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Editorial

2012, wenige Monate nach dem Beginn der Occupy-Bewegung, erschien in Kanada und im englischen Sprachraum im Verlag Allen Lane das Buch *Plutocrats. The Rise of the New Global Super-Rich and the Fall of Everyone Else*. Knapp ein Jahr später wurde die deutsche Übersetzung unter dem Titel *Die Superreichen – Aufstieg und Herrschaft einer neuen globalen Geldelite* im Westend-Verlag veröffentlicht. Autorin war die kanadische Journalistin Chrystia Freeland, die wir gegen Ende des Editorials in ihrer heutigen Rolle vorstellen werden. Sie trug mit *Plutocrats* sehr dazu bei, das im breiteren öffentlichen Diskurs lange tabuisierte Thema der wachsenden sozialen Ungleichheit an der Wende zum 21. Jahrhundert auf die politische Tagesordnung in vielen Ländern der Welt zu setzen und in den Fokus der Aufmerksamkeit zu rücken.

So war „Soziale Gerechtigkeit" auch das Thema der Jahrestagung der Gesellschaft für Kanadastudien 2016. Die Jahrestagung knüpfte dabei an die kritischen Debatten seit den frühen 2000er Jahren an, die den Primat der Identität wieder in einen größeren Kontext materieller Verhältnisse zu stellen suchten. Wie Janet Conway in ihrer Keynote „Contesting Social Justice. Beyond the ‚Modern Political'" hervorhob, ist der Konflikt zwischen Herangehensweisen, die Identität, und solchen, die ‚Klasse' in der Diskussion um soziale Gerechtigkeit hervorheben, eine zentrale Achse der letzten 50 Jahre, eine Achse, die sich etwa auch in den für den kanadischen Kontext so wichtigen Debatten um Anerkennung niederschlägt – beispielhaft genannt seien hier nur die Diskussion um Anerkennung, Multikulturalismus und Interkulturalismus (Bouchard/Taylor) oder Nancy Frasers Gegenüberstellung von ‚Anerkennung' und ‚Umverteilung'. Für Conway nun verschieben sich die Konturen der Debatte, insbesondere im kanadischen, aber auch in globalen Kontexten, was sich in der zunehmenden Bedeutung der Bewegungen für indigene Rechte, den Auseinandersetzungen um ‚environmental justice' sowie dem Status nichtmenschlichen, insbesondere tierischen Lebens in der Diskussion um Gerechtigkeit ausdrückt. Vor allem der erste von Conway aufgegriffene Aspekt spielte eine wichtige Rolle in einigen der insgesamt zwölf Konferenzbeiträge, die sich auf Fragen autochtoner Souveränität konzentrierten. Dabei wurde in der deutlichen Anknüpfung an das Thema der Jahrestagung 2015 – Mehrheiten und Minderheiten in Kanada und Québec – deutlich, wie eng verzahnt Identitätskonstruktionen als Grundlage und/oder Begründung kollektiven Handelns mit materiellen gesellschaftlichen Verhältnissen und Hierarchien sind.

Die ersten drei der hier vorliegenden Beiträge gehen aus Vorträgen auf der Jahrestagung hervor; im Mittelpunkt der Analysen steht die Frage nach den Möglichkeiten und Grenzen von Literatur, soziale Ungerechtigkeit zu thematisieren, die ihr

zugrunde liegenden Denk- und Wahrnehmungsstrukturen offenzulegen und zu kritisieren. Alex Demeulenaere diskutiert in seinem Aufsatz „La question sociale dans l'œuvre d'Yvon Rivard et de Jacques Godbout" die Darstellung sozialer Ungerechtigkeit in den Werken der Québecer Autoren Jacques Godbout und Yvon Rivard. Das literarische Schaffen beider wird dabei zu ihrem intellektuellen Gesamtwerk während und nach der *révolution tranquille* in Bezug gesetzt, wobei insbesondere ihre Beiträge für die Zeitschrift *Liberté* in den Blick genommen werden. Der literarische Diskurs beider, so Demeulenaeres Vermutung, ist dabei nicht so sehr eine logische Fortsetzung andernorts geäußerter Sozialkritik, sondern Manifestation künstlerischer Vieldeutigkeit. – Katrin Berndts Beitrag „Citizens and the Community: Dimensions of Democratic Justice in Contemporary Black Canadian Writing" konzentriert sich auf die Darstellungen von Nationalität, *citizenship* und Gemeinschaftskonstitution in der afrikanisch-kanadischen Literatur am Beispiel von George Elliott Clarkes *George & Rue* und Dionne Brands *What We All Long For* (beide 2005). Sie greift damit Beispiele unterschiedlicher Facetten schwarzer Literatur in Kanada auf – Clarkes Roman, fokussierend auf eine ländliche *community* in Nova Scotia im frühen 20. Jahrhundert und deren Marginalisierungsstrukturen, ist in einer ‚afrikadischen' (‚Africadian', Clarkes Begriff) Tradition nationaler (Gegen-)Geschichte verortet, Brands Roman mit seinem Setting in der kosmopolitischen Metropole Toronto und seiner Exploration komplexer und widersprüchlicher Zugehörigkeitsstrukturen hingegen in einer stärker diasporischen Literatur im Kontext der jüngeren Einwanderungsgeschichte. Zentral ist hier ist die literarische Darstellung von einerseits Zugehörigkeit als Aspekt von *cultural citizenship,* andererseits – und damit eng verbunden – des Gemeinwesens als der Ort, wo Anerkennung und Partizipation, aber auch Ein- und Ausschlüsse ausgehandelt werden. Demokratie und soziale Gerechtigkeit hängen hier somit unmittelbar zusammen. – Dunja M. Mohr schließlich geht in ihrem Beitrag „Beyond Posthuman Boundaries and Interspeciesism – Social Justice and Canadian Speculative Fiction" einem auch von Conway angesprochenen Aspekt der Debatte um soziale Gerechtigkeit nach: Ausgehend von der Annahme des transformativen Potentials von Literatur diskutiert der Beitrag die Verzahnung von Posthumanismus, *Critical Animal Studies* und Neuem Materialismus mit Fragen der sozialen Gerechtigkeit. Auf dieser Basis – und rekurrierend auf Romane von Larissa Lai, Ronald Wright und Michael Murphy, vor allem aber auf Margaret Atwoods *MaddAddam*-Trilogie – geht Mohr der Frage nach, inwieweit kanadische *speculative fiction* zunehmend unscharfe Körper- und Speziesgrenzen verhandelt und auf diese Weise erste Schritte hinsichtlich einer Auslotung von einer „multispecies justice", wie dies mit Ursula Heise ausgedrückt wird, unternimmt.

Der nächste Beitrag von Domenico Beneventi mit dem Titel „Re-imagining Trauma: Montréal Under Siege in Michel Basilières' *Black Bird*" schließt noch einmal an das Thema von 2015 an. Mit Blick auf die enge konzeptuelle Verknüpfung von Körper, Sprache, Nation und (Stadt-)Raum diskutiert er mit Michel Basilières' *Black Bird* (2004) einen Roman, der die Oktoberkrise von 1970 und damit eine dramatische

Phase der Geschichte Québecs aufgreift. Der Roman, so das Argument, dekonstruiert das Bild von Montréal als einer klar entlang ‚zweier Einsamkeiten' gespaltenen Stadt; vielmehr setzt er durch karnevaleske Strategien sowie Elemente der *Gothic* die sprachlichen und politischen Brüche, die „uneasy alliances and troubled familial bonds of English and French communities," die Montréal kennzeichnen, in und durch seine Form um. – John Woitkowitz' Beitrag „The Northern Education of Lester B. Pearson" analysiert die Rolle des ‚Nordens' und der Arktis für Lester B. Pearsons „Artic nationalism" und für seine Agenda, Kanada als eigenständigen außenpolitischen Akteur insbesondere mit Blick auf die USA zu etablieren. Woitkowitz wendet sich dabei gegen eine zu ausschließliche Analyse von Pearsons Politik im Kontext von Souveränitäts- und Sicherheitsfragen; dieser geschichtswissenschaftlich dominante Fokus sollte produktiv ergänzt werden durch eine Berücksichtigung sozialer und kultureller Narrative. In diesem Sinne zeichnet er anhand von bisher unveröffentlichten Dokumenten aus Pearsons Nachlass sowie seinen öffentlichen Stellungnahmen die kulturelle Genese des von Pearson für seine Arktisdiplomatie mobilisierten Bildes vom Norden als Teil eines Nationalnarrativs nach. – Abschließend gibt Stefanie Fritzenkötter in ihrem Beitrag mit dem Titel „Aspects morphosyntaxiques et lexicaux du français acadien des adolescents de la Baie Sainte-Marie, Nouvelle-Écosse", basierend auf einem 2011 in Nova Scotia aufgenommenen Gesprächskorpus, einen Überblick über die wichtigsten morphosyntaktischen und lexikalischen Aspekte der akadischen Jugendsprache an der Baie Sainte-Marie.

Weniger als 15 Monate nach seinem Amtsantritt am 5.11.2015 bildete Premierminister Justin Trudeau am 10. Januar 2017 sein Kabinett um. Die international wichtigste Veränderung betrifft die Leitung des kanadischen Außenministeriums. Der bisherige Minister Stéphane Dion scheidet aus dem Kabinett aus und wird durch die eingangs zitierte Journalistin, Sachbuchautorin und bisherige Handelsministerin Chrystia Freeland ersetzt. Freeland, seit 2013 Abgeordnete der Liberalen Partei Kanadas für Toronto, stammt aus einer Familie mit teilweise ukrainischen Wurzeln. Sie besitzt u. a. Abschlüsse in russischer Geschichte und Osteuropastudien aus Harvard und Oxford und war in den 1990er Jahren vier Jahre lang als Leiterin des Moskau-Büros der britischen „Financial Times" tätig. Ihre seit dem Ausbruch der Ukraine-Krise im Februar 2014 sehr kritische Position Russland gegenüber führte dazu, dass sie im März 2014 zusammen mit einem Dutzend weiterer Kanadier auf die Liste derjenigen Personen gesetzt wurde, denen die russischen Behörden die Einreise nach Russland verwehren. In Deutschland und der EU wurde Freeland im Herbst 2016 vor allem während der schwierigen Nachverhandlungen über das Handelsabkommen Ceta einer breiteren Öffentlichkeit bekannt, das Ende Oktober in Brüssel unterzeichnet wurde. Wir dürfen als Kanadistinnen und Kanadisten in den deutschsprachigen Ländern auf die neue Ministerin sehr gespannt sein – dem Außenministerium unterstehen nicht zuletzt die Botschaften in Berlin, Bern und Wien.

Während der Zusammenstellung dieses Heftes starb im November 2016 Leonard Cohen. Sein letztes Album *You Want It Darker,* erschienen nur etwas mehr als zwei Wochen vor seinem Tod, wurde bereits direkt nach dem Erscheinen als ein ausführliches Abschiednehmen interpretiert. Aber Cohen, bei aller Melancholie und mit der ihm so eigenen Art von Humor, verwies immer auch auf die Zukunft, ihre Unwägbarkeiten und ihre Anforderungen. In seinem Album *Dear Heather* (2004) vertont Cohen F.R. Scotts Gedicht „Villanelle for Our Time" mit seiner Mahnung „From bitter searching of the heart/We rise to play a greater part". Und die zentrale Zeile in „Anthem" aus dem so bezeichnend benannten Album *The Future* (1992) ist auch heute eine gute Erinnerung an die Offenheit der nahen Zukunft: „Forget your perfect offering/There is a crack in everything/That's how the light gets in".

Katja Sarkowsky Martin Thunert Doris G. Eibl

Inhalt

Alex Demeulenaere

La question sociale dans l'œuvre d'Yvon Rivard et de Jacques Godbout

Zusammenfassung

Die Frage nach der Darstellung der sozialen Ungerechtigkeit in der Literatur im Allgemeinen und speziell in der Literatur Québecs ist sehr komplex. Daher betrachten wir die Frage nach der Darstellung der sozialen Ungerechtigkeit in den Werken Godbouts und Rivards unter verschiedenen Gesichtspunkten. Zunächst blicken wir auf ihren intellektuellen Parcours während und nach der Révolution tranquille *zurück und präzisieren, inwiefern dieser, wirksam in sprachlichen, kulturellen und religiösen Bereichen, von dem Gefühl der sozialen Ungerechtigkeit herrührt. Die Tatsache, dass ihre Beiträge in erster Linie in der Zeitschrift* Liberté *erschienen sind, spielt bei der Analyse eine zentrale Rolle. Anschließend wird die oft problematische Umsetzung dieser intellektuellen Auseinandersetzung im literarischen Diskurs analysiert. Die Polyphonie der Romane Godbouts und der Hermetismus jener Rivards lassen vermuten, dass deren literarischer Diskurs eher eine künstlerische Isolation als eine logische Fortsetzung ihrer Kritiken ist.*

Abstract

The representation of social injustice within literature in general and Québec literature in particular is a complex issue. Thus, the issue of the representation of social injustice within the works of Godbout and Rivard, two prominent Québec writers and intellectuals, will be approached from multiple perspectives. First, we will consider their record as engaged intellectuals during and after the Révolution tranquille *and establish to what extent their engagement is rooted in a feeling of social injustice on a linguistic, cultural and religious level. The fact that they mainly chose the journal* Liberté *for their interventions will constitute an important part of our analysis. We will subsequently investigate the often problematic transposition of this intellectual engagement in literary discourse. The polyphony of Godbout´s novels and the hermeticism of those of Rivard allow us to read their literary works as an act of artistic retreat rather than a logical consequence of their critical essays.*

Résumé

La question de la représentation de l'injustice sociale en littérature en général et québécoise en particulier est complexe. C'est pourquoi nous approcherons la question de la représentation de l'injustice sociale dans l'œuvre de Godbout et de Rivard sous des diffé-

rents angles. Dans un premier temps, nous reviendrons sur leur parcours d'intellectuels engagés pendant et après la Révolution tranquille en détaillant comment celui-ci découle d'un sentiment d'injustice sociale se manifestant dans les domaines linguistiques, culturels et religieux. Que la tribune choisie pour ces interventions ait été principalement la revue Liberté *n'est pas sans importance pour notre propos. Dans un second temps, il s'agira d'analyser la transposition souvent problématique de cet engagement intellectuel dans un discours littéraire. La polyphonie des romans de Godbout et l'hermétisme de ceux de Rivard donnent à penser que leur discours littéraire est bien plus un lieu de repli artistique qu'un prolongement logique des écrits critiques.*

Introduction

Cet article cadre dans un projet de recherche plus large qui examine les images d'auteur dans l'œuvre de Jacques Godbout, d'Yvon Rivard et de Jacques Poulin. Comme l'étude de ces mécanismes d'autoreprésentation concerne également leur mise en scène en tant qu'intellectuels, et non seulement en tant qu'écrivains, il est évident que les questions de justice et d'injustice sociale apparaissant dans l'œuvre des auteurs en question. C'est pourquoi nous analyserons plus particulièrement comment Rivard et Godbout ont identifié des injustices sociales, surtout au sein de la revue *Liberté*, et comment ils ont relié celles-ci à leur œuvre littéraire. Nous n'avons par contre pas intégré Jacques Poulin dans cette étude, car même si son œuvre littéraire témoigne d'un « conservatisme d'avant-garde » qui établit une certaine image sociale d'un Québec traditionnel (Lüsebrink 2014), la posture de Poulin se caractérise par un retrait désengagé du domaine public (Dupuis 1991). Contrairement à Godbout et Rivard, Poulin ne se prononce pas explicitement sur les mécanismes de (in)justice sociale au sein de la société québécoise, et c'est pourquoi nous avons décidé de le laisser en dehors du corpus pour cette étude.

Les questions qui orienteront notre analyse portent d'abord sur les types d'injustices sociales relevés dans l'œuvre de Godbout et de Rivard, ensuite sur la façon dont celles-ci se manifestent à travers leur œuvre aussi bien critique que fictionnelle. Dans un second temps, nous nous demanderons à quel point les thématiques sociales soulevées trouvent toujours une certaine résonance dans la littérature québécoise, ou si, au contraire, elles ont disparu au profit d'autres thèmes sociaux plus actuels. Pour cela, il nous faudra dans un premier temps revenir sur la notion longtemps débattue d'engagement littéraire, puisque l'insertion des problématiques sociales dans une œuvre s'inscrit toujours dans une dynamique d'engagement de la part d'un auteur. Si cet engagement littéraire peut être défini d'une façon univoque, nous verrons que dans le cadre québécois il a donné lieu à une diversification croissante.

L'engagement littéraire et sa diversification

La notion de littérature engagée est utile dans la mesure où elle montre les tensions qui existent d'une part entre un art autonome et un art 'utile' et d'autre part celles entre l'écrivain et l'intellectuel. La littérature engagée renvoie donc en général à la démarche d'un auteur (poète, romancier, dramaturge…) qui défend une cause éthique, politique, sociale ou religieuse, soit par ses œuvres soit par son intervention directe en tant qu'intellectuel, dans les affaires publiques (Denis 2000). Si la réalité d'une littérature engagée a existé pendant des siècles, la notion a surtout été développée à partir de la prise de position de Jean-Paul Sartre pour une littérature engagée après la Seconde Guerre Mondiale. La définition de Sartre doit être lue dans une approche marxiste de la littérature, qui fait abstraction de l'élargissement que la notion a connue depuis lors. Si dans un premier temps, l'engagement des auteurs québécois concerne surtout le combat pour l'autonomie, voire même l'indépendance du Québec, il se diversifie au fil des années en plusieurs thèmes plus spécifiques, qui peuvent être plus ou moins éloignés du combat indépendantiste (Dorion 2003). Le théâtre de Michel Tremblay symbolise ainsi le combat pour l'émancipation linguistique du Québec à travers le joual (Gervais 2000), alors que le pamphlet de Pierre Vallières, *Nègres blancs d'Amérique* (1968), ou le poème iconique de Michèle Lalonde, *Speak White* (1970), focalisent plutôt les aspects socio-économiques de l'émancipation québécoise. L'engagement peut aussi se situer dans le domaine de la religion, puisque l'emprise l'Eglise sur la culture québécoise est souvent prise en point de mire par des intellectuels voulant moderniser la société québécoise à l'aide d'une laïcité plus ou moins inspirée du modèle français. A partir de la moitié des années 1970, l'engagement se traduit également à travers le combat féministe, avec des auteurs comme Nicole Brossard qui militent pour l'émancipation des femmes au sein de leurs œuvres littéraires. Finalement, l'engagement se traduit dans la littérature migrante, où des auteurs issus de l'immigration européenne comme Régine Robin ou Marco Micone, des écrivains caraïbes avec entre autre Ollivier (Gauvin 2007) ou asiatiques, comme Ying Chen, décrivent ce qu'ils ressentent comme injustices sociales, aussi bien linguistiques que socio-économiques. Une approche postcoloniale est d'ailleurs également possible, puisqu'aussi bien la culture québécoise que la culture des premières nations peuvent être lues comme des réponses postcoloniales à des structures politiques ressenties comme répressives (le Canada anglo-saxon culturellement dominant et les mises à l'écart des populations et des cultures amérindiennes) (Mills 2011).

Face à cette diversification, la question se pose comment la perception d'injustices sociales peut être analysée. Comment raffiner la grille d'analyse en fonction d'une problématique plus spécifique que celles que nous venons d'énumérer ? Lors d'une interview devant des étudiants à l'UQAM en 2012, Jacques Godbout a proposé une approche générationnelle : pour les écrivains de sa génération, le thème de l'émancipation de la société québécoise, aussi bien dans le domaine de la

langue que de la laïcité, détermine l'engagement, escamotant ainsi les autres approches possibles d'une littérature engagée (féministe ou postcoloniale par exemple) (Godbout 14/06/2012). Cet appel à l'engagement, typique pour la génération de Godbout, peut être qualifié de « service littéraire obligatoire », une convergence entre pratique littéraire et engagement politique, qui contribue à construire le « texte national », caractérisé par la superposition entre une culture et une nation (Cambron 1989). Même si Godbout a largement participé à ce processus d'engagement, il a néanmoins aussi exprimé un sentiment de réticence partagé par nombre d'auteurs face à une telle mise au pas de la littérature.

Qu'il s'agisse donc de l'engagement au sens étroit identifié par Sartre ou de la notion élargie d'engagement apparue au cours des années, aussi bien sur la scène internationale que sur la scène plus spécifiquement québécoise, les tensions inhérentes à une telle connexion entre littérature et engagement politique, identifiées entre autres par Winock, persistent. D'une part il y a la critique que formulent des partisans de l'art pour l'art envers les faiblesses d'un art qui serait « utile ». Pour eux, les écrivains qui s'engagent ne doivent pas nécessairement le faire à travers leurs œuvres littéraires (Winock 1997). D'autre part, l'engagement intellectuel est d'une nature différente que l'écriture littéraire, et le fait d'être un auteur reconnu au sein du monde littéraire n'offre pas nécessairement les compétences nécessaires pour formuler des opinions fondées dans les domaines socio-politiques. Cette double tension entre engagement politique et pratique littéraire est importante dans la mesure où elle oriente aussi bien l'engagement de Godbout que celui de Rivard.

Liberté comme tribune de critique intellectuelle

Dans un premier temps, nous lirons les textes non fictionnels des auteurs en question, c'est-à-dire leurs interventions en tant qu'intellectuels dans le domaine public. L'essai, l'article de presse, ou encore le pamphlet constituent les genres privilégiés pour intervenir contre des injustices sociales perçues. On pensera évidemment au *J'accuse* d'Emile Zola (Zola 1898), article paru dans le 5 janvier 1898 dans le quotidien l'Aurore et considéré par Winock et d'autres comme le moment de naissance de l'intellectuel au sens moderne du terme (Winock 1998). C'est sûr que les ouvrages littéraire de Zola, en particulier le cycle des Rougon-Macquart, s'en prennent également à des problèmes sociaux, mais de fait de façon plus indirecte, voire même neutre. C'est l'intervention dans la presse quotidienne qui lance le débat sur la nature antisémite du procès contre le capitaine Dreyfus. Dans le contexte québécois, on mentionnera le pamphlet de Pierre Vallières, *Nègres blancs d'Amérique,* qui a provoqué le débat à cause du ton provocateur et exagéré du pamphlet. A côté des quotidiens et du pamphlet, ce sont surtout les revues littéraires ou plus largement culturelles qui lancent le débat. C'est pourquoi des analyses de revues permettent mieux de tracer l'engagement politique et social des auteurs qu'une analyse approfondie de leur œuvre, comme l'ont démontré van Nuijs (2012) et Mus (2011) pour le champ littéraire belge ou encore Eisenhut (2014) pour *La Revue blanche* en France.

Dans le cadre de notre étude, c'est surtout la revue *Liberté* qui offre une tribune importante pour la discussion des questions politiques et sociales au Québec. La revue a dès lors eu des auteurs centraux de la littérature québécoise comme collaborateurs, non seulement Godbout et Rivard, mais aussi Hubert Aquin, Claude Gauvreau, Jacques Ferron, Victor-Lévy Beaulieu, André Belleau, François Ricard, Jean Larose, Lise Bissonnette … La particularité de *Liberté* provient de l'engagement des écrivains, à travers leur regard sur la société québécoise. La revue traite des lors de thèmes fondamentaux de la pensée au Québec pendant et après la Révolution tranquille: l'identité, la langue, les institutions, la culture.

En tant que cofondateur de la revue, Godbout y écrit très régulièrement, tout comme dans d'autres revues. La précocité de son activité est frappante, puisque Godbout commence déjà à écrire des articles pour *Liberté* dès la création de la revue en 1959. Il a ainsi sa place sur la scène publique avant, pendant et après la Révolution tranquille. Ses articles les plus importants ont été rassemblés dans plusieurs recueils, dont les plus essentiels sont *Le Réformiste* (1975), qui porte sur les changements escomptés et réalisés au sein de la société québécoise ; *Le murmure* marchand, ouvrage de 1984, aborde la commercialisation de la société québécoise, aussi et surtout au niveau de la culture ; et finalement *L'écran du bonheur*, publié en 1995, porte sur les changements culturels provoqués par l'audiovisuel au sein de la culture québécoise.

Dans *Le Réformiste*, qui nous intéresse en premier lieu, il lutte sur trois grands fronts, à ses yeux garants d'un Québec plus juste, libre et égalitaire : la laïcité, le monolinguisme et le socialisme. Il le fait en rassemblant plusieurs de ses « textes tranquilles » sous le titre de « Réformiste », qui définit bien la posture intellectuelle que Godbout entend adopter dans des questions de justice sociale. Dans le contexte politiquement mouvementé des années 1960 et 1970, où les appels à l'autonomie peuvent prendre une tournure plus radicale comme le démontre l'épisode des enlèvements d'octobre 1970, perpétrés par le Front de Libération du Québec et de l'état de guerre subséquent, maint intellectuel choisit un ton révolutionnaire pour défendre l'indépendantisme québécois et rejoint ainsi une avant-garde non seulement esthétique mais aussi politique. Or, comme souvent, un tel mouvement révolutionnaire va de pair avec une rigidité dogmatique, qui oblige les écrivains qui s'engagent à respecter une ligne politique stricte, que Godbout a lui-même qualifiée ironiquement de « service littéraire obligatoire ». Dès lors, l'engagement de Godbout consiste à choisir non pas la voie révolutionnaire mais celle du « réformisme », des réformes lentes mais profondes d'un système social qui ne doit pas nécessairement être entièrement remis en plat. Un tel positionnement le rend évidemment vulnérable aux attaques de l'avant-garde révolutionnaire qui le considère comme un intellectuel conservateur de droite. Mais un tel positionnement intermédiaire rend Godbout également suspect aux yeux des mouvements plus traditionalistes, qui voient l'avenir du Québec au sein des moules sociaux existants. Les textes de Godbout se caractérisent donc par une indépendance d'esprit indé-

niable, combinant des thèmes révolutionnaires avec des visions plus traditionnelles. Si une telle posture peut être qualifiée d'ambivalente, elle confère aux textes du *Réformiste* une valeur particulière, dans la mesure où les thèmes abordés ne se laissent pas interpréter selon une grille de lecture classique, que celle-ci soit marxiste ou conservatrice, comme le démontre la façon dont Godbout traite la laïcité, le multilinguisme ou encore le socialisme.

La laïcité, débattue jusqu'aujourd'hui dans la société québécoise comme en témoigne la *Charte sur la laïcité*, est un fer de lance de la pensée de résistance qui caractérise *Liberté* et par lequel les collaborateurs veulent se libérer de l'emprise trop grande de l'Eglise sur la société québécoise. Si Godbout s'inscrit dans une telle conception de la laïcité et lui attribue un pouvoir d'émancipation sociale indéniable, il la définit d'une façon traditionnelle en prônant une laïcité qui s'inspire du modèle français, comme en témoigne la citation suivante dans laquelle il s'exprime au sujet de l'école. Le système scolaire québécois, qui avait été séculièrement une compétence de l'Eglise catholique, devrait à ses yeux devenir une école républicaine transmettant les valeurs essentielles d'une « culture française » et permettant d'assimiler les immigrants venus de partout dans le monde. Godbout a donc recours à un modèle classique pour aborder une réalité importante du Québec moderne, à savoir l'immigration, dont il ne nie la présence ni l'importance. Si une telle approche peut aujourd'hui être critiquée par son absence d'ouverture envers la diversité culturelle et linguistique, elle témoigne néanmoins d'une sensibilité pour les nouvelles possibilités qu'offre l'immigration à la société québécoise.

> La vérité reste que seul un système d'éducation remis à neuf, capable d'assimiler les qualités essentielles de la culture française, ouvrant ses écoles à tous les Polonais, Tchèques, Roumains, Algériens, Allemands, qui immigrent et s'installent à Montréal, peut permettre d'espérer qu'un jour, dans vingt ans peut-être, le Québec aura une centaine d'écrivains nouveaux à chaque génération plutôt que ces vingt ou trente jeunes hommes et femmes qui s'essaient, butent contre le mur, se relèvent, mais sentent qu'ils ne font pas le poids. (Godbout 1994, p. 35)

Le modèle laïque et républicain d'inspiration française s'applique d'ailleurs aussi à la langue, puisque le monolinguisme est considéré comme un garant d'égalité et donc de justice sociale. Dans la première période de son engagement intellectuel, Godbout préconise une pureté linguistique qui exclut aussi bien l'anglais que le joual. Son modèle est clairement la littérature française, et la langue standard y joue le rôle d'un moyen de progrès social. Même si Godbout accepte que le joual puisse être un stade intermédiaire par lequel la littérature québécoise doive passer afin de pouvoir exprimer une « personnalité nationale », il refuse toutefois d'attribuer à la langue populaire du Plateau de Montréal une fonction définitoire pour la littérature québécoise. Même si Godbout est loin d'être le seul à adopter une distance critique

envers le rôle présumé du joual dans le développement littéraire au Québec, sa prise de position cadre néanmoins dans sa logique d'un progrès social qui passe par l'affirmation du monolinguisme français à tous les niveaux de la société. C'est pourquoi son opinion envers le bilinguisme anglo-français est tout aussi critique. Elle ne l'est pas dans une optique radicalement nationaliste, mais découle davantage d'une vision traditionnellement méfiante par rapport au bilinguisme.

> Or les écrivains (des hommes dont le métier ne peut se justifier que dans un cadre national) ne peuvent que tenter de vivre ! Des écrivains (des êtres dont la fonction est de créer une personnalité nationale) ne peuvent se concevoir dans une biculture bilingue nationale! Or, aujourd'hui, plus j'écris, plus je réfléchis, plus cette langue seconde qu'est devenu pour moi l'anglais m'écorche les oreilles, la conscience ; plus je réfléchis plus je suis agacé, ennuyé, par le bilinguisme, plus je me sens *amoindri* de trop bien savoir *deux* langues. (Godbout 1994, p. 58)

Finalement, Godbout se rapproche aussi du socialisme caractéristique pour le mouvement de contestation de la part des intellectuels québécois, qui est un nationalisme de gauche pendant les années 1960 et 1970, contrairement à d'autres mouvements nationalistes beaucoup plus orientés à droite. Cette perspective politique permet d'ailleurs d'établir une opposition entre le Québec d'une part et les Etats-Unis, et plus en général le monde anglo-saxon d'autre part. Le thème de l'injustice sociale est ici porté à une échelle planétaire, et lié directement à l'indépendance québécoise. Sur ce point, la posture de Godbout se démarque de l'approche traditionnelle qui caractérise ses positions linguistiques et laïques, puisqu'elle s'inscrit entièrement dans la continuité, étudiée par Mills (2011), entre les mouvements postcoloniaux internationaux et francophones, inspirés entre autres par l'œuvre de Frantz Fanon, et le mouvement québécois d'émancipation nationale. En s'inspirant des exemples de Fidel Castro et de Che Guevara, Godbout se positionne sans ambiguïté dans le giron révolutionnaire, ce qui prouve ainsi le manque de lisibilité univoque de son positionnement intellectuel et lui confère une singularité remarquable.

> En 1945 naquit aux U.S.A. une civilisation nouvelle qui s'est mise à dévorer l'homme. Elle avança comme un rouleau compresseur jusqu'à ce que les Gardes rouges de Mao Tsê-tung se mettent à placarder les murs, jusqu'à ce que Fidel Castro et Guevara se permettent d'inventer un collectivisme original. Jusqu'à ce que, un peu partout sur la planète, on reconnaisse les signes avant-coureurs de la disparition des signes humains. C'est pour que l'homme soit encore humain que la jeunesse du Québec veut faire, par l'indépendance, un autre pays. (Godbout 1994, p. 172)

Yvon Rivard a pour sa part régulièrement contribué à la revue *Liberté* entre 1970 et 1990. Etant plus jeune, il est entré à la revue plus tard que Godbout, et ses articles traitent souvent du premier référendum sur l'indépendance. L'indépendance n'est à ses yeux pas seulement une solution à l'injustice sociale, elle devient aussi une notion romantique, qu'il relie à un processus de libération individuelle. Contrairement à Godbout, qui cadre ses interventions dans un contexte politique aussi bien traditionnel que révolutionnaire, l'approche de Rivard est plus psychologique, dans la mesure où il relie la personnalité individuelle à la personnalité nationale. Il projette les hésitations qui caractérisent son œuvre littéraire sur le manque de réalisations concrètes dans le domaine de l'indépendance québécoise. Au lieu d'élaborer une théorie du progrès social, les textes de Rivard cherchent plutôt à analyser pourquoi ce progrès social, incarné de façon romantique par la notion d'indépendance, ne se fait pas à cause différents blocages dans la psyche nationale.

> Quand on sait une chose, on la fait, quand on ne la sait pas on l'enseigne. Ainsi en est-il de l'indépendance. Celui qui la craint ratiocine, celui qui la veut la fait. (Rivard 1980, p. 17)

Dans la citation qui précède, on remarquera l'activisme anti-intellectuel qui découle de la vision romantique sur l'indépendance. Contrairement à Godbout, Rivard n'œuvre pas pour la justice sociale à travers des concepts politiques comme la laïcité ou le socialisme, il attribue à l'indépendance du Québec une valeur absolue et plaide, dans la lignée d'Hubert Aquin, pour un éveil culturel qui permette de se libérer des freins aussi bien politiques que sociaux. Après le référendum de 1980, dans lequel le Québec a finalement voté pour le maintien au sein du Canada, Rivard regrette l'immobilisme de la société québécoise en déplorant l'ambivalence structurelle qui la caractérise à ses yeux et bloque toute forme d'émancipation culturelle et sociale. En énumérant ainsi les domaines dans lesquels l'idée d'indépendance est contrecarrée par un ensemble d'opinions et de pratiques culturelles qui la rendent impossible, Rivard développe une mélancolie politique, qui fait de l'indépendance l'horizon libérateur aussi bien collectif qu'individuel tout en l'estimant de fait impossible à atteindre.

> Mais quels que soient la complexité et le nombre des difficultés auxquelles nous sommes confrontés, elles ne pourront jamais expliquer notre échec. Vivre relève d'un choix qu'il est urgent de faire (il serait temps que nous cessions de nous croire immortels). Comme le dit Aquin, « les Canadiens français veulent simultanément céder à la fatigue culturelle et en triompher ». […] Soyons plus précis : vouloir l'indépendance et vivre quotidiennement dans le confort matériel (ne rien vouloir perdre, ne pas vouloir plus), intellectuel (je me parle donc je suis, y'a rien là donc nous y sommes), psychologique (on aime ça d'même),

> spirituel (l'âme est un gêne, Dieu est partout mais se lève à l'est), politique (ne plus dire Québécois mais Québécois francophones), telle est l'imposture (ne craignez rien, la première pierre était pour moi) dans laquelle s'enracine notre ambivalence. (Rivard 1980, p. 21)

La fiction romanesque, lieu de combat ?

L'engagement ne se manifeste pas seulement dans des revues comme *Liberté*, il peut aussi intégrer le discours littéraire. Si la poésie peut sans aucun doute avoir un caractère engagé – on pensera aux recueils de Gaston Miron (Filteau, Noguez et Gauvin 1999) –, Godbout et Rivard se sont surtout consacrés à l'écriture romanesque. La question est alors de savoir à quel point elle intègre les problématiques sociales abordées. En discutant la question du joual, Godbout estime d'ailleurs que le roman a pour tâche de rendre compte du monde dans lequel il se situe, indiquant ainsi indirectement que le roman sera par définition lié aux problématiques sociales qui l'entourent.

Jacques Godbout a publié son premier roman en 1962 (*L'Aquarium*). Il a été suivi de plusieurs autres, dont les plus importants sont *Salut Galarneau !* paru en 1967, *D'amour, P.Q.* de 1972, *Une histoire américaine* de 1986 et *Le têtes à Papineau* paru en 1993. Une lecture univoque de l'engagement n'est toutefois pas possible dans ces romans, dont les deux premiers (*L'Aquarium* et *Le couteau sur la table*) se situent d'ailleurs en dehors du Québec et n'abordent pas en tant que telle l'(in)justice sociale. Ces romans se caractérisent par la recherche formelle et stylistique s'inspirant des modèles de la littérature française, et ne peuvent donc pas être qualifiés de littérature engagée. Mais dans la dernière partie du *Couteau sur la table*, le personnage principal rentre au Québec et à partir de *Salut Galarneau !* l'univers romanesque de Godbout devient entièrement québécois et la question sociale intègre la narration. François Galarneau, héros du roman, est en effet un jeune écrivain québécois à la recherche de reconnaissance dans une société encore dominée par des modèles français et anglophones. Son frère Jacques est par exemple un scénariste à succès à Paris, et son succès interpelle François, qui cherche son identité aussi bien professionnelle qu'artistique dans le cadre d'un Québec en pleine mutation. Même si la question sociale n'est pas thématisée en tant que telle, les obstacles auxquels se heurte François lors de son développement personnel témoignent des barrières sociales qui existent toujours dans le Québec du début de la Révolution tranquille. Dans les romans qui suivent, une identification univoque des thèmes décelés dans les articles est toutefois complexifiée par la polyphonie romanesque, qui met en scène plusieurs personnages d'écrivains défendant des opinions parfois contradictoires. Dans *D'amour P.Q.*, le discours de Thomas D'amour, personnage principal et écrivain, est par exemple caricaturé par celui de sa secrétaire, Mireille, qui déconstruit ainsi les grands axes de l'engagement littéraire, par exemple la notion d'écrivain de gauche.

> THOMAS : Il y a dans le monde des hommes choisis, des êtres étrangers qui reçoivent du Ciel des ordres de Mission. Thomas D'Amour peut aller en voyage, mais Justman lui ne peut pas partir, ni même dormir, tu vois, le Mal, la Mafia, Lucifer veillent ; le Fantôme D'Amour doit démasquer les profiteurs, les exploiteurs […]
> - Vous êtes VRAIMENT un ECRIVAIN DE GAUCHE ! souffle Mireille la vraie. (Godbout 1991, c1972, p. 85)

Il en va de même pour le monolinguisme, symbolisé par le français académique et tellement défendu par Godbout comme un garant d'émancipation sociale. Il est d'ailleurs frappant qu'il est un des seuls écrivains québécois à être publié en France, aux éditions du Seuil, avant de l'être au Québec et il s'ensuit dès lors un langage romanesque qui n'est quasiment pas marqué par son contexte de production québécois. Même dans *Salut Galarneau !*, le premier roman à aborder pleinement la réalité québécoise, le langage reste neutre, même s'il est marqué comme québécois, et ne veut pas nécessairement incarner une identité québécoise quelconque. Dans *D'amour P.Q.* la situation change toutefois et la parole populaire, typique pour le discours de la secrétaire, est très présente. En fin de roman, elle devient même dominante par rapport à la parole académique, ce qui rend l'interprétation de l'œuvre romanesque plus complexe. Si la première partie de l'œuvre de Godbout suit ses prises de position sur l'importance du français standard, la polyphonie romanesque dans *D'amour P.Q.* rompt ce monopole du français standard et montre un Québec aux variétés diastratiques prononcées.

> - Tu voudrais que je soigne mon langage peut-être ?
> - Oui, par exemple, ton langage, tu pourrais…
> - Eh bien, l'Auteur, ma théorie, moi, ma théorie intelligente et littéraire pour tes tabarnaques d'intellectuels, c'est que ça sert à rien de soigner min langage, vu qu'il n'est pas malade. (Godbout 1991, c1972, p. 151)

La même polyphonie apparaît, littéralement, dans *Les têtes à Papineau*, roman allégorique sur un personnage né bicéphale, avec une tête qui parle l'anglais, Charles, et une tête fascinée par ses racines francophones, François. Le personnage bicéphale sera finalement opéré par un chirurgien canadien-anglais qui réussira à joindre les deux têtes, tout en perdant les capacités de communication francophones. Si l'histoire est drôlatique et ironique, comme la plupart des romans de Godbout, elle relativise néanmoins l'engagement de Godbout puisqu'elle montre une image plus nuancée de la réalité québécoise, où le bilinguisme français-anglais est bel et bien présent et où, au final, c'est l'anglais qui peut s'imposer. Le roman problématise donc les maximes linguistiques du discours indépendantiste.

Pour sa part, Yvon Rivard est l'auteur d'une trilogie romanesque avec Alexandre, un écrivain, comme personnage principal, qui apparaît aussi bien dans *Les Silences*

du corbeau de 1986, dans *Le Milieu du jour* paru en 1995 que dans *Le Siècle de Jeanne*, publié en 2005. Les trois romans développent une écriture romanesque personnelle et intimiste, caractérisée par une mise en scène de l'écrivain comme personnage et une mise en abîme de l'écriture. Il en découle une disparition quasi totale de l'engagement politique, et on peut donc déceler chez Rivard une séparation entre son activisme indépendantiste au sein de *Liberté* et son écriture romanesque désengagée, personnelle. Les rares instants où la situation politique et culturelle est mentionnée sont d'ailleurs caractérisés par une prise de distance ironique marquée. Un dîner parisien est ainsi décrit de la façon suivante :

Jusque-là, ma contribution au maintien de la civilisation avait consisté à écouter, rire et donner mon avis sur la littérature et le cinéma québécois actuels, que je connaissais très peu puisque j'allais rarement au cinéma et ne lisais mes contemporains, y compris les Québécois, qu'avec un retard d'une vingtaine d'années. Je m'en étais donc tiré avec quelques généralités sur l'avenir de ces arts (rien de mieux que se tourner vers l'avenir quand on ignore le présent), et du Québec (je n'allais quand même pas saboter cette soirée en leur annonçant le retour de Marie de l'Incarnation et la libération du pays par l'accroissement de sa pauvreté spirituelle, vieilles idées, très russes dirait Clara, dont je n'arrivais pas à me défaire). C'est donc en répondant à cette question sur mes loisirs que je me suis révélé un vrai sauvage à Paris. (Rivard 2010, p. 115)

Dans l'extrait, le narrateur se présente comme inconscient de la réalité québécoise, et ne cherche pas à intégrer la question sociale dans le roman. Ce constat peut être élargi à l'ensemble de l'œuvre de Rivard, qui se caractérise aussi par un espace romanesque souvent situé en dehors du Québec (Paris, Grèce, Italie, Inde). Si la question sociale est bel et bien présente dans les interventions intellectuelles de Rivard, son œuvre romanesque s'en distancie consciemment et explicitement.

Conclusion

Plusieurs conclusions s'imposent à la lecture des œuvres de Rivard et de Godbout. D'un point de vue générique, l'engagement se manifeste surtout dans des interventions dans des revues, où les notions de laïcité et d'indépendance sont utilisées pour prôner le changement politique et social au Québec. La fiction est toutefois moins politisée, et la polyphonie de Godbout et l'ironie de Rivard impliquent un mode de lecture peu univoque des thèmes socio-politiques. Dans leurs articles, Godbout et Rivard développent par contre une vision assez monolithique de l'engagement littéraire, la justice sociale se limitant pour eux aux domaines linguistiques et socio-politiques et étant incarnée principalement par le concept d'indépendance.

Aujourd'hui, l'engagement en littérature québécoise passe plutôt par des processus de décentrement et de fragmentation que par la thématique de l'indépendance, que Godbout qualifiait à juste titre de générationnelle. Au monolithisme de cette problématique se substitue une approche intersectionnelle, qui cherchera les processus d'injustice sociale dans les frictions entre plusieurs modèles identitaires. En

outre, la réécriture littéraire essaie, par des mécanismes de fictionalisation, de questionner certaines vérités établies, par exemple au sujet de la Crise d'Octobre 1970 dans *La constellation du lynx* de Louis Hamelin.

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Katrin Berndt

Citizens and the Community: Dimensions of Democratic Justice in Contemporary Black Canadian Writing

Zusammenfassung

Der Artikel untersucht die Darstellungen von bürgerschaftlicher Nationalität und Gemeinschaft in der zeitgenössischen afrikanisch-kanadischen Literatur als Beiträge einer diskursiven Auseinandersetzung mit dem Konzept der demokratischen Gerechtigkeit. Die Analysen betrachten zwei Romane, deren AutorInnen und Themen mit unterschiedlichen kulturellen und kritischen Traditionen innerhalb der afrikanisch-kanadischen Literatur identifiziert werden. George Elliott Clarke fiktionalisiert mit der „schwarzen akadischen Tragödie" in George & Rue *(2005) einen Teil seiner Familiengeschichte, um auf rassistische Diskriminierung und materielle Entbehrungen als Bestandteile der Geschichte und des kulturellen Erbes von afrikanisch-kanadischen Bürgern aufmerksam zu machen. Als Kanadierin der ersten Generation porträtiert Dionne Brand das multikulturelle Toronto in* What We All Long For *(2005): Der Roman zeichnet die Sehnsüchte, Zuneigungen und Entfremdungen urban geprägter Bürger und steht exemplarisch für die globalen Verbindungen und Intertextualitäten der zeitgenössischen Einwandererliteratur. Neben dem Motiv der Zugehörigkeit in Bezug auf kulturelle Staatsbürgerschaftskonzepte setzt sich der Artikel mit den Darstellungen kanadischer Gemeinwesen als Orte der Anerkennung, Teilhabe und des Ausschlusses in nationalen und globalen Referenzrahmen auseinander.*

Abstract

This article investigates representations of citizenship and the community in contemporary black Canadian writing as literary contributions to the discursive negotiation of democratic justice. The analyses focus on two novels whose authors and subject matters have become identified with different cultural-critical traditions within black Canadian literature: George Elliott Clarke's George & Rue *(2005) fictionalizes a "Black Acadian tragedy" from the author's own family history, drawing attention to racial discrimination and economic deprivation as an aspect of the history and cultural legacy of black citizens in Canada. First-generation Canadian Dionne Brand's portrayal of multicultural Toronto in* What We All Long For *(2005) traces the aspirations, attachments and disaffections of urban citizens and stands as an exemplar for the global connections and*

intertextualities of contemporary immigrant writing. The article looks at how the novels address the question of belonging in reference to cultural citizenship, and how they portray Canadian communities as sites of recognition, participation and exclusion in national and global contexts.

Résumé

Cet article examine les représentations de la citoyenneté et de la communauté dans l'écriture noire au Canada comme étant des contributions littéraires à la négociation discursive de la justice démocratique. Les analyses se concentrent sur deux romans dont les auteurs, tout comme les thématiques qu'ils traitent, incarnent des traditions culturelles et critiques différentes de l'écriture noire au Canada: George & Rue *(2005) de George Elliott Clarke raconte une « tragédie noire Acadienne » inspirée de sa propre histoire familiale, mettant en relief la discrimination raciale et la privation économique comme des aspect centraux de l'histoire et de l'héritage culturel des citoyens noirs au Canada. Le portrait de la multiculturalité torontoise dans* What We All Long For *(2005) de Dionne Brand, une immigrée de la première génération, reflète les désirs, sympathies et détachements des citoyens urbains et renvoie aux relations internationales ainsi qu'aux pratiques intertextuelles de l'écriture immigrante contemporaine. Cet article se propose d'analyser comment ces romans se penchent sur la question d'appartenance en relation avec la citoyenneté culturelle et comment ils représentent les communautés canadiennes comme lieux de reconnaissance, participation et exclusion dans un contexte à la fois national et mondial.*

Introduction

In the last three decades, black Canadian writing has become established as an internationally renowned, commercially successful, and critically recognized branch of contemporary Canadian literature. George Elliott Clarke identified 1997 as the year that "witnessed the sudden arrival of African-Canadian literature" (Clarke 2008) on the national scene, the year when for the first time two black Canadian writers, Dionne Brand and Rachel Manley, received Canada's most prestigious literary prize, the Governor General's Award.[1] The distinction was accompanied by the publication of Rinaldo Walcott's critical study *Black Like Who?* and Austin Clarke's eighth novel *The Origin of Waves*, which, respectively, drew attention to current issues of African-Canadian culture and continued the recording of the stories of black immigrants in Canada. Other literary achievements celebrated in 1997 were Mairuth Sarsfield's novel *No Crystal Stair*, which depicts Montreal during the era of the Harlem Renais-

1 In 1997, Dionne Brand received the Governor General's Award for her poetry collection *Land to Light On*, whereas Rachel Manley's *Drumblair – Memories of a Jamaican Childhood* won in the category Non-Fiction in English.

sance; George Elliott Clarke's *Eyeing the North Star*, an anthology of twentieth-century black Canadian writing; and Djanet Sears's play *Harlem Duet*, which won the Governor General's Award in the following year and manifested the national recognition of black writers and their themes. The public visibility and critical significance of black Canadian literature were advanced further in the late twentieth century by Clarke and Walcott's prominent discussion on black Canadian culture and the impact of diasporic writing on dominant national narratives; the debate laid the foundation for the establishment of black Canadian studies as an academic discipline in its own right. Subsequent black Canadian publishing successes like Afua Cooper's *The Hanging of Angelique* (2006), Lawrence Hill's *The Book of Negroes* (2007), and *Fifteen Dogs* (2015) by André Alexis have since demonstrated formal and thematic diversity as well as a commitment to chronicling stories from Canadian history and contemporary society with an explicit view on the contributions of black citizens.

Literary criticism has responded to black Canadian writers' increasing prominence and discussed both their focus on "the multiple ways in which African-Canadians were othered and racialized" and their "raising issues of citizenship and belonging in Canada for African-Canadians […] as part of a current project to rewrite the script of other Canadians' imagined community" (Cuder-Domínguez 2010, 127). As Winfried Siemerling has acknowledged, the "past emerges in many forms and genres in contemporary black Canadian writing" where it becomes interrogated "as an active condition of the present and a useful resource for the future" (Siemerling 2015, 12). In this way, black authors' reviewing of the history of racial discrimination and marginalization has fuelled contemporary Canadian debates of national belonging and multicultural diversity, and also linked them to issues of social justice such as parity of participation, equality of opportunity, and the equity of wealth distribution. Moreover, black Canadian writers have joined forces with the literary contributions of other visible minorities in Canada who contested "hegemonic citizenship discourses" by drawing attention to racialized political and economic discrimination and the legal status of immigrants, and connecting loyalty to and engagement in the community with the concept of cultural citizenship (Sarkowsky 2010, 48). From their position as articulators of a "racial minority experience and culture", black Canadian writers have also tied their reflections on citizenship to global values such as personal freedom and social responsibility and their realization in local and transnational contexts (Chariandy 2016, 540).

As George Elliott Clarke's groundbreaking scholarly work in particular has shown, the history of black Canadian literature reaches back to late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century testimonies and slave narratives. Today, the field encompasses writers whose family history connects them with the period of early colonial settlement as well as a growing number of first- and second-generation Canadian authors, many of whom with a Caribbean background, who arrived in Canada increasingly since 1967 when restrictions on non-white immigration were effectively lifted with the introduction of the points-based system. Reflecting this cultural and ethnic

heterogeneity, the debate between Clarke and Walcott mentioned above has resulted in what are now considered two schools of black Canadian literary studies allusively termed "roots" and "routes". The terminology is derived from the epistemological framework of cultural anthropologist James Clifford, who examined the predicaments of transnational migration, transcultural legacies, and the tensions and dynamics of present-day diasporic cultures in order to show that the roots and routes of a culture engage in a dialogic relationship (Clifford 1997). The latter becomes particularly fertile in literature, because "the diasporic search for roots often translates into narratives of routes", as Siemerling noted in acknowledgment of the work of Michael Bucknor and Daniel Coleman on Caribbean-Canadian writing (Siemerling 2015, 210). The "roots" approach of black Canadian literary studies, however, identified with the literary-historical research of scholars like Clarke, Siemerling, and Karina Vernon, has "unearthed […] the full 200-year archive of Black writing" that is now "critically articulated with urgent debates regarding cultural politics and social activism at national and regional scales, as well as the underlying grammars of cultural citizenship" (Chariandy 2016, 541). The school literally has rooted black Canadian writers in the national literary tradition, incidentally proving their and the approach's Canadian disposition by simultaneously affirming and critically negotiating the concept of nationhood. The "routes" school, represented by scholars like Bucknor, Walcott and Andrea Davis, represents not so much a contrast as a conceptual complement, for it

> may be understood as primarily emphasizing the transnational migrations and identifications of Black Canadians of *all* historical periods, but with notable emphasis on the writings of recent immigrants and post-immigrants, […] whose complicated attachments to 'elsewhere' perhaps exhibit greater cultural and technological mobilization today. (Chariandy 2016, 541)

The critical agendas of both schools reflect central preoccupations of black Canadian writing: to challenge hegemonic definitions of citizenship in history and present-day culture by drawing attention to racialized experiences, and to reveal how transnational relations have shaped, and continue to influence, how the Canadian community is imagined.

This article is interested in analysing black Canadian writers' representations of citizens and the community as discursive negotiations of democratic justice. This concept is derived from the more established notion of social justice, which refers to the equality of opportunity and the equity of wealth distribution, both of which the modern nation state is expected to promote, and to realize, through political and social measures. In Canada, the ideal of equality is associated in particular with what the Canadian Supreme Court has called the "accommodation of differences" (Andrews v Law Society of British Columbia, 1989), and while "Canadian history con-

tains its share of intolerance, prejudice, and oppression, it also contains many attempts to find new and creative mechanisms for accommodating difference" (Kymlicka 1996, 153). Citizenship, on the other hand, is defined as a status that entails "political rights, civil rights and social rights" (Kemp 2014, 288) bestowed on those who are recognized as "full members of the community" (Marshall 1950, 28). The protection of these rights is directly related to "the just ordering of social relations within a society", which involves "equality of opportunity", and citizens' participation in their community "on a par with others" (Fraser 2007, 18).

In response to contemporary challenges such as global migration, cybertechnology, international terrorism, and the economic and political influence of transnational corporations, philosophers like Nancy Fraser have argued that our notion of social justice must be extended to include the "political dimension of *representation*, alongside the economic dimension of distribution and the cultural dimension of recognition" (Fraser 2007, 19). This three-dimensional concept, which she calls "democratic justice", takes into account the transnational significance of present-day socio-economic relations, for it no longer questions "*what* is owed […] to community members" but rather asks "*who* should count as a member and *which* is the relevant community" (Fraser 2007, 19). Fraser's definition of democratic justice problematizes the definition of citizenship insofar as she is concerned with representation not only as a signifying practice, but also as "a matter of social belonging; what is at issue here is inclusion in, or exclusion from, the community of those entitled to make justice claims on one another" (Fraser 2007, 21).[2]

As Lily Cho recently pointed out, the "connection between Canadian literature and citizenship has been understood largely as a pedagogical question", since literature communicates both a critical understanding and the inherent contradictions of citizenship, such as its "promise of equality and its failure to fulfil that promise" (Cho 2016, 527). In this way, the representation of citizenship and the community in contemporary black Canadian literature contributes to democratic justice debates, for it addresses not only issues of equality but also matters of economic distribution and social belonging, exploring on what grounds community membership is recognized, and to which effect.

Communal Legacies of Deprivation and Exclusion: George Elliott Clarke and the "Black Acadian Tragedy" of *George & Rue* (2005)

In his scholarly and literary engagement, George Elliott Clarke has been committed to unearthing and making visible the contributions of black citizens to Canadian history and culture. Born as "a seventh-generation Canadian of African American and Mi'kmaq descent" (Dudek 2007, 51) who grew up in Halifax, Nova Scotia, Clarke

2 An overview of contemporary philosophical discussions on the dialogic creation of cultural recognition can be found in Katja Sarkowsky, "Questions of Recognition? Critical Investigations of Citizenship and Culture in Multicultural Canadian Writing., *Zeitschrift für Kanadastudien* 30.1 (2010): 47-63.

studied English at the University of Waterloo and at Dalhousie University, and completed his doctorate in 1993 at Queen's University with a comparative study on English Canadian and African American poetry. Since 1999, he has been a professor of English and Canadian Literature at the University of Toronto. Parallel to his academic career, Clarke has been a prolific and versatile literary writer since the early 1980s, whose oeuvre includes poetry, drama, a novel, screenplays and libretti. Described as "multimedia pieces of art" (Dudek 2007, 51), his poetry collections reflect the diversity of black Canadian culture in that they feature black and white photographs as visual comments upon the verses, and combine synaesthetic metaphors, song lines and colloquial speech.

Both as a creative writer and as a scholar, Clarke has gained prominence for his critique of what he calls the "constant erasure" (Moynagh 1996, 73) of black citizens from Canada's historiography, an obliteration that researchers of the "roots" school aim to expose and counteract. As a means to this effect, Clarke coined the term Africadia to call attention to the fact that a black community has existed in the Maritimes for almost three centuries, highlighting that

> We have a history here, a history full of trials, triumphs, struggles, etc., and there is just no legitimate way that we can be excluded from the history of this place. And so this explains my commemorative efforts and my general interest in involving history and photographs in my creative work, because it is a means of contesting that constant erasure, which has led ultimately I think to racism, to the idea that "you folks do not count; you're not even a fit subject for history." (Moynagh 1996, 73)

For Clarke, the black diaspora's "belonging" is not a question but an unrecognized fact of Canadian history, and he works towards "construct[ing]" and establishing "an Africadian tradition within Nova Scotia" (Moynagh 1996, 75). Combining Northrop Frye's famous statement that Canadian identity is directed by the question "Where is here?" with the postmodern exploration of "Who am I?" (Frye 1971, 220), Clarke's vision of an Africadian legacy emphasizes the history of black presence in Canada, for "we are here. Where we have always been. Since 1605" (Clarke 1997, xxv).[3] His demand for the inclusion of black communities in the national narrative becomes most poignant in Clarke's condemnation of the destruction of Africville, a black neighbourhood in Halifax that was demolished in the late 1960s. Its citizens were forced to relocate to public inner-city housing, and the name of the community has since become a symbol for Africadian cultural identity.[4] Clarke is convinced that "Africville might have become the spiritual capital of Africadia, the conscious annunciation of our existence" (Clarke 2002, 294), which is why its demolition has

3 Clarke refers to the documented migration of the first black man to Canada, Mathieu de Costa, who settled in Port-Royal, Acadie, with Samuel de Champlain in 1605 (cf. Clarke 2002, 18 en3).

4 More information on Africville can be found in Juang/Morrissette 2008, 228-230.

destroyed not only a place but a cultural and economic manifestation validating the inclusion of the black community in Canada's local and national history. In his work, he re-creates to preserve aspects of black Canadian life: his poetry gives lyrical image and voice to Africadian people and places, and his scholarly work also appears driven by a black citizen's longing to feel at home in Canada.[5]

His first novel *George & Rue* is part of Clarke's mission to assert the black Canadian presence in the national narrative.[6] Based on an event of Clarke's family history about which he learned only as an adult, it fictionalizes the story of his mother's cousins George and Rufus Hamilton, who grew up during the economic depression of the 1930s, and were hanged in 1949 for murdering a taxi driver with a hammer (Clarke 2006: 219).[7] The novel offers a historical trajectory for the murder, rooting its causes in the brothers' circumstances: it shows George and Rufus as growing up under conditions that prepare them for a life of predestined disaster. Excluded from "equality of opportunity" and participation in their community on the grounds of race and class, and raised by a brutal father and a mother who mostly neglects them, they lack not only material provision, but also emotional comfort and intellectual encouragement: "Polluted by their papa's mean drunkenness, the boys grew like poisonous weeds" (Clarke 2006, 22). Their childhood is characterized by "East Coast-style [poverty], and it had a long pedigree. It was an apocalyptic genealogy" (Clarke 2006, 26). In the first half of the twentieth century, abject poverty, violence and hopelessness shaped the existence of a considerable part of the black population in Nova Scotia. Most of them made their living as subsistence farmers, or worked unskilled for the few industries in the Halifax area, where they earned only a fraction of the wage of white labourers. Confronted with these hardships, which the novel portrays, George and Rufus's development into lawbreakers is presented as somewhat consequential: having left school at the age of eleven and ten, they take up a few low-paid jobs, but they also scavenge and steal, committing petty crimes.

Both their ambitions and the means by which the brothers try to realize them illustrate the racialized cultural and socio-economic restrictions of their time and place. George finds work as a help on a farm, and later joins the army, which however he soon leaves to go to the Merchant Marine instead. For desertion and petty theft, he is imprisoned after the war, and later resorts to a life as a dishwasher and burglar. Eventually, he returns to Three Mile Plains to marry his sweetheart Blondola,

5 The titles of Clarke's critical monographs suggest that he conceptualizes Canada as a home that requires a journey before it can be reached: *Odysseys Home: Mapping African-Canadian Literature* (2002) and *Directions Home: Approaches to African-Canadian Literature* (2012).

6 Clarke's most recent novel *The Motorcyclist* (2016) also takes inspiration from his family history; it fictionalizes the life of his father as an escape from the obligations of working-class existence in pursuit of the sexual and artistic promises of bohemian life.

7 After learning about this aspect of his family history, Clarke conducted extensive research on the matter that eventually resulted in the poetry collection *Execution Poems* (2000). His first literary attempt to come to terms with the case, his verses imagine the Hamilton brothers' lives and their crime in lyrical snapshots characterized by sensual and sexual metaphors.

and they move to Fredericton to establish a life together. It seems that happiness is, finally, within reach:

> George figured he could work as a labourer in the city proper but do small farming outside. Too, he'd have a new life: no one'd know him; he'd know no one. […] George liked this little city, and his happy-go-lucky personality seemed to win him neighbourly regard. [… He] thought he might come to plant an acre of potatoes, keep a patch for strawberries, and own a couple of maple trees and sixteen hundred bees visiting hundreds of flowers to make honey a salary. [… And in their shack, t]hey lived as one, out of a black iron frying pan. It was their wealth, their communion, their experience of time at its fullest. (Clarke 2006, 84, 86, 87)

In the meantime, his brother Rue pursues a more promising path, for "Vice meant steady work" (Clarke 2006. 63): he teaches himself to play the piano and finds work in a brothel in Halifax. Since he learned to play on a broken instrument, he knows how to use only half of the keyboard, so creating a very particular version of improvised jazz:

> The first half of the keyboard was constantly fooling and shocking him with its heavy, sable, deep bass notes, too resonant, and so he nixed all requests. All his pieces were originals: he had no repertoire. […] His style was not unpleasant, but also not pleasing. His […] playing didn't inspire dancing, drinking, coupling, tipping, or any of the merrymaking that should accompany money-making. Rather, Rufus's pianist style forced everyone to just stand around sipping, pondering, as if attending a recital instead of revelling in a blind pig and cathouse. The piano was spooky; its music haunted every room in the house, messin up lovers' rhythms. (Clarke 2006, 65, 65-66)

Rue's broken music illustrates his broken dreams: Easter, the woman with whom he was in love, had died in an accident, taking with her all of his attempts to build a decent life. In the novel, Easter represents the few opportunities black people had in these years: she is "one of those better-off Negroes who had houses, new clothes, flash, big words, cars (or horses), quiet gumption, RESPECT, gardens, white friends, and style, but who kept their furniture covered up in sheets to preserve the newness" (Clarke 2006, 57). Her father is a railway porter with a regular income, and Easter wants to become a nurse as soon as black women are allowed to enter the training courses. She dreams of middle-class comfort, and Rue "loved the luxury of that dream as much as he loved Easter" (Clarke 2006, 56).

While admitting that social belonging and recognition are, within limits, achievable for black people, the text concentrates on exposing "the materiality of an Afri-

can-Canadian rural community living on the verge of starvation and on the very fringes of White society. Clarke demythologizes the figure of the outlaw, uncovering the brothers' despair, their poverty-stricken lives, their lack of prospects" (Cuder-Domínguez 2010, 126). What Clarke elsewhere had labelled the brothers' "Black Acadian Tragedy"[8] continues to take its course when Rufus, after losing his job as a piano player for beating up a prostitute, is caught robbing a man and sentenced to two years in prison. After his release, he visits George and Blondola, who have just had their second child. George is worried about how to provide for his family, an easy prey for Rue, who plans another robbery. They agree to call a taxicab in order to attack the driver – a plan that will result in the murder of the man, and the brothers' subsequent trial, sentence, and execution.

Clarke's interpretation of the story of George and Rue portrays their fate as both inevitable and culturally – racially – constructed. His story and the historical evidence on which it is based are anecdotal and local in focusing on two neglected boys who grow into criminals in a destitute community. This community, however, serves as a synecdoche for the wider Canadian context. The narrator, who repeatedly expresses sympathy for the characters, deliberately reads their lives as determined by the historical legacy and framework of racial discrimination:

> [T]heir personal destinies were rooted in ancestral history […] Their own dreams and choices were the passed-down desolations of slavery. […Black people arrived in Canada] with nothing to nowhere, were landed with indifference and plunked on rocky, thorny land (soon laced with infants' skeletons), and told to grow potatoes and work for ale. (Clarke 2006, 14)

Authorial digressions such as this one demonstrate Clarke's political agenda: he establishes a connection between the exclusion of black citizens from a particular Africadian community in the first half of the twentieth century with the deprivation and neglect that had determined the lives of black Canadians since the early colonial period. In this way, the novel places individual guilt in a historical context defined by the absence of social justice measures, drawing attention to the situation in black communities before "Civil Rights […] and fair-employment legislation and multiculturalism and all those things that have made life somewhat better for minorities and others in Canada" (Wyile 2007, 149). Clarke identifies the brothers as tragic characters because, as citizens, they lived at a time when black Canadians were excluded from skilled professions and subjected to structural racial discrimination. As individuals, however, they dismiss the means of subsistence and communal participation

8 "Black Acadian Tragedy" is the subtitle of the poetry collection (Clarke, *Execution Poems*, 2001) in which he first dealt with the story, a label that Clarke takes up again at the end of *George & Rue*.

that would have been available, and respond to hegemonic contempt with a career as criminals and murderers: sinned against, yes, but also, very much, sinning.

The novel was written against the wishes of Clarke's own family and in spite of the victim's daughter's explicit request not to fictionalize the murder of her father.[9] It is an attempt at both representation and recognition of what being a Canadian citizen was like for many black people in the early twentieth century: determined by violence and criminality, and the exclusion from opportunities that was not counterbalanced by political attempts to accommodate such differences by economic redistribution. However, this historical situation is described in detail not to justify the murder, but to counteract the erasure of what Clarke feels are crucial aspects of the black Canadian legacy: anger, abuse, violence, poverty, and hatred. The Hamilton brothers are depicted as victims of their time and circumstances; the tragedy that is shown is communal, but the responsibility and guilt remain individual. The novel does not render the murder less horrendous by implying that George and Rue "were [simply] hitting back at a […] racist, white-supremacist society" (Wyile 2007, 147). In fact, Clarke stressed that

> Even if someone were to argue that the historical George and Rufus Hamilton can be excused for committing robbery, because they were in need […] how do their crimes actually ameliorate their dreadful circumstances? And what about their victim […]? Even if he had been an out-and-out Ku Kluxer (and he was absolutely the opposite), how would his murder have resolved slavery, segregation, and the relegation of Black people in the Maritimes to [second class] economic status? (Wyile 2007: 147)

George and Rufus are trapped by their belonging to an impoverished community, a belonging that is racialized, that restricts their chances, and affects their ambitions as well as their decisions. Eventually, it also accounts for the severity of their punishment for it racializes the recognition of their legal status: the novel concludes by referring to another historical case, the murder of another taxi driver in the same

9 According to Clarke, the descendants of Burgoyne, the murdered man, had expressed reservations when his plans to publish on the crime became known, but they accepted the poetry collection more readily than the novel: "[The] elder daughter [of the victim] wrote to me back in the summer of 2000 to ask, on behalf of herself, her siblings, and her mother, that I *not* write this story. They were worried, she said, that my aim was to profit from a tragedy that had wrecked their family life. I responded that my aim was certainly not financial gain, but that, given that my late cousins' crimes harmed *two* families – hers and mine – I had to try to understand why they did what they did, that I had to reclaim their bodies for us (meaning my family). [… S]he and her family still disagreed with my desire to write about this story, but […] they essentially understood my motivation [for writing] *Execution Poems.* […] However, when *George* & *Rue* appeared, Mr Burgoyne's daughter wrote letters to the Fredericton *Daily Gleaner* and even did an interview with CBC Radio, blasting me for 'exploiting' her family's pain in the hopes of making a million dollars" (Wyile 2007, 148).

year, committed for similar reasons and in a similar way, by two men who also were sentenced to death for it. Unlike George and Rufus, however, these murderers were white – and before they could be hanged, their sentences commuted to life imprisonment (Clarke 2006, 214).

Longing to Belong: Black Urban Citizenship in *What We All Long For* (2005)

While *George & Rue* describes how economic deprivation, social exclusion, and unequal legal recognition defined the lives of black Canadian citizens in small-town early twentieth-century Nova Scotia, Dionne Brand's depiction of twenty-first century Toronto as a multicultural urban community in *What We All Long For* individualizes and complicates the practices of contemporary black citizenship and democratic justice. A first-generation Canadian poet, novelist, filmmaker and scholar, Dionne Brand was born in Trinidad and Tobago in 1953 and moved to Toronto at the age of twenty, where she obtained university degrees in English and Philosophy. She was appointed as the Toronto's Poet Laureate from 2009 to 2012, and at present holds a University Research Chair at the School of English and Theatre Studies at the University of Guelph. Three of her four novels – *In Another Place, Not Here* (1996), *What We All Long For*, and *Love Enough* (2014) – feature Toronto as their setting. Addressing both roots and routes, conceptions of home and the nation, and feminism and the black body, Brand's writing exemplifies central concerns as well as the diversity of contemporary black Canadian literature.

Her third novel *What We All Long For* has been praised for its depiction of "affective" (Brydon 2007), "global" (Dobson 2006) and "cosmopolitan" (Johansen 2008) citizenship, for presenting characters who experience the multicultural, urban community of present-day Toronto as their homeland. Fellow Torontonian Rinaldo Walcott celebrated the novel's portrayal of the city, which features "as central a character as any other in the novel. […] Toronto is magnified and specified as its own unique place. […] This novel is Toronto's book" (Walcott 2005). In her essay "Bathurst", published in the collection *Bread out of Stone* (1994), Dionne Brand had reflected on the different communities within the urban entity that have come to distinguish the city:

> The city is colourising beautifully. In a weird way this is a very hopeful city. When you think of all the different people living in it. […] And you've got to be hopeful despite the people. They all may not know what they are doing, and they may hate each other's guts […] this city has a life that white folks, at least the ones that run things and the ones that write letters to the editor, don't know about and can't talk about because they're too busy reading their newspaper for the latest validation of their stereotypes. (Brand 1994, 77, 79)

Twenty years later, *What We All Long For* introduces four young protagonists in their twenties who were all born and bred in Toronto, and whose Vietnamese, Jamaican, Jamaican-Italian, and Africadian backgrounds have contributed to "colourising" the city. Tuyen, an aspiring artist, is the child of Vietnamese boat refugees; her parents were separated from their son Quy on their flight, and have never recovered from this tragedy. Her best friend Carla, a bicycle courier, was born to an Italian mother and a Jamaican father. She struggles to come to terms with her mother's suicide when she was a child, with her father's indifference, and she tries to protect her criminal brother. Their friend Jackie owns the store Ab und Zu, "just on the border where Toronto's trendy [meets] Toronto's seedy", where she sells second-hand, "post-bourgeois clothing" (Brand 2005, 99). Her Africadian parents came to Toronto from Halifax in the 1970s, but failed to realize their ambitions for a better life. Jackie's admirer Oku, a hopeful poet and a student of literature, still lives with his parents and struggles with his Jamaican father, a diligent and proud working-class snob who disdains his son's intellectual ambitions. Tuyen's lost brother Quy's narrative about growing up in East Asian refugee camps, drawn in parallel to the stories of the Torontonians, acts as a foil to their individualized, and less existential, struggles and escapes.

The characters' status as a 'visible minority' affects the ways in which they experience Toronto, but their citizenship is not defined by their ethnic background to the exclusion of other influences. In their narratives, they create Toronto as an "urban space [that] is not represented by skyscrapers, information technology, or a flood of images but [that] becomes palpable in how [the] characters use and experience the city[,] and in [their] emotions and desires" (Rosenthal 2011, 218). In fact, allegiance to a particular diasporic and/or minority community is problematic for all of them because they identify this form of socio-cultural belonging with their parents. The mothers and fathers in the novel embody the different cultures that are contributing to the diversity of the nation, symbolized by the Canadian mosaic, but unlike their children, they do not consider themselves to be multicultural in either heritage or self-definition. Their children, however, prefer to choose their ways of life and their relationships from the varieties offered by a liberal, multicultural society, and in deliberate differentiation from their parents' traditions and ethnic backgrounds. As Maureen Garvie has pointed out,

> All struggle with the guilty freight of their fathers' and mothers' sorrows. They see their parents living on broken dreams, blighted by loss, greed, and stupidity. In their parents' generation, families stuck together. Redemption took the form of punishingly hard work that paid off in cash. In their children's eyes, that price was too high. Their antidotes are sex, food, jazz, art, style, hope – and love. (Garvie 2005)

Eager to dissociate from their families, Brand's young characters still harbour the wish to belong; the novel explores both their yearning and on what grounds they want to be included in a community. It shows them all projecting their longing onto their urban, globalized community where choosing one's allegiances – to a role model, a companion, a culture, a neighbourhood, or a style of art – is a fundamental principle of communality rather than an exception. It also qualifies the extent to which choosing can be considered a post-racial practice in contemporary Toronto. The identifiably black characters Oku and Jackie experience cultural recognition and exclusion as related to race, but for them, as for Carla and Tuyen, urban citizenship is more strongly tied to age, sexual desire, family, individual ambition and the opportunities they decide to take. The social construct of race permeates their multicultural Toronto insofar as the characters have experienced racialized thinking in dimensions of social justice – participation, equality, redistribution – as well as in their personal relationships and decisions.

Brand suggests that belonging to a multicultural community comes at the price of exclusion from those cultures that are identified with the novel's first-generation immigrants to Toronto. For example, Oku, a black second-generation Canadian born to Jamaican parents, is subjected to unjust treatment from the police who repeatedly stop and search him. Unlike his father, who shows understanding for black men that react to racial profiling with violence, Oku prefers a strategy of ironic de-escalation (Brand 2005, 165). Responding to such injustice with anger would, he believes, reinforce his victimization and blight his life as a poet and citizen of the urban community. As the only character who still lives in a more homogenous immigrant neighbourhood, his decision is made in defiance of the conflicted masculinity that he observes in his father and in black men of his own generation. His decision to pursue an academic degree in literature also does not correspond to the black male role models of his community. For Oku, the anti-intellectual snobbery of his father and the criminal dealings of his friend Kwesi are consequences of a racialized discrimination that has affected black self-consciousness:

> His father said he lived too much in his head. The truth was living in his head was what kept him safe. Living in his head meant he didn't react reflexively to the stimuli of the city heading toward him with all the velocity of a split atom. That's why he kept pretty much to himself. That's why he risked being called a "flake" and a "faggot" by the guys in the jungle. That's why he cultivated the persona of the cool poet – so that he wouldn't have to get involved in the ordinary and brutal shit waiting for men like him in the city. They were in prison, although the bars were invisible. (Brand 2005, 166)

With the character of Oku, Brand illustrates both the damaging impact of racism and the inadvertent collaboration of victims in the manifestation of their status. For

Oku's friend Kwesi is one of these "guys in the jungle", a criminal who very successfully trades with stolen goods. Kwesi offers Oku the opportunity to join his thriving business, a temptation to make easy money that his friend Jackie's father had been unable to resist twenty years earlier. He was caught and went to prison for illegal dealing, which effectively ended Jackie's parents' hopes for building a better life. Aware of the trap that this criminal legacy of black masculinity represents, Oku becomes involved with the black anarchists instead, attends anti-globalization demonstrations, and seeks refuge in the circle of his multicultural friends. The critics Tavares and Brousseau applaud the sense of self-worth and strength that Oku shows, arguing that

> temporary humiliation is the price he pays to retain agency over his life and social identity in the city. In effect, by choosing not to identify himself as part of the black youth subculture of the Little Jamaica and "the Jungle", Oku resists the racialization of his urban social identity by his peers and the urban authorities alike. (Tavares/Brousseau 23)

Oku possesses the strength to confront racism when it threatens to victimize him, but his jealousy of Jackie's boyfriend Reiner provokes him in different ways: frustrated with Jackie rejecting his, Oku's, advances, he calls Reiner "Nazi boy" (Brand 2005, 71) and "fucking Nazi" (Brand 2005, 133) because he is German. Germanophobia appears as an agreed-upon, accepted form of prejudice in several passages of the novel: during the Football World Cup, Germany's national team is dismissed as "the machine" (Brand 2005, 311) and as a "Teutonic bunch [that] have no creativity, but […] order" (Brand 2005, 283). According to Andrea Strolz, the insult of Reiner, which is mockingly repeated by Tuyen and Carla behind Jackie's back, demonstrates "the depths of racist thinking that runs deep in both the black and white community" (Strolz 2014, 377). In fact, competing for Jackie's affections renders Oku so helpless that he resorts to stereotypes of black masculinity he normally rejects. With embarrassment he remembers that "he had said the lamest line, the most insipid words in the black vernacular, the most washed out, most overused" (Brand 2005, 81) when he told Jackie to "hook a brother up" (Brand 2005, 73, 81). Reiner himself never moves beyond stereotypical projection: the guitar player in an industrial metal band, he hardly speaks, is rarely depicted with Jackie, and she does not appear to feel guilty when she eventually cheats on him with Oku (Brand 2005, 192). The character serves as a means to shed light on black identity conflicts, for it is Reiner's lack of racialized self-consciousness that renders him attractive for Jackie: with him, "she knew who she was, separate and apart, in command of self. With Oku, she was on that train, liquid and jittery and out of control" (Brand 2005, 101). Being with Reiner meets her longing to be recognized as an individual separate from her background: he has never met her defeated father and her drinking mother, has never been to the social housing neighbourhood where she grew up, and he does not associate

her with the deprivation that features strongly in Africadian history. Oku, on the other hand, knows about the conflict between loyalty and self-determination: "He knew that to Jackie he probably looked like so many burned-out guys in Vanauley Way [the neighbourhood where she grew up]. [… But] he wasn't a player, [… and] he wasn't her father. He would never allow that look to come into his eyes, the wry look, the defeated look, the bitter look" (Brand 2005, 265). The novel does not offer any closure to Jackie, Reiner and Oku's story, but it suggests a possibility. Walking through Vanauley Way, Oku begins to understand her motives for warding off his affections. It is this realization that renews the sense of purpose he needs to resume his studies: "He was going to work the rest of the summer, the rest of the year, then go back and finish the master's. Why? Because he loved that, and what he loved he wasn't going to have taken from him or give up" (Brand 2005, 265).

Against the background of both structural discrimination and the criminal legacy of black masculinity, Jackie and Oku's struggles for recognition and inclusion are distinctively, but not exclusively, racialized. Both characters long to be citizens of an imagined post-racial, urban, multicultural Toronto rather than to be recognized as members of impoverished black communities restrained by mutually reinforcing discrimination and criminality. And while Oku embraces African-American literature as a part of what could be designated a diasporic black heritage – he reads Amiri Baraka and Jayne Cortez as part of his studies – Jackie displays no interest in any aspect of Africadian culture.

Carla and Tuyen's longings are likewise defined by their conflicted relation with the ethnic communities they grew up in, by their decision to pursue their individual ambitions, and by their attempts to escape and emancipate themselves from dysfunctional families, both of which are blighted by tragedies in the past. Their identification as citizens of an urban community differs from Jackie and Oku's insofar as it is not derived from racialized discrimination. Carla's looks would have allowed her "to disappear into this white world" (Brand 2005, 106); she chooses to identify as Jamaican, though not out of loyalty to her Jamaican father, whom she despises, or his culture, which makes her feel uncomfortable. Her decision is her way to remain close to her late Italian mother, Angie, who committed suicide when Carla was just a girl. To Carla, her mother was the true "border crosser" (Brand 2005, 106), because she "tried to step across the border of who she was and who she might be" (Brand 2005, 212). Anxious to escape from Little Italy and from the prospect of marrying into lower middle-class boredom in the suburbs (Brand 2005, 314), Angie had loved the hippie music of the 1960s, songs about journeys and freedom and a different way of life without cultural or familial restraints. Her affair with a married black man, Carla's father Derek, is Angie's daring and her escape. It is also her undoing, for Derek deserts her after the birth of their son Jamal, a betrayal that Carla's memory links with her mother committing suicide. Angie's story provides Carla with the master narrative on which she builds her own life, for

> Her mother must have made her choice [to consort with Carla's father] for a good reason: good or bad she had crossed a border. Carla instinctively understood. And […s]he hated her father because she loved Angie, she loved Jamal because she loved Angie, she loved her friends because she loved Angie, she was a bicycle courier because she loved Angie, she hated policemen and ambulances and bank tellers because she loved Angie. Loving Angie was a gate, and at every moment she made decisions based on that love, if the gate swung open or closed. She kept from loving because she loved Angie. (Brand 2005, 106, 111)

Carla's mother's exclusion was self-chosen, as is Carla's decision to follow her example – a strategy to embrace difference that is shown to be rather all-encompassing during the 2002 football World Cup, when the four characters all cheer the Korean team because, for the moment, "the World Cup made [them] feel [Korean]" (Brand 2005, 206). The novel connects the idea of choosing to belong with the more or less superficial appropriation of individual aspects of the various traditions encompassed by the multicultural mosaic: their greeting of cultural differences as folklore, as a mixture of attributes from various food cultures, music, literature and art, and their willingness and ability to take their pick from all of these elements, distinguish the citizens of the heterogeneous urban community that is Toronto. Their preference of cultural consumer flexibility is contrasted with their shared longing for binding individual companionship. In the words of David Chariandy, there is a "yearning for comradeship and friendship beyond the often restrictive claims of kinship, race, and especially nation [that] is a consistent feature of Brand's writing" (Chariandy 2016, 553). Retrospective glimpses to their childhood reveal that feelings of loneliness and a vague sense of being different to "the white kids in class" (Brand 2005, 20) and a shared "opposition to the state of things" (Brand 2005, 19) was, at first, all they had in common. Since this experience of difference is never further explicated nor particularly racialized, it could refer to any independent-minded children, possibly from a non-academic background, who are too curious and probing to accept normative culture without question. Somewhat pragmatically, the novel suggests that a way to accommodate for racialized differences is including knowledge about Canada's different cultures in the school curriculum. The urban citizens' longing to belong must be met in the cosmopolitan community that has shaped it.

Conclusion

Brand's four protagonists inhabit Toronto as a space where they associate with people of their own choice, and where they establish their lives independent of their families and at a critical distance from the cultural and racialized legacies of their diasporic backgrounds. With regard to the demands of democratic justice, their portrayal raises the question of how, and if at all, differences should be accommodated in an urban community that so obviously thrives on an appreciation

of difference. As Stephen Marche has recently pointed out, present-day Toronto has become known as the

> city of others [… because more than half of its inhabitants are] foreign-born, with people from over 230 countries, making it by many assessments, the most diverse city in the world. But diversity is not what sets Toronto apart; the near-unanimous celebration of diversity does. Toronto may be the last city in the world that unabashedly desires difference. (Marche 2016)

For the young urban citizens in *What We All Long For*, cultural diversity is the language they speak, and it differs significantly from the racialized difference their parents have experienced as first-generation immigrants to the multicultural community. While also foregrounding the experiences of black citizens, George Elliott Clarke's *George & Rue* exhibits very different ideas of the importance of black Canadians' communal identity. The novel is aimed to counteract the erasure of black knowledge and black contributions to Canadian history, an agenda that opposes a liberalism that "bulldozes difference" for the sake of "'integration'" (Clarke 2002, 22 en14). Clarke seeks to strengthen a distinctive Africadian cultural identity, which comprises a shared historical experience of political exclusion and economic deprivation as well as cultural difference from white mainstream Canada. Multiculturalism and tolerance, he insists, must not only accept but value – and therefore seek to preserve – difference: "I'm not in favour of segregation at all; […] But I do think that it's important that communities be able to exist so long as they do not keep other people from joining that community" (Moynagh 1996, 76). While problematized in the context of different historical periods, settings and themes, Brand and Clarke's representations of citizenship and the community demonstrate the preoccupation of contemporary black Canadian writing with issues of democratic justice, and map out the ongoing literary debate on matters of belonging and inclusion in the multicultural nation.

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Dunja M. Mohr

"When Species Meet": Beyond Posthuman Boundaries and Interspeciesism – Social Justice and Canadian Speculative Fiction

Zusammenfassung

Die Literaturwissenschaften des 21. Jahrhunderts beschäftigen sich mit diversen neuen Ansätze und Methoden, die sich neuen Technologien oder neuerer Sozialkritik zuwenden. Das Bezugssystem der spekulativen Literatur bietet hierbei vielfältige Anknüpfungspunkte für eine kritische Auseinandersetzung mit zeitgenössischen Diskursen, wie z.B. den Naturwissenschaften, Globalisierung, biotechnologischem Fortschritt, Tierrechten und Ökologie, welche zunehmend verknüpft sind mit dem im 21. Jahrhundert gestiegenen Interesse an sozialer Gerechtigkeit bzw. Schuld. Besonders die spekulative Literatur mit ihrem Fokus der Extrapolation sozio-kultureller Probleme und technologischem Fortschritt enthält ein subversives transformierendes Potential, da sie einen Zugang zu einem imaginären Anderen, eine Immersion in andere Seinszustände eröffnet, der LeserInnen berühren und so eine neue emphatische kognitive Flexibilität anstoßen kann. Im Rückgriff auf den die kognitiven Strukturen verändernden „schema criticism" (Bracher, Moya) exploriert der Artikel die Verschränkungen von sozialer Gerechtigkeit, Posthumanismus, critical animal studies und Neuem Materialismus und inwiefern zeitgenössische kanadische spekulative Literatur eine Zukunft der unscharfen (Körper-) Grenzen und erste Schritte hin zu „multispecies justice" (Heise) verhandelt. Diese Verstrickungen von Bioformen und die Hinwendung zum planetarischen Überleben schreiben die kanadische animal story und den kanadischen Topos des „Überlebens gegen die Natur" um und initiieren kognitive Schema-Transformationen der Figuren und implizit des Lesers bzw. der Leserin.

Abstract

21st century literary studies engage in diverse ways with new methods and theoretical approaches, using new technologies and new ways of dealing with social criticism. Speculative literature offers a unique framework for engaging with current critical discourses, e.g. on science, globalism, biotechnological advances, animal rights, and ecology, all increasingly linked with the 21st century's heightened interest in social justice and social debt. The article argues that speculative literature—extrapolating from contemporary socio-cultural problems and technological advances—contains a subversive

transformative potential, as it accesses an imaginary other, immerses us into alternate modes of being, affects readers, and thus instigates a new emphatic, cognitive flexibility. Drawing on "schema criticism" (Bracher, Moya) and its reshaping of cognitive structures, the paper then explores the intersections of social justice, posthumanism, critical animal studies, and new materialism and how recent Canadian speculative fiction negotiates a future of fuzzy (body) boundaries and imagines first steps towards a "multispecies justice" (Heise). The paper traces how such 'entanglements' of bioforms and a turn to planetary survival rewrite both the Canadian animal story and the Canadian 'survival against nature' topos and contribute to the characters' (and implicitly the readers') schema transformations.

Résumé

Les études littéraires du XXIe siècle s'inspirent diversement de méthodes nouvelles et d'approches théoriques s'intéressant aux nouvelles technologies ou aux critiques sociales innovatrices. La littérature spéculative ou d'anticipation offre un cadre unique de réflexion qui nous permet de comprendre et de gérer les discours critiques actuels sur la science, la mondialisation, le progrès biotechnologique, les droits des animaux et l'écologie, etc., tous liés à l'intérêt grandissant du XXIe siècle pour la justice et le dû sociaux. L'article essaie de démontrer que la littérature spéculative, en extrapolant les actuels problèmes socio-culturels et le progrès technologique, possède un certain potentiel subversif et transformateur dans la mesure où elle accède à un imaginaire autre, nous immerge dans des modes alternatifs d'être dans le monde, affecte les lecteurs et, de cette façon, instaure une nouvelle flexibilité emphatique et cognitive. Partant de ce que Bracher et Moya nomment le « schema criticism » et qui implique une transformation des structures cognitives, cet article se propose d'examiner les intersections de la justice sociale, du post-humanisme, des études animales critiques et du nouvel matérialisme. Il analyse par ailleurs comment la fiction spéculative canadienne débat actuellement un avenir aux limites (corporelles) floues et imagine le début d'une « multispecies justice » (Heise) ; comment l' « embrouillement » de bioformes et l'orientation vers la survie planétaire réécrivent à la fois l'histoire animale du Canada et contribuent à la transformation de l'éventail habituel de personnages (et des lecteurs).

21st Century Literature – Quo Vadis?

For more than a decade, critics have discussed what the most pressing questions and theoretical angles are for literary and cultural studies in the 21st century, or indeed, whether "there [is] such a thing as twenty-first-century fiction" (Boxall 1) at all. What are the humanities or, more specifically, what is literature, what is literary criticism good for? "It's over!" (166) Linda Hutcheon wrote in *Politics of Postmodernism* (2002), and ever since, often with references to an intensified economic capital-

ist logic, digitalization, and changed communication (technology), scholars have been coming up with new declarations for the 21st century and its fictions, such as "hypermodernism" (Lipovetsky 2005), "digimodernism" (Kirby 2009) or, reviving Tom Turner's 1995 phrase, "post-postmodernism" (Nealon 2012). For Zygmunt Baumann, a fleeting "liquid modernity"[1] has replaced solid (post)modernity which is characterized for Paul Virilio by a ubiquitous instantaneity tied to the spatio-temporal technological transformation.[2] Peter Boxall calls this difficult approximation of this elusive contemporary the "illegibility of the present" (2) and pinpoints historicity, posthumanism, terrorism, globalization, and democracy as immanent themes or "cultural characteristics" (2) of 21st century fiction. Increasingly, the fluid "international nature of the contemporary novel" (Boxall 7) requires a global market and a global community of readers, what Ursula Heise calls an "environmental world citizenship" (2008, 10). For Boxall, contemporary literature is primarily concerned with "shifted temporality" (9), slowed and accelerated time, a renewed preoccupation with the real, and the materiality of embodiment. For Heise, globalization has replaced postmodernism and postcolonialism and she thus postulates a literature of deteriorialized "eco-cosmopolitanism" and "socioenvironmental justice" (2008, 10). However, perhaps the label is less important than the content, and after the postmodern heyday of literary criticism scholars at large seem to be in search of 21st century methods, theories, and sometimes the very object: some turn to video games and hypertexts (Katherine Hayles) or enthuse about the new quantitative opportunities which the digital humanities present (Franco Moretti's 'distant reading'); some choose interdisciplinary approaches that include neurosciences (Lisa Zunshine, Brian Boyd); others (re)turn us to new materialism (Rosi Braidotti, Karen Barad) or speculative realism (Quentin Meillassoux); and yet others take to the critical lenses this paper uses: critical animal studies (CAS), posthumanism, and ecocriticism (Ursula Heise, Donna Haraway, Will Kymlicka, and Cary Wolfe).

Concomitantly, the ongoing intrinsic "crisis of the humanities", fuelled by neoliberal expectancies and funding cuts, has pushed literary studies—once more—to question, legitimize, and reconsider what literature's use might be beyond aesthetic gratification and what literary criticism can contribute to current socio-political discourses. I would argue that literature, and particularly speculative literature,[3] provides us with a unique framework to access imaginary other cultures, historical

1 Focusing on an instantaneous mobility that transcends space and implies constant and rapid change, Baumann considers "'fluidity' or 'liquidity' as fitting metaphors … to grasp the nature of the present … phase in the history of modernity" (2).

2 For Virilio, "*real space* is currently giving way to … *real time*" (9), the "real instant on instantaneous teleaction … [of] teletopia" (10).

3 I use the iridescent generic term speculative fiction in the sense of a non-mimetic literature with fuzzy boundaries that engages with the future. That may include science fiction, utopian and dystopian stories, ecocritical or Anthropocene fiction, but does not include fantastic literature.

times, classes, genders, religions, different attitudes, and so on. Fiction dives into other (future, past, or alien) worlds, alternate histories, fantastic, magical or real events in a realistic or speculative setting, told in an avant-garde, prosaic or poetic style, in a linear coherent, fragmented, circular, or hypertext form. Literature is "world" and "time" travel (cf. Moya 34-35) and, most importantly, an exploration of new or alternate modes of existence and experience that offers an exercise in cognitive and emphatic flexibility at a distance. Literature can seek answers to questions society (or segments thereof) has repressed, forgotten, or not even anticipated. Obviously, writing and reading fiction are highly individual but situated acts, embedded in diverse linguistic, cultural, political, sexual, ethnic and so on, contexts. Yet, speculative fiction in particular has a global appeal, "a planetary reach" (Oziewicz 13), allowing a *multilogue* of *supplementary* perspectives, despite readers' individual hermeneutic textual filters. Literature can indeed alter the way we filter information through pre-set assumptions, acquired over time according to personal, sociocultural etc. circumstances. And literary criticism can enhance these mental shifts.

Where social criticism's deficient methods fail, literature and in particular the method of "schema criticism" (Bracher 2013, x)[4] can address and reshape such deep cognitive structures responsible for ingrained pre-set judgements, Mark Bracher argues, and, ultimately, the latter can be "more effective in promoting social justice than other methods of criticism are" (2013, 294). Schema criticism as "a method for activating, maximizing, and extending the *schema-altering processes* that … literary texts are capable of initiating" (2013, 288; my emphasis) propels these alteration processes forward and intensifies the fictional text's intervention working towards "enhanc[ing] people's metacognition" (2013, 290). Even if Bracher's rather radical approach of literary studies as critic-oriented pedagogy is indeed geared towards willfully educating certain (easily manipulated) socio-cultural aims (or ideologies),

4 According to Bracher, the four types of knowledge virulent in cognitive theory—exemplars, prototypes, information-processing routines, and propositional knowledge—constitute 'cognitive schemas' we continuously draw upon whenever confronted with new information (e.g. meeting new people etc.). As vital as these cognitive schemas are for interacting with others and society at large, the four "faulty person-schemas" (2013, xiii) autonomy, essentialism, atomism, and homogeneity also produce misunderstandings and "unjust social policies, institutions, and systems" (2013, xiv), because certain data is not recognized or misinterpreted. Bracher argues that changing a cognitive schema requires a change of implicit knowledge, i.e. information-processing routines, exemplars, and prototypes. In his exemplary analyses of protest novels, Bracher demonstrates that "[l]iterary texts operate with and on all the forms of knowledge and information-processing activities that constitute cognitive schemas. And certain types of literary texts themselves promote the replacement of certain harmful schemas by (1) demonstrating their faulty and harmful nature (i.e., developing readers' metacognition), (2) providing more adequate exemplars in multiple forms (concepts, characters, episodes, life stories, etc.), and (3) actually engaging, and hence training, readers in more accurate information-processing routines" (2012, 96).

for instance, social justice, it points us towards literature's capacity to *imagine* and instill a *desire* for the change of a dominant power system which

> operates in, on, and through people's person-schemas, by getting them to (mis)perceive and (mis)judge other people in ways that lead them to experience unjustified emotions and engage in unjust actions … . The key intervention is the fostering of person-schemas that enable people to achieve more adequate understanding of other people, which in turn inspires more appropriate emotions and more just actions (294–295).

In *The Social Imperative* (2016) Paula Moya argues in a similar vein from the perspective of social psychology that literature not only reiterates the status quo but has the power to change mental structures by creating new schemas, and postulates a (re)turn to close readings, here in relation to race, as the most effective tool.[5] According to Moya, these "self-relevant" and life-long "learned" schemas of social experiences provide "perceptual filters" (18), as for instance David Simons's and Christopher Chabris's famous "Invisible Gorilla" experiments have shown. These filters are "embedded into … literature through a variety of narrative features" and "[as] a part of the social world literature is a system of social communication through which information, ideas, and norms are transmitted from author to reader, and among different communities of readers" (Moya 163).

Clearly, literature contains transformative potential whether by new schemas or an unexpected (temporary) fusion of horizons; there is a nexus where social change begins. I believe it begins with imagination, the imagination of sociocultural alternatives and new ideas we *experience* in literature, because as readers we are *affected*. As aesthetic *thought* experiments in the sense of a cognitive *experience* speculative fiction, by defamiliarization, and extrapolation, is potentially subversive of established concepts and interfaces present and future. Neither literature nor literary criticism will change the world, but both might contribute to cognitive and social shifts, heightened awareness, and eventually trigger change. And some genres, such as speculative fiction or protest novels etc., share an explicit interest in instigating cognitive and socio-cultural change.

The Intersections of Social Justice, Posthumanism, Critical Animal Studies, and New Materialism

Over the past decade and under the pressure of globalization, glocalization, neoliberalism, increasingly noticeable repercussions of the ecological crisis, and biotechnological genomic advances, the ensuing pressing questions of social

5 For the post-positivist realist Moya, schemas as "conceptual frameworks that predispose us to select, organize, integrate, and remember … incoming stimuli" (23) involve both mind and body and this is where schemas, epistemology and ontology, intersect with Barad's agential realism and new materialism.

(in)justice and social debt, or "payback" as Margaret Atwood phrases it, of a debatable loss of human boundaries and connected ethical concerns have come into the limelight.[6] As Cheryl Clarke aptly acknowledges, "literature has been a process of social justice recovery, remembering, revising" (484). If the principles of "fairness, balance, and justice … may well be prehuman" (Atwood 2008, 162), then other bioforms must be accounted for and the ecological imbalance, the result of the current 'desert of the real' in the making, might exact its toll. Simultaneously, previously well-established discourses on identity, alterity, affinity, and equality, and the interlaced issues of exclusion and inclusion have come under scrutiny and reappraisal.

Historically, the term 'social justice' is a narrow and exclusive one, principally describing the equal relationship or regulation of power between society and individuals, the fair distribution of "wealth, commodities, opportunities, and privileges" (OED) at the societal level, in John Stuart Mill's words, "we should treat all equally well … who have deserved equally well of us, and … society should treat all equally well who have deserved equally well of it. This is the highest abstract standard of social and distributive justice" (55).[7] Very basically sketched, whatever perspective of social justice has been privileged or denied, social justice from antiquity to modernity has been fundamentally restricted to (segments of) humankind.[8] In antiquity

6 In *Payback* (2008), Atwood asks whether "we [are] in debt to anyone or anything for the bare fact of our existence? If so, what do we owe, and to whom or to what? And how should we pay?" (2008, 1). In her literary exploration of the connection between moral, sin, memory, contracts, memory, shadow psychology, and debt (and revenge), Atwood argues that not only is a debt psychology "deeply embedded in our entire culture" (2008, 10) and counterbalanced by "our sense of fairness" (2008, 12), but that debt "as a result of actions" (2008, 81) becomes "a primary engine of story itself" (2008, 80), a basic plot line or motif.

7 For a general overview and a diverse discussion of social justice in multiple areas and geographical locations, addressing a wide range of theories, cultural practices, and historical perspectives—laudably including alternative perspectives on social justice from diverse non-Western cultures and religions—see Michael Reisch (ed.) *The Routledge International Handbook of Social Justice* (2016). CAS and multispecies justice, however, are surprising lacunae in this otherwise comprehensive handbook, thus remaining within an anthropocentric frame. As Reisch argues in his introduction, social justice is essentially a critical utopian concept, "the translation of an idealized abstraction (social justice) into concrete terms may take different forms in different circumstances. The goal of social justice is, therefore, neither simple nor ever entirely realized. It is a goal which is constantly pursued rather than completely attained" ("Introduction" 2).

8 Marek C. Oziewicz suggests a useful historical categorization of Western justice in general into Old, New, and Open Justice. Spanning from antiquity to pre-Enlightenment, Old Justice is essentially hierarchical, exclusive, absolute, and community-oriented (*polis* and *civitas Dei*). New Justice ranges from the late Renaissance up to today, but is increasingly challenged by Open Justice beginning in the late twentieth century. While "contractarian and utilitarian New Justice" (25) seeks to extend an absolute but human-made justice to all individuals, communitarian Open Justice defines a pluralistic justice as "situational and provisional" (25) with diverse individuals and communities that are potentially not all equally enabled.

Socrates introduced something similar to the liberal idea of a social contract in *Crito*, when instead of fleeing he chooses to stay for his death sentence in Athens and thus abide to its laws and punishments. Plato addressed justice as a virtue of both society and individuals, whereas Aristotle limited justice to *free* citizens (excluding slaves and women). In the Middle Ages Thomas Aquinas stressed the divine aspiration of the lawful citizen, while Spinoza's more modern idea of justice focused on the perfection of the human character. Contesting the 'society of status' seventeenth and eighteenth century philosophers, such as Thomas Hobbes, John Locke (the 'father' of liberalism), Immanuel Kant, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau, advocated a 'society of social contract', an idea revived by John Rawls's justice of fairness in his *Theory of Justice* (1971), while Mill's utilitarianism aimed at the consequences of one's actions (which ought to produce a maximum of happiness for all). Historically, the term 'social justice' describes a (Catholic) religious concept of society allegedly first used by the conservative Sicilian Jesuit priest Luigi Taparelli in 1843, extending justice to the whole of society (triggered by the Italian Risorgimento), which then became part of the official doctrine of Catholicism in 1931 (see, for instance, also Pope Francis's recent papal bull on social justice and the environment in May 2015).[9] With Western society's secularization, the 'death of God', the loss of religiously motivated 'internal' rules, the rise of science, and with industrialism and capitalism rapidly changing societal structures, a rationale for a just social order, an adapted modern external set of rules less grounded in an authority of privileges, was much needed. In truth, the social contract has been limited to the 'universal' liberal (white and male) individual, excluding the categories of gender and race.[10] Criticizing Rawls's justice of fairness as a justice for *almost* equals, Martha Nussbaum has turned to the inclusion of the 'unequal' according to their capabilities: the disabled, less privileged humans, and nonhuman animals, and postulates a justice transcendental of the "species barrier" (326), abolishing the rationality paradigm. What exactly social justice ought to encompass is still a matter of debate. It is the still prevailing anthropocentric focus which posthumanism, CAS, ecocriticism and, by extension, new materialism challenge.

Social justice has become what W.B. Gallie calls an "essentially contested concept" (1956) where a "conceptual contestation" (1956) leads to confusion and disagreement. In his *Philosophy and Historical Understanding* (1964) Gallie elaborates on seven criteria relevant for the normative characteristics of concepts and defines "essentially contested concepts" as "inevitably involv[ing] endless disputes about their proper uses on the part of their users" (Gallie 1956a, 169). As much as social

9 Taparelli rejected a social contract, believing in the natural superiority of character, assets, and education, legitimizing the better equipped to rule society by divine will. Taparelli's distinction between society writ large and the local and familial societal structures as its basis eventually culminated in the Catholic doctrine of 'subsidiarity'.

10 See, for instance, Carole Pateman *The Sexual Contract* (1988) and Charles Mills *The Racial Contract* (1997).

justice is a contested concept, the very first question we need to ask, however, is: *to whom does it apply*? All of these approaches concentrate on *human* society, historically including or excluding sections of humanity according to the changing definitions of who is deemed human. Both environmental and multispecies justice (and new materialism) contests this *anthropocentric* perspective to include the natural world and nonhuman animals, while posthumanism demands distributive justice for other existing and future life forms, the post-human, clones, intelligent AI's or biomachines. Social justice must then be read as intersecting with CAS and posthuman studies, ecocriticism, and a politics of affinity rather than identity. In this sense Kwame Anthony Appiah's call for "living in local troops and equip them with ideas and institutions that will allow us to live together as the *global tribe* we have become" (xiii; my emphasis) maybe needs to be rephrased as "to live together as the global *species* we have *always been*".

A widened concept of social/environmental justice can be found in a number of (eco)cultural criticism approaches: Haraway's "natureculture" concept—elaborated in her very personal *Companion Species Manifesto* (2003) and *When Species Meet* (2008), from which this article has taken its title—Kymlicka's *Zoopolis: A Political Theory of Animal Rights* (2011), and Heise's notion of "multispecies justice". Fundamentally "returning us precisely to the thickness and finitude of human embodiment" (Wolfe 2009, 572), to a shared materiality, posthuman, ecocritical, and animal studies's changed perceptions of a dynamic relationality tie in with Barad's new materialist, agential realist take on matter as "an active participant in the world's becoming" (Barad 2003, 803) through a "posthumanist notion of [intra-active] performativity" (2003, 808) that refracts (species) determinant boundaries. If nature and culture are fluxes, if "we are part of that nature we seek to understand" (2003, 828), mind is body and words and things are not disjoint (cf. Barad 2003, 811ff).[11] Barad's onto-epistem-ological understanding of justice as processual and interminable, as "[d]oing justice" or a "yearning for justice-to-come" (2012, 81), implies profound "connections and responsibilities to one another—that is, entanglements" (2007, xi). Such entanglements involve "dispossessed Others" (2007, 378), extending thus 'multispecies justice' to matter and ultimately may necessitate "the encounter with the inhuman" as well as with "the inhuman within 'us'" to "come to feel, to care, to respond" (2012, 81).

Both the discourse and the material reality of speciesism ascribe inferiority and deficiency to animals (and posthumans) grounded in (techno-)biological differences, just as historically humans deemed nonhuman have been animalized and categorized as different species (the parallels between speciesism, racism, and sexism being obvious), although evolutionary theories and the rise of secularism have

11 In her onto-epistem-ological approach Barad emphasizes that "materiality is an active factor in processes of materialization" (2003, 827) and that "matter is substance in its intra-active becoming—not a thing but a doing, a congealing of agency" (2003, 828).

demolished the idea of humans as a divine species ever since Darwin's *On the Origins of Species* (1859). Genome sequencing, bioengineering, biotechnological enhancements, and AI have further destabilized the debatable (ontological) status of humans and species boundaries. Drawing on the long-running man-machine discourse stemming from the Enlightenment, the 'post-human turn'—with Haraway's "Cyborg Manifesto" (1985) and Hayles's *How We Became Posthuman* (1999) as key texts—gesticulates towards the ambivalent artificiality of organic/anorganic, human/posthuman, nature/culture binaries, their deep entrenchment in (post)gender, class, and race issues, further questioning the posthuman's ontological status.[12] Considering technological progress as part of natural evolution (that will disembody human intelligence), transhumanists, such as Hans Moravec or Ray Kurzweil as prominent representatives of the Singularity movement—consequentially envision the merging of technology and human either as posthumans or machine species.[13]

With the ongoing recognition of the complex and distinct social behaviour, communicative, and emotional abilities of other animal species, a non-anthropocentric view questioning "the humanist schema of the knowing subject" (Wolfe 2009, 569),[14] CAS postulate the need to include the "actual animal" (Haraway 2008, 313, fn. 36), or the posthuman/postanimal.[15] In her endeavour to scrutinize 'significant *otherness*', Haraway's concepts of 'natureculture' (the cohabitation of species and co-evolution) and 'companion species' expand thus her focus on the cyborgian "junior siblings" (2003, 11) to include domesticated and bred animals, dogs in particular. "Cyborgs and companion species each bring together the human and the non-human … nature and culture in unexpected ways" (2003, 4).[16] Disturbing the inade-

12 Heise identifies three functions of the alien: as ultimate *other* levelling inner-human differences; as a symbol of human difference, e.g. allegorical of racial conflict; and as a future development of humans turning into more evolved aliens (cf. Heise 2011, 456-458).

13 For a short introduction, see Moravec's "Rise of the Robots" (1999) or Kurzweil's "The Coming Merging of Mind and Machine" (1999) and *The Singularity is Near: When Humans Transcend Biology* (2005).

14 Drawing on Derrida's questioning of capability (*pouvoir*), "embodied finitude" (Wolfe 2009, 570), and exclusively human knowledge systems, Wolfe questions the very term 'animal studies' for upholding the very "nonsensical" (Calarco 143) distinction despite the shared materiality (and genetics) and diverse cognitive/social/knowledge capabilities between animals and human animals.

15 See, for instance, Jacques Derrida's 1997 lectures *L'animal donc je suis* (2006), the 2009 PMLA issue on *Animal Studies*, or *Postcolonial Ecocriticism: Literature, Animals, Environment* (2010) edited by Graham Huggan and Helen Tiffin.

16 Heise's argument that "the figure of the alien in earlier speculative fiction has effectively split into two components, that of technological superiority and that of biological otherness … the cyborg and … the animal" (2011, 463) holds true for classic texts, while contemporary texts speculate about a human-machine-animal continuum—the convergence of the technological superior cyborg and the biological animal other with the human—and the relativity of superiority once genetically or technologically modified humans (possibly with animal transplants) and emotional, organic self-learning machines level previously fallacious boundaries.

quate binary of nature/culture and providing an evolutionary link of "parts" (2003, 25), companion species, however, never form a new whole, just as the cyborg does from a (bio)technological end. Haraway stresses the processual form, continuously shaped by a "metaplasm" (2003, 20), reciprocal communication, and an approximation of understanding. "Companion species" she writes, "is my awkward term for a not-humanism in which species of all sorts are in question … . Companion species is a permanently undecidable … category-in-question" (2008, 164-165) with human animal and nonhuman animal as "messmates" (2008, 17). For Kymlicka, an inclusive social justice requires a "new moral framework, one that connects the treatment of animals more directly to fundamental principles of liberal-democratic justice and human rights" (3). Justice must grant "universal negative rights and positive relational rights" (12) to non-human animals, turning them into "complex individual actors embedded in webs of social … relationship, and … citizens" (257-258). Kymlicka's citizenship approach links with Heise's notion of "multispecies justice" which seeks to negotiate animal welfare advocacy, diverse human and community claims, and environmental justice within an anthropocentric setting. As an "umbrella for different cultures' ideas about what an ethically responsible relationship between species should look like" (2016, 200), multispecies justice would need to respect both cultural and species differences, balancing "different responses in different communities" (2016, 199), and see to "the claims of both human and nonhuman well-being" (2016, 167). Acutely interested in the frictions between nonhuman species, environmental concerns, and disenfranchised human communities, Heise envisions a multispecies community of equal rights where not all citizens are human, but all species live along 'principles of affectedness', what she calls "environmental world citizenship" (2008, 10) or eco- or multispecies cosmopolitanism. Such a multiple justice "project … requires a more-than-human diplomacy" (2016, 199), Heise cautions, which indirectly flags the caveat of only *approximating* other bioforms' subjectivities and not falling into the trap of anthropomorphism. Even if we narrate a whole web of human and non-human stories, the question remains how to learn the language of natureculture and how to represent other bioforms.[17]

Canadian Speculative Fiction: Moving beyond Speciesism

How do we narrate a reality existing independent of human perception as speculative realism suggests? This is what speculative fiction seeks to explore: narrativizations of a future reality that go beyond correlations to human consciousness. To transcend humanism, Wolfe argues, we need to move beyond an exclusively human subjectivity, abolish personhood, and thus undermine an anthropocentric speciesism, "'we' are not 'we' … . Rather, 'we' are always radically other, already in- or

17 "Without shared language, how do we represent an 'authentic' animal voice?" (7), Margo DeMello asks in her introduction to *Speaking for Animals: Animal Autobiographical Writing* (2013). As much as we seek to understand animal subjectivities, we always need to translate an approximated bioform perspective into human language.

ahuman in our very being ... [and] in our subjection to and constitution in the materiality and technicity of a language" (2010, 89). For Wolfe, cultural representations, e.g. fictions, can immerse us into the viewing or narrating subject not as a human protagonist but as a system operating within a larger system in Luhmann's sense.

The necessity to embrace the intersection of biological and biotechnological species, of linking posthumanism with CAS, *and* social justice has become hence a 21st century challenge and correlates with the rise of speculative fiction over the past twenty to thirty years. Many of these often post-apocalyptic novels connect the discontent with current social (in)justice with ecocriticism, animal/human or human/posthuman relations and explore new relationalities, 'messmates', entanglements, and take first steps towards a multispecies justice. Philip K. Dick's *Do Androids Dream of Electric Sheep* (1968) or Tanith Lee's S.I.L.V.E.R series (1981, 2005) probe entanglement of posthumans and humans, what Fredric Jameson calls the "android cogito" (141), and explore an extended social justice. Should we grant cyborgs citizenship and rights as 'nonhuman persons', if technologically enhanced humans and humanized machines figure as a continuum of affinities rather than opposites?[18] Today we already debate legal issues and ethical implications of self-driving cars, geminoids, and a future of genetically altered, germline-modified humans and thus the impact of bio-technology on (social) justice.

Within the Canadian context Larissa Lai's *Salt Fish Girl* (2002) and Margaret Atwood's *MaddAddam* trilogy (2003-2013) address most prominently biotechnology, posthumanism, human/animal relations, and question in different ways social/environmental justice, or foreground "social justice by its absence" (Clarke 489) or its outright negation.[19] Generically recombining speculative fiction with ethnic histori-

18 In *The Silver Metal Lover* (1981), for instance, the teenage (unnatural) human protagonist, herself artificially conceived and enhanced, falls in love with one of the robots easily "passed off as human" (1999, 97) if it were not for their lascivious inhuman perfection, programmed to excel in creative arts, the last human recourse of uniqueness, and in pleasing the human counterpart. Aware of and content with his biomechanical nature, Silver desires reciprocity, "the easiest way to react to me is just to accept me, as I am. You can't become what I am, any more than I can become what you are" (1999, 92). Yet Jane needs to *make* him human, "He wasn't a robot, after all" (1999, 289), because in truth she can only love what resembles herself. In the sequel *Metallic Love* (2005) Jane's alter ego Loren is of flawed (natural) origin, "I was just born. I was a mistake" (Lee 2005, 4), and equally infatuated with Verlis, Silver's reincarnation and anagram, who is the leader of a new branch of even more perfect yet viciously violent superbeings surpassing humans in every respect, now capable of emotions and now set upon wiping out humanity, resenting their enslavement and the looming possibility of shut down. Instead, the superrobots "make humans over, in our image" (2005, 233), elevating the "human things" (2005, 282) to "a compendium of both" (2005, 249) human and robot. The novels stress the sharing of features, capabilities, and materiality, pointing towards the potential necessity to acknowledge rights beyond the anthropocentric frame.

19 Within the North American context, American author Greg Bear also addresses overpopulation via genome-edited new human species in his Darwin novels (*Darwin's Radio* 1999 and *Darwin's Children* 2003).

ography, Chinese myth narratives, the biblical Genesis, the Golem myth, *Frankenstein*, Shakespeare (most prominently *The Tempest*), *Blade Runner*, and a number of fairy tales (most notably *The Little Mermaid*), Lai focuses on cloning in relation to racism and speciesism. In her novel a variety of characters puncture the porous human/animal/posthuman boundaries, just as the past leaks into the present and different (generic) narrations fuse and interlock. 'Pure' origins and stable identities are replaced by non-linear muddy "putrid origins" (253), multiple lives, reincarnated selves, affinities of invasive reeking smell (of durian fruit and fish) as the marker of stigmatizing difference, and shared experiences of uprooting.[20] Both female protagonists, the narrating ancient shape-shifting Chinese goddess of creation Nu Wa, half-fish/half human, and her reincarnated future human self, Miranda, the clone Evie Xin (homonym for 'sin')—the former "Sonia 113" (223) now liberated—and possibly the otherwise nameless (cloned) salt fish girl (defined by her smell) claim messy sources (albeit the clones share their origins and Nu Wa/Miranda is her own creator/creation). None of them can be categorized as belonging to a species, instead Nu Wa/Miranda and Evie/salt fish girl epitomize an entanglement, a 'messmating' of species and matter. Far from being recognized as part of humanity, or as members of a 'global tribe' of diverse origins, Evie and the 'Sonia series', the subservient corporate cloned worker-women of colour, are not classified as persons, because they are "not human" (158). The novel renders the Sonias'—genetically "point zero three percent … freshwater carp" (Lai 158) and of human minorities' genetic stock—and the Miyakos' (cat-human clones) humanity doubly dubious. Lai's characters 'live' outside human/non-human categories, as unnatural creations, "patented new fucking life-forms" (158) as Evie yells, leaking beyond boundaries, presenting "variations" (259), and celebrating new combinations: "I eat eggs and I eat chicken. Why should I be horrified by the liminal state between the two?" (59).

In fact, the recombination of human genes with fish, cat, water, and fruit literally signifies the 'entanglement' of all matter. As the pregnant Miranda/Nu Wa muses, "we are the new children of the … earth's revenge. Once we stepped out of mud, now we step out of moist earth, out of DNA both new and old … . By our difference we mark how ancient the alphabet of our bodies. By our strangeness we write our bodies into the future" (259). The mythical Nu Wa's male counterpart or technological alter ego, the ironically named Dr Flowers, bioengineers not only the "human biomaterial" (158)—which becomes "the new language of God" (76)—but also combines human genes with (the durian) fruit, literally creating a 'fertility tree'. It is the forbidden (durian) fruit of this tree (with Nu Wa hidden as a snake in it) which

20 While a number of critics (e.g. Morris 2004; Birns 2008; Lai 2008) read Lai's treatment of origins as an essential reconceptualization that emphasizes their significance, Sharlee Reimer argues that Lai debunks the very concept of origin and renders "Enlightenment epistemologies that value unity, coherence, and disembodiment … that … privilege and naturalize white, middle class, heterosexual men … incoherent" (Reimer 6) and instead explores relationality through "shared experiences" (4).

fertilizes both Miranda's future mother and later Miranda herself;[21] additionally, it provides the DNA for the liberated Sonias to clandestinely reproduce. Bodies dissolve and distinctions between matter become leaky, for instance, when after a "hiss and fizzle of salt fish and durian" (225), Miranda returns in her dreams to her Nu Wa identity—the "Serpentine" (227) uncoiling and drowning—only to eventually awake to, twinned by Evie, giving birth "from an opening in my scaly new flesh" (Lai 269). Repeatedly, this indistinguishability of matter, the slippage between bodies and imageries, sparks a multitude of jarring 'incoming stimuli' (Moya) that challenge the reader into constant reassessments. This entanglement of characters and matter regardless of species and bioform, the fusion of human, animal, plant, and posthuman, is further stressed by the strong olfactory element in the novel. "On the day of my conception, there was a [strange] scent in the air" (13), Miranda narrates, an "intriguing" scent both "familiar" and "illicit" (13), and potentially dangerous because of its free and untamed nature. Miranda's father warns her infatuated mother that "wild things weren't safe" (14), but still offers her the desired durian, culminating in a sensuous entanglement of fruit and parents which leaves her postmenopausal mother pregnant, giving birth to a "reeking bundle" (15) nine months later. This "stink of durian" that smells of "cat urine" (69), the epitome of both fertility and of being different and unregulated, sensually connects Miranda—like the salt fish girl, like Evie and the Sonias and the Miyakos—with the non-human, just as Evie (and the salt fish girl) is scented with a "faint whiff of salt fish" (220). Human, plant, and animal share an affinity, where boundaries become fluid: the leaves of the durian tree resemble human body parts with the "faint red of their veins as though blood flowed from the trunk"; the durian fruit "nestled in the dark foliage … distinctly lizard-like" (221), "as though blood flowed from the inside to the pointed tips" (221). Almost magically drawn, Miranda feels "the tree pulling at me" and picks a fruit resembling "a small corpse" (221) with freshly cut "yellow pieces" that resemble "fresh organ meat" (223), so that she feels "cannibalistic about eating it", "as though I'd bitten my own tongue" (224). The novel celebrates multiple entanglements and existences, offering the reader an immersion into the undoing of categories and mental patterns, as we need to readjust our 'perceptual filters' to incorporate a mesh of (post)human-animal-plant characters, to recognize and "articulate connectivities" (Lai 2011, 98) that go beyond species boundaries.

Two other Canadian speculative fictions, Ronald Wright's award-winning novel *A Scientific Romance* (1997) and Michael Murphy's *A Description of the Blazing World* (2011), touch upon human-animal relations but not as a key aspect, while Nalo Hopkinson's short-story collection *Falling in Love with Hominids* (2015), verging on

21 Additionally, the text's poetic description of Evie's and Miranda's sexual intercourse also suggests a queer fertilization through the merging of water, snake, and fish imagery, as Miranda, drawn by Evie's "fishiness" (161), "turn[s] into water … my body a single silver muscle slipping against hers" (161). Wrapped in "the rot stink of decaying leaves and needles", Miranda muses whether "it was at this moment that the child took root" (162).

surreal fantasy, offers multiple narrative perspectives ranging from the human, the non-human, the supernatural or monstrous, to the post-human. Where Hopkinson's stories question what it means to be human and how to be companion species, suggesting cross-species ethics and new coalitions and collaborations across boundaries, Wright's and Murphy's novels explore (planetary) survival, just as Atwood's trilogy does. Set in twenty-first century Toronto and foregrounding the two male protagonists' losses and disorientations, Murphy's *A Description of the Blazing World* integrates Margaret Cavendish's *The Description of a New World, Called the Blazing World* (1666) as a found book that potentially predicts an apocalyptic ending. One of the two male misfits, a nameless disillusioned teenager, finds an old copy of Cavendish's utopian novella of hybrid animal-men creatures and literally takes it as an access code to Toronto's impending near future.[22]

In Wright's *A Scientific Romance*, a literal revisiting of or a late twentieth century sequel to H.G. Wells's iconic *The Time Machine* (1895), survival connotes "our world returned Edenic in our civilizational absence" (Percy 424) where humanity no longer fights nature but battles "to survive ourselves" (Percy 419), while "nature will make the best of the mess we've left behind" (Wright 306). Humankind and its global consumption, "this ravening monster, the world-market" (Wright 256), have polluted and depleted an earth where only poisonous "waste remains and kills" (165). However, nature did not strike back, it "didn't clobber us, except in self-defense" (327). Just as Murphy's teenage protagonist finds Cavendish's book and aligns the present with the past, Wright's protagonist David Lambert, an ailing industrial archaeologist suffering from the Creutzfeldt-Jakob disease, happens to find H.G. Wells's time machine and travels into the 26th century. In the tradition of both Wells's time traveller and Mary Shelley's *Last Man*, he arrives in a devastated Britain in ruins, a world exploited by consumerism and changed by human inflicted global warming, abused by technology and science, and tells his fragmented story shifting between future and past, between guilty memories and present experiences.

Lambert travels with the amiable black puma he names Graham—while his close (human) friend Charles of the past is nicknamed 'Bird'—across this wasteland, returned to a tropical jungle with dangerous wildlife and seemingly devoid of humans (wiped out by a pandemic) save for the bioengineered mutant multi-ethnic black Macbeth tribe in former Scotland. Lambert's animal friend Graham, "the only living creature I can touch, and who touches me, in this whole world" (170), protects him and provides food and companionship, signifying the lost connection between

22 Cavendish's early sf novel, a candid critique of science, follows a young noble lady's fantastic travels to a new 'blazing world' where she not only meets a peaceful and egalitarian society of multi-ethnic humans and anthropomorphic creatures but becomes their queen. The Empress stubbornly engages in discussions of sciences, subjectivity, interpretative acts, logic, and cataloguing with the human-animal members of the learned societies (mocking the Royal Society), arguing for the demolition of scientific apparatuses. Cavendish's hybrid human-animals are, however, essentially allegorical characters representing scientific fields, or animalized scientists.

humans and animals. Simultaneously, Graham's missing ear (a mutation), however, is a reminder of animal suffering from human pollution.

Like Atwood's two main narrators Jimmy and Toby, Lambert needs to communicate, he writes letters and keeps a journal and he is haunted by repetitive memories. Like Atwood's posthumans, the Crakers, Wright's genetically modified survivor tribe is cut off from technology and both authors topicalize capitalism's endless cycle of producing and possessing things. Like Jimmy, Lambert is confronted with the leftover rubble of civilization's obsession with materialism and notes the persistence of human-made, now useless things "[a]ll those things … that made up the sum of the world, which we had to keep on making and buying to keep ourselves diverted and employed—were just garbage-to-be" (160). Ultimately, Lambert accepts that if "[c]ivilization is the gradual replacement of men by things" (259),[23] the depletion of nature's resources leaves a crumbled civilization that will not rise again, a vision eerily converging with Alan Weisman's ecocritical (journalistic) thought experiment The *World Without Us* (2007). Human extinction will allow other creatures to "replenish the earth" (Wright 347). Yet where Wright's story ends in silence (potentially the fleeting notion of a chronoclasmic return), *MaddAddam* ends on a more hopeful note, as the Crakers sing and the future multispecies society evolves.

Rewriting the Canadian Animal Story for the 21st Century: Multispecies Justice in Margaret Atwood's *MaddAddam* Trilogy

Atwood's trilogy addresses most explicitly multispecies justice. Starting from the satirical and highly abusive segregation of classes and genders and a scary species manipulation, her dystopian trilogy moves on to a future of fuzzy (body) boundaries, where a variety of hybrids in a newly emerging society—ranging from the human animal, 'post-humanimals' (Crakers), and sentient human-animal hybrids (pigoons), to genetically modified non-human transanimals (rakunks, liobams etc.)—need to (re)negotiate social justice and questions of identity and affinity within an environment of mass extinction. In this evolving new world, "being human no longer means being categorically set apart from other *biological* species" (2011, 466, my emphasis) as Heise notes, and I would amplify that with 'no longer set apart from other *biotechnologically altered* species'.

The literary relation between animals and humans, the animal story, is distinctly Canadian (cf. Fiamengo 2007). With the *MaddAddam* trilogy, Atwood significantly moves away from her earlier view of animals as intrinsic part of the Canadian experience or even identity.[24] Influenced by Northrop Frye's notions of adversarial nature cum wilderness as "sinister and menacing" and the "garrison mentality" (1943), At-

23 Similarly, Murphy's teenage protagonist feels suffocated by materiality, "capitalism … a suicide machine" (167).

24 For an excellent discussion of Atwood's move towards human-animal interdependence, see Maria Moss, "'Their deaths are not elegant' – Portrayals of Animals in Margaret Atwood's Writings" (2015).

wood outlines nature as malevolent and monstrous in *Survival* (1972, "dead and unanswering or actively hostile to man" (49), where "death by bushing" is "an event of startling frequency in Canadian literature" (54). The trilogy reverses this view to '*humans* as malevolent force' and extends the 'Canadian survival' of the individual (community) *against nature* to a planetary one *against humankind*. Significantly, in the chapter titled "Animal Victims" in *Survival*, Atwood sees this very "Nature-as-Monster pattern" (75) reversed in Canadian animal stories, which she considers as "distinctively Canadian in literature" and "an important facet of the Canadian psyche" (73).[25] Where British literature (e.g. Potter, Kipling) anthropomorphizes animals conversing in perfect English and represents class-conscious or colonial "social relations" (74), and American literature's 'imperialist mindset' equates animals with nature as the *other* that must be hunted, conquered, and killed (e.g. Melville, Faulkner, Hemingway), Canadian animal "failure stories" (74) sympathetically focus on the (narratively impersonated) animal's point of view, "as felt emotionally from inside the fur and feathers" (74). For Atwood, the "Canadian animal stories present animals as victims" and a "trait in our national psyche" (75), positioning the US in the role of the conquering nation/human and Canada as animal/victim. *MaddAddam* then rewrites the Canadian animal story for the 21st century on a planetary scale, where the "threatened and nearly extinct" (79) 'Canadian (non-human) animal' triumphantly resurfaces.[26] The victimized human 'Canadian protagonist' Jimmy-the-Snowman sympathizes with his fellow animal brothers— "he thought of the pigoons as creatures much like himself" (*OC* 27)—while his 'American' adversary, the scientist Crake, kills (human) animals as part of a *rite de passage*. Is the trilogy then a Canadian animal story or a posthuman story? Both it seems.

The pre-crisis, recognizably 21st century American society is clearly materialist and consumerist, segregated into gated megacorporation communities and slum-like 'pleeblands' where social justice is not even a memory. In the logic of speciesism and supreme human superiority (of some), nature, nonhuman animals, and those humans deemed inferior, (animalized) women in particular, are all biomaterial up for maximizing profits. The neoliberal economy permeates all sections of life, origins and originality are obliterated (but retained as a matter of distinction for the ruling elite), every-*thing* is subjected to "reproduction", "there was supposed to be an original somewhere. Or there had been once. Or something" (*OC* 30). Science's cloning and gene-splicing is matched by art's 'copy and paste' as the prevalent method of

25 One chapter epigraph quotes from Ernest Thompson Seton's realistic short story "Redruff" (*Wild Animals I have Known* 1898), a compassionate depiction of wild animals, particularly wolves: "Have the wild things no moral or legal rights? What right has man to inflict such long and fearful agony on a fellow-creature, simply because that creature does not speak his language?" (71).

26 "And for the Canadian animal, bare survival is the main aim in life, failure as an individual is inevitable, and extinction as a species is a distinct possibility" (*Survival* 79).

the humanities at the Martha Graham Academy, where Jimmy sticks out as eccentric because he actually writes his own papers (*OC* 194-195).[27]

Multinational corporations bioengineer transgenic nonhuman animal hybrids or 'transanimals' (e.g. the dangerous liobams, a lion/lamb hybrid; the ferocious wolvogs, a cross-over breed of wolves and dogs, as watchdogs; or the spoat/gider, a spider-goat hybrid for industrial usage of spider silk etc.). Another project involves transgenic sentient "*sus multiorganifer*" (*OC* 25), pig hosts with a human neocortex, the intelligent 'pigoons' (Pig Ones), as multiple human organ donors. Extrapolating from current intensive livestock farming practice and as a terrifying potential answer to growing food problems, the corps produce transgenic living headless and legless chicken (parts) reduced to rapidly growing multiple drumsticks ersatz meat (ChickieNobs Nubbin), "bulblike object[s] … . [with] twenty thick fleshy tubes, and at the end of each tube another bulb was growing" (*OC* 237).[28] In the post-apocalyptic world the roles of human hunter and animal prey become interchangeable, as liobams, bobkittens, and the pigoons are serious predators. Building a multispecies society necessitates thus a pact between human and nonhuman animals.

Changing the human genetic code is another extensive field of pre-crisis science. Undesirable human features or hereditary diseases are rectifiable solely for the rich who order genetically modified designer babies. Perfidiously, the corps profitably spread disease *and* cure via pharmaceuticals and secretly experiment with genetic splicing to create posthumans. Nature is a commodity that humans cut up, rearrange, transplant, and abuse at will. Science is a machinery that instrumentalizes all material forms. Taking this logic of commodification to its extreme, the high-strung genius scientist Crake—a bioterrorist from an anthropocentric perspective and a deep ecologist[29] from a post-anthropocentric planetary perspective—clandestinely

27 Since art cannot be commercialized the same as science, science cannibalizes art, now reduced to slogans and commercials. It is art (Jimmy) which sells science (Crake's deadly BlyssPluss pill).

28 Food continues to cause trouble in the trilogy: Jimmy needs protein and pressurizes the nonviolent Crakers into killing fish in exchange for the desired stories; Toby is virtually threatened to be turned into meat; and the settler species of the new world need to negotiate food matters and the involved killing of lifeforms. Eating human-pig chimeras verges on cannibalism and renders multispecies justice impossible. Future food is, of course, a staple of sf—poignantly captured in, for instance, the American classic SF movie *Soylent Green* (1973), where starving millions are fed with "Soylent Green", an artificial plankton really made of human protein—and a problem current science tackles. Potential solutions include Mark Post's 200.000 $ Beef Burger made of cell-cultured beef (harvested muscle cells from living cows) first eaten in 2013, or Josh Tetrick's vegan chicken-less 'egg' with a protein taken from the Canadian yellow pea.

29 While the sectarian God's Gardeners follow a moderate deep ecology approach—a term Norwegian philosopher Arne Naess coined in 1973 to focus on the equality and interrelatedness of all lifeforms in contradistinction to a 'shallow' materialist or anthropocentric ecocriticism that hierarchizes and ranks lifeforms—Crake epitomizes an extreme version when he seeks to remedy humankind's destructive interference with the complex web of balanced nature. Wiping out humanity to save future biodiversity presupposes a misanthropic social justice approach that acknowledges all lifeforms *except* humans. Crake's determination to return the posthuman

experiments with genetic splicing and bioengineers the less destructive posthuman Crakers (in his name) to repopulate the planet, once he has killed violent humankind with a genetic pandemic distributed via the BlyssPluss pill. To destroy "civilization as we know it … . All it takes," said Crake, "is the elimination of one generation. … Break the link in time between one generation and the next, and it's game over forever" (*OC* 261-262). In his high-tech lab sneeringly called Para*dice* Dome (implying that evolution is nature's game he participates in), he decidedly constructs the Crakers as an interspecies lifeform, with "interspecies gene and part-gene splicing" (*OC* 356). Pitting biodiversity's, the planet's against humans' right for survival, his objective is clearly to save the overpopulated planet from the death of *all* life.[30] Secretly, Crake and the MaddAddamites, top-notch scientists, sabotage the system from within, "*Adam named the animals. MaddAddam customizes them*" (*OC* 253). They design bioforms to counteract the system, "[a] tiny parasitic wasp had invaded several ChickieNobs installations, carrying a modified form of chickenpox, specific to the ChickieNob and fatal to it" (*OC* 253). In the end and rather consistent in his desire to eliminate humankind, Crake provokes his (vaccinated) helpmate Jimmy into killing him. Symbolically, as the scientist, the Crakers' origin and scientific knowledge, expires and the artist, Jimmy, survives to 'supervise' the Crakers' entry into a new symbolic order, this multiple parentage or fatherhood mirrors the Crakers' biological multiple 'fourfatherhood'.

The narrative web of stories reflects this biological entanglement, as Jimmy's narration (*OC*) and Ren's and Toby's voices (*YF*) merge with Blackbeard's, the post-humanimal's 'postscript' (*MA*). Jimmy becomes the Crakers' teacher, prophet, and myth-maker, seemingly reinstating human superiority (undercut by his dependency on trading stories for food), a role Toby inherits. When the Craker Blackbeard inherits Toby's/Jimmy's story-teller cap, learns how to read and write, and takes over the role of historian, the narrative shifts from an anthropocentric view to a post-humanimal perspective. Yet, the other nonhuman animals, the pigoons and liobams etc., are not granted a narrative voice. Instead, the Crakers function as a mouthpiece to provide the missing link of communication between humans and pigoons: "It's easier for

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Crakers to a pre-human, decidedly non-superior status in harmonic balance with nature reflects Fritjof Capra's 'new physics' of interrelatedness explicated in *The Systems View of Life* (2014) that moves away from a mechanistic to a systemic understanding of nature as a living, self-generating network in which the process of life (matter) is a cognitive process (mind). The non-violent, self-sufficient, non-consumerist attitude of the Crakers and their thus changed cognitive process would thus change the process of all life, as all lifeforms interact cognitively. The need to change cognitive patterns becomes obvious in the process of building a multispecies society in *MaddAddam*.

30 While an intentional (virus-induced) genocide to save the overpopulated planet occurs less frequently, a pandemic killing of (most of) humanity is not new in speculative fiction or film; see, for instance, Mary Shelley's early *The Last Man* (1826), Richard Matheson's *I am Legend* (1954), William C. Heine's *The Last Canadian* (1974), Stephen King's *The Stand* (1978), Emily St. John Mandel's *Station Eleven* (2014), or Terry Gilliam's film *12 Monkeys* (1995).

them to talk to us" (*MA* 270) Blackbeard explains. Perhaps, *not* (directly) representing but acknowledging other lifeforms' views, avoiding the ventriloquist's pitfall, is in fact an honest and post-anthropocentric narratological stance.

In the last book messmates of blurred boundaries and origins inhabit this radically changed world: a social mix of 'natural' human survivors (God's Gardeners, MaddAddamites, former pleeblanders and residents of the gated communities as well as three violent painballers); the sometimes predatory transanimals (liobam); the intelligent animal-human hybrids (pigoons); the bioengineered, well-adapted posthumanimal (Crakers), and the new hybrid Craker-human offspring, named for the remembrance of the dead (like Jimadam) or joining the dead and the living (Pilaren). This hybrid offspring epitomizes the human characters' shifting cognitive schema as they realize that building a new society involves recognizing the *other*(*s*) as partners with equal rights with different duties.[31] Instead of excluding Crakers and pigoons on the grounds of their genetic difference the human survivors acknowledge that "we … are *all people* … though we have different gifts" (*MA* 386; my emphasis).

Initially, sharing the earth requires negotiations of co-habitation, first resulting in "a cacophony of voices" (*MA* 12) and processes of "major cultural [mis]understanding[s]" (*MA* 13). The Craker men want to copulate with human females 'smelling blue' (sexually reproductive); unwittingly the Crakers release the captured predatory Painballers, former convicts epitomizing human violence and a rampant sadistic killing drive. Initially ferocious attackers and competitors for food, the pigoons offer to cooperate in the Painballer chase, if the humans stop killing and eating them, whereas the Crakers reject any involvement in violence and rather indulge in stories and explanations. In fact, the humans depend on help, while both Crakers and pigoons could potentially survive without humans, if it were not for the most dangerous surviving human specimens, the Painballers.[32] To recapture the Painballers the species must cooperate: each group provides skills according to abilities to collectively defend against the Painballers, a threat to them all. Incapable of intrinsic violence, the Crakers who have reluctantly learned killing as a cultural practice—"Every week … the [Craker] women … call the unlucky fish by name … . [Then] the men kill it … . That way the unpleasantness is shared among them and no single person is guilty of shedding the fish's blood" (*OC* 116)—send Bluebeard as a witness

31 Inversely, the pre-crisis society sexualizes the human-animal link as a male human dominance game, dressing women with biofilm body suits imitating an animal to serve customers at the "Scales and Tails" sex club. Here, "beautiful girls covered completely with shining green scales, like lizards" (*YF* 74) and "[d]ragon ladies winding around them, snake women slithering over them" (*YF* 307) uphold a twisted illusion of the tamed and exotically alluring female/animal *other*. As Zeb, one of MaddAddamites sarcastically comments, "We like to think you're wild animals … . Underneath the decorations" (*MA*, 171).

32 Epitomizing the survival of the cruelest and fittest, the chief painballer's name "Blanco" blatantly denotes a history of white people's ruthless survival measures.

to tell the story of the battle and translate.[33] With their superior olfactory sense the pigoons locate and chase the Painballers, until the human survivor group takes over, the Paradice dome's stairs being an insurmountable obstacle for the pigoons. Only pigoons and humans participate in the ensuing trial, where the pigoons "vote collectively, through their leader, with Blackbeard as their interpreter" (*MA* 369-370). The Crakers refrain from the incomprehensible 'trial' and 'vote', feeling wholeheartedly uncomfortable with a judgement that inflicts death. In effect, the need to cooperate according to each bioform's capabilities comes close to Nussbaum's capabilities approach.

Although the Crakers clearly undergo a process of humanization and culturization—they create effigies (*OC*) and commemorative statues (*MA*), insist on rituals, wear shoes, symbolically discover their mirror-images, begin to speak in recognizable voices instead of a pluralistic 'we'—their rejection of the battle, the trial, and any notion of superiority runs counter to Heise's reading of the Crakers as "a new version of the old humans" with "a return to attributing a special status to authentic humanness" (2011, 464-465).[34] Do the Crakers, however, truly revert to humanity (much like Dr Moreau's Beast People backslide into animality)? They are certainly wired to stereotypical gender roles: Craker men protect (with their deterrent urine), Craker women bear and raise the children, but they do not revert to violence, human morals, possessiveness, or claims of superiority. As posthumanimal companion species they disturb inadequate boundaries, linking parts of the nonhuman animal with the human animal as 'messmates'. Certainly, the Crakers, but also the pigoons, disturb nature and culture in 'unexpected ways' in Haraway's sense. Both represent 'significant otherness' and will presumably co-evolve in a 'natureculture' way. Symbolically, the simple and gentle Crakers, seemingly literary descendants of H.G. Wells's docile Eloi of *The Time Machine* (1895),[35] represent humanity returned to a

33 Naming the Crakers after historical personages (Napoleon and Blackbeard, Abraham Lincoln and Marie Curie), indicates Crake's anticipation of a resurgence of the "Blood and Roses" game, a play-off of human atrocities and human art and science achievements. Yet, Blackbeard's role as the scrivener, the historian and chronicler, symbolically indicates the Crakers' discontinuation of the human cycle of violence. Constructing a multispecies society involves recognizing the imperial gesture of naming and claiming, hence Toby begins to wonder "[w]hat are their own names, and is it polite to ask" (*MA* 36)?

34 For Heise, Atwood returns to "conventional humanism" (2011, 464), whereas, for instance, Sheri S. Tepper's *The Family Tree* (1997) or Dietmar Dath's *Die Abschaffung der Arten* (2008) represent more radical posthumanist visions, as the former "rejects human superiority" (2011, 465) and the latter blurs all species boundaries of animals, humans, and cyborgs into a "postspecies" (2011, 465) bio-data flow.

35 Yet while Wells's dark 'ustopia' allegorically sketches an extreme Darwinian evolution that leads to a reversal of classes if not to two different races, Atwood's series clearly indicates multiple biological links and affinities between species. While Wells's horrific Morlocks, archaic hominids living underground, breed and feed on the childlike, idle Eloi, their human cattle, in a superficially Edenic future world (only to eventually meet annihilation as the whole planet dies in the far future), the Crakers are not only independent but also crucial and benevolent kinkeepers, or

more animal-like, early human (pre-human) status while their porous biological setup, a blend of human and animal genetic material, perforates species boundaries and renders the human-nonhuman divide obsolete. The herbivorous Crakers profit from inbred protective animal features combined with a limited human intelligence oriented towards communality and lacking (a)morality and human concepts aimed at possession or exclusion.

More a companion of the human self than an animal *other* (if we remain in an anthropocentric frame, categorizing bioforms according to their near-human or human status), the pigoons possess high cognitive capabilities, compassionately carry injured Jimmy, develop flowery funeral rites, and are capable of elaborate preplanning, tool use, and cross-species communication. Humanity becomes a 'contested concept', no longer exclusively harboured by the human animals but visibly shared with Crakers and pigoons and the hybrid offspring, even though these similarities initially lead to uncomfortable denigrations ("Frankenbacon", "Frankenpeople" (*MA* 19), "Frankenbabies" (*MA* 216) and the other species's equal contempt for the carnivorous humans). Humanity turns into messy instable perspectives and human superiority must make way for multiperspectivism and equal rights.

The trilogy combines the two possible outcomes Elizabeth Kolbert envisions in *The Sixth Extinction* (2014), a recount of the past five mass extinctions and the disturbing implications of the Anthropocene.[36] In version one, humanity as the agent of the sixth extinction wipes itself out, taking much of biodiversity with it; this is the interactive online game Jimmy, Crake, and the MaddAddamites play: "*EXTINCATHON, Monitored by Maddaddam. Adam named the living animals, Maddaddam names the dead ones*" (*OC* 251). In version two, humanity's ingenuity "will outrun any disaster" (Kolbert 268). *MaddAddam* twists both versions: yes, humanity wipes itself almost completely off the face of earth, but gets another chance at inhabiting earth *if* we learn a new form of cohabitation, a relational interspecies cooperation working towards a citizenship approach and multispecies justice. While the new society is grounded in genetic manipulation and, therefore, materializes messmates and natureculture as forms of interspeciesism, Jimmy and the God's Gardeners stand for a pre-crisis companionship approach. Back in the compounds Jimmy rejects eating pigoon meat "because he thought of the pigoons as creatures much like himself" (*OC* 27) and shrugs off his father's warning that they might kill him if he falls into their pen, "'No they won't', said Jimmy. Because I'm their friend, he thought. Because

'specieskeepers'. Wells's chimera of a harmonic 'social paradise' quickly rubs off and culminates in the extinction of all life – while the Crakers persist.

36 In Chapter 5 "Welcome to the Anthropocene", Kolbert briefly outlines the scientific research on how humans deny incongruities in their environment until the erupting crisis can no longer be rationalized but requires "paradigm shifts [Thomas Kuhn's term]" (93) which spawned, for instance, the then new concept of extinction in the late eighteenth century. While the previous five mass extinctions are linked to natural causes, humans have caused the current sixth extinction.

I sing to them" (*OC* 30). Singing in fact seems to connect humans, Crakers, pigoons, and other animals, and is one trait Crake cannot eliminate, "[w]e're hard-wired for singing" (*OC*, 352). The Crakers communicate with the pigoons and other animals by singing:

> 'I was talking to the bees,' says Toby. Blackbeard's face lights up with a smile. 'I didn't know you could do that,' he says. 'You talk with the Children of Oryx? As we do? But you can't sing!' 'You sing to the animals?' says Toby. (*MA* 214)

The God's Gardeners' hymns, sermons, and festivals praise the connection of all lifeforms, reject humans' "false Justice" (*YF* 426) and supremacy, "in reality *we* belong to Everything" (*YF* 52-53; my emphasis), and "affirm our Primate ancestry" (*YF* 51), the close relation "to our fellow Primates" (*YF* 52). Both God's Gardeners and the Crakers close their gatherings with singing to create a calming community spirit (and both *The Year of the Flood* and *MaddAddam* end with singing), just as Zeb sings to calm himself, "when he was locked inside the closet [by his abusive father]. He sang" (*MA* 109).

As readers we follow the human survivors' cognitive schema shift that requires a dismissal of human superiority and exclusivity, acknowledging that "[t]hey're people [the Crakers]" (*MA* 34) even though "[t]hey're definitely not like us … . No way close" (*MA* 35), and the realization that humans are irrelevant for planetary evolution, "[n]othing in the material world died when the [human] people did" (*MA* 33). As settlers in a ruined Garden Eden, this 'posttranshumanimal' community needs to share, translate, communicate, and change the ingrained 'deep cognitive structures'. In a similar vein and explicitly linking the human and animal fate, Graham Huggan and Helen Tiffin argue that Atwood rightly follows the "ecological dictum that human liberation will never be fully achieved without radically challenging the historical conditions under which human societies have constructed themselves in relation to other societies, *both* human *and* non-human" (214).

Atwood's and Lai's perforation of species boundaries renders the human-inhuman divide obsolete and provides a speculative foil to rethink human singularity and social justice along a pluralistic bioform continuum, for humans and other lifeforms indeed share the majority of genes.[37] Both Murphy's and Wright's texts

37 In fact, only profitable cooperation has allowed some lifeforms to effectively meet evolutionary challenges, suggesting an advantage for parasitic coexistence in natural selection. In 1867 Swiss botanist Simon Schwendener revolutionized botany with his suggestion that lichen is formed of fungus *and* algae, which German botanist Anton de Bary then termed "symbiosis" in 1878. The most momentous symbiosis, however, was the fusion of archaic bacteria to eucaryotic cells approximately 1,7 billion years ago, the living basis of all plants, animals, and fungi and their ensuing collaborations and fusions. Animals and microbes do share quite a number of genes, and about 37% of the human genome is almost identical with that of bacteria or the ar-

remind us of human insignificance, "We're a fraction of a second. We were never here" (Murphy 234), and the likeliness of impending implosion. These imaginative "key interventions" offered to characters allow readers to follow the process of changing schemas as speculative fiction's close relationship to contemporary social and scientific developments eerily creates a reading process of fiction thinly overwriting a reality we *almost* experience, crafting a palimpsest of interlaced present and future, fiction and reality. Literary imagination can chip at dominant power systems, and we as critics can highlight the mental shifts suggested in fiction. Or, as Toby tells Blackbeard when he is desperate because the words on paper can't 'talk' but need to be 'read': "*You* need to be the voice of the writing" (*MA* 202; my emphasis).

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chaea. Only a very small percentage of genes (roughly 0,6-6,5%) are exclusively human. In the trilogy, Jimmy's symbiotic relationship with the Crakers (a fish for a story) and the increasing networking of species illustrates this necessity of coexistence and shared interests. When Toby wears a Mo'Hair (transgenic human-sheep hair) transplant, a Mo'Hair sheep licks her, "[i]t thought she was a relative" (*MA* 30).

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Domenico A. Beneventi

Re-imagining Trauma: Montréal Under Siege in Michel Basilières' *Black Bird*

Zusammenfassung

Dieser Artikel analysiert die Überschneidungen zwischen Verkörperung nationaler Identität, linguistischer Zugehörigkeit und Diskursen in der Repräsentation Montréals im Roman Black Bird *von Michel Basilières (2004). Der Roman fiktionalisiert eine traumatische Periode in der Geschichte Québecs – die Oktoberkrise 1970 – und verdeutlicht über die Formen des „Gothic" und des Karnevalesken die linguistischen und politischen Brüche, die diese geteilte Stadt charakterisieren.*

Abstract

This article addresses the intersections between embodiment, language, and discourses of nationhood in the representation of Montréal in Michel Basilières' 2004 Black Bird. *The novel revisits a particularly traumatic period in Québec history – the October crisis of 1970, showing, through the gothic and the carnivalesque modes, the linguistic and political fractures that characterize the divided city.*

Résumé

Cet article se propose d'analyser les intersections entre la corporalité, l'appartenance linguistique et les discours sur l'identité nationale dans la représentation de Montréal dans le roman Black Bird *(2004) de Michel Basilières. Le roman fictionnalise une période traumatique dans l'histoire du Québec, à savoir la crise d'octobre de 1970, et démontre, en s'inspirant à la fois du gothique et du carnavalesque, les fractures linguistiques et politiques qui caractérisent la ville divisée.*

Recent interest in literary criticism on the representation of cities and urban spaces in Canadian and Québec literatures has shifted the ways in which we think about, imagine, and construct the nation. Garrison mentalities and survival thematics have given way to more pointed critical work on the ways in which most Canadians live their lives: primarily in cities rather than rural areas, as Edwards/Ivison contend in *Downtown Canada: Writing the Canadian City* (2005). Canadian cities are increasingly transnational, as Dobson argues in *Transnational Canadas: Anglo-Canadian Literature*

and Globalization (2011), and "glocal," as Ana Fraile-Marcos argues in *Literature and the Glocal City: Reshaping the English Canadian Imaginary* (2014) – locations that combine the local with the global networks of capital, information, technology, resources, and the populations that give them shape. Current scholarship in Canada in critical geographies (Razack), racialization, diaspora studies (Kamboureli), post-coloniality (Moss, Sugars), and aboriginal studies (Peters/Andersen), has also changed the way we construct and understand the various types of bodies that occupy Canadian cities, and have "engendered new ways of seeing spatialization and the textual practices that contribute to an understanding of positionality and the locatedness of the subject" (Edwards/Ivison, 5). This recent critical work engages with a diversity of subject positions, lived experiences, and communities in relation to space, be it in terms of ethnic or immigrant writing, native and indigenous studies, or feminist critique, and have shown how the city itself is experienced in vastly different ways according to one's gender, racial or ethnic background, and social class. It is crucial to note, however, that while studies in Canadian and Québec literatures have examined marginalized subjects very little attention has been paid to representations of the material, corporeal body itself in all of its physical, psychological, symbolic, discursive, and cultural complexity. Bodies may be understood as the meeting of flesh and social space – as a locus of affect through agency is performed, demonstrating that the body is the result of a complex interface between the built environment and subjectivity, thus recognizing the need, as feminist critic Elizabeth Grosz puts it, to "explore the constitutive and mutually defining relations between corporeality and the metropolis" (243):

> The body must be considered active in the production and transformation of the city … what I am suggesting is a model of the relations between bodies and cities that sees them, not as monolithic total entities, but as assemblages or collections of parts, capable of crossing the thresholds between substances to form linkages, machines, provisional and often temporary sub- or micro-groupings. Bodies, even and especially marginalized ones, do not simply occupy urban spaces, but constitute and are constituted by them (108).

This article will address the intersections between embodiment, language, history and discourses of nationhood in the representation of Montréal in Michel Basilières' 2004 novel titled, *Black Bird*, which re-imagines a particularly traumatic period in Québec history – the October crisis of 1970 in which the city was placed under military control through the Canadian War Measures Act in response to the *Front de libération du Québec (FLQ)* bombings and kidnapping of Pierre Laporte, Québec's Minister of Labour, and James Cross, the British Trade Commissioner at the time. Basilières' *Black Bird* deconstructs the pervasive image of Montréal as a city divided by its two linguistic solitudes in showing the uneasy alliances, and troubled familial

bonds of English and French communities, but also imagines a spectral city haunted by its own religious and political past. The emergence of the supernatural on the streets of the city may be read as evidence of the unresolved social, political and linguistic conflicts in Québec society during the Quiet Revolution, but also in a larger historical sweep, of the manner in which religious and political ideologies resurface and re-emerge in the present-day city, refusing to die. It is a form of haunting that suggests Québec's ambiguous desire to shed itself of the skin of its former colonial subjectivity, yet also its obstinate refusal to do so completely in its engagements with the language, culture, and body of the colonizers, the English. As Turcotte/Sugars claim in *Unsettled Remains: Canadian Literature and the Postcolonial Gothic*:

> In Canadian literature, the postcolonial gothic has been put to multiple uses, above all to convey experiences of ambivalence and/or split subjectivity resulting from the inherent incommensurability of conflicted subject positions that have emerged from a colonial context and persisted into the present. In many instances, the postcolonial Gothic involves a transposition of conventional gothic and colonialist metaphors, turning gothic conventions on their head by converting the unfamiliar or ghostly into nonthreatening-even sustaining-objects of desire (xi).

Indeed, the primary haunting that takes place in Basilières' novel is that of Hubert, leader of a cell of the FLQ who most completely represents Québec's political dream of separation from the rest of Canada, but he is, as Turcott/Sugars, both the object of desire and of repulsion, a sympathetic figure who is repeatedly victimized by outside forces and by his own family.

In the preface to the novel, the author points out that "as with all of the best fiction, here the facts of our history do not get in the way of the truth, or of telling a good story." While *Black Bird* remains faithfully unfaithful to historical accuracy, its gothic re-figuring of the events of October 1970 offer an uncannily accurate portrait of Montréal's texture as a city haunted by its religious past, its linguistic tensions and obsessions, and its socio-political complexities. The novel shows a city in which English and French live parallel yet separate lives, as the "Desouche" family (a pun on the French expression – "de souche" or having French-Canadian roots) is either unable or unwilling to speak or listen to the language of the other. The urban landscape is thus seen through an eccentric, warped lens (quite literally, at one point through the character of Grandfather, who loses an eye when it is plucked out by Grace, the crow, who prevails over the whole of unfolding gothic drama, and has it replaced by a glass eye that acts as a lens that diffracts light, thus offering up a dual vision of the city: "He discovered that although both his eyes functioned, they seemed to be out of synchronization or parallax or something. If he left his new one in and didn't cover his own real eye, his vision was occluded. They seemed to conflict" (157). This

"parallax vision" becomes a moment of recognition at the end of the novel that offers a biting criticism of the short-sightedness of rigid political and religious dogma. Grandfather's parallax vision rejects the binarisms that lead to territorial, cultural, and linguistic conflict and in losing his eye, Grandfather is ironically able to see more clearly that: "opposites have no meaning" (223).

If, indeed, history in this novel is off-kilter in the liberties which the author takes with historical accuracy, it accurately portrays the messy yet intimately intertwined antagonistic discourses of Canadian and Québec nationalism, symbolized by the strained relationships between members of the Desouche family and by the haunted city. Ironically, Francophone members only speak in English while the Anglophones only speak French, and neither particularly understand each other, in a ludic reversal of the linguistic battlefield that is Montréal.

Basilières' novel evokes the trauma of the FLQ crisis in an urban landscape scarred by politicized ideologies and languages, but also, symbolically, through bodies that are traumatized and victimized by terrorist violence; for instance, the grim and reimagined enactment of the torture and execution of James Cross in a violent revenge fantasy enacted upon a representative of the English crown, or the missing fingers of the character of "Uncle," alluding to real historical events in which an FLQ member blew up his own hand in a failed terrorist attempt. Furthermore, bodies resurrected from the dead, such as those of Hubert, who is killed in a car accident when he is run over by a fictionalized René Lévesque, the first separatist Premier of Québec, and resurrected by a mad Dr. Hyde, the silent comatosed body of Aline, or the disembodied spirit of Angus who floats through the novel, haunts the present-day city and represents the return of the repressed political desires of a failed Québec nationalism. This article explores Montréal as a space of broken bodies, broken languages, and broken nationalist rhetoric, a city given to the violence of political divisions, to the tensions of untranslatability between English and French, and of uneasy "border-crossings," as Sherry Simon puts it, into the habitat and language of the other. The novel shows various moments of "poaching," (Harel) between English and French linguistic, cultural, and spatial practices, which is characteristic of contemporary Québec literature, particularly in Montréal where urban space is continually contested, identities constantly fractured, de-naturalized, and haunted by unreliable historical memory and ambiguous political and cultural filiations. As Lianne Moyes argues, "acts of trespassing and poaching […] characterize Québec postcolonial space (and) expose the violence, the encroachments, that mark the contiguous cultural spaces of Québec […] yet poaching […] does not allow one to escape the violence of proper space; it makes that violence legible" (13).

Black Bird unfolds in the ramshackle home of the Desouche family, headed by Grandfather, the eccentric patriarch who robs graves for a living, and his second wife Aline, who felt that she had "landed in a foreign country" (8) because the francophone family she marries into insisted on speaking English in the home. Grandfather's twins from a previous marriage, referred to only as Father and Uncle, can only

be distinguished by the fact that Uncle is missing a finger on his left hand. Father and Mother are the parents of Jean-Baptiste & Marie, the seemingly incestuous twins who occupy opposite sides of the linguistic and nationalist divide. As a poet and artist, Jean-Baptise refuses to speak French, while Marie, raised to be bilingual but "unable to distinguish between the languages" (70) refuses to speak English and becomes an active member of a terrorist organization intent on bringing about the secession of Québec from the rest of Canada. Her boyfriend, Hubert, the eloquent and impassioned leader of a terrorist cell, is inadvertently run over and killed by the provincial premier's speeding car one night while he is stumbling around in the city drunk. This episode mirrors the actual historical event in which the first separatist leader of the province, René Lévesque, fatally struck a drunken homeless man in 1977.[1] When Hubert disappears, Marie takes up the separatist cause and kidnaps, tortures, and eventually kills James Cross, the British Trade Commissioner, in a hidden section of the family's basement. Resurrected by the mad Dr. Hyde, Hubert becomes a lumbering Frankenstein-monster that can neither speak nor remember his own identity, symbolizing the "monstrous" extremes of political orthodoxy and nationalist fervor, and the ironic re-casting of the province's motto: *Je me souviens*. At the end of the novel, Hubert returns to the Desouche household and in Grandfather's attempt to kill him again with a shovel, a gas pipe is struck which eventually causes an explosion that destroys the entire home. The symbolism of the end of the novel could not be more blunt.

Proximate Strangeness and Dialogical Utterance

Basilières' novel shows Montréal as a city in which the sacred and profane are in close proximity, abutting one another in the same way as its dual linguistic and cultural heritage. Various spaces are represented in the novel, from the top of Mount Royal to its cemeteries, from the underground spaces of the hidden and the repressed, to the "non-space" of Angus' disembodiment. Montréal is, as the opening line reveals, an island city that "placed a cemetery atop its mountain, capped the mountain with a giant illuminated cross and wove streets along its slopes like a skirt spreading down to the water. In this way, its ancestors hovered over the city just as the Church did, and death was always at the center of everything." (1)

The Desouche home is tellingly located in the "no-man's land" between East and West, French and English parts of the city, in a "forgotten blue-collar neighbourhood" in the "contact zone" between the mythical "two solitudes." The home itself, symbol of Québec society, reflects the eccentricity of the family it houses (9): constantly unfinished, under-construction, in tatters, but also self-sufficient, enclosed, and secretive. Indeed, the description of the Desouche household as a domestic space that is constantly under construction may be read as a symbol of the lack of

1 It should be noted that the acting Premier during the October crisis of 1970 was Robert Bourassa, not René Lévesque.

political cohesion in Québec society – a dream of a separate nation forever under construction: "Doors were moved, walls were struck down or created, windows bricked up, staircases added, balconies enlarged or destroyed … of course, though each project began with a burst of enthusiasm, as soon as inspiration had lost its novelty, work slowed to a crawl. Jobs that should have taken a few days stretched into weeks – even months" (9). According to Gaston Bachelard, the home is the locus of memory and narrative in which the values of intimacy are scattered (14), constituting "a body of images that give mankind proofs or illusions of stability" (17). The home represents the psychological rootedness of the individual, a "vital space" where the "unconscious is housed," one that we inhabit both physically and psychologically for solace and protection, but one that is never fully secure from a threatening outside. If the home is an extension of the psychological self and the space in which memories both accumulate and are embedded, it is also a microcosm of the social space in which we all dwell. The home – as the ostensibly inviolable and privileged site of private identity, memory, and the accumulation of material possessions – is in fact an extension of nation; the way we talk about the home, much like the way we talk about nation, reveals, as Erin Manning has argued, a "visceral … desire for attachment and belonging" (2003, xvii). In the image of the Desouche family who is forever unable to keep its house in order, Basilières suggests the larger societal unease within Québec society around questions of belonging, inclusivity, identity, and the socio-political uncertainties of the future.

If Montréal has traditionally been represented as a divided city coming together at the seam or point of rupture represented by Boulevard St. Laurent, mythologized street of immigrants and the space of encounter of ethnic and linguistic difference, Basilières' novel blurs these boundaries in showing how the linguistic other also inhabits the self. Language in the novel figures as a form of compulsion, impasse, rupture, and refusal or inability to communicate, whether in the unexpected speech acts of certain characters or in the frequent moments of mis-translation and linguistic play. It is in this sense akin to what Sherry Simon refers to as the "moments of silence" or of untranslatability in the politicized language practices of Québec. In *Translating Montreal: Episodes in the Life of a Divided City*, she argues that in a city in which English and French live side by side, "communities live in relations of proximate strangeness or intimate otherness" (xiii). I would argue that this produces a distancing effect vis-à-vis one's own identity, and we can see many instances in *Black Bird* in which that occurs. The intermixing of English and French in Basilières' novel both divides and conjoins individuals and communities in moments of "proximate strangeness."

If the name of the Desouche family suggests Québécois "authenticity" it is undermined by the fact many refuse to speak French. Jean-Baptiste, for example, only reads French and only writes his plays in English, and the interplay of languages evokes a troubled dual identity expressed in and through the body: "English was feminine, welcoming, mothering – but also guttural, Germanic, a precise and at the

same time crude language full of words and phrases stolen from others to shore up its own metaphorical poverty. French was the father: always disappointing, always driving, always stern, always ambiguous, always fighting to beat down the Oedipus in the son – but at the same time, French was fluid, so romantic so Latin and Mediterranean" (75). Jean-Baptiste is a French-Canadian poet who becomes the traitorous translator between his Mother and Aline:

> he resented this position immediately, this extra burden imposed on him by their ignorance of each other's language, he took to translating quite freely indeed. Usually he would deliver intact the general idea of their statements, but often in a way in which he knew would incense them unexpectedly (40).

Translation becomes a moment of rupture in the fabric of the novel, just as language in the city of Montréal is a monstrous combination of disparate parts conjoined as one. Expected linguistic and political positions, ideologies, and affiliations in the novel are "unmoored" from their expected locations, are reversed, or occupy the position of the other. These border-crossings, fractured identities and abject locations de-naturalize the languages and communities of the city at the "faultlines" between them, in the "zones of tension" (Harel) between East and West, French and English, and past and present.

Similar language games are enacted in the novel. For instance, when Marie decides to give her brother Jean-Baptiste a book as a gift, she walks into an English language bookstore whose outdoor sign reads "Livres," as mandated by Bill 101, Québec's language law that stipulates that all commercial signs must be predominantly in French. This is "a lovely French word" she notes, and is "soothing and familiar", not "like the harsh, alien English word Books." Furthermore, each section in the English bookstore is indicated with French signs, creating an uncanny space in which the words and ideas contained in books on the shelf do not correspond to their French categorization:

> In here you couldn't buy a mystery novel, you had to settle for a Roman Policier. There was no science fiction, but there were Anticipations; no health, but Santé; no fiction, but Romans; no travel, but Voyages; and no humour at all. This method made it so much easier for the French to buy English books.

Because of her separatist political convictions, Marie refuses to buy any English books for her brother at all, settling instead on a book which contains no words: "There was a display of diaries, calendars, notepads and blank books […] and she reflected, here was the perfect symbol: a book that was not a book. Empty, meaningless." (119–120)

Language is also a form of compulsion or irrational irruption in *Black Bird*. Mrs. Pangloss, a neighbour of the Desouche family who was "proudly Irish and cultivated her temper to prove it" and who has "decidedly mixed feelings about the French" (206) decides to go to Jean-Baptiste's first poetry reading in a bar on Boulevard St. Laurent, or "the Main" – a street that "represented to her all the things she disliked about the world: foreigners, jews, students, artists [...] a babel of tongues [...] unreadable signage, inscrutable others" (204). As she becomes increasingly drunk, she does not realize that the pamphlet that was handed to her was not Jean-Baptiste's poetry but in fact the FLQ manifesto, and she stands to recite the words to a shocked audience: "Here was a drunken, aging anglo woman, publicly declaring, in a highly accented but perfect joual, a revolutionary separatist manifesto" (209). Again, here, the proximate strangeness of Montréal makes it such that the utterances of the French are in the mouths of the English, and vice versa. Basilières is here showing the confluence of political discourses, cultural positionings, borrowings, and poachings possible in everyday Montréal. Similarly, the relationship between Aline and Mother, for instance, is freighted by the linguistic divide despite the fact that they are both subservient to male members of the household: "Although each felt the possibility of a real friendship, comforting and fun, lying just beyond that linguistic horizon, neither could overcome the feeling that learning the other's tongue was a task too hard for her" (12).

The silences between Mother and Aline extend out from the familial home to the public space of the street, suggesting that the political and linguistic engagements and conflicts in Québec society, especially at this time of heightened political tensions, become personal, and is expressed in spatialized terms: "the barrier of language kept them apart at home, just as it would have if they'd met on the street or in some shop" (Basilières 11). The irreconcilable language divide in the Desouche household is mirrored in the larger linguistic divides in Montréal where St-Laurent Boulevard is seen as the "safety zone between English and French." Indeed, Jean-Baptiste, who one may interpret as the stand-in for Basilières himself, reads the following line from a Kundera novel: "Our lives may be separate but they run in the same direction, like parallel lines" (Basilières 23).

Bodily Grotesqueries

It goes without saying that *Black Bird* engages in a ludic immersion into the carnivalesque and even the grotesque in its eccentric retelling of a particularly violent episode in Québec history, one that has recently been the object of much historical re-evaluation. In "The Carnivalesque as Quiet Revolution" David Leahy argues that the carnivalesque in a number of Québécois novels of the period "enunciates parodic isotopes which can be identified with the totalizing notion of the 'Quiet Revolution', despite awareness of social hybridity and heterogeneity in such discourses" (66). More relevant for my argument here is Leahy's contention that the "ritual inversions" of the carnivalesque mode, as delineated by Stallybrass and White, can be

productive in thinking about fictionalizations of the Quiet Revolution in terms of the reversal of social status and hierarchies, in the *mise en scène* of "exorbitant exaggeration" in the "comic privileging of the bodily lower stratum, or grotesque body, over the rational and spiritual control of the head" (66).

Historically, the monstrous and the grotesque are associated with the odd, the peculiar, with bodily deformity (Edwards/Graulund), and, from its earliest representations in medieval European art to the present-day grotesqueries of the horror and gore film genre, the grotesque signals either an externalization of some form of inner corruption or evil, or some spiritual or psychological affliction inscribed upon the body. The grotesque emerges in the unsettling ruptures of the body and in the dissections and recombinations of its parts. The deformed and the abject may contain, symbolize, or represent monstrous or grotesque desires and are therefore kept at arm's length and excised from public view, for their incongruent, troubling corporeality calls into question the fantasy of social cohesion and political closure. Monstrosity writ upon the body, whether it be in the form of bodily illness, of scarring, or in mutilations of the flesh, may be read as critiques of the very social structures that allows for its emergence as public body. In this way, body and city do and undo each other. The grotesque body shocks by its incongruency and, as Edwards and Graulund suggest, "the grotesque lies in juxtaposition to the common conceptions of classical aesthetics, which focus on symmetrical representations of bodies and figures that are unified, harmonious and well-proportioned" (37). Mother's and Father's mutual disgust of each other's corporeal physical decrepitude, deformities, and idiosyncrasies, for instance, where "making love was the only time they forgot each other's ugliness" (Basilières 16) suggest that the novel's attention to the bodily disenfranchised, dispossessed, and abject in the context of marriage stands in for the uneasy marriage between English and French communities.

If Basilières' novel revels in the gothic convention of describing the horrors, mutilations, and transformations exacted upon the human body, it also suggests a more subtle discourse on the transgressions exacted upon the collective body by dogmatic religious and political ideologies. The presence of corpses, of an undead Hubert who walks amongst the living, of the dis-embodied consciousness of Angus, of the various body-parts violently separated from their owners – such as Uncle's missing fingers or Grandfather's missing eye – of the stolen heart of the sanctified Father André that bleeds again, and finally, of the comatosed body of Mother that lies silently in the Desouche living room throughout much of the novel – these bodies point to a society haunted by its past traumas, one that is unable to find social cohesion in the public sphere.

Jean-Baptiste, for instance, is fascinated with the shrunken heads of the desiccated mummies he finds at the McGill University museum (96-7): "balls of chocolate-brown leather misshapen from misuse, topped with tufts of silky black hair like tassels hung from the handlebars of a child's bicycle […] which always led Jean-Baptiste to wonder at the status and fate of people who lost their lives, or pieces of

them. Where were their bodies now? What had happened to them?" (97). This leads him to wonder about the circumstances by which Uncle lost his fingers (also alluded to in Leonard Cohen's *Beautiful Losers*, where an FLQ terrorist loses a thumb in a bombing attempt): "Whatever had happened to Uncle's thumb? Was it still in some way Uncle, or had it instantly, on the point of separation from the rest of him, become something else? A mere thing?" (98). Does the thumb here symbolize Québec's desire to break away from the body politic of Canada?

Another body part that figures prominently in the novel is the heart of Father André, which is stolen from Saint Joseph's Oratory by Grandfather and Uncle: "it looks, Grandfather thought, like a potato, a big unwashed baking potato" (172). When Uncle brings the heart back to the Desouche home, he discovers that it had started to bleed. The overflowing blood of Father André's heart, symbol of the religious faith of a modern Québec society, spills its miraculous blood all over the floor of the Desouche home. Uncle's black Labrador, which evokes the mythological Cerberus, laps up the sacred blood, thereby turning paler and paler until it turns into "a mere shade of its former self: a ghost" (178), as it disappears completely. Dr. Hyde, who both re-animates Hubert into a walking-dead monster and tends to a comatosed Mother as she lays inert on her bed, describes the human body as "both fascinating and disgusting […] it is the "sum of our existence" but also an "adjunct" separate from our "existential selves": "We have mapped them, inside and out; we have charted their histories and divined their workings […] yet we are forever stumbling across exceptions, aberrations and inexplicable circumstances" (109).

The "monstrous" body in the urban space of Basilières' novel evokes psychic and physical trauma – a symbol of the divided body-politic, particularly in Québec where such a body is constantly inflected with its linguistic other. The character of Mother, who remains inert and in a coma for the entire duration of the novel, may be read as one example of the ways in which Basilières evokes the political realities of Québec through a monstrous form of embodiment. The "asymmetry" of her sleep habits and her comatosed state become symbols of the Québécois people "sleeping through political and economic oppression" in a life made bearable by "intoxication and slumber" (240). We see this monstrous figuration of colonization also, for instance, in Jacques Godbout's two-headed protagonist in *Les Têtes à Papineau*, where each twin speaks a different language where the English eventually survives the French. The body under duress, the injured body, the walking cadaver or zombie – each show moments of rupture in the discourses and political engagements of the individual and collective bodies of the nation.

The grotesque mode is also used in describing troubling and troubled motherhood linked to the female body as site of a failed separatist enterprise, where the "revenge of the cradle" (262) – the official policy of the Catholic Church that encouraged French-Canadian women to have as many infants as possible in order to assure the survival of the Québécois in North America – is transformed into a horror-filled and trauma inducing scene of abortion in which the promise of a future Québécois

progeny (and presumably, separate nation) is extinguished (159). When Marie decides to abort Hubert's unborn child, she undergoes the procedure in the offices of Dr. Hyde. The pain which she feels traversing through her body evokes an earlier suppressed memory of childhood sexual abuse: "He leaned in close between her legs and pushed her thighs apart, and touched her. She shut her eyes and suddenly remembered. Father Pheley. The last time she'd been in a church" (161). This inability to remember, this moment of suppressed bodily victimization that suddenly erupts unexpectedly, is linked to the larger socio-political logic of decolonization in the novel.

Grave-robbing, which is the Desouche family's primary source of income, suggests the profanation of the body and memory of the dead, but also suggests the larger socio-political gesture of reanimating the past for one's own ideological or purposes. By implying that Québec nationalism is a force that poaches and profanes the bodies and memories of the dead, who, like Hubert, are unable to speak for themselves, Basilières' novel engages the subversive potential of the grotesque to destabilize hegemonic discourses. The "Je me souviens" of Jean-Baptiste's play is thus unmoored from its social and historical context and expectations, as it becomes a playful questioning of who is remembered in Québec history and how that history is remembered. It is no accident, for instance, that Hubert is unable to recall who he is in the novel, pointing once again to Basilières' critique of the short-sightedness of political orthodoxy.

I have brought consideration of the body in all of its physical, affective, emotional, and symbolic complexity to bear upon critical analysis of how the urban space of Montréal is experienced, imagined, elided, forgotten, managed, and monumentalized in *Black Bird*. Corporeality is here, and in all urban literatures, imbricated in discourses of individual and collective identities, in social and political ideologies and practices, in socio-economic processes of place-making, and in symbolic meanings and values attributed to individuals and their embodied practices of everyday life. The linguistic and cultural reversals and borrowings in *Black Bird* de-naturalize the languages and spaces of the city, and its "eccentric" view of history in which actual historical events are borrowed, alluded to, transformed, and perverted, creates a magical realist and gothic tone that restages the city as a space in which the discourses of the past haunt the present, and in the return of Hubert as an undead corpse, in the re-animation of the desiccated heart of Father André, in the return of Aline's wedding ring from her dead predecessor, we may see a return of the cultural and political repressed of Québec nationalism, and more specifically, a return of the traumatic memories of the FLQ for Québec and for Basilières himself as a young child.

In *Flesh and Stone: The Body and the City in Western Civilization*, Richard Sennett has argued that the body has served as a symbol of social and political collectivities since Hobbes' *Leviathan*, where the social contract is viewed as a political body whose parts are conjoined under the rule of law. Excesses of the flesh, the unsightly,

the abject body traversing the boundaries of normalized social space may be read as examples of the "body troubles" that emerge in the worried boundaries of city and nation, in the lack of social closure and social cohesion that linguistic, cultural, or class difference make legible. Bodies that are troubling or troubled in Basilières' novel signal how Québec society, and Montréal in particular, has difficulty defining the borders of its own collective body, for it is and always has been traversed by conflicting histories, languages, collective memories, and political affiliations. It is a city of divided loyalties and contested terrain.

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John Woitkowitz

The Northern Education of Lester B. Pearson[1]

Zusammenfassung

Dieser Artikel untersucht die kulturellen Ursprünge von Lester B. Pearsons Bild zum Norden und der Arktis Kanadas. Durch eine Analyse von unveröffentlichten Dokumenten aus Pearsons Nachlass sowie seinen öffentlichen Erklärungen wird der Einfluss eines vielschichtigen Repertoires von Narrativen und kulturellen Referenzen zum kanadischen Norden auf Pearson nachgezeichnet. Drei Dokumente Pearsons über die Bedeutung der Arktis bilden den Kern der Analyse: (1) ein unveröffentlichter Vortrag aus dem Jahr 1938, (2) ein Foreign Affairs*-Artikel von 1946 sowie (3) ein* Foreign Affairs*-Artikel von 1953. In diesem Essay wird jedes Dokument in seinen historischen Kontext eingebettet und Pearsons Konstruktionen des Nordens und der Arktis Kanadas im Hinblick auf ihre Ursprünge und dominanten Charakteristika untersucht. Über die Analyse des Einflusses von Nicht-Regierungsakteuren wie z.B. Entdeckern, Historikern, Malern oder Dichtern hinaus leistet der Artikel ein* close-reading *der Dokumente und untersucht die Rolle des Nordens als ein Vehikel für die kulturelle Konstruktion einer kanadischen Nation auf der Grundlage von Race, Gender und einer Frontier-Mythologie. Letztlich analysiert der Artikel Pearsons Mobilisierung einer durch den Norden und die Arktis geprägten Nationalgeschichte vor dem Hintergrund der sich verändernden anglo-amerikanischen Beziehungen Kanadas und seinen Bemühungen Kanada, als einen unabhängigen Akteur in der internationalen Politik darzustellen. Dieser Artikel trägt daher zu einem komplexeren Verständnis der Arktis-Diplomatie Pearsons bei, indem die Geschichte des Nordens und der Arktis Kanadas nicht als Souveränitäts- und Sicherheitsgeschichte diskutiert wird, sondern die Rolle von Kultur in der internationalen Politik in das Zentrum der Untersuchung rückt.*

Abstract

This article examines the cultural origins of Lester B. Pearson's conception of Northern and Arctic Canada. By analyzing unpublished archival documents along with public statements, this essay sheds light on the impact of a diverse repertoire of narratives and

1 I am indebted to Erna Kurbegovic, Stefanie Land-Hilbert, Emilie Notard, Helen Gibson, and the members of the Doctoral Lab in North American History in Berlin for their criticism and encouragement throughout the writing of this article. I would also like to thank the anonymous reviewer for the valuable comments and suggestions. I am grateful to acknowledge the financial support of the University of Calgary's Department of History and the Association for Canadian Studies in German-speaking Countries.

tropes about the North on Pearson's views. Three statements on the role of the Arctic are at the heart of this essay: (1) an unpublished 1938 lecture, (2) a 1946 Foreign Affairs *article, and (3) a 1953* Foreign Affairs *article. This essay contextualizes each statement and examines Pearson's conceptions of Northern and Arctic Canada, including the sources and the defining characteristics of his northern vision. In addition to reconstructing the impact of non-governmental actors such as explorers, historians, painters or poets on the views of Pearson, the analysis provides a close reading of the aforementioned statements, focusing on the North as a vehicle for the cultural construction of a Canadian nation along lines of race, gender, and a frontier mythology. Finally, the analysis examines Pearson's mobilization of a Northern national story in light of Canada's changing Anglo-American relationship and efforts to assert its role as an independent international actor. By moving beyond a history of Northern and Arctic Canada as a history of sovereignty and security, this article contributes to a more comprehensive understanding of Pearson's Arctic diplomacy and the role of culture in the conduct of international politics.*

Résumé

*Cet article propose une étude des origines culturelles de la manière dont Lester B. Pearson concevait le Nord et l'Arctique canadien. L'analyse de documents inédits et de déclarations officielles du diplomate met en exergue les répercussions d'un vaste répertoire narratif et de références culturelles concernant le Nord canadien sur Pearson. Au cœur de l'analyse se trouvent trois documents de ce dernier consacrés à l'importance de l'Arctique : (1) une conférence inédite datant de 1938, (2) un article des Affaires Étrangères (*Foreign Affairs*) de 1946 ainsi que (3) un autre de 1953. Dans cet article, chaque document est resitué dans son contexte historique. De plus, les notions du Nord et de l'Arctique canadien y sont analysées au vu de leurs origines et de leurs caractéristiques dominantes. Tout en cherchant à retracer l'influence de personnes qui n'étaient pas agents de l'État, tels que explorateurs, historiens, peintres ou poètes, sur Pearson, l'article propose une lecture détaillée de ses documents ainsi qu'une étude du rôle du Nord dans la construction culturelle de la nation canadienne en s'appuyant sur les notions de race, de genre et de mythologie frontalière. Enfin, l'article propose une analyse de la mobilisation de Pearson pour une histoire nationale marquée par le Nord et l'Arctique au vu du changement opéré par le Canada dans les relations anglo-américaines ainsi que des efforts du Canada en tant qu'acteur indépendant de la politique internationale. Cet article contribue à comprendre la complexité de la diplomatie arctique de Pearson et place au cœur de l'étude non le débat faisant de l'histoire du Nord et de l'Arctique canadien une histoire de la souveraineté et de la sécurité mais bien le rôle de la culture dans la politique internationale.*

When Angus King, the U.S. Senator for Maine and co-founder of the U.S. Senate's Arctic Caucus,[2] spoke about the United States' vision for its two year-chairmanship of the Arctic Council at an international meeting in Iceland in October 2015, he opened his speech with this dramatic scene:

> It was 8°F below zero when the men finally were forced to abandon their ship and they stepped onto the ice of the Weddell Sea. The story of these men and their leader Ernest Shackleton is one of the greatest stories of leadership in recorded human history. It's not the Arctic, it's the Antarctic but the issues are the same: one of the harshest environments in the world and the issue for them was survival.[3]

King recalled the British explorer's ill-fated expedition and his efforts to save his crew from certain death after their ship was squashed by ice as a parable for Washington's aspirations in the Arctic. King is not alone in his partiality for invoking the age of British polar exploration to make sense of current challenges in the Arctic. The Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper made the search for the missing vessels of another British explorer a central ingredient in his efforts to claim a Northern and Arctic narrative as a foundational element in the national mythology of Canada. When the remnants of the HMS *Erebus*, one of John Franklin's ships, were located as part of an annual scientific expedition to Victoria Strait in the summer of 2014, Harper took great pride in the discovery:

> These modern-day Franklin expeditions are part of our government's broader northern strategy. They are also part of our country's broader northern narrative and northern identity. We are answering the age-old call of the great Canadian North, keeping the faith with the explorers and the adventurers who have gone before us and breaking trails for the generations of Canadians yet to come.[4]

A firm believer in the power of national narratives, the Prime Minister flattened present and past activities in the Arctic into a continuous and distinctly Canadian northern story.[5]

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2 Sen. Angus King created the Arctic Caucus in March 2015 along with Sen. Lisa Murkowski of Alaska.

3 Sen. Angus King, "U.S. Leadership in the Arctic," Speech at the Arctic Circle Assembly in Reykjavik, Iceland, October 18, 2015.

4 Prime Minister Stephen Harper, Speech at a reception of the Royal Canadian Geographical Society, Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto, March 4, 2015.

5 Anonymous sources described Harper's use of Northern and Arctic rhetoric as a "well-thought-out strategy, […] a blend of opportunism and statecraft, shoring up both his party and Canadian unity." They also confirm Harper's conscious use of the North to construct a national story: "The Prime Minister's a big believer in the idea that nations are built by narratives, […] a set of

These references to British explorers Ernest Shackleton and John Franklin by senior politicians in the United States and Canada speak to the significance of culture in the conduct of international politics. The use of mediated knowledge—in the form of literature, visual art, history or explorers' accounts—in the absence of direct experience with the life, the people, and the environment of the North,[6] however, is not a new phenomenon. Diplomat, ambassador, and Secretary of State for External Affairs Lester B. Pearson looked to cultural representations of the North at a time when Arctic politics forced its way onto the U.S.-Canadian agenda. The escalation of World War II and a deteriorating relationship between Washington and Moscow in the postwar period transformed the region from a peripheral space to a frontline of global conflict. With postings in London, Washington, and Ottawa, Pearson was both a witness to and an agent in the recalibration of Canada's Anglo-American relationship. From historically intimate ties with the United Kingdom, Ottawa's gaze shifted south to increasing interdependence with the United States.[7] Unpublished documents now provide a new window into Pearson's fascination with the Arctic and the sources he relied on to make sense of the region at a time when American pressure for defense cooperation grew. Speech material from 1937 and a lecture he prepared in 1938 attest to the instrumental role of culture in Pearson's Arctic diplomacy and how representations of the North remained solid references of his Northern vision, a vision that he felt came under pressure when more and more American requests for an expansion of Northern and Arctic defense activities arrived in Ottawa during the 1940s and 1950s.

A large part of historical studies that examine the international activities of the Canadian government in the northern and Arctic regions of Canada deals with questions of ownership, jurisprudence, and control, in short sovereignty and traditional forms of security. Numerous book titles and journal articles attest to this concentration on the evolution of Canada's legal claims to the territorial north, the Arctic Archipelago, and the Arctic waters bordering its northern coastline and surrounding the Arctic islands.[8] This overreliance on Northern and Arctic history as a history of sovereignty and security, however, comes at a cost. A result of this narrow conception is an incomplete understanding of the ideas that drove senior officials involved in Northern and Arctic affairs and its history in the North. While concerns over Canada's territorial and maritime claims in the Arctic certainly were a recurring

stories about yourself, the kind of myths and narratives that create a national identity, [without which] you cease to be a nation." See Chase 2014.

6 I use the terms 'North', 'Arctic', and 'Northern and Arctic Canada' interchangeably to accommodate the variety of ideas of the North as they were articulated in the cultural representations I discuss throughout this essay. This is not to ignore the demographical, climatic, environmental or economic diversity of different northern regions.

7 Cf. Bothwell 2015; Thompson/Randall 2008.

8 Grant 1988, 2010; Coates et al. 2008; Lackenbauer/Kikkert 2011; Kikkert/Lackenbauer 2010; Lackenbauer/Smith 2014; Lackenbauer 2008; Cavell/Noakes 2010; Cavell 2002; Lajeunesse 2012.

topic within official Ottawa when interacting with foreign governments, historical studies which focus on the legal-strategic dimension only partially account for the views and the behavior of senior foreign policy officials such as Pearson. Peter Kikkert, Adam Lajeunesse, and Whitney Lackenbauer, for example, argue that Pearson's Arctic diplomacy constituted an aberration from an otherwise balanced and pragmatic approach to international politics throughout his tenure at External Affairs and later as prime minister.[9] By locating the reasons for Pearson's Arctic nationalism in his personal idiosyncrasies and a general "naiveté" about Northern affairs, their work adds significantly to our understanding of Canada's Arctic foreign policy and the history of Northern and Arctic Canada. A more comprehensive examination of the origins of Pearson's "un-Pearsonian" Arctic diplomacy, however, remains necessary, one that looks to the social and cultural forces that provided the basis for the diplomat's Arctic nationalism.

This article suggests moving beyond an overreliance on the theme of sovereignty and security to account for Canada's Arctic foreign policy. Pearson made three major statements on the significance of Northern and Arctic Canada throughout his career in the diplomatic service: (1) a yet unpublished lecture at a gathering in Cambridge, UK, in 1938, (2) a *Foreign Affairs*-article entitled "Canada Looks 'Down North'" in 1946, and (3) a second *Foreign Affairs*-article with the title "Canada's Northern Horizons" of 1953. By examining Pearson's statements, this essay proposes a broader analytical framework that looks to those explanatory models and variables that have only recently reinvigorated the analysis of foreign policy and diplomacy: culture, ideas, and the social production of knowledge.[10] Indeed, beyond the legal-strategic dimension of the Arctic, the region assumed a prominent place in the public imagination and formed a reference point throughout debates over what it meant to belong to a Canadian nation. Tropes and narratives about the north have been a staple in the discursive repertoire of Canadian nationalists since the inception of the Dominion of Canada in 1867. As explorers, historians, poets or painters contributed their threads to a growing tapestry of stories and ideas about the north over the years, diplomats and government officials were not oblivious to such statements. To the contrary, oftentimes conspicuous consumers of culture themselves, officials' understanding and analysis of foreign issues was imbued with ideas, images, and narratives that existed around them. As historian Andrew J. Rotter aptly reminds us, "decision makers are creatures of culture"[11] and as such they absorb interpretive

9 Kikkert/Lajeunesse/Lackenbauer 2016.

10 A 2015 CHR state-of-the-field roundtable on Canadian diplomatic history identified empire and culture as analytical approaches that challenge an established nationalist reading of Canada's engagement with the world, see Meren 2015. For a survey of the role of culture in international history see the essays by Akira Iriye, Emily S. Rosenberg, Kristin Hoganson, and Jessica C. E. Gienow-Hecht in Hogan/Paterson 2004. For specific studies see Hoganson 1998; Rotter 2000; Dean 2001; Goedde 2003; Gienow-Hecht 2009; Costigliola 2012).

11 Rotter 2000, xvi.

frameworks and paradigms that shape their perceptions and views of international issues.

Lester B. Pearson was no exception to Rotter's observation. Indeed, Pearson did not discuss the risks and merits of defense cooperation with the United States in the Far North in military-strategic terms only. Proposals for weather stations, radar chains or training centers on Canadian soil were not simply a matter of strategic necessity. Instead, Pearson weighed American defense requests and questions over sovereignty and security in light of culturally constructed understandings of Canada's northern and Arctic regions. Along with the vast majority of his colleagues in Ottawa, Pearson never visited the territorial North, let alone the Arctic waters. In addition to briefing notes and legal studies, his knowledge about the regions, its peoples, and the environment originated from cultural agents such as Arctic explorer Vilhjalmur Stefansson, Group of Seven painter Lawren Harris or Yukon poet Robert Service. These and others created a rich repertoire of stories and mythologies—interpretive lenses—about the Northern regions. Together, they established what Daniel Francis has termed "a north of the mind."[12] In the absence of first-hand experience, Pearson and other officials in Ottawa readily tapped into such tropes when articulating their views on Arctic diplomacy and defense cooperation with the United States.

The North in Canadian History, 1867–1958

Scholars from fields as diverse as cultural studies, indigenous studies, education, and history have examined the subject of Northern and Arctic Canada's role as a cultural space. Carl Berger's essay "The True North Strong and Free" is one of the earliest investigations into the diverse tropes of the North in Canada. In his 1966 text, Berger identified the key themes and subjects employed by public intellectuals, historians, and artists when they articulated ideas about the North and the Arctic and their relationship to the nation. In doing so, Berger laid the groundwork for many critical studies of the North calling attention to categories such as race, gender, ethnicity, and the frontier mythology.[13] Sherrill E. Grace's landmark study *Canada and the Idea of North* remains the most comprehensive study of what she describes as "discursive formations" of the North. A professor of English, Grace traces the different notions of the North across temporal and disciplinary boundaries ranging from visual art, performance art, music, and literature to exploration, history, and politics. In doing so, she unearths a multifaceted kaleidoscope of shifting yet formative cultural constructions of Northern and Arctic Canada.[14] By the same token, Renée Hulan's *Northern Experience and the Myths of Canadian Culture* and Daniel Francis' *National Dreams: Myth, Memory, and Canadian History* emphasize the mytho-

12 Francis 1997, 152.
13 Berger 1966, 3-26.
14 Grace 2001.

logical nature of Northern representations and provide a critical reading of their usages as a current of Canadian nationalism.[15] Other studies also examine how northern issues spilled onto the national scene in cyclical fashion or analyze the political implications of representations of indigenous people from Northern and Arctic Canada.[16]

Southern Canadian representations of Northern and Arctic Canada endowed the region with the power to bring an otherwise diverse and far-flung country into cohesion, a power that flattens linguistic, ethnic, and other regional distinctions and provides a cultural reference point in the narration of the Canadian story. A closer look at the history of cultural statements about the role of the North and its place within Canada, however, reveals a more complicated and ambivalent history. Deeply infused with the Social Darwinist ideas of the nineteenth century and the mythology of the Norse, nationalists of the Canada First Movement looked to the North to create a meaningful vision for the newly created Dominion of Canada at the end of the 1860s. Advocating for a Northern exceptionalism throughout the urban centers of Ontario and Quebec, intellectuals such as Robert Grant Haliburton wove contemporary certainties about race, nature's effects on the formation of human traits, and the fate of great empires into a seemingly coherent worldview in speeches entitled "The Men of the North and Their Place in History."[17] The iconic raconteur of the Klondike Gold Rush, Robert Service, also combined contemporary ideas about racial superiority with an environmental determinism. Service wrote copious amounts of poetry about life in the Yukon in the early twentieth century, hailing the North as a determinant of human strength and virtue. Throughout his poems, Canada's North emerges as a dangerous yet alluring natural selector that distinguishes between those worthy enough to join the ranks of true northmen and those still exhibiting deficient features allegedly common among peoples of the southern parts of the world. Beyond the strong racial overtones, Northern and Arctic Canada was portrayed as a testing ground for those traits Haliburton and Service associated with masculinity, such as courage, ruggedness, decisiveness, and perseverance.[18] The Arctic explorer Vilhjalmur Stefansson shifted public debate about the North when he published his report on the 1913-1918 Canadian Arctic Expedition entitled *The Friendly Arctic* in 1921. Images of the Arctic as a resource-rich and commercially viable region waiting to be opened up by the age of air travel relegated stories of a hostile, barren wasteland to the margins of public perceptions of Canada's North. Group of Seven painters Lawren Harris and A. Y. Jackson also viewed the North as an essential resource, if more for a distinctly Canadian spiritual and cultural renewal than for economic prosperity. By the same token, historians began to incorporate the North in their national histories of Canada. Foregoing the Social Darwinism and

15 Hulan 2002; Francis 1997.
16 Cavell 2002; Rosenthal 2004, 2005, 2009.
17 Haliburton 1869.
18 Cf. Hulan 2002, 115-18.

the environmental determinism of Haliburton and Service, historian Donald Creighton seamlessly integrated Northern and Arctic Canada as a last frontier into his Laurentian narrative of Canada's past, extending the country's early development along the St. Lawrence River, the westward expansion with the transcontinental railroad to the settlement and exploitation of the North with the advent of air travel.[19]

This brief survey illustrates that cultural representations of Northern and Arctic Canada transcended cultural categories. Beyond the written word, ideas and interpretations of the North emerged out of fields such as performance art, radio productions, comic book design, and material culture. One representational boundary that remained firm, however, was the exclusion of indigenous perspectives throughout the debate over the North's significance. For the period from 1867 to 1958, non-indigenous and southern Canadians inscribed their ideas and narratives onto the North without a significant public presence of local or indigenous voices. It was not before the 1960s and 1970s that Northern and indigenous perspectives began to be heard in public over the significance and the history of the North.[20] The North, as it existed in the public imagination up to that time, was a southern creation.

Pearson's references to southern representations and his understanding of the regions form a guide to those themes and tropes that merit greater attention. For this reason, the categories of race, gender, and the North as a settler mythology are of particular interest when examining the role of Pearson's northern education throughout his involvement in Arctic diplomacy over the establishment of American and Canadian defense installations during World War II and the early Cold War.

The Cambridge Lecture, 1938

Lester Pearson's first comprehensive statement on the subject of Northern and Arctic Canada can be dated back to 1938.[21] A decade after he had joined Canada's foreign service, Pearson served as a diplomat at Canada House in London, the service's most coveted posting at the time. The unraveling of the League of Nations system and the idea of collective security throughout the 1930s shaped Pearson's experience in Europe as he was dispatched to attend economic and disarmament

19 Creighton 1944.

20 Hulan argues that Inuit autobiography before the 1960s and 1970s existed by way of white sponsorship through Christian missionaries or ethnographers. Likewise, southern nationalists appropriated material cultures of the North as evidence of Canada's Northern identity. See Hulan 2002, 60-97. Grace explains that indigenous "rewriting, which entails reaching the dominant discourse to correct or alter the record, did not become really apparent until the 1970s." See Grace 2001, 244.

21 Pearson's first recorded interaction with the Arctic occurred as First Secretary at the Department of External Affairs in the late summer of 1929. In a memorandum, Pearson compiled legal arguments in support of Canada's claim to the Sverdrup Islands for Under-Secretary of State O.D. Skelton. See Pearson 2016.

conferences in Geneva.[22] Despite the failure of the international community to find a common position towards the revisionist powers in Berlin and Rome, Pearson relished his time in Europe, not least for the social and cultural amenities that life in London as a member of the diplomatic caste had to offer. The North and the Arctic did not come up as a topic throughout his tenure at Canada House or his travels to international meetings. Nevertheless, Pearson began to collect material on the region in 1937 and spoke at length about the North at a talk in August 1938.[23]

Much of the origins of his 1938 Cambridge Lecture remain unknown. Pearson's diary skips the year and his memoirs make no mention of his participation in a seminar, a conference or a meeting during the summer of 1938. Pearson biographers John English and Andrew Cohen are also silent on events or encounters that may have triggered Pearson's interest in Northern affairs.[24] His personal papers, however, contain a document with speech material about the significance of the Arctic and the development of Canada's northern regions dated to 1937 without further specifications about its provenance. In those pages, Pearson penned his principal ideas about the history and the importance of the Arctic for the national development of Canada. Pearson's extensive comments about Canada's Arctic in his Cambridge talk the following year are taken from this collection of speech material. Throughout the course of his involvement in Arctic affairs over the coming two decades, Pearson returned to these references and interpretive frameworks again and again to make sense of a changing Arctic he knew so little about.

The absence of contextual clues notwithstanding, it is fair to say that Pearson's Cambridge Lecture in 1938 was a major effort in cultural translation. Immodestly entitled "Canada", the 43-page typewritten talk is a tour-de-force of Canadian history. Speaking to a British audience, the young Canadian diplomat began his survey with the first French settlers, taking his talk right up to the 1930s. Pearson devoted a substantial section of his narrative to the significance of Northern and Arctic Canada to Canadian history and the future development of the country. For most of Canada's early history, the former university lecturer explained, the Arctic did not play a prominent role in the exploration and settlement of British and French North America. It was seen as an empty wasteland with little economic value or strategic importance. Only when technological advancements in the field of aviation and the discovery of precious metals, minerals, and oil took place and opened up Canada's North did the region gain greater attention from business, the public, and officials in Ottawa. Not missing out on the chance to promote his country's economic prospects, Pearson presented a vivid picture of the North as a region that had been

22 For a definitive international history of the interwar period in Europe, see Steiner 2011.

23 Lester B. Pearson, "Canada and the Arctic", Library and Archives Canada, Lester B. Pearson Fonds, MG 26, N1, Vol. 60, File: Speeches & Speech Material – Arctic Question – 1937; Ibid., "Canada", August 2-3, 1938, Library and Archives Canada, Lester B. Pearson Fonds, MG 26, N9, Vol. 1, File: 30 Nov. 1930 to 3 Aug. 1941.

24 English 1989, 1992; Cf. Cohen 2008.

waiting for southern exploration and development, a new northern *El Dorado*. If references to stories that lured seventeenth century conquistadores to South America or the imagery of the early twentieth century Klondike Gold Rush failed to fuel the imagination of Pearson's Cambridge audience, his vision of the Arctic as an international hub for air travel unlikely missed its mark. Pearson declared that such international centers of commerce as New York, London, Shanghai or Tokyo would soon establish their travel routes across the Arctic. Despite the North having been relegated to the margins of history over the past two hundred years, Pearson assured his listeners, it was poised to become an engine of prosperity and national maturity in the coming decades.[25]

Pearson's Arctic vision was based on stories he likely drew from newspaper clippings and magazine articles. These anecdotes were instructive tales grounded in narratives of overcoming adversity, demonstrating moral integrity, and proving perseverance in the face of nature's harsh and inhospitable environs. A central vignette forms a widely publicized story about two prospectors who journeyed up North to Great Bear Lake in the Northwest Territories in May 1930 to survey the area for minerals.[26] When one of them contracts snow blindness, his companion nurses him yet also keeps leaving their camp to go out on trips to locate the precious minerals. When the healthy prospector encounters traces of radium, it is only after his sick partner makes a full recovery that both begin their trek south, "back to civilisation," and deliver the news of their discovery. In this anecdote, Pearson's characters retain their moral compass despite enduring nature's challenges in the form of snow blindness and the lure of the North's mineral riches. Unlike the images of drinking orgies and violence, conditions in the North, Pearson suggested, encouraged a virtuous and incorruptible life. Pearson omitted that part of the story in which the prospector who discovered the pitchblende also came across a deposit of silver but chose to withhold that information from his ailing partner. This selective narration highlights the diplomat's appropriation of such stories and the type of North he sought to project.[27]

Beyond the purported moral qualities of life in the North, the Cambridge Lecture serves as an example to illustrate Pearson's perception of Northern and Arctic Canada as a new frontier that held the potential to act as a cultural marker in the national development of Canada. Pearson explained:

> Canada is one of the few countries which still possesses a physical frontier; which still lures the explorer into unknown lands. As Robert Service,

25 Lester B. Pearson, "Canada", August 2-3, 1938, Library and Archives Canada, Lester B. Pearson Fonds, MG 26, N9, Vol. 1, File: 30 Nov. 1930 to 3 Aug. 1941, 15f.

26 Robert Bothwell reconstructs the journey and the larger history of the early mining industry in the North in his Bothwell 1984.

27 Lester B. Pearson, "Canada", August 2-3, 1938, Library and Archives Canada, Lester B. Pearson Fonds, MG 26, N9, Vol. 1, File: 30 Nov. 1930 to 3 Aug. 1941, 19f; Cf. Bothwell 1984, 22f.

> the poet of the Yukon has put it, speaking of the Canadian north, 'there is a land where the mountains are nameless, and the rivers run God knows where'. […] We still have a frontier, then, in Canada with all that this implies in the life of a nation. That frontier, however, is no longer the West. 'Go West' has been replaced by 'Go North' as the call to adventure.[28]

Transplanting the frontier mythology to the 1930s, Pearson continued:

> Canadians, like Russians, are looking to the North as the land of the future. […] Indeed the Canadian Arctic to-day provides an example of the happy union of modern science and traditional adventure. The spirit of the pioneer still lives in these parts. That spirit is contributing vigor and vitality, both physical and psychologically, to our national development. But the covered wagon has been replaced by the twin-engined monoplane and the gold-pan has given way to the diamond drill.[29]

Deeply grounded in the romanticized language of nineteenth century Western expansion and exploration, Pearson envisioned the North as a national project. He mobilized the images and stories of a settler mythology in which distinctly Canadian qualities emerged out of the continuous conquest of so-called unclaimed and empty land. This experience, coupled with the irresistible force of modernity, formed the bond that tied present to past projects, endowing them with an aura of historical inevitability and legitimacy.

Pearson's conceptions of the North were neither new nor his own. When he invoked the poet Robert Service or the frontier trope, Pearson provided his audience with a window into the cultural origins of his understanding of Northern and Arctic Canada. Service vitally contributed to the notion that the North acted as a natural selector and as a testing ground for qualities he associated with masculinity. For Service, the North represented a determinant of strength, virtue, and perseverance. In "The Law of the Yukon," Service aptly captured this notion when he wrote: "Send me the best of your breeding, lend me your chosen ones / Them will I take to my bosom, them will I call my sons / Them will I gild with my treasure, them will glut with my meat / But the others—the misfits, the failures—I trample under my feet."[30] This environmental determinism and its impact on the development of the nation and the formation of individual human characteristics echoes throughout the writings of Pearson, most prominently in his images of the gold rush years and his nostalgia for a pioneer spirit and a sense of adventure, however romanticized.

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28 Lester B. Pearson, "Canada", August 2-3, 1938, Library and Archives Canada, Lester B. Pearson Fonds, MG 26, N9, Vol. 1, File: 30 Nov. 1930 to 3 Aug. 1941, 14.

29 Ibid., 15.

30 Service 1940, 10.

Not unlike Pearson's nod to Service, his reference to the effect of the North on the "vigor and vitality, both physical and psychologically" is reminiscent of the Canada First Movement. In 1869, Haliburton proclaimed, "We are the sons and the heirs of those who have built up a new civilization […] As long as the north wind blows, and the snow and the sleet drove over our forests and fields, we may be a poor [sic], but we must be a hardy, a healthy, a virtuous, a daring, and if we are worthy of our ancestors, a dominant race." [31] Recalling Haliburton's speeches about the 'men of the north', Pearson declared that the region "is no country for weaklings and its economic development will test the finest qualities of the men of the north. […] Fortunately, the men up there will be equal to the occasion."[32] While Haliburton had drawn on the sagas and mythologies of the Norse and based his northern vision on an imagined lineage of ancestral purity originating with the Vikings, Pearson looked to nature as source for his Northern nationalism. Once more, the North served as a testing ground for the nation to prove its place among its competitors.

Canada's North served as a projection space for Pearson's conception of Canadian history and the country's future trajectory. His Cambridge Lecture presented a British audience with an oftentimes-romanticized portrayal of Northern discovery, settlement, and exploitation, a narrative that left no room for the ambivalent legacies of, for example, missionary or commercial activities along Northern and Arctic communities. Instead, Pearson constructed a Northern vision that was based on mediated knowledge and cultural representations to compose a meaningful narrative for Canada's national evolution.

"Canada Looks 'Down North'", 1946

Pearson's second major statement about Northern and Arctic Canada emerged in an entirely different context. By the time his *Foreign Affairs* article "Canada Looks 'Down North'" was published in the journal's July 1946 issue, Pearson was two months shy of completing his tenure as Ambassador in Washington and moving back to Ottawa to head the Department of External Affairs as Under-Secretary of State. Beyond Pearson's personal career, developments in Northern and Arctic Canada in the early 1940s had taken a turn Pearson was unable to anticipate in 1937/1938. During World War II, economic and commercial development was no longer the driving force behind southern activities in the North. Defense and infrastructural projects such as the Alaska Highway, connecting Alaska with the continental United States, staging fields for American and Canadian aircraft in the Northeast and Northwest or the construction of an oil pipeline to Fort Norman dominated the political agenda in Ottawa and in Washington. This massive influx of U.S. personnel and equipment constituted the advent of the U.S.-Canadian defense relationship in

31 Haliburton 1869.

32 Lester B. Pearson, "Canada", August 2-3, 1938, Library and Archives Canada, Lester B. Pearson Fonds, MG 26, N9, Vol. 1, File: 30 Nov. 1930 to 3 Aug. 1941, 20f.

Northern and Arctic Canada and was institutionalized in the 1940 creation of the Permanent Joint Board on Defense. By 1946, the postwar nature of this relationship had yet to be determined.[33]

Against the backdrop of these developments, Pearson sought to impress upon his audience Canada's views on the potential of the North as a space of cooperation for Ottawa's relationship with Washington but also for its relationship with Moscow, its circumpolar neighbor across the Arctic Ocean. In contrast to his Cambridge Lecture of 1938, Pearson now addressed an American audience by publishing in *Foreign Affairs*, the U.S. foreign policy establishment's central forum. In doing so, he sought to shape the debate about the North's strategic importance in the United States' global outlook in light of the emerging tensions over the postwar international order. Whereas in 1938 Pearson spoke as a young, aspiring civil servant, he now outlined his country's position and interests to the U.S. diplomatic elite as Canada's official representative to the United States.

World War II and its impact on Northern and Arctic Canada may have been dramatic; Pearson's understanding of the North, however, did not exhibit a similar transformation. There is a strong continuity in terms of the themes and stories Pearson originally drew on for his 1938 Cambridge Lecture. Many of his anecdotes reappear in his 1946 article with few variations. This indicates that Pearson's fundamental conception of the North had not changed significantly. He continued to stress the Arctic's impact on the nation's character and explained that the North had an "inevitable effect on the life and habits of the Canadian people."[34] Not unlike his anecdote about the two prospectors at Great Bear Lake, Pearson presented a similar story to illustrate the North's character-shaping features. With aviation, resources, and the scenery of frontier life, all ingredients at hand to tell his instructive tales, Pearson wrote:

> Though the northern frontiersmen today are as sturdy and tough as those of earlier times, their habits are, shall we say, less picturesquely rough and crude. A few days ago a visitor at Fort Norman was interested to see a freight aeroplane land and discharge several cases. They were not, however, cases of rum or six shooters or ammunition. They were cases of lettuce! He reported that the sturdy miners and trappers who had been hanging about followed the lettuce in great excitement to the local supply post, and when the cases were opened, they indulged in a regular debauch.[35]

33 Coates et al. 2008, 63-68; Grant 2010, 293-307.
34 Pearson 1946, 638.
35 Ibid., 647.

Anticipating ambivalent impressions of weak and effeminate Canadians, Pearson quickly assured his audience of the men's hard-working attitudes and their commitment to the national cause:

> *In spite of this trend toward lettuce salads*, there is no doubt that the settlers now in the Canadian Arctic and those who will follow them 'down North' will provide a solid and sturdy foundation for the growth and development of that increasingly important part of Canada. (My emphasis)[36]

Once more, instead of moral decay and violence, images reminiscent of the days of the Klondike Gold Rush or the American West, the North exerted its moral and virtuous powers over those who proved worthy enough to belong to the 'men of the north'.

The images of pioneer life and Robert Service's environmental determinism remain noticeable currents in Pearson's 1946 article. In his 1937 speech notes, Pearson concluded his story about the lettuce delivery with the phrase "Shades of Yukon Jake and Dan McGrew," referencing characters from Service's poems. His *Foreign Affairs* piece omitted the literary allusion.[37] Notions of the North as a source for moral and spiritual uplift, however, were not limited to the writings of Service. As Group of Seven painter Lawren Harris explained,

> It seems that the top of the continent will ever shed clarity into the growing race of America, and we Canadians being closest to this source seem destined to produce an art somewhat different from our southern fellows—an art more spacious, of greater living quiet, perhaps of more certain convictions of eternal values. We were not placed between the Southern teeming of men and the ample replenishing of the North for nothing.[38]

Harris advocated for a genuinely Canadian school of landscape painting. Northern motifs, devoid of human activity and pristine in their portrayal of glaciers, mountains, and lakes, served as a "mirror of national character"[39] and a well for an aesthetic superior to southern works of art. Not unlike Harris's North, Pearson envisioned Northern and Arctic regions as a place of virtue and a source for the "sturdy and tough" if "less picturesquely rough and crude" national development of Canada.

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36 Ibid.

37 I presume he did not anticipate his American audience being familiar with the poetry of Robert W. Service.

38 Harris quoted in Cook 1986, 204.

39 Berger 1966, 21.

In his second statement on the North, the familiar themes of the North as a new frontier and the North's character-shaping and morally uplifting powers continue to dominate Pearson's views. The North remains a gendered testing ground and a projection space for Pearson's idea of a Canadian national identity. What is more, cultural representations and anecdotes continue to form Pearson's principal sources of information about the life, the people, and the environment of Northern and Arctic Canada. In light of the massive defense projects throughout the North during World War II, however, it is remarkable that no episodes of American construction along the Alaska Highway or other installations appear. In addition to Pearson's recycling of stories he had used for his Cambridge Lecture, this indicates a strong continuity in Pearson's conception of the North and the sources he drew on to make sense of this region, in spite of the war's transformations.

"Canada's Northern Horizon", 1953

Like Pearson's 1946 article, his 1953 essay "Canada's Northern Horizon" was published in the foreign policy magazine *Foreign Affairs*.[40] The origins of the article illustrate the North's increased strategic significance. Whereas Pearson's 1938 lecture was likely born out of a personal inkling or inspired by recent activities in the North and the 1946 article constituted an expression of Ottawa's ambiguous wartime experience of American defense installations across the North, the 1953 essay was not initiated by External Affairs in Ottawa. A letter by Hamilton F. Armstrong, then editor of *Foreign Affairs*, to Pearson suggests that the journal approached the Canadian Secretary of State "to find the right man to carry the subject along from where you left off in 1946." In this letter, Armstrong relates that key U.S. foreign policy figures had expressed interest in a piece about Canada's recent Northern and Arctic activities and its views about the region's future role in the Cold War. Armstrong played to Pearson's ego when he added that "in the meeting with our Editorial Advisory Board the other evening, […] it seemed the general opinion, and particularly of Allen Dulles and George Kennan, that Arctic studies had been pursued much further and successfully in Canada than in this country."[41] The timing of Armstrong's letter was equally significant. He approached Pearson less than two weeks after Ottawa had approved Washington's request for construction of test sites for a radar warning

40 Pearson 1953, 581-91.

41 Letter by Hamilton F. Armstrong to Lester B. Pearson, March 9, 1953, Library and Archives Canada, Lester B. Pearson Fonds, MG 26, N1, Vol. 19, File: Pearson, L.B. Subject Files Pre-1958 Series Articles – Foreign Affairs 1951-57; Allen Dulles, the brother of John F. Dulles, the later U.S. Secretary of State, had just been appointed Director of National Intelligence in February of 1953 which made him intelligence advisor to the President and head of the Central Intelligence Agency. George Kennan, author of the influential 1946 "X"-article and former head of the U.S. Department of State's Policy Planning Staff, had vitally informed perceptions about the Soviet Union's political and ideological character and intentions.

line across the North American Arctic, the Distant Early Warning Line that would become the largest Cold War defense project in the Canadian North.[42]

If the origins of the 1953 article differed from its 1946 precursor, so did the international situation in which it was published. The emerging tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union over the postwar order that Pearson had hoped in 1946 could be peacefully resolved had hardened into military alliances, diplomatic brinksmanship in Europe, and a war in Korea. Canada had aligned itself with the United States, it was a member of NATO, it had deployed troops and naval forces to Korea, and it was expanding its defense cooperation with the United States in the North.[43]

Pearson's third statement on Northern and Arctic Canada was a marked departure from his earlier writings. The article is replete with detailed assessments of the regions' geography, its environment, and its climate. Sober discussions of vegetation and natural resources and the impact of weather on travel mark a fundamental shift from Pearson's earlier environmental determinism. By the same token, Pearson's section on the Arctic's economic potential was not a series of moral anecdotes of courageous and virtuous prospectors or visions of the Arctic as an international commercial hub. Instead, a practical analysis of mineral deposits and energy resources formed the basis for a discussion of the North's potential for development and extraction. Indeed, the 1953 article includes few sections that relate to the North's past and its national significance. In a nutshell, science and data replaced narrative and mythology.

The reason for this transformation was not an overhaul of Pearson's Northern and Arctic views. Rather a shift in primary authorship is the reason for the article's break with the tone and substance of Pearson's earlier statements; a lower-ranking official by the name of R.A.J. Phillips wrote the bulk of the text.[44] Phillips held the Arctic sovereignty portfolio in the Department of External Affairs and was involved with the 1946 negotiations over the U.S.-Canadian Joint Arctic Weather Stations, a series of meteorological stations to provide more accurate and timely data for civilian and military activities in the High Arctic. In addition to this expertise, Phillips had first-hand experience of the North. He had been to the Arctic various times and excelled his colleagues by far in terms of familiarity with the region. To be sure, Phillips had his own vision for the Arctic, which he published in a book in 1967 entitled *Canada's*

42 "Ambassador in United States to Secretary of State of United States," February 27, 1953, *Documents on Canadian External Relations*, 1953, Vol. 19, 1060.

43 In addition to Canadian-American military exercises in the North and the construction of the Joint Arctic Weather Stations in the High Arctic, the Mackenzie King and Truman governments agreed to extend and intensify their wartime cooperation on continental defense into the postwar period with the Joint Statement on Defense on February 12, 1947. See Coates et al. 2008, 63-68; Grant 2010, 293-307.

44 Cf. R. A. J. Phillips to S. F. Rae, "Memorandum for Mr. Rae: Article on the Canadian North," March 25, 1953, LAC, Lester B. Pearson Fonds, MG 26, N1, Vol. 19, File: Pearson, L.B. Subject Files Pre-1958 Series Articles – Foreign Affairs 1951-1957.

North.[45] He too saw great value in the North's potential as a nationally unifying and purpose-lending region. His first-hand familiarity and experience with the life and the environment in the North, however, marked a stark departure from Pearson's Northern vision, a vision that revealed the Secretary of State's familiarity with the poems of Robert Service, Haliburton's 'men of the north', and other cultural representations of the North.

For all of Phillips's dispassionate description of the North's geographical and climatic characteristics, the 1953 article did not abandon Pearson's moral anecdotes and aspirational stories altogether. The Secretary of State's hand in the essay becomes apparent in a few instances in which images of Western exploration and tales of bold adventurers revive the North as a cultural marker for a distinctly Canadian national identity:

> It takes the story of men with imagination, vision and devotion who have gone far, far 'down north' to explore the mysteries of another world. […] Within very recent years […] the Canadian Arctic is being transformed from a vacuum to a frontier, and although it would be a bold man who would forecast the nature of its future development, of one thing we can be sure: if Horace Greeley were alive today, and if he were a Canadian, he would say, "Go North, young man!"[46]

Pearson's North, again, emerges as a promise for the future of Canada and as a prize to be captured. In his portrayal, the Northern and Arctic regions are empty and otherworldly, beckoning the audacious and daring to remake the North as a new frontier and engage in that allegedly foundational experience of conquering nature through modernity.

The theme of the Northern and Arctic Canada as a reimagined Western frontier enjoyed great popularity not only in the poems of Robert Service but also among nationalist historians such as Donald Creighton. Pearson, who had studied history at Toronto and Oxford and taught twentieth century British history in the Department of History at the University of Toronto for two years, was briefly a colleague of Creighton's in 1927.[47] Creighton, who received a Governor General's Award for each volume of his two-part biography of Canada's first prime minister John A. Macdon-

45 Phillips 1967.

46 Pearson received drafts of the article and was able to direct the writing process: S. F. Rae to Lester B. Pearson, "Memorandum for Mr. Pearson," May 9, 1953, LAC, Lester B. Pearson Fonds, MG 26, N1, Vol. 19, File: Pearson, L.B. Subject Files Pre-1958 Series Articles – Foreign Affairs 1951-1957; Pearson, "Canada's Northern Horizon," 587.

47 Their relationship remained cordial without much personal affinity. John English explains that Pearson did not share Creighton's lament for the decline of the British Empire and an expanding relationship with the United States. See English 1989, 110.

ald—a biography Pearson "greatly admired"[48]—began to expand his history of Canada to include the North in a grand narrative of territorial expansion. Based on his mentor Harold A. Innis' 'Staple Thesis',[49] Creighton had developed his own metanarrative, the 'Laurentian Thesis'. In this interpretation, the construction of the transcontinental railways grew organically out of the St. Lawrence waterways to carry the exploration, settlement, and development across the British North American continent. In Creighton's 1944 *Dominion of the North: A History of Canada*, he applied this reading of the past to the North:

> Pushing far into the Arctic Circle, the Hudson's Bay Company extended the fur trade to King William Land and Somerset Island and made contact with the last northern bands of Eskimo. Restless pioneers, with the old urge for space, free land, and independence, were encouraged by the colonization policies of the two central provinces to move in the Lake St. John region of northern Quebec and the Clay Belts, within the Precambrian Shield, in northern Ontario.[50]

Creighton's "restless pioneers" and their "old urge for space, free land, and independence" were fueled by a larger calling than the prospect of a plot of land and hard labor. Creighton adopted the moral and spiritual language of the Group of Seven's Lawren Harris to make the case for the North's transformative powers:

> The North became the great impulse of Canadian life. It filled men's pockets and fired their imaginations. Its massive forms, its simple, sweeping rhythms, its glittering and sombre colours, inspired Tom Thompson and the members of the Group of Seven, the most distinctive group of the painters which the country had yet produced.[51]

The North was integrated into Creighton's larger narrative of Canada's past. Whereas the waterways of the St. Lawrence River drove settlement along its banks and the transcontinental railroad expanded this project to the Pacific, the emerging age of air travel was now destined to push that sense of exploration and develop-

48 Ibid.

49 A mentor to Creighton and a University of Toronto contemporary of Pearson, Harold A. Innis joined the university's Department of Political Economy in 1920 and published his *The Fur Trade in Canada* in 1930. In his book, Innis argued that the political evolution of Canada was predominantly shaped by its status as a resource economy. His so-called 'Staple Thesis' became an influential interpretation of Canadian history and the origins of its social and political institutions. See Innis 1962.

50 Creighton 1944, 473.

51 Ibid.

ment northwards towards the Arctic Ocean, promising the country economic prosperity and a national purpose.

"Canada's Northern Horizon" of 1953 is the most distinct of Pearson's three statements on Northern and Arctic Canada. The continuity of Pearson's references to the days of Western expansion and the lure of the North strongly suggest that the changing emphasis of the article is the result of a change in authorship, not a shift in Pearson's understanding of the Arctic. The article remains a useful example to illustrate the impact of cultural representations of the North on Pearson's views, particularly when contrasted with the style of a co-author who brought extensive experience and first-hand knowledge to the piece. In the absence of such experience and knowledge about the life, the environment, and the people of the North, Pearson turned to literature, speeches, and explorers' accounts to construct his Northern vision for Canada and to shape debates about the future of the Arctic during the early Cold War.

Conclusion

As Northern and Arctic Canada emerged as a space of growing political, economic, and strategic importance, cultural representations of the North assumed a critical role in the imagination of senior foreign policy officials in Ottawa. Narratives and mythologies provided a collection of meaning and purpose-lending interpretations which enabled Lester B. Pearson to make sense of the North's historical and contemporary place in the evolution of a Canadian nation. The cast of cultural producers is extensive, cross-disciplinary, and boasts a rich repertoire of Northern stories and mythologies. I have only been able to hint at some of the most prominent articulations of such Northern and Arctic representations. As a student and consumer of the cultural and intellectual traditions of his time, Pearson was conversant in the Canada First Movement's racialized environmental determinism, Robert Service's frontier mythology, and Donald Creighton's Laurentian reading of Canadian history. He readily tapped into these paradigms and embraced the assumptions and prejudices inherent in these representations. Pearson's understanding of Canada's Northern regions then was based substantially on a body of southern representations, mediated knowledge, and highly ambivalent narratives about the nature of the North and its role in the evolution of Canada.

Pearson was not the only diplomat who saw himself confronted with the task of defining Canadian interests in the North and devising a strategy to negotiate Arctic defense projects with the United States without a clear understanding of the region. Prime ministers Louis St. Laurent and, more prominently, John G. Diefenbaker never traveled north of 60° yet adamantly claimed the North as an indispensable ingredient of a Canadian national identity. Diplomat Escott Reid and Ambassador to the United States A.D.P. Heeney also drew on romanticized depictions of the North when discussing the importance of the North to Canada's national development. Hugh L. Keenleyside, Commissioner of the Northwest Territories and Deputy Minis-

ter of the Department of Mines and Resources, identified the North as the linchpin of Canada's core values and its existence as a free and democratic country. Such culturally informed perceptions were real and they shaped the ways Canadian officials viewed the North as well as the actions they took. They also helped to establish legitimacy and authority, setting the boundaries for those who were allowed to participate in a national conversation about the future of Northern and Arctic Canada.

This analysis of Pearson's statements on the role and the significance of Canada's Northern and Arctic regions throughout its history suggests that External Affairs officials and politicians looked beyond their legal studies, briefing books, and meeting protocols to determine Ottawa's interest in the North. Not unlike Senator King or Prime Minister Harper's parables of Shackleton and Franklin, Pearson's narratives and mythologies bracketed economic assessments and strategic discussions. The history of Pearson's Arctic diplomacy and U.S.-Canadian defense cooperation during the early Cold War period then cannot be fully understood if an overreliance on sovereignty and security obscures the ideas and assumptions that guided Ottawa's senior diplomats. Lest an incomplete picture of that period remain, the cultural origins of Pearson's northern education must claim its place in the history of Canada's Arctic diplomacy.

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Stefanie Fritzenkötter

Aspects morphosyntaxiques et lexicaux du français acadien des adolescents de la Baie Sainte-Marie, Nouvelle-Écosse

Zusammenfassung

Ziel dieses Artikels ist es, einen Überblick über die wichtigsten morphosyntaktischen und lexikalischen Aspekte meiner Dissertation zur akadischen Jugendsprache an der Baie Sainte-Marie (Neuschottland) zu geben. Die Ergebnisse meiner Arbeit, deren Veröffentlichung von der GKS unterstützt wurde, basieren auf einem 2011 in der Region aufgenommenen Gesprächskorpus und beinhalten soziolinguistische, morphosyntaktische und lexikalische Besonderheiten der dort gesprochenen Varietät. Nach einer Präsentation der demolinguistischen Situation und der ethnolinguistischen Vitalität dieser akadischen Region werden ausgewählte morphosyntaktische und lexikalische Aspekte der Varietät vorgestellt und analysiert.

Abstract

The following article aims at giving an overview of the main morphosyntactic and lexical features presented in my doctoral thesis on the Acadian French variety spoken by adolescents at Saint Mary's Bay (Nova Scotia). The results of my thesis, whose publication was generously funded by the GKS, are based on an oral corpus collected in the area in 2011 and include sociolinguistic, morphosyntactic and lexical features of the examined variety. I will briefly outline the demolinguistic situation and the ethnolinguistic vitality of this Acadian region, before presenting and analysing some predominant morphosyntactic and lexical features found in my corpus.

Résumé

L'objectif de cette contribution est de donner une vue d'ensemble des principaux résultats morphosyntaxiques et lexicaux de ma thèse de doctorat, consacrée au parler des adolescents acadiens de la Baie Sainte-Marie (Nouvelle-Écosse), dont la publication a été soutenue financièrement par la GKS. Sur la base d'un corpus oral recueilli par l'auteure de cet article en 2011, la thèse présente des aspects sociolinguistiques, morphosyntaxiques ainsi que lexicaux du parler étudié. On examinera ici brièvement la situation démolinguistique et la vitalité ethnolinguistique de cette région acadienne, avant de présenter et d'analyser quelques spécificités morphosyntaxiques et lexicales de la variété qui y est parlée.

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I. Introduction

Lorsqu'on parle de la francophonie canadienne ou du français du Canada, c'est le plus souvent au « français québécois » que l'on pense. Au-delà de l'aire linguistique québécoise, il existe pourtant une deuxième variété, moins connue, parlée dans l'Est du Canada : le « français acadien ». Comme il ne s'agit pas d'une variété homogène, je préfère parler de « variétés acadiennes » ou encore de « parlers acadiens ». Ma thèse de doctorat, publiée avec le soutien financier de la GKS, s'est fixée comme objectif de procéder à la description synchronique d'un de ces « parlers », celui de la Baie Sainte-Marie, région encore fortement acadienne et francophone située dans le Sud-Ouest de la Nouvelle-Écosse (Canada).

Les travaux scientifiques qui lui ont été consacrés jusqu'ici se sont essentiellement penchés sur la description de ses traits archaïques ou dialectaux (cf. Flikeid 1989/1991). Même si ce type de caractéristiques est bien vivant dans le parler étudié, la majorité des jeunes Acadiens et Acadiennes de la région affirment parler « moitié français moitié anglais », ou bien « franglais » quand on leur demande de décrire leur parler.[1] En effet, l'influence de la langue anglaise sur le langage des jeunes est indéniable. Il est donc étonnant de constater qu'il n'existe encore aucune étude contemporaine analysant l'évolution du parler de cette région ou des autres régions acadiennes de Nouvelle-Écosse depuis les travaux de Moshé Starets, dans les années 1980, portant sur les anglicismes dans le parler des élèves des écoles primaires de la Baie Sainte-Marie (Starets 1982/1986), et un mémoire de maîtrise de Philip Comeau datant de 2007.[2]

Les termes « moitié moitié » ou « franglais » évoquent avant tout le *chiac*, la variété acadienne parlée à Moncton (Nouveau-Brunswick). À partir de 1979, de nombreux travaux lui ont été consacrés, portant également sur le contact linguistique existant à Moncton (cf. entre autres Roy 1979; Perrot 1995). Ruth King, qui s'intéresse principalement aux parlers acadiens de l'Île-du-Prince-Édouard, a toutefois pu montrer que le *chiac* et les autres variétés acadiennes présentent des similarités :

> I argue that there is little evidence that *chiac*, an often stigmatized variety of Acadian French spoken in the urban area of Moncton, New Brunswick, differs dramatically from a number of lesser known Acadian varieties in terms of the effects of language contact; and that the degree of English influence claimed is sometimes not supported by the data provided. (King 2008 : 187)

1 Pour l'insécurité linguistique des locuteurs du *chiac*, cf. Boudreau/Dubois 1991 : 46; Flikeid 1996 : 280.

2 Les travaux de Starets sont constitués de listes de mots anglais présents dans le parler des élèves. Comeau analyse l'intégration de trois anglicismes – 'BACK', 'ABOUT' et 'TIGHT' – dans le parler de Grosses Coques, village situé dans le Nord de la Baie Sainte-Marie.

Cette affirmation suggère que le *chiac* et les autres variétés acadiennes se ressemblent fortement en termes de contact linguistique, même si le premier est un parler urbain et les secondes des parlers ruraux.

L'objectif principal de ma thèse est la description synchronique des traits saillants, notamment les caractéristiques considérées comme des archaïsmes ou des dialectalismes, ainsi que l'analyse du « métissage » franco-anglais dans le parler acadien employé par les jeunes de la Baie Sainte-Marie. En outre, je me propose d'examiner la pertinence pour la variété parlée à la Baie Sainte-Marie de l'hypothèse de King supposant une similarité des parlers acadiens du point de vue du contact franco-anglais.

J'ai opté pour la description du langage des jeunes, qui permet d'anticiper l'évolution de la variété étudiée tout en facilitant la comparaison de mes données avec celles recueillies par la linguiste française Marie-Ève Perrot dans son étude du *chiac* de Moncton (1995).

Dans la présente contribution, je me concentrerai sur les résultats primordiaux de ma thèse (démolinguistique, vitalité ethnolinguistique, aspects morphosyntaxiques et lexicaux) pour donner au lecteur une vue d'ensemble de la situation linguistique de cette région acadienne.

II. La Baie Sainte-Marie : une région acadienne en Nouvelle-Écosse

Lors du recensement canadien de 2011,[3] 31 110 habitants de la Nouvelle-Écosse, soit 3,4 % de la population, ont déclaré parler une variété française comme langue maternelle. Mais le français n'est la langue parlée le plus souvent à la maison que pour une bonne moitié de ces locuteurs natifs (15 940 personnes, soit 1,8 %).[4] Pour ce qui est de la connaissance des langues officielles, la majorité de la population francophone de la province se dit bilingue : seuls 875 locuteurs, soit 0,1 % de la population totale, parlent uniquement une variété française. Il n'est donc guère étonnant que ce bilinguisme de la quasi-totalité des Acadiens et des Acadiennes, lié à la vie dans un pays, voire sur un continent majoritairement anglophone, entraine une influence de la langue dominante, l'anglais, sur les variétés françaises parlées dans la province.

En outre, un facteur géographique intervient également dans la caractérisation de l'Acadie néo-écossaise : loin de constituer un territoire homogène, elle est aujourd'hui fragmentée et éparpillée à travers toute la province. Les cinq régions principales sont les suivantes :

(a) La Baie Sainte-Marie / Clare

3 Ces chiffres ont été repris au site web de *Statistique Canada/Statistics Canada* : <http://www.statcan.gc.ca> [30.08.2013]. Le dernier recensement date de 2016.

4 Soulignons que les données concernant la langue parlée le plus souvent à la maison sont plus importantes que celles concernant la langue maternelle, car seule une langue encore parlée au sein de la famille sera transmise à la prochaine génération. En revanche, si elle n'est plus utilisée comme langue familiale, elle devient moribonde.

(b) Pubnico (Argyle)
(c) Chéticamp
(d) L'Île Madame
(e) Pomquet

En comparant les données démolinguistiques de ces cinq zones, nous observons que l'élément francophone est en train de diminuer dans toutes les régions étudiées :

Tableau 1 : La langue française dans les régions acadiennes de la Nouvelle-Écosse (2006)

Région acadienne	Baie Sainte-Marie	Pubnico (Argyle)	Chéticamp	Île Madame	Pomquet
Population totale	8650	8595	5775	3425	6509
Langue maternelle français / %[5]	5820 67,3	4100 47,7	2480 43,0	1635 47,7	370 5,6
Langue parlée le plus souvent à la maison : français / %	5535 64,0	2920 34,0	2040 35,3	1050 30,7	85 1,3
Taux d'assimilation[6]	5 %	29 %	18 %	36 %	77 %

Par rapport à Pubnico (Argyle), à Chéticamp, à l'Île Madame et à Pomquet, nous constatons qu'à la Baie Sainte-Marie, la francophonie semble relativement stable : on y trouve notamment la seule université francophone de la province, *l'Université Sainte-Anne*. Par ailleurs, la Baie Sainte-Marie est la seule région francophone de la province où la majorité de la population se dise francophone. Dans les autres régions acadiennes, l'anglais est pour la plupart des locuteurs à la fois la langue maternelle et la langue employée le plus souvent à la maison.

L'une des raisons de la prédominance du français à la Baie Sainte-Marie est certainement la présence de l'*Université Sainte-Anne*. Cet établissement donne accès non seulement à un enseignement supérieur en français, mais aussi à une riche vie culturelle, comme des expositions de peintres acadiens dans la galerie *Le Trécarré*. En outre, la présence de l'université contribue à ralentir l'exode des jeunes Acadiens et Acadiennes, ce qui retarde sans doute le déclin de la langue française dans la région.

5 Les chiffres regroupent les entrées « langue maternelle : français » et « langue maternelle : anglais et français ».

6 Le taux d'assimilation indique le pourcentage des locuteurs natifs qui ne parlent plus français à la maison.

III. Approche méthodologique : le corpus

Ma thèse s'appuie sur un corpus oral d'environ onze heures collecté personnellement de janvier à mars 2011 à la Baie Sainte-Marie et à Pubnico (Argyle). Il s'agit d'entretiens semi-dirigés réalisés à l'aide d'un questionnaire, d'une durée de 20 à 40 minutes pour chaque groupe de deux participants. 44 jeunes âgés de 14 à 26 ans ont participé à mon étude.

J'ai effectué mes recherches en milieu scolaire (Écoles Secondaires de Clare et de Par-en-Bas) et universitaire (*Université Sainte-Anne*), au lieu de me limiter à la sphère privée, par exemple la famille d'accueil du chercheur et les amis ou connaissances de celle-ci. L'avantage d'une telle démarche est que tous les jeunes de la région sont potentiellement représentés dans l'étude, garantissant ainsi la représentativité des données obtenues pour le parler de l'ensemble du groupe cible.

Les phénomènes d'hypercorrection de la part des participants à l'enquête, face à un chercheur qui n'est pas lui-même un locuteur natif de la variété considérée, sont un problème inhérent aux études en milieu linguistique minoritaire :

> Ideally we want to know how people use language when they are not being observed. When speakers know they are being observed, their language shifts toward more formal styles […]. So the most casual language is the most difficult to observe. (Stubbs 1983 : 224)

Selon Labov, le chercheur doit enregistrer « [l]e discours quotidien, tel qu'il est employé dans les situations ordinaires où le langage n'est pas un objet d'attention » (1976 : 146). Afin d'enregistrer ce discours décrit par Stubbs et Labov, il est indispensable que tout chercheur qui n'est pas lui-même locuteur natif de la variété évite de mener l'entrevue.

Marie-Ève Perrot, qui a analysé et décrit le *chiac* de Moncton dans les années 1990, a eu l'idée de regrouper les jeunes de son étude deux par deux. Après avoir distribué un questionnaire et un dictaphone à chaque groupe, elle les a installés dans la bibliothèque de leur école, afin qu'ils puissent discuter des questions sans qu'elle ou une autre personne soit présente (cf. Perrot 1995 : 26sqq.). J'ai employé la même méthode dans mon étude, pour assurer une meilleure comparabilité entre les résultats de Perrot (*chiac*) et les miens (Baie Sainte-Marie). Mon questionnaire portait sur les loisirs, la vie dans la région et les projets d'avenir des jeunes, mais aussi sur le *fait français* dans la région et la province. À aucun moment, les jeunes n'étaient conscients que mon étude s'intéressait avant tout à leur production langagière.

Pour la transcription des données acoustiques, j'ai suivi la méthode HIAT (Halbinterpretative Arbeitstranskription) exposée par Ehlich et Rehbein (1976). Les particularités phonétiques ne sont pas centrales pour mon étude, mais elles sont néanmoins figurées dans ma transcription (ex. *parsounne/mounde* au lieu de 'personne'/

'monde'). Les anglicismes sont transcrits en majuscules, les pauses sont marquées par une barre oblique (/).

IV. La vitalité ethnolinguistique : quelques remarques

Il est à première vue étonnant que la création d'écoles francophones (où la totalité de l'enseignement est assurée en français, à l'exception des cours d'anglais, depuis l'année scolaire 2000-2001) n'ait pu freiner plus efficacement l'assimilation de la population acadienne à la majorité anglophone. Les 21 écoles francophones de la province sont placées sous l'autorité du *CSAP (Conseil Scolaire Acadien Provincial)*, fondé en 1996. Au cours de l'année 2009-2010, 719 élèves étaient scolarisés dans les cinq écoles francophones de la Baie Sainte-Marie, quatre écoles élémentaires et une école secondaire.

Malgré l'instauration de ces écoles francophones, force est de constater que la langue utilisée hors des cours est – dans la majorité des cas – l'anglais, comme le soulignent les deux témoignages suivants :

(1) ej fais des stages RIGHT/ pis/ tous les fois que j'ent' dans la HIGHSCHOOL/ pas/ c'est rare que tu vas entend' du français/ tout le monde parle en anglais.

(2) EVEN dans les CORRIDOR asteure t'entends pas beaucoup de mounde parler français à l'école/ et si qu'i parlont pas français à l'école/ dans une école française/ i allont jamais parler français.

La remarque (2) est particulièrement intéressante : si un élève acadien inscrit dans une école francophone préfère parler anglais plutôt que français pendant la récréation, il semble évident que cette langue continuera à être employée une fois que l'élève aura quitté l'école l'après-midi. Le résultat est que l'anglais est privilégié par les jeunes dans le domaine privé, au détriment du français :

> [I]l n'y a plus de délimitation claire entre les fonctions traditionnellement associées à l'une ou l'autre des langues en contact. Le partage des domaines d'usage du français et de l'anglais devient instable, ce qui crée une situation de changement linguistique (Péronnet 1993 : 106).

Omniprésent dans la vie quotidienne des jeunes, l'anglais est en outre considéré comme plus 'cool' et plus facile, notamment en comparaison avec le français standard, qui est la norme enseignée à l'école :

(3) L1 : Par-en-Bas i y a/ comme/ le monde refuse de parler en français dans les/ dans l'école/
L2 : c'est CRAZY.
L1 : i sont comme/ « français est stupide/ faut pas parler en français ».

(4) le français est d'la misare à apprend' comparé à l'anglais/ moi j'croirais.

(5) L1 : ej crois/ que le français/ lit et écrit/ est/ beaucoup d'la misare.
L2 : beaucoup d'la misare plus que anglais.
L1 : beaucoup/ parce qu'il faut/ tout l'temps que tu conjugues/ et de la grammaire/ et les noms/ c'est point le même dans la langue anglais.

(6) quand tu l'compares avec l'anglais [= le français] j'ai besoin d'dire que c'est peu plus difficile/ l'anglais c'est beaucoup plus comme TO THE POINT.

L'effet combiné de cette omniprésence de la langue anglaise – sur les 44 informateurs, seule une élève affirme regarder la télévision en français – et d'un système scolaire privilégiant le français 'standard' a mené à une forte insécurité linguistique chez les jeunes de la Baie, qui comparent leur parler à celui d'autres francophones dont ils jugent les performances langagières supérieures aux leurs :

(7) mon langage fait rire.

Quant à l'avenir du français en Nouvelle-Écosse, les jeunes estiment que les parlers sont déjà moribonds et que le maintien du français dans la province se fera essentiellement par le biais des cours d'assimilation linguistique. D'autre part, ils affirment que leur variété sera encore plus anglicisée qu'elle ne l'est aujourd'hui :

(8) moi h'crois qu'le français va F/va disparaître une miette à la fois/point/ h'allons point comprend' le mounde h'allons encore parler not' SLANG ma' ça va êt' beaucoup anglais.

V. Étude morphosyntaxique et lexique
a. Traits dialectaux et archaïques saillants

Il convient de souligner que le *chiac* et les autres variétés acadiennes ne sont pas un simple *mélange* d'anglais et de français standard.[7] En effet, ces parlers oraux contiennent aussi de nombreux archaïsmes et dialectalismes (cf. Flikeid 1989/1991; Neumann-Holzschuh/Wiesmath 2006; Chauveau 2009). Les jeunes cités dans mon corpus mentionnent ainsi quelques traits archaïques de leur parler, notamment le lexique et la négation avec 'point' :

(9) l'acadien/ de Clare c'est comme/ i y avont beaucoup plus vieux mots français aussi c'est comme/ c'est vraiment COOL/ comme/ j'sais pas/ 'asteure'/ ou 'bailler'/ ou/ 'bailler'/ ((rires)) 'bailler'.

(10) à l'école h'ai h'ai tout le temps appris que j'peux point dire/ 'point'/ à la place faut j'dis juste 'pas'/ mais/ non/ quand c'que tu lis des affares que/ en France de/ XVII/ dans le XVIIe sièc' dans les seize cents/ pis c'est des 'point'/ à la place des 'pas' WELL.

7 Cf. King (2008 : 153): « It is certainly worth keeping in mind that *chiac* involves use of traditional dialect features and is not just a mix of some school variety of French with English ».

Pour ce qui est de la négation avec 'point' et 'pas', on constate que tous emploient les deux négateurs. Voici leur répartition dans mon corpus, et une comparaison avec les données de Flikeid pour la Baie Sainte-Marie (1991 : 295) :

Tableau 2 : Les négateurs 'point' et 'pas' à la Baie Sainte-Marie en 1991 et 2011 :

Négateur	point	pas
Flikeid 1991	72 %	28 %
Fritzenkötter 2011	811 69,4 %	357 30,6 %

On constate donc dans mon corpus une légère baisse de l'emploi du négateur 'point' par rapport aux données de Flikeid.

Une deuxième caractéristique dialectale de la variété étudiée est l'emploi du 'je collectif' à la première personne du pluriel :

(11) moi le seul temps que ej regarde la télévision française c'est quand ce MUM s'en voN/ et pis *ej WATCH-ons*/ un MOVIE/ pis qu'la *WATCH-ons*/ ej le mets en français pour qu'a peuve comprend'.

(12) *ej h'inviterons* tcheq' CHUM/ pis *ej/ ej baranquons* coumme c'est point si tant coumme/ aller CLUB-er ou.

La comparaison diachronique avec les données de Flikeid montre que l'emploi du pronom personnel acadien a diminué entre 1991 et 2011 :

Tableau 3 : 'je' et 'nous' à la 1ère personne du pluriel à la Baie Sainte-Marie en 1991 et 2011 :

Pronom personnel	je	nous
Flikeid 1991	68 %	32 %
Fritzenkötter 2011	225 36,4 %	393 63,6 %

Dans le domaine de la flexion verbale, les jeunes emploient encore la terminaison '-ont' à la troisième personne du pluriel. Pour les verbes irréguliers 'avoir', 'faire' et 'aller', on enregistre les allomorphes 'avont', 'faisont' et 'allont' :

(13) moi h'aimais point ça quand c'qu'*i avont* brulé not' FLAG acadjoN cause que c'est rinque point FAIR.

(14) des Anglais quand c'que *zeux parlont*/ avec leurs accents d'TEXAS ou WHETHER/ qu'*i parlont* avec leurs accent/ de l'Angletarre/ c'est point mieux ou mal SO moi j'crois pas que/ not' français est mieux/ ou mal.

On trouve également la terminaison '-ent', mais celle-ci ne concerne qu'une occurrence sur quatre environ :

Tableau 4 : Les terminaisons verbales '-ont' et '-ent' à la 3e personne du pluriel à la Baie Sainte-Marie en 1989 et 2011 :

Pronom personnel	'-ont'	'-ent' + formes standard 'ont', 'font', 'vont'
Flikeid/Péronnet 1989	72 %	28 %
Fritzenkötter 2011	376 72,3 %	144 27,7 %

Bien que ces caractéristiques du parler de la Baie Sainte-Marie soient encore bien vivantes dans l'idiolecte des jeunes, on est en droit de s'interroger sur leur disparition éventuelle : ainsi Neumann-Holzschuh et King affirment-elles que les traits archaïques et les dialectalismes se perdent dans les variétés acadiennes sous l'effet conjugué du français standard enseigné à l'école et du français québécois (Neumann-Holzschuh [2]2008 : 115; Neumann-Holzschuh 2005 : 806; King 2000 : 36sq.).

Toutefois, tel n'est pas le cas dans le parler des jeunes qui ont participé à mon étude : bien qu'ils aient fréquenté une école du *CSAP* et/ou une université francophone, ils emploient encore un grand nombre d'archaïsmes. En comparant mes données pour les trois variables mentionnées ici – négation avec 'point', 'je collectif' et désinence '-ont' à la 3e personne du pluriel – avec celles publiées par Flikeid et Flikeid/Péronnet pour la Baie Sainte-Marie en 1989/1991, on constate une baisse uniquement pour l'emploi du 'je collectif'. Le négateur 'point' et la terminaison verbale '-ont' de la 3e personne du pluriel affichent des résultats similaires à une vingtaine d'années de distance, alors même que les participants aux études précédentes n'appartenaient pas à la classe d'âge des 'jeunes' (cf. Flikeid 1989 : 193; id. 1991 : 291; Flikeid/Péronnet 1989 : 228).

Un deuxième fait intéressant ressort de la comparaison de l'emploi des trois traits mentionnés ci-dessus chez les jeunes de l'*École Secondaire de Clare* et chez les étudiants de l'*Université Sainte-Anne*. En effet, Flikeid écrit en 1991 : « il y a 'érosion' de certains des traits acadiens saillants là où l'influence institutionnelle du français normatif est la plus forte et agit de longue date » (293). Si tel était le cas pour mes données, le langage des étudiants devrait donc présenter moins de traits 'acadiens' que celui des lycéens. Or, dans mon corpus, c'est le contraire qui s'observe : les élèves de l'école secondaire privilégient les formes du français standard, tandis que les étudiants préfèrent les caractéristiques de leur variété.

b. L'influence anglaise sur le parler des jeunes

Dans mes transcriptions d'entrevues, on constate très rapidement que les jeunes sont conscients de l'influence anglaise sur leur parler :

(15) 't-êt' une des raisons pour laquelle/ les gens/ trouvent le français/ correct/ difficile/ c'est parce qu'i y a tellement d'influence de l'anglais/ qu'on a des angli-

cismes absolument partout pis on se rend pas compte/ jusqu'à tant quelqu'un nous dit « ah tu peux pas parler français ça c'est anglais »/ ANYWAY.

(16) L1 : quand je dis « OK pense acadien » la première chouse que je pense à dire en acadien c'est moitié anglais.
L2 : YUP.

Dans le corpus, on relève des exemples de mots anglais pour les parties du discours plutôt 'ouvertes' à l'emprunt, notamment les substantifs, les verbes, les adjectifs ou les adverbes :

(17) ça fait/ rire que ça avait besoin d'y êt' tchequ' affare coumme bruler not' *FLAG* que/ que/ quelle affare coumme la fierté acadienne sortir à travars d'FACEBOOK à travars de/ la région SO/ c'est vraiment intéressant.

(18) j'suis fiar de pouvoir parler le français/ à cause que c'est définitivement un atout/ tu sais c'est tchequ' affare j'vas *USE-r*/ coumme travars d'ma vie.

(19) c'était un voyage qu'était/ *AWESOME*.

(20) ANYWAYS pis alle l'a coumme hâlée dans son logis/ point coumme/ *AGGRESSIVELY* hâlée dans l'logis.

On observe également des mots appartenant aux parties du discours 'fermées', comme les conjonctions ou les prépositions :

(21) coumme i sont à AFGHANISTAN/ *BUT* c'est point pour la djarre c'est rinque pour coumme KEEP-er THE PEACE.

(22) SO i y a si tant/ coumme/ part de tous les villes/ on te met si tant de TRASH dans l'air que/ c'est vraiment/ pas/ pas une différence *UNLESS* qu'on va fare une différence coumme/ au GLOBE c'qu'/ BROADSCALE.

Les jeunes emploient aussi des particules anglaises, par exemple 'BACK', et des marqueurs discursifs :

(23) c'était mon liv' FAVOURITE mon FAVOURITE liv'/ h'essaie d'lire *BACK* après ça.

(24) L1 : quoi c'que/ tu veux fare après?
L2 : *WELL*/ moi/ c'est ça j'suis parti à un bac en/ j'fais un bac en éducation.

Pour le présent résumé, je me limiterai à trois éléments particulièrement intéressants analysés dans ma thèse, et qui se retrouvent également dans d'autres variétés acadiennes et nord-américaines : l'intégration des noms et des verbes anglais dans la matrice acadienne, les particules adverbiales, et enfin l'emploi des connecteurs 'BUT'/'mais' et 'SO'/'ça fait que'. Ces traits saillants permettent une comparaison détaillée avec le *chiac*, mais aussi des prévisions concernant l'évolution du parler aca-

dien de la Baie Sainte-Marie. En outre, de futurs travaux pourront recourir à ces résultats pour établir des comparaisons avec d'autres variétés acadiennes, voire canadiennes ou nord-américaines en contact avec l'anglais (notamment le cajun de Louisiane).

L'intégration des substantifs anglais

Les noms sont de loin la classe lexicale présentant le plus grand nombre d'emprunts dans la variété étudiée : 65 substantifs anglais sont employés dans au moins deux entrevues. Voici les dix plus fréquents, avec indication du genre grammatical :

Tableau 5 : Les substantifs anglais à la Baie Sainte-Marie

	substantif + genre	occurrences dans mon corpus
1	le STUFF	69
2	le/la FUN	63
3	le MOVIE	32
4	la CLASS	27
5	le/la TV	26
6	le/la CHUM	21
7	la/le CAR	17
8	le/la FLAG	15
9	la JOB	14
10	la/le TRIP	13

Dans la majorité des cas, le nom anglais est intégré à la matrice acadienne grâce à l'article français, 'le'/'un', 'la'/'une' ou 'les'/'des'. Si on trouve un mot anglais employé à la fois au masculin et au féminin, l'emploi de l'un des deux genres domine fortement. Voici trois exemples illustrant cette intégration des substantifs anglais à la matrice :

(25) moi h'ai hamais WATCH-é *un MOVIE* français aut' que quand h'étais forcée à l'école.

(26) il est JEALOUS que *le FACT* que nous-aut' h'avons *un FLAG*.

(27) moi/ j'suis manière de/ WORRY-é un 'tit pour la planète et ça avec *le GLOBAL WARMING/* coumme/ tu vas eh/ su' *la BEACH* pis i n'y a du plastique partout.

En comparant le genre des substantifs dans le parler acadien de la Baie Sainte-Marie et le *chiac* de Moncton, on constate que le genre d'un mot peut différer fondamentalement d'une variété à l'autre. Le mot 'FUN' est par exemple majoritairement féminin, 'CAR' majoritairement masculin en *chiac* (cf. pour d'autres exemples Perrot 1995 : 98sqq.). Les jeunes de mon corpus préfèrent pour leur part dire 'le FUN' et 'la CAR'.

Autre différence structurelle majeure entre le français et l'anglais, l'emploi de l'article partitif ou indéfini en français, là où l'anglais ne met pas d'article (cf. pour le *chiac* Perrot 1995 : 86sqq.). Chez les jeunes de la Baie Sainte-Marie, l'article est presque toujours employé :

(28) i y avait du monde qui veniont nous servir *du PIZZA* pis *des DRINK* quoi c'est meilleur que ça?

(29) c'est plus coumme dans l'hivar/ qu'il a *du STUFF*/ comme *des ICESTORMS et* pis/ coumme *des HURRICANE* et *du STUFF* mais c'est/ il a point coumme *ø TSUNAMI ou ø TORNADO.*

Dans les énoncés (28) et (29), les locuteurs emploient l'article partitif avec 'PIZZA' (du) et 'STUFF' (du). Pour les substantifs pluriels, on trouve l'article indéfini avec 'ICESTORMS' (des), 'HURRICANE' (des), mais les locuteurs ne l'utilisent pas avec 'TSUNAMI' et 'TORNADO'. L'article zéro est parfois présent dans les énumérations de mots anglais ou lorsqu'une pause intervient avant le terme anglais :

(30) c'est *ø NEIGHBOR*/ *ø FRIENDS*/ comme/ tout l'mounde/ *ø COWORKERS*/ comme n'importe qui.

(31) L1 : voir tous les HILLBILLY CATTLE sortir hors du bois avec des/ SHOTGUN/
L2 : *ø PITCHFORK*.

Dans les cas présentés jusqu'ici, l'emploi de l'article peut varier. Il existe deux cas où l'emploi de l'article zéro est presque généralisé, dans la variété de la Baie Sainte-Marie comme en *chiac* : il s'agit des toponymes anglais (noms de régions, de provinces ou d'États) et du domaine du sport ('jouer au foot', 'jouer au hockey') :

(32) si que j'END-e UP à MOVE-r/ *à ø CAPE BRETON*.

(33) h'avons été *à ø ENGLAND*.

(34) ça fait quatorze ans qu'j'*joue à ø HOCKEY*.

Une autre différence fondamentale entre le pluriel régulier en anglais et en français est la présence ou l'absence du *-s* final dans la prononciation (cf. 'boy*s'* vs. *les/des* garçons). Si l'acadien emprunte un substantif anglais, il est donc intéressant de savoir si le *-s* final anglais est audible ou non : « Se pose donc la question de savoir si l'emprunt d'un substantif anglais entraîne son adaptation morphologique à la matrice, c'est-à-dire si le 's' du pluriel est prononcé ou non. » (Perrot 1995 : 78sq.).

Dans les années 1980, Péronnet a analysé l'intégration des substantifs anglais dans la variété acadienne du Sud-Est du Nouveau-Brunswick à l'aide d'un corpus recueilli auprès de locuteurs âgés de 65 ans et plus. Elle écrit à ce sujet : « Les noms empruntés à l'anglais suivent la règle du pluriel des noms français : le *s* final n'est pas prononcé. » (Péronnet 1989a : 118). Dans son corpus du *chiac* des années 1990, Perrot constate une « alternance entre les formes intégrées et non intégrées ». Elle ajoute que « la tendance à la non-intégration s'affirme très nettement » (Perrot 1995 : 79).

Dans le parler de la Baie Sainte-Marie, la majorité des substantifs sont intégrés à la matrice, c'est-à-dire que dans la plupart des cas, le *-s* final n'est pas prononcé :

Tableau 6 : Pluriel des noms anglais à la Baie Sainte-Marie : l'articulation du -s final

-s	-ø
21,3 %	78,7 %

On constate quelques régularités dans l'intégration du *-s* final (cf. pour le *chiac* Perrot 1995 : 79sqq.) :

(a) Il est toujours présent si le mot anglais existe uniquement au pluriel, comme dans le cas de 'NEWS' :

(35) ils avont/ ça coumme allait WAY OVERBEOARD i avont mis su' *les NEWS* i avont fait documenter coumme trente minutes de ça.

(b) Dans les noms composés, le *-s* final est presque toujours présent en *chiac*. Par contre, dans la variété de la Baie Sainte-Marie, cela ne se produit que pour la moitié des occurrences environ. Voici deux exemples :

(36) j'sais pas si c'est des *BONUS POINTS*.

(37) comme des *NATURAL DISASTERS*.

(c) Pour les mots terminés en [ɪz], le *-s* final n'est articulé ni en *chiac* ni dans la variété de la Baie Sainte-Marie :

(38) comben de *RAPPIE PIE BUSINESSø*/ que i y a dans Clare.

(39) ben tu peux mett' trois *SINGLE AIR MATTRESSø* là pis trois *SINGLE AIR MATTRESSø* coumme l'un côté.

L'évolution de la réalisation du *-s* final dans les variétés acadiennes étudiées peut donc être résumée par le schéma suivant :

Phase 1 :		**Phase 2 :**		**Phase 3 :**
pluriel français	→	*pluriel français + pluriel anglais*	→	*pluriel anglais*
des MOVIE [ø]	→	*des MOVIE [ø] + des MOVIES [z]*	→	*des MOVIES [z]*

La variété étudiée par Péronnet (1989b) se situe à la phase 1 : les pluriels sont presque toujours adaptés à la matrice. Le *chiac* des années 1990 se trouve entre les phases 2 et 3, car la majorité des pluriels ne sont plus adaptés. La variété parlée par les jeunes de mon corpus se place entre les phases 1 et 2, le *-s* final muet du français étant encore dominant.

L'intégration des verbes anglais

Dans mon corpus, 32 verbes sont employés dans deux entrevues au moins. Voici les huit plus fréquents :

Tableau 7 : Les verbes anglais à la Baie Sainte-Marie

	verbe	occurrences dans mon corpus
1	WATCH-er	60
2	MOVE-r (IN/ON/BACK)	14
3	USE-r	11
4	(s')ENJOY-er	10
5	FEEL-er WAIL-er	9
6	START-er	8
7	HANG-er OUT/WITH/IN	7
8	NEED-er	6

L'emploi d'un verbe anglais n'entraine pas la disparition de l'équivalent français, conservé dans la majorité des cas (on note ainsi dans mon corpus des occurrences des verbes 'garder' (WATCH-er), 'employer/utiliser' (US-er) ou 'commencer' (START-er).

Les verbes anglais du corpus sont majoritairement intégrés à la matrice acadienne à l'aide des désinences du 1er groupe (verbes en '-er'), ce qui donne, pour le présent de WATCH-er, verbe de loin le plus fréquent dans le corpus : je WATCH-e, tu WATCH-es, il/elle/on WATCH-e, nous WATCH-ons, vous WATCH-ez, ils/elles WATCH-ent.

Au passé composé, la forme privilégiée est le participe passé français en '-é' plutôt que la désinence '-ed' des verbes réguliers anglais : ex. j'ai WATCH-é. Pour le participe

passé des verbes anglais irréguliers, on trouve aussi bien la forme anglaise qu'une forme adaptée avec la terminaison française :

(40) une de mes CHUM avait comme/*BREAK-ée DOWN*.

(41) N *FOUND OUT* l'aut' jour de/que/il avait été/à ESPB/eh/l'École Secondaire d'Par-en-Bas pis/i/I GUESS que/tous les écoles/tous les élèves dans l'école parlont anglais même qu'en avant des profs.

(42) i y a pas vraiment d'danger ej vas à la SHOP/ej laisse la CAR/ej laisse les clés dans la CAR h'ai point besoin d'WORRY qu'elle est *GONE* à cause tchetchun l'a volée.

Les particules adverbiales anglaises

Dans la liste des huit verbes les plus fréquents dans mon corpus, on en relève deux à particule postposée, 'MOV-er + IN/ON/BACK' et 'HANG-er + OUT/WITH/IN'. Les particules observées dans le corpus en combinaison avec les verbes anglais sont les suivantes, également présentes en *chiac* (cf. Perrot 1995 : 137) : 'OUT', 'OFF', 'UP', 'IN', 'DOWN', 'ON' et 'BACK'.

Mis à part le cas de 'BACK', qui a déjà fait l'objet d'études approfondies (cf. Perrot 1995; Péronnet 1989b; King 2008), le verbe et sa particule forment une unité dans le parler acadien de la Baie Sainte-Marie, c'est-à-dire qu'on ne peut pas intercaler (dans mon corpus) un objet direct (par exemple), alors qu'en *chiac*, cette construction est possible, quoique rare. Voici deux exemples de verbes à particule tirés du corpus :

(43) SO moi j'*RUB-e IN* le EPIPEN.

(44) alle était dans immersion pis a *HANG-e OUT* rinque avec du monde de Clare.

Les combinaisons entre verbe français et particule anglaise sont plus rares, mais dans ce cas, il est possible d'intercaler un objet (ici : 'la tête') entre le verbe et la particule :

(45) te fare comme/*couper la tête OFF*.

'BACK' est de loin la particule adverbiale la plus connue, son usage dans les variétés acadiennes s'écartant aussi bien de la norme anglaise que de celui de son équivalent français, le préfixe 're-'. Voici quatre énoncés illustrant l'emploi de 'BACK' dans mon corpus :

(46) tu peux aller à la SHOP dans cinq minutes pis d'en *venir BACK* pis c'est FINE.

(47) ej veux *BACK venir* icitte.

(48) i *reviennent BACK*.

(49) ej crois faut quitter pis coumme *BACK revenir*.

En (46), 'BACK' est employé comme en anglais, c'est-à-dire que la particule est placée après le verbe 'venir', 'venir BACK' désignant, de même que 'COME BACK' ou son équivalent français 'revenir', « un mouvement rétrograde, le retour à un ancien état » (Grevisse [13]1993 : §172). En (47), la particule se trouve devant le verbe, construction impossible en anglais (**I would like to back come here*). Dans ces deux énoncés, 'BACK' a pris la place du préfixe français. Dans les énoncés (48) et (49), ce n'est plus le cas : on trouve des structures redoublées, 'revenir BACK' et 'BACK revenir'. La structure française 'simple' ('re-' sans particule), absente du corpus de Perrot, est encore bien vivante à la Baie Sainte-Marie :

(50) aimerais-tu de *revenir*?

En anglais, la particule a toujours le sens décrit ci-dessus par Grevisse pour le préfixe 're-'. Ce préfixe a toutefois un deuxième sens en français : « Le rôle principal de *re-* est de marquer la répétition d'une action » (Grevisse [13]1993 : §172).

Dans les variétés acadiennes, 'BACK' peut également s'employer pour exprimer cette répétition, là où l'anglais préfère 'AGAIN' :

(51) c'était mon liv' FAVOURITE mon FAVOURITE liv'/h'essaie d'*lire BACK* après ça.

Notons toutefois qu'un de mes informateurs emploie également AGAIN :

(52) ma mère a NEED-é d'*aller* à l'école *AGAIN*/après que h'étais née.

Ces structures de 'BACK', soulignons-le, se rencontrent également dans le *chiac* des années 1960 et 70 (cf. Péronnet 1989b : 234sq.; Roy 1979 : 64sq.). Une comparaison avec le *chiac* des années 1990, décrit par Perrot, révèle que celui-ci ne connait plus les structures redoublées ou les formes 'standards' sans 'BACK' (cf. Perrot 1995 : 242), ce qui, par déduction, rend fort probable une évolution future similaire pour le parler de la Baie Sainte-Marie.

Le tableau suivant montre l'évolution de la position syntaxique du marqueur et de l'emploi du préfixe 're-' :

Phase 1 :	**Phase 2 :**	**Phase 3 :**	**Phase 4 :**
Français Standard	**Massignon (1962)**	**Roy (1979) / Péronnet (1989)**	**Perrot (1994/1995)**
revenir →	*revenir* →	*revenir* →	–
	revenir BACK	*revenir BACK*	–
	venir BACK	*venir BACK*	*venir BACK*
		BACK revenir	–
		BACK venir	*BACK venir*

La variété acadienne de la Baie Sainte Marie se situe à la phase 3, puisqu'on y observe toutes les combinaisons du schéma ci-dessus, attestées dans les travaux de

Péronnet et Roy. La question est à présent de savoir pourquoi 'BACK' a été emprunté, alors même que les variétés acadiennes connaissaient (ou connaissent encore) plusieurs équivalents sémantiques. Mougeon et al. (1980, 95) affirment que la raison principale de l'apparition de 'BACK' dans les parlers acadiens est la perte de la valeur de renforcement du préfixe 're-', comme c'est le cas par exemple pour les verbes 'remercier', 'regarder' ou 'ralentir'.[8] Comme 'BACK' signifie en anglais « mouvement rétrograde, retour à un ancien état », il n'est pas étonnant que la particule ait tout d'abord été employée comme en anglais dans les variétés acadiennes, tant dans sa valeur sémantique que dans sa position syntaxique. À la suite de l'affaiblissement de 're-', 'BACK' a ensuite été employé dans les cas où l'on voulait exprimer « la répétition d'une action » (Grevisse [13]1993, §172). L'antéposition du préfixe peut s'expliquer par la position du préfixe français, également placé avant le verbe. Enfin, le préfixe est devenu redondant et a disparu dans les années 1990.

Les connecteurs BUT/mais et SO/ça fait que

La linguiste canadienne Marie-Marthe Roy a été la première à analyser l'emploi des connecteurs 'BUT' et 'SO' dans le *chiac* de Moncton dans son mémoire de maitrise de 1979, premier travail approfondi portant sur le *chiac*.

Ces deux connecteurs et leurs équivalents français 'mais' et 'ça fait que' figurent également dans mon corpus. Voici leur distribution, suivie de quatre exemples tirés du corpus :

Tableau 8 : 'BUT/mais' et 'SO/ça fait que' à la Baie Sainte-Marie

BUT – mais	SO – ça fait que
164/ 24,9 % - 496/ 75,2 %	246/ 61,5 % - 98/ 28,5 %

(53) c'est point plus de FUN que Clare *BUT* c'est différent d'Clare eh.

(54) t'as MAR MARGAREE BAY/qu'était francophone avant/*mais* asteure/n'a parsounne qui/i y a personne qui parle français là asteure.

(55) mais coumme/zeux dit 'char' par/par là/*SO* je commençais rinque à dire 'char' quand j'ai venu par/par icitte.

(56) tu sais ça donne ça donne des excuses à moi d'aller à Moncton les visiter zeux/*ça fait que* c'est ALL RIGHT.

L'emploi de ces connecteurs ressemble fortement au *chiac* décrit par Roy en 1979 (105sqq.). Dans son corpus, Perrot ne relève plus de 'ça fait que' et l'emploi de 'mais' est limité à trois mentions : les connecteurs anglais y sont donc généralisés.

8 Cf. également King (2011, 115 ; 2000, 118 ; 2008, 159-160).

VI. Conclusion

La Baie Sainte-Marie est la seule zone acadienne de Nouvelle-Écosse où plus de la moitié de la population emploie encore une variété française comme langue maternelle et comme langue d'usage principal à la maison. Cela n'empêche malheureusement pas que l'avenir de la francophonie dans cette région s'avère fragile, car le nombre des locuteurs francophones continue à diminuer, malgré l'existence d'un système scolaire francophone et d'une université francophone.

Ma thèse de doctorat montre que le parler de la Baie Sainte-Marie est une variété archaïque et innovatrice en même temps : les traits archaïsants et les dialectalismes – notamment la négation avec 'point', le 'je collectif' et la terminaison verbale '-ont' à la 3e personne du pluriel – sont encore bien vivants dans le parler des jeunes, ceux-ci employant par ailleurs de plus en plus de structures ou de mots anglais dans leur langage, sans que la proportion « moitié anglais moitié français » revendiquée par les locuteurs eux-mêmes soit confirmée par mes données.

J'ai montré que dans la plupart des cas, les substantifs anglais sont intégrés à la matrice acadienne, c'est-à-dire que le *-s* final n'est pas prononcé et que l'article français est employé, à la différence du *chiac*, qui s'est éloigné de la matrice française dans son intégration des substantifs anglais. La grande majorité des verbes empruntés à l'anglais portent la terminaison des verbes français en '-er'.

Pour ce qui est de l'intégration des substantifs, de la particule adverbiale 'BACK', ainsi que de l'emploi des connecteurs 'BUT' et 'SO', on peut avancer que le parler acadien de la Baie Sainte-Marie ressemble au *chiac* des années 1970. À l'avenir, il sera intéressant de savoir si cette variété néo-écossaise évoluera dans la même direction que le parler urbain de Moncton. L'étude présentée ici pourrait servir, tout comme celle de Perrot, de point de repère pour les recherches à venir, afin de garantir une meilleure connaissance des parlers acadiens, voire français en général, au Canada et aux États-Unis.

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Von der GKS unterstützte Publikation

Judith Kestler, *Wir kommen aus Kanada. Zur Internierung deutscher Handelsschiffsbesatzungen während des Zweiten Weltkriegs*, Bielefeld: transcript, 2017 (542 S.; ISBN 978-3-8376-3619-2; EUR 39,90)

Kanadische Forscherinnen und Forscher zeigen in den letzten Jahren wachsendes Interesse am Thema Zivilinternierung in Kanada, was beispielsweise der im Sommer 2015 in Winnipeg veranstaltete interdisziplinäre Workshop „Civilian Internment in Canada" unterstreicht. Die dort vorgestellten Untersuchungen repräsentierten unterschiedliche Fachperspektiven und nahmen verschiedenste Facetten der Internierung in Kanada in den Blick; sie bezogen sich auf beide Weltkriege und auf unterschiedliche Gruppen von Insassen. Die kulturanthropologische Dissertation von Judith Kestler untersucht eine Personengruppe, die bei diesen Forschungen und auch im Umfeld der sogenannten *POW Cultural Studies* bislang übersehen wurde: deutsche Handelsschiffsbesatzungen. Bereits kurz nach Beginn des Zweiten Weltkriegs, als noch überall auf der Welt deutsche Frachtschiffe unterwegs waren, gerieten zahlreiche deutsche Besatzungsmitglieder in britischen Gewahrsam, weil sie als ‚feindliche Ausländer' galten. Als britische Gefangene wurden sie von Juni 1940 an u.a. nach Kanada transportiert, wo die meisten von ihnen bis Ende 1946 blieben.

Die vorliegende Studie untersucht diese Form der Internierung als kulturelle Praxis. Gemäß diesem Ansatz wird Internierung nicht vom Lager als Institution, sondern von den beteiligten Akteuren aus analysiert, die Internierung durch konkrete Praktiken hervorbringen. Neben den Internierten und ihren Bewachern nimmt die Studie daher auch humanitäre Helfer sowie die kanadische Gesellschaft in den Blick. Aus diesem Ansatz folgt eine multiperspektivische Herangehensweise, die die Sichtweisen, Positionierungen und Strategien der beteiligten Akteure zueinander in Beziehung setzt und Internierung auf diese Weise als Verflechtungsphänomen begreift. Dies schlägt sich auch in einer doppelten zeitlichen Perspektivierung nieder, die durch die Kombination von historisch-archivalischen und empirisch-qualitativen Methoden erreicht wird. Als theoretischer Rahmen der Arbeit dient das Konzept der „Contact Zone" (Mary Louise Pratt), das Kopräsenz, Interaktion sowie das Ineinandergreifen verschiedener Praktiken und Deutungen in den Fokus rückt. Die Materialgrundlage bildet, neben Interviews mit ehemaligen Internierten, eine Vielzahl von Quellen: autobiographische Texte, Zeichnungen und Gemälde ehemaliger Internierter, Fotografien, Zeitungsartikel, Berichte über Lagerbesuche der Hilfsorganisationen und Vertreter der Schutzmacht Schweiz, offizielle Beschwerdebriefe sowie private Korrespondenz von Internierten und, nicht zuletzt, Akten der kanadischen Behörden. Ausgewertet wurden Bestände aus dem Politischen Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes, dem Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv, dem Archiv des Internationalen Komitees vom Roten Kreuz, dem Archiv des deutschen Schifffahrtsmuseums, dem Canadian War Museum sowie aus Library and Archives Canada.

Der Band bietet eine umfangreiche historische Kontextualisierung der Gefangennahme deutscher Seeleute auf der einen Seite und der Rahmenbedingungen ihrer Internierung in Kanada auf der anderen Seite. Der Hauptteil der Arbeit ist durch einen dreigliedrigen Ansatz strukturiert: Raum, Zeit und Identität werden als analytische Dimensionen operationalisiert, die Internierung als kulturelle Praxis erschließen und zugleich die Auswertung archivalischer Quellen mit der Analyse der Interviewnarrationen verknüpfen. Phänomene, die in den Archivalien thematisiert werden, können so anhand der Interviewerzählungen aus größerer zeitlicher Distanz und mit den Augen der ehemaligen Internierten betrachtet werden. So geht die Studie beispielsweise auch der Verfestigung von Deutungen oder der Transformation von Erlebnissen in erzählbare Erfahrungen nach, etwa wenn es darum

geht, zu erklären, weshalb die Internierung in Kanada von einigen Betroffenen als positiver Wendepunkt in ihrem Leben betrachtet wird. Freiwillige Arbeit außerhalb der Lager und die Möglichkeit, sich dadurch neue (soziale) Räume zu erschließen, spielen hierbei eine zentrale Rolle.

Gerade die Untersuchung der kontaktbezogenen Aspekte von Internierung – Konflikt, Inklusion, Aneignung, Koalitionen, Überwachung, Kontrolle und Disziplinierung, Ermächtigung, symbolische Kommunikation etc. – unter den Gesichtspunkten von Raum, Zeit und Identität zeigt, wie ihre Zeitlichkeit, ihre Umsetzung in räumliche Strategien und Arrangements mit sozialen Positionierungen im Identitätsraum des Lagers ineinandergriffen. Die narrativ vermittelte hohe Identifikation der ehemaligen Internierten mit Kanada beispielsweise wird auf diese Weise differenziert ausgeleuchtet. Dabei zeigt sich, wie die ehemaligen Insassen aus der Erfahrung der Internierung in Kanada Bilder kollektiver Identität konstruieren, die auf eine Erfahrungs- und Erinnerungsgemeinschaft verweisen und untrennbar mit den Orten der Einsperrung verbunden sind. Wenn die ehemaligen Internierten sich nach dem Krieg selbst als „Kanadier" bezeichneten oder von ihren Berufskollegen als „Kanada-Clique" tituliert wurden, verweist das genau auf den hohen Stellenwert von Kontakt für die Internierung und unterstreicht zugleich die biographische Dimension jeder Internierungserfahrung. Doch die Ergebnisse dieser Studie erschöpfen sich nicht darin, konkrete Kontaktstellen auszumachen, zu beschreiben und ihre Eigenlogik offenzulegen. Vielmehr zeigt sich auch, welche Bedeutung diese Berührungspunkte im Gesamtgefüge der kriegsbedingten Internierung besaßen bzw. welche Bedeutung ihnen von den unterschiedlichen Akteuren zugeschrieben wurde.

Judith Kestlers Studie leistet somit eine differenzierte Analyse von Internierungsbedingungen und retrospektiven Deutungen. In der Gesamtschau erweist sich die Internierung deutscher Seeleute in Kanada dabei als vielschichtige und ambivalente kulturelle Konstellation: Die in der vorliegenden Studie unternommene dichte Beschreibung medial vermittelter Bilder und rekonstruierter Praktiken zeigt, dass diese Form von Internierung zwar eine Begrenzung der äußeren Lebensumstände bedeutete, aber von den Betroffenen zugleich in vielerlei Hinsicht auch als Entgrenzung erlebt wurde: Die bei der Arbeit entstehenden Kontakte mit dem *Canadian Way of Life* und der kanadischen Bevölkerung, aber auch die im Lager erfolgende Auseinandersetzung mit Sprache, Medien und materieller Kultur boten den im NS-Deutschland sozialisierten Männern neue Sichtweisen auf die allgemeine politische Lage, vor allem aber auf ihr eigenes Leben. Die narrativen Reflexionen dieser Prozesse in den Interviews mit ehemaligen Internierten werden in der Studie nicht nur zu den komplexen historischen Bedingungen und zu den Erzählbedingungen in der Interviewsituation in Beziehung gesetzt. Durch die systematische Verschränkung mit der Perspektive von Wachen und humanitären Helfern gelingt es, auch die wechselseitigen Verflechtungen sichtbar zu machen, die essentiell zu Internierung als kultureller Praxis gehören.

Die Untersuchung bietet damit nicht nur Einblicke in ein faszinierendes deutsch-kanadisches Thema, das in seinen zahlreichen Bezügen weit über die Kriegsjahre hinausgreift, sondern auch neue Forschungsperspektiven auf Gefangenschaft und Internierung als transnationalen Möglichkeitsraum.

Besprechungen/Reviews/Comptes rendus

Henri Goulet, *Histoire des pensionnats indiens catholiques au Québec*, Montréal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 2016 (*Helga Bories-Sawala*)

Marion Kühn, *Meta-Romane. Die* récriture *als Reflexion des Romans in Québec (1980-2007),* Bielefeld : transcript Verlag, 2011 (*Alex Demeulenaere*)

Bruno Roy/Pierre Graveline (dirs.), *Coffret 100 poèmes 100 chansons*. Montréal, Les Éditions Fides, 2014, 225 et 233 p. (*Yves Laberge*)

Reingard M. Nischik (ed.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Comparative North American Literature*, New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2014 (*Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink*)

Julia Straub (ed.), *Handbook of Transatlantic North American Studies*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016 (*Stefanie Schäfer*)

Waldemar Zacharasiewicz/Christoph Irmscher, Hg., *Cultural Circulation: Dialogues between Canada and the American South,* Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften 2013 (*Ulla Kriebernegg*)

Waldemar Zacharasiewicz/Fritz Peter Kirsch*, Immigration and Integration in North America: Canadian and Austrian Perspectives*, Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2014 (*Yvonne Völkl*)

Christian Weyers, *Die Vermessung der Nouvelle-France – Historische Land- und Seekarten von Kanada aus dem 17. und 18. Jahrhundert in der Kurfürstlichen Bibliothek zu Dresden*, ein kartographisches Projekt unter der Leitung und Herausgeberschaft von Ingo Kolboom, Heidelberg: Synchron Publishers, 2016 (*Alfred Pletsch*)

James M. Pitsula, *Keeping Canada British: The Ku Klux Klan in 1920s Saskatchewan*, Vancouver : UBC Press, 2014 (*Yves Laberge*)

Michel Lessard, avec la collaboration de Patrick Altman et Pierre Lavoie, *Québec éternelle. Promenade photographique dans l'âme d'un pays*, Montréal : Éditions de l'Homme, 2013 (*Yves Laberge*)

Adam Lajeunesse, *Lock, Stock, and Icebergs: A History of Canada's Arctic Maritime Sovereignty*, Vancouver, Toronto: University of British Columbia Press, 2016 (*Petra Dolata*)

Henri Goulet, *Histoire des pensionnats indiens catholiques au Québec*, Montréal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 2016 (213 S., ISBN 978-2-7606-3229-5; € 30)

Die zwangsweise Assimilation von Indigenen in den ehemaligen Kolonien des britischen *Empire* ist seit Jahren Gegenstand öffentlicher Aufmerksamkeit, und bekanntlich hat sich in Kanada eine eigene Kommission (*truth and reconciliation / vérité et réconciliation*) mit der Aufarbeitung der Geschichte der Internate befasst. Weder in dem Ende 2015 vorgelegten umfangreichen Bericht (http://www.trc.ca) noch in den Medien wurde indes der Frage nachgegangen, warum Québec dabei kaum vorkommt. Zwei Befunde sind offensichtlich: Von den 139 Internaten waren erstens überhaupt nur 6 auf Québecer Gebiet und sie haben zweitens meist nur kurz bestanden, da sie, mit Ausnahme der beiden Internate von Fort George (eines anglikanisch, eines katholisch) aus den 1930er Jahren, erst spät gegründet wurden: die katholischen in Sept-Îles (1952), Amos (1955), Pointe-Bleue (1960) und das anglikanische in La Tuque (1962). Die meisten wurden bereits zu Beginn der 1970er Jahre wieder geschlossen – sie waren da schon zu reinen Wohnheimen für Indigene geworden, die Tagesschulen am Ort besuchten, was für das Hauptanliegen der Orden, die Missionierung, kaum Gelegenheit bot.

Den Gründen für diese so andere Geschichte Québecs im Bezug auf die Internate für Indigene geht Henri Goulet in seiner Untersuchung der vier vom katholischen Oblaten-Orden betriebenen Institutionen nach und fördert dabei Erstaunliches zutage. Er erinnert zunächst an die sehr unterschiedliche Ausgangssituation. So hatte ja die britisch regierte Provinz Québec weder Anteil an der Verdrängung der Indigenen im Rahmen der europäischen Besiedelung der Prärien und des Westens in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts noch an den dort geschlossenen Verträgen zwischen der kanadischen Regierung und den indigenen Nationen. Die Verträge sahen mit der Einrichtung von Reservaten auch Schulen vor; beides wurde dort – unter dem Eindruck der Rebellionen von Métis und Indigenen – zu einer effektiven Kontrolle und radikalen Assimilationspolitik seitens der kanadischen Regierung umgesetzt. Die Internate wurden in ihrem Auftrag von protestantischen, anglikanischen und katholischen Orden betrieben.

In Québec führte erst die späte Einführung der allgemeinen Schulpflicht 1943 zu Überlegungen, die schließlich in die Einrichtung der Internate für indigene Kinder münden sollten. Wie Henri Goulet aus den Archiven der Oblaten belegt, bedurfte es dazu einer intensiven Lobby-Arbeit des Ordens bei der kanadischen Regierung, die eigentlich zu diesem Zeitpunkt bereits statt der Internatsschulen für Indigene, die man zu teuer fand, ihre Integration in Regelschulen favorisierte und die Fördergelder für Internate massiv zurückfuhr. Die katholischen Orden argumentierten für die Einrichtung neuer Internate in Québec, da für die noch halbnomadisch lebenden Nationen ein kontinuierlicher Schulbesuch nur in Internaten möglich sei. Die Oblaten konnten in der Folge auch auf lange Anmeldelisten verweisen, obwohl indigene Eltern, die ihre Kinder im Internat anmeldeten, auf Erziehungsbeihilfen verzichteten, die ihnen zustanden, wenn diese allgemeine Tagesschulen besuchten. Und erstaunlicherweise machte sich der Orden für den Erhalt indigener Kultur und Sprachen stark: Mindestens der Religionsunterricht und die Gebete sollten in den indigenen Muttersprachen erfolgen, wobei es natürlich vor allem um die Missionierung der Zöglinge ging, die den katholischen Glauben anschließend in ihre Familien tragen sollten.

Ob in den Schulen der Oblaten die indigenen Sprachen und Kulturen tatsächlich eine höhere Wertschätzung erfuhren als anderswo, lässt sich aus reinen Archivstudien natürlich nicht belegen. Offensichtlich hatte ihr Besuch aber zur Folge, dass die führenden Persönlichkeiten der späteren indigenen Bewegungen und Interessenver-

bände ganz wesentlich aus solchen Internaten stammten. Wenn eine Assimilation intendiert war, hatte sie zumindest hier paradoxe Folgen. Dass die Oblaten in Québec ohnehin im eigenen, katholischen Sinne wirkten und nicht im Sinne der herrschenden Anglokanadier, kann kaum verwundern. Es finden sich sogar Belege dafür, dass der Orden den Einsatz für den Erhalt der französischen Sprache und des katholischen Glaubens in Québec gegenüber der anglophonen Mehrheit argumentativ mit dem Recht der Indigenen auf die eigene Sprache und Kultur verband.

Durften die indigenen Kinder also untereinander ihre Muttersprache sprechen? Das Buch von Henri Goulet verzichtet auf die Aussagen von Zeitzeugen, die sich dazu äußern könnten, und verweist auf den Bericht der eingangs erwähnten Kommission, die sich hauptsächlich auf sie stützt (ohne sie allerdings quellenkritisch zu beleuchten). Ebensowenig lässt sich aus den Archiven der Oblaten ersehen, welche Dimension die von Henri Goulet erwähnten 1996 bekannt gewordenen Skandale aus dem Internat Pointe-Bleue hatten. Gingen Einschüchterungen, Gewalt und Übergriffe hier über das Maß hinaus, das im 19. Jahrhundert – und ja erschreckenderweise bis in unsere Tage und bis in die Mitte unserer eigenen Gesellschaft – in Institutionen entsteht, wo die allgegenwärtige Gelegenheit, die Hilflosigkeit der Opfer und das Schweigen der Mitwisser solche Taten begünstigen? Gab es auch in den katholischen Internaten im Québec des 20. Jahrhunderts ein über dieses Maß hinausgehende Zustände, die den Begriff „Überlebende" für die ehemaligen Internatsschüler rechtfertigen?

Die Beschränkung auf die Archive der Oblaten lassen Henri Goulet hier keine Aussagen treffen. Zitiert werden aber Schuldbekenntnisse wie die von Douglas Crosby (1991) und Jacques Laliberté (2013), in denen die Oblaten die Indigenen um Vergebung für ihre kanadaweite Beteiligung am „systematischen Imperialismus" bitten.

Das Buch ist ein wichtiger und notwendiger Beitrag zur Aufarbeitung der Geschichte der Internate, der zeigt, dass es im Sinne von „Wahrheit und Versöhnung" wäre, nicht alle Internate über einen Kamm zu scheren, sondern genauer hinzusehen. Es ist ein Anfang, der weitere Untersuchungen anregen kann und sollte. Immerhin wäre zu hoffen, dass einige der Erkenntnisse in die gerade unternommene Reform des Geschichtsunterrichts in Québec einfließen. Die neuen Schulbücher, in denen auch die Internate für Indigene behandelt werden sollen, werden für 2017 erwartet.

Helga Bories-Sawala

Marion Kühn, *Meta-Romane. Die* récriture *als Reflexion des Romans in Québec (1980-2007),* Bielefeld : transcript Verlag, 2011 (396 pp. ; ISBN 978-3-8376-1952-2 ; € 39,80)

La notion de 'r(é)écriture' s'est établie comme un outil d'analyse précieux pour systématiser les mécanismes d'emploi et de réemploi de textes (canoniques) dans l'écriture romanesque en général, mais surtout dans un corpus contemporain postmoderne. Marion Kühn s'inscrit dans cette filière avec une étude intitulée *Méta-Romane. Die* récriture *als Reflexion des Romans in Québec*. La recherche doctorale qui est à la base de ce volume a pour but d'affiner les formes de récriture, afin que celle-ci permette de rendre compte des différentes façons d'intégrer et de penser l'apparition d'autres romans dans le roman québécois contemporain. D'où aussi l'apparition du terme 'méta-romans', dans la mesure où l'intertextualité y est réfléchie et thématisée.

Dans l'introduction, l'auteur définit les axes de sa recherche, qui commence par une présentation de la problématique et une formulation précise des questions de recherche. Pour ce faire, elle démontre à quel point les études littéraires actuelles ont adopté l'intertextualité, notion certes imprécise, lancée par Julia Kristeva, pour approcher l'interdépendance textuelle structurelle qui caractérise l'écriture litté-

raire. Sur ce point, la littérature québécoise contemporaine qualifiée de « postmoderne » ou « baroque » est particulièrement intéressante, puisque l'intertextualité n'y est pas seulement présente mais aussi d'une importance pragmatique et diégétique particulière. Après avoir esquissé ainsi l'enjeu de son travail, Kühn détaille ensuite la structure et les critères de sélection des ouvrages du corpus, dont le choix se base sur le DOLQ, le Dictionnaire des Œuvres Littéraires du Québec. Elle choisit ainsi une dizaine de romans écrits entre 1980 et 2007, qui se caractérisent tous pas une récriture plus ou moins explicite de pré-textes (inter)nationaux connus. La dernière partie de l'introduction est consacrée au positionnement précis du projet par rapport à d'autres ouvrages généraux sur la récriture et surtout par rapport à la recherche faite en littérature québécoise à ce sujet. Bien que le thème apparaisse de façon éparse dans telle étude ou dans tel numéro de revue, Kühn estime à juste titre que son étude est la première à proposer une vision d'ensemble de la problématique sur un corpus sinon exhaustif pour le moins représentatif.

Le deuxième chapitre est consacré à la définition exacte, c'est-à-dire opératoire, de la notion de 'récriture'. Sur ce point, la différence entre la récriture et la réécriture, concept plus large et plus vague, est essentielle. Ainsi Kühn propose trois strates de signification complémentaires : (1) une relation intertextuelle globale avec d'autres textes, (2) un principe créatif d'écriture à partir d'un autre texte et (3) la mise en scène au niveau de la narration d'un autre texte. Si le terme de réécriture renvoie essentiellement aux deux premières significations, c'est surtout la troisième, exclusivement dénotée par la notion de récriture, qui sera utilisée dans l'étude de Kühn. En outre, la théorie des mondes possibles lui ouvre la possibilité de détailler la spécificité de la récriture dans la fiction romanesque.

Le troisième chapitre est un peu décentré par rapport à la problématique principale esquissée, puisque avant d'entamer l'analyse du corpus défini plus haut, l'auteur esquisse d'abord les récritures à l'œuvre dans un corpus d'œuvres plus anciennes. De la sorte, elle veut démontrer *a contrario* comment la récriture à partir de 1980, étudiée dans le quatrième chapitre, est de nature plus réfléchie et atteint le cœur de la dynamique scripturale. L'intertextualité plus large remonte toutefois aux origines de la littérature québécoise, avec les réécritures de Walter Scott ou de Marie Chapdelaine. Kühn consacre également une section de ce chapitre à l'intertexte français, qui a longtemps influencé les auteurs québécois et peut être lu dans le cadre de la tension entre « exotiques » et « régionalistes ». La récriture plus large concerne également des auteurs canoniques comme Hubert Aquin, pratiquant une récriture d'avant-garde, ou encore Jacques Ferron, qui oscille entre des procédés de réécriture plus larges et de récriture plus spécifiques. Finalement, *Le pique-nique sur l'acropole*, roman de Louky Bersianiks, est lu comme un exemple de récriture au féminin. Les différentes analyses esquissent les caractéristiques partielles d'une récriture qui se dessine au fil des décennies et sera pleinement incorporée et thématisé à partir de 1980.

Dans le quatrième et dernier chapitre, qui constitue le cœur de l'étude de Kühn, l'auteur démontre comment les procédés de récriture se développent et peuvent être sous-divisés en trois catégories, dont la première est la récriture externe, c'est-à-dire une lecture virtuelle du pré-texte. Celle-ci apparaît dans *Les fous de Bassan* (A. Hébert), *Vers le Sud* et *La chair du maître* (D. Laferrière), *Voyage à Lointainville* et *Retour à Lointainville* (S. Desrosiers) et *Aliss* (P. Sénécal). La lecture d'un pré-texte peut aussi être inscrite au sein du roman et ce deuxième cas de figure envisagé par l'auteur peut être décelé dans *Copies conformes* (M. LaRue), *Un monde de papier* (F. Désalliers), *L'Ogre de Grand Remous* (R. Lalonde) et *Almazar dans la cité* (A. Gagnon). Finalement, la récriture peut prendre la forme d'une lecture créatrice, qui devient ainsi un processus de création fictionnelle. Cette

dernière possibilité de récriture caractérise la dynamique intertextuelle dans *La source opale* (Y. Vaillancourt), *Quenamican* (R. Magini) et *Louise ou La nouvelle Julie* (M. Gendron).

Comme le montre ce quatrième chapitre, *Meta-Romane* est une étude détaillée, qui n'explore pas seulement le potentiel analytique de la récriture, mais l'applique aussi à un corpus comprenant à la fois des auteurs canoniques et d'autres peu connus. De la sorte, Kühn arrive à établir une typologie qui convainc par sa construction logique et par la rigueur des analyses. Le corpus large prouve d'ailleurs à quel point le procédé est important dans le corpus québécois. En outre, la discussion des sources théoriques et le positionnement de l'étude permettent de clairement identifier l'aspect novateur de l'étude. Même si le troisième chapitre peut sembler décentré par rapport à la problématique centrale, *Meta-Romane* est une étude convaincante qui renouvelle et systématise l'étude de la récriture dans la littérature québécoise.

Alex Demeulenaere

Bruno Roy/Pierre Graveline (dirs.), *Coffret 100 poèmes 100 chansons*. Montréal : Les Éditions Fides, 2014 (225 et 233 pp. ; ISBN 978-2-7621-3852-8; CAD 99,90)

Il revenait à la maison d'édition la plus vénérable du Canada de publier un aussi magnifique coffret consacré aux plus beaux mots issus du Québec; le premier des deux tomes présente les paroles de cent chansons les plus marquantes créées par des artistes de langue française au Québec tandis que le second regroupe cent poèmes parmi les plus représentatifs du Canada français. En fait, ce coffret étoffé reprend deux livres magnifiques parus séparément et réunis logiquement par le même éditeur: *Les 100 plus beaux poèmes du Québec, une anthologie*, de Pierre Graveline, et *Les Cent plus belles chansons du Québec*, du professeur Bruno Roy (1943-2010). La liste des textes retenus serait en soi trop longue à énumérer; mais on en retrouve la liste sur le site Internet des Éditions Fides. Quoi qu'il en soit, on peut affirmer que le choix est incontestable et équilibré dans un tome comme dans l'autre : on y trouve, dans l'ordre chronologique, Émile Nelligan, bien sûr, puisqu'il était un précurseur, mais aussi divers poètes ayant œuvré dans différents domaines comme le sociologue Fernand Dumont, le cinéaste Pierre Perrault, la romancière Suzanne Jacob, le chanteur Gilles Vigneault; ils sont ici inclus et bienvenus dans cette anthologie de poèmes choisis (ou parfois d'extraits de longs poèmes) qui montrent la spécificité et le caractère unique de la culture québécoise. Dans le tome consacré à la chanson, on retrouve des textes classiques de chanteurs immortels comme Robert Charlebois, Georges Dor, Claude Dubois, Jean-Pierre Ferland, Félix Leclerc, Claude Léveillée, Raymond Lévesque et plusieurs autres. Tous ces textes conservent une autonomie et une grâce, même sans leur accompagnement musical. Quelques-uns sont rédigés dans un français châtié, d'autres dans une langue plus populaire. Certains de ces textes sont devenus légendaires, comme « Un Canadien errant » (1842), chanson d'Antoine Gérin-Lajoie (1824-1882) sur l'exil de certains Patriotes après la Rébellion de 1838, ou encore « Quand les hommes vivront d'amour » (1956), chanson pacifiste de Raymond Lévesque reprise par des centaines d'interprètes de par le monde. Toutes ces paroles sont comme une invitation à la musique et à l'écoute. Pour les enseignants, les usages pédagogiques de ces deux livres seraient multiples. Rarement a-t-on vu autant de beaux textes réunis en un seul coffret comportant en outre de très jolies illustrations. Par la justesse de ses choix et ses qualités éditoriales, ces *100 poèmes 100 chansons* constituent un ouvrage majeur dans le domaine des études canadiennes; bien des anthologies publiées en langue anglaise auront négligé plusieurs des œuvres reproduites dans ces deux volumes, et pourtant, on y reconnaît ici les traces les plus tangibles de la culture et de l'identité cana-

diennes à travers des thèmes comme l'amour de la patrie, l'espoir d'un monde meilleur, l'immensité du territoire, la solitude, le froid et la neige. C'est un document essentiel pour les bibliothèques publiques et un cadeau idéal pour les étudiants en études canadiennes. Bien plus, si le lecteur ne voulait lire qu'un seul ouvrage sur la poésie du Canada, il lui serait chaudement recommandé de commencer son exploration par ce beau coffret contenant ces *100 poèmes 100 chansons*.

Yves Laberge

Reingard M. Nischik (ed.), *The Palgrave Handbook of Comparative North American Literature*, New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2014 (417 S., ISBN 978-1-137-41389-5; US$ 54,99)

Das vorliegende, von der Konstanzer Amerikanistin und Kanadistin Reingard Nischik herausgegebene Werk verfolgt die ebenso ambitiöse wie originelle Zielsetzung, die verschiedenen nordamerikanischen Literaturen in vergleichender und transkultureller Perspektive zu betrachten und zu analysieren. Berücksichtigung finden hierbei sowohl die englischsprachigen Literaturen der USA und Kanadas als auch die frankophonen Literaturen Kanadas sowie die Literaturen der First Nations und – zumindest ansatzweise – auch die Literaturen verschiedener sprachlicher und kultureller Minderheiten und Immigrantengruppen, wie der Chicanos in den USA. Die 17 Beiträge des Bandes, die sowohl von deutschen wie von kanadischen und US-amerikanischen WissenschaftlerInnen verfasst wurden, sind fünf großen Sektionen zugeordnet, die die Problematik systematisch und kohärent erschließen: Die erste Sektion („Charting the Territory") mit Beiträgen von R. M. Nischik und Rachel Adams ist einführenden konzeptuellen und theoretischen Fragen wie der Eingrenzung und Definition des nordamerikanischen Raumes gewidmet. Die folgenden Sektionen betreffen die unterschiedlichen Ausprägungen des Multikulturalismus in den USA und Kanada („Perspectives on Multiculturalism"), die Beziehungen zwischen den englisch- und den französischsprachigen Literaturen in Nordamerika („French-Language and English-Language Cultures in North America"), die literarische Konstruktion regionaler und symbolischer Räume („Regions and Symbolic Spaces") und schließlich nationale, transnationale und globale Perspektiven der Analyse der nordamerikanischen Literaturen und Kulturen. An die genannten fünf Sektionen des Bandes schließt sich ein Verzeichnis aller zitierten Werke und ein sehr nützliches Orts-, Namens- und Begriffsregister an.

Der vorliegende Band überzeugt in mehrfacher Hinsicht und beschreitet in unterschiedlichen Perspektiven Neuland in der amerikanistischen und kanadistischen Forschung. Zum einen enthalten vor allem die beiden einleitenden Beiträge von Reingard Nischik und Rachel Adams sehr differenzierte und zugleich sehr anregende begriffliche und theoretische Überlegungen zur kulturellen ‚Konstruktion' (oder ‚Erfindung') des nordamerikanischen Raums im Kontext historischer und aktuell-zeitgenössischer Raumkonzepte wie ‚Nation', ‚Region', ‚Nordamerika', ‚Nuestra America' und ‚Latin America'. Hierbei werden in konziser Weise zentrale methodische Ansätze wie „Continentalist approach", „Hemispheric Studies/Inter-American Studies" und „Border Studies" umrissen, Begriffe wie „continent", „transnational" und „border" problematisiert und historische Entwicklungsschübe, die zu einer Neukonfigurierung geo-politischer Einheiten – wie etwa das 1993 zwischen den USA, Mexiko und Kanada unterzeichnete Freihandelsabkommen NAFTA – untersucht.

Zum anderen legen verschiedene Beiträge bzw. Kapitel des Bandes aufschlussreiche inter- und transkulturelle Beziehungen zwischen den verschiedenen Literaturen Nordamerikas offen.[1] Dies gilt insbesondere

1 Das Werk verfolgt somit eine systematisch andere Perspektive als das eher additiv angelegte Werk *History of Literature in Canada. Eng-*

für die drei Beiträge in der zweiten Sektion des Buches, die den vielfältigen Verflechtungen zwischen den französisch- und englischsprachigen Literaturen Nordamerikas gewidmet ist. Obwohl der Beitrag von Marie Vauthier den Titel „Comparative Canadian/Québécois Literature Studies" trägt, rückt er schwerpunktmäßig die interkulturellen *Beziehungen* zwischen den beiden großen Literaturen Kanadas in den Blick, indem er einerseits die Behandlung dieses Problemfeldes in der Literaturkritik analysiert und andererseits spezifische Phänomene der Verflechtung aufzeigt: so vor allem die Rolle von Übersetzungen; und die Entwicklung der englischsprachigen Literatur Québecs, als deren wichtigste Vertreter der Romancier Mordecai Richler und der in Montréal geborene Sänger, Songwriter und Romanschriftsteller Leonard Cohen gelten können. Jean Morency zeigt in seinem dichten und sehr informativen Beitrag über „Québécois Literature and American Literature" die vielfältigen Einflüsse der US-amerikanischen Literatur auf die Québecer Literatur des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts auf. Diese beruhen u.a. auf den engen sozialen Kontakten, die durch die Emigration von etwa 800.000 Québecern in die Neu-England-Staaten in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts und in den ersten Jahrzehnten des 20. Jahrhunderts entstanden waren, sowie auf dem wachsenden Einfluss der US-amerikanischen Massenkultur als Folge der rasch fortschreitenden Urbanisierung und Industrialisierung Québecs seit den 1920er Jahren. Indem der Beitrag von J. Morency drei signifikante Phasen des Transfers und der Rezeption US-amerikanischer Literatur in Québec unterscheidet – die zweite Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts, die ersten Jahrzehnte des 20. Jahrhunderts und die zeitgenössische Periode seit den 1970er Jahren –, arbeitet er sehr präzise und anschaulich ihre literarischen Formen und die sozio-kulturellen Funktionen ihrer Rezeption und produktiven Aneignung heraus. Herausragende Beispiele für die zunehmende Bedeutung, die der Bezug auf die US-amerikanische Literatur und Kultur bei Québecer Schriftstellern eingenommen hat, sind der franko-kanadische Intellektuelle Edmond de Nevers mit seinem Essayband *L'âme américaine* (1900), die Schriftsteller Robert Choquette, Alfred DesRochers und Jean-Charles Harvey in den 1930er Jahren und in der Gegenwartsliteratur insbesondere die Romanciers Monique LaRue und Jacques Poulin.

Der Beitrag „North America's Francophone Borderlands" von Monika Giacoppe zeigt in interkultureller, aber auch in komparatistischer Perspektive die Unterschiede und Gemeinsamkeiten zwischen den frankophonen Peripherien in Louisiana, in den Neu-England-Staaten und in Acadien (New Brunswick/Nova Scotia) sowie die Beziehungen zwischen ihnen auf. In Bezug auf letztere hätte die zentrale Bedeutung, die die Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste seit Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts in den Neu-England-Staaten und der erstmals 1912 abgehaltene „Congrès de la langue française au Canada" für die Verbindung zwischen den verschiedenen frankophonen Räumen in Nordamerika hatten, Erwähnung finden können.[2] Für die theoretische Grundlegung der umrissenen Problematik der „Francophone Borderlands" wäre der Bezug auf François Parés Konzept der „Littératures de l'exiguïté" (Literaturen der Kleinräumigkeit), das leider keine Berücksichtigung findet, sinnvoll gewesen.[3] Eine anders gelagerte, raumbe-

lish-Canadian and French-Canadian, Hg. Reingard M. Nischik, Rochester, N.Y.: Camden House, 2008.

2 Vgl. Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink, „Politique de la langue, défense du français et variétés linguistiques dans le discours du Premier Congrès de la Langue Française au Canada (Québec 1912)", in: Béatrice Bagola/Hans-J. Niederehe (Hg.), *Français du Canada. Français de France VIII. Actes du huitième Colloque international, Trèves, du 12 au 15 avril 2007,* Tübingen : Max-Niemeyer-Verlag, 2009, S. 257-267.

3 François Paré, *Les littératures de l'exiguïté,* Hearst, Le Nordir, 1992. Vgl. hierzu auch: Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink, „Archipels minoritaires. Littératures de l'exiguïté et résistances culturelles dans les espaces francophones insulaires en Amérique du Nord", in: Ottmar Ette/Gesine

zogene Verflechtungsgeschichte schließlich analysiert Claudia Sadowski-Smith in ihrem Beitrag „The Literatures of the Mexico-US and Canada-US-Borders."

Die dritte grundlegende Perspektive, die der vorliegende Band verfolgt und die programmatisch im Titel durch den Terminus „Comparative" unterstrichen wird, stellt der genuin komparatistische Ansatz dar. Auch wenn man mit Ulrich Schulz-Buschhaus die berechtigte Frage nach der ‚Künstlichkeit' (oder ‚Verzichtbarkeit') oder umgekehrt der „Unvermeidlichkeit" des Vergleichens stellen kann[4], so erweisen sich bei der Lektüre zahlreicher Beiträge des vorliegenden Bandes durchaus die heuristische Fruchtbarkeit und ein unbestreitbarer Erkenntnisgewinn der verfolgten komparatistischen Analyseperspektiven. Dies gilt sowohl für die Beiträge von Sabine Sielke zum Multikulturalismus, von Eva Gruber zum Rassendiskurs und von Mita Banerjee zum Staatsbürgerschaftsrecht und zur Staatsbürgerauffassung in Kanada und den USA (der allerdings sehr stark auf die chinesische Immigration fokussiert ist) als auch für den Vergleich, den Florian Freitag zum Regionalismus in der amerikanischen und anglo- sowie ansatzweise auch frankokanadischen Literatur vornimmt. Christina Kanneberg vergleicht ihrerseits die deutlich unterschiedlichen Formen der Darstellung und Mythisierung des Nordens in Kanada und den USA und Caroline Rosenthal die literarischen Fiktionalisierungsformen des urbanen Raumes in den nordamerikanischen Literaturen. In der letzten Sektion des Bandes schließlich werden der Modernismus (Jutta Ernst), der Postmodernismus (Julia Breitbach), die Ausprägungsformen literarischer Berühmtheit (Lorraine York) und im letzten Kapitel die Darstellungen von Krieg und Terror in den zeitgenössischen nordamerikanischen Literaturen thematisiert, die Georgiana Banita in ihrem Beitrag über „North American and Global Studies: Transnationalism at War" untersucht.

Nicht immer wird allerdings der im Einleitungsbeitrag von R. Nischik postulierte Anspruch, die verschiedenen Literatur- und Kulturräume Nordamerikas systematisch in den Vergleich einzubeziehen, in den Einzelbeiträgen konsequent umgesetzt. In mehreren Beiträgen, etwa zu den indigenen Literaturen in Kanada und den USA, zur „Urban Fiction", zur „Literary Celebrity", zum Modernismus und zum Postmodernismus oder zu den – gerade in Québec kultur- und literarhistorisch in den 1930er und 1940er Jahren sehr wichtigen – Ausprägungsformen des Regionalismus[5] wird die Québecer Literatur leider zu wenig berücksichtigt oder völlig ausgeblendet. Gerade auch der Vergleich des Québecer Modernismus, der u.a. durch Vertreter wie Emile Nelligan, Paul-Émile Borduas (*Refus Global*, 1947), Saint-Denys Garneau und Gaston Miron hervorgetreten ist, und des Québecer Postmodernismus (Simon Harel, Régine Robin, Robert Lepage u.a.) mit den Ausprägungsformen dieser Strömungen in den USA und im englischsprachigen Kanada, erschiene sehr fruchtbar, zumal Québec auch hier – wie in zahlreichen anderen kulturellen Bereichen – völlig andere Entwicklungen aufzeigt als andere Teile Nordamerikas.[6]

Notwendigerweise fallen zudem in einem ebenso ambitiösen wie aufgrund der Vorgaben des Verlags im Umfang be-

Müller (éds.), *Worldwide. Archipels de la mondialisation. Archipiélagos de la globalización. A TransArea Symposium,* Madrid/Frankfurt/Main : Iberoamericana/ Vervuert, 2012, S. 277-292.

4 Ulrich Schulz-Buschhaus, „Die Unvermeidlichkeit der Komparatistik. Zum Verhältnis von einzelsprachlichen Literaturen und Vergleichender Literaturwissenschaft", in: *Arcadia* 14, H. 3, 1979, S. 223-236.

5 Vgl. hierzu u. a.: Maurice Lemire, *Le mouvement régionaliste dans la littérature québécoise (1902-1940),* Québec: Nota Bene (Hors Collection - Lettres), 2007; Aurélien Boivin, Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink, Jacques Walter (Hg.), *Régionalismes littéraires et artistiques comparés. Québec/Canada – Europe,* Nancy : Éditions Universitaires de Lorraine, 2014 (Coll. Questions de Communication, Série Actes 22).

6 Vgl. programmatisch hierzu auch: *Le Québec, une autre Amérique. Dynamismes d'une identité.* Themendossier der Zeitschrift *Cités. Philosophie, Politique, Histoire*, 23, 2005, S. 3-182.

schränkten Handbuch wie dem vorliegenden einige Lücken auf. So bleiben etwa das Werk und die transkulturelle Karriere des Québecer Nationaldichters Louis-Honoré Fréchette (1839-1906) unerwähnt. Fréchette lebte von 1866 bis 1871 in Chicago, gehörte der American Folklore Society an, (mit)begründete nach ihrem Vorbild die *Society for the Study of Folklore in Canada* und wurde durch seinen USA-Aufenthalt nachhaltig in seinem weiteren literarischen Schaffen beeinflusst. Sein populäres Erzählwerk erfuhr durch Übersetzungen in den USA eine breite Rezeption und prägte das Bild Québecs und des frankophonen Kanadas in den Vereinigten Staaten.[7] Generell wird die Rolle von Übersetzungen, vor allem auch von populären Erzählwerken der Québecer Literatur wie *La Noël au Canada* (1900) von Fréchette, *Récits laurentiens* (1919) von Marie-Victorin, *Maria Chapdelaine* (1914/1916) von Louis Hémon und *Chez nous* (1914) von Adjutor Rivard (das unter dem Titel *Our Old Quebec Home* 1924 in englischer Übersetzung in Toronto erschien), denen im Kontext der transkulturellen Verflechtung der anglo- und frankophonen Literaturen Nordamerikas eine wichtige Rolle zukommt, im vorliegenden Band zu wenig berücksichtigt.[8] Unerwähnt bleiben leider auch Werk und Biographie des Québecer Theater- und Filmregisseurs und -autors Robert Lepage, die wie kaum ein anderer Autor und Künstler im zeitgenössischen Nordamerika transkulturell geprägt sind: durch die Tätigkeit Lepages als Theaterregisseur nicht nur in Québec-Ville, sondern auch in Las Vegas, New York, Toronto und Ottawa; sowie durch die transnationalen, multikulturellen und mehrsprachigen Dimensionen seines Werkes, das Sprach- und Kulturgrenzen in gleicher Weise thematisiert wie in Frage zu stellen und radikal aufzubrechen sucht.[9]

Die genannten Punkte sollten weniger als Kritik, sondern als Ergänzungen verstanden werden – und als Anregungen, sie in einer Neuauflage des vorliegenden Werkes ggfls. zu berücksichtigen. Sie schmälern nicht die Verdienste des vorliegenden Werkes und seiner Herausgeberin. Es stellt ein konzises, gut lesbares, sorgfältig lektoriertes und inhaltlich kohärentes Handbuch dar, das zudem in überzeugender Weise theoretische Überlegungen und Konzepte mit der Analyse umfangreicher Textcorpora aus verschiedenen Sprachen und Kulturen verbindet. Es legt hiermit die Grundlagen für die weitere vergleichende sowie inter- und transkulturelle Erforschung und didaktische Vermittlung der Literaturen Nordamerikas.

Hans-Jürgen Lüsebrink

Julia Straub (ed.), *Handbook of Transatlantic North American Studies*, Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016 (619 pp.; ISBN 978-3-11-037637-1; € 199,95)

In English and American Studies, the nation state and its ideologemes have been under attack for a while now. Scholars have critiqued the tacit nationalism underlying questions asked in these fields and suggested to expand the scope of inquiry beyond national borders. Most notably, the New Americanists around Donald Pease and John Carlos Rowe have turned the scholarly gaze on the transnational mobilities of people, things, and ideas. In this context, Transatlantic North American Studies (TNAS) focuses on the relationship between Europe, the former North American colonies and Africa. The Atlantic links these continents in a cultural and economic marketplace characterized by multidirectionality and processes of circulation.

7 Kenneth Landry, „‚Other days, other ways‘: la diffusion de quelques ‚classiques‘ du régionalisme littéraire québécois par des traductions anglaises“, in: Boivin/Lüsebrink/Walter, *Régionalisme littéraire*, S. 203-217.

8 Ibid., S. 210.

9 Sarah Larsen-Vefring, Doktorandin im IRTG Trier-Saarbrücken-Montréal, bereitet zur Inszenierung von *Diversity* im Werk Lepages ihre Dissertation vor, die vor dem Abschluss steht.

Editor Julia Straub's *Handbook of Transatlantic North American Studies* successfully illustrates this exciting new perspective for students of English in BA and MA programs. True to the series goal, it shows how theory translates into scholarly analysis. Straub's introduction carefully maps the territory of TNAS amidst a bustling field of concepts emanating from transnationalism (2-6). It is commendable not only for its special eye for a student readership but also for its consideration of the merits and shortcomings of TNAS. Straub groups the contributions by scholars from English Departments around the Atlantic (with a focus on German speaking countries) into eight parts that include literary movements and key periods, authors, aesthetics (genres, styles debates), media cultures, the Black Atlantic, reception histories, Transatlantic Canadian Studies, and the final part "Widening the Transatlantic Sphere", which addresses Irish Caribbean and Irish-American literatures and the Scottish American Enlightenment. Thematically, this structure circles outward from a narrow definition of literature and traces transatlantic crossings back and forth. TNAS's provenance from American Studies becomes obvious: the majority of articles address US American topics and 19th century literature and culture, with a focus on prose writing opposite singular discussions of cartoons or travel writing. Based on this thematic tilt, students may wonder about TNAS and other genres, media, and text forms, and, on the meta-level, about the meaning of this selection for canonization.

The handbook's outline dedicates a special chapter to "Transatlantic Canadian Studies" that invites reflecting on the role of Canadian Studies in TNAS. In the four articles of this section, Martin Kuester writes about Canadian Studies and Literature; Maria Löschnigg addresses Canadian Short Story Writing; Hanne Birk and Marion Gymnich discuss Multiculturalism in Canadian Fiction; and Nicole Perry relates Canadian Indigenous transatlantic crossings to the *Indianer*-myth in German-speaking countries.

First, a critical look: "Transnational Canadian Studies" excludes other, e.g. Indigenous, French or Ibero-American origin, as the introduction duly acknowledges (7). With a focus on literature in English, the section lags behind TNAS premises. We also have to ask about Canada's role in the "North American" component of TNAS: How does Canadian Studies relate to, first, the academic discourses of the US (which introduced transnationalism), and second, to the English Studies programs in German-speaking countries the series wants to address? How does a Canadian perspective triangulate the transatlantic push and pull between Europe and the US? This might have been illustrated at the expanse of dissolving the Canadian Studies chapter: The Canadian short story might be read with the American one; "Multiculturalism in Canadian Fiction" with "Genres, Styles, Debates"; and the "Indianer"-chapter with reception histories. The weight of Martin Kuester's article lays bare a lacuna for a US point of view: it begs a response from the perspective of American Studies offering an overview of the US exceptionalist narrative.

Second, however, the section offers a valuable go-to reference for students interested in Canadian Studies, thus rendering the field visible in the greater context of TNAS and providing an overview of Canadian literary and cultural studies. In his foundational contribution, Martin Kuester combines a disciplinary overview with recent political interventions (he has an axe to grind with the Harper government's stalled funding). He concludes with case studies on imagology and personal displacement that display the need for a continued transatlantic look at Canada. Maria Löschnigg's article on the short story as well as Hanne Birk and Marion Gymnich's on multiculturalism provide concise insights into the formation and categorization of literary debates. Both pieces appealingly bridge the gap between overview and specific examples. They complicate genre and topic labels and inspire readers to look further into the field. Finally, Nicole Perry offers an inversion of the preva-

lently US-focused transatlantic gaze: she reads together two first nations views of Germany, the Inuk man Abraham Ulrikab's autobiography and contemporary writer Drew Hayden Taylor's play *The Berlin Blues.* Hers is the only contribution to the handbook to consider an Indigenous perspective, and it also emphasizes the temporal dimension of cultural encounter: Ulrikab's perspective predates the invention of the German *Indianer*-image by Karl May; Taylor's text creatively ridicules it. Hence, thinking about transatlantic flows and mobilities also requires addressing the dissemination of knowledge and myth: what was known when and by whom? The section on Canadian Transatlantic Studies in its entirety motivates for more inquiry into Canada's place in a transatlantic sphere of cultural encounter and exchange.

Ultimately, the *Handbook of Transatlantic North American Studies* impressively illustrates the productivity of this recent look beyond national borders. Carefully edited and introduced, it fully achieves its goal and offers a jumping off point to find their own paths into TNAS. Let's hope the discussion continues.

Stefanie Schäfer

Waldemar Zacharasiewicz/Christoph Irmscher, Hg., *Cultural Circulation: Dialogues between Canada and the American South,* Wien: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften 2013 (398 S.; ISBN 978-3-70001-7429-5; € 49)

Der vorliegende Band, das Resultat eines internationalen Kolloquiums, das im September 2010 an Universität Wien stattgefunden hat, vereint 24 Beiträge hochkarätiger Forscherinnen und Forscher aus Kanada, den USA und Europa. Sie widmen sich dem – wie in der Einleitung zu lesen ist – „under-researched topic" (9) des kulturellen Austausches zwischen dem Süden der USA und Kanada, einem Vorhaben, das ob seiner Vielfältigkeit durchaus als ehrgeizig bezeichnet werden kann. Es muss jedoch festgehalten werden: Die hohe Leseerwartung wurde nicht enttäuscht! Einer der wichtigsten Aspekte des Buches ist der methodisch-theoretische Zugang der *Comparative North American Studies* bzw. der *Interamerican Studies*.

Der mit seinen 398 Seiten in jedem Sinne recht gewichtige Band beinhaltet 21 Kapitel, die in vier Abschnitte eingeteilt sind. Umrahmt werden diese Abschnitte nach einer gut lesbaren Einleitung elegant von der exzellenten „Ouverture" der prominenten kanadischen Autorin Aritha van Herk, einer „ficto-critical story" (23), in der die Autorin in der ihr eigenen feinsinnigen Sprache gekonnt auf William Faulkners Kanadier Shreve McCannon in *Absalom! Absalom!* Bezug nimmt, und einem „Envoi" des berühmten kanadischen Literaturkritikers Laurie Ricou, der den Band mit persönlichen Gedanken zu den „Canadian connections to the capital S South" (367) in Form einer Variation des Blues abrundet. Die vier Abschnitte sind der Chronologie der nordamerikanischen Geschichte folgend aufgebaut. Der erste Abschnitt, „Acadians and Canadians", widmet sich in seinen drei Aufsätzen der *Cajun culture* und dem *grand dérangement* französischsprachiger Kanadier durch britische Siedler in Richtung Louisiana, wo die Acadians als Cajuns der Amerikanisierung trotzten. Bernd Ostendorfs ausgezeichnetes Eröffnungskapitel „Et in Acadia Ego" zur Rolle von *Displacement* und Diaspora im kollektiven Gedächtnis der Cajuns kann als ein sehr wichtiger sozial- und kulturgeschichtlicher Beitrag zu den Cajun Studies gesehen werden. Ostendorf analysiert die Repräsentation der Cajun Culture im Film „Belizaire the Cajun" im Kontext des sehr gut erklärten Cajun Revival. Der Text bereitet den Weg für Jutta Ernsts Kapitel „Beyond the Bayou", in dem sie Kate Chopins Louisiana Short Stories auf die Repräsentation der Cajuns hin untersucht und zeigt, dass Chopins Texte als Vorboten für die Theorien des Transnationalismus wie etwa von Randolph S. Bourne gelesen werden können. Wie Aritha van Herk nimmt auch Jacques Pothier in seinem

kurzen Text auf Faulkners Yoknapatawpha County Bezug und stellt diesem gekonnt Antonine Maillets Acadia aus ihrem Roman *Pélagie-la-Charette* gegenüber.

Teil zwei, „Transmigrations", beginnt mit Christoph Irmschers Aufsatz zu John James Audubons *Journal* und seinen ornithologischen Studien, die auf dessen Reise nach Labrador entstanden. Die sieben wunderschönen Farbillustrationen – Vogelbilder, die der Maler und Kupferstecher Robert Havell nach Audubons Zeichnungen anfertigt – veranschaulichen dessen Arbeit sowie den Fokus des Artikels, der auch in der Einleitung eigentlich noch zum ersten Teil des Buches gezählt werden sollte, zumal Teil zwei nun mit einem neuen thematischen Cluster weitergeführt wird, dessen vier Essays sich einer Diskussion der Fluchtbewegungen amerikanischer SklavInnen in Richtung Norden widmen. Während Richard Ellis sich Kanada als fetischistischem Symbol der Freiheit in Harriet Beecher Stowes *Uncle Tom's Cabin* widmet und seine beeindruckende Analyse anhand ausführlicher Textzitate belegt, widmet sich Jutta Zimmermann in „From Roots to Routes" der *Underground Railroad* gekonnt aus der Perspektive der *Black Atlantic Studies*. Sie liest Lawrence Hills *The Book of Negroes* gewissermaßen als Fortführung von Alex Haleys gut 30 Jahre älterem Text *Roots,* wobei sie beide Werke kontextualisiert und die afrikanische Diaspora aus komparatistischer Sicht beleuchtet. Hans Baks Essay beschäftigt sich in seinem Triptychon der Repräsentationen der Flucht nach Kanada, der imaginierten Utopie, ebenfalls mit Lawrence Hills Text, kontrastiert ihn jedoch mit anderen kulturellen Repräsentationen der Diaspora wie Ishmael Reeds postmodern-ironischem Werk *Flight to Canada* und Jacob Lawrences modernistischen Bildern aus *Harriet and the Promised Land*. Leider verzichtet dieser Text, anders als C. Irmschers Essay, auf Illustrationen (was vermutlich auf urheberrechtliche Probleme zurückzuführen ist). Nichtsdestotrotz ist auch dieser gut strukturierte Artikel absolut lesenswert. Im Zentrum des ebenso bemerkenswerten Aufsatzes „The Bridge from Mississippi's Freedom Summer to Canada" von Sharon Monteith steht die Analyse von Pearl Cleages Zweiakter *Bourbon at the Border,* in dem Kanada jedoch als unerreichbarer Garten Edens präsentiert wird. Anders als in der Einleitung zum Sammelband angekündigt schließt David Williams zitatereicher und etwas sperriger Artikel „Metropolis and Hinterland: Faulkner and MacLeod" den zweiten Teil des Buches ab und kann mit seiner Analyse von Zentrum und Peripherie in Faulkners *The Sound and the Fury* und Alistair MacLeods *No Great Mischief* als Brückenschlag zum dritten thematischen Cluster, dem der Intertextualität in *Cultural Circulation*, überzeugen.

„Rewritings and Influences" beginnt mit einer Analyse intertextueller Bezüge von Rosella Mamoli Zorzi in ihrem sehr kurzen Artikel „Re-writing the Grimms: Eudora Welty and Margaret Atwood". Der Artikel hätte von einer stärkeren Kontextualisierung im Rahmen der *Cultural Circulation* profitiert, ist doch die Analyse der Grimm'schen Bezüge in *The Robber Bridegroom* und *The Robber Bride* anderswo bereits ausreichend dokumentiert. Alice Munro und Eudora Welty werden auch im kurzen Artikel von Pearl Amelia McHaney besprochen, die den Süden aus Weltys Settings mit dem Ontario von Munros Texten vergleicht. Auch Charles Reagan Wilson widmet sich in seinem Beitrag Munros Darstellungen Kanadas, in diesem Fall speziell von Religiosität, unter Bezugnahme auf den amerikanischen Süden, bevor Danièle Pitavy-Souques sich dem Unheimlichen in den Werken von Eudora Welty, Margaret Atwood, Kate Chopin und Isabella Valancy Crawford auf vergleichende Weise auf die Spur macht. Als einziger Autor im Sammelband wagt sich dann Ian McRae von Kanada aus nach Lateinamerika und stellt auf diese Weise in seinem ausführlichen und gut recherchierten Text „An Open Field of Possibility" einen etwas weiter gefassten interamerikanischen Bezug her. Die „truly hemispheric dimension" (16), die dem Artikel in der Einleitung zugeschrieben

wird, verleiht McRae dem Sammelband durch seine höchst interessante Bearbeitung der Fragestellung, ob es denn so etwas wie eine „inter-American literature" (231) überhaupt gäbe, und, wenn ja, was diese denn ausmachen würde. Er zeigt dies anhand einer überzeugenden Analyse der intertextuellen Bezüge in Werken von u.a. Jack Hodgins, Euclides da Cunha, William Faulkner und Gabriel García Márquez, in denen er eine „paradoxical continuity" (250) entdeckt, wodurch er zum Schluss kommt, dass die Frage nach einer gemeinsamen Amerikanizität mit ja beantwortet werden soll. William V. Davis' Beitrag „Crisscrossing the Continent" beschließt Teil III mit einer aufschlussreichen vergleichenden Diskussion von Charles Olson, der *Black Mountain Group* und deren Einfluss auf die kanadische *Tish Group* und lässt dadurch auch das Genre der Dichtung im Band nicht zu kurz kommen.

Teil IV, „Circulating Genres and the Emergence of a Transcontinental Postmodern", wird von Reingard Nischiks scharfem komparatistischen Blick auf die Anfänge der „Modernist Short Story" eröffnet, in dem sie einmal mehr ihre Expertise in diesem Bereich unter Beweis stellt. Dieter Meindls Beitrag nähert sich dem Vergleich des „Canadian/American South" in der Kurzgeschichte an, in dem er ein *close reading* von Texten dreier AutorInnen, Flannery O'Connor, Jack Hodgins und Leon Rooke, vornimmt und den Einfluss der Literatur des Amerikanischen Südens auf den kanadischen (Post)modernismus konstatiert, dessen Stimme, so sein wichtiges Abschlussargument, im kulturellen Dialog von Süd und Nord immer stärker hörbar wird.

Der rote Faden der durchdachten Komposition dieses Sammelbandes ist immer gut sichtbar; auch hier gibt es wieder ein Element, das den Faden in den nächsten Artikel weiterspinnt: Es ist die Neuverortung Leon Rookes, des kanadischen Schriftstellers aus North Carolina, dessen Stimme nun im Zentrum von Thomas L. McHaneys etwas kürzerem Beitrag „Voice Not Place" steht. Marcel Arbeit widmet sich in „I, Canadian" ebenfalls dem Phänomen der Süd-Nord-Migration und der Repräsentation von daraus resultierenden Ambivalenzen, und zwar in Bezug auf das Werk Elizabeth Spencers, speziell *The Night Travellers*. Grenzüberschreitungen sind auch das Thema in Nahem Yousafs Interpretation von Michael Ondaatjes *Coming Through Slaughter,* dessen Protagonist, Jazzmusiker Charles „Buddy" Bolden aus New Orleans, auch der kanadische Autor Stefan Berg in seiner *Graphic Novel* präsentiert. Yousaf gelingt es in seinem Beitrag überzeugend darzulegen, dass Ondaatjes Narrativ prägend für sämtliche weitere Darstellungen des Musikers sind. Last, but by no means least, ist Caroline Rosenthals Aufsatz „Culinary Transgressions" ein Gustostück des Bandes. Anhand der Texte *Fried Green Tomatoes at the Whistle Stop Café* von Fanny Flagg und *The Cure for Death by Lightning* von Gail Anderson-Dargatz vergleicht Rosenthal die Darstellung und Funktion von *food practices* für die Konstruktion weiblicher Identitäten und *Gender codes* in Alabama bzw. British Columbia. Während die Zubereitung von Essen in beiden Texten eine zentrale Rolle für die Aushandlung alternativer Räume für Frauen spielt, ist die Art und Weise, wie dies repräsentiert ist, sehr unterschiedlich. Und auch hier setzt sich der thematische rote Faden wieder fort, und zwar nicht nur durch die Analyse weiterer, narrativer, Grenzüberschreitungen, sondern auch durch Rosenthals Bezugnahme auf Laurie Ricou, dessen „Envoi" wenige Seiten später die spannende, abwechslungsreiche und informative Lesereise beendet.

Fazit: Das uneingeschränkt positive Resümee wird auch durch die Tatsache nicht getrübt, dass die der hohen inhaltlichen Qualität angemessene Aufmerksamkeit nicht an den Tag gelegt wurde, was das Korrektorat des Buches, vor allem der bibliographischen Angaben betrifft. Dies ist jedoch weniger den AutorInnen als dem Verlag anzulasten. Die Artikel sind allesamt theoretisch und methodisch mit großer Sorgfalt verfasst, und die ansehnliche Bandbreite an Themen und Zugängen

verweist auf die Wichtigkeit, in diesen Bereichen weiter zu arbeiten. Der absolut lesenswerte Band stellt ohne Zweifel einen wertvollen Beitrag im Bereich der Interamerikanischen Studien dar.

Ulla Kriebernegg

Waldemar Zacharasiewicz/Fritz Peter Kirsch, *Immigration and Integration in North America: Canadian and Austrian Perspectives*, Göttingen: V&R unipress, 2014 (167 S., ISBN 978-3-8471-0272-4; € 35)

In Anbetracht der anhaltenden medialen Aktualität der Migrationsthematik in Europa und insbesondere im deutschsprachigen Raum stellt der vorliegende Sammelband von Waldemar Zacharasiewicz und Fritz Peter Kirsch einen konstruktiven Beitrag zu den emotionsgeladenen Debatten, die rund um dieses Thema geführt werden. Die neun Beiträge der Publikation verfolgen das Ziel, unterschiedliche Facetten von Immigration und Integration am Beispiel Nordamerikas aus kanadischer und österreichischer Perspektive unter die Lupe zu nehmen. Der Band beinhaltet sechs englischsprachige und drei deutschsprachige Artikel von renommierten Kanadisten und Kanadistinnen aus Kanada, Deutschland und Österreich aus dem Feld der anglo- und frankokanadischen Literaturwissenschaft wie aus den Geschichtswissenschaften. Die Beiträge beschäftigen sich einerseits mit literarischen Darstellungen von individuellen und kollektiven Migrationserfahrungen aus Anglo- und Frankokanada und gehen andererseits der Frage nach, ob die nordamerikanischen Immigrationsmodelle für Länder wie Österreich beispielgebend sein könnten.

David Staines beginnt mit einem historischen Abriss über die Multikulturalismus-Politik in Kanada und weist darauf hin, dass sich die multikulturelle Dimension der kanadischen Gesellschaft in der anglophonen Erzählliteratur seit Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts als eine „curious mingling of the native-born and the naturalized voices" (17) widerspiegelt. Unter Bezug auf literarische Einzelbeispiele beschreibt er, wie sich Kanadas Selbstwahrnehmung von einer Kolonie, deren Identität ausschließlich über das andere (vornehmlich GB und USA) definiert wurde, ab Mitte des 20. Jahrhunderts zu einer eigenständigen Entität entwickelte, die nach und nach Stimmen ethnischer Gruppen in sich aufnahm, und sich heute als globales Dorf (*global village*) versteht, in dem die Kategorien national und international obsolet geworden sind. Waldemar Zacharasiewicz führt anhand von autobiographischen Texten, sogenannten ‚life writings', vor, dass die kollektive Erfahrung europäischer ImmigrantInnen in Kanada von Vorurteilen, schlechten Arbeitsbedingungen und spärlichen Aufstiegschancen sowie einem Mangel an Respekt in der Aufnahmegesellschaft geprägt ist. Daneben beobachtet er seit der Einführung der Multikulturalismus-Politik einen Anstieg an autoethnographischen Erzählungen, der daher rühre, dass sich MigrationsautorInnen seither stärker zu ihrem kulturellen Erbe bekennen und gleichzeitig ihr Kanadischsein zelebrieren können, ohne dafür diskriminiert zu werden. Ausgehend von der Annahme, dass Literatur Aufschluss darüber gibt, wie kulturelle Werte und Normen innerhalb von Gesellschaften reflektiert werden, analysiert Martin Löschnigg die literarischen Reaktionen auf Migrationserfahrungen in vier anglokanadischen Texten. Dabei zeigt er, dass diese wiederholt Ambivalenzen innerhalb der aufnehmenden und der von ihr aufgenommenen Kulturen thematisieren, die auf jeweils unterschiedliche soziokulturelle und linguistische Referenzsysteme zurückzuführen sind. Carmen Birkle beschreibt, wie die anglo-karibische Literatur in den vergangenen Jahrzehnten weg von binären Beschreibungen hin zu offeneren multi-ethnischen Diskursen steuert, in denen sich die ProtagonistInnen nicht mehr über ethnische und kulturelle Etikette wie Hautfarbe oder Speisen definieren, sondern durch Transkulturationsprozesse neue Identitäten entwickeln. Ursula Mathis-Moser erläutert die teils problemati-

schen, teils aber auch positiven Erfahrungen von Immigration und Integration anhand eines Streifzuges durch das künstlerische Schaffen des aus Haiti stammenden Autors Dany Laferrière. Vor dem Hintergrund der kanadischen Immigrationspolitik unternimmt Andrea Strutz eine detaillierte Darstellung der Emigrationsbewegungen und -gründe sowie der ethnischen Zusammensetzung der SiedlerInnen aus den (ehemaligen) österreichischen Gebieten nach Kanada zwischen 1876 und 1962. Anhand zahlreicher Beispiele aus der Literatur zeigt Zacharasiewicz in seinem zweiten Beitrag, dass mindestens bis zur Einführung der Multikulturalismus-Politik in Kanada ImmigrantInnen, trotz unterschiedlicher ideologischer Eckpfeiler (*Canadian mosaic* und *garrison mentality* in Kanada; *melting pot* und *frontier*-Mythos in den USA), innerhalb der kanadischen und US-amerikanischen Aufnahmegesellschaft in ganz ähnlicher Weise stereotypisiert und diskriminiert wurden. Dirk Hoerder vergleicht die Auswirkungen von Rahmenbedingungen für MigrantInnen in französischen und kanadischen Lebenszeugnissen und führt vor, dass gerade Kanada für Österreich, das im 20. Jahrhundert eine Politik der Abschottung und Enklavenbildung betrieb, als Beispiel dafür dienen kann, wie das „alltagsweltlich praktizierte multikulturelle Leben und die Politik multikulturellen Zusammenlebens" (145) erfolgreich umgesetzt werden können. Der abschließende Beitrag des zweiten Herausgebers, Fritz Peter Kirsch, schließt thematisch an den vorherigen an, indem er einige Anknüpfungspunkte und Potentiale anführt, die der Taylor-Bouchard-Bericht aus dem Jahr 2008 über die Migrations- und Integrationspolitik Quebecs, die sich dem Interkulturalismus verschreibt, für Österreich bereithalten könnte.

Insgesamt zeigen die Beiträge, dass Kanadas Multikulturalismus-Politik nicht alle gesellschaftlichen Probleme zu beseitigen vermochte, und relativieren somit die Vorstellung von Kanada als strahlendes Vorbild für eine durch und durch gelungene Migrationspolitik. Die Beiträge machen allerdings auch sichtbar, dass sich das Miteinander seit der Einführung der multikulturellen Politik verbessert hat und Kanada somit zumindest als Inspirationsquelle für andere Länder dienen kann.

Der Sammelband erschien in der Reihe *Migrations- und Integrationsforschung – Multidisziplinäre Perspektiven,* herausgegeben von Heinz Fassmann, Richard Potz und Hilde Weiss, und eignet sich für alle ForscherInnen aus den Literatur-, Kultur- und Geschichts- wie auch Politikwissenschaften, die sich mit Migrationsphänomenen beschäftigen und ihr Wissen um kanadische Immigrations- und Integrationspolitik sowie deren literarische Repräsentationen erweitern möchten.

Yvonne Völkl

Christian Weyers, *Die Vermessung der Nouvelle-France – Historische Land- und Seekarten von Kanada aus dem 17. und 18. Jahrhundert in der Kurfürstlichen Bibliothek zu Dresden*, ein kartographisches Projekt unter der Leitung und Herausgeberschaft von Ingo Kolboom, Heidelberg: Synchron Publishers, 2016 (324 S., ISBN 978-3-939381-66-2; € 34,90)

Liest man sorgfältig zwischen den Zeilen des Vorworts von Ingo Kolboom, so mag man am Ende aufatmen, dass man dieses Buch in der Hand hält. Offensichtlich war es nicht ganz einfach, die (möglicherweise letzte) Publikation des Centrums für interdisziplinäre franco-kanadische und franco-amerikanische Forschungen/Québec-Sachsen (CIFRAQS) der TU Dresden erfolgreich abzuschließen, verursacht durch eine Reihe personeller Veränderungen und materieller Hürden, denen sich der Herausgeber der Reihe stellen musste. Dass er diese Hürden unter Aufbietung aller Kräfte und Bereitstellung auch privater Mittel gemeistert hat, dazu muss man dem verehrten Kollegen aufrichtigen Dank sagen.

Die Materie dieses Bandes ist faszinierend und von allerhöchstem Interesse, und dies nicht nur für Kanada-interessierte Historiker oder Geographen. Es handelt sich um ein Zeitgemälde vor dem Hintergrund kartographischer Darstellungen, das gleichermaßen die zunehmende geographische Entschleierung des neuen Kontinents als auch die komplexen territorialgeschichtlichen Zusammenhänge verständlicher macht. Dass die einschlägigen Bestände an historischen Land- und Seekarten von Kanada in der Kurfürstlichen Bibliothek zu Dresden in so reichhaltigem Umfang erhalten sind und nunmehr im Rahmen des von Kolboom geleiteten Kartenprojekts *Die Vermessung der Nouvelle-France* einer systematischen Auswertung unterzogen wurden, kann als Glücksfall für die kanadistische Forschung verstanden werden.

Kolboom hat es sich nicht nehmen lassen, zunächst in einem einleitenden Kapitel Grundfragen der kartographischen Darstellung zu reflektieren. Unter der Überschrift „Seefahrer, Geometer und Voyageurs. Die Nouvelle-France als kartographisches Abenteuer" weist er auf den bahnbrechenden Wandel in der Kartographie der beginnenden Neuzeit hin, die einen Abschied von den unter augustinischem Einfluss entstandenen mystifizierenden Weltkarten des Mittelalters bedeutet, unter gleichzeitiger Hinwendung zu empirisch basierten Darstellungen einzelner Länder und Regionen, natürlich auch der Welt, soweit sie zum damaligen Zeitpunkt bekannt war.

Folgt man Kolbooms Gedankengang, so wird dieser geistesgeschichtliche Umbruch etwa an der Weltkarte deutlich, die 1477 von dem florentiner Kosmographen Paolo dal Pozzo Toscanelli (1397–1482) erstellt wurde. Diese Plattkarte mit quadratischem Linienmuster war zwar sehr fehlerhaft hinsichtlich der Entfernungsangaben zwischen Asien und Europa, gleichwohl war sie möglicherweise der Grund dafür, dass die Neue Welt durch Kolumbus (dem diese Karte als Orientierung diente) überhaupt entdeckt wurde. Toscanelli schrieb als Kommentar: „Wundert Euch nicht, dass ich die Gegend, wo man die Gewürze herholt, westlich nenne, während man sie doch gewöhnlich als im Osten liegend bezeichnet. Denn man kann sie erreichen, indem man stetig nach Westen segelt. Deshalb zeigen die in der Länge der Karte eingetragenen Linien die Entfernungen von Osten nach Westen."

Insofern hat Kolboom nicht unrecht, wenn er von einem Zufallsfund auf der Suche nach Cathay (= China) spricht. Toscanelli kannte die genaue Ausdehnung Asiens nicht. Er zeichnete es in seiner Karte zu lang und der Atlantik wurde dadurch in seiner Karte viel zu schmal. Hätte Kolumbus die richtige Entfernung zwischen Europa und Asien gekannt, hätte er die Reise vielleicht nie unternommen. Dass zwischen diesen beiden Kontinenten noch ein weiterer liegt, ahnte zu dieser Zeit niemand. Etwas überspitzt kann man sagen, dass die Entdeckung Amerikas durch Kolumbus einem schweren Rechenfehler von Toscanelli zu verdanken ist.

Es handelt sich bei Toscanellis Karte nicht eigentlich um eine Weltkarte, sondern um eine Karte des Atlantischen Ozeans mit seinen Inseln. Entscheidend ist, dass ihr wieder die Vorstellung von einer Kugelform der Erde unterliegt, die wenige Jahre später durch Martin Behaims „Erdapfel" (1492) ihre kartographische Bestätigung findet. Im Osten sind (recht genau!) die Küsten Portugals und Westafrikas, im Westen der ostasiatische Raum mit Cathay, Indien sowie den südostasiatischen Inseln und Cipangu (= Japan) eingezeichnet. Die Meridiane stellen Entfernungslinien dar. Dass wenige Jahre später Martin Waldseemüller, neben Sebastian Münster der wichtigste Vertreter der Straßburger Kosmographenschule, in seiner Weltkarte (1507) auf dem von Kolumbus entdeckten Landstrich den Namen „America" erstmalig vermerkt und dass es sich dabei um einen eigenen, von Wasser umgebenen Erdteil handelt, ist zu Recht in der Wissenschaft als kartographische Sensation gewertet worden – schließlich wurde der Pazifische Ozean erst einige Jahre später durch den Portugiesen Magellan entdeckt.

Nur wenige Jahre nach dessen erster Umsegelung Südamerikas (1520) begann die systematische Erkundung des nordamerikanischen Kontinents (die Erkundungsfahrt des Venezianers Giovanni Caboto aus dem Jahre 1497 sei hier nicht unterschlagen) durch den florentinischen Seefahrer Giovanni da Verrazzano, der von Franz I. mit der Erkundung des Küstenstreifens zwischen Florida und Neufundland beauftragt worden war. Jacques Cartier folgte mit drei Erkundungsfahrten zwischen 1534 und 1542, wobei er in seinen Reiseberichten erstmals die „Gewässer, Gestade, Territorien und Einwohner jenes Landes beschrieb, das er nach dem irokesischen Wort für ‚Dorf' oder ‚Siedlung' auf den Namen ‚Canada' taufte." Von nachhaltiger Bedeutung ist dabei, dass durch diese beiden Seefahrer Begriffe wie „Nova Franza" (und Abwandlungen), „Acadia" und „Canada" fortan in allen Karten beibehalten wurden und dass durch diese toponymische Festlegung eine quasi-legitimatorische Anerkennung dieser Räume als „Franzosenland" dokumentiert wurde, die Frankreich in diesen Bereichen eine unleugbare Priorität und ältere Ansprüche als England einräumte, wie Kolboom (13) unter Berufung auf H. Schreiber (*Die Neue Welt. Die Geschichte der Entdeckung Amerikas*, Gernsbach 1991) feststellt.

Die systematische Erkundung und Landnahme von La Nouvelle-France verbindet sich indessen in erster Linie mit dem Namen Samuel de Champlains zu Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts, der (nach dem Misserfolg von Port Royal, 1605) mit der Gründung von Québec (1608) ein dauerhaftes Verwaltungszentrum Neufrankreichs schuf, eines Gebiets, das sich auf dem Höhepunkt seiner geographischen Ausdehnung bis zur Mündung des Mississippi erstreckte. Seine 1612 erstellte *Carte Geographiqve de la Novvelle Franse Faictte par le Sievr de Champlain Saint Tongois Cappitaine ordinaire povr le Roy en la Marine* gilt als eines der eindrucksvollsten Kartenwerke der Frühneuzeit, das seinen Autor nicht nur als produktiven Kartographen ausweist, sondern gleichzeitig in beispielhafter Weise die kartographischen Fortschritte der Zeit dokumentiert.

Diese waren gewaltig, und sie waren nicht nur in Frankreich bahnbrechend. Sie werden gerne unter dem Überbegriff der Kopernikanischen Wende (Ablösung des geozentrischen Weltbildes eines Ptolemäus durch das heliozentrische eines Nikolaus Kopernikus) zusammengefasst. Dies ist gleichbedeutend mit dem Beginn eines neuen Denkens, das in den verschiedenen Wissenschaftsdisziplinen seinen Niederschlag findet. Von grundlegender Bedeutung ist die nunmehr unumstößliche Erkenntnis von der Kugelvorstellung der Erde, die aufgrund der Seefahrt und der Entdeckungsreisen empirisch bewiesen war. Auf der Grundlage der Vermessungen und in Verbindung mit Fortschritten in der Projektionslehre (mathematische Geographie) wird das 16/17. Jahrhundert zum „Jahrhundert der Atlanten", wobei die Idee zur Herstellung eines Weltatlas erstmals von keinem geringeren als Gerhard Kremer alias Mercator bereits Ende des 15. Jahrhundert entwickelt worden war.

Natürlich kann man die Führungsposition der Holländer in der Kartenkunst des 17. Jahrhunderts nicht in Frage stellen, man denke an das *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* eines Abraham Ortelius aus dem Jahre 1570 (70 Karten auf 53 Blättern) oder das ab 1634 entstehende Atlaswerk *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, sive Atlas Novus* eines Willem Janszoon Blaeu. In Fortführung des Mercator-Atlas von 1578 veröffentlichten Henricus Hondius und Jan Jansson mehrere Atlaswerke, weitere Namen wären hier zu nennen. Aber auch Frankreich gehört zu den Pioniernationen der Kartographie des 17. Jahrhunderts, wie Kolboom (23) unter Verweis auf Christine Marie Petto, (*When France was King of Cartographie …*, Lanham [Maryland] 2007) hervorhebt. Zu den Pionieren zählte hier Nicolas Sanson mit seinem 1648 erschienenen Atlas *Cartes Générales de Toutes les Parties du Monde* (82 Karten), und natürlich müssen in diesem Zusammenhang die *Ephemeriden* eines Cassini genannt werden, ein 1666 erstmals auf der

Grundlage der Triangulation erstelltes Kartenwerk, das wegweisend für die weitere Geschichte der Kartographie wurde, und dies nicht nur in Frankreich. Diese Entwicklung strahlte auch auf La Nouvelle-France aus, wo, wenngleich rd. 100 Jahre später, einer der bemerkenswertesten Atlanten der damaligen Zeit entstand, der 1780 erschienene *Atlas de toutes les parties connues du globe terrestre, dressé Pour l'Histoire Philosophique & Politique des Établissements & du Commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes* des königlichen Kartographen Rigobert Bonne (1727–1795) mit 50 Karten und zahlreichen Tabellen. „Dank einer nach ihm benannten neuen mathematischen Kartenprojektion (1752) und der Entwicklung schiffstauglicher Chronometer („horloges marines") seit 1761, die eine präzise Längsberechnung und damit die Eintragung der gesamten gekrümmten Erdoberfläche in ein geometrisches Netz, ‚angereichert mit leeren Meeren und unerforschten Regionen in rechtwinkligen Kästen', erlaubten, dürfte sich dieser Atlas auf dem neuesten Stand der damaligen Kartographie befunden haben." (Kolboom, 26).

Der einleitende Beitrag von Kolboom bietet eine außerordentliche Fülle an Fakten und Querverweisen, die das Verständnis um die territorialgeschichtlichen Ränkespiele und den Werdegang von La Nouvelle-France auf der Grundlage zeitgenössischer kartographischer Darstellungen wesentlich vertieft. Er bereitet damit den Boden für die weiteren Kapitel des Bandes, die von Christian Weyers verfasst wurden. In einem ersten Beitrag widmet sich Weyers den „Historischen Land- und Seekarten von Kanada aus dem 17. und 18. Jahrhundert in der Kurfürstlichen Bibliothek zu Dresden", wobei er den narrativen Faden der Einleitung fortsetzt.

Einleitend skizziert Weyers zunächst die Entwicklung der Kartenbestände der Sächsischen Landesbibliothek – Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden (SLUB), deren Ursprünge bis zum Gründungsdatum der wissenschaftlichen Bibliothek des Kurfürsten August im Jahre 1556 zurückreichen und die in der Folgezeit zu einer der bedeutendsten Kartensammlungen im deutschsprachigen Raum anwuchs. Von den heute vorhandenen rd. 180.000 Einzelkarten stammen nahezu 20.000 aus der Zeit von den Anfängen der Kartographie bis zum Jahr 1800, daneben sind aus dem historischen Bestand 16 Globen und 2.321 Atlanten bemerkenswert, zumal sich darunter auch Frühwerke befinden wie z. B. der *Atlante maritimo* eines Diogo Homen aus dem Jahr 1568, außerdem neun Ptolemäus-Holzschnitt-Frühausgaben aus dem späten 15./frühen 16. Jahrhundert. Dass dies besondere Juwele des Bestandes sind, bedarf keiner besonderen Hervorhebung, war doch die Wiederentdeckung des Ptolemäus durch die Übersetzung der *Geographiké Hyphégesis* bzw. *Cosmographia* ins Lateinische zu Beginn des 15. Jahrhunderts eine der entscheidenden geistigen Wendemarken der Frührenaissance. Die Erfindung des Buchdrucks durch Johannes Gutenberg (1455) trug maßgeblich zur raschen Verbreitung des „wiederentdeckten" antiken Wissens bei. 1475 erscheint in Vicenza erstmals eine gedruckte Ptolemäus-Ausgabe in lateinischer Sprache (noch ohne Karten), danach 1477 eine in Bologna einschl. 26 Karten (*tabulae novae*, die in späteren Ausgaben nach 1508 auch Amerika berücksichtigen), eine weitere 1482 in Ulm (in der SLUB vorhanden), danach bis 1599 weitere 31 gedruckte Ausgaben (vgl. auch 51).

Aus dem umfangreichen Altkartenbestand des 17. und 18. Jahrhundert hat Weyers 151 Land- und Seekarten untersucht, „die den Unterlauf des St. Lorenz-Stroms einschließlich des St. Lorenz-Golfs und der Belle Isle-Straße, anliegende Landpartien und Städte abbilden …" (46). Geradezu akribisch analysiert er diese Karten zunächst unter kartographiehistorischen Gesichtspunkten. So verweist er mehrfach auf das kartographische Festhalten mythisch-literarischer Traditionen, etwa bei den Inselphantomen auf Karten des Nordatlantiks, die sich über Jahrhunderte hinweg erhalten haben und die teilweise in topo-

nymischen Bezeichnungen bis heute fortleben.

In jeweils eigenen Kapiteln widmet sich Weyers den unterschiedlichen Kartentypen und Projektionsverfahren, die im betrachteten Zeitraum grundlegende Veränderungen erfahren. Dabei tritt der Bezug zum eigentlichen Thema manchmal etwas in den Hintergrund, vielmehr liest sich der Text stellenweise wie der eines kartographischen Lehrbuchs. Das gilt in noch stärkerem Maße für die Unterkapitel zu den Themen „Nullmeridian und Längengradzählung", „Maßstab und Reduktion" und „Herstellungstechniken", die eine kartographisch nicht vorgebildete Leserschaft möglicherweise leicht zum Überblättern veranlassen könnten.

Anders das Kapitel „Kartographie und Choronymie", in dem der konkrete Kanada-Bezug wieder deutlicher wird. Hier ist z. B. interessant, wie sich im Laufe der Zeit die Bezeichnungen und Inhalte geändert haben. Gegen Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts wurden etwa die Choronyme „Nova Francia" und „Canada" noch eindeutig begrifflich getrennt, in Karten des 17. Jahrhunderts treten sie meistens gleichbedeutend auf. Auch die Platzierung der jeweiligen Schriftzüge ändert sich im Laufe der Zeit, was Rückschlüsse auf die geopolitischen Veränderungen ebenso zulässt wie auf die subjektive Einschätzungen der Kartographen oder der Kartenhersteller. Am Beispiel der Bezeichnung „Canada" schlussfolgert Weyers: „Die Entwicklung des Choronyms Canada lässt sich somit auf den Karten des Untersuchungszeitraums deutlich ablesen. Es handelt sich zunächst um eine regionale, auch an mehreren Stellen auftretende Landschaftsbezeichnung, deren Referenzbereich im Laufe der Zeit immer weiter expandierte und den Staatsnamen Nova Francia allmählich ganz ersetzte. Dieser war (…) auf frühen Dokumenten in verschiedenen Varianten als Legende für den gesamten nordamerikanischen Kontinent bis zur mexikanischen Grenze erschienen, hatte sich also seinerseits von einem überregionalen, unsicher definierten Sammelbegriff (…) zu einem konkreten Staatsnamen entwickelt." (62). Auch für die Choronyme „Québec", „New Britain", „Acadie" u.a. geht Weyers dieser Frage nach, mit teilweise überraschenden Erkenntnissen.

Das Kapitel „Künstlerische Ausgestaltung der pictura" liefert weitere interessante Ergebnisse. Wissen muss man dazu, dass die Karten des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts durchaus als individuelle Werke dekorativer Kunst zu verstehen sind. Karten und Globen waren Ausdruck zeremonieller Prachtentfaltung des Fürstenhofs und Medium absolutistischer Selbstdarstellung und Machtdemonstration. Nicht nur das Kartenfeld selbst, sondern auch die *pictura* sind von Bedeutung. Weyers (64) zitiert eine Karte von Nicolas Vallard (1547), die ein einziges Gemälde darstellt, in dem lediglich die im oberen Teil angefügten Uferpartien des St. Lorenz-Stroms, die südlich davon liegenden Regionen sowie ein Teil des Atlantischen Ozeans Kartencharakter haben. Im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert werden als dekorative Elemente gern Tierabbildungen gewählt, die sich z. B. vermehrt in größeren Wasserflächen finden, oft als Fabelwesen oder personifizierte Monster dargestellt. Originalgetreuer sind die Landtiere, so z. B. als beliebtes Motiv auf den kanadischen Karten der Biber, häufig auch ethnographische Motive (z. B. Indianer) oder Jagdszenen. Berühmt sind in dieser Hinsicht z. B. die „Beaver Vignetten" auf Karten von Nicolas Guérard oder Nicolas de Fer, oder die „Codfish Map" eines Hermann Moll. Bemerkenswert ist auch die Verwendung des Liliensymbols, das in den Karten oft als Nordpfeil im Kompass und den davon abgeleiteten Kompassrosen zu finden ist.

Natürlich war die Herstellung von Karten in hohem Maße politisch motiviert. Karten waren plakative Machtdemonstrationen, „besondes in der Frühphase des Zeitalters der geographischen Entdeckungen gehörten (sie) zu den wichtigsten geheimen, den Machthabern bzw. ihren Institutionen vorbehaltenen staatlichen Instrumenten. Sie waren daher zunächst im Allgemeinen nicht für die Öffentlichkeit bestimmt und durften

auf gar keinen Fall in die Hände des politischen Feindes geraten" (79). Und etwas weiter: „Die Machtdemonstration in der Kartographie wird besonders deutlich in den für Frankreich äußerst kritischen Kriegsjahren unmittelbar vor dem Frieden von Paris. Auf der im Jahr der englischen Eroberung Montréals (1760) entstandenen Karte A 1220" (Anm: = *An Accurate Map of Canada* von R. W. Seale) „gehört gemäß des Flächenkolorits nicht nur der gesamte Lake Ontario und das Nordufer des Lake Erie, sondern darüber hinaus auch das Land der Ottawa und damit u.a. auch Montréal zur Provinz New York, die im Norden durch den Ottawa (‚Outawais R.'), den Lake Nipissing und den ‚Frenchmans R[iver]' begrenzt wird." (81).

In einer synchronen Gegenüberstellung vergleicht Weyers in dieser Hinsicht auch *die New Map of Nova Scotia* aus dem Jahre 1755 von Thomas Jefferys (SLUB A 1296) mit der im gleichen Jahr erschienenen *Partie de l'Amérique septent. qui comprend la Nouvelle France ou le Canada* von Didier Robert de Vaugondy (SLUB A 1217). Während in der Karte Jefferys' die Bezeichnung „Acadia" ganz weggelassen wird und das Gebiet völlig in „Nova Scotia" aufgeht, wird in Vaugondys Karte der englische Teil Ostkanadas mit einer gelben, der französische mit einer grünen Kontur begrenzt. Hier wird die Acadie in ihren „alten Grenzen" als französischer Teil der Halbinsel „Nouvelle Écosse" unter Beibehaltung der Bezeichnung „Acadie" ausgewiesen (81).

Weyers beschließt dieses Kapitel mit der Feststellung, dass sich neben den großen Revolutionen, die auf französischem Boden stattgefunden haben, auch die Revolution der Kartographie im 17./18. Jahrhundert auf mehreren Ebenen vollzogen hat. Zusammen mit der Geodäsie wird sie als eine neue zentrale Aufgabe des Staates definiert. Dabei gelingt es den französischen Kartographen, sich von dem ursprünglichen Monopol der niederländischen Kartenzeichner zu lösen, ja diese sogar zu übertreffen. Spätestens im 18. Jahrhundert galten die Karten französischer Produktion als die genauesten und verlässlichsten Karten der Welt. Von dieser „sensationellen" Entwicklung profitierte natürlich auch die Kartographie von La Nouvelle-France, wobei die Karte hier nicht nur zur Vermessung, sondern auch, vielleicht sogar vor allem, als politisches Kampfmittel gegen den Antagonisten England eingesetzt und mit ihrer Hilfe der eigene Herrschaftsanspruch manifestiert wird. In Weyers' Worten: „Die Kriege des 18. Jahrhunderts, verteilt auf die verschiedenen Schauplätze in Europa und Amerika, werden daher nicht nur auf der politischen und militärischen, sondern auch auf der kartographischen geführt" (92).

Im dritten Hauptkapitel des Bandes widmet sich Weyers ausgewählten Land- und Seekarten im kartenhistorischen und politischen Kontext. Er greift also den Faden des vorangegangenen Kapitels unmittelbar wieder auf, nunmehr unterzieht er aber eine Auswahl von dreißig Land- und Seekarten, die er aus dem katalogisierten Gesamtkorpus der Untersuchung aus den Beständen der SLUB ausgewählt hat, einer detaillierten Einzeluntersuchung. Dabei wird jede Karte zunächst als ein für sich unabhängiges Dokument mit ihren individuellen Charakteristika analysiert, wobei kartographische, kultur- und sprachgeschichtliche sowie linguistische Kriterien einer Klassifizierung unterzogen werden. Wichtig ist ihm dabei auch die Frage, ob die jeweilige Karte in die offizielle Staatspolitik eingebunden ist oder ob sie eher eine politisch neutrale Position bezieht. Für beide Phänomene hat er eindrucksvolle Beispiele ausgewählt. Hervorzuheben ist dabei, dass alle in diesem Kapitel enthaltenen Erläuterungstexte durch die entsprechenden Karten in ausgezeichneter Druckqualität dokumentiert werden. Durch das Buchformat bedingt sind dabei teilweise erhebliche Verkleinerungen notwendig geworden (auf Klappkarten oder Beilagen wurde bewusst verzichtet), insgesamt wird dadurch die Qualität der Reproduktionen jedoch nur geringfügig (und nur in einigen Fällen überhaupt) beeinträchtigt.

Beispielhaft sei Weyers' Kommentar zur *Carte d'une Partie de l'Amérique Septentrio-*

nale pour servir à l'Intelligence du Mémoire sur les prétentions des Anglois au sujét des Limites à regler avec la France dans cette Partie du Monde erwähnt, die 1755 in Amsterdam erschienen ist. Die Karte ist deshalb von besonderem Interesse, weil sie, wie im Titel ausdrücklich vermerkt, die größtenteils noch offenen Grenzfragen dokumentiert, die wenige Jahre später im Frieden von Paris 1763 zumindest vorläufig beigelegt werden konnten. Auch Kolboom widmet sich dieser Karte in seinem einführenden Beitrag (19).

Entsprechend ihrer Funktion hat diese Karte hinsichtlich der dargestellten Territorien lediglich Überblickscharakter. Größerer Wert wird auf die nomenklatorische Ebene gelegt. So werden z. B. für die Cap Breton-Insel gleich drei Namensvarianten angegeben. Die wichtigsten Inhalte der Karte betreffen die verschiedenen Grenzziehungen, die unter dem Kartentitel im rechten unteren Quadranten textlich aufgelistet sind. Die Karte macht deutlich, dass der englisch-französische Streit insbesondere die Gebiete südlich des unteren St. Lorenz-Stroms, die ab 1602 französisch besiedelt worden waren, betraf. In diesem Teil der Karte sind die zahlreichen Grenzverläufe und Verwaltungsbezirke, wie sie seit dem beginnenden 17. Jahrhundert geschaffen bzw. geändert wurden, durch unterschiedliche Signaturen bzw. Schraffuren dargestellt. Da sich diese z. T. überlagern, wird die Karte naturgemäß an dieser Stelle etwas schwer lesbar. Gleichwohl wird bei sorgfältiger Analyse die historische Exaktheit dieser Karte deutlich, wie Weyers betont (137).

Insgesamt wird durch die analysierten Beispiele dokumentiert, welch große politische Bedeutung den Karten zur damaligen Zeit zukam, wobei gerade der Vergleich der unterschiedlichen Sichtweisen der beiden Antagonisten teilweise faszinierende Winkelzüge bei der kartographischen Darstellung erkennen lässt. So gesehen sind die Erläuterungstexte Weyers' eine wahre Fundgrube für Erkenntnisse zum französisch-englischen Streit um La Nouvelle-France im Verlauf des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts.

Die abschließenden Kapitel des Bandes sind eher technischer Art und haben Katalogcharakter. Dies wird in Kapitel IV in der Überschrift „Katalog der erfassten Land- und Seekarten mit detaillierten kartographischen und philologischen Kommentaren" auch angedeutet. In diesem Kapitel sind alle 151 Karten systematisch aufgelistet, die im Rahmen des Forschungsprojektes untersucht worden sind, wobei standardmäßig Informationen über Titel, Zeichner oder Autor, Erscheinungsort und Jahr, Herausgeber bzw. Verleger, Projektion, Format, Maßstab, Areal und Nomenklatur aufgelistet werden. Auf Besonderheiten wird unter „Bemerkungen" verwiesen. Sehr hilfreich ist die Tatsache, dass die wichtigsten Textelemente der Karten im Wortlaut wiedergegeben werden, da diese wegen der starken Verkleinerungen der Karten dort oft nur schwer lesbar sind. Gerade in diesen Texten finden sich aber teilweise besonders interessante Informationen über die Inhalte und die Zweckbestimmungen der Karten. Mit einem umfangreichen Literaturverzeichnis (Kapitel V) und einem Verzeichnis und Nachweis der Abbildungen (Kapitel VI) schließt der Band.

Wer immer dieses Buch in die Hand nimmt, wird sich mit großem Gewinn seiner Lektüre widmen. Die Attraktivität des Bandes wird von einer reichhaltigen Dokumentation getragen, die den Bestand an Land- und Seekarten der Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek Dresden bezüglich der Nouvelle-France repräsentativ widerspiegelt. Dass es sich bei diesem Bestand um eine der reichhaltigsten und umfangreichsten Sammlungen zu La Nouvelle-France im deutschsprachigen Raum handelt, wird bei der Durchsicht des Repertoires deutlich. Die wichtigsten Karten und Pläne (insgesamt 98 Abbildungen) sind, überwiegend ganzseitig, in sehr guter Druckqualität in dem Band enthalten, was eine sehr ausgewogene Bild-Textverteilung bewirkt. Auch der dreispaltig gesetzte Text trägt zur Auflockerung bei. Positiv sei auch vermerkt, dass der sehr reichhaltige Anmerkungsapparat nicht in Form von Fußnoten, sondern geschlossen

nach den jeweiligen Hauptkapiteln als Endnoten angefügt wurde. Hinsichtlich einiger wohl unvermeidlicher Errata (z. B. auf S. 115 *A 1174*, nicht *A 1274*) hat Kolboom bereits im Vorwort mit einem Hinweis auf den niederländischen Kartographen Joan Blaeu „vorgebeugt". Sie sind insgesamt unbedeutend angesichts der immensen Faktenfülle, die diesen Band kennzeichnet. Alles in allem kann die einleitend bereits angedeutete positive Bewertung dieser Neuerscheinung nur noch einmal wiederholt werden: Der Band stellt eine große Bereicherung der kanadistischen Forschung im deutschsprachigen Raum dar, für die dem Autor und dem Herausgeber nachdrücklich Dank und Anerkennung gebührt.

Alfred Pletsch

James M. Pitsula, *Keeping Canada British: The Ku Klux Klan in 1920s Saskatchewan*, Vancouver : UBC Press, 2014 (299 pp. ; ISBN 9780774824903 ; CND 32,95)

Voici un autre livre embarrassant sur l'histoire de l'ouest canadien au début du 20e siècle, cette fois-ci sur l'émergence du Ku Klux Klan dans les années 1920, avec comme objectif d'éliminer du Canada tout ce qui n'était pas typiquement britannique, et en premier lieu les catholiques et les Francophones, mais aussi toutes les autres communautés culturelles qui ont progressivement peuplé les provinces des Prairies. La variante canadienne de ce mouvement extrémiste et raciste prônait des valeurs spécifiques et distinctes de celles du Ku Klux Klan qui était né dans le Sud des États-Unis après la fin de la Guerre de Sécession qui avait mis fin à l'esclavage.

Professeur émérite à l'Université of Regina, l'historien James Pitsula décrit avec précision et en utilisant de nombreux exemples cette mouvance et ses ramifications, caractérisée par la crainte de l'autre, en l'occurrence, le compatriote canadien qui ne pratiquait pas la même religion ou qui ne parlait pas l'anglais. Une forme de paranoïa innée (« *innate paranoia* ») caractérisait cette branche d'extrême-droite (69). Pour ces adeptes d'une plus grande immigration britannique ou parlant anglais, la plus grande menace pour le Canada aurait été que les Canadiens-français catholiques contrôlent le Québec, la Saskatchewan et tout le Canada (232).

Keeping Canada British se subdivise en sept chapitres touchant successivement l'implantation progressive au KKK en Saskatchewan à partir d'une branche en Illinois (on trouvait aussi des membres du Klan à Toronto, 30), les résistances à cette infiltration du Klan, les activités publiques et secrètes, les conceptions raciales et racistes ayant eu cours au Canada avant 1930 face à l'immigration, le thème privilégié de l'anticatholicisme (véritable cheval de bataille du KKK); les derniers chapitres traitent de la politique provinciale des provinces de l'Ouest au moment où les principaux partis (libéraux et conservateurs) proposaient à leurs électeurs leurs versions respectives de la « britannicité » (« *competing versions of Britishness*, 241). L'épilogue évoque le déclin brutal du Ku Klux Klan en Saskatchewan, mais l'auteur s'aventure un peu maladroitement en dehors de l'étude de l'histoire canadienne pour commenter la politique actuelle de la chancelière Angela Merkel face à l'identité allemande (247).

Le principal apport de ce livre est de citer plusieurs publications racistes parues en Saskatchewan, dans lesquelles les conceptions de la supériorité des Anglo-Saxons sont clairement énoncée (112, 144-5). On comprend mieux comment ces idées et ces stéréotypes ont été propagés; il est symptomatique de constater que les Canadiens-français étaient alors perçus comme une menace pour l'intégrité de l'identité nationale par beaucoup de Saskatchewannais. Par ailleurs, le lecteur germanophone sera intéressé par le récit de la bonne entente interculturelle entre les immigrants venus d'Allemagne et les Canadiens-français qui avaient en commun le catholicisme (164). C'était l'époque où les gouvernements provinciaux de plusieurs provinces cana-

diennes, dont l'Ontario et le Manitoba, avaient interdit l'usage du français dans les écoles (164).

La conclusion de James Pitsula donne froid dans le dos quant à l'impact réel du KKK au Canada: « the Ku Klux Klan in 1929 enjoyed widespread support in mainstream, 'respectable' Saskatchewan. It was not a fringe phenomenon » (250).

En dépit de quelques faiblesses dans la conclusion, James Pitsula offre dans son livre un matériau précieux qui pourrait servir à d'autres analyses sur les identités canadiennes et le multiculturalisme. En ce sens, son *Keeping Canada British* n'est pas qu'un morceau bien documenté sur un moment sombre et méconnu de l'histoire du Canada; c'est en même temps un document de premier ordre sur l'identité canadienne de cette époque et une source comparative avec les idéologies extrémistes qui subsistent encore de nos jours dans ces provinces, sous des manifestations plus ou moins subtiles. Car cette identité canadienne sous-entendue dans le titre même de l'ouvrage formule éloquemment son mot d'ordre et son modèle, à savoir que pour les tenants du Klan saskatchewannais de 1927, le Canada doit demeurer, non pas « canadien », mais bien *britannique*. Il faut voir dans cette formulation tout le caractère de reconnaissance et d'identification dans l'étude des identités collectives, qui se définissent à la fois par ce que l'on est (collectivement) et ce que l'on n'est pas. Là où le Ku Klux Klan des États-Unis s'enracinait dans l'Amérique profonde et blanche (WASP), distinctement de la vieille Angleterre autrefois ennemie, son équivalent canadien voulait au contraire reproduire et perpétuer sur son sol la tradition et la culture de l'ancien continent en faisant du Canada un décalque de l'Angleterre. D'où cet attachement viscéral à la Couronne britannique et aux traditions héritées de la Grande-Bretagne qui persistent encore au 21e siècle. L'une de ces conséquences durables pour le Canada d'aujourd'hui reste une identité collective faible et difficile à cerner, sans véritables repères, qui encore de nos jours se caractérise davantage par des refus que par des affirmations : le Canadien de l'Ouest se définira plutôt par ce qu'il n'est pas que par ce qu'il est, en rejetant farouchement le modèle des États-Unis mais aussi la langue française, tout comme les adeptes du Klan le faisaient auparavant, mais en se distançant également des religions autres que le Protestantisme et l'Anglicanisme. En ce sens, le Klan n'a jamais été majoritaire au Canada, mais une partie de son idéologie reposait sur les croyances et les préjugés d'une proportion plus vaste de la population. En d'autres mots, les individus meurent, mais les idéologies peuvent se perpétuer au-delà des générations.

Yves Laberge

Michel Lessard, avec la collaboration de Patrick Altman et Pierre Lavoie, *Québec éternelle. Promenade photographique dans l'âme d'un pays*, Montréal : Éditions de l'Homme, 2013 (480 pp. ; ISBN 978-2-76192-491-7; CND 59,95)

Il n'existe pas à ce jour un ouvrage faisant exhaustivement l'histoire de la photographie au Canada, bien que l'on puisse trouver quelques monographies sur des photographes importants comme George W. Ellisson, Louis-Prudent Vallée, William Notman et les Livernois. Longtemps professeur à l'UQAM et historien de l'art, Michel Lessard a publié plusieurs livres importants sur l'art québécois, le patrimoine et la photographie; il serait le seul à pouvoir mener un jour à bien un projet aussi ambitieux d'une histoire de la photographie canadienne. Patrick Altman a longtemps été photographe tandis que Pierre Lavoie est spécialiste de la photographie ancienne et des humanités numériques. En guise de préambule, le titre de ce livre, *Québec éternelle : promenade photographique dans l'âme d'un pays*, nécessiterait une explication pour les canadianistes des pays germanophones qui seront sensibles à la notion d'âme (« Seele ») employée par les coauteurs dès les premières pages. En se référant à « Québec

éternelle », on se réfère non pas à une des provinces canadiennes mais bien à la ville de Québec, autrefois la capitale du Bas-Canada et aujourd'hui la capitale du Québec. On comprend que par sa longue histoire de plus de quatre siècles, la beauté de ses sites et monuments, son riche patrimoine et sa position stratégique sur le continent, la ville fondée par Samuel de Champlain en 1608 est la seule à pouvoir revendiquer le statut « d'âme du pays », que ce soit au passé, au présent ou au futur. En effet, cette « Promenade photographique dans l'âme d'un pays » permet d'appréhender les diverses périodes ayant caractérisé cette ville : l'ère coloniale et la présence britannique au milieu du 19e siècle, puis les débuts de la Confédération canadienne, l'industrialisation et enfin l'époque moderne jusqu'à nos jours.

L'intérêt principal de ce livre subdivisé en sept chapitres est de montrer des aspects disparus de la ville de Québec, ses anciennes portes démolies puis reconstruites, ses rues, ses enseignes d'autrefois qui étaient souvent rédigées exclusivement en anglais, et bien sûr sa population. On pense par exemple à la Porte St-Jean, mais également à la Porte St-Louis, la Porte Kent et à certaines portes démolies comme la Porte Hope. Il faut souligner l'abondance des photographies et la rareté de plusieurs de celles-ci; en fait, la rareté en soi n'est pas un signe d'intérêt pour une photographie ancienne, mais c'est son point de vue unique sur un lieu patrimonial qui devient intéressant et parfois incomparable. Des collectionneurs comme Pierre Lavoie, cosignataire de ce livre, ont amassé durant des décennies des images datant du 19e siècle pour les rassembler et les mettre en valeur dans cet ouvrage magnifique. Les chercheurs en histoire de la photographie ou en histoire visuelle trouveront ici une matière déjà mise en contexte et valorisée. En outre, ce livre pourra servir pour des études comparatives sur le caractère britannique et/ou français présent dans l'architecture québécoise. On pourra aussi utiliser ce beau livre pour saisir l'évolution de la vocation touristique de la ville de Québec au fil des siècles et observer la mise en valeur progressive de son patrimoine urbain, bien avant sa nomination comme ville du Patrimoine mondial de l'UNESCO en 1985.

Le septième chapitre fait exception en montrant des photographies prises au 19e siècle dans d'autres régions du Québec : Montréal (358-363), le vieil Hôtel Tadoussac (370-371), des ouvriers de Gaspé et Percé (394-5), des Amérindiens de La Malbaie photographiés en 1870 (396-7). Sur le plan éditorial, la mise en page de l'ensemble est particulièrement réussie : très souvent, une seule image occupe tout une page de ce livre de grand format, permettant à l'observateur de bien apprécier tous les détails.

Le commentaire des auteurs dénote un ancrage à la fois historique et critique pour décrire les caractéristiques des deux grandes communautés ethnolinguistiques qui coexistaient à Montréal avant la Confédération de 1867: « Pendant que les Britanniques créent une ville commerçante et industrielle avec ses artères animées et ses somptueux édifices néoclassiques et éclectiques, pendant qu'ils aménagent des quartiers résidentiels à la hauteur de cette réussite, les Francophones marquent leur présence dans des bâtiments religieux ostentatoires, dans de grandes institutions bicentenaires d'éducation et de services sociaux, et dans le logement opulent d'une bourgeoisie naissante. L'hiver apporte une touche d'exotisme, unique dans l'Empire, à ce paysage urbain presque toujours saisi depuis le fleuve ou le Mont-Royal qui domine l'île » (340).

Bien sûr, *Québec éternelle. Promenade photographique dans l'âme d'un pays* n'est pas un livre de plus sur l'histoire de la ville de Québec, mais bien un portrait exhaustif à travers les siècles montrant des aspects disparus mais faisant intrinsèquement partie de son histoire. Évidemment, ce n'est pas un livre touristique pour planifier une visite en sol québécois à partir des lieux pittoresques d'autrefois car certains d'entre eux ont bien changé ou ont même disparu.

Il faut féliciter les Éditions de l'Homme d'avoir produit un ouvrage aussi soigné et dont le travail éditorial est exemplaire. En outre, un magnifique DVD complète le tout et permet de visualiser les stéréotypes et les photographies en trois dimensions. En somme, *Québec éternelle* est sans doute le plus beau livre paru au Canada depuis plusieurs années, en français comme en anglais. J'oserais même ajouter : « Wunderbar !», « Wunderschön ! »

Yves Laberge

Adam Lajeunesse, *Lock, Stock, and Icebergs: A History of Canada's Arctic Maritime Sovereignty*, Vancouver, Toronto: University of British Columbia Press, 2016 (xv + 404 pp.; ISBN 978-0-7748-3109-3; CND 34.95)

Prime Minister Brian Mulroney has been quoted as explaining to President Ronald Reagan in 1987 that Canada owned the Arctic "lock, stock, and icebergs." Adam Lajeunesse takes this famous quip to provide a comprehensive and authoritative history of Canada's Arctic maritime sovereignty. Covering an impressive time period from the 1880s, when Great Britain conferred their Arctic possessions to the Dominion, to the 1980s, when Canada and the United States signed the Arctic Cooperation Treaty, he traces Canadian governmental attempts at securing sovereignty over the Arctic waters. Acknowledging that Canadians always had a sense of ownership, Lajeunesse historically reconstructs "how the country's sovereignty has been perceived, justified, and exercised by successive governments" (4). It is a very timely publication as the Arctic has been in the news for over a decade and as it becomes more accessible for future resource extraction and destinational shipping due to climate change and the resultant receding of the ice cover.

In twelve well-researched chapters, Lajeunesse shows that Canadian policy has been consistent, even though it has been extremely gradual. This thesis deconstructs previous assumptions by authors such as Jack Granatstein, who in his 1976 article "A Fit of Absence of Mind" saw the Canadian Arctic policy in the mid-1950s as confused and unsure (76), or Shelagh Grant, who argued in her pioneering 2010 monograph *Polar Imperative*, that Canada's policy was thwarted by its security cooperation with the United States since the Second World War (6). Lajeunesse thus joins a growing number of historians, who do not see ambiguity but successful maneuvering in Canada's Arctic policy. But rather than highlighting the necessity to do so in light of U.S. interests in the region, a reading which Whitney Lackenbauer and Peter Kikkert propose, he introduces the dichotomy between public renderings of government positions versus behind the scenes decision-making as the main factor contributing to the image of Canada's Arctic policy as non-consistent. As he puts it very aptly: "while Canadian policy may not have been developed in a fit of absence of mind, it was certainly expressed in one" (8).

Another innovative approach is his linking of Arctic issues with other maritime claims highlighting Canada's involvement in the three United Nations law of the sea conferences from the late 1950s to the signing of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea in 1982. This focus on maritime sovereignty is coupled with detailed descriptions of military developments which brought the Arctic to the fore during the Cold War as well as economic activities which potentially impeded sovereignty claims in the early 20th century and picked up again in the late 1960s with oil and gas finds in the region.

Lajeunesse skillfully shows how Canada's position has moved from implicit acceptance of the so-called sector theory claiming the entire area up to the North Pole, which was most prominently defended in the Canadian Senate by Pascal Poirier in 1907 and visually represented in government maps but never officially adopted as government policy, to the position of drawing straight baselines enclosing historic internal waters from the mid-1950s on-

wards, although only made public in the 1970s. Besides these internal policy and legal deliberations, he also provides a detailed analysis of government action to actively manifest its sovereignty over the region through selling licenses to American whalers in the early 20th century, sending ships to familiarize the navy with the region in the late 1940s, staging military and search and rescue operations in the Arctic in the late 1960s, keeping track of ships in the Arctic through a reporting system since the 1970s and sending icebreakers through the passage in the 1980s.

At the heart of the story lies the contestation of Canadian sovereignty claims especially with respect to the Northwest Passage by the United States which runs counter to their close bilateral military and security cooperation. It is a conflict between two allies who happen to have divergent interests as one is a coastal (Canada) and the other a maritime (United States) state. Noting the continuing cooperation on the operational military level, Lajeunesse implies that it is mainly public opinion that creates crisis moments in the evolving arrangement between Canada and the United States. Thus, potential encroachments were publicly discussed in Canada, when U.S. military were involved in defence-related activities in the Arctic during the Second World War and the Early Cold War. But the two major public crises were, of course, provoked by the crossings of the Northwest Passage by two U.S. ships, the *Manhattan* in 1969/1970 and the *Polar Sea* in 1985. A major strength of Lajeunesse's books lies in the detailed and highly original analyses of both events. Based on extensive archival research he is able to provide fresh insights and manages to demystify some long-held assumptions about these crucial episodes in the history of Canadian maritime sovereignty.

This monograph is based on an impressive range of archival material while it also makes good use of existing scholarship in the field. Lajeunesse's engagement with previous writings on the topic is commendable and so is his analysis of historical documents. The problem with a topic such as this, which is still unfolding today and has legal and military ramifications, are closed records (284-285). This means there still remains a level of vagueness in some of the analysis (224). But this is not the author's fault, Lajeunesse does an excellent job in trying to triangulate information and presenting balanced and plausible narratives.

The bigger problem was the absence of any discussion of the role of the public. As mentioned above, the argument about Canada's coherent and consistent Arctic policy hinges on the separation of public communications and secret actions. Yet, sometimes the public debate becomes so important that Canadian governments have to react. It would have helped to read more about why this was not as big a problem in the 1950s but became one from the late 1960s to the mid-1980s. What constitutes the symbolism involved and how important is Canadian nationalism (57, 134, 173, 274) in understanding the public sensitivities when it comes to Arctic sovereignty? Could it not also be that the public dimension served an important function in governmental strategy? When the Canadian government discussed the Arctic Waters Pollution Prevention Act, which it adopted, it also considered how this unilateral action would be contrary to international law but "in line with international public opinion" (163). And what role have northerners and Indigenous actors played in the story? Inuit use and ownership became an important aspect of Canada's sovereignty argument in the 1980s (265). Finally, how worrisome is it, that a democratic state keeps its dealings with the United States on this important issue secret from its electorate?

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