermons and advertisements for apartment houses. Oddly enough, one might almost use the numbers of stories

to measure the degree of spontaneity in the magazine for as the numbers decreased so did the magazine's vitality.

The challenge was gone. TSN had become what Sheppard had set out to make it: a successful popular magazine, but his own interest had wandered. In the late nineties he purchased another newspaper<sup>71</sup> and his work on that, in addition to his usual travel excursions, kept him away from TSN. Finally, by 1905 the energy and the dynamic quality which had generated its former appeal had completely vanished from the magazine. In addition, it was rumoured that TSN was having financial difficulties. Certainly, the number of subscribers had not increased in proportion to the increase in population; TSN was still listing 10,000 as its circulation, and this after nearly twenty years.

On 26 January 1906 Sheppard left the magazine. His farewell statement to his readers began

I have great pleasure in introducing Mr. H. Gagnier, who is now the proprietor of Saturday Night, and Mr. Joseph T. Clark, who is the incoming editor of this paper...

Sheppard went on to speak briefly about the fact that each man had been associated with TSN for years and then concluded with a statement that was as enigmatic, and as typical of Sheppard, as anything he had written in his years at TSN:

"Say Bill, is the door shut? I never did you any harm did I? Then we part good friends."  
"Susanne, I kiss you' hand; I kiss you' hand  
goodbye."

The year he sold TSN Edmund Sheppard left Canada for California. He was not well, and in addition to suffering from a form of arthritis, he was tired and depressed. His struggle to find peace of mind motivated him to seek comfort in religion and philosophy. His last published work was a book on philosophy The Thinking Universe<sup>72</sup> published in California in 1915. During his last years he became more and more of a recluse. He died November 6, 1924 in a small village near San Diego, California.



Footnotes

<sup>1</sup>Edmund E. Sheppard, editor, Toronto Saturday Night (Toronto: Sheppard Publishing, 1887). Subsequent references to the magazine will appear in the text abbreviated as TSN when they do not interfere with the text itself or prove a distraction.

<sup>2</sup>Jack Batten, "Hey! That's Me in the Anaconda Ad," Saturday Night, Volume 92 Number 10 (December, 1977), p.73.

<sup>3</sup>Ramsay Cook, "Our Strange Mistaken Battle Against French Canada," Saturday Night, Volume 92 Number 10 (December, 1977) p.54.

<sup>4</sup>Sheppard's nationalism motivated much of his work at the magazine. For a discussion of its effects on his fiction see Chapter II.

<sup>5</sup>Hector Charlesworth, Candid Chronicles (Toronto: Macmillan, 1925), p.74. There is little biographical information on Sheppard short of what is available in Canadiana or Who's Who in Canada and like general sources. Candid Chronicles is the major source of my information.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p.72.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p.73.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p.72.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p.74.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p.73.

<sup>11</sup>Ibid., p.85.

<sup>12</sup>The couple travelled a great deal during this time and Sheppard changed jobs frequently.

<sup>13</sup>Reuben Butchart, "Lady of the Old School," Saturday Night, Volume 53 Number 8 (1 January 1938) p.29.

Footnotes (cont'd)

<sup>14</sup> Charlesworth, p.72.

<sup>15</sup> Reuben Butchart, "Sheppard: Man and Journalist," Saturday Night, Volume 53 Number 8 (1 January 1938), p.8.

<sup>16</sup> Morris Wolfe, Saturday Night Scrapbook (Toronto: New Press, 1973). Introduction by Robert Fulford. Introduction, p.x.

<sup>17</sup> Butchart, "Sheppard: Man and Journalist," p.8.

<sup>18</sup> Wolfe, Saturday Night Scrapbook. Introduction p.ix.

<sup>19</sup> Charlesworth p.75.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p.76.

<sup>21</sup> Paul Rutherford, "The People's Press: The Emergence of the New Journalism in Canada, 1869-99," Canadian Historical Review, 56 (June 1975), p.170. The News was joined by other newspapers in the mid-1880s among them the Telegram, the World and the Montreal Star all of which initiated a campaign which criticized the caste supremacy notions they insisted were prevalent among Ottawa bureaucrats. Sheppard, by far the most radical, began a crusade which according to Rutherford was designed to turn Canada into a democratic republic. In the 26 November 1883 copy of the News Sheppard printed his "manifesto." The people's papers suspected that the establishment was "motivated by a desire to fix upon Canadian life a kind of class rule" and, as Rutherford points out, their attacks focused on this:

Their editorial columns were filled with diatribes against arrogant officials and professional politicians, clerical and civic leaders, snobbish socialites and pretentious foreigners--anyone who thought himself superior to the general mass of humanity....But the prime target of this populist obloquy was big business --the railway companies, industrial combines, and the utility corporations....Likewise the people's press was usually charitable in its treatment of the social agencies established by the state and voluntary organizations to help the poor, the sick, the aged, and the young...

(p.180.)

Footnotes (cont'd)

The fact that they were critical of Canadian society did not mean that they were not proud of their country, for as Rutherford goes on to say, they were nationalistic:

...they became the advocates of a vigorous and unrestrained Canadian chauvinism....Running through the nationalistic rhetoric of the people's press was the hope that Canada would eventually become a great power in world affairs. (pp.182.)

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p.175.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p.174.

<sup>24</sup>See: Russell Hann, "Brainworkers and the Knights of Labor: E.E. Sheppard, Phillips Thompson, and the Toronto News, 1883-1887," Essays in Working Class History, editors Gregory Kealey and Peter Warrian (Toronto: McClelland Stewart, 1976), for a detailed discussion of Sheppard's contribution to the labour movement. The News' printers and apprentices who founded the Toronto Evening Star in 1892 as a result of a labour dispute over technological changes were supported by Sheppard. (Sheppard himself always maintained a union shop.) For an interesting discussion of Sheppard's contribution to the Star see "A Paper for the People," J.E. Atkinson of the Star (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1963), pp. 25-39.

<sup>25</sup>Hann, p.38.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., p.43. According to Charlesworth, Sheppard and Goldwin Smith saw a good deal of each other despite their differences. Sheppard once analyzed Smith's character by saying "I'm very sorry for that man...He is a disappointed man...he thinks with his abilities he should be filling a much greater place in the world's affairs." Ironically, Sheppard might also have been speaking of himself. Quotation, Candid Chronicles p.112.

<sup>27</sup>Charlesworth gives us some additional background to the case, and to the personalities involved, in Candid Chronicles:

Kribs was one of the kindest hearted men who ever lived. He and his wife were childless and made a

Footnotes (cont'd)

practice of adopting orphans and giving them a start in life. He had seldom less than four little ones in his home, of whose misfortunes he had learned in the course of newspaper work...And it was through Kribs, who would not willingly have wronged any man, that Sheppard lost the News... Kribs, never a model of discretion, wrote and printed the yarn....Sheppard took responsibility for the article, though he had not seen it until it appeared in print, and owing to his natural sense of caution would probably have "killed it" ...The only course open to him was to evade service of writs and warrants...

<sup>28</sup>The total costs at this point, however, were much greater. According to Ramsay Cook's article "Our Strange Mistaken Battle Against French Canada," Saturday Night, Volume 92 Number 10 (December, 1977) p.53., they totalled \$2500.

<sup>29</sup>Charlesworth p.80.

<sup>30</sup>Butchart p.8.

<sup>31</sup>According to Charlesworth, Nichol and the other employee (I have been unable to learn his name but he was serving as advertising manager at the time), quarrelled with Sheppard and accused him of "having grabbed control of a project which originated with them." Shortly after, they established another magazine in direct competition with TSN called Life. When this magazine began to fail Nichol left for British Columbia where he went on to achieve recognition and success in politics, eventually becoming the province's Lieutenant Governor.

<sup>32</sup>See: "Mack's Son Remembers," Toronto Saturday Night 1 January 1938 p.49. Sheppard frequently sent back articles describing his journeys. The first series appeared within only a few months of TSN's inception when he was off to Europe for two months, leaving 5 May 1888 and arriving back 7 July. He was away for several months each year in the most years.

Footnotes (cont'd)

<sup>33</sup>14 January 1888 p.1.

<sup>34</sup>28 July 1888 p.1.

<sup>35</sup>Christmas Number 1893 p.191.

<sup>36</sup>15 June 1889 p.1.

<sup>37</sup>He often wrote whole columns on coughing, seating or kissing on streetcars. See: 26 May 1888 for a sample of these columns. See: 26 October 1901 for a sample of his attitude toward the telephone.

<sup>38</sup>21 July 1888 p.1.

<sup>39</sup>31 March 1888 p.1.

<sup>40</sup>21 December 1901 p.1.

<sup>41</sup>1 December 1900 p.1. Sheppard implied the blame for the failure lay with the women's hesitancy to exercise their vote. After commenting on the decline of women who took advantage of the partial franchise experiment in Chicago, he commented:

It looks as if women fancy doing the things which custom has denied them a share in, promptly abandoning the project when they are given a chance to be influential.

<sup>42</sup>R.K. Webb "The Victorian Reading Public," The Pelican Guide to English Literature (Markham: Penguin, 1976) p.224.

<sup>43</sup>Reuben Butchart in "Sheppard: Man and Journalist" suggests that Sheppard introduced personal journalism into Canada.

<sup>44</sup>See: 4 February 1888 p.1. where he speaks of "sad eyed women...with heads bowed" who had the unfortunate luck to love men who betrayed them.

Footnotes (cont'd)

<sup>45</sup>He was speaking of the Ward scandal in Montreal  
4 August 1888 p.1.

<sup>46</sup>17 March 1888 p.1.

<sup>47</sup>15 December 1901 p.1.

<sup>48</sup>See: 29 August 1896 p.2. for a sample comment and picture of babies taken from such a foundling home--in this instance oddly enough, the account appears in the "Social and Personal" column. His point of view on homes for the aged supported at public expense appears in 1 December 1900 p.1.

<sup>49</sup>He was also angry about the case of the woman who, jailed for shoplifting, was so ashamed of disgracing her husband and daughter that she killed herself. 30 March 1901 p.1.

<sup>50</sup>See: 15 June 1889 p.1.

<sup>51</sup>Because he had some medical training, Sheppard was asked to assist in reviving the man thus making this experience particularly unnerving. See: 26 July 1902 p.1.

<sup>52</sup>Religion and politics were subjects favoured by Sheppard and one or the other or both figured in most of his editorials.

<sup>53</sup>Ramsay Cook, p.53. It is difficult to explain Sheppard's attitude toward the French beyond that it was, unfortunately, typical of most Anglo-Saxon magazine and newspaper writers of the time in Canada and was probably rooted in his early work and association with other members of the "people's press":

In general all of the people's journals in English Canada desired a nation based upon the ascendancy of the Anglo-Protestant majority, in which the "French fact" would be limited to Quebec, the Roman Catholic church shorn of its "privileges," and the Irish Catholics disciplined.

"The People's Press" p.183.

Footnotes (cont'd)

<sup>54</sup>And this not for the first time. For example, the previous year he severely criticized one Reverend D. Fulton for his attacks on the Catholic Church. See: 31 March 1888 p.1.

<sup>55</sup>Laurier was of course more acceptable to Sheppard because he came from the Rouge, anti-clerical tradition and would be more likely to control the influence of the clergy in Quebec. A series of letters travelled between Sheppard and Laurier during this time. (See: Sir Wilfrid Laurier Papers Public Archives of Canada MG 26 G) which deal with subjects such as tariffs, the West Indies, consular agents for trade and foreign trade of Canada, duty on paper and Toronto Saturday Night.

<sup>56</sup>Sheppard had some training in the ministry but preached only one sermon before deciding that he was not cut out to be a preacher. Reuben Butchart quotes Sheppard as saying that "preaching and piety ought to be hitched together" before adding that "since he had none of the latter, he disregarded the former." ("Sheppard: Man and Journalist" p.8.) For a sample of the kind of attack Sheppard made on preachers see 11 February 1888 p.1. Sheppard was typical of many men of his time who possessed religious training and affiliation. For one thing, he was a strong labour sympathizer, a characteristic of many preachers, lay or ordained, as Richard Allen points out in his book The Social Passion (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971:

The role of Methodist local preachers in the early trade union movement is common knowledge...As evangelicalism became more diffused in the latter half of the century, as more organized forms of social thought emerged, and as awareness of the demands of the social problem became more acute, the underlying individualism of the evangelical way seemed to many to be less and less appropriate. The demand "save this man, now" became "save this society, now." (p.6.)

<sup>57</sup>There were actually two series of articles on pulpit "news." The first began in 1887 and the second, called "A Tour of the Churches", began in December of 1901. The magazine's contribution to religious matters was more of a hodge podge of social information than anything else. Along with innocuous columns such as the one titled "Singers of Sacred Song" which talked about various choir singers in

Footnotes (cont'd)

Toronto, there were editorial items such as the one which informed readers that a local preacher was reading his parishoners a chapter a week from a book he was writing instead of giving them a sermon.

<sup>58</sup>See: 26 October 1901 p.1.

<sup>59</sup>See: 24 March 1888 p.1. and 19 January 1889 p.1.

<sup>60</sup>See cartoons of Blacks in the 12 October 1895 issue and the 8 June 1889 issue.

<sup>61</sup>See: 26 May 1900 p.2.

<sup>62</sup>As suggested in the text, these elements of discrimination found in the magazine were generally without malice but this was not always the case. There were times when the tone was more critical than condescending and occasionally, the violence in the attack was inexplicable. On 19 June 1897 p.1. an article signed by Cy Warman, a well known writer for Canadian and American magazines, appeared on the editorial page. It discussed the vote for the Black in the United States:

Here in Washington, at the border of the black belt, one beholds the negro in all his arrogance and glory. It has been said by someone that a yellow negro has all the vices of both races and few of the virtues of either. It may also be said that the Washington negro is able to combine the "freshness" of the Northern negro with the laziness and all-round worthlessness of his black brother of the South....As domestic servants, the negroes are, in one respect at least, very like white servants. They make a study of seeing how little they can do and hold their place. They are not truthful, and they regard anything that is not locked up or nailed down as theirs.

<sup>63</sup>He was no less critical of inherited money. In an editorial in the 19 December 1896 issue he commented that nothing bring out "meanness" in an individual more than "inherited money." Typical of those in the Methodist branch



Footnotes (cont'd)

of Protestantism, Sheppard was against the "acquisitive ethic" and committed to social improvement, as his editorial stance has indicated. This was not unique to him, but was a reflection of a trend within Canadian society described by Allen in The Social Gospel as "support for the weak and lowly against the strong and established." (p.4.) Sheppard's attitude typifies that of the "social gospel" wherein goals were based on the premise "that Christianity was a social religion...a call for men to find the meaning of their lives in seeking to realize the Kingdom of God in the very fabric of society." (p.4.)

<sup>64</sup>The special TSN issue of December 1977 which appeared as a celebration of the magazine's 90th birthday contained a number of references to Sheppard's pro-British stance. "Purity: the Struggle for WASP Supremacy" by Morris Wolfe (pp.26-30) says that both Sheppard and his magazine were eager for new immigrants but wanted these immigrants to be British only: "But the editors of Saturday Night didn't want non-Wasps to fill up that empty space." However, TSN did not favour British immigrants to the extent that Wolfe's remark suggests, and, in fact both Sheppard and other writers from TSN were frequently critical of the British as immigrants, occasionally scathingly so. See footnote 67. (Canadian fiction writers exhibited this same discriminatory attitude on occasion. See Chapter IV.) In "Hey! That's Me in the Anaconda Ad," Jack Batten argues that Sheppard was pro-British and catered to "the carriage trade" but as argued in the text in some detail, Sheppard did not cater to the upper classes in his editorials. In "Our Strange Mistaken Battle Against French Canada" Ramsay Cook--in what appears to be an effort to compensate for Sheppard's anti-French attitude--treats Sheppard as unfairly as Sheppard treated the French. In the article which includes a "portrait" of Sheppard depicting him in cowboy boots, a fancy-dress ruffled shirt and black tie, a Union Jack flung across his shoulders to simulate a Mexican blanket and his usual cowboy hat inflated to the size of a sombrero--all suggestive of his affinity for the "old West," Cook describes Sheppard as pro-British; however, the portrait itself tests the accuracy of Cook's description. Sheppard's "old West" role and the evident Mexican influence on his manner of dressing was only too apparent in his nature as well, as discussed in Chapter II. Finally, Sheppard's work in the people's press rebellion of the 1880s with his criticism of the British connection (as well as criticism of sectionalism and partyism) also argues against the notion that he was genuinely pro-British.

Footnotes (cont'd)

<sup>65</sup> Robert Collison, "Monarchy: The Permanent Umbilical Cord," Saturday Night, Volume 92 Number 10 (December, 1977), p.25.

<sup>66</sup> Certainly he had some caustic things to say about Britain's handling of Canadian interests:

...whenever Canadian interests have been at stake during the discussion of a treaty between Great Britain and the United States, and a sacrifice had to be offered, a Canadian ram could always be found in the thicket.

(25 February 1888 p.1.)

As well as this he was particularly scornful of Britain's knowledge of Canadian affairs:

When Canadian matters are being discussed in England we are in great luck when there are two people within hearing who are not entirely ignorant of the facts.

(15 December 1888 p.1.)

<sup>67</sup> The following, unsigned, extract came from a TSN article "The Englishman in America" :

The majority of young Britons who lay siege to his country for a living are not the swellest class.... They are not the languid heroes that Ouida and Rhoda Broughton describe. They are not the refrigerating and studious collegemen that Mrs. Ward shows us, with their attic brows and their soulful aspirations. They are not even the nice little curates that Trollope has made familiar to us--quiet, gentle, lady-like young things; or the bluff, simple, good-hearted, idiotically stupid lordlings of contemporaneous English fiction...There is no more absurd spectacle than that of one of these young lads, who, supposing...themselves the social lions of the day, take upon themselves the languid and lofty manners of a spoiled child of fashion...

(13 February 1892 p.10.)

Footnotes (cont'd)

<sup>68</sup>Over and over Sheppard insisted that Canada must "do something to make a name of its own." See: 27 February 1897 p.1.

<sup>69</sup>He always introduced the supplements with advertisements praising Canadian writing. See: 30 November 1889 p.6.

<sup>70</sup>Clara Thomas and John Lennox, "William Arthur Deacon and Saturday Night 1922-1928," Essays on Canadian Writing, Number 11 (Summer 1978).

<sup>71</sup>The Toronto Evening Star (1895-97). See: Ross Harkness's J.E. Atkinson of the Star (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963), for a discussion of this purchase, pp36-39.

<sup>72</sup>Edmund E. Sheppard, The Thinking Universe (Los Angeles: Author's Company, 1915). The book, published at his own expense in California in 1915, was an explication of Sheppard's religious and philosophic convictions. Described as "brilliant" and "prophetic" in its predictions of future technological advances, it was said to anticipate the development of the radio among other things and drew particular praise from Hector Charlesworth, although he did admit that he did not entirely understand the whole of it. I found much of the book to be incomprehensible.

## Chapter II

## A Fettered Vision: The Fiction of E. E. Sheppard

In addition to writing editorials for TSN, Edmund Sheppard wrote numerous short stories and had two of his novels serialized in the magazine during his term as editor. His fiction was not memorable and most critics dismiss his work with comments similar to that made by Robert Fulford who said that Sheppard "wrote bad novels."<sup>1</sup> But Sheppard wrote so extensively for the magazine that no study of TSN would be complete without at least a brief examination of his novels and short stories, for, like his editorials, they reveal so much about the man himself. In fact, one comes to suspect that Sheppard's novels and short stories represented his own nature to a far greater extent than he himself imagined, or intended, they should. As well as offering the reader insight into Sheppard's nature, his fiction reflects the cultural conflicts of the period. Through his use of personal experience as subject matter and his choice of theme and character, we glimpse the cultural confusion of a Canada divided between two role models--Britain and the United States. Unease and disorientation are reflected in his themes and he seemed preoccupied with human relationships which lacked substance, a preoccupation which in turn,

mirrored a cultural disparity in his own society in a role model clash that although endemic to Victorian culture, appeared to be more pronounced in Sheppard than in other writers. Sheppard's writing manifested an indecision and uncertainty that critics have noted in the work of other Canadian writers. For example, D.G. Jones, in Butterfly on Rock, describes the indecision explored in many literary texts as outward evidence of cultural uncertainty.<sup>2</sup> In Sheppard's case, the inability to act, or cultural paralysis,<sup>3</sup> as outlined by Jones in his study of the poetry of Lampman, Carman, Roberts and Scott, manifests itself in characters who, in addition to being indecisive, fail to learn who they are or where they belong. Failing to achieve maturity, Sheppard's characters are unable to make permanent emotional commitments and dally away their time and energy in mock and sterile relationships. Interestingly, his weak and indecisive characters seem to represent not only his own failings but also the undeterminedness of Canada as a country, and contradict the confident and nationalistic tone he adopts in his editorials.

Sheppard wrote little fiction during the last few years at TSN but between 1887 and 1899, his most productive period, he always wrote from experience, drawing his stories from

his childhood, his years as a cowboy and jack-of-all trades, and, in later life, his work as a Toronto businessman. Not only can we see the cultural conflicts of the time reflected in his work but also we can see aspects of the man himself described by others as someone of wit and intelligence who was give to "moods."<sup>4</sup> In addition, the idiosyncracies that characterize his editorials, are apparent in his fiction. Sheppard's protagonists were candid, adventuresome young men who often had personal charm but were generally immature. To some extent, Sheppard himself exhibited a similar immaturity. That his heroes should resemble him is not surprising since his protagonists were products of his imagination; however, what is interesting is that this characteristic of immaturity was an attribute he shared with a number of other male popular writers of his day. There are some striking parallels between Sheppard and the American writers that Ann Douglas discusses in her fascinating analysis of sentimentalization in American literature, The Feminization of American Culture. Douglas argues that the legacy of American Victorianism was the sentimentalization of status, creed and culture. In essence, she suggests that sentimentalizing became a substitute for religious conviction. She notes a quality of "indecision" in a number of male popular writers of the United States,

and discusses their background.

The best-known sentimental male writers in antebellum America were the magazine writers--Washington Irving, Nathaniel Willis, Donald Mitchell (known as "Ik Marvel"), and George Curtis....With the exception of Curtis, they had stern fathers of orthodox persuasion who made them feel belittled and unproductive; they claimed to be following their mothers in adopting a sunnier creed. All four suffered from ill health and showed an indecisiveness about their careers which betrayed the fact that, if they had in theory rejected their fathers' ways, in practice they found it difficult to discover meaningful alternatives. They chronically postponed adulthood. 5

Sheppard had a stern father of orthodox persuasion; he was said to suffer from ill health<sup>6</sup>--a number of his "vacations" were attributed to illness--and, as we have seen from his editorials, he was subject to inconstancy and indecision and tried a variety of occupations ranging from cowboy to politician. Like his American counterparts, Sheppard was a leading figure in his society and yet he never appeared to be satisfied with his role in that society as his impulsive, yet disorganized, political and business ventures testify.<sup>7</sup> Appearing to derive his greatest pleasure from travelling, Sheppard spent a great deal of time visiting established European and Asian centers and wrote enthusiastic reports describing these cultures and detailing the rich diversity of architecture and landscape. He wrote about the colourful history of countries

like Egypt, Spain and Mexico with a freshness that conveyed his delight and curiosity.<sup>8</sup> Oddly, this love of travel was a feature Sheppard shared with his contemporary American male popular writers:

All four writers discovered their calling in travel...This contiguity of travel and writing was not accidental; it expressed the fact that these authors built their professions on a form of evasion--of their country, of their own identity, and of their occupation. itself. 9

That Sheppard, who lived some years in the United States, might be uncertain about his cultural identity does not come as a surprise; he was living in a time of remarkably diversified cultures. One need only scan the pages of the magazine he edited to see the contrasts apparent in Canadian day-to-day living: advertisements for bone china tea sets appeared alongside those for pick and shovel mining equipment; articles explaining how to shoe your own horse were featured on the same page as those which discussed the finer characteristics of Louis the IV furniture. But it was in his fiction, and in his characters particularly, that cultural uncertainty was most apparent. In addition to being individuals who could not make up their minds, Sheppard's heroes were often travellers, wanderers, people who lived their lives moving from place to place and job to job. Moreover his infrequent attempts to create permanent settings for his characters underscored their insecurity; for even when he was eager to create a sense of place, Sheppard was



unable to create characters who seemed comfortable within that place and when he depicted characters in terms of their landscape, the vision was invariably grim. As one continues to read his work one comes to see that his negative attitude toward the environment suggests something of his own alienation from that environment. Refusing to idealize farm life in his fiction--a habit of most popular writers in TSN<sup>10</sup>--Sheppard instead made a point of picturing it as hard work with little reward. His farmers were often people who struggled against the land, who worked long hours to scrape together a living so meagre and pitiful that their lives were filled with anger and bitterness. For example, in "Where Roads Meet" the relationship between the inhabitants and the landscape they occupied was interesting. Both characters and land suggested struggle and discord. In describing the toughened, narrowed individuals of Pine Flats, a Canadian prairie town, he drew a grim picture of their surroundings:

The comfortless log houses and slab covered barns were in entire harmony with the scrubby trees, the level fields in which meager crops of rye and potatoes ineffectually struggled to conceal the shifting sand and unnutritious gravel. It had long been a saying...God Almighty didn't care for the flats and the flats didn't care for God Almighty.

(Summer Number 1890 p.9.)

The story featured characters much like the land they farmed: spare, stark and grudging in their relationships they epitomized alienation and barrenness. Hostility between character and environment was a consistent trait of Sheppard's work. Not only did his heroes fail to establish permanent emotional relationships but they seemed unable to make a commitment to a place. The cowboys he wrote about were never part of the "llanos" they inhabited; they were always "passing through"; the teachers in the prairie towns were there on "contract", leaving at the end of each school year; even his tradespeople talked of finding a better job in the city. With a frequency that bordered on compulsion, Sheppard's heroes chose a situation that was temporary; permanence lay somewhere else, in another relationship, another job or another town. However, at the same time, having ties to neither people nor land gave them an excuse to remain adventurously carefree and to avoid the responsibility of an emotional and personal commitment. Unfortunately, it also gave them a quality of adolescence that suggests they were incapable of attaining manhood for their immaturity manifested itself in an inability to make decisions and commitments. Ostensibly, his cowboys, although fascinated by the glamour of a foreign country, were looking for some stability in their lives; a permanent home or a lasting relationship;

yet invariably they found themselves unable to decide between the two: adventure and stability, and became immobilized by their indecision. Moreover, Sheppard's characters, lacking direction, submerged their energy in a perverse and deliberate preoccupation with the possibility of action. Hamlet-like, they spent so much time examining the alternatives and the options, that eventually, decisions were taken out of their hands. Themes of neglect, betrayal and indifference coloured his fiction with many of his protagonists such as those in "Forsaken Flats," "Senor the Engineer" and "His Discovery of Himself" abandoning the women who truly loved them. Not only did Sheppard's themes and characters suggest confusion and alienation but even his technique was haphazard and produced an impression of chaos and disorganization.

Sheppard's fiction was the product of an inquisitive but undisciplined mind that responded to life impulsively and yet sympathetically. Unhappily however, the very enthusiasm and spontaneity that gave his editorials a liveliness and sense of immediacy, produced a slap-dash effect in his fiction. While his writing often sparkled with flashes of humour and wit, his work lacked craftsmanship. He never rewrote nor polished his fiction--most often dictating his stories directly to his secretary who typed them up as he went along--and, as Mrs. Sheppard once commented, while Sheppard did have writing talent, his fiction failed because he wrote in a great hurry, often to meet a deadline the following day.<sup>11</sup>

The result was his short stories and novels were, at best, typical of the kind of writing that fulfilled the need for light, entertaining reading, rather than stimulating a genuine response from his audience. Sheppard wrote to formula and employed devices of sentimentality and melodrama to gain reader response with the result that his work was often contrived and lacking in artistic control.

In a comment about Sheppard's contribution to Canadian literature, a writer for The Oxford Companion to Canadian Literature describes Sheppard as someone who "wrote satires"<sup>12</sup> arguing perhaps, that Sheppard never intended his fiction to be taken seriously. Certainly, his writing would have been more effective as satire than as serious fiction, but the lack of consistency of tone, so necessary to satire, leaves one doubting that satire was his intention. The difficulty was that Sheppard thought nothing of switching, reversing, or combining a variety of tones in one story--and this inconsistency left his reader confused and often mystified as to what, exactly, his attitude toward his subject was. Occasionally he would begin in a satiric vein, but then his tone would change and he would suddenly adopt the very pedagogical style of rhetoric he frequently mocked.<sup>13</sup> My own impulse would be to qualify the descrip-

tion by saying that he intended passages of his novels and short stories to be satiric for there were times when he clearly wanted to deflate pomposity or expose affectation and he used satire for this purpose. For example, in "Where Roads Meet" he talks about the insidious nature of poverty by describing its victims!

...being too poor to delight in honesty--  
gratitude found no place in their system.

(Summer Number 1890 p.9.)

Still, while he could be caustic and sarcastic on occasion, generally the humour in his fiction, like that of his editorials, was good natured:

If I believed all I heard about you and you  
believed all you heard about me we would not speak  
to each other, and probably no one would speak  
to either of us...

(7 January 1888 p.1.)

His sense of humour was his greatest strength. A ready wit and a gift for light comedy, coupled with wry asides and quips, added spice to his fiction. As well as humour of situation, tone and language, Sheppard used farce to amuse his reader. He enjoyed making fun of the more melodramatic elements in the popular writing of the day by imitating and exaggerating the techniques employed by romance writers and mimicking those characters who assumed attitudes of high flown gentility and spoke in elegant language--for example, heroines who died in the arms of their lovers "never, never,

to look upon the bright sunshine again." ("Two Wives" 12 October 1889 p.4.) By drawing Canadian characters that were outrageously nonconformist and often absurd, Sheppard also exaggerated the roughness of Canadian life thereby offering additional comment on what he saw as the pseudo-gentility created by many other popular writers of the period. This was a key distinction between his own fiction and that of other writers whose work he accepted for TSN; while the characters in most TSN stories spoke in "refined" tones, Sheppard's characters were more likely to be abrupt and even "countrified":

"Oh! I kin onhitch all right," he said, "Yeh needn't take no bother!"

(10 March 1888 p.8.)

And while the majority of TSN stories described cultured, well bred and self possessed characters, Sheppard was creating the mock-heroic, self deprecating kind of individual, who, in situations resembling those used later by Stephen Leacock, adopted a tone of bemused self-awareness. In "With Murder in His Heart" Sheppard gently chides his hero in a tale that generates humour through tone and a situation which finds the protagonist, a young cowboy, sitting on a horse that is too small for him. To compound the difficulty, the pony runs with an irregular gait making it impossible for the rider to sit him comfortably:

Kapit! kapit! kapit! What an absurdly short-gaited little brat of a pony this is!...every ten minutes the little villain breaks into a kapity-kapit-kapitivity-shackaracky-pump-pump combination that no nervous system could endure...Six gaits with all the change of stops in a cabinet organ.

(Christmas Number 1893 p.19.)

To some extent, Sheppard was a satirist; however, while his fiction approached satire, the quality suffered because Sheppard's work rarely went beyond exaggeration of characters and action. Unfortunately, his lack of consistency, coupled with his haste and inattention to detail contributed to the general problems of craftsmanship in his work, a lack exacerbated by the fact that his novels were serialized. Since they were written to be published on a week by week basis, his novels were often rambling and unstructured. Even the work of a novelist such as Dickens was occasionally rambling and repetitive as a result of having been written for serial publication. Finally, as well as being susceptible to the perils of serialization, Sheppard's work suffered from the fact that while he regarded literature with respect,<sup>14</sup> he did not appear to take his own fiction writing seriously. After reading his work, one senses that much of his fiction was written simply in order to fill space in the magazine. Indeed, most of his fiction appeared in the early years of TSN when he had difficulty finding sufficient material.

These were the general problems in Sheppard's fiction; the more specific weaknesses in his writing had to do with the craft itself. Widower Jones: A Faithful History of His 'Loss' and Adventures in Search of a 'Companion' which began with the first issue of TSN in December of 1887 and ran until May of the following spring, contains a number of the weaknesses apparent in Sheppard's novel writing, particularly those of pattern, characterization, the relationship between character and action, and the difference between showing and telling.

Depicting life in rural Ontario in the late nineteenth hundreds, the plot of the novel concerns Benjamin Jones, an actor, who has returned to his Ontario farm home after having left it in anger some twenty years before. Now aged forty, Ben is determined to help his family, particularly his mother whom he idolizes, and to openly challenge the authority of his father whose dictatorial behaviour is responsible for much of the family's suffering. The father, a deacon in the church, is presented as a strict, hard man who is not prepared to forgive Ben nor to make peace with him. The story is sentimental--the mother dies almost immediately, leaving the family shattered and heartbroken. After the funeral the father once again sends his first born away from the family home but now Ben, who has accum-



ulated a great deal of money during his years away, buys a nearby farm and settles down in the community, determined to stay near his young brothers and sisters in order to help them any way he can. Within a few months of the mother's death the father courts and marries a very young girl, thus outraging the sensibilities of the family members and further alienating himself from both his children and his congregation until the dénouement when children and congregation alike, all rise to denounce him as a hypocrite. The story ends abruptly--which was often the case with Sheppard's work--leaving the reader with the distinct impression that he simply grew tired of it.

The plot of the novel was presented almost in its entirety in the first chapter and between that and the final chapter ran a weak sub-plot having to do with the father's attempts to find a new wife. In essence, the novel lacked that essential component described by E.M. Forster in Aspects of the Novel<sup>15</sup> as pattern:

...something which springs mainly out of the plot, and to which the characters and any other element present also contribute. 16

As Forster suggests, it is pattern that puts a novel into focus:

...whereas the story appeals to our curiosity and the plot to our intelligence, the pattern appeals to our aesthetic sense, it causes us to see the book as a whole. 17

Not only is there no clear pattern in Widower Jones but there is no sustained major theme. While the novel utilizes the prodigal son motif which serves as a pivotal point for a series of subplots and "incidents" that continue throughout the months of the serial's appearance, few of the subplots genuinely contribute to the central conflict itself, a conflict that today would be categorized as the clash of generations.

In addition to lacking an overall pattern or shape, and a major theme, Sheppard's novel was populated by flat, one-dimensional characters and, in sharp contrast to the individuals who came to life on his editorial page, Sheppard's fictional characters were stereotypes. Relying heavily on stock, familiar figures of melodrama, Sheppard used characters who could be described as either good or bad, intelligent or stupid, rich or poor; in fact, the rule of thumb that says a flat character is one who can be summed up in one sentence, neatly defines all of Sheppard's characters. <sup>18</sup>

It comes as a surprise to a reader of Sheppard's editorials when he fails to develop roundness of character in his fiction, for his insights in his editorial writing gave dimension to an individual and breathed life into a description. For example in explaining why a particular preacher was loved by his parishoners, Sheppard was quick to observe that it was because the man admitted to a few faults and

this admission made him human and appealing:

...the most attractive thing in him is his humanity, the more essentially human he is the nearer he gets to his hearers.

(15 June 1889 p.1.)

Still, while Sheppard was able to appreciate the nature of such balance in people he knew he often failed to offer this balance in the characters revealed in his fiction. Whereas the preacher he depicted in his editorial was multi-faceted and believable, the character Sheppard created for the role of Widower Jones is one dimensional and artificial. Called "Sniveller Jones" by his son, the story's protagonist, Widower Jones is described as a hypochondriac, a bully and a lecher and is depicted "brow beating everyone, bullying mother, and crying and sneaking to people like a whipped cur." (10 December p.8.) The mother's personality is equally stereotyped. Throughout the story the only facet of her character presented is one of sacrifice. Overworked and exhausted, she emerges as a long-suffering, selfless, but somehow featureless, individual:

...knotted, toil-stained fingers clasped together hung hopelessly before her, unbeautiful and almost deformed by hard work.

(3 December 1887 p.8.)

As well as being stereotyped, Sheppard's characters lacked motivation. We are never sufficiently informed about what

prompts their reactions to find their behaviour believable. Instead of convincing his reader of the plausibility of a character's actions by suggesting the motivation for those actions, Sheppard manipulates both character and plot in order to make his point. And because characterization and action are so closely linked--that is, action comes about as a believable consequence of character--the story itself suffers. Intent upon making a moral point and careless about considerations of craft, Sheppard simply tells his reader that his characters are good or bad. But a well written story usually achieves its effect through showing, as opposed to telling. In such stories the characters' behaviour influences, and to a great extent, determines, the story's plot-line and outcome. The balance necessary to good characterization--and so to the creation of round character--is missing in Sheppard's work because we learn about his characters through the author's statements about them rather than through their actions or through dialogue. Sheppard tells the reader that Deacon Jones is a hypocrite, that Mrs. Jones is a saint, that good deeds will be rewarded and evil ones punished. By not allowing the reader to judge events and draw conclusions for himself, Sheppard fails to create a situation whereby the reader is able to see events as a credible outgrowth of character; therefore,

we become suspicious and all too aware of the author's presence and the effect it has on the story. Still, while Sheppard's writing lacked craftsmanship, the curious reader is kept interested by the extent to which Sheppard uses his own experience as subject matter for his fiction.

A biographical approach to Sheppard's fiction shows him to be consistent with advice he gave to TSN writers: "Write about what you know."<sup>19</sup> for he made an effort to follow this practise himself. Widower Jones was based on events of Sheppard's own childhood according to Hector Charlesworth:

The elder Sheppard was a man of very narrow and rigid ideas, I have been told, and under his stern rule the son, who was a natural rebel against all conventions, had so sad a time of it as a boy that it embittered him for the rest of his life. At the time E.E. Sheppard published his rural novel Widower Jones in the late eighties, it was widely rumoured that in its title character he had rather brutally satirized his own father. At any rate he acquired in boyhood a hatred of pietists, to him synonymous with hypocrites, that lasted all of his life. 20

During all the years that he wrote fiction for TSN, Sheppard made a habit of drawing from his own background. In "Why Johnny Went Back" a short story that appeared in the special literary supplement for Christmas of 1894,<sup>21</sup> Sheppard presents a light hearted look at the innocence of childhood in a story bearing little evidence of the hostility apparent in Widower Jones. Beginning with a comment about young Johnny, the story's protagonist, Sheppard sets a tone of amused indulgence as he tells of a small boy's attempt to

run away from his Canadian farm home. A farm boy and a preacher's son himself, Sheppard again speaks from experience:

...being a preacher's son [he] had already earned the uneviable notoriety of being the worst boy in the neighbourhood. (p.14.)

Throughout this story one perceives that Sheppard himself thoroughly enjoys the mischievousness and imagination of the child he is describing, but there is, at the same time, a wistful quality about the telling.

Sheppard generally used Canadian settings for his fiction and even when the story was set elsewhere such as California and Mexico--the preferred locale for his favourite character, the cowboy--he made a point of identifying his protagonist as Canadian. These cowboy characters are especially interesting for they were drawn from his travels in California and Mexico as a young man, travels that he frequently spoke of in his editorials.<sup>22</sup>

That he was fascinated with the Western cowboy's lifestyle was evident not only by his choice of a nom de plume, Don, but even by the way Sheppard dressed. He emulated the cowboy habit to the extent that the imitation occasionally served as a source of amusement to both his employees and those who met him for the first time. Sheppard is described by Gregory Clark, who used to visit his father, Joseph Clark,

(Mack) at the TSN offices, as having a "Southern Colonel look,"<sup>23</sup> (a description that would have pleased Sheppard for it could only add to the flamboyant "role" he liked to assume.) It was not accidental that Sheppard adopted a Western style and became what Charlesworth describes as "the most picturesque figure in Canadian literary and journalistic Bohemia" claiming he "resembled one of Bret Harte's immaculate gamblers":

It may be pure imagination, but I have a theory that the late Cuyler Hastings, an actor who came from the same part of Western Ontario as Mr. Sheppard, copied him when he created the role of the Sheriff in the famous melodrama, The Girl of the Golden West.... "Don" had two hats, a tall "plug" for outdoors and a slouch for indoor wear.... Under his trousers he wore top boots of fine Spanish leather; and he liked to surprise British visitors to his office by putting his feet on the table and displaying these unique articles. He habitually chewed tobacco, and his aim at a distantly placed cuspidor...was invariably accurate. 24

Sheppard's stories about cowboys often suggested the rebelliousness of his own character. While the stories themselves were typical of the popular story found in the magazine--written purely for entertainment and often lacking in more lasting qualities--they are significant in what they reveal about Sheppard's vision of his society.

Reflecting the clash between the American (Western) model and the English (cosmopolitan) model available to the Canadians of that time, Sheppard's preference was to emphasize the qualities of the former at the expense of the latter. In contrast to the majority of the stories in TSN which simply

transplanted British trappings: titled gentry, rolling moors and so forth, and which tacked on Canadian place names--Sheppard's fiction tended to exaggerate the rawness and roughness of frontier Canadian living. Although his cowboy stories invariably contained elements of humour, adventure and romance, the image that emerges most clearly is of the Canadian protagonist caught between cultural choices. "Lucia" (Christmas Number 1890 p.19.), a story of a young Canadian cowhand who has been away from home in California and Mexico and is anxious to return to Canada, typifies Sheppard's cowboy stories. In addition to offering adventure and romance, "Lucia" features his most successful character: the mock-heroic individual who candidly identifies his own inadequacies:

I always feel like laughing, possibly in a hysterical sort of way, when I am highly interested and don't know what else to do. I am sorry to say that this impulse almost invariably comes upon me when I am at a funeral and am expected to weep. (p.19.)

As well as employing an indulgent tone, Sheppard uses situation to amuse and entertain his reader. In "Lucia" the hero is so eager to impress his young lady that he decides to speak to her in Spanish, her native language, thereby gaining her attention and admiration. The problem is that his command of the language is so poor that she is



unable to comprehend what he is saying. Flustered, but still determined, he attempts to save something of his dignity by making a gallant bow as he exits. Unfortunately, in his haste he seizes the wrong sombrero and the one he places on his head at the end of the bow is much too small for him with the result that his exit is anything but gallant.

While in "Lucia" Sheppard's primary intention was to entertain, there was, at the same time, a serious undercurrent, the central conflict, which concerned the nature of prejudice. The cowboy, who is working in Mexico but is determined to return home, must decide whether or not to take a Mexican girl back as his bride. Struggling with his own bias--he wants to propose marriage to her but is at the same time reluctant to do so--he vacillates in what Sheppard describes as the "awkward pause when passion made excuses but love offered no promises." (p.20.) In depicting the nature of this passion, Sheppard treats the reader to a quality of sensuality that was rarely attempted by writers for TSN. The scene takes place when the two lovers, the cowboy and the Mexican girl, have stopped travelling for the day and are about to make camp. The man is struggling with his feelings about the girl and Sheppard is able to successfully illustrate the quality of this attraction by creating a scene which captures both the tenderness and the

animal vigour of physical attraction in a scene where the two young people suddenly catch sight of their horses:

The ponies lifted their heads and rubbed their noses against each other, and mine then threw his head over the neck of the other and rubbed his silken bridle upon the mane of his companion.

Despite the fact that he is attracted to her, the cowboy is torn between his affection and his concern that the Mexican girl will be out of place in Canada. Not only could Lucia "neither read nor write" but she would be going to live in a society that disapproved of inter-marriage. He sees his culture, a pseudo-British culture of class distinctions, as a threat to both of them if they marry; consequently, he is unable to bring himself to propose. Eventually the decision is taken out of his hands for he remains paralysed until finally the girl's former lover returns and sweeps her off her feet. With a mixture of sadness and relief the cowboy leaves to go home alone.

This was a typical resolution of Sheppard's, for while most TSN writers were matching up lovers, he was more often separating them. The pattern that emerges suggests the inability to make up his mind was characteristic of Sheppard's protagonists and, oddly enough, paralysis of will was a familiar motif and resolution for many of his stories. Subject to indecision and the failure to act, his heroes

vacillated between choices until fate stepped in. In "His Discovery of Himself" (Christmas Number 1896 p.34.) the same hesitancy to make a permanent commitment occurs in a story drawn from Sheppard's teaching background. In this case, his protagonist is a young man, farmer-cum-railroadworker-cum-schoolteacher who meets a girl, falls in love, but finds he is unable to make the necessary emotional commitment--although he does gain confidence and insight into his own nature as a result of the encounter. Because he is unable to bring himself to propose to the girl, the hero chooses to deliberately alienate her.

That the lovers should be kept apart by circumstance and situation becomes a condition of Sheppard's work. Along with "Lucia," "His Discovery of Himself" and "Forsaken Flats," still another story of Sheppard's "A Strange Experiment" features a pair of lovers who appear to be ideally suited to each other but who remain separated. In this case, a question of honour keeps the couple apart when a secret is revealed to one but not to the other, concerning the death of the woman's husband. (Christmas Number 1891)

Sheppard's portrait of the little Canadian farm boy who longs for adventure on the high seas; of the cowboy who seeks excitement and new experience in a strange land; of the young man earnestly trying to make up his mind about life, about love and about himself--all are interesting for what

they suggest of Sheppard's background. But more importantly, these characters and themes reflect his vision of his society. His fiction suggests that Sheppard, perhaps typical of many Canadians, was confused by the contrast between the two cultures, the American and British, that served as models for the Canadian. On the one hand he saw the advantages of a settled, prosperous and cultured British model; on the other, the more practical reality of the American frontier example. Where the English model offered a sense of tradition, of history, permanence and security, the American model had a red-cheeked quality of freshness that promised adventure and freedom and perpetual youth. In his characters, the contrast, which manifested itself in indecision, had implications beyond the fiction itself. Sheppard, as editor, journalist and world traveller, was a much more sophisticated and worldly individual than either his demeanor or speech would suggest. His penchant for the frontier life of the American West was part of the role he was playing. While Montreal and Toronto were not London or Paris, they were the repositories of Canadian culture and the centres of Canadian cultural events; therefore, for him to pretend he was a "hayseed" was an escape from reality. The nature of his dilemma becomes apparent when we examine these conflicting forces in his characters' behaviour. If, by not establishing permanent relationships--the result of their consummate

inability to make up their minds--Sheppard's characters could remain forever young, they paid a price because their indecision estranged them from their own land. Was this the way Sheppard felt about himself and his place within Canadian society? Other patterns in his work appear to suggest as much. While Sheppard was dour about the "joys" of Canadian farm life, he was also critical of city life. The vision of Toronto he projects in A Bad Man's Sweetheart, a serial begun in TSN in October 1888, describes the city as seamy and unpleasant, inhabited by money grubbers and opportunists. And while we sense social awareness and social responsibility in his attacks on the evils of city life in both his fiction and his editorials, he was equally impatient with a pastoral representation of Canadian rural life. It is not difficult to anticipate the source of his confusion. While he evidently admired the cosmopolitan cities and the established traditions of settled societies and never hesitated to make this admiration clear,<sup>25</sup> Sheppard must, at the same time, have come to see that the more sophisticated lifestyles he admired would not lend themselves to the unpolished environment of Canada; for Toronto and Montreal, while they were cities, were not cosmopolitan in the sense that London, Paris and New York were. Therefore we have a series of paradoxes: while Sheppard admired the

Old West traditions as is implicit in his choice of character and setting. For his fiction he, like many Canadians of his time, was seeking a permanence that only old world traditions could provide. The emphasis on the rougher, coarser, less tempered and polished frontier characteristics, realistic though it was, contradicted his own cosmopolitan leanings, as suggested by his penchant for travel and his obvious admiration of the old world cultures. In addition, there were other indications of cultural disorientation and confusion on Sheppard's part. Even his colourful habit of dress was a conscious imitation of a style he admired; but it was not a style native to Canada's Toronto. On the contrary, it drew comment and attention from residents and visitors alike.

As we have seen from his editorials, Sheppard was genuinely interested in supporting Canadian enterprises as his pro-Canadian, anti-British and anti-American policies and practices at TSN argue,<sup>26</sup> and he was determined that his country like the heroes in his stories, would be identified as uniquely Canadian; however, the question was what did it mean to be Canadian? Like Jones's nineteenth-century man, Sheppard faced a dilemma that affected his imaginative vision. Neither British nor American traditions were appropriate to his needs. Nor was it possible to establish

a compromise between the two: they were incompatible; one cannot serve tea in a tent. For men like Sheppard, harmony of culture and environment could only mean harmony between two radically different lifestyles. Unable to determine the nature of such a change he became frustrated and confused. Perhaps he was seeking an impossible compromise for the cosmopolitan influences he so admired were not likely to take hold in the more rigid, puritanical Toronto of that day, a city still struggling to come to terms with a complex heritage. Certainly, his dream that Canada would become a nation that was a composite of the best of world culture, although admirable, was idealistic.

In summary, it does not seem coincidental that parallels existed between the work of Sheppard and that of other Canadian writers of his time as chronicled by Canadian critics such as Atwood, Frye and Jones. Nor, given the restlessness and confusion of the period, does it seem that Sheppard's vision could have been other than what it was. And although one must be careful about drawing arbitrary parallels, Sheppard's consistent use of his own experience as subject matter for his fiction argues that his protagonists' confusion was, in some measure, his own. Their indecision and alienation was a reflection of what he saw in his own society, and their inability to make a commitment was a manifestation of a cultural uncertainty evident in Sheppard's

picture of himself and his society. The irony is that for some Canadian writers of this period, cultural confusion was the spur that inspired their art. Unlike writers such as D.C. Scott, Archibald Lampman and Sara Jeannette Duncan, who were fired by the circumstances of their own time, Sheppard's craft and imagination faltered and fettered his vision instead of inspiring it. One leaves a study of Sheppard's fiction with the impression of a man of energy and intelligence who could not create a well crafted fiction to reflect his deepest concerns. Sheppard's artistic immaturity was framed by the circumstances he laboured under and while his fiction offers insight into the man himself, it lacks sufficient craftsmanship to stand alone artistically. However, the bleakness of his vision is a comment on a confused, although burgeoning culture in a period of transition.



Footnotes

<sup>1</sup>Morris Wolfe, Saturday Night Scrapbook. (Toronto: New Press, 1973). Introduction by Robert Fulford. Introduction p.ix. Sheppard wrote three novels: Dolly: the Young Widder Up to Felder's (1886); Widower Jones (1887); A Bad Man's Sweetheart (1888). The first was published prior to his becoming editor of TSN and the last two were serialized in TSN.

<sup>2</sup>D.G. Jones, Butterfly on Rock. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970). See also Margaret Atwood's Survival and Northrop Frye's famous conclusion to The Literary History of Canada.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p.103.

<sup>4</sup>See Chapter I for a discussion of Sheppard's temperament. The following is a list of the fiction published in TSN supplements by Sheppard:

"The Dance at Deadman's Crossing: A Christmas Tale of the Canadian Northwest." (22 December 1888)

"Where Roads Meet." (Summer Number, 1890)

"A Strange Experiment." (Christmas Number, 1891)

"Goodnight Bill, Goodnight." (Christmas Number, 1891)

"Lucia." (Christmas Number, 1890)

"Senor the Engineer." (Christmas Number, 1892)

"With Murder in His Heart." (Christmas Number, 1893)

"Why Johnny Went Back." (Christmas Number, 1894)

"His Discovery of Himself." (Christmas Number, 1896)

"Forsaken Flats." (Christmas Number, 1897)

"The Punishment of Donald McEachren." (Christmas Number, 1899)

Footnotes (cont'd)

<sup>5</sup>Ann Douglas, The Feminization of American Culture. (New York: Knopf, 1977), p.237.

<sup>6</sup>Physically, Sheppard was a big man, over two hundred pounds, but he was not always in the best of health. He suffered from what Butchart calls "under-vitality" resulting in a number of ailments among them arthritis which required the use of a cane a good deal of the time.

<sup>7</sup>In addition to working as a cowboy, reporter and editor, Sheppard taught in a small American college, took medical training and did some work in this field although he did not receive a degree and only volunteered medical aid when necessary. He also ran for government office in Toronto three times (See: Chapter I) and was Trade Commissioner to South and Central America in the 1890s for the federal government.

<sup>8</sup>He was away from TSN at least two or three months every year, generally on a tour abroad.

<sup>9</sup>Douglas, p.237.

<sup>10</sup>Pastoral descriptions of farm life in Canada were common in TSN, particularly in the early years of the magazine. See Chapter IV for examples.

<sup>11</sup>"Lady of the Old School" TSN 1 January 1938 p.29.

<sup>12</sup>Norah Story, editor, Oxford Companion to Canadian History and Literature. (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1968), p.760. This explanation is logical in light of Sheppard's penchant for what today we call "black humour", a preference readily apparent in some of the material he chose for the magazine such as the filler which was said to have originated on a tombstone:

Here lies Bernard Lightfoot, who was accidentally killed in the forty-fifth year of his age. This monument was erected by his grateful family.

"Churchyard Curiosities"

(30 May 1896 p.7.)

Footnotes (cont'd)

<sup>13</sup>See Chapter III for examples of these stories. My feeling is that Sheppard deliberately made his Canadian characters rougher and more homespun as a reaction to the pseudo-sophisticated characters that were so common in TSN fiction. As well, Sheppard loved to surprise and, occasionally, to shock his reader. Much of the colour of Sheppard's writing in TSN was reminiscent of his "People's Press" days when he was editing the Toronto News and making significant changes in the style of newspaper writing. He often deliberately said things to catch attention and make a name for his paper. From time to time, he used a different style in the News in order to break with the traditional format. For example, he adopted the New York format of fragmented sentences spaced far apart and etched against a blank background and therefore highly visible and eye catching.

<sup>14</sup>Sheppard did take the work of other writers seriously and he did encourage Canadian writers particularly. See Chapter IV for a discussion of his work in this area.

<sup>15</sup>E.M. Forster, Aspects of the Novel. (New York: Harcourt Brace and World, 1954), p.213. Forster explains the complexity of the term by likening it to pattern in artwork:

For this new aspect there appears to be no literary word--indeed the more the arts develop the more they depend on each other for definition. We will borrow from painting first and call it the pattern.

(p.213.)

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p.215.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p.219.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p.104. Forster's example of Becky Sharp as a round character is useful here:

...she cannot be summed up in a single phrase, and we remember her in connection with the great scenes through which she passed and as modified by those scenes--that is to say, we do not remember her so easily because she waxes and wanes and has facets like a human being. (p.106.)

Footnotes (cont'd)

<sup>19</sup>See Chapter IV for a discussion of Sheppard's relationship with TSN writers.

<sup>20</sup>Hector Charlesworth, Candid Chronicles. (Toronto: Macmillan, 1928), p.73. The same bitterness apparent in "Widower Jones" occasionally appeared in Sheppard's editorials. In writing of homes dominated by an atmosphere of criticism and harsh discipline, Sheppard wrote caustically of a home almost identical to the one he described in the serial

Such places are not home nests: the fledglings do not love to lie on beds of thorns nor to be torn by a fierce parental beak while trying to learn how to walk.

(26 November 1892 p.1.)

<sup>21</sup>These were supplements that contained only Canadian writing and were put out by Sheppard every Christmas in the early years. For a discussion and description of these see Chapter IV.

<sup>22</sup>See: Chapter I.

<sup>23</sup>Charlesworth, p.72. It was likely Sheppard's goatee and mustache that prompted Gregory Clark's "Southern Colonel" description quoted by Fulford in the introduction to the Saturday Night Scrapbook p.ix.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p.72.

<sup>25</sup>One comes to suspect that his emphasis on using the various "Letters from--" series ("Letter From London," "Letter From New York," and "Letter From Paris," all of which appeared intermittantly throughout his years as editor of TSN) came both from Sheppard's impressions of the cosmopolitan cities and his wish to give TSN a more refined air.

<sup>26</sup>See Chapter I for a discussion of Sheppard's nationalism and his anti-British, anti-American attitudes.

## Chapter III

Toronto Saturday Night Fiction: An Overview

The most significant feature of the fiction that appeared in TSN during the Sheppard years was the variation in quality. Among the better pieces were those by Charles Dickens, Gogol, Guy de Maupassant, Leo Tolstoi, Wilkie Collins, H.G. Wells and Arthur Conan Doyle as well as some of our best known Canadian writers of that period: W.W. Campbell, Archibald Lampman, D.C. Scott, Charles G.D. Roberts, Stephen Leacock, Goldwin Smith and E. Pauline Johnson.<sup>1</sup> In addition to the work of professionals, TSN used contributions from "occasional" writers, people who wrote as a hobby and whose names appeared in the magazine only once or twice. To judge from their fiction, many of the amateur writers were practising a popular art form as a means of expressing themselves; their intention was not necessarily to create a lasting work of art but to satisfy an immediate desire to do something pleasurable in their leisure time. They took their audience to be wide, sympathetic and uncritical, and neither anticipated nor encouraged criticism of their work.

The fiction, like the editorials, was chosen to accomplish

the two aims set out in the first issue of TSN: to amuse and instruct. The stories amused by featuring a colourful array of settings, characters and plots aimed at entertaining the reader, and instructed by illustrating social values. However, although TSN as a popular magazine clearly saw its role as one of educating and edifying the Canadian reader in the areas of social consciousness and morality, it did not see itself in the role of teaching readers to appreciate serious literature. This factor had a significant effect on the choice of fiction that appeared in the pages of the magazine.

Because TSN was a commercial venture, designed to appeal to a broad cross-section of readers, the publishers deliberately catered to a wide variety of tastes for, to survive financially--a difficult problem particularly among Canadian magazines of this period--TSN had to publish what its readers wanted to read. Most readers of popular magazines desired little more than an escapist form of entertainment. Like many readers of popular literature today, TSN readers looked to the world of romance, of action and adventure for their entertainment:

Readers wanted a moving account of "what happens" ...They liked the "strong situations," and they liked episode after episode of "telling incidents." They wanted characters who were "life-like," by which they meant characters who were much larger, simpler, more ideal, than in life--characters with whom they could identify strongly. They wanted a setting which gave them the pleasures of the exotic and

unknown, or the pleasures of recognition of the familiar; in either case, the function of setting was to reinforce the emotional effect of the action. They wanted a structure that engaged them fully, that aroused suspense, that had sudden, surprising turns, and an exciting pace. They wanted a conclusion that resolved the conflict and rewarded the good with fortune and happiness, or, occasionally, with the pleasure of renunciation or atonement. They liked a style that brought out their emotional response. 2

Not only was little emphasis placed on quality in fiction, but, if we can judge from statements in TSN, fiction itself was not highly regarded and a magazine that featured fiction exclusively was considered frivolous by the Canadian Victorian community of that time. In its first issue, TSN pointedly commented that it wished to be considered a magazine that was concerned with worthy subjects:

Saturday Night, while devoting itself largely to literature, will be essentially a paper of to-day, dealing with current topics, and should not be looked upon in any sense as simply "a story paper," though novels, illustrated sketches and stories will form one of its many features.

(3 December 1887 p.6.)

Despite TSN's disclaimer, it was fiction that dominated in the early years with an average of four or five short stories, ranging in length from half a column to several pages, a number of sketches, and at least one novel in serial form appearing in each issue. Often fewer than half of these pieces were original; many appeared through simultaneous publication arrangement;<sup>3</sup> others were reprints selected from

successful magazines such as Blackwoods, Pall Mall, the Idler, among the British periodicals and Harpers, Short Stories and Atlantic from the United States.<sup>4</sup>

Not only was there a wide variation in the quality of the fiction itself, but setting, character, subject and style were chosen to appeal to TSN's broad spectrum of readers. Ranging from cosmopolitan cities to primitive backwoods, the settings particularly offered a diversity that, in addition to entertaining the reader, allowed him or her to escape to unfamiliar and fascinating places such as London, New York, Paris, Venice and Rome, glamorous cities that held an aura of sophistication. But there was also a fascination for the less sophisticated settings and the backwoods of countries such as Australia, Africa and Canada were often the locations for TSN stories of mystery, action and adventure.

The characters in these stories were equally varied: from rich to poor, from aristocrats to peasants, from princesses to shop girls, they included curates, miners, farmers, squires, typists, loggers, criminals and cowboys. Like the settings and characters, the plots were diversified, ranging from bedtime stories for children to gothic tales of horror, from a story of a new red apron for a child, to the tale of a woman who murders her children in their beds.<sup>5</sup>



There were tales of action and adventure in foreign lands, shipwreck and privation at sea, loneliness and isolation on prairies of the West, as well as those which prescribed manners and illustrated examples of good taste and correct behaviour.

The single consistent characteristic of TSN fiction was the tendency to idealize. Wishful thinking produced stories set in pastoral English countrysides, or in the "rooms" of rich and sophisticated gentlemen of refinement and culture and in the "boudoirs" of women of elegance and taste. In reading such fiction one senses that the writer was uncomfortable within his own landscape and looked for relief to an environment that could exist only in the imagination, so contrived were the descriptions:

...the elegant halls had been transformed into a modern fairyland. Tapestries, plushes and laces were seen everywhere...On the floor of her boudoir lay an exquisite carpet of pearl gray velvet, sprinkled with sprays of delicate pink blossoms, entwined with tendrils of palest emerald. The divans and easy chairs were of some pale-pink fabric, soft as cygnet down, decorated with gold. The curtains of silk...the dainty receptacles were hanging bright with a profusion of pink and white blossoms.

(12 October 1889 p.4.)

Even more important, the fiction implied standards of morals and behaviour and illustrated, through example, the ideal in the human condition.

The kinds of writing ranged from realism to fantasy:

from stories dealing with daily life on a farm, to tales unfolding on distant planets; they included fables, ghost stories, historical romances, domestic tragedies and local colour stories which focused on setting and emphasized regional landscape in order to create atmosphere.<sup>6</sup>

If numbers are to be the judge, the most popular stories were those which taught manners and morals, followed by stories of mystery and suspense. The "manners" stories advised readers on social matters such as how to choose a marriage partner, what constituted proper decorum and what was appropriate behaviour in polite society. Occasionally, such stories provided answers to questions of a more obscure nature and explicated the more tangled social and moral questions of the day. For example, one suggested that while it was acceptable for a woman to become engaged to a man she did not love, it was unacceptable for her to break that engagement should she meet a man she did love. A novel reviewed in TSN dealt with the question "May a conscientious man happily marry a widow whom he has loved during her deceased husband's lifetime?" (5 July 1890 p.6.) And although such questions seem quaint and amusing to today's reader, TSN took its mandate to educate very seriously. Young people were instructed by a number of "Anne" tales by J.I., each of which taught a lesson through the example of a spritely but immature young lady's experience. "Anne

Enforces Discipline" depicted this spoiled and coquettish young lady discovering a relationship between bad temper and physical illness. When told that a poor disposition results in poor health, she listened to her learned doctor's instructions but remained spirited:

...they might have told me when I was little that if I wasn't good I'd be sick instead of telling me that God didn't love naughty children.

(26 May 1900 p.7.)

Most often, such stories contained an explicit moral. In fact, moralizing in nineteenth-century popular fiction was so commonly accepted that it was a novelty when a story did not illustrate an example of good behaviour. The novel Geoffrey Hampstead by Thomas S. Jarvis caused considerable dismay to its TSN reviewer who, while he enjoyed the book, was clearly at a loss about recommending it because it did not have a moral: "it...makes one sorry" he said, "that the same excellent style and power of expression had not been used to tell a story worth living." (4 October 1890 p.6.)

In marked contrast to the earnest morality which dominated in much of the fiction of TSN, stories concerned with the fantastic, which constituted the second largest body of work in TSN, leaned more toward entertaining than edifying the reader. And after reading much of TSN's moralistic fiction one comes to suspect that the intense

appeal of the story of fantasy and mystery came about because it offered a contrast to the more earnestly didactic and sentimental literature which dominated the pages of the magazine.<sup>7</sup>

While there were elements of surprise and shock in all these stories, the strangest tales were those told in the gothic tradition: where, in addition to featuring a wide variety of subject matter, writers used the pathetic fallacy to create an atmosphere of terror: thunderstorms, bolts of lightning and sudden gusts of wind often accompanied the twists and turns of the plot. A preoccupation with evil and death, as well as a fascination for the power of the human will, dominated in the gothic tale where motifs of captivity, escape, vengeance and the familiar symbols of evil: black imagery, moulding crypts and decayed and crumbling estates--all inhabited by ghostly apparitions and ghoulish characters--created the desired qualities of suspense and horror.

The distinguishing characteristics of TSN's fiction: variety of settings, characters, subjects and styles, fulfilled TSN's aims. But not surprisingly, such aims encouraged formula writing. The same plots were used over and over again with exasperating frequency. In fact, it is difficult to examine the fiction of TSN during this period without

becoming impatient. Lacking authorial detachment, as well as balance between plot and character and employing devices of the popular melodrama of that time, the stories tend to be repetitious, contrived and sentimental.

The favourite TSN story form was the popular melodrama with its characteristic use of conflict between extremes of good and evil, its employment of stock characters and its reliance upon sentimentality as a means of generating an emotional response in the reader. Featuring plots about repentent husbands returning to abandoned wives, or ungrateful children seeing their ingratitude for the first time, or unfaithful husbands getting their "due reward", the moral stories emphasized proper conduct and acceptable social behaviour. Lessons included examples of self-restraint, forgiveness, charity, perseverance, and faithfulness.

Young men were shown the difference between honorable and dishonorable behaviour in stories like "A Mother's Love" whose moral was work hard, don't be idle, and be good to your mother who loves you and has sacrificed so much for you. (11 August 1888 p.5.) Even the titles contained an admonition. "Playing With Fire" was a story which cautioned about the danger of dallying with two sweethearts at the same time. (17 March 1888 p.5.) "Dolly's Lesson" illustrated the disadvantages of a jealous nature. (14 July 1888 p.5.) And "How Freddy Balmoral Got Warned Off" detailed the temptations of indiscriminate gambling through the example of a man who

bet the horses and was caught trying to cheat the bookmaker. (21 July 1888 p.5.) The characters in these stories were stereotypes. Men were either heroes or villains, women were saints or sinners and even children were cardboard figures. The formula stories in TSN tended to be sentimental since they focused almost entirely on sensational aspects of plot and used elements of coincidence<sup>8</sup> and contrivance to "move" their reader. The obvious problem with such fiction was that the superimposition of a moral lesson onto every story encouraged plot manipulation and this, in turn, encouraged contrivance. Among the more contrived was the story of manners, as it has come to be known, which was highly stylized and written in "elegant" language, featuring titled gentry who led lives of cultured leisure and spoke in such self-consciously "elevated" tones that the diction painted an artificial and contrived picture of upper class life. Heroines in such stories tossed about expressions like "dastardly liar"<sup>9</sup> and nature itself was often personified in vague prose generally lacking concrete imagery and suffering from artificial and elaborate diction:

The last smiles of the dying sun--couches on a death bed of splendid crimson and gold--were cast as if in mockery upon that solemn and hushed scene within that awful courtroom.

(8 August 1891 p.5.)

However, while a few writers attempted to simulate refin-

ment by creating an upper class aura, the majority of formula stories cut across class lines and placed the emphasis on the message they contained.

As well as lessons in social behaviour and personal conduct, Christian values such as obedience, perseverance, loyalty and tolerance were stressed, as was the value of work. For example, "Beams to Be Plucked Out" illustrates the golden rule, the importance of tolerance, and the rewards of honest labour. The story begins with two factory girls whose appearance is mocked by several shop girls travelling on the same bus. The shop girls, in turn, have their attire criticized by another group of young women one of whom is described as having "her own coupe and her French maid." The lesson on the innate value of work, whatever its level, takes place when the reader is told in disapproving tones that this girl is entirely dependent upon her father for financial support and quite incapable of earning any kind of living for herself:

If he were to die tomorrow, his daughter would have no means to support one of the luxurious tastes she indulges now without stint.

(30 June 1888 p.5.)

The moral stories generally made an association between those who worked hard and were good, and those who were slothful and bad, and often the assumptions were hasty and,

occasionally, flippant. If a woman's hands were work-worn she was a saint; if she did nothing but keep herself pretty she was regarded as parasitical.<sup>10</sup>

A predictable topic for sentimental treatment was the relationship between the haves and the have-nots. "The Rector and His Curate" contrasts the man who holds the title, has the power and earns the money with the man who has none of these and yet does the real work--in this case, the work of the ministry. The story tells of a rector's wife who runs up huge bills for "gowns" while a curate's wife, who is desperately ill, wastes away because of lack of money for medicine. The rector, a generally amiable fellow, refuses the curate's plea for extra wages on the ground that it will not be good for the young man's "character." When his wife dies, the embittered curate pronounces his own "blessing" upon the rector:

...may the God you profess to serve be as merciful to you in your hour of need, as you have been to me and mine.

(20 October 1888 p.5.)

There are many such "pronouncements" buried in the fiction of TSN. One imagines them embroidered on wall hangings:

Idleness is the hotbed of temptation.

"Miss Bassett's Suitors" (27 October 1888 p.5.)

He who conquereth himself is more than a hero.

"Two Rosebuds" (6 April 1889 p.5.)



There is a God who takes care of the innocent and punishes the guilty.

"A Life Sentence" (19 April 1890 p.8.)

Unfortunately, the intent to educate often interfered with the quality of the fiction. While moral questions are quite properly the subject of both serious and popular fiction, as Northrop Frye suggests in Bush Garden, the qualitative difference lies in the way these questions are handled:

Moral earnestness and the posing of serious problems are by no means excluded from popular literature, any more than serious literature is excused from the necessity of being entertaining. The difference is in the position of the reader's mind at the end, in whether he is being encouraged to remain within his habitual social responses or whether he is being prodded into making the steep and lonely climb into the imaginative world. 11

Two TSN stories that illustrate this difference are "Crazy Jane" and "The Mad Mayor." Although alike in theme, plot and even protagonists, they differ markedly in quality: one generates only a social response while the other appeals to the reader's aesthetic sense. "Crazy Jane" by S. Baring-Gould (4 July 1891 p.8.) uses a plot formula that is repeated over and over again in TSN fiction. The central conflict concerns an innocent but maligned individual who sacrifices her life in order to save that of another. In "Crazy Jane" the heroine, who is described as "dull witted", and her aged mother, a widow, live quietly

together in a cottage in Sussex on the widow's meagre pension. Jane is loyal to Jim Thacker who protected her as a child from the school bullies and has won her undying affection. But Jim's wife resents the girl and goes to great lengths to persecute Jane in an effort to drive her away. One day Jim's daughter, a twelve year old, becomes lost in a snowstorm and is rescued by Jane who bodily carries the girl back to safety. But the physical strain of doing so is too much, and with the girl cradled in her arms, Jane collapses and dies on Jim's doorstep. There are some unusual touches in the story (Jane catches dormice and hedgehogs and sells them to help support herself and her mother) and the writing itself is competent, but for the most part the characters fulfill roles: Jim is kind and good; the wife is narrow and mean; Jane is dull-witted but loving; her mother is poor but honest. The opportunity to create individual personalities is lost because the emphasis is on the moral lesson.<sup>12</sup> Since the plot is manipulated in order to teach the reader a lesson about tolerance, the story becomes contrived and artificial. In addition, the characters themselves, tending to serve as foils for the message, frequently lack credibility because they are extremes in temperament.

The other story, "The Mad Mayor," by Arthur Quiller Couch

uses the same plot formula as that of "Crazy Jane" but despite the fact that it tells a story that has been told over and over again, it is an original. In this case, the plot, like that of "Crazy Jane" has to do with the scorned individual who repays abuse with kindness and, in this case, with mercy. It is the Christ story in a new, but surprisingly effective, guise. According to the introduction to the story it is a retelling of an ancient tale of Cornwall, but it is the telling itself more than the tale, that makes this story exceptional.

"The Mad Mayor" is a story about a widow and her only son who is retarded. The son, although known as the Mounster, is unusually handsome: "he had large gray eyes, features of that regularity which we call Greek, and stood six feet two in his shoes." He is the centre of his mother's world and she of his:

His mother--a tall, silent woman, with an inscrutable face--had supper ready for him when he returned, and often was forced to feed him, while he unlocked his tongue and babbled over the small adventures of the day.

As a joke, the Mounster is chosen to act as Mayor-for-a day and preside over the cases brought before him. He judges these cases with unfailing mercy and uncanny insight and the jeering crowd is gradually subdued and eventually

silenced by his patience and wisdom. But, as his mother has feared all along, he has been able to accomplish this only at supreme sacrifice. As the cases continue to appear before him, he becomes increasingly exhausted and is soon near collapse. Finally, his mother has her way and persuades him to come home with her. She half carries him home, puts him to bed and sits by him, nursing him as best she can. But the strain has been too much, he goes into a convulsion and shortly thereafter, his head in her lap, he dies:

She closed his eyes, smoothed the wrinkles on his tired face and sat watching him for some time. At length she lifted and laid him on the deal-table at full length, bolted the door, put the heavy shutter on the low window and began to light the fire.

For fuel she had a heap of peat-turves and some sticks. Having lit it, she set a crock of water to warm, and undressed the man slowly. Then, the water being ready, she washed and laid him out, chafing his limbs and talking to herself all the while.

"Fair, straight legs," she said, "beautiful body that leaped in my side, forty years back and thrilled me! How proud I was! Why did God make you beautiful?"

There is a poignancy about this gentle story that remains fresh with each reading. The beauty of the story lies in its simplicity where writing matches form.<sup>13</sup> Its pathos emerges from the simple question "Why did God make you beautiful?" a question which allows the quality of the woman's

love for her "demented" child to be expressed in a way that is genuinely moving. The standard TSN story would have the question "Why did God make me suffer?"--and in effect this is the question--but nothing captures the essence of her grief in the way that "Why did God make you beautiful?" does, as it transforms her bewilderment and pain into an eloquent statement of love.

This story prods the reader into making that "steep and lonely climb into the imaginative world" that Frye is speaking of in Bush Garden. Such a story allows the reader to see that love is neither defined nor deterred by social values but thrusts itself upon both the loved and the loving in ways that are unexpected and beyond human understanding. The difference between the two stories lies in their author's approach to the moral question. In the case of "Crazy Jane" the reader is expected to respond emotionally to a situation because he is told it is tragic. In "The Mad Mayor" he is shown its tragic nature and his imagination is appealed to through aesthetically appropriate choices made throughout the story itself. If, however, he is approached purely on the level of conscience, the reader is unable to gain access to the "imaginative world that gives him insight into his own real world" and merely responds out of a sense of duty.

There were not a large number of stories of the calibre of "The Mad Mayor" and most commonly, the better TSN stories were sandwiched between lesser stories, many containing unabashedly contrived endings (it was all a dream!) or utilizing coincidence to solve problems of improbably plot or employing cliches such as "the curse of the drink had fallen upon him" with dismaying frequency. As well, excellent stories like Nikolai Gogol's "The Cloak" (Now translated as "The Overcoat")<sup>14</sup> appeared without any editorial comment while "All Along the River," by a favourite TSN writer, Mary Braddon, was heralded by weeks of advance publicity and yet the plot was trite and the writing had a precious quality to it:

These wedded lovers went out very early next morning to explore the garden and meadows; Isola eager to point out various small improvements which she had made with the help of the old gardener, who would have plunged his hand and arm into the fiery furnace to procure plant or flower which his young mistress desired.

(4 March 1893 p.6.)

Although they did not necessarily constitute fiction of a high quality, the TSN fantasy stories of mystery and suspense offered a distinct change of pace from the didactic and sentimental story of social values.

As with most popular magazines of its day, TSN was preoccupied with the fantastic and bizarre, a fascination

that permeated all departments of the magazine from its fiction to its editorials.<sup>15</sup> Sprinkled with sensational items including an announcement that a minister had preached his own funeral service over his grave with 1000 people in attendance (14 April 1888 p.1.), the magazine regularly featured articles of a bizarre nature. In addition, columns with titles such as the "Queer Corner" focused on oddities such as two headed calves and bearded ladies and informed its readers that there were "6,456 kinds of fear." (20 March 1897 p.7.) Yet while the pages of TSN were dotted with such information and anecdotes, no where was the fascination for the bizarre more prevalent than in the magazine's fiction.

The mystery story, concerned with elements of suspense and shock, had plots of a thrilling nature which also ranged widely in both subject matter and treatment. Varying from the stories of haunted houses to tales of psychological terror, they often focused on guilt and punishment and although they frequently contained a moral, it was less obvious than in the story illustrating social values. The element of surprise was characteristically used in stories of mystery and suspense and puzzles and surprise ending stories were particular favourites with TSN readers. Many of these stories were imitations of those written by

de Maupassant and Wells and Poe and often TSN writers would use old themes but place the stories in new settings. For example, "Three Six and Twenty-Four" by Mable McLean Helliwell (6 August 1892 p.6.) is a story similar to W.W. Jacob's "Monkey's Paw" in that it tells of a man who, in his eagerness to become rich, loses everything that is genuinely important to him. In this case, the story describes an elderly, hard-working, but poor, miner who finds a piece of paper with the number 3-6-24 written on it. Convinced that this is a secret sign from heaven, he risks everything he has using this combination in a gambling game. He loses all and is wandering about at his wits' end wondering how to tell his wife what has happened when suddenly he hears the mine whistle go off. He rushes to the pit only to learn that there are several men trapped below. The first to get down the shaft, he makes a heroic effort to save the man and barely gets them onto an elevator and up to safety when the mine caves in and he is killed. The numbers worn on the miner's caps were 3-6-24.

Ghost stories, with the thrills and terror created by techniques employing surprise, shock and the suspension of natural laws such as those of time and space, were common. Isolation, timelessness and guilt are combined in a story "The Floating Beacon" (17 June 1893 p.10.) where



the loneliness of the setting and the threateningly awesome power of the sea strangely affect the occupants of a lighthouse. The host, a driven man, confesses that one night he was negligent and fell asleep allowing the light of the beacon to go out. As a result he has since been haunted by the catastrophe that followed:

Hundreds of people lay gasping in the water...  
Men, women and children writhed together in  
agonizing struggles and uttered soul-harrowing  
cries.

The guilt that continues to haunt the small group manifests itself in anguished cries from the sea:

Human voices seemed to mingle with the noise of  
the bursting waves, and I often listened intently  
almost in expectation of hearing articulate  
sounds...

After a series of mysterious deaths, the story's protagonist, the last one left alive, spends the rest of his days like the Ancient Mariner, insistently telling his story to anyone who will listen.<sup>16</sup> This was a popular way of beginning ghost stories and many opened in the way that Henry James' The Turn of the Screw does, in a drawing room or den of an upper class home occupied one evening by a number of friends one of whom was compelled to tell his story to the others.

Writers of gothic tales favoured subjects such as madness, the split personality, hypnotism, mesmerism and any other human "aberrations" that could not be freely discussed in

polite Victorian society--at least not with such obvious relish. Paradoxically, the gothic genre's exaggeration created an atmosphere that became clinical in its objectivity for it became possible for a reader to consider the most dreadful of human actions with the same detachment he might have used to study the behaviour of microbes under glass. Within the framework of the gothic genre, limited though it was (characterization was minimal and settings were orchestrated by what is generally described as the gothic mode)<sup>17</sup> there was a remarkable variation in themes whereby both writer and reader examined ideas otherwise forbidden to them by the popular dictates of society.

Typical of such fiction is "The Secret of the Werewolf" (11 January 1890 p.4.) a story by American writer Julian Hawthorne (Nathaniel's son) which had a thematic concern that has received a variety of treatment before and since, but perhaps none quite like that Hawthorne gave it in his tale of the conflict between spiritual and carnal love, a conflict which manifested itself in blood lust and death.<sup>18</sup>

In Hawthorne's examination of essential, but opposing, passions in human nature, he pits the human side of his protagonist's nature, whose desires are those of love and tenderness, against the animal side whose demands are those of lust and violence by insisting that good and evil are

part of the same process:

...the world is wide...and the tree whose branches reach towards heaven has its roots in hell.

The protagonist meets a woman, Irene, who is Catherine to his Heathcliff--but the tenderness her beauty and love inspire in him constitute a threat:

The spirit of the wolf spoke in my mind saying that life was battle and murder, and that he who was fiercest and sternest was the survivor and master. The only enduring monuments to human greatness were those whose stones were cemented with human blood.

He must make a choice. In a conclusion which is bloody and violent he chooses the animal side of his nature and as the two, the wolf and the man, merge in their desire and form, the human side of his nature is submerged and then destroyed as carnality manifests itself in blood lust:

...the fury of slaughter came upon me also, and I threw myself upon him and wrenched him away from her, growling, "She is for me!"

The story ends on a note which is prophetic in its Biblical tone and imagery:

...I rose and looked at him, behold! it was not the wolf that lay there, but my own body, bloody and disfigured; and I, the victor, was the wolf, with grinning fangs and bristling hair. And a spirit, with a face like Irene's, but severe and terrible, stood above me with a drawn sword. Whereupon I uttered a howl of fear and anguish, and, turning, fled as a wolf before the point of the sword, until I lost myself in the desert.

TSN gothic tales are reminiscent of the Greek Tragedies,<sup>19</sup> not simply because these ancient tales were endlessly recounted but also because the characters in the gothic tales were reminiscent of those in the tragedies where, larger than life, attractive and intelligent beyond ordinary men, they were given to matching passions: their love was stronger, their hatred more powerful and their vengeance more horrendous.<sup>20</sup> These extraordinary individuals were invariably led by a demonic villain whose intense will was the motivating force for the events that unfolded.

These two kinds of fiction, the moral story and the tale of mystery and suspense, fulfilled the purpose of the popular magazine such as TSN by providing escape reading, illustrating examples of good behaviour and encouraging values such as honesty, compassion and truthfulness. But there were a number of other TSN stories that went beyond these aims to achieve both originality and freshness. In closing, I would like to discuss one such story "The Two Friends" by Guy de Maupassant, translated by J. Mathewman (18 September 1897 p.4.) which contrasts sharply with the usual TSN technique of introducing drama either through plot manipulation or through a choice of bizarre and extraordinary subjects and instead achieves its effect through understatement and simplicity.

The story begins "Paris, beseiged and famishing, was at its last gasp..." and the author goes on to describe two friends, both middle-aged men, who meet unexpectedly on a Paris street toward the last days of the Franco-Prussian War. Because of the seige by the Prussians there is no food in the city but there is still wine and the two men decide to stop and have a drink together for old times' sake. They begin to reminisce about the old days and their favourite pastime, fishing, and warming to their subject, they have still another drink. In the glow of the wine and the pleasantness of the afternoon their memories begin to take on a special meaning and soon the two are struck with a longing for those times when they

...passed half a day together, rod in hand and feet swinging carelessly above the stream...  
Some days they didn't speak to each other--sometimes they chatted. But having similar tastes and sentiments, they understood each other perfectly without using words.

Impetuously they decide to return to their fishing spot despite the fact that the area lies in the no-man's land between the French and the Prussian forces. They get their fishing gear and shortly, rods in hand, make their way to the river. The fishing is excellent and the two men lose themselves in the pleasure of the moment:

They were penetrated by a delicious joy...The hot sun poured its burning rays on their

shoulders, but they did not notice it...They no longer listened suspiciously for the enemy; they did not even think of the existence of the Prussians, so were they engrossed.

Unbeknown to them, however, they are being surrounded by a number of Prussian soldiers and, within minutes, they are captured and led to the Prussian leader who is camped nearby. It is assumed that since the two have gotten through the French lines they must have a password. (Ironically, we never learn whether or not they actually know the password.) The Prussian captain asks for that word. The two men remain silent. They are asked several times but each time they refuse to answer. By now we have become quite fond of these two because we can identify with their reactions, so their dilemma has become ours. We are appalled, for instance, when we learn that unless they give up the password they are to be shot; we are dismayed when, trembling and anxious but quietly determined, they remain silent. At the final threat, they respond only by saying goodbye to each other and shaking hands. Then, with a gesture that is much more disturbing for its casual, off-hand manner than any angry condemnation might have been, they are shot and their bodies, weighed down with rocks, are flung into the river. As the waters fold over them, the Prussian captain, resting in the warm sunshine and contemplating his dinner

of freshly caught trout, calmly resumes smoking his pipe.

The quiet realism in this story is something rarely attempted in TSN fiction. Because he uses understatement to create his characters and to develop his plot, de Maupassant creates a climate for reader involvement. The story succeeds because its characters are believable, ordinary people whose reactions to the horror of their situation are ones with which the reader can identify. Their conversation is low key and familiar and their actions believable. Because of this, the reader arrives at a much clearer conception of the impersonal quality of the horror and violence of war for, by contrasting the simple values of friendship with the impersonal forces of destruction, de Maupassant makes a powerful statement. And, in contrast to the authorial statements found in most TSN stories, we are almost unaware of the author's hand in the telling, for the story is not written to formula, yet strangely enough, the message it contains is as old as man himself.

Illustrating Percy Lubbock's famous comment that "the art of fiction does not begin until the novelist thinks of his story as a matter to be shown, to be so exhited that it will tell itself,"<sup>21</sup> de Maupassant cradles and shapes his work with tenderness and dedication to craft, creating an emotional response for his reader that does not rely on

sentimentality, but through the art of fiction describes what often even the writer himself, might not otherwise have seen so clearly.

It is unfortunate that only rarely did TSN fiction leave a reader stimulated or expose him to the experience that good literature offers. Why did so much TSN fiction fail? There were a number of reasons, as we have seen, among them the lack of originality and the acceptance of sentimentality as a means of generating emotion in a reader. In addition, because an essential part of the writer's craft lies with his ability to provide a balance between the psychological presentation of character and the plot--which is determined to a large extent by the nature of his characters--if the balance is missing we are left disappointed. Because formula writing induced the play of extreme opposites, it produced stereotyped characters. To add to the problem, TSN fiction had a self-perpetuating image: publication suggested approbation. Writers eagerly supplied messages to readers who, conditioned by their reading, fully expected to always see justice done, good rewarded and evil punished. The result was that characters and plots repeated themselves over and over in TSN fiction without view to quality or originality. In essence, the popular fiction in TSN, while



it succeeded in the magazine's aims to educate and entertain, failed to stimulate more serious literature. The lack of authorial detachment, of balance between plot and characters, as well as the use of contrivance, coincidence and sentimentality, all devices of the popular melodrama, failed to spark the imagination, to generate an objectivity unfettered by self consciousness, to create what Frye describes as a "conscious mythology": that "autonomous world that gives us an imaginative perspective on the actual one." Instead of prodding the reader into making the "steep and lonely climb" into the world of discovery and imagination, TSN moral fiction tended to sooth him into accepting the "social" mythology of the time.

Some writers can take a simple theme and turn it into a masterpiece by shaping it carefully as a potter shapes a vase on a wheel. A good craftsman is successful in part because he knows his craft but also because intuitively he frees his material when it appears intent upon having its own way; the result is that perfect blend of craft and inspiration which results in a thing of beauty and a work of art. Most of the stories in TSN stand like a row of identical little vases on a shelf, tidy, but uninspiring.

Footnotes

<sup>1</sup>For a discussion of the fiction by Canadian writers in TSN see Chapter IV. Saturday Night Scrapbook says Sheppard saw some of E. Pauline Johnson's early work in an American magazine and asked her for material for TSN. (p.1.) Her work continued to appear in the magazine during the Sheppard era and along with numerous sketches and stories she had about two dozen poems published in the magazine, many of them for the first time.

<sup>2</sup>Gordon Roper, "New Forces: New Fiction," Literary History of Canada. Second edition. Volume I. General editor Carl F. Klinck. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), p.288.

<sup>3</sup>The first of a series appeared in 1888. Called The Family Herald series by Sheppard, each part was published simultaneously in England and Canada, as well as in other countries. See: 11 August 1888 p.6., for details. The stories were most often set in England and were written by popular writers such as Mary Braddon. Serialized novels were a favourite for simultaneous publication--but then serials were extremely popular at any time with TSN readers. In addition to regularly publishing these in TSN, the Sheppard Publishing Company (Sheppard's own company, formed to set up TSN itself) acted as the Canadian agent for Tillotson and Son of Bolton, England and made the Tillotson serial rights available to other magazines and newspapers in Canada during the late 1880s. On 30 July 1888 p.6. a long list of serial rights purchased by TSN appeared. It included Thomas Hardy's Under the Greenwood Tree; W.E. Norris' No New Thing; Emile Zola's L'Assommoir; Wilkie Collins' Woman in White; Oudia's Under Two Flags; and Rider Haggard's King Solomon's Mines, among others. Before any could be published in TSN, however, there were some problems with the financial arrangements and the deal fell through; consequently, none of them ever did appear in TSN itself.

<sup>4</sup>In addition, many of the stories in the first few years were reprints from magazines such as The Argonaut, Stories and Harpers.

<sup>5</sup>The two stories referred to here are "The Red Apron" (Christmas Number 1890 p.38.) and "The Wailing Woman" (31 March 1888 p.5.) discussed in footnote #19.

Footnotes (cont'd)

<sup>6</sup>See Chapter IV for a discussion of regional settings. For many of the stories in TSN, the settings were deliberately left vague--one suspects in order to appeal to a wider audience. When there is a clear effort by the writer to identify a specific setting as Canadian I have tried to include this information in my discussion. It is not always easy to determine where a story is set and often one must make an assumption from the details given. For example, one assumes that a story is set in Britain when the characters have names such as "Lady Ermintude Garstin." ("Dolly's Lesson" 14 July 1888 p.5.) Many Canadian locations were equally difficult to pin down. In "Anne's Paris Gown" the line "I have been to Montreal twice." is the only indication that the story is set in Canada. Often the only distinction drawn as to locality was between "the city" and "the country."

<sup>7</sup>While there is an element of moralizing in the fiction of mystery writers, it differs from the general didactic fiction and like R.K. Webb, I am inclined to see mystery fiction primarily as entertainment:

...there was a wide interest in crime. To some improvers, full criminal reports seemed valuable because in pointing to the penalties of crime they contributed to the civilizing process by which the reformers set so much store; others contended that such reports pandered to depraved tastes. Both extremes of moralizing were beside the point. Reading about crime was a form of entertainment--for all practical purposes morally neutral...

"The Victorian Reading Public," The Pelican Guide to English Literature 6  
(Markham: Penguin, 1976) p.220.

<sup>8</sup>A story that typifies this use of coincidence is "His Christmas Angel" by Isobel Holmes which features a series of coincidences by which a child saves the life of a bitter man just released from prison. First, the child catches sight of him on a street corner and, struck by the sad expression on his face, gives him three oranges. Her kindness has an extraordinary effect on him:

Footnotes (cont'd)

She had been an angel of mercy to him...She had put out her little hand and saved him from crime and hunger and despair.

(Christmas Number 1888 p.10.)

The dramatic nature of this reaction is compounded when the man begins wandering about the city's streets and just happens to be passing a church at the very moment this same little girl's dress catches fire. Spotting the danger, he rushed into the church and saves her by putting out the fire with his bare hands. When he is sought out by the child's father, who is eager to express his gratitude, we learn that the father is the same man he robbed many years earlier. The story concludes with the father about to reward the man for his heroism and to restore him to a respectable position in society.

Occasionally, plots were twisted to suit solutions that were not only unrealistic but absurd. In "A Triumph of Realism" by W.L.E., an author is tied to a "foolish" wife. He takes her to a play he has written--anonymously--and there on stage she sees herself as others see her; a vain, silly and self-centered woman, and is so horrified by her "real" self she dies from shock. (12 October 1895 p.9.)

<sup>9</sup>"Dolly's Lesson" 14 July 1888 p.5.

<sup>10</sup>"An Up To Date Patient" typifies the connection made between work and mental and physical well-being. The story presents an unusual angle in that it features a young well-to-do girl who is stricken with a psychological problem (described as "an insane self-consciousness") because she is rich. The storyteller, a nurse, presents the diagnosis and then goes on to suggest a solution to the girl's predicament:

I want her to see poverty--honest poverty. I want her to come closely into contact with Nature. I want to try and show her that there is something spiritual in life. I want to try and kill her insane self-consciousness and make a woman of her.

(16 April 1898 p.4.)

The story poses the view that it is the poor who are to be envied for it is the poor who have the opportunity to gain the satisfaction of their labours:

Footnotes (cont'd)

The women who toiled and laboured, the men who had to earn their daily bread by the sweat of their brow...how much they were all to be envied in comparison with the poor unhappy child of wealth...

<sup>11</sup>Northrop Frye, The Bush Garden (Toronto: Anansi, 1971) p.236.

<sup>12</sup>Another standard story was the more commercial version of "Crazy Jane." In "A Paying Investment" (22 December 1888 p.10.) by P.B.M. two children are befriended by a rich man who gives each "a share in a newly organized company" when he sees them begging on a city street. The man forgets the children only to run into them many years later when they are young adults. He has lost his wealth and is destitute and now, they, in turn, befriend him. As the title suggests, he has made a "paying" investment.

<sup>13</sup>My only criticism would be with the way the story ends. The mother closes up the house shutters, sets a great fire burning in the fireplace and sits down beside the body of her son. As the fire burns it draws all the oxygen from the room and she dies in her sleep before morning. My feeling is that the story should have ended with the death of the son.

<sup>14</sup>"The Cloak" appeared 12 December 1891 p.6.

<sup>15</sup>For example, "The Secret of the Scaffold" describes the details of a man in France being guillotined. (3 August 1889 p.5.) Questions about such a "gruesome but important" subjects as decapitation were common: "Does consciousness remain after the victim's head is severed from the body?" ran the title of another article. (8 December 1888 p.7.) In addition, new fads offered new subjects. Mesmer's theories were in vogue and hypnotism was a favoured topic as well. "The Story of a Skull" by Alex F. Porier was about the power of hypnotism as it was used to extract a confession from a man who committed a murder. There was an atmosphere of the occult connected with subjects such as mental telepathy and extrasensory perception and these subjects had a

Footnotes (cont'd)

particular appeal for Canadian writers. They wrote stories and articles with titles like "Mental Telegraphy" and "Nevil Craddock's Phonogram" (16 March 1889 p.5.) Interestingly, they also tried to deal with inexplicable manifestations realistically and through the current theories of psychology. In "The Touch of a Vanished Hand" by Reverend J. Smiley, a Canadian writer popular with TSN, the subject was a split personality, or as the story refers to it, an "alter ego." The tale begins with a typical gothic touch, the finding of a curious old manuscript which turns out to be a diary. The story opens "I am a preacher of the gospel and believe I am becoming insane." As the diary progresses we are able to trace the gradual progression of the man's illness until finally his personality is completely submerged and the diary ends abruptly. For a detailed discussion of Canadian writers and their fascination for the bizarre and sensational subjects see Chapter IV.

<sup>16</sup>This role of guilt was the common denominator in TSN ghost fiction. Laws of time and space, generally regarded as immutable by man, when broken create an uncertainty within the protagonist that convinces him that the fault for the breaking lies with him. Whether taking the form of universal guilt or original sin--each man's inheritance from the old Adam--or more personal guilt resulting from specific deeds, the TSN ghost fiction relied on the element of guilt with surprising consistency.

<sup>17</sup>Gothic fiction is generally described as a genre in itself:

...the Gothic tale is customarily identified both by a limited group of stock images, characters, and devices used in combination and by the principal aesthetic intent of arousing pleasurable, nonmoral horror.

Rene Wellek, Austin Warren, Theory of Literature. (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1942) p.243.

Because I have found it difficult to classify these stories of mystery and suspense, I have simply referred to them as that--the one exception being the gothic story which is more clearly defined.

Footnotes (cont'd)

<sup>18</sup> Although his name is seldom recognized today, the work of Julian Hawthorne, Nathaniel Hawthorne's son, was popular in his own time. In his book on Hawthorne, Maurice Bassan says that Hawthorne, who wrote gothic fiction exclusively, "argued the case for fiction merely as entertainment." His description of Hawthorne is useful:

...in an age of giants like Clemens and James-- to speak only of his American contemporaries-- Hawthorne was a pygmy. He was a fascinating but shallow man, and his works reflect more of the shallowness than of the fascination... Yet, surprisingly, there are quite genuine if rare treasures scattered here and there in the works of the younger Hawthorne, treasures that ought to be recovered unapologetically.

Maurice Bassan, Hawthorne's Son.  
Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1970) p.ix.

<sup>19</sup> For example, the Greek tragedy of Jason and Medea appeared as "The Wailing Woman," (31 March 1888 p.5.) an unsigned story set in Mexico, which tells of a woman who kills her own children because their father is unfaithful to her and betrays the family by marrying another woman. Doomed to haunt the streets of the city, her ghost wails in eternal anguish as she bemoans her terrible crime.

<sup>20</sup> For a sample of such a tale of vengeance see "The Lord of Sullane" (3 April 1897 p.6.) by Julian Hawthorne. The story details the grisley events which led up to the haunting of a castle in a strange and horrifying case of an aged lord's revenge on his young and unfaithful wife. When he suspects that she has a lover, Lord Sullane has good reason to doubt that the child she bore him is his. Disguising himself as a servant he attends them as his wife entertains her lover at dinner. They are so delighted with the meal he serves them, they beg to know what "tender animal" he has used. He allows himself to be coaxed and then suggests that since he still has the head of the animal, he will bring it to them. He returns to the room with a tray and hands it to the woman. She takes off the cover and sees in the dish "the head of her own son." The wife is driven mad and Lord Sullane's monstrous revenge is completed with the murder of the lover.

<sup>21</sup> Percy Lubbock, The Craft of Fiction. (London: Jonathan Cate, 1921) p.62.

## Chapter IV

Toronto Saturday Night Canadian Fiction: Problems  
Between Editor and Writer, Between Writer and Reader

## A Cold Day

The poet in front of the editor stood  
And said with a little cough:  
"I thought I would bring you a little thing--  
A thing I have just dashed off."

The editor rose from his ivory chair,  
With a passion his features wrought:  
"I want no things that are 'just dashed off'  
I want the results of thought."

He closed with a snap his ebony desk,  
The poet he rudely gripped,  
And bearing his load to the street below  
The editor blithely tripped.

He staggered beneath the weight he bore.  
But bravely kept his feet.  
He carried the bard to the lower floor  
And dashed him into the street.

A stranger passing, the act observed,  
"Why, what is the row?" said he.  
The editor said: "'Tis a little thing  
I have just dashed off you see."

(9 June 1888 p.7.)

Although Edmund Sheppard consistently sought to encourage Canadian writers,<sup>1</sup> as the foregoing bit of doggerel suggests, the task was not without its difficulties. From the time he began as editor in 1887 until he retired in 1906,



Sheppard alternately coaxed, cajoled and criticized in an effort to encourage Canadian writers to write more for TSN. In addition to putting out special series he featured literary supplements that were exclusively Canadian.<sup>2</sup> The peak periods for Canadian writing in TSN were in the late eighties and again in the mid-eighties and nineties when Sheppard was running these series and literary supplements in order to feature Canadian short stories and poetry. These supplements and series constitute the bulk of Canadian writing in TSN for the number of Canadian stories published in the magazine itself were outweighed by contributions from foreign writers. Successful in part because they were exclusively Canadian but also because they provided a broad variety of fiction for the reader's pleasure, the supplements featured action-and-adventure stories, fantasy tales of mystery and suspense, historical romances and fiction in a light, humorous vein all of which offered their readers hours of escape entertainment.

The stories, ranging from one to five pages in length, took up most of the space in Sheppard's supplements, but there was always at least one page devoted to poetry and one or two articles on subjects of particular interest to Canadians of that period, often a travel or historical piece. Illustrations, engravings, and, later on, photo-

graphs were an important part of each supplement's appeal with the advertisements relegated to the first and last pages.

Although they ran throughout the twenty years that Sheppard was editor of TSN, the supplements appeared only intermittently during his last years at the magazine and it was the first few issues particularly, that received his greatest attention. Months before the first supplement appeared, Sheppard, confident of its forthcoming success, prepared his readers:

In its artistic features it has aimed at merit rather than showiness, and in this respect it will be found to have come nearer to Canadian life than any publication ever issued in this country...The best illustrators in Canadian will be found represented in its pages and the beautiful engravings from their drawings and paintings would be creditable to the most pretentious pictorial publications of the Old World. The literary part of the paper has been carefully selected and a sufficient guarantee of its excellence is that most of it is the work of writers whose names are household words throughout the Dominion.

(30 November 1888 p.6.)

The first "all-Canadian" section of the magazine did not appear separate from the magazine itself, but was a few pages of the 25 December 1888 issue devoted to Canadian writing featuring a number of stories and sketches along with numerous poems on the subject of Christmas. The focus was obviously Canadian, for the writers made an effort to estab-

blish Canadian settings and even the titles of those first pieces suggested a Canadian landscape: "Christmas at Ingle Farm," "A Backwood's Christmas," "A Below Zero Christmas," and "A Dance at Deadman's Crossing: A Christmas Story of the Canadian Northwest." The success of this all-Canadian section was such that TSN went on to feature an entirely separate supplement in the summer of 1890. Called "Canada's Summer" this supplement, or "number" as it was referred to, set the pattern for those to follow.

Introduced with the bombastic, self-confident tone so typical of Edmund Sheppard--he describes TSN as the favourite society and literary journal of Canada" (p.3.)--the first separate supplement to TSN was extensively illustrated with copies of paintings and original drawings done especially for the magazine. Because of a printing problem, this first separate supplement, originally intended for publication in the summer of 1889, was held over to July of 1890. By that time Sheppard had accumulated enough Canadian material to produce a magazine in itself. Containing nearly forty pages, the supplement cost fifty cents and was advertised as "a characteristic Canadian publication" by "Canadian" writers.<sup>3</sup>

Illustrations by Canadian artist G.A. Reid established the Canadian themes. "Mortgaging the Homestead" was the

title of one painting describing a family, faces anxious, as they sat at the kitchen table in their farm home about to sign the papers for a mortgage. Several of Reid's other paintings were on mining camp life in Canada with titles like "Evening in Camp," "The Rope Ferry," "The Dining Tent" and "Listening in Silence," featuring scenes and settings common to Canadian mining life at the time.

Scattered among the pages of that first Summer Number were the poems which added to Reid's pictures of life in Canada by focusing on the beauty of the varying seasons. E. Pauline Johnson's "The Idlers" appropriately described a Canadian summer:

The maple mantled hill  
The little yellow beach whereon we lie.  
The puffs of heated breeze.  
All sweetly whisper these  
Are days that only come in a Canadian July.

Charles G.D. Roberts's poem "Indian Summer" pictured autumn in Canada as the touch which "set the breathing hills afire/ With amethyst," while Ed Sandys paid tribute to the beauty of the Canadian Rockies in his long poem "Cathedral Peak" and Nicholas Flood Davin established a sense of place with his rendering of the changing seasons on the prairies, a land he described in his poem "Prairie Sonnets" as dotted with "hummocks" and "gophers."

In addition to the poetry, there were a number of short stories in the first supplement. The writers of fiction, however, less intent on presenting eloquent tributes, drew scenes about the practical realities of frontier life. "Only a Younger Son" by Seranus (Mrs. S.F. Harrison) featured a Canadian mining town as the setting for a story that described a "sawdust choked" river leading away from a "settlement of shanties, log cabins and miners" in a story that did not attempt to gloss over the country's roughness.<sup>4</sup>

The content of TSN's supplements continued to adhere to the patterns established in this early issue. Featuring Canadian settings and dealing with Canadian content, they were written by both amateur and professional writer. Early on Sheppard sent letters to Canada's leading authors requesting manuscripts for his supplements with the result that the contributors were frequently some of the better known writers in Canada such as Charles G.D. Roberts, E. Pauline Johnson, Mrs. S.F. Harrison, W.W. Campbell, Marjory MacMurchy, Luke Barr and Grant Allen.<sup>5</sup>

Throughout the entire period Sheppard was editor of TSN he encouraged Canadian writers to submit to the magazine. By offering prizes for the best poetry and fiction and by running columns devoted to books and authors--many of which paid tribute to Canadian authors specifically<sup>6</sup>--he supported

the idea of a Canadian literature that was separate from either that of Britain or the United States. Moreover, he offered advice, encouragement and, occasionally, criticism, to help writers in a task that he regarded as a vocation:

...the young men or women who propose to devote themselves to Canadian literature and research, should avoid those responsibilities which will make others dependent upon them. They should give themselves up to their work as thoroughly and as devoutly as the priest who lays aside the world and takes up the cross to follow his Master. Yet the very sacrifices which will have to be made must beautify the life of him who makes them and the history of the country for which they are made. Out of the labors and privations of those who thus devote themselves to their country will come the bright and beautiful light which will show to the nations the birth of a new life, the awakening of a national soul.

(2 November 1895 p.1.)

Although it was not always followed, much of the advice Sheppard gave to beginning writers was good. In an article titled "Hints to Young Writers" he suggested writers "serve an apprenticeship" in order to learn the writing "business." (2 March 1889 p.6.) In an editorial the following year he quoted Carlyle's advice to writers: "Be sincere and you will be original" before going on to add some constructive hints of his own:

After you have finished your first copy take a blue lead pencil and go over and cross out every adverb and adjective. Read it over twice without them and you will probably never put them in again.

In the same article he discussed the use of "polysyllabic" names (those chosen with the idea of impressing the reader) and made a suggestion that he was to repeat a number of times:

...make your characters say nothing which you would not say under similar circumstances and you will be sure of one thing at least--what you write will not be absurd.

(4 October 1890 p.1.)

He regularly admonished writers to write simply and clearly, using language that was familiar to them: "It is all very well to write elegant English: it is better to write common sense." (2 November 1889 p.1.) He advised those wishing to become writers to "write a journal":

Even a very ordinarily written memoir or diary of passing events, if characterized by outspokenness and close observation, would make its author celebrated.

(2 February 1889 p.6.)

Aside from providing a platform for their work and offering advice, Sheppard encouraged Canadian writers on an individual basis. Hector Charlesworth credits him with the discovery of a number of talented journalists: "I do not think any Canadian editor ever showed better judgement than Sheppard in discerning newspaper ability."<sup>7</sup> It was Sheppard's support of novice writers, however, that drew Charlesworth's greatest praise:

...to his eternal honour [Sheppard] always encouraged beginners and may be said to have discovered most of the writers who attained prominence in Canada in the period from 1885 to 1900. 8

While Charlesworth's claim is perhaps exaggerated, there is certainly enough evidence to suggest that it was at least partially justified. Charlesworth credits Sheppard with the discovery of E. Pauline Johnson: "the first to recognize her genius..." and Reuben Butchart claims that among others, Sheppard "helped lead forward" Sara Jeannette Duncan.<sup>9</sup> (1 January 1938 p.12.)

From all this encouragement, the supplements, the special series for Canadian writers only, and Sheppard's personal support and interest, one might expect that TSN published great numbers of Canadian stories, but surprisingly, with the exception of the Canadian writing in the supplements, this was not the case. Despite all the editorial support, advice, criticism--and even the contests run for Canadian writers--one is struck by the irony that although Sheppard was enthusiastically promoting Canadian literature, his magazine was, by contrast, printing remarkably little of it.<sup>10</sup> Instead of Canadian stories by Canadian story tellers, in the early years particularly, TSN relied almost exclusively on stories selected from other magazines, the majority of which were published originally in Britain or the United



States. Furthermore, the quality of what was published by Canadian writers, with only a few exceptions, was disappointing. Why was so little Canadian fiction published and why was its quality so poor? In part, the answer to this question is related to the nature of the fiction itself. Aside from its major feature--the concentrated effort to use Canadian settings--the work of Canadian writers, like that of TSN writers as a whole, failed in terms of technique and craft, and was, at best, typical of the popular fiction of the day: written to formula, imitative and suffering from sentimental treatment, stock characterizations and commonplace themes. In addition, external forces shaped the content of the magazine and affected the relationship between editor and writer, writer and reader hampering the development of an original literature. In order to address the questions raised by the contradictions apparent in the magazine, the first section of this chapter will describe the characteristics of the fiction, while the second will examine the difficult conditions that existed for the writer at this time.

Because Canadian writers imitated the style and content of American and British popular magazine writers, all the handicaps that moralizing in fiction presented to the TSN writer-at-large, were also those of the Canadian writers. Still, while the dominant characteristics of Canadian writing

were typical of those of TSN fiction in general, there were two characteristics that distinguished Canadian fiction: the use of local colour and subject matter, and the tendency to prefer practical solutions in stories of mystery and suspense.

Many Canadian writers, particularly those whose work appeared in the supplements, made an effort to identify their settings as Canadian, and as well as using place names, employed terminology familiar to the locale and time period. For example, the prize-winning story in Sheppard's Christmas supplement for 1891, "An Episode at Red Rock" by Marjorie MacMurchy, a regular writer for TSN, was set in a small town on the railroad. MacMurchy used local diction familiar to Canadians in describing the country as "hard pan" and "muskeg" and in speaking of a "tote road" that led to a "shanty" in a countryside filled with the "shrill, sharp song of the grasshoppers." Another favourite setting of MacMurchy's, the farm, appeared in "One Summer Morning" where she described a scene familiar to many Canadians even today

...the smell of hay and clover. Behind the hay field there were other fields of grain, then the woods. Farther down the road was another white house. Beyond that was the beach and the Bay of Chaleur...the Gaspé hills rose and fell in round peaks and deep valleys.

(Christmas Number 1890 p.13.)

Unfortunately, a number of these regional stories suffered from their author's too obvious effort to depict Canadian "colour." Particularly susceptible to exaggeration and to detail which created absurdity in both people and landscape, regional stories were often contrived. Because they were uncertain about their technique, Canadian writers often imitated the style used by American Western writers and this created artificiality. Often, in an effort to capture the flavour of regional language, TSN American writers used dialogue that occasionally became a parody of language:

Young gal, when that ar train toots her whistle, we've got some work for you. An official duty, as you might call it. You must get out thar on the platform and signal the train to stop an' take on some first class passengers. An lookee here, if you make a suspicious move, or don't swing the red lamp in the proper way, we'll just ventilate that graceful body with bullets.

"Trapped by Telegraph" (8 September 1888 p.5.)

Rather than presenting a genuine recreation of the relationship that exists between language and environment, these writers often seemed to be trying to articulate the "quaintness" of a region's language and this invariably put a strain on language itself. In addition, in their eagerness to present a Canadian setting and an authentic Canadian landscape, many authors ignored the requirements of good storytelling. As William H. Magee notes in his study "Local

## Colour in Canadian Fiction"

The pride in local colour that gripped Canadian literature early in the twentieth century squeezed the life out of fiction because the storytellers fumbled their technique. 11

Magee suggests the artist's problem was to discover "A new technique appropriate to his primary interest." Among TSN's Canadian writers, however, the landscape or local colour motif, too often became a substitute for technique, with writers attempting to create local colour by simply exaggerating characteristics they believed were identifiably Canadian. "Ich Dein" (8 October 1898 p.4.) reprinted from Catholic World and introduced as a "Canadian story by a Canadian writer" written by Elizabeth Angel Henry, typifies the problem of local colour stories. In a story where technique is made subordinate to the local colour motif, Henry tries to capture something of the essence of Canadian life by featuring characters from a variety of ethnic and cultural backgrounds. However, unable to see beyond a "crazy quilt" of nationalities, she concentrates wholly on labelling or otherwise identifying the various origins of her characters. Choosing a title to acknowledge the German element in Canada, she adds a subtitle: "A Fragment of Royalty" to create the impression of a Canadian aristocracy. One of her characters is a young prince who turns out to be the Prince of Wales, another

is an "eminent Scotch Lawyer" and her hero is characterized as a "wholesome specimen of Irish-Canadian manhood, with the breeziness of the fields in his manly bearing." As well as mentioning the Germans, the English, the Scots and the Irish, Henry includes a reference to Canada's Native population in the place name, "Squaw Lake." Unhappily, in her eagerness to establish a sense of place and to provide local colour and atmosphere, the author's excessive details regarding ethnic and cultural characteristics turn these characteristics into eccentricities and, despite her good intentions, she creates caricatures of the very people she is trying to give recognition to. So strangely enough, the very feature which should have given Canadian fiction its singularity--its local colour--often failed miserably for what was intended to be realistic and original became banal and contrived. To compound the problem, not only did few writers succeed in capturing Canadian atmosphere; proportionately few even attempted it. Most TSN Canadian writers were content to imitate the more successful fiction locales preferred by writers from Britain and the United States which were frequently drawing rooms in London or Boston or the western American campfire settings chosen by the writers of Western fiction. For most Canadian TSN writers--beyond those whose work appeared in the supplements--plot, character and setting were more appealing if they originated from out-

side the country.

One characteristic that might be said to distinguish the work of the Canadian TSN writers from that of their British and American counterparts was the subject matter of their humour and satire. As in Sheppard's fiction, this preference suggested as much about the writer behind the work as the work itself. The magazine's fiction often provided a forum for Canadian writers and their tendency to mock attitudes and institutions reveals something of the Canadian character of the time. They poked fun at politicians farmers, salesmen and housewives and mimicked the self-satisfied, the intolerant, the hypocritical and the pretentious in their society, mocking both individuals and institutions alike.

It was common among Canadian writers to use fairy tales, legends and myths but transplant the location to a Canadian setting. One of the stories in an early supplement "A Modern Cinderella" (Christmas Number 1890 p.27.) by Celia Cole, illustrates something of the style and tone of the humour used by Canadian writers. Seen through the eyes of an indulgent narrator, the story features a heroine, Ella, who, instead of being confined exclusively to the kitchen as she is in the fairy tale, is also to be found "in the back room arranging a great heap of books in the bookcase." Cole appears to be thoroughly enjoying herself as she creates her

characters against an "aristocratic" Toronto background complete with coachmen, elegant balls and dignified drawing room conversations. While Cinderella is pictured as a young woman deprived of her former "independence" as a result of her father's marriage, the wicked stepmother is introduced as a designing widow, who, although very poor, is always "very grandly dressed," and the fairy godmother, Mrs. Wentworth, is a harried eccentric dominated by her bad-tempered coachman. Mrs. Wentworth comes to Ella's rescue by dressing her in a borrowed set of clothes rather than the usual elegant ensemble we have come to expect from Cinderella stories, and by buying her a "suitable" hat enroute to the event where Ella is to meet her "prince." The conclusion describes Cinderella rushing from the ballroom, leaping into a buggy, and crying "To Bloor Street!"

The willingness to laugh at themselves and their institutions was a refreshing characteristic of Canadian writers who wrote satirically on subjects ranging from this attempt to put Cinderelle's magic into Toronto's Bloor Street to mock adventure stories which poked fun at one of Canada's most sacred institutions: the N.W.M.P. The latter, a favourite subject for writers of action especially in the later years, was the object of a number of spoofs, among them "The Hero of Pine Ridge" a satire by A. C. Kenneys of Pincher

Creek, Alberta. (6 October 1900 p.4.) Kenneys depicts his hero, the "local limb of the law," as a Mounted Policeman who not only suffers the indignity of having to borrow a horse, but, as it turns out, is quite unable to ride the horse and has to be steadied by one cowboy while another leads the animal for him.

But while the impression of the Canadian writer as a down-to-earth-individual who had few romantic notions comes through in the satire that appeared in the pages of TSN, it is even more apparent in the murder, mystery and suspense story. In addition to taking themselves less seriously than one might expect, Canadian writers tended to favour the natural explanation for phenomena familiar to ghost and gothic fiction and to modify the more sensational elements common to these stories.

Bizarre ghost and gothic tales were especially popular among TSN readers. As Margot Northey points out in her examination of the gothic and grotesque in Canadian novels of this same period, there was a literary trend in the Victorian period for a form of fiction that she describes as "music in a minor key":

...beside the attachment to sentimental fiction in the nineteenth century and the growth of realism, the urge for darker fantasy, in which



the terrible and terrifying promptings of the spirit could be imaginatively recreated, was a continuing, countervailing literary force. 12

With titles like "A Bride From the Grave" (15 October 1892 p.8.) and "The Withered Hand" (24 March 1888 p.5.) these tales were part of the trend that measured a book's success by the number of murders it contained: TSN advertised Zola's "newest" novel as having "five murders in it." (29 June 1889 p.7.) This fascination was not confined to the popular magazine as Gordon Roper notes in "New Forces: New Fiction":

The mystery structure probably had become the most common structural pattern for nineteenth-century fiction, serious as well as light. 13

While fantasy stories of mystery and suspense were popular throughout the twenty years under study, there was a marked increase in numbers in the mid-nineties when, as well as promoting Canadian writing through his supplements, Sheppard encouraged writers to submit to a special series of short stories he initiated in the fall of 1894. Called "Our Weekly Story," occasionally subtitled "A Canadian Original Story for TSN," the series attracted numerous entries and in the first three months of the series, over half of the stories had to do with ghosts, murders, or supernatural events. Interestingly, in this series Canadian writers were able to duplicate the chilling atmosphere of suspense and horror used successfully by writers from

outside the country by featuring a Canadian setting--the wilderness or the vast prairie--to create terror of isolation and fear of loneliness. For example, "The Ghost Seer" (17 November 1894 p.9.) a story concerned with the guilt of a man who kills his nephew, a child, in order to inherit money, features an isolated setting on the Canadian prairies where the narrator finds himself after leaving a train that has been stopped by a landslide. He travels some distance before suddenly coming upon a splendid mansion set alone in the middle of a vast, bleak prairie. The mansion is well lit for a party is underway and as he looks in a window, prepared to knock, he catches sight of a man taking a candle and setting its flame against the paper costume of a child. The child is immediately engulfed in flames and as the narrator watches in horror the murderer chases the child down the hall and smothers the flames but not before the child has suffered fatal burns. Shocked at what he has just seen, the narrator covers his eyes with his hands momentarily and when he pulls them away the scene has vanished and he is alone in an empty prairie field. The reader is treated to a moment of terror heightened by the scene which contrasts the European style mansion against the flat and lonely Canadian prairie, a landscape in which such a mansion is clearly out of place.

For Canadian writers, the conventions for the "well-made" story--the one "so deliberately constructed as to engage interest, however trivial its subject"<sup>14</sup> written by de Maupassant and, in later years, O. Henry and Julian Hawthorne--were modified to present a natural rather than supernatural resolution. While using supernatural phenomena to create interest and excitement, Canadian writers unravelled the mystery through explanation and generally, treated the symptoms rather than the cause. For example, the fears about the dangers associated with "a full moon" are dismissed in a story by H. Cockin, "Christmas Eve in the Madhouse" (Christmas Number 1888) where Cockin describes the behaviour of a man who is subject to attacks of madness when the moon is full. The solution to his problem is remarkably simple: when he discovers that the man responds to a well-lit room, his doctor keeps the room brightly lit all night and gradually restores the man to normality.<sup>15</sup>

Not only was superstition often impatiently dispatched but it was the habit among Canadian ghost story writers to justify the actions of ghosts and occasionally, to even rationalize the behaviour of these apparitions thereby engaging the reader's interest, sympathy and amusement. This tendency to favour rational explanation was also true in the

the gothic story which depended heavily on supernatural devices for effect. In "La Loup Garou" (Christmas Number 1894) Clifford Smith uses gothic devices such as a full moon and howling wolves to set the scene for his story and creates a gothic atmosphere by providing elements of surprise, suspense and shock, as well as alternating images of light with dark and silence with sound--all part of the gothic mode. Then, however, he systematically argues away the "unexplainable" by presenting a logical explanation for a seemingly illogical event.<sup>16</sup>

In Smith's story an elderly French Canadian farmer and his wife are driven to despair by the behaviour of their only son, Pierre, who drinks, carouses and refuses to go to church. Torn between their love for their son and the rules of their religion, the old people are desperate with worry. As well as being religious, they are superstitious and when they hear that unless their son goes to confession he will be turned into a wolf, they are inclined to believe it.<sup>17</sup> One night when Pierre is late they hear the howl of an animal "baying at the moon" and open the cottage door to see a dog coming across the fields toward them, They believe the soul of their son is trapped in the body of the animal and can only be released by the drawing of the animal's

blood. The old man hesitates, but the woman, driven to distraction by fear, rushes out and attempts to nick the animal with a knife in order to draw blood. The dog, startled by her unexpected appearance, and terrified by her attack, turns on her and fatally wounds her. Seconds later, her son appears on the roadway from town. The shock of the experience is too much for the father and he too dies shortly thereafter while the young man, reformed by the loss of his family, is left to live on alone.

Because Smith offers a psychological explanation for the extraordinary behaviour of the characters in his narrative, he achieves the mood of the gothic but not a supernatural resolution as was the case with most gothic fiction by American and British writers.

Aside from these features--the use of local colour and subject matter in the supplements particularly, the humour in their fiction, and the preference for the rational explanation in the story of mystery and suspense--the work of Canadian writers remained very like that of American and British writers throughout the Sheppard years. Sheppard himself continued to speak warmly of the talents and abilities of Canada's authors, and his supplements drew vast audiences and invariably sold out every issue. As well as

this, his contests, receiving numerous entries, encouraged amateur and professional alike. However, the quality of Canadian fiction was disappointing. It appears that the question of quality, for the writer of popular fiction at least, was secondary. Certainly the fact that proportionately little of the fiction in TSN was Canadian was not due to a lack of Canadian writers. There was an enthusiastic interest in writing and Canadian writers were being published as never before:

From 1888 to the First World War years, about 50 Canadians established themselves as professional or semi-professional writers, and much of their work was fiction. About two-thirds of the fifty were men. A few made comfortable livings by their pens; more supplemented incomes from journalism, editorial work, or freelancing by writing fiction; some were ministers who wrote fiction to extend their ministry; some were wives of ministers or professional men; a few were teachers, lawyers, or doctors....About 200 of the some 400 who published wrote only one or two volumes. Some of these were men or women in small communities who published one volume at their own expense, and then no more. 18

If the comments on TSN's editorial pages are an indication, the numbers of writers in Canada were considered to be "epidemic" by the editorial staff--among them "Mack" (Joseph E. Clark) who took over the first page editorials when Sheppard was away:<sup>19</sup>

Ninety per cent of the population in Ontario can read and write, according to the latest Government report on the subject, and probably

twenty-five percent of these make more or less pretentious efforts at writing fiction.

Nor was the shortage of Canadian stories due to a lack of contributions by Canadian writers. The magazine was apparently inundated with manuscripts most of which were poor quality:

The writers of the present day produce a good deal of "stuff" about nothing...The treatment of the plots chosen for short stories is nearly always inartistic and unpardonably raw...hosts of those who, under no circumstances, could contribute one new idea to the existing stock, are whacking away to the terror of the editorial profession and the dismay of helpless readers.

(2 December 1893 p.8.)

Sheppard once commented that not only did Canada have too many writers but the ones she had wrote too much. An unsigned comment which appeared in the 23 May 1896 issue of TSN reveals this attitude toward prolific writers when it says of F. Marion Crawford, who had written over thirty books of fiction, "He is as fluent as a hydrant." (p.7.) Unfortunately, the accusations had some justification for the quality of the writing that was published was in no way proportionate to its quantity. Why did writers produce so much formula fiction and so little original, serious fiction? The answer to this question is complex and is related to the limitations placed on the serious Canadian

writer of the time.

As we have seen, the Canadian writer was limited by the accepted convention of the period that fiction had to have a moral purpose: a reader was to be uplifted as a result of his reading. In addition, the acceptance of imitation as a criterion of quality also restricted him by keeping him from exploring new avenues of expression. While these were problems faced by all writers throughout the English speaking world, the Canadian writer faced two additional handicaps: he had to compete with writers outside the country for the few markets within Canada and further, the copyright laws were such that while he was provided with little or no copyright protection for anything he published within Canada, what he published outside the country was protected by the other country's copyright law. The final irony was that even if a Canadian writer were able to overcome these limitations--even if he disregarded the maxim that literature must be morally uplifting and if he carried on despite the risk that his work was susceptible to being pirated--he was still facing an almost insurmountable problem for his greatest obstacle was that the serious Canadian writer had no serious audience to appeal to.

During the late nineteenth century, readers demanded



certain kinds of stories to which TSN, and TSN readers responded. These demands were based on a number of commonly held assumptions, among them those governing the use of imitation. Surprisingly, imitation was regarded by the readers of popular fiction as a mark of quality. Even when the tendency to imitate was attacked by the TSN editorials, the attacks were rarely aimed at what we today might find exasperating. For example, the use of the epistolary form was regarded as gauche:

The method certainly strikes one as crude and unattractive...He [the writer] escapes the worry and labour of shaping his story along artistic line...

(4 May 1895 p.5.)

As a result of editorial preference there were only a few stories which used this form. However, at the same time writers were being discouraged to use the epistolary form they were being encouraged to imitate the "best literary traditions of the Old World." But editors did not specify which traditions were "best" and even if they had, it was the act of imitating itself that particularly limited the Canadian writer.

While there was a glut of writers--few of whom were accomplished--there was also a glut of readers, few of whom were what we would consider educated readers. As TSN remarked in quoting the National Observer's article

"The Writing Epidemic":

...if average taste could kill literature,  
it had long since been dead.

(30 June 1894 p.6.)

Few readers were prepared to take their reading seriously, as R.K. Webb points out in "The Victorian Reading Public":

Although the number of books published and the quantity of paper consumed rose fantastically, reading in general and literature in particular underwent a relative decline in importance--a consequence of the changing character of a society whose dynamic was technology and whose characteristic was increasing differentiation. Comprehensive world views were going out of fashion. 20

All too often the serious writer in Canada found himself facing a dilemma: he did not have an audience trained to understand what he was saying. Occasionally, this was because of language or educational barriers, but in most cases it was because readers were simply not interested in reading fiction except to pass the time away.

Reading became habitual, and it was unquestionably useful. Like walking, it was a skill to get one from one place to another; only a few used it to scale height or to explore depths. 21

Not unexpectedly, this attitude toward reading affected the quality of the writing being done because when a poet or fiction writer attempted to be something other than popular, he had a great deal of difficulty attracting an

audience. Consequently, we find stories by Braddon getting the headlines while those by Gogol appeared in the pages of TSN without any recognition of worth. But if TSN readers regarded the unfamiliar with distrust they were not hasty to praise the homegrown product either. From time to time TSN would attempt to make the Canadian public aware of its responsibility in the relationship between writer and reader by making an appeal to the educated reader, but if TSN's response is typical of the times, Canadians generally, could not even agree on the value of reading. Indeed, even in the magazine itself there was a great deal of conjecture about the value of reading. While Sheppard argued on the editorial page that people should "read less" and "think more" other writers were pushing for the reading of books--any books, even "trashy" ones on the ground that they offered a wonderful escape to the man who "instinctively...takes up a book and plunges into an ideal world." (15 June 1889 p.6.)<sup>22</sup> Sheppard wanted reading to provide a meaningful experience<sup>23</sup> for the reader: "I certainly believe people read too many books, digest too few." (30 November 1889 p.1.) At the same time, however, he did not entirely share the concern that many people had regarding the danger in reading "dime" novels: "I doubt if a boy with any head on him can be spoiled by reading the average dime novel. It is the sort of thing that cures itself..."

(14 July 1888 p.1.)

But many people did believe that reading fiction was harmful (even Sheppard suggested that bad reading habits might well be connected with the increase in crime, juvenile suicide and family breakdown). There was a basic distrust of the power of language. It was, one could argue, the other side of the coin which suggested fiction had to have a moral purpose.

Related to the problem was the fact that many Canadians wrote believing they could make money from it. One of TSN's most frequent accusations against Canadian writers was that they were too commercial. The theme of literary degeneracy appeared in the 13 April 1889 issue of TSN where Sheppard harked back to the time when "Men wrote...not as a rule with a view to immediate profit or appreciation but because they felt they had something to say." He went on to add that "today writers almost invariably aim to please" and pointed out that the author "instead of giving us the best of which he is capable, gives simply what will sell." (p.6.)

However, despite the fact that some writers may have begun writing because they expected to be well paid for their efforts--some even believed it possible to earn a living from writing fiction--to judge from the comments, in TSN, this was most unlikely. As Sheppard stated more than once, payment for manuscripts was rare:<sup>24</sup>

There is a dispiriting feature of literary work in Canada on which...I am forced to continually bring to the notice of those who hope to make a living by writing for Canadian publications. I know of no Canadian publication, other than Saturday Night and Grip which makes it a rule to pay for contributions.

(13 June 1891 p.1.)

The year after this notice appeared, a note addressed "To Readers and Contributors" read

Since everybody wants pay for their stories, we will hereafter subject everything sent in to a severe commercial test and accept only those possessing conspicuous originality and a local or Canadian colour.

(1 October 1892 p.6.)

Sheppard advised beginning writers not to expect pay for their work and warned them not to expect to have their manuscripts returned either, even if they included the postage.<sup>25</sup> (He once caustically suggested that most rejected manuscripts were better put into the "waste basket" than the "Post Office" anyway.) (2 March 1889 p.6.) The problem continued although a variety of suggestions for solving it appeared throughout the time Sheppard was editor--the most novel of which argued that writers should pay the magazine to publish their work. (25 May 1895 p.5.)

The commercial motivation and the lack of adequate payment for writers were only part of a broader problem. Not

only was there little in the way of payment for a writer's work but there was little protection for his material if he was a writer in Canada. Copyright protection was a factor that also affected the quality of Canadian writing being produced.

Sheppard began talking about the link between the lack of good Canadian writing and the copyright laws within weeks of the first issue:

...our present copyright laws are so defective that a national literature is impossible. Under the present system a Canadian publisher can, practically, neither buy nor steal any worthy English book or publication while the New York publisher can issue it and sell it not only in the United States but in Canada also.

(3 March 1888 p.3.)

Fourteen years later, in March of 1902, Sheppard was still arguing that the laws needed changing. There was no point in talking to a lawyer about copyright laws, he said, because they were "so complicated" that even lawyers couldn't interpret them.<sup>26</sup>

The most unfortunate effect of the lack of copyright protection was that it contributed to an already serious problem: the loss of good writers in Canada. When a Canadian writer did become successful he was often tempted to send his material to the United States or Great Britain as

Sheppard points out in reference to the work of Sara  
Jeannette Duncan:

Under present circumstances our magazine writers devote themselves almost exclusively to American publications and many of those who had begun to distinguish themselves in Canada, have gone to London, New York and Boston.

(13 June 1891 p.1.)

Not only was there more protection for an author when he wrote for the American or British market but there was more money available from foreign markets. In addition, there were more markets so he stood a better chance of finding a publisher for his material. But this again, affected the quality of what he had to say. Because he had to write for a market, the writer was obliged to write what that market demanded; he had, therefore, to write out of a saleable experience. If his own experience was not cosmopolitan, he had to simulate the cosmopolitan, since that was in demand. Such a situation did nothing to encourage original writing. As we have seen in our examination, the attempt to be cosmopolitan often resulted in work that was imitative, contrived and artificial.

Competition for markets<sup>27</sup> was another factor that contributed to the problem of quality in Canadian writing. One of the difficulties facing Canadian writers was the use of simultaneous publication, that is, the same story would appear in the same week or month in perhaps a half dozen magazines

in Britain, the United States and Canada.<sup>28</sup> During its first three years particularly, TSN frequently used this method of publishing in addition to printing numerous "selected" stories, many without the name of the author, all of which took up the space that might otherwise have gone to Canadian writers. Sheppard wallpapered the back pages with such stories and poems and used them as fillers throughout the magazine. This habit on the part of editors of course reduced the number of markets available to Canadian writers. To add to the situation, many magazines folded during the years of the depression in the late 1800s and this too, closed off even more markets to Canadian writers.

If we accept the attitude of the writers and readers in Canada as exemplified by TSN, then it is not surprising that Canadians did not take their literature seriously. What is surprising, however, is the attitude which suggested that Canadian writing was of less value than that of other, more established cultures. The ultimate indignity appears to be that Canadian critics were convinced that the Canadian voice, even at its best, was unworthy, and of less importance than that of the other nations which influenced it. As T.D. MacLulich argues in his thesis "Literary Attitudes in English Canadian Literature 1880-1900":



Canadian critics often placed themselves in the awkward position of calling for a distinctively Canadian literature, yet believing that the characteristics which made it Canadian also made it inferior. 29

The final irony is that editors like Sheppard, who, while they had the best intentions, inadvertently compounded this attitude because in their eagerness to see Canadian writing published, they were careless about the quality of this writing. Despite Sheppard's good intentions, he encouraged the mediocre by publishing the mediocre.

One can only conclude that the conditions in Canada in this period must have created a particularly frustrating time for a serious writer. He was encouraged to write but was part of a system that rewarded the imitative and the mediocre. He was accused of writing for "money" at a time when writers were paid so poorly for published work that the accusations cannot possibly be taken seriously. He was controlled by the markets, intimidated by the competition and threatened by the lack of copyright protection. Finally, even if he were able to overcome all these obstacles: if he wrote fresh and original fiction despite the demand for the formula story; if he took his chances and put his work into print despite the lack of copyright protection,

he still had to face the final truth: there were few readers who could read his work "in the spirit in which it was written."<sup>30</sup> Is it any wonder that there was little serious writing being done in Canada?

Footnotes

<sup>1</sup>Sheppard encouraged all the Canadian arts by running columns on art, music and the theatre throughout the period he was at TSN. He made an effort to promote an interest in Canadian history by offering historical and political history series such as "Tales of Georgian Bay" which appeared in 1900. In addition to encouraging English literature in Canada, he was quick to praise French-Canadian writing. Convinced that French Canadians already had an authentic literature, he wished the same for the English speaking Canadians. He spoke glowingly of the work of the French Canadian writers:

...there are songs and stories which seem to me to approach much nearer a distinctive literature than anything in English. The songs of the boatman and the voyageur, the folklore of the habitant, are distinctly Canadian.

(2 November 1895 p.1.)

<sup>2</sup>Occasionally there were stories by writers from outside Canada in the supplements but these were rare and when they were used they always had a Canadian setting or a reference specifically Canadian. There were times when this reference appeared as an obvious appendage. For a sample of such see Julian Hawthorne's story in the 1889 Christmas Number which begins in Montreal but quickly moves to New York.

<sup>3</sup>Originally the supplement was to cost 30¢ but when it came out in the summer of 1890 the price had gone up to 50¢. (This was still the asking price seven years later for the Christmas 1897 Number, a supplement which also contained 40 pages.) The Christmas Numbers which began in 1888 continued to appear almost every year until 1900 when they ceased. Coloured supplements began with the December 1895 Number.

<sup>4</sup>As well, this story provides a picture of the cultural confusion and contradictions of this period in Canada. The plot concerns a young English aristocrat, befriended by a group of Canadian miners enroute down river for a holiday. The Canadians, four Frenchmen, an Irishman and a Scot, (all of whom speak with accents) learn the Englishman has been injured in a duel and has killed his opponent. They are, to say the least, quite uncertain

Footnotes (cont'd)

about how to deal with him but they feed him, tend his wound and take him down river to town with them. Ten days after leaving him, they receive a chest containing gifts and a letter. The Englishman writes that he has been caught by the authorities and is shortly to be hung for the murder of his duelling opponent. Although he is only twenty two, he seems resigned to death:

...I am only a younger son, you know. Nobody cared very much about me at home. (p.26.)

The story offers comment on what must have been a common difficulty among settlers at this period, the clash of Canadian and British cultures. The British habit of sending the younger son in the family to the "new" world to "make his fortune" while the older son took over the family property, comes under criticism in this story. As well, there is a strong sense in both the fiction and the editorials that Englishmen particularly, had a difficult time adjusting to life in Canada, for they often fared badly in TSN fiction written by Canadians. In addition, in the later years, editorial comments on the English immigrant became increasingly hostile. One commented at length on the "No English Need Apply" signs mounted on the fence posts of Canadian farms seeking help at threshing time. See: 14 November 1908 p.1.

<sup>5</sup>Sheppard sent letters to the leading Canadian writers of the time asking for manuscripts. The Louis Frechette Papers in the Public Archives of Canada (MG 29 D 40) contains the following letter from Sheppard dated 7 November 1888:

Hon. Mr. Frechette,  
Poet-Laureate of Canada,  
Quebec, Que.

Honored Sir/-

Over a score of the leading writers of the Dominion have consented to contribute a trifle of their work to the holiday number of SATURDAY NIGHT, which, I think, will be one of the most artistic things ever issued in this country. I write to respectfully solicit a contribution from you, for which, if the amount charged be within the reach of our slender purse, we will gladly pay. If you

Footnotes (cont'd)

consent, it would be necessary to have the verses (in English) in hand within a couple of weeks. I am,

My Dear Sir,

Most Respectfully yours

signed E.E. Sheppard

As well as sending these letters, Sheppard advertised the contests widely beginning with the special literary summer supplement of 1890 when he announced a contest for the upcoming Christmas Number. It offered \$50 for the best short story, \$25 for the best children's story and \$10 for the best poem. (See details: 9 September 1890) He continued to run these contests intermitantly until the fall of 1894 when he began a series of Canadian original stories called "Our Weekly Original Story" which took their place. The winners of the first contest included H.W. (Hector) Charlesworth, who shortly thereafter joined the staff at TSN at Sheppard's invitation. Louise Markscheffel won first prize for her short story "Outgrown" a story about a woman who outgrows her fiance intellectually. The child's winning story, called "Jenny's Red Apron" was a formula story about a little girl flagging down a train and saving everyone aboard.

<sup>6</sup>For samples of TSN's support of Canadian writers see: "Books and Authors'" columns on Catharine Parr Traill (29 December 1894 p.5.); Thomas Haliburton (4 May 1895 p.5.); D.C. Scott (2 May 1896 p.7., now under column heading "Books and Bookmen"). As well, I.V. Crawford and L.E. Horning received critical acclaim in the 16 December 1905 p.10. issue and W.W. Campbell in the 23 December 1905 copy of TSN. Sheppard used material by Canadians in both the supplements and the magazine itself. Most of the well known Canadian writers appeared at some point in their career in TSN, among them poets W.W. Campbell, Bliss Carman, Archibald Lampman, Charles G.D. Roberts, Charles Mair and E. Pauline Johnson. Article and fiction writers were equally well represented and included Stephen Leacock, Grant Allen, Gilbert Parker, Luke Barr and John Charles Dent among others.

<sup>7</sup>Hector Charlesworth, Candid Chronicles, (Toronto: Macmillan, 1925)p.76.

Footnotes (cont'd)

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p.94.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p.94. No writer appeared more frequently in the pages of TSN than Johnson. She wrote articles, short stories and nearly two dozen poems for the magazine during the Sheppard years. However, I have been unable to find information to corroborate the claim that Sheppard gave particular encouragement to Duncan while he was at TSN. My own feeling is that this may have taken place while he was at the Toronto News or when he was publishing the Fireside Weekly (a Family Herald type magazine). Butchart mentions Sheppard's aid to Duncan in an article called "Earliest Days." (1 January 1938 p.12.)

<sup>10</sup>I am speaking proportionately here. TSN was, at this time, printing as many as twelve stories and sketches in each issue so there were always some Canadian writers represented.

<sup>11</sup>William H. Magee "Local Colour in Canadian Fiction" Twentieth Century Essays on Confederation Literature. Edited by Lorraine McMullen. (Ottawa: Tecumseh, 1976) p.77.

<sup>12</sup>Margot Northey, The Haunted Wilderness. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976) p.17. Northey's comment, which nicely captures the difference between the two most popular forms of fiction, the sentimental romance and the gothic romance, reads: "Although all romance strikes an emotional chord, it makes a difference whether the chord is in a minor or major key." She points out in her examination of the gothic and grotesque in Canadian literature that the significance of the gothic in our literary tradition often tends to be overlooked:

...we have largely neglected an important, unrealistic dimension in Canadian fiction, namely the dark band of gothicism which stretches from earliest to recent times.

Northey argues that the Canadian fascination for the gothic is symptomatic of the clash between the real and the ideal in the Canadian experience and suggests the horror and

Footnotes (cont'd)

gothic elements contained in early Canadian novels such as Wacousta represent its author's--in this case, Richardson's--own confusion and uncertainty about his relationship with his environment:

...Richardson exhibits towards nature an ambiguity which is the mark of true gothicism. His attitude combines fascination with horror, seeing nature as a source of exciting vigour and also of ominous danger or doom. It is an attitude which recurs in numerous later books to the present day, and may well be identified as typically Canadian.

(p.23.)

Northey suggests "Gothic images...are symbolic, arguing that writers substitute the "haunted forest and the cave or pit for the ruined castle and dungeon" and quotes Fiedler who argues that the change in myth involves a change in meaning:

In the American gothic...the heathen, unredeemed wilderness and not the decaying monuments of dying class, nature and not society becomes the symbol of evil. Similarly not the aristocrat but the Indian, not the dandified courtier but the savage coloured man is postulated as the embodiment of evil.

(p.30.)

<sup>13</sup>Gordon Roper "New Forces: New Fiction" Literary History of Canada. Second Edition, Volume One (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1976) p.279.

<sup>14</sup>David Arnason, editor, Nineteenth Century Canadian Stories. (Toronto: Macmillan, 1976) p.ix. While most of the TSN stories were entertaining, a number of them used the form but failed to achieve the craftsmanship that the originators, such as de Maupassant and Poe possessed. For an example of the problems encountered because of lack of writing skill, see a Canadian story by Esther Talbot Kingsmill "The Withered Hand: A Tale of Primordial Hate." (9 February 1901 p.4.)

<sup>15</sup>The rationale was that the man's personality problem was caused by an inexplicable fear of the dark--a fear no one expected because he only began to experience it as an adult. Once the solution was tested and proven, the man was returned to home and family. These stories are also an

Footnotes (cont'd)

indication of the topics of interest to the Canadian of the period. Darwin's Theory of Evolution was obviously a prime subject of interest since a number of the stories concerned not only the theory but anticipated, imaginatively, some of its ramifications. "A Freak of Memory" (18 November 1897 p.4.) by Grant Allen postulates the theory that, if conditions are right, memory, like genetic characteristics, may be inherited:

...what was essential and central in the transmission of faculties by plants or animals to their offspring was above all things a form of unconscious knowledge.

The story suggests that if man is to assume the memory of his ancestors, he must assume their guilt as well. The protagonist, seized with the possibilities of inherited memory becomes convinced that if he exerts himself sufficiently he will not only be able to recall everything that has ever happened to him, but everything that has happened to his ancestors as well. He experiments with his powers of concentration and eventually finds that not only can he recall his own life in minute detail right down to his actual birth, but he can recall the lives of his parents and ancestors. The problem is that the knowledge he acquires as a result of the feat of memory alienates him from everyone around him, his relationships deteriorating in direct proportion to his increase in memory; and finally, family and friends, terrified by his astonishing knowledge of their past and personal lives, have him confined to an insane asylum.

Strangely, the hereditary transmission of guilt was not an unusual subject. A story which had to do with the control of a living person by the spirit of a dead one "The Shade of Helen" by Francis Morrison, appeared in the Christmas Number of 1894. More typical of the standard ghost story, it used the supernatural as a means of explanation for events. It is a tale of psychological control of a young woman, Irene, by a dead sibling. Haunted by the ghost of a sister who died in infancy as a result of her father's deliberate neglect, Irene is gradually driven to madness. Unfortunately, the story is not successful--one only wishes it were handled like James's The Turn of the Screw where just enough uncertainty about the nature of the protagonist's character is created to make the conclusion debatable--but as it is the writer insists it is a ghost who influences the major character and the potential for a more interesting psychological



Footnotes (cont'd)

explanation is lost. Another adaptation of the same idea: the notion that the dead could not only communicate with but could also control the living is "Come Pete" another original Canadian story from the 1894 series, by F.W. Montieth. In a story of a love that goes beyond the grave, a man's wife continues to control his behaviour long after she dies. (13 October 1894 p.9.)

<sup>16</sup>In addition, ghosts were not only regarded sympathetically, but often with humour. "The Skull of Peter" by John A. Copland, a Canadian writer who worked on The Globe in Toronto, has a ghost as a main character whose behaviour so irritates the "humans" in the story that one goes after him with a cane shouting "Stop your jumping and your howling for a little time." (19 September 1891 p.8.) Another story by Y.H. Addis, "The Mysterious Woman," features a ghost, harmless but lonely, who seeks companionship by lying down quietly beside the sleeping members of a family. (2 April 1892 p.6.) As well as featuring ghosts and gothic elements in the fiction, the magazine published many articles about ghosts. For a sample of one see John Charles Dent's "The Haunted House on Duchess Street" (24 March 1888 p.4.) which describes a Toronto home in which a murder has taken place and which is haunted by the ghosts of a man and a dog.

Although it was a habit of Canadian writers to modify the techniques of sensationalism, shock and terror in their mystery and suspense fiction, it would be misleading to suggest that only Canadian writers were choosing the natural rather than the supernatural explanation. There were a number of stories which adopted the same technique of a common sense explanation. See: "The Presence by the Fire" by H.G. Wells. (2 April 1898 p.7.) This particular tale rationalizes a ghost as an "optical" illusion created by the longing for the presence of someone loved but now lost. Generally speaking, however, the trend for Canadians to choose the simple straight-forward and pragmatic solution to a mystery was surprisingly strong. Interestingly, a strain of toughness also appeared in these Canadian stories from time to time. For example, "Father Joseph Penitent" by Henry Murray (18 July 1891 p.8.) written especially for TSN set in Paris tells of a priest who goes about the slums of the city helping the poor but who belongs to no recognized religious denomination and thus is a figure of mystery. One day a man comes to Father Joseph seeking

Footnotes (cont'd)

absolution and confesses that many years before he killed a girl because she loved someone else. The story ends with the revelation that Father Joseph himself, was none other than the man she had loved. He gains revenge by killing the man and then arranging the room to look as though he had been the intended victim of a robbery and escapes suspicion.

<sup>17</sup>This is a familiar motif from French Canadian folk tales. See the "dog" legends described in Edith Fowke's Folklore of Canada. (Toronto: McClelland Stewart, 1976)

<sup>18</sup>Roper, p.276.

<sup>19</sup>Not even Canada's "recognized" writers were immune from the charge. In the 11 May 1895 "Books and Authors" column Canadian poets are taken to task. William Wilfred Campbell, Bliss Carman and Charles G.D. Roberts are not only accused of writing too much (particularly Roberts) but they are said to be guilty of having "chosen to sing almost exclusively to each other." (p.5.) Editorial exasperation is also clearly apparent in a filler used 25 May 1895:

If educated people had originality and original people had education the world would be almost as pleasant as if there were no education and no originality and the art of writing undiscovered.

(p.5.)

<sup>20</sup>R.K. Webb "The Victorian Reading Public" The Pelican Guide to English Literature 6, edited by BÖRIS Ford. (Markham: Pelican, 1976) p.210.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p.209.

<sup>22</sup>Interestingly enough, this mixed attitude toward reading was a trend that continued well into the twentieth century. In Fiction and the Reading Public. (New York: Russell and Russell, 1965) Q.D. Leavis quotes the Minister of Education in England who, in a speech to the Joint Session of the Associated Booksellers and National Book Council, 16 July 1927, said the following:

Our purpose is not to create or stimulate the reading habit. Nearly every one in this country

Footnotes (cont'd)

already has the habit and has it very badly. It has been discovered that the greatest "mind opiate" in the world is carrying the eye along a certain number of printed lines in succession... One of the great evils of present-day reading is that it discourages thought.

(pp. 55-56.)

<sup>23</sup>In defense of novel reading, Sheppard had the following to say:

No one who wishes to pass as ordinarily well informed can afford to be ignorant of Dickens, Thackeray, Scott, George Eliot and Victor Hugo.

(24 March 1888 p.6.)

<sup>24</sup>While the pay was not necessarily high, there was generally some money given to the regular contributors. Charlesworth recalls making out a cheque to E. Pauline Johnson for her poem "The Song My Paddle Sings." It was for three dollars.

<sup>25</sup>The decision not to return any manuscripts, even those accompanied by a stamped, self-addressed envelope, was discussed in the 1 October 1892 issue on page 6.

<sup>26</sup>This subject deserves much more attention than I have been able to give it in this chapter. In essence, Sheppard is arguing that the Imperial Copyright Law that was put into effect in 1847 is archaic. The intention of the law was to protect the British printers and authors by forbidding the reprinting of any British books in Canada. But this law had no effect in the United States and therefore books could be printed there (without fear of punishment by copyright) and then sold in Canada.

<sup>27</sup>The competition was not for Canadian markets only, of course, but for any market. What complicated matters for Canadian writers was that in order to be financially successful, magazines like TSN had to compete with those

Footnotes (cont'd)

from the United States and Britain for Canadian readers and therefore had to use "names" these readers had become familiar with.

<sup>28</sup>TSN used this method of publication in its "Family Herald" series which began in 1888 and carried on for nearly a year. A group of serials and short stories were purchased on a package basis and each appeared the same week in cities all over the world.

<sup>29</sup>T.D. MacLulich, "Literary Attitudes in English Canadian Literature 1880-1900," M.A. Thesis (Simon Fraser University, 1971) p.iv.

<sup>30</sup>Leavis, p.64. Leavis defines the "suitable" reader as "one who can read a novel in the spirit in which it was written..."

## Conclusion

The convention observed by the writers of popular magazines that fiction should present no challenge to the status quo has discouraged the study of Canadian popular literature. Consequently, magazines like TSN have failed to receive the critical attention given to other, more scholarly, Canadian periodicals and this is unfortunate because the popular magazine succeeded in performing functions necessary to the development of a Canadian culture. In addition to encouraging social awareness and responsibility and informing and entertaining its readers, it provided a market for the novice and professional writer. It articulated the ideas of the middle class in Canada and through its introduction of articles and criticism of the theatre, of music and of the arts and artists, informed readers of cultural activities, often implying the standards they ought to attain. So although the primary value of TSN's fiction does not lie in its literary merit--for that was limited as this study has indicated--such fiction is useful for what it reveals of the interests and attitudes, the dreams and ideals, of Canadian readers and writers of the period.

Much that TSN accomplished was directly due to the work of its editor, whose idiosyncracies were also responsible for the peculiar stamp of the magazine. Edmund Sheppard, co-founder and prime mover of TSN, was a strange mixture of ad man and social reformer. His personality was as colourful as his magazine, his range of interests as broad as those reflected in the pages he edited. As he promised in the first issue of TSN, his editorials did amuse and instruct. In the early years particularly, Sheppard's vitality and energy entertained his readers as his subjects and moods varied from week to week, swinging from scathing comments on European aristocracy to cheerful anecdotes about children, from caustic observations on Canadian politicians to astute conclusions about basic human motives. In his editorials, Sheppard tried to shape attitudes by promoting what he believed was simple democracy and common sense. Aware of problems of poverty, he argued for certain social reforms and for justice by illustrating the suffering of those exploited by a social system that served to discriminate against them.

The attempt to shape attitudes was also evident in the fiction of the time. The eagerness to educate the reader, to make him aware of the ideal in human relationships constituted unreflecting convictions of the heart, for, too

often the writer, intent upon teaching a moral lesson lost sight of the importance of imagination to art and settled for imitation. In addition, because TSN's fiction relied almost solely on foreign examples to illustrate morality and purity of heart, what we see reflected is the hoped-for, the ideal; consequently, we see much more of what Canadians admired in the traditions of other cultures than what they accomplished in their own. To judge from TSN fiction, when it came to presenting his own time and place, the typical Canadian writer was so intent upon transforming his environment--as Dick Harrison puts it--"imposing the culture upon the land"--that in simulating his ideal culture he failed to perceive the real one. He was, in fact, "cut off from nature...by his own hostile frame of mind"--hostile to the unromantic realities of Canadian life.

A study of TSN fiction from 1887 to 1906 reveals a reading public enamoured with foreign cultures and traditions. Not only were writers and readers hostile to Canadian realities of life, but fiction based on foreign values undermined the creation of a genuine Canadian fiction. In their search for the ideal culture, Canadian readers and writers, eager to imitate the customs they admired, accepted

improbable plots, characters and situations as a measure of readable fiction. For them, what was ideal became synonymous with what was foreign and what was foreign became the ultimate ideal. Consequently, not only did the content and form of this fiction fail to reflect life in Canada but also it discouraged the creation of a genuine Canadian literature. The Canadian writer's fiction failed because it was an imitation of forms that had gained their success elsewhere. Such fiction was not a response of the imagination to new surroundings although, as many of our critics in Canada have repeatedly suggested, the new environment required a new imagination.

However, the task of the late nineteenth-century fiction writer was not an easy one. Sheppard's own short stories and novels suggest the struggle that faced the writer in Canada in surmounting the conventions of imitation and clarifying the question of identity in a society where foreign forms were preferred to indigenous ones. Written out of his own vast experience, Sheppard's fiction offers us a glimpse of the cultural waffling that existed in Canada during the late nineteenth century between the two role models, the British and American. The cultural paralysis suffered by Sheppard's characters seems to reflect his indecisive society, suggesting that the



impermanence and lack of commitment demonstrated by his characters were not merely fictions but symbols of the conditions of the time.

Today such exclusive emphasis on an ideal culture-- along with the early dreams of Canada as the new Eden and enthusiastic predictions of a population growth exceeding 800,000,000--are regarded with a mixture of bemused wonder and even relief. Canada has not achieved the world leadership predicted by late nineteenth-century Canadians, nor have we seen the projected phase in social responsibility anticipated by the search for and emphasis on the ideal culture. In addition, TSN itself has changed considerably.

When Sheppard sold TSN in 1906 it was rumoured to be suffering from financial difficulties. The new owners modified the magazine's format to appeal to the business community by instituting sections devoted to business and financial interests. Under Sheppard's successor, Joseph Clark (Mack) TSN published little fiction, concentrating instead on interesting the middle class "upwardly mobile" segment of the Canadian community by offering articles and advertising aimed at this group. Business articles increased and advertisements now included those for cigarettes and whiskey. Under Frederick Paul, who took over as editor

in 1909, the magazine established a woman's section devoted to fashion, household hints, recipes and society gossip. Industrialization and business practices became front page news. Paul launched an investigative series on business practices that gained fame and respect for the magazine. Fraudulent insurance companies and quick money schemes on the stock market were exposed. As time went on, the magazine flourished and became more national in scope with its circulation reaching 30,000. Once again, the attitude toward fiction changed and more stories began to appear. Paul's literary editor, William Arthur Deacon, championed the Canadian writer and wrote supportive reviews of the work of Canadian writers such as Robert Stead, E.J. Pratt, Martha Ostenso and Frederick Phillip Grove. His articles were complemented by reviews by other Canadian writers whose names are familiar today: Pelham Edgar, Archibald MacMechan, Morley Callaghan and Raymond Knister. Between Paul and Hector Charlesworth--who took over as editor at Paul's death in 1926--the quality of the articles particularly, continued to be maintained featuring writers such as G.K. Chesterton, Aldous Huxley, Anatole France and Katherine Mansfield. By 1927 "Saturday Night Literary Section" was once again appearing on a regular basis. "Bookshelf," another column instituted by Deacon, who was also responsible

for the re-introduction of the literary section, offered Canadian readers reviews of world literature. The works of authors such as Thomas Hardy, Thornton Wilder, Jack London and "Canada's Boy Poet," Emile Nelligan, were discussed and analyzed. From 1932 to 1951, the magazine continued to support the arts in Canada on a local and national level and under B.K. Sandwell, himself a remarkable journalist, achieved a distinction that it had never had before. There was a tastefulness in its content that marked its contribution to the Canadian publishing community.

Since the Sandwell years the magazine's fortunes have gone up and down. At times it has been dangerously close to folding, at others it has enjoyed considerable success. From a cost of \$2.00 a year when it began, the price has risen to \$2.00 a copy; from a circulation of 10,000 it has gone on to one of 105,000. Today it publishes Canadian writers whose names are recognized throughout the world of literature, business and politics, and while its format has changed considerably from the original, Saturday Night remains politically and socially aware and continues to defend the rights of minority groups and take a stand on human rights' issues. Edmund Sheppard promised that his magazine would reflect Canadian interests and Canadian attitudes. From its colourful and unorthodox beginnings

the magazine has gone on to fulfill Sheppard's early dream: it has become "a characteristic Canadian publication" indicative of "who Canadians are and what they can do."

## Bibliography

- Allen, Richard. The Social Passion. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971.
- Arnason, David, ed. Nineteenth Century Canadian Stories. Toronto: Macmillan, 1976.
- Atwood, Margaret. Survival: A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature. Toronto: Anansi, 1972.
- Bassan, Maurice. Hawthorne's Son. Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1970.
- Batten, Jack. "Hey! That's Me in the Anaconda Ad," Saturday Night 92 (December, 1977), pp.63-80.
- Berger, Carl, ed. Approaches to Canadian History. Canadian Historical Readings 1. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967.
- . "The True North Strong and Free," Nationalism in Canada. Edited by Peter Russell. Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1966. pp.3-26.
- . The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism 1867-1914. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970.
- Bissell, Claude. "Literary Taste in Central Canada During the Late Nineteenth Century," Twentieth Century Essays on Confederation Literature. Edited by Lorraine McMullen. Ottawa: Tecumseh Press, 1976. pp.24-40.
- Booth, Wayne. The Rhetoric of Fiction. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961.
- Brown, Robert Craig. Ramsay Cook. Canada 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976.
- Calverton, V.F. "Literature as a Revolutionary Force," Canadian Forum 174 (March, 1935), pp.221-27.
- Careless, J.M.S. Canada: A Story of Challenge. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1970.
- Charlesworth, Hector. Candid Chronicles. Toronto: Macmillan, 1925.

- Collison, Robert. "Monarchy: The Permanent Umbilical Cord," Saturday Night, 92 (December, 1977), pp.25-6.
- Cook, Ramsay. "Our Strange Mistaken Battle Against French Canada," Saturday Night, 92 (December, 1977), pp.50-61.
- Colquhoun, A. "A Century of Canadian Magazines," Canadian Magazine, XVII (June, 1901), pp.141-9.
- Cross, Michael S. The Frontier Thesis and the Canadas: The Debate on the Impact of the Canadian Environment. Toronto: Copp Clark, 1970.
- Davey, Frank. "Anything But Reluctant: Canada's Little Magazines," Canadian Literature, 13 (Summer, 1962), pp.39-44.
- Deacon, William Arthur. My Vision of Canada. Toronto: The Ontario Publishing Co., 1933.
- Douglas, Ann. The Feminization of American Culture. New York: Knopf, 1977.
- Doyle, James. "Canadian Poetry and American Magazines, 1885-1905," Canadian Poetry, 5, (Fall/Winter, 1979), pp.73-82.
- Dudek, Louis. "The Role of the Little Magazine in Canada," Canadian Forum, 38, (July, 1958), pp.77-8.
- and Michael Gnarowski. The Making of Modern Poetry in Canada. Toronto: Ryerson, 1970.
- Forster, E.M. Aspects of the Novel. New York: Harcourt Brace and World, 1954.
- Fowke, Edith. Folklore of Canada. Toronto: McClelland Stewart, 1976.
- Frechette, Louis. Louis Frechette Papers, Public Archives of Canada. Ottawa. (MG 29 D 40).
- Frye, Northrop. The Bush Garden: Essays on the Canadian Imagination. Toronto: Anansi Press, 1971.
- Gerson, Carole Fainstat. "Shaping the English Canadian Novel 1820-1900," Ph.D. Thesis. University of British Columbia. 1977.

- Hann, Russell. "Brainworkers and the Knights of Labour: E.E. Sheppard, Phillips Thomson, and the Toronto News, 1883-1887," Essays in Working Class History. Edited by Gregory Kealey and Peter Warrian. Toronto: McClelland Stewart, 1976, pp.35-57.
- Harkness, Ross. "A Paper for the People," J.E. Atkinson of the Star. Toronto: University of Toronto, 1963, pp.25-39.
- Harrison, Dick. Unnamed Country: The Struggle for a Canadian Prairie Fiction. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1977.
- Horning, L.E. "A Decade of Canadian Prose," The Canadian Magazine, 17, (June, 1901), pp.150-53.
- Jones, D.G. Butterfly on Rock: A Study of Themes and Images in Canadian Literature. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970.
- Klinck, Carl F., et al., eds. Literary History of Canada: Canadian Literature in English. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965.
- Landon, Fred. "The History of Upper Canada in Frontier Perspective," The Frontier Thesis and the Canadas. Toronto: Copp Clark, 1970. pp.29-33.
- Laurier, Wilfrid. Wilfrid Laurier Papers, Public Archives of Canada. Ottawa (MG 26 G).
- Leavis, Q.D. Fiction and the Reading Public. New York: Russell and Russell, 1965.
- Lubbock, Percy. The Craft of Fiction. London: Jonathan Cape, 1921.
- MacLulich, T.D. "Literary Attitudes in English Canadian Literature 1880-1900" M.A. Thesis. Simon Fraser University, 1971.
- Magee, William H. "Local Colour in Canadian Fiction," Twentieth Century Essays on Confederation Literature. Edited by Lorraine McMullen. Ottawa: Tecumseh, 1976. pp.77-92.
- Mandel, Eli, ed. Contexts of Canadian Criticism: A Collection of Critical Essays. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971.

- MacDonald, Mary Lu. "Some Notes on the Montreal Literary Scene in the Mid-1820s," Canadian Poetry, 5, (Fall/Winter, 1979), pp.29-30.
- McGee, Thomas D'Arcy. "Protection for Canadian Literature," The New Era, 144,, (April, 1858) pp.1-4.
- Morton, W.L. "Victorian Canada," in W.L. Morton ed. Shield of Achilles. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1968, pp.311-318.
- Mott Frank Luther. A History of American Magazines 1885-1905. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1957.
- New, William, "A Shaping Context," Canadian Literature, 83 (Winter, 1979), pp.2-5.
- Northey, Margot. The Haunted Wilderness. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976.
- O'Connor, Frank. The Lonely Voice. New York: Bantam Books, 1968.
- Roberts, Wayne. "Goldwin's Myth," Canadian Literature, 83 (Winter, 1979), pp.50-67.
- Rutherford, Paul. "The People's Press: The Emergence of the New Journalism in Canada, 1869-99," Canadian Historical Review 56 (June, 1975), pp.169-191.
- Saturday Night. No. 1 Volume I to No.19 Volume 12  
Toronto: Sheppard Publishing Company. (December, 1887-February, 1906).
- Sheppard, Edmund. E. The Thinking Universe: Reason as Applied to the Manifestations of the Universe. Los Angeles: Author's Company, 1915.
- Shortt, S.E.D. The Search for an Ideal: Six Canadian Intellectuals and Their Convictions in an Age of Transitions 1890-1930. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976.
- Shrive, Norman, "What Happened to Pauline?" Canadian Literature, 13, (Summer, 1962) pp.25-38.
- Staines, David. ed. The Canadian Imagination: Dimensions of a Literary Culture. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977.



- Stewart, George Jr. Literature in Canada, an address. New York, 1877. Toronto: Canadian House, 1970?
- Story, Norah. Oxford Companion to Canadian History and Literature. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1968.
- Sutherland, John. Essays, Controversies and Poems, Edited by Miriam Waddington. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972.
- Taylor, J. Chesley, ed. The Short Story. New York: Scribner, 1973.
- Thomas, Clara and John Lennox. "William Arthur Deacon and Saturday Night 1922-1928," Essays on Canadian Writing, 11, (Summer, 1978), pp.214-241.
- Trofimenkoff, Susan. "Nationalism, Feminism and Canadian Intellectual History," Canadian Literature, 83, (Winter, 1979), pp.7-17.
- Watt, F.W. "Climate of Unrest: Periodicals in the Twenties and Thirties," Canadian Literature, 12, (Spring, 1962), pp.15-27.
- Webb, R.K. "The Victorian Reading Public," The Pelican Guide to English Literature. Markham: Penguin, 1976. pp.205-25.
- Wellek, René and Austin Warren. Theory of Literature. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1942.
- Woodcock, George, "The Servants of Clio," Canadian Literature, 83, (Winter, 1979), pp.131-41.
- Wolfe, Morris, ed. A Saturday Night Scrapbook. Toronto: New Press, 1973.
- , "Purity: The Struggle for Wasp Supremecy," Saturday Night, 92, (December, 1977), pp.26-30.