THE MATRIARCHITECTS:
THE CREATION AND MAINTENANCE OF THE BRITISH IMPERIAL SIMULACRUM IN THE JOURNALISM OF HELEN GREGORY MACGILL, MADGE MACBETH, AND KATHLEEN BLAKE COLEMAN

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the lives and work of three early Canadian women journalists, Helen Gregory MacGill, Madge Macbeth, and Kathleen Blake "Kit" Coleman. The argument expands on the work of Sara Mills in *Discourses of Difference* (1991), using a similar Foucauldian approach to determine constraints on the production and reception of the three women's writings; additionally, Jean Baudrillard's simulacrum theory is used to determine the effects produced by those writings. The analysis focuses on articles the three journalists wrote about nations beyond the control of the British empire – Japan, Spain, and Cuba respectively – using an interdisciplinary approach. By situating the three journalists within the Canadian context of British high imperialism, and then assessing their articles as travel writing rather than journalism, the impact of their work emerges: through their journalism work, MacGill, Macbeth, and Coleman contributed to the creation and maintenance of a simulacrum of the British empire.

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INTRODUCTION

In the late nineteenth century, a number of women writers rose to prominence in the male-dominated world of Canadian journalism: Sara Jeannette Duncan, Kate Simpson Hayes, Agnes Maule Machar, and Robertine Barry, to name a few. Some would go on to found the Canadian Women's Press Club (CWPC) in 1904, thus starting not only "the world's first women's press club with a national organization, but … also the first national club of working journalists in Canada" (Lang 67). Many scholars since have studied these women writers, whether singly or as a group. Feminist historians such as Barbara Freeman, Carole Gerson, and Marjory Lang have emphasized the many ways that early Canadian women journalists and their writings overcame gender barriers.[1] This essay builds on those pathbreaking studies by shifting the focus away from earlier analyses of feminist achievements to explore how the careers of three early Canadian women journalists can inform our understanding of empire.

I argue that the three women writers I chose, Helen Gregory MacGill, Madge Macbeth, and Kathleen Blake Coleman, were permitted to break gender barriers – to break free of the "angel in the house" trope and the shackles of the domestic sphere – because they were acting as agents of empire, reinforcing colonial hierarchies of gender, race, and class. Their writing reveals

[1] See Barbara Freeman, *Beyond Bylines: Media Workers and Women's Rights in Canada* 1-2, Carole Gerson, *Canadian Women in Print, 1750-1918* 105, and Lang 31.

imperial underpinnings especially in their preoccupation with the continuing viability of empire in the face of the rise and fall of other competing empires.

THESIS

Helen Gregory MacGill, Madge Macbeth, and Kathleen Blake "Kit" Coleman, three early Canadian women journalists who worked during the period of new imperialism,[2] employed the tropes, techniques, and conventions of travel writing to produce articles that are stylistic hybrids, displaying characteristics belonging to both the travel writing genre as well as that of journalism. When their work was printed in newspapers and scientific journals (and eventually an autobiography), their fact-based travel narratives acquired the veneer of factual history. Thus, articles that began as a blend of fact and fiction created to sell newspapers became part of the historical public record, contributing to and helping to maintain a simulacrum of the British empire, which had been created in the imperial imaginary by travel writing of the preceding centuries.

[2] 1890-1955

METHODOLOGY

I adopt Sara Mills' Foucauldian approach to determine the constraints on production and reception that affected MacGill's, Macbeth's, and Coleman's articles. I simultaneously attempt to uncover the significance of using travel writing tropes in journalism, incorporating travel writing theory from the likes of Carl Thompson and Tim Youngs to apply more recent academic developments examining travel writing to my subjects' works. Finally, I apply Baudrillard's simulacrum theory to assess what these women's writings produced. This is where my work differs from that of Mills; whereas she uses Foucault to assess why women travel writers wrote what they did and under what conditions they produced those writings, I attempt to make a claim about the effects produced by their writings. I argue that these women journalists contributed to the creation and maintenance of a simulacrum of empire, of gender, of class, and of race, and they did it using travel writing tropes and techniques.

When Mills first wrote *Discourses of Difference* (1991), the attitude that travel writing was a legitimate focus for academic study had only recently begun to emerge with such works as Paul Fussell's *Abroad: British Literary Travelling Between the Wars* (1979). Much more work has been produced since then, not only on travel writing theory, but also regarding gender and post-colonial theories. Now therefore is a good time to re-examine Mills' work in relation to the more recent scholarship on gender, imperialism, and travel literature.

I chose the writings of Helen Gregory MacGill, Madge Macbeth, and Kit Coleman for a number of similarities the three women shared. They all made choices regarding marriage, work, and family which defied societal gender-based expectations of their time. All three were mothers when they travelled, abandoning their children to the care of others (except for MacGill, who was pregnant when she travelled to Japan), which complicates the portrayals of femininity within

their writings. They were all members and presidents, at one time or another, of their respective Canadian Women's Press Club branches; this shared connection with a literary establishment may have lent their writing more cultural clout than that of other women journalists, even if their gender might have qualified that position. Their connectedness to influential journalistic, literary, and social circles gave them access to power and influence, and what they did with that access is worth exploring. Finally, the relative scarcity of prior academic analysis of their work gave me great freedom to find an analytical approach that had not yet been tried.

Mills used Foucault to analyze women's travel writing to uncover the constraints on those writings and their reception; I use a similar approach to analyze the production and constraints on the reception of MacGill's, Macbeth's, and Coleman's work, which I argue should be regarded as travel writing rather than journalism. My work differs from Mills' in that I have chosen to analyze writings that were produced for publication in newspapers and magazines, which means that I compare and contrast the competing or complementary constraints on production and reception of the work as journalism and as travel writing. I chose three specific articles, one from each author, on which to base my comparative analysis based on specific production constraints that all three shared: in each, the writers examined a colonial setting that was not within the orbit of British imperialism; and in each circumstance, the women wrote about political and/or military events – topics not usually the focus of female journalists. In assessing these samples of travel writing posing as journalistic endeavours, I examine how the competing demands of those two genres predetermined where my three subjects would travel, what they would see, and how they would interpret what they observed for their reading audience back home.

Additionally, I use a cultural materialist approach to interrogate the works to discover how demands and expectations of race, class, gender, and empire affected the finished products. Thus, whereas I follow Mills' approach by studying the forces that shaped these women's works, in order to understand what resulted from their writings, I turned to the theoretical work of Jean Baudrillard. Of particular use was *Simulacra and Simulation* (1995), in which he argues that, in humans' attempts to represent reality, over time we have transitioned from first-order image production (faithful representations of reality), progressing to second-order image production (distorted representations of reality) around the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries,[3] before finally arriving at third-stage image production (the creation of simulacra disconnected from the earlier concepts of reality and its representation) in the twentieth century. Using Baudrillard's simulacrum theory and applying it to a slightly earlier time period than he originally intended, I argue that MacGill's, Macbeth's, and Coleman's travel writing articles are evidence, not necessarily of the reality of the empire, but of the emergence of a third-order simulacrum of the British empire.

I also reference the influential scholarship by Marjory Lang, Carole Gerson, Eva-Marie Kröller, and Barbara Freeman to identify the uniquely Canadian elements in my subjects' work. Kröller's *Canadian Travellers in Europe* (1987) examines travel writing produced by Canadian men and women in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Freeman's 1989 *Kit's Kingdom* provides a detailed biography of one writer, "Kit" Coleman, while Lang's 1999 study *Women Who Made the News* analyzes a cluster of female Canadian journalists from the turn of the twentieth century to its mid-point. Gerson's *Canadian Women in Print* (2010) includes journalists among the Canadian women writers active from 1750 through to the end of the First

[3] Baudrillard associates the second order with the Industrial Revolution and modernity, and the third order with the postmodern.

World War. By considering Kröller, Freeman, Gerson, and Lang's works along with that of Mills, I extrapolate the distinctly Canadian features of my subjects' works and how they wrote Canada into its place within the British empire.[4] Through my analysis, I respond to Freeman's call for research into Canadian media history that takes women journalists' work and contributions into account.[5]

[4] The interdisciplinary nature of this paper at times necessitated a blended use of present and past tenses. For example, I sometimes discuss the historical context surrounding an article's production within the same paragraph that I analyze its literary construction, as in this explanatory note. In most cases, I use past tenses to denote actual historical events and present tenses to refer to literary material; in all cases, I carefully considered every single verb tense I chose to employ.

[5] Work that Freeman herself continues to perform: see *The Satellite Sex: The Media and Women's Issues in English Canada, 1966-1971* (2001), and *Beyond Bylines: Media Workers and Women's Rights in Canada* (2011).

BIOGRAPHY: HELEN GREGORY MACGILL

My source for most of the biographical material on Helen Gregory MacGill's early life is *My Mother the Judge* (1955), the biography written by her daughter, aeronautical engineer Elsie Gregory MacGill. While there are many extant primary documents in MacGill's fonds at archives in Vancouver and Victoria, British Columbia, they pertain mostly to MacGill's life after she moved to Vancouver in 1902. The records related to her life as it concerns this paper are few in number, likely as a result of her having moved to California in 1891.

Helen Emma Gregory was born on 7 January 1864, the first daughter of Silas Gregory (3 June 1823 – 4 April 1911) and his wife Emma (neé O'Reilly, 5 April 1835 – 14 June 1907). She was "born into Society" (MacGill 2), with both of her parents coming from influential families. Her maternal grandfather was Judge Miles O'Reilly of Hamilton, Ontario, who was personally and professionally well connected with the Upper Canada elite.[6] Her maternal uncle, James Edwin O'Reilly, served as mayor of Hamilton in 1869, and again from 1879-1881 ("Mayors"). Her father Silas, originally from Montreal, was well-connected in Hamilton both through business and politics, having served as a council member on the Board of Trade, played a role in the founding of the Hamilton Club, and served as party organizer of the Hamilton Tories for the general election of 1873.

On 17 November 1886, MacGill became the first woman in the British empire to receive a Bachelor of Music degree from Trinity College. Her family connections likely contributed to her ability to achieve this feat. According to her daughter Elsie's biography, MacGill's

[6] O'Reilly married Jane Racey, whose father James was friends with members of the Family Compact, such as Sir Allan Napier MacNab and Bishop John Strachan: see E. MacGill 8-10. O'Reilly also successfully defended James Peters, James Benham, and John Butchart against charges of insurrection in connection with the 1837 Upper Canada Rebellion: see Shelley 24.

grandfather Miles used his connections to persuade those responsible for adjudicating on academic petitions to change the rules at Trinity College in favour of his granddaughter, thus allowing her to undertake the studies leading to the degree. It is worth noting that another woman, Emma Stanton Mellish, also received the same degree at the same ceremony as MacGill: Helen, then surnamed Gregory, was simply awarded the degree first according to alphabetical order. On 7 June 1889, she became the first woman to be awarded a Bachelor of Arts from Trinity College, and on 27 June 1890, she received her Master of Arts from the same institution ("Miss Helen" 2).

Around the time of her graduation, MacGill was tasked with travelling to Japan on a journalistic assignment, the details of which are somewhat mysterious. Her daughter's biography states that she was sent "as correspondent for *The Cosmopolitan* and *The Atlantic Monthly* [to cover] the startling political events then looming in Japan [including the opening of the] representative bicameral parliament or Diet which was to convene in December, 1890" (MacGill 56); however, other sources state that she was sent by "a press syndicate" to observe and report on the "social conditions in Japan after the introduction of constitutional government" ("Dogged Doer"). It is also unclear why a woman reporter would have been sent to cover the opening of the Japanese Diet when there existed "the rule excluding ladies from the galleries of the Japan Houses of Parliament" ("Notes" 10): a rule which would have prevented her from ever witnessing the event. Marjory Lang posits that "the unusual academic accomplishments of Helen Gregory were partly responsible for her being entrusted by *Cosmopolitan Magazine* to cover the opening of the Japanese diet in 1890" (*Women* 88). The circumstances surrounding this assignment, as well as its political implications, will be explored in greater detail later in this paper.

According to MacGill's biography, Prime Minister Sir John A. Macdonald himself was asked by her family to furnish letters of introduction to assist the young, single lady on her travels. Her daughter wrote that Macdonald "readily undertook to provide letters of introduction to Canadian and British officials in Japan" (57). Additionally, Macdonald also "suggested that on her way west [MacGill] visit and write up the new foreign settlements taking root in Manitoba and the Northwest Territory" (57). It is remarkable that Macdonald entrusted a woman reporter, and such an inexperienced one, with an assignment of this nature. MacGill readily accepted, and her articles were set to appear in the Toronto publication, *The Globe*.

The motivation behind Macdonald's request was political: many of the western provinces had only joined Confederation within the past ten years, and the Canadian Pacific Railway had only been completed within the past five. The biography explains the politician's motive for making the request:

> Completion of the railway brought on an epidemic of 'prairie fever' in the eastern provinces, and settlers poured in so fast …. Blocs of European immigrants entered and settled in isolated self-contained communities where they retained the language, dress, manners and customs of their homeland, in striking contrast to Canadian ways. Sir John was eager that the worth of these newcomers be appreciated in the tax-conscious East, and he suggested to Helen that if she would visit some of the outlying settlements on her journey west and write about them for eastern newspapers, he would arrange railway passes for her and all official aid. (60)

Macdonald intended for MacGill's writing to perform the work of nation-building and imperialism, for, as Prime Minister Robert Borden stated, "[i]mperialism rightly understood was based on nationalism rightly understood" (CWPC *Triennial Report* 52). Lang's observation that

MacGill's "unusual academic accomplishments … were partly responsible for her being entrusted by *Cosmopolitan Magazine* to cover the opening of the Japanese diet" (88) likely also explains why Macdonald chose MacGill for this assignment. Her degrees would have lent her writing gravitas and authority, while her gender would have allayed suspicion in readers' minds that the articles were actually political propaganda.

One of the stops that MacGill made on her way to Vancouver and thence onward to Japan was the town of Deloraine, Manitoba, where she intended to visit her older half-brother Miles. Here she met Frederick Charles "Lee" Flesher, whom she married on 1 August 1890.[7] The couple continued on their way westward,[8] with MacGill stopping in small settlements along the way and writing articles about them for *The Globe*, until finally arriving in Vancouver on 28 October 1890 ("Talented" 4). From here she departed for Japan, leaving her new husband behind to await her return.

MacGill set sail on *The Abyssinia* on 3 November 1890;[9] however, due to heavy fog the ship remained just offshore of Vancouver in English Bay until the following morning ("Local"). The biography states that MacGill broke her leg several days into the twenty-one-day crossing, when the ship encountered a storm. As soon as the ship arrived in Yokohama around 26 November,[10] MacGill embarked on a whirlwind tour of Japan. She left the country toward the end of January 1891, and shortly after she returned home married Lee Flesher again in early March.[11] The couple moved to California immediately after the wedding. Her first son, Eric

[7] Marriage registration available on the Manitoba Vital Statistics Agency: Registration #1890-001600. MacGill's given name is incorrectly recorded as Heleanor.
[8] There is very little information surrounding the couple's whirlwind courtship and hasty marriage, though the date of the elder son's birth suggests that it was not a shotgun wedding.
[9] E. MacGill incorrectly states that her mother set sail on 14 November 1890 (70).
[10] See "Notes on New Books," *The Globe* 10.
[11] E. MacGill claims it was Silas Gregory who insisted on the couple having a church ceremony, which took place on 3 March 1891, in Hamilton, Ontario (75-76).

Herbert, was born in Santa Clara, California, on 2 June 1891 ("Eric Herbert"), and her second son, Frederic Phillip, was born in San Francisco on 10 May 1894 ("Image 2124").[12] During her time in the western United States, MacGill resumed her work in journalism. She wrote at first for *The Californian Illustrated Magazine*, then became an editor for *The Searchlight*, "a San Francisco publication devoted to the emancipation of women" ("Personal" 10), and finally became editor and publisher for the San Francisco monthly, *Society*.

The Flesher family eventually moved to St. Paul, Minnesota, when Lee was offered a position with the Mayo Clinic. He died unexpectedly in 1901, leaving MacGill alone to support their two young sons. The journalism she had begun in Ontario and continued in California was now her only source of income:[13] she served as an editor for the *St. Paul Globe*. The young widow began to revive contact with her old Canadian friends and connections. On 16 September 1902, she married James MacGill, an old classmate from Trinity College. The couple and the two young Flesher children moved to Vancouver, where James practiced law; they had two more children: another Helen, on 24 August 1903, and Elizabeth "Elsie" Muriel on 27 March 1905.

MacGill thrived professionally in Vancouver. In 1909, she helped to found the Vancouver Women's Press Club. She was involved in a number of committees, the aims of which were to improve the lot of women and children in British Columbia. This work eventually led to her appointment as the first female judge of the juvenile court in Vancouver, 1917.[14] Throughout her career on the bench, MacGill focused on the legal and social wellbeing of women and children in British Columbia. She died on 27 February 1947, in Chicago.

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[12] Coleman and MacGill were both in San Francisco from around the time of MacGill's third trimester until shortly after the birth of her younger son: Coleman was in California from March or April until at least June to cover the California Mid-winter Fair, according to Freeman (86). Both women were also working as journalists at the time.
[13] Contributing articles to *The Globe* and *The Dominion Illustrated Monthly*.
[14] According to the Legislative Assembly of British Columbia,

BIOGRAPHY: MADGE MACBETH

American-born Madge Macbeth was a prolific Canadian journalist, author, literary figure, and socialite who lived and worked (mostly) in Ottawa for more than half of the twentieth century. From the time she moved to Ottawa with her Canadian husband in 1904, until her death in 1965, Macbeth exerted varying degrees of influence on the local and national literary, artistic, social, and even political scenes. Toward the end of her life, she produced two autobiographies, *Over My Shoulder* (1953) and *Boulevard Career* (1957).

The academic record of Macbeth's life contains some conflicting information. Her date of birth, for example, is recorded in a variety of reputable sources as anywhere between 1878 and 1883;[15] similarly, her date of marriage is listed sometimes as 1897, sometimes as 1901.[16] The year of her elder son John's birth,[17] his marriage to a woman he met while stationed overseas during the Second World War,[18] and the circumstances surrounding the date of that marriage and the age of his first child invite questions.[19] There is also some conflicting information about

[15] The Canadian Writing Research Collaboratory (CWRC): 1878; Carole Gerson: 1880; *The Oxford Companion to Canadian Literature*: 1881; MA thesis, TL Curtis: 1883.
[16] CWRC: 25 October 1897; Peggy Kelly: 1901.
[17] CWRC: 1901; Jewish Archives: 1903. The earlier date would have caused a personal scandal for Macbeth, considering her position as a lady in society.
[18] CWRC and Jewish Archives: Millicent Ann Gilmour; *The Ottawa Journal*: Millicent Anne Freeman.
[19] *The Ottawa Journal*, 7 June 1951, notes, "Miss Madge Macbeth, eight-year-old daughter of Mrs. Macbeth and the late Lt. Col. J.D. Macbeth, left by plane for England to spend the next eight months visiting relatives." The Jewish Archives lists John Douglas' marriage date as 7 February 1943, which would mean that the bride had to already have been pregnant (if not already a mother) at the altar. Additionally, the only record for a Madge Macbeth born in England in 1943 (where John Douglas was during the Second World War, between his deployments in the Dieppe raid and the Italian Campaign) was a birth registration submitted in the first quarter of the year (Jan-Mar) in Loughborough, Leicestershire. See "Madge M. Macbeth."

Macbeth's second son, Charlie's,[20] wife's name.[21] Even her grandmothers' identities are sometimes conflated.[22] To reconcile all of the contradictory biographical details, I sought out as many primary and secondary source documents as possible pertaining to Macbeth's and her family's history.

Madge Hamilton Lyons was the eldest child of Hymen Hart Lyons and Bessie Maffit.[23] She was born on 6 November 1878,[24] in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. By 1880, the Lyons family had relocated to Asheville, North Carolina, where the family of three became a family of five with the birth of Philip Douglas in 1881, and Nathalie Fontaine in 1884.[25] Sometime between 1884 and 1887, Macbeth moved back to Philadelphia to live with her maternal grandmother, Adelaide Clayland Maffitt (neé Beach),[26] whom Macbeth claims was "of British stock" (*Over*

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[20] Charlie Macbeth appears to have been married more than once. *The Ottawa Journal*, 25 July 1950, includes a social notice: "Mrs. Madge Macbeth has left for Virginia Beach, NJ, to visit her son and daughter-in-law Mr. and Mrs. Charles Macbeth." Further, the same paper on 31 July 1951 mentions, "Mr. Charles Macbeth and his young son Jack, of Philadelphia, Pa., are spending a few days in Ottawa visiting Mr. Macbeth's mother, Mrs. Madge Macbeth." Claudia Macbeth is identified as the first wife of Eric Blackburn (*The Ottawa Citizen* 27 April 2001); she is also identified in the obituary notice of Jack Hess, her second husband, who died on 26 May 1960 (*The Ottawa Journal* 27 May 1960). She could not have been the Mrs. Charles Macbeth referenced in the articles from the 1950s, as she does not marry Charles Macbeth until sometime after the death of her second husband in 1960. See "Family of Coristine, Claudia W."

[21] CWRC: Claudia W. Cloristine; *The Ottawa Citizen*: Claudia W. Coristine (12 November 2007). For further reference, see "Claudia W. Macbeth."

[22] Macbeth's paternal grandmother was Louisa Hart, and her maternal grandmother was Adelaide Clayland Maffitt. TL Curtis' MA thesis identifies Macbeth's maternal grandmother as Louisa Hart Maffitt; however, in *Over My Shoulder*, Macbeth specifically states that her "maternal grandmother" (38) had been married to the "Comptroller of the State of Maryland" (39): Samuel S. Maffitt. According to the Maryland State Archives' marriage records, he married Adelaide C. Beach on 21 February 1844 (236).

[23] Macbeth's mother's family name is sometimes spelled with one "t" and sometimes with two. This variant spelling appears in multiple locations, including government census records, government service files, marriage certificates, and obituaries. Macbeth uses only one "t" in *Over My Shoulder*; the Maryland marriage registry for her maternal grandparents shows two.

[24] According to the Maryland Vital Records marriage registry that shows her age of marriage in 1901 to be 22, plus the data on the Federal Census of 1880 from Asheville that states her age as 1 as of June 1880, she had to have been born in 1878; otherwise, she would not be listed on the 1880 census. Her birth certificate can be viewed online in two places, both through FamilySearch: see "Madge Lyons" and "Madge Hamilton Lyons."

[25] The CWRC's information on Macbeth's siblings is corroborated by the Lyons family lineage as listed in the Jewish Archives; however, Nathalie is spelled without the "h" in the Archives' records.

[26] The CWRC incorrectly identifies Bessie Maffitt's mother as Louisa Hart Maffitt. Louisa Hart was Hymen Hart Lyons' mother, according to the Jewish Archives family tree; she married Jacob Cohen Lyons sometime around 1833 (their first son, Charles, was born on 19 February 1833). Bessie's mother's identity is corroborated by Ancestry records: see "Adelaide Clayland Beach."

My Shoulder 38). Macbeth's other autobiography describes Maffitt as progressive-minded and feminist: she was "anti-slavery, anti-Secession, pro-Union and pro-Womens' Rights" (*Boulevard Career* 11). She was also an active journalist who "wrote continuously" articles that Macbeth's mother deemed "radical and provocative" (11). Her grandmother's death on 23 January 1887 prompted Macbeth's return to the family home in Asheville. After the death of her father on 7 July 1888, the Lyons family moved to Maryland, where the widow Lyons had roots.[27] They lived in Hagerstown for several years before Bessie Lyons moved back to Asheville, leaving Macbeth to live with her paternal aunt, Henrietta Lyons, in Baltimore.[28]

This time spent living in Baltimore would ultimately lead to Macbeth's becoming Canadian. While there, she took part in a theatrical production of *The Pied Piper of Hamelin* and fell in love with the much older Erasmus Weaver, who was playing the Piper. Macbeth claims that she "was not yet twelve" (38) at the time, and when her mother travelled from Asheville to watch the production, she saw what was happening between her daughter and the older man and forbade Macbeth from continuing the relationship. Macbeth sickened from the heartbreak. In response, a "Canadian friend" (39) of her mother's suggested that her mother send the young woman to Hellmuth College, a ladies' finishing school in London, Ontario. Macbeth arrived in Canada in 1891.

The few years during which Macbeth attended this remote but prestigious girls' school laid the foundation for many aspects of her future life and career. It was here she became Editor-in-Chief of the school paper, the *Hellmuth Union Jack*, which paved the way for her future

[27] Samuel Snowden Maffit, Bessie's father, had been Comptroller of the Treasury, Maryland, from 1862 until his death in 1864, caused by consumption: see "Comptroller Biographies."
[28] This according to the Lyons family tree listed in the Jewish Archives' records. Henrietta (Rhetta) is the most likely candidate, having been the only unmarried sister of Hymen Hart Lyons. Macbeth does not discuss living with an aunt who had a family of her own.

journalistic career: the paper brought her into contact with William Southam – more specifically, his publishers – when she would go once a month to the *Free Press*'s plant to drop off copy for the following month.[29] It was here, too, where she first met her future husband, Charles Macbeth, while attending parties at the Bishop of Huron's home.[30] It was also through this school that she first made the acquaintance of Lady Aberdeen, Vice-Regal Consort to Governor General John Campbell Hamilton-Gordon, 7th Earl of Aberdeen (1893-1898);[31] Macbeth worked as "a sort of secretary at her various meetings" between 1895-96 (59).[32]

It is unclear exactly what Macbeth did in the five years after she left Hellmuth College in 1896. In her autobiographies, she mentions attending many parties leading up to her wedding to Charles Macbeth in Baltimore on 26 October 1901.[33] She does not include any information regarding her two-year career as a mandolinist, the last mentions of which appear in January 1901 in *The Baltimore Sun* and *The Charlotte News*.[34] Whatever she was doing, it came to an end with her wedding, after which she and her new husband moved to Detroit. On 26 September 1903, she bore her first son, John Douglas. In the autumn of 1904, Charles was offered a job in the Georgian Bay Ship Canal project, for which the family moved to Ottawa, where she gave birth to her second son, Charles Lyons (11 June 1905).[35] The baby became ill in early fall; a doctor advised "[a] warmer climate" (98), so Macbeth and her children moved back to Baltimore

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[29] *Boulevard Career* 52-55.
[30] The Diocese of Huron identifies this bishop as the Rt. Rev'd Maurice Scollard Baldwin. He was a cousin of the unidentified Canadian friend who first advised Bessie Lyons to send Macbeth to Hellmuth College. He "lived in London and shared some responsibility for Hellmuth College with … Lady Aberdeen" (*Boulevard* 40).
[31] Lady Aberdeen also provided career assistance to Coleman: in 1898, Coleman approached her for help in acquiring American press accreditation so that Coleman could travel with the American soldiers to Cuba: see *Kit's Kingdom* 107.
[32] According to Peggy Kelly in her "Introduction" to Macbeth's novel, *Shackles* (2005).
[33] The CWRC incorrectly states their marriage date as 1897. See the original marriage record on "Baltimore City Court of Common Pleas."
[34] See TL Curtis 111; also *Baltimore Sun*, 7 and 8 January 1901, p. 1; *Charlotte News*, 10 January 1901, p. 6. The stories appear to be about a performance at Ford's Grand Opera House on 26 December 1899, according to a 1901 *Der Deutsche* article that identifies the mandolinist as "Elinor Leonard."
[35] Based on the information he provided in his Petition for Naturalization application: see "Petitions."

to live with her mother. By the time baby Charles recovered, the elder Charles had been diagnosed with tuberculosis. Macbeth and the children returned to Ottawa in 1907, with the hope that Charles would soon be discharged from the Weston Sanitarium to join them. The homecoming never took place: Charles died on 3 January 1908, leaving Macbeth, like MacGill, a widow with two young boys to support.

Even before her husband's death, Macbeth had begun to explore a career in writing. She states in *Boulevard Career* that her "position as a 'lady'" (101) restricted the money-making opportunities open to her: writing was one. She enjoyed early success, selling "three short stories … to the Street and Smith Publications" (101) while still living with her mother and children in Baltimore. This success was followed by many failures before what she considered the "real start" (107) of her writing career: the publication of her serialized fiction, *The Changeling* (1909).

From 1909 until her death in 1965, Macbeth produced an incredible amount of written work. She wrote twelve novels, two memoirs, and myriad interviews, articles, advertisements, and shorter fiction and non-fiction pieces for more than thirty periodicals across Canada and the United States.[36] This does not take into account the work she produced for the Ottawa theatre scene in general and the Ottawa Drama League in particular,[37] and for CBC Radio. In addition to her writing, Macbeth also toured extensively, both domestically and internationally, giving lectures as a frequent invitee of international literary associations and various branches of Women's Canadian Clubs across Canada. Finally, Macbeth was involved with Canadian writing and journalism associations: she served as President of the Ottawa branch of the Canadian

[36] T.L. Curtis' MA thesis, *The Life and Times of a Literary Chameleon: Madge Hamilton Lyons Macbeth*, contains a detailed bibliography and publication history in Appendix A.
[37] Known today as the Ottawa Little Theatre. Macbeth was a founding member.

Women's Press Club in 1921 (the same year that MacGill held the same position in the Vancouver branch);[38] and she was President of the Canadian Authors' Association from 1939-41 – the first woman to hold the post, and the only person to hold it three years running.

Much of Macbeth's writing from the inter-war years was based on her extensive travels, both throughout Canada and the world. She produced many articles, pamphlets, and a novel throughout the 1920s based on her journeys westward from Ottawa across Canada, as well as overseas jaunts to France, Spain, and the former Yugoslavia. Her articles and lectures from the 1930s were based mostly on her travels to the former Yugoslavia, pre-civil-war Spain, and various countries in South America. She included many of these travel-based episodes of her life in her two memoirs, both published in the 1950s.

Madge Macbeth died on 20 September 1965. She is buried in the Beechwood Cemetery in Ottawa, in the same grave as her son, John Douglas, who predeceased her in 1951. The cross marking the burial plot does not indicate that the site is her final resting place.[39] Despite her numerous contributions to the Canadian arts and literary scenes spanning the first half of the twentieth century, Macbeth had been all but forgotten by Canadian academics and the general public by the turn of the twenty-first century.

[38] See the Canadian Women's Press Club's *Triennial Report, 1913-1920* 72-73.
[39] See Singer's article from *The Ottawa Citizen* for more information.

BIOGRAPHY: KATHLEEN BLAKE COLEMAN

The source for much of the biographical material that follows is Barbara Freeman and her research on Coleman as it appears in both *Kit's Kingdom* (1989) and in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* article, "Ferguson, Catherine" (1998). There is limited biographical information on Coleman due to her having been "an intensely private person" (*Kit's Kingdom* 5), and Freeman is careful to point out that *Kit's Kingdom* is "an account of [the] public persona, Kit, and how she sometimes defied, but often fulfilled, the expectations of editors and the public in what she wrote for women" rather than being "the story of Kathleen Blake Coleman" (5).

Catherine Ferguson was born in Castleblakeney, Ireland, on 20 February 1856. She was educated in languages and the classics at Loretto Abbey in Rathfarnham, and at a Belgian finishing school. In 1876, she was married by family arrangement to the much older Thomas Willis, adopting the name "Kathleen" beforehand. The two had a daughter, Mary Margaret, who died at the age of two. When Coleman's husband also died soon afterward, his family disinherited her, leaving her with nothing. She moved to London, England, to try to make her way as a governess; however, the life it afforded her was not to her taste. She left England for Canada in 1884;[40] along the way, she changed her age, claiming to be 19 instead of the 28 she actually was. Soon after arriving in Canada, she met and married Edward J. Watkins, with whom she had two children. The marriage was as unhappy as her first[41] (though for different reasons),[42] and the couple separated before their five-year anniversary. It was around this time that she took the middle name "Blake," inflating her social status by giving her a connection to the Galway

[40] Her reasons for choosing Canada remain a mystery.
[41] See *Kit's Kingdom* 20.
[42] The *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* identifies Watkins as an abusive alcoholic who continued to sleep with other women after his marriage to Coleman, and who may already have been married to a woman in England when he wed Coleman.

Blakes.[43] In 1889, she was hired by Edward Farrer as women's editor of the Toronto *Daily Mail*, allowing her to support herself and her two young children, Thady and Patsy. Starting in October 1889, she wrote her column, "Woman's Kingdom," for the *Daily Mail*, a segment that was intended to attract a female audience and which would feature ads and articles targeted toward this demographic, thus attracting both subscriber and advertising dollars. Although it was only ever intended to cater to "women's interests" of "housekeeping, fashion, and [an] advice column" ("Ferguson"), Coleman wrote about any topic that she thought might interest women. Her form and content won her much acclaim, and the paper a wide readership. When the *Daily Mail* merged with the *Empire* in 1895, she was allowed to continue writing her "Woman's Kingdom" segment.

When the Spanish-American war broke out in 1898, *The Mail and Empire* decided to send Coleman to Cuba to cover the developments on the ground; she thus became the first woman in the British empire to hold the accreditation of war reporter. "Kit," as Coleman styled herself, became "internationally famous as an adventurous travel writer and war correspondent" (*Kit's Kingdom* xv). On her way home from Cuba, Coleman made a detour to Washington, D.C. to speak at a women's press convention. While there, she married for the third and last time, becoming the wife of a Canadian doctor, Theobald Coleman.

In 1904, Coleman became one of the sixteen founding members of the Canadian Women's Press Club,[44] an organization of professional female journalists the mission of which was to "maintain and improve the status of journalism as a profession for women" (James and

[43] According to *County Galway Guide*, the Blakes were one of the wealthiest, most powerful families in Galway, western Ireland. They claim a mythic ancestry, purporting to be descendants of one of King Arthur's knights of the Round Table.

[44] The Canadian Women's Press Club *Reports 1911-12 and Membership List* shows that MacGill, Macbeth, and Coleman were all active members of the CWPC during these two years (although Coleman is listed as an honorary member) (5, 9-10).

Dann). She was also its first president.[45] Her involvement with the CWPC reflected her belief that women were as deserving as men of "equal pay and fair working conditions" (Freeman 59). Her professional journalism career, which began in 1889, ended only with her death on 16 May 1915, in Hamilton, Ontario.

[45] The position of president is one that both MacGill and Macbeth would also hold in their turns, albeit at the local branch levels (Vancouver and Ottawa, respectively).

HISTORICAL CONTEXT: THE AGE OF "HIGH IMPERIALISM," "NEW IMPERIALISM," AND THE SECOND INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

Some broad historical context is needed to understand the world in which MacGill, Macbeth, and Coleman lived and worked. Sara Mills refers to the period on which this paper focuses, from 1890-1955, as one of high imperialism. This span of sixty-five years covers both the height of imperialism as characterized by the exponential increase in the territorial holdings of the European empires, as well as the eventual collapse of those empires. The rush to colonize the remaining uncolonized territories on the planet happened in the latter half of the nineteenth century, more specifically after the international financial crisis of 1873.[46] The increasingly economic nature of high imperialism after the crisis is of particular importance,[47] as it underpins the ideology that shaped MacGill's, Macbeth's, and Coleman's writings. I examine what their writings can reveal about the nature of imperialism during this period: namely, that it assumed a more overtly economic focus.[48] This period of new imperialism turned all participants – colonizers and colonized, home country dwellers and colonists – into necessary parts of the consumption and production machine that fuelled the economic engine driving imperial growth and maintaining imperial power.

Leading up to the financial crisis of 1873, the colonial powers of Europe, as well as the United States, had been operating under international free trade policies. The imperial powers were using their colonies as sources of raw materials to convert into manufactured goods, but

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[46] Magdoff and McDougall attribute the cause of the crisis to the demonetization of silver in 1871-73 (first by Germany and then by the United States), speculative overinvestment in railway construction in Germany and the US around the same time period, and the crash of the Vienna Stock Exchange and temporary ten-day closure of the New York Stock Exchange, both in 1873: see *Encyclopedia Britannica*, "New Imperialism."

[47] Jonathan Hart argues that the "shifts in capitalism and the politics of economic exploitation were and are central to the debate on the roots and ground of imperialism, particularly in this period" (192).

[48] See Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire, 1875-1914* 57-83.

governments remained relatively uninvolved regarding what became of those manufactured goods, or who the consumers of those goods might be.[49] When the crisis unfolded, producers and consumers across the globe were impacted, though not equally in every country: for example, the crisis resulted in large-scale business failures, worker riots, and sharp inflation in America; in Germany, the crisis resulted in the government's reactionary economic pivot toward infrastructure building and investment; whereas in Britain, the coinciding agricultural depression and "the end of the mid-Victorian boom" (Davis 12) in manufacturing led to lower prices for the urban public, which then resulted in the rise of "leisure industries" (12). The American crisis negatively affected American consumers by creating a wave of unemployment affecting multiple sectors while simultaneously diminishing the purchasing power of their dollar – for those who still had jobs. The European crisis also negatively impacted European workers' employment and purchasing power, though not in entirely parallel ways. Regardless of the differences in impact severity, the economic crisis of 1873 convinced American and European governments to become more directly involved in their respective economies.

The 1873 financial crisis resulted in a turn toward protectionist economic policies. American and European governments determined that the development of internal markets would prevent another such crisis from occurring in the future. This determination manifested in the colonization boom after 1873. The acquisition of colonies meant the securing of raw materials, cheap labour, and guaranteed markets for the finished products. Within a generation, a

[49] John Davis identifies "non-intervention" as "the accepted general rule in economic affairs" in the first half of the nineteenth century (5).

map of the world would reflect this government-driven economic panacea to ward off future financial crises similar to that of 1873.[50]

It is in these economic, military, and political contexts of new imperialism that my three subjects produced their writings. MacGill, who was known as Helen Gregory or Helen Gregory-Flesher at that time, travelled to Japan to cover the opening of the Imperial Diet of 1890: an event that also marked the beginnings of the West's cultural, social, and political influence on Japan. Kit Coleman travelled to Cuba in the spring and summer of 1898 to cover the Spanish-American war, a contest that would seal the fate of the Spanish empire and mark the beginnings of America's rise to power and influence on the world stage.[51] Madge Macbeth travelled to Spain in 1931, inadvertently becoming a witness to the proclamation of the Second Spanish Republic in April of that year.[52] In all three women's writings, the interconnected nature of the economic, military, and political aspects of new imperialism exerted constraints on the production and reception of their works.

One main difference between the imperialism of the earlier versus later nineteenth century was the centrality of economic considerations throughout the entire colonizing project, from acquisition through to maintenance and consolidation.[53] In the earlier part of the century, colonial power was maintained primarily through military and government authority. Under new

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[50] Hart outlines the numerous religious, technological, and cultural factors that also contributed to the European and East Asian nations' renewed interest in colonization that was a hallmark of new imperialism: see 171-209. I have chosen to focus on the economic, military, and political aspects for my argument.

[51] Hart describes Spain's loss of the war against America in 1898 as "effectively ending the Spanish empire which had begun its decline at home in the middle of the seventeenth century and had lost its principal American colonies in the early nineteenth century" (187).

[52] V.G. Kiernan provides an overview of the political, military, and race-based factors that contributed to the Spanish monarchy's fall in 1931: see *Colonial Empires and Armies* 203-205.

[53] Marc Ferro attributes this change in the nature of colonialism, as well as renewed interest in colonization in the latter half of the nineteenth century, to "mutual interference between … financial and industrial groups which were in the process of development and … each state," as well as between "industrial nations desirous of investing their capital or selling their products." Colonization aligned the economic and political interests of the business and government worlds: it was considered the "safest" form of investment that would ensure growth since "it meant the acquisition of territory" (72).

imperialism, while colonial governments continued to use military might to remain in power, they increasingly used political, economic, and commercial channels in their interactions with their colonial subjects to exercise control.[54] Ironically, the protectionist economic policy that underpinned new imperialism, built as it was on acquiring colonies to both supply raw materials and consume finished products, effectively laid the foundations of the modern global economy and neocolonialism.

This economic imperialism is also present in the writings of MacGill, Macbeth, and Coleman. The economic purpose of new imperialism was to promote the local (home country) economy by exploiting their colonies around the world for raw materials and consumer markets; MacGill's, Macbeth's, and Coleman's writings perform the same promotion and exploitation, although they crossed beyond the boundaries of the British empire. By travelling to lands that were not under the control of the empire and reporting back on what they witnessed abroad, these women were able to extract the raw materials specific to their journalistic trade – the sights, sounds, and experiences of life beyond the empire's borders – and manufacture those into a commodity to be consumed by British subjects: news copy. Thus, MacGill, Macbeth, and Coleman replicated in their journalism the economic intent of new imperialism, taking the world beyond the heart of the empire as their raw materials, exoticizing and then commodifying those external realities into a product to be consumed by the home markets. As with other products of new imperialism, these women's writings provided their readership not only confirmation of the

[54] The shift in strategies for the maintenance of colonial control occurs simultaneously with the rise of the "gentlemanly capitalists" whose economic and political power were rooted in their success in service and manufacturing industries: see Cain and Hopkins 114-121. The imperial approach toward managing its colonies shifted in the latter half of the nineteenth century because the power within the empire began to ebb from the aristocratic landowners and flow toward these new industrialists. Whereas the landed elite may have viewed the less powerful as a threat that needed to be controlled by force, the new gentlemen capitalists likely regarded the lower classes and colonial subjects as potential markets.

"reality" of the world that lay beyond the empire,[55] but also affirmation that they themselves were in the heart of the place in which it was most desirous to be.

The focus on the economic aspects of this new imperialism is significant for my use of Baudrillard in this analysis. A simulacrum is created through signs, and new imperialism's focus on the production and consumption of goods transformed the economic system or model of the British empire into one of mass consumerism; this "new economy created an uproar not only of things but of signs" (McClintock 208). For the majority of the subjects of the empire, goods ceased to be meaningful for their use-value or exchange-value only, and began to take on sign-value, which is what Baudrillard theorized, albeit in relation to a slightly later period in time.[56] All of these new consumer goods – these signs – including the products of journalism, became the building blocks for the simulacrum of empire. All that remained was for the signs to be assembled in such a way that British subjects could read them.

[55] See *Kit's Kingdom* 81.
[56] According to Douglas Kellner's analysis of Jean Baudrillard's work.

JOURNALISM IN CANADA, AMERICA, AND BRITAIN IN THE LATE VICTORIAN ERA

The increasing societal acceptance of journalism as a profession attracted many young middle-class women to the newsroom in the late Victoria era. Journalism as a field exploded in popularity and importance in the nineteenth century.[57] As literacy rates rose in tandem with increasing urbanization in Britain, America, and Canada throughout the century, so too did the demand for reading material, particularly within the growing cities.[58] Production demands meant that more journalists were needed to generate the fresh copy that an ever-growing reading public awaited. A career in journalism became increasingly regarded as acceptable for women to hold,[59] despite the fact that many women journalists in this time period were still forced to write under assumed or pen names.[60]

By the later nineteenth century, editors at many publications had recognized the importance of female readership to the publications' subscription bases. The editors attempted to cater to their female clientele with "Women's Pages" filled with fashion, etiquette, and cooking techniques that the largely male editors assumed would be of most interest to these women readers. However, the female journalists working at those publications chafed at these restrictions on the content they were being tasked with producing. They knew that women readers wanted the same news that interested the men in the reading audience, and these women

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[57] Anthony Smith notes that, in the nineteenth century, "the newspaper became inextricable from all those other industries and activities which were directed at the same vast public" and that "[w]hat was good for the newspaper was good for a series of other industries whose commercial success was based upon regular supplies of public information": see *The Newspaper: An International History*, pp. 146-147. This pivotal economic role that Smith attributes to newspapers partly explains the sudden rise in popularity and importance of journalistic careers in this period.

[58] Douglas Fetherling explains the Canadian context of this development: see *The Rise of the Canadian Newspaper* pp. 58-59.

[59] F. Elizabeth Gray's introduction and Susan Hamilton's article in *Women in Journalism at the Fin de Siècle* detail this process in the broader British context.

[60] Lang points out that women journalists who managed to make a name for themselves did not necessarily have to remain anonymous: "[f]or the most part, Canadian newspapers were more than willing to publicize their female personalities" (41).

journalists sought to provide this material. Their editors were convinced, whether by common or business sense, to provide what the women journalists wanted to offer their readers.

This drive to differentiate offerings, especially amidst (some might argue "due to") the rise in popularity of New Journalism[61] and then yellow journalism[62] in the later years of the nineteenth century,[63] produced the celebrity woman journalist. Examples from the era include Nellie Bly (Elizabeth Cochrane) and Sara Jeannette Duncan. These women journalists became known as "stunt girls" as a result of the increasingly stunt-driven nature of their features: for example, Bly had herself committed to an asylum in order to write an exposé on the treatment of patients;[64] Duncan traveled around the world with a friend, Montreal journalist Lily Lewis,[65] in order to produce copy. While the practice of stunt journalism did not last, editors took note of the effects that playing with gender expectations in journalism had on readership: an increase in profit for the publishers.

Coleman's assignment to cover the war in Cuba in 1898, and MacGill's to cover the opening of the inaugural Japanese Diet in 1890, both fell under the editorial tactic of using gender to differentiate coverage, thus increasing readership and revenue. Coleman already had a large readership as a result of the popularity of her "Woman's Kingdom" page; sending her to Cuba would cause a sensation amongst *The Mail and Empire*'s subscribers – and non-subscribers alike – thus potentially increasing readership for the several months that she would be reporting

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[61] Jean Marie Lutes credits Frank Luther Mott for the observation that "'New Journalism' promoted investigative efforts and encouraged reporters to write vivid accounts from personal experience" (14).
[62] The United States Office of the Historian defines yellow journalism as "a style of newspaper reporting that emphasized sensationalism over facts."
[63] I use the term "yellow journalism" to summarize the secondary literature's characterization of developments in 19th century journalism. I am in no way applying the term to describe my three subjects' writing.
[64] See Lutes' chapter, "Into the Madhouse with Girl Stunt Reporters," in *Front-page Girls* 12-38.
[65] Fictionalized as "Orthodocia" in Duncan's work. See Peggy Martin's article, "Discovering Lily Lewis: A Canadian Journalist and New Woman" (2004), for more factual information about this early Canadian woman journalist.

from the field. Although largely unknown as a journalist, MacGill had already appeared in a number of newspapers for having been the first woman in the empire to receive a bachelor's degree. In both cases, editors likely chose these women to cover these stories knowing that their gender would attract readers and their dollars.

The use of women journalists as stunt writers appears to have been acknowledged by women journalists themselves. In an article appearing in *The Canadian Women's Press Club Triennial Report, 1910-13*, Isabel MacLean wrote, "The press-woman should be more than a recorder. She should be a personality, a positive force, stimulating and vital. Witness the success of that vivid writer and outstanding figure – Canada's best-beloved woman journalist – 'Kit' [Coleman]" (22). Women journalists were telling themselves and each other that their job was not merely to report faithfully the facts as they witnessed them. Women journalists saw themselves as more than reporters of the news; they saw themselves as writers. They set for their work an expectation that it have flair and purpose because, as women, they held the position of outsiders who needed to prove they belonged in and could contribute something unique to the male-dominated space of the newsroom.

Despite their positionality as outsiders, women journalists played an equally important role as their male counterparts in the building and maintenance of empire, particularly in the creation of imperial identity. According to Martin Thomas and Andrew Thompson, "Britain deliberately encouraged its (white) inhabitants to see themselves as part of a global chain of kith and kin, and set about harnessing this rapidly developing sense of global Britishness for wider economic as well as cultural ends" (146). The authors identify "the role of social and informational networks – the 'software of empire' – in binding together British communities at home and overseas" (146): the key function of newspapers and, therefore, journalists in the

imperial project. A cohesive British imperial identity could only be manufactured by convincing British subjects – specifically its white colonists scattered throughout the empire[66] – that their figurative centrality in the empire was guaranteed because they were British: their actual geographic realities mattered less than their racial and cultural affinities. Newspapers and the journalists who filled the pages were thus indispensable in keeping these far-flung subjects of the empire connected to the heart of it. Through the medium of newspapers, journalists – both male and female – created an imperial identity for their readers and shaped their perspectives on the contours and contents of the empire.

Imperial identity as crafted *via* the newspapers was not created by journalists and their articles alone. The advertising within each edition's pages contributed as much to the creation of identity for the empire's subjects as the literary material. The relationship between advertising and newspapers was symbiotic: while newspapers came into being earlier than advertising, the growth of the newspaper industry was made possible at least in part by the physical newspaper's affordability, which was in turn made possible by advertising.[67] By making newspapers more affordable for middle-class readers, advertisers in exchange were able to reach a much wider segment of the reading public, women among them. Advertisements in newspapers disseminated the signs of empire "as domestic commodities were mass marketed" (McClintock 209), while the articles within the pages told reader-subjects across the empire how those signs should be read in

[66] Richard Dyer elaborates on who and what constituted whiteness in the Victorian British empire: "Whiteness … creates a category of maybe, sometime whites, peoples who may be let in to whiteness under particular historical circumstances. The Irish, Mexicans, Jews and people of mixed race provide striking instances: often excluded, sometimes indeed being assimilated into the category of whiteness, and at others treated as a 'buffer' (Allen 1994: 14) between the white and the black or indigenous. On the other hand, whiteness as a coalition also incites the notion that some whites are whiter than others, with the Anglo-Saxons, Germans and Scandinavians usually providing the apex of whiteness under British imperialism" (19).

[67] M.C. Barrès-Baker makes this claim about the British newspaper industry generally. Fetherling argues that Canadian newspapers increasingly became "an advertising medium" in the period "between the 1870s and the 1890s" (75).

conjunction with each other. Advertising and newspapers thus worked in tandem in the "consolidation [and maintenance] of British national [and imperial] identity" (209). Newspapers assembled the plethora of signs mass-produced by the economic imperative of new imperialism into a cohesive narrative of the British empire: not the reality of it but rather a simulacrum.

TRAVEL WRITING: CONVENTIONS AND TROPES ESTABLISHED OVER TIME AND THEIR USE IN THE CREATION OF IMPERIAL IDENTITY

It is important to assess the journalistic work of MacGill, Macbeth, and Coleman as travel writing; doing so requires a brief overview of the genre and its conventions. Travel writing has only really come under serious academic study within the last forty years.[68] While the past four decades have seen the production of much academic analysis in the field, more recent work has extended and complicated the field by taking into consideration the intersections of social identities and inequities within the genre. An overview of the major developments in the generic conventions, authorial purpose, reader expectations, and the impact of race, gender, and class in travel writing provides the context for my analysis of MacGill's, Macbeth's, and Coleman's writings.

Academic definitions of travel writing vary over time and in scope, with the most recent being the most broad. In a collection of critical essays on the genre published in 2020, editors Alasdair Pettinger and Tim Youngs state that ""travel writing consists of the narrative of an actual journey told by the person or persons who undertook it" ("Introduction" 4). Barbara Korte adds some detail to this definition to address authorial intent as well as reader expectations, stating that "accounts of travel depict a journey in its course of events …. They claim — and their readers believe — that the journey recorded actually took place, and that it is presented by the traveller him or herself" (1). Carl Thompson, another noted scholar in the field, adds interpretive detail to the definition: "all travel writing is at some level a record or product of this encounter [between self and other that is brought about by movement through space], and of the negotiation between similarity and difference that it entailed" (10). Paul Fussell contributes to

[68] Alasdair Pettinger and Tim Youngs, "Introduction," 2020.

the definition by outlining the overall narrative structure of texts that fall within the genre: "As in a romance, the modern traveler leaves the familiar and predictable to wander, episodically, into the unfamiliar or unknown, encountering strange adventures, and finally, after travail and ordeals, returns safely" (208). A synthesis of these four critics' ideas establishes that travel writing requires an author to have personally travelled to some unfamiliar location, encountered things both familiar and strange, returned from the location, and then produced a written account of the experience in a recognizable and predictable literary format.

Travel writing, while thus seemingly comprising innocuous accounts of curious and mobile people, also served useful political, military, economic, and cultural ends. Carl Thompson notes the importance of travel writing to the imperial project in various historical periods: "[f]rom the fifteenth to the twentieth centuries, the genre played an integral role in European imperial expansion, and the travel writing of this period is accordingly highly revealing of … the attitudes and ideologies that drove European expansionism" (3). English-language travel writing from the sixteenth century to the period of "mercantilist conquest [between] 1780-1820" (Davis 6) reflects the writers' preoccupation with the land and its exploitable resources, as well as the characteristics of the "heathen" occupants of the lands.[69] Travel writing from the latter half of the nineteenth century is more concerned with the spectacular aspects of foreign lands and peoples,[70] the representations of whom contain many references to biological and race-based attributes.[71] Additionally, Alison Martin and Susan

[69] See Andrew Hadfield's *Amazons, Savages, and Machiavels*, as well as Elizabeth A. Bohls and Ian Duncan's *Travel Writing 1700-1830: An Anthology*.

[70] This emphasis on spectacle and visual consumption connects to Mary Louise Pratt's "imperial eyes," which will be discussed later in this paper.

[71] Laura Callanan highlights "the social transformation of racial attitudes that took place in Victorian culture," particularly the "English attitudes about race [that] underwent a radical transformation … in midcentury England, [from] humanitarian arguments [from the first half of the century which were] replaced by violently derogatory racial representations fueling an increasingly zealous imperial project" (7).

Pickford identify a cultural purpose of travel writing, arguing that it is "associated with recasting the foreign textually and visually for readers back home" (2). However, travel writing did not "recast" but rather created "the foreign" – the abstract world beyond the readers' observable world – since the texts constituted reality for people who would likely never see those faraway sights themselves. Taken together, these observations make clear that travel writing fashioned for readers the world beyond the empire, then framed imperialism for readers in the metropolis first as a moral and later as a biological imperative. The genre's role in the service of new imperialism specifically will be explored in the works of MacGill, Macbeth, and Coleman.

Travel writing necessitates the writers' imposition of their own cultural views onto the parts of the world that they visit. It is not merely comprised of accounts of journeys told by travellers. Writers makes sense of the people, places, and cultures they see only through the lens of their own culture, having no better frame of reference with which to make sense of a new and foreign world. Understood in this way, travel writing becomes revelatory, not of the foreign cultures that travellers visit, but rather of the cultures of the travellers themselves. They notice that which is worth noticing in their own cultures, thereby revealing their own cultural values. Travel writing thus cannot reveal the "true nature" of any foreign land, people, or culture since the writing is only an interpretation of that land, people, or culture through the eyes and experiences of the writers themselves. They impose their own cultural meanings on what they see, which again reveals nothing about that which they observe but instead reveals much about the observers themselves. These understandings about travel writing are central to the analysis of MacGill's, Macbeth's, and Coleman's journalism as travel writing.

The earliest travel writer in the Western travel writing tradition is Herodotus. His written observations on Egypt provide the earliest templates for those who came after him. The way that

he structures his narrative in terms of how he guides the reader through his experiences would influence the forms of later seventeenth- and eighteenth-century travel writing with their focus on recording observations and noting details with attempted impartiality. His method of describing foreign peoples and customs would also be replicated in later travel writing works including those of my three subjects, with modifications suited for the times.

Between Herodotus and the Enlightenment era, developments arose in the travel writing genre that would become tropes of the literary form: the portrayal of foreign peoples, and the pilgrimage. In the second half of the first millennium, many missionaries wrote of the peoples and lands they encountered in their quest to spread Christianity;[72] their mode of describing the beings they met as pagans and heathens re-emerged in the writings of missionaries from the sixteenth century, becoming an established trope through repetition in subsequent travel narratives.[73] In the earlier centuries of the second millennium, pilgrims produced writings based on their religious travels, which in some ways foreshadowed the Grand Tours of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries: the objective of both was to undertake a journey to a revered place that others had previously visited. These tropes are employed extensively in the works of MacGill, Macbeth, and Coleman.

Later generic developments included the detached, disembodied observer/narrator during the post-Enlightenment era, when the scientific method became the accepted way of establishing knowledge in European contexts. Carl Thompson notes the impact that travel writing had on emerging disciplines that today are classified as a social or earth science: "All three disciplines

[72] See *Medieval Travel Writing*, an online archive of medieval travel writing manuscripts.
[73] See Rebecca Bushnell, *The Marvels of the World: an Anthology of Nature Writing before 1700* (2021), Kenneth Parker, *Early Modern Tales of Orient: a Critical Anthology* (1999), and Peter C. Mancall, *Travel Narratives from the Age of Discovery* (2006), as well as Bohls and Duncan's *Travel Writing* and Hadfield's *Amazons, Savages, and Machiavels.*

[geography, anthropology, and sociology] to some extent evolved out of travel writing, engaging in enquiries that once were principally associated with, and articulated in, the genre known in English as 'voyages and travels'" (3-4). The traveller-narrator disappeared from the narrative for a time; the rise of the passive construction in travel writing gave the illusion, much like in scientific writing describing experiments, that an unobserved natural phenomenon was taking place before no one, and the narrative assumed the guise of a mere description of fact. Colonial travel writers adopted this style, providing seemingly neutral descriptions of peoples and cultures that were in fact highly coloured by the authors' attitudes of moral and cultural superiority.

In the age of colonialism, the pattern that Herodotus established of describing foreign peoples, customs, and lands assumed a moralizing tone. The trope of representing foreign peoples as uncivilized in contrast with the Europeans who wrote about them allowed the authors to justify their nations' and empires' missions of conquest, at first morally, and later scientifically: "the geographical surveying of the globe as well as the anthropological investigation of its non-metropolitan or 'cityless' (*aporoi*) peoples produced so much knowledge in the service of so much desire for power and wealth" (Campbell 269). Travel accounts from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries contain narrators describing the "savages" they encountered either as worthy of being saved due to their nobility and innocence, or of deserving eradication due to their unwillingness to abandon their heathen gods and customs. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, while narrators in travel writing continued to describe the foreign peoples they met as inferior, the narrators began to assess the salvageability of these peoples based on reasons rooted in economic value and genetic predisposition: either the "savages" were industrious by nature and eager to adopt the ways of the colonizers, allowing the colonizers to accept these people into the empire as willing subjects; or they were lazy and stupid and were

thus relegated to slavery. In either case, the colonized peoples were assimilated into the imperial economy: the only difference was whether or not they did so willingly. Colonial travel writing taught the subjects of European empires how to see these foreign peoples whom they themselves would likely never encounter, but on whose labour and resources the growth of their empires depended.

These ways of seeing foreign peoples are not consistent across European travel writing: works pertaining to the Middle East often constructed people from that part of the world as Europeans' Other, attributing to Middle Eastern peoples all of the qualities that Europeans wished to reject;[74] writings about African, Indian, and indigenous North and South American peoples tended to contain more of the depictions of the noble or indolent savage; and writings about the Far Eastern and other European peoples tended to contain ambivalent attitudes that simultaneously conveyed respect and contempt on the narrator's part for the achievements and capabilities of the foreign culture.[75] This inconsistency of perception is evident in MacGill's, Macbeth's, and Coleman's works.

Another shift in travel writing that occurred in tandem with the growth of empires in the eighteenth century concerns the authors' motivations. Much of the travel writing from this century was commissioned by governments, organizations such as the Royal Society and the Church Missionary Society, businesses such as the British East India Company, and even lending libraries; the writing produced from the voyages was meant to serve the various yet intertwined imperial interests these organizations represented.[76] Whereas travel writing before

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[74] See Edward Said, "Introduction" 1-3 in *Orientalism*.
[75] David Murray argues that these differing attitudes are most evident in the exchange of material goods and knowledge between Europeans and the various foreign peoples they encounter: see "Foreign Exchange" 280-293 in *The Routledge Research Companion to Travel Writing*.
[76] See Roy Bridges' essay, "Exploration and Travel Outside Europe (1720-1914)" 53-59 in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*.

the sixteenth century focused on providing information about whatever the writers saw that they thought worthy of note and which might interest some private patrons and specific readerships back home, from the seventeenth and especially the eighteenth centuries onward, travel writing shows the constraints on production that imperial interests and investment imposed: authors included many more details regarding features of the lands they saw that could be profitable, either through trade and natural resource exploitation, or conquest and then forced trade and resource exploitation. By the nineteenth century, this development in travel writing had become a trope.

A cultural development in the eighteenth century, the rise in popularity of the European Grand Tour, also influenced the development of a nationalistic element within travel writing.[77] In the early stages of the Grand Tour's popularity, many who had returned from taking a tour produced travel writing that resembled instruction manuals for those planning a tour of their own – the precursors to modern-day travel guidebooks. The purpose of these early guidebooks was to ensure that the next person undertaking the Grand Tour would do it correctly. Guidebooks told the reader where to go, how to get there, what to do and see while one was there, and how one should behave that might be different from the way one behaved at home. The idea of national pride and the nation's reputation on the international stage, as influenced by representatives of the nation while abroad, begins in these guidebooks.

The first half of the nineteenth century saw the beginnings of mass tourism. This development led to a print market glutted with accounts of travel written by this new group of voyagers who came to be known pejoratively as tourists,[78] in addition to the narratives produced

[77] See James Buzard, "The Grand Tour and after (1660-1840)," 37-41 in *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*.
[78] Buzard, "The Grand Tour and after (1660-1840)" 49.

by the eighteenth-century explorers sponsored by the empire, as well as all the people who had completed the Grand Tour. Writers could not continually discover new lands and share those discoveries with readers. Instead, they shared their unique reactions – their inner landscapes – to the same well-traveled sights and sites. Unsurprisingly, the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century also saw the rise of the trope of "wandering off the beaten path" and other gimmick-based travel writing.[79] The travel writing genre was saturated, and aspiring authors needed a hook to attract readers, whether that took the form of an exotic destination, an unusual experience, or an unexpected behaviour.

The nineteenth century was an unusual time for women in the British empire. On the one hand, it was possible for them to roam halfway across the world and back due to the physical extent of the empire; on the other hand, they did not even have the franchise at home. In the previous century, quite a number of women, mostly from either the aristocratic or the working class, had enjoyed a greater amount of physical mobility: aristocratic women such as Lady Mary Wortley Montagu could afford to travel, and some young women from this class also undertook the Grand Tour, despite the Tour's intended purpose as the final element of a gentleman's education; meanwhile, working-class or poor women travelled in search of opportunity, as did the stowaways in Janet Schaw's account of her travel across the Atlantic.[80] These eighteenth-century female travellers provide a small but fairly representative sample of the kinds of women travel writers who preceded my subjects.

The relative freedom that British women enjoyed in the eighteenth century was curtailed by legal and ideological developments throughout the nineteenth century, including their official

[79] See Buzard, "The Grand Tour and after (1660-1840)" 49-50.
[80] Montagu's and Schaw's travel narratives are both included in Bohls and Duncan's *Travel Writing 1700-1830* (2008).

loss of the franchise,[81] the entrapment of middle-class women in their households by the ideal of the "angel in the house," and their exclusion from public life with the rise of domestic sphere ideology. Despite these setbacks, women continued to venture far from home, travelling and producing writings from those journeys. British women's travel writing from the nineteenth and early twentieth century shows the many competing demands of production and reception with which women had to negotiate. MacGill, Macbeth, and Coleman had to contend with gender and class contradictions in the production of their articles; they used their racial and imperial privileges to reconcile those contradictions.

[81] Banned from voting under the Reform Act of 1832 and the Municipal Corporations Act of 1835.

WRITING INCOGNITO: THE POWER OF TRAVEL WRITING DISGUISED AS JOURNALISM

Journalism used tropes from travel writing for a number of reasons. One of them was entertainment:[82] the conventions of travel writing that require the author to present the spectacular was both apt and easily adapted to journalism, which seeks to provide something similar for its readers.[83] Since the basic facts of any given story were limited, the style in which the facts were presented became a matter of importance in the fiercely competitive environment of news publishing in the later nineteenth-century British empire. Another reason that journalism employed travel writing tropes was due to the cultural cachet that it brought to the writing. In the nineteenth century, travel writing was a "cultural form" that was "still relatively class-bound and inaccessible to most Victorians, who had neither the means nor the education to read such material" (McClintock 209). Including elements of this genre in newspaper articles benefited both the author and the reader: authors would be displaying their literary prowess; middle-class readers gained access to a form of writing that they historically had not had much opportunity to access, increasing their sense of distinctness from the working and lower classes and proximity to the upper classes; and the upper classes would be attracted to publications that catered to their tastes by providing writing of a caliber to which they, the discerning classes, were accustomed. Thus, journalism's turn toward travel writing allowed newspapers to cross class as well as educational boundaries (in terms of the middle and upper classes), increasing the size of their target markets and ultimately their profits.

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[82] Gerson outlines the interrelated changes in the tastes of the reading public, the business aspects of the press, the output of journalists, and women's increasing influence on all three: see *Canadian Women in Print, 1750-1918* 32-35.

[83] Smith's observation that the "stunt and the crusade replaced the great liberal causes as the intellectual quest of journalism" by the end of the nineteenth century partly explains the transformation of readers' expectations of newspapers' content (discussed later in this section) (159).

Journalism's adoption of travel writing conventions and tropes secured its prominent position within the arsenal of empire. That power could be accessed and wielded through journalistic travel writing by a number of different groups for various purposes increased its appeal and importance. The accepted factuality of newspapers, combined with the narrative possibilities of travel writing, produced in journalistic travel writing a powerful tool for propagating the British empire's cultural worldviews and political might.

Newspaper editors and publishers were keen to support the colonial ideologies that rested on the combined power of race, gender, and class, for the news industry profited in various ways from those ideologies. The figure of the white British colonial master indirectly sold many papers, beloved as he was as a recurring protagonist in coverage involving the suppression of numerous rebellions and the education of grateful natives. Women's inequality, from the news publishers' point of view, translated into greater profits for a number of reasons: publishers could hire women for less money than they could men, and the women would be grateful just to be hired; editors could demand more work from women without a commensurate pay increase, and the women were more likely to comply than quit; and publishers and editors could use the women on staff to produce content such as women's pages aimed specifically at attracting female readers, thus increasing the newspaper's profits overall. Finally, news publishers profited from reinforcing ideas surrounding class distinctions within the empire: members of the lower and working classes could be prevented from becoming discontent at the growing class inequality in Britain by running articles that showed how much worse life was beyond the metropolis and how lucky everyone was to be living, if not in the heart of the empire, then at least within its borders; members of the middle class were able to use newspapers and reading as

a sign of literacy, thereby acting as a signal of status; and those of the upper classes who owned the means of production and distribution of the news continued to line their coffers.

As journalism was a weapon that the British empire wielded to maintain its hold on its subjects, so were journalists the factory workers mass-producing that weapon's components. In the same way that factory workers must follow patterns and templates to complete their work, MacGill's, Macbeth's, and Coleman's articles were pre-determined by the travel writing conventions and tropes that the profession had adopted. The content of the women's articles had essentially been written before they ever left Ontario, much like the later participants of the Grand Tour had had their itineraries, experiences, and resultant writings pre-determined by earlier participants whose writings served as both proto-guidebooks for the trip and patterns to interpret the experiences in writing afterward. The people, sites, sights, sounds, and smells that MacGill, Macbeth, and Coleman saw and experienced while they were abroad on foreign assignment were all elements that the well-established travel writing tradition had trained them to see and experience; their resultant journalism hewed to the formulae and patterns established by the centuries' worth of other travelogues that preceded their "articles."

An analysis of these women's journalism as travel writing has implications for the readers' reception of their works. People read travelogues and other travel writing with the understanding that the writing produced was one person's subjective experience of his or her travels; however, people read accounts in newspapers of other cultures and places differently. MacGill, Macbeth, and Coleman travelled abroad on assignment, and their coverage of the political events and people they saw was accepted as factual by their readers because they were working as journalists and because that coverage was printed in newspapers and magazines. Readers accepted that the material written by journalists and printed in newspapers was an

accurate representation of the world.[84] This transformation of travel writing from quasi-fiction to fact *via* its medium of propagation is a critical component of how these women became agents of the imperial project, as well as in understanding how they helped to create and maintain a simulacrum of the British empire. The ways in which these women's travel writings disguised as articles promoted the imperial project along the lines of race, gender, and class, and propagated the British imperial simulacrum, will be elaborated throughout the rest of the paper.

[84] Fetherling notes that newspapers in early nineteenth-century Canada followed the content model of their British and continental European predecessors from "the Enlightenment: journals of ecumenical rationalism, full of scientific and literary materials picked up from foreign publications and used to fill the columns between the official proclamations and what in some cases amounted to plentiful advertising" (11-12). By the end of the century, public perception of the newspapers' contents had transformed: "Victorian [readers'] assumption[s were] that newspapers were not only transcriptions of absolute reality but represented the Truth" (66).

SELECTION OF WRITINGS FOR ANALYSIS

Helen Gregory MacGill spent most of her life writing; however, the focus of this paper is on the journalism she produced, and that was produced about her. I was only able to locate three articles written by MacGill about Japan: “The Hairy Men of Japan,” and “Art in Japanese Swords,” both of which ran in *The Californian Illustrated Magazine* in the spring of 1892; and “Japanese Actors and Dancing Girls,” which appeared in *The Dominion Illustrated Monthly* in March of 1893. In each case, her work was reviewed in *The Globe*. My analysis of her work and the generalizations I make focus on “The Hairy Men of Japan,” and *The Globe*’s reviews of her work for *The Californian Illustrated Magazine*.

Madge Macbeth was a prolific author, so choosing which of her writings to include depended on identifying similarities between her work and the works of Coleman and MacGill which paired well in comparison. I chose to focus on the work she produced in the 1930s, which were published in the *Canadian Geographical Journal*, as well as some sections of her autobiography that describe the travels she undertook to the same places in this time period: specifically, the articles and writing related to her trip to Spain in 1931, which coincided with the overthrow of the Spanish monarchy.

“Kit” Coleman was equally prolific. The work I focus on for this paper is her coverage of the Spanish-American War in Cuba, from the time she began her journey in May 1898, until she left Cuba later that year in September. I also consider some of the advertising that *The Mail and Empire* ran in anticipation of her role as war correspondent.

The relative scarcity of published journalistic work by MacGill greatly determined the selections to be paired alongside the works of Macbeth and Coleman. MacGill’s work on Japan pairs well with Coleman’s on Cuba, allowing for an exploration, *via* its subjects’ presence in

territories that are not under the British empire's control, of how the empire wields its political and cultural power and influence. The extent of the empire's ability to demonstrate its imperial might, culturally or politically, are discernible, as are the limits of that clout.

Macbeth's writings about Spain also reveal the soft power of the British empire. However, in comparing Macbeth's writings about the beginnings of the Spanish Civil War and Coleman's coverage of the Spanish-American war in Cuba, it is possible to detect an anxiety for the institution of empire in the two women's works.[85] Even though the nominal focus of the two articles is a war that does not involve their own empire, neither woman can resist connecting the demise of a once-mighty empire-based nation – Spain – to the possibility that the same future might await England.

Coleman's context for writing is well documented. She travelled to Cuba in 1898 as "a representative of *The Mail and Empire*" ("'Kit' As a War Correspondent"), with the intention that she would write letters from the front to be reprinted in the newspaper. Freeman argues that "a re-reading of her activities in Cuba shows that she played a secondary role to that of her male colleagues, consistent with women's lack of status in the profession in general" (*Kit's Kingdom* 4). Her role was never intended to be the same as that of her male colleagues, as evidenced by an advertisement promoting her upcoming contributions: "The letters of 'Kit' will in no way conflict with the telegraphic service of the *New York Herald* and *London Times*, but will merely supplement that unparalleled war service" ("'Kit' As a War Correspondent"). This inclusion reveals the motivation of the editors who sent her, and it also provides readers direction on how to interpret her coverage of the war. Her primary role for going to Cuba was not merely to produce supplementary – second-class – war coverage, but also to differentiate *The Mail and*

[85] British imperial subjects were concerned about the long-term viability of the empire, particularly after the First World War: see Davis 231-234.

Empire's offerings with regard to war coverage by using a woman war correspondent as a gimmick.[86] This advertisement, as well as Freeman's argument, justifies the interpretation of Coleman's work as travel writing in the guise of journalism.

The journalistic works of MacGill, Macbeth, and Coleman work well together as subjects for an analysis of gender due to the authors' biographical similarities. All three were single mothers who wrote in order to support their children. All three women were also ambitious and career-oriented: an unusual characteristic in this period, especially for women raising children alone while working. All three lived somewhat nomadic lives, even though their work did not necessitate their leaving home as often as they did; they travelled when there was no need. All three became very involved in the Canadian Women's Press Club, assuming the role of president at either the local or national levels. Taking on these responsibilities, in addition to their work, would have taken them away from their motherly responsibilities even more. Each of the three women relied on and rejected their gender roles as needed to suit their own agendas. Part of this study will focus on the ways that MacGill, Macbeth, and Coleman used their gender to their advantage when it would advance their careers, and downplayed it when it became an inconvenience. In this way, the rigidity of late Victorian gender roles and expectations will be called into question, opening the way for the possibility that those gender roles were a simulacrum in the sense that, while all the signs of rigid gender roles were to be found everywhere, there were quite a number of actual people whose lives did not conform to the patterns signified by the signs – their lived experiences of sexism and gender-based oppression notwithstanding.

[86] Freeman supports this interpretation of Coleman's assignment as "a 'stunt' obviously designed to boost circulation" (*Kit's Kingdom* 107).

My three chosen subjects' works prove to be fruitful material for an analysis of race, but in this case based on cultural differences among the writers. While all three women were white, none of them were from England. MacGill was Canadian of Scottish descent, Macbeth was born in America to a half-Jewish father, and Coleman immigrated to Canada from Ireland in her twenties.[87] Despite these differences in cultural background, all three women identify first and foremost as British imperial subjects, and their writings are rife with British colonialist attitudes which become apparent when they describe nations and peoples with no formal colonial relationship with the British empire. By using writings that focus on lands not under British rule, and empires other than the British, it is possible to examine to what extent Mary Louise Pratt's idea of the colonial gaze was a product of the demands of the travel writing genre, as well as of the race- or colonizer-based world-view that the writers possessed, thus exposing the racial constructs that contributed to the imperial simulacrum.

[87] Alisha Walters argues that racial mixing was "increasingly seen as an ineluctable, already existing condition of the imperial British subject": that is, the idea of racial purity was merely an ideal. In fact, she uses popular literature of the time to expose "a widespread shift in perception … indicating that national identity had profoundly altered by the end of the century" so that "internal racial difference directly produces identifiable Englishness" – that "Britishness [had a] heightened polyvalence towards the end of the Victorian era, and … internal ambiguity regarding what is 'English'" (41-42). Walters includes a quotation from George du Maurier's *Trilby*, in which a young "Englishman" living in Paris has a face that contains "a faint suggestion of some possible very remote Jewish ancestor – just a tinge of that strong, sturdy, irrepressible, indomitable, indelible blood" (7). This quotation, appearing as it did in one of the most popular serials (and later, novels) of the time, helps to explain how Macbeth was able to gain entry into society despite her Jewish ancestry. Walters' work also clarifies how all three women were able to claim whiteness: through their Canadian and therefore British imperial identity.

The chosen articles by MacGill, Coleman, and Macbeth are well-suited to a class-based analysis, as well. All three writers were ladies,[88] meaning that all three were bound by similar[89] class constraints and expectations.[90] They all needed to produce writing that hewed to readership expectations regarding women and women journalists;[91] however, their shared position in society allowed them a measure of freedom to transgress some of the boundaries that women of a lower social standing might not have enjoyed. The transgressions of and concessions to propriety in their articles reveals much about the interconnected constructs of gender and class in Canada and the British empire during the period of new imperialism.

Their peripheral geographic and relational position within the empire, being Canadian, also complicates any analysis of gender, class, race, and empire. Many of the strictures that governed behaviour according to these ideologies, as well as any enforcement of those strictures, would have been experienced differently within the imperial heartland as opposed to at the periphery and contact zones. MacGill, Macbeth, and Coleman were based in the northwestern periphery of the British empire. The three women's Canadian-ness may have affected their lived

[88] Arlene Young outlines how the definition of "ladies" – women of the middle and upper classes who became increasingly educated and joined the workforce in ever-larger numbers throughout the nineteenth century – changed over the course of the Victorian era. Toward the end of the century, qualities such as "educated, decorous, and professional" appeared in media representations of the "new female office worker as a lady" (125). Young concludes that there was, by the end of the century, "the enduring confusions in the mindset of a culture that had come to recognize the need for greater opportunities in education and employment for women, but that still cherished outmoded ideals of womanhood" (164). The argument applies to the Canadian context during that period, based as the argument is on shared media representations and cultural understandings within the empire.

[89] Although a span of around fifty years separates my three subjects' writings, all three were raised and educated during the later Victorian period. This commonality of upbringing appears consistently in the texts selected for this analysis.

[90] Young elaborates on these constraints and expectations: they should be dependent on the men in their lives (husbands, fathers, brothers, etc.); their natural place was the domestic sphere; their natural roles were that of wife and mother; and that taking on paid work was unfeminine.

[91] Freeman notes that women in Canada in the late 1930s had "social expectations of [being] homemakers," and that being "an ardent monarchist, as well as a feminist, an internationalist and a peace advocate [was] not an unusual combination among the well-educated women of [Macbeth's] generation and class" (*Beyond Bylines* 98).

experiences of gender, class, race, and empire; I analyze to what extent I can support this claim using their articles as evidence.

MACGILL

Before the analysis of Helen MacGill's work begins, there remains the question of why she travelled to Japan at all. Elsie MacGill claims that the reason for her mother's voyage was to cover the opening of the inaugural Japanese Diet at the end of November, 1890. However, there are two newspaper announcements that do not support that claim. A short article in *The Toronto World,* announcing MacGill's impending convocation from Trinity University with her Master's degree, advertises her upcoming voyage "to British Columbia for the purpose of writing descriptive articles for British as well as Canadian and American magazines" ("Miss Helen Gregory" 2). Six months later, *The Globe* provides a different explanation: "Her visit to Japan is mainly for the purpose of writing articles for the New York *Cosmopolitan Magazine*, *Toronto Globe* and other journals" ("Notes" 10). These contemporary sources make no mention of Helen's having been contracted specifically to cover the Diet. Additionally, while she had previously been published in some Canadian newspapers and magazines,[92] her greatest claim to fame at the time of her selection for the assignment was her educational accomplishments. It is unclear why such prestigious publications would choose to send a young woman with very little journalistic experience to cover such an historic event.

If the context for MacGill's travelling to Japan appear mysterious, then the context of the publication of her works based on those travels is downright baffling. Even though she was supposed to have been in Japan on behalf of *The Cosmopolitan Magazine*, no article about or by her appears in the publication from mid-1890 to 1894.[93] Similarly, despite *The Globe* having identified itself as one of the sponsors of her voyage to Japan, the only article to appear in the

[92] I was unable to locate any other articles of hers published before 1891; this claim is based on E. MacGill's recounting of her mother's early journalism: see *My Mother the Judge* 56.
[93] No articles by MacGill have ever appeared in *The Cosmopolitan Magazine* throughout its history.

newspaper about her after the announcement of her arrival in the East[94] is an announcement of her wedding in March.[95] After that, the next time her name appears in *The Globe* is a year later, with this short blurb: "*The Californian Illustrated Magazine* for April will contain an article entitled "The Hairy Men of Japan" by Helen E. Gregory-Flesher. This is the first of a series of articles the material for which was gathered by this clever young Canadian woman on her visit to Japan before her marriage" ("Literary Notes" 9). There is no mention of the work she was supposed to have done for the very same publication the previous year, or of the work she did produce for the publication throughout the summer and fall of 1890. The omission of her alleged former contract with the newspaper, as well as her general absence from the pages of the very publications that were supposed to have been her reason for being in Japan, makes little business sense. It is difficult to understand why, at a time when copy and novelty were both in high demand, *The Cosmopolitan* and *The Globe* had both publicized the fact that they were sending a young woman to Japan to write for them, but then never mentioned the matter again.

The newspaper's restrained praise of MacGill was also in stark contrast, not only to its own description of her as "an accomplished lady" of "exceptional attainments" ("Notes" 10), but also to an earlier piece that appeared in *The Toronto World*, reprinted from *The Ottawa Citizen*, lauding her "university honors and degrees (Mus. Bac. and B.A.) and literary abilities [which] have been frequently noticed by many Canadian as well as American journals, and commanded for her a foremost place as an accomplished writer and contributor to leading magazines and journals" ("Miss Helen Gregory" 2). She appeared to have been well regarded by the news publishing industry as well as the wider society before her departure, yet was almost completely forgotten by the time she returned from Japan.

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[94] Published 3 January 1891.
[95] Published 4 March 1891.

This absence of MacGill's work in the period when it should have been published is a matter for further exploration, especially since journalists continued to mention it long afterward. In the news coverage of MacGill's ascent to the position of editor at *The Searchlight*, there is a mention of the "syndicate of newspapers" that asked her to produce coverage of the Western Canadian settlements; the coverage also claims that a series of her letters was published by "one of the New York magazines" that sent her to Japan. These letters allegedly describe what she saw there. It is unusual that *The Globe* would not name the magazine that sent her, or which newspapers made up the syndicate.[96]

There is one article about MacGill that sheds light on the mysteries surrounding her voyage. *The Globe* ran a piece announcing her arrival in Japan, and which also revealed some possible political motivations behind her selection:

> It is probably intentional that the arrival of Miss Gregory has occurred just on the eve of the opening of the Diet, but the coincidence is remarkable in one respect, namely, that it will at once bring into sharp prominence the rule excluding ladies from the galleries of the Japan Houses of Parliament. We do not believe that a rule so inconsistent with the tendency of Japan modern [*sic*] civilisation can be preserved, but it might have escaped strong Western contemnation [*sic*] but for the arrival of a lady who will naturally be anxious to witness and describe the most important and memorable event in Japanese history. Miss Gregory will in all probability witness this great event. She had letters of introduction to the British Minister from the Marquis of Salisbury and the Marquis of Lorne, also letters to the Swedish and Norwegian Ambassador, and other high officials at

[96] It is likely that the syndicate includes the *Ottawa Citizen* and the *Toronto World*, based on an article that appeared on 11 June 1890 in the *World* about MacGill, which includes an attribution to the *Ottawa Citizen* at the end.

> Tokyo, and has received most courteous and kind attention from the noted traveller and writer, Sir Edwin Arnold, since her arrival in Japan. ("Notes" 10)

Nowhere in this description of her presence does it claim that her purpose is to cover the Diet, as Elsie MacGill states in her biography of her mother; rather, this article notes that MacGill's presence will highlight the exclusion of women from witnessing the governmental proceedings. All of the important men listed at the end of the article would have known that women were not allowed into the proceedings; their willingness to endorse her trip by writing those letters of introduction to the British Minister in Japan is comprehensible if MacGill was simply a means to an end: a pawn of the British empire in the renewed colonial drive of new imperialism.

MacGill's foreign assignment was a diplomatic gambit to pressure Japan to adopt more Westernized attitudes, including attitudes toward women in public. This interpretation is made more plausible by the article's inclusion of the claim that a lady would be naturally anxious to see this politically significant moment. In 1890, women in the British empire were still unable to vote, and the "angel in the house" and women's domestic sphere were still the dominant ideologies concerning women's role in society: that of being relegated to and responsible for the care of home and family. The article's use of the word "natural" to describe a lady's interest in this historic political event contradicts many of the feminine ideals of the late nineteenth-century British empire. The logical and ideological contradictions within the article admit of the possibility that MacGill's voyage was a political and cultural ploy crafted by influential men of the British empire to exert greater influence on the Westernization of Japan.

With the question of her selection for the Japanese assignment answered, my attention now turns to MacGill's journalism. Her article, "The Hairy Men of Japan," reveals much about the importance of journalism to the imperial project in entirely unexpected ways. This sixteen-

page illustrated article was published in *The Californian Illustrated Magazine* in 1892, when MacGill was living in California. It provides a first-hand customs-and-manners account of the Aino people of Northern Japan.

The details surrounding the production of this article are contradictory. According to Elsie MacGill's description of her mother's time in Japan, MacGill arrived in Yokohama on 25 November 1890.[97] The biography also states that, two days into the Pacific crossing, a storm arose during which MacGill "lost her footing, was thrown down a companionway and broke her left leg" (MacGill 70). If this account is accurate, MacGill's broken leg had nineteen days to heal on a tossing ship before she reached her destination, after which time she spent the next month criss-crossing Japan. The biography claims that she was, in fact, able to witness the opening ceremonies[98] of the inaugural Diet "from a seat in the State gallery,"[99] despite the fact that "by custom women were excluded from state proceedings" (72); additionally, MacGill attended the numerous "balls and dinners" (71) in the Tokyo social scene to which she was invited, "journeyed to the base of … Mount Fuji," "visited Hiroshima, the port and small naval station on the Inland Sea, and later took ship to Hokkaido where the descendants of the original islanders, the Ainu, still lived in primitive simplicity," before returning to Tokyo, having "received a command" to attend the "New Year festivities at the Court" (73). Elsie MacGill then notes that, on January 7th, her mother "celebrated her own birthday at an eel dinner" in Tokyo (73). This itinerary would have been very difficult to complete in that time frame and with that injury: MacGill supposedly travelled 2500 kilometres – from Tokyo, south toward Mt. Fuji and

[97] Based on the Vancouver newspaper article about the *Abyssinia* leaving Victoria on 4 November 1890, and E. MacGill stating that the ship was at sea for "twenty-one days" (*My Mother* 71).
[98] The opening of the Imperial Diet took place on 29 November 1890: see *Japan Society*, "Illustration of first Japanese Parliament."
[99] If MacGill had actually been present in the gallery, this would have been newsworthy, yet the only report of her having witnessed the event is in E. MacGill's biography.

Hiroshima, then northward from Hiroshima to Hakodate and Biratori,[100] then back to Tokyo – in thirty-two days with a mending broken leg. It is improbable for MacGill to have done all that her daughter claims, and spend the length of time living among the Aino that would have been required for her to produce this article. The only way to produce a plausible timeline of MacGill's movements in Japan is by paring down the number of activities she undertook while there. Removing her alleged stay with the Aino of Hokkaido renders the rest of her itinerary believable: this is the most likely scenario. MacGill likely never met the Aino, and the proof is in her article.

MacGill's article is nearly entirely plagiarized from Isabella Bird's *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*: specifically, "Letter XXXVI" and "Letter XXXVII." Bird travelled to Japan in the spring of 1878, and her book is comprised "mainly of letters written on the spot to [her] sister and a circle of personal friends" (Bird x). For some sections of her article, MacGill takes Bird's material word for word, as when they both proclaim, "They have no history" (Gregory-Flesher 365, Bird 255), about the Aino. However, whereas MacGill maintains this same note of disdain and contempt for the Aino people throughout her article, Bird ends the sentence quoted above with romantic yet paternalistic admiration: "…yet they are attractive, and in some ways fascinating, and I hope I shall never forget the music of their low, sweet voices, the soft light of their mild, brown eyes, and the wonderful sweetness of their smile" (255). This difference between the original and the copy is evident throughout both pieces, with Bird's work being full of complexity, depth, and nuance based on the amount of time she actually spent living among the Aino, while MacGill's work reads as choppy, contradictory, and at times nonsensical.

[100] The name of the town where the Aino settlement exists. MacGill never refers to the town by name in her article, and neither does her daughter in her biography.

One example of the choppy nature of MacGill's writing emerges the longer one reads her piece. There are noticeable differences in her paragraph construction throughout. The opening and closing paragraphs are longer, full of description and idea development; however, within the middle sections of the article, the ideas are disorganized and lack cohesion. There are a number of paragraphs that are merely one sentence long. Often, these sentence-paragraphs read as *non sequiturs*, having no obvious connection to the paragraphs before or after them – other than that they are all about the Aino. In a later section of the article, a paragraph begins with a discussion of gender differences in occupations among the Aino. Four sentences into the paragraph, the topic shifts focus to the "low, soft, musical voice" (Gregory-Flesher 369) of the Aino men and women. Two sentences later, and with no transition, this claim appears: "At Ishkara the best salmon are caught" (369). The paragraph concludes with a description of Aino weaponry. The ideas within the article lurch from one topic to the next in no discernible order: a stark contrast to the writing style MacGill demonstrates in her articles on the Canadian West. The choppiness is due mainly to the fact that she has taken Bird's work and selects only segments of it to reassemble into this article.

Perhaps the clearest example of the article's choppy composition occurs when MacGill states, "[l]ike the Chinese and Japanese, the Ainos place no value upon time, and the reeds and thatch are arranged in a neat and uniform manner" (372). The dependent clause about time-value appears to have no connection to the main clause regarding roof construction. Bird's original prose is quite clear: "[v]ery great care is bestowed upon the outside of the roof, which is a marvel of neatness and prettiness, and has the appearance of a series of frills being thatched in ridges" (264). It can now be understood that the Aino invested much time to ensure the quality of their

workmanship: a characteristic that MacGill likely never witnessed herself, and was therefore unable to describe coherently in her reformulated version.

MacGill's plagiarism is not only evident in the quality of the writing but also in the content. There are moments when it becomes evident that the experiences described within the article are not her own. For example, in describing the Aino custom of tattooing female faces, she writes that "[t]wo parallel lines are drawn over and beyond the mouth and line made joining the eyebrows together" (Gregory-Flesher 369). When compared with Bird's account, which describes the tattooing as comprising "the broad band above and below the mouth … following closely the curve of the very pretty mouth" (Bird 259), the difference in clarity between the two is evident. Bird's account is detailed and easy to imagine. MacGill's description is difficult to picture since she is attempting to describe something she herself never saw, and without using the exact phrasing of the original author.

Another example of mangled sense in MacGill's article is an anecdote describing an Aino custom during the Festival of the Bear, which is celebrated in autumn:[101] "After [the bear] is mortally wounded and dying, weapons are offered to him with which to avenge himself, and a sort of apology is chanted, after which his head is cut off" (Gregory-Flesher 374). This practice appears to mock the bear, cheapening its impending death by the offer of revenge with weapons it cannot use, followed by what might be a half-hearted apology for the mockery. In comparison, Bird's description makes clear the reverence with which the bear is killed: "As soon as [the bear] falls down exhausted, his head is cut off, and the weapons with which he has been wounded are offered to it, and he is asked to avenge himself upon them" (Bird 276). The offer of the weapons can now be understood as an offer to the bear of spiritual vengeance in the afterlife rather than a

[101] According to Bird, who witnessed the festival while she was among the Aino in the autumn of 1878: see full ceremony description, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* 276-77. MacGill was only in Japan during the winter.

humiliation at the end of this life. Similarly, when she attempts to describe another bear festival tradition, MacGill writes, “a rope is passed just above the shoulders [of the bear], upon which the men jump until his neck is broken” (Gregory-Flesher 375). It is unclear if men jump somehow onto a rope, or if men jump onto the shoulder of the bear to attempt to break its neck, and if so, what purpose the rope serves in the whole event. Bird’s description is much clearer: “On letting it loose from the cage two men seize it by the ears, and others simultaneously place a long, stout pole across the nape of its neck, upon which a number of Ainos mount, and after a prolonged struggle the neck is broken” (Bird 276-77). It is clear which of these women actually witnessed the event she described based on the lack of contradictions, as well as on the overall meaning-making in Bird’s account over that of MacGill.

MacGill’s forgery takes a more inventive turn when she makes some questionable editorial changes to Bird’s material. In one instance, she discusses the Ainos’ physical characteristics, noting that “one writer describes two boys who had fine black hair, unmistakably fur, on their backs between the shoulders” (Gregory-Flesher 369). The writer whom she does not name is Isabella Bird, the actual author, and whose own words are, “I have seen two boys whose backs are covered with fur as fine and soft as that of a cat” (Bird 255). MacGill uses the very writer whose work she plagiarises in order to lend credibility to “her own” account. Not only does she steal another woman writer’s work, but she changes Bird’s original meaning, turning a simile into a factual statement.

Another such example of MacGill’s fabrication is her description of an episode inspired by Bird’s work. Bird writes, “Their gods – that is, the outward symbols of their religion … – are wands and posts of peeled wood, whittled nearly to the top, from which the pendent shavings fall down in white curls. … [S]uch wands are thrown into the rivers as the boatmen descend rapids

and dangerous places" (273-74). It is a simple description of a practice that Bird may or may not have witnessed herself. MacGill crafts it into an episode from a colonial adventure narrative:

> Embarking in an elm "dugout" we went a few miles down one of the rivers. As we came to dangerous places, the men waved their hands high above their heads, the palms outward, and broke into a sort of prayer. The roaring of the foaming current, for all these rivers are narrow and rapid, and the full, rich voices of the Ainos, as they burst into a weird, unearthly chant, made a scene never to be forgotten. … From time to time as they prayed, the boatman cast into the seething waters pieces of wood like little wands, with bunches or curls of shavings left hanging to the top. These are the emblems or symbols of their gods. (Gregory-Flesher 373)

From a production demand standpoint, this creative inclusion acts either as a welcome respite from the tedium of the anthropological-study style of the rest of the article, or as a distracting intrusion upon a serious anthropological study. In any case, MacGill's invention is almost certainly intended to lend a sense of excitement to the factual nature of her account, thus providing her readers both the instruction and entertainment they expected from newspapers. The fact that nobody in a boat descending through rapids would ever actually throw their hands up in the air lest they be flung from the boat is glossed over.

MacGill's insertion of the river narrative into the article reduces the complexities of a non-European people and culture into a caricature created by Europeans (and therefore knowable, understandable, and tameable). As the invented episode above displays, MacGill does add some original material to that which she has taken from Bird: a colonial adventure narrative, complete with native sidekicks. In addition to the river incident, the article also contains numerous instances of the disappearing-native trope common in colonial travel writing: "[n]ow

the Ainos live in their frost bound island forgotten and unknown; ekeing [*sic*] out a miserable existence fishing and hunting, and like our American Indians, gradually melting away before the light of civilization" (365). MacGill deploys these generic conventions and tropes to assert authority, using the knowledge she has stolen from Bird. Eva-Marie Kröller pointed out that travel writers "prided themselves on the scientific basis of their observations" (6); this attitude explains why MacGill would have chosen to pilfer Bird's work. The highly-detailed nature of Bird's observations allows MacGill to "display [the Aino] as anthropological curiosities" (Kröller 161), reinforcing her reputation as a highly-educated woman. Despite the likelihood that MacGill never met an Aino, she still published this article; the choices she made in crafting it exhibit her internalized imperialist mindset of needing – and of feeling entitled – to contain the complexities of non-European cultures by reducing them to a collection of facts, the factuality of which were determined by Europeans alone.

MacGill's plagiarism was unexpected;[102] equally surprising, however, was that she had an accomplice who himself stole the work of a collaborator of Bird's. MacGill's article appeared in an illustrated magazine, and every illustration in the article was as much plagiarized as the rest of the written contents. Whereas the original account of the Aino was written by Isabella Bird and illustrated by Edward Whymper FRSE,[103] MacGill's version was accompanied by the copying work of Henry Joseph Breuer,[104] the art editor for *The Californian* in 1892.[105]

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[102] Freeman argues that travel writers of either gender were allowed, perhaps even expected, to use "a great deal of colour and literary license" (*Kit's Kingdom* 81). However, MacGill would have been keenly aware of copyright laws since the Berne Convention governing international copyright had only come into effect in the British Empire in 1887, followed by the enactment of the American Copyright Law four years later in 1891. She also would have known how plagiarism negatively impacted fellow women writers: see Gerson, *Canadian Women in Print* 97-98.

[103] Fellowship of the Royal Society of Edinburgh

[104] The last name, Breuer, is listed as the illustrator of MacGill's article in *The Californian* (v). A number of art gallery and art resale websites list the artist, Henry Joseph Breuer, as having worked for *The Californian* starting in 1888: see "Henry Joseph Breuer" and "Sold."

[105] The deception is clear from the first full-page illustration that appears in the article, that of "an old Aino" (Gregory-Flesher 366): for other examples, see Appendix A: Original vs. Plagiarized Illustrations. This first

Compare Whymper's original illustration of "an Aino patriarch" to Breuer's copy of "an old Aino" on the right. The man on the left appears happy and welcoming, while the one on the right appears somewhat threatening due to the changes Breuer made in the facial expression, stance, and manner of holding the staff.

MacGill's (and Breuer's) plagiarism reveals the limits of imperial cultural reach and influence, which also had political implications. MacGill's article was published in April of 1892; Bird became the first woman to be elected a Fellow of the Royal Scottish Geographical

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illustration is almost an exact replica of Whymper's "Aino patriarch" (Bird 258), with some key differences. The first is Breuer's deletion of Whymper's signature from the bottom-left corner and his insertion of his own near the bottom-right corner of the image. The second alteration involves a host of smaller changes that alter the tone of the whole: Whymper's "patriarch" is clasping the top of a staff that reaches almost to his cheekbones, apparently using it as a support; his right elbow appears to be resting on a waist-high ledge, and his right hand hangs down in a relaxed manner. The "patriarch" appears very happy, displaying the "softness in the dreamy brown eyes" and "exceeding sweetness of the smile, which belongs … to all the rougher sex" (257) that Bird describes in her account. In contrast, the "old Aino" of Breuer's work is holding a stick in his right hand, just beneath the knob at its end. The stick is held at the height of the man's hip and is about the same length as a sword. The "old Aino" appears to be resting his left elbow on something, and his left hand is clenched around something. The effect of all these minor changes is that, while the "patriarch" appears to be relaxing in a doorway, acknowledging the viewer's approach with a welcoming smile, the "old Aino" appears to be assuming a defensive stance. The "patriarch" is leaning backward, his weight mostly on one leg; the "old Aino" is squared toward the viewer, in a stance that looks like he might swing the stick upward to use as a club at any moment. Nowhere are the "beautiful eyes and the gentle, sweet smile" (Gregory-Flesher 368) that MacGill describes later in her article. In their place are a glowering brow and dark, squinting eyes full of distrust.

Society in 1891.[106] The fact that none of MacGill's California readership noticed her plagiarism, so soon after the work's original author and her work was making news, reveals the limits of British imperial cultural influence. Breuer's plagiarism of Whymper's work reinforces this interpretation. Whymper was a prolific explorer, traveller, and author in his own right, having first achieved fame in 1865 for being part of the first ascent of the Matterhorn.[107] That nobody in *The Californian Illustrated*'s readership recognized his work or Bird's shows where the British empire's cultural influence stopped: apparently, at the empire's borders.

MacGill and Breuer's plagiarism also suggests that British imperial cultural influence might have been less widespread even within the empire itself. The column, "Here and There," in an April 1892 edition of Toronto newspaper, *The Globe*, includes a review of "The Hairy Men of Japan." The article shares excerpts from MacGill's work, including the purely fictional river episode quoted earlier. The fact that both the reviewer and readers in Toronto did not recognize Bird's work in the excerpts shows that, even within the empire, imperial culture that should have been known by those in a position to stay informed, was not that well known after all. That MacGill was able to carry out her plagiarism and then be reviewed positively for her work – and in her original homeland – instead of being discovered and exposed would have vindicated the gamble she took. MacGill must have weighed the possible outcomes of plagiarising the article before committing the act. She likely decided that, regardless of how well-known Bird's work ought to have been, there was little chance that the work actually was well-known. It is difficult to explain otherwise why she would have committed such an act of wholesale plagiarism, and equally difficult to explain how she convinced her *The Californian* co-worker, Breuer, to join her

[106] According to the records of the Royal Geographical Society and the Royal Scottish Geographical Society.
[107] According to the *Encyclopedia Brittanica* entry, "Edward Whymper."

in her endeavour.[108] Their willingness to commit this intellectual theft reveals an understanding, possessed by people in a position to know, that the assumed extent of the British empire's cultural influence was greater than its actual extent.

MacGill's plagiarism of Bird's work created a simulacrum of the world beyond the empire for her readership, both Californian and Canadian. Her fabrication of the episode on the river creates for readers an image of real people's unreal behaviours and practices, making the Aino appear to be far more superstitious than they are in Bird's account. It also makes them appear stupid based on their illogical behaviour on a boat in rapids, reinforcing her claims littered throughout the article that the Aino are "densely ignorant," "utterly uncivilized" (365), "primitive" (375), and "almost idiotic" (378); her strongest statement on the matter is that "it is an incontrovertible fact that these people are intensely stupid" (378). This attitude toward the Aino does not appear either in Bird's account, or in the writings of John Batchelor, an Anglican missionary who lived among the Aino from 1877 until his return to England in 1941. He argues that only "a cynical and superficial observer" could call the Aino "a simple and stupid race" (15). Bird certainly never portrays the Aino in this way. The fact that MacGill does, and repeatedly, lends weight to the conclusion that she never met the Aino at all. The truth or falsehood of her account hardly matters since the effect is the same regardless. MacGill's plagiarised travel writing narrative, disguised as journalism, created for her readers a distorted reality based partly on another person's account, thus putting it at the level of second-order simulacrum, and partly on pure fiction, thereby qualifying it as a simulacrum of the third order.

[108] Any financial or contractual pressures that may have motivated MacGill and Breuer would only be speculative without access to their work contracts. Unfortunately, the only records I could locate for *The Californian* Publishing Company pertain to its predecessor publication, *The Overland Monthly*, and those records only cover the years 1869-86.

MacGill also extends the colonial element of the British empire simulacrum beyond the empire itself with her use of the disappearing-native trope throughout the article, to describe people not under British rule. In "The Hairy Men of Japan," MacGill refers to the Aino as a "strange race" (Gregory-Flesher 365) "like most dying races" (373), pre-empting Duncan Campbell Scott's phrasing of a "weird and waning race."[109] After numerous references to the Ainos' being "wild and savage" (368), she ends the article by framing the Aino-Japanese relationship as similar to that of "the American Indians … [and] the white inhabitants of the United States and Canada" (380). Her parallelism of these two relationships created for her readers the illusion that the accepted reality that pertained in the United States and in Canada – the disappearance of the native – was universally true. This interpretation is reinforced when, for example, Madge Merton begins her review of MacGill's article by describing the Ainos as "dwindling away before civilization" and concludes that it was a "well-told story of the strange race, disappearing with the decades, and living in an almost savage state" (4). Despite the fact that everything in Bird's account which MacGill includes in her article shows a distinct culture with its own thriving traditions and ways of life, and despite the fact that MacGill likely never saw the Aino herself, her account reinforced for her readership the idea that the uncivilized – non-Western, non-European indigenous populations throughout the world – were all on the verge of extinction, exactly as the disappearing-native trope predicted for them. The travel writing trope of the indigenous populations' impending demise migrated from fiction into fact through the medium of journalism – MacGill's article, Merton's review, and others like them – and also crossed cultures, being made to apply to Japan when there was no evidence why that should be so applied. In this way, the part of the British empire's simulacrum that touched on their

[109] From his 1898 poem, "The Onondaga Madonna."

indigenous relations was extended to other nations. People who read the article read one sign, Merton's review, which points to another sign, MacGill's article, which points to the (ideological) sign held by the empire that savage races were disappearing, which points to the sign held within travel writing tropes showing natives disappearing, which points to nothing in reality. Thus, the prevailing belief in the British empire regarding the natives' inevitable disappearance extended to other nations, becoming a universal truth – or so the subjects of the British empire understood as reality.

MACBETH

Madge Macbeth's journalistic career may have been born of necessity, but her pursuit of it was born of passion. After her husband died in 1908, writing was, as Macbeth herself notes in her autobiography, one of the few professions that a woman from her class and educational background could pursue "without losing caste" (*Over My Shoulder* 54), thus revealing one of the societal pressures that led her into the profession. She downplays her own abilities in both of her autobiographies: she argues that she "had to write" (55) in order to "make a living for [her] fatherless children" (53) because she was an "unintelligent creature" who "couldn't teach" since she was "an impractical, untrained widow" (*Boulevard Career* 106) who "didn't know anything of practical value" (55). In both autobiographies, she frames her pursuit of a writing career as a last resort for an unfortunate young widow of good breeding with no other alternatives to keep her very young children alive, acquiescing to the societal demands and expectations for middle-class ladies in the late Victorian British empire.

She also notes in *Boulevard Career* that writing was a profession that she could do from home, theoretically allowing her to continue to care for her children simultaneously. These pragmatic reasons were not her only motivators, though; she likely turned to a journalistic career for the travel opportunities that it afforded her. For Macbeth, travel was both an attractive career option and an ingrained way of life, based on her upbringing. She alludes to this attitude in one autobiography, describing herself as having "an immense zest for life; a great curiosity about it" (*Boulevard Career* 105). A career in journalism provided her an excuse to continue to travel, along with the possibility of having some of the costs associated with that travel subsidized.

The lifestyle that her chosen career afforded her conflicted with the societal expectations that Macbeth faced as a mother. To address this conflict, she includes a written exchange

between herself and an Alice Hubbard.[110] Macbeth asks Hubbard what "an impractical, untrained widow with two babies [could] do" (106) to make a living. Hubbard replies "that a mother's first hard lesson was to teach her children to stand alone" (106). Macbeth claims to have written in response, "'How far should one leave a child to fend for itself physically and spiritually, to work out its own salvation?'" to which Hubbard writes back, "'You must be the judge'" (106). The inclusion of this correspondence precedes the numerous chapters in which she describes leaving her boys at home in Ottawa with their grandmother "as usual" for extended periods while she went on her "annual wanderings" (114), first to New York, Paris, and Granada, and later to Spain, Yugoslavia, Paraguay, Ecuador, and Peru. Despite this memoir's having been published in 1957, this exchange between Macbeth and Hubbard shows that Macbeth was still heavily influenced by the demands of production and reception as they pertained to gender roles: in her case, that of a mother. It is difficult to determine if this exchange were meant to excuse her behaviour in the past, when it defied gender norms at the turn of the twentieth century, or if it were to excuse her past behaviour for her post-war readers, who in many ways were bound by similar ideologies of womanhood and motherhood as her readership of fifty years before.

A career in journalism not only gave her financial opportunities to travel, but also gave her a societally acceptable reason to travel despite the expectation that she be at home raising her children. She mentions leaving the boys in the care of her mother in Ottawa, and she also mentions returning home from a nine-month trip to New York City, "hurt because the children had not come to meet [her]. Two young men stepped forward, one welcoming [her] in a deep baritone" (135). These admissions of her long absences from her children, coupled with her declaration of herself as having been "an unnatural mother" (*Over My Shoulder* 44), serve as

[110] Macbeth also refers to the woman as Mrs. Elbert: this is likely the American feminist and writer Alice Hubbard, wife of Elbert Hubbard.

both her way of acknowledging what the expectations for mothers were while simultaneously excusing herself from those expectations. She assuages her readers' fear that she may have simply abandoned her children by stating that her boys were in the care of her mother; additionally, she anticipates the charge that might have been levelled against her – that of her being "unnatural" – and turns it instead into self-deprecating humour. Finally, as mentioned previously, she fortifies the correctness of her position with the opinion of American feminist writer Alice Hubbard, using the exchange between them as a justification for Macbeth's refusal to adhere to the social norms prescribed for women in early twentieth-century Ottawa.

Her manipulation of class and gender expectations and exceptions is on display in her writing. Her renown as a successful writer allows her to acknowledge her inability to embrace the motherhood ideal of devoting oneself solely to the care of children and home; however, she simultaneously has to disavow her own talent and intelligence and attribute her pursuit of a career to maternal instinct. Her material is necessarily contradictory due to the competing demands of gender and production, for honesty would have rendered her unpalatable to readers and to society.

Macbeth's writing also contains contradictions as a result of her deployment of imperialist ideologies, as demonstrated in her article, "Travelled but Unknown Spain." This article, published in 1931, narrates Macbeth's journey through Spain just in advance of the Spanish Civil War, years when Spain's economy and political structures were in turmoil. She describes the Spanish using a colonial gaze similar to that which Europeans employed in their travel writing when describing the indigenous peoples of the lands they encountered. Macbeth refers to the Spanish as possessing both a "savage temper" and "patience that the martyrs might have envied" ("Travelled" 129), constructing the same dichotomous classification of indigenous

peoples as either uncivilized or noble. She admits that the Spanish are not so simple as the indigenous peoples from beyond Europe's borders, explaining that "[f]amiliarity with Spain requires a broad and deep understanding rather than a quick and observant eye" (129). This concession is an admission that Macbeth's "imperial eyes"[111] cannot determine for the Spanish who or what they are. She does not have the authority to impose her own meaning onto the realities of a people who were not subjects of her empire, yet she still attempts to do so.

As a result of its adherence to travel writing tropes, the article reveals more of the contradictions on which imperialist ideology is based. Macbeth begins the article by establishing her authority on the matter of Spain, but she does so in the manner of a travel guidebook. She makes some broad generalizations about Spain that assert her discernment of its true nature (and by extension, that of its people), calling it "a country so webbed with contrast and irreconcilable features that anything said of it, may be true" (129). Her declaration gives her *carte blanche* to make any claims she wishes regarding the country, asserting her authority based on personal experience. Her claim also protects her from criticism – from other travellers, but more importantly from Spaniards – with her characterization of Spain as having "irreconcilable features." This statement allows for the possibility that other people (including the Spanish themselves) might think differently about Spain than she does while simultaneously claiming for herself the authority to declare what is true about the country and its people.

Macbeth's declaration of Spain's contradictory nature is a canny manoeuvre for a travel writer. With it, she prevents other travellers from calling her at worst a liar, and at best ill informed. As a woman travel writer, Macbeth was doubly under scrutiny: an air of untrustworthiness has clung to travel writers and their works since Herodotus wrote of Egypt;

[111] Borrowing Mary Louise Pratt's phrasing.

and women travel writers were often regarded as even more untrustworthy than their male counterparts, whether through readers' assumptions of the women writers' ignorance of the world at large, or through readers' biases regarding women writers' penchant for subjective storytelling over factual recording. By claiming that Spain was unknowable due to its "contrast[ing] and irreconcilable" (129) realities, Macbeth creates space for her experiences within the broader narratives about Spain.

Macbeth exercises her cultural authority again to portray Spain as an undeveloped colonial territory rather than the home nation of a once-mighty empire and cultural equal to England. She describes the country's "occupation" at the hands of "the Carthaginians, Romans, Greeks, Moors, Vandals and French, each conquering race [having left] its mark upon the Spanish people" (132), highlighting for her readers the parts of the nation's history during which it was being colonized, and suppressing Spain's more recent reality as a colonizing empire. In *Imperial Leather*, McClintock notes that "the journey into the interior is, like almost all colonial journeys, figured as a journey forward in space but backward in time" (242); this observation reveals the literary influence of the travel writing genre on Macbeth's portrayal of Spain. As she brings her readers further into the land with her, she pushes back the clock, presenting to her readers the Spain of a bygone era.

Macbeth also crafts her description of the country's geography to affect her readers' perspective on Spain: "the configuration of the peninsula, dangling like a huge limpet from the south-western tip of Europe, cut off from the rest of the world by effective barriers of land and sea, separated internally by natural boundaries, has hampered what we call progress and helped to keep alive ancient conditions" (132). The simile comparing the geographical nation to an ocean snail conveys the idea of slowness that is then reinforced by Macbeth's use of

"hampered," "barriers," "boundaries," and "ancient," with the overall effect being the portrayal of a sluggish people whose development has been retarded by external as well as intrinsic factors. While Macbeth begins with a description of the land as a preserved relic of a bygone era, she ends by reducing its people, once full of "contrast and irreconcilable features" (129), to the same simplistic view contained in much colonial travel writing of the uncivilized savage.

Macbeth positions herself as culturally superior to the Spanish using travel writing techniques by using Spain's own cultural treasures against them. In the article, she identifies a number of Roman ruins that she intends to visit, and repeatedly mentions the nearby Spaniards' ignorance of these sites' historic and cultural importance. She singles out "a bright young lad in Merida, a sort of Jack-of-all-trades in the hotel, [who] had never explored the Roman amphitheatre, circus or temple, which he could have reached in less than half an hour from where he lived" (132). She continues:

> I do not know what percentage of the people in Tarragona have never seen the Roman aqueduct, nearly 22 miles long, that lies about four miles from the town; nor do I know the percentage of those who have never visited the grounds of the palatial tobacco factory (begun seven years ago and still unfinished) where a whole Roman settlement is being excavated. But I dare state, without fear of contradiction, that the percentage is high. (132)

She chastises all Spanish people for having no interest in or appreciation for Roman ruins in Spain: a lack of interest and appreciation that she determines based on no facts and a single interview of a boy who, from his employment at a hotel despite his youth, likely does not have the time to spare to go exploring buildings at a cost of an hour's round trip. Macbeth lays claim to being culturally superior to the Spanish through her access to knowledge that the Spaniards

lack, even though the Spaniards are in physical possession of the cultural items that Macbeth values so highly. She positions knowledge of a thing as being more valuable than the thing itself, allowing her to position herself as culturally superior to the Spanish. She thus reconciles the contradictions inherent in travel writing that simultaneously valorize foreign places while devaluing the people who live there.

This article writes a simulacrum of Spain into being. Through it, Macbeth creates a version of reality for her readers through the medium of *The Canadian Geographical Journal*, a source which presented itself as a source of facts published by the Canadian Geographical Society. When she notes the qualities of the Spanish people, she highlights the fact that they "travel little in their own land and practically not at all in the lands of other peoples" (132). It is difficult to reconcile this portrayal of the Spanish people with their three-hundred-year history of colonial and evangelical conquest throughout South America and the Far East. This contradiction leads to the conclusion that Macbeth is describing, not the Spanish, but rather an idea she already had of them. She peoples her simulacrum of Spain with simulated inhabitants.

Macbeth's absolute confidence in the correctness of her position with no supporting evidence, similar to MacGill with her writings about the Aino, is another aspect of her positioning herself as culturally superior; however, it is also another sign that her writing is producing a simulacrum. Her emphasis on what she "do[es] not know" (132), together with her belief that no one would dispute her specious claims regarding the extent of the Tarragonian people's ignorance of their Roman heritage, draw attention to the purely invented nature of her portrayal of the Spaniards. She does not care about factual data: percentages are pointless thanks to her certainty that her opinions constitute reality. When a respected scientific journal printed those opinions, they became reality for her readers.

At one point in the article, Macbeth must wrestle with the contradiction arising from her insistence on Spain's belonging to some mythic past, and its reality as a contributor to the modern world of the twentieth century. After introducing the nine-hundred-year-old city of Plasencia looking "very time-ridden and century-worn" from "a misty past" (142), Macbeth mentions a cathedral that "gives one a shock" (146), explaining that "[a]nything so nobly proportioned, so richly ornate in forgotten Plasencia, is utterly unexpected" (146). The simulacrum of Spain that she has attempted to create collides with reality, for it is only Macbeth who has not expected the Plasencia that confronts her. After committing to the page thousands of words detailing a Spain arrested in forgotten time,[112] she now finds herself wishing to describe a cathedral that is incongruous with her imagined landscape. She phrases her surprise using the passive construction – the cathedral "is … unexpected" – to absolve herself of having to identify the subject, but also to give her personal opinion the weight of universal truth. While Macbeth does show her readers parts of the real Spain, she simultaneously reinforces the verisimilitude of her creation.

Gender also factors into Macbeth's article on Spain, particularly in the differential and stereotypical ways she describes the Spanish men and women she encounters. As with the ideas surrounding empire, contradictions abound in her presentation of gender-based attitudes and interests. She displays a penchant for interacting with male characters on her travels: she speaks with a fellow train traveller, a young hotel worker, a man with a donkey, a young priest-in-training, and a cathedral guide – all men. She almost invariably provides justifications for speaking to all of these Spanish men, and the reason is usually because she wishes to clarify

[112] Or an idyllic, untouched paradise: according to Macbeth, anyone can say anything about Spain and it will be true.

some local custom about which she is curious.[113] When she finally turns her attention to the Spanish women, she describes their behaviour as "incomprehensible" (144). Macbeth does not include any conversations between herself and the Spanish townswomen wherein she asks them to explain their customs. Instead, Macbeth observes their unfamiliar (to her) customs, declares them unintelligible, and then proceeds to turn these women and their customs into targets of mockery. She pays the closest attention to women's fashion, comparing some of the women's hats to "bristling straw mats" or "balls of odds and ends collected during spring house-cleaning" (144), connecting these women's accessories to housework in the reader's imagination. In another example, in the caption of a photograph of two Plasencian women conversing together, Macbeth describes one of the women as wearing "a mirror set in the back of her hat by way of extra decoration" (135). She continues, "I walked around her several times looking for brush, comb and powder puff. Perhaps she wears the rest of her toilet accessories only on holidays" (135). Macbeth does not explain why she elects not to ask the woman about the mirror on her hat. Her authorial decision to present this interaction in this manner implies a desire on her part to distance her persona from the seemingly frivolous business of women's fashion. This interpretation is supported by the contents of the conversations she does share as having taken place between herself and the various Spanish men. She speaks to them about government officials, Roman ruins, the load-bearing capabilities of donkeys, bull fights, and cathedral architecture: in short, she presents a female persona with a broad understanding of a number of male-oriented interests. Her refusal to include any such enlightening conversations with Spanish women appears motivated by Macbeth's desire to present herself as a credible, capable, sensible traveler while distancing herself from her femaleness. She aligns herself with Spanish men and

[113] These inclusions can also be interpreted as a stylistic choice, allowing her to provide information about Spain rhetorically rather than pedantically.

their interests, creating between herself and her readers a feedback loop which signals that masculine activities have value (and feminine ones do not) while simultaneously validating the elevated position of masculine activities over feminine ones.

The persona that Macbeth creates for herself in her travel writing disguised as journalism reveals a power dynamic based on class as well as gender. *Boulevard Career* contains an episode set in Cadiz which took place during the same trip on which she based "Travelled but Unknown Spain." In the episode, Macbeth includes a rare and brief political exchange between herself and her chambermaid, Ana. The woman rouses Macbeth from sleep, declaring, "Spain is now a Republic" (*Boulevard Career* 162)! Macbeth refuses to take her chambermaid's word that a revolution has taken place in Spain while Macbeth slept, even though her maid had likely taken part in the events of the previous night – or at the very least had likely been in a part of the city wherein activities directly related to the revolution took place. Macbeth states, "I thought that if there had been a revolution in the night I would have heard something" (162). When a policeman confirms the news, "repeated [in] Ana's words" (162), Macbeth begins to accept the revolution as fact, although she still "protest[s]" that "a republic needn't be dead" (162). Her refusal to believe her chambermaid reflects a power dynamic based on class as well as gender: she dismisses the knowledge a working-class woman provides until that knowledge issues from a male authority figure. This dismissal is especially troubling since, assuming that the persona and the person truly shared this experience, it would mean that Macbeth endangered herself by venturing into a city blanketed by an "uneasy hush," with "very few pedestrians," doors "tight shut" and "piles of rubble" (162) in the streets, all due to her unwillingness to accept knowledge from a woman of a lower class. Whether this recounting was factual or crafted using writing conventions that create a fearful mood, Macbeth's persona, in combining superior attitudes based

on class and gender with the travel writing conventions that evoke danger in a strange land, conveys an air of naïve arrogance, overconfidence, and querulousness. These interactions reveal a dismissive attitude of other women, whether of an equal or lower class, on Macbeth's part.

The women Macbeth does include in her texts function as props for self-aggrandisement. Using the Plasencian women, Macbeth positions herself as different from other women: she is worldly, knowledgeable, and interested in the business of men; other women, represented by the Plasencians, are vain, frivolous, and not worth engaging in conversation. Macbeth includes the chambermaid, Ana, to flatter herself. Ana contributes only four short sentences to the text; within those four lines, she uses the word "*señorita*" (162) twice. The significance of this honorific lies in its translation: the word is used to refer only to young women who have never been married. This trip to Cadiz took place in the spring of 1931, when Macbeth was fifty-two years old. Spanish speakers would have called her *señora* out of respect for her age. Ana's double utterance of *señorita* reveals Macbeth's subtle use of the maid character to alter her readers' perspective of her, subconsciously replacing in the reader's mind the reality of the much older woman with the image of a younger Macbeth caught in a dangerous revolution. The maid's use of an inappropriate honorific shows Macbeth's attempt to pander to the demands of an audience that associated adventure travel narratives with young, glamorous protagonists if the protagonists were female.

Class consciousness emerges again in Macbeth's writing when she described the Spanish people of Cadiz before and after the revolution of 1931. She describes the pre-revolution city as full of "reverent, silent crowd[s]" (160) whose "sweet simplicity and genuineness wrung [her] heart" (159). The morning after the revolution, however, Macbeth presents to her readers streets "choked with human beings … [wearing] shabby working clothes … [and who] carried sticks,

brooms, canes or flags improvised from bits of cotton" (164). She further describes the movement of these people through the streets as "ooz[ing in] a stream, spreading over the space … like grease on hot sand" (164). The "dark tide" of humanity eventually "ebbed away" (165), but not before Macbeth reveals what influenced her opinions of the people in whose land she is travelling. When her relationship with Cadiz is that of a tourist seeking enjoyment, and the people of "The Pearl of the Mediterranean" (160) provide her amusement and merriment, she describes them generously; however, as soon as the people became a threat to her holiday, she in turn turns on them, dehumanizing the very same people of whom she is so complimentary only a page beforehand.

The Cadiz passage reveals an appropriately Canadian attitude on Macbeth's part toward the British empire, as well as anxiety over its fate. The connection becomes clear when her persona finds a figurative treasure: "My dark thoughts were brightened by a gleam of gold shining from a heap of rubbish. It proved to be a gilt metal crown; 9-pointed, flat, about 7 inches long; it had probably been affixed to some aristocratic gateway. Assured that no one was in sight, I picked it up and hid it under my coat" (164). Her persona is devastated by the political change in Spain but is momentarily cheered by finding a symbol of what is gone, a crown, lying atop a symbol of what remains, "a heap of rubbish." Her inclusion of this anecdote is in keeping with a constraint on reception: "Canadian women [authors] were expected to prove their country's loyalty to the Crown" (Kröller 75). Macbeth signals to her readers her support not only of the Spanish monarchy specifically, but also of monarchy in general and, by extension, her fidelity to the British empire. Her rescue of the metal crown from the rubbish heap symbolizes her continued loyalty to monarchic and imperial structures. However, her description of the clandestine nature of her actions – ensuring that nobody witnesses her taking the crown, hiding it

under her coat – also reveals an anxiety about the future of the empire to which she belongs. The British empire was just beginning to disintegrate when she was writing and publishing her autobiographies. The furtiveness with which she takes the crown displays an uneasiness on Macbeth's part that the wider world might no longer be a safe place for monarchists and imperialists like herself, and that the institutions of monarchy and empire themselves were in danger.

The anecdote of the crown also reveals that the Spanish people's rejection of the monarchy as having been another factor that contributes to Macbeth's contradictory representations of them. There were constraints on the production and reception of Macbeth's work in Canada, as well as some conventions of the travel writing genre, that pre-determined Macbeth's portrayal of the Spanish people post-revolution. Immediately after her highly-symbolic rescue of the crown, a "mob" (164), having "oozed" (164) its way to the gates of her hotel, causes Macbeth's persona to experience "an instant of sharp panic [when she] thought of the Bastille, of [her] beautiful, glittering crown. What was to prevent that undisciplined horde from looting the hotel, from thinking [her] a Royalist sympathizer and throwing [her] over the balcony, or slitting [her] throat?" (165). The Canadian constraints on the production and reception of Macbeth's work, demanding from her a display of imperial fealty, dictated that she represent the Spanish revolutionaries as bloodthirsty agents of insurrection from whom her persona, the loyal royal subject, strove to save some part of the old order, no matter how small. Meanwhile, the literary demands of the travel writing genre, demanding from her a recognizable adventure narrative, led her to make the allusion to the French Revolution, to cast herself in the role of the damsel in distress, and to portray the Spanish people as the source of tension and conflict driving the narrative.

Macbeth's dehumanization of the Spanish along class and imperial lines supports my interpretation that her Cadiz passage creates a third-order simulacrum involving the people of Cadiz. These two competing portrayals of the same people within the space of a few days shows that Macbeth's writing is concerned neither with producing an accurate account of a people during a turning point in their history, nor a purposely deceptive or false representation of them. By portraying the people of Cadiz first as a benign presence and then as part of a potentially murderous, almost sub-human mob, Macbeth reveals the amount of art that she employs in that portrayal. The revelation of the constructedness of the Spanish people and their history in her writing acts as a mirror reflecting the constructedness of her own and her readers' identities and realities.

COLEMAN

As with MacGill's and Macbeth's writings, Coleman's coverage of the Spanish-American war in Cuba in 1898 reveals the many competing, sometimes contradictory demands exerted on her work: by travel writing conventions; by the constraints on production and reception faced by a woman journalist; and by the various pressures of writing to or against gender, race, class, and imperial ideologies. This analysis of Coleman's work begins with an examination of her presentation of gender expectations. Sometimes, her writing reveals her pandering to her readers as she portrays women according to Victorian gender ideals, although this occurs mostly when she describes other women; at other times, often when describing her own actions, she openly violates the norms of femininity. She thus exposes the disconnect between Victorian ideals of femininity and the actual lived experiences of women in that time. This revelation admits the possibility that modern conceptions of women's lived experience in the Victorian British empire are merely our observations of a simulacrum rather than of their reality – especially as those conceptions are based on cultural products: letters, articles, travelogues, and other images and media. Since her articles also point to numerous, competing demands on her writing, an examination of them allows me to extend the simulacrum possibility beyond just the women of the late Victorian British empire and to apply it to the entire empire.

Unlike Macbeth, Coleman populates her August 1898 article, "'Kit' Domiciled in Santiago City," with a variety of women besides herself; like Macbeth, Coleman uses female characters as a means to an end. The first feminized object she presents to the reader is the city of Santiago; Coleman uses her presentation of the city as a feminized character to assert her authority over the portrayal of Cuba. To claim this power of representation, Coleman imbues her journalistic writing with the colonial imposition of power over place using the tropes and

techniques of travel writing. Upon her arrival at Santiago, Coleman views the scene with what Mary Louise Pratt terms "male discovery rhetoric" (102). The gaze Coleman employs is filled with a possessive desire that objectifies the land: "Blazing under the sun lay Santiago. A city of mean streets. A city spread out on the edge of a foul harbor, lying in the lap of grey-green hills, beautiful at the first glance, horrible in its squalor and stench when you come close to it. A city four hundred years old, … inexpressibly filthy" ("Domiciled" 4). Coleman's use of the phrases "spread out," "lying in the lap," "beautiful at first glance," and "inexpressibly filthy" feminizes the land, thus "align[ing] herself with male travellers/colonisers" (Mills 154) as other women travel writers – Mary Kingsley and Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, for example – have done before her. She is presenting Cuba to her readers and fellow subjects of the British empire: her choice to feminize the land from the outset reflects the colonial-travel-writing heritage of her journalism.

Coleman does not merely feminize Cuba, however: she presents the land as a prostitute, available for conquest, and with Santiago as its nexus. Coleman's deployment of such sexually suggestive language – and suggestive of a sexuality bound up in economics and power – is unsettling because it proceeds from a woman's pen, producing an "ironic reversal" (Pratt 100); readers might have expected such language from a male writer at this time, but would have demanded much more modesty and no sexuality at all from a female writer. In feminizing and sexualizing the land according to the colonial travel writing genre's conventions, Coleman perverts her journalistic coverage of the Spanish-American war and turns it into a travelogue that deploys androcentric ways of seeing and knowing, endorsing the objectification and exploitation of women and nations.

Coleman's elision of Cuba with a prostitute also suggests an element of imperial interest. As a representative of the British empire, Coleman was at this point witnessing two mighty nations battling for control over a territory. Her portrayal of Cuba as feminine, and therefore weaker, and as a prostitute, meaning available for a price, reveals a potential constraint on reception. Coleman appears to be echoing here, on a subliminal level perhaps, the British empire's interest in acquiring further territory in the Caribbean. Her framing of Cuba as available signals a political stance that conflicts between Spain and America in this part of the world could benefit the British empire, if the empire maintained a neutral spectator position and waited to take advantage of other nations' weaknesses after large-scale conflicts.

The next female thing that Coleman includes in the article is herself, performing a simultaneous ownership and disavowal of her persona's femaleness. She begins by reminding the reader that she is a "woman war correspondent" ("Domiciled" 4). Shortly afterward, however, when a ship's captain warns her that Cuba "is no place for women," she describes the warning as "thrumm[ing] in your brain" (4). While likely intended to immerse the reader in the reading experience, Coleman's use of the second-person possessive pronoun obscures the point of Coleman's reminder that the writer behind the persona is female. This choice may have resulted from the demands of the travel writing genre competing with gender demands of the time. By using the second-person pronoun, Coleman rendered the text palatable for men to read because they could forget her presence by replacing her with themselves in the narrative, allaying any uncomfortable associations or concerns that her gender might have provoked in them. For women readers who approved of Coleman, this authorial choice gave them the opportunity to live vicariously through Coleman; for women readers who disapproved of Coleman's lifestyle and choices, the second-person pronoun made them complicit in Coleman's

transgressions. Even her repetition of the captain's warning, but in her own words – "No, it was no place for women – no place at all" (4) – emphasizes the contradictory nature of the two competing production demands: to comply with societal expectations, the reinforcement of gender ideals through the captain's and Coleman's words; and to comply with genre expectations, the dismissal of those same gender ideals through those same words, this time used as foreshadowing to signal impending danger and thus increase narrative tension and reader anticipation in this adventure travel narrative. That the Coleman persona then proceeds with her journey into Cuba, despite the warning that she should not, merely reinforces the contradictory demands that gender ideology placed on Coleman's journalism/travel writing.

The next female character that Coleman presents to her readers is that of Clara Barton, founder of the American Red Cross. Coleman indirectly introduces Barton's presence in Cuba through some advice from the same captain who warns her of the dangers the country poses for women. He advises Coleman, "'If ever you needed a friend you need one now. Stay close to Miss Barton and the Red Cross'" (4). This is an interesting inclusion on Coleman's part, as Barton was partly responsible for Coleman's late arrival in Cuba – too late, in fact, to witness the war. After a United States Navy admiral refused Coleman passage on any of the American navy ships, she then requested passage with Barton's Red Cross personnel. Barton refused, and Coleman was thus prevented from arriving in Cuba until the hostilities had already ended. While this first mention of Barton appears to be a gesture of goodwill on Coleman's part, later mentions in the rest of the article are more ambivalent. Coleman at first lavishes compliments on Barton, calling her "fearless," "brave," and "far wiser than most" (4), then mentions that Barton is "no longer young" (4), an unnecessary reminder of the older woman's age. Additionally, while she informs her readers that Barton is "feeding the hungry, nursing the wounded, doing, literally and

absolutely, the Master's blessed work in the world" (4), Coleman also highlights the fact that the saintly Barton works "day after day, in the heat, the stench … close to the guns" (4) in a place that is "no place for women." While it appears that Coleman is praising Barton's heroism, she simultaneously uses this opportunity to paint an unflattering image of, and thus to exact her revenge on, the woman who ruined Coleman's chances of being the first woman war correspondent to actually report from an active battlefield.[114]

Coleman next shifts her readers' gaze to other North American women who, like her, are in Cuba to work, and uses this opportunity to distance herself from the other women as well as her own femininity. This distancing positions Coleman as both unique and unexceptional in her role as a woman on the field. Coleman the author draws readers' attention to the multitude of other women in Cuba, partly to allay any remaining societal concerns about a woman being in a war zone alone: she shows that there are other women present. She normalizes her presence in Cuba by populating the surroundings in the text with other women – nurses, no less – whom she describes as "quiet," "unassuming," and "brave creatures who were there wearing their lives out in the God-like work of nursing the ill" (4). Immediately after invoking this image of being surrounded by women, however, Coleman ends the paragraph by reminding readers of her difference from these others: that she is a "woman war correspondent" (4). She attempts to soften the disavowal by self-deprecatingly stating that she is "sadly in need of a good shaking" for her "[g]rumbling" and "[f]eeling hot and weary and dejected" while "one plodded down the white, dusty, baking street" and recalling "the very thought" of "Clara Barton, working here day after day, in the heat, the stench… close to the guns, feeding the hungry, nursing the wounded, with her little band of women" (4). Coleman's choice to use the pronoun "one" as opposed to a first-

[114] Coleman could not get revenge on the US Navy, although she did take aim at American military officers while in Tampa. This will be discussed in greater detail later in this paper.

person or even a second-person pronoun, as she does earlier in the article, obscures from her readers the subject who "plod[s]" by. This obstructed view prevents readers from asking themselves why Coleman does not join those "gentle women" in doing "the Master's blessed work." Coleman thus reassures her readers that she is not the only white woman in Cuba, which decreases the impropriety of her presence there; she also reinforces the imperial ideal of white womanhood as mild, meek, and helpful, despite the women's being out of the home(land). Finally, she shields herself from her readers' scrutiny through some clever pronoun use, so that she does not have to explain herself and the gender transgressions she commits in order to produce the article they are reading. The competing demands of gender and genre reveal themselves in her presentation of women performing caregivers' work while her persona walks by on the way to see the aftermath of the war that Coleman has been sent to Cuba to cover. Coleman cannot reconcile the literary ideal of the woman as caregiver during wartime with her own literary persona of woman as reporter of war, nor can she reconcile the ideals of the New Woman with that of the "angel in the house." The contradictions between these genre and gender ideals led Coleman to craft a persona that both adheres to and violates Victorian gender norms, as well as observing and breaking the rules of the travel writing genre.

When Coleman turns her attention to the Cuban women, she applies a male colonial gaze and exoticizes them according to well-worn travel writing tropes, much as she did with her description of Santiago. She criticizes the otherness visible in their skin, remarking that they are "nearly all black," with "[h]ere and there a … yellow Cuban" (4), ensuring that readers associate these women with their race straightaway. She also begins and ends her description of these foreign women with insinuations of uncleanliness or disease: she calls them "unwholesome-looking," with "thin and withered throat and flattened bosom" (4). After establishing the

repellent qualities of these women, Coleman then proceeds to sexualize them. Twice she mentions the women being "half clothed" (4), and twice more she draws attention to "little shawls" of "brilliant hue" either "floating" or, more suggestively, "spread over their shoulders" (4), as though the women's clothing were less a cultural product and more so the plumage or coats of exotic birds or animals. She points out, "Some wear but a single cotton garment, a sort of long untidy wrapper, which they trail after them in the dirt and dust" (4), which leads readers to envision these women in a state of near-undress, coupled with a symbol of moral filth. Coleman then mentions that some of the women, "with an attempt at coquetry, have pinned absurd coloured gewgaws in their hair" (4), which reads as mockery of the women for attempting to copy Western women's fashions but only managing a poor imitation. Coleman's phrasing also suggests her disbelief that these women could successfully flirt – that any (British) man could ever find these women attractive – even as she objectifies and sexualizes them in the surrounding sentences.

This passage about Cuban women reveals the constraints on production and reception under which Coleman was writing. A constraint on production dictated that foreign women from colonized lands (even if their colonizers were not the British) be portrayed as inferior based on race, which determined the rest of their shortcomings and moral failings. This constraint determined Coleman's initial focus on the skin colour of the Cuban women. A constraint on the reception of travel writing requires that women appear as both helpless objects of pity and at the same time clumsily-scheming temptresses: the Madonna and the whore of the Western literary tradition. Coleman presents the Cuban women sometimes as sickly, sometimes as seductive, to comply with this constraint. She does not produce an account of actual Cuban women; she does not even produce an unfaithful, distorted copy of their reality. This portrayal is a fabrication

constructed from travel writing tropes and colonial expectations, presented as fact and preserved as history in archives around the world.

Eventually, Coleman's persona is left alone in the city as the sole focus for her readers. She then uses gender to create suspense in the narrative, but also to make a statement about the soft power of the British empire. After presenting many distressing daytime scenes, Coleman reveals the city transformed by the setting of the sun:

> But at night! Santiago is a mysterious place at night. One not to be traversed by anyone, I should say, alone, much less a woman. It was something to walk along these narrow, curving ways, and watch the lights glimmering through the barred windows, and see the shadowy figures of prowling beggars flit by under the shadow of the doorways. ("Domiciled" 4)

Coleman highlights the inherent danger of walking the dark and cramped city streets alone, especially for women, while doing the very thing she claims should not be done by anyone. She not only puts on display her own exceptionality and bravery, but also casually positions herself as a symbol of British imperial power. Her ability to remain unharmed in this situation reflects the reach of the empire: its ability to keep one of its female subjects safe at such a place and time as this, and not with obvious displays of might. The implied power of the empire is enough to protect Coleman in this situation.

Her nighttime wandering continues, further reinforcing the empire's might. Coleman describes herself walking through the city and reaching a café full of "Spanish and American officers" who are busy "playing games with cards or dice, drinking, [and] talking" (4). She establishes the likelihood that these men all have at least two vices and may be intoxicated by this point in the evening. She then describes the moment when the officers took notice of her:

"They stared curiously at the sight of a woman walking abroad in such a place at such an hour. Now and then one said something in Spanish – something uncomplimentary – which brought laughter. But who cared for their gibes? One was absorbed in the odd mediaeval surroundings" (4). Coleman's persona's nonchalant attitude toward what could have been a very dangerous situation is almost certainly a display of British imperial power. This is why she populated the café with Spanish and American officers: Coleman and the men represent their home nations or home empires. The idea that a lone woman is able to walk by this situation with no assistance – and with no concern for her own safety – symbolizes not only the British empire's ability to protect its far-flung subjects, but also the political situation as a whole. The officers are gambling, much as their armies have fought each other for spoils of war. The woman war reporter, whom the officers note and upon whom they snidely comment, observes and goes on her way, much as Britain merely observes the war between the Spanish and American forces without becoming politically entangled in the situation.

The episode with the Spanish and American officers also serves as a commentary on new imperialism and the growing number of colonized peoples globally. The passage can be construed allegorically as a statement on how the three nations treated their colonies. The Spanish and American officers' gambling represents their nations' callous attitudes toward their conquered territories' resources and people, while Coleman's wanderings through the dangerous streets with curiosity and wonder, coupled with her refusal to engage with or even be bothered by the officers show her empire's moral superiority. She, and therefore the empire she represents, is there to observe, to notice, to appreciate; the officers, and therefore their nations or empires, are literally playing with what they had won, risking the spoils from what many people, both innocent and combatant, died that they might have. The episode becomes a commentary on

what differentiates the British empire from the older Spanish empire and the young new contender for world power, America. This commentary reassured Coleman's imperial readership about their political future: they did not need to fear their empire collapsing like Spain's, nor did they need to worry about being supplanted on the world stage by the United States, since the British empire wielded its imperial power morally rather than abusing it like the others.

Coleman's nighttime stroll also has implications for ideologies of racial superiority. When she describes the officers as noting with curiosity "the sight of a woman walking abroad in such a place at such an hour" (4), she does not mention the whiteness of the woman – herself – in question. Doubtless some of those "shadowy figures of prowling beggars" whom she notes "flit[ting] by" (4) her in the streets also note her presence with the same curiosity (and possibly more than just curiosity) that the officers do. The implication here is that she is protected by her whiteness. Despite her claim that she deems the nighttime streets of Santiago too dangerous to be travelled at night "by anyone" (4), the lasting impression for readers is that nobody, whether officer or beggar, colonizer or colonized, would dare to touch a white British lady.

Coleman's framing of this nighttime episode reveals the travel writing heritage of this piece of journalism. She creates an atmosphere of suspense, priming her readers for an adventure by first establishing the setting of a dim, claustrophobic nighttime landscape full of "narrow, curving ways," "barred windows," "shadowy figures," and "the shadow of … doorways" (4): tropes signifying danger in adventure narratives. She elaborates by adding detailed sensory imagery, noting the "curious stenches," the "dim lights of the old, old streets," a "crouching black thing" that "rose suddenly, and fled with a dismal cry" (4). As the episode approaches what should be its climax, Coleman finds herself trapped by the conflicting demands of journalism and travel writing. Although she is doing her job as a reporter, providing a vivid account of

Santiago, her use of travel writing techniques to structure her writing now present her with an impossible demand. An adventure story demands a climax to the rising action; however, her whiteness and Britishness protect her, the protagonist, from the danger that such a climax should include. Coleman decides to end the nighttime episode in this manner:

> One was absorbed in the odd mediaeval surroundings. One became a mere machine, which was receiving pictures. Some streets were buried in deepest gloom. The walls of the town – Santiago is a walled city – loomed up grim, unrelenting. … They suggested mystery, romance. Pirates and lovers might have scaled them with equal energy. They held their secrets well, these aged walls that for four hundred years have guarded this old Spanish city. A late moon crept over the hills and peered down upon the place. All at once it became beautiful. The serene and gracious light softened the gaudy roofs and facades. It fell tenderly over the old grey place, and then one heard the thrumming of the guitar of old Madrid, and saw, in a dream, the dark, shapely little head of the young senorita peeping shyly from some casement at the gallant troubadour below, who jingled rhymes and music in the telling of the wonderful story that moves the worlds. … [B]ut a shout of riotous laughter from some café broke the little fancy, and one felt again under one's feet the rough cobblestones of Santiago.
>
> And when the morning sun came it blazed down upon the body of a dead negro that lay there in the street. (4)

Coleman recalls to readers' imaginations segments from other adventure stories: segments that are more often associated with romance narratives.[115] She evokes places that signify the exotic

[115] Paul Fussell suggests that all travel writing should be considered part of this genre in *Abroad: British Literary Travelling Between the Wars*.

and romantic: in this case, Madrid.[116] She even removes herself from the narrative, turning herself into a piece of equipment "receiving pictures." She still needs to conclude this nighttime episode, and to do so, she reverts to using a technique that has historically led to travel writers having a credibility issue: she inserts well-worn character tropes, in this case the lovers in the moonlight. Coleman is able to maintain her credibility by couching the material as imaginings rather than actual events witnessed. She then entirely abandons the endeavour to bring the nighttime adventure narrative to a satisfying conclusion by breaking the illusion with "a shout of riotous laughter," returning readers to the "rough cobblestones of Santiago." Knowing that her readers expect more than this anticlimax, she then unceremoniously presents them with a dead black body, thus allowing her to end the nighttime episode in a manner more befitting the travel writing adventure narrative with which she began.

This evening jaunt contributes in two ways to the simulacrum of the world beyond the borders of the empire. Coleman creates for her readers the sense that the world outside of British control is filled with danger, whether from the native inhabitants and their shifty ways or from the citizens of other nations who reveal their true natures to the observant journalist. She creates a simulacrum of a chaotic world lacking the morality, order and good government of the empire: what the outside world is, the British empire is not. The passage also contributes to the simulacrum of the empire itself. The episode acts as a sign that points to the power of the British empire, both in its ability to protect its subjects abroad from danger, as well as the inherent power that its subjects possess by dint of their whiteness. Through this act of travel writing disguised as journalism, Coleman was able to manufacture the signs that imperial subjects needed to continue to believe their version of reality: a simulacrum, as those signs point to no

[116] There are also elements of the melodramatic as described by Judith Walkowitz in *City of Dreadful Delight*.

reality but to a series of images taken from other pre-existing signs within the travel writing tradition.

Race heavily influenced Coleman's presentation of the Cuban people, which reveals the pressures of production and reception on her travel writing disguised as journalism. When Coleman first presents the Cuban people in the article, she does so after first having established their city – and by extension, their whole island – as a place "horrible in its squalor and dirt and stench" (4). She introduces the Cuban people as appearing "to have fallen into a stolid and stupid lethargy" (4): they "hang about … or sit," in contrast with their "swarm[ing]" (4) movements from earlier in the article. These Cubans on whom Coleman focuses are being "fed by Miss Barton" (4), an observation that only reinforces the indolence and helplessness that Coleman claims is their natural state. However, she almost immediately contradicts herself by describing the "queer things" these same people are cooking "on little ill-smelling oil stoves" (4), thus negating the image of them as helpless and in need of a civilized woman to feed them. Coleman elaborates on the qualities of Cuban cuisine: "[g]reasy food, strong-smelling of garlic, dark in colour, and repulsive to the stomach" (4). In all of these descriptions, Coleman presents sometimes contradictory observations about the behaviour of these Cubans – as either incapable of moving or moving threateningly *en masse* – as well as their ability to care for themselves. This tactic is reminiscent of the descriptions found in other colonizers' travel narratives of the native peoples they encounter, all of whom are either completely ignorant and helpless or crafty and menacing.

While Coleman at times provides contradictory accounts of the Cuban people, she is consistent in her presentation of them as repulsive, in keeping with colonial travel writing conventions and the racial ideology of the late Victorian British empire. The diction she uses to

portray these people demonstrates pity for them only as victims of a war being waged by two external forces, but otherwise she is unable to overcome her prejudice against non-white, non-British people to present an objective journalistic account. Even the compliments she attempts to pay the Cubans are backhanded: "[b]ut amid it all I found some of the laughter of life, some of the carelessness, the childishness that you find always among the dark races, who take life less seriously than we of the North" (4). Coleman appears to be about to highlight the fortitude and optimism of the Cuban people in this time of political and social turmoil, but instead she indirectly claims that they are simply ignorant of the severity of the situation in which they find themselves. There is again the allusion to the native-as-naïf trope from colonial travel writing in her use of "childishness" to describe the Cubans' refusal to be resigned to their fate as victims of war, which is the image Coleman wishes to present her readers. The Cubans' refusal to perform the reality that Coleman expects, based on pre-existing notions about the Other created through colonial travel writing, only results in Coleman manipulating the narrative so that the historical record – her article – will show the imagined reality that she expects to find rather than the Cubans' actual reality. Her article thus reinforces imperial racial ideology enshrined in colonial travel writing.

Coleman's construction of a simulacrum of race is evident in her backhanded compliment to the Cubans, in which she also provides something of an anthropological observation. She mentions "the dark races," in contrast to "we of the North," yet she is not explicit about who is included and who excluded from these two enormously broad categories. She does not have to be explicit: the contemporary understanding within the British empire, as reflected within the pages of *Canadian Methodist Magazine*, was that "civilization was synonymous with Christianity"

(Kröller 162), specifically Christian nations of the northern and western hemispheres.[117] By first describing the shortcomings of "the dark races" – they are less serious, more careless, more childish – she reinforces British subjects' beliefs about the qualities they do not possess and which differentiate them from non-white people. By ending her observation with a focus on "we of the North," Coleman uses the oppositional structure to reassure her white, Christian, British readers that they possess the opposing characteristics: the desirable traits to have. Her construction of race-based traits in this one sentence reveals the underlying purpose of those views: to maintain the integrity of the simulacrum of race that British imperial subjects accepted as the foundation and justification of the existence of the empire.

Coleman also attempts to flatter Canadians by making them feel as though they occupied a more central position, if not in the empire, then at least in the know. In one of her first letters from the field printed in *The Mail and Empire*, she complains, "Absolutely no news reaches camps, and very little reaches Tampa. You know far more about the progress of the war up in Toronto than we do who are here on the edge of things" ("U.S. Infantry" 4). By sharing this information with her Torontonian readers, she reassures them that, while they might be situated peripherally in relation to both the Spanish-American war and to the metropole, they are yet in an enviable position in terms of access to news, being neither so close to the epicentre of war that they are shielded from knowledge for security reasons, nor so far from it (or from the centre of the empire) that the news would only trickle down to them eventually.

As full as Coleman's writing is of reassurances of the might of the empire, it is equally full of anxiety about that empire's health and welfare. In her article, "A Day with the U.S.

[117] Dyer clarifies that "the whiteness of the English, Anglo-Saxons or North Europeans (and their descendants) … is this overarching hegemonic whiteness … [to] which Northern Europeans most easily lay claim but which is not to be conflated with distinctive North European identities" (12-13).

Infantry," this concern emerges in her comparisons: she often includes complimentary remarks about the British army, paired with ambivalent praise for the American forces. When she is in Tampa with the American troops awaiting the order to move out, she notes, "The discipline of the United States army is not so stringent as that exercised in the British army" ("U.S. Infantry" 4). However, she immediately follows this observation with a comment from an American officer: "'We believe in treating men as men, not children,' said the little lieutenant who joined us with a box of chocolates he had just received from his girl" (4). Her manipulation of her readers in these two sentences is masterful. She calms imperial subjects' fears regarding their military superiority over a potential new rival on the world stage by sharing her observation that the British army is more disciplined and therefore better than its American counterpart. She then inserts a seemingly innocuous statement involving men and children that has the potential to be understood as a passive-aggressive insult without being outright slanderous – although Coleman likely gambles that her imperial readers will take the more offensive reading and react with indignation. Finally, she minimizes the American officer, whom she includes for the purpose of synecdoche, and turns him into a diminutive bon-bon-eating figure of mockery to effectively allay the cause of her readership's original anxiety: whether or not the British army compared poorly or favourably with its potential new rivals for military and political power on the global stage.

The mockery of the American military then transforms into a mockery of American culture, again in comparison with British culture, and again through the figure of the "little lieutenant." Coleman includes an exchange full of symbolism between herself and the officer:

> The little lieutenant unbuckled his sword and laid it on the grass. "It doesn't look to be of much use," I said, taking it up and drawing the blade. "Not a bit of use," said the

> lieutenant. “It gets between my legs when I’m running and throws me. Look at the dinges [*sic*] in the scabbard. When I get to Cuba, I’ll throw it away and go for the Spaniards with my gun.”
>
> The boyish air of him as he said it, and the eager face and the valour that breathed forth from him, were, to me, very touching. Poor, brave, little lieutenant! (4)

The inclusion of this episode adds nothing meaningful to the coverage of the war against Spain; it does, however, advance Coleman’s narrative about the superiority of the British empire both culturally and militarily. The sword, symbolizing a host of ideas involving honour, gallantry, patrimony, and manliness, is rejected by the officer in this possibly fabricated or at the very least embellished exchange. His avowed inability to handle his sword is a three-pronged attack by Coleman on his military, cultural, and male prowess and, by extension, an attack on these qualities of all Americans. The appearance of this passage shortly after Coleman makes the comparison between the American and British armies, as well as Coleman’s persona’s drawing of the blade from its scabbard, ensures that all of the qualities symbolized by the sword are understood by readers to be British qualities: qualities which the Americans reject because they cannot master them.

The other important symbol in the passage, the gun, would also have resonated with multiple meanings: Coleman’s readers would have associated the gun with ideas about the military, culture, and manhood; none of those associations would have been complimentary for the Americans. The officer’s preference for his gun implies cowardice and amateurishness, especially since he has a sword. In the late nineteenth century, hand-to-hand combat involved training and courage, so an officer rejecting his sword – “throw[ing] it away,” according to Coleman – was in effect a rejection of those battlefield qualities in favour of the impersonal,

skill-less kill. The officer's use of the words, "go for the Spaniards," only reinforces this indiscriminate attitude toward war, which would have been repugnant to Coleman's imperial readership. Lastly, the gun as a phallic symbol could have been interpreted in a number of ways, all insulting when understood analogously to male sexual performance: firstly, Coleman raises the association in her readers' minds between a gun and the speed with which it could be fired; secondly, in juxtaposing a sword with a gun, she teases out the difference between wielding a sword, which requires skill and finesse, and wielding a gun, which needs no skill and was brute force made physical; and finally, Coleman may have been insinuating that the lieutenant harbours a homosexual interest in the Spaniards. This seemingly harmless, light-hearted anecdote appears within the larger epic narrative of Coleman's voyage to witness the war so that she can meet the constraints of production and reception of assuaging her imperial readership's fears of being overtaken militarily and culturally by the Americans in world politics.

Coleman also deploys gender ideology in this passage to cast the Americans in a poor light in terms of their military might, cultural refinement, and virility. Her persona's "taking up" of the sword casts her as the embodiment of the British empire in this exchange with the American lieutenant, who embodies his nation. Her motherly but condescending attitude toward the officer at the conclusion of their exchange shows her readers that they, subjects of England, the mother country, have nothing to fear from this nation comprised of "boyish" and "eager" young naïfs who had themselves been sons of the empire only a century before. The fact that Coleman's persona was female, combined with her action of drawing the sword, endows her with the power that the weapon symbolizes; additionally, her recognition of both the sword's general use-value, and its uselessness to the officer specifically, makes the officer appear doubly

boorish, firstly for his own ignorance of the sword's use-value, and secondly for his being bested by a woman in having that knowledge.

The final manipulation of gender roles that Coleman employs in this passage is risqué, as it relies on the sword being understood by readers as a metaphorical phallus. The sword as phallus is first implied with the word "unbuckled," as that action brings to mind other types of unbuckling in the same area of the body. The lieutenant's odd claim about how the sword "gets between [his] legs" leaves very little room for an alternative interpretation of the metaphor. Once it is clear what the sword represents, Coleman then extends[118] its symbolism as far as she thinks readers would allow her. She fills the passage with *double entendres* regarding the officer's having "[n]ot a bit of use" for the sword, the "dinges in the scabbard," and the sword's propensity to "throw" the officer mid-stride. Coleman goes so far as to imply that, when the lieutenant said he would "go for the Spaniards with [his] gun," he may have been sexually aroused by the prospect, based on his "eager face and the valour that breathed forth from him." Her femininity provides a natural cover for her writing, for she can claim, being a proper Victorian lady,[119] that she is unaware of any meanings other than the chaste observations she innocently made. Coleman thus deployed gender roles to mock American military and cultural virility through the use of literary techniques while hiding behind her own gender to evade accusations of impropriety.

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[118] Pun only semi-intended.

[119] The "Proper Lady" model of ideal feminine behaviour emerged in England in the early nineteenth century. Women were thought to be innately sexually desirous and therefore dangerous; proper ladies had to focus on thinking and behaving with propriety to counteract their alleged natural lascivious inclinations. The conformity demanded by propriety paired nicely with the "angel in the house" and "women's domestic sphere" ideologies in that women were encouraged to accept their roles as minders of home and hearth, thus safely containing their individual desires to the family home: see Poovey 3-47.

MACGILL, MACBETH, AND COLEMAN: IN CONVERSATION

Despite the time difference between the writers, Coleman's description of Cubans in 1898 is reminiscent of Macbeth's depiction of the people of Cadiz in 1931, and of MacGill's manipulation of Isabella Bishop Bird's descriptions of the Aino people in 1892. All three women highlight the unwashed qualities, or the qualities that need cleansing,[120] of the foreigners they see. Macbeth compares the movement of the revolutionaries in Cadiz to that of "grease" that "oozed" (*Boulevard Career* 164); Coleman repeats the slick, viscous imagery when she describes the Cubans cooking "[g]reasy food, … dark in colour, … [and] simmering" ("Domiciled" 4). Both women make for their readers the expected association between revulsion and the uncivilized peoples of the world. Another parallel exists between Macbeth's description of the people of Cadiz's manner of dress as being "shabby" and "poor" (*Boulevard Career* 164), and Coleman's observation of the Cubans in various states of dress ranging from "untidy" to "only half clothed" to "naked," but all uniformly "[r]agged" ("Domiciled" 4). These parallels are attributable to the "imperial civilizing mission ('washing and clothing the savage')" with remnants of "class control ('cleansing the great unwashed')" (McClintock 208) that these two Victorian ladies either actually valued as British moral imperatives, or at least had to claim they valued based on reception constraints and colonial travel writing conventions.

In addition to grease and rags, all three women associate the foreign peoples they encounter with dirt, according to the same middle-class British imperial ideology mentioned above. In Bird's original description of the Aino women, she states that they appeared ugly only as a result of "art and dirt" (259). By "art," she means the blue facial tattoos of the Aino women, which she theorizes "many people mistake … for a daub of paint" (259). MacGill takes Bird's

[120] Moral and/or physical cleansing are both implied.

words and, in a fit of originality, claims, “The coloring [*sic*] matter is dull blue and gives them the appearance of having an exceedingly dirty face, which is also often the case” (“Hairy Men” 369). Similarly, Coleman focuses her readers’ gaze on the Cubans’ clothes that “trail after them in the dirt and dust” (“Domiciled” 4), while Macbeth leaves as a final impression of the revolutionaries of Cadiz “a cloud of dust hanging above the street” (*Boulevard Career* 165) to mark the place where they last appear as a threat to her. All three authors follow the trope of showing the filthiness of these other races and classes, in keeping with both British imperial ideology and the conventions of travel writing, as Anne McClintock explains in the context of European colonial encounters with African peoples:

> Colonial travel writers … carped constantly at the supposed absence … of ‘proper domestic life,’ in particular [foreign peoples’] purported lack of hygiene. But the inscription of [these people] as dirty and undomesticated, far from being an accurate depiction of [their] cultures, served to legitimize the imperialists’ violent enforcement of their cultural and economic values, with the intent of purifying and thereby subjugating the unclean [foreign] body and imposing market and cultural values more useful to the mercantile and imperial economy. (226)

Applying McClintock’s ideas to MacGill’s, Macbeth’s, and Coleman’s work and combining them with Kröller’s observation about civilization equating to Christianity reveals the underlying ideology that accounts for the common thread of filth connecting the three women’s depictions of the vastly different peoples they encounter: new imperialism. The three women’s portrayals of these peoples in their journalistic travel writing create a dichotomous relationship pitting the Cubans, Spanish revolutionaries, and Aino as the representatives of “nature (dirt, waste and disorder)” (217) against white, Christian, British imperial subjects, who represented “culture

(cleanliness, rationality and industry)" (217). The empire and its subjects bring civilization and order to the people whom it could bring under its control, and the peoples beyond its control provide proof of the imperial civilizing mission's necessity. This dichotomy provided the new imperialist project its moral imperative; it was otherwise morally irreconcilable with the democratic movements of the late eighteenth century and social welfare movements of the latter half of the nineteenth century. By framing the non-imperial world as a place of chaos and filth in need of moral and physical cleansing – of civilizing, – the women's writings provide a morally acceptable justification for their empire's mission of conquest: a justification more palatable for their readers than the empire's actual economic motives for subjugating other humans.

The three authors' focus on dirt contribute to the simulacra of race, gender, and empire. Their focus on cleanliness is not just a reflection of the Victorian-era association between physical and racial hygiene but is also a result of expectations arising from the cult of domesticity: the Victorian ideals of women's domestic sphere and woman's central roles within the home as a wife and mother. MacGill, Macbeth, and Coleman all write about foreign peoples' physical and moral filth since, as women, it was supposedly their role to notice and then remedy the situation. The constructed nature of the simulacra is especially clear as a result of all three women following the pattern, despite the sixty-year span separating their works. That their work follows a pattern arising from the travel writing genre increases the scale of the simulacra's implications. The reality of whether or not Other people were clean and in need of imperial intervention to improve their quality of living was immaterial; all of the signs created within the British empire, including and especially through travel writing and journalism, stated the same fact – that these Others were all filthy – and all of the signs referenced each other to validate their veracity.

MacGill, Macbeth, and to a lesser extent Coleman assume an anthropological writing style to access the authority to define the foreign peoples they encounter. Technically, MacGill does not adopt the style in her writing since the writing is mostly not hers; however, in choosing another's work to plagiarize, she chose Bird's, which was researched and written in a manner very like the ethnographic fieldwork produced by anthropologists. As for Macbeth, she describes the Spanish people's "appearance, speech and customs, … their architecture, art and the practical equipment with which they carry on their daily struggle for existence" ("Travelled" 132); Coleman also employs a similar technique to describe the Cubans she encounters in Santiago. All three women attempt to establish their authority to determine the nature of these non-British peoples, without any input from the people themselves, by deploying the language of science, social science, and travel writing: all for the consumption and entertainment of their readers in the empire.

In addition to using an anthropological writing style, all three women also rely on travel to access power and authority. Elisabeth Joyce notes the relationship between credibility and experience for authors of travel writing: "travel books authenticate themselves by the authority of the first-person narrative voice. … It is the voice of experience … [the travel writer's] expertise is rooted in the undeniable fact of his presence" (101). Macbeth's and Coleman's use of the first-person narration technique validates the authoritative claims they make about the Spanish and the Cubans respectively. MacGill tellingly avoids using the first-person voice; instead, she uses the fact of her having travelled to Japan to validate her claim that she met with, lived among, and then wrote the article about the Aino, regardless of whether or not she ever actually met them. These women's shared profession of journalist, combined with their readership's knowledge that they travelled on assignment to produce these articles, added two

more layers of credibility to the work they published. By using their authority to produce definitive accounts of the Cuban, Spanish, and Aino peoples' realities, these authors perform the work of imperialism using third-order simulacra.

The main difference between MacGill and the other two women is in her choice of narrative voice in relation to accessing authority. In her "Hairy Men" article, MacGill uses third-person narration almost exclusively, with the exception of her use of "we" three times (twice plagiarized from Bird's work and once from her invented river rapids escapade), and "I" once to refer to a point from earlier in the article.[121] In Bird's original, the narration shifts from third to first person frequently, as her narrative requires. MacGill's scientific style of writing is constant: she employs it in six out of her seven articles on Western Canadian immigrant settlements for *The Globe*, as well as in another article of hers that ran in *The Californian Illustrated*. Interestingly, in her "Japanese Actors and Dancing Girls" article for *The Dominion Illustrated Monthly*, she uses first-person narration to authenticate her claims, making clear that she "witnessed the Tokyo dance" "[w]hile in Tokyo" ("Japanese Actors" 82). MacGill mimics Bird's style, using mainly "the straightforwardly 'scientific' descriptions usually favoured by male travel writers" (Mills 160) and occasionally inserting reminders of the fact that she has travelled to Japan, to lend her Aino account authority. MacGill was more in need of claims to authority than either Macbeth or Coleman since, compared to them, she was still relatively unknown professionally when she began working as a journalist in America. Macbeth and Coleman produced their accounts of Spain and Cuba respectively when they were established writers and journalists;[122] meanwhile, MacGill had been working for only two years in total when her Japanese material was published in 1892. She deploys colonialist discourses of racial and

[121] "The Hairy Men of Japan," pp. 373 and 375.
[122] Macbeth's article on Spain was first published in 1931; Coleman's Cuba articles, in 1898.

cultural superiority, coupled with the seemingly-neutral voice of the scientific observer, accessing the combined powers of the imperial and scientific communities to support her claims and thus establish for herself a position of professional expertise based on travel writing.

To return to the previous topic, MacGill, Macbeth, and Coleman also echo each other in their quasi-anthropological observations of the foreign peoples they encountered. Macbeth makes a sweeping generalization about all Spanish people, stating, "My own theory, built up after considerable observation, is that … the Spaniard … is a literal, simple-minded fellow – superstitious, if you prefer" ("Travelled" 140). This declaration regarding Spaniards' mental abilities is similar to MacGill's claims that the Aino were "intensely stupid" ("Hairy Men" 378), with "superstitious customs" (377); Coleman also specifically describes the Cubans as "stupid" ("Domiciled" 4).[123] Each of these women make "straightforward colonialist statements" (Mills 162) using the people of nations not under the control of the British empire as foils for British subjects. This practice of "positioning … the narrator as racially [and] culturally superior" (153) occurs in many colonial travel narratives from the sixteenth century through to the twentieth. In this case, the inclusion of the trope of the simple, superstitious native reassured British readers that they remained the most enlightened, most educated people that could be found, no matter where in the world one travelled.

By applying this travel writing convention to people beyond the control of the British empire, MacGill, Macbeth, and Coleman reveal a shared anxiety about the empire's assumed strength, and the basis of that strength on racial and cultural superiority. MacGill and Coleman were writing at a time when the Spanish were losing control of some of the last of their colonial

[123] It is somewhat surprising, however, that Macbeth employs the same tropes of cultural superiority forty years after MacGill uses them. The reuse of the trope may signal an intensification of racism in 1930s Canada and the broader British empire.

territories around the world, the United States was becoming more influential in world politics, and Japan was emerging onto the world stage as a new potential rival for power and influence in the Far East. British imperial subjects were facing existential questions of great concern. The Spanish empire had dominated the globe in the not-too-distant past; now its demise was all but guaranteed. While the British empire had risen to prominence at Spain's expense, the older empire's loss to America must have reminded British subjects of the cyclical nature of the rise and fall of empires, thus bringing to mind the possibility of their own eventual decline. The Japanese acceptance of foreign influence no doubt forced British people to consider what kind of threat this equally-ancient nation might pose to British designs in the Far East, especially when the Japanese were beginning to look outward to grow politically, economically, and militarily – signs of an emergent imperialist drive. The increasing influence of America on matters of world politics and economics would also have troubled British subjects, for there was little that differentiated the inhabitants of the former colonies from their previous compatriots. MacGill's and Coleman's extension of the simple, superstitious native travel-writing trope to peoples of other nations reassures their imperial readers that the British empire would last: it must, since everyone beyond the control of the empire is irredeemably stupid and therefore no threat.

For Macbeth, however, the anxiety would have been more pronounced. While MacGill was writing in the early 1890s, when British imperial expansion was accelerating, by the time Macbeth was writing "Travelled But Unknown Spain" in 1931, the British empire had already been weakened by its involvement in the Great War. Additionally, the nature of the empire and its relationship with its colonial territories had changed when the British Commonwealth came into being in 1926. She had even more reason than MacGill and Coleman to want to believe, and

reinforce her readers' belief in, the intellectual superiority of the British people: in her mind, their capacity for thought was intertwined with the survival of the empire.

CONCLUSION

In *Discourses of Difference*, Sara Mills argues that, "despite its superficial readability," travel writing is ultimately "indecipherab[le]" (5). Perhaps the reason that Mills reaches this conclusion is because travel writing "masks the *absence* of a profound reality" (Baudrillard 6), as the theory suggests of a third-order simulacrum. This element of a lack of ultimate meaning is where my work differs from Mills'. Her use of Foucauldian discourse theory compels her to regard travel writing as necessarily requiring further examination: by focusing on discourses, she is obligated to unearth greater meaning beneath the surface – to discover the power structures that influenced the texts' and the writers' formation. My use of Baudrillard's simulacrum theory allows me to question her assumption, which Gillian Beer suggests (and which Mills quotes), that "our task when reading texts from the past is to 'revive those shifty significations which … are full of meaning of that past present'" (Mills 5, Beer 68). According to Beer's work, historical travel writing belongs in the category of the first order of the image as conceptualized by Baudrillard: that it contains a "reflection of a profound reality" (Baudrillard 6). Mills, in her description of the "indecipherability" (5) of travel writing, signals that historical travel writing rather belongs more to the category of the second order of the image. However, I believe that historical travel writing pertains to the third order of the image, or simulacrum: MacGill, Macbeth, and Coleman claim to present to their readers faithful accounts of the world beyond the borders of the British empire, but what they actually do is re-present to those readers fragments of other tales which are themselves based on other yet-older tales. The articles are for the most part fiction, their narrative structures, characterization, tropes, and themes having been pre-determined by the conventions of the travel writing genre. However, since the articles were published in respected newspapers, magazines, and scientific publications, they gained the patina

of truth. The material within reinforced readers' beliefs about themselves and their empire: beliefs that were originally created through customary use in travel writing tropes. Thus, British imperial subjects based their conceptions of themselves on fiction, and a fiction that reinforces a fiction is merely one way of describing a simulacrum.

Helen Gregory MacGill, Madge Macbeth, and Kathleen Blake "Kit" Coleman were three early Canadian women journalists whose work modern-day academics often regard as having been ground-breaking. Important scholarship by Freeman, Lang, and Gerson has convincingly documented women's professional success in male-dominated fields of employment, accomplishments achieved at a time when women of their social station were expected to remain in the home. This pathbreaking scholarship shows that these extraordinary single mothers defied the societal expectations of their time by working, travelling, and leaving their children to the care of others. The textual analysis I have presented here adds a layer of complexity to our understanding. This analysis of the effects their journalistic works may have produced among their readership illuminates the role these women played within the imperial institution: they were agents – or as I suggest in my title, matriarchitects – in the creation of a simulacrum of the British empire. The three articles examined in this thesis show how these three authors produced a Baudrillardian third-order simulacrum of the British empire. Even as they transgressed the boundaries of gender inequality, they were writing into being and reiterating the foundational signs that constituted the nature of reality for the British empire's subjects – a reality increasingly disconnected from the real and its faithful representation, instead growing ever more reliant on invention and imaginative interpretations in the print media.

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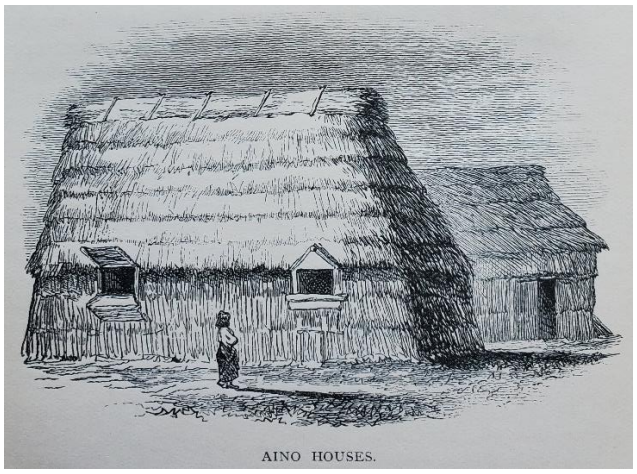
APPENDIX A: ORIGINAL VS. PLAGIARIZED ILLUSTRATIONS
Illustrations in Bird's text (left) compared with Breuer's (right) in MacGill's article.

Unbeaten Tracks 234



AINO HOUSES.

"Hairy Men" 379

An Aino House

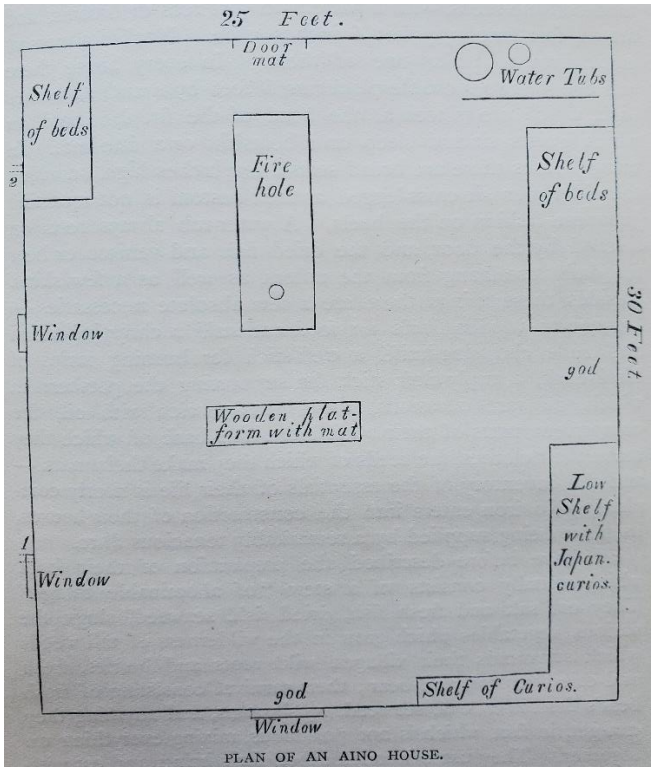
Unbeaten Tracks 247

AINO STORE-HOUSE.

"Hairy Men" 374

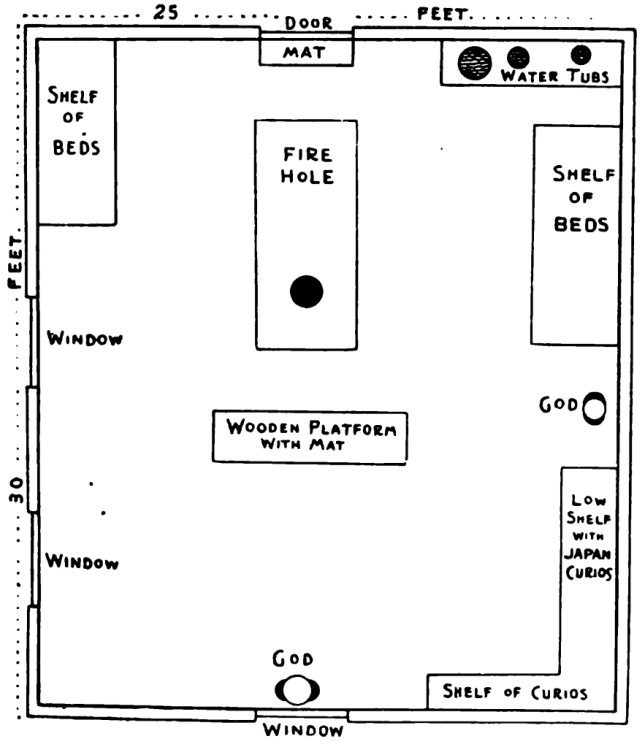
Aino Grain House

Unbeaten Tracks 267



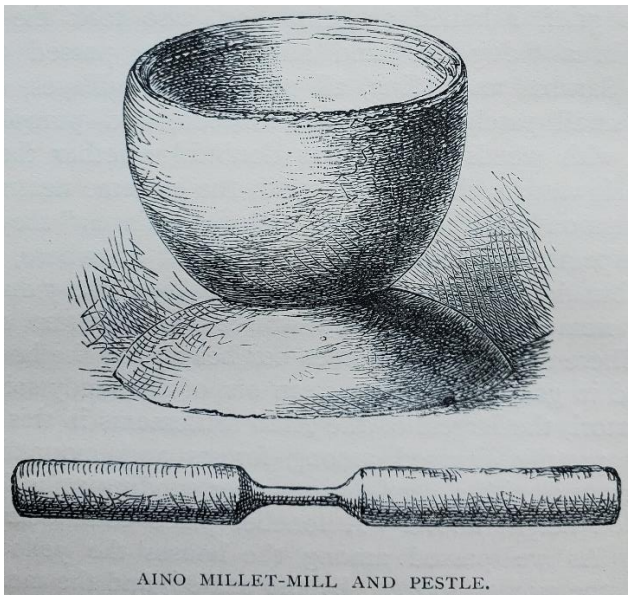
PLAN OF AN AINO HOUSE.

"Hairy Men" 373



Plan of Aino House

Unbeaten Tracks 238


AINO MILLET-MILL AND PESTLE.

"Hairy Men" 377

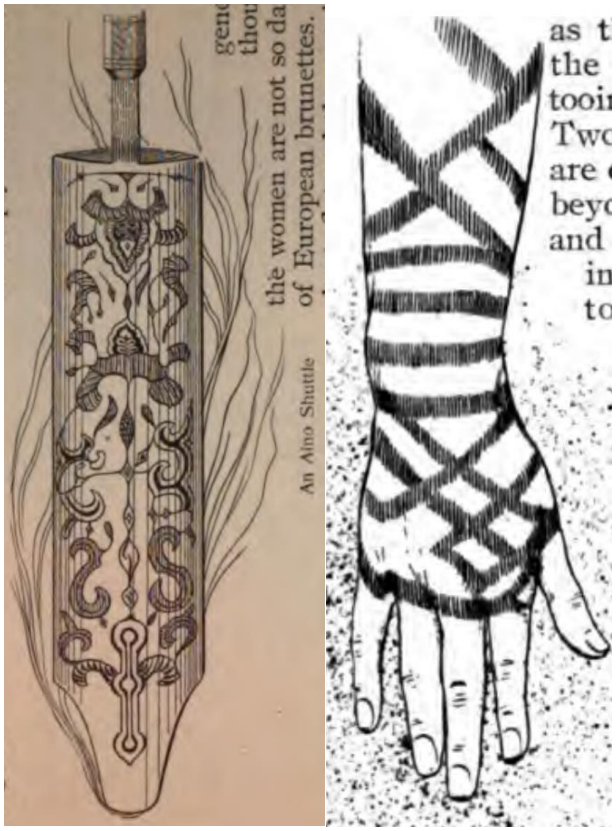
Aino Mortar and Pestle

Unbeaten Tracks 270 (shuttle), 260 (hand)

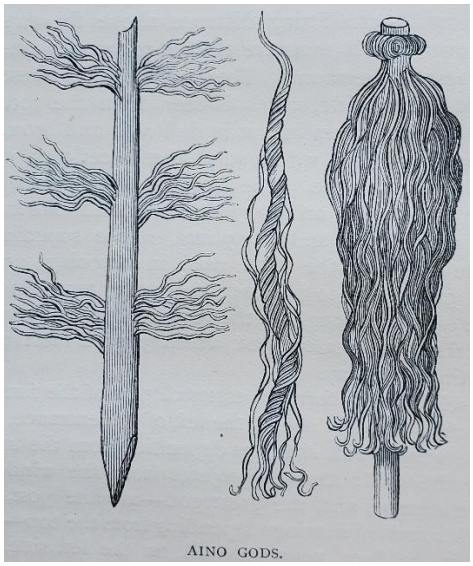
"Hairy Men" 368 (shuttle), 369 (hand)

WEAVER'S SHUTTLE. TATTOOED FEMALE HAND.

Unbeaten Tracks 266



"Hairy Men" 372



AINO GODS.

Ainu Gods of Shavings

Unbeaten Tracks 256

AINOS OF YEZO.

"Hairy Men" 371

An Aino Type