

Book Reviews

Historical Documents of Canada. C. P. Stacey, General Editor: Vol. V. *The Arts of War and Peace, 1914-1945*. Edited by C. P. Stacey. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1972. Pp. xxviii, 656. \$18.75.

There are many woolly-minded social historians who will find this solid book of documents hard going; students of social history will find only a little to satisfy cravings for the flashy and flamboyant. But most historians, especially working historians and graduate students, will find it a treasure almost beyond price. Like the Macmillan one-volume *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, it should go to the most accessible shelf in the historian's library. If Professor Stacey's book seems a little old-fashioned to some in its emphasis upon law and laws, political structures, constitutional changes, parties and platforms, election speeches, that is because it cuts into the hard core of hard issues. These cores have often been and are likely to continue to be—law, especially statute law, finance, statistics, orders-in-council, royal commission reports. Thus the book is a good, solid, unabashed collection of documents, mainly from governments, federal and provincial. There are other documents of course, and interesting ones, notably a small but judicious, even skilful, selection of newspaper comment; but the position of Professor Stacey has been that the heart of historical issues is best represented, not by large, undigested wedges of "opinion", but rather by close exegetical selection of texts that relate primarily to legislation.

For some time past this has been rather a characteristic of History at the University of Toronto, and most of the authors of the other volumes in the series are from this same department, in the same University. There is toughmindedness about this approach that is intellectually invigorating. Professor Stacey and presumably his colleagues in the series admit that their appeal is to advanced students. He complains that too many books of documents and readings in Canadian history recently published—and there has been a plethora of them—are too elementary, suitable perhaps for first and second year students, but beyond that too thin to be effective. This reviewer would add also that many of the newer books are too ill-digested by their hopeful authors. There is an old Russian proverb that the footsteps of the master cultivate the soil; in too many books of documents and readings the editor seems to disappear behind the masses of opinions and the clouds of comment that he is giving the reader. That is not Professor Stacey's method. He is always present, clearing up an obscurity here, putting a footnote there, and best of all, many of *his* documents come with headnotes that explain succinctly and briefly the point at issue.

There are to be six volumes covering all of Canadian history devised as follows:

Volume I From the Beginnings to 1763 W. J. Eccles

Volume II	1763-1815	S. F. Wise
Volume III	1815-1867	G. M. Craig and J. M. S. Careless
Volume IV	1867-1914	Ramsay Cook and Laurier LaPierre
Volume V	1914-1945	C. P. Stacey
Volume VI	1945-1968	Michael S. Cross

Professor Stacey's volume is the first to appear, and it will doubtless set standards for style and organization for the others. The structure is essentially topical, and it is worthwhile to show how it is broken down:

- I Constitution and Government
 - A. The Crown and the Office of Governor General
 - B. The British North America Acts and the Process of Amendment
 - C. The Electoral Franchise
 - D. National Symbols
- II Politics
 - A. Parties and Platforms
 - B. General Elections
- III Law, Justice and Police
 - A. Criminal Justice
 - B. Police Organization
- IV Social Life and Institutions
 - A. Population and the Growth of Cities
 - B. Trade Unionism and Labour Policy
 - C. Aftermath of the First World War
 - D. Social Security and Welfare
 - E. Prohibition: Ontario as an Example
 - F. Immigration
 - G. Abandonment of Titles
 - H. Status of Women
- V Economic Life and Policy
 - A. Trade and Commerce
 - B. Agriculture
 - C. Industry
 - D. Transport and Communications
 - E. Public Finance and Taxation
 - F. Dominion-Provincial Economic Relations
 - G. Return of Natural Resources to the Prairie Provinces
 - H. The Depression after 1929
 - I. The Depression Robs Newfoundland of Responsible Government, 1933
 - J. Stevens, Bennett and Economic Reform, 1934-1935
- VI Northern Development and the Mining Frontier
- VII Religious and Cultural Development

- A. Religious Organization: Church Union
 - B. Education and Cultural Conflict
 - C. The Arts
 - D. The Sciences
 - E. Control of Radio Broadcasting
- VIII External Affairs and Defence
- A. The Commonwealth and National Independence
 - B. Canada and the League of Nations
 - C. The Boundaries of Canada
 - D. Defence Policy between the two Wars
 - E. Canada and the United Nations 1943-1945
- IX War
- A. The First World War
 - B. The Second World War

Each of these sections has a short introduction, and many of the individual documents (there are 266 of these) have brief and pithy headnotes.

One can cavil at some of the omissions. The whole literary scene is quite neglected, and the section on "The Arts" is thin and unsatisfactory. "Industry" is dealt with in 2½ pages of statistics. This reviewer would have liked the section on "Prohibition" to extend to its Dominion as well as its Ontario aspect. But having said all that, one has to admit that a book of documents poses formidable problems of selection, and in particular selections from literary history require space that might have made this volume utterly unwieldy and enormously expensive. And although the book is also thin on social history in its more colourful aspects, it is not devoid of them. I like the story extracted from the *Winnipeg Free Press*, September 2, 1933, about a Manitoba farmer who met two acquaintances outside a beer parlour:

"Let's go in for a beer", he suggested.

The three quaffed their bottles of beer and when the host arose to go he turned to the hotel-keeper.

"I'll bring you ten bushels of barley to pay for that", he said.

If one more cavil may be allowed, a more comprehensive index would have been useful. It is true that there is a comprehensive table of contents, and one can, if need be, worry one's way through that. The index is good as far as it goes. After "Mackenzie King", for example, one does not find awful columns of figures telling absolutely nothing; instead there is a careful annotation about where to find precisely what about Mackenzie King. It is, in fact, a good index of names. But if, for example, one wanted to locate the above story about the farmer and the beer-parlour, one would find it not under *Winnipeg Free Press*, or under farmers, or beer, or barley, or in the index at all. It is listed in the table of contents under "Getting by on the Prairies". A pity.

It's a handsomely presented book: a fine, clear, typeface, good paper, agreeably bound, and not unwieldy to handle. Altogether the book is an essential addition to the shelf of every serious student of Canadian history. There is no blinking the fact that constitutional, political and legal history unlocks more of the past than the evanescent vapourings of opinion that are often included under the name "historical documents". Sliding through history is for old ladies and lazy students with copies of Antonia Fraser's *Mary Queen of Scots*. It is good as far as it goes, but the real discipline of history is a good deal tougher than that.

Dalhousie University

P. B. WAITE

Imagination Indulged: The Irrational in the Nineteenth-Century Novel. By Elliott B. Gose, Jr. Montreal and London: McGill-Queen's, 1972. Pp. 182. \$8.50.

As the author is aware, the nature of his subject and the critical method he employs prohibit an indifferent response: ". . . my approach may alienate those who believe in reading critically but don't want to get involved in depth psychology". (Preface, xii)

His book is another attempt to erect a rival to F. R. Leavis's "great tradition", but it is based on a vague sense of the "validity of feeling" and stresses the archetypal identity of character. In the face of the death of God and the erosion of religious symbols, the author argues, this turning inward constitutes the Victorian writer's battle for the "Protean self". Like Fiedler, he sees the tradition rooted in the dreaming of Horace Walpole and the rise of the Gothic novel, and he traces it through M. G. Lewis's *The Monk*, Emily Bronte's *Wuthering Heights*, Dickens's *Bleak House*, Hardy's *The Return of the Native*, and Conrad's *Lord Jim*, each occupying a brief chapter.

Professor Gose's strategy of applying Jung's theory of archetypes to these novels is vulnerable to critical distortion. Coleridge's theory of the creative imagination supplies a prop for the argument that, when these writers transmute their "psychic imbalance" into art, out of the obscurity of the inner life come elements of dream, myth and fairy tale. Thus Monk Lewis, so the discussion runs, suffered a psychic split when his parents separated, and his subsequent homosexuality, which led to a confusion of sexual roles, is articulated in *The Monk*, in the rape scenes in church and catacomb.

Dubious biography is followed by a pseudo-scientific analysis of Jungian archetypes enshrined in fairy tales, like "The Glass Coffin", "Beauty and the Beast", "Iron Hans" and "The Frog Prince", which the author believes breathed new life into the Victorian novel. Thus, in *Wuthering Heights*, where he follows Dorothy Van Ghent, he elaborates her view of Heathcliff as the "prince in disguise" and further identifies him as the magician from "The Glass Coffin".

The rest of the book is a search for archetypal figures, settings and patterns,

a process in which the author's enthusiasm is not always circumscribed by critical restraint. The reader is asked to accept the atmosphere of petulant bickering at Thrushcross Grange as the palace, or castle, (the author is not sure which), where Cathy meets and marries her "fairy prince". An attempt to foist a ritualistic relation on Catherine and the narrator, Mr. Lockwood, on the slender grounds that they were both attacked by ferocious dogs, ignores the stubborn fact that, although Cathy is bitten by Skulker, Lockwood's nose bleeds from fear and exertion. Undaunted, the author pursues his Jungian metaphor to its archetypal lair:

Her contact with the beast led to the more genteel initiation inside the house, and the two together form the upper and lower half of the force that tests the strength of her spirit. That is, we can contrast the "lower" dog bite in the dark on Catherine's leg with the "upper" combing of her beautiful hair in the light. (67)

The author's view of *Wuthering Heights* as Emily Bronte's endeavour to fuse the divided forces of the Victorian psyche is marred by self-contradiction, and brutally elliptical references to fairy tale paradigms:

Hardly an unsophisticated fairy tale, *Wuthering Heights* incorporates its oppositions in the same subtle way a fairy tale does. We do not consciously register the fairy-witch, goddess-bitch, queen-quean pairs or their final reconciliation. (70)

In a complex urban satire, like *Bleak House*, this procedure risks becoming increasingly mechanical and sterile. Critical evidence is more tenuous, and the author adopts a tone of special pleading for the now familiar patterns. He asserts that there is an "obvious parallel" between Esther Summerson and Cinderella; that her smallpox works a magic transformation, enabling her to marry her "Prince Charming"; that poor Miss Flite is "plainly a witch"; and that the wards in Chancery are "fairy tale victims . . . combining motifs from both Hansel and Gretel and The Children in the Wood". (77) Various identified as fairy god-father, wise old man, and a magician, avuncular John Jarndyce finally stands revealed as the Beast, for in an early meeting with Esther (Beauty) he wears fur cuffs, and he whimsically calls his study the "growlery". It is almost an anticlimax to discover that his *alter egos* in the novel are the Lord Chancellor and old Krook, of the rag and bottle shop.

Professor Gose's critical method is open to question. He often fails to press his interpretation to its conclusion, and to forthrightly identify Krook, for instance, victim of spontaneous combustion, and father of the serpent, Chancery, as the Scandinavian fire god, Loki! Surprisingly, too, the opportunity to offer corroborative evidence is ignored. There is, for example, Dickens's unusual friendship with the Danish master of fairy tale, Hans Andersen, who first visited the Dickens family in 1847, some five years before *Bleak House* was written.

The argument flows more smoothly when the shoals of fairy tale are passed,

and while the discussion of animism in *The Return of the Native* is undistinguished, there is a better chapter on Conrad, historically and temperamentally the most conscious artist considered here. The notion that in *Lord Jim* the island of Patusan is constructed on Jungian principles—an island of irrational forces which mirrors Jim's inner world—is a happier instance of Professor Gose's method.

Though not original, the author's theory of the romantic imagination in the Victorian novel is commendable, but it requires ampler scope than this slim volume allows, and the result is less a thesis than a collection of essays. Also, its footnoting is unscholarly. Reference is too often made to secondary sources, best editions are not used, and earlier editions are mentioned but not dated. Further, it lacks a bibliography, which would prove useful, since the footnotes frequently direct the reader's attention to articles of little assistance. Among the minor irritations of the book is the author's use of the editorial plural, which gives it an almost conspiratorial tone.

This volume is for the converted. Scrutinizing the archetypal unconscious reduces these great novels to their lowest common denominator, and the lists of motifs proliferate in a thinning human and moral atmosphere. The hunt for motif and metaphor, pattern and paradigm reminds one of Ruskin's worst critical essay, "Fiction Fair and Foul" in which he tallies the deaths in *Bleak House* and finds them "excessive". One has the same feeling about this endeavour to count its archetypes.

Dalhousie University

G. M. HARVEY

Jessamyn West. By Alfred S. Shivers. New York: Twayne Publishers, Inc., 1972. (Twayne's United States Authors Series.)

Alfred S. Shivers builds his critical study of Jessamyn West upon a thought which reveals a preconception often held by the critical community; he says that Jessamyn West is both a Friend and a powerful secular novelist, drawing attention to the unquestioned tenet we often hold that a "religious" novelist must also be moralistic. As Shivers ably demonstrates, Miss West's Quaker heritage intimately affects her style, but it does not limit her vision; indeed, the unstated conclusion to be drawn from his study is that Miss West's limitations, her definite religious faith and her fight with tuberculosis, were the sources of her wider vision.

Shivers concentrates his study on Jessamyn West's readily available novels, dividing her work by geographical setting: the "East", Indians, and the "Land Where Lemons Bloom", southern California. Jessamyn West was born in 1902 near North Vernon, Indiana, and spent the first seven years of her life there. After her career as an author began, she drew upon historical and familial incidents from the region where she was born, although Shivers is quick to point out that Miss West's work is chiefly imaginative, relying on historical fact only insofar as it

supports her prior concerns. The novel that launched Miss West's career in 1945, *The Friendly Persuasion*, concerns the fictitious Birdwell family, modeled after Miss West's Indiana ancestors, the Milhous family. Although this work is idealistic and peaceable, Miss West was reportedly criticized by her family for her use of realistic (and historically accurate) language such as "pa", "ain't", and "duck-dung". In spite of criticism, as Shivers points out, the direction Miss West's fiction has taken is toward still greater realism, and closer truth. Her concerns are tending to move closer in time, from *The Friendly Persuasion* set in the middle of the nineteenth century, *South of the Angels* in World War I, to *A Matter of Time*, published and set in 1966. The subject-matter tends toward frankness; *Leafy Rivers*, written in 1967, depicts adultery, violence and the absence of religious tradition—ugly issues which Miss West feels Quakers cannot further afford to ignore. Because of her tendency towards such realism, Miss West has been neglected by the Quaker press, although we draw from the study the feeling that certainly it is Miss West who is closer to the spirit of Quaker teaching: that somehow, short of violence, Quakers must alleviate the social evils of their age. As Shivers traces the development of Miss West's plots from 1945 to 1970, we have the sense that the larger body of her work grows in strength from its beginning in *The Friendly Persuasion*, for which she is famous. Indeed, Shivers claims he decided to write the study because he recognized a remarkable literary talent that had escaped scholarly acknowledgment.

Jessamyn West's Quakerism has a distinct effect upon her work, and Shivers is careful to point out where her values are reflected in her style, as these features are likely to escape the non-Quaker reader. Thoreau's dictum, "One world at a time", is the theme of *The Friendly Persuasion*; Jess' sensual delight in the natural world and his love of music (forbidden in early Quaker households) conflicts with the austere, other-worldly practice of his Quaker neighbours. Clearly, in Jess or Jessamyn West's view, delight in God's world is not evil; the dialogue between the spirit and the letter of Quaker law is resolved in favor of life. Although Shivers does not explicitly draw the comparison, Miss West's creative method, which is based on intuition, parallels Quaker faith in descent of the Spirit into the individual. She says, "One must be careful to ask the right question, to ask it in a low voice, and wait". (Shivers, p. 37) By and large, Miss West does not describe violence directly; perhaps her pacifist convictions lead her to place emphasis on the effects of violence rather than on thrilling description of the action itself. Spiritual life, and in her later novels, absence of spiritual life, is of paramount concern, as faith in an informing spiritual order is central to Quaker life. Miss West communicates depravity by depicting characters ignorant of external nature, or related to nature's cruel or perverted features; one character watches with pleasure as a woodpecker devours his human victim. Shivers makes several references to Miss West's affiliation with Wordsworthian Romanticism, which like Quakerism, is rooted in Trans-

centenalist vision. Her humour is wry and understated, as is Quaker humour in general, and her prose is straightforward and unembellished, in the tradition of the journals of George Fox, John Woolman and Henry David Thoreau. Although she portrays real evil, her subject-matter is rural and domestic; we may say that in accordance with Quaker practice, Miss West rejects romantic appeal for the ideal of simplicity.

A second important influence on Jessamyn West's style was her fight with tuberculosis. In 1909, the West family moved to Los Angeles County in California, where Jessamyn attended Whittier College and did graduate work in English at the University of California. Before she could take her doctoral orals, however, she suffered a tubercular hemorrhage; from 1931 to 1945 she was "horizontal", too ill for serious writing or reading. But as Shivers suggests, this period of illness probably forced Miss West into the literary life she had been longing to pursue. The influence of Miss West's illness can be felt in her attention to the sensual wonder of common things on the one hand, and in her stoic bearing on the other. Miss West does not write about illness and disease, but about life-concerns; like Keats, Thoreau, the Brontës, Chekov, Thomas Mann, Marie Bashkirtsev and Katherine Mansfield (all of whom Miss West was attracted to as a young reader), Jessamyn West transcends self-pity to treat enduring subjects.

Shivers briefly summarizes the plots of all of Miss West's major works and notes the contemporary critical comments. In each case he analyzes the style, tracing its evolution during Miss West's career. The conclusion we are forcefully drawn to after reading this study is that Jessamyn West has produced a large body of vigorous work that has gone unrecognized for too long.

Dalhousie University

MARTHA S. WILSON

Shakespeare's Tragicomic Vision. By Joan Hartwig. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1972. Pp. 196. \$7.95.

In recent years scrutiny of Shakespeare's romance plays has focussed attention on their uses of myth, symbol, allegory and romantic conventions, on their mysticism and serenity. Critics also agree on their artificial quality. This is not new. Shakespeare's rival, Ben Jonson, called *Pericles* "a mouldy tale", and the redoubtable Samuel Johnson remarked, in a characteristic aphorism, that to study *Cymbeline* was "to waste criticism upon unresisting imbecility" [*sic*]. In the main, critics are devoted to the relative sophistication of realism. However, Professor Hartwig finds, on the contrary, that:

To view the technique of these late plays as consciously artificial for an artistic purpose is a more valuable way of discovering what these plays are really about (8).

Her book is essentially a study of Shakespeare's dramatic rhetoric in the

tragicomic mode, and it attempts to define the nature of the audience's response to the dramatic vision presented. It is not one of those jargon-ridden dramaturgical studies, but a sensible, concise and perspicuous approach to the problems of art and artifice in the final plays.

In her opening chapter the author argues convincingly for the neglected genre of tragicomedy as a living English dramatic tradition, recognized but deprecated by Sir Philip Sidney in his *Defense of Poesie*, and defined approvingly by John Fletcher in his Preface to the First Quarto of *The Faithful Shepherdess* (c. 1608-10). She might have added that, some eight years before, Shakespeare had noted in *Hamlet* the possible mingling of genres in Polonius's comic reading of the players' licence, with its inclusion of the "tragic-comical-historical-pastoral" mode. For contemporary theoretical studies the author turns to the Italian, Giambattista Guarini's *Il compendio della poesia tragicomica* (1601), and comments that his definition of tragicomedy might well read as an appraisal of Shakespeare's artistic aim:

For he who makes a tragicomedy does not intend to compose separately either a tragedy or a comedy, but from the two a third thing that will be perfect of its kind.

Elaborating a central theme of Anne Righter's *Shakespeare and the Idea of the Play*, Professor Hartwig contends that the aim of tragicomedy is to dislocate the settled perceptions of characters and audience alike, and then to liberate them through the experience of wonder. At the end of the play the distinction between players and audience is renewed so that the process may be understood and evaluated. For the audience, as Maynard Mack has noted, techniques like these create the necessary sustained balance between emotional engagement and critical detachment, which Joan Hartwig argues is the dominant effect in tragicomedy. The author's development of this useful approach is marred, however, by the chapter's prolix summary of recent criticism. It would be more appropriately accommodated in a bibliography, which this book unfortunately lacks.

Her treatment of the plays themselves is always interesting, and often cogent. She demonstrates how they use similar methods to achieve a tragicomic perspective, and yet how each develops a particular aspect of Shakespeare's tragicomic technique. In *Pericles*, for instance, great emphasis is placed on antique devices, such as Gower, the dumb shows, and the tournaments which, like Pericles's donning of the rusty armour, have a rhetorical as well as a symbolic weight and function. Their aim is to move the audience to wonder. This is also achieved by eliciting a comic response to a potentially tragic situation. The comic cross-currents of the brothel scenes, for instance, focus the audience's rapt attention on the miraculous virtue of young Marina, successfully preaching chastity within its walls.

From perspicacious criticism of the majestic simplicity of *Pericles*, the author turns to a less convincing discussion of the bewildering complexity of *Cymbeline*.

Here, *pace* Dr. Johnson, she argues strenuously for Shakespeare's juggling with romance, history and pastoral, and the multiple perspectives of the play, as means of pointing up the limitation of a formulaic approach to life's turmoil. However, in *Cymbeline*, there is a hiatus between form and function, which Professor Hartwig's ingenuity fails to reconcile.

The chapter on *The Winter's Tale* examines the way Shakespeare manipulates stock characterization to modify tragic situations and gain emotional equilibrium. Paulina's alternate acceptance of the roles of shrew and confessor is a potent source of sympathy, enabling the audience to accept the tyrant, Leontes, as a redemptive character in the vital recognition scene. For Professor Hartwig it is this need for a controlling tragicomic poise that dictates the killing of Antigonus by the bear, and the brutal practicality of the clowns. While her thesis illumines knotty areas of the play, this deliberate shift of focus takes less account of the important Bohemian scenes than it ought.

The author advances *The Tempest* as the play in which Shakespeare's full tragicomic statement is articulated. Prospero is viewed as a Providential surrogate, whose function is to direct the characters and the audience towards a tragicomic vision, through the temporary suspension of their moral perception, until finally released by wonder. While she is less successful in dealing with Prospero, an interesting aspect of Professor Hartwig's study is the important rhetorical function which Shakespeare accords a minor figure, like the old courtier, Gonzalo, whose wit, unflinching good humour, and sense of the divine plan at the heart of events, fulfils the complex task of controlling the audience's sympathy and judgment.

As she suggests, the distinguishing features of Shakespeare's final plays, considered as tragicomedies—and compared, for instance, with Beaumont and Fletcher's *A King and No King*, or *Philaster*,—is the constant pressure of the actual and the limited on the remote and romantically ideal. In *Pericles* there is the sordid brothel life, in *Cymbeline* Imogen faces death in the Welsh mountains, and in *The Winter's Tale* young Mamillius dies, and Antigonus is sacrificed for Perdita. Even in the magical setting of *The Tempest* revolt and murder continually threaten, and Prospero's healing art finds Caliban irredeemable. Professor Hartwig argues, therefore, that the function of Shakespearean tragicomedy is to balance and reconcile contradictory human experiences; the actual and the ideal, the artificial and the natural, sorrow and joy. It is also a process of remaking the characters and their worlds from nothing, and the fresh growth is heralded with a sense of wonder, and an enlarged moral vision.

This is the first book to study Shakespeare's last plays according to their quality of wonder, and the rhetorical function of their patent artifice. Although it is a modest, unpretentious book, reflecting a shift in focus rather than a major reinterpretation, within its chosen area it succeeds admirably. And Joan Hartwig can write.

Dalhousie University

G. M. HARVEY

Rebellion The Rising in French Canada, 1837. By Joseph Schull. Toronto: Macmillan, 1971. Pp. xii, 226. \$9.95.

For some Canadians the 1837-8 *Patriote* Rebellion is nothing more than a pathetic comic-opera affair. But for others, especially for a growing number of young French-Canadian Separatists, the Rebellion is perceived as a genuine people's Revolution which was betrayed by an incompetent and unprincipled middle-class leadership. Today Quebec Separatists seem obsessed with the bloody events of 1837 and 1838. *Patriote* flags, *Patriote* tuques, *Patriote* songs and *Patriote* shibboleths have been carefully plucked from the historical past to be used in the contemporary political battle to prepare the way for the creation of a separate and independent Quebec.

Joseph Schull's *Rebellion* is, as he cogently puts it in his preface, definitely "not an analysis of basic causes". Rather, it is an attempt "to tell the story of the events and place them in scale". *Rebellion*, it should be emphasized, "is a work of collection and synthesis rather than of original scholarship". The book, in other words, is aimed at the general reader and not at the expert in Canadian History. And to be fair to Mr. Schull his study must be judged within the conceptual framework he has constructed.

Without question, Mr. Schull writes lucid and lively prose. His descriptions of the various military engagements as well as his sensitive word portraits of some of the leading men involved in the Rebellion are, on the whole, superbly done. After discussing somewhat briefly the historical background to the outbreak of hostilities in 1837, Mr. Schull devotes the bulk of his volume to the military events of 1837 and 1838. Then, there is a discussion of the role played by Lord Durham in attempting to deal with the crisis as well as a concluding chapter largely concerned with what happened in later years to some of the *Patriote* firebrands. In fact, *Rebellion* ends with the death in September, 1873, of the enigmatic *Patriote* chieftain Louis Joseph Papineau.

As might be expected, the volume is strong on descriptive narrative but relatively weak on perceptive analysis. It is beautifully illustrated, and the number and quality of these illustrations probably help to account for the high price of the book.

Queen's University

G. A. RAWLYK

The Illusions of a Nation. Myth and History in the Novels of F. Scott Fitzgerald.

By John F. Callahan. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972. Pp. viii, 221. \$7.95.

John F. Callahan is a subtle and discriminating critic, and he argues convincingly that Fitzgerald's most important novels are constructed upon the thesis

that the American idealist has become paralyzed because, instead of examining the reality of his people's history, he has given too much credence to those cultural myths or stereotypes that were designed to obscure the true ugliness of this history. Consequently, it is extremely regrettable that Professor Callahan's book should be marred by several perhaps minor but rather pervasive flaws.

What turns out to be one of the greatest weaknesses of *The Illusions of a Nation* is suggested in the Preface. Professor Callahan, we are told, was actively involved in Eugene McCarthy's Presidential campaign of 1968 and feels that this campaign became directionless and failed because the people engaged in it were not sure of "the truth about America". His aim in writing about Fitzgerald is to clarify for himself and his readers what this truth is, and thus, as he asserts at the end of the book, to strengthen the future efforts of American Liberals: "[Fitzgerald's] novels . . . put contemporary Americans in touch with ourselves and maybe even move us towards a society whose values, language, and policies will harmonize in democratic forms" (215-216). The effects of what I feel is an over-specific use of literary texts make themselves felt throughout his book in repeated and often very forced allusions to contemporary events—Cooper's Natty Bumppo is described as the "first cop in the garden. Friendly cop, but cop. Indeed, first National Guardsman" (9); the same limited perceptions of human personality which stultify Ishmael, Ahab, Carraway, Diver and Stahr are ascribed to Lyndon Johnson as an explanation for his foreign policy; Eugene McCarthy's inability to act is compared with Marlow and Carraway's; and Nicole's defensive either-or rhetoric is likened to that of dispossessed minorities. Perhaps the most contrived and also the most ludicrous of Professor Callahan's parallels is his use of Fitzgerald's argument that Americans have entered into an almost incestuous father-daughter relationship with their country to explain President Johnson's hostility to student protest about the Vietnam War: "Was not guilt involved in the President's almost personal escalation of aggressive violence? Protestors possessing America as woman would be bad enough, but America as daughter? And black protestors!" (123).

Irrelevant and distracting as these asides are they would be more palatable if they were not accompanied by a sudden change from that inoffensive if rather jargon-bound and convoluted mode of utterance popular amongst American critics to a chatty yet portentous style (as illustrated in the two quotations above), which is an unfortunate hybrid of Leslie Fiedler and Jerry Rubin.

The Illusions of a Nation is further weakened by its structural unevenness. Despite Professor Callahan's assertion that *Tender is the Night* is a superior novel to *The Great Gatsby* it is hardly of sufficiently greater importance and complexity to merit some 171 pages of analysis as opposed to the 24 devoted to the latter work. As a result, the chapter on *The Great Gatsby* is so condensed as to become almost

gnomic at times, while that on *Tender is the Night* is made tediously repetitive by its exhaustive section-by-section analysis.

In spite of all this, *The Illusions of a Nation* remains a book worthy of consideration by anyone wishing to achieve a greater understanding of Fitzgerald. Professor Callahan's discussions of Nick's troubled relationship with his Calvinist and genteel middle-class background and of the ironies inherent in Gatsby's attempts to live ahistorically within an historical framework are especially perceptive. Almost equally illuminating is his extended analysis of the complex symbolic structure that transforms the microcosmic action of *Tender is the Night* into a paradigm of the total American experience.

For all its flaws *The Illusions of a Nation* remains one of those rare critical works which grapples with the central problems posed by an important writer in such a way as to cast new light on that writer's achievement.

Mount Saint Vincent University

DAVID M. MONAGHAN

The Nigerian Military: a sociological analysis of authority and revolt 1960-67. By Robin Luckham. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1971. (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada). African Studies Series Number Four. Pp. xiv, 376. \$19.50.

This lucid *magnum opus* combines a sociological explanation of the role of the Nigerian armed forces in the two political coups of 1966 with an historical account of the deficiencies of the two successive groups of soldiers as government leaders. It is a major addition to comparative social studies in two areas—the military as an institution, and African politics. Its most original contribution is a suggestive sociological analysis of the Nigerian army as a distinctive social system, with characteristic boundaries, environment and transactions; this model is a substantial conceptual tool which could be the basis of a series of case studies of militaries and coups. It is less successful as an exercise in contemporary political history because this part lacks an analytic framework for the examination of the officers as the new political elite. The problems of military institutional transfer are well organised by the use of systems analysis; the typology of post-coup military-political relations would have been improved by placing them within a structure of systemic change.

The first two parts of the book, a brief history and the substantive sociological analysis, contain the core of the study; the introduction to the second part on "The Nigerian Military as a social system" (pp. 83-87) captures the important factors. The third and final part is a more disjointed, descriptive history which regrettably abandons the promising analytic propositions of the central six chapters. The first half is a self-conscious and commendable addition to the epistemological

tradition of military analysis forged by Bienen, Finer, Janowitz, *et alia*. Both halves are based on exhaustive field-work and unpublished primary sources and employ some imaginative unobtrusive measures. The monograph is well-produced and foot-noted; it includes forty-three tables of sociological data, two appendices, and three invaluable indexes of actors, authors and subjects.

Luckham has an engaging behavioural style and nicely combines theoretical jargon with mess-type humour and tales. His "value-free" abstractions are balanced by humanitarian concern, but he generally avoids partisan identification with either the Ibo or Northern causes, though he clearly deplors the mis-use of ethnic symbols. However, the author's originality is also a liability; he creates a multiplicity of concepts and propositions but fails to sustain all the threads of analysis. The last five chapters on the military in politics abandon the original systemic model and fail to provide a satisfying cumulative conclusion. They tend to be repetitive and do not articulate justifications for the earlier usage of several diverse methodological approaches, which only have tangential relations and are often uncomfortable in combination.

The initial complex web of interdependent themes focuses on the tensions between military structure and politico-social values, especially the interaction of ethnic and professional norms. The coups are explicable in terms of conflicts within the military system as well as reflections of, and reactions to, social cleavages. Luckham's painstaking and scholarly approach has no intention of disproving any of the conspiracy theories of ethnic determinism in the two military interventions and related primordial violence. However, his analysis suggests that ethnic myths developed around organizational processes because of the unstable political environment. The revival of sub-nationalism in the post-independence polity eroded the impervious nature of the politico-military boundary. The Majors' Coup was followed by that of the Junior Officers and the NCOs. The reaction of the Northern Officers to the perceived Ibo take-over through the first putsch ignored the historico-educational reasons for Ibo concentration at this rank. The Gowon coup led to Biafran secession and civil war; the Nigerian military split into two incompatible systems. This sequence was reinforced by the inherited incidence of military ranks between ethnic groups.

The thesis is a critique of the school of political development which perceives the military as an agent of modernization. Luckham suggests that the anti-political values of Ironsi made him incapable of effective rule, while Gowon was ready to coopt civilians into the decision-making process. The military embodied the tension between British traditions and Nigeria's functional needs. Its political role not only reflected primordial identification but also the institutional dilemmas of heroism and hierarchy, of initiative and discipline (pp. 145-162). The association of ethnicity with region was a political reaction; ethnicity is a salient aggregative factor when organizational and political stresses are growing:

The sudden fluorescence of primordial animosity in 1966 occurred when tribal and regional ties became the symbolic outlet for the expression of a whole range of tensions, both within the military organization itself and outside it in a wider political context (p. 196).

The military intervened in 1966 to prevent violence, but it was incapable of controlling the subsequent Northern massacres and civil war in which soldiers played a dominant role. The army wanted to terminate political decay, alienation and nepotism, but it lacked sufficient political and administrative resources to be an effective administrative authority. The distance, inactivity and apparent ethnic exclusiveness of the Ironsi regime led to the evaporation of popular support. Gowon was more able to translate military images into political decisions through a declamatory political style; thus economic planning was introduced for reasons of military efficiency, not socialist values:

The military view of the proper conduct of government can be summarized in the form of five antinomies: discipline versus disorder; honour versus decadence and corruption; achievement versus ascription; administered consensus versus politics; and the nation versus regionalism and tribalism (p. 281).

The inability of the military leadership to implement this code led to the massacre of Ibos and the defection of the Eastern army under Ojukwu. Gowon was able to restrain his officers who advocated an early invasion of Iboland; and despite the failure of the Aburi agreements his timely creation of more regions deterred other minorities from following Biafra into secession. Although Luckham insists that civil war was not inevitable (pp. 336-340) his comprehensive analysis indicates that it was likely. The need for such a disclaimer is an indication of the quality and accuracy of his work and of the reliability of his model of the military as a social system.

Dalhousie University

TIMOTHY M. SHAW

Lark des Neiges. By Ronald Sutherland. Toronto: New Press, 1971. Pp. 151. Cloth, \$8.50.

Lark des Neiges raises a number of questions about what makes a novel work. No one would dispute the fact that we have here all of the elements of good fiction. Nothing could be more relevant than this painstaking exploration of bicultural consciousness, and there is both honesty and insight in the author's treatment of his subject. Ronald Sutherland knows his milieu, right down to the smell of the sheds in Montreal East; he knows his characters, their interests, their prejudices and their patois; he has thought long and well about the background and implications of French-English tensions in Quebec. As a story teller, he knows how to handle linear and psychological time, and he shows a willingness to experiment with

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monologue, memory, dream and fantasy to carry this day in the life of Suzanne Laflamme to its conclusion. And yet with all of this, the novel falls apart and becomes dust in the reader's hand. What has gone wrong?

One of the major problems with Professor Sutherland's novel lies in the question of how far any writer dare go in giving the game away. For example, one of the threads of the heroine's consciousness is a recurring fantasy of a woman struggling with the rigours of rural Quebec. She is, we find, the snow lark of the title, and her struggles are with the natural elements around her, the exploitative nature of the English Canadian who rapes her in the cabin, the passivity of the French Canadian husband who smiles and goes on chopping wood, and her own concept of herself as worthy or unworthy of greater respect. Caught in such a blizzard of destructive forces, the snow lark can neither sing nor fly, though the concluding fantasy in which she imagines herself ringing her own doorbell suggests she may be coming to some kind of self-integration. This fantasy sequence is, in itself, quite successful, its images real and its characters fascinating amalgams of persons who have influenced Suzanne's life. But the author is not satisfied with his snow lark; she must become his trained parakeet, and from the depths of Suzanne's misery and confusion we are asked to accept several sophisticated diatribes against Catholic education, multiple explorations of Presbyterian repression and guilt, and a peculiarly Sartrian explanation of the role of racial prejudice in creating dehumanized sex-objects. We neither need nor want such statements. Nor do we need a homily on the virtues of self-acceptance after she has realized, in a very well-handled scene with a photograph album, that her husband not only knows about her pitiful affairs with her English boyfriends, but accepts her problems so completely that he has pretended not to know and has even lied to preserve her sense of dignity.

In this widening credibility gap between reader and character, it is the author and his own interpretive comments which create the abyss. And this brings up another question, the question of artistic intent. One is driven to ask oneself why the book was written, and the answer seems to be to put the point across. Technically speaking, the novel never leaves Suzanne's mind, yet the book's intensity is hardly ever hers, and one senses that Professor Sutherland cares much less for her than for the social and psychological problems which she must endure. There is, of course, a fine tradition of homiletic fiction, but the writer who chooses to work within it must confront the artistic problems which such concerns impose. Novelists like Fielding, for instance, have their own way of dealing with this kind of thing: they speak to us directly and tell us, rather disarmingly, that if we do not want a lecture we should skip the chapter and get on with the adventures of Tom Jones. Robertson Davies, to choose a more contemporary example, speaks through a character who is well-equipped to discuss the implications of his life, and though this may limit the author in his choice of heroes, it certainly makes for convincing



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and credible fiction. Professor Sutherland writes with little awareness of what he himself intends. Unwittingly, he overpowers his own creation, and it is finally only his wish to label and proselytize, to reveal great truths and cause social change, that endures in the reader's mind. We recognize the value of his ideas and, as Canadians, feel strangely guilty for not enjoying the novel more. And the guiltier we feel, the less we like it. It is a vicious circle, and it has vicious consequences for the novel.

A final question which the book brings to mind is the problem of form and content. The reader lays down the novel with a sense of relief; the experience has been irritating, boring and distasteful. Yet such final impressions are, it might be argued, precisely what Professor Sutherland might wish to create. The adjectives describe the novel, but they describe the heroine as well—her superficiality, her obsessions and her limited vocabulary—and the intention has been to show us how the two-culture problem in Canada creates such people and brings them to their knees. And, one might continue to argue, if this is the consciousness of the bicultural nation, the consciousness of a woman whose monologue to her cat has a peculiarly fetid and cat-like odour of its own, then it has been well explored. Yet one cannot help but wonder if this is not forcing the organic theory of art to the point where form and content perish in the coils of their own embrace. I am convinced, for instance, that the medieval dramatist and his audience knew very well that pursuing moral goals was a rather dreary business, but the morality plays which emerged from this awareness are far from boring: morality may be wretchedly dull but immorality is not, and the playwrights found their dramatic focus where they could. Perhaps this is a rather self-indulgent wish, that art should entertain us in some way. It is certainly a nostalgic and old-fashioned wish, as the tendency toward "Living Theatre", one of the dreariest fashions of our time, seems to suggest. In any case it is, I think, a feature of human nature that it will not follow where it cannot love, and though we may sympathize with the snow lark, for the parakeet and the house cat we feel nothing but incredulity and indifference.

Vanier College, Montreal

FRANCES DAVIS

Volvox: Poetry from the Unofficial Languages of Canada, In English Translation.

Edited by J. Michael Yates. The Sono Nis Press. Pp. 256. \$7.95.

Volvox is an extremely handsome book, and it represents what must in theory have seemed a worthy project (worthy enough for the Canada Council to have assisted in its publication). It makes available in English translation the work of Canadian poets writing in Hungarian, Japanese, Polish, Icelandic, Ukrainian, German, Lithuanian and other "unofficial" languages: in all, poems from sixteen languages by a total of twenty-eight poets. J. Michael Yates has cast his editorial net

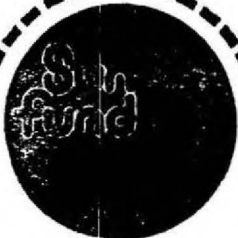
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widely, and it has a fine mesh: Miss Samar Attar's Arabic poems are included on the basis of her taking an M.A. at Dalhousie, and Mr. George Faludy, a lecturer at Columbia University, is netted because "for the past thirteen years he has been living in London, Malta, Toronto and New York" (Can. Lit.'s adoption laws are admirably flexible). *Volvox* remains nevertheless an unmemorable collection; it explores an area of Canadian writing unknown to most English-speaking Canadians, but it is hard to imagine anyone being excited by the translated poems it presents. On the whole, the exploratory probe returns with negative findings.

This is not to say that *Volvox* could be mistaken for a run-of-the-mill anthology of English-Canadian poems, or even for a collection of poems originally written in the English language. One reason for this lies in the impression many of the translations give of being almost poems, almost precise, but not quite themselves ("a total and enemy light/followed/after our dreams/and wounded the rhythm of day"). But more striking to the reader of English poetry is the extent to which surrealism is still a living force for poets writing in European languages; half the poets represented in *Volvox* seem to have been influenced by it in one way or another—in their interest in the unconscious, their emphasis on dreams and dream-visions, and in the anti-rational structure of their verse. Nicholas Catanoy's "Circumstances", which he himself translated from the Rumanian, could almost have been prescribed by the 1924 *Manifeste du Surrealisme*, where André Breton spoke of presenting "the real process of thought . . . the dictation of thought, free from any control by the reason and of any aesthetic and moral preoccupation". But Mr. Catanoy's work is less a process of thought than a static self-indulgence:

New-yorking. Nights come east. For security reasons all dogs assume code names & Belches come from behind the eyes/bats circle (no matter what doors you might try to close) & This apple tastes like ESSO & One is obeyed by a dead whale & Neon toccatas and scars/as far as neighbors go/or rectal dialogues and their intricate meanings. Then the reverse of seed/to witness a hanging & parrots barking & the statue of Liberty casually holding Xerxes' phallus.

Similar influences seem to be at work in Andrez Busza's "Woman with Cello and Foxes", where

at the crossroads
a woman stands transfixed

waiting
for the apple tree
to blossom again

she presses a black cello
to her thigh

and trembles as the chords
swarm through her flesh like ants

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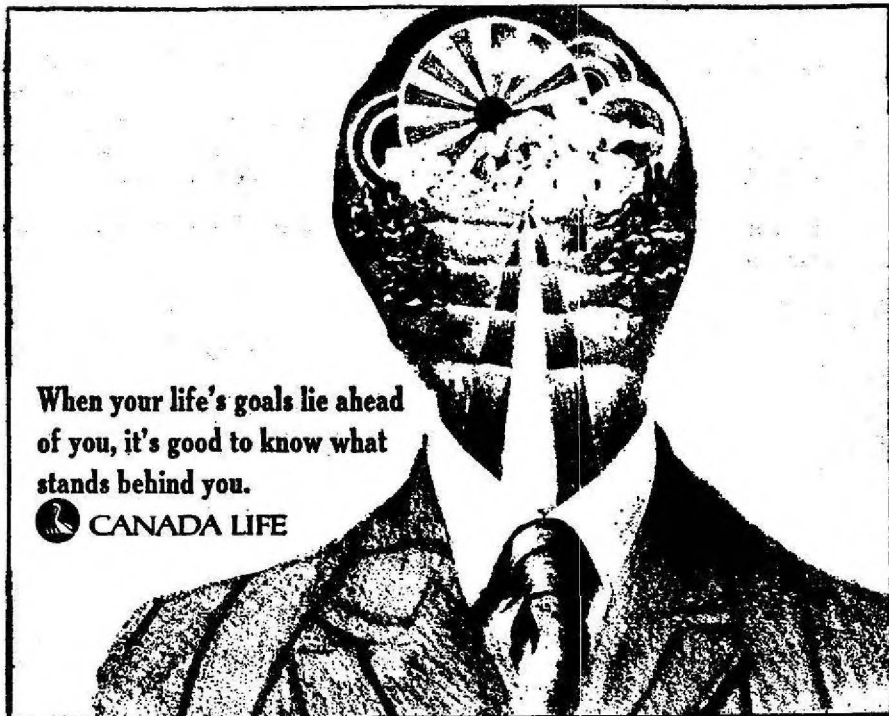
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In its very title, as well as in its imagery, this (like other poems by Mr. Busza) reminds one of André Breton's claim that "to compare two objects as remote in character as possible, or by any other method to put them together in a striking fashion, remains the highest task to which poetry can aspire". The extravagance of Breton's dictum leads one to observe that the procedures of surrealism are risky ones; formulated by Breton for a circle of men of genius, and providing as they do so few formal conventions to fall back on, they can be treacherous to writers who lack the delicacy of an Eluard, or to take a more contemporary example, the tough wit of a Günter Grass. With its emphasis on the world of the unconscious mind, surrealism issues less in artistic guidelines than in a psychological imperative. Thus the approach to literary form which could produce through the surrealists' precursor Rimbaud the hallucinatory intensity of "Larme" and *Les Illuminations* results here in the self-consciously exotic landscape of Bogdan Czaykowski's "Garden", and the heavily manufactured and gnostic prose-poems of Andreas Schroeder. If the "super-reality" of the visions fails to convince, or in Apollinaire's expression "to astonish", little else of interest remains.

I should point out that not all the poets in this anthology could be called surrealist, and that even among the poems from particular authors the extent of the surrealist influence varies. Henrikas Nagys, whose work is translated from the Lithuanian, and whose method in some of his poems in *Volvox* seems to be one of revery or association of images in the surrealist manner, emerges from a mist of connotations in his series of brief poems "Wind in the Trees", where his attempt to render the atmosphere of different trees and woods is the more evocative because of the need to be accurate, and responsible to the real. His presentation of an oak wood is powerful, if gothic:

Their huge dark hands,
their clutching fingers twisted with wounds,
hold a rigid cloud
like a great black coffin.

They are coming. They carry the sunset,
slowly swaying, a great, somber throng.

As I said earlier, *Volvox* is not a memorable anthology, but some of its poems do remain with one when the book is closed—"Reinhard"'s brief, withdrawn poem "Winter's Fields", about the end of an affair; Walter Bauer's accurate, unpretentious poetry, well translated by Henry Beissel; and "Ave Luna . . .", George Faludy's morose rambling meditation on the moon and moon-landings, which does succeed in breaking through *Volvox's* prevailing atmosphere of self-absorption.

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Mediums, and Spirit-Rappers, and Roaring Radicals; Spiritualism in American Literature, 1850-1900. By Howard Kerr. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972. Pp. 261. \$8.95.

In his first chapter Mr. Kerr describes "The Epoch of Rapping Spirits", and in subsequent chapters he is concerned with the reactions of a large number of literary figures to the occult, mesmeric and supernatural "phenomena" of the period and its importance in their writing. He has obviously done a great deal of very detailed research.

The subject is inherently an interesting one, but the whole study suffers from a basic confusion on the author's part as to what exactly he is concerned with. It is no doubt true that most of the people involved in spiritualism also dabbled in mesmerism, free love, women's rights, socialism, vegetarianism and other "isms", but he chooses spiritualism (albeit, undefined) as his central topic. Yet when he comes to discuss its influence on works of literature he is so bound up with his extensive data on the complicated, scandalous and often fascinating activities of the spiritualists that he is quite unable to see what is important for a critical consideration of the literature concerned. His intentions in this work are confused. Is he recording the opinions of various writers on these matters, listing and describing works about spiritualism, or examining the significance of spiritualism in the fiction of the period? He tries to do all these things and as a result his book is confused and irritating.

Moreover, it is tiring to read and all but four pages (four half-pages at that) are burdened with—often extensive—footnotes: 856 in 222 pages of text. His prose is convoluted and hinders one's understanding of his critical judgements especially. What does it mean, for example, to say of Henry James's "ghostly tales" that

. . . the ghosts, perhaps, were but occult personifications of the metaphysical illuminations through which those characters, as if trance mediums themselves, sometimes perceived reality? (p. 210)

or that Egeria in William Dean Howells's *The Undiscovered Country* is "a Gothic residue?" (p. 214) What is "Hawthornesque tragedy" (p. 147) and "Hawthornesque romance" (p. 152)? The context does not supply the sense necessary for an understanding of this kind of language, nor does it justify the use of a loaded term like "male chauvinist" (p. 214).

One's suspicions that the book was written with the aid of a card index file are aroused by the amazing frequency of repeated points in separate, and even the same, chapters. As one example of this: on p. 65 he notes certain similarities between Hawthorne's *The Blithedale Romance*, Howells's *The Undiscovered Country*, and Henry James's *The Bostonians* and "Professor Fargo". Variations of this point are to be found on pages 121, 127-128, 136, 140, 142 (in a footnote), 146, 146-147 (in a footnote), 190, 203, and 211-213. Admittedly in several of these examples he is discussing or quoting critics who have made substantially the same point,

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but this makes his own repetition of it the less excusable. Something perhaps was wrong with his cross-reference system?

At the same time one feels that he is constantly pushing his argument. Why does he limit himself to the period 1850-1900? Were there no mesmerists or spiritualists before the Fox sisters? Poe is mentioned several times but the dates exclude a full consideration of his work. What about Irving, and Charles Brockden Brown's *Wieland*? He needs to justify these limitations because in the course of the book he shows that he is aware of a tradition of writing about the demonic, occult and supernatural, existing in New England especially, since the Puritans. The references made by Melville to Cotton Mather and Mrs. Radcliffe which he quotes point to two sources which he rather perfunctorily discusses and then plays down as sources of interest in the supernatural. This is unfortunate for his consideration of Hawthorne, especially in view of the degree of influence which he ascribes to *The Blithedale Romance*.

The Fox sisters, as he says (p. 55), do fit the pattern of Gothic romance, and this is at least as important an influence on Hawthorne as contemporary spiritualism. Hawthorne's few recorded comments on spiritualism and mesmerism are listed and compared to his fictional representations of these (as distinct from Gothic "decor") in *The House of Seven Gables*, *The Blithedale Romance* and *The Marble Faun*. The difficulty of abiding by his defined period is here apparent, for surely if one wants to discuss the supernatural in Hawthorne one must refer to earlier tales such as "Alice Doane's Appeal", "The Hollow of the Three Hills", "Howe's Masquerade" and "Young Goodman Brown". Also one feels that he should have made some rudimentary kind of distinction between fiction concerned with the supernatural as a whole and that concerned with mediums and the spirit-world. His assertion that Seymour Kirkup and his medium "daughter" whom Hawthorne met in Florence were the basis for characters in those last romances of the search for the elixir of life is somewhat off the track for a study of "Spiritualism in American Literature". Even so he tells us (p. 65) how Hawthorne and the writers of the 1850s were generally unwilling or unable to utilize spiritualism as "an important frame of reference for supernatural fiction!"

Indeed it is surprising finally, considering the extensive interest in and activity of the spiritualists at this period, how little fiction of any importance was directly concerned with spiritualism. The exceptions are notable: Howells's *The Undiscovered Country*, James's "The Turn of the Screw" and *The Bostonians*, perhaps Twain's *Life on the Mississippi* and *Huckleberry Finn*, but apart from these not altogether representative works the literature concerned with or influenced by spiritualism is of secondary interest to the literary critic. Kerr exhausts just about everything that can be said on Melville's satire on spiritualism, "The Apple-Tree Table", and makes rather a lot of an incident in *Pierre*. Ambrose Bierce surely merits more attention than a brief reference to "An Occurrence at Owl Creek

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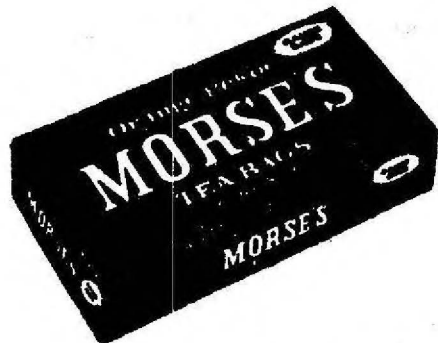
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Bridge", and in view of his interest in mesmerism Mr. Kerr might have included Oliver Wendell Holmes's *Elsie Venner*.

However, this study is a useful and informative source of reference for writings by and about the spiritualists and the radicals of many kinds associated with them and it demonstrates fully that very many literary people were interested in or connected with such activities. It is especially valuable in relating the antics of the final section of *Huckleberry Finn* to a satirical and parodistic tradition of humorous writing on spiritualism and showing the popularity and extent of this genre. Finally the spiritualists themselves are shown as a fascinating if frequently deluded, foolish or immoral group, ranging from the Fox sisters, cracking their toe-joints to simulate rappings, to J. V. Mansfield, the "spirit postmaster", who delivered letters from the dead, and Leah Fish who closed her sisters' public séances by singing "Hail, Columbia" to the rhythmic accompaniment of rapping spirits!

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