31

Material Medievalism and Imperial Fantasy: William Campbell's Gothic North

by Brian Johnson

No Confederation poet was more persistently drawn to the imaginative geography of the North than William Wilfred Campbell (1858-1918). In the Romantic and transcendentalist nature verse of *Snowflakes and Sunbeams* (1888) and *Lake Lyrics and Other Poems* (1889), Campbell meditated on the scenes and rhythms of seasonal change in the Lake Huron region of his Southern Ontario boyhood but often telescoped these evocations of southern winters into "a world of death far to the northward lying" ("The Winter Lakes," *LL* 16). In his third collection, *The Dread Voyage* (1893), Campbell amplified the grim mood of these winter lyrics, while also actually setting many poems in the remote northern landscapes to which his earlier verse had merely alluded. The mythopoeic voyage north that Campbell's verse undertakes in this volume of demonism and doomed adventure "[u]nder the northern midnight" ("The Were-Wolves," *DV* 102) is a forerunner to the northern Gothic territory that would later be mined be Robert Service. In later collections like *The Poems of Wilfred Campbell* (1905) and *Sagas of Vaster Britain* (1914), Campbell continued to plumb the imaginative geography of North, but with a noticeably more public inflection. Celebrations of Canada as "the land of the rugged North" ("To the Canadian Patriot," *SVB* 126) epitomized the transformation of North from gloomy wasteland to national metonymy in the poetry of Campbell's final two decades. From 1888 to 1914, then, Campbell's northern poetics spanned and creatively adapted two of the most prominent modes of nineteenth-century northern discourse: the literary discourse of British and American northern Gothic and the emergent discourse, associated with the Canada First movement, of Canadian northern nationalism.

The shifting affective register visible in Campbell's engagement with the image of North in his mature literary output—from object of anxiety and fear in the 1890s to galvanizing site of patriotic feeling in the first

decades of the new century—seems to index a broader topical shift in the poet's preoccupations: from spiritual questions of religious doubt in the poetry of the 1890s to more public forms of identification with the politics and culture of Imperial Federation in his later career. Yet, issues of religious faith and national identity were as deeply entangled as they were deeply fraught throughout Campbell's life and work. The religious crisis provoked by Campbell's reading on evolutionary theory was bound up in the national and professional uncertainties and insecurities of his early career as a poet and citizen of post-Confederation Canada. Similarly, although Campbell's philosophical rejoinder to Darwinian theory in "The Tragedy of Man" (which he began composing in 1896) was most obviously an attempt to rationalize the violent contradictions of his intellectual and spiritual environment, its speculative historical mode, racialist imaginary, and preoccupation with Shakespeare and British literature more generally all indicate the considerable degree to which national, spiritual, and professional anxieties converged in his work. As I have argued elsewhere, Campbell's literary output over the course of the 1890s expressed and attempted imaginatively to resolve the overlapping existential instabilities of his post-Darwinian, post-Confederation positon within "the semi-autonomous Dominion" of Canada (Bentley 15). This was a period in which, as D.M.R. Bentley observes, "all six [Confederation] poets were in different proportions post-colonials, loyal Victorians, and committed North Americans, at different times proudly Canadian, truculent or deferential towards Britain, receptive, attracted, and obedient to American literary culture and the opportunities that it afforded" (16). Campbell's own position-taking within this complex field in the last decade of the nineteenth century, I argued, symptomatically involved a multifaceted and shifting engagement with nineteenth-century Arthurian medievalism. On the one hand, Campbell's medievalism indexed his sustained idealization of British literary traditions and marked his own identification with the comforting certainties of God and Empire. Yet, Campbell's Arthuriana of the early 1890s notably emphasized the gloomy and grotesque strain of Romantic Gothicism associated with Poe, Hawthorne, Byron, and even Wordsworth, seeing Sir Lancelot, for instance, as an embodiment of Campbell's nightmare of post-colonial, post-Darwinian degeneration. This anxiety remains on full display in Campbell's Arthurian verse drama *Mordred* (1893-94), where Arthur's murderous, grotesquely deformed "Caliban"-like child is an at once monstrous and sympathetic portrait of the post-colonial Canadian artist who by turns idealizes and resents the distant imperial parent. Campbell's

medievalism, in other words, is symptomatically split by its author's own post-colonial ambivalence: the divine radiance of Arthurian idealization is constantly eclipsed by a shadowy other associated not only with base matter and colonial degeneration but, as I argue here, with the discourse of Northern Gothic that animates the weird and terrible polar landscapes of *The Dread Voyage* and which becomes a cornerstone of Campbell's lurid and conflicted poetic vision.

My concern in the present essay is to more fully explore Campbell's transformation of British and American Northern Gothic into the form of materialist medievalism that was to function as a marker of anxiety—both spiritual and national—throughout his writing of the 1890s. What I am calling Campbell's "materialist medievalism" refers to the convergence of medievalist organicism, Gothic horror, and Darwinian evolutionary theory—three discursive strands that became tightly knotted in the cultural imaginary of British-North American settler culture over the course of the nineteenth century. In what follows, I begin by situating Campbell's use of Gothic within the larger and more complex tradition of British medievalism to which he often signals his belonging. Subsequently, the essay traces the development of a materialist version of Northern Gothic through Campbell's poetry and other writing from 1888 to 1896 when he began composing "The Tragedy of Man." Finally, it considers the ways in which Campbell's discourse of North might be seen not only as offering a metaphor for the materialist horror of a Darwinian universe, but how it might simultaneously be seen as participating in the indigenizing impulse of the nation-building project of Imperial federation with which Campbell ultimately identified once he had imaginatively reconciled Darwin by integrating evolution into his own revisionist metanarrative of Christian history.

In Alice Chandler's memorable formulation, "medievalism was…part of that vast intellectual and emotional response to change which we somewhat fuzzily denominate Romanticism," and as such bore the hallmarks of the latter's primitivist nostalgia for an organic image of human beings that would "naturalize man in the universe and make him feel related to it," as a counterpoint to the psychic, social, and economic shocks of the Industrial Revolution (7-8). By the mid-nineteenth century, even the Gothic—Romantic medievalism's dark twin—had been at least party assimilated to this nostalgic discourse of affirmative organicism, becoming associated not simply with "tyranny and restriction" but, conversely, with "the natural and the free" (23). Campbell's engagement with medievalism over the course of his poetic career plainly drew on this

organicist vision. Beginning as a nature poet of the transcendentalist school in *Snowflakes and Sunbeams* (1888), his subsequent poetry collections, as well as his *Globe* interventions into Canadian letters, brought his aesthetics into alignment with the appreciation of rough hewn "organic" authenticity that marked Ruskin's praise of Gothic. Campbell's contemptuous excoriation of "polished" but (he maintained) vacuous magazine verse (which, by 1894 he associated with the Confederation school of nature poetry), for instance, scorns the "decadence" of a national literature that aspires to little more than a "few polished sonnets" and "delicate lyrics" while remaining "unresponsive to the deep mysteries of existence" in terms that recall Ruskin's chapters on "Savages" and "The Nature of Gothic" from *The Stones of Venice*, where he defended an art rooted in earnest imperfection that makes up in intention what it lacks in refinement (*SPE* 168). Campbell continued to develop this didactic species of Victorian-Gothic "expressivist" poetics privileging the articulation of humanist and religious ideals over "art-for-art's sake" in the briefly cacophonous "War Among the Poets" that raged in Canadian newspaper columns throughout the summer of 1895 (Hurst xii, xiv).

Yet, Campbell's medievalist Gothicism was not strictly Ruskinian, much less Tennysonian. As Campbell's biographer Carl Klinck points out, Campbell's style and influences evinced strong contradictions:

> The true line of Campbell's development appears to run from Byron...through Tennyson of the *Idylls* to the Tennyson of the patriotic odes…. But the tone of Campell's poetry is not one of unrelieved prettiness and smooth parlour morality. The very harshness of the wintry lakes, where he had begun to compose verses, had given Campbell a constitutional vigour to face obstacle and trials even in poetry. Poe was not too daring or morbid, nor Browning too grotesque. Eager for mysteries, unappalled by horrors, interested in superstitions, he embarked gladly with Coleridge's 'Ancient Mariner.' The *Dread Voyage* was full of such influences and led almost directly to the sterner plays of Shakespeare. (169)

It was in this tenebrous strain of Romantic Gothicism emphasizing morbidity, grotesquerie, mystery, horror, superstition—and, above all, recoil against any celebratory organicist identification of human beings with nature—that Campbell found the idiom for expressing his traumatic encounter with nineteenth-century evolutionary thought. Whereas earlier English medievalists like Scott and Carlyle remained "consistently aware

of the potentiality for violence and bestiality in purely natural man," even as they tied their idealization of the Middle Ages to primitivism, Nature, or "natural supernaturalism" (Chandler 196), in Campbell this awareness takes center stage.

Campbell's early poetry of the late 1880s and early 1890s is preoccupied with the crisis of religious belief that was prompted by Campbell's encounter with Darwinian thought while attending the liberal Episcopal Theological School of Cambridge, Massachusetts, beginning in 1883. This crisis, which was registered in part by his decision to resign from the church and take up a post in the civil service in Ottawa in 1891, received additional stimulus from Campbell's reading of Harvard historian John Fiske's *Myths and Myth-Makers* (1881) during the early 1890s (Klinck 52). Although Fiske's book denounced the "crude and repulsive" atheism of reducing God to "a Bogie of the nursery" (104) and sought to rescue spiritual belief from the materialist evolutionary theories of Darwin and Herbert Spencer, Campbell's response to the work suggests that he was more troubled than consoled by its equivocations (Klinck 51-53; Whalen, "The Poetry of Doubt" 42). In an 1892 Toronto *Globe* essay published shortly after his retirement from the ministry, for instance, Campbell commended Fiske's book, affirmed its thesis that mythology "is really the history of the infant world, when the mind of mankind was really the mind of the child or the savage," and proclaimed that "[m]uch of the earlier part of the Old Testament, such as the stories of the Garden of Eden, The Flood, The Serpent, The Story of Jonah, have all been proved to belong to the class of literature called mythic" (*SPE* 162). A further, somewhat cryptic remark relating "The Cross" to "the old phallic worship of some of our remote ancestors" prompted uproar among *Globe* readers and a scolding from *Globe* editors. In his ambivalent reply to his critics, Campbell denied that his remarks constituted "an attack on Christianity" but also repudiated the title "Rev.," "not from any disrespect to my former calling, but from the simple wish to be regarded as a layman" (*SPE* 164-65).

The fraught dialogue among evolutionary science, comparative mythology, and religious orthodoxy on display in the controversy surrounding Campbell's mythology essay and his ambiguous response to the episode is reflected in the Gothic atmosphere of many of Campbell's nature poems of the 1880s and 1890s. As Terry Whalen argues in his important reappraisal of Campbell as both "a poet of nature" and "a deeply searching religious poet" ("The Poetry of Celebration and Harmony" 27, 29), Campbell's spiritually-inflected evocations of nature

as a site of Wordsworthian or Emersonian communion with spirit in *Lake Lyrics* and *The Dread Voyage* constitute one means by which Campbell attempted to negotiate a position between faith and materialism. However, this "transcendentalist" solution of envisioning nature as an intermediary between the human observer and a divine presence frequently gives way, as Whalen has also observed, to a "growing sense of the indifference of nature to human needs" ("The Poetry of Doubt" 36). Such an unpleasant Darwinian shock is emblematically represented in the concluding three lines of "Morning on the Shore." Recalling but also recontextualizing the startling "drowned man of Esthwaite Lake" episode of *The Prelude* in which "the dead man, mid that beauteous scene / Of trees and hills and water. Bolt upright / Rose with his ghastly face" (Wordsworth 1.277-79), the shocking conclusion of Campbell's sonnet sharply undercuts its initially pastoral evocation of a lake spread beneath "the clear blue heaven on high" with a grim discovery: "down beyond the headland, where ice-floes / Are great in winter, pleading in mute prayer, / A dead, drowned face stares up immutably" (*DV* 90). This dead face beneath the water that "plead[s] in mute prayer" to a cold, indifferent landscape replete with "ice-floes…in winter" marks the sudden appearance of a Gothic reflection in the lakes that Campbell once called "God's mirrors underneath the sky" ("To the Lakes," *LL* 13). In fact, the staring corpse might plausibly be read as the religious poet's materialist alter ego, for it is at once an uncanny embodiment of the horrifying new gospel of Darwinian "immutability" that affirms only "the physical grossness and spiritual barrenness of a merely material universe" (Klinck 53) and the stunned witness to the very revelation it embodies. In this way, the unsettling dead stare of the poet's wintry doppelgänger reveals Campbell's anxiety over the adequacy of Romantic lyricism and American transcendentalism in their sunnier moods for describing the relation between human beings, nature, and divinity.

Such an identification of the corpse's materialist perspective with images of ice and winter was typical of the specifically northern discourse of Gothic that was coming into view in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Chauncey C. Loomis describes its parameters without ever using the term "Gothic" in his classic account of the waning of "The Arctic Sublime," an initially exalting polar aesthetic associated with nature's "emptiness," "vastness," and "coldness" that was "at least partly subverted" in the decades after 1854, following Dr. John Rae's claim that human remains from Sir John Franklin's ill-fated expedition to find the Northwest Passage (1845-48) showed evidence of cannibalism (110).

This "specter of cannibalism," Loomis suggests, animated the new, more "horrible" and "claustrophobic" version of the Arctic that is emblematized in Sir Edwin Landseer's shocking canvas, *Man Proposes, God Disposes* (1864), in which one monstrous polar bear devours human bones while another rends a British flag (110). In many ways, the slide from Burkean sublimity into a more "claustrophobic" version of Arctic horror that Loomis traces could be characterized as the crystalization of a powerful new iteration of northern Gothic. As Loomis himself shows, this "more ominous aspect of the Arctic sublime" (99) that assumed increasing dominance over the "positive aspects of sublimity" (106) had been anticipated earlier in the century in literary works that were themselves quite literally Gothic narratives. The nightmare world of ice and snow through which the protagonist travels in Coleridge's "The Rime of the Ancient Mariner" (1798) established the literary prototype for a supernatural polar space "that provoked theological speculation and fear," and Mary Shelley's subsequent presentation of the Arctic as a terrifying region of forbidden knowledge, fit only for the monster and his dead creator, further developed this theme by showing human beings like Walton "draw back trembling" from "the mysterious abyss of nature" in her Gothic novel *Frankenstein* (1818) (Loomis 99). *Pace* Russell A. Potter's contention that intimations of cannibalism in the Franklin case "elevated the Arctic sublime to a new level of intensity," lurid popular images of the discovery of Franklin's remains—such as the one in *Harper's Weekly* (1859) featuring Sir Leopold McClintock's party peering at two skeletons in a partially snow-covered whaleboat—can conversely be seen as reinforcing the Arctic's association with the corpse-in-the-cupboard motifs of Gothic fiction (160, 154). Although conventionally Romantic discourses of Arctic exploration "portray[ing] the heroic nature of the Arctic explorers within the context of Victorian imperial culture" persisted (Yan 66), they contended with a competing Romantic discourse of British northern Gothic that had already begun to emerge in literature at the end of the eighteenth century and which was consolidated in the latter half of the nineteenth century at the limit of British scientific and imperialist ambitions in the Arctic.

Campbell's winter poems in *Lake Lyrics* begin to register this shift. The speaker of "The Winter Lakes," for instance, is trapped in a landscape that is "Wan and waste and white" (*LL* 16). Here, by "Shadowy, ghost-like shores" (*LL* 17) where the "shadowy shapes" of waves are "haunting the spaces white" (*LL* 17), the speaker succumbs to

the spiritual despair characteristically marked in Campbell's verse by the trope of the northern wasteland or desert:

> Lands that loom like specters, whited regions of winters,
> Wastes of desolate woods, deserts of water and shore;
> A world of winter and death, within these regions who enter,
> Lost to summer and life, go to return no more. (*LL* 17)

The speaker's characterization of the Great Lakes region in this poem as "far to the northward lying" (*LL* 16) is additionally significant, for the collapsing of "southern" and "northern" space is fundamental to Campbell's Southern Ontario winter poems of religious doubt. Such a collapse inheres in Campbell's repeated characterization of winter in spatial-geographic terms as an invasion of the South by the North. In "Autumn's Chant," for example, the "death song of the year" (*LL* 41) is heralded by the arrival of wild geese "From far, northern lakes" (*LL* 42); "Ode: To Thunder Cape," similarly characterizes "wild October" (*LL* 73) as the month when "the north is dooming / The season to fiercest hate" (*LL* 73).

In *The Dread Voyage*, Campbell more fully develops the motif of northern invasion to signify religious doubt in increasingly violent and militaristic terms. "Midwinter Storm in the Lake Region," for instance, describes the tormentor of "tempest-drave sailors" (*DV* 168) on a tumultuous winter lake as a fearsome personification of the North itself:

> Out of the far, grey skies comes the dread north with his blowing,
> That chills the warm blood in the veins, and cuts to the heart like fate.
> Quick as the fall of a leaf the lake-world is white with his snowing,
> Quick as the flash of a blade the waters are black with his hate.
> (*DV* 168)

The image of an armed, invading North recurs in "An October Evening," a lyric that ominously describes the arrival of a winter storm as "the flash of the north's great sword-blade" (*DV* 142) in a Gothic wilderness where "the specters of winter are rising" (*DV* 141) and "the Great Bear circles / Under the pale Pole Star" (*DV* 141). The slippage between "North" and an implied south that characterizes "The Winter Lakes" recurs here as well, for the poem concludes with a grimly ironic reflection on the fatal "love" offered by this terrifying North, where the pagan constellation of the Great Bear seems to have displaced the Christian deity:

> The world grows agèd and wintry,
> Love's face peakèd and white;
> And death is kind to the tired ones
> Who sleep in the north to-night. (*DV* 142)

These "tired ones / Who sleep in the north" seem to be doomed figures imagined by the poem's unsettled southern speaker. But like the "drowned face" whose eyes stare uselessly "in mute prayer," these "tired ones" who succumb to the North's "kind[ness]" are also Gothic doubles for the speaker that reflect his despair at the materialist universe governed by the impassive Great Bear—an image whose association with the Arctic Campbell likely learned about in *Myths and Myth-Makers*, a key impetus of his own spiritual crisis (Fiske 73).

Moreover, the speakers in *The Dread Voyage* often occupy the radically alienated position of these "tired ones," for many of the poems are actually set in the remote northern wastes. This imaginative relocation from Southern Ontario to the Arctic is implicitly dramatized in the title-poem of the collection, which recounts a terrifying nautical voyage into darkness and despair undertaken beneath "weird stars" (*DV* 11) through a region of "wintry snows" (*DV* 12). Its concluding lines—"Chartless, anchorless, forsaken, / Drift we to the dark" (*DV* 13)—evoke Franklin's archetypal "dread voyage" to locate the Northwest Passage, but its significance is further implied by the poem's similarity to "Midwinter Storm in the Lake Region" from the same volume, a poem in which, as we have seen, sailors in "sad-fated vessels" are "dr[iven]" (*DV* 168) over a lake by "the dread north" (*DV* 168) to symbolize the speaker's tempest-tossed faith. The "fated bark" (*DV* 11) of "The Dread Voyage" undergoes a similar ordeal as it "Drive[s]…to the dark" (*DV* 11) through a wintry landscape on a journey that allegorizes the speaker's helpless sense of a fatal "drift"(*DV* 12) towards spiritual catastrophe, "chartless, anchorless, forsaken" (*DV* 13). The implication of spiritual crisis is also suggested by the poem's many echoes of the Ancient Mariner's Gothic polar voyage into a haunted "land of mist and snow" (l. 378) where "God himself / Scarce seemed…to be" (ll. 599-600) and religious certainties are accordingly suspended. For instance, as "the olden voices" (*DV* 12) of religious faith are gradually silenced, leaving the speaker in a state of spiritual dejection, the penultimate stanza alludes to the Ancient Mariner's desperate plea for absolution—"O shrieve me, shrieve me, holy man!" (l. 574)—after his own dread voyage:

> Without knowledge, without warning,

> Drive we to no lands of morning;
> Far ahead no signals horning
>   Hail our nightward bark.
> Hopeless, helpless, weird, outdriven,
> Fateless, friendless, dread, unshriven,
> For some race-doom unforgiven,
>   Drive we to the dark. (*DV* 12-13)

By leaving the doomed passengers "unshriven," Campbell's rewriting of Coleridge in "The Dread Voyage" significantly truncates the narrative structure of "The Rime," cutting short any possibility of a return voyage, much less the restoration of faith represented by the Mariner's moral that "the dear God who loveth us, / He made and loveth all" (ll. 616-17). Moreover, just as the poem's relocation of the setting from polar South to polar North radicalizes the structural logic of the winter poems by translating (cyclical) seasonal change into (absolute) geographical displacement to heighten the representation of religious doubt, the image of "race-doom" introduced in this stanza catastrophically exaggerates earlier images of a purely materialist universe represented in "The Winter Lakes" by "A world of winter and death" (*LL* 17).

   Campbell's horrified response to the possibility of a cold materialist universe governed only by the survivalist logic of Darwinian law receives one of its most symptomatic elaborations in "The Were-Wolves," a poem that jarringly conjoins medievalist Christian allegory with bestial images of "race-doom" that threaten to subvert its explicitly religious framework of human sin and divine punishment. Set in "the northern waste" (*DV* 99), "under the northern midnight" (*DV* 102), the poem's depiction of "demon-haunted"(*DV* 98) were-wolves condemned to an endless circular flight around the North Pole "until the judgment day" (*DV* 102) is a tour-de-force of northern Gothic strangeness and horror. According to the speaker, the once-human were-wolves "are the souls of men" (*DV* 100) from the "far dark-ages" (*DV* 100) who "bound their mortal dust / With demon wolfish girdles / Of human hate and lust" (*DV* 101). To the speaker, they embody a severe moral caution:

> These who could have been god-like,
>   Chose, each a loathsome beast,
> Amid the heart's foul graveyards,
>   Of putrid thoughts to feast;
> But the great God who made them

> Gave each a human soul,
>> And so 'mid night forever
>>> They circle round the Pole. (*DV* 101)

Yet just as many readers find that the Ancient Mariner's pious parting advice about praying best and loving best (l. 614) rings somewhat hollowly after the copious Gothic thrills afforded by his hair-raising tale, so too does the piety of Campbell's Christian allegorical framework seem outstripped by the Gothic atmosphere that pervades every verse of "The Were-Wolves." Moreover, Campbell's use of such bestial figures to symbolize moral evil invites a counter-reading of the poem as expressing anxiety over Darwinism's erosion of the species barrier, for the formerly-human werewolves embody a principle of atavistic regression that coincides with Campbell's fear that evolutionary science has reduced human beings from divine creations to "self-glorified ape[s]" (Boone 98).

Fiske's chapter on "Werewolves and Swan Maidens," from which Campbell drew much of the imagery in the poem (Klinck 52), supports such a counter-reading, for its explicit frame of reference is an evolutionary continuum of "brutes," "savages," and "civilized men," whose developmental progress can be interrupted by "cases of what physiologists call atavism, or reversion to an ancestral type of character" (Fiske 84-85). Just as significant is the way that Fiske's book repeatedly undercuts Christian interpretations of the werewolf as a demon by examining the origins of medieval werewolf legends in "metempsychosis"—the "primitive" idea of "the close community of nature…assume[d] between man and brute" that "[t]he recent researches of Mr. M'Lennan [sic] and Mr. Herbert Spencer have served to connect…with the primeval worship of ancestors and with the savage customs of totemism" (Fiske 74). His argument thus relativizes the Christian reading of the werewolf, asserting that the werewolf myth "did not…acquire its most horrible features until the pagan habits of thought which had originated it were modified by contact with Christian theology," at which point "[l]ycanthropy became regarded as a species of witchcraft" and "the werewolf was supposed to have obtained his peculiar powers through the favour or connivance of the Devil" (Fiske 79).

Campbell's engagement with his source material in "The Were-Wolves" is thus extremely ambivalent. Whereas Fiske's genealogical analysis of medieval werewolf superstitions ultimately demystifies the Christian interpretation, Campbell's poem struggles to resurrect the Christian framework of the legend, even as its horrified fascination with

atavistic figures evokes the specter of materialism it tries to quash and begs the question of the religious framework's continued viability. In this way, the poem exemplifies Whalen's astute observation that "all of the poetry in which Campbell attempts to confront the more dismal aspects of the theory of evolution [directly]" are distinguished by a "tonal strain" that appears between the consoling "mythic framework" and the "radical disturbance" that is the poems' central theme ("The Poetry of Mysticism" 42-43). Despite the poem's Christian framework, then, the once-human werewolves who are reduced to chasing their own tails at the extremity of the earth for the crime of repudiating "the great God who made them" simultaneously figure the analogous Darwinian "crime" of repudiating God in scientific terms and thus become a disturbing emblem of the very materialist creed the speaker attempts to disavow.

The horror of a purely material universe that the werewolves embody also haunts the Arctic wastes of "Unabsolved," Campbell's other major work of northern Gothic in *The Dread Voyage*. Like "The Were-Wolves," "Unabsolved" places a northern scene of moral failure within a framework of Christian consolation that feels flimsy in relation to the speaker's powerful articulation of a universe from which "God His pity hath withdrawn" (*DV* 55). Like "The Dread Voyage," moreover, it symbolizes religious doubt as a harrowing journey into a haunted frozen landscape and reprises that poem's rewriting of the Coleridgean thematics of absolution. Fittingly it does so by revisiting the nineteenth century's most popular northern Gothic narrative, for "Unabsolved" is a dramatic monologue spoken by "a man who went with one of the expeditions to save Sir John Franklin's party, and who, being sent ahead, saw signs of them, but, through cowardice, was afraid to tell" (*DV* 55).

By returning to the primal scene of Victorian northern Gothic—the historically veiled moment of Franklin's destruction—the poem flirts with the possibility of rewriting Arctic history in terms of a narrative of Christian romance in which divine grace is allegorically enacted by the nobility of a human agent who "saves" Franklin by risking his own life. Yet the poem's refusal to indulge that fantasized reversal, and its decision to focus instead on the spiritual catastrophe brought about by its speaker's cowardice, reciprocally transforms the icy death of Franklin's crew into a symbol for both the protagonist's spiritual death and the meaningless universe ruled by a remote and pitiless God that he subsequently imagines. Such an identification between the speaker and Franklin is evident in the way that the speaker's response to his discovery of "The certain tapering outline of a mast, / And one small patch of rag" (*DV* 67)

belonging to the *Terror* or the *Erebus* transforms the terrifying landscape in which the ships are trapped into a mirror reflecting his own fate:

> …and then I felt
> No man could ever live to reach that place,
> And horror seized me of the haunted world,
> That I should die there and be froze for aye,
> Amid the ice-core of its awful heart. (*DV* 67-68)

As the speaker repeatedly affirms, he does not avoid this fate in any meaningful way, for his sin has condemned him to a state of spiritual abjection, which he describes as "see[ing] forever… / A world of cold and fear and dread and death" (*DV* 56). The monologue thus transforms the condemned Franklin expedition from a symbol of the human failure to conquer the North into a symbol of spiritual alienation and despair. As the would-be rescue narrative nears its conclusion, a familiar group of lupine figures drives the speaker northward to confront "the shores of some dread, lonely sea, / That gloomed to north and night," beyond which "seemed the awful endings of the world" (*DV* 66). This "shadowy, spectral pack / Of gleaming eyes and panting, lurid tongues / [that] Haunted the lone horizon towards the south" (*DV* 65) recalls the ambiguous mixture of moral and materialist symbolism embodied in the titular figures of "The Were-Wolves," an association consistent with the speaker's own materialist suspicion that "There is but one absolver, the absolved" (*DV* 62).

Throughout these northern Gothic poems of Campbell's first three volumes, the theme of religious doubt is reinforced through allusions to northern European myth and folklore that help construct a threatening image of the North that is pagan and polytheistic. Materialism, in other words, is not just represented metonymically through deadly and impassive northern landscapes, it is also personified by mythic figures identified with those landscapes, figures that are inimical to Christian monotheism and morality. In a typical winter poem like "Storm," for instance, the speaker anticipates how

> Soon, soon from arctic cave and bastion strong,
> With elves of frost and wrinkled, sleep-eyed ghosts,
> Out of the north with hornings loud and long,
> Will come the grim storm hosts
> …
> [to] howl and shriek and moan and pass away,

Leaving the world one whited death forlorn. (*DV* 38)

A similar allusion to the cave-dwelling Frost Giants of Norse mythology is central to the Gothic North of the Franklin poem, "Unabsolved," where "death"—the materialist negation of God in this poem—is personified as "a giant, aged, and stark and wan, / [who] Kept fast the entrance of those sunless caves, / Where hides the day beyond the icy seas" (*DV* 60). Both of these references echo Fiske's account of "the Jötuns, or Frost Giants of Northern paganism," whom he identifies as primeval ancestors of the flesh-eating "Trolls, or 'night-folk' of Northern mythology" (129). Related to such allusions is the atavism of Campbell's formerly-human "were-wolves," which recalls Fiske's relation of lycanthropy to "the Berserker insanity, characteristic of Scandinavia":

> With these Northmen, in the ninth century, the chief business and amusement in life was to set sail for some pleasant country…and make all the coasts and navigable rivers hideous with rapine and massacre. When at home, in the intervals between their freebooting expeditions, they were liable to become possessed by a strange homicidal madness, during which they would array themselves in the skins of wolves or bears, and sally forth by night to crack the backbones, smash the skulls, and sometimes drink with fiendish glee the blood of unwary travellers or loiterers. (80)

The sartorial image in "The Were-Wolves" of men from "far dark-ages" "b[inding] their mortal dust / With demon wolfish girdles / Of human hate and lust" (*DV* 100-101) appears to be directly inspired by Fiske's remarks about atavistic Northern European Berserkers that "haunt[ed] the woods by night, clothed in the hides of wolves or bears" (89), a context that reinforces the were-wolves' materialist connotation. References to "Vikings" and "Norsemen" in winter invasion poems like "The Passing Year" and "A Storm Picture" perform a similar function. In the former, "the rude blasts of November" come "like Vikings," "Chanting aloud the death song of the year" (*LL* 99); in the latter, the Thor-like "hammer of Titan that thunders at doors of the night" (*SPE* 39) announces a winter storm "from the north" that "doom[s] / The season of slumber and dreams to shadowy fear and affright" (*SPE* 39):

> And the settlers' children quake in their beds and whisper, "the Norsemen!"

> They've come again from the north, as they came long ages ago,
> And the thundering beat of the surf, they say, is the tread of their
>   horsemen,
> Trampling on the beach, under the wind and snow. (*SPE* 39)

In each of these cases, northern European figures personify threatening features of the frozen Gothic landscapes that are the signifiers of Campbell's materialist nightmare.

The materialist medievalism and Northern Gothic motifs of *The Dread Voyage* are also apparent in *Mordred*, which he began composing in 1893, the year *The Dread Voyage* was published. In some ways, the medievalism of Campbell's explicitly Arthurian play seems to differ from the former's evocations of Northern paganism, its subject matter hewing more obviously to the conventionally affirmative, nostalgic mode of the medieval revival that Chandler traces from Scott to Carlyle to Ruskin. By casting the story of the downfall of Arthur's Camelot in a tragic-didactic mode, however, Campbell gives this material a darkly ironic twist in which the "demon wolfish girdles / Of human hate and lust" are seldom far from view. Thus, the play's tragic depiction of Arthur's deficient monarchic and paternal love enshrines the neo-medieval ideal of chivalry, even as it indicates just how inaccessible the chivalric ideal seemed to him in 1895. The lurid breakdown of chivalry in Camelot, evident not only in Arthur's disinheritance of his grotesque, incestuously-conceived child Mordred but also in the adulterous betrayals of Launcelot and Guinevere, is symptomatic of the ascendency of sexual over spiritual values that typified late nineteenth-century anxieties about the social implications of an amoral Darwinian universe. As Chandler argues, the ideal of chivalry functioned as "the bridge" between nineteenth-century medievalism's two major poles of value: naturalism and feudalism. The former consisted of medievalism's "identification with nature and the past and thus with simpler and truer modes of feeling and express and nobler and more heroic codes of action"; the latter concerned "its harmonious and stable social structure which reconciled freedom and order by giving each man an allotted place in society and an allotted leader to follow" (195). Given such an interlacing of nature with the social, the eclipsing of Romanticism's natural supernaturalism by its Darwinian other could only be catastrophic—as Campbell's *Mordred* histrionically demonstrates. Hideous Mordred's anguished—and futile—infatuation with Guinevere's beauty conjoins the imagery of enflamed desire with the familiar locale of "Unabsolved": "Hell! Hell! I laugh at Hell! such flames I burn / Would scorch the northern ice-seas in their beds…" (82).

Campbell had already begun to establish this kind of link between the Gothic materialism of the northern poems and *Mordred*'s Arthurian scene in "Sir Lancelot," a narrative poem from *The Dread Voyage* whose thematic anticipation of *Mordred* connects the doom of Camelot to the materialist horror and degenerationist fantasy of "The Were-Wolves." This early working-through of the Arthurian material that would become the basis of *Mordred* is a tortured exploration of Lancelot's guilt over his betrayal of Arthur with Guinevere in which Lancelot suicidally attempts to redeem his sin by dying for Arthur in "The last dread battle of the Table Round" (l. 94). The poem is, in other words, Lancelot's version of the "dread voyages" of Franklin and Campbell himself that the rest of the collection explores, and like those others, Lancelot's is marked by a grim nihilism that identifies sin with the Tennysonian motif of "Nature, red in tooth and claw" ("In Memoriam" 56.15). Lancelot's "blade went circling in the sun, / Like some red flaming wheel" (*DV* 40) in "the reddest fight / That ever man beheld" (ll. *DV* 49), for his

> …dread sin now burned all softness out,
> And the glad kindliness of the Table Round,
> And left him, shorn of all the Christian knight,
> The gentle lord who only smote to save,
> Or shield the helpless from the brutal stroke;
> And flamed his heart there with the lust to slay,
> And slaying be slain as his grim sires went out. (*DV* 47)

The convergence of fire imagery with redness in the evocations of Lancelot's sin and compensatory battle-lust are given a Darwinian inflection, not simply by their association with Tennyson's own characterization of nature in *In Memoriam*, but more proximately by "Sir Lancelot"'s numerous allusions to Fiske's account of the bestial Scandinavian "Berserkers" whose "strange homicidal madness" was the subject of "The Were-Wolves." Whereas Lancelot begins the poem "Slaying the grizzly warriors of the meres, / And winning all men's fealty and love" (*DV* 41), he ultimately succumbs, after sinning, to the madness those "grizzy warriors" embody:

> And with the day new battle woke in meres,
> And as a wood-wolf scents the prey afar,
> The noise of coming battle smote his ears,
> And woke in him the fierceness of his race,
> And the old pagan, joyous lust of fight.

> …
> And as in some bleak ruin of a house
> Where all the sweet, home joys are ravaged out,
> And some grim, evil pack hath entered in
> To tear and snarl, so the old Lancelot passed. (*DV* 48)

The reappearance here of the wolf and pack imagery of "The Were-Wolves," which attends Lancelot's degeneration over the course of the poem from perfect Christian knight to pagan berserker telegraphs the pertinence of the materialist Gothic metanarrative that propels even Campbell's Arthurian medievalism.

The final lines of "Sir Lancelot," which reprise the shock of the "dead, drowned face" that "stares up immutably" "in mute prayer" from "Morning on the Shore," imply that Campbell had reached an impasse in the materialist horror of *The Dread Voyage*. Following Lancelot's death, the coldness of the Darwinian Gothic night usurps the position of deity as

> ...one by one the lonely stars came out,
> And over the meres the wintry moon looked down,
> Unmindful of poor Lancelot and his wounds,
> His dead, lost youth, the stillness of his face,
> And all that awful carnage silent there. (*DV* 51)

By the late 1890s, however, after the completion of *Mordred*, Campbell had largely worked through this spiritual impasse by arriving at a creative compromise with evolutionary theory. As early as 1896, Campbell began planning "The Tragedy of Man," an ingenious rebuttal to the propositions of Darwinian theory, which had "lowered the great origin of mankind as expressed in creation to the level of a mere stock-breeding experiment, started by accident and controlled by chance" (*SPE* 187). In this twenty-two chapter treatise, Campbell amassed evidence from "all realms of human research such as history, ethnology, tradition, mythology, archaeology, religion, philosophy, literature and science" to rescue God from Darwinism by positing a dual creation: one evolutionary, the other divine. By reinterpreting the scriptural story of The Fall as mythic evidence for a primeval union between "a lower, autochthonous, or purely earth race, who were possibly evolved from the lower creation" and "a mysterious race of beings of loftier origin and condition" that he identified with the Biblical "Sons of God" (*SPE* 188-89), Campbell was able to imagine the "human entity" as a paradoxically "fallen and risen

man" in whom rages "the terrible clash between two natures"—"the Caliban and the Prospero" (*SPE* 196). In this way, Campbell restored religion to its status as a divinely sanctioned ethical imperative for the individual to "conquer" his hereditary "Caliban," even as he insisted that "there can be no salvation of the single man if the race is doomed…because in this world, it is in the race that he is immortal; and is justified here and before God" (*SPE* 196-97). Thus in "The Tragedy of Man" did Campbell seek to transform the "race-doom" that haunted his darkest verse into what he eventually called "race-piety," a form of conscience that manifested itself as "sincerity and responsibility"—"god-like" virtues (qtd. in Kilnck 210) which Campbell likewise associated with his own imperialist British-Canadianism.

In fact, imperialism, "race-piety," and religious retrenchment are knotted together in "The Tragedy of Man," for its account of the struggle between Prospero and Caliban at the level of the individual is also mapped onto Campbell's differentiation between the "higher" and "lower" races of his own day. In keeping with Victorian sociocultural evolutionary prejudice, Campbell regarded the "white races" as "greatly superior" and explained the mystery of why "one portion of the human race should be fair and God like and the others dark and more approaching the animal" as evidence of "some influence or element in [the white races] which they did not inherit from their earth ancestry" (*SPE* 192). Britons were, of course, so much at the forefront of the "great races" that Campbell even ventured a diffusionist theory of culture in which "Europe was civilized from the British Isles" (*SPE* 189, 192)—a theory that provided a flattering historical pedigree for Campbell's own increasing identification as a Briton and his heightened support of British imperialist politics in the mid-1890s (Hurst xii). The latter were tacitly justified by "The Tragedy of Man" as well, for as Laurel Boone notes, Campbell's theory of a divided human nature meant that "advanced races must help lower races to restore the proper relation of 'the race, the nation, the community, and the individual' to God" (100).

The Arthur of *Mordred* in many ways embodies "The Tragedy of Man"'s divided human ontology and its attendant moral-metaphysical struggle of "race-piety," but *avant la lettre* and at the moment of its catastrophic reversal when the inner Prospero succumbs to the inner Caliban—that is to say, when Arthur succumbs to his fallen earthly nature. Like *The Dread Voyage*'s "Sir Lancelot," then, in whose tragic protagonist the sinfulness of *Mordred*'s Arthur and the Caliban-like

degeneration of Mordred are as yet undifferentiated, *Mordred* is ultimately legible through the materialist lens of Campbell's northern Gothic medievalism. Arthur's failure to overcome his baser impulses is made "incarnate" on stage in the living product of Arthur's "incestuous night" of "savagery" and "wildness," and is then further dramatized by father and son's mutual destruction following Mordred's usurpation of Camelot. It is no coincidence that Mordred's incarnation of his father's earthly "sin" is marked by allusions to *The Tempest*, most especially in Viven's identification of Mordred with "foulest Caliban" as she goads him to "assert [his] dignity" and "make [his] kingship felt" (46) in one of many scenes that recalls Caliban's murderous plotting against Prospero. Although it precedes Campbell's earliest notes on "The Tragedy of Man" by at least three years, Campbell's *Mordred* is plainly already informed by many of that nascent treatise's central ideas and motifs—a connection that Campbell himself confirms in his Preface to the 1908 edition of the play when he alludes to "[a work] I am dealing with...treating the origin of mankind" (11). It is on the basis of its dramatized anticipation of Campbell's material-metaphysical vision of a dual creation—summed up Mordred's paradoxical status as "royal hunchback" or "hunchback king" (90, 112)—that the play finds the reactionary idiom of its bid for Shakespearean "universality" and "humanity."

Campbell's intense identification with "the British race" in his public life during this "Vaster Britain" period of imperial advocacy and renewed religious faith (which lasted until his death in 1919) was foregrounded in his poetry, which celebrated the glorious achievements of the British Empire in dozens of patriotic odes and elegies. This shift correspondingly brought about a transformation in his poetry's discursive construction of North. In keeping with Campbell's rejection of Poe and Fiske (the muses of Campbell's Darwinian Gothic northern verse) (Klinck 55-56), references to the North in Campbell's later verse function less as signifiers of spiritual despair and "race-doom" than as metonymies of a British-Canadian nationhood rooted in Nordic racial pride. The Anglo-Norse title of Campbell's last collection, *Sagas of Vaster Britain: Poems of the Race, the Empire, and the Divinity of Man* (1914), epitomizes the simultaneously racialist and imperialist use of the North in Campbell's later poetry, which characteristically appropriates the northern rhetoric of the Canada First Movement and the Imperial Federation League to construct an image of British Canada as "a Northern country inhabited by the descendants of Northern races" (Robert Grant Haliburton qtd. in Berger, "The True North Strong and Free" 6). "England," for instance,

celebrates Scot, Saxon, Celt, Dane, Norman, and Canadian in quasi-biological terms as British heroes united by "the Northman's sinew and heart and brain" (*SVB* 11). Another poem, "Crowning of Empire" (written for King Edward's coronation in 1902), trumpets the Britons as

> Victorious Northmen, strenuous, masterful,
>
> Not to be strangled in time's ocean flood,
>
> …
>
> But to remain, contend, depose, and rule,
>
> Till earth's white morn outflames her latest night,
>
> And freedom breaks in gold about the world. (*SPE* 92)

The racialist discourse of manly "Northmen" in the "Vaster Britain" poems is significant not because it breaks with Campbell's use of Norse mythology in his earlier construction of a Gothic North, but because it makes visible the degree to which the early poems of northern Gothic were already inflected by the very northern nationalism that eventually took center stage in Campbell's imperialist poetics. The references to "the hammer of Titan [sic]" and "the Norsemen" who have "come again from the north" in "A Storm Picture" resonate suggestively with a speech that Canada First co-founder William Foster originally delivered in 1871 and later published in 1890—the same year Campbell's poem appeared in the Christmas Supplement of *Toronto Saturday Night*. "The old Norse mythology, with its Thor hammers and Thor hammerings, appeals to us," Foster argued, "for we are a Northern people" (qtd. in Berger, *The Sense of Power* 62-63). Whether or not Campbell was aware of Foster's speech is less relevant than the fact that his poems circulated in an environment in which allusions to Norse mythology, history, and culture carried a nationalist or racialist charge, for the semantic overlap between signifiers of religious doubt and "racial" identification means that the appearance of "pagan" imps and northern European deities in the poems of northern Gothic cannot be reduced to mere stage-dressing for the poet's crisis of religious faith. Even if the primary function of Campbell's Gothic North is to depict a materialist wasteland in which God is absent or dead, this function cannot entirely be separated from the construction of an imperialist northern imaginary that layers spiritual angst and "race-doom" with the more celebratory discourse of imperialist racial brotherhood through which Campbell later presented the theme of "race-piety." The Norse bogeys of Campbell's Gothic North might thus become the basis for a consoling racialist fantasy that helps to salve the very religious crisis they originally signified. A poem like "Unabsolved," for instance, which transforms the Franklin mystery into a symbol for the death of God by

abandoning Franklin to a materialist fate personified by a Norse Frost Giant, for instance, can thus also be read as producing a kind of "homely" northern Gothic, whose catachrestic gesture of metaphorically misnaming Canada's North tacitly legitimizes the northern nation and its "natural" place within a vaster northern Empire—a political identity that, for Campbell, became inseparable from the religious ethics of "race-piety" he developed to justify his revived faith in *The Tragedy of Man*. As Cynthia Sugars has observed, the poem "fills in for the palpable absence of Canadian settler ghosts that is evident in renditions of the Franklin story" by "implant[ing…] White ghosts into the Canadian Arctic" (128). "Unabsolved" thus "performs a kind of Gothic wish-fulfillment in its conjuring of Franklin's presence in a story that has been inherited as one of Gothic rupture" (128).

Much of Campbell's poetry lent itself to precisely this kind of reversal. As we have seen, his northern Gothic horrors are already often "contained" within fragile redemptive frames: a seasonal cycle that promises or implies the return of spring in the winter invasion poems, the Christian speaker's disavowal of materialism in "The Were-Wolves," and the despairing speaker's dim hope for absolution in "Unabsolved." Although such hopeful gestures seem unconvincing in their original contexts of publication, their presence nonetheless makes the poems structurally ambivalent and thus potentially reinterpretable when deployed in new contexts. Campbell and his editors seem intuitively to have recognized such a possibility, for despite Campbell's repudiation of a poem of radical doubt like "The Dread Voyage" in his "Vaster Britain" period, many of the Gothic poems I have been discussing, including "The Were-Wolves" and "Unabsolved," were reprinted in his *Collected Poems* of 1905. In fact, "Unabsolved" had already been reprinted in *Beyond the Hills of Dream* (1899) and appeared for a fourth time in *Sagas of Vaster Britain*, where it could be newly savoured as poem of Gothic imperialism alongside more traditional paeans to exploration and imperial glory in poems like "The Discoverers" and "Sebastian Cabot." By demonstrating the compatibility of the earlier and later poems, Campbell's last several collections confirm the ideological subtext of northern Gothicism in Canada, a mode that does not necessarily register the collapse of religion or the limits of imperial power in a nightmare of snow and ice, so much as it manufactures a supernatural genealogy for nationalist and imperialist northern racialism.

This supernatural genealogy also performs an act of cultural and historical erasure, overwriting the presence of Inuit and Indigenous

northerners and thus tautologically affirming its own legitimacy as always already "indigenous." Its double gesture of erasure and substitution, in other words, is a more complex version of the telling "silence" that Eva Mackey notices in Canada First's discourse of northern racialism, namely:

> the absence of a discussion of the way in which Native peoples fit into the idea of the natural superiority of Northern races. If one followed the logic of…the Canada First Movement, wouldn't Native people, having lived in the Northern climates of Canada for longer be even more hardy, superior, and naturally inclined to freedom, liberty and hard work, than Anglo-Saxon immigrants who come from a relatively warmer climate? Perhaps the assumption that Aboriginal people were vanishing…meant they did not have to be considered. (32)

The thematic development of Campbell's poetry from *Lake Lyrics* to *The Dread Voyage* offers an ideologically similar but rhetorically more complex version of just this kind of convenient "assumption" in his northern supernaturalism's indigenizing double gesture of erasure and substitution.

The first movement of this double gesture is epitomized by the Indian poems of *Lake Lyrics*, which memorialize various Native sites and legends of the Lake Huron region in a discourse that "shapes the indigene into an historical artifact," thereby removing it from the present (Goldie 17). In "Manitou," for instance, contemporaneous Native presence has been replaced by the speaker's awed reflection upon "The Island sacred to the Memory of Manitou in Lake Huron" (*LL* 39), which itself seems to exist in a region that transcends "the hate and passion and wonder" of "the world" (*LL* 39). "The Legend of Dead Man's Lake" presents a more unsettling but still recuperable example of the vanishing Indian motif (Francis 57), recounting a Native legend about "a chief [who] was treacherously murdered on this lake," but whose "body still lies with upturned face at the bottom" casting a "dread curse…over the vicinity" (*LL* 65). Indeed, Campbell literally appropriates this Native tale, making it the basis not only for his poetic retelling here but (with the additional allusion to the drowned man of Esthwaite from *The Prelude*) for his later sonnet "Morning on the Shore," whose "dead, drowned face" that "plead[s] in mute prayer" directly echoes this poem's "White face of a long-dead man" that "lies with that prayer in its eyes." "Crags," similarly retells an Ojibway legend, this one about "the lime-stone crag cliffs on the

shores of the great American lakes" being "Indian warriors eternally fixed in stone by Nana Boza (Hiawatha) to keep guard over the spirits of bad Indians who are doomed to roam for ever [sic] these desolate wilds" (*LL* 81). Like "Legend," it seems to anticipate one of Campbell's later northern Gothic poems: "The Were-Wolves," who are similarly confined to eternal punishment in "desolate wilds" for evil deeds. "Crags" is also organized around the ultimate motif of "indigenization through…absence": "the indigene as corpse" (Goldie 158).

Such "sensitive" rhetorical acts that erase Indigenous people from the present while celebrating and absorbing their cultural traces epitomize the process of indigenization through appropriation (Goldie 15). That Campbell based two of his most grotesque and disturbing poems of religious doubt in *The Dread Voyage* on these early retellings of Native legends, however, rejecting the trapping of Indigenous myth and legend in favor of the more bracing atmosphere of Northern Gothic, suggests that he had become dissatisfied with *Lake Lyrics*' Romantic mode of indigenization by 1893—something that his relegation of "the red Indian" to the category of "primitive" or "earth races" in *The Tragedy of Man* confirms (*SPE* 194). It is not incidental, then, that Campbell's transformation of Native ghosts into raw material for materialist horror in the poems of northern Gothic coincides with the more general disappearance of Indian poetry from his corpus. Within this context, the efflorescence of northern European myth and legend in his poetry must be seen as complementary; it is a substitution of Norse mythology for Native legend that establishes a new basis for the "indigenization" of "northern" British-Canadians.[1]

Note

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