The Anabaptist Vision of Rudy Wiebe:

A Study in Theological Allegoresis

by

George Hildebrand

Submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
and Research in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

English Department
McGill University

© August, 1982

BINDER'S TITLE

Rudy Wiebe's Anabaptist Vision:
A Study in Theological Allegoresis

ABSTRACT

Typological methods and a scheme of Protestant iconography constitute the fiction of Rudy Wiebe. This structure and style are the necessary consequences of an artistic vision that is self-consciously Christian and evangelical. After a brief discussion of the problem of belief and literature, the dissertation presents Wiebe's Anabaptist theology and examines the typological and parabolical means by which Christian beliefs can become a method of composition. Wiebe's project is to create a fiction in which realistically presented lives and actions exist consubstantially with the gospel of Jesus. A pervasive iconic imagery and ironic reference result in a carefully controlled evangelical "sentence," one which allows Wiebe a fictional re-enactment of the incarnation. In Peace Shall Destroy Many, First and Vital Candle, and The Blue Mountains of China, Wiebe experiments with retrospective typology and with analogical sacrificial actions. In the historical novels (The Temptations of Big Bear, The Scorched-Wood People, The Mad Trapper), he exploits typology proper, giving epistemological authority to his chronicles of faith by establishing the hermeneutical divide in history itself. The gospel is again present, but now it is almost entirely anticipatory and ironic. The dissertation concludes by speculating about Wiebe's latest experiment in evangelical fiction, the self-regarding dramatization of a Christian Wiebe-persona acting in a documentary present.

RESUME

Une typologie biblique et une iconographie protestante sont à la base de l'écriture romanesque de Rudy Wiebe. Cette structure et ce style dérivent d'une vision artistique qui se veut chrétienne dans sa mission évangélique. Après une brève analyse du problème que présente la littérature engagée, ce travail décrit la théologie anabaptiste de Wiebe et examine comment la doctrine chrétienne peut devenir un mode de narration en utilisant les procédés typologique et parabolique. Les images iconiques omniprésentes et les références ironiques visent à créer une écriture imprégnée d'un caractère évangélique et à permettre ainsi à l'auteur de mimer le mystère de l'Incarnation. Dans Peace Shall Destroy Many, First and Vital Candle, et The Blue Mountains of China, Wiebe essaie différentes variations autour d'une typologie rétrospective et d'une trame analogique et sacrificielle. Il emploie cependant la typologie traditionnelle dans ses romans historiques (The Temptations of Big Bear, The Scorched-Wood People, The Mad Trapper) où il confère à ses chroniques religieuses une autorité épistémologique en mettant la division herméneutique dans le déroulement historique. L'enseignement de l'Evangile y est présent mais cette présence est ironique et anticipative. Finalement, cette recherche essaie de cerner dans les derniers récits narratifs de Wiebe sa nouvelle direction--la dramatisation d'un narrateur chrétien et narcissique qui s'identifie à l'auteur et qui agit dans un présent documentaire.

CONTENTS

PREFACE.....v

INTRODUCTION.....1

CHAPTER ONE: "The Farmer, His Son, and the Homely Codes".....40

CHAPTER TWO: Typology, Parable, and Wiebe's Christian Poetics.....66

CHAPTER THREE: The Evangelical Novels: Retrospective Typology.....92

CHAPTER FOUR: Double Vision: Short Stories, 1956-1976.....166

CHAPTER FIVE: The Temptations of Big Bear: Typology Proper.....215

CHAPTER SIX: The Scorched-Wood People: Anabaptist Hagiography.....293

EPILOGUE.....370

NOTES.....390

APPENDIX I: Voice, Counterpoint, and Time in The Blue Mountains of China.....427

APPENDIX II: A Glossary to the Low German and High German of The Blue Mountains of China.....428

BIBLIOGRAPHY.....430

Preface

The idea of this dissertation developed from a suggestion made by Professor Desmond Cole shortly after I had surfaced from a two-year immersion in the iconography and emblem literature of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Rudy Wiebe has said often enough that he is being biblical about writing fiction, but no critic has yet been "biblical" about Rudy Wiebe. To my surprise, I found everywhere in Rudy Wiebe's novels and short stories a conscious exploitation of conventional Christian motifs and methods--allegorical imagery and typological structure.

Professor Cole's suggestion grew into a major essay that I submitted to the McGill English Department in early 1977 in partial fulfilment of the "comprehensive" requirements of its doctoral program. Spurred on by the theory offered by Earl Miner's Literary Uses of Typology (1977), I proceeded with the dissertation, attempting by means of typology and biblical hermeneutic to elaborate the dialectic of ideology and form that constitutes Wiebe's fiction. In the late stages of writing, I came upon Walter Benjamin's exposition of Lutheran allegorizing in Ursprung des deutschen Trauerspiels, and my debts to this work are duly noted in the text. My bibliography of Wiebe's published works is indebted to Allan Dueck's unpublished M.A. thesis, "Rudy Wiebe as Storyteller: Vision and Art in Wiebe's Fiction" (1974). My list is also more complete that it was

thanks to W. J. Keith's Epic Fiction: The Art of Rudy Wiebe, which reached me in time to cross-check the bibliographies.

I am grateful for the financial support of the Canada Council during three crucial years. As well, I thank the McGill English Department for offering valuable teaching experience and financial assistance through its program of teaching assistantships. I would also acknowledge the cheerful efficiency of the Inter-Library Loan Service of McLennan Library.

I would like to thank Ghislaine Blais, who typed, proof-read, and made helpful stylistic suggestions. Without her indefatigable energy, this dissertation would still be in manuscript. I owe personal and intellectual debts as well to Professor Desmond Cole, who retired before I could finish; to Professor Alec Lucas, who gave freely of his time, wisdom, and letters of recommendation, and who ungrudgingly took over the direction of this dissertation; to Professor Louis Dudek, whose wit and grasp of metaphor enlivened the study of Canadian literary theory; and to Professor David Williams, who first showed me the iconic splendours of allegory. What is of value in this dissertation can be traced to these mentors; the crudities are, as they must be, all my own.

INTRODUCTION

Rudy Wiebe has made no secret of his commitment to a certain kind of Protestant Christianity. Nor has he been secretive about his artistic mission: to write novels and stories that bear a Christian witness to readers whom he perceives, with the benevolent arrogance of the converted, to be crying for redemption. What Wiebe has disguised somewhat is the extent to which he is rationally and consciously seeking subjects and narrative methods that would most effectively move his reader to a more Christian perspective. In this sense, Wiebe can be said to be writing Christian propaganda specifically and consciously designed for an age ignorant of religion and theology.

Wiebe began by writing about Mennonites, and his main thesis was that they had lost the Anabaptist vision of the radical reformers of the Reformation, their spiritual and biological ancestors, and that they had lapsed into theocratic ethnicity. The religious element in Wiebe's first three novels was explicit both in form and content, and, although The Blue Mountains of China showed a great deal of experiment and innovation in Christianizing history, each of these evangelical novels showed a Protestant saint apostolically imitating Christ and teaching one or more struggling novices by example and exhortation. From this kind of evangelical ethnicity, Wiebe moved on to treat almost exclusively of secular and

historical figures: the Indians, Métis, and outlaws of the Canadian prairie past. In the novels and short stories of Wiebe's historical period, the religious elements became implicit, taking parabolical and analogical forms and becoming a sort of Protestant allegory. In this shift to historical and apparently secular subjects there was no indication that Wiebe had thereby changed his beliefs or his proselytizing fictional strategy. Nor was there any such indication in his latest novel, The Mad Trapper, which was also historical. In turning to historical fiction, Wiebe remained a Christian novelist, but one who was seeking culturally more recognizable means by which to speak to an audience beyond the hermetic world of evangelical Protestantism. Wiebe was (and still is) translating nature, the Indians, and the prairie past into Christian meanings. According to his beliefs, he was thereby imitating Christ in two essential ways: he was taking up into himself (and thereby transmuting) the violence of history and experience; he was doing this in a public way, witnessing and teaching according to the evangelical and apostolic demands of "outreach."

That process is the subject of this study. It will first establish Wiebe's beliefs and the concrete Christian poetics that result from them. It will then proceed to a chronological analysis of Wiebe's fiction, elaborating descriptively and dialectically the interaction of ideology and form according to the inner logic and necessity of Wiebe's development.

The hermeneutic that allows Wiebe to reinterpret Canadian and Mennonite history is conservative, satirical, and nostalgic. The Protestantism that he inherits from his ethnic past, his Anabaptist vision, flirts with fundamentalist rigidity and pietism. Through his education, it has close ties (especially in its antipathy to liberalism of any kind) with the neo-reformed orthodoxies associated with Barth, Tillich, and Bultmann. His theories of artistic creation bear the marks of Nathan Scott and Denis de Rougemont. He has contempt for liberal humanists, considering them as dilettantes who fear commitment of any kind. He seems to have put brackets around contemporary life, preferring to delve in its history for the roots of what he considers its degeneracy and perversion. He draws his subjects almost always from historical situations in which industrial-technological culture intrudes upon aboriginal or agrarian communalism, an intrusion which produces violence and the loss of an innocent world but which also then produces, in the light of Wiebe's tough-minded Christian existentialism, a mature Christian individuality. His plots inevitably show history acting as divine agent or as divine revelation, working to conform saints and followers to the Jesus-model, forcing them into sacrificial and exemplary postures.

As an apostolic Christian who is also a careful artist, Wiebe holds opinions about art severely at odds with contemporary orthodoxies. He has nothing but contempt for the subjects

and the desacralized vision of literary modernism and post-modernism, what Elizabeth Cereno in The Blue Mountains of China refers to as "The Intercourse, Excreta, and Adlingulating School."[1] Wiebe is impatient with "the pipsqueaks who people present-day fiction,"[2] and he rejects "the New Criticism which would make structure, verbal and symbolic, the major force of literature," turning it into "its very own raison d'être."[3] He adheres to "the straight story"[4] and believes firmly that "artistry is not more important than wisdom,"[5] the aspect of Frederick Philip Grove's practice that he admires most. It is not surprising, then, that Wiebe claims Tolstoy (in his "Tolstoyan" phase) as his chief mentor. Wiebe describes Tolstoy as "a Christian moralist who saw in the life of Christ and the doctrines of the Bible the highest ideals that man has achieved so far," an artist who succeeded in showing that the concrete human condition could be "rooted in action as best exemplified in Christ."[6]

As this thesis will show, Wiebe's Christianity is non-mythical and existential. It is a way of living and a way of writing that places emphasis on a biblically-literal imitation of Jesus and his apostles. As such, Wiebe's belief has a direct and absolute effect on his fiction. It produces a practice that is typological in its interpretation of history, figural in its use of a detailed and carefully controlled Protestant iconography, and tropological in its intended

effects. Whether Wiebe is writing about Mennonites, Indians, Métis, or outlaws, he is concerned directly or indirectly with one question --"What can man become if he allows God to break into his life?"[7] He exploits modernistic narrative techniques to give artistic form to his Anabaptist vision, leading to a fiction that might well be anachronistic were it not for his cunning manipulation of documentary realism and for his obsession, as Robert Kroetsch has perceptively remarked, "with supporting detail ... the pitiless rain which shapes, obscures meaning, into the appearance of apparent truth."[8]

Stated in the most general way, the main challenge to the critic who would "place" Rudy Wiebe (and provide an explanation of his fiction that "feels right") is that of how ideas and values belonging to a specific and identifiable Christian tradition get into a fiction that looks modern and that has found a certain success with the secular Canadian readers. This challenge Canadian literary critics have, on the whole, not met. Wiebe's fiction has often been badly or superficially understood; it has been greeted with a great variation of critical response, ranging from the unmitigated praise of regional, thematic, and mythopoeic critics to the puzzled uncertainty or even contempt of some of our more urbane and eclectic scholars. These were reacting to an unfamiliar doctrinal content, to Wiebe's sometimes too anachronistic and too solemn moralizing, and to a diction

and style seen as awkward and non-English.[9]

Among the treatments of Wiebe by regionalists the most useful is Dick Harrison's The Unnamed Country: The Struggle For a Canadian Prairie Fiction (1977). Harrison gives central importance to the idea that the cultural sets of the viewer condition, to a large extent, his view of landscape. Thus, Harrison points to Margaret Laurence, Robert Kroetsch, and Rudy Wiebe as the three contemporary writers who have finally succeeded in "naming" the prairie, setting out "quite explicitly to draw the cultural and mystical world of prairie man into line with the physical and historical realities of the plains."[10] Being born on the plains, these three, according to Harrison, are engaged in reflecting upon and reinterpreting prairie history, "freeing their past from the constrictions of that British imperial view which has dominated the development of the prairie in fact and fiction."[11] Although limited by an emphasis on regionalism, Harrison's approach allows him several insights:

> The prairie becomes less a thing "out there" which must be shaped physically as well as imaginatively and more a territory within a psyche which must be explored and understood, and in this internal prairie that contemporary novelist explore, time is the essential dimension they must travel (p. 189).

And:

> The westerner tends to have rather an apocalyptic sense of time, to situate himself in relation to the gigantic movements of Christian history of the world--creation, the fall, redemption, the apocalypse (p. 190).

This generalization about Wiebe's practice is concretely

accurate in a way that Harrison does not realize. He makes no connection between it and The Temptations of Big Bear, instead describing the novel as "deliberate historical fiction" that seeks a sort of archaeological rediscovery of "the Indian culture--somewhere near the vanishing point" (p. 199). Harrison's book, then, is most useful as a literary history of prairie fiction organized around the theme of culturally-conditioned "naming."

Another positive response to Wiebe's fiction can be found in John Moss's major treatment of The Temptations of Big Bear in his Sex and Violence in the Canadian Novel, a thematic study. Moss finds Big Bear to be "a great novel, in vision and heart and understanding," where "each sentence is a separate work of art." It is "a beautiful aesthetic achievement, as rich in emotional detail and formal design as in documentary verisimilitude."[12] Moss sees Big Bear as a study of genocide in which "Wiebe determines to restore to us the history and the justice we have lost through spiritual atrophy," a vision that is "spiritual in the most human sense, rather than moral."[13]

Pat Morley's Frye-influenced study of Wiebe and Hood, self-confessedly archetypal in its approach, shows the similar tendency of liberal, humanist criticism to see novelistic practice in abstract terms. Professor Morley's extended discussion of Wiebe's novels shows both the strengths and the weaknesses of archetypal criticism. The approach allows her to identify Wiebe as a writer of Christian comedy, an

insight upon which she builds a general description of the evangelical novels. Having identified patterns of apocalyptic and demonic imagery, however, Morley fails to integrate these image patterns into a specific conception of how the novels are intended to work. She describes The Temptations of Big Bear as a "tragedy of order,"[14] as "Wiebe's finest work to date" (p. 105), but again her discussion is piecemeal. She pauses to give examples of "hilarious" chapters and "humorous scenes," failing to integrate them with context, form, and purpose. In doing so, Professor Morley loses sight of the distinction between comedy as a structural principle and comedy in the popular sense of the word. The best insight of the book is one which Morley hesitantly suggests in passing, that the short story "Where Is the Voice Coming From?" and the novel The Temptations of Big Bear should "perhaps" both "be described as christologies."[15]

In the negative tradition, George Woodcock considers The Temptations of Big Bear and The Scorched-Wood People as "versions of the modish mythology that now surrounds métis [sic] and Indian rebels." They are "striking if somewhat turgid novels" that "should not be regarded as accurate projections of the past."[16] Louis Dudek describes Wiebe as Canada's "most overrated writer," a good man who takes himself very seriously and whose novels, consequently, are "dull and long-winded."[17] In a magazine profile of Wiebe, Stephen Scobie sums up the negative critical response when

he writes of "the stereotyped image of Rudy Wiebe as a dour, humourless, Old Testament prophet who won't allow alcohol on his land and who writes huge unreadable novels in stilted Germanic prose."[18]

Early critical responses to Wiebe's first three novels showed a similar uncertainty and disparity. Those readers sympathetic to his theology have not always been attracted by his realism, or they have been unfamiliar with the necessities and conventions of modern narration. Consequently, they have emphasized the doctrine of Peace Shall Destroy Many (1963), First and Vital Candle (1966), and The Blue Mountain of China (1970) and have ignored the more interesting question of the realization of doctrine in image and event. Theologically untutored Mennonites were shocked to discover that Wiebe's Peace Shall Destroy Many called into question some of their most valued cultural traits.[19] Indeed, one, J. Thiessen, writes that Mennonite readers were pained and angered "at the thought that the world would see them in a negative light, and Wiebe was soon given a one-way ticket out of Winnipeg, where he was editing a church paper at the time."[20] Literary critics have noticed all of Wiebe's major publications, but few of them have done their homework in Anabaptist theology.[21] Where many are knowledgeable about a sacramental form of modern Christian art, few are familiar with a more Protestant tradition of Christian realism, perhaps because there have been fewer skilled performers. All of these groups have seriously

misjudged the extent to which Wiebe is in control of his materials.

Only in the last few years have critics begun to realize that "Wiebe's interests are certainly divergent" from "the mainstream of the contemporary Canadian novel."[22] Although R. P. Bilan incorrectly identifies the passive piety of Frieda Friesen as "one of the touchstones" in The Blue Mountains of China, he does emphasize that the novel "compellingly dramatizes [Wiebe's] own radically Christian vision."[23] Bilan's discussion is a good thematic paraphrase, exegetically relating the novel's "self-contained stories" to Wiebe's theme--"the struggle for faith and a truly Christian way of life."

An early attempt to link form and ideology in Wiebe's fiction can be found in an M.A. thesis by Allan Dueck, Rudy Wiebe as Storyteller: Vision and Art in Wiebe's Fiction.[24] The title notwithstanding, Dueck's thesis shows primarily that Wiebe is a traditional storyteller who values content more than form and one who reinterprets the past so as to provide wisdom and counsel to the present. Dueck relies heavily on the categories developed by Walter Benjamin in his much-quoted essay on Nikolai Leskov as storyteller.[25] The thesis says nothing about figurative interpretation or typology, but does show that Wiebe is concerned with dramatizing Anabaptist values like pacifism. I am indebted to Dueck's thesis for the exhaustive bibliography, which is thorough in documenting Wiebe's early publications in obscure Mennonite

and college newspapers and journals.

In the growing criticism of The Blue Mountains of China, there are, however, two articles that lay the foundation for a precise understanding of Wiebe's fictional practice. Ina Ferris suggests that the author of The Blue Mountains of China is working out fictional ways of making artistically convincing man's relationship to the divine. Ferris explains how the fragmented, multiple perspectives of the novel call into question the existential mode of narration, creating a sustained "tension between the concrete and abstract levels of the fiction." Ferris considers the last chapter a failure because it denies the "existential mode with its potentially subversive, experimental technique."[26] The article concludes by ascribing the failure to an unresolved tension between Wiebe's "religious idealism" and the "essentially secular and novelistic" pull of Wiebe's imagination. I cannot here examine the complexities of the issues raised by Ferris's conclusion. It is sufficient to note for now that Wiebe's conception of image, event, and meta-text is a non-dualistic one, unified by a Christian existentialist vision of reality and meaning. Again, Ferris underestimates the extent to which Wiebe knows what he is doing.

A ground-breaking article in the criticism of Rudy Wiebe is one by David L. Jeffrey.[27] Professor Jeffrey limits his discussion to the idea of family history; and his argument suffers somewhat in attempting to deal with Wiebe and Laurence

at the same time, two novelists whose use of the Bible is fundamentally different. Jeffrey's methodological point, however, is that novels written consciously to "a sense of received patterns" require a literary criticism that makes precise connections between "Biblical hermeneutic and rhetorical structure," between "Biblical method and point of view." Jeffrey's analysis is limited to The Blue Mountains of China, but he is referring to The Temptations of Big Bear in passing when he identifies the essence of Rudy Wiebe's fictional strategy as follows:

> [The] lost Old Testament world—and New Testament informed typology which grows out of it—do not provide Wiebe merely with allusion, or even plot (although there are numerous examples of both). More significantly, the Bible provides him with a design—a hermeneutical model which yields up both the deep structure of his creations and the methodology in terms of which he 'translates' the histories he writes. An absent text upon which Wiebe's writing is a kind of present gloss, the Bible is not obtrusively present as allegory or superficial allusion, but is always working just under the surface, as though history itself were really, as in typological homilectics, an ongoing fulfilment of the story begun in the Bible.[28]

In the context of critical response to Wiebe's fiction, Jeffrey's article is brilliant and timely. There are limitations, nevertheless, to his understanding of Wiebe's practice, and these become apparent in an expanded version of this essay that appeared in A Voice In the Land (1981) under the title of "A Search for Peace: Prophecy and Parable in the Fiction of Rudy Wiebe."[29] It is a vigorous defense of Wiebe's bible-influenced fiction, and Jeffrey takes up in detail Ina Ferris's objections to the ending of The Blue Mountains of China.

Jeffrey's emphasis on prophecy, archetype, and communal salvation indicates a misconception of the radical New Testament literalism of Wiebe's Anabaptist vision. History, experience, moral choice, and the salvation of the individual soul are far more important to Wiebe than are any literary models, biblical or otherwise. History is not, for Wiebe, a literary symbol; it is revelation itself. The only type that concerns Wiebe is Jesus, and the aspect of history that interests him most is its providential function in soul-saving. Jeffrey has, finally, an abstract sense of Wiebe's Christian teaching and is, on the whole, far too eager to justify Wiebe's practice in terms of formalist orthodoxies. Although Professor Jeffrey is not a narrow formalist himself, he takes rather too seriously an evasion that is by now rather worn out—the formalist reduction of cognitive and ideological content to aesthetic categories. For instance, citing Mikhail Bakhtin on "answering and unanswerable language" (human language and revealed language), Jeffrey justifies the proselytizing ending of The Blue Mountains of China on the grounds that Wiebe consciously and successfully violates the novelistic convention of "disinterestedness" (p. 100). The argument seems superficial.

I am not interested in justifying or defending Wiebe's fiction. The accurate description of his shifting strategies and innovations, as he seeks ever more sophisticated means of achieving his Christian mission, will constitute a sufficient evaluation of his artistic achievement. I am writing about

what Wiebe is doing rather than about how his Indian, outlaw, and Métis stories can be read isolated from their genesis. It is true that these can be assimilated to our contemporary literary preoccupation with Canadian history and with the primitive and the aboriginal, the kind of concern to which Robertson Davies refers when he speaks of "the necessity for us who are newcomers to the country, with hardly four hundred years of acquaintance with it, to ally ourselves with the spirit of one of the most ancient lands in the world."[30] Arising perhaps from urban alienation, this patriotic enterprise is usually rationalized as being a search for personal and national identity, and it has taken two distinct literary forms.

There are those writers who might be loosely classified in the mythopoeic and surrealistic tradition. Contemporary examples are Robert Kroetsch's Gone Indian, Marian Engel's Bear, Margaret Atwood's Surfacing, as well as those of Atwood's poems like The Journal of Susanna Moodie that exploit the primitive or the historical. Less concerned with self are the more traditional writers who attempt a realistic vision of the past or who engage some of the social and cultural difficulties of the Indian in the present. In this category one might place W. O. Mitchell's The Vanishing Point, Peter Such's Riverrun, David William's The Burning Wood, George Ryga's Indian plays, and even poetry like Andrew Suknaski's Wood Mountain Poems. Wiebe's The Temptations of Big Bear and The Scorched-Wood People belong to this group as well for,

at one level, they are successful re-interpretations of the past from the points of view of the Indians and Métis. As fictionalized anthropology and history, the two novels contribute to an anti-imperial and revisionist perception of the aboriginal past, like that called for by Palmer Patterson in his excellent book, The Canadian Indian:

> Another way of thinking about the history of Indians in Canada is to see them as a people with a distinct past of their own; to see that the coming of the whites does not change the Indian's continuity with his own past, that his story must be told in terms of his own experience with the white man, placing him at the centre of the narrative, regardless of the fact that he has ceased to occupy the centre of Canadian affairs. The shift in control of the land and in numerical and cultural balance is then seen as part of the experience of the Indian.[31]

Reviewing The Scorched-Wood People, Sam Solecki writes that Wiebe's "magnificent new novel" challenges "directly the Innis-Creighton Laurentian thesis with its favourable view of the inevitability of the Eastern (Ontario-Québec) economic and cultural imperative in the West." As such, Solecki describes the novel as "a fictionalized history that retells the story of Riel, Dumont and the Métis from their own point of view and in so doing challenges most of our received notions about this crucial period of Canadian history."[32] On the surface, these citations might well be accurate programs for Wiebe's historical stories and novels. Indeed, they have been read most commonly as nostalgic, elegiac histories.[33]

Wiebe himself has encouraged such reading in his public comments on the question. In describing how he came to write Big Bear, he speaks of his anger at his public school for not

teaching local history, referring to Big Bear's passage north in 1885 through the bush country where Wiebe spent his childhood (the Turtle Lake region of Saskatchewan). He then emphasizes the importance of cultural memory:

> All people have history. The stories we tell of our past are by no means merely words: they are meaning and life to us as people, as a particular people; the stories are there, and if we do not know them we are simply, like animals, memory ignorant and the less are we people [Wiebe's italics].[34]

In the same place he goes on to describe his fascination for the enigmas and contradictions lived by the character Big Bear, a fascination which drove Wiebe to excavate the story from the documents:

> Beneath the giant slag heap left by the heroic white history of fur trader and police and homesteader and rancher and railroad builder (oh, the heroism of that 19th century computor Van Horne as sung by that 20th century computor Pierre Berton Incorporated!), somewhere, under there, is the story of that life.

It will be the life of Big Bear that will guide him through that tyranny of facts that constitute official history.

All this would indicate that The Temptations of Big Bear and The Scorched-Wood People appear to be part of the present artistic endeavour to bridge the cultural gap between Indian and white man, to make a decadent urban society ("our polluted modern atmosphere"[35]) aware of the primitive nobility of Indian and Métis life, to begin the process of expiation of conqueror's guilt, and to connect us to a restored and revised (mythical and primitive) history. Yet I believe that Wiebe's later novels and short stories use the past to speak to the present in a way radically different from this more-or-less established Canadian

tradition. If one traces his fictional practice chronologically in the light of his religious beliefs and of his theology of art, one can demonstrate that his concerns throughout are moral and apostolic. The purpose of art, he believes, is "to make us good."[36] He may as well have said, as he has elsewhere, that the purpose of art is to teach Christian doctrine.

Wiebe thus directly raises the question of art and moral purpose. His fiction especially forces the critic to confront the vexed isssue of literature and belief. Wiebe is not content merely to present characters and situations that encourage moral reflection or that awaken the moral imagination. It appears that quite consciously and rationally he chooses also to present a moral system (directly in his evangelical novels and implicitly in his historical fiction) to which he demands his reader's assent.[37] To the literary establishment this demand, as well as some aspects of his moral system, appears as uncongenial, embarrassing, and awkward. As David Jeffrey has nicely said, "To the world of most of his readers, Wiebe's is the vision of an outsider, about outsiders."[38]

Before proceeding to a discussion of Wiebe's theology and Christian poetics, I might conclude here by addressing this theoretical frame of reference apparently crucial to a study of Rudy Wiebe--the question of religious belief, propaganda, and art.

A necessary qualification at the outset is that much of the theorizing literary critics have done about beauty and

and belief has been in reference to poetry. Poems are auto-referential, emotive, formal, and non-discursive in a way that makes them free of extra-literary values and beliefs, at least in our time. The novel, on the other hand, traditionally sets out to re-create social process; it is by its very nature and purpose more discursive, more referential, and less formal than are poems. In terms of explicit and overt cognitive content, the novel is "contaminated" by the world and constituted by its author's world view. "The poverty of the novel's formal conventions," writes Ian Watt, "would seem to be the price it must pay for its realism."[39]

The main theoretical principle shared by theorists holding political and religious convictions across a wide spectrum is that the literary work must assimilate and integrate its author's beliefs so that these do not cause the reader to draw back and thus disturb the necessary illusion. Wellek and Warren begin by noting that "the history of aesthetics might almost be summarized as a dialectic in which the thesis and counter-thesis are Horace's dulce and utile," but they go on to emphasize that in a successful work "the two 'notes' of pleasure and utility should not merely coexist but coalesce."[40] Murray Krieger, in his article on the problem of belief in the Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics, explains that for Eliot this meant that the poet dealt in emotional equivalents of belief and not with beliefs themselves. To the formalists and New Critics, Krieger writes, the principle of adequate

integration meant essentially that the beliefs had to be held in the "formal context" in such a way that they would not "leap forth as ideas and plead to be judged as true or false."[41] Even the American Marxist, Lee Baxandall, attacks the unimaginative ideologues who see art as a straightforward reflection of class structure and economic base, holding that art is not "an epiphenomenon of narrow class interest" but instead "a primary mediation and aim of humanity . . . for . . . the realization of full human potential." Giving the example of sexism in D. H. Lawrence, Baxandall argues that whatever the "ism" the true artist presents it "not as a program but as a phenomenon."[42]

The consensus noted here is one of principle only. In practice critics tend to cluster into two groups: on the one hand are the "aesthetes," those with a feeling for the intrinsic and the autotelic; on the other are the "ideologues," those who insist on extrinsic approaches. The two approaches need not be narrow nor mutually exclusive. The humanist M. H. Abrams, writing in Literature and Belief (1957),[43] and the Marxist-humanist Raymond Williams, writing in Marxism and Literature (1977), have both noted the problems with these theoretical polarities and have proposed an almost identical (and sensible) compromise. I cite Raymond Williams:

> Anyone who is in contact with the real multiplicity of writing, and with the no less real multiplicity of those forms of writing that have been specialized as literature, is already aware of the range of intentions and responses which are continually and variably manifest and latent.

> The honest muddle that so often arises is a consequence of pressure from both ends of a range of received and incompatible theories. If we are asked to believe that all literature is 'ideology', in the crude sense that its dominant intention (and then our only response) is the communication or imposition of 'social' or 'political' meanings and values, we can only, in the end, turn away. If we are asked to believe that all literature is 'aesthetic', in the crude sense that its dominant intention (and then our only response) is the beauty of language or form, we may stay a little longer but still in the end turn away. Some people will lurch from one position to the other. More, in practice, will retreat to an indifferent acknowledgement of complexity, or assert the autonomy of their own (usually consensual) response.
>
> But it is really much simpler to face the facts of the range of intentions and effects, and to face it as a range. All writing carries references, meanings, and values. To suppress or displace them is in the end impossible. But to say 'all writing carries' is only a way of saying that language and form are constitutive processes of reference, meaning, and value that correspond or can be grouped with generalized references, meanings and values that are also evident, in other senses and in summary, elsewhere. This recognition is lost if it is specialized to 'beauty', though to suppress or displace the real experience to which that abstraction points is also in the end impossible.[44]

Williams would thus dispose of the arguments between the isolationists and the contextualists, suggesting that for practical criticism the debate is artificial and sterile.

Abrams and Williams also show how one must acknowledge and build on the achievements of the formalists and their New Critical allies. Their project was a worthwhile attempt to rescue, in the name of Christian humanism, artistic freedom and artistic value from the moralists and the censors; those, in short, who feared the anarchistic effects of "irresponsible" art. It was also an attempt, in a materialistic and narrowly-empirical culture, to preserve art as a defence of individual

freedom against the dehumanizing forces of consumerism and the claims of technique-oriented "scientism." This attempt to justify the autonomy of the artistic statement and to teach readers to respond to the aesthetic wholeness of literature nevertheless led (and perhaps inevitably so) to increasingly narrow and exclusive aesthetic claims that were themselves ideological (if one defines ideology as a system of beliefs or model of reality that passes itself off as reality itself). Some of the algebraic excesses of French structuralism or the sociological jargon of "Critical Theory" are good examples of this "technicization of modern literary theory,"[45] a technicization that tends finally to defeat its own good intentions, reducing literature itself either to an elitest commodity, an exotic language game, or to an ideology serving the interests of a particular class.

The formalists argued that, at least theoretically, the quality of the belief (of the ideological-cognitive content) was not important provided its artistic exploitation was sufficiently intelligent. In practice there are sharp limitations to this ideal detachment or suspension of prejudice. Abrams attacks the inference that "anything goes" on the grounds that the artist has a "responsibility to the beliefs and prepossessions of our common experience, common sense, and common moral consciousness."[46] He goes on to show that all literature calls into play and depends on a great number of beliefs, values, prepossessions, and modes of perception. It is plain that a reader, no matter

how critical, who shares the writer's cultural moment and his cultural assumptions will be more likely to find that his author's beliefs have been well-assimilated to the formal context: A critic of a different time and with cultural assumptions different from those of that author may well object and find obtrusive content everywhere. One need glance only at the history of the criticism of a poem like Paradise Lost.

To state the problem of belief this way is not to endorse absolute relativism. It is merely to urge the critic toward a full recognition of "the range of intention and effects." Literature is always an intersection of belief and form. There is no role, no image, no plot without a context of belief.[47] The question of belief in literature is one of "the relation of the reader" to the work, as Murray Krieger emphasizes.[48] Idealist aesthetic theory seems to have recognized this truism; it has lately been engaged in shoring up a weakness in its approach to a literary text, at least so the spate of "reader-response" theory in recent years would indicate.[49]

These theoretical premises do not gloss over the differences between a thesis novel, which directly teaches and exemplifies a doctrine; the novel of propaganda, which seeks to win the reader to some political or moral or religious position; the novel of self-discovery, which involves the reader in the process of the understanding of self and social world; or the anti-novel, which resists strongly any imposition of human

meaning upon the phenomenological world.[50] This list is not exhaustive, but it does draw attention to the great differences in narrational practice and to the importance of authorial belief and intention to a full analysis of a work. Only when these are related to style, image, and form does the novel appear in all its concreteness as human artistic practice embedded in history.

It is necessary to distinguish two kinds of novelists whose practice has different epistemological assumptions and who demand two different critical approaches. According to Ian Watt, the great innovation of the novel was to break with "the earlier literary tradition of using timeless stories to mirror the unchanging moral verities"[51] and to ground its plot on an individual life and on the individual experience of that life. This psychological and environmental realism, linked to Descartes and Locke, was the result of "a growing tendency for individual experience to replace collective tradition as the ultimate arbiter of reality."[52] The rejection of collective tradition and the break from timeless stories illustrating the eternal verities were of course never complete, but rather always a tendency or a direction, which writers followed to a greater or lesser extent. From Watt's analysis one can derive the two kinds of novelistic world-views. On the one hand is the novelist who believes in the authority of the individual. The ultimate literary evolution of this romanticism is the anti-novel, the novel in which individual and plot are constantly in danger of

drowning in a reality become a meaningless flux. On the other hand is the novelist who while exploiting psychological and situational realism still holds that ultimate authority lies not in individual perception but elsewhere—in aesthetic form, in archetypes (psychological or religious), in dialectical materialism, in Christian salvation history, to name some of the more common sources of authority and plot.

My theoretical and methodological point is that differing views of reality result in sharply different literary practice and thus demand different critical emphases. If a writer is questing and heuristic in his approach to reality and in his artistic transformation or representation of it, and if he believes that individual experience is the final authority, indeed, the only authority, then the critic had best begin with psychological and aesthetic categories. The formalist reduction might well be good criticism, at least in dealing initially with the heavily auto-referential characteristics that works of such writers would necessarily show. If one is dealing with an Eliot or a Wiebe or a Brecht, all of whom are conscious and determined teacher-artists who believe that final authority cannot reside in cultured egoism, then the critic had better practice the opposite reduction—reading the formal properties of the literary works back to belief, vision, and purpose.

The character types, image patterns, and plot configurations of "responsible propagandists" (Eliot's phrase in "Poetry and

Propaganda") can best be understood as constituted by the tradition or process they hold to be authoritative. If the critic assumes that the goal of all artists is to win the reader's imaginative consent to the illusion or the "beauty" of their representations, he will inevitably lose himself (when studying a Milton, a Brecht, or a Wiebe) looking for oranges in apple trees, as Flaubert so often said (in a different context). For instance; Matt Cohen's The Disinherited (1974) and Rudy Wiebe's The Blue Mountains of China (1970) are very similar in their concern with four generations and with the integration of the European background with a rural-to-urban present in the "New World." Yet the dominant presentational element of Cohen's book is its portrayal of life "by time," while that of Wiebe's novel is its portrayal of life "by value."[53] Cohen is interested in process, Wiebe in meaning. The two novelists lie at opposite ends of the spectrum I have identified.

This is not to say that novels of the first kind require only formal studies and that novels of the second kind require only exegesis. These reductions would be true to the dominant elements of each kind but would obscure the latent or repressed elements. Ultimately, Cohen's novel would have to be seen as working within the Romantic system of meaning while Wiebe's would have to be linked to the Christian one, both being external systems of organizing meaning granted by the culture in which Cohen and Wiebe find themselves. Aesthetic and hermeneutic

approaches must ultimately reach an integration and a synthesis at a "higher" or more complex level, one that adequately takes into account the totality of vision and its aesthetic objectification.

I am approaching here the neo-Aristotelian division of fictional works into the mimetic and the didactic, where these categories refer to "that principle which can explain the organization of the work formally."[54] According to Norman Friedman, if the organizing principle can be derived internally, the work is mimetic; on the other hand, if the work is somewhat incoherent or dissatisfying, then one may have to look for external organizing principles (in which case the work is didactic). This analysis, which reflects the Romantic misunderstanding of allegory, is prejudiced in favour of "meaningless" works; and Friedman strains overmuch to hold to a non-dialectical view of form and meaning. Yet finally, he does admit, rather unwillingly, that although form is "shaped content" it is ultimately "dependent upon life and experience." Once "we have opened the door to all those complex problems of meaning" we must face the problem of "what . . . all these meanings, in combination with everything else in the work . . . imply about the author's vision of the world." At this point, Friedman concludes, it is relevant to go outside the work, and "we become logically involved in the study of vision, history, and archetypes."[55]

Thus, what appears as rigidly reductionist and mutually

exclusive is really a division made with an eye to pedagogy, out of the need to teach people to read with full attention to the purely literary. Ultimately, in practical criticism, critics of all kinds relate aesthetic form and extra-literary systems, acknowledging thereby that what is divisible in theory must be united in practice if art is to remain an intelligent human statement in history, absolutely value-oriented and absolutely to be understood in terms of human vision and human belief.

If this study tends toward the ideological reduction, it is a tendency justified by Wiebe's consciously-held concerns and beliefs. The nature of his "mission" urges the critic to relate Wiebe's formal and imagistic strategies to his Protestant vision. These entail the allegorical and the exegetical, but not (I trust) at the naive level of extracting propositional content and moralizing theme. Rather, the dialectic of vision and aesthetic pattern must be sought in the texture, plot, and rhetorical devices of the works themselves. I do not seek to defend or to attack Wiebe's practice so much as to describe it; my own prejudice can best be put in materialist terms: Wiebe's beliefs and the art that flows from them are examples of "historical thinking arrested halfway, a thought which, on the road to concrete history, takes fright and attempts to convert its insights into eternal essences, into attributes between which the human spirit oscillates."[56] This judgment needs qualification, for Wiebe is not an idealist in the usual

sense of that word. The detailed analysis of Wiebe's method of composition, as he converts history into Anabaptist exempla, will sufficiently provide that qualification.

To be intellectually responsible, theorizing about form and content (once it has recognized that in great art the two are indivisible) must at least be aware of the formalist bias against allegory and against the didactic in general, the modernist prejudice in favour of the "romance" of metaphysical loneliness (while wallowing among particulars), the post-modern bias in favour of "meaningless" language games (the semiological reduction), and the materialist bias against essences evident in the quotation above from Fredric Jameson. I have implied that the problem of literature and belief is in theory largely a non-problem; only the "slickness," the artistic power, of a work and cultural assumptions shared by author and reader prevent the reader (today) from experiencing "obtrusive content" at the first reading, when even the sophisticated reader (or today especially the sophisticated reader) wants the novel to "work" primarily in terms of its own fiction. These are the cultural-historical limitations on consciousness, limitations that should be considered (once acknowledged) as strengths, if one remembers that human meaning is possible only within the limits of the subjective perception, within time, of a concrete reality and history at least partially knowable. As such, these cultural-historical limitations indicate the hermeneutic circle within which all thought must begin and end.

Wiebe is consciously working to merge his didactic message harmoniously with the "mimetic," so that at least the untutored reader will avail himself of the moral fruits of Wiebe's religious hermeneutic. As such, Wiebe is struggling with the old Christian artistic problems: how to bridge the gap between the sensual and the spiritual, how to assimilate pagan material, and how to propagandize and proselytize effectively among pagans. His project is to solve these problems in a fiction that appears contemporary.

There is critical precedence for studying a didactic writer in these terms. Cleanth Brooks, whom one thinks of as a New Critic, finds that he must approach Eliot rhetorically. In "Discourse to the Gentiles," he argues that Eliot conceived of his poetry "in terms of the following problem: how is revealed truth to be mediated to the gentiles?" According to Brooks, Eliot perfected an indirect poetic strategy that would "force us once again to confront . . . Christian meanings."[57] In a critical stock-taking of T. S. Eliot's achievements, Louis Dudek, in 1962, comes to similar conclusions about Eliot's methods and intentions:

> In the case of Eliot, the critical writing is directly didactic in purpose, while the poetry creates an emotional correlative for these ideas. But didactic ideas point the poetry toward a didactic effect; and Eliot's poetry cannot help but strike the reader as powerful religious persuasion, more powerful because it teaches only by example.[58]

Dudek goes on to chide Eliot for leaping from "existentialism to theism," thus denying and obscuring reality "for the sake

of Divine Reality."[59]

It is a literary project and a leap that Dudek, himself searching for a synthesis of modernism and humanism, cannot accept. In "Art, Entertainment and Religion" (1963) he blames Christianity, the Church, and "the ascetic tradition" for "our moral earnestness, our slow artistic awakening, our incapacity for free artistic expression and our deplorable vulgarity."[60] Christianity with its traditional contempt for the world, he argues, degrades "appetites and pleasures" and "recoils from what is actual and necessary." The pointed conclusion of his attack on Christianity and other forms of "excessive idealism" might well stand for his judgment of Rudy Wiebe's fiction: "It is a matter of excess of virtue. I admire it; but I will have none of it."[61] This critique may become our age's ultimate evaluation of Wiebe's artistic achievement, but I use it here to identify the points of concern for any Christian aesthetic theory—to retain history, experience, and the body in all their concreteness while giving aesthetic (pedagogical) power to the essential doctrine.

It is noteworthy that Ernest Auerbach cites the narrative method of the Gospels as an advance over an exhausted Greco-Roman tradition, which in Petronius and Tacitus he found to be idyllic, static, and ahistorical. The story of Peter's denial of Christ in Mark 14 represents for Auerbach not only

the technical advance of "direct discourse in living dialogue" but also, and more importantly, the raising to historical significance of the inner experience of the ordinary man. It is this sense of meaning democratically and dramatically experienced within a historical process that Auerbach finds to be new in apostolic narration. Significantly, the danger or weakness Auerbach notes as endemic to the Christian method, especially when Paul and the Church fathers did the necessary "revisional interpretation" of older texts and legends, was "that the reader or listener was forced to turn his attention away from the sensory occurrence and toward its meaning." Auerbach's conclusion draws attention once again to the artistic and experiential problem congenital with the Christian vision:

> In comparison [with the Gospels], the Greco-Roman specimens of realistic presentation are, though less serious and fraught with problems and far more limited in their conception of historical movement, nevertheless perfectly integrated in their sensory substance. They do not know the antagonism between sensory appearance and meaning, an antagonism which permeates the early, and indeed the whole, Christian view of reality.[62]

In theology, Christians of course deny this dualism, claiming that the advent of Jesus bridges the gap between the material and the transcendental. Yet the history of Christianity, with its heresies and schisms, suggests that the split may be innate to the paradoxical mystery of the Incarnation.

The literary consequence of this double vision at the core of Christian belief is a tendency to allegory, the steady pull towards systematic "other-speaking" that for the Christian

is both a way of looking at the world (of being in it) and a narrative method for the purposes of pleasurable and effective teaching. This "allegory of the poets," as Dante described it, is closely and analogically derived from two doctrinal aspects reflecting this dual interest. Victor Harris, in tracing the movement from "allegory to analogy in the interpretation of scriptures," gives a precise summary of the process:

> The allegory of poets and the allegory of theologians . . . had common origins, histories, methods, and ends. Both found a moral or transcendent order reflected in the particular action. In both there was a limit beyond which the image or action would not yield to the interpretation. Both dealt with the polarity between the mystery of the given and the intelligible meaning that could be abstracted from it.[63]

In terms of doctrine there is, on the one hand, the revisional interpretation of the Old Testament, a continual task for Christian scholars and theologians. On the other hand, there is the Eucharist itself, the varying interpretations of which have left profound marks on Western intellectual and political history.

The Christian view of history, and particularly the evangelical version crucial to the understanding of Wiebe's historical fiction, seems to be an analogical replication of the Protestant view of the Old Testament. Wiebe's favorite historians, Arnold Toynbee and Herbert Butterfield, agree that history is meaningful only in terms of Christianity.[64] For instance, Butterfield argues that "the assured Christian . . . having in his religion the key to his conception of the

whole human drama . . . can safely embark on a detailed study of mundane events, if only to learn through their inter-connections the ways of Providence."[65] Butterfield's optimistic personalism[66] is echoed by J. Langmead Casserley in Toward a Theology of History. The basic category is revelation, and it "is given us in events rather than in oracles." The Christian interpreter of history practices a "typological historiography" that is similar to "biblical hermeneutics." Coming close to an anti-intellectual posture that one finds everywhere in Protestant fundamentalism and particularly in the populist aspects of Wiebe's evangelism, Casserley advises the historian as follows:

> Instead of trying to be historical about the Bible—in the modern positivistic sense of the word historical—we must try to be biblical about history, and thus discover a new sense of the word historical or rather rediscover an old one.[67]

Casserley specifies what it means to be "biblical about history" and how the theological historian should proceed:

> The interpretation of history . . . depends on our capacity . . . to employ [a] comparative, analogical method so as to grasp . . . persistent historical patterns, to group them together and interpret them as an intelligible species . . . . This kind of historical interpretation cannot of itself reconstruct historical events; certainly it cannot enable us to foresee the future; but it can tell us what history is about, enable us to interpret it as intelligible drama, pressing upon our attention certain themes of life and destiny. This is a point of view which enables the theologian to interpret all human history as a kind of Bible, and it supplies him with a concept of historical thought which is analogous to and continuous with the kind of biblical interpretation on which the classical theological thought of the Christian Church is based.[68]

I cite Casserley at length for a number of reasons. His views can stand for a contemporary tradition of theological history; one can find similar analyses and claims, made with varying degrees of complexity and intellectual respectability, in works by Rudolf Bultmann,[69] Norman Pittenger,[70] Paul Ricoeur,[71] and others. Since the interpretive and narrative process of "typological historiography" is central to Wiebe's vision and fiction, I use Casserley to show its genesis, by replication and analogy, from Old Testament hermeneutic. Finally, one finds in Casserley a series of beliefs related to history, art, and Christian meaning, beliefs that I will demonstrate Wiebe to hold as well. These are that history has a sacred meaning hidden in the secular, that God is still active in history, that history functions mainly as a teacher and a disciplinarian to the individual soul, and finally that one needs revelation (the Christian artistic inspiration) to perceive all of these. Such beliefs, when held by a writer of historical fictions, result in a parabolic and analogizing interpretation of the past.

The doctrine that history and experience are meaningful and didactic provides Wiebe with a principle of selection and organization. The doctrine that divine and profane meet in the Incarnation provides him with a theory of the sign or image. Here, too, there is a Protestant tradition of Christian aesthetics to which Wiebe belongs by education and conviction,

a tradition nurtured in theological faculties, Bible colleges, and seminaries throughout North America and Europe.

Christian theorizers and artists refer to the Incarnation when deriving a theory of the sign or image. In an essay that is carefully ecumenical, Malcolm Ross points to the relationship between doctrine and Christian art:

> The central dogma of Christianity is the dogma of the Incarnation. In this dogma, respecting as it does both the divinity of the Word and the humanity of the flesh, is contained the whole principle of Christian aesthetic.

Ross goes on to specify some of the implications:

> While the flesh is frail, and while nature itself has suffered the wound of sin, the Incarnation redeems the flesh and the world, laying nature and reason open once more to the supernatural. In other words, the Incarnation creates the sacramental vision of reality. The flesh, the world, things are restored to dignity because they are made valid. Existence becomes a drama which, no matter how painful it still may be, is nevertheless meaningful. No detail in the drama is without its wholly unique reality. No thing is insignificant.[72]

Professor Ross then turns to question T. S. Eliot's poetic method, calling instead for a "Christian realist" attitude toward creation. Other articles in The New Orpheus: Essays Toward a Christian Poetic join with Ross in rejecting Eliot. Allen Tate makes his well-known distinction between the "diseased" or "Angelic" imagination, which ignores the image to pursue essences, and the realistic imagination which starts with common, concrete things.[73] Nathan Scott, too, states his belief that Christianity supports a realistic artistic approach:

> Both the doctrine of Creation and the doctrine of the Incarnation, in reassuring us of the essential stoutness and reliability of the realm of the finite, contingent reality, have the effect of legitimizing the whole transaction whereby the artist's imagination mingles constitutively with the world.

Scott goes on to describe a new critical and artistic movement that has a "Christian theological perspective" and that looks for a Christian imagination "which knows that the only kind of wisdom attainable by the human creature is that which is won through a series of maneuvers by the analogical mind whereby the finite world is itself apprehended as our one way into what is ultimately real."[74]

It should be clear that Scott's anthology of Christian aesthetics abandons ecumenicity and turns toward a stoutly Protestant conception of the Eucharist and of the theory of the sign that derives from it. Malcolm Ross in "The Writer as Christian" emphasizes that "sacramentalism" is an act "which seeks to universalize itself." It is "not just an idea about an act." Nor is it, he says, "an act in support of obsolete forms of political and social organization."[75] In "Art and Theological Meaning," Amos Wilder as well finds that he is opposed to "superstition." He writes that "Our world explores the secular mystery in non-supernatural terms," concluding that "It is possible for the Gospel to be lived and thought and imaged so as to speak to these presuppositions."[76] The emphasis on the restitution of the "true" sacrament echoes the central issues of the Reformation, and

it might be useful here to summarize the differing views of art derived from the two opposing conceptions of the Eucharist. The "catholic" tradition is most obviously represented by Eliot, Hopkins, and David Jones in poetry and in prose (more locally) by Morley Callaghan and John Buell (The Pyx). The artist's activity and his signs are vested with a holy or directly sacramental significance. In the Eucharist, water is spirit, wine is blood, and bread is the body. The god is present and the process is a ritual that in some sense reproduces the original divine intervention. The divine aspect of Christ receives the emphasis. Such a belief leads to an artistic activity that is "symbolic" in the Eliotic sense. In times when no Christian social structure supports the writer it leads to collecting fragments of the holy signs (The Wasteland, Anathemata) and to the attempted recovery, the "Dry Salvages," of Christian signs in Four Quartets. Buell and Callaghan, mutatis mutandis, can easily be fitted into this analysis. Ultimately, what is involved is the pursuit of divine essence (or, dialectically, the representation of the wasteland that results from its absence), a poetic or novelistic demonstration that God and tradition (Jones's "deposit" or res) are still with us. The poetic program of Eliot and Jones was very much a direct response to the general invalidation of Christian signs at the cultural-historical level or at the conscious and rational level; hence the heavily

ironic yet incantatory or oracular tone of much of their work. Hence, also, the sentimental aspects of the fiction of Callaghan and Buell, especially in their use of Eucharistic imagery.

At the ecclesiatical level, the questioning of the mass (and the subsequent rationalization of the ritual) was of course the central issue during the sixteenth century. Controversy over the Eucharist (and surging nationalisms) not only split the Christian world into Catholic and Protestant but also led to further schisms among the reformers. The consensus of the radicals (and of their contemporary followers) was that Luther and Zwingli early betrayed the ideals of the reformation. Of course, in making their peace with the secular powers and accepting the principle of a state church into which every citizen was born, they did much to re-establish a stable social and political fabric. They thereby abandoned, however, their theological commitment to the "sacramentarian" position (which held to a purely commemorative view of the Last Supper)[77] and returned to the conviction of "real presence." It was an inevitable reaction to the threat to order posed by the apostolic Christians going about baptizing each other, rejecting all institutional mediation and founding sects of believers everywhere. Luther and Zwingli soon joined the magistrates in the persecution of those radicals who persisted in a mystical or ethical interpretation of the Eucharist. These were Wiebe's theological and biological ancestors, those radical

reformers known as Anabaptists (because of their insistence on adult baptism) who held to the view that the Eucharist was a human act done in remembrance of the one unrepeatable act of the God-man; they emphasized the human and experiential (existential) aspect of Jesus.

Rudy Wiebe is by birth a Mennonite and by conversion a Christian of the apostolic sort. The two conditions are antithetical. In Wiebe's view they stand somewhat in the relationship of the Old Testament to the New, of the Hebrew God to Christ, of tradition and institutional authority to radical individualism, of law to love, of sight to in-sight. The conflict between received culture and individual revelation based on the example of Jesus provides Wiebe with the thematics of his two Mennonite novels, and analogues of the polarity are central to his other fictions. Wiebe is not a Mennonite novelist but a Christian one. His religious interpretation of experience and history assimilates, dominates, and "rewrites" all other interpretations, whether political, ethnic, elegiac, romantic, humanistic, or aesthetic. To clarify the necessary theological perspective, I turn now to a brief consideration of Mennonite history and of contemporary Anabaptist theology, an examination of Wiebe's considerable in-group theological writings, and an evaluation of what he himself has said about Christian storytelling.

CHAPTER ONE: "THE FARMER, HIS SON, AND THE HOMELY CODES"

The mystical and social extremes of sixteenth-century charismatic sectarianism came to a bloody and inevitable end with the crushing of Thomas Müntzer's peasant uprising (1524-1525) and with the slaughter of those revolutionary Anabaptists who had reigned in Münster (1535) for eighteen months preparing the city for an imminent millenium. Although Christian communism in a non-violent and non-proselytizing form was to survive to the twentieth century among the Hutterites, as an effective force in public life it came to an end in the sixteenth century.[1] The failure of violent attempts to re-order society according to the principles of the gospel led surviving evangelical Anabaptists to emphasize the more submissive, pacifist, and ethical aspects of Christian doctrine. They abandoned society to the Caesars and "taught that no other condition of the world than the existing one was to be looked for, and that mankind must adapt themselves to it."[2] One of the major forces in institutionalizing the revolution, so to speak, was Menno Simons, a Dutch priest who renounced Catholicism in 1534, but who also preached openly against the revolutionaries at Münster. Because of his theological training, Simons was able to articulate clearly "the true nature of a believer's church: pure doctrine, scriptural use of sacraments, ethical obedience, love of neighbour, a clear and open witness to the faith, and a willingness to suffer."[3] He introduced a morally suasive congregational disci-

pline, and, by defending Anabaptist faith against the theological attacks of Catholic and Protestant and by confidently denouncing the distortion of doctrine by extremists, he did much to ensure the survival of a movement whose early leaders had been executed, a movement that by its very nature was susceptible to schisms and doctrinal quibbling. So effective and normative was Simons's consolidating influence that large numbers of Dutch and Swiss Anabaptists followed his teaching. These eventually became known as Mennonites.

E. K. Francis has summarized what these teachings were. I cite at length:

> Doctrines and religious practices of the various branches of Evangelical Anabaptism were remarkably similar. They were opposed to the excessive emphasis on grace and the inner experience of justification, together with election, as expounded by Luther and Calvin, but stressed freedom of the will, individual responsibility for moral conduct and, above all, the imitation of Christ. . . . The Anabaptists rejected tradition and a thousand years of church history, and insisted upon a revival of the Apostolic church as described in the New Testament. To them, the only true church was the community of those who had been regenerated by the Holy Spirit, a brotherhood of the saved and saints bound together by the precepts of the Sermon on the Mount. This concept of the church of Christ is also responsible for their practice of adult baptism upon personal profession of faith and proof of consecration. Since they denied both the doctrine of original sin and the sacramental character of Baptism and the Lord's Supper, the ceremony of baptizing new members was considered as but a symbol of spiritual rebirth and commitment to discipleship, and as a rite of admission to God's visible church. Similarly, they believed that anyone who committed a grave sin after his admission to the church was, <u>ipso facto</u>, excluded from it until he made full repentance and restitution. This explains the rather lavish use of the church ban by most Anabaptist groups. . . . The state they considered an institution of God which must be obeyed but it was, to their mind, an order outside the Christian church. Thus government, police

> and military force were thought to be necessary only for sinners, while brotherly advice and, at most, excommunication were sufficient social controls within the community of saints. Evangelical Anabaptists refused to participate in public affairs or to hold any civil office. By taking literally Christ's words in the Sermon on the Mount, "Swear not at all," they refused to take any oath, even a civil oath.[4]

At first the sect was united only by these religious beliefs and practices, but history eventually forged it into a sort of theocratic ethnic group. The Mennonite response to persecution and to the un-Christian demands of the state (like military service) became a consistent one of "withdrawal, flight, emigration, and, if possible, retreat to remote places of the globe."[5] As early as the seventeenth century some went to America, most notably the Amish from Switzerland. When persecution ceased in Holland about 1574, thousands of others (including Wiebe's ancestors) had already fled to East Prussia, to the Vistula River area of what is now Poland. There they remained for two hundred years, mainly as farmers and businessmen. At the same time, the group became Germanicized to the extent that the German of the Lutheran Bible became the language of the church. When eighteenth-century Prussian militarism and increasing persecution again made emigration seem a necessity to those with high principles, a large percentage of Prussian Mennonites chose to settle virgin prairie in the Ukraine. Upon the invitation of Catherine II of Russia, who desired skilled farmers for the frontier, about 1600 families founded "72 villages with landholdings amounting to 500,000 acres."[6] This migration lasted from 1788 to about 1835.

The paradox of the Russian experience was that a religious cult became an ethnic group.[7] Because of the special laws enacted by Catherine, immigrant settlers were kept separated from the native population. Mennonite settlements became corporate colonies, closed social systems isolated by law, language, and dogma from the larger society. Contrary to all Anabaptist principles, the church in these micro-societies became charged with economic and political responsibilities. The criterion for church membership was no longer faith but birth; brotherhood "became coextensive as to territory and personnel."[8] Rapid progress and worldly success weakened the religious energy of the group. The Mennonites became a theocracy, a community "whose conspicuous secular successes were bought at the price of institutionalization of religion and secularization of the inner life of the group."[9] It is these cultural and ethnic aims of the church that Deacon Block so powerfully and anachronistically represents in Peace Shall Destroy Many. Measures taken to ensure the survival of the group inevitably came into conflict with Anabaptist values.

Russian peasants were liberated in 1861, and the special privileges and corporate colonies of the Mennonites were abolished (in a legal sense) ten years later. Compulsory military service and Russian as the compulsory language of instruction in Mennonite schools again caused the Mennonites to emigrate, this time to America, Canada, and South America. That migration, which began

in 1870, became headlong flight by 1922.[10] As a result of emigration and of Stalin's well-known and bloody methods of dealing with political undesirables and ethnic minorities, the Mennonites as an identifiable group had disappeared from the Soviet Republic by the end of World War II.

Since Wiebe is more interested in faith than in ethnic chronicle, I turn now to an account of the Mennonite rediscovery of the Anabaptist vision. Wherever the Mennonites went, their stout and pragmatic adherence to the Protestant work ethic ultimately led to their worldly success, often in spite of incredible physical obstacles and unsettled, and sometimes tragic, political and economic circumstances. As we have seen, however, material gains were won at the cost of Anabaptist ideals, and Mennonite internal history is marked by periodic and intense evangelization.

A good example is the schism of 1860, which brought into being the Mennonite Brethren, the sect into which Wiebe was born. As a result of the evangelization of Russian Mennonite communities and aided by the presence of numerous landless individuals legally unable to leave the colonies to start new farms, eighteen men set up a separate church in an attempted restitution of original Anabaptist principles. They were seen as a threat to the survival of the group, and the Deacon Blocks of the dominant Mennonite culture invoked the Russian penal code according to the mandate given them by Catherine. Members of the Mennonite Brethren were

subjected to threats, arrests, loss of land; some were even sentenced to labour camps. In Wiebe's own words:

> Seen in this light, the Mennonite Brethren movement of 1860 is not a reformation move; it is a revolt. The brethren have despaired of reforming the church from within; they write themselves out of it even before they are banned; they consciously separate as a witness, a witness to their rediscovery of originally seen clarities now lost in Russia under an eighty-year murk of fat special privilege living.[11]

The North American Mennonite experience has been marked by a similar return to first principles, at least at the academic level. Wealth and urbanization brought private high schools, colleges, and theological seminaries. Especially in America, farmers and businessmen supported scholarly research into the history and theology of Anabaptist and Mennonitism. The major consequence of this research has been evangelical; Mennonite teachers, ministers, and missionaries, trained in these institutions, returned to their communities or mission posts with an apostolic fervour and a renewed sense of the necessity of cutting the "cultural hangman's noose."[12] Every one of Wiebe's uncompromised Mennonite heroes belongs to this group, as does Wiebe himself. In Peace Shall Destroy Many, Joseph Dueck holds up the anti-ethnic and Anabaptist light toward which Thom Wiens stumbles. Similarly, all of the characters of The Blue Mountains of China must finally measure themselves by the faith and ethics of the cross-carrying apostle, John Reimer. The immediate goal of the Anabaptist "renaissance," as of John Reimer, was to evangelize North American Mennonites seen as trapped in ethnicity

and mired in all sorts of functional compromises with worldly ambitions. Thus, Mennonite scholarship has concerned itself mainly with "the recovery of the Anabaptist vision."[13]

According to Harold S. Bender (the most prominent of Mennonite scholars because of his work on the Mennonite Encyclopedia) the Anabaptist vision rests on "the great principles of freedom of conscience, separation of church and state, and voluntarism in religion," all widely accepted now but first enunciated by the Anabaptist martyrs of the sixteenth century.[14] "An action program of definiteness and power," the Anabaptist vision is the culmination of the Reformation, "the fulfilment of the original vision of Luther and Zwingli." It is "a consistent evangelical Protestantism seeking to recreate without compromise the original New Testament church, the vision of Christ and the Apostles." The church is a brotherhood of saints, "a fellowship of true Christians only," who have undergone personal conversion and regeneration and who have made a mature decision for Christian discipleship based on the apostolic "new ethic of love and non-resistance." The program is personal, psychological, individual, and existential; it involves "carrying out and realizing the Christian doctrine and faith in the heart and life of every Christian." Theology is but a means to an end. Conversion and baptism are but "the outward expression of the inner experience." Only adult baptism can "signify an intelligent life commitment." "The absolutely essential heart

of the concept" is "voluntary church membership based upon true conversion and involving a commitment to holy living and discipleship."[15]

Nothing that Bender writes is contradicted by orthodox Mennonite scholarship. For example, John Wenger gives a more detailed and historical account of the Anabaptist vision. Ultimate authority rests not in an institution but in the individual's interpretation of the New Testament. All Christians have direct access to God through the mediation of Christ. The Eucharist is not a direct and automatic means of Grace but only a "memorial symbol." Like Bender, Wenger places the emphasis on personal conversion followed by a life of radical discipleship in imitation of Christ.[16]

Wenger and Bender are also in agreement regarding what it means to "recapture the Anabaptist vision" in twentieth-century America. The evangelistic and missionary fervour of the early Anabaptists must be reinstated. The gospel must be brought to all men, and believers must be gathered into "God's kingdom, the church." Thanks to scholarship, Christians today have a "greater historical consciousness" and will link "hands with [the] martyr-evangelists as they walked in the ways of Christ." To recover the spiritual vigour of the Anabaptists means that "the quiet inner piety" of ethnic Mennonitism must be replaced by "an aggressive spirit which personally assumes the obligations of Christian discipleship in the face of a hostile world."[17]

The logical consequences of this doctrine are radical and anarchic, as the story of Christ shows. Suffering and persecution are a structural necessity of the myth. Since the social order rests ultimately on force, Anabaptist theologians argue that the priorities of the state can never be those of the Christian who rejects the use of power and coercion in all relationships. Yet the state has, John Yoder believes, a function within the Anabaptist view of history: "The good are to be protected, the evildoers are to be restrained, and the fabric of society is to be preserved, both from revolution and war."[18] According to Yoder, God allows the state to exist so that the work of His saints may go forward. Thus, the New Testament view of history is Jesus-centered. In terms that Christian historiography has used from its beginning, history has a meaning only when understood through the redemption. What Yoder understands and emphasizes is that "history is the framework in which the church evangelizes."[19] I might add that this concern for law and order shown by Yoder is typical of Anabaptist scholarship. As George Williams has pointed out, contemporary Anabaptists take considerable pains to separate themselves from Müntzer's more material way of changing society.[20] Among the bourgeois, it is the usual effort to avoid object-loss. For the committed Christians like Wiebe, the fear of revolution seems to be based on a sincere belief in the doctrine of love.

Rudy Wiebe was educated in this modern Anabaptist tradition.

After spending the first twelve years of his life in a Mennonite Brethren pioneer community in northern Saskatchewan, he moved with his family to Coaldale, Alberta. There he attended the private Alberta Mennonite High School, a school whose teachers would have had some of their education in Mennonite Bible schools and theological colleges. Had Wiebe followed the usual pattern for the training of Mennonite apostles, he would have gone directly to a theological college. What makes him interesting, however, is that his career throughout is marked by an effort to deal with secular culture while maintaining the purity of his faith. Thus, from 1952 to 1960 his education was secular. He received a B.A. from the University of Alberta in 1956, spent a year at the University of Tübingen on a Rotary Scholarship, and returned to the University of Alberta to lecture and to write his M.A. thesis (Peace Shall Destroy Many, 1960). Thereafter he attended the Mennonite Brethren Bible College in Winnipeg, earning a Bachelor of Theology in 1961. For the next two years he remained in Winnipeg to edit the newly-founded Mennonite Brethren Herald, a church paper whose announced purpose is "to keep church members informed of the work of God in their denomination—and beyond—and to stimulate growth in spiritual understanding and Christian responsibility." From 1963 to 1966 he taught English at Goshen College, a Mennonite liberal arts college in Indiana. During this time he also attended the University of Iowa as a creative-writing student and held a Canada

Council grant for the writing of First and Vital Candle (1966). After one year as associate professor of creative writing at Iowa State (1966-1967), Wiebe returned to Canada and to his present employment as professor of English at the University of Alberta (Edmonton).[21]

It is plain that Wiebe's career, like the subject-matter of his novels, is marked by a movement away from the explicitly theological. Nowhere, however, is there any indication or suggestion that Wiebe is abandoning his Anabaptist principles. His statement to Donald Cameron, that he "was trying to live what the original Anabaptists were about,"[22] is plain enough, but it carries only a hint of the religious commitment of his considerable in-group writings. These consistently demonstrate a concern for a living and witnessing discipleship in harmony with the Anabaptist vision as I have summarized it.

To what extent Wiebe was instrumental in persuading the Mennonite Brethren Conference of Canada to sponsor an official weekly, I do not know, but I suspect he was a major force. Wiebe edited The Mennonite Brethren Herald conscientiously for seventy-four weeks, from its first number (Jan. 19, 1962) to Volume 2 No. 26 (June 28, 1963). His regular editorials make clear that by this time he was no Thom Wiens, uncertain of his theology or faith. Perhaps he was doing a sort of ecclesiastical penance, making a final attempt to come to terms with the doctrinally rigid "official church" into which he was born.

Certainly the tension between a rule-bound, ethnic-oriented institution and Wiebe's radical Christian individualism is apparent from his first editorial to his last. Significantly, however, for his later development, he takes throughout a strategically restrained editorial line, rhetorically balancing his radical beliefs (as church members would have perceived them) against a realistic evaluation of what his readers and the deacons could understand and accept. The rhetorical problem of effective "witness" through print was already one of his central concerns.

Since the editorials are not readily available, in what follows I summarize and quote widely in an attempt to give some sense of the pietistic fundamentalism of Wiebe's origins. As his career makes clear, Rudy Wiebe thought and wrote himself a long way from the more narrow aspects of the Mennonite Brethren community, but in some ways he never escapes its populism, its anti-intellectualism, its prudery.

The tension between Wiebe and his deacons is apparent on the first page of the first issue. J. H. Quiring, the "moderator of the Canadian M.B. Conference" introduces the paper in terms of ecclesiastical generalities: it will "strive to educate and to edify; . . . to foster love and loyalty for Christ and His Church; . . . it will present to us the physical and spiritual plight of man and the bountiful provisions of God in Christ Jesus." Finally, Quiring emphasizes that "it will publish

our doctrines and proclaim our duties."[23] Wiebe's opening editorial on the same page is more tough-minded and specific. With respect to dealing with "serious problems," the paper will not follow the common institutional method of "avoidance." Rather, it will follow the method of "biblical frankness in the right places." It will not reflect the "dourness" commonly associated with Christian institutions; rather, it "will record many joy-bringing experiences." Wiebe concludes:

> If the above objectives can begin to be accomplished, this paper will not be a herald of the Mennonite Brethren Church, but rather the Mennonite Brethren herald of Christ's liberating gospel to a sick and disillusioned world.

This exordium correctly describes the editorial direction of the subsequent sixty-four sermon-essays, their emphasis on individual "witness" and "evangelical outreach." Wiebe understands his readers to be believers in Christ, but also to be garrison-minded individuals too much concerned with a negative or repressive Christianity, too self-consciously dependent on their ethnicity, and too much compromised by materialism and middle-class ambitions. Consequently, he adopts a patient tone, speaking in a voice that encourages an active Christianity and a love-oriented openness to the "real" facts of the world.

Wiebe's editorial attack on "established Mennonitism," which he calls a "horrible" phrase ("Recognizing Ourselves," 9/3/'62) is controlled but consistent. We discover that Mennonite Brethren do not indulge in smoking, alcohol, dancing, mixed bathing, or other forms of "immoral" or "sinful" worldly

culture (1/6/'62; 7/12/'62; et passim). Yet everywhere Wiebe emphasizes that, although this external piety and sober-mindedness may well be characteristic of a Christian life, in itself such "sensible, middle-class behaviour" is "no more Christ-oriented" than the actions of "an atheistic humanist" ("On Exhibition For Christ," 17/8/'62). Rules are for children, and "the grey Christian reveals that his belief is still external to him: he has not yet found the driving power of God's law carved deep into his heart" ("Christianity in the Grey Zone," 18/5/'62).

In all aspects of life, actions based on "spirit-led thinking" are to replace the conventional external conformity of Mennonite ethnicity ("Foreign Missions Across the Street," 26/10/'62). In "Recognizing Ourselves" (9/3/'62), Wiebe cites approvingly the example of a Mennonite church in British Columbia that accepted an Indian convert. In "Away From the Mennonite Masses" (16/3/'62), he points to the sad truth that "our city churches tend to foster ethnic difference rather than Christian witness" and urges youthful brethren to move to non-Mennonite places "to form the nucleus of a church that will attempt to reach everyone for our Lord—not only those with Mennonite names." In the most vigorous editorial of all, "Primacy Over Family" (28/9/62), Wiebe attacks clan-dominated Mennonite Brethren churches. He cites Mathew 10: 34-39 in support of the radically anti-ethnic claim that "discipleship has primacy over family."

He continues:

> One of the great reasons we have not concerned ourselves with bringing non-Mennonites to the Church is because [sic], if we do, our sons and daughters may love them, marry them, and then somehow our close Mennonite family cliques will be smashed like Humpty-Dumpty, and not all the King's men of Mennonite tradition and Plattdeutsch will ever be able to put them together again.

In one editorial Wiebe carefully suggests that even dancing might be justified, citing the example of a girl whose "Christ-centered radiancy" gave her the confidence "to speak to her partners about Christ while dancing" ("Old Proverbs Revisited: The Bow Kept Taut is Useless on the Day of Battle," 1/6/62). In all of these editorials, it is apparent that Wiebe is aiming mainly at the younger, more apostolically-educated reader. Ecclesiastical questions are ignored in favour of "gospel witness" and "Christian outreach."

Since these terms appear essential to Wiebe's thought, one might well ask what they mean in a specific sense. Although Wiebe separates himself clearly from ethnic passivity, he also as definitely rejects mass-media Christianity and high-pressure proselytizing. In "Avoiding the High School Hothouse" (1/3/'63), he speaks against "'raise-your-hand' evangelistic campaigns," which apparently were regularly conducted in Mennonite high schools and colleges. "I am for evangelism," he writes, "but not to a captive audience." What Billy Graham and foreign missionaries do in their electronic or exotic ways is significant Christian activity, but for the ordinary man foreign

missions should start "across the street" (26/10/'62), in ordinary "service opportunities" (9/2/'62). A "Christ-follower" should be defined "by what he does" [Wiebe's italics]:

> Do I actually do something to show my belief? How many unsaved friends do I have? Do I ever invite them to my house, talk with them, drink a cup of coffee with them, show them how a Christian family lives? (26/1/'62)

A Christ-follower values education, "but the example of his Lord is always the final authority" (31/5/'63). Education is useful only to the extent that it prepares the Christian for a life of service. The "Beauty of learning to know" is "the beauty of preparing ourselves for a life of complete expendability in the service of our Creator and Master" (12/10/'62). Studying Mennonite history is justified only if we learn from earlier Anabaptists how they built on the foundation of Christ (23/11/'62). The Christ-follower is knowledgeable and open to world events. He "must remain informed, if for no other reason than that casual conversation about current affairs can often lead to fine verbal witness opportunities" ("Staying Informed," 14/9/'62).

Thus Wiebe's category seems finally to be a radically individual one. In urging the Christian to be on the alert for "quick-stringing" of his bow, Wiebe has defined more precisely what "verbal witness" means:

> Our actions are to be such that the non-Christian is roused to ask questions first; then the Christian testifies verbally. The question-provoking action precedes the verbal testimony. And with the verbal testimony the Christian moves from defense to offense.

Once contact has been made "we can trust God to help us lead the conversation" ("Old Proverbs Revisited: The Bow Kept Taut is Useless on the Day of Battle" (1/6/'62). Wiebe refers to I Peter 3:15 for support of this proselytizing tactic, but Peter speaks of answering "with meekness and fear." There is nothing fearful or pacifistic, however, about the metaphors Wiebe uses to describe the aggressive, but modest, "outreach" of a saved Christian (in the in-group sense, the phrase is, of course, redundant). For Wiebe, all experience appears to be measured in these individual terms, and his view of man, nature, society, and history is based on a biblically literal imitation of Jesus according to the Anabaptist vision described earlier.

Under this all-pervasive doctrine, the non-Christian is arrogantly held to be unhappy, confused, and sinful. One might ask what the context of action is for the Christ-follower, with his reductive, saved-unsaved view of psychology and with his manipulative view of human relations, which Wiebe seems to reduce to "opportunities for witness." In several editorials Wiebe makes clear that his views of history and politics and social reform are consistent with an apostolic Christianity.

He tells his readers that, although the dominant culture in North America is pagan, the "mother of the 'sixties must provide a home atmosphere of Christian love and discipline and testimony that will <u>woo</u>, and <u>win</u> and <u>keep</u> the child" (Wiebe's italics). Then the child will survive out in a world

where "every newspaper, radio, TV set, screams a godless, sensual materialism" (4/5/'62). The "Quiet Revolution" in Québec means only that "those thousands of lapsed, 'bad' Catholics are now, more than ever, open to the influences of the gospel" ("Quebec," 16/11/'62). Wiebe concludes: "We should be preparing more workers for Quebec." The 1963 Canadian federal election is "A Time For Prayer" (29/3/'63). The Bible teaches that God controls the affairs of nations, that "they move at His direction," Wiebe writes. The Christian intervenes in politics only by praying that politicians be granted God's help. Such prayer makes a "real difference." In "Moral Decay: A Time For Salt" (14/6/'63), however, Wiebe reminds his readers that "Christianity did not prevent Rome's disintegration, nor will it save democracy." Christians are not social reformers. They change the world "by letting [their] 'light shine' in living out the ministry of reconciliation, of seeking and saving." In "The Church and Politics" (27/4/'62), Wiebe suggests similarly that it is enough to send "out into all departments of life men to live and work there in the spirit of Christ" (quoting theologian James Denney). Upon the occasion of a Brethren leader's death in a car accident, Wiebe denies the existence of chance. Although "it is in the very bones of our sometimes God-alienated language that we cannot talk about the event . . . without sounding heathenish," Wiebe quotes Mathew 10 on the sparrows to remind his readers that "God's

hand held those two cars." "This is not fatalism," he writes; rather, "it is trust in God." We are reminded of "our beginning and our end" ("Accident," 13/7/'62). These understandings are crucial to Wiebe's later exploitation of biblical literalism in his historical novels and short stories. In general, God guides history, thereby providing a framework in which Christ-followers evangelize. In specific cases, history and accident operate correctively, reminding individuals of their true nature and responsibilities. "God must again and again use the whip of world crises," writes Wiebe, "to drive us back to our beliefs" ("Conscription For Military Service," 5/11/'62).

Early in his career as editor of The Mennonite Brethren Herald Wiebe saw his first novel published (autumn, 1962). As the reviews in Mennonite journals show,[24] Peace Shall Destroy Many shocked the Brethren community. Yet the views of the apostle Joseph Dueck in that novel are identical with those expressed by Wiebe in his editorials. When Wiebe resigned his editorship in April, 1963 (effective June 30), the ecclesiastical authority thanked him for "a creative and imaginative and aggressive approach" to his assignment (28/6/'63). In his last two editorials, however, Wiebe makes no apologies for his radical anti-ethnicity. "The church," he believes, "has transgressed into shallowness and materialism," and those brethren who do not believe in "frankness and openness" will have to examine their own consciences. He does ask for forgiveness

if he has been "too zealous in wrong causes." Thus, there may have been considerable relief on both sides when Wiebe left Winnipeg to teach at Goshen College in Indiana. In any case, it was already apparent in his Herald editorials that Wiebe was rapidly writing himself into the position of a sect of one, a radically Christian artist dedicating his life to the imitation of Christ. In the language of the saved, he is following his "call" wherever the Holy Ghost (and the homely codes) might lead.

In describing the phenomenon of Protestant conversion, William James in The Varieties of Religious Experience (1901) speaks of a shift in "the habitual centre of . . . personal energy" (James's italics). This shift makes a great difference to a man's "every thought and action":

> To say that a man is "converted" means, in these terms that religious ideas, previously peripheral in his consciousness, now take a central place, and that religious aims form the habitual centre of his energy.[25]

Not only is the psychology and behaviour of a converted individual radically different from the unconverted, but his view of the world and history also undergoes radical change:

> The world interpreted religiously is not the materialistic world over again, with an altered expression; it must have, over and above the altered expression, a natural constitution [James's italics] different at some point from that which a materialistic world would have. It must be such that different events can be expected in it, [that] different conduct must be required.[26]

In some ways, William James's classical analysis of religion is dated. He and Wiebe share an amazingly naive belief:

"the congruity of Protestant theology with the structure of the mind."[27] Nevertheless, in his pragmatism and psychology James is intellectually very close to Rudy Wiebe and, thus, a useful guide to the "born-again" mind.

Here James serves a reminder that the consequences of religious conversion are total. Wiebe's world-view is not for Wiebe a model or a metaphor; rather it is reality itself, one within which he discovers (with the help of revelation) all sorts of metaphors, analogies, and meaningful correspondences. Secular students of Wiebe's fiction must keep in mind that his artistic inspiration arises from being in personal contact with a god. The "born-again" world is one in which individuals do not have a career or an ambition; they have a mission or a "call," and Wiebe's editorials make plain that his personal "call" led him more and more from the ecclesiastical and ethnic community to his individual and contemporary mission to the Gentiles, into telling stories to a "hell-bound" world.

Wiebe uses this phrase in the editorial "Church Prospect: 1963: Speaking" (4/1/'63), where he calls for a creative kind of "outreach offensive." In several other of his Mennonite Brethren Herald editorials, Wiebe had also vigorously defended a non-conforming and creative witness, one that left the ethnic ghetto and moved aggressively and individually into the larger world. For instance, in "Unbound Gospel" (22/6/'62), Wiebe emphasizes that no matter how strange the methods of proclaiming

the Gospel might appear in different historical times and to different traditions of thought, "every Christian is its sower." In "Part of Something Big" (24/8/'62), he argues against centralized Christian institutions. There is no need of uniformity in "approaching this witness." He cites the biblical example of Paul and Barnabas, who apparently could not get along very well; so "they both went the way they were called of the Lord, witnessing and establishing churches each in his peculiar way."

In the few theological, in-group essays that Wiebe published between 1963 and 1971, he confronted the issue once again. In "For the Mennonite Church—A Last Chance," he takes up discursively the themes of Peace Shall Destroy Many and repeats his attack on ethnicity and institutional rigidity, the familiar concerns of his editorials, but here more sharply focussed. Throughout, Wiebe emphasizes adaptation and creative re-interpretation:

> For the Anabaptist vision to survive at all, it must be re-interpreted by men who will not fear to leave behind those things that deserve to be left there. The Mennonitism of culture is one of those things.[28]

Since the cultural-historical situation of present-day Anabaptists is totally different from that of the original ones, "we must look to the Holy Spirit for the new ways He would lead in our decade," being on the alert "for practical ideas to express the essence of our belief." These should be oriented toward local service, helping the poor and the weak; and toward

anything that would reawaken "a sense of sin in today's humanistic and conscience-deadened world."[29] For his efforts, Wiebe receives a sharp rebuke from John Hostetler:

> To war against the preferred ways . . . in hopes of a renewal or breakthrough is to misunderstand the nature of human groups. If there is a "last chance" for Mennonites it will be within the confines of blood and preferred ways of thinking.[30]

Wiebe's long impatience with this stolid and widespread ethnic resistance to his vision of apostolic renewal bursts out in "The Meaning of Being a Mennonite Brethren."[31] Written about the time The Blue Mountains of China was published and when Wiebe was already deep in research for The Temptations of Big Bear, the essay once again brands the established church as a rigid, but convenient, institution for an ambitious middle-class. It had failed to "break the ethnic barrier," and Wiebe is basically saying good-by to it, as if to "burn the bush" like the apostolic heroes of his two Mennonite novels . He is moving out into the secular and "conscience-deadened" world where he will be supported only by the few like-minded believers he can find or create wherever he may be, this small group being the significant and effective and real church of Christ. In 1964 he visited the community where he had been born and where he had spent the first thirteen years of his life, the community which became the Wapiti of Peace Shall Destroy Many. There was nothing left of it, and Wiebe wrote a nostalgic and sociological farewell, entitling the piece "Tombstone Community."[32] In

several ways, the ethnically-grounded church group had become for Wiebe a dead issue.

What never becomes a dead issue for Wiebe is the question of evangelical strategy. In one of the last theological essays he published, a paper delivered to a conference of professional apostles, Wiebe meditates once again upon what believers can do in a world which is secular, where to be a Christian "is to be a spiritual deviant."[33] He sets up three possible attitudes or actions for the brotherhood of true believers. The first of these is the return to the ghetto; the traditional Mennonite response to the world had been to form "a counter-community" in physical and spiritual isolation from the larger secular culture. This solution he rejects, mainly because "the whole approach cannot be reconciled with witness and love." The second possible strategy is that of "launch pad Christianity," which is the "church trying to be in the van of culture." This kind of fad-centred attempt to modernize the church he rejects as well: "The offense of the cross of Christ cannot be removed by adapting Christianity or some witnessing technique to a prevailing cultural phenomenon." Secular man would only have contempt for a church that compromises itself with advertising methods. After emphasizing that "the moral dynamic of western culture has separated itself (probably for good) from the Christian faith," Wiebe turns to what he considers the only option, the suffering and isolated follower of Jesus wandering in the

worldly desert:

> To be in the desert . . . means to be culturally uprooted; the culture which supported your worship before is gone, and the trust that faith will redeem the surrounding secular culture is our prayerful hope for the future. . . . Therefore, the first thing is surely to admit that we are in the desert. . . . Past forms are dead but the need to worship remains. Worship in the desert demands first, the recognition that faith is individual, is very personal . . . . Further, in marked contrast to the huge, impersonal secular culture, this worship will probably take place in smaller, personal groups and communities. A personal community of faith . . . is believers seeking to discover their faith as their own [Wiebe's italics]. . . . The Church gathers to worship, to mutually encourage, to confess, and to strengthen itself in its individual faith; then, after it has truly celebrated and adored its transcendent Lord in the fellowship, the church scatters to proclaim that Lord in its very living.[34]

This speech, written in 1971, is a clear description of evangelical Protestantism, a "faith-action-imitation" kind of totalizing belief identical with John Reimer's literary "witness" in The Blue Mountains of China (1970). In 1977, when Peter Gzowski (on 90 Minutes Live) asked Wiebe for a simple definition of his "Mennonitism," Wiebe said that apart from "adult baptism" it meant "being a disciple of Jesus Christ." He went on to specify that he was therefore "a follower who would like to make of his life the kind of thing he thinks Jesus Christ would make of his life if Jesus were living now."[35] In terms of "witness," evangelical Protestants see themselves (according to Herbert Butterfield in "Christians in the Coming Period of History") as primitive Christians in the same historical situation and with the same mission as "that first handful of Christians who carried the Gospels to the brilliant highly

civilised parts of the pagan Roman Empire."[36] There is no doubt that Wiebe understands his life and artistic labours as this sort of "primitive" discipleship.

Wiebe's opinions and beliefs, as summarized in this chapter, suggest that his religious conversion at an early age gave a permanent cast to his mind, in the sense of both "mold" and perceptual bias. Such teenage baptism is not "adult baptism," and for Wiebe certainly the major experiences of adulthood came after his conversion. These did not or could not change his biblical and evangelical convictions. Indeed, Wiebe's superior intelligence and considerable artistic talents seem to have combined throughout his life with the work ethic to shape all experience systematically to his own model of reality, without ever submitting that model to critical examination. What is of interest now is how this single-minded belief and purpose become literary.

CHAPTER TWO: TYPOLOGY, PARABLE, AND WIEBE'S CHRISTIAN POETICS

> There is but one onely sacrifice . . . CHRISTS death. And that sacrifice but once actually performed, at His death; but ever before represented, in figure, from the beginning; and ever since repeated, in memory, to the worlds end. That onely absolute; all else, relative to it, representative of it, operative by it. . . . That, the Center, in which their lines and ours, their types and our antitypes doe meet.
>
> --Lancelot Andrewe, XCVI Sermons (1631), p. 453.[1]

A peculiar blend of realism and Christian doctrine is the defining characteristic of Rudy Wiebe's fiction. His stories have an enigmatic quality, a strangeness that makes it difficult to "place" him within contemporary traditions of narrative. What lies behind this difficulty is plain enough; most modern literature exploits traditional patterns and symbolic systems, now emptied of belief, in an ironic or parodistic fashion. In Joyce's Ulysses, for instance, Bloom appears as the antitypical fulfilment of Odysseus in a secularized and democratic system of typology. The correspondence could also be classified as "retrospective typology," a postdating kind that Earl Miner has found to be "commonplace usage" in Western literature.[2] In the latter case, Bloom becomes a diminished post-figurative type of his more heroic antitype. Considered either way or both ways, the relationship is witty and ironic, rich in multiple meanings and in "historicity" (in that both vehicle and tenor are "real" and extended). Indeed, what Joyce seems to have done is systematically and

ironically displace the age-old Christian system of interpreting reality toward the literary and the classical. Dante did the same with classical figures. Wiebe, however, claims real existence (and demands belief) for both his fictional-historical events and the Christ-event, the antitype that provides the spiritual and moral interpretation for his characters. When translated into fictional practice, such beliefs produce concentrated and conscious experimentation with typology and parable.

In the strict sense, typology is the method of interpretation applied to the Old Testament by Christ, the apostles, and the early church for the purpose of supplying themselves with a legitimate history and for demonstrating a continuity of revelation between the old and the new dispensations.[3] Thus, they preserved the real historical nature of Jewish history, but they also showed that historical events prefigured God's plan for the redemption of man through Christ. As a method of biblical interpretation, typology eventually fell into disrepute because of the fanciful excesses it made possible. Erich Auerbach, however, argues that the method had far-reaching effects, that it was "a rebirth of creativity," and that the success of the early church had much to do with the concrete appeal and "living historicity" (as seen by believers) of the typological method:

> Figural phenomenal prophecy . . . had grown out of a definite historical situation, the Christian break with Judaism and the Christian mission among the Gentiles;

> it had a historical function. Its integral, firmly teleological view of history and the providential order of the world gave it the power to capture the imagination and innermost feeling of the convert nations.[4]

Auerbach goes on to make a clear distinction between "figural interpretation" and the more symbolic "spiritualist-allegorical-ethical method." Symbol and myth differ from *figura*:

> the symbol must possess magical power, not the *figura*; the *figura*, on the other hand, must always be historical, but not the symbol. Of course Christianity has no lack of magic symbols; but the *figura* as such is not one of them. What actually makes the two forms completely different is that figural prophecy relates to an interpretation of history—indeed it is by nature a textual interpretation—while the symbol is a direct interpretation of life and originally no doubt for the most part, of nature. Thus figural interpretation is a product of late cultures, far more indirect, complex, and charged with history than the symbol or myth.[5]

In its concrete approach to history, typology came to be applied to extra-biblical events.[6] Aided by the natural bent of the mind toward finding meaning by analogy, typology has been used by Christians to assimilate pagan material, to interpret non-biblical history, and most significantly as a system for making art and story. What remains a central problem and interest of medieval scholarship today is the extent to which medieval artists exploited typological and allegorical methods (developed for biblical interpretation) in what appears to be secular material. In pointing to the excesses of biblical and extra-biblical typological interpretations, J. R. Darbyshire has suggested that "typology has always flourished in times of ignorance and the decay of learning," but he concedes that there is a "very close association of typology with aesthetics,"

that the universal "love of mystery" is likely to give "a permanent vitality to devotional typology."[7] With this judgment Ziolkowski and others contributing to Earl Miner's Literary Uses of Typology (1977) are in substantial agreement. Artists have exploited typological methods throughout the course of western civilization after Christ, although Ziolkowski notes that "For a variety of reasons, the question of religious figuralism or typology must be redefined and restated when we reach the radically secularized writers of the twentieth century."[8]

Wiebe, of course, is not a secularized writer. He is by his own description a "spiritual deviant," a Christian writer in estranged historical circumstances. Like Romantic artists of an earlier period, Wiebe carries a vision that must be made public, but which also isolates him from his fellow man. He assumes a position of ethical and visionary superiority; no matter how much he may emphasize the necessity of being true to his craft and to life "as it is,"[9] the artistic program he must follow will differ absolutely from the non-totalizing and non-authoritarian visions of contemporary secular artists. It would be surprising if that program were not closely involved with typologizing historiography, since (as Earl Miner points out) Christian typology, in all its varieties and over the centuries, has been "developed into one of the fullest, most comprehensive and supple symbolic systems devised by the human mind in its encounter with experience in time."[10]

What must be explained in Wiebe's practice is not the presence of the antitype. The story of Christ gains most of its power, after all, from its radical simplicity and reductive clarity. The question is rather how Wiebe's documentary realism can be sacred. For typological criticism, the differences lie not so much in ultimate meanings as in the status of human life in relationship to the antitype. As I have suggested in the introduction, in Christian aesthetics that status derives by analogy from the theological exegesis of the Old Testament and the explication of how the old relates to the new dispensation.

Wiebe must thus be located theologically in relationship to "the hermeneutical divide,"[11] the gap between letter and spirit (between nature and doctrine, between the Old Testament and the New) that theological interpretation attempts to bridge. Since this study sets out to describe how Wiebe's fiction represents his effort to bridge that gap aesthetically, it is necessary here only to establish terminology and broad limits.

Protestants are "a hermeneutically minded group,"[12] since every man must be a biblical exegete if he is to apply the Bible's meaning to his own life. Although both pre-Reformation and post-Reformation writers understood tropology and typology, in general the shift was away from moral allegory toward typology.[13] Barbara Lewalski describes "certain characteristic Protestant alterations in the traditional typological formulae" as follows:

> Medieval four-level exegesis had of course provided for the personal application of the Scripture text as the third or tropological level of meaning—quid agas, moral allegory, in the familiar formula. But this formula was discredited by the Reformation clarion call of the 'one sense of Scripture,' the literal meaning. . . . However, Protestant exegetes found typological symbolism to be an inseparable part or dimension of the literal sense. . . . the shift in emphasis in reformation theology from quid agas to God's activity in us made it possible to assimilate our lives to the typological design, recognizing the biblical stories and events, salvation history, not merely as exemplary to us but as actually recapitulated in our lives. These various impulses led to a new, primary focus upon the individual Christian, whose life is incorporated within, and in whom may be located, God's vast typological patterns of recapitulations and fulfillments operating throughout history. This new focus upon the individual does not deny the traditional identification of the incarnate Christ as the antitype who fulfills all the types, forma perfectior, but it does promote new emphases and new formulations in typology, and does permit the use of such formulations in literary treatments of individuals presumed to be assimilated into God's typological design.[14]

Support for the precision of Lewalski's distinctions can be found everywhere in James Preuss's From Shadow to Promise: Old Testament Interpretation From Augustine to the Young Luther. What was at stake throughout the Christian ages was the real life of the Old Testament and, by analogical extension to literature and life, the concreteness of the body and history. Early in the book, Preuss sums up the Manichaean and Marcionite objections to the Old Testament as well as the response of the church:

> [The Old Testament's] crudity and the patent "immorality" of its God and its saints proved that it was no revelation of the God and Father of Jesus Christ. The answer of the Church to this reproach was allegorical or typological exegesis, whereby the Old Testament was demonstrated to have been speaking in figures, types, and parables of

> things to come. In a very important—perhaps fatal—sense, however, the Fathers agreed with Marcion: taken in its literal, historical meaning, the Old Testament has little to offer as a book for Christians.[15]

In detail, Preuss then describes the varying medieval interpretations to 1513, and finally turns to Luther's recovery of the reality of Old Testament life during his First Psalm's lectures.[16] Luther "finally thought himself into the pre-advent situation, where . . . he found a rich theological reward."[17] This reward was mainly that the Old Testament people "ceased to be just carnal, just a figura." Luther could now identify his situation with that of the "Old Testament faithful" and see their "struggle for faith in face of all the contraria of Israel's historical existence" as "a model for Christian faith" for believers in any historical period.[18] In short, Luther has "moved from 'tropological' identification and conformity with Christ to a 'moral' identification with the Old Testament faithful—not in 'morality' but in the quality of their faith."[19] According to Preuss, Luther thus provides at the moral level "a new locus for identification, conformity and imitatio," a movement from a "sacramental hermeneutic" to a "promise hermeneutic."[20] If I understand all this, one now imitates Christ by loving one's neighbour. Instead of loving Christ directly, one does so by imitating the Old Testament faithful in their faith.

The "hermeneutical divide" between "shadow" and "real life under promise" provides a scale by which to measure Wiebe's

treatment of the Indians and other "pagans" (Anabaptist villains like Herb Unger in Peace Shall Destroy Many) in their pre-advent situation (communal or psychological). Given the ways of thinking available to a writer with his beliefs, Wiebe could hardly do otherwise than assimilate this "old" material typologically and tropologically. On the basis of Anabaptisy theology, Wiebe (like the radical reformers of the Reformation) must be separated somewhat from Luther's stress on grace and election; the Anabaptist vision would place more emphasis on individual moral responsibility in imitation of the historical Jesus in his role as sympathetic teacher. The radical Protestant, I think, would place less emphasis on prophecy and promise than did Luther. As well, the moralistic or prudish aspects of Wiebe's background give Wiebe certain Marcionite leanings, with an accompanying tendency to moral allegory or tropology in his early work (christo-mimetic figures rather than verisimilar individuals imitating Jesus).

Another medieval distinction, mutatis mutandis, sheds light on Wiebe's poetics. The allegory of the poets (allegory of words) consisted of invention, of personification, and of allegorical and "decorative" identification between non-biblical or classical figures. Bernardus Silvestris labelled this type of writing oratio sub fabulosa narratione (discourse as narrative fabulation). To this he opposed the allegory of the theologians (the allegory of event), describing it as oratio sub historica

narratione (discourse as historical narration).[21] This historical narration clearly refers not only to Old Testament interpretation but also to the interpretation of current events. It would probably have included hagiography.[22] Whatever the medieval reference, I like the resonance and the accuracy of oratio sub historica narratione as a label for Wiebe's theological allegoresis, his biblical interpretations of his Mennonite and prairie past.

The strange double movement by which the Protestant Reformation brought forth a modern sense of history while retaining a normative and providential explanation of that history appears to derive from the protesting return to the "primitive" faith of the apostolic church. Earl Miner describes that dialectic as follows:

> The whole point of the Reformation was a historical one. Over the centuries the church had grown corrupt and needed reformation. To that end, Christianity had to return--at the peril of yielding to babylonish whoredoms--to the ages of primitive faith, to a prisca veritas. Paradox that it is, this return to an older purity implied a contrary temporal emphasis, the possibility for true improvement in time . . . .[23]

According to Miner, a people with this sense of history believed both in the possibility of progress and in the importance of its own particular period in time. Miner concludes that "Typology necessarily played a more important role than tropology to people thinking such things."[24] Wiebe of course is very intent upon imitating the early church. Given the parallels he saw between his situation and that of Jesus and his disciples, it

is not surprising that his doctrinal realism is directly inspired by the narrative methods of the Gospels.

Christ's use of the parable is already a rhetorical adaptation of a technique developed by analogy from the typological interpretation of the Old Testament, reinforced by the long Rabbinical tradition of the māshāl and by the equally long Greek tradition of the fable and the parable.[25] The parable is an illustrative discourse, a teaching that is stated enigmatically in narrative form. It is an extended similitude that depicts a naturalistic human situation so as to veil, but also to reveal, the Christian mysteries and their existential imperatives. The parable is enigmatic and paradoxical because the earthly event it describes is structured so as not only to suggest a meaning beyond itself but also (and more importantly) to act as "a calculated trap for meditation"[26] leading to inner change.

Angus Fletcher as well emphasizes the hortatory and reminding aspects of the parable:

> Parables do not analyze social systems so much as they remind the listener of his beliefs. The moral and spiritual stress of the form falls upon memory rather than on the critical faculty. The audience hearing the parable is assumed to share a communal truth but perhaps to have set it aside or forgotten it.[27]

Seen as historically true, Christian doctrine and Jesus and his actions provide the principles of organization and selection while the mask of the realistic situation protects the "truth" from the profane but at the same time makes it available by

the insinuation of analogy. The parabolic narration traps the unsympathetic hearer into dropping his prejudices and participating in a fiction that will lead him to change and to act.

In A Preface to Chaucer: Studies in Medieval Perspectives, D. W. Robertson uses Paul's allegorical interpretation of Sarah and Agar (Gal. 4 ff.) to show how typology worked in late medieval art. Isaac carries firewood to his own sacrifice and thus reminds us of "Christis burden of the Cross." But Isaac is also "a man like ourselves"; he becomes "an historical exemplar whose action suggests something about the inner life and obligation of the observer." Robertson's summary is instructive:

> In technical language, typology employs allegory to imply tropology, which is its ultimate aim. "Typology" requires careful and systematic organization, it is instructive in an exemplary fashion, and, at the same time, it contains that element of the enigmatic necessary to what the medieval mind considered to be aesthetic appeal. The relationship between the two elements, old and new, is implied rather than stated, but the spiritual meaning for the individual which arises from their combination is something which can result only from the intellectual effort of the observer.[28]

To "reform" this medieval principle of artistic teaching and to make it descriptive of Rudy Wiebe's fiction, I would substitute "totalizing religious mind" for "medieval mind" and then rewrite the formula as follows: typology employs parable to imply tropology. To make people "better" is what Wiebe's Christian teaching in fiction is all about.

In a sense this system of teaching betrays the community for the sake of the salvation of the individual. Christ used parables when teaching the multitudes and direct exposition of the truth when speaking to his disciples:

> And he said unto them, Unto you it is given to know the mystery of the kingdom of God: but unto them that are without, all these things are done in parables: That seeing they may see, and not perceive; and hearing they may hear, and not understand: lest at any time they should be converted and their sins should be forgiven them.[29]

It is a rhetorical strategy that is neither liberal nor democratic but it was Christ's strategy, and it is Wiebe's central fictional technique. The prerogatives of vision allow no other if the apostle wishes to find listeners in a society that does not share or support his belief.

Thus, Wiebe is attempting to show the significance of history to modern man in the light of the Christ-event. In trying to make contemporary and applicable the historical truth of the Incarnation, Wiebe operates in fundamental analogy to the historical situation of Christ vis-à-vis the Old Testament and that of the apostles in their mission to the Gentiles. Wiebe wants to show that the same truths still have force in the twentieth century, that whether one considers Mennonite history or the North-West Rebellion one finds evidence of continuous revelation, that the imperatives of the Christ-model lie upon corrupt post-Christian man, and that even in Canadian pagan history Wiebe seeks prefigurations

of the Incarnation. At many different levels, then, Wiebe's fiction consists of a dialectic between the old and the new, the type and the antitype, between historical fact and historical significance, between the Christ-model and the Protestant saints that appear in most of Wiebe's narrations. In these terms, Rudy Wiebe has been endlessly experimental and innovative.

In interviews and elsewhere, Wiebe has been remarkably coy about specifying his theory of fiction. He is fond of saying that the critics can figure it out.[30] Given that the cultural context is unsympathetic to Christian artistic witness, one can accept this reticence as necessary and pragmatic. Like any other rhetorically-oriented writer, he would draw attention to the story and away from its ideology and method. At the same time, he is quite willing to give public and explicit witness that his consciousness and vocation are Christian, but will refuse to admit that this makes him different from other writers.

In 1973, when asked how being a Mennonite and a Christian shaped him and the things he considered writing about, his answer can be considered representative of similar statements elsewhere:

> I've always felt pretty strongly about my Christian vocation. I'm a Christian so I write from that viewpoint, there's no point in being apologetic about it. I write like a Christian just as Camus writes as an existentialist. There is a great deal of formula writing—mystery stories, science fiction—which you just write for a market, to sell. There's no soul, no spirit in that. To write the kind of stuff that I do you have to write out of yourself, genuinely. You write with what you have at hand, with your own beliefs.[31]

In the Cameron interview, Wiebe speaks freely of "trying to live

what the original Anabaptists were about," being a stumbling stone to the sinful demands of the state and of structured society. At the same time he denies that he is consciously and manipulatively writing Christian fiction:

> I never consciously think of writing a so-called Christian novel. I don't think Albert Camus ever thought of writing an existentialist novel, either. I think of getting at, of building, a story; but I don't consciously say to myself It's got to be a Christian story. That's the thing that's most meaningful to me, but consciously reminding myself would be like going around consciously reminding myself, Oh, I've got to eat now, because I am hungry. . . . If you are what you are, and what you're making is any good, it's there anyway; you don't have to spell it out. Sometimes I don't trust this kind of thing enough yet, the gut instinct of writing, but all I really am concerned about is developing the skill, the craft, of working out the story and building the story. The story itself and the theories and the psychological way of looking at the world, and everything that comes out of it, will be there already.[32]

Thus, at the time that he was writing Big Bear, Wiebe refused any formal, Christian theory of fiction, linking such a theory with formulaic, evangelical novels. When Cameron urges him still to divulge some principle by which he selects among all the historical facts and events, Wiebe says only that some things feel "right," that some events are particularly "revealing," that "some actions are more indicative of world views than others."[33]

Wiebe is too much the apostolic and human imitator of Christ to say directly that he is imitating Christ as artist. His comments on the fictional strategies of the historical Christ, however, leave little doubt that his model is Jesus

in his historical, human, pedagogical, and storytelling mode:

> For the artist knows, and this is a fundamental principle of all art, that some of the most important things we as human beings must understand cannot be come by directly. They can be seen and shown only by the indirection of art: by metaphor, by symbol, if you like. That is why fiction is so important. Without particularly trying, while concentrating on the shaping of a story, of characters, of events, by means of artistic indirection the novel will inevitably teach, and that more profoundly and eloquently than either history or sermon. By means of metaphor and make-believe we can explore what Sir Philip Sidney [sic] called, "the divine consideration of what is, what may be, or what should be."
>
> How do we come to grips, for example, with such immense topics as life, the resurrection, love, the kingdom of God—God Himself—except by metaphor, that is, fiction? . . . This [Paul's explanation of resurrection, I Cor. 15: 35-38] is simply metaphor—fiction, if you like, which explains that which is incomprehensible in any other form. Our Lord used this form of teaching almost exclusively; the parable is the simplest form of fiction.
>
> A novel is extended fiction: in one sense it is nothing more than a long, drawn-out metaphor consistently and artistically worked out to its logical summation. . . . The novelist knows that the most important things he would say simply disappear if he attacks them head-on and blurts them out. They can be said only by indirection. And while they are being said in this way, the novelist will be criticizing, be witnessing, to the whole extent of which he is capable. Who knows, at that moment it may be more profound than a sermon.[34]

Similarly, in the Cameron interview, when Wiebe is asked about how facts are to be presented, his thoughts return easily to Jesus as model:

> What's so radical about the way Jesus looks at things is that he refuses to look at facts the way people usually look at them. I think this is really why Jesus tells so many stories, to make people look at facts in a different way, and this is what a fiction writer can so beautifully do.[35]

"Language is often parabolic,"[36] Wiebe has said, but what seems more to interest him is Christ's use of language as

parabolic revelation. For Wiebe, this revelation begins with names, proper nouns, which are not only the "beginning of language," the way that man "dominates his environment,"[37] but also hints of divine meaning revealed to human comprehension.[40] Analysis of Wiebe's novels and short stories will show the complex Anabaptist ironies of his fictional meditations upon such names as "les Bois-Brûlés," Almighty Voice, and Wandering Spirit. This original revelation found in names Wiebe finds extended in the way Jesus tells stories. In 1980 he says exactly what he had said in 1964:

> To me, this [naming] is the genius of Jesus. He expressed his world view by telling stories. A person who wants to express a different world view than has been expressed before does not come around talking about philosophic principles. That's the back-assed way of doing it. You should begin with the stories and then deduce the principles. . . . That is the way all great minds work, I think. Not the other way around. The power of Jesus over the power of St. Paul is exactly that. Jesus tells the stories and you work them out for you[r]self. St. Paul comes along with the principles and gets everybody mad. Even though Jesus and St. Paul were basically talking about the same things.[38]

Of course, "great minds" do not work like that, but those of master propagandists do. The point is that Wiebe sees himself as practicing a Christian witness in a vocation that he makes Christian by imitating Christ even to the structural principles and teaching strategies of parabolic narration. As perceived by the Christian readers of popular Christian novels, this imitation brings Wiebe to as radical a view of Christian story-telling as he holds of ethnicity. It is important to see him,

at least momentarily, from this perspective, because early in his career he was clearly more concerned with the opinions of his evangelical colleagues and of educated Mennonites, concerned with the response of average Christian readers rather than with the critical responses of the secular world. In terms of audience reaction, he wrote inside an interesting paradox. For traditional Christians, his novels were too "realistic," too "seamy," too little explicitly evangelical. For secular readers, they were too solemn, too moral, too theological.

Consistently in his interviews and literary essays, Wiebe returns to a cluster of ideas clearly related to the attempt at making effective Christian art in a secular desert, to the effective imitation of Christ in the present time.

The first of these is his attack on the formulaic, evangelical novel, most extensive in "The Artist as Witness To and Critic Of Society" (1964) and repeated more briefly in the Alan Twigg interview (1980). Great art and "lasting relevance" have little to do with either the personality of the artist or "situational propaganda"; rather, they have "everything to do with how the problem is handled." Then he launches his attack on Christian propaganda:

> Many Christians, however, believe that the Christian has a right to attempt a novel only if it is of this immediately propagandizing sort. That is, the novelist should use whatever skill he has in manipulating words and concocting plots to set up an unequivocable signpost pointing to the damnedness of the world without Christ and, as an ultimate feature, making the Gospel attractive to all who

> are so damned. . . . If [the novelist] would really be a Christian and write novels he must somehow slip in the John 3:16 formula while writing such an exciting (and yet most proper) story, that only later will the unsuspecting reader comprehend the life-giving effect of what he has imbibed.
>
> I say bah! Such thinking shows ignorance of both how the Gospel works and how the novel gains its effects. . . . No person who respects his mental powers at all will sniff at such a presentation of Christianity.[39]

This situation Wiebe describes as "a most lamentable state," and he calls for a Christian novel where the truth "will arise out of the stuff of the novel itself."

In his defence of novel as novel, Wiebe is not upholding New Critical doctrine; he is mainly urging the second of his recurring opinions, that art must first "provide aesthetic imaginative pleasure" (Wiebe's italics). Only then will it be able to teach, indirectly, any of the truly important things that man must learn. Thus, Ayn Rand's Atlas Shrugged is bad art because "it preaches its godlessness so blatantly that one cannot take it seriously as a work of art."[40]

The third central idea in Wiebe's theorizing is that of unflinching "realism":

> To the truly write the novel [the novelist] will be considering and showing life as it is (Wiebe's italics). All that is on earth, therefore, is the proper subject of the novel, and especially the novel written by a Christian. No object, no subject, no emotion, no idea that can occur to man can be avoided by the novelist.[41]

One might well ask how this dedication to realism can be reconciled with Wiebe's desire to have Christian doctrine arise out of "the stuff of the novel itself" without recourse to typo-

logical methods. Wiebe resolves this apparent contradiction, at least in his commentary, by emphasizing contrast and selection of subject matter. After showing man and life "as they are" the novelist must then, taking advantage of contrast, show man "as he may be" (Wiebe's italics). In doing so, he will not use the petty subjects of contemporary literature:

> This is the novelist's witness of his vision for man. Here lies the greatest problem of the novel. . . . What can man become if he allows God to break into his life? The man we see in American literature is almost without exception clothed in the filthy rags of pettiness, selfishness, avarice, and other, more popular gross evils. . . . Why are the greatest contemporary novels works of massive hopelessness? . . . Why are there so few books like The Martyred and The Spire written, books where faith blossoms out of antagonism, where faith blossoms over faithlessness. . . ? . . . Why? Because the artists of this, "God's Country," have all been busy preaching their sordid little sermons and have lost the vision of what man, by God's transforming grace, may be right now, here on earth. When you lose vision, or have never even had it, you have nothing to witness to indirectly for the indirect witness, more than anything else, grows out of the entire mind orientation, quite beyond any conscious volition.[42]

I cite at length because for Wiebe these ideas cluster around one another; they recur in this way almost every time Wiebe is interviewed. When talking to Suzanne Zwarum in 1978, he referred again to the "puny subjects" of contemporary literature, "nothing more than snooping around inside your own piddly dreams." Again he emphasizes the expansive and corrective vision: "Modern man has been so trivialized, he can see only his own innards. A writer has to help people get beyond their own smallness."[43]

It can be argued that in these discussions Wiebe is aware

of speaking to a slightly naive audience, be it the theological students at Pacific College ("The Artist as Witness . . . "), readers of Mennonite journals ("Life into Art"), the culture-hungry subscribers of The NeWest Review ("Of Moral Fiction"), or the students in CanLit courses at Canadian universities at whom his short-story anthologies are aimed. (See especially his introductions to The Story-Makers and to Stories From Western Canada.) The interview situation is itself primarily an "opportunity for witness"; Christ and Christian ideas will inevitably be mentioned. Considered from the point of view of the actual writing problem, the theorizing can lead only to typology, "typical" imagery, and parable.

It is apparent that the question of realism and vision is crucial, and Wiebe in this matter is clearly in harmony with the "Christian realist" aesthetic tradition already described. The artist can concentrate on story as story, can open himself (as Christ did) to the chaos of history and experience confident that ultimate Christian meaning is always there. The world and man are basically good because they have been "made by a good Creator," although "often our basic humanity gets perverted."[44] The story exists before the artist comes to it, buried in the shapeless rock[45] of experience. Guided by his faith and with confidence in the God-given authority of his vision, the Christian artist discovers the pattern and releases it for the benefit of man. What actually does the selecting is

then, for Wiebe, a dangerous but creative and sacred question. One can see why he leaves the answer vague and undetermined whenever the question is raised.[46]

Only in his very personal meditation on how Frederick Philip Grove has influenced him does Wiebe offer two further insights concretely central to his practice, insights that do justice to his Christian realism. This article goes a long way as well in explaining why Wiebe is successful mainly with the past, with ethnic groups, with traditional societies; and why he is demonstrably unsuccessful in dealing with modern man, who (as Mircea Eliade has somewhere said) is determined "to regard himself as a purely historical being" living in "a basically desacralized cosmos."

Wiebe describes Grove as someone "who wrote mythically and imagistically about the world I knew."[47] As applied to Grove's practice, "mythically" means concern with "truth" and "wisdom"; it means "a high seriousness of Weltanschauung."[48] More specifically, Wiebe means that Grove's characters stood in a tragic relationship "to life, the world, the universe—to God," even though Wiebe believes that Grove neglected "the formal religious longings of ordinary people."[49] Wiebe agrees completely with Grove's justification of rural subjects, with Grove's claim that he could not find in the cities an authentic "generally tragic, reaction of human souls to the fundamental conditions of man's life on earth." Wiebe, like Grove, finds this reaction

only "among the plain, rough people of the prairies."[50] Hence Wiebe's somewhat defensive populism, his determination to write fiction about those ordinary people who, unlike urban secular man, still have a religious sense. Of course, Wiebe would deny stoutly and contemptuously that his practice is in any way parochial or anachronistic. "The ordinary man," he insists (and ordinary man for him is man with a religious sense), "must have his story told."[51] I am reminded of what the Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics, s.v. "Primitivism," says about the contemporary rehabilitation of the primitive by Perennial Philosophers:

> Primitive art, which is the symbolic expression of metaphysical truths, [they believe] is simply the "normal" or "traditional" art of all peoples everywhere; Western realistic and expressionistic theories of art, like Western civilization generally, are historical anomalies.[52]

When Wiebe says that Grove wrote "imagistically about the world" Wiebe knew, he means specifically the image-patterns that are "deliberately made" (Wiebe's italics), "subliminal symbolic patterns that undergrid" a Grove novel. These images are derived from the concrete physical world of the prairie experience, and the example Wiebe cites is the water and ice symbolism in Settlers of the Marsh. Here "imagistically" refers to plot-unifying patterns.[53] But Wiebe also applies "imagistically" to something he calls "stills":

> A Grove novel can teach a young writer a great deal about "stills," vivid motionless pictures where everything for

> a moment stands as still, suspended, as if caught in a perfect mirror. The scene with Niels and Ellen in the hayfield (Settlers), the funeral of Peter Harrington (Our Daily Bread), the opening scene on the road in In Search of Myself: these to me are like paintings, realistic as a William Kurelek painting is in contrast to, say, Alex Colville: absolutely precise like a foreboding, and slightly contorted too. There is no smoothness here, no polish, only the hard, powerfully twisted lines of a world always ominously, just barely, on balance.[54]

The motionless word-pictures that Wiebe finds in Grove's novels and that he believes offer "a perfect mirror" to reality are perhaps more an indication of Wiebe's meaning-oriented iconographical method of reading and writing than they are an accurate description of Grove's use of them. If one looks them up, they are not quite as static and controlled as Wiebe would like to remember them.

There are moments in the Christian cosmos when, according to Christianity, time stops and sacred meaning is revealed. For heuristic purposes, one can at least argue that Wiebe would have the artistic work imitate the cosmos in this matter as well. The Incarnation spreads light backwards and forwards in history; so shall an iconical "still" embedded in a realistic narration of human life. Furthermore, the essence-oriented cast of Wiebe's mind lies revealed in his use of the word "realistic." A thought-provoking contrast—the Catholic and populist iconographical style of Kurelek (called by Wiebe "realistic") opposed to the metaphysical bareness of Colville's so-called "magic realism." Of course, in his use of "realistic," Wiebe is reverting to an

old Christian tradition, but his meaning should not be linked too closely with the Scholastic doctrine of essences. Rather, one must emphasize that Wiebe finds Christian meaning everywhere embedded in reality itself. Man acts in a God-created world; he has the possibility of being perverted by his own nature and by the real presence of evil, whether he knows it or not. His salvation is "literally at stake,"[55] whether he knows it or not. The artist with his "coldly understanding, and passionate, discernment"[56] will show human life in these terms; hence, "the hard, powerfully twisted lines of a world always ominously, just barely, on balance." The artist is "coldly understanding" because he knows, as Christ knew, that man is most commonly in the states of necessity, law, judgement, blindness. He is "passionate" because, like Christ, he loves man and wishes him to achieve his true condition of freedom, love, grace, and insight.

One might ask to what extent or in what way Wiebe is a naive writer. He has emphatically denied being naive about his prose, claiming that any "infelicities" of language are there because he has intended them; he wants to force readers, through unusual language, "beyond the early and quick understanding of something."[57] He does claim to be naive or unconscious about how specifically his Christian vision gets translated into his fictions. This depends on "the entire mind orientation" and not on "conscious volition."[58] But of

course exactly there he can be shown to have done some rather conscious and rational selection. Where he does appear somewhat archaic or artless is in his world-view, in what is essentially a traditional typological and typologizing vision. Ziolkowski has said that typology lost its theological base in the nineteenth-century when "the new historicism . . . shattered the salvation-oriented theory of history (Heilsgeschichte) that had justified typological thinking in its assumption that all history found its ultimate meaning in Jesus Christ." Consequently, Ziolkowski argues, a modern novel "based typologically on themes from the Bible" is impossible because no author could possibly today have the faith of a medieval artist. Ziolkowski concludes that "any modern work that used typology seriously and naively would remain, almost by definition, sub-literary, like most Sunday-school readers."[59] However naively, Wiebe does hold to a vision of history and story as Heilsgeschichte. Of course, he knows as well as Ziolkowski that mainstream secular culture has little respect for this vision.

This knowledge is simply the realistic acceptance, at the artistic level, of what the apostle had urged at the evangelical level: know that you are in the desert, and adjust your witnessing strategies and tactics accordingly. Wiebe, however, is also serious about art. He desires his story to be well-enough made to seize the reader by the force of its own dynamics. It has been argued that Wiebe writes within

the tension created by the contradictions of novelistic aim (a well-made story) and rhetorical aim (to make people good, to bear Christian witness through a Christian art). This is a romantic and liberal perception of artistic production, useful in discussing liberal and romantic writers, but one that does little justice to the hard-headed and pragmatic aspects of Wiebe's Anabaptist vision. I would prefer the word "condition" to tension. The artistic and the rhetorical conditions are for Rudy Wiebe, I believe, the given and unquestioned weather in which he does his work. With respect to these conditions, he is consciously manipulative and eminently pragmatic. If there is a nervousness or tension in Wiebe's practice, it is the more esoteric and private one existing in the mystery of inspiration or voice.

The picture of Rudy Wiebe that emerges from his interviews and literary articles is one of a Christian moralist, a prairie Tolstoy who believes that reality has an eternally meaningful moral and religious structure; one who believes, like Faulkner, that the basic nature of man does not change and that art's function is to make people good by dramatizing the "eternal verities"; one who would shine a Protestant and apostolic light through the prism of fiction to create the rainbow that might lead lost secular man to spiritual gold:

> The job of the artist is to make a genuine article. Like a potter who makes a pot. It exists. It carries on. A novelist is scattering seed, I guess. In the good earth it grows. And in the long run, it will make a bit of difference.[60]

CHAPTER THREE: THE EVANGELICAL NOVELS: RETROSPECTIVE TYPOLOGY

Rudy Wiebe's first three novels all show a Christian faith rising out of antagonism and violence. Each develops this general action in a similar way: an ordinary character (or several ordinary characters) with ordinary powers struggles (or struggle) toward an active understanding of the Jesus-imperative. Clarity comes only after experience; after suffering, violence, and isolation. As such, Peace Shall Destroy Many (1962), First and Vital Candle (1966), and The Blue Mountains of China (1970) can quite properly be treated together as evangelical novels, although they are not the kind of formulaic Christian novel Wiebe had scorned in his 1965 essay on the Christian artist. The three novels, however, do dramatize individuals who have a Christian New Testament culture, apostate as it may be. They dramatize secondary characters who explicitly imitate the apostolic Jesus, examples and affronts to the unconverted and the unconvinced as well as guides and advisors to the main character in his struggle to understand violence and evil. They assume some sort of Christian readership, which again may be apostate but which will at least be able to understand the Christian issues fictionally examined. In each of these three novels the parabolic mask is not complete, perhaps because subject and fictional situation are such that a religious context is realistic and necessary. Mennonites

have certain beliefs and so do missionaries teaching Ojibwa Indians. In these terms, Wiebe would justify his earlier novels,[1] those in which (according to Frank Davey) he is "as much concerned with religious teaching as with the craft of fiction."[2]

Wiebe's first three novels, then, are examples of retrospective typology. The fictional situations are post-figurative; they occur in a world where Christ is known. As a consequence, the shaping artistic vision is moralizing and analogical. The characters with whom the reader is expected to identify are post-figurations or imitators, humans attempting to understand and to follow a known example. Thus, the artistic problem is very different from that brought about by aboriginal or totally secular fictional situations. In the novels and stories of Wiebe's historical period, the characters are figures, not followers; and consequently the artistic vision is more historical, more truly typological, and the technique more parabolic. I should think that Wiebe is very conscious of the distinction between New Testament (post-figurative) and Old Testament (pre-figurative) situations.

It would be easy, but superficial, to argue that Peace Shall Destroy Many is the usual first novel, the story that everyone carries. The author comes to terms with his childhood, writes himself out of the ghettos of innocence and tradition and parents, and announces the birth of a mature individual

and artist. In this sense, Peace Shall Destroy Many is a "garrison" novel; its setting and events do parallel many aspects of Wiebe's childhood; it does include a vision of bush-burning that breaks down the walls between Wapiti and the greater world. Such an analysis would rest heavily on the identification of the author with his hero, Thom Wiens. This explanation must be qualified when one considers the objectivity, "distance," and even irony that Wiebe shows in his handling of Thom's character. Even though Peace Shall Destroy Many is a first novel, it exhibits considerable control. Wiebe's Anabaptist vision and analogical imagery appear almost fully formed. As an initial experiment in teaching Anabaptist truths, the novel is remarkably well-constructed and, in these terms, successful.

The novel illustrates the Anabaptist proposition that pacifism and conscientious objection cannot be passive, especially in wartime. It will be remembered that Wiebe was almost eleven when the war ended and that in the prairies a great deal of public scorn and abuse was heaped on those draft-eligible Mennonites who did not join up. Peace Shall Destroy Many thus understood is a war novel that weighs and finds wanting Mennonite "witness" in Canada during World War II. The proposition and its imperatives can be abstracted from the action and are overtly stated in the teaching-learning that goes on between Joseph Dueck and Thom Wiens, and they are re-emphasized in the

epilogue when Thom can finally realize them clearly:

> A long-forgotten statement by Joseph rose to his memory. "We are spared war duty and possible death on the battlefield only because we are to be so much the better witnesses for Christ here at home." Comprehending suddenly a shade of those words' depth, he realized that two wars did not confront him; only one's own two faces. And he was felled before both.[3] (Further references will be in the text.)

To realize that conscientious objection must be active requires the "realistic" understanding that the external violence of war is simply an extension of individual appetite unmastered by Christian love. This is what the events of Peace Shall Destroy Many conspire to teach Thom Wiens.

Thom Wiens is the main character, and the reader experiences most of the action through his consciousness.[4] The fictional characters and situations are to bring the reader to meditate upon the ancient problem of imperial violence and the imposed peace arising from it. There are at least two biblical allusions the pietistic reader will look up and consider with respect to this novel. The epigraph draws attention to Daniel's dream-vision of the battles between the ram and the goat, between the Persians and the Greeks. Out of this imperial conflict comes a peace enforced by a strong man. Wiebe's ellipses in the epigraph leave no doubt which associations he intends his readers to discover. Peace imposed by violence (universally by the Allies, communally by Deacon Block, psychologically by obedience and repression) is itself destructive and does not endure as does the peace that arises from Christ's love (p. 162).

Secondly, the reader is directly urged to consider the biblical names of Joseph and Thomas in relation to the fictional characters (p. 160). After being betrayed by their brothers, both Josephs move into the larger world where they are later able to save their people. "Joseph," says Jacob in Genesis 49:22, "is a fruitful bough by a well; whose branches run over the wall." "Doubting Thomas," we discover, is the enthusiastic but empirical disciple. Rather presumptuously, he wants to die with Jesus (John 11:8-16). He is also the Thomas who said: "Lord, we know not whither thou goest; and how can we know the way?" (John 14:5). To which Jesus gave the well-known reply: "I am the way, the truth, and the life: no man cometh unto the Father, but by me." Lastly, he is the Thomas who refused to believe in the resurrection unless he could see the nail-wounds and put his hand into Jesus's side (John 20). "Blessed are they that have not seen, and yet have believed" says Jesus to Thomas, further evidence than which need not be adduced to show Wiebe's ironic treatment of his main character.

Peace Shall Destroy Many is divided into four sections. Each section has a prelude, which gives the natural, seasonal setting. Each consists of four chapters; the last section can be considered as having four as well since the fifth chapter contains the revelation and the epilogue. The Christ event of the fifth chapter of the last section breaks the seasonal cycle of four groups of four. Thus Wiebe links the main movements

of his plot to the agricultural cycle, to that most durable of Christian metaphors—sowing and reaping extended from the soil to matters of the spirit.

In the "Spring" section Wiebe brings together in the community the seeds that could grow to either a harvest of love or a harvest of violence. The pre-lapsarian condition is shown in the prelude; Jackie and Hal (Métis and Mennonite) are searching for frogs' eggs, in harmony with nature and with each other. Doing the spring ploughing is Thom Wiens, new manhood "unshackling of itself," tradition-bound but expected to supply "water" (p. 19). The picnic again shows a potential community, Mennonites and Indians playing and eating together, but with violence and racism simmering beneath the surface. Finally, the confrontation between Joseph Dueck and Deacon Block is another seed that urges upon the community the necessity of growth and change.

The three major conflicts planted in the "Spring" section (War/Wapiti; Herb/Thom; Métis/Mennonites) develop complications in the growth or "Summer" section. Thom dodges the issue of Herb's cows by leaving them to the "fathers." On the positive side Thom begins teaching the Métis children. To end the section, throughout chapter eight Wiebe juxtaposes the war in Paris with the "war" in the church meeting. The Nazis are shooting at De Gaulle in Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris; in the Wapiti church, the elders are making war on the Mennonite bastard Herman and

Métis bride, Madeleine Moosomin.

Through this narrative technique, Wiebe teaches Thom (and through him, the reader) the Anabaptist lesson that institutional churches, in Europe as in Wapiti, harbour violence. He places present "historical" events and Thom's communal experience in ironic juxtaposition to the Jesus-imperative planted in Thom's mind by Joseph Dueck. This analogizing is the essence of the typological method, here retrospectively employed.

The "Autumn" section shows that the spiritual harvest is bad, as had already been presaged by the warped growth of the summer. The ways of the fathers (Block) bring about full granaries and dead bodies. The only positive harvest is Thom's vision of his own death and of the "burning bush."

The "silent malignancy" establishes itself in the "Winter" section. Isolated and desperate, Herb tries to rape Razia Tantamount. Deacon Block threatens to castrate Louis Moosomin, and Thom is cowardly about the possibility of Métis converts joining the church. Only the Revelation of the Two Barns (the extra chapter) causes the "great break" that finally thaws the ice of the cold spirits of Mennonite Wapiti.

All of Wiebe's characters in Peace Shall Destroy Many have Christian psychologies even if they are not Christian. They fall readily into four main groups. The Indians (with the exception of Louis Moosomin) and the children are in the state of nature; they are innocent and await the touch and example

of an apostle in order to spring into mature Christian individuality. They may also be easily corrupted by the influence of characters belonging to a second group, those living in a state of sin or of resistance to love. To a man, these characters are unable to deal with their desires and appetites. The Unger brothers, Deacon Block, and Razia Tantamount are not at peace with themselves. Their chaotic spiritual state leads them into actions that are either meaningless or self-indicting. Yet they are unable to break out of their ghetto because they refuse Christian love, blinded to the only means that might save them. With the exception of Deacon Block they cannot recognize their helpless and violent natures. The third kind of character is represented by Thom Wiens, an earnest and searching pilgrim who dimly perceives the true significance of Christ but who cannot see what specifically he might do or must do in order to achieve clarity and purpose. It is to be expected that Thom is the only person who changes during the course of the novel. The opening chapter shows him responding to the war-planes traditionally and institutionally: "Fly, you heathen . . . . What will you do when all the Germans have been killed and the only work you know is shooting men? Acclaimed murderers everywhere!" (p. 11). In the last chapter Thom comes to terms with his own violence. The war without merges with the war within, and he has learned that the only way is the individual and lonely one of the cross.

The fourth group includes those on the side of love. These people are mature and confident; they know how to deal with the Indians, the war, their own appetites, and their Mennonite traditions. Each in his own way is an example, a source of strength, or an "affront" to the other characters. To this group belong Mrs. Wiens, Pastor Lepp and his daughter Annamarie, Herman Paetkau, and most significantly Joseph Dueck. He is the fully developed Protestant saint, the follower who not only teaches in English so that the half-breeds may hear but who also denounces Deacon Block and enlists in the medical corps. When Thom reaches a critical state in his quest, a stage induced by his vision from Elisabeth's grave (he sees Block as unyielding granite, Razia as a deathshead), Joseph Dueck sends Thom a letter in which he describes true Christianity and the inner peace it brings (pp. 160 ff.). The letter brings on Thom's dream of the monster, the bush-burning, and his own "death." The ending of the novel makes clear that Thom will follow Joseph and Annamarie into the ouside world to act out a mature Christianity.

The theological dynamic and Christian psychologies of Peace Shall Destroy Many are clear enough and hardly need further demonstration. Wiebe's analogical imagery, however, demands more attention. I have said that Wiebe is a Christian realist. He uses real events and believable situations but selects and emphasizes in such a way that the pressure of association is

toward a Christian meaning. The Christ event is embedded in history and experience. Everything must be seen as analogy and imitation. What this means is that structurally Joseph Dueck and the other mature followers operate as Christ functions vis-à-vis history. More locally, apostolic imagery works to establish character and to depict scene so that the Jesus model remains constantly present, not as a ghost in the machine or as a magical presence but as the constitution of physical and psychological reality itself.

Thus, Wiebe's technique is fundamentally analogical. The Wapiti-Beaver school picnic of chapter two is an eating in the wilderness; the flock is fed with fish caught in the lake. (Thom fishes more successfully than Herb Unger). The post-figurative nature of the event is made explicit when Joseph Dueck teaches the young people and the Indians beside the lake in the evening. Thom first confronts his own inner violence when he has the urge to smash Herb Unger with the bat, but he also is able to feed the half-breed Hanky with a chocolate bar. Joseph's teaching has had its effect. Joseph has "affronted" the church elders and can now withdraw to witness in the army. He has disturbed Thom, who will start to teach the Cree and half-breed children.

Physical facts conspire with doctrine to unsettle those who resist the Christ-imperative of "out-reach" and love. The process of God breaking into realistic life can best be illustrated by a consideration of Wiebe's stable and barnyard imagery.

The various epiphanies of the final chapter rest heavily upon the ironic juxtaposition of the two barns. The school concert ends with the biblical epiphany; the Mennonite and Indian children worship in harmony at the manger. In the school-barn Razia Tantamount is satisfying her "lust" with the war-hero Hank Unger. There, too, Peter Block discovers the inadequacy of his father's teaching; he cannot control his jealousy, and so he reacts with violence. Thom finally punches Herb Unger. Only Thom, the biblical Thomas "whose eyes were open but 'who' could not see" (p. 160), finally understands the significance of the two stables.

I might give three other, equally melodramatic, examples of Wiebe's analogical imagery. These involve the natures of Herb Unger, Razia Tantamount, and Deacon Block. The church leaders have come to talk with Herb in a spirit of Christian remonstrance, and Wiebe ends the incident with an image that defines Herb's spiritual condition:

> He kicked viciously at a soft cow-dropping near his feet, and walked towards the house. The litter of pigs grunted away as he neared. Before he entered, he slammed his filthy boot against the single gate-post that had no fence to support (p. 78).

Similarly, Razia Tantamount remembering with disgust Herb's violent assault also remembers that "her pointed pumps were in the muck that had melted from his boots" (p. 174). Deacon Block is also associated with the wrong kind of barn. His attempts to purify the settlement by getting rid of the half-

breeds are of course doomed. His plan to castrate Louis Moosomin in the Moosomin barn is frustrated when Louis tells him that Elizabeth had seduced him. Block must drop the knife and consider the beast within.

Another major example of Wiebe's analogical maneuvering can be found in the double meanings arising out of father-son relationships, especially those of Deacon Block. The dark and violent past of Block finally comes to light when Wiebe brings him to a confessional soliloquy, the flashback of chapter nine (pp. 124 ff.). The crude initiation practiced by the forestry work-gang has made him realize death. Consequently, he is driven by a "son-necessity" (p. 126) that leads him to withhold food from the community during the famine and to the murder of the hungry Bashkir. Block's violent and authoritarian ways of ensuring a pure community for his son Peter are self-defeating. Peter becomes a puppet of father-authority, unable to understand or to act. When Elizabeth dies after miscarrying Louis Moosomin's child as a result of overwork, Block has indirectly killed the son who might have bridged the chasm between himself and the savage.

At another level, Block carries the whole weight of representing Mennonite ethnicity and the violent and "son-destroying" ways that ensured the group's physical survival. One purpose of the novel is to emphasize by analogy the point that the son desired by Block and by the Mennonite culture is in fact Christ.

Because of Wiebe's later subjects, it is important to evaluate his fictional exploitation of the Indian in Peace Shall Destroy Many. Wiebe makes his major criticism of the Mennonite garrison of Wapiti through the Indians. The Mennonites respond to the war and to the sexual drive much as they respond to the half-breeds that surround the community. To the Mennonites, the savages are images of the natural and the unformed that must be shaped and civilized by means of evangelization and Christian love. This the Mennonites have been unable to do. On the whole, the Indians induce in them an obsessive and fear-ridden guilt. The Indians haunt the Mennonites of Peace Shall Destroy Many because they constantly remind the Mennonites of their failure to deal with nature at all levels, socially in the outside world, psychologically in the inner one. Block curses Elizabeth when he discovers that she has had intercourse with Louis Moosomin. He will buy out the "breeds": "Too many years he had allowed them to remain on the edge of the settlement, where their dark wolfish faces could betray weak women" (p. 153). They obviously remind him of his own crimes against the peasants and Bashkir nomads of his Russian experience.

Yet Wiebe contends that the savage must be assimilated. Christian practice must begin with the immediate surroundings. After Thom's temptation to violence at the school picnic, Two Poles emerges from the bush "like a spirit materializing" (p. 38).

When Thom and Annamarie Lepp visit the Wapiti at night and they talk about the war, the only thing they see clearly is the Cree Reservation "sketched against the stars" (p. 44), a reminder that their immediate responsibilities lie there. Later in the novel, Thom begins Bible classes among the Indian and half-breed children, but discovers that he must stop when he confronts the possibility of success. The community and he find it inconceivable that a "breed" should join the Wapiti church. Thus, Wiebe exploits the Indian in a way that is culturally self-centered. The Indian is nothing but "good land that needed clearing" (p. 30). For Block it is a matter of making them Christians. In both cases the Indian is treated as an object, typical of European response to the savage in general. He must be assimilated or destroyed.[5]

What I have emphasized so far suggests little about what the Indian will come to mean for Wiebe later. Yet there are hints in Peace Shall Destroy Many that Wiebe will develop a somewhat more profound conception of the Indian. For, ultimately, nature and the arborigine confront the Christian with a problem that Christianity has perhaps never solved. To Wiebe's credit, he faces the problem honestly; it is the Indian that will make him something more than a novelist for the Student Christian Movement.

There are three incidents in Peace Shall Destroy Many that do not quite fit into the larger purpose of the novel: burn the

bush and get out with Christ. Herman Paetkau is a gentle and lonely outcast from the community. He lives in the bush because Block (when Paetkau wanted to marry Elizabeth) had denounced him as the bastard son of a Russian peasant and a Mennonite girl. During the course of the novel, the community discovers with Thom that Paetkau has secretly fallen in love with Madeleine Moosomin and married her. The Mennonites are horror-struck and Paetkau is ostracized further, even though Madeleine has become a Christian. Of course, the Paetkau-Moosomin story works as a further criticism of Block and it does force Thom into rebellion. Within the framework of my analysis so far, she becomes a person only because she has become a Christian. But this is the point at which Wiebe loses control. It is the pagan history of Madeleine Moosomin that fascinates Thom Wiens:

> When Herman mentioned that she was, on her mother's side, the great-granddaughter of Big Bear, of whom Thom had never heard, the woman had spoken softly and without show until the sunlight paled on the snow in the brief afternoon. She told of the great Indian who had ruled the Plain Crees [sic] as a true monarch; who had signed the treaty with the white man and given up a territory as great as many European countries; who, in his old age, could not prevent his blood-maddened warriors from massacring nine white men at Frog Lake because they believed that the Great White Mother had betrayed their contract. Hearing her tell of Big Bear, Louis Riel, Wandering Spirit, Thom glimpsed the vast past of Canada regarding which he was as ignorant as if it had never been: of people that had lived and acted as nobly as they knew and died without fear. For a few moments, she had become a person to him as she spoke . . . (p. 111).

The passage does not fit the over-all tone of the novel, and it is doubly interesting because it shows that Wiebe knew the essential story of The Temptations of Big Bear thirteen years

before he wrote the novel.

A similar ambiguity occurs when Thom stumbles over the skull of a wood-buffalo in the hay-field:

> Staring at the broken skull, its heft heavy in his hands, a vista opened for Thom. Why was Canada called a "young" country? White men reckoned places young or old as they had had time to re-mould them to their own satisfaction. As often, to ruin. The memory of the half-Indian woman he had met last winter in a house where he would never have dreamt to find her forced itself upon him. . . . still holding the skull, he welcomed the thought of Two Poles at the picnic. Perhaps some lone ancestor of his had lain all day under the willows with the insects and bugs, spear or gun in hand, waiting for this buffalo to graze closer (pp. 82-83).

Thus, one can speculate that here Wiebe has lost control of his character. It is Wiebe who stumbles against the buffalo and the Indian, and they will prevent him, in part, from further evangelical "haying." At least he will have to attempt an authentic assimilation of the past, of the wilderness, and of the savages. Thus, through the Indian and the past, Wiebe confronts for the first time the genuine typological problem.

Though I have suggested that in this incident Wiebe momentarily steps into his character, he is by no means to be identified with Thom. I plunge further into the "biographical fallacy"; Wiebe is in fact to be bound in the character of Hal, Thom's younger brother. Although Wiebe has insisted that Wapiti could be any Mennonite community, the time and setting make it the place in which he was born and where he lived until the age of thirteen. Wiebe was the youngest of a family of seven; he had two brothers and four sisters, all

but one of whom were married by 1947 when he moved with his parents to Alberta.[6] Furthermore, in the novel Hal shares a bed with Thom. The image of a boy sleeping with a gentle older brother returns several times in Wiebe's fictions and essays.[7] That Wiebe sometimes writes from a boy's point of view is something that demands more analysis, but it is enough here to point to the parallels.[8]

Hal is a somewhat irritating, but constant, presence in the novel, irritating because he is too much the stereotyped boy—the virtuous prankster who is energetic, innocent, questioning. He is the only character in the novel who can relate to the Indians and to nature without the mediation of doctrine, either that of Block's isolationism or of Thom's evangelism. The prelude to the first section shows Hal playing truant with the half-breed Jackie, hunting for frog eggs. (Thom fails to silence the frogs when he visits the Wapiti with Annamarie Lepp.) Hal can be in harmony with his environment because he is innocent, and doctrine is of course satisfied when he and Jackie end by worshipping at the manger in the school's Christmas concert. Thus, underlying the sober and intellectually controlled story of Peace Shall Destroy Many is another narrative of a boy's innocent discovery of Indians, nature, and finally Christ.

In terms of Wiebe's development, that narrative is probably more significant than the conversion of Thom Wiens to

Anabaptist apostleship. Ultimately, Wiebe will attempt to preserve his child-like faith in Christ while writing novels in which he leads Canadian history, the wilderness, and the Indian to the manger. The effort is an interesting one to follow, especially when we remember that Deacon Block, the father-figure of Peace Shall Destroy Many, is by far the most believable and fully-developed figure in the novel. To see the novel that way is to misread it, according to what Wiebe has insisted in "An Author Speaks About His Novel." Block is more compelling than Thom, however, something that suggests that Wiebe has controlled the Father (history, tradition, authority) intellectually but not emotionally (or it is a way of saying that, to our tastes, Sophoclean tragedy is a more profound response to reality than is Christian comedy). Peace Shall Destroy Many concludes with the total isolation of both Thom and Deacon Block, the one to leave Wapiti to evangelize in the larger world, the other to face alone the consequences of his own violence.

Apart from the novel's correspondences and analogies, which are best understood as retrospective or post-figurative typology, it is important to notice that the teaching method of Peace Shall Destroy Many derives from the evangelical concept of "witnessing." The verb means both "to give evidence of something seen" and "to observe." Joseph Dueck presumably "sees" Jesus and gives evidence of his observation by acting

as an example to Thom Wiens. Thom Wiens "sees" Joseph Dueck "seeing," and struggles to "see" as well. This hierarchy of voyeuristic "witnessing" ends with the reader, who "sees" Thom struggling to understand his "call" to take up his mission to the Indians (who are to "see" him). The pedagogical and evangelical assumption is that action and change will follow upon "witnessing," upon seeing and acting like Jesus.

Fiction that depends directly on extra-literary conceptual systems is fiction with a double vision, fiction with allegorical tendencies. Allegory, like "witnessing," works by contagion, by imitative "magic," by putting people in the proximity of concepts. Conceptual agents "freeze" humans into representative types. These are the literary attributes of programmatic and totalizing belief, and, although Wiebe's Anabaptist allegoresis depends on a documentary base, Wiebe is reconstituting "a divinely inspired message."[9] As a consequence, these attributes of allegory form an important element of his work, especially of his evangelical novels.

Certainly, tropological and allegorical elements dominate Wiebe's second novel, First and Vital Candle (1966). Before I consider its larger patterns, I would draw attention to an emblematic scene that Wiebe has conspicuously highlighted by placing it early in the novel and making it the climax of his protagonist's visit to Winnipeg.[10] It is a sort of iconographical tableau, a static epiphany that reveals to Abe Ross

not only the "lostness" of his condition but also the vacuous sensuality of urban man and the hopelessness of nature without Jesus. It is Wiebe's imitation of the "stills" he had admired in Grove's work, "vivid motionless pictures" that participate in plot-unifying image-patterns.[11] The scene has been carefully "worked up." Indeed, Wiebe published an early version of the episode as a short story entitled "Incident From a Novel in Progress."[12] It will bear considerable commentary and close analysis, since it demonstrates Wiebe's conscious experimentation with the long iconographical and typological tradition of Christian art.

At the height of a party in a wealthy Winnipeg home after a performance of Bach's St. John's Passion, Anton Schwafe, a musician, contemptuously silences the banal anti-communist polemic of an American radar operator by describing (with the passionate despair of a strong man impossibly burdened with guilt) how he had killed a Russian soldier during the retreat of the German army from Moscow. In the shocked silence that follows, someone vomits; and Schwafe goes to the piano as if to apologize. He first plays Bach, then ~~jazz~~, and the chapter ends with everyone dancing.

The imagistic details draw on a medieval and renaissance tradition, the motifs of the music of the spirit (amor spiritualis) and the melody of the flesh (amor carnalis),[13] the Wife of Bath's "olde daunce." The opposition already exists

in Bach's counterpoint, and Wiebe details it as follows:

> He heard it now, "Run, run, you souls whom care oppresses--run, run," the deep voice often ahead of the beat in its urgency, and the whispered upper voices of the chorus, "Run where? Run where?" And the answer, ever and again, "To Golgatha" (p. 37).

Later, Swafe modulates Bach to jazz:

> The same run began in the bass but it went up and up into the treble where it convoluted and trilled in bachian syncopation, clean, sharp, the rush of the piece before as nothing to its present incredible quickness. But the heavy off-beat of the bass was such as Bach had never written. It boomed like a giant viol of elemental humanity plucked at the very base where strings nub in flesh (p. 38).

A similar contrast occurs in the description of the hands of the musician and killer:

> he was crouched before his seat, arms up, hands high, the immense fingers that had run like water over the "Passion" chords now splayed claws, "and you hit the windpipe first so he can't scream and you squeeze and squeeze . . . (p. 35).

As Schwafe speaks, the protagonist looks out the window (earlier described as showing "the flood-lit lawn sloping away under the trees to the dull early-summer river"):

> Abe saw a rabbit as if caught in mid-spring, hypnotized at the light from the glass wall. Schwafe's voice was so low the group bent to him like summer wheat in the wind . . . (p. 35).

Wiebe finishes the scene and the chapter by converting the party into a "Totentanz," into the Dance of Death. The reader experiences the dance through the lost but spiritually questing "Arctic man" as he dances with the "lustful" wife of his host:

> Once when she hung back in his arms, only her body moving, her eyes hollow in the faded light reflected

> from outside and her open mouth a pink-rimmed hole, in some far off unabandoned corner of himself he shuddered at the frightful decay of what he had once thought her loveliness. He looked up. Moments before the people whirling there had been shining rich, handsome, beautiful—where have they all gone?—they blurred past battered to ugliness, gruesome, led by the thin American and his partner, faces skull-like in the darkness, their bony arms rising and falling alternately in crooked sickle-sweeps. He could feel fingers digging into his shoulder as they looped past Kinconnell still motionlessly flung in his chair and on where Schwafe crouched forward, head and shoulders heaving as if the pale piano were galloping him away, its sound now only the rush of the question and the answer long lost in the skelton of the dance (pp. 38-39).

Wiebe could not have written this episode without full awareness of the conventional Christian material he was exploiting. The antitype, which in typological historiography is present by definition, is carried by the music, no apostles being present. It is interpreted as such by the troubled protagonist; the metonymic "Golgatha" stands for Jesus in his more distant aspect as God's son. "The hermeneutical divide" lies between God and man. God is a distant terror, and human life a mere shadow: Wiebe describes Schwafe as follows:

> He stood, the light glinting on his blond mane and the blondish hair of his arms thrust from the dead white cuffs and the black sleeve of his evening suit, like an aboriginal priest praying to some unknown but fervently sought and terrifying deity that would somehow in its absolute indifference accept a sacrifice from a votary who meant not so much as a shrivelled obscenity (p. 36).

History (as a hidden God) simply defines post-lapsarian man as man under the sentence of death. Historical forces are reduced to the dog-eat-dog of men killing each other to get

on the plane (p. 35) and to Schwafe strangling the sentry to get a coat. History, through Schwafe, is the wind of God blowing for the salvation of the individual.

Human sexuality is hypnotized, frozen to immobility by this revelation of its condition. The rabbit will bear such a weight of interpretation. It is exactly the kind of "unrealistic" or apparently gratuitous detail that indicates a conscious iconographical program. On a thousand medieval illustrations of "the hunt of Venus" (as opposed to "the hunt of Diana") the rabbit is the conventional icon of female cupidity and venery.[14] To this day, the medieval-renaissance associations of "coney" with the vulva, the object of the sexual chase, survive in "cunnilingus" and in the common Anglo-Saxon vulgarism. Le dictionnaire Robert, s.v. "con," gives "sexe de la femme," a vulgarism from the thirteenth-century Latin cunnus. The OED (s.v. "cony," 5b) gives "No money, no coney," citing Massinger in 1662. Presumably in Wiebe's use here, Abe's cupidity (already enfeebled by his guilt about his parents and by his moral concern for the starving Eskimo) is hypnotized by the reminder of death.

Society itself is reduced to the sickle and skull of the "skeletal dance," the conventional icons and motif that artists used for at least eight hundred years as a drawing pattern and literary image to express eschatological anxiety (especially after the great plague of 1348), to give Christian

meaning to historical horrors like the Spanish repression of Flanders, as in The Triumph of Death painted by Pieter Breughel, the Elder, in 1562, and to give form to a kind of courageous contempt for the obvious fate of man.[15] Wiebe's expression of the motif here merges the Dance of Death with the dance of the flesh, reinterpreting Winnipeg society (for the moral edification of his hero) as so much contemptible and fearful vanity.

This complex of essentially didactic imagery recalls the deathshead that Thom Wiens saw in Razia Tantamont at Elizabeth's funeral. The complex is both an image-pattern and a theme; it recurs throughout Wiebe's fiction as a "scare" tactic, urging the observer to take spiritual account of himself. This Anabaptist memento mori is Wiebe's short-hand for nature as nature. Because of the way the image complex appears in The Blue Mountains of China, I will refer to it as "black-vulture" imagery and as "carrion eschatology."

The Marcionitism of the party described above, if that is an exact word for Wiebe's asceticism, is partially explicable by point of view. Abe has "lost" his body; he is spiritually ill, and therefore sees life as nothing but vanity. When considered as a cure for Abe's "disembodiment," the action of the novel parallels the essence of the Incarnation. The human apostles, filled with love and patience, confront and cure Abe at Frozen Lake. Still, the fact remains that Wiebe

believes memento mori to be an effective didactic method; the reader is to respond to the shock treatment in the same way as the troubled protagonist, sympathetically re-enacting a conversion. Wiebe never seems to doubt that the flesh, for the sake of its own salvation, must be driven up into the attic of the spirit, something the reader of this evangelical novel will discover in its allegorical ending.

Of Wiebe's six novels, First and Vital Candle is the only one that can be said to have an invented plot. Since Wiebe is deeply troubled by the spiritual and material destruction of the aborigines, my guess is that he wrote the novel to accommodate the story of Oolulik, the story of "the terrible Back River starvation" he heard from Duncan Pryde in Winnipeg in 1964.[16] Apart from providing Christian edification for his readers, Wiebe's deeper purpose (related to his own development as a writer) seems to be to understand and explain genocide in terms of his Anabaptist vision, a concern he returns to again and again in his later fiction.

I might first summarize the novel, since not everyone will want to read what is his weakest work. The war veteran Abe Ross is a middle-aged Arctic trader on leave in Winnipeg. He is questioning the value of his work among the Eskimo and seeking a purpose for his existence that goes beyond "the jerk of his guts." He prowls the streets, meets a friend from his Selkirk school-days, and gets drunk at the party already

described above. Disgusted by the superficiality of city life, he finally accepts a new posting at Frozen Lake, an isolated Ojibwa community in northern Ontario. There he is challenged by external evil in the person of Sig Bjornesen, a rival independent trader who has subjugated the Indians with liquor and by a manipulation of their superstitions. The childless Bjornesen speaks Ojibwa fluently and threatens the Indians with the "evil-eye." His curses work, and the Indians, through fear, trade mainly with him. Ross is also challenged by the two missionaries, Joshua and Lena Bishop, and by the school teacher Sally (Sarah) Howell. These three are followers of Christ on the model of Joseph Dueck. They are quietly working and praying, being helpful and exemplary while waiting for a "break." That comes when the drunken gang at Bjornesen's store tries to rape the beautiful Violet, an Indian girl for whom the Bishops and the teacher have great expectations. Ross saves Violet and is about to shoot Bjornesen when Joshua Bishop intervenes. Chief Kekekose, benevolent shaman of the tribe, is so impressed that he decides to listen to the "Good-News Man." Evil is exorcized; Kekekose is baptized; the white howling dog flees into the bush; Bjornesen and Ross will leave the community to the Indians and to the Bishops; the Indians will establish a trading co-operative. Meanwhile, Abe Ross has come to terms with his own repressed past and with his inadequately controlled

violence and authoritarianism. He falls in love with Sally Howell, but she is accidentally killed by flood and ice. Weeping and open to Christian love, Ross leaves Frozen Lake with Violet. She has also become a Christian, and she will be educated to return to her people as a teacher.

The characters in this novel again fall readily into the four categories identified in Peace Shall Destroy Many. The questing pilgrim is Abe Ross, a tougher-minded and more experienced version of Thom Wiens. There are the three exemplary Protestant saints ministering to the Indians, who are in the innocent and child-like state of nature and thus easy victims of the actively evil Bjornesen.

The plot has three dimensions and three movements. Historically, it examines the material and spiritual destruction of Canadian Indians and Eskimo. At the social level, it tells how the victimized, but innocent, Ojibwa community is protected from evil and introduced to Jesus. The psychological story is the internal one of the redemption of Abe Ross, a figure representing the weary but questing, sexually experienced but sexually prudish, war-experienced, contemporary man (as the stereotype of Wiebe's theology will have him).

Abe Ross has two problems, his father and the starving Eskimo. The first he represses until near the end of the novel; the second is the immediate cause of his dissatisfaction

with his job and of his Winnipeg wandering. Abe is finally able to forgive himself and his past after a spring trip to Brink Island with Sally Howell. Her gentle influence pushes him "back at last to his youth" (p. 293). The flashback-confession that follows finally resolves the carefully controlled suspense that Wiebe has built regarding Abe's mysterious past. Abraham is running away from his father, the "old Adam," literally and figuratively. Another one of Wiebe's single-dimensional characters (stereotyped into one rigid and melodramatic "religious" posture), Adam Ross is a puritan fundamentalist whose contempt for the flesh is exceeded only by his obsession with material success:

> He had his god all figured out, a god of success and law and absolute election and absolute damnation. If you were a success on earth—made money—that proved you were the most highly elected of all to stand up with a ramrod back before the judgment throne and say, "Here I am, your honor, with the wife and children which you entrusted me to break in fear and trembling before you" (pp. 317-318).

Abe defies his father and leaves home, and Adam tells him never to return. Thus, the primordial curse of the father lies heavily on Abe Ross, and most of the book deals with this problem. How can Abe recover his body, slough off his shame and guilt, and finally take up his moral responsibility to his fellow man? Wiebe handles these Christian psychological complexities mainly by means of interposed flashbacks, which interrupt the linear progression of his plot and which bring Abe's personal history in juxtaposition with his present cir-

cumstances.

The first of these is the story of Oolulik, the tragedy of Eskimo starvation and genocide (pp. 67-84). As first-person narrator, Ross begins as the self-assured and civilized trader and ends by screaming curses at the plane and at the RCMP. One thing that Ross learns is the imperative of the body, the law of survival. Oolulik has strangled her insane brother-in-law; Lootevek's wife has gone mad and eaten her children. Ross himself survives the four-day blizzard only by huddling naked in the sleeping robe against the emaciated Oolulik. The movement from trading-post to the embrace of a starving Eskimo is for Ross both physical and moral. In terms of his personal movement to redemption (and in terms of the logic of Wiebe's imagery), Ross learns that although the body has physical needs these depend largely on the efficacy of its spiritual adjustment. Oolulik tells him that the shamans once were successful in bringing the caribou and that prayer to the white man's god does not work. Her suicide in Baker Lake prison only emphasizes the paradox that Ross must understand. He can no longer avoid the historical dilemma of the body. He <u>is</u> involved, whether he likes it or not.

Ross's skepticism about spirit-power is further reduced when Kekekose's conjuring magically brings back the revolver that Abe had lost in a river ten miles away. Involvement with the traditional, aboriginal adjustment to the divine restores

his "gun," his physical force if you like. Ultimately, of course, the gun is useless. Later, Abe is helpless in his encounter with the crazed moose, which Bishop thinks Bjornesen has hexed (pp. 166 ff.). Immediately following the recovery of the gun, Wiebe introduces another flashback for the purpose of illustrating another step in Abe's education regarding the body. Wiebe uses a chaotic stream-of-consciousness technique to show the extent of Abe's confusion. (One of the formal ironies of Wiebe's technique, related to his satire of modernism, is his use of imitative form for confused or disturbed characters.) The episode merges a college shower-room exchange with an account of a shower taken behind the trenches during a lull in bombardment. The physically well-adjusted and well-built Hayes mocks Abe's farm-boy prudery; memory and the "bull-moose voice" of Hayes run together:

> He doesn't need a god any more than a dog sniffing after a bitch in heat does and any more can he prove that there is one other than the jerk of his own guts . . . . Once he told us . . . that animals had to die for God to make clothes for Adam and Eve when they brought sin, heinous and terrible, into the world and that the sin of man was in his body and that no Ross would expose himself, ever, for any reason (pp. 181-182).

This locker-room primness of the college students is contrasted to the war-time shower taken with Ken, "beautiful heathen" enjoying their bodies and their freedom. That shower ends ominously:

> I followed Reggie out, the sound stalking us through the swing of the double hinged door, my mind and eyes

> held by the sight of the white body lying like an off-white flower on the sodden Dutch earth as a flare exploded over the far corner of the orchard showing the black sprawl of blood down his thighs and where his legs must be. Our company was counterfiring, heavily; under that cover I got him under the arms and we got him back to the hospital corps and later I was told they amputated what was left of his legs. I was lying down then. The firing had ceased. I tried to feel not having any legs but I could recognize only that I myself was, the immunity that I had feared or rejoiced to have stamped on me immutably easily wiped away by stray shrapnel blasting near me and probably intended mostly for someone else. Waking, on watch, eyes and ears open to the sounds of the night and humans breathing in sleep near me, I could feel none of the relief that should have come with recognition, with my bodily escape. Perhaps the emptiness that I felt was only the earnest of the coming long years where at worst I would be a bone to quarrel over, at worst nothing more or beyond but only myself (pp. 184-185).

In the light of Abe's subsequent development, there is no doubt as to Wiebe's intentions. The body must be embraced, but only with the help of Christ does the union produce something other than "a bone to quarrel over."

Ross recovers two other bodies, along with his own, at the end of the novel. Dangling from a CAF helicopter, he dives into the ice-choked cabin to retrieve the body of Sally Howell. This indicates his spiritual recovery. He possesses Sally's Christian spirit and can now marry (presumably) Violet, the Indian convert.

Used once to give Indian children a ride while Bishop argues pacifism with its commander, the heliocopter is an explicit continuation of an image-theme that Wiebe has introduced in the in-set tale of Oolulik. It also recalls the

iconographical-moral aspects of Schwafe's description of the men killing each other to get on the plane with its "few supplies" (p. 35). In attempting to rescue the starving Eskimo, Ross depends heavily on the plane: "If the people are to be saved at all it will have to be the plane" (p. 71). Yet "in a land without fuel" the plane has brought beans that need three hours of boiling. When the plane does come, it brings the police who arrest Oolulik and directly bring about her suicide. In terms of the Eskimo, the Indians, and Sally Howell, technology arrives in time to pick up the bodies. The image-theme illustrates Wiebe's Anabaptist criticism of contemporary material culture as well as the tightly controlled analogical functioning of his images.

At this point in Wiebe's development as a writer, from evangelical ethnicity to parabolic documentary, his fictional structure consists of a sort of intellectual "Glasperlenspiel," a series of forced correspondences between doctrine and human event. In First and Vital Candle this allegorizing is particularly and rather obviously apparent at the social level of his analysis, the emphasis placed on the group-redemption of the Indians through the example of the apostles.

Frozen Lake is spiritually "frozen." The Indians are in a state of suspended animation, still holding to the spiritual ways of their ancestors. This faith Wiebe shows to be inadequate for dealing with white man's technology and white

man's evil. The event that weans the Indians from their old ways and that proves to them their helpless condition is the failure of Kekekose's conjuring (chapter 8). Along with the Oolulik story, it is the best writing in the book.

It is September, and Harry Sturgeon is dying from a mysterious illness. Sturgeon has dared to oppose Bjornesen and has threatened to tell the police the location of the still. Everyone believes that Sturgeon will die because of Bjornesen's public curse. Kekekose orders a conjuring tent built in an attempt to match and overthrow Bjornesen's power with his own. After some remarkable initial successes with minor problems Kekekose asks the spirits to remove the demon from Harry Sturgeon. A dog begins to howl, but at that moment a raging Bjornesen appears. He smashes the conjuring tent with an axe, adequate comment on the unequal nature of the contest. The Indians scatter, and Bjornesen once again curses Sturgeon, who dies the same night. Kekekose and the traditional spiritual power he carries have been publicly humiliated and defeated; the Indians are now completely in the corrupt power of the "Icelander," the Kurtz of this Canadian heart of darkness. Wiebe's story, however, is not European tragedy but Anabaptist comedy.

Spiritual and physical geography meet when the "ice" of Frozen Lake and Frozen River is swept out and over Brink Island and into the Brink River by exceptionally early torrential rains.

The combined forces of Abe Ross (physical) and of the Bishops and Sally Howell (spiritual) rescue Violet, the principle of Indian purity, from Bjornesen and his drunken Indians. It rains for a week while Joshua teaches and Kekekose is converted. The characters are allegorically fixed. They move at the dictates of the apostolic values that order the events of Wiebe's novel. When Ross finally opens the trapdoor to Bjornesen's attic, he finds not only Violet but also Sally Howell, who has crept in by the attic window while the ruckus was going on below. What makes Wiebe's allegorical maneuverings even plainer is that after the spirit of Sally Howell has entered into Violet, the structure of the myth calls for Sally's execution. She goes to Brink Island for a week of prayer in support of Joshua's teaching. She accepts Ross's love, but refuses marriage since "a marriage between someone who follows Christ and someone who doesn't isn't a marriage" (p. 320). Ross slowly realizes that she is involved with a "terrifyingly perverse heavenly lover" (p. 321). He leaves her in the cabin on Brink Island; a few pages later forty feet of ice (sin from the community) cover the island. Sally's imitation of Christ is complete, but a convincing character she is not.

John Glassco has remarked that "It is hard to make goodness interesting, but the problem is not helped by making it sentimental."[17] "Sentimental" is not quite the word to describe Sally Howell, but she is much more a symbol of an ethereal

principle than she is a real person. She is imitating Christ the god rather than Jesus the man. The major artistic insight that Wiebe is working towards is that such characters are impossible. He will ultimately abandon such allegorical fixation in favour of typological figuralism. Wiebe will find his typological subjects among Indians and outlaws, people who still have a religious sensibility. For reasons very different from those of most Canadian writers who deal with the past, Wiebe will take up almost exclusively the historical, the primitive, and the aboriginal.

Wiebe seems to have recognized that First and Vital Candle was somewhat contrived. The novel may have satisfied Mennonite evangelists, but Wiebe's ambitions are larger and more complex. He desires to make his vision public, to speak to the secular world. By a dialectic that only seems paradoxical, Wiebe returns in The Blue Mountains of China (1970) to a more historical and, for him, a more familiar subject—the Mennonite past and the themes of ethnicity; faith and historical disaster.

This novel is more ambitious than Peace Shall Destroy Many. It has a larger historical sweep. In effect, even though the earliest episodes dramatically presented happen in November of 1929, the action begins in 1870 with the first major disruption of the Mennonite agricultural paradise in Russia. It moves on to the centennial resolution in 1967, when characters representative of three generations of ethnic experience on four con-

tinents are brought before John Reimer and his cross in the ditch of the Calgary-Edmonton highway. In terms of Wiebe's development, there are two aspects of The Blue Mountains of China that are especially significant. The novel shows Wiebe perfecting the format of the parable, a self-referential narrative with only a few extra-referential aspects to remind the reader of his spiritual obligations. The Blue Mountains of China consists of twelve short stories, each a realistic slice of Mennonite experience, each a kind of analogical affront or historical epiphany. Illuminating the dark history of the twelve experiential fragments (like the Gospel illuminates the dark racial history of the Old Testament) is a concluding synthesis which unifies and explicates the suffering and chaotic violence presented earlier. Structurally a collage of biographies, this ethnic epic differs from Peace Shall Destroy Many not only in format or in its larger sweep, but also in its closer dependence on history. The second significant aspect of this novel, then, is that Wiebe shows a greater confidence in history, that it need not be very overtly manipulated in order to have a Christian significance (again, with the exception of the concluding section).

There is nothing complex or mysterious about the structure of The Blue Mountains of China once Wiebe's beliefs and his strategies for Christian teaching through fiction are understood. Along with the artist-researcher-apostle, John Reimer, the

reader is asked to consider (through various individual biographies) the salient facts of the Mennonite past. John Reimer's understanding matures as he researches the Mennonite story, as he collects oral history from the older generation. After examining satirically several possible responses to the dark past, John Reimer decides that he must somehow imitate David Epp and the historical Jesus. The reader is to identify with John Reimer in learning the same truths and being moved to some kind of sacrificial witnessing action as well. Thus the analogical method, with its emphasis on exegesis and tropology, does not in The Blue Mountains of China differ significantly from Wiebe's first two novels. However, his characters are more verisimilar; they represent a greater range of secular and Christian behaviour, and they are treated with a more mature compassion.

In Peace Shall Destroy Many, Wiebe had judged rather harshly the dark figure of Deacon Block, the main representative of the Russian past and Mennonite ethnicity. In The Blue Mountains of China, Wiebe abandons none of his apostolic convictions, but his treatment of the older generation shows a greater gentleness towards the suffering and non-proselytizing piety of his ancestors. Perhaps in this novel Wiebe is responding somewhat humbly to in-group criticism of Peace Shall Destroy Many, criticism that had accused Wiebe of naive Bible-school brashness in judging so unforgivingly the compromises of his elders

in their struggle to survive. In spite of his humility, his collecting and listening strategies, his allowing more of the chaotic historical experience into his novel, Wiebe's assessment of that historical experience remains essentially unchanged. In Mennonite history, especially as exemplified in individual lives, Wiebe finds God's meaning and God's judgment. Given his beliefs about history and meaning, his conclusions could hardly be otherwise. These vary not at all from Wiebe's discursive analysis of Mennonite experience in his theological essays, some of which were published about the same time as The Blue Mountains of China.[18]

Basically, this novel shows God using "the whip of world crises" to drive Mennonites "back to their beliefs."[19] Or as Sam Reimer tells his unimaginative Pastor:

> In Jeremiah chapter 25 God talks about "Nebuchadnezzar, the King of Babylon, my servant." A heathen, and God calls him his servant because he was going to kill Jews to help them remember what they forgot. They'd been just content, soaking up the fat of the land, not doing their job, and don't you think that if you, like you said once, historic-peace-church-neo-pacifist Christians—whatever that is I don't want to be it—sit around and talk big, saving our own skins because we don't like to lose it any more than anyone else, just shut up when it counts and if we're quiet and make enough money there'll always be somebody else to do all the dirty sinful killing and dying, don't you think maybe sometime God's going to start talking about "Stalin, Ho Chi Minh, Mao Tse-Tung my servants!" Hey?[20]

As literal-minded Manitoba farmer, Sam Reimer has a satirical function, to expose the complacent and materialistic piousness that passes for "church" Christianity. He is also a man with

limited understanding, an unthinking peasant who suddenly finds himself enjoined, by an Old Testament God, to go out and prophesy. Even taking these qualifications into consideration, one finds that the understanding of history here expressed is the same as Wiebe's. As long as your life maintains "old" attitudes, you can expect "old" judgments--literal, external, physical, legal. The contrast between the old and the new in all of these senses provides the essential spiritual and tropological and "meaningful" dialectic of The Blue Mountains of China.

Wiebe and his conception of history conspire to strip characters to the core of their beings and to bring them to confront basic questions. By means of nine major biographies Wiebe examines, in the light of Anabaptist principles, the varying Mennonite responses to history and evil as specifically experienced in Czarist Russia, the Soviet Union, in the Canada of 1890 and 1920 (the Manitoba Schools Act and the revival of British patriotism during World War I), and finally in Paraguay and again in Canada in the late sixties. Ethnic, orthodox, and institutional Christianity is found wanting. Instinct, nature, and modern scientific culture are inadequate. What is left in this intense hunt for total meaning is the irrational and individualistic Christianity of David Epp and John Reimer, whose actions Wiebe believes exemplify Christianity's existential demand and meaning. History and experience can be made human

(meaningful, ethical, moral) only through a self-sacrifice that is consciously chosen rather than stoically and dumbly suffered. According to Wiebe, finally the "ugly wood" (p. 203) signifies only that. The gist of John Reimer's closing sermon in the ditch is this Jesus-centered, individualistic, and self-immolative program:

> Jesus says in his society there is a new way for man to live:
> You show wisdom, by trusting people;
> you handle leadership, by serving;
> you handle offenders, by forgiving;
> you handle money, by sharing;
> you handle enemies, by loving;
> and you handle violence, by suffering (p. 215).

Instead of being embarrassed by the heavily imposed meaning of the concluding chapter and by Reimer's sermonizing, one should rather examine how this revived Anabaptist vision operates thematically and emblematically in the rest of the book and how it reflects meaning and judgment back onto the alleged "obscurity" of the novel.[21] If one remembers Wiebe's stern belief that the peace of ethnic passivity breeds violence, and if one pays attention to lineage and to the iconic imagery, one will find the novel coherent and unified, illustrating throughout a careful planning and conscious control.

In ethnic Mennonitism, Rudy Wiebe finds two different lines of adaptation, two main ways in which the "sons of Jakob" attempted to deal with reality; and he treats both of them ironically. Jakob I founded the farm at Karatow in 1839.

His "one feeble son" (p. 26) had twins, Jakob III and Isaak. Tough-minded old Jakob I decrees that only one of his grandsons will get the farm (p. 26). Obediently, Jakob II disinherits Isaak and hands the farm to Jakob III, the older brother by ten minutes. Jakob III and his descendants become representatively the "Russian" Mennonites, the "Russländer" of whom Frieda and Anna Friesen often speak. They were, roughly, the landowners who twice compromised their values to remain in the Russian paradise. Upon Isaak Friesen and his descendants Wiebe places the experience of the Mennonite Brethren, who came into being in the schism of 1860 and of whom 6,674 settled in the prairie south of Winnipeg 1874-1880.[22] As I have shown, and as Wiebe reminds us through Anna Friesen of "The Well" chapter, the landless condition of the Mennonite Brethren and their resistance to Czarist conscription and to Russian as a language of instruction in their schools led them to emigrate:

> These Russländer were Mennonites, of course, and had the same family names; indeed, some were perhaps even relatives. . . . They spoke the same Lowgerman as the Kanadier, though with a very different accent, with some unheard-of names. And they emigrated only once for their faith. . . . It was simply a fact that a child in Simons Colony might know; their fathers left Russia in 1874-1880 and emigrated to Canada because the Russian world was becoming impossible for their beliefs, but these Russländer found theirs adjustable enough to stay on until 1929. How they had become modern it was unnecessary to discuss. . . . No wonder communists had to take their land away before they would leave (p. 100).

Anna Friesen's simple-minded humility here draws attention to the historical division of Mennonites that is basic to a correct

reading of the novel.

Wiebe's Mennonites are the children of Jakob, of Ya'agōbh, and I have no doubt that Wiebe wants the biblical associations of grasping, supplanting, and overreaching.[23] At the same time, they are chosen people in the sense that they are expected to produce apostles, the mustard seeds that will constitute the real church of Jesus-oriented brethren. At least that is how Wiebe accounts for their wandering and suffering. As we have seen, the descendants of Jakob Friesen I split into the aggressive and secular House of Jakob and the passively pious House of Isaak. Wiebe identifies these branches further by assigning to each a physiological type appropriate to its spiritual-ethical orientation as revealed by its historical actions and choices.

The reddish-blond Friesens, descendants of Jakob III, are the lions and horses of this novel; the descendants of Isaak are its mice and cows. The judgment Wiebe implies with his imagery is that the responses of both groups are sub-human or at least unthinking, although the leonine Friesens as "natural" men will suffer more violently and dramatically than the bovine and mousy Friesens.

The passive Christian patience found in Frieda Friesen's story is "as it was," a cultural posture that has been undermined, historically by urbanization and other kinds of modernization and theologically by the Jesus-model. Yet on the surface

Wiebe treats Frieda Friesen very gently, showing that Frieda and her husband Johann embody the finest spiritual values to be found in the ghetto-theocracy of that generation: endurance, unshakeable (but thoughtless)[24] faith, quiet suffering, and unfailing compassion. Frieda's identifying, characterizing line is: "It does come all from God; strength and sickness, want and plenty" (p. 10 et passim). Her battle with cancer alone establishes the qualities of her character, the subordination of body to spirit (chapter 10). In spite of the sympathetic treatment, Wiebe's "as it was" leaves no doubt that she is an Old Testament figure, that she contains a spiritual force that is admirable, but not articulate and outgoing.

The Isaak Friesens are the victims of nature. They are always getting hurt or falling sick. Frieda breaks her shoulder when her "sister who was driving the team let one line drop and the horses were frightened and ran away" (p. 9). Frieda's husband has been kicked by a horse, and Frieda notices the scar on her wedding night (p. 45). Introduced at the end of chapter 1, Johann Friesen is characterized emblematically in "As It Was (2)" when Frieda and Johann ride on a ferris wheel at the Winnipeg exhibition:

> We rode and just as it was on top and coming down with a swing he got sick and when he got off the man in the seat in front of us was mad because he had gotten dirty, right on his clean suit he said. He yelled and jumped around

> and hit my velobta on the nose and then his friends pulled him back. Johann was big but he wouldn't lift a hand, so he was sick and bloody too (p. 42).

Unlike the Jakob Friesens, the Isaak Friesens are nauseated by pleasure rides (of any kind).[25] Their faith may be "the true quiet faith" (p. 46), but it cannot deal with sexual temptation, violence, Indians, or cities. Nature is always knocking them down or causing them to back off or withdraw. In Canada, they are plagued by stones, "stones everywhere like lice" (p. 43). In Paraguay, they suffer from the absolute lack of stones. A cow-mouse Friesen cannot win, but he cannot really lose either. A few further examples will suffice, especially those referring to illness and to the fates of offspring.

Isaak Friesen, dispossessed twin and founding father of the "Kanadier," suffers a stroke that paralyzes his left arm and shoulder. He can then smile with only half of his face (pp. 48-49). This has some significance because, although he was a mouse, he was once a great laugher and joker (p. 27). Frieda's husband Johann suffers from headaches, fever, and blisters (p. 49); in Paraguay they are barely able to control their cows or to get any milk from them (p. 91); and Johann gets knocked over by an unusually fierce and recalcitrant blue ox (p. 90). Finally, and significantly enough, just when World War II begins, a snake bites Johann, and he cannot walk for seven months (p. 142). Thus Wiebe shows that passive ethnic piety (as a basic cultural attitude or orientation) was incapable

of bringing about a harmonious integration with nature. Wiebe's final imagistic judgment of Frieda Friesen is of course the tongue cancer. He brutally silences all that humble ethnic chatter; Frieda survives, but she can no longer talk and, somewhat like her father Isaak, she is left with only half a face.

What happens to Frieda Friesen's children is also an indication of the laconic judgments buried in Wiebe's iconic or emblematic method. Of Frieda's twelve children, three die of typhus in the Chaco, including her oldest son Johann. Frieda's first daughter, Esther, had married Dennis Willms, a used-car dealer; she thus refuses to emigrate to Paraguay and choses rather to enter the wealthy, but spiritually compromised, world of urban Canada (pp. 48-49). By 1967 Esther's husband, now called Williams, is a millionaire, a caterer to the "leisure" business. Esther may be among the "Babylonians" so that she can intercede on behalf of the chosen people. Certainly, Wiebe seems to have had the biblical analogue in mind when he gives Dennis's extended reflection on Esther and her mother in the last chapter (p. 201). Esther is not as peaceful as Frieda is, but she is a force for good. It must also be noted that her union with the Babylonian capitalist results in a watered down throwback to the equine Friesens; the reddish-blonde Irene, as a "typical" teenager of the consumer society, is a sexy piece of fluff. Frieda's daughter Marie imitates Esther (p. 95),

but sons Kornelius and the second Johann will continue the ethnic tradition of work, service, and piety while civilizing (with great difficulty) the wilds of South America. Perhaps Wiebe suggests a minor solution to the Mennonite ethnic schizophrena by having Frieda's last son marry Susie Friesen, the nurse and Paraguayan survivor of the aggressive Jakob line.

Wiebe's most detailed exploration of the strengths and weaknesses of the ghetto-theocracy, of the "mousy" cultural pattern, is to be found in chapter seven, "The Well," in the story of Anna Friesen's encounter with the worldly Russian Mennonite, Joseph Hiebert. In "Over the Red Line" Joseph had been mentioned as the disobedient son of preacher Hoppity Hiebert. Joseph was so recalcitrant that he was "always being warned" from the pulpit whenever he came to church (p. 78). In "The Well" he turns up as a devil-may-care teamster who meets Anna at the well during a sandstorm, pulls the thorns out of her hand, and entertains her for several hours. Later he comes around to see Anna's father, apparently to ask him if he can marry Anna (p. 103). Johann refuses him, and the refusal is crucial in terms of Anabaptist action theology. What is at stake in "The Well" is Joseph's Hiebert's soul, and Anna was obviously the instrument chosen to redeem it. When she and her father (in their fearful parochialism) fail Joseph in this matter, he gives up. Telling the teamsters to slaughter his oxen, he goes off to chase prostitutes in Buenos Aires. His oxen were

lame anyway, and "sold out," he reverts to the biblical analogue.

Everywhere plot and imagery reveal as inadequate the traditional Mennonite way of serving God stoically, passively and unthinkingly, in the manner of dumb beasts of burden, or the vacuity of cows. The controlling image of the Anna Friesen story is the well, including its miraculous discovery and its inexhaustible supply of fresh water. It is apparent how Wiebe works concretely and realistically with the well-worn associations of the Christian iconographical tradition. The well is an indication of God's enduring covenant and of the spiritual potential and obligations of the agricultural settlement in Paraguay ("water" for Indians, Bolivian and Paraguayan soldiers, Russian Mennonite teamsters, and so on). But primarily the well is a challenge and a test. Will it produce withdrawn narcissistic ethnicity, or will it lead to spiritual growth? Just digging the well gave Johann Friesen a strained back and a rupture (another of Johann's paralyzing injuries); another traditionalist by the name of Klaus Wiebe was killed in the cave-in of a dry-hole.[26] It became his grave, but the marker, Anna finds, is "no protection" (p. 102). Anna herself cannot tell whether she is "looking into the well or out of it" (p. 96). Later, with Joseph Hiebert, "the wind lulled an instant and the fierce sunlight showed them strangely side by side, looking together at themselves; and through the endless blue sky" (p. 103). Anna fails the test. She finds "repulsive" not only sexuality

(p. 99) but also the fierce call to an authentic existence that the experience at the well becomes. Like the mouse-Friesen line as a whole, Anna settles for the tongue-tied Abraham K. Funk (pp. 101, 104). If any doubts remain about how seriously Wiebe believes in names as revelation and about how precisely and consciously he works, one need consider in this context only the dictionary meaning of "funk." As a noun it means "coward," "panic," "fear." A "funk-hole" is either a trench dug-out or "employment used as a pretext for evading military service." As a verb "funk" refers to flinching, shrinking, and shirking.[27] In the "Sons and Heirs" section, Helmut Funk is a cowardly collaborator. In this "hermenonomical"[28] light, the last sentence of "The Well" is unmitigated Anabaptist irony.

Thus we see that Professor Ferris is more correct than she knows when she suggests that "Frieda's narrative, which appeared initially to function as structural centre is gradually but relentlessly shifted from that position," mainly by "the pressure of the unfolding, qualifying contexts," which Ferris stresses are "explorative rather than definitive."[29] Neither the contents nor the contexts of the Frieda-Anna narrations are explorative; rather they are exegetical and, above all, tropological.

Wiebe seems to be saying that the passive, but spiritual, Isaak Friesens have run away from their responsibilities to the

agressive, but more animal, descendants of Jakob Friesen III, the leonine and equine group. Theologically, the splitting of the two lines seems to reflect a body-spirit dualism that is destructive and inhuman and non-biblical, at least according to the Anabaptist vision. What gives the ghetto-theocrats back their bodies and what tames the lions and horses is, in Wiebe's terms, the aggressive, but apostolic, imitation of Jesus. Thus, the violence that history visits upon the Russian Mennonites is dialectically (ironically) embedded in the pacific humility of the Frieda Friesen story, similar to the way in which violence was embedded in the "peaceful" Wapiti of Peace Shall Destroy Many. Wiebe shows his intentions in the juxtapositions of the biographies, and crucial to an understanding and appreciation of the novel is a precise reading of "Sons and Heirs."

We experience "Sons and Heirs" through the consciousness of nineteen-year-old Jakob V (1910-1929), who is in a GPU prison at the beginning of the chapter and who is clubbed to death at the end of it. He is the abandoned son of Jakob IV (born in 1888) and the grandson of Jakob III, who was born in 1859 and killed by Machnovites in 1919. This family history we get from the old crone Muttachi (Jakob III's widow and Jakob V's grandmother). As matriarch of the Russian Mennonites, she is the inverted image of Frieda Friesen, a sort of malevolent weird at her spinning wheel emitting Cassandra-like prophecies and judgments. Ignoring the needs of Jakob V, she spins "wool she

had already spun a dozen or perhaps three thousand times" (p. 35), a pathetic Penelope whose Odysseus is dead and whose Telemachus has abandoned her and whose grandson will himself betray the household. It is Muttachi who introduces the mouse-lion distinctions; it is she who judges Jakob IV and indeed all the Mennonites who abandoned their wealth as "runners and hiders and liars" (p. 28). No mouse she, Muttachi had survived her husband's murder, gang-rape, and collectivization; and, as she tells her grandson, she had also refused to go to Canada:

> Oh Jakob wanted me to go, yes, and old ones must listen to sons, yes, but to run after revolution and starvation and Makhnovski and they split my old Jakob in half from head to stomach and your Mutti and you and Mari under the manure in the pig shed so those who wanted had to work themselves dry on me—what's left they can do yet? Take, and welcome, welcome. Chase them and split them too and sweep up the last kernels in the grain loft and welcome, welcome everything (p. 17).

In Wiebe's terms, Muttachi's immense strength of character is corrupted but representative. Her last act of doomed stubbornness is to claim from Serebro the tablecloths and the Kroeger clock, that major status symbol of Russian Mennonite wealth. She is a physical survivor, mired in the material, and she lives on "old and alone, a burden on the collective farm as the kolkhoz leader had always said" (p. 147).

What happens in "Sons and Heirs"? Jakob V has been arrested by the GPU in the place of his father, who was away at the time preparing for the flight to Moscow. The GPU released him on November 12, 1929, and he came home to a house that was "a black

hole" (p. 13). The household gods, as it were, are gone; Jakob III's picture is missing (p. 22). What is left at the centre of the black hole is Muttachi and Jakob's half-brother Escha, a stallion-like figure that materializes out of the black wall (pp. 14-15). It is essential that this relationship be understood; otherwise the biblical analogues do not make sense. More important, the chapter and the novel appear coherent and unified only if the reader knows that Escha and Jakob are half-brothers. Wiebe's hints are direct enough. Like Jakob V himself, Escha has "reddish-blond hair" (p. 19), which extends in a "red mat" to his chest, crotch, and thighs (p. 24). Both Jascha and Escha (Russian diminutives of Jacob and Esau) have green eyes and are "exactly the same height" (p. 30). Commissar Serebro gives further evidence if any is needed. In urging Jakob V to be as free as Escha under the new regime, he says: "You are very alike, big, your faces—you could almost—strange" (p. 33). The "fly-by-night father" whom Jakob V wonders about (p. 19) is obviously Jakob IV, and Jascha probably knows subconsciously that Escha is his brother.[30]

The "real kernel of the Jacob tradition" is the story of Jacob and Esau, the story of "the shepherd who bests the hunter."[31] The biblical analogue reinforces the brutal clarity of Wiebe's analysis, which suggests that the Mennonites were neither brotherly nor apostolic in their treatment of their Russian brothers in their historical paradise. At the traumatic centre he places

two youths; one is the privileged son of a wealthy Mennonite farmer, the other an illegitimate Russian half-brother who comes out of the hills to seek work on the farm.

In his abandoned uncertainty Jakob V becomes purposeless and regresses to the instinctive behaviour of a hurt animal:

> He somehow felt motionless too, a sack hung empty by a string in a wandering wind and the life before his taking as meaningless as the wind that never again blew to stir it (p. 35).

In the space of a few pages, he fights, lies, steals, whores, and, indirectly, kills. As such, he supplants Escha in two ways. He gives him "half" of the money his father had left for him, one hundred and fifty of six hundred rubles (p. 30). After being sexually teased by Escha and the peasant girl, Jakob V hides in the barn, hits Escha over the head with a manure shovel, ties him up in the horse stall, and climbs up to the loft to satisfy his lust (and end his virginity), this after Escha had generously offered to share the girl with him.

This action brings about the dénouement of the chapter. Escha, horse that he is, goes berserk; in tearing at his bonds and threshing about he impales himself upon a four-inch spike. This we discover through Jakob's surprised thoughts when Serebro wakes him from his sex-induced slumber to arrest him for the murder of Escha:

> he walked forward and looked. What a body. Strength to tear the ropes on the one pillar left standing. But no head was enough for a spike on a torn plank. Perhaps turned over, threshing around. Never wait, never think; do it. Dead center. . . . Escha had been too violent. Never bother to think anything through or wait; just threw his body around like an animal (p. 41).

Like his father before him, Jakob V has betrayed the family heritage (or has been true to it) and become a violent stud, as the imagery throughout the chapter shows. He knows himself doomed,[32] and chooses to die like a lion; when Serebro offers to "save" him, Jakob V kicks the ex-Mennonite Commissar in the groin. The soldiers club him to death, like an animal.

I need hardly explicate further the chapter's plot or imagery. Wiebe's iconic jokes are everywhere. Especially witty is his use of cows, if one remembers their association with the mouse Friesens and with the obedient sexuality of theocratic marriage. Escha's stallion-like face is one "to make a cow squirt through the eye of a needle" (p. 19), a barnyard biblical pun that suggests instinctive fear is the source of the mouse-Friesen's piety. Further, once Jakob has decided he must and will have sex with Escha's girl, he cannot bear the "bulging eye," the "ogling" eye of Old Whitey (p. 37). He drives the cows belonging to the collective out into the street, and they of course betray him to Serebro. And so on. Once Wiebe's archaizing method and Anabaptist "covering laws"[33] are understood, the act of reading becomes the act of making correspondences.

Jascha and Escha and Muttachi and Serebro are not only individuals but also "revelatory working figures."[34] As such, they will bear some commentary in the contexts of Anabaptist Heilsgeschichte.

In terms of individual salvation history, they are all obviously damned souls. The responsibility for their damnation lies with the "runners and hiders and liars" whom, with the exception of the passive new-world Friesens, the reader has not yet met at the end of chapter two. Both Jascha and Escha are sons who have been abandoned at an age when they are especially vulnerable to a fall into nature. Thus Jakob IV's sin of son-abandonment, with all its analogues and puns, is the single act about which the rest of the novel turns. Everywhere, Wiebe is very serious about the responsibility adults have towards young men and women who are about to move into adult sex roles (and about the responsibility Mennonites have in remaining true to Jesus). In this as in so many other aspects of The Blue Mountains of China the heroic Epp family of "Black Vulture," of "Drink Ye All of It," and of "Wash, This Sand and Ashes" becomes the contrasting model to be imitated. Young Franz Epp, too, is tempted by a woman, Balzer/Reimer's wife.[35] He thinks "strange and silly things" like any "person twenty-two who believes himself decent and a man in every way except for certain things he has not yet done" (p. 61). His consciousness is not yet mature, and he is a victim of his imaginative fears (p. 69); his energy and pride could easily lead him to volunteer for the Soviet army (p. 60). Only his father's steadying presence keeps him sane and safe:

I ran then, not caring about my noise or motion, just to

> get to that window behind which I knew my father had been lying, waiting for me, praying all the terrible night (p. 70).

Unlike Jakob Friesen IV Franz Epp's father would not "leave one child behind . . . in the godless country Russia had become" (p. 62). The Epp family had experienced the same things during the revolution as had the Friesens, but they are clearly of different stuff. Instead of hiding in manure, they serve the raiders and then preach to them. Thirteen-year-old David, the hero of "Drink Ye All of It," and Mrs Epp run between the sabre-wielding Makhnovite and the admonitory apostle (p. 63). The episode thus recounted in "Black Vulture" provides the interpretative guide to the actions of the Friesens in "Sons and Heirs."

In terms of racial salvation history, the figures of "Sons and Heirs" have two main areas of reference. Wiebe dismantles the romantic view of the Russian past given by official or popular Mennonite history. The Mennonites were "screwing" the Russian peasants; they were materialistic, and they paid the price. At this level of reference, "Sons and Heirs" is a parabolic sermon preached to the biblical text of Psalm 49. There is nothing accidental or gratuitous about this relationship. Anyone tracing in the Jacob theme of the Old Testament the extension of meaning of ʿāqēbh to "overreaching" inevitably comes to the use of the verb in that sense in Psalm 49 and thus to the following:

> I will incline mine ear to a parable: I will open my dark saying upon a harp. Wherefore should I fear in the days of evil, when the iniquity of my heels shall compass me about? They that trust in their wealth, and boast themselves in the multitude of their riches; None of them can by any means redeem his brother, nor give to God a ransom for him: (For the redemption of their soul is precious, and it ceaseth for ever:) . . . . Their inward thought is, that their house shall continue for ever, and their dwelling places to all generations; they call their lands after their own names. Nevertheless man being in honour abideth not: he is like the beasts that perish. This their way is their folly: yet their posterity approve their sayings. Selah.

I cite at length because of the multiplicity of precise correspondences and analogues.

The second area of racial reference is to the Russian revolution itself. Serebro is a diabolic angel (p. 41), a "born-again" Communist who seeks converts (p. 32-33). And does Escha represent the giant body of peasant Russia in revolt, bound and without spiritual leaders and threshing thoughtlessly about? Or perhaps Wiebe is referring less to the ideals of the 1917 revolution than to its rapid degeneration into Stalinism. Thus Wiebe's own belief can probably be found in David Epp's comment in "Drink Ye All of It":

> Oh there's no doubt he means it, the good of the people, the morals raised and the poor fed and no stealing and everyone equal but why do they have to kick out our religion (p. 127).

Wiebe demonstrates a profound Anabaptist logic and a precise sense of Mennonite history in placing Frieda Friesen's "As It Was" and "Sons and Heirs" side by side at the beginning of his Mennonite epic. The two most striking aspects of the ethnic story

are precisely the contrast of the silent, enduring agricultural piety and the violence of the Russian Revolution. Wiebe shows how silent agricultural piety can degenerate quickly either into running and hiding or into violent materialism. Once this pattern is understood, the symphonic structure of the novel becomes clear; and the remaining parabolic short stories follow inevitably. By symphonic, I mean that two antithetical themes are announced; then, after several variations of the two major themes, various dissonant syntheses are attempted, attempts which finally lead to the full symphonic harmony of "On the Way."[36] This contrapuntal and multi-vocal (yet chronological) structure of The Blue Mountains of China can be most quickly shown in the form of a table. (See Appendix I.)

The chart arranges the episodes of The Blue Mountains of China into three thematic categories: vision without action (chapters 1, 3, 6, 7, 10, 12); action without vision (chapters 2, 4, 5, 8, 11, 13.1, 13.2); and the synthesis of vision and action (chapters 4, 9, 13.3). The syntheses draw the best qualities from the opposing positions and unify them by transcending them. In doing so, Wiebe has successfully shifted the hermeneutical divide into the natural world itself by incarnating the actions and spirit of Jesus in verisimilar characters.

Frieda Friesen's time-spanning narrative of "As It Was" (chapters 1, 3, 6, 10) is a first-person, first generation "official" frame for the novel. She retells Mennonite history

as the known, the unexamined, and the stereotypical. Seeded in the narration (explosively interrupting and questioning the official pietistic history) are the intense moments of worldly action, the "as it is" that official theocratic history so often represses. These episodes, which I have grouped on the right under "action without vision," are dramatic and almost timeless; while Frieda Friesen's narrative is annalistic, chronological, and genealogical. Seen in this way, the structure of The Blue Mountains of China progressively questions the family history of blood, pride, property and "old Adam"; and as progressively affirms the true family history of the sons of David. These are the authentic human beings who imitate Jesus in a conscious and realistic and local way. Thus seen, the novel follows closely Paul's dictum about family history and false teaching:

> Neither give heed to fables and endless genealogies, which minister questions, rather than godly edifying which is in faith: so do. Now the end of the commandment is charity out of a pure heart, and of a good conscience, and of faith unfeigned (1 Timothy 1: 4-5).

The design of God based on faith, which Wiebe finds in Mennonite history, consists mainly of the exemplary charity, purity, and good conscience of the mustard seeds: old David and his sons and, ultimately, John Reimer. In terms of Wiebe's Anabaptist vision, theirs is the only Christian response to history and experience. These apostolic examples occur in the major syntheses of chapter 9 (David II) and chapter 13.3 (John and Jakob IV); and in the minor syntheses of chapter 4 (David I

and his son Franz) and chapter 11 (the matter-of-fact peasant missionary, David III). Wiebe, of course, does not number the Davids, thus avoiding the dynastic characteristics attached to the Friesens.

As an ethnic epic, The Blue Mountains of China first dramatizes Mennonite history, then explicates that history, and finally extracts from it a guide to apostolic action. Thus we see how precisely biblical Wiebe's vision is and how crucially central "Drink Ye All of It" is in the typological structure and tropological intent of the novel. Wiebe's two first-generation informers are the only characters in the novel allowed to tell their stories in the first person. The pacifistic account of Frieda Friesen (peace freezing) is incomplete, as Frieda herself tells us on the first page: "You sometimes see so much more than you want of how it is with the world. And if you don't you can thank Him for that, too." At the very least one can say she is not much concerned with inquiring closely into "how it is."

In sharp contrast to the Frieda Friesen family history is Franz (frank) Epp's story of the black vulture. Franz Epp is Wiebe's other first-generation informer, a sort of Mennonite Marlow seeking the dark heart of nature and history. His account is prefaced by "as it is" (p. 54) as he struggles to understand the evil that has been following the Mennonites. As one of the sons of old David Epp, Franz heroically combines action and

reflection. The evil he sees appears retrospectively to consist of brute appetite institutionalized. He first describes his obsession:

> That as you think over the years this central—thing—gets more and more meanings, like a sponge soaking all your memories into it and leaving nothing, just it. Oh, of some of the facts I'm still sure, but—this thing was like something you don't want to think about but is always in the back of your head. Black. Or like when you stare straight ahead and on the farthest edge of your seeing you know there's some thing, but when you turn to look directly, there's nothing. And when you look ahead again, there's still the smudge (p. 56).

Later he remembers an "iconic still" that summarizes not only Stalinism but also (it seems) the universal unredeemed human condition:

> The muffled noise slowly, heavily broke into the rhythm of feet and round the corner came a black mass. . . . I don't know how many soldiers there were—maybe twenty, or hundreds upon hundreds—for when they were opposite me I forgot myself. It was what followed, partly surrounded by them and following. Figures bent forward with great burdens upon their backs, fumbling through the snow, lurch-bent, the sound of them an inhuman undertone to the crunching march of the soldiers. I could not see a face in all that unending company. Only the soldiers in their bearskins and overcoats defining the long bloated line of shapes broached to stagger along, gun-prodded, with not even the human sound of a curse. And after it at last, silent as drawn by something unearthly, came the Black Vulture (p. 69).

Franz is terrified by the sliding "long black shadow," and Wiebe concludes Epp's reflective reminiscence as follows:

> He was staring up into the silent darkness of the parisa tree. "It wasn't anything human," he said. "Just a thing; not even, the shadow of a thing. Soaking it up, following us. Ever since" (p. 71).

The terror in the Mennonite past appears as only a specific case of nature and the devil doing their usual work. It is this evil

in nature and history (including the iniquity of Reimer's father) that the second-generation, college-educated John Reimer seeks to understand. Franz Epp's narration is framed by the satellites passing overhead and by the booming voices of the giant frogs of Paraguay (pp. 52-53), technology and sack-bellied appetite. In this way, "Black Vulture" introduces the central tension and quest of the novel.

In Franz Epp's "backward look behind the assurance / Of recorded history, the backward half-look / Over the shoulder, towards the primitive terror," John Reimer sees that time, the survival instinct, the GPU, and the devil himself will swallow the human race much as the limousine and the labour camp swallowed Jakob IV. The main quest of the novel is John Reimer's quest for an alternative to the black vulture, an alternative to the carrion eschatology of the yawning maw of nature. Hence the importance to Reimer's quest of Jakob Friesen IV, the main example in the Mennonite past of the brute survival instinct.

Jakob IV is one of Wiebe's major achievements in The Blue Mountains of China. Like Deacon Block, the father-figure of Peace Shall Destroy Many, Jakob IV is (humanistically speaking) a magnificent character in his own right. Both characters show the limits of men who pit themselves against the divine and who rely on nothing but their own strength. Jakob IV is a leonine Friesen, a violent materialist with the gun pointed at his "ass". (p. 110), a character of sheer physical force driving towards

survival and success at all spiritual costs. We learn the facts of his story in the laconic nine sentences he tells to Elizabeth Driediger (p. 192) when he arrives in Canada at the age of seventy-eight to visit his daughter. He understands his suffering only as a matter of survival: "Yes, I have a strong body. That is why I survived. And because I believe nothing" (p. 193).

As we have learned in "Sons and Heirs" Jakob Friesen's sin is that of son-abandonment; "Black Vulture" and "The Cloister of Lilies" further define his character and spiritual condition. Friesen IV is at "the head of the line with his fat money-sack open in his hand dropping rubles so he won't get his shiny boots dirty!" (p. 57). Balzer is somewhat of a biased witness, since Friesen (with the lion-like pride of his son) has signed his name at the top of the first page of the petition. A more reliable witness is Franz Epp, and he describes Friesen IV as follows:

> Friesen had taken everything the revolution and anarchy and hunger could bring; to keep gold through all that took as much brains and guts and deceit as miracle; they said he had got together eight farms and a mill in Karatow [after the revolution] (p. 65).

The significance of "The Cloister of Lilies" section should now be apparent. The physical dilemma of Friesen IV is analogous to his spiritual condition. Enslaved by the brutish guards but resting momentarily in a one-time cloister during a blizzard, Friesen thinks of "the impossible waving lily fields of Mennonite childhood" (p. 115). The example of the two fugitives breaks in on him and reminds him of his own guilt. The woman will remain

faithful to her children through rape and death, and Friesen is brought to confession and to the brink of a proper synthesis:

> "How could I know they would? You know, who ever heard of such a thing from the GPU hunn? To let a young man, twenty and strong, out once they had him? And then caught me in Moscow too and Jakob hadn't come to Moscow and neighbors wrote he did something to a party man, at home in our village where he was free already and could have . . . but I had to leave, you know for Moscow. Who ever heard of the GPU . . ." [Wiebe's ellipses] Friesen's words vanished into darkness, as they had risen. They ran like a desert stream, visible an instant and gone (p. 114).

Although the faith and endurance of the two touch him for a moment ("a kind of holy wisdow"), Friesen rejects any kind of faith or any reflection upon the past that might illuminate his darkness: "In the grey immobility of years there was [sic] only your muscles, your gut throbbing now, never so much as a smile or a scrap of paper to shore remembrance of the day past" (p. 115). Friesen remains in this spiritual prison until the last chapter, when he discovers a sort of a son in John Reimer.

The abandoned cloister with its mural of lilies now contains two brutish guards, three enslaved prisoners, and two fugitives. The woman is a Mennonite who wants to see her children before she dies. She and her husband are indifferent to the inevitable rape, considering it a price that will enable them to continue their journey. At its own level the horrible passivity of the two is once again representative of the shame at the core of passive ethnic piety. They accept rape for the sake of genealogy, this reading in spite of the image: "Like his voice

the man's form lay totally devoid of human motion. As if stretched out and nailed down on its back" (p. 113). This is typical of the multiple function of Wiebe's "witnesses." The man may be a positive example for Jakob IV, but in himself he is lacking in "human motion."

The cloister is thus directly linked with the traditional Mennonite response to evil—withdrawal to the wilderness and thus acquiescence in the violence. As a guide to effective action in the real world, the traditional ideals are as impossible and as hopelessly distant as Jakob IV's happy childhood now appears to him. As such, the cloister and the spiritual aridity it contains are consistent with the unenlightened and unredeemed Russian past of the Mennonites. The cloister is an iconic example of the vast gap between belief and practice, between appearance and reality, in the agricultural paradise.

The vision of hell in the cloister is immediately followed by its negation in "Drink Ye All of It." The sacrificial action of David Epp reverses and redeems the old-world history of the Mennonites. By the single act of abandoning wife and son and returning alone to the Soviet Union, David Epp puts full stop to the running, hiding, and lying. Wiebe describes the flight of the village across the Amur River to the Khingan Mountains, to the blue mountains of China, very much in terms of the deceit (brains and guts as well) needed to escape the GPU. Through

Greta Suderman, Wiebe underlines the betrayal of neighbouring villages that their flight entailed.[37] The escape is morally shameful, a betrayal that the brute survival instinct can never justify.

The Oolulik of this novel is Greta Suderman, and it is her accusation (and subsequent gift of breast milk for David's son) as well as her song of sorrow (p. 124) that galvanizes David Epp's realization of what the Christ-imperative and the situation demand. Close up, the beautiful blue mountains (shades of Mennonite lilies) appear "black and jagged" (p. 126), "in the brilliant cold . . . like fangs along the horizon" (p. 138). In this tough-minded perception of reality, the "formula prayers" of the Mennonite tradition are the "useless ones of childhood." David Epp interlaces his reflection upon these matters with excerpts of Matthew's account of Christ's last supper. He accepts the inevitability of God's historical justice:

> [His forefathers] moved and built and grew fat and cared nothing. Until the revolution. It had to be it had to be (p. 132).

David Epp is so myopic that he can clearly see the louse in his son's hair, in the genealogy as it were; and the lice in China are even worse (p. 135). He abandons his son to gain peace of mind and to redeem Mennonite history; he embraces the violence of nature to end violence; he tries to kill the louse but fails (p. 117). Finally, he returns across the border to sit at the deserted table "watching, waiting for the louse to come to his warm flesh" (p. 140).[38] He "drinks all of it,"

gaining the peace of Christ both for himself and for those who will be moved by his apostolic example. He returns to the Soviet Union in order to shield the Mennonites remaining from the vengeful wrath of the GPU. As he waits "for the louse" he knows the beautiful blue of the mountains is a creation only of childish nostalgia. David Epp's rejection of pietistic utopian ideals and his exemplary sacrifice embody Wiebe's historical synthesis. Epp is a powerful artistic embodiment or incarnation of the essence of what Jesus means to Wiebe's Anabaptist vision. Compared to the ethereal Sally Howell of First and Vital Candle, Epp is a convincing Christian hero, a practical visionary down there among the lice and muck of historical reality taking seriously the impossible but necessary task of imitating Jesus.

"Drink Ye All of It" is the last episode in The Blue Mountains of China to be set in the old world, far "east of Eden." Having made his final comment on the violent Russian past, Wiebe turns the focus of his novel to the new-world Mennonites and their contemporary adjustments and characteristics.

I need not belabour the correspondences and "meanings" to be found in the last four chapters. Chapters 10, 12, 13.1 and 13.2 are unmitigated Anabaptist irony and satire; Wiebe delineates and deflates the various apostasies, compromises, and stupidities of the Mennonites in the material paradise of North America. What does need more attention is the education of

John Reimer and his final meeting with that numbed old sinner Jakob IV.

"Wash, This Sand and Ashes" and the last section of "On the Way" are neither ironical nor satirical. In "Black Vulture" Reimer had been introduced to the violence of his doomed ethnic past, but now he must understand the timeless dilemma of the body; he must understand the flaw or wound in nature itself. Indirectly, "Wash, This Sand and Ashes" shows the long-range consequences of sacrificial action. The selflessness of David II has marked David III for life, and we see him in action in this section. While David Epp is simply there doing his job in a matter-of-fact way (well-adjusted to the realities of nature), John Reimer is the focus of the episode. The two are trying to deliver supplies from the Mennonite colony to a mission outpost when the savage Ayerooa hunter confronts them. Orawané is dying from a gangrene-infected leg, a thorn-wound incurred while running carelessly during a hunt. We remember that faith and technology have combined benignly to cure Frieda Friesen's tongue-cancer, this in the immediately preceding section. Orawané's wound is to be contrasted with Frieda's tongue-cancer. The savage demonstrates the stoic endurance of an animal, but he can no longer walk; Frieda has the passive piety of Mennonite ethnicity, but she can no longer talk. The figures embody Wiebe's imagistic analysis and judgment not only of raw nature (carrion eschatology) but also of the institutional culture of the ghetto-

theocracy. In running through the bush in pursuit of a wounded antelope, Reimer too gets some thorns in his back: "and in two minutes he would have been as lost as he was pronged except for David's infallible direction" (p. 153).

Again, as in the Oolulik story, the jeep (as modern technology driven by the modern white missionaries down an abandoned oil-road) can rescue only a dying body. David Epp is concerned about souls, not bodies, but John Reimer still wants to cure the body. Needless to say, he becomes nauseated. Meditating upon this event and upon the black vulture, Reimer reads from Mennonite history and from the life of the savage the essential meaning that he must grasp, the paradox that can be resolved only by the giving-up-to-gain example of Jesus and David Epp. Finally, he does see clearly the dilemma of nature and the body:

> . . . except for no clothing they had seemed almost like the Christian Chulupis around the colony, almost, but with an aura of something they carried like their smell, a strangeness that in this burst of violence, pathos, raging laughter fingered through him like fear. Not for his own life; the aura he had caught from old Franz Epp that night; or the later night when he had explained how time and again over the years on the cotton field plowing he had turned up tiny bodies eaten past human recognition by busy ants: it is how they keep their families small. A hunter moves; he cannot have more than one small baby. Anthropologically that made fine sense; also while you were scraping your plow clean? He could not believe that. So much seemed to move in so many directions he could not gather together what, except at times seemed simply his own dumbfounded incomprehension about life and people. He knew himself, he thought; he was university trained, a professional who could help people live with the land, help it live for them; living with Christians who felt they had to "evangelize" Indians—they must learn to farm the land, hunting so near its limit—he knew himself broad-minded, perceptive

> understanding; he had built his enlightenment so deliberately, so intently careful against his own father's more and more clearly recognized nose-aimed myopia. But it seemed now he still understood nothing. Perhaps he—knew? —even less than his father. Perhaps it was impossible to get at anything at all essential about people by understanding. Perhaps they did need to be saved from hell; the hell of their being born, living and dying? (pp. 154-155).

Of course, Reimer's uncertainty is a carefully manipulated piece of rhetoric, a pedagogical red herring. The reader is to identify with Reimer in having his own certainties disturbed by the unredeemed and amoral cycle of nature, the cycle that in traditional Christian terms is broken only by the Incarnation. Through Reimer, Wiebe confronts the reader with an image of unredeemed nature; by contrast he implies man's inescapable moral dilemma and responsibility. It is a viewpoint and a method that will lead Wiebe directly to the story of Big Bear and Louis Riel. Wiebe will plough up the North-West Rebellion (the one explosion of violence in the prairie past); he will examine and meditate upon the shadows and bodies clinging to the remorseless plough of "memory ignorant" technological civilization. John Reimer's response is to carry the cross along the Trans-Canada highway, turning away from the blue mountains and heading north to Edmonton, walking on the prairie with Jakob IV.

Professor Ferris has described the ending as a failure because John Reimer is simply not "a compelling presence":

> He emerges as a rational, imposed and self-conscious symbol, relying heavily—and inappropriately on statement.

> This reliance on discursive forms dissipates the emotional power essential to support his role and points to the basic weakness underlying his creation.[39]

Ferris goes on to argue that "the authentic voice of the chapter" belongs to old Jakob Friesen. This is a falsification of Wiebe's "hermeneutical divide." What for Ferris is failure is for Wiebe a success, and in exactly the same terms. Wiebe has been trying throughout The Blue Mountains of China to do nothing else but to undermine the dark, instinctive emotional power of the Mennonite past and to make it amenable to the discursive and rational appeal of the Jesus example. Wiebe would answer here that Reimer is not a symbol of anything but only "a tired, dying human being, walking the land" (p. 225). Of course, given the thesis and approach of Professor Ferris, she must come to the conclusion she does; and one can understand this judgment but only on subjective grounds and in terms of aesthetic taste. A contemporary urban sensibility does find Reimer to be a bit of a pompous ass, and his consolation of Jakob IV does seem brutally insulting to Jakob's suffering. But that is to see the ending in terms of the Romantic symbol system and in terms of liberal humanism rather than in the terms in which it was written—restrospective typology and Christian realism. Professor Ferris does not understand the specific existential nature of Wiebe's Anabaptist Christianity nor has she understood how Wiebe's tightly conceived form reflects his precise tropological and pedagogical intentions. Ferris thinks that religious visions

are necessarily "transcendental" and "timeless."[40] I think I have shown how little of the apocalyptic or Platonic one finds in Wiebe's vision, how his interests are entirely in the here and now, how his novels are to work ethically and morally to waken the reader to evil and to his responsibility. It is pointless to wish that Wiebe had written a different ending, because The Blue Mountains of China is integrated and, as such, it represents the final intentions of its author.

One does well to remember that Wiebe is writing an ethnic epic from the Anabaptist point of view; and from there it is possible to see the ending as more effective and integrated than critics have so far noticed. First, chapter thirteen is as much documentary as it is evangelical. If one were to ask what in 1967 were the main elements and spiritual tendencies of the Mennonites, one could hardly imagine a better selection of representative types than the group Wiebe assembles in the ditch (not on the mountain) of the Calgary to Edmonton highway. The farmers having been disposed of in the previous chapter, Wiebe here drags in the businessman and his powerful wife Esther (remnants of the Friesen spiritual power); their empty-headed daughter and nephew; the sterile intellectual who responded to the dark past by repressing it; the youthful, new-world, college-educated Christian; and finally Jakob IV, who carries in his strong old body the endurance and violence and suffering of the Russian past.

Like Christ in his various pronouncements, controversy stories and parables, Wiebe has a pragmatic sense of audience. Everyone gets what he can understand, including secular and sophisticated literary critics who remember the ending as a sermon in the ditch. If one looks more closely, it is apparent that most of the declarations of meaning are reserved for those characters whose moral sensibilities are more or less corrupted. These people are shocked by the cross because of repressed guilt, or, in the case of the critics, because it is a blatant cliché. Reimer himself has little respect for the cross as symbol, remaining true to his Anabaptist vision: "I am a human being, walking. That's all. And for that the best seemed to be the old thing everybody understands something about" (p. 225). Reimer warns the rich man and his family of the danger of eternal damnation, the terms in which they might best understand these matters. They ride off in the Cadillac (as did Sam Reimer's wife) iconically surrounding and transporting a body. Since Elizabeth's spiritual sensitivity is more acute or perhaps simply because she is more intelligent, she gets a personal admonition: "Hate your life. Just a little more" (p. 217). The word-seeds may or may not fall on stony ground, but neither Wiebe nor John Reimer is particularly interested in the Williams family or in Elizabeth Driediger. For Wiebe the only authentic remnants of Mennonitism are the youthful apostle with his revived Anabaptist vision and the unbelieving survivor and sufferer from the past.

These two meet in the last section of the book, a section that is more descriptively iconical than it is evangelical. Again, Wiebe's intentions are apparent in the names, in the imagery, and in the "scene." The "freezing" Jakob IV is numb in spirit, as can be seen in his confession (p. 224) and in his almost somnambulistic or mesmeric following of Reimer and his cross. Jakob's braiding and unbraiding of the cord connects him directly with his mother's repetitive and useless spinning and unspinning in "Sons and Heirs." Jakob is the old man trapped in nature, frozen by carrion eschatology. As the old man braids and unbraids, Reimer and he discuss vultures (p. 219); but the dramatic or melodramatic image that ends the animal imagery in the novel and puts an end to the cycle of nature as well is Reimer's use of the cross. He drops "the end of its crosspiece down with a quick, clean crunch" (p. 218) in order to kill the gophers that have been crushed by passing cars (especially near the Indian reservation). The point is evangelical, but it has been made imagistically. This existential affirmation of Christian meaning and the denial of family history may be arrogant, but it is the usual "arrogance" of the artist who claims to know (or who is courageous enough or archaic enough to claim to know) what the world means. Only at this level can one question the ending, at the very core of Wiebe's belief and vision.

Finally, I must emphasize that Jakob IV remains an

unbeliever. He confesses his "crime" but claims that prayer did not help the Mennonites in their suffering, that God does not exist (p. 225). Reimer insists on the possibility, and the images combine once again to dismantle old Jakob. The coyote's call merges with the racket of a train—the primordial fear in technological time. Wiebe follows this immediately by quoting the last lines of Sheila Watson's The Double Hook. The giant wind which in "Sons and Heirs" had gutted the Friesen house leaving only the facade fronting the street (p. 23) now stirs once again; "the slope rustled as from feet," and God's presence on the prairie is confirmed.

CHAPTER FOUR: DOUBLE VISION: SHORT STORIES, 1956-1976

> The parable reflects a conflict between the author and his audience and is his effort to elicit from the hearers a judgment, to bring them to agreement with him. He is not trying to reduce them to absurdity nor to beat them back with surface arguments but rather to reach the depth of the conflict in order that a genuine decision might be made . . . . The parables . . . say something to and about man in a particular historical situation.
>
> --Dan O. Via, Jr., The Parables: Their Literary and Existential Dimension (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967), pp. 19-22.

> Whereas in the symbol destruction is idealized and the transfigured face of nature is fleetingly revealed in the light of redemption, in allegory the observer is confronted with the facies hippocratica of history as a petrified, primordial landscape. Everything about history that, from the very beginning, has been untimely, sorrowful, unsuccessful, is expressed in a face--or rather in a death's head. And although such a thing lacks all "symbolic" freedom of expression, all classical proportion, all humanity--nevertheless, this is the form in which man's subjection to nature is most obvious and it significantly gives rise not only to the enigmatic question of the nature of human existence as such, but also of the biographical historicity of the individual. This is the heart of the allegorical way of seeing, of the baroque, secular explanation of history as the Passion of the world; its importance resides solely in the stations of its decline. The greater the significance, the greater the subjection to death, because death digs most deeply the jagged line of demarcation between physical nature and meaning.
>
> --Walter Benjamin, The Origin of German Tragic Drama, tr. John Osborne (London: NLB, 1977), p. 166. (Ursprung des deutschen Trauerspiels, 1925; rpt. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1963, pp. 182-183.)

Rudy Wiebe is a pragmatic sower of Christ's message, a hard-headed Protestant who wants to change people. He writes to make people better and is clearly prepared to adjust his artistic strategies and to vary his subjects and even to compromise his real talent in order to evangelize effectively. Wiebe may have exhausted the topics of Mennonite ethnicity and of explicit faith rising from secularism and violence, but he also seems to have recognized that the explicitly evangelical example of the apostolic saints in his first three novels has sharp limitations as a teaching device, especially if he wishes to reach the "conscience-deadened" urban world. His reflection upon this problem seems to have led him to historical parables, to plots based almost exclusively on documented history.

First and Vital Candle appears, with the advantage of hindsight, to have been crucial in the further development of Wiebe's vision and art. At some point, Wiebe discovered that the Oolulik story was more powerful when it worked directly on the reader, without the irritating intervention (or problematic mediation) of struggling and naive voyeurs like Thom Wiens and Abe Ross or even of a relatively inexperienced artist-voyeur like John Reimer. This discovery released Wiebe's creativity; relatively quickly, he wrote a large number of rather good "documentary" and historical stories about Indians, Métis, and outlaws. Wiebe's publishing of Oolulik as a separate story

(The Story-Makers[1], 1970) has the imagistic parallel of Oolulik's burying her prayer book under the rocks along with the bodies of her children.[2] Wiebe seems to be saying that the antitype (the Christian fulfillment of the historical action) will have to be found in the mass of the historical experience itself. With the help of typological imagery and patterns provided by the author, the reader will have to discover the Christian truths (and his own salvation) as best he may. In the introduction to The Story-Makers, Wiebe does not mention the story's original context, but he does urge the reader toward a tropological exegesis:

> For most of the story the narrator remains uninvolved; he is active, but vital questions do not affect him. Then, suddenly, he is involved to the depths of his moral being. What is the complete story then?[3]

Of course, the answer is that the complete story is First and Vital Candle, in which Abe Ross and the Ojibway Indians are converted to apostolic Christianity.

At the end of The Blue Mountains of China, John Reimer's decision to turn north can perhaps be identified with Rudy Wiebe returning to Canada to a new job at the University of Alberta at Edmonton. Having exorcized and controlled (if not entirely forgiven or assimilated) the father-figure in his first three novels, Wiebe is turning away from explicitly religious subjects and from ethnic exoticism and turning north to a more local and prairie subject matter. Like Luther, Wiebe seems to have

found in the pre-advent situation of the nomads a model for his own faith or, more likely, for his own isolated evangelical mission. The hermeneutical divide is now in the Old Testament situation itself, in the verisimilar and historical life, where it separates "the suffering servant" (Isaiah 52 and 53) and other "types" (in the precise sense) from the doomed community to which the faithful are both an example and a betrayal.[4]

In the short stories as well as in The Temptations of Big Bear and in The Scorched-Wood People, Wiebe appears as a writer who believes that history in its very texture must be tropological and providential. History itself, according to Wiebe's vision, is evangelical.

Yet the nature of this vision is that Wiebe can never entirely trust "the gut instinct of writing"[5] or "the wayward though beloved senses."[6] Facts that remain facts become "the invariable tyrants of story."[7] Unleavened documents are what constitute secular history, motion without meaning. Facts worked up by the writer into parable will carry, according to Wiebe's faith in Jesus as historical fact, a meaning and a typological blow that will direct secular man to the historical dilemma of the body. The dangerous question as to whether history actually has such shape or whether its form is simply an invention of human pride must remain exactly that—a dangerous question. That Wiebe can now pose it (at least to himself, as I shall show) is an indication of the integrity of his vision.

and its slow liberalization.

Rudy Wiebe's first published story, "The Midnight Ride of an Alberta Boy," won the Canadian university short story contest sponsored by Toronto's New Liberty Magazine in 1956.[8] Since then Wiebe has been most energetic. He has written forty-four short stories, some of which were collected in Where Is the Voice Coming From? (1974) and in Alberta: A Heritage (1979); he has edited six short story anthologies, five for Macmillan and one for NeWest Press; and he has written six novels and several scripts for radio and television and film.

A remarkable and significant aspect of this publishing is his fondness for taking episodes out of his novels, both before and after a novel appears, and printing them in magazines and journals as autonomous stories.[9] Wiebe has an equal fondness for doing what amounts to the opposite--editing anthologies of short stories in which the stories are arranged according to their propositional and ethical content, in an order related to the Christian salvation-story (creation to apocalypse, sin to redemption, violence to love, body to spirit, and sometimes from nature to damnation). For example, by 1967 Wiebe had published seven of the thirteen sections of The Blue Mountains of China, three years before they formed integral parts of the novel. (See bibliography.) Collation of the variants (especially of "Black Vulture") shows they were first thought of as independent short stories (or as part of a cycle of parabolic

meditations on Mennonitism). Only later were they revised for novelistic coherence when Wiebe added the directly stated imperatives of "Drink Ye All of It" and "On the Way," thus providing the New Testament context by which the "raw" history of the episodes might be understood. The Blue Mountains of China is in many ways identical to Wiebe's short-story anthologies; the stories are arranged in a sort of ironic counterpoint to lead "toward one end, one finale."[10]

In this way Wiebe's short stories appear analogical to the parables of Jesus; both function inside a dialectic of text and context, of "hidden" and overtly stated truths. In the New Testament, the parables occur within the context of a larger, more propositional narrative, that of the life of Jesus and of his "non-parabolic teaching about the kingdom of God."[11] They are realistic short stories that imply a context of directly-stated imperatives.

A glance at Double Vision: An Anthology of Twentieth-Century Stories in English (1976) shows Wiebe consciously at home within this Protestant poetic. His double vision allows him to think easily and ironically in terms of the "double hook" of nature and grace, multiplying the analogies and correspondences (and usually moralizing or domesticating grace). In the introduction he balances the doubles of passion and reason in artistic creation, "the blaze of emotion and cool, cerebral craft of the draftsman, the calculating designer."[12] Another

mutually enriching double exists between the author's commentary, which prefaces each pair of stories, and the stories that follow. More important though are the double views or themes presented by the stories themselves. Joyce's "Araby" ("her name was like a summons to all my foolish blood"[13]) and "Grace" are set at the beginning of the anthology, a straight reflection of the double hook—the call of nature and the possibility of grace (albeit here shifted down to the realism of moral accounting). To introduce the two stories, Wiebe cites Joyce's comment about the structure of Dubliners:

> My intention was to write a chapter of the moral history of my country and I chose Dublin for the scene because that city seemed to me the centre of paralysis. I have tried to present it to the indifferent public under four of its aspects: childhood, adolescence, maturity and public life. The stories are arranged in this order.[14]

Like Dubliners, Wiebe's anthology too ends with a vision of death-in-life, Clark Blaise's "Among the Dead," a grim reminiscence of Montreal and the morally dead prisoners on Ile Jésus in the St-Vincent-de-Paul penitentiary. In between are many other doubles the meditative reader is expected to contemplate.

Wiebe organizes his parabolic teaching in terms of sexuality, savagery (violence, death), and grace (the antitype and its derivatives present by definition in Wiebe's typological scheme). These are the tridentine prongs of experience that disturb the biological organism in its round of sleeping and feeding. Each

of these disrupts the routine; each is iconoclastic; each prods the anesthetized soul into alertness; each urges the personality to creative action; each urges the individual to a moral and ethical accounting. In these terms, The Blue Mountains of China has four episodes in which Wiebe seems to be writing "near the bone," as it were. First is the "fall" of young Jakob V (sex, violence, death) in "Sons and Heirs." Second is Jakob IV's unfinished spiritual stock-taking in the cloister. Rape induces beneficial thought. Third is the "passion" of David Epp as he seeks to understand and to respond to the impossible demands of his "call" in "Drink Ye All of It":

> He knew no formula prayers except the to him now useless ones of childhood and he was clutching like a sinking man to an endless chain hand over hand that slid out at each touch "O dear God my blessed Lord Jesus dearest God and the Holy Spirit and blessed Savior o Lord Jesus my God, my God" until it lifted him at last at terrifying last to the inevitable (pp. 131-132).

Finally, chapter 11 contains the vision of the savages and of the apostle's burden: a fly-eaten dead antelope, an aboriginal hunter with a putrid leg, a matter-of-fact missionary, and a somewhat squeamish artist, all driving in a jeep down an abandoned oil road.

It appears that any method of conversion must emphasize and exaggerate the differences between the usual condition of man and the ideal state offered by it. Wiebe's system hyperbolizes the horrors of violence and death; death and decay

cannot be banal, perhaps because Christian literalists associate them with the death and damnation of the soul. In the epigraph to this chapter, the citation from Benjamin refers to German baroque tragedy, but it applies to Wiebe as well. The allegorical perception finds history's significance in its most pathological, "natural," and organically corrupt moments. What the antitype negates or redeems must be made as vividly present as possible. Wiebe's "black-vulture" pedagogy distorts the documentary reality presented, and regularly in the direction of nature. As this chapter will demonstrate, when Wiebe transforms aboriginal fact to fiction he makes primitive life more nasty, solitary, brutish, and short than he had actually observed it to be. (See footnote 36.)

It is revealing of Wiebe's central fictional methods and beliefs that his first stories should deal with death and with the marvel of historical meaning based on analogy and imitation. The first sentence that Rudy Wiebe published was "In the darkness under the rafters the eight-year-old Alberta boy awoke, to the screaming."[15] When he revised this story for his anthology Where is the Voice Coming From? (1974) this sentence becomes "In the darkness under the rafters he awoke to the screaming."[16] The sentence has archetypal, vocational, and apostolic reverberations. A boy is asked to ride for help when his older sister is dying an excruciatingly

painful death from an "enlarged heart." The boy discovers that death is "like the sticks of rabbits he found in his snares." As such, this knowledge is the primordial wound of consciousness; but death is also, by implication, nothing more than a "healthy foods scrapbook," nothing but an urge to action and a reminder to the mature Christian of the nature of nature. The simile "Like a coyote howl in the night when he lay in bed" identifies Margaret's scream with the old fear. That it should be in both the original and in the 1974 version[17] is only further evidence of Wiebe's fundamental integration and consistency.

The second story in Where Is the Voice Coming From? is "Tudor King," first published in Christian Living in 1964, but probably written while Wiebe was in F. M. Salter's class at the University of Alberta.[18] Like "Scrapbook," "Tudor King" is about a death. The hermit and bachelor Henry Tudor, claiming to be descended from the regal Tudors, dies during a blizzard, but tries to save his dog by putting it in his bed. Thus, in a pathetically glorious way, Henry Tudor is true to his name; the historical coincidence and correspondence enable him to "defeat" death and give meaning to his life through sacrificial action, at least in the eyes of the boy through whom we experience the story:

> And the dingy flesh obvious through the rags, the bedraggled whiskers, the rotting shoes, even the dog with his ceaseless scratch, were transformed. If before

> him was the nadir of humanity, the flashing eyes and the compulsive spirit moving there revealed the stuff of majesty. . . . Whatever had crushed any fulfillable ambition had not been able to erase a fragment of history, or prevent it from blossoming in the failing mind of the old man.[19]

The story shows a sensitive boy being introduced to typological interpretation, an understanding which is historical and exemplary. It shows the boy realizing the power in names and the power of example when it involves identification.

The story is a mildly ironic displacement of the Jesus story; the boy runs home saying he has seen a king. Thus, recorded in this early story is an account of a typological artist as a boy. He does not yet know the real king who redeemed history. Nevertheless against Frank's adult scepticism ("You can't go around believing every old tramp that says he's a king. Even if his name happens to fit something, four hundred years ago"), Andy believes and finds "fierce happiness at once having recognized the fleeting stuff of human majesty."[20]

Wiebe's second published story is "The Power," chosen by Earle Birney for New Voices: Canadian University Writing of 1956.[21] The power is death, and Wiebe seems to take a ghoulish pleasure in showing that all is vanity. The story tells how John and his wife go to town to finish paying for their home-quarter and to make a down-payment on another. While they are away, the two children burn to death in the house. The father throws the toy trumpet he had bought for his son "into the dead grass among the graves."[22] That is the final scene, but the

story also begins with the funeral, with John completely inside himself and numbed:

> He seemed to be, like the season, suspended by an everlasting thread in a void, and he was twisting slowly, futilely, like a strangled rabbit in a snare.[23]

This image is one of Wiebe's favourites, and a little later he describes the primordial agelessness of "The Power"—of death:

> Everything, including the fresh hole he had gnawed from the iron ground . . . and by which they now stood, appeared to have lain there for ages. It was all so old and each thing by itself.[24]

Wiebe then interpolates a flashback in which John tosses Jeanie to the ceiling and promises to bring Johnnie a present. The dialogue is stiff and virtuous, the characters are flat, and the plot unconvincing.

I mention the story for two reasons. It is an early story in which Wiebe uses death to force people to take account of their lives and purposes. Secondly, "The Power" shows a weakness in Wiebe's craft, a sort of a rift or flaw that will extend throughout his career. When Wiebe does "official" creative writng, when he invents a plot, when he writes about contemporary characters, when he invents speech for characters whom he does not know and for whom he has no sympathy, the results are moralistic, unconvincing, and at times sanctimonious.

I will mention briefly three other stories in Where Is the Voice Coming From?, all experiments with what Wiebe must know are his weakest subjects—contemporary situations and characters.

These three are different from the historical stories; nevertheless they reveal Wiebe's experimentation with "modernized" parable.

"Some Day Soon, Before Tomorrow" depicts Manitoba farmers thinking about what to do when the municipality's tiny culverts are flooding their land. The story's moral dynamics show I G becoming Isaac. I G is bright, capable, but cynical; he is a potential leader who has little belief left in anything, but "now the water had cornered him."[25] He finally acts because he realizes he is the crucial model for his son. In terms of Wiebe's ethics, "Someday Soon, Before Tomorrow" shows the importance of swift action if one is morally called upon to lead, this action to be carried out in spite of the law (which, as an extension of the violence of the state, is often stupid and unjust). The story is an example of Wiebe working out, rather solemnly, the Christian implications of civil disobedience. The allegorical and anagogical dimensions of the story reside in the ironies of too much water and in the puns on sons sacrificing themselves for fathers. The hermeneutical divide lies between Isaac and the other farmers, an Old Testament situation. To prefigure Jesus, I G must take up his responsibilities to the community, which is leaderless and without hope. There is no doubt that Wiebe has consciously attempted a wholesale displacement of his typological system and evangelical concerns from the past to the contemporary world, an effort that recalls

Samuel Reimer's story in The Blue Mountains of China.

"Millstone For the Sun's Day"[26] is a satire of institutional, authoritarian, "superstitious" religion; in some ways it reminds me of the "red-whore" rhetoric of traditional Puritan attacks on Catholicism. Wiebe has said that he wrote the story in 1965 while thinking about some "hard words spoken by the usually considerate Jesus."[27] The reference must be to Matthew 18, 5-6:

> And whoso shall receive one such little child in my name receiveth me. But whoso shall offend one of these little ones which believe in me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depths of the sea.

Innocent Joey unknowingly pulls the lever which sends his admired teacher, Miss Grierson, plunging into the sea with an engine block hanging around her neck. Joey has been chosen by lottery to complete some sort of human sacrifice, which seems to be a yearly one for the surrealistic island community with its cantors and baldachin-wearing capitular. The story is interesting for two reasons. Its plot recalls the burial at sea in "Over the Red Line," where Elizabeth falls through the gap in the railing. The gap had been made so that old Heinrich's coffin can be slid into the sea. Secondly, "Millstone For the Sun's Day" is unique among Wiebe's work because of its peculiar imagery and fantastic situation. It presents a Protestant dream-vision that surrealistically merges an institutionalized cult (with ritualistic and medieval trappings) with the industrial state. Both appear guilty of destroying

Sundays, beautiful young women, and the innocence of children. "Millstone For the Sun's Day" shows a corrupt community, an industrial "pleasure" society unified by a traditional and authoritative and ritualistic religion. Joey's father is a director of the "boat factory," and his parents acquiesce in something they know to be wrong.

Immediately following "Millstone For the Sun's Day" in Where Is the Voice Coming From? is "There's a Muddy Road," which shows another kind of compromise. The real-estate agent gets mud on his shiny Buick as he drives down rural roads with his mistress. He has not been true to his best nature, both as he remembers himself and as Mary saw him when she fell in love with him as a child.[28] Mary urges him to be honest and to break from his loveless marriage. (He is brutal with his wife and children because he does not really love them.) He fears the consequences, however, the upset, and keeps up the façade of being a happily married man. He cannot believe in love. From a strictly biblical point of view, the story is interesting because it puts love in conflict with marriage, loveless and institutional. The nameless real-estate agent is shown to be a dishonest coward, and Wiebe's intentions are plain enough. Thematically, he places love in a setting of commercial and middle-class sexual banality and shows how difficult it is to exist authentically and to respond to the call of love in all of its dimensions (in analogy to the demand

of Jesus). To follow love is to smash orthodoxy, complacency, and security as well as (perhaps) the institution of marriage. It is noteworthy that in a story like this, in which the typological vision has been reduced to hero-worship and moral example, Wiebe has accommodated his Christianity so much to the prevailing cultural situation that it is hardly recognizable as Christianity, at least not as Pauline Christianity.[29]

"Did Jesus Ever Laugh?"[30] is the last of the group of stories in Where Is the Voice Coming From? to deal with urban situations and themes. In a way, it is related to "Millstone For the Sun's Day" since it discusses directly the nature of Jesus and the meaning of his example. The story is formally interesting because Wiebe attempts a first person, stream-of-consciousness narration in which the action must be inferred from the distorted thoughts of the voyeur, who is compelled to kill when he finishes a popular song that he mechanically "plays" in his mind. Thematically, the action presents an ironic contrast between the ex-soldier's[31] insane fundamentalism (his obsession with sex, repression, judgment and inescapable guilt) and his victim's New Testament faith based on love and forgiveness. The mother sacrifices herself in an attempt to save her daughter, whose arrival drives the killer to leap to his death. As a sort of private joke or even exorcism, Wiebe is allegorically ridding himself of his own fundamentalism as well as passing an iconic judgment on the relation between fundamentalism and Jesus-

oriented Christianity.

In terms of Wiebe's typological maneuvering, the story is most interesting in that it attempts to incarnate the "black vulture" (now the devil rather than simply organic decay and fascism) at work inside a "typical" product of urban culture. Typologically, it is an example (unusual in Wiebe's work with its emphasis on moral change rather than eschatology) of New Testament types, the prophecies of Revelation, finding their antitypical fulfilments in history.[32] It is possible that Wiebe is consciously satirizing fundamentalist typologizing, which consists mainly of drawing close analogies between the types of of the Apocalypse and present events. Of course, the thought pattern is so close to Wiebe's way of Christianizing history that he is understandably quite interested in separating himself from it. In the story, the predictions of the New Testament have been revealed, at least in the psyche of the killer. He is obsessed with goats, sheep, and final judgment. A mysterious man "all in black" not only holds the foyer door open for him but also walks by in the hall as if to hurry him along to his damnation.[33] He sees the devil as a black goat against the stars, and "black" and "grey" imagery proliferates as the story reaches its climax. According to E. H. Gombrich, there are two artistic ways up to God. The first is through analogies of beauty and light (for Wiebe, who is not Platonic, through analogies of the historical Jesus); the second, applicable here,

is "the apophatic way of mysterious monstrosity."[34]

Influence in literary creation is notoriously hard to prove, but I catch a number of echoes in this story from Meyer Levin's Compulsion (London: Frederich Muller, 1957), a novelistic reconstruction of the notorious Franks murder in Chicago. Wiebe described the killer, waiting in his old black Lincoln, as a numbed inevitable force similar to the evil in "Black Vulture":

> On days like that I can sit, watching and waiting, wherever I've parked and I'll get numb slowly till there's no feeling in me at all and I'm just sunk down, eyes along the bright black edge of the hood, watching. Not feeling a thing, just eyes, waiting.[35]

Here compare Judd Steiner's thoughts as he waits for his victim in Compulsion, p. 83:

> Parking the rented car under the tree shade where the branches hung low . . . . And sitting motionless, hushed, just as when birding, until you are part of the landscape itself. Sitting quietly in the car you become part of the street, and you waited for the flock to pour out of the doors . . . , when quickly you snared your specimen.

I would guess that "Did Jesus Ever Laugh?" is Wiebe's direct response to Compulsion's Freudian explanation of random murder and disturbed minds. Wiebe's analysis is based on Christian Anabaptist psychology: possession, wilfulness of a narrow and numbed soul, absence of any "outreach" by people around him, and so on. To elaborate this psychology is Wiebe's purpose in The Mad Trapper. Wiebe must have been fascinated by Clarence Darrow's plea for the murderers, which Levin lifted verbatim from the court records. Although Darrow was an agnostic determinist, he based his attack on capital punishment very

much on Christian ethics, on the exemplary force of love and forgiveness.

I have said, heuristically, that it was the Indian that made Rudy Wiebe more than a novelist for the Varsity Christian Fellowship. Wiebe, however, was writing rather well about death and historical meaning as early as 1956, as shown above. The Indians and Métis and their historical dilemma had after all been embedded in his consciousness since boyhood. When Wiebe was writing Peace Shall Destroy Many the aboriginals meant two things to him. As raw nature they were unredeemed and dying, but as souls in need of help they represented a difficult challenge for the evangelical apostle. When Wiebe wrote the Oolulik tale for First and Vital Candle his conception of the natives seems to have expanded. He saw that aboriginal genocide (brought on by the European conquest of the new world) could serve as shock therapy to the complacency of his middle-class readers as well as function internally to urge Abe Ross to take account of himself. In The Blue Mountains of China, Reimer's meeting with Orawané has a similar catalyzing and pedagogical function, as if to say, here is the nature of nature and what are you going to do about it? The "Wash, This Sand and Ashes" section of The Blue Mountains of China is based on Wiebe's first-hand experience with Indians in Paraguay when he was there researching his Mennonite epic.[36] The crude sensuality and brutish poverty of the primitive life as well

as the moral and logistical problem they posed to the Mennonite colonies seem to have influenced him deeply.

In an interview just now published, Wiebe claims to be working on a non-historical novel; but he also reflects on his decision of ten years ago:

> I got into it when I came back to Canada from the United States in '67, even though I was working on Blue Mountains. . . . the West really became very very important to me in a sense that I saw it in a whole new dimension. . . . I could have written almost anything, I thought, in Blue Mountains, yet it was the place—that particular highway in Southern Alberta—that tied it together. . . . I think [going to South America] helped me to see much more clearly what had happened to, say, Indian people here: just the experience of a more aboriginal kind of situation in South America helped me to see.[37]

In the same interview Robert Kroetsch praises him for undoing "all the documents of the culture" in The Temptations of Big Bear (that is, revising imperial history). Wiebe's answer reveals not only that he seeks a meaning beyond revision but also that he believes that his novels still have not been well read: "Yeah, but that doesn't mean that I don't discover a larger meaning which has perhaps escaped a lot of people."[38]

Thus, after finishing The Blue Mountains of China, Wiebe set out to recover in the prairie past and in the fate and dilemma of the Indians and Métis a meaning larger than that given by orthodox history. He spoke of going into battle "against all the variegated and clotted ignorance of myself and my people,"[39] planning to upset the casual and complacent certainties of secular urban man.[40] For the next ten years

(with his double hook and double vision), he will go fishing in the Battle River.

The first story from this period shows Wiebe in transition, as it were, from his Mennonite and explicitly evangelical novels to his secular parables. "All On Their Knees" is a meditation on Thomas Hardy's poem "The Oxen," and the obvious theme is the spirit of Jesus (incarnated in Herman Paetkau) dominating nature; the oxen kneel (perhaps) on Christmas Eve. In the story Wiebe revives a minor character from Peace Shall Destroy Many. In that novel Herman Paetkau had married Madeleine Moosomin after Deacon Block had publicly branded him a bastard and had refused to allow him to marry his daughter. His subsequent ostracism by the Mennonite community is reiterated in "All on Their Knees," a story in which Herman plays not only the good Samaritan but also the "father" who kills the fatted calf for a prodigal son. He rescues an Indian who was freezing to death, wounded, in a blizzard. The Indian is on the run, having just killed his brother-in-law for mistreating his sister. Paetkau feeds Carbeau, gives him clothes, hides him from the RCMP, and sends him on his way on Christmas Eve with bread, gun, and snowshoes. In doing so, Paetkau burdens the killer with moral responsibility and with his own example—Carbeau "seemed to stoop forward, as if accepting a weight."[41] Paetkau has found a "fathomless serenity." While Carbeau slept, Paetkau had been reading "The Oxen," reprinted in a country magazine for Christmas. After

Carbeau leaves on Christmas Eve, Paetkau goes to the barn expecting to see the animals "on their knees."

A key line that Wiebé does not quote from "The Oxen" is "So fair a fancy few would weave/ In these years," Hardy's sombre reminder, but Wiebe insists on the possibility. "All On Their Knees" shows Jesus-like action redeeming nature. I believe that Wiebe wrote this story as an answer to Albert Camus' "The Guest," a story he anthologized in The Story-Makers (1970). The plots of the stories are almost identical, but Wiebe gives a radically apostolic version of Camus' existential dilemma. Daru is doomed whether he frees the Arab or sends him to prison (and so is the Arab). Herman Paetkau is sanctified by his act.

Apart from being the best overtly-Christian parable Wiebe has written, "All On Their Knees" can be used to show his intentions with respect to "the Indian problem." The Indian breaks into Herman Paetkau's isolation, a frozen killer (violent nature frozen). The tone of Wiebe's treatment leaves no doubt that Wiebe intends the extended emblematic meaning:

> For a long moment he curled over, around it, fumbling and hugging at its iron cold as if in love, then he got his arms locked and heaved erect. He staggered; the world wheeled over under the gritted snow and, incredible wonder, balanced on the sleigh track, a hard sure line for his feet.[42]

Hidden behind Paetkau's bedroom door, Carbeau magically escapes detection, an unbelievable event which is appropriate, however, to Wiebe's double vision and emblematic method. The RCMP cannot

"see" the Indian; Paetkau as isolated, but human, imitator of Christ can see and understand and love Carbeau as a human being. In this image one begins to see how specifically and concretely Wiebe understands the injunction to imitate Christ. In taking into his arms the violent nature of the Indian and of the prairie past, the human apostle and artist is doing the essential sacrifice and thereby saving himself. Walking with the frozen Indian cradled in his arms, Paetkau is able to walk "a hard sure line." It is a matter of faith that the oxen are thereby brought to their knees. As Christ harrowed hell, so Wiebe will plough up nature.

With this story and its larger meaning in mind, one can approach Wiebe's secular parables, stories in which the propositional context is available only to initiates. The general principle of interpretation is plain enough. Typology is only about "the foreshadowing and emulation of Christian heroism."[43] The Indian as Old Testament nomad, and the equally Old Testament games for Queen Victoria, present Wiebe with the genuine typological problem. To understand Wiebe's "old man" stories, one does well to keep these principles in mind.

Wiebe is fishing in the Battle River not only for Christ but also for any fragmented aspect of what Christ means. Thus, the stories "All On Their Knees" and "The Fish Caught in the Battle River" do well to stand at the head of a discussion of Wiebe's career as an apologist for the Indian and as a typolo-

gical historian. In the latter story, the voice that Wiebe revives from the past is that of a teamster who associates his capture by Poundmaker in 1885 with a six-foot sturgeon and the dusty ankle of an Indian girl.[44] In tacking on the fish incident at the end of the captivity tale, Brodie shows that he is uncertain about why he remembers the fish at all in that context. Of course, Brodie is apparently writing down his memories at least thirty years after the event, and that time-span accounts to some extent for the rambling nature of the account. It is plain why, in editing Brodie's reminiscences, Wiebe places the fish at the beginning and why he invents and adds the image of the Indian girl's brown ankle. The fish is simply an emblematic and acronymic reminder of Christ,[45] whom Wiebe here finds in Brodie's sympathetic understanding of Indians as real human beings. Brodie becomes friends with his captors, and Wiebe is careful to highlight each incident that shows Brodie's sympathy. Wiebe was also interested by Brodie's honest stoicism and by his ironic sense of the silliness of the white men's fears and of Middleton's imperial arrogance. Everywhere Wiebe preserves and enhances the comical irony inherent in Brodie's understatement. In something as meiotically perfect as "When an Indian visited us and expressed a wish to kill the prisoners, this man [the interpreter assigned to them by Poundmaker] let us know his wish,"[46] Wiebe changes only "prisoners" to "one of us" and this change probably only for clarity and emphasis.

Throughout, of course, Wiebe consistently edits in the direction of concreteness and colloquial vigour, but for these purely stylistic aspects of Wiebe's emendations one can consult W. J. Keith's article on the subject.[47]

Wiebe's double vision is here refined and focussed. The fish pulled out of the Battle is simply Brodie's compassion and non-racist appreciation of the Indian dilemma. Brodie's refreshing voice locates the action in ordinary human experience. He contradicts and deflates the official impressions created by the history books and ironically points to a pompous Middleton sitting in judgment on Poundmaker's Crees. When Hourie must translate "treason" as trying to knock the Queen's hat off her head, the whole solemn tableau collapses into mad comedy. Wiebe here invents an old Indian woman who starts "to talk and scream and wave her hands." The implication is that she cannot believe what she is hearing, and Wiebe succeeds in showing how little the Europeans understand.

"Bluecoats on the Sacred Hill of the Wild Peas"[48] seems to have been written in 1969,[49] when Wiebe was visiting with his family all the places related to Big Bear's story.[50] It thus dates from early in Wiebe's historical period, and the story is experimental in several ways although always consistent with Wiebe's view that history has a human and moral meaning in the present. In the story the family arrives late in the day at the site of Custer's attempted massacre, of his

"last stand" on the Little Bighorn River. The father is characterized as being somewhat sheepish about his obsession with Indian historical sites, and his wife is concerned mainly with feeding and washing the baby. As the family explores the site, discussing and "placing" the various aspects of the battle, the omniscient narration is interrupted by italicized quotations from The Denver Post. These describe a Coronation Ball in honour of the winner of a Frontier Queen contest in Cheyenne. The interpolations describe how the ball was itself interrupted when the crowd watched the first lunar landings on television. The juxtapositions emphasize the superficial banality of American historical memory. Although "the rest of the earth is watching history happen on TV,"[51] Wiebe implies that the family is recovering events and meanings at the battlefield that question the accepted and popular understandings reflected in the coronation and the lunar landing.

The story is written in the style and structure of the "new journalism," albeit without the tone that already in 1975 was called "1980s smart-ass." Wiebe presents an intelligence experiencing a historic site at a particular moment in local and American and lunar (lunatic) history. Wiebe assembles objectively and dispassionately all the facts and emotions that comprise that experience, a believable replica or reconstruction of that experience. The parallel and contrasting imagery, as well as direct statement, weight the account in favour of the

Indians and the family doing the visiting. The Indians were justified in defending themselves; Custer was an ambition-crazed murderer of women and children; the Oglala Sioux have degenerated to nothing more than local colour for the frontier celebrations;[52] and so on. Local popular culture complacently ignores its murderous history; instead, with actors from Gunsmoke, the town celebrates a television version of the frontier past.. Indirectly, Wiebe makes present his version of the past and thus provides a moral context for the lunar landing and contemporary American culture. At the end of the story, the baby "oddly, was sleeping." The family's warm understanding and their intention of washing their baby unite them against the crimes of the past and the technological amoral banality of the present.

Wiebe believes that if people are to be sane at all they must know their history as an individual moral struggle, a story of right and wrong, of suffering, endurance, and death. In the early aboriginal stories, Wiebe seems to be working towards a personal realization about historical meaning and his Christian apostolic vision. He is struggling to see the Indians, in their pre-redemptive and pre-figurative situation, as more than shadows or mere figures. He is, as it were, consciously working up sympathy for them as real people in a real historical situation. Beyond that, I think that once Wiebe discovered the essentially sacred way in which the Indians perceived reality he identified

his own dispossessed condition more and more with that of the Indians, who faced extinction as a result of the imperial arrogance of technological European culture.

The title story of Wiebe's 1974 short-story anthology, "Where Is the Voice Coming From?," directly takes up these questions, questions about the significance of aboriginal history for a Christian vision in the space age. That Wiebe can publicly explore an issue that for him is a deeply personal one and crucial to his further development as a Christian teacher and writer is an indication of how far and how quickly he has come in developing his literary craft, his parabolic tactics. "Where Is the Voice Coming From?" has a carefully controlled epistemological uncertainty that makes the story appear very contemporary in terms of technique. The reader is involved with the author in a speculatively sincere investigation of the historical facts about the outlaw Almighty Voice and recovers with him the enigmatic beauty of his "geste." The researcher-narrator ends the story with a great deal of humility and modesty:

> I say 'wordless cry' because that is the way it sounds to me. I could be more accurate if I had a reliable interpreter who would make a reliable interpretation. For I do not, of course, understand the Cree myself.[53]

There are multiple ironies inherent in this humility, which is at least something of a red herring appropriate to the Christian teaching strategy of typological and tropological interpretation.

At the literal "straight" level, Wiebe dramatizes his own thoughts as he researches the story of Almighty Voice, telling the experience so as to strip the uniform again from centralist and imperial history.[54] Wiebe presents the crimes of Almighty Voice as sympathetically as possible, so much so that Pierre Berton has chided Wiebe (and others) for libelling the Indian race in suggesting that "a twenty-one-year-old punk is the best it can produce."[55] Wiebe has nothing but contempt, of course, for Berton's way of seeing history, considering it a corporate extension of nineteenth-century white arrogance.[56] For Wiebe the point is not so much what Almighty Voice "was" but what he can fruitfully be made to mean in the present. Wiebe notes that the RCMP cannon is kept beautifully polished in the museum, but that Almighty Voice's Winchester is rusted. Wiebe emphasizes the "overkill," the racist paranoia of the police and the volunteers as they finally trap and kill the young outlaw and his even younger companions. At this literal level, Wiebe's report of his investigation is simply a moral elegy, a revising of the heroic history of the conquest of the west towards a sympathetic personal view based on pacifism, love, and forgiveness.

One can also place at this direct level some of the more obvious meanings that flow from the blatant pun in the outlaw's name; the correspondence of the name to God confronts the reader with the question of what God was doing, intending, and saying

when he allowed genocide on the prairie. Of course, Wiebe would not accept Thomas Hardy's answer to that age-old question. To Wiebe names are revelation. "Sometimes it would seem," he writes, "that it would be enough—perhaps more than enough—to hear the names only."[57] Wiebe follows this comment with an epic list that builds climactically to "And of course himself: in the award proclamation named 'Jean-Baptiste' but otherwise known only as Almighty Voice." At the literal level Wiebe is telling his readers to meditate about how aboriginal history could possibly be (must be) providential.

God is not as enigmatic as the surface of the story pretends. And Wiebe has at least one reliable interpreter in his Holy Spirit. One thing that God is saying is that the Indian is youthful nature, arrogant and proud, and as such meets nature's fate. Although Wiebe treats Almighty Voice sympathetically, he knows as well as Pierre Berton that Almighty Voice is "in many ways a petty human being. . . . a kid,"[58] a defiant young man seeking glory. The rationality of Wiebe's tough-minded Protestantism will not allow him to sentimentalize the Indians. In the iconic tableau that Wiebe draws when he finally moves to describe the final action, one image belongs to a pattern or cluster of imagery that recurs throughout Wiebe's work, the black-vulture constellation. With the immediacy of the historical present, Wiebe writes two paragraphs that are etched in a motionless clarity, an emblem of the historical fate of

the Indian in general and of Almighty Voice in particular. In five or six different ways, Wiebe emphasizes that "nothing moves."[59] The single image upon which I am placing this weight of interpretation is one that startles with its motion: "A crow is falling out of the sky into the bluff, its feathers sprayed by an explosion."[60] Carrion eschatology again, and the crow becomes a black finger pointing at the nature and fate of the Indians.[61]

These ironic patterns and correspondences are obvious enough, but there is evidence to indicate that the story has a more private meaning for Wiebe, one related to the very core of his creative energy. This meaning is directly related to the story's title, a title that identifies a question both crucial and intense for a writer who believes a providential God controls history, that a Christ redeems it, and that the Holy Spirit speaks directly to the faithful. In the story, Wiebe mentions Teilhard de Chardin and Arnold Toynbee, and it is not surprising that Wiebe draws his philosophy of history from these Christian apologists. Wiebe has also been reading Denis de Rougemont, and he has undoubtedly lifted his title from "Religion and the Mission of the Artist." The relevant section is worth citing in full since it accurately describes Wiebe's methods and private concerns. After defining art as a "calculated trap for meditation," de Rougemont goes on to examine the problem of inspiration:

> What Paul Valéry calls "the gods" . . . would be for certain other people the Holy Spirit, and for others still a message from the unconscious. Sometimes, we imagine that this instantaneous vision has revealed in a lightning flash the existence of a secret way, which it remains only to follow; and sometimes we have the impression that we invent the way while advancing upon it. This problem . . . torments not only the artist, but also, and more consciously still, the physicist. . . . Do I invent . . . or is it rather that I discover a reality? Do I project into the cosmos the forms of my spirit, or is it rather that I espouse by the spirit some of the objective forms of the real? And the man who receives a call sometimes subsists in this doubt to the point of anguish. . . . Where does the voice come from? [de Rougemont's italics]. Who speaks? Myself, or the Other? Such is the predicament which the intervention of the Holy Spirit creates in a man.[62]

If Wiebe has been thinking, in fact, about de Rougemont's essay in relation to the problem of reconstructing Almighty Voice, then the humility and doubts about historical meaning expressed in "Where Is the Voice Coming From?" take on an entirely new aspect, one which is significant in understanding Wiebe's fictional exploitation of the violent past.

To this point (1970) Wiebe has been using history and experience to generate Christian meanings, and he has done so at times with the arrogant brashness of a zealous convert. Violence, "natural" men, and killing are foreign to his sensibilities.[63] I am speculating, but in the privacy of his communion with his god Wiebe must have found that something was telling him to find not only Christ in the past but also real people in real situations. Or so it seems. In any case, Wiebe mentions in "Passage By Land" that Volume 12 of Toynbee's A Study of History had brought him finally to write the story of Almighty Voice.[64]

Wiebe does not say more, but Reconsiderations is Toynbee's retraction written to "dissipate the spectre of 'Toynbee, the prophet.'"[65] Toynbee's critics had charged him with setting himself up "as a 'prophet,' or, short of that, [he had lapsed] . . . into playing the prophet unconsciously."[66] While bowing partly to these attacks, Toynbee justifies the discovery of large meanings in history as follows:

> Yet, without mentally articulating the Universe, we ourselves cannot be articulate—cannot, that is, either think or will. And we cannot go on thinking or willing if we regain the unity of the mystical experience. So we have to dissect—and, in dissecting, misrepresent—Reality in order to be able to act and live in the light of the truth as far as we can discern it.[67]

In the light of Toynbee's statements, Wiebe's "Where Is the Voice Coming From?" becomes both an apology for arrogantly interpreting God's voice when He speaks Cree and an assertion that providential meaning is there and that this meaning can become apparent only through the subjective interpretation of a Christian storyteller. The face of the aborigine is completely the face of "any believed face that the world acknowledges as man" [Wiebe's italics]. The list that follows indicates that Wiebe is thinking of great potential for both good and evil. To the storyteller it is also "a face like an axe."[68] The savage from the past and, by analogy, nature and the body in the present challenge directly the moral conscience of the Christian artist and, as directly, appeal for some sort of redemptive action:

These statements [those of de Chardin and Aristotle about

> fact and fiction] cannot explain the storyteller's activity since, despite the most rigid application of impersonal investigation, the elements of the story have now run me aground. If ever I could, I can no longer pretend to objective, omnipotent disinterestedness. I am no longer spectator of what has happened or what what may happen: I am become element in what is happening at this very moment [Wiebe's italics].
>
> For it is, of course, I myself who cannot endure the shadows on that paper which are those eyes.[69]

Rudy Wiebe seems to find in the person Almighty Voice and in the facts of his story the larger facts of brutal historical conquest, of ego, of racial death, and of death itself; all of these representative of the enigmatic and inscrutable intentions of God. Hence the dramatic combination of the narrator's humility and uncertainty with a confident and graphic description of the heroic death of Almighty Voice. Hence, also, the complexities and ironies of Wiebe's double hook and double vision.

I will end this discussion of Wiebe's stories with brief reference to three others. The first of these is Little Bear's account of an unsuccessful Blackfoot raid on a Cree camp, a story that Little Bear told to Sergeant-Major Frank Spicer of the NWMP, who told it to John Hawkes, who printed it in The Story of Saskatchewan and Its People.[70] There Rudy Wiebe found it, excerpted it, and with changes in style and with several minor, but significant, additions published it as "Along the Red Deer and the South Saskatchewan (To the memory of Little Bear and F. W. Spicer)."[71] It is beautiful in the original, and Wiebe improves it, a tiny aboriginal epic of battle, bloodshed, endurance, and death. Of the three hundred Blackfoot youths

who set out with foolhardy courage to raid what they think is a tiny Cree camp, only fifty return.

Wiebe has been a life-long pacifist, but his double vision and his reader-oriented Christian teaching make perfectly understandable why he would dramatize sympathetically a bloody battle and a hopeless retreat. At one level Little Bear's story reads like a little Iliad, and there are echoes such as heroic similes, heroic epithets, and a graphically stoic attitude toward blood, wounds, and death. The reader is expected to admire the courage, intelligence, endurance and heroic fellowship of Appino-kommit and his followers, Little Bear among them. But the dominant aspect of Wiebe's re-telling is the second aspect of the double vision—the long view which shows ambition dashed, a foolhardy overreaching for glory and maturity being slapped in the face with the reality of death. Even though the would-be warriors are heroic, the effect on the reader is of the tragic waste of life. The story works as a powerful object lesson, voiding the reader as well as the narrator of the desire to seek manhood by means of violent deeds. The warriors set out yelling for blood; the few that return are silent, frightened, and fainting.

Wiebe has changed Little Bear's story mainly by consistently adding "black vulture" imagery, the crucial change that W. J. Keith does not mention.[72] Where Little Bear says "death is by us,"[73] Wiebe emends to "death is running us back."[74] Where Little Bear describes impassively how they had to fight

their way with their wounded through a "surging mass of Crees," Wiebe adds regret; Little Bear's "I do not remember much" [because of the uproar] (p. 119) becomes in Wiebe's version: "That wasn't the kind of fight a warrior likes to remember, carrying his wounded friend and trying to cut his way out; no joy, no joy" (p. 118). Further, in three places Wiebe adds a personification of death or emphatic references to blackness. When Wiebe's Little Bear runs by the boy whose jaw had been shot away, he sees "what rode his shoulder" (p. 118). Where Little Bear kisses Otat-to-ye goodbye, Wiebe adds: "His eyes were wide open and so black I could look through them and through his skull and see the very inside of blackness" (p. 120). As Wiebe's Little Bear runs for help through the night (like Franz Epp) he says he is watching "for what might be following me" (p. 121), which again Wiebe has added. Finally, Little Bear says nothing of wailing, only that they got even with the Cree the next summer. Wiebe adds: "Yes, we wailed that winter in the cold valleys of the Red Deer . . . . And how the Crees wailed that summer along the Great River, ahhh, how they wailed" (p. 123). In sum, Little Bear's details of bloodshed and killing are graphic, but Wiebe enhances the wailing joylessness and vigorously adds the images pertaining to carrion eschatology. The Blackfeet "children" have ridden into the jaws of nature, of death, into "the open jaws of horses" ridden by a thousand Cree warriors. Again, the image of the open jaws

is Wiebe's addition.

Only a very superficial reading of this story could possibly lead to the belief that Wiebe is treating heroically a battle and massacre triggered by young men seeking to become braves through the baptism of blood. In an editorial written in The Mennonite Brethren Herald in 1962, Wiebe had called for "a Sunday for the dead," a day on which the community "would fast and pray for men and women of the world crushed by sorrow, hatred, death." In the same place he speaks of "the love and beauty that is destroyed for all eternity when war and death stalk the earth."[75] This pacifistic and apostolic sense of the brevity and value of individual life and of the senseless horror and waste of war is precisely what is reflected in "Along the Red Deer and the South Saskatchewan." Wiebe has not changed his Anabaptist values. He has simply treated the aboriginal raiders and their prideful vainglory with compassion. He is seeing and showing the Indian as he has said a writer had to see and show all situations and people, "with a coldly understanding, and passionate, discernment."[76] To Wiebe, war exemplifies "a kind of stupid male world." It is made up of "basically men's games," "very deadly, but for that reason, all the more enjoyable."[77]

Hence, the title of "Games For Queen Victoria." Having given the aboriginal version of young men seeking glory[78] in "Along the Red Deer and the South Saskatchewan," Wiebe turns

with considerably greater irony and with less compassion to the imperial British version in Captain William Butler's story. Wiebe enhances and emphasizes the cocky arrogance already present in Butler's original account of his spying mission to Red River.[79] Butler thinks of it as a game in which he is the superior player. He wants his opponent to be an Alexander or a Napoleon so that his own ability will be the more apparent and his own career upward in the imperial hierarchy will be furthered. To Wiebe, however, Butler is a self-serving militarist, a Victorian career soldier who is also a mercenary.

In The Great Lone Land Butler tells of indifferently playing a few strokes of billiards while waiting to interview Louis Riel at Fort Garry. When Riel enters, Butler plays another ball, "as a means of bridging the awkward gulf of silence which followed the introduction." In his cockiness, Butler is yet perfectly aware of his awkwardness. He is embarrassed by his attempt to disguise his own uncertainty:

> To relieve his burthened feelings, I inquired if he ever indulged in billiards; a rather laconic "Never," was his reply.
>
> "Quite a loss," I answered, making an absurd stroke across the table; "a capital game."
>
> I had scarcely uttered this profound sentiment when I beheld the President moving hastily towards the door, muttering as he went, "I see I am intruding here."[80]

At this point in Butler's account, the messenger brings Riel back into the room and Butler negotiates with Riel in private.

Wiebe's version shows Butler about to run the table, about

to finish a perfect game when Riel enters. Butler sinks the last ball, but then inexplicably the cue ball "kept on rolling as if driven quite beyond its proper place and suddenly before I could put out my hand to stop it—absurd notion! it dropped in the bottom left pocket. Scratch."[81] The tenor of the game metaphor is plain enough. Butler is playing an empire-building ego game on "the billiard-table-flat Red River prairie."[82] He is both playing and being played, one who advances his own career while serving as a creature and tool of imperial expansion. Wiebe takes the trouble to go to another source in order to underline Butler's hero-worship of Napoleon, another ambitious militarist. Just when Butler meets Riel and sits "face to face with the still silent 'tin can Napoleon,'"[83] Wiebe inserts three paragraphs from Butler's Autobiography, describing his visit to St. Helena.[84] As a result of Wiebe's editing, Napoleon becomes a hero of "the Evil Spirit" and Butler his acolyte. What ends Butler's game, what causes him to scratch, is Louis Riel's pacifism. Riel refuses to play childish military games, and Butler is "stopped" and forced into reflection:

> And the man before me, self-chosen leader of this new nation of the North-West . . . why, he had the youth, the appearance, perhaps the brilliance to create a glorious empire. He certainly had the people and their power. . . . But Riel sat and talked: like a priest. Of peace; of preventing bloodshed; of resigning immediately when the proper government authority arrived. He had a glorious face, voice, his very tones were electric and I could feel like ice drawn down my back how that voice would send soldiers screaming defiance into the flaming mouths of cannons—but he had no emperor's spirit, he had no emperor's eye to achieve an indescribably glorious prize. Half the

> New World, and he could only mewl over the bits of blood it would cost" [the first ellipsis that of Wiebe].[85]

Wiebe's narrative irony implies further that in fantasy Butler sees himself as the "maverick" British officer who would teach Riel's "superb hunters basic cavalry strategy."[86] At the end of Wiebe's story, Butler mentions his commission to travel through the North-West for the Canadian government, thinking that perhaps there he will run his "elusive quarry to his haunt." To cause the reader to reflect upon Butler's nature, Wiebe nowhere specifies just who or what Butler's quarry might be. The original phrase in the Autobiography (in a different context) was "feeling certain that I had now run the elusive quarry, Success, to his last haunt."[87] I emphasize this to show the subtlety of Wiebe's parabolic reconstructions and the indirections by which he would induce Anabaptist and apostolic ethics in his readers. In "Games For Queen Victoria" Wiebe has presented concisely the theme and action of The Scorched-Wood People. Louis Riel is a spiritual hero whose pacifistic self-sacrifice "deconstructs" the empire-building of central Canada and of Britain. Wiebe's Butler is simply a massively ignorant and cocky tool of the larger imperial game. He has a psychology similar to that of Little Bear and his youthful raiders in "Along the Red Deer and the South Saskatchewan." He too worships at a "black altar," the phrase that Butler used to describe St. Helena and that Wiebe retains.

Wiebe's aboriginal tales point ahead to The Temptations of Big Bear. "Games For Queen Victoria," published a year before The Scorched-Wood People, reproduces the essence of Wiebe's view of Riel and the Métis. The last story I shall deal with here is also based on history, and it as well points ahead, to Wiebe's latest novel, The Mad Trapper (1980). "The Naming of Albert Johnson" deals neither with Indians nor Métis nor with spiritual heroes. Yet, given Wiebe's conceptual system, his Anabaptist and apostolic way of organizing and so understanding history, Wiebe's subject here is still very close to his concerns in his Indian and Métis stories.

I have shown that, in embracing the Indian and the violence of history, Wiebe as artist is following a Christian call. He is making the human condition present to complacent secular man, a condition he perceives in history through apostolically Christian spectacles. Man in his pre-advent situation is misguided, lost, violent, suffering, but crying for redemption (whether he knows it or not).[88] In these terms, it is appropriate to end this chapter with a discussion of "The Naming of Albert Johnson," a story Wiebe has put last in Where Is the Voice Coming From?, as a sort of revelatory apocalypse.

Finally, what interests Wiebe in history and in the Indian "problem" is the psychological and moral genesis of violence and the enigmatic intentions of God in what must be providential history. We remember that, given Wiebe's beliefs and his theology

of art, he is explicating God whenever he writes about historical events. The story of Albert Johnson becomes for Wiebe the emblem of recalcitrant human nature, a nature that resists love, language, community, and in so doing resists as well God's plan for the redemption of man. Thus, in naming Albert Johnson according to these precepts, Wiebe is naming and controlling the dark heart of evil itself. But again, the double vision is in effect; Johnson is lost and desperate, and therefore Wiebe treats him compassionately. At the same time, he dramatizes, in emblematic terms, Johnson's regression from humanity to raging animal, to death in every sense that word has for a Christian.

Wiebe has said that what interested him in Albert Johnson was how he kept walking backwards and "how he got his name."[89] Johnson's baptism Wiebe holds to be the "true climax." For this reason, Wiebe reverses the chronology;[90] he begins with Johnson's death and ends with his naming. In doubling back time as Johnson doubled back on his trail, Wiebe restores the values which Johnson had diabolically inverted. The narrative point of view is third person, but as experienced mainly through Johnson's intelligence. Wiebe attempts a psychological autopsy or a reconstructive explanation of a misanthrope who chooses to die, to revert to nature. Johnson may have been a sort of Timon of the Yukon or he may simply have been stupidly nasty.[91] As Wiebe presents him (or as Wiebe makes him confess

by re-writing his story), Johnson was enraged by being named yet somehow knew that he could not escape his humanity. Hence the apostolic logic of Wiebe's innovative narrative structure. In walking backwards and in refusing names for rivers, Johnson traps himself. In doubling back, Johnson is unconsciously seeking what he ragingly denies—a human identity. In short, Wiebe finds that Johnson's stubborn silence is a cover-up.

I will illustrate these generalizations by tracing briefly the two major image-themes of the story. Images referring to carrion eschatology are again clearly present. In the tableau of the second paragraph, Wiebe describes Johnson and his equipment as they lie after the Mounties finally kill him. The pack is "apparently worried by rats with very long, fine teeth," an image which in the context makes no literal sense. It must be understood emblematically, defining Johnson as being fed into the maw of nature. In death, Johnson is reduced to nothing "but snarl," to nothing but "freezing snarl and teeth."[92] Johnson's animal condition is further emphasized when he catches the whisky-jack by giving it a bit of babiche tied to a string. I quote at length to show how Wiebe extends the brutal condition and reality of nature ("the silent land is what it is," p. 148) to the institutional violence of technological society as represented by the aircraft. In Johnson's mind, the boiling whisky-jack and Wop May's plane merge. But, of course, Johnson's condition is also that of the bird:

> He tugs, feels the slight weight as the thread lifts from the snow in the firelight, and now the other is gone while draggletail comes towards him inevitably, string pulling the beak soundlessly agape, wings desperate in snow, dragged between rifle and fire into the waiting claw of his hand. He felt the bird's blood beat against his palm, the legs and tail and wings thud an instant, shuddering and then limp between his relentless fingers.
>
> Wings. Noiselessly he felt the beautiful muscles shift, slip over bones delicate as twigs. He could lope circles around any dogs they set on his trail but that beast labelled in letters combing the clouds, staring everywhere until its roar suddenly blundered up out of a canyon or over a ridge, laying its relentless shadow like words on the world: he would have dragged every tree in the Yukon together to build a fire and boil that. Steel pipes and canvas and wires and name, that stinking noise. In the silence under the spruce he skims the tiny fat bubbles from the darkening soup; watches them coagulate yellow on the shavings. Better than gunoil, or gum. He began to unwrap his feet again but listening, always listening. The delicate furrow of the bird pointed toward him in the snow (p. 149).

This is some of Wiebe's best writing. The image of brutal appetite, dragging the bird "between rifle and fire into the waiting claw," is as good as anything the long Christian tradition on the subject can offer. The final image of the citation has a function similar to the pointing crow in "Where Is the Voice Coming From?" If Johnson refuses to be named by people, nature will still identify him. The furrow in the snow pointing at Johnson is reiterated when Johnson kills Millen, and the men "tie Millen's legs together with the laces of his mukluks and drag him backwards, plowing a long furrow and leaving the rifle sunk in the snow" (p. 151). I have said enough about Wiebe's double vision to indicate that there is not a gratuitous word or image here: bodies, bones, empty bags turning and dangling

on the ends of snares, strings, ropes—in short, black-vulture imagery referring to carrion eschatology. In Wiebe's Anabaptist vision, nature reduced to appetite comes only to that.

In "The Naming of Albert Johnson," Wiebe places greater emphasis on Johnson's silence, his recalcitrance with respect to language, which for Wiebe seems to be a major step on the low road to doom. Johnson can shoot Millen, but "there are Millen's words still" (p. 151). Johnson cannot easily escape his humanity, as represented by language and communication. Nor can he escape the allegorical dimension—Wiebe's other-speaking. He cannot escape the word of God and Christ. There are at least fifteen distinctly separate references in the story specifically to the inevitablity of names, to language, meaning, and to Johnson's enraged attempt to escape them. Even in death, Johnson's will prevents his lips from forming words, from uttering a human cry:

> As if the long clenched jaws had tightened down beyond some ultimate cog and openly locked their teeth into their own torn lips in one final wordlessly silent scream (p. 146).

Johnson rages not only at the general condition of volubility and human meaning but also, and more obsessively (for here Wiebe is in agreement with his rage), at the violent language of plane, radio, "roaring radioman," and the police. When trapped by his ignorance of the river's name and by the radio and the plane, Johnson reaches for his rifle:

> Whatever this river is spiralling back into the Yukon hills, his rifle will not betray him. Words are bellowing out

> of the racket of teams hurtling around the bend. His rifle speaks easily, wordlessly to the army radioman kneeling, sharpshooter position, left elbow propped on left knee. The sights glided together certain and deadly, and long before the sound had returned that one kneeling was already flung back clean as frozen wood bursting at his axe" (p. 147).

The individual man of nature, morose and taciturn, confronts wordy organization man; for a moment, his soundless violence triumphs.

Johnson smiles and feels "warmth like a massage" when he burns what seems to be a bag for tea, a piece of paper printed with some words:

> He studies the paper, the brownness of it; the suggestion of a word beginning, or perhaps ending, that shines through its substance. He lowers it steadily then until it darkens, smiling as a spot of deep brown breaks through the possible name and curls back a black empty circle towards his fingers (p. 148).

Nature, rock, ice, and the "black empty circle" are silent and wordless, the condition that Johnson seeks.

On the last two pages of the story, Wiebe builds to the climax of Johnson's baptism. References to the inevitability of words, names, and language increase, as does Johnson's rage at the inevitability of being named. Johnson's reflection moves back from his death, pauses to circle about the words and shooting of King and Millen,[93] and finally arrives at his obsession:

> Perhaps he already knew what it was, had long since lived this in that endlessly enraged chamber of himself, even to the strange Indian accent mounded below him in the canoe

> bow where the black hump of the stern partner moved them straight toward him out of the fanned ripples, crumpling gold . . . One midnight above the Arctic Circle to hear again the inevitability of name. . . . to accept again what has now been laid inevitably upon him, the name come to meet him in his journey north, come out of north around the bend and against the current of the Peel River, as they name that too, to confront him on a river he thought another and aloud where he would have found after all his years, at long last, only nameless silence (p. 155).

To Johnson, the words "You Albert Johnson?" are like stones, as heavy as judgment itself: "he heaves them up and hurls them—but they are gone." The sense seems to be that he gathers words (like gathering stones), but before he can heave them and hurl them (before he can speak) they are gone. His rejection of his human condition makes no impression on nature:

> Only the briefly golden river lies before him, whatever its name may be since it must have one, bending back somewhere beyond that land, curling back upon itself in its giant, relentless spirals down to the implacable, and ice-choked, arctic sea.

Wiebe's judgment of Johnson is obvious enough, but it becomes even more so if one considers Wiebe's comments about the Eskimo. He admires them not for their survival in a harsh environment, but for their survival "as human beings," as cheerful loving people who rarely fight, steal, or kill. He attributes this humanity to their prayer and festival songs.[94] The direct contrast to Johnson's taciturnity and reclusiveness could not be more striking.

Wiebe has said that "the Rat River Trapper's story seems to contain that essential which, like the lead weight on the

plumbline, plummets straight to the bottom of our life-consciousness." For Wiebe, during the manhunt, "the essential Johnson . . . becomes a numinous lodestone shining pure as ice through the gathered horror of his ultimate snarl."[95] Johnson seems to become a personification of the id, of the pure appetite. In naming Albert Johnson, Wiebe seems to be exorcizing, taming, controlling the abstract will to survive, which, from the point of view of Wiebe's pacific Anabaptism, rages in the dark heart of nature. Compared to Johnson, the Indians that "name" him are prelapsarian innocents. In Johnson there is an active will to violence and evil. Contemptuously, he chooses to die.

Exactly in that sense too, another dimension of his significance for Wiebe becomes apparent. In himself, Johnson is a desperately lonely man reverting to savagery. As an example to contemporary readers, he is frightening, but not because of his savagery. According to Wiebe, "The contemporary mind rebels against anyone being so profligate with his single life."[96] "Or is it," Wiebe asks, "that by, as it seems, reasonlessly throwing away the one life he has, he survives? As we suburbanites can not?"[97] The manner of Johnson's death produces a growing legend, an afterlife. Thus, Wiebe finds that the pattern or structure of the Christ story repeats itself in some of the violent nodal points of the history of the northwest. Johnson does not pre-figure Christ; indeed, he himself has nothing to do with Christ (except as inverting diabolically everything that

Christ stands for). Or perhaps Wiebe was thinking of the outlaws that were crucified along with Christ. In any case, the afterlife of Johnson's story prefigures, in its benign pedagogical effect on "suburbanites," the potential benefits of Christ. By such analogical and typological maneuvering of his secular scapegoat and outlaw would Wiebe redeem not only the most violent surviving examples of prairie history but also his readers.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE TEMPTATIONS OF BIG BEAR: TYPOLOGY PROPER

> The council voice of Big Bear had wandered into the August afternoon and the directions of its sound were growing discernible. Forming from a barely apprehended, shapeless mass darkening out of mists, like allegories drawing a spare outline from bits scattered about the fly-buzzed afternoon under the council tent with its lower skins rolled up for air to move and the ears of all men to hear.
>
> --The Temptations of Big Bear, p. 196.

> What typology really is is a vision of history, or more accurately of historical process. It insists that for all the chaos and waste in human effort, nevertheless historical events, or some of them, are going somewhere and meaning something. Our modern belief in historical process, whether it takes a democratic or a Marxist form, is an outgrowth of the cultural legacy of the Bible.
>
> --Northrop Frye, Creation and Recreation, p. 69.

> In substituting the embodied for the disembodied logos, Christian historiography claims to establish a concrete principle of interpretation . . . .
>
> --Charles Cochrame, Christianity and Classical Culture, p. 481.

> The figural interpretation preserves the historical event while interpreting it as revelation; and must preserve it in order to interpret it.
>
> --Ernest Auerbach, "Figura," p. 68.

> Go back with your new religion, we never have understood
> Your robbing an Indian's body, and mocking his soul with food.
>
> --Pauline Johnson, "The Cattle Thief."

> It pleased the lord to bruise him. --Isaiah 53:10.

At the popular and obvious level, The Temptations of Big Bear is a historical novel of the documentary kind, an astute collage of document and invention. It has an epic theme and an epic action, at least as popularly understood. As an epic narration, it incorporates historical events, historical forces, significant historical changes, and brings to life historical personnages involved in these changes. As epos the novel focusses on the years 1876 to 1888, the crucial twelve years in prairie history during which the last buffalo were shot, the aboriginal land claim was "extinguished," the nomads were forced onto reservations, and a European settler culture took over the plains--an extension of the British-Canadian empire across the northern part of North America. This, the historical or epic action of the novel, begins with the signing of Treaty Number Six at Fort Pitt in September of 1876, moves on to dramatize the Cree involvement in the North-West Rebellion of 1885, and ends with the trial, imprisonment, release and subsequent death of Big Bear in January of 1882.

The dramatic action is twofold. On the one hand, there is the attempt of the Europeans to understand Big Bear and the historical action in which they are involved. This action ends with arrogant complacency or with "awe-ful" uncertainty. On the other, there is the struggle of Big Bear to comprehend genocide (or, at least, the end of a heroic way of life), to prevent violence, and to forge a union of all the Indians

and Métis so as to bargain with the conquerors from a position of strength. His efforts end in failure and death. Considered in these ways, the novel is a literary tombstone, nostalgic and elegiac, placed by Wiebe upon the grave of the heroic buffalo culture as an offering and apology.

The Temptations of Big Bear, ostensibly an aboriginal psychomachia and elegy, is Rudy Wiebe's finest achievement in parabolic Christian teaching. In resurrecting and reconstructing Big Bear as a real historical character living a real historical dilemma, Rudy Wiebe seems to have won the imaginative assent of most of his readers to the story of the noble Cree chieftain moving from a free nomadic existence to prison and death. At the same time, Wiebe seems to have succeeded in what he set out to do as Christian artist: to write a novel that works as an "indirect witness"[1] to evangelical doctrine. According to Frank Davey, "the least Christian of Wiebe's novels in its overt content is the most powerful in its Christian implications."[2] It is the task of typological criticism to show how The Temptations of Big Bear can be both secular and sacred. Indeed, since the novel's precise mode of signification depends on a typological, and thus theological, view of history, only a "biblical" analysis will demonstrate how the author presents Big Bear both as a natural man and as a type of Christ.

In The Temptations of Big Bear, as in the documentary and historical stories discussed above, Wiebe has shifted the

hermeneutical divide into history itself. The prayerbook is buried in the rock along with all the dead bodies, and Christian meaning must be uncovered there if it is to be discovered at all. The iconographical patterns throughout support the proposition that the typological and tropological action of this novel is essentially an "unearthing," a conversion of nature to Anabaptist culture, of natural man to redemptive example, of natural rock to "typical" rock. The author is in conscious control of the archeological process. He urges upon the reader the hermeneutical claim that Big Bear, typologically understood, has "suddenly changed by half a degree all the sign language,"[3] as the dependable observer Kitty McLean points out.

In the biblical exegesis of prairie history, Wiebe utilizes two main typological patterns: (1) typology proper to show Big Bear as "suffering servant" and redeeming example; (2) predictive typology to identify the European conquest as the incarnation of the antichrist, the "White Sickness," designated iconographically as the apocalyptic and antitypical fulfillment of the predictive types in the Book of Revelation. Before I turn to the identification and analysis of these iconographical patterns, I will first indicate the more "literal" and immediately obvious characteristics and effects of the novel, those which Wiebe himself likes to emphasize.

Writing in 1926 Lionel Stevenson suggested that enough time had elapsed to make possible "the necessary perspective

for looking at the tragedy of the red man's losing fight against the forces of 'civilization.'" He called for "a full exposition in literature" of "their tragedy of antipathy and conflict and defeat."[4] Stevenson showed some sensitivity to the Indians' point of view, but his tone throughout was that of a mildly decadent antiquarian; he wanted writers to "collect" the Indians before they disappeared. Speaking fifty years later, Carlyle Sinclair in W. O. Mitchel's The Vanishing Point is somewhat closer to the realities in the north and west of Canada when he wishes for "some sort of suspension bridge that could carry hearts and minds across and into other hearts and minds," for some way of crossing the hopeless gap in understanding between the red man and the white.[5] In the 1970s W. O. Mitchel, Rudy Wiebe, Peter Such, and David Williams all wrote fine novels about Indians. All of them were addressing not only the issues raised by Stevenson but also, and more important, the real historical situation that lies behind Carlyle Sinclair's uncertainty--the pathetic situation of the Indian in the present.

The three western novelists seem especially aware that the Indians of the northwest are moving from their over-crowded rural ghettos into poverty-stricken and crime-ridden urban ones, and that in doing so they are creating tensions and dilemmas[6] as acute as those caused by the disappearance of the buffalo a century earlier. The official nineteenth-century

Indian policy was to isolate the nomadic groups and to install a kind of paternalistic wardship that leaned heavily upon the bible and the plough,[7] as the reservation scenes of The Temptations of Big Bear well show. Today the policy of group control has given way to what the sociologists call "individuated ethnic accommodation." Stuart Hughes sums up the dilemma:

> Prairie Indians have become . . . a kind of "lumpen-proletariat," a substratum of Canadian society with no particular relation to its productive basis. Those natives who have experienced upward social mobility have often done so at considerable social, cultural and psychological cost. Indeed, few more thoughtful expressions of the attendant problems of individuated ethnic accommodation exist than the semi-autobiographical "Tales of Old Keyam," written by Edward Ahenakew in the late 1920's. Sadly, it also appears that today Plains Cree and white settler relations consist of little more than a kind of reciprocal racist exploitation.[8]

To experience life in any of the prairie towns close to a reservation or to visit some of the "red" beverage rooms of Saskatoon, Regina, Calgary, or Edmonton is to realize the truth of Hughes's description of race relations in the west. Everywhere there is prejudice, blatant discrimination, and "reciprocal racist exploitation."

Rightly or wrongly, Wiebe believes that a novel enters into the present moment as a powerful force for good or for evil.[9] As a teaching instrument The Temptations of Big Bear reinterprets and dramatizes the past in order to change attitudes in the present. As Sam Solecki perceptively remarks, "Remembering becomes an act with an ethical dimension."[10]

In these terms, one sees why Wiebe does not care what the critics say; his rhetorical-pedagogical target is the naive or uncritical reader in his historical dilemma:

> As far as I'm concerned, the most important people who are going to read this novel are Indian people. To see how they respond to it and whether they feel genuine things are happening is a lot more important than certain kinds of white response.[11]

Wiebe was clearly pleased when Maria Campbell said of Big Bear's speeches that "Big Bear's spirit took over and wrote them,"[12] although the innocence of the compliment (when considered with regard to his evangelical conquest of Big Bear) must have or should have embarrassed him.

Wiebe actively seeks naive readers, Indian and white, who will identify with Big Bear and find in him a hero from the past embodying what to Wiebe is genuine in the Indian heritage. As a guide to action in the present, the fictionally resurrected Big Bear works as an exemplary hero to be admired, pitied, and emulated. In these superficial and surface terms, the novel teaches the effective essentials of Wiebe's ethics--charity, compassion, forgiveness, and self-sacrifice. The reader realizes the history of the northwest from the Indians' point of view; he learns about the main historical events; he recognizes what the loss of a whole way of life is; and he cannot help but transfer his new insights and perceptions to the Indian as he is today, still a desperate and pathetic victim of his historical loss and of the white settler culture.

At the level of the "ordinary" first reading, this aspect of the novel culminates in Big Bear's plea of "Have pity" and "Give my people help!" (p. 398).

Like any determined teacher certain of the truth, Wiebe is alert to the psychological and historical context in which his teaching falls. In fact, the mixture of earnest conviction and the deliberate use of propaganda characteristic of Communist or Christian "consciousness-raising" constitutes Rudy Wiebe's personal and literary style. Lenin's famous distinction is instructive. Propaganda appeals to the reasonable and to the educated and consists of "the reasoned use of arguments." Agitation is "the use of emotional slogans, 'Aesopean' parables, and half-truths to influence the uneducated, the semi-educated and the unreasonable."[13] The "agitprop" aspects of The Temptations of Big Bear are closely related to the novel's documentary nature and to its formal genesis.

The subject of Big Bear may have been "a gift of God,"[14] but Wiebe's literary inspiration almost certainly derives from William Styron's The Confessions of Nat Turner (1967). Styron described his novel as "a meditation on history,"[15] and Wiebe echoed that phrase with "this meditation on the past."[16] This echo of course proves nothing, but it does draw attention to some striking parallels and analogues.

Both Nat Turner and Big Bear were historical personnages, legendary heroes to oppressed minority groups. Both were

religiously inspired, and both led or were involved in armed rebellion against the dominant white society. In writing historical novels about these heroes, both Styron and Wiebe converted them to Christianity, Styron overtly[17] and Wiebe typologically. Both authors claimed, at least implicitly and formally, a documentary base for their fictions; both entered into the minds of their historical protagonists, Styron as first-person narrator and Wiebe as omniscient author with privileged access to the thoughts of Big Bear. Both Nat Turner and Big Bear were depicted as fearful of bloodshed, and both had an intimate relationship with a young white woman. Wiebe must have known that many black readers of Styron's novel were outraged by what they considered "a deliberate attempt to steal the meaning of a man's life"[18] (italics in the original). They thought Styron arrogant and presumptuous in claiming to speak for Nat Turner, accusing him of reducing Nat from virile hero of the Negroes to homo-sexual weakling lusting after a white woman and with a "womanish failure to strike down white flesh."[19] To many black readers, Styron's Turner was "a neurasthenic, Hamlet-like white intellectual in black-face."[20] Whatever Styron's intentions and however "non-literary" the interpretations of the black activists, the fact remains that many blacks believed Styron to have deliberately fostered racist stereotypes in an attack on the civil-rights movement of the time. In short, Styron's symbolic act was read politically, as an intervention in the immediate social reality.

Given Wiebe's seriousness about witnessing through fiction, his belief in the moral force of a historical example, and his discovery that publishing a book could be an explosive public act, one can safely speculate that Wiebe set out to write a Canadian answer to Styron's The Confessions of Nat Turner. For the purpose of urging people to more Christian race relations in the present, Wiebe revived a Cree hero from out of a bloody moment of the prairie past. Judging from Maria Campbell's compliment, one can say that Wiebe's re-creation has been more successful than Styron's, at least as moral agitation.

The purpose of this speculative digression is not to diminish Wiebe's achievement in The Temptations of Big Bear nor to suggest that Wiebe gained much from Styron's example, which to Wiebe finally must have been an example of what not to do with a historical and pre-advent hero. The comparison does serve to place Wiebe's activity within the context of his good intentions and their immediate and specific objectives. More important, it emphasizes Wiebe's rather original exploitation of the epistemological and formal innovations of the "non-fictional" novelists and "new journalists." It draws attention to the status of documents in The Temptations of Big Bear.

The novel is a curious generic mixture: a documentary historical novel, typologically organized, without a single "invented" character; a novel that in revising "centralist" history substitutes a radically religious hermeneutic for any

of the more usual literary interpretations of history. For the purposes of effective literary teaching, Wiebe has merged (with some success) the documentary novel, the historical novel, and the television "docudrama."

The "Canadian documentary drag" that Louis Dudek identifies as our "national sclerosis"[21] is not new. Nor is it necessarily Canadian in origin, even though Dorothy Livesay has argued persuasively that the documentary poem is a Canadian genre (neither historical nor epic but rather "based on topical data" and "held together by descriptive, lyrical, and didactic elements").[22] One thinks of Melville's Moby Dick, Pound's Cantos, Carlos Williams' Paterson and In the American Grain, and of Dos Passos' U.S.A. Doctorow, Styron, Capote, Mailer, and Tom Wolfe illustrate the contemporary popularity and versatility, in fiction and essay, of "pop" sociology and subjective history. At its best, the documentary mode is perhaps an example of literature renewing its democratic and experiential roots. At its worst, like many of the docudramas and documentaries of film and television, it is biased, sentimental, and "heavily didactic."[23] It should surprise no one that documentary, perhaps more than any other kind of art, lends itself readily to pedagogy and propaganda.

In response to narrowly conceived and pseudo-empirical demands for "truth" and in the absence of unifying values and cultural assumptions, writers will continue to give "authority"

to their visions and versions of experience by means of the fiction of historicity. As a number of critics have pointed out, there have been essentially two post-modern narrative genres, "fabulation" and "new journalism." The former is mythical, surrealistic, and "imaginative." The latter is documentary, factual, and historical.[24] Both the "fabulators" and the "new journalists" are said to be responding to "the age of suspicion,"[25] when it is suggested that no one can believe seriously in a fictional character or when reality itself has allegedly become a buzz of meaningless or contradictory signals. John Hellman sums up a critical consensus:

> by giving up all claims to the actual world the fabulator frees himself from its vagaries and can deal instead in the more universal elements of idea and pattern; likewise, by claiming the actual world as the content of his works the new journalist justifies himself in writing directly about the phenomenon of contemporary life. Rather than engaging in the now problematical task of using these transient and diverse phenomena as self-evident signals of meaning, he can try to deal with them directly in order to decipher their significance, and perhaps in a sense even create it.[26]

This analysis of literary history and explanation of generic evolution presupposes a number of assumptions of questionable validity, yet the literary fact remains--documentary fiction and new journalism are central to a great deal of contemporary writing.

Barbara Foley has attempted "a classification of various ways in which fact and fiction can be effectively combined in works of prose narrative." She identifies two main kinds of

practice: (1) "documentation to enhance our sense of 'truth'"; and (2) the use of "factuality to make us question our assumptions," "to stimulate awe, skepticism, and even disbelief."[27] The first kind Foley finds everywhere in "minority" literature, in fiction written from "problematic ideological perspectives."[28] For instance:

> Part of this insistence on a strong factual presence in Afro-American literature is an inevitable reaction against the disbelief of a predominantly white audience, who have often doubted the authority of the black writers addressing them.[29]

Making similar distinctions, Alfred Kazin associates the second kind with "white middle-class writers who have always thought of literature as theirs." These writers are "struggling to find a form and language for . . . [the] 'crisis of literature.'" On the other hand, Kazin argues, "so-called minority writers brought up on collective experience of oppression . . . have always thought of themselves as creatures of history."[30]

It is plain what these classifications and arguments come to when applied to Rudy Wiebe and The Temptations of Big Bear. In terms of art, religion, and ethnic group, Wiebe is on the periphery of the dominant North American culture. His ideological and formal perspectives can certainly be classified as "problematic." By building his novel on a strong factual base, historical and documentary, Wiebe overcomes the reader's resistance to his religious interpretation and moral intent. The nonfictional characteristics of The Temptations of Big Bear thus

make the novel appear contemporary, allowing it the possibility of a widespread "witness." The documentary base legitimizes Wiebe's religious quest for emblematic and moral meaning, lending to that quest the appearance of a historical analysis.

Yet the facticity of the novel is more than a technique of evangelical "agitprop," of "with-it" Christian art. Theological allegoresis, oratio sub historica narratione (what F.P. Pickering labels "Augustinian historiography"),[31] has always claimed historical truth for both "cities," thus justifying the priority of tropology and anagogy over amoral "story." As I have argued, typology is the historiographical and artistic device that allows the city of god to appear in the cities of Babylon; typology focusses the double-vision. Wiebe's more literalist and neo-reformed version of Augustinian historiography depends heavily on the belief that history is providential insofar as it produces examples of pacifism and cheerful self-sacrifice out of the crucible of violence and brute appetite, these examples urging the reader to make the ethics and actions of Jesus his own. Herbert Butterfield advises the Christian historian to "see every event with an added dimension," to use "historical science in order to become a close student of Providence."[32] Wiebe's considerable energy as historian and researcher, as well as the dense facticity of his novels, is explained quite simply by his faith that the historical process is sacred.

In Big Bear Wiebe limits his characters to real historical people and his plot to real or verisimilar historical events. This is for him a profound statement of faith. He will trust the "quintuplet senses," "the wayward though beloved senses,"[33] but he will lift the facts so collected into spiritual and ethical meaning. He will excavate the story of Big Bear in such a way that "it will not disintegrate in our polluted modern atmosphere."[34] He will use the documents to match "one muddled memory against another,"[35] but arrange the testimonies so that the story will emerge "out of the vacuum called history," out of "the great ocean of our ignorance as horizonless as the prairies themselves."[36]

This emphasis on facts means theologically that Wiebe, having made a direct analogy between the Hebrews of the Old Testament and the buffalo-hunting Cree, now seeks to recover them as living examples. Yet there is nothing romantic or sentimental or even elegiac in Wiebe's attitude. He has thought himself concretely into the pre-advent situation as it existed historically in his own prairie past. In re-interpreting Big Bear's story, Wiebe remains strictly biblical, in every detail enacting his claim that despite the novel's historicity it is "the product of a particular imagination."[37] That imagination, as Wiebe keeps telling everyone, is centred on "a radical Jesus-oriented Christianity."[38]

The Temptations of Big Bear is a precise fictional

implementation of Paul's well-known typological and hermeneutical instructions to the Hebrews (8:1-13) with regard to the old law and the old covenant. In itself, the old dispensation was valid and complete. Its priests served "unto the example and shadow of heavenly things." This precept allows Wiebe to present Big Bear's shamanistic powers and the Cree religion sympathetically, without syncretism, blasphemy, or antiquarian sentimentality. At the same time, since the Incarnation is believed to have once and for all displaced all the other and older syntheses, these must now decay and vanish to make room for "a better covenant, which was established upon better promises." Thus Wiebe trusts his senses and the historical documents only if they lead to a concretely compassionate presentation of a "lost" way of life and if they yield Anabaptist epiphanies. Having presented the Cree way of life, Wiebe is then able to narrate its destruction, his Anabaptist vision reading the human catastrophe as inevitable and necessary.

In order to show this defeat of nature, Wiebe makes certain that Big Bear's example and vision "override" all other actions and perceptions in the novel. By means of Wiebe's omniscient authority and Kitty McLean's dependable "witness," the reader experiences more than half the novel from Big Bear's point of view or through a view sympathetic to Big Bear's massive "old-man" understanding. Even when Big Bear is not present, other witnesses make him the subject of their discourse. Big Bear gives five major speeches and two key pronouncements;

he is present as chief actor in two lengthy negotiations dramatically presented. Big Bear dominates the novel, and the structure of each section reinforces the authority of Big Bear's experience and vision. Each part moves from a cacophony of opinion, document, and first-person testimonials in the form of letter or diary or whatever through to an ending in which Big Bear's encompassing understanding draws together and "explains" the event in question.

Part I presents the main elements of the historical dilemma: Big Bear's knowledge that Treaty Number Six in itself "is only white" (p. 31), the inevitable end of the buffalo culture, and the pre-lapsarian savagery of the nomads about to "fall" into hatred and violence. The section concludes with Big Bear speaking a parable and a prophecy: his parable suggests the Indians should give up their bow to the little snoutish men with black hats; his vision foresees six of his warriors hanging from ropes (pp. 63-66). Part II shows Big Bear's attempt and failure to organize an Indian-Métis confederacy; again, Big Bear's perception is the controling one. He sees what the train means and tells Dewdney his story of the peace treaty between Indians as an example of what Treaty Number Six should have or could have been. By signing the treaty finally, he loses all political and moral leverage, as the conclusion of the section well shows:

> He had not thought The Only One would permit such blackness to be found in him; opening endlessly; he had never

> known all that could be there, and he could not stop himself.
>
> "What more do you want?" he cried to his oldest living son. "I am an old man and it is no longer given me to feed my people. What more can you want?" (p. 150).

In Part III Big Bear has recourse to sacrifice and prayer (exactly like Sally Howell in a similar situation, but here historical and believable). Big Bear's Thirsting Dance sacrifice is only partially successful, but he does control his young wild men (for the last time) and then makes his last great council speech. He urges pacifism and confederacy upon his followers but realizes the political and military weakness of the River People as well as their impending doom: "Our power songs call helplessly into the night, our wisdom cries through the trees and among wolf willow for us but we cannot find it" (p. 205). Even the catastrophic chaos of the Frog Lake massacre (Part IV) ends with the "typifying" and thematically clarifying conversation between James Simpson and Big Bear. "You will carry it all on your back," says Simpson. "It is gone and I am old," Big Bear answers. "That is the way things are" (p. 267). Part V shows the total defeat of the rebellion. The Indians are on the run, and the section ends with Big Bear's beautiful threnody on the death of Twin Wolverine, his oldest surviving son (of the "white sickness," tuberculosis). This death marks the definitive passing of the Cree way of life, even though Big Bear finally passes on the power bundle to Kingbird. But Kingbird has already been cuckolded by Delaney;

Sits Green On The Earth is pregnant with a child of questionable paternity. Big Bear is clearly giving up his world, consciously thereby accepting the role assigned to him by God, history, and Rudy Wiebe--the suffering servant of the "old" prairie past. Part Six consists of Big Bear's great plea at his trial on behalf of his people, which is followed by his apotheosis as "old man" saint and redemptive example. Wiebe thus makes the hermeneutical divide quite precise by means of both structure and action. Big Bear is separated from the violent chaos of cupiditas, carrion eschatology, and dog-eat-dog history; only he has afterlife.

Rudy Wiebe's method of composition and teaching in both The Blue Mountains of China and The Temptations of Big Bear can be said to be like Big Bear's council voice. It forms "from a barely apprehended, shapeless mass darkening out of mists, like allegories drawing a spare outline from bits scattered about the fly-buzzed afternoon . . . for the ears of all men to hear" (p. 196). Through Big Bear, Wiebe interprets as providence the "inevitabilities into which all, irresistibly, moved" (p. 17). The controlling icon and guide to interpretation of The Temptations of Big Bear, the title of which is already a posy on a Christian emblem, can be found in Kitty McLean's description of Big Bear as he admonishes both the "little bad men" (with wandering spirits) and the little snoutish men with black hats:

> Little Bad Man and Wandering Spirit stared up on either side of the old man. His voice seemed to be coming from high up, as if it might be only wind turning the leaves on Frenchman Butte so gently that there was no sound whatever of them touching, only the hush of air brushing my ears, reading down to me what already hung there in the air as happened and what with Big Bear's vision had now inevitably touched the earth. I could feel that, like light spiralling back and forth through my hollow head but I could not . . . where did those Cree words come from, I had never heard . . . were they words, they were, sounds . . . as if the high oration had melted into chant, or dirge . . . the old man stood with a wide black hole in the middle of his face and the sound coming out of there (p. 287, Wiebe's ellipses).

This passage contains no accidental images or puns. God descends and finds embodiment in history through Big Bear. The names themselves are revelation. Big Bear is both example and judgment.

As well as bringing together the controlling image-pattern, the passage also indicates the central pedagogical dynamic of the novel. Its structure imitates the hermeneutical process involved in explicating history, and it does so at three levels of perception. The little bad men (the Indians) and the little snoutish men (the empire-builders) see judgment, a black hole. Wiebe sees the suffering servant, an apostolic figura. Kitty McLean and the reader are to have their certainties upset and are to be moved to compassion and to spiritually beneficial meditation. Wiebe reduces history to the black hole of "carrion eschatology" and then extracts from it, through Big Bear, the saving example and word.

The Temptations of Big Bear is thus "a calculated trap

for meditation," fundamentally and consistently an evangelically Christian discussion of the pagan spirit-power of the Indians and of the corrupt spiritual resources of the white man, whose inexorably advancing civilization and technology (seen by Wiebe and the Indians in terms of the antichrist) destroy the prè-Christian but genuinely religious culture of the Plains Cree. The typological dynamics of that discussion provide Wiebe with the principle by which he selects and edits his documents as well as the iconographical logic by which he consistently organizes his imagery.

Wiebe's project and challenge were to provide, in contemporary fictional form, a theologically adequate explanation and justification for the destruction of the Cree. When researching The Temptations of Big Bear, Wiebe interviewed Duncan McLean, Kitty's younger brother and friend of Horsechild (Big Bear's youngest son).[39] Wiebe must also have read McLean's reminiscences, which were published in Winnipeg in 1970 during Manitoba's centennial celebration. Duncan McLean poses quite sharply what for Wiebe were the fundamental hermeneutical and theological issues:

> When we met Big Bear, he stood as the paramount chief of the Plain Crees [sic], admired by some, envied by others, but a puzzle to every one--for there was no answer to his question. Why? . . . He wandered about his desolate kingdom "like King Lear," as my father once said until, worn out, he walked into a police outpost and said, "It is finished."[40]

To the participants God was an enigma and the historical

process a "hellish dilemma."[41] Wiebe of course claimed to know the answer to Big Bear's question. The epigraph to The Temptations of Big Bear is a citation from The Acts of the Apostles, the biblical context being Paul's response to the altar in Athens dedicated "To the Unknown God." Like Paul, Wiebe knows Who or What the unknown God is and, like Paul, proceeds to declare Him and to explicate Him supported by documentary or pseudo-documentary history.

I have proposed that Wiebe makes concrete in his novel, by means of character and iconography, essentially three modes of being and understanding. Georg Lukacs has said that the significant characters in historical novels are those "who in their psychology and destiny always represent social trends and historical forces."[42] Wiebe too has strict categories for those personnages who, representative of historical forces, cannot or do not morally transcend their historical circumstances. These classifications remain unchanged from Peace Shall Destroy Many, although he has given his characters greater epistemological authority by deriving them rigorously from the documents. Wiebe's Indians are innocent savages in the energetic, but decaying, condition of nature. As children of the horse and buffalo, they are easily led or misled by good or bad example ("witness"). The average white men in the novel are evil and ignorant; in their greed, ambition, and limited understanding they are identified with the antichrist, at least insofar as they

affect and infect the Indians. Each group is the judgment and revelation for the other (and therefore its possible damnation or salvation). The third level of being is that of the "typical" Big Bear and of those few others in the novel who manage to achieve some individuality by their understanding, compassion, and moral alertness. I will now support these propositions with a brief analysis of each of the levels of perception as well as of the image patterns with which Wiebe consistently identifies them.

The Cree buffalo culture entered its heroic or "classical" period when the horse, of Spanish origin, reached the Saskatchewan valley; it disappeared three generations later when the Europeans extended their conquest of North America to the northern plains. Wiebe understands and wishes his readers to remember that the savage pride of the River People, contrasted sharply in the novel to the gentle pacifism of the Woods Cree, was itself a creation of European culture and a product of the European invasion. Certainly Wiebe holds the Europeans directly responsible for the violence that does occur when the savage children are provoked by the loss of the buffalo and by starvation.[43] Wiebe presents this heroic buffalo culture with considerable artistic power, showing it to have been complete within "the circle of earth." As creations of nature, the Cree are in harmony with the old God and with the natural cosmos, and all the misreadings of <u>The Temptations of</u>

Big Bear (as some sort of elegiac epic) draw their interpretations from Wiebe's convincing but propaedeutical surface. Yet everywhere the double vision operates. The Cree are also creatures of nature, and everywhere Wiebe shows the nomadic life, when it enters history, to be sharply limited by appetite, decay, and death. The Indians are incapable of understanding the ethics of the Incarnation as shadowed forth by Big Bear.

The Cree first appear as projections of river and sky as they descend one by one into the earth, "a flicker of motion downward from the notch of blue sky, downward into the earth beyond the water" (p. 16). They are "not so much human as innumerable mounds the earth had thrust up since morning" (p. 17). Big Bear himself is "a black bar thrust into the flaming sun" (p. 32), "a mound against the light" (p. 33). His face is "a pattern of lines powered together almost black by sun and wind" (p. 35). After describing the meeting between European and nomad and giving John McDougall's testimony about its significance, Wiebe omnisciently enters the Cree camp and, through Big Bear as central intelligence, presents the naturalistic and shamanistic totality of the buffalo culture.

The section begins with the medicine man, Red Bone, calling the children to worship the sun. In watching them, Big Bear remembers "his fathers's voice . . . small and naked, All living has soul and the greatest of all living is Sun. It is good to pay respect when he comes back to the circle of earth to rest"

(p. 49, Wiebe's italics). The primitive "red-bone" ritual is followed by a heroic meal:

> Into the coned warmth of the lodge, a thick weighed darkness of roasting meat and women and firelight and fur; soft darkness of leather and people sweat; darkness moving like raw yearling buffalo hung headless, turning in the complete circle of living and solid sweet immovable and ever changing Earth; darkness of fat's slip and dripping, of birch bark curling light, a darkness soft in flares of burning blood like the raw heat of woman tunneled and spent for love.
>
> "Good liver," said Sweetgrass.
>
> The only sounds were of fat's burn, and eating. Teeth against bone, meat tearing, breath rasping through nostrils, teeth in meat, lips and tongues and throats sucking, teeth against teeth. . . . "Good testicle," said Seenum (p. 51).

The chthonian, the cosmic, and the heroically sensual also pervade Wiebe's description of Big Bear's last buffalo hunt. It too begins with the cosmos and ends with the organic:

> The grass shimmered in the morning air along the line between sky and land. Out of that line the lodges developed, another feature of the land forming against space, against shouldered hills and an ultimate suggestion of mountains. But more ancient than the blue-green hills were these lodges, their weathered poles reaching swallow-tail through smoke-blackened vents, out from the smoke grey and rubbed white of their base clutching at, rooted down squatly into the earth. From that scattered grey and whitish line a shape spread, dark and gradually bumbling up until it broke apart, flaring wide into pieces whose running sound was the beating of the earth itself as they grew larger, gigantic, their shadows passing over like hawks or eagles. Horses and men drumming over the land. (pp. 123-124).

The imagery is similarly cosmic, chthonian, and organic where Big Bear kills his last buffalo:

> He was the curl of a giant wave breaking down upon and racing up the good beach of earth. . . . Dust, bellows, shrieks, rifle explosions, grunts were gone, only himself and the bay stallion rocking suspended as earth turned gently, silently under them in the sweet warmth of buffalo curling away on either side. . . . and he felt life surging

> like sweet water within her, her heart in that violent, happy thunder as she ran true the great curve of earth, as he drifted to her shoulder and his arrow for an instant pointed her like the giant constellation of the wolf road points the sky at night . . . . He stood where her head furrowed into the torn grassy ground, and he prayed, asking forgiveness of the Great Buffalo Spirit, thanking for what had been given, for the tongue, for the blood, for fat and bone and meat and hide, for sinews and the hollow cups of her hooves. In the circle of sun and sky and earth and death he stood complete (pp. 128-129).

None of these passages (nor any of Wiebe's descriptions of the Indians elsewhere in the novel) can possibly be read simply at the literal level of "the noble primitive life." Everywhere the imagery and the pressure of association urge the reader to recognize Christian irony. The Christian initiate will understand the "old man" jokes as well as the "distancing" depictions of atavistic appetite. The circle "of sun and sky and earth and death" within which Big Bear stands complete is the circle of nature. Wiebe ends the description of the hunt by having Big Bear assume the foetal position up against the dead buffalo:

> Her warmth upon the earth, the heat of life and happiness overcame him then and he had to sit down there, feel her heat mould him, curl him up within itself against the fulfilled dome of her belly shining against the sun (p. 129).

He further "deconstructs" Big Bear's nomadic and atavistic utopia. When Big Bear looks up from his dead buffalo, he sees Coyote laughing at him, showing him a fountain of blood that he cannot contain:

> The sky above him was flaming red, red slimed him completely, wherever he looked he saw all merging to red in the spray of the fountain he slipped and floundered desperately, down

> on his knees, to squash down into the earth again . . . . he saw through a thick crimson film Little Bad Man and Little Poplar and those others coming with Kingbird, all dripping red, running red in welts down their faces from the fountain squirting irresistibly between his fingers. On another rise Coyote laughing openmouthed (p. 130).

Wiebe makes plain that this is a revelation of nature, of Coyote, of the "black vulture"; the blood is associated with the Indians themselves rather than with the Little Men who wear "hard black hats." The fountain of blood is Wiebe's emblematic judgment of the buffalo culture, and the same pattern can be found elsewhere in the novel. The presentation of the Cree way of life is concrete and sympathetic, but Wiebe's Christian judgments are all-pervasive, revealed by the tell-tale iconic imagery.

In Wiebe's totalizing and systematic vision, the names and fates of individuals indicate their moral mode of being, their level of perception, and the strength and limitations of their existential syntheses. Like the Mennonites of The Blue Mountains of China, the Cree in The Temptations of Big Bear separate into two main kinds, two main possibilities or directions. These can best be shown in the biographies of Big Bear's sons, Little Bad Man and Kingbird. When A. G. Irvine sees the Cree through "the dusty tunnels of his memory," they are the stereotypical "fine well-built children of Nature dancing in the light of the fitful campfires of buffalo chips" (p. 86). Yet depending upon example, "witness," contagion, or influence, these "children" can easily become either "little bad men" or gentle "kingbirds."

Kingbird is introduced as an impressionable, spirited adolescent, always hungry and seeking to become "a worthy young man." After the savage meal already described above, Kingbird steps outside and contemplates "the patterns of seated men and the dangling bones" (p. 52) projected from the inside onto the "worn leather" of his father's lodge. He decides he must get a horse, kicks aside a white dog, remembers caressing the penis of a grey stallion, shoves his fist into the vagina of the bay mare Big Bear refuses to have bred, runs off into the brush, and falls asleep only to be wakened by Little Bad Man "mounting a woman kneeling as if he were a stallion" (p. 56). All of this action occurs with the graphic compulsion of allegory.

In Part Two, Wiebe devotes a whole episode to Kingbird's raid on the Blackfeet whereby Kingbird finally achieves manhood. Wiebe's purpose is more than to provide primitive local colour. Ethically, he demonstrates that the game of horse-raiding can be accomplished without bloodshed if a proper leader and example are present. Round the Sky, the name an indication of spiritual orientation, overtly admonishes and restrains Kingbird, preventing him from raping the Blackfoot woman and from killing the boy with the horse (p. 79). Round the Sky urges Kingbird to steal only the best horse in the camp but without killing anyone, thus gaining the greatest possible reputation (p. 84). Tropologically, Wiebe thus "conquers" the Cree horse-raid,

re-writing it in terms of Anabaptist ethics. It is worth noting here that Round the Sky had been taught by Father Fafard, that he was not painted at the Frog Lake massacre (p. 248), that he killed the mortally wounded Fafard as an act of mercy and love (p. 261), but that (since white justice cannot make fine moral distinctions) Round the Sky was hanged anyway as a murderer. Round the Sky's biography is a good example of how Wiebe unobtrusively shapes his material into moral patterns.

Yet Kingbird's raid also has an emblematic aspect. Kingbird is "moving under The Spirit" of the old covenant, the circle of earth and energy described above; his moment of power has come as he slips invisibly through the snowstorm. Abruptly, Wiebe freezes the action to present an emblematic summing up of the Cree horse-culture:

> The stallion stood and saw Kingbird there glistening naked in the snow. Barely moved his one great eye, unblinking, streaked slightly with yellow; as if he had stood there forever, frozen streakily white waiting for him to come finally. Power lay over them, lifting them like a river together with the sun flames over summer land and buffalo mountains thundering dust thin voices of his father, dancing (p. 83).

The unity and strength "given him by the circle" (p. 84) of earth, sky, and libido are closely related to Big Bear's shamanistic power, all of this under the bay stallion's eye, "one great unblinking roundness" (p. 84).

Until Big Bear's imprisonment, Kingbird remains energetically innocent, a compassionate pacifist true to the example

set by his father and by Round the Sky. Riding his black stallion (a gift from his father who got it from Sweetgrass) Kingbird interrupts Little Bad Man's official request for Big Bear's power bundle (p. 179). Later, just before the massacre, he refuses to eat coyote at the Rattler's war-feast, dissociating himself from their atavism and "singing": "It all seemed heavy to him; like muscling through rotting sodden snow" (p. 222). At Frog Lake, he saves Cameron's life (p. 255) and later, in the bush, that of William McLean (p. 274). He forgives Sits Green On The Earth her adultery with Delaney (pp. 344-345) and receives, finally, the sacred bundle from Big Bear (p. 350). As long as Kingbird is under Big Bear's influence, he is able to transcend ethically the raw nature that surrounds him. This more Christian potential in Big Bear's lineage is doomed, however, because of the historical catastrophe and the un-Christian nature of its participants. At the end Horsechild reports that Kingbird has reverted to Little Bad Man's sphere of influence, "eating what Whiteskins throw away" (p. 413). He has abandoned the spiritual power that had sustained the Cree in their natural condition. At the level of moral "agitprop," Wiebe is doing exactly what Josh Bishop had done in First and Vital Candle--shame the Indians with a pointed contrast between their past dignity and their present degeneracy. In every sense, Kingbird is the son of Running Second, Big Bear's third wife.

The career of Little Bad Man, Big Bear's third son,

exemplifies what for Wiebe is the other tendency of childish and unredeemed nature, its ready fall into atavistic violence. Little Bad Man is the second son of Root Grubbing Woman, Big Bear's second wife. He is the warrior son, "hacked out as it seemed in a kind of unending fierceness twisting blacker each spring" (p. 179). He enters the novel as a creature of sexual impulse, "ramming himself unsuccessfully upwards against the night sky" (p. 56), a "bad-boy" example to his younger half-half-brother. Big Bear describes him as being exactly like himself "thirty years ago, but without the voice" (p. 179). When Big Bear refuses him the sacred bundle (pp. 181-184), a decision Wiebe presents explicitly as a rejection of violence, Little Bad Man becomes blacker still. He becomes almost devilish at Frog Lake, where Wiebe shows him to be the chief instigator of the massacre. Little Bad Man manipulates the superstitions and natural tendencies of Wandering Spirit and the other Rattlers, making them his dupes. He himself kills no one, but he makes sure the others kill (p. 242), almost as if he were seeking a spiteful vengeance upon his father rather than a redress of the wrongs suffered by his people. In short, the Rattlers were "singing," but Wiebe holds Little Bad Man morally responsible for misleading them. He alone is cunningly in control of the massacre (pp. 223, 224, 241).

After the sacking of Fort Pitt, Little Bad Man becomes chief and tries to hold a Thirst Dance. Since his "spirit

power" depends on violence, Little Bad Man's dance is a failure. It is cut off by the arrival of the soldiers and the ensuing Battle of Frenchman's Butte (pp. 290 ff.). He disappears from the novel, ending up in Montana living off garbage. He is reported to have changed his name to Little Bear, the diminutive that reflects both his nature and the historical fate of the "little bad man" posture.[44]

The fatal limitations of the Cree way of life and the pathos of history's judgment are further suggested by Big Bear's references to Bear Son and Twin Wolverine, his two oldest sons. Big Bear's true heir, the only one "with a voice," died long ago killing Bloods (pp. 181, 348). Twin Wolverine too is remembered as an exceptional warrior. He had the coyote's song but refused to use it except to bring back the body of his brother (pp. 348-349). He dies of tuberculosis, the "white sickness," and Big Bear's threnody draws the cultural circle for the last time around his tribe and family (pp. 340-349). Yet Big Bear's celebration of Twin Wolverine's courage and his lament for Twin Wolverine's death is represented with explicit irony in the context of "eating heart" (p. 334). Big Bear seems to accept responsibility for the death of Bear Son, having led him on the raid: "Some thing was in me from The Evil One" (p. 342). The implication is that had Bear Son been alive Big Bear would have succeeded in his attempt to forge a union of all the Indians.

Finally, in this context it should be noted that The Magpie, Big Bear's last wife, is sterile. An emblem of the natural doom inherent in the natural life, she "disappeared like a cold whisper" (p. 109) when Big Bear failed to persuade Crowfoot to join the confederacy. When Big Bear laments how Twin Wolverine coughed out his life "without breath, without breath," The Magpie "screamed into the sky" (p. 349). Magpies and crows are not as impressive or as frightening as vultures, but as I have shown earlier they nevertheless belong to that complex of imagery I have been referring to as "black-vulture pedagogy" or "carrion eschatology." To the typological interpreter of history, The Magpie's name, like Blackfoot and Crowfoot, is the enigmatic sign of providence both constituting and judging the violent pagan past.

The fates of other Indian characters in The Temptations of Big Bear reflect as well the traditional Christian idea that nature is its own judgment. As a final example, I will refer briefly to the biography of He Speaks Our Tongue, who enters history because he beat the farm instructor on Poundmaker's reserve during Big Bear's Thirst Dance, who thus almost became the cause of massacre, and who died much later of wounds received during the Battle of Frenchman's Butte. Wiebe brings him into his novel as a representative warrior, a young man who must do as he feels in order to enact his culture and to retain his pride. As Wiebe presents the warriors, they

are victims of nature, of their culture, and of the white man's intolerable provocation. As such, Wiebe does not really blame them and is able to describe their violence as kind of amoral sport (pp. 263-264). The biography of He Speaks Our Tongue follows the sources closely, although the testimony Wiebe ascribes to Robert Jefferson (pp. 168-177) is essentially Wiebe's creation. Wiebe has rather brilliantly conflated two sources, Jefferson's "Fifty Years on the Saskatchewan"[45] and chapter two of Cameron's Blood Red the Sun,[46] running together the stolid sympathy of Jefferson, who was married to Poundmaker's daughter, and the irony of Cameron, who mocks the parsimonious bureaucracy of the Department of Indian Affairs and its agents. Cameron reports the death of He Speaks Our Tongue as follows:

> Kahwechetwaymont, double murduer, had had the flesh stripped from his thigh by a piece of shell. He died before another sun rose upon his bed of torture.[47]

Here as elsewhere Wiebe follows his principle of black-vulture pedagogy with respect to aboriginal life; he makes the savage and his fate more horrible and more brutal than the documents suggest. In The Temptations of Big Bear, when the shell landed at the edge of the rifle-pit, He Speaks Our Tongue stared at it, transfixed for a moment, and then "burst out laughing" (p. 300). Two pages later, Wiebe describes Tongue's fate and, in doing so, by metonymic extension the half-developed condition of the warrior-youth aspect of Indian culture:

> Abandoned lodgepoles and skins had been made into a travois on which lay He Speaks Our Tongue, his mouth open, singing. Sweat gleamed on his chest but below that he seemed only earth and he had no legs at all, his trunk simply ended in black clotted earth through which shining ooze worked itself as the poles dragged over stones and bumped into trees (p. 302).

To Wiebe, then, the Indians are only partially "unearthed." He can have sympathy for them, but their condition, according to his unchanging Christian vision, is incomplete and marked for destruction. When Dewdney spends the evening at Big Bear's campfire trying to persuade Big Bear to sign the treaty and explaining "that their life as free commoners had come to an end," the Indians are described once again as "silent mounds motionless upon the ground" (p. 14) and, later, as "faceless humps" (p. 145). When Dewdney finished speaking Wiebe notes that "a nighthawk in flight whirred over them like tiny bones rattling" (p. 142). As I have shown, Wiebe uses this kind of memento mori imagery (linking death and appetite) consistently throughout his work to label emblematically the "childish" or "unconscious" condition of nature, innocent yet marked for death. For Wiebe, it is always death and decay that urge the carefree toward moral reflection.

The second level of being and perception that organizes the novel is the condition of active evil, whether the amoral exuberance of the warriors duped by a bad example into following their darker natures and enacting their culture or the rational greed and ambitious empire-building of the Europeans. The

historical clash between the two "evils" Wiebe identifies with imagery that pervasively recalls the prophecies of the Revelation of St. John. Wiebe is quite consciously using system of predictive typology to interpret the European conquest of the Cree and their subsequent "fall" into violence. The technique works in the novel because Wiebe limits it almost entirely to the Cree point of view. As far as the Cree understand it, the devil and the great beast are loose upon the earth.

The image-pattern is introduced in Wiebe's first Indian scene shortly after the treaty-signing that begins the novel. Big Bear reflects upon the Cree's inability to understand the white culture:

> The soundless feeling welling in the lodge blundered up in Big Bear as he kept his eyes steadily on the livid coals, the inarticulate confusion . . . . for which no one there could shape sound or any combination of sounds leave alone a recognizable sign because there was no order in the white world. They talked of nothing else but there was no order; only a kind of inevitable devouring, as in the years before his father's grandfather the People had met whites in the forests far east of the big lakes and now they were here still pushing, pushing, an insatiable gigantic beast wanting without bottom. Come back to the circle of earth. He could hear the wind rising outside . . . . (pp. 61-62, Wiebe's italics).

Such usage and the point of view allow Wiebe on the one hand to identify the European conquest as God's judgment upon the "circle of earth" and at the same time to deliver (by means of Big Bear's noble clairvoyance) an ironic Anabaptist judgment upon the greed and idolatry of the industrial culture, the "white sickness."

Throughout, the Europeans and their works are imagistically associated with the beast, its little devilish offspring, as it were. They are everywhere, "like the itch" (p. 64), with their black hats and little snouts. Big Bear specifies and extends the devilish image-pattern when he recounts his parable about the Little Men for the edification of Sweetgrass. Big Bear describes how in trailing a white wolf he met the little men with black hats, "hard boots and dark clothes," curly yellow hair, and with "eyes hollow behind noses and mouths that came out like snouts" (p. 63). They wrestle for his bow, and Big Bear twice throws the First Little Man, forcing him to stumble over his leg. Like a spirit of evil with voice, snout, and dark boots, First Little Man guides Big Bear on a sort of descent into hell, into "the reddish stinking darkness," and shows him the prophetic vision of the six hanging Cree warriors "coming far away like out of a long thin hole in the ground" (p. 65).

Devilish-beast imagery is extended to the railway. As Big Bear is about to sign the treaty at Fort Walsh, he remembers leading his band down to see the train. It is first heard as "something unearthly shrieking in spasms very far away in the north." When they finally see it, "it seemed a huge worm far away, pawing--if a worm could paw--something stiff up around its head as it crawled along, a slug trailing slime in the sunlight" (p. 135). "Something stiff up around its head" implies the great

horned beast, and Wiebe uses this kind of pointed circumlocution for the antichrist elsewhere. The connecting rods suggest to Kingbird and to Big Bear that the train and the whites move by "screwing" themselves. It is a "huge black thing belching smoke and shrieking and moving itself by its fire . . ." (p. 137). To Big Bear "there seemed some burning devil frothing in it," and the bay stallion Kingbird had stolen and given to Big Bear "seemed uncontrollably shivering as if dreams had come to him also." Part of the iconic pattern is Indian Commissioner Dewdney, who emerges from "near the worm . . . wearing a tall black hat and limping with a stick" (p. 138). Dewdney's face and beard are related to the dewlaps of his two red dogs (p. 140). When he finishes speaking at Big Bear's campfire, he is seen as "elevated against the night sky . . . gigantically black in arranged columns: only his whiskers glistered like flaring snow beneath the thick tall column of his hard hat" (p. 145).

Although to Wiebe and the Cree the white conquest appears as the immediate embodiment of the antichrist, Wiebe makes clear that in his etiology of evil the great beast is present in the earth, in nature, manifesting itself as serpent or worm and metaphorically merging with the black hats. The morning of Big Bear's Thirst Dance is introduced with the following description:

> Through the clear darkness light became, creeping over the land's black shoulders until the river rose on the valley like the serpent that lurks swivelled in the earth, misting upwards, drifting into deeper blue (p. 155).

Wiebe thus introduces the enemy Big Bear must defeat, as he

waits "naked with grey clay stroked over his body."[48] In the midst of the ritual, when the Thunderbird has partially answered Big Bear's prayers, the beast appears and seems to mock him (while his wife tries to give him water from the rain):

> Running Second . . . merged and doubled, double into not eight but six shapes as indistinguishable blackness hung there distorted in a glazed bulging eye under a black hat rim, blackness strung aloft like heads and bodies, ahh, hung under a pole bobbing to tear themselves loose and coming away suddenly in spouts of black words and words where their bloodswollen souls might have smiled from the their faces, one giant flowering upward between his clawing fingers now, folded back, chuckling, a horrible spring of clotted black blood laughter (p. 165).

Big Bear dances on under the eye of the devil, and Wiebe makes clear that Big Bear himself, as shaman, cannot defeat the antichrist. It is a pattern Wiebe had already established with Kekekose and his conjuring in First and Vital Candle.

The devil is certainly abroad at Frog Lake during the massacre, working mainly through Little Bad Man and John Delaney. Wiebe establishes some pointed evangelical ironies with his juxtaposition of two "superstitious" rituals occurring on the day before Good Friday and on the day after April Fool's Day. Here, however, I note only that the Rattlers' feast is pervaded by snake imagery and penis jokes as the warriors eat coyote and intestine, that Little Bad Man enters as if the evil spirit is in him (p. 233), and that the devil has a grip on John Delaney as he lusts after and seduces Kingbird's wife. "Words he refused to know coiled and squirmed inside him" (p. 231), and these obscenities pour "from his open

throat like spring lava" (p. 233). As Delaney penetrates Sits Green On The Earth, Wiebe notes that "something moved, drove him down into a red molten core" (p. 233). The puns, the context, and Wiebe's circumlocution make clear that Delaney, in violating the Indian, is entering eternal damnation with a little help from the devil. His shriving by Father Fafard seems to me to be treated ironically (p. 260).

Wiebe is using predictive typology (apocalyptic imagery suggesting that the events of the North-West Rebellion are antitypes of types revealed to John at Patmos) not so much as a doctrine of last things but to identify and define the historical violence in terms of his Anabaptist vision and apostolic ethics. He suggests thereby not that the end of the world is at hand but that the end of the Cree world has come and that, despite this ending, God's revelation is continuous. This revelation includes that of an incarnate devil or antichrist. Wiebe's use of predictive typology is revelatory and apocalyptic in a moral and pedagogical sort of a way but not automatically eschatological. In other words, if Delaney wants to believe there is a devil driving him and dooming him, then that belief, as suggested by the ambiguity of Wiebe's narrative stances, defines his perception and hence his condition.

One other major aspect of Revelation pervades the world Wiebe has created in The Temptations of Big Bear. The four horsemen of the Apocalypse (war, civil strife, famine, and

pestilence) and the colour of horses associated with each (white, red, black, and pale) are linked with various characters and thus suggest a number of Christian and emblematic ironies about "riding the wrong horse" (p. 413). Once the scheme has been noticed, most of these ironies are obvious. For instance, the pattern explains why, about the time that Big Bear is renouncing violence, he refuses to breed his bay mare. During his last buffalo hunt, he rides the bay stallion, but after his Thirst Dance he is mounted only on the white mare. Middleton and Wandering Spirit ride pale and grey horses rather than red ones (pp. 294, 324), suggesting that both generals are a sort of pestilence rather than true warriors or natural killers. Of more significance, though, is Kingbird's black stallion. Analysis of this pattern shows again that Wiebe is thinking more in terms of existential and moral revelation, of historical limitations and possibilities and endings, rather than in terms of final and other-worldly endings.

The Old Testament source of the horsemen of Revelation is Zechariah, a minor prophet concerned with history who urged his people to learn the lesson of the past: "Turn ye unto me . . . and I will turn unto you" (Zech. 1:3).[49] Zechariah's horsemen are the messengers of the Lord, and the black horses patrol the north country (Zech. 1:8 ff.; 6:2-3). The imagery associated with the black horseman in Revelation derives clearly from a dialectical inversion of agricultural plenty: "and he that sat

on him had a pair of balances in his hand. And I heard a voice in the midst of the four beasts say, A measure of wheat for a penny, and three measures of barley for a penny; and see thou hurt not the oil and the wine" (Rev. 6: 5-6). From the sources Wiebe derives a meaning for Kingbird's black stallion that goes beyond that of famine. Kingbird exchanges his bay stallion, stolen on his man-making raid, for the black stallion, which Sweetgrass (a chief committed to the agricultural possibilities of the reservation) had given to Big Bear. Subsequently, the black horse cuts through the circle around Big Bear to interrupt Little Bad Man's bid for supremacy. Among other emblematic scenes is one in which Horsechild and Duncan McLean together escape from the soldiers "astride Kingbird's black stallion," the horse leaping "as it seemed to Kitty, over the head of The Black Stone with her child on her back and lodge-skin in tow, not into the ford but the lake where there was no footing whatever" (p. 309). Finally, and clearly indicative of Wiebe's double vision, is Kingbird's last question addressed to his father: "My black like the white mare yet?" (p. 332). "Literally" famine is breeding death; the Cree are facing starvation. Yet tropologically, and depending on what Big Bear's white mare means, the question suggests a future for the Cree involving agriculture and the word of God. (I will discuss the white mare in detail below.) This is enough to show how pervasive Wiebe's system is. To interpret one place in this

novel is to recover or uncover the whole method and message.

Wiebe's technique of witness ("seeing" and "showing") remains unchanged from his earlier novels, especially with regard to the white witnesses in The Temptations of Big Bear. The Cree are presented as participants in a historical catastrophe, and they see the whites as revelation, judgment, and (a distant possibility) perhaps as the only means of salvation. At the same time, the Cree are revelation and judgment to the Europeans at three levels of perception: death, the devil, and moral transcendence. The Europeans are reminded of their true condition and discover the limits of their bureaucratic empire-building when the savages confront them as nature, decay, loss, and as a moral responsibility. Both groups are thus lessoned (and lessened) by each other. Both get from history, the incarnation of providence, what Wiebe's apostolic ethics suggest they need and deserve.

The "white" point of view Wiebe presents mainly by means of documents or pseudo-documents. (The form thus ironically imitates the "surveying" and technological historical process that destroyed the Cree.) Wiebe calls up a number of white observers, representative of social-historical forces at work in the confrontation and makes each confess his spiritual or moral "set" with regard to the conquest. Each white observer gives a testimony that names both himself and others, thereby providing not only factual exposition but also innumerable

ironies and judgments.

The central question that the novel will answer is presented imagistically in the opening chapter. Governor Morris (he whose rhetoric has been drowned out by the wheels of a HBC buggy) borrows a telescope from trader James McKay in order to study Big Bear:

> Oddly, while it drew a spot closer, the telescope seemed at the same time to push that spot back into a kind of greyish-ringed haze; the Indian swaying gently with the bay horse . . . as if he were very far away, barely moving in a flat, constant green circle at the end of an unbelievably long tunnel (p. 14).

Indicting the biased and institutional perception of both government representative and company man is McKay's exclamation, which closes the chapter, "Damn trader glass" (p. 16). The question of how Big Bear shall be seen and what he means provides the "suspense" or organizing tension of the novel. The question is still there during Big Bear's trial and the final judgment by Justice Richardson. Kitty McLean attempts to see Big Bear through the judge's glasses:

> she found herself trying again and again to focus Big Bear through the outside edge of the judge's egg-shaped glasses, almost as if she were ignorant of how glasses worked, . . . but anything she could finally distinguish through them was smeared as if the room were submerged, a swamp of milk (p. 381).

The movement of the novel will be from false vision to true, from "muddled" perceptions to a spiritual and unifying insight. The reader is directed to pay attention to ways of seeing and to be alert to the ironies and limitations of each perspective.

Since the point is fairly obvious (the factual, meteorological banalities with which Francis Dickens obscures the morally necessary evacuation of Fort Pitt, for example), I will limit the discussion to a few of the more profound witnesses.

If one remembers Wiebe's negative view of any institutionalized church, seeing it as an un-Christian extension of the coercive authority of society, one will better appreciate the ironies in Wiebe's treatment of the Methodist minister John McDougall (pp. 36-48), a witness for whom Wiebe has a considerable respect. McDougall is one of the few whites in the book who understands the pathos of the treaty-signing. He tries to explain what his position was, how he who understood the Indians could "take part in that" (p. 36), how he could encourage the Indians to sign the treaties that would take everything from them. For all his love of the Indians, McDougall knows that their nomadic life is doomed for several reasons:

> All the plains chiefs understood now; only white men could protect them from the American whisky runners; the chiefs listened. But there were always the savage young men astride their beautiful horses. They wanted glory (p. 37).

When Sweetgrass solemnly asks McDougall's advice, McDougall weighs three complexes that pose a similar question.[50] The account of his father's death indicates the end of a kind of harmonious existence between missionary and Indian. His memory of the warrior's body ("I could only stand with one foot on

either side of the dead warrior and out over the land, black on the fierce white snow, I could see a few solitary buffalo" (--p. 48) emphasizes his perception of the irrevocable end of the buffalo culture.[51] His reference to the ranch-emperor Shaw shows his understanding of and dissatisfaction with what is to come. Weighing all these factors and knowing that the treaties are "words without knowledge," McDougall yet advises Sweetgrass to sign. Wiebe respects McDougall for recognizing his moral involvement: "Rarely, not even the many times I have preached the Gospel, have I felt such a weight upon me as I did then, looking around the motionless faces of that dark council tent" (p. 43).

Wiebe uses McDougall to expose the shallow self-interest of the official views. At the same time, he shows how McDougall is compromised and knows himself to be compromised. McDougall recognizes that he as much as the government is the Indians' enemy: "They [the Indians] never rode over the country like I; they had no empires to organize. . . . I could not but love him for that he must and would forever hate me" (p. 40). What McDougall does not see so clearly is that he has compromised his Christianity: "But Sweetgrass knew I had never acted in any other way than was consistent with a minister of the Methodist Church. A Canadian patriot and loyal to my Queen" (p. 45). This is a sort of Anabaptist joke; ultimately, McDougall will serve "as chief guide and chaplain to the Canadian troops

pursuing the Plains Cree," allowing his knowledge (as judged by Wiebe's apostolic ethics) to be used to further violence.

Kitty McLean enters the novel after Big Bear has lost his political struggle along with his role as leader and shaman. He is about to understand and take upon himself the role of type and "suffering servant," and Kitty McLean is there to record this transformation. Certainly, Wiebe intends the reader to consider Kitty McLean the most dependable and least compromised witness and to share her awe for Big Bear's enigmatic and sacred charisma. Kitty McLean is the only character in the novel who learns something and who changes.

By image and word Wiebe identifies her as the one white in the novel who has the beginning of an understanding of who or what Big Bear is. Her response is potentially the correct one. Other than the half-breed translators like Peter Houri, Kitty is the only non-Indian who can understand the beauty of Big Bear's Cree. (According to John Donkin in Trooper and Redskin, Kitty's mother was part Cree, and the daughters spoke Cree "like natives."[52]) She is realistic and spirited; she is genuinely attracted to the Indian way of life and can run around Big Bear's camp dressed in nothing but a blanket. Her sympathy for the Indians has a humane motivation; she returns across the river under fire to rescue an Indian child (pp. 309-311). She guides the reader's interpretation of Big Bear as she struggles to understand the complexity of his

thought:

> And Big Bear already understands more than anyone will ever think to ask him. Amelia knows this like I know it at one glimpse of his massive head, but Papa does not for he understands only single words of Cree and the sound of Big Bear's voice can't be understood in the exact words he says . . . (p. 277).

Big Bear's massive "old man's" understanding easily encompasses her (as the reader is expected to realize that it encompasses him). Big Bear treats her as a daughter. She follows him from his last council and watches him as he urinates into the creek: "'That feels good,' he said, not smiling; 'to embrace the whole earth in one flowing stream'" (p. 290). He enigmatically reminds her that she is an inexperienced woman (p. 291), that her attempts to enter the Indian way of life are against the natural order of things; "Blackbirds live by water and leave diving to the ducks" (p. 313). What Kitty McLean learns from Big Bear is the reality of the body, the reality of nature, the reality of the Cree's tragedy, the necessity of sacrifice. In Kitty's last personal meeting with Big Bear, his spirit merges with the sun to enter and suffuse her body. While Big Bear dances and chants, Kitty takes off her clothes and opens herself to both Big Bear and the forces of nature and body that he represents. He tells her the story of the four men whom divine forces had each granted a gift. The one who asked for eternal life was changed into a rock: "Rock gives us the pipe by which we pray to The First One, for rock is the grandfather of all, the first of all being as well as the last"

(pp. 314-315). They are "Two tiny figures on sand and surrounded by light."

This scene reveals much about Wiebe's double vision and the ironic ambiguity of his narrative method. The episode presents itself as an epiphanic interruption, an abrupt abandonment by Wiebe of the typological-historical flow of his documentary narration. As such, the scene seems to imitate the Incarnation, arresting the allegorical exegesis of nature as worm-eaten decay and drawing out from the ruins a symbol that reveals "the face of nature . . . in the light of redemption."[53] It is the kind revelatory "still" Wiebe described in his essay on Frederick Philip Grove. As I have argued, this kind of literary epiphany is in harmony with Christian doctrine in general, especially if the author holds to rather literal principles of imitative form. Again I would refer to Paul's hermeneutical instructions to the Hebrews with regard to reading the old covenant: "For the law made nothing perfect, but the bringing in of a better hope did; by which we draw nigh unto God" (7:19). The law (the old covenant, nature, the fate of the Cree culture in history, Big Bear's necessary failure) must be shown to be imperfect; out of that imperfection and loss the Christian by faith would snatch "a better hope." After a narration that denigrates and destroys the natural and carefree life, Wiebe tosses in (as it were) an official epiphany. It is a reader's guide to a spiritual rather than a carnal interpretation

of the novel. Big Bear surrounds and infuses Kitty McLean with light, as Wiebe wishes his book to enlighten his reader.

The scene recalls the Oolulik episode in First and Vital Candle. Abe Ross strips naked and huddles in the sleeping robes against the emaciated Oolulik and her dying baby, drawing from them all the necessary lessons about death and a "better hope." Here, Kitty is transformed from the state of nature as decay to the state of nature as light:

> So she took off her clothes. . . . The blackish sand on her skin was cold, so horrifyingly cold she felt her stretched legs and body shrink to tiny, shivering worms but the sun bulged over her stark in the livid sky and heat began weaving loops of warmth about her. . . . And there was the heat, it rounded her head and he was passing over in his dance between the long green rushes, the curves of his massive chest ablaze above her, chant reaming the hollows of her head up through the sand that held her body and gradually arching her distended and enormous as if she were poised by planets rocking, singing her suspended while Sun devoured her warmer and warmer until she was suffused. Herself; completely; open and radiant. Held in his chant, rocked in his radiance (pp. 312-314).

In terms of Wiebe's parabolic teaching, there is no doubt that this scene represents the revelation of nature, the effect Wiebe hopes it will have on the uninitiated and non-Christian reader of the novel. It is not yet the state of Christian enlightenment or Christian revelation.

For a moment, Wiebe allows Kitty McLean to cross the hermeneutical divide that separates her from Big Bear as type. Yet Wiebe leaves no doubt that Kitty's revelation is a limited one appropriate to her romantic perception. For instance, she

does not remember or understand "the story of Bitter Spirit," which Big Bear tells her immediately after his dance and which might have brought her closer to the moral transcendence and abnegation required of Christ and his followers. She does remember the more naturalistic or geological parable about rock as signifying eternal life, a hermeneutical sign that points the reader ahead to Big Bear's final apotheosis. Later, at Regina, Kitty finally confesses that she cannot understand Big Bear, an admirable humility that suggests the possibility of spiritual progress.

Another irony is that Wiebe, rather contemptuously, is reacting to what he considers "The Intercourse, Excreta and Adlingulating School in Canadian literature." With literary debts to Camus' description of Janine's desert orgasm in "The Adulterous Woman," Wiebe writes a scene that answers to a perceived demand for sexual primitivism and yet teaches Christian doctrine. Like Camus' heroine, Kitty achieves sexual climax with an abstraction (an indication of how both Camus and Wiebe are essentially didactic and allegorical writers, one existential and the other apostolic). As in the Oolulik story, here there is no actual sex between inhibited Canadian and noble aborigine, only a sort of moral contagion or metaphorical masturbation. The scene remains essentially voyeuristic, true to the structure of Wiebe's "witnessing" epiphanies elsewhere. Kitty is not really touching anything, and the scene seems somewhat contrived,

perhaps out of the fear that no one would read the novel properly.

At another level, there is a tough-minded cynicism about this "revelation of nature," one that applies to Wiebe's ultimate attitude toward the whole book. The Christian literalist can show compassion for the old covenant and the aboriginal way of life, but finally (consciously or unconsciously) he knows it as nothing, as definitively out-moded and superceded. As such, this scene qualifies as "bear-shit" needed to teach the ignorant. (Wiebe may even be directly mocking Marian Engel.) I have already demonstrated that Wiebe can think at the vulgar level of peasant Christianity. It is one of Wiebe's "old-man" jokes that, when Big Bear sees his whole world turning grey, he tells his council with retrospective clairvoyance about his birth:

> Under that spruce tree a bear had been sleeping and I was so eager to get out my mother had no time to spread the clean hide she had brought for me and I fell with my nose in something the bear had left behind. Since then I have always had something big with bears (p. 206).

Big Bear's self-deprecation has a rhetorical purpose in the immediate context, but beneath this putatively Rabelaisian surface lurks a rational judgment that lies at the core of Wiebe's attitude, a judgment reflected in the iconography and one endemic to Christian literalism. From this point of view, Kitty McLean's orgiastic participation in Big Bear's figurative meaning appears part of Wiebe's conscious and parabolic program

of teaching the ignorant.

Wiebe restores Kitty McLean (kitten) to her typological-historical role when he describes Big Bear's trial. The consequence of her awe for Big Bear is fear. Big Bear's laugh and his silent hand-speech, which subverts the legalism of the trial, merge for Kitty with the roar of the court and the sound of cranes flying south (pp. 381-382). She has intuited the terrible facts of nature, death, and the "law"; her fear is identified with the processes of her body:

> While the long afternoon wore away it had gradually come to her it was fear she felt, as her body deadened sitting on that bench . . . . Her enormous certainties had somewhere leaked between her fingers, almost suddenly, she could not tell whether--she thought in a revelation it was the monthly blackness seeping through her and momentarily she would feel dampness, she was certain she felt it, once, and when she could look at herself there would be the dark worm crawling between the blackish hair inside her leg out of that unstoppable entrance into herself, she could never squat now as she had as a child and not feel herself opened uncloseably, forever unlocked except she sit tight down on the gentle ground, not on this straight horrible bench behind all that powdered, bristling, hair (p. 384).

Through Kitty McLean, Wiebe is teaching the reader to remember his bondage to nature and to reconsider his "enormous certainties." Kitty comes close to recognizing Big Bear's sacred significance: "What profound vision, what special--but largely he was an unfocused bristle wiped away (pp. 381-382). She is hypnotized by his enigmatic presence, but finally she confesses that "understanding at last she could not understand" (p. 388).

With regard to the McLean family, it must be noted that

although Wiebe treats them with respect he does finally judge them, and rather harshly at that, linking them with the black hats and the European antichrist. Robert Hodson, the man who was to become the official hangman for the Dominion and who was to execute the six Cree in Battlefort (p. 401), was also (by one of those coincidences that make the typological interpreter of history particularly happy) the McLeans' cook. He shared their captivity. Big Bear refers specifically to Hodson's black hat and asks Kitty if he ever laughs (p. 313). Hence, the analogical significance of Kitty's remark, "We protect him" (p. 273, Wiebe's italics). This association has the same moral and ethical weight as the Oolulik story. Primitivism or sympathy will not do; in trying to join or to help the Indian, the European kills him just as effectively as with a gun.

All of the white witnesses in the book can be shown to be similarly indicting themselves even while their accounts may be ironic judgments of the actions and perceptions of others. As a last example, I refer to the testimony of the soldier under General Middleton identified by Wiebe simply as A Canadian Volunteer (pp. 315-328). Wiebe must have been pleased when he came upon Lewis Redman Ord's Reminiscences of a Bungle By One of the Bunglers (Toronto, 1887). The book satisfies the expectations aroused by its title; it is cosmopolitan, realistic and ironic, showing a total contempt for the imperial Middleton and bureaucratic cowardice. Wiebe uses the account for this

purpose, but he also edits so as to exposé Ord, appealing as he may be, as a violent racist and something of a sadist. Ord's narrative ends with a description of how he and a group of soldiers unmercifully haze the half-breed Pierre Blondin:

> . . . then I've really got him where he'll never forget it and a sound comes out of him high this time, and thin like a gopher just before he's hit by a weasel; he's jerking like he's made of cut string, down the bank jerk jerk and a steamer wall faces us, dropped there, and out of a hole in it rises a huge red face surmounted by a woollen nightcap (p. 328).

Thus, Wiebe cuts off Ord after he has associated himself by means of spatial imagery with Middleton, the steamer, and the craven violence Ord purports to satirize. The violence compulsively produces a devilish revelation.

As well, Lewis Ord's testimony presents a powerful image that completes the indictment of the Catholic-Irish-French ways of acting towards the savage. Wiebe's stern view of the Christ-imperative leaves little room for the liberal or ecumenical spirit; he gives short shrift, literally and figuratively, to the priest-Delaney-Gowanlock complex of witnesses. Their violence merges with that of the Indians. Delaney's seduction of Kingbird's wife Sits Green On The Earth, the beautiful Indian woman pregnant with Big Bear's grandson, seems to trigger the massacre (pp. 231-232). (Wiebe treats the mass and the shriving of Delaney rather ironically.) For Wiebe, the Frog Lake massacre is made up essentially of Catholicism, of lust and repressed violence from Ontario

(escaping from "the pricks of Jesus"), and of "the savage young men astride their beautiful horses" seeking glory. Wiebe's judgment of those who corrupt the Indian sexually and spiritually is completed by Ord in two ways. First, the half-breed Pierre Blondin has inherited or traded for Gowanlock's coat. More significant is Ord's description of how the army discovered "the huge body of an Indian woman" (p. 322) who had committed suicide. The paragraph begins with "Revelations again," and Wiebe by means of Ord's narration is showing the army both the cause of the genocide and the consequences of its pursuit and by extension the doom awaiting the soldiers as well:

> The poor creature lies in a sort of kneeling position facing the swamp, her body tilted forward so as to throw its weight on the raw-hide tied to a sapling by means of which, with horrifying determination, she has strangled herself. A dog stands as if guard over her and the faithful little brute snaps pathetically as we approach. It has the name "John Delaney" on its collar (p. 322).

This is the looking-glass the old Indian woman had promised during the Battle of Frenchman's Butte (p. 301), the army and Delaney's dog surrounding "the huge body." Wiebe somewhat understates his method when he remarks to Donald Cameron that "some actions are more indicative of world views than others."[54] In such convergences and coincidences the typological interpreter of history finds evidence of divine judgment of the dead and of divine revelation and admonition to the living.

By means of white mediators like McDougall, Delaney, Ord, Jefferson, and Kitty McLean, Wiebe allows the reader varying

historical perspectives. These turn out to be moral perspectives, establishing themselves by context either ironically or directly. Wiebe exploits these "media" to allow readers of varying moral sensibilities and varying levels of insight to witness to the best of their understanding the charisma of Big Bear, who is presented hagiographically as a sacred and enigmatic presence. Wiebe's varying narrative strategies and stances leave no doubt that Big Bear is the centre of all seeing and showing in the novel. Big Bear is the object of Wiebe's meditational exegesis. The hermeneutical divide separates Big Bear sharply from everyone else in the novel, and only he is finally rescued from the unremitting carnality and decay that Wiebe finds in northwest history. (Round the Sky is there as well, playing mustard seed to Big Bear's more public and more important teaching.) As John Reimer remarked in The Blue Mountains of China, the aborigines had "to be saved from hell; the hell of their being born, living and dying" (p. 155). Big Bear is thus Wiebe's Virgil, the most apostolic and moral guide Wiebe can find to lead his readers and himself through the revelation of nature as hell and "up" to the vision of a Jesus-like moral example.

I need not document Big Bear's precise understanding that the buffalo culture is lost forever. After all, that is the main impression the book leaves upon a first reading. As lament and elegy it won a Governor General's medal, and The Temptations

of Big Bear can certainly be read, on its pseudo-historical surface, as the tragedy of an aborigine who understands and wrestles with cultural death and genocide. Wiebe sympathizes with Big Bear's historical struggle, his attempt not only to understand the loss of a beautiful life lived to the physical hilt but also to act politically to rescue something from the catastrophe. But since it is the tragedy of the "old man," Wiebe keeps his stern evangelical distance from Big Bear, ultimately interpreting the tragedy as Christian comedy. The fact is that Wiebe makes only a pretense of presenting an open-ended historical struggle; the plot lacks that kind of suspense. Right from the beginning Wiebe sets an apocalyptic atmosphere and specifies an unavoidable process:

> There was a strange yellow and blackness about the still, brilliant air, a kind of crystal lack of shading that made alert thinking seem silly. As if there were only inevitabilities in which all, irresistibly, moved (p. 17).

There is no freedom here, only an unearthing and unfolding of a divine and devilish mystery. Everyone in the novel acts as if history is indeed so much supernatural machinery. Even the alleged temptations and psychomachia of Big Bear are a pretense. Critics solemnly and automatically speak of a struggle for faith whenever there is even a hint of religion in a novel. In Wiebe's case, that is nonsense. The struggle of Wiebe's major characters is not a struggle to clarify a vision or to find a faith. In a sense, they do not struggle at all; rather they exist in a state of meditational and exegetical alertness, a sort of

expectancy, to the demands of a god that is hidden to them but not to their author. History and experience operating as providence relentlessly conform Wiebe's heroes to the Jesus-pattern. It is an "author-itarian" arrogance that Wiebe cannot escape, since it is endemic to his vision and belief.

Big Bear, although an intelligent chief and shaman, is treated by Wiebe as a pagan with the limitations of his unfortunate pre-Christian position in history. His public role is that of leader and "old-man" prophet. Wiebe's double vision also endows Big Bear with a private revelation, one that in effect betrays the Cree culture and within which the "old man" "struggles" to understand the new covenant that Wiebe's exegesis slowly forces upon him. By that dialectical paradox peculiar to Christianity, by which a man can be a god and a god a man, Big Bear remains an Indian while becoming an exemplary concept with "after-life."

Big Bear's identifying image is that of a magnificent voice issuing out of darkness and stone. Literally and historically, Big Bear is not a Christ-figure, but rather a "growl up from the earth itself" (p. 400). He is nature giving voice, both describing the revelation of clay to others and pleading for redemption himself. As I have argued, such is the essence of the double vision.

When Big Bear speaks for the first time, Governor Morris

testifies to Big Bear's forceful presence and compelling voice. A supernatural power seems to aid Big Bear in creating a massive silence. The tension of the scene suggests that a revelation is about to occur:

> As if a hand had wiped over the hillside and its shadow struck them all, forever, into undifferentiated stone. He had to break the--sneeze, swipe at a fly, some understandable, natural movement. He was still standing--so speak the usual formulas into this black and yellow--the seated man was blurring into focus because his head was lifting. The light hung there, split down the long shale divide of nose, the mouth opening gigantically, black. . . . He had found it best to concentrate completely on Peter Erasmus' words, but now he found his head turning into blackness, slowly down into the enormous, strange depths of that incomprehensible voice (p. 19).

The blackness out of which Big Bear speaks merges with and contrasts to the blackness of Hodson's hat, the blackness of his own top hat worn during the trading at Fort Pitt before the massacre, the blackness of the robes of the priests, the horrible mystery of white activity in general. Well before Frog Lake, Big Bear is "tired of staring into something" (p. 211). After the massacre, when Big Bear apologizes to his friend Simpson, Wiebe identifies Big Bear with crumbled rock: "the face of his massive head no face at all, seeming no more than red shale crushed" (p. 267). Kitty McLean describes Big Bear as "the old man . . . with a wide black hole in the middle of his face and the sound coming out of there" (p. 287). Shortly before his surrender, while wandering in the bush with his few remaining people, Big Bear speaks out of a growing helplessness

and desperation, his voice diminished:

> And he was talking, in a hollow slowness as if pulling the words out of a gigantic hole inside himself and having to stretch in further and further, barely able to reach them (p. 343).

At his trial, finally, his voice seems "to growl up from the earth itself" but now it can only plead, "Give my people help!" (p. 398).

Wiebe places sharp limits on Big Bear's power of vision and his spirit-power in general. There is no doubt that Wiebe agrees in part with John McDougall when he says, "most whites find it impossible to imagine how deeply every Indian action is rooted in his, albeit almost completely false and most tragically limited, faith in The Great Spirit" (p. 42). Wiebe shows Big Bear's power to be not so much false as tragically limited. Big Bear is clairvoyant about physical things, but only slowly does he understand what his author insists: that the end of the buffalo culture is providential and that the sacrifice of himself is demanded. As early as 1876 he knows that the "White Sickness" will hang six of his River people (p. 64-67). Big Bear fears the noose, for him an image of racial death and of white man's violent "justice." The pre-knowledge of "those six black ones" (p. 267) is a vision that returns to Big Bear several times, and he is able to "see" Hodson execute the men in Battleford as if he were there. This kind of knowledge is simply the kind the Old Testament god grants his prophets so that they can urge

their people to obey the moral laws. Close to the end of the novel, Big Bear remembers what his warning to the Cree had been:

> My children, I have seen a buffalo bull with iron horns goring, stamping a warrior who wore the feathers of the People; we charged it but could not kill it. It ran us with its iron horns leaving something like one slice of blood there. This is the Great Parent of Bear who gave me Chief's Son's Hand telling us we should go back, now where we come from. There is something too big ahead (p. 341).

Wiebe's Anabaptist god thus reveals himself to Big Bear, telling him that the River People should revert to the humble and pacific life of the Woods Cree.

What Big Bear cannot comprehend is why the White Sickness should come and why he cannot control the confrontation:

> But when he contemplated what he found here, though the land remained the same, something was wrong with it. As if just under the edge of his vision a giant blade was slicing through the earth, cutting off everything with roots, warping everything into something Whiteskin clean and straight though when he tried to stare down, get under it to see, it looked as it always had, seemingly (p. 91).

The recognition that he cannot understand comes to him just when he has called together Crowfoot, Red Crow, Sitting Bull, and Dumont to found an alliance based on pacific, but mass, resistance. Wiebe makes clear that Big Bear's policy fails because the other leaders are too much "natural" men: "the very power that roared from them made them less than nothing when Whites could use them against each other" (p. 96). When Sitting Bull speaks peremptorily about all-out war, Big Bear listens "with a darkness rising higher and higher in him" (p. 99).

What Big Bear is slow to realize is that the Indian culture itself is the cause of the withdrawal of the old covenant. Significantly, the chapter ends with a description of Big Bear from Horsechild's point of view. The children of the horse are doomed because of their condition, and Big Bear attempts to come to terms with that knowledge:

> His father sat now quite unmoving. His lips clamped together so hard they looked a straight thin line under his nose and the veins on the sides of his head glistened thick as branches, his eyes barely a slit. As if he was staring into a blazing light that had been coming straight toward him for a long time from far away but which he had not quite faced . . . (p. 109).

The limitations that Wiebe's apostolic beliefs place on Big Bear's spiritual power are especially apparent in Part Three, in which Big Bear makes his major attempt to carry out his shamanistic responsibilities: to enact his culture by drawing down supernatural assistance for his political goals:

> but he was simply dancing on drum and song sound, to fulfill his vow, his sacrifice of thirst and hunger for the great council all the River People together must now hold, the gaunt People who must now, finally, speak with one voice (p. 163).

His vision of "the fountain of blood" out of blackness rises from his sadness at the end of what he knows will be the last buffalo hunt (p. 130); it returns when he realizes that his Thirst-Dance sacrifice will be only partially accepted (p. 165). Big Bear realizes his weakness: "The blessing of Thunderbird could have meant the acceptance of his suffering but what had come upon him with the blessed rain sent fear like a hound deep

into him and he had to continue" (p. 167).

Wiebe is serious and he wants his reader to be serious about Big Bear's spirit power; yet what interrupts Big Bear's sacred ritual is precisely his culture's "weakness" in interaction with the particular historical moment. He Speaks Our Tongue impulsively beats the farm instructor, and the police arrive to arrest the young warrior. Big Bear begs his sons not to "start anything," reminding them that he had "danced for council" (p. 181). The confrontation is "piling up like ice in the bleak Saskatchewan" (p. 190), but Big Bear, "in the impervious cloak of his greyness" (p. 191), is given the power to prevent the slaughter of Crozier and his police and, by extension, all-out war on the plains:

> But out of his soundless cry that could only wait for the rifle to kick, Big Bear came to hear like a gentle wind from Thunderbird touching through the flaming air that in the whirling, strange and beautiful silence granted him nothing but a rifle shot could break the power that held them all. He sat motionless then, seeing everything, for the shot would not come (p. 192).

This is Big Bear's greatest moment, at least in terms of Wiebe's view of history. Big Bear is able to prevent the massacre, and he is able to hold his last great council (pp. 196-207), the description of which is pervaded by the ambiguities of Wiebe's other-speaking. Throughout Part Three, Big Bear, "his mind running red in his visions," had seen "the hat by the Tramping Lakes blacker and bigger over him than ever" (p. 187). In spite of this, at his council he still speaks energetically

in favour of a grand confederation, yet he knows privately that his power is limited and that the Cree are doomed:

> "It sometimes comes to me," Big Bear said dreamily as if his clear sharp voice stood in a whisper at each ear and every man alone could hear it, "that we have been breathed over; like the trance that falls over us when the windigo is coming. Our power songs call helplessly into the night, our wisdom cries through the trees and among wolf willow for us but we cannot find it. Ice forms in our bodies, hair pushes out of our faces and arms and legs; we feel growing in us the craving to devour the human being that sits beside us. And we are terrified (p. 205).

During the Frog Lake massacre, Big Bear's primordial voice, having failed to unify the Cree, now also fails to control the lust for glory of his warriors, the regression to nature that for Wiebe lies like original sin at the heart of the buffalo culture: "His great voice was lost in the immense lake and creek valley and the far hills, nothing among the Rattler warcries of River People" (p. 258). Wiebe leaves no doubt that finally the shamanistic Bear cannot deal with the Snake.

At the end of the book, just before his death, Big Bear assesses his political struggle; he humbly confesses his weakness and cries once more for revelation and incarnation, ironically in terms of the Catholic mass and baptism forced upon him in prison:

> He stood motionless and staring, unaware that he could no longer breathe, these six River men who had once respected and loved him, with whom he had once thought that something might be possible, that they could all stand together and build something together that was their own, theirs, of the First People, but for which the power, wherever it was to do those things he had once perhaps dreamed, perhaps impossibly, had never been given him or he had never taken

> it when it was there or there wasn't any to take or perhaps it would be a hundred years in coming, he had to face that he knew nothing of it now if he had ever known anything of it as he faced those six River men before him, standing where their individual bits of power had brought them pushing individually against massed whites, and not quite standing either for their heads bulged a little crooked to one side, he had eaten meat with their fathers before they were children, slightly swinging there in a row with blood swelling up, their faces bursting out disfigured in the reddish, stinking darkness and he was beating himself with his head and battering the wall and his head with the steel ball and chain for that bell, the bell, bell you have ring, bell! (pp. 411-412).

The historical struggle comes down to "individual bits of power" dangling from a noose. Even though Big Bear is referring ironically to the consequences of individual violence, the context makes clear that his own political ambitions are included. Big Bear is entrapped by the physical, by nature, and by his own culture. The prison, the ball and chain, and CCatholic baptism constitute a sort of protestant and aboriginal nuis clos. The passage cited shows Big Bear finally acknowledging his failure as a political mediator between technological empire and nomadic aborigine. He knows he does not understand, and he accepts his suffering.

Christian typological interpretations of history and the fictional technique that derives from them lean heavily on a very few static correspondences between type and antitype. One reason why the Christ-story has had such a long life is that as a plot it is a very simple one. The force of the story lies in the radical clarity and exemplary appeal of the model, a loving

scapegoat who suffers without bitterness. As an example, it has almost no plot or no movement in time. It has no complex narcissistic psychology, as we understand that term today, almost no complication or suspense. When applied to fiction-writing, typology results in a similar time-destroying narrative. Life and history are all decay, loss, and death; suddenly, through one recognition there is a reversal by which salvation and light are plucked from the darkness. As the action dies down and the plot becomes static, suffering becomes exemplary. This meditational and evangelical logic goes a long way in explaining Rudy Wiebe's fiction, the fact that his novels consist mainly of documentary and naturalistic narration with inset iconic tableaux and speeches that point either "down" into decay or "up" to moral transcendence. In The Temptations of Big Bear, the allegorical super-text provided by the Christian story is indicated by Big Bear's private revelation, which directs him to martyrdom.

Wiebe shapes Big Bear's story so that it conforms to one of the important Old Testament types of Jesus, the suffering servant of the Lord described by Isaiah. According to The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, the servant serves by accepting his suffering without bitterness. "It pleased the Lord to bruise him" so that the observer would make of the sufferer's soul "an offering of sin" (Is. 53:10). The observer is then "moved to repentance, confession, and amendment." The

conclusion of the entry in The Interpreter's Dictionary is instructive:

> The Servant accomplishes this [healing], not only for Israel, but also for "many nations," the Gentiles. There remained nothing more to be said about the vocation of suffering until Christ came and "served himself heir" to this, the sublimest utterance of prophecy. On all hands it is agreed that whoever was the original of the Servant, none except Christ was its fulfilment.55

One sees how Wiebe has maintained a convincing verisimilitude as well as the necessary parabolic reference in his presentation of Big Bear. As an Indian chief who loses everything, Big Bear suffers as an "old man," thus conforming to "the sublimest utterance of prophecy." He is an enigmatic and fearsome moral example to the secular reader, and only to the Christian initiate is he available as a Jesus-figure.

In terms of this "private" revelation, Big Bear cannot do otherwise than betray and abandon his buffalo-and-horse culture. "He felt sadness rise like mist about his knees" when he sees Horsechild as "a tiny boy trundle steadily through trampled grass" toward the sound of the medicine man, Red Bone, who is calling the children to worship the sun. Horsechild is "under the crust of dusty mud" (p. 49). While negotiating with Sitting Bull and Red Crow, Big Bear thinks of what the ghost dancers ultimately mean:

> And the thought came nevertheless: perhaps The Almighty Spirit has nothing about whites; despite what the missionaries keep saying He Only is theirs too, whites are for themselves, good sometimes even as the People are but always white and always unto themselves white. Perhaps even for That One. But he would not readily

> think that; only in moments of extreme exhaustion and cold, and such a thing could not be said here now. Must not. There would be time and place for--oh pray not (p. 97).

Wiebe is aiming a passage such as this, I would say, at the alert Christian reader. Big Bear's introspection draws attention to the rather ecumenical and non-Indian concerns of his private revelation.

Big Bear's pacifism comes in sharp conflict with his loyalty to his culture when Little Bad Man makes his ceremonial demand for Big Bear's power bundle:

> Bear was warrior Spirit, the greatest the River People had even in legend, and now his warrior son longed for the power, longed to be renamed into Him as he himself had been perhaps led by The Spirit to suggest, he thought that now with a shudder, on the plains before his last buffalo. Or was it Coyote? The desire of his son, the desire of the People facing the danger of this new day pushed him: Little Bad Man was the son, now it was right, here were the proper gifts, now it was right to pass Him on with a prayer. Bear? He was praying, Bear? He could not feel Him, no warmth on his chest, no good weight of Him on his soul against the back of his neck. All he suddenly felt as Thunderbird spoke down to him from blue sky was a slow inevitable tightening around his neck . . . (p. 183).

Big Bear launches into an oration the main purpose of which is to obscure his "betrayal" and to convince his followers to betray their culture as well. He thus denies to his son and to the Cree the vision and power granted him by his dream and by Chief's Son's Hand (the circumlocution for the Great Parent of Bear, or the Bear-Spirit[56]). This denial almost certainly dooms the rebellion.

During the Thirst Dance, Big Bear's offerings are "his gun and a piece of buffalo leather" (p. 160), but Wiebe's ironic Christian typologizing is most obvious in the speech Big Bear makes at the council "given" him by his sacrifice. The narrator, at the beginning an omniscient "epic" author, labels the scene an allegory (p. 196), and Big Bear talks both as a chief seeking intelligent political action and as a Mennonite evangelist urging love and forgiveness. Theological ironies are everywhere. "It is time to see that one Whiteskin than whom there is none higher!" cries Big Bear (p. 197, Wiebe's italics). Two pages later Big Bear complains about the treaties, but again the other dimension of "old-man" Christian irony is present: "All that I was promised, I can't see the half of it."

In several places Big Bear steps completely out of verisimilitude and puts his defence of negotiated settlement in non-pragmatic terms. Big Bear's usual argument against war is that nothing can be gained from it, but during his last council he speaks like a Christian:

> We must stand together under The Only One. We must work towards that good work every day without stopping, as long as Earth is. We have The Spirit. The Sun works every day, why? To enlighten the world. We must do the same, our spirit must work constantly to enlighten every one for there is a large meaning in every word we say. Why keep it here, among ourselves? Why do we keep turning the same word over and over among ourselves and then swallowing it again? Only a sick dog eats again what he has once spat out (p. 201).

The final image is of course biblical, referring in Proverbs 26:11 to a fool returning to his folly and in 2 Peter 2:22 to Christian

apostates: "The dog is turned to his own vomit again; and the sow that was washed to her wallowing in the mire." A few pages later Big Bear again succumbs to Wiebe's apostolic and pacifist imperative:

> But there cannot be any point in getting angry with instructors, who wants blood to stain our grass? We want our land clean and pure so that when we are together on one reserve large enough for our life, all together, we will find only peace there (p. 204).

Big Bear's character changes after he has seen the defeat of his policy; his private revelation becomes overt. At the Frog Lake massacre he acts as an emblem of judgment, ironically wearing a black hat:

> It was Big Bear, with the sunlight spraying around him so brilliantly they could only see his blanketed outline set in the black lines of the doorway, his right arm bare and half-lifted as if he were about to begin an inappropriate oration. Strangely, on his head was the top hat McLean had given him at the trading in Fort Pitt during annuity payments the previous fall; he had never worn it since, and the single remaining ostrich feather glistered through the light like hoar-frost, swaying slightly and broken in a right angle, against the doorframe. Tall black hat (p. 243).

Just before the Battle of Frenchman's Butte, Big Bear similarly chastises his wayward warriors. He speaks now in the guise of a prophet suffering for the errors of his people:

> But now I say one thing and you do another. You remember my vision, but you turn your backs. You have thrown my name away and I will have to lift what you did at Frog Lake; my back will have to carry what you did at Fort Pitt. . . . The Little Men, and Coyote, I saw what they had to show. One more summer, but you would not wait! (pp. 288-289).

Big Bear becomes unfailingly gentle and humble. He walks about the war camp without as much as a blanket (until McLean

forces him to take one). He goes to great lengths to protect the white prisoners, becoming a spiritual mentor to Kitty McLean. At the trial he pleads for his people and not for himself. He asks that the outlaws and outcasts be forgiven and helped. In prison he becomes a carpenter (p. 400). Upon his release, Horsechild cares for him like a disciple for a Messiah. Finally he is apotheosized, metamorphosed into the rocks from which he came.

The goal of Wiebe's exegesis is the moral redemption of Big Bear and through him that of the reader. As such, the last part of the novel represents the culmination of the typologizing method and the ultimate object of the double vision. Part Six is entitled "The Trail to the Sand Hills, September, 1885; January 17, 1888," the dates referring respectively to Big Bears's trial in Regina and his death on Little Pine's reservation.[57] Without changing any historical fact about Big Bear, Wiebe is able to suggest, at least to initiates, the persecution, trial, crucifixion, and resurrection of Jesus. Big Bear is not a Christ-figure in the superficial sense of common usage. He remains Big Bear, but his story and the way it is told become an embodiment and an imitation of the timeless Christian event.

The trial shows Big Bear accepting his lot with dignity while making a powerful moral plea on behalf of the Cree. Wiebe intends the suffering-servant pattern to work specifically as

moral agitation in the present. The only way Wiebe knows to redeem Big Bear concretely, to make up for the injustices of the past, to give Big Bear a real "after-life" is to let Big Bear speak, thus giving his life and suffering a moral meaning today. Big Bear's speech, which Wiebe reproduces with some changes from Cameron's account,[58] indicts the Europeans for the destruction of a way of life and then charges them with the moral responsibility for the destitute Indians. Justice Richardson legalistically and imperially denies that Big Bear owned the land and sentences him to prison. The scene ends as follows:

> Big Bear was not looking at him any more. He seemed to be leaning forward, peering throughout the half-open window, very broad under his blanket, hair straggly about his crushed-stone face, into the smoky sky. When it came at last, the sound of his voice seemed to growl up from the earth itself. "I ask the court to print my words and scatter them among White People. That is my defence!
>
> "Next," Richardson said, "Next!" Hammering (pp. 399-400).

The tropological-moral aspect of the novel ends here, but the typological-historical plot demands a death and an apotheosis.

After the trial scene, Wiebe inserts a newspaper account that provides information about Big Bear's carpentry in prison; a second serves to show further Hodson's diseased soul, and a third indicts ironically the official and centralist views of white culture (pp. 400-404). By contrast, the newspaper accounts prepare for Wiebe's final section, a typological tour de force

that recapitulates, draws together, and emphatically rehearses the historical and spiritual meaning that Wiebe intends with Big Bear's story.

From Big Bear's perspective, the apocalypse has come. As Big Bear rides his old white mare across the prairie to the place where he received his vision, the wind slams "him with steel doors, hoisting the white mare off her feet into nothing, her hide against his face cold iron" (p. 405). He remembers the baptism by Fathers Tache and Lacombe in prison, accepting it only because he believed it would bring a quick death, as it had done for Poundmaker. The scene is satanic, with "something burning far up in the gloomy rafters" (p. 408). When Big Bear mentions John McDougall, the priest's response is described as a "sound stretching down, down into a long snout of laughter dripping between tiers of teeth" (p. 408). The sentence fragment "Black fur lifted laughter" summarizes and concludes Big Bear's ironic baptism by the antichrist. The prison baptism here becomes, by metonymy, the representative of the whole conquest. As Big Bear rides on, he has a vision of hell on earth:

> He saw then that straight lines had squared up the land at right angles, broad lines of stark bleached bones had been spread straight, pressed and flattened into the earth for him to ride over . . . . As far as he could see, wherever he looked the world was slit open with unending lines, squares, rectangles, of bone and between the strange trees gleamed straight lines of, he comprehended it suddenly, white buildings. . . . Only Sky remained, overpowering brightness, floating pillars and tufts of cloud, laughing him into the horror of its final irony with no Thunderbird

> either; no more rain, the land dead with no Thunderbird to revive it, only the wolfish wind to lick dry and hound endlessly until there was none of it left, even dead, there would be--nothing, not even a hole--just nothing (p. 409).

This vision sums up and concludes Wiebe's relentless exegesis of history as decay, history as hell, a theological interpretation that assigns the responsibility for the disaster to the empirical and immoral European civilization.

Big Bear's white mare provides Wiebe with the double image he requires in order to reverse his allegory of decay and ruin. The mare allows him to point to the redeeming example of the "old man" as suffering servant and to foreshadow the distant promise of the Jesus-event. Big Bear's ride from prison to his sacred spot on The Forks begins as follows:

> The white mare Little Bad Man had given him was between his legs; he could feel her hide creak shifting over her ribs. Perhaps too big a black stallion had got on her that summer, her belly sagged lower than drying meat on a string and he couldn't see her head, barely her withers in the whining snow.

Two pages later the white mare becomes a grey mare, as Big Bear pauses at the Tramping Lakes to relive in fantasy a buffalo hunt (the Indians believe that the buffalo disappeared into the ground at the Tramping Lakes) and to recover for a moment his bear-power (p. 407). The mare thus draws together for the last time both the power and the limitations of the Cree buffalo-and-horse culture, complete but only complete within "the circle of earth."

Immediately after the pseudo-baptism in prison, Wiebe emphasizes that in spite of the horror "the mare's hide nevertheless was almost glossy white," and Big Bear's "song to her strength in the knee-deep grass lifted him riding south" (p. 408). When Big Bear has his vision of hell on the prairies, he begins madly to beat the mare:

> He was hitting the mare, head, ribs, haunches with his legs and arms like unbendable clubs and she stumbled through the brittle grass, grasshoppers spraying, and he beat her staggering across the hard bleached bones, buffalo and People, yes he could see that, eyeholes in parts of skulls upon the scraped hillsides until he felt her breath sawing its last under him . . . (p. 409).

Big Bear drives the mare onto the "river ice" and keeps her on her feet "with the sheer power of his shoulders." Finally, when the ice breaks and Big Bear finds "there is living water still in this river," he gives "her to it with great happiness that by his final abuse of her she would find such a good sweet end . . ." (p. 410). In a way, Wiebe is sending back into nature the animal energy he had to resurrect in order to tell Big Bear's story. It is plain also that Big Bear is once again giving up his natural power, expecting that now finally "the bell must ring," but "it did not."

Wiebe is here teetering on the hermeneutic divide. The bell that rings and does not ring is both the devilish aspect of the European conquest and the potential incarnation of Jesus in human action and imitation, that is, in Big Bear's suffering and in Horsechild's gentleness. The mare considered as representing the macho power of the Cree is related to the

the mount of the first horseman of Revelation, going "forth conquering and to conquer" (Rev. 6:2). At the same time, the white horse and its rider are also the spirit-power of "The Word of God," the second white horse and rider of John's revelation:

> And I saw heaven opened, and behold a white horse; and he that sat upon him was called Faithful and True, and in righteousness he doth judge and make war. His eyes were as a flame of fire, and on his head were many crowns; and he had a name written, that no man knew, but he himself. And he was clothed with a vesture dipped in blood: and his name is called The Word of God (Rev. 19: 11-13).

The biblical super-text of The Temptations of Big Bear thus provides the allegory available to the reader who reads "spiritually" rather than "carnally." The white horse, both in Revelation and in Wiebe's predictive scheme for Big Bear's apotheosis, replaces and supersedes the first horseman.

Wiebe wants the word of God to appear in his pseudo-documentary reality, to be incarnated in his fiction as his faith tells him it is embodied in history and in experience. The reader is to discover the spiritual meaning in the carnal. Big Bear remains a Cree and an "old man." The complete Christian meaning, as his author sees it, is denied him. Like Anna Friesen of The Blue Mountains of China, Big Bear dies knowing only part of the truth:

> There had always been too much, there was too much he could not understand, leave alone know. He had lived some things wrong and some things right and that was what he had lived (p. 414).

Wiebe allows Big Bear one last "old-man" epiphany; the bear-claw becomes "a warm weight against his soul." Big Bear prays for the last time, and then Wiebe transforms him into "indistinguishable, as it seemed, and everlasting, unchanging, rock." In Rudy Wiebe's carefully calculated and literal "chorus from the rock," Big Bear remains a pagan to the end. Wiebe's iconological correspondences, however, remain blatant. The reader is expected to recognize rock as one of the most common of the natural types of Christ. He is then expected to meditate, for his own spiritual benefit, on the rest of the story.

CHAPTER SIX: THE SCORCHED-WOOD PEOPLE: ANABAPTIST HAGIOGRAPHY

> Other writers of historical works have confined themselves to the written tradition of victories in wars, . . . of the exploits of generals and the valour of soldiers, men stained with blood and with countless murders for the sake of children and country and other possessions; but it is wars most peaceful, waged for the very peace of the soul, and men who therein have been valiant for truth rather than country, and for piety rather than for their dear ones, that our record of those who order their lives according to God will inscribe on everlasting monuments: it is the struggles of the athletes of piety and their valour which braved so much, trophies won from demons, and victories against unseen adversaries, and the crowns at the end of all, that it will proclaim for everlasting remembrance.
>
> --Eusebius, Ecclesiastical History (320 A.D.; New York: Putnam's, 1926), Vol. I, pp. 405-406.

> As Mystery and Miracle took charge of the past and the present, Prophecy took charge of the future, and rounded the tenses of faith. It was not sufficient to know what had been done, but what would be done. The supposed prophet was the supposed historian of times to come; and if he happened, in shooting with a long bow of a thousand years to strike within a thousand miles of a mark, the ingenuity of posterity could make it point-blank; and if he happened to be directly wrong, it was only to suppose, as in the case of Jonah and Nineveh, that God had repented himself and changed his mind. What a fool do fabulous systems make of man! . . . . the flights and metaphors of the Jewish poets, and phrases and expressions now rendered obscure . . . have been erected into prophecies, and made to bend to explanations at the will and whimsical conceits of sectaries, expounders, and commentators. Every thing unintelligible was prophetical, and every thing insignificant was typical. A blunder would have served for a prophecy; and a dish-clout for a type.
>
> --Thomas Paine, The Age of Reason: Being An Investigation of True and Fabulous Theology (1794; rpt. New York: Putnam's, 1896), pp. 81-2.

> Everyone does God's job, but some don't know it yet.
>
> --Louis Riel in The Scorched-Wood People (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977), p. 264. Further references will be to this edition and will be incorporated in the text.

From Eusebius and Augustine to Rudy Wiebe, typological historiographers have exploited theological allegoresis, oratio sub Historica narratione, for one main purpose and to tell essentially one story. They celebrated Christian heroism and propagated Christianity by recording and narrating "the struggles of the athletes of piety and their valour." Where Eusebius and Augustine publicly depended on scriptural and ecclesiastical authority for their typologizing, Wiebe draws his public authority from the respect our culture has for individual creativity and from the privileged status it grants the work of art. Yet privately Wiebe does exactly what Augustine and Eusebius did. Inspired by a personal call to propagate Christianity by means of Anabaptist hagiography, the concerned and enthusiastic Wiebe follows a long Christian tradition in writing history according to the hermeneutic developed by Jesus and the early church when they christianized the Old Testament.

Wiebe's version of Christianity's one fable had complete form in his first novel, and the typological method of interpreting history was present in his first stories. With an increasing reliance on historical characters and with an increasing virtuosity in documentary narration, Wiebe presents the historical process in such a way that its theological and moral meaning becomes parabolically available to the reader. In order to emphasize man's need for salvation, Wiebe shows

that life is vain, decaying, violent, and dying. He shows that both inner and outer nature are, if not corrupt, then, at least, incomplete and lost. The violence, suffering, and death found in history challenge the individual to act morally in imitation of Jesus. As history unfolds, the individual discovers both revelation and judgment. Regardless of his choices and actions, what is certain is that history will not serve his immediate and all-to-human interests, be they material, political, social, or sexual. Since history is structured by a moral order not invented by man, he must suffer, be he sinner or saint. The best he can do is submit and allow the process, which is viewed by the faithful as ultimately progressive, to martyr him for the sake of the future, a future that must be construed against all nature as referring to spiritual regeneration and the salvation of souls.

Endemically susceptible to contemptus mundi, the Christian typologist collects fragments, biographies, and other factually based stories that dialectically or directly suggest history's corruption and despair when read carnally or without faith. He then searches and scans the "darkness" he has collected for epiphanies and incarnations, for those redeeming examples in which the numinosity or pattern or afterlife indicate that God is involved. In Rudy Wiebe's scheme, these examples are not primarily magical or mystical or mysterious but rather

existential, moral, and exemplary; they are actions done by a saint. As Wiebe discovered after The Blue Mountains of China, the example of the saint was more efficacious if he were of historical significance. As the cynosure of the public gaze (or as the centre of attention of the artist-voyeur necessary to Wiebe's system), this Christian exhibitionist lets it be known that he has somehow been chosen by God to imitate Jesus by morally transcending the historical process of which he is at once the product and the negation. Any "mysterious" aspect is available only to Wiebe himself and to his in-group of believing brethren; this aspect consists of the private drama of possession in which God's spirit descends and directly intervenes in the psyche of the saint. The ensuing human struggle to understand the call and to conform to the divine will becomes the Christian psycho-drama that is the "highest" meaning of any of Wiebe's novels and stories. As the biographies of Big Bear, David Epp, and Samuel Reimer indicate, the literary genre in which the struggle is narrated is comedy--being either heroic or romantic or satirical depending on the perception and intelligence of both the exhibitionist who has been chosen and the artist-voyeur who records the Jesus-like gestes of his subject.

The strength of the typological method, at least in its appeal to the naive reader, thus lies in its historicity, in its epic and propaedeutic surface. Wiebe's documentary realism

replaces what in earlier Christian practice had been a reliance on legend, on earlier authors, on biblical homily, or on the simple claim that it actually happened that way. This realism verifies and lends credence to the theological exegesis, to the claim that God can break into a man's life and make "impossible" demands.

Leaving aside the refreshingly rational and deistic objections of Thomas Paine cited in the epigraph, one can note that the weakness of the typological method lies in its denigration or mystification of human freedom and individual moral autonomy, in its reduction and simplification of human personality and psychology, and in its fetishistic narrowing of ethics. Although placed by the interpreter at the centre of his narration, the life of the historical character becomes secondary finally to various kinds of meanings and moralizations; history itself is mystified and reduced to a kind of supernatural machinery. Since whatever has happened must somehow be providential, Christian typologizing is the rationalization of the faithful. Inevitability and divine assent are drawn down upon suffering, injustice, imperial conquest, and genocide, all this righteous analogizing for the sake of canonizing one or two moral examples. Believers are thus reassured that history is not just a meaningless flux, while non-Christians are called to moral transcendence or threatened by judgment.

Nowhere else in Canadian history do theological pattern

and historical fact merge as opportunely for Rudy Wiebe as in the story of Louis Riel. By the time Wiebe wrote The Scorched-Wood People, he had developed considerable skill in re-writing history according to the witness of evangelical faith. As theological allegoresis and as a skilfully written novel, The Scorched-Wood People shows Wiebe confident in his power to integrate his theological and artistic intentions and to bridge the gap in belief between himself and his audience.

A large part of Wiebe's confidence arises from the nature of his material. In The Temptations of Big Bear Wiebe was not only dramatizing "a world view . . . foreign" to his own[1] but also inventing quite consciously a number of typological correspondences and Christian moral patterns not given directly by history. Some of the typologizing in The Temptations of Big Bear could be easily construed, from the point of view of Wiebe's own theology, either as syncretism and blasphemy or as arrogance and pride. Wiebe faces the opposite situation in The Scorched-Wood People. Louis Riel's actual life and faith, as given by history and by Riel's own claims, correspond so obviously to the pattern Wiebe seeks that he must create some sort of "distance" in order to maintain the credibility of the pattern. By using diary entries and the Métis narrator, Pierre Falcon, Wiebe can claim historical and objective validity for the apostolic form of Riel's life, his progression from Davidic (tribal and political) kingship to Jesus-like martyrdom. Considerations such as these underlie Wiebe's statement that

"the form of The Scorched-Wood People was most satisfying . . . in contrast to the multi-voiced Big Bear."[2] The inescapable conclusion is that Wiebe's biblical faith and vision remain as they were at the beginning of his career--unequivocally and unambiguously literal and metonymical. His faith compels him to be true to literal history and to the Jesus-model at one and the same time, to find one in the other. In novelizing prairie history, Wiebe everywhere re-enacts analogically the concerns of the Protestant evangelical as he reads his Bible--the need to preserve its literal content concretely while vivifying it with the personalistic and moralistic vision of Jesus and his gospel.

It thus appears inevitable that Wiebe should have sooner or later written a novel about Louis Riel, the most historically significant and celebrated instance of alleged revelation and divine intervention to be found in Canadian history. For Wiebe and Riel have much in common. Both are equally "mad" in believing that God can break into life and history. Both believe that Christ redeems man and that the Holy Spirit speaks directly to the faithful. Both come from "strange" minority groups that met historical disaster, and both felt they had a mission and a call not only to help their own people but also to intervene correctively in the larger secular world. Of the eight thematic approaches and understandings Wiebe lists in the

article "Riel: A Possible Film Treatment,"[3] seven could be applied, mutatis mutandis, to Wiebe himself. The point is not that Wiebe is writing some sort of disguised spiritual autobiography, but rather that he identifies very closely with Riel even while ironically narrating Riel's progress away from his grandiose delusions about earthly success and domination, moving him towards his proper function as humble servant and martyr.

Typologically, The Scorched-Wood People is more complex than Wiebe's other novels. It reflects not only the Jesus story but also the structure of the Bible, the relationship between the Old and the New Testament as Wiebe and his hermeneutic tradition of evangelical realism conceive that structure and relationship to be. Like The Temptations of Big Bear, however, The Scorched-Wood People is also an example of retrospective typology. History and Rudy Wiebe join forces to remind Riel of the spiritual meaning of King David, his antitypical fulfillment in Jesus. Typologically (and therefore theologically) the main action of the novel is the conversion of Riel from an "old" to a "new" understanding. Much more unified and dynamic than any of Wiebe's other novels, The Scorched-Wood People advances by confronting Riel with a series of moral problems of epic significance. The task of typological criticism is to specify the process, showing how

the structure of the novel incorporates Wiebe's double vision. A dialectic of nature and grace and of type and antitype, the plot advances by means of incarnation, negation, and transcendence. With emphasis throughout on Wiebe's Protestant iconography (essentially unchanged from his earlier novels), commentary and analysis can be limited to four main aspects of The Scorched-Wood People: (1)Wiebe's manipulation of his narrator, Pierre Falcon; (2)Wiebe's ironic presentation of the Métis utopian dream; (3)the relationship between Dumont and Riel; and (4), the dramatization of Riel's call, the psychodrama of possession that moves the saint from his ministry (his life) to his passion (his afterlife).

Tropologically, as moral agitation, The Scorched-Wood People functions very much as does The Temptations of Big Bear, and the argument made in the preceding chapter need not be repeated here. The novel intervenes in the present moral climate to create sympathy for an indigent people. It is an anti-centralist, anti-imperialist, and pacifist object-lesson. Putatively a historical analysis, The Scorched-Wood People with its "literal" propaedeutic surface presents an account sympathetic to the charismatic Riel and to the Métis people in their hopeless struggle for nationhood and for control of the Northwest against Britain, Ontario, Ottawa, the Hudson's Bay Company, and the United States. As Desmond Morton has remarked in his introduction to The Queen v Louis Riel, Riel

has officially become "one of a list of guilty memories for the majority culture."[4] Written in prison, Riel's words, which Wiebe cites when Riel for the last time allows himself to be moved to hatred, can stand for this level of the novel's intention:

> Was it just that a greater people destroy a smaller people's leaders, tear from them their country? Humanity answers no. God who is our Father, in his mercy has granted that every people shall live in their own place so that they may bless their Creator, forever. Those who wrest from its people a country commit sacrilege! (p. 335).

In keeping with the principle of multiple levels of meaning and moral function, each level held to be true and "realistic" and beneficial to the reader who can perceive that level, Wiebe does devote considerable energy to the sympathetic presentation of the Métis dilemma, but that level is far from being his primary interest. Wiebe's theological perspective freely exploits Pierre Falcon, this in the interest of primary Christian teaching (arousing sympathy for suffering), but ultimately Wiebe's point of view is neither regionalist nor centralist, neither Métis nor Orange. As the following analysis will show, Wiebe's redaction of the Riel legend is another Protestant conquest of the Métis, but this time a literary and evangelical one rooted in the contemporary American tradition of "the revived Anabaptist vision."

The novel presents itself as an oral history, told from memory and from heaven by the Métis balladeer and magistrate,

Pierre Falcon. At the same time, Falcon is obviously a creature of Rudy Wiebe, or at least of the author implied by the work. Falcon steps forward only occasionally as the first-person, involved, nativist ("I was there") narrator. During narrative or "epic" moments and for the sake of linkages, Falcon is there obtrusively to address the reader, to explicate, to justify, and to summarize. Yet most of the book is presented dramatically in the third-person omniscient style; at one time or another the narrative point of view claims privileged access to the minds of almost everyone in the novel. The formal narrative stance of The Scorched-Wood People is a textbook demonstration of what Percy Lubbock labels the extended first-person narrator. The point of view is "still assigned to the man in the book," in this case to Pierre Falcon, but by changing to the third person the author gains a number of advantages, not the least of which is the freedom of time and place:

> the sage serenity of a far retrospect, the promising or threatening urgency of the present, every gradation between the two, can be drawn into the whole effect of the book, and all of it without any change of the seeing eye. . . . the picture contains more, becomes richer and fuller, because it is the author's as well as his creature's, both at once. Nobody notices, but in fact there are now two brains behind the eye; and one of them is the author's, who adopts and shares the position of his creature, and at the same time supplements his wit.[6]

Wiebe uses this narrative method to good effect in The Scorched-Wood People, thereby solving a number of rhetorical

and formal problems posed by the material and by the evangelical irony with which Wiebe is compelled to shape it. As an artist-voyeur recounting a series of sacred and redemptive events from a providential point of view, Falcon is much more convincing than either John Reimer of The Blue Mountains of China or Kitty McLean of The Temptations of Big Bear. He is more convincing simply because he has the authority and wisdom of age and experience and all the advantages of Wiebe's exhaustive research. His prototype can be found in Franz Epp, who tells the story of "The Black Vulture" to John Reimer. On the propaedeutic surface, then, The Scorched-Wood People is a falcon's cry, and Falcon can best be understood in terms of how he furthers Wiebe's theological and rhetorical goals while successfully maintaining the illusion and objectivity of story.

Theologically, as the analysis will show, Wiebe maintains an ironic distance between himself and both the Métis people (the "burnt-cross" people) and their celebrator. Yet, at the naive level, the Métis people are to shame the secular reader by their faith and are to provide a moral stumbling stone for the technical-rational imperialism of Ottawa. For these purposes, Falcon's oral and bardic narration ensures a sympathetic hearing for the communal story of the illiterate nomads. Indeed, the most common form of Falcon's obtrusiveness is his communal "we" and "our." When Falcon presents his

inset tales of Cuthbert Grant, of the Dumont clan, and of the Métis battles with the Sioux, he provides a dignified and heroic past for the events at Red River and Batoche, an epic context which Wiebe will then convert to a dramatic personalistic confrontation with the Jesus-example. Falcon is thus a convincing source of local colour, an eye-witness to many of the events, and a sympathetic authority on local prejudices and tribal views. It hardly matters that the historical Pierre Falcon died in 1876 and that even before 1876 he could hardly have participated in many of the episodes dramatized in The Scorched-Wood People (such as Schultz's rabble-rousing in Ontario, pp. 91-94). It hardly matters that he could not have been privy to the thoughts and motivations of many of the historical actors in The Scorched-Wood People. He simply embodies the omniscient and imaginative historical knowledge that was the result of Wiebe's research and that formed the solid factual base of the novel. At this naive level, Falcon is indeed "the voice of the Métis people that writes that book."[6] Once Falcon has established his nativist and "wise old man" credentials, he can be dropped in favour of the dramatic mode, and the reader hardly questions the omniscient and prophetic authority that actually presents most of the novel. In a just-published excerpt from a novel in progress, Wiebe's protagonist, a world-weary Christian historian, claims that after years of research he "can actually, look upon the completed

facts of 19th century western Canada very much as we must imagine God himself looks upon them: knowing (within the uncertainty of human limits and the mutability of records) all."[7]

Using Falcon as a frame device allows Wiebe the freedom of omniscient narration while protecting him from any charges of presumption and sermonizing. The three key theological issues that Wiebe wishes to make believable and that might arouse the skepticism of the contemporary reader are the Métis's blind faith in Riel, the validity of Riel's divine call and mission, and the Anabaptist dissent practised by Riel and his Exovedate. Wiebe uses Falcon effectively to anticipate and defuse negative reactions to all three of these issues.

Early in the novel, Falcon is sitting beside the fire while the Métis are celebrating the declaration of the provisional government, one of the few places in the novel where Falcon is actually present and involved in the action. He establishes his authority and forestalls the reader's potential disbelief in Riel's superiority and "chosenness" as follows:

> I too once went to school in Montreal, long ago, and I saw all the great men there and read what Macdonald said, and Cartier, and the Americans Lincoln and Grant; I saw the great men who came to Red River . . . and not even Donald Smith knew I existed so they never protected themselves from my thoughts; every day I went through dust or snow to pray before the altar of St. Francis Xavier

> and I have seen the size of men when they are called before the law, before sworn witnesses. Let me tell you immediately, Louis Riel was a giant. If God had willed it, he could have ruled the world.
>
> No, no, hear me out, and you will believe it too (pp. 35-36).

Falcon also draws attention here to one of the major theological concerns of the novel, the question of what God's will was with regard to Louis Riel.

Falcon makes personal appeals like the one above in two other places--once during the asylum scene to contradict and counteract the medical views of Riel's possession (p. 166) and later at Batoche to justify Gabriel Dumont's fatal acquiescence in Riel's judgment:

> So . . . he did not harrass [sic] Bladder Middleton . . . largely because he believed in Riel's faith. You find that strange? No believer would, since faith is the essence of things hoped for, the evidence of things <u>not</u> seen (p. 256, Wiebe's italics).

This affirmation is more convincing, obviously, when made by Pierre Falcon rather than by an omniscient author.

Wiebe uses Falcon in a similar way to get a sympathetic hearing for the idea that God can speak to man, something both Wiebe and Riel believe. In summarizing Dr. Jukes's testimony at Riel's trial, Wiebe ascribes to Falcon a crucial parenthetic intrusion:

> When Jukes was asked during the trial, "If it could be proved that a man is labouring under an insane delusion that he is in direct communication with the Holy Ghost (I would ask, why should that be an <u>insane</u> delusion? Cannot the Holy Ghost communicate, <u>directly</u>, to whomsoever he--it--wishes?), would he be responsible for that act?", he replied,

> "Men have held very strange, remarkable views on religion and have been declared insane until they gathered great numbers of followers and became leaders of a new sect and then, suddenly, they were great prophets and great men. . . . Is this direct fraud, honest delusion, organizational power, or truly guidance from the divine? I would not be qualified to say" (p. 330, Wiebe's italics).

Wiebe succeeds thus in affirming that direct revelation is perfectly possible and, at the same time, in leaving the question open for the skeptical reader. It should be noted that the last two sentences cited above are Wiebe's addition to what the police surgeon actually did say at the trial.[8]

In this way, Wiebe exploits Falcon to testify to the sanity of Riel's call and to suggest the insanity of the technological, legal, and rational world of John A. Macdonald. It is Falcon, not an omniscient author, who articulates the "dangerous" idea central to Wiebe's Anabaptist vision, that the dissenter guided by an inner light, by the Bible, and by the discipline of a group of believers is sane, right, and good while the state with its rational use of force is insane, wrong, and evil. The claim is carefully protected by its frame, a rhetorical question:

> Am I mad to think Riel the most sane man in that courtroom in Regina, the most saintly man in the North-West when he found peace with himself and with whatever purposes God had for his mission, and so could receive his family in that jail for the last time with calm, with happiness? If so, I prefer madness to the sanity of Sir John, of Sir Wilfrid Laurier who used Riel when he was safely dead as the cornerstone on which to build a Liberal wall around Quebec which would last a century (p. 331).

This citation is a good example of how Wiebe hides behind his

dramatized narrator whenever he wishes to spell out the crucial theological understandings the reader might otherwise miss, even though these understandings are everywhere implied by the iconography and by the dramatic action.

Whenever the narration modulates from "tell" to "show," from epic to drama, Falcon cannot be separated in his omniscience and privilege from Wiebe himself. To lend credence to this freedom in time, place, person, and ideology, Wiebe revives the well-worn technique of the modest disclaimer, what one might term narrative apophasis. Falcon three times intrudes into particularly sacred scenes to confess his limitations and to disclaim directly his ability to mediate adequately the mysteries that in fact are being successfully shown. In describing Riel's revelation of December 8, 1875, Falcon apologizes for using Riel's exact words and then confesses his inability "to make this song of Riel":

> So even his vision I can only offer in the words which he so clearly borrowed from the Bible he read both in Latin and French: and sometimes, desperately, in English. . . . For the violent and silly acts of our people I received songs; for this, our greatest vision and commitment to a hard road, nothing. I must leave the words to stand in all their unmemorable bareness: their unearthly power will have to be seen in the effect they had on Riel, on our people, and on Canada during those last ten years. And most of all, I suppose, in their impossibility (pp. 140-141, Wiebe's italics).

While confessing that his song is only that of the falcon, he affirms the story to be both factual and sacred.

Falcon establishes that history is redemptive, providential

and inevitable by means of hints, repeated reference to numerical symmetries in Riel's life, and by recounting incidents illustrating the charismatic, clairvoyant, and prophetic nature of Riel and his vision. He then steps back to deny what the text everywhere affirms:

> The ways of God on earth are mysterious to us, and contradictory beyond our earthly knowledge; but rest content in faith, as I did: His ways are best. If Gabriel had not known Riel at Red River he would certainly have had more doubts than Isbister; if he had not been with him that June day in the small, mostly unused church at Fort Benton, Montana, almost everything they lived through together in the next year would not have happened. And why did it? I have asked myself. You have my word, I could not have made a song about it even had I been there, for I was never given songs out of misery; I could never easily make memorable old men and young men and children remorselessly killed (p. 186).

The story and its author know "the ways of God on earth," but Falcon as Falcon does not. He does not know, as do Wiebe and his tradition of biblical realism, "that suffering and not brute force determines the meaning of history."[9] Falcon is Wiebe's mouthpiece, apophatically asserting the Jesus-oriented view of history, and Wiebe provides additional disguise when Falcon describes the Métis army at Batoche:

> O to have seen our people riding against our enemies then, the flag of the Virgin flying over them and Riel and Gabriel at their head. It was the greatest army we ever had, and it was the last. As I grew older the glory of fighting and war which I loved and sang in my youth slowly soured for me, as you may have gathered, but to see our people ride like that: excitement, pride, brotherhood, and ceremony all together are not easily found on earth, especially by the poor; they must be enjoyed for that fleeting moment in which they touch us, for pain and perhaps agony are then never far away (p. 261).

Like the reader who is to identify with him, Falcon learns from the pacifist and sacrificial example he is narrating.

As artist-voyeur, devout Catholic, and as bard with modest Rabelaisian tendencies, Falcon understands and reports a sacred drama of possession, a sacrificial imitation of Jesus. At the same time he is sharply separated from the saint whose life he is telling. He plays a sort of Virgil to Wiebe's Dante (as the author, not as the pilgrim). On the one hand, having established himself with his reader, Falcon testifies to the truth of the events; on the other hand, he withdraws from them because he is a profane narrator, albeit one who is overwhelmed by what he oversees and overhears. The most holy moments of Riel's life, such as his dedicatory conversations with Sara, his private wrestling with his daimon, and his prayers to his God, are presented without intrusion, as if they were unmediated. Falcon disappears and the sacred events are allowed to unfold providentially and inevitably.

What must be noted about Falcon finally is his tolerance of Riel's radically Protestant dissent, a theme central to The Scorched-Wood People and to Wiebe's notion of history's meaning. Again, Falcon affirms by denying. He speaks in the first person of "the necessity of rejecting Father André with all his church clutter" (p. 276); he praises Riel for having lifted the Métis out of passivity and quietism into freedom and responsibility, but he pauses to give a Catholic affirmation

before proceeding with an ecumenical sermon on individual faith and individual adult religious responsibility. The passage must be cited at length:

> And the people of Batoche whom Riel had abruptly forced . . . to decide about police and Company and bad government and, most terrifying of all, whether Hell should be burning eternally for them; whether they personally had the confidence in themselves to decide they would believe something they had not been taught always to believe, that a personal decision about faith not dictated by a priest but directly and personally communicated by God was even possible, and that a priest could then only corroborate or, if he refused to do that, he was damnably wrong--our people themselves decide that in a matter of faith a priest could be wrong!--how can I sing this sad, last act of our people when I found my greatest strength at the altar of our merciful Lord in St. François Xavier . . . ? The Word and understanding is [sic] very near you: you need no revelation from beyond the grave; as our Jesus said when he was on earth, if you will not believe what is already discernible on earth, then neither will you believe that which comes extraordinarily from beyond. . . . Our people at Batoche had despaired in the advice of the priests; justice, right, worship after the pattern of the priests had become impossible (it never became impossible for me, though I sometimes wondered a good deal). And Riel had shown them they could change their thinking, they had to change their thinking not only about politics but also about their religious faith if they were truly to gain justice (pp. 283-284, Wiebe's italics).

This passage is an orthodox Anabaptist sermon, but because Pierre Falcon is its ostensible origin the fiction remains persuasive and the reader is not distracted from the story by questioning the validity of the ideas.

Indeed, the reader is to identify with Pierre Falcon, to share his perspective, and to believe in the example Falcon is remembering and narrating. A rhetorical and pedagogical device of Wiebe's theological vision, Falcon provides the propaedeutical

perspective by which the reader (whom Wiebe assumes to be naive, sentimental, liberal, secular, and theologically ignorant) can see, understand, and learn. Wiebe is quite correct, if condescending, when he says that he is more profound than most of his readers.[10]

In short, Falcon, when he appears in the text as Falcon, claims to know no more than what might be expected of a wise old man with a firm Catholic faith and with a patriotic commitment to his people. He is the creature of his creator, who does know what history means and what God intends. Like Riel, Wiebe reads by the inner light of private revelation; he skilfully exploits Falcon to give The Scorched-Wood People the kind of narrative surface described by Percy Lubbock as "the old, immemorial, unguarded, unsuspicious way of telling a story."[11] Wiebe's rational manipulation of his bardic narrator lends to the sacred story of Riel the authority of oral history. The method is also very similar to the formal narrative stance of the Gospels. Like the apostles of Wiebe's Bible, Falcon is indeed "the voice that writes;" the amanuensis of a god speaking through simple faith. According to Wiebe's redaction, the Métis genocide is God's voice in history admonishing and correcting the contemporary reader.

The second theological aspect of The Scorched-Wood People that must be demonstrated is Wiebe's ironic presentation of the Métis dream of a "new nation," the social and ethnic utopia

that was to have been established on the prairie under Riel's leadership. Christian charity commits Wiebe to the compassionate representation of all human dreams and actions; as well, the analysis of Wiebe's dramatized narrator has shown Wiebe's pedagogical purposes in giving a view sympathetic to the ultramontanist, ethnic dream of the Métis. Yet an important interest of Wiebe in The Scorched-Wood People is to dramatize a social typology, to present a dialectic between an "old" tribal kingdom and a "new" "personal community of faith"[12] so as to show the limitations of the former and the God-willed necessity of the latter. In The Scorched-Wood People, Wiebe's double vision has a social dimension much more profound than the social views only embryonically present in The Temptations of Big Bear. Although Wiebe uses the Métis failure to lesson (and lessen) Macdonald and the unholy Quebec-Ontario alliance, he is also critical of the Métis. He shows that their historical limitations and their choices, based as they were on animal energy and a "false" religion, had a great deal to do with their historical disaster.

It is necessary here to pause and to review briefly Wiebe's biblical view of the state, of primitive communities, and of Christian social groups. As Ernst Bloch has pointed out, Christianity has inherited from its origins a certain primitivism:

> There is no other book in which the memory of nomadic institutions--in other words, of a primitive semi-communism--

> remains as strong as in the Bible. Community life without a division of labor and private property appear as God's will long after private property had come into being in Canaan and was accorded some means of recognition by the prophets.[13]

The love communism implied by the New Testament augmented and enforced this primitivism. The Mennonites too had utopian goals, as the following sociological assessment made by E. K. Francis indicates:

> Mennonite history is determined not so much by a preconceived ideal of a perfect society but by the indefatigable search for a form of social life which would allow man to realize the ideal of a Christian life according to the Bible.[14]

Yet, as this essay has shown, Wiebe goes well beyond these truisms in his stern evangelical critique of ethnicity and cultural Mennonitism in Peace Shall Destroy Many, The Blue Mountains of China, and elsewhere. In those novels, Wiebe's characters were weaned from pietistic quietism and childish prayers, forced to abandon "the impossible waving lily fields of Mennonite childhood."[15] The lesson of The Blue Mountains of China especially was that no one could escape suffering, lice, wars, and death. Through "carrion eschatology," Wiebe has rationally and artistically controlled his nostalgia, but it is nevertheless everywhere present, albeit dialectically.

For details of Wiebe's theological understanding of Old Testament tribalism and nomadic warfare, one must go to the American evangelical theologian, John Yoder, whom Wiebe met at Goshen (1963-1967) and whom he has described in a recently

published interview as one of "the best theologians . . . the Mennonite Church has ever had." In the same place, Wiebe adds that he corresponds regularly with Yoder and that Yoder has influenced his thought "about what it means to be a Christian more than anything [sic] else."[16] As noted in Chapter One, Yoder was one of the leading thinkers in "the revival of the Anabaptist vision." Yoder's The Original Revolution: Essays in Christian Pacifism attempts a detailed defence of Jesus-oriented, aggressive subordination with regard to the reigning powers and a "rejection of righteous violence." Yoder argues that "insurrectionary movements most often fail and thereby actually make worse the situation of the oppressed."[17] To follow Jesus is to be willing "to sacrifice, in the interest of nonresistant love, all other forms of human solidarity, including the legitimate national interests of the chosen people." Yoder then attempts to explain the violence of the Old Testament, which he describes as a "basic problem of interpretation."[18]

He is dissatisfied with the "dispensational" interpretation, which suggests that God has many different schemes of salvation. Yoder prefers to believe that the movement from the Old Testament to the New represented a cultural evolution and maturation, not a shift in God's strategy. Yoder labels this argument "the Pedagogical Concession," arguing that "God was making an adjustment not to a culpable hardness of heart but to an

innocent primitive moral immaturity,"[19] the cultural attitude of the Old Testament nomads. Yoder leans most heavily on what he calls "the concrete historical anthropological meaning," a cultural relativism that argues that in those times it was all right to sacrifice your son as an act of faith and that it was justifiable to fight "holy wars" in which your enemy was conceived of as "a sacrificial object" and wholesale slaughter was seen as "a vast, bloody sacrifice to the God." God was actually speaking to his people, Yoder claims, then as now, but he was speaking in terms appropriate to the historical moment.[20] The only understanding missing was the belief in the holiness of all men, and this understanding was supplied by Jesus. In these apologetics, Yoder remains intellectually respectable only by maintaining a speculative surface on his arguments, a rhetorical device that does not really disguise an objectionable casuistry. He is somewhat uneasy at the lengths he feels compelled to go in order to apologize for the fanatic violence of the chosen people of the Old Testament. He appears to be consciously writing for two different audiences, his own constituency of literalists as well as for serious theologians, and he strains overmuch to satisfy both groups.

Be that as it may, Yoder turns with some relief to the New Testament where men have reached the moral maturity lacking

in the tribes of the Old. He argues throughout that the only society Jesus condoned was his Church, a gathering of adult believers that was voluntary, racially and sexually mixed, and based on an ethic of forgiving, suffering, and sharing.[21] Yoder believes that all genuine "social creativity is a minority function" of the groups of Christian brethren.[22]

Yoder's later book, The Politics of Jesus (1972), develops further his arguments in favour of the social and political relevance of Jesus. Yoder describes his theological project as follows:

> an exercise in fundamental philosophical hermeneutics, trying to apply in the area of the life of the Christian community the insights with regard to the distinct biblical world view which have previously been promoted under the name of "biblical realism."[23]

Wiebe has been doing exactly the same thing, of course, but in the area of fiction.

Jesus is "the political alternative to both insurrection and quietism." During his ministry, he could have at any time called upon the Zealots and started a violent revolution, but he resisted the temptation and chose instead an aggressive, pacifistic witness. The Christian community is the "primary social structure," and its unworldly style of life culminates in suffering. In these ways, Yoder would argue that Jesus is immediately relevant to society; in every way it is Jesus and only Jesus who is "normative for a contemporary Christian social ethic."[24] "The Kingdom of God is a social order and

not a hidden one," and it becomes present here and now when believers in their revolutionary cells practice "concrete jubilary obedience."[25] Justification is a social event[26] joining Jew and Gentile in a community of faith that spreads by contagion and example. This view goes a long way in explaining the voyeurism that everywhere informs the structure of Wiebe's Christian storytelling.

In The Scorched-Wood People Wiebe uses this kind of theological thought to structure the relationships among the Métis New nation, the new Dominion of Canada, and the social dream of Louis Riel. Most obvious is the contrast between the Métis and the Canadian state. In the first chapter, when the Métis "boys" run McDougall back across the border, Wiebe shows both the corruption of the representatives of national power and the healthy but uncontrolled and unconsidered energy of the hunters. Important to note is that the narrow-minded and bureaucratic legalism of the state is extended to Schmidt and to the papers of Riel's "National Committee":

> "Get out," Gabriel said to McDougall, who had with great intensity found some paper and was searching his furs for more as if he had the six-day fleas. Dear God, that was our everlasting Métis laugh, McDougall scratching himself and finding at last what he was looking for and hopping obediently, clutching that paper which would prove everything and Schmidt, not seeing him, of course, clutching his paper and already reading into the wind the words he had carried seventy winter miles from Fort Garry . . . (p. 16).

In The Scorched-Wood People, the modern state continues to play

the role it had in The Temptations of Big Bear: By means of predictive typology, Wiebe identifies the state (along with the empirical habits of thought it induces in its servants and its rational and legal use of force) with the antichrist. The devil is at work in Wolseley, in Macdonald, in Thomas Scott, and in Middleton, as a glance at the imagery indicates (pp. 73-75, 117, 134-135, 193, 262, 291 et passim).

The state remains the villain. "Macdonald stupidities" induce hatred in the innocent primitives and destroy the potentially benign influence of the Christian apostle among them. "Carefully neutral men" or "smart bigots" will "succeed at last in binding the North-West to the implacable faceless power of Macdonald's Ontario" (p. 71). The state's violence bears away all the potential goodness of the Métis "prairie vision," which was "too strong, too destructive of all that was" (p. 348). As one final citation from John Yoder shows, a reality structured by the Jesus-story must include persecution by a state, army, or empire: "If a state does not persecute the faithful it is, in fact, better than its diabolical nature would lead one to expect."[27] The judges, lawyers, politicians, and officers that march through Wiebe's pages bear the brunt of his primitivistic evangelical satire; they remain puppets on the string of a two-thousand-year-old historical configuration, the accidental intersection of empire, petty provincial politics, and a mendicant teacher. The civil

rights and individual freedoms won in the long struggle of rational humanism for the rule of law are as nothing beside the charismatic allegiances and intuitive insights that bind the covens of the faithful. In all of Wiebe's novels, the state is simply there as a corrupted and all-too-human construction on a fallen nature; when provoked, the state responds with violence, mechanically and diabolically serving God's will in the realm of necessity and judgment. Wiebe's view of reality, constituted and limited by the Bible, could have no other way of understanding or depicting the rational-legal entity that is the modern nation-state.

Yoder explains that the Christian will be an aggressive witness against all kinds of sinful society:

> The Christian accepts . . . the powers that be and speaks to them in a corrective way. It is when we speak to those in power and to the dominant majority groups in the population that we plead the case of the minorities and the absent; this does not mean that if we were speaking to the minority groups themselves we should be uncritical or flattering.[28]

With regard to the Canadian state and the Métis, this perspective is precisely the one Wiebe adopts in The Scorched-Wood People.

The etiology of violence is what Wiebe is interested in tracing, and he locates its origins in the fallen nature of the Métis, in their "innocent primitive moral immaturity" as it interacts with Canadian greed and Scott's blasphemy. The

major purpose of the iconographical panorama that ends the first chapter, the Métis celebration of the declaration of the provisional government, is to establish the moral limitations of the Métis as a group--their failure to control their carnal appetites and the inadequacy of their religion in giving them moral guidance.

The scene is portentous and epiphanic, carefully labelled so by Pierre Falcon: "We were all, suddenly, speaking for ourselves, and we would at last be held responsible for every sound we made" (p. 31). Briefly, what happens during the celebration is that the mentally-retarded Bertie Parisien becomes befuddled by liquor and hypnotized by the dream of sex and guns. The story about Anne Schultz in bed with the Enfield rifles especially fascinates him. Goulet gives him some swallows of rum, and he wanders off to the riverbank, taking with him a rifle lifted from a drunken Métis guard. There he is frightened by Anne Schultz, who is waiting with horses for the escaping Canadian prisoners. Hughie Sutherland goes to the riverbank as well, he with a Métis girl whom he wants to seduce. The terrified Parisien shoots Sutherland, and Thomas Scott beats Parisien to death. The scene ends as follows:

> And so Lépine and his men brought those two innocents to us . . . . Two soldiers carried Young Bertie between them; Elzéar followed, undraped Hughie Sutherland from his shoulder and laid him beside the natural on the dancing hides. There was a scream; Mrs Sutherland

> broke through the horrified people and fell sobbing upon her son.
>
> "Get Dr. Schultz," said Riel, "from the guardroom. Quick." The men could look nowhere, for shame (p. 47).

It is a neat Anabaptist emblem; death rapidly follows and destroys earthly fantasies of sex and power. Parisien is representative of the gullible innocence of the Métis; he is provoked by the Canadians and thus does the first killing.

Throughout Wiebe's description of the celebration, the imagery is ominous. When hoisted, the Métis flag does not unfold. Falcon emphasizes the unhappy significance of the absence of wind: "I thought, by my sainted father this declaration is stillborn" (p. 31). Dumont is associated with a dangling horse; he "whirled his horse up so tightly the animal spiralled, danced on its hind legs as if hung" (p. 33). Entertained by the scatological satire of Falcon's ballad, the people are described as "roaring up into darkness" (p. 41). When Elzéar Goulet brings in McDougall's chair, Goulet "seemed something devilish." He is holding the chair "high like a grotesque crown he was about to place on his own head, or perhaps Gabriel's" (p. 41). Gabriel Dumont's dance is the primordial dance of animal nature:

> On the hides, all alone, the fiddlers playing the power he churned in all of us, a magnificent male dance that frothed with Métis fighting spirit, wild and living and shaped in our people by our strong horses and the wide, wide earth we rode. . . . Gabriel, short, ugly, strong as a buffalo bull, was the prince of us that night, stirring our blood like the memories of glory and power. Elzéar watched him clapping, his face pulled wide in awe (p. 42).

The drinking guards are "cradling their rifles in their arms almost as they would women" (p. 43), while the guard whose rifle Bertie Parisien takes is identified in terms of Catholicism and alcohol:

> The guard groped for his beads, drank, head back and eyes closed in, perhaps, worship. He was still holding the two anchors of his life when, a moment later, young Sutherland and the girl also slipped past him through the gate (p. 44).

The half-wit in the darkness with "the forbidden weight of a gun finally in his hands" is "moaning for happiness" (p. 45). After he shoots Sutherland, he is described as being "nailed rigid with terror against the scrub oak," and a few moments later Scott clubs him to death. Wiebe includes a gambling scene in the celebration. It tells the reader to pay attention to Bertie Parisien, "the Lord's chosen." It is Bertie and not Riel who is able to "see" under which leather the coin is hidden.

The spectacle draws together Wiebe's descriptive analysis of the moral-historical situation, his inevitable reduction of historical forces to theological, moral, and God-willed patterns. The Métis are morally immature, half-witted "naturals" given to the macho pursuits, especially so when provoked and misled by bad examples. Falcon is himself implicated in this moral immaturity, but as Wiebe's mouthpiece and moral chorus he labels the Métis transformation and degeneration for the reader:

> Sutherland and the girl were gone, like Bertie, and now I could not recognize anyone in the dancing crowd where a moment before every face was so familiar. The

> sky was black, icy with stars and that good flag opening but the people might have been Canadians celebrating: despite any yelling Métis the arch of white Confederation is already complete, burn the flag and nail down a railroad, cinch the North-West tight against Ontario and Quebec, forever. What piddling difference does it make, Ontario or Quebec--strangers all, laughing and fixed upon our potential. While we dance. I can see it, see it all (p. 44).

Wiebe thus indicates that the Métis are gullible children, as easily corrupted by pleasure and power as the Canadians.

Riel too is implicated. Immediately following the Métis celebration, Riel turns from the contemplation of his private mission to take up "his burden" and to pray for Parisien and Sutherland: "in your great mercy receive their marred and tangled innocence as the pure innocence of your Son, Who died for them" (p. 50). Then Gabriel appears on his horse, "hacked out in one lair of cold," and Riel explains to him the fallen state of nature and the moral significance of the two deaths. "How could God have done it any clearer?" is Riel's rhetorical summary of the two deaths (p. 51).

But of course how could Rudy Wiebe have done it "any clearer"? Historically, the deaths did not occur as a result of the Métis celebration. The provisional government was declared on December 8, 1869. Scott escaped on January 9, 1870; and Schultz on January 23. On February 16 the half-wit Norbert Parisien ran off from the Canadians who were holding him in Kildonan Church. In his flight, Parisien shot Hughie Sutherland, who may or may not have been pursuing him. Apparently Thomas

Scott did beat Parisien with a gun, and Parisien died a few days later.[29]

Wiebe has thus telescoped history and superimposed four widely separated events. There are formal reasons for this compression, of course, but the main reason for it is the chain of moral causation Wiebe insists on establishing in history. As far as Wiebe is concerned, the Métis remain in their Old Testament state of "marred and tangled innocence," victims of their sexual drive, their urge for power and domination, and the provocation of Scott and the Canadian state. Wiebe places a buffalo on the Métis flag (p. 31), but historically it had only a green harp, a shamrock, and a fleur-de-lis.[30] The tableau vivant closing Wiebe's first chapter thus enforces an Anabaptist homily identifying the consequences of violence in general and of the Métis national dream of sex, guns, buffalo meat, power, and Catholicism in particular. Through Falcon, Wiebe describes the Métis as nothing:

> a people with two heritages so rich that often one alone is more than you want, when you feel one of them move in you like a living beast and the other whispers, sings between your ears with a beauty you would gladly sell your soul to hear until you die. Such doubleness, such sometimes half-and-half richness of nothing (p. 112).

The Métis nation in The Scorched-Wood People never becomes a community of Christian believers, the New Testament ideal of Christian society. Wiebe's point of view will never be clear to the reader unless he understands that the Métis chiliastic

dream of establishing God's perfect kingdom on the prairie by means of righteous violence is a heresy. Indeed, Wiebe identifies it with the "so-called Anabaptists John of Leiden and Jan Matthies,"[31] who according to The Dictionary of the Bible used force "to set up a Kingdom of Zion, involving the sharing of women and property, as a prelude to Christ's Kingdom."[32] Wiebe holds that "in the tradition of the true Anabaptists, the Muensterites were as heretical as any Roman Catholic priest selling pardons on the street corner."[33] The Métis remain in an Old Testament situation, and Riel's social-political dream for them follows an Old Testament tribal pattern. Insofar as Riel uses guns and armies, he misconstrues his mission. Blood will have blood; once violence has been chosen, history simply becomes a kind of schematic retribution. Riel and the Métis are punished by Middleton, and they in turn lesson him.

The ideal New Testament society is, nevertheless, potentially and dialectically present. It is evoked at several critical moments in the story, moments when Riel is struggling to see clearly. When the delegation arrives in Montana, Riel is living in poverty and teaching the poor children of the Montana Métis. "This is the empire God has given me," he tells them (p. 182). Riel hesitates before accepting the leadership of the Saskatchewan protest:

> The land, titles--that was obvious, but what was beyond that? Did they care anything for a New Nation? For the call of God? Were they like the Montana Métis, already hammered into the uncaring mud of drunkenness, dirt, prostitution, eat today what we can grab, who can think about tomorrow? (pp. 184-185).

Following the call of God is momentarily more important to Riel than righting the wrongs with regard to land and titles, yet his sense of these injustices finally provokes him to choose violent means.

Riel is moving towards the vision of a community of believers when he consoles Madeleine Dumont during the battle at Batoche:

> We cannot imagine, the world has never seen, what would happen if a whole people would sacrifice to truly love God and do his will. Israel was called, the Holy Church was called, but they would not. They could never face the terrible demand of faith. Always only a saint, one solitary saint here or there far from each other, but a whole nation believing, holy enough to carry God's will into the world, that would turn winter into spring (p. 265).

Wiebe interrupts Riel's evangelical speculations with an ironic interpolation from Riel's diary in which Riel urges on the Métis with expressions such as "God is strong: fire!" (p. 266). This example is the essence of Wiebe's fictional method and illustrates his evangelical irony. He is true to the cultural context and to history all the while embedding in the profane world a mustard seed of the gospel. Riel's baptism of Jackson and Jackson's happy acceptance of a lifetime of suffering are two other glimpses of the faith, personal allegiance, and voluntary

humiliation that mark the believer's society. Another glimpse can be found in the evangelical sermon of Falcon (pp. 283-284), already discussed above.

The term "New Nation" has then an ironic double meaning throughout. It refers both to the immature Old Testament tribalism that "is" and to the Christian community that could be. The Métis faith and vision are inadequate:

> The spirit of God showed me the Métis Nation in the likeness of Geneviève Arcand coming to me on the street of Batoche. Her body revealed her pleasure in the flesh, her face the certain marks of carnality. O my Métis Nation, how your lust disfigures you! You are not worthy, not worthy. And yet you long for the right (p. 258).

Wiebe here remains true to the corresponding entry in Riel's diary,[34] but he makes explicit and close the association of the Métis nation with carnality by inventing the lines "O my Métis Nation, how your lust disfigures you! You are not worthy, not worthy." When three Métis and most of the horses are killed by cannon fire, Riel uses the slaughter in his funeral sermon to admonish his "children" again (the passage actually occurs in the diary of Riel, p. 72, and Wiebe has omitted "Christ" where Riel had it after "Eternal," thus removing Christ's association with judgment):

> Weep for ourselves, and our lack of faith! O my Métis Nation, you have long offended the kindness of God with your horse races, your gambling, your quarrels and feuds over the swiftness of your runners. The Eternal [Christ] says, "I know your sinful attachment to your horses and that is why yesterday, while sparing so many of you, I let

> your horses die." He has touched us in our sin, but punished us lightly, and for this he asks our full faith, our full obedience (pp. 272-273).

Since Riel himself has led them into the sin of violence and bloodshed, since their "innocent moral immaturity" condemns them to gullibility and righteous violence, and since their all-too-human natures reflect the inadequacy of their beliefs, the Métis never measure up to the impossible demands of the New Testament faith or, for that matter, to the ascetic moral strictures of the apostle ministering to them.

Providence nevertheless holds them responsible for their historical choices, and, according to Rudy Wiebe (who in his historical novels can hide behind history to make the claim he himself believes), God's judgment is their extinction as a race. Gabriel Dumont and then the omniscient author deliver a final assessment of the Métis national dream when Gabriel discovers Patrice and Michel drunk shortly after the defeat at Batoche:

> "That's all we're good for," Gabriel heaved himself up. "Drunk swearing, Jesus Christ if I don't kill all the Canadians that's all we'll--" he stopped abruptly, drenched suddenly in despair. All these strong men of our New Nation (p. 310).

The Métis are potentially "true believers," but their choice of guns led to their historical disaster; that catastrophe Wiebe sees as a corrective. It will bring them to "begin to search within themselves whether their understanding of God is too small" (p. 284).

The death of Elzéar Goulet at Red River can stand as the final pattern representative of Wiebe's view of the Métis and their choice of armed conventicular resistance. To escape the Canadian lynch mob, Goulet "took the river . . . and waded towards the cathedral spires over the river." But the water was too "deep and swift" and Goulet could not swim and so the "good, faithful man" was "utterly broken, destroyed by water and white rocks and his fingers" (pp. 125-126). Wiebe's treatment and selection of imagery can be described only as evangelical irony, charitable and Protestant. Goulet's fingers, of course, gave the rum to Bertie Parisien and the coup de grâce to Thomas Scott. Wiebe's "burnt-cross" people have the "marred and tangled innocence" of savages guessing at heaven, while Riel, in his historical-cultural role, is the fanatic whose dreams would "weave a paradise for a sect" (as Keats has it in his beautiful opening to "The Fall of Hyperion").

The relationship between Dumont and Riel is much closer to Wiebe's theological interests and much more central to the novel than Pierre Falcon or the fate of the Métis nation. The last two were, on one level at least, formal-rhetorical-pedagogical ploys aimed at preparing a seedbed for faith in the soul of the naive reader. Wiebe makes concrete and explicit Riel's fatal and necessary fascination for the Métis (and thus for nature, life, power, and domination) by means of Gabriel Dumont and

Marguerite Riel. In presenting these relationships, Wiebe has refined his biblical anthropology and historiography; The Scorched-Wood People is his most serious attempt to come to terms with the dualism of life and meaning that has plagued Christian thought from its beginnings. Hermeneutically, it is one more attempt on Wiebe's part to integrate the Old and the New Testament. The earthly part of Riel's dual personality Wiebe demonstrates in Riel's Davidic self-typing and in the relationships with Dumont and Marguerite Riel, relationships that follow naturally upon Riel's role as tribal prophet-king. It is the third main aspect of The Scorched-Wood People that demands analysis.

Wiebe's obsession with theological meaning, his allegorical method, brings him to define Gabriel Dumont basically in terms of buffalo and horses. These suggest the raw "id" or animal energy of the Métis as well as the main material supports of their existence. (The human aspect of Dumont is of course his faith in Riel.) When the Métis patrol runs McDougall back across the border, Dumont feels he must challenge the driver, who clubs him with a rifle "faster than he would have thought possible. . . ." Dumont "bellered like a wounded buffalo" (p. 17). When Dumont dances, Falcon describes him as "the prince" of the Métis, "short, ugly, strong as a buffalo bull" (p. 42). Dumont's personality is founded upon the crude, but energetic, condition

of nature, and, according to Wiebe's carrion eschatology, it suffers nature's fate. Gabriel Dumont is shown what that fate is when Isidore's is killed by Crozier's cannon:

> As he waded back to the front of his line, Gabriel saw the gun puff smoke for the first time and Isidore's horse arching itself in another desperate lunge seemed to explode into spray, its head and withers one enormous splotch of brownish red while its hindquarters still erect in the snow gathered themselves as if to leap for a long moment and the thunder of the gun rumbled over the hills (p. 237).

Later, when Dumont is wounded himself, Wiebe drives home the lesson:

> but suddenly his head! As if a hammer had smashed him, the snow lunged up into his face and his horse's heels, its belly torn one long red, an axe-chop through it and guts about to burst . . . (p. 239).

Wiebe's corrective black-vulture pedagogy is operating full-force:

> The world washed red . . . . But his hand slid aside warm as grease, the snow tilted up black over him, a sheet; and then a crucifix was there crossed on the bright sky so startlingly blue and the white clouds puffed like giants breathing on a cold day, it was so soft on the--a small tortured Jesus twisted on wood dear god they should take him off there after all these years as long as he could remember nailed on so crooked, and a nail, it drove into him, a nail spiked into his head just above the eyes and he gasped with pain sitting up, he was on his knees . . . (pp. 239-240).

Dumont is raised to his knees, his head now "throbbing prayer" pp. 241). Mitchell tells him his head is "like a buffalo's," and Dumont answers, "It feels like horns, yeah. . . . Like it was split in half" (p. 242). After the first day of the battle at Batoche, Riel describes Gabriel in similar terms:

> Gabriel's oaken weathered face set on his immense shoulders, the cropped grey curls of his sheared head growing in over

> his wound like a buffalo bull's forehead, power and rage that could move the world (p. 273).

Dumont has been reduced to nature and nature betrays him. His "power and rage" cannot change the world.

After the battle is lost, Gabriel goes berserk, a spasmodic reflex of wounded nature suddenly made aware of its vulnerability. The saint's influence is broken:

> "What are we going to do?" Riel shouted at Gabriel. "They have broken through, we are beaten!" He was lifting his arms to heaven and Gabriel knocked him aside, heaved up a stone beside the cable support.
> "We die, that's what we do!" He was clawing at the mud, finding one then another box of bullets (p. 306).

Gabriel's <u>aristeia</u> makes ridiculous Riel's prolix and idolatrous apologies for the Métis insurrection:

> He saw the soldiers carry armfuls of paper out of the Council House, still only partially burned but the Flag of Our Lord gone from the mast, and he picked off two, Louis's papers exploding over dust and mud holes like goose feathers before they drove him off, deeper into the woods (p. 307).

Madeleine describes Gabriel as being "in some savagery beyond her worst experience of any man," and when he stampedes the Canadian horse herd, he is "riding the pinto like a devil in the intermittent moonlight and laughing; the very wolves stopped howling under the stars" (p. 308). Only the intervention of his "seeing," but blind, father, the pleas of Madeleine, and the memory of Riel restore Dumont's humanity and therefore his prayer, which "he had lost for three days" (p. 313). As an allegorical agent, a personification of the Métis animal energy

and of the Métis condition in nature, Dumont represents the Métis aspect of Riel's split personality. As such, he draws Riel into a dream of power and earthly justice to be achieved by violent means.

The relationship is suggested by the structure of the first chapter. Interpolated into Riel's meditations and visions is the voice of Gabriel Dumont recounting the exploits of the Métis. Riel is "surrounded by their dark heavy laughter" (p. 23). A clear example of allegorical contagion is the meeting that occurs immediately after the deaths of Parisien and Sutherland. Riel is on his knees in the snow, trying to come to spiritual terms with the tragedy, when Dumont appears magically, a sort of revelation of nature associated with the bell:

> Suddenly, between the bell tolling, a bridle clinked; Riel looked up. Gabriel was sitting there on his horse. A motionless quiet surrounded man and animal as though they had materialized like hoarfrost out of the brilliant air, the shaggy horse and shaggy man hacked out in one lair of cold. Slowly Riel stood up (p. 50).

Riel's dream of "peace between all people" is quickly forgotten when Dumont tells him that Macdonald has sent Donald Smith to negotiate. Not only does Dumont bring Riel to his feet, but his news and Riel's hope of political success puts Riel up on the horse behind Dumont: "Gabriel offered his arm and a stiff foot; in one moment Riel was up, tanned buffalo in his nose" (p. 55). As emblem, the picture of Riel "up" on Dumont's horse belongs to a conventional and age-old Christian image-motif,

the correspondences flowing among soul and flesh, rider and horse, pride and humility, being sexually and psychologically "up" or "down."[35]

A similar "grounding" of Riel in the animal strength of Dumont occurs when Dumont leaves Red River (p. 110) and when he greets Riel in Montana:

> He had never felt such a hug, man and horse sweat like a power raging about in his head, crushing his chest; the boys from the school ran together, staring. Two of the riders jerked out their rifles and shots rolled crashing over the valley" (p. 182).

Falcon underlines their contagious association, stating categorically that the Saskatchewan rebellion would not have happened had Dumont and Riel not formed their holy-unholy alliance (p. 186).

Dumont seduces Riel from his humble and "proper" apostolic role and draws him back to his Davidic responsibilities and ambitions. Riel fears "the terrible hatred" that "will come again" when the Métis raise him once more to political power (p. 187). Black-vulture imagery punctuates Dumont and Riel's prayerful bond and mutual commitment:

> they saw that hill again and in a glance knew they had both seen that revelation: a gallows there and a man swinging from that gallows. Vision and certainty. Though it might have been no more than a heat mirage bending a dead or stunted cottonwood up near the edge of the river, the wavering blackness a momentary crow perhaps struggling in a downdraft against the open sky, struggling upward. When you see that you know (p. 188).

Two pages earlier the hill had been associated with Golgotha:

"the hill stood before him like a vision forming out of his prayer to be kept from hatred, somehow" (p. 185). Now, after the compact with Dumont, the hill becomes a gallows. What Dumont, Riel, and the reader know is that the agreement is a portentous and momentous historical decision with theological reverberations: Riel and Dumont have put their souls on the line, as it were.

The scene is a good example of Wiebe's double intentions at work. Both Riel and Dumont are trembling on the hermeneutical divide. Gabriel is human nature under the sentence of death, but he is also the angel who "stands before God and reveals His will and purpose to men."[36] Shortly before Riel's execution, Dumont is explicitly converted to his antitype. He appears to Riel and announces that Riel will be resurrected three days after his execution (p. 343). Gabriel and his army are God's revelation in nature, which Riel for a time misreads. When Riel is told of Gabriel's arrival, "he turned eagerly, half expecting the angel of judgement" (p. 181). Gabriel's appearance and Riel's decision to follow him are "both revelation and sentence" (p. 182). In the Fort Benton church, Riel's "old" cry for vengeance and slaughter (p. 187) is juxtaposed with his prayer to Jesus for mercy and love. The scene is neatly balanced between the gallows and Golgotha, hatred and love, domination and humble service. It is as close as Wiebe has ever come to dramatizing with equal power both aspects of the Christian

philosophical paradox: the insistence on human freedom and responsibility along with an absolute belief in a timeless all-seeing providence. Wiebe and history combine to make Dumont and Riel's "free" choice seem inevitable. In this case, Dumont and Riel choose wrongly and consequently plunge from the realm of freedom and grace into the order of judgment and necessity. They "fall" into history and nature, as they must, and there they discover "both revelation and sentence."

It is a Christian-pacifist truism that the armed alliance of Dumont and Riel dooms the Métis race. Wiebe makes the Métis responsible not only for their own genocide but also for the strengthening of the Dominion and for making the CPR the multi-national monster it has become today (p. 247 et passim). Guns were the "simple direct solution" Macdonald had been hoping for (p. 246). Wiebe clearly believes that Riel could have and should have organized a massive but peaceful protest, uniting Indian and Métis to change Macdonald's policy and thereby saving the aboriginal nomads as a people.

As it was, Dumont and Riel's final decision to have recourse to guns is a devil's pact, and Wiebe presents it as such. Riel's god has deserted him and Riel is about to return to Montana when Dumont reminds Riel of their common prayer in the church at Fort Benton. The ensuing epiphanic "still" (with its debts to D. H. Lawrence) must be cited at length:

> such evidenceless faith was still too much for Riel to believe he could inspire and Gabriel might have gained nothing beyond that momentary hesitation before the spruce when suddenly, coming up from their watering, the horses broke past Nolin's house and swarmed into the fields. Though they crashed through the snow's hard crust at every plunge, they seemed to fly effortlessly, their heads stretched level, mouths gaping, their legs reaching in great lunges that whirled the snow about them like a gigantic devil-wind funneling over the fields, the mist of snow rolling in the steam of their hot, driving bodies. The two men stood transfixed; the horses spread, split, going down instantaneously, rolling in the snow . . . their front legs leaping and the backs driving up too, they were all standing for an instant, shuddering in the cold as the snow sprayed from their black bodies like beauty flying. And abruptly, as if pulled about by a string they turned their heads towards the two men beside the spruce at the willow clump, stood motionless, ears cocked above their long, slender faces at Riel and Gabriel (p. 216).

The horses seem to be a challenge delivered by nature and the devil; Riel and Gabriel perceive it as a signal of divine approval, even though Riel, a few pages later, recognizes that he cannot find "God's direction" and that he is "in the seemingly and only momentarily motionless vortex of a devil-wind" (p. 220).

In one of his aspects Dumont is thus an allegorical agent infecting Riel with nature. But Wiebe does manage to humanize and individualize Dumont, and he does so by showing that Riel corrupts Dumont as much as Dumont corrupts Riel. Gabriel Dumont "loses his soul" both as concept and hero and becomes as much of a tragic figure as the Christian scheme of things will allow. Wiebe makes clear that Riel compromises himself when he allows

the execution of Thomas Scott; he acquiesces in the decision of the guards and the Métis court in order to assure the continued loyalty of the Métis guns and to "make the Canadians, Canada, respect" the provisional government (p. 86). Riel's motivations were political and rational, and thus they were as evil as the reasons for which Riel was later hanged. Dumont insists that the means of execution are wrong:

> Let's give him a gun and boot him out; then I trail him, let him try any soldier stuff he's got, and finish him, clean. This . . . . It's no good, Louis (p. 82).

Dumont's nomadic innocence and code of honour, his primitive moral immaturity, are corrupted by Riel and the bureaucratic execution.

Wiebe uses the execution as a "scare" tactic, of course--coffin stories and Young's "closed Bible curled like a black stubby club in his large hands" (p. 83)--but later, when Goulet and Dumont enter the saloon, "the evening darkness behind them pushed them up perhaps a little larger than they really were" (p. 90). Goulet, Dumont, and Riel are doomed by their choices and allegiances. Thomas Scott too has an afterlife, and "the Canadians . . . would never forget that one Irishman whose pathetic cursing face sometimes appeared to him [Riel] in the grey clouds that trundled snow over the earth like judgement" (p. 131).

Gabriel Dumont is doomed because his strength becomes weakness when he must deal with the technological state and the

loss of the buffalo: "To see this earth sown black with living meat again, he would gladly walk to Ottawa on his knees" (p. 210). Crozier notes that such powerful and energetic people as Madeleine and Gabriel have no children, qualifiying their sterility as a "nice...prophetic?...irony?" (p. 150, Wiebe's ellipses). The citation also shows, of course, that Wiebe is perfectly conscious of his emblematic method of composition. A person's life reflects a revelation and a judgment; the number of children one has and what happens to them, as was noted in the discussion of The Blue Mountains of China, is morally significant and reflects metonymically a providential judgment.

The main emblem that identifies Gabriel Dumont is the refusal of his grey horse to cross the railway upon the return of the delegation with Riel from Montana:

> Years later Gabriel remembered Riel's black curly hair bounding against his forehead; that and the deep shudder of his grey horse, dead then too, facing the railroad as if something in it's [sic] very roots were being torn apart steadily, and very, very, slowly.
>
> In his old age Gabriel felt still that physical shudder between his legs; he was mounted before the railroad still, cast there forever in the steel of his own will. Why had he not then understood that moment as premonition? . . . In my lifetime I thought about "understanding" a great deal, about "moments" that are telling you the essence of things: I had a little longer than Gabriel to do so, though he had the wider river valley and the more dreadfully clear picture of our people destroyed to push him in his thought. During much of his own slow ending he refused to think altogether . . . . [H]e would hate forever that English soldier who had destroyed the memory of so many places along the river for him (p. 194).

Wiebe's predictive typology with regard to the colour of horses is again in operation. Dumont's grey and his own primordial strength cannot deal with the new technological culture that is destroying his nomadic paradise. According to Wiebe, Dumont becomes a frozen prisoner of his memory and of his hatred.

Dumont's blind faith in Riel is then both his strength and his weakness, for it does not allow him to see beyond Riel to Riel's model. Wiebe intends Dumont's faith as a demonstration of the "power of the Christian Spirit" to dominate "the man of flesh."[37] In this sense, the buffalo Dumont, mesmerized by the apostle, is simply an allegorical agent dangling on the strings of Wiebe's meaning. Gabriel testifies that Riel is "moving him towards a possible happiness . . . so great he was suddenly afraid" (p. 202). When Riel baptizes Jackson, Dumont realizes that "this unknown worship which had moved for the second time so completely within him . . . had freed him completely into his most certain bondage" (pp. 224-225). When Dumont realizes that Riel will hang, he cries like a child, "leaning his head against his patient grey" (p. 340)--an evangelical icon of man in the leaderless condition of nature. At the cultural and historical level, Dumont has been "unhorsed," betrayed by nature, history, and Louis Riel.

Like Gabriel Dumont, Marguerite Riel seduces Riel from the ethereal and pure aspect of his mission, recalling him to his historical and existential responsibilities and limitations. In her passive and perfect acceptance of "everything he told her," Falcon testifies, "she was to him the perfection of our people" (p. 171). This passivity and gullibility of Marguerite, representative of the Métis, are exactly what infuriate Riel and drive him to curse the Catholic church and the distant governments that ignore the suffering of the poor. His need to justify the Métis motivates him to organize the rebellion. This "Marguerite" aspect of Riel is his rage for the earth, for social justice here and now. Wiebe's double vision seeks to give reality and importance to this social mission, all the while identifying ironically its content of hatred and violence.

Marguerite has a blind faith in Riel, much like the faith of Gabriel Dumont. Physical orgasm with Marguerite complements spiritual union with Dumont. The testimony of these two causes Riel to believe in the sanctity of his mission to the Métis: "She gave him such faith, words rose in him like memories of ancient prayers, he could almost see again our white cheers wisp upward into the cold blackness of Fort Garry" (pp. 172-173). When Marguerite tells Riel that Jesus will turn everything "to silk and gold," Riel rages at the false consolation offered by the priests (p. 179). Marguerite recalls him to "the misery of our people," which is "like a groan in him" (p. 181). In

the middle of his anger "at the incomprehensible suffering of the poor," Gabriel Dumont arrives with the delegation from Saskatchewan (p. 181). A little later, when Riel is fighting off the temptation to yield to righteous violence by praying to Jesus "to be kept from hatred," he is interrupted by Marguerite: "Marguerite's voice in his ear came softly, broke what he saw but in very gentleness nailed down its memory forever" (p. 185). The doubleness here is a good example of Wiebe's evangelical "sentence" (syntax and revelation) that is neither modernistic ambiguity nor symbolism but rather metonymy and allegory--meaning embedded in structure. The double vision needs to find a meaningful whole in the part, in the incomplete fragment that is the natural life from the Christian perspective.

Not only does Marguerite recall Riel to his social mission; she also forces him to accept his sexual identity, to bungle "past some impasse he had never admitted" (p. 177). The scene is a tour de force of biblical sexual realism--eroticism and conjugal sexual pleasures treated biblically and justified theologically. Wilhelm Reich holds the religious urge to be but a sublimation of the sex drive,[38] but for Wiebe the sex drive recalls men and women to their religious needs, shocking them with the urgencey of their desire for redemption.

Marguerite's hair is "like a fall of black water," and when she touches Riel "his body stir[s] like a subterranean animal" (p. 172). Her hair is "wispy blackness covering his

face" (p. 173), and her voice causes his eyes to feel "seeded with dust, like the carts bending their long squeal across the heat-swinging prairies" (p. 174). Wiebe describes their mutual orgasm as follows:

> [G]yring down like furry animals dancing, he was suddenly finding out the giant hollows of earth . . . and what they heard were each other's great shuddering groans as if death had found them out; both. . . . He knew then more precisely than he ever had, or would, how naked was good; to feel love all over his body forever groaning for redemption. . . . There is nothing on earth like such emptiness, such fullness, he could say anything (p. 177).

Wiebe's emblematic method, which follows inevitably from his theological beliefs, can never be true to life or remain content with its realistic presentation. The method is always picture and posy, a freezing of life into concept, or an emptying out of its content or a reduction of history to nature for the sake of theological "fullness." Here Marguerite is a spider's web whose tongue "delicate as cob-web" (p. 178) has caused the saint both to forget and to remember his mission. The imagery of the passage includes Wiebe's favorite image-motif for describing man without faith in the condition of nature, a body dangling empty on a string:

> [N]ow he could not even groan for that call which seemed at this instant so small, not even to matter O dearest God...he felt himself hollow and simply huge as if his fingers and hands, all his limbs, were no recognizable part of himself, mere somethings connected dimly to him beyond some far edge of the world, by strings perhaps, all...empty...if he would at least ache (p. 178, Wiebe's ellipses).

Wiebe's view reflects the hoary Christian tradition: life must be defined as vanity, as "ache." Homeostatic contentment is for animals only. Wiebe reminds Riel, through his sexual intercourse with Marguerite, of the dilemma of the flesh and, by extension, of the suffering Métis. Their faith in him and his rage at social injustice merge with his own sense of racial inferiority, which was forced onto him by his experiences in Montreal. Consequently, Riel forgets Sara and Jesus and plunges into history. Wiebe cannot think other than spatially and emblematically. As conceptual ideal, Sara "dies." As nature and as the social-political cause of the Métis, Marguerite "lives":

> His words stopped with the comprehension of where their nakedness had led his thought, with the letter of her death lying on his table, and a woman, his wife, lying so completely in his arms (p. 178).

But of course Sara and Louis Riel will have an afterlife, while Marguerite will be forgotten, both by Wiebe's novel and by history.

The other woman whom Riel loved in his maturity was Evelyn Barnabé. That she should be associated with Marguerite (p. 177) only indicates that Riel, in choosing to defend the Métis, is moving for a time closer to Evelyn's rabid ultra-montanism and hatred of the English (p. 213).

Riel's ministry to his people, his historical-cultural role, has the same validity and reality as has the Old Testament

of the Bible in Wiebe's Protestant hermeneutic. In the Montana episode, Wiebe specifies Riel's essential bivalence or doubleness:

> The rage of wildness for heaven and earth still lived in him, slumbering until the moment another voice he now knew certainly would say, "Come," and he would go, his sure vision his guide (p. 181).

As the argument above has shown, the rage of Riel's wildness for earth is largely apparent in his relationships with Gabriel Dumont and Marguerite Riel and in the political-social goals entailed by Riel's love for his people and their faith in him. What must also be included in Riel's wildness for earth is his imitation of David and his Catholicism. These aspects are related to his historical and cultural being, his actions and choices as a real man with a cultural past and with a communal responsibility to the Métis. "I have been called," says Riel, "and the people of my blood have called me in turn" (p. 203). As soon as Riel responds to the call of his racial heritage, of course, he is stepping over the hermeneutical divide between the "new" and the "old." He is passing from contemporary example into his own life and history.

On the second page of the novel, Falcon identifies the hermeneutical divide with all of Wiebe's punning doubleness: "From beyond our untouchable divide of wilderness and blood I often, like Riel, considered the existence of lords and rulers." The lords and rulers seen from beyond the divide of blood are political leaders and the Old Testament God of

vengeance and race, and the pattern Riel emulates at that level is David as tribal king. The contrasting doubleness (and duplicity) of type and antitype is specified in the first paragraph of the novel. Riel is looking in the mirror, his "frock coat black against the log wall." He is dressing for his role as successful political leader of an ethnic group. This emblem of pride is immediately contrasted with his dressing for his execution, when he would not need a mirror "for the grey prison coveralls they would give him to wear" (p. 10). After Gabriel Dumont's interpolated tale, Riel is still dressing for political achievement, but he is seeing death, apocalypse, and judgment:

> [F]or an instant he saw the death's head he would not see sixteen years later, a skull with eyes still fixed, set out of a collar at its own peculiar, dreadful angle. "O my Lord, Mover of all, when will be the day of your fierce anger, when the earth will melt like wax before your wrath and the mountains cringe before..." but he shook his head. Violently snapping the image, the sweet temptation singing in his head (p. 21).

When the convention votes against provincial status for Red River, Riel has a mad temper tantrum that is clearly rooted in his power struggle with Charles Nolin, "the niceties of hate between two proud men who see power beckoning" (p. 64). Riel allows the execution of Thomas Scott primarily for political reasons, and he justifies himself to Father Ritchot by citing the example of the Puritan parliament voting to execute Charles I (p. 85).

The first section thus descriptively establishes Riel's "province," both as political kingdom and as historical fact, but Wiebe makes clear that in achieving his political goals Riel has compromised himself and doomed the Métis cause. He has done what Macdonald and Cartier did to establish Canada, making a nation "out of a small complex of confronting hatreds rebalanced at every election . . . " (p. 88). "Riel's Province" ends with Riel watching Wolseley's army through the rain, as if he is gazing upon hell, and he sees the soldiers hanging him in effigy. The road to power and domination leads to the devil.

Wiebe establishes an Old Testament temporal role for Riel in the first part of The Scorched-Wood People, but most of the explicit Davidic typing occurs in the second part, the "Wilderness" section. On the run from the Canadians, Riel is named "David" by his sister (p. 129), but he ignores the spiritual and antitypical implications of her "baptism" and blessing. Wiebe's shows Riel to have been corrupted and broken by persecution. His fantasies of revenge derive from his repeated election to parliament and the impossibility of actually sitting. "[T]he vanity of power gradually overwhelmed him" (p. 138), even while being "terrified . . . when he let himself wander through the awesome writings of the Jewish prophets" (p. 139).

In the asylum, Riel's rage at the complacent orthodoxy of Catholicism and the social oppression and inferiority of the Métis cause him to go mad and to think in terms of racial revenge. He invokes "the holy King David as the patron of statesmen"; he hears God saying, "I will use your enemies to make you resemble David" (p. 161). At this moment Riel is mad and is considered so by Wiebe, even though Wiebe carefully keeps in front of the reader the spiritual possibility and fulfilment embedded in the type. Like the episode set in Montana, the asylum scene is nicely balanced between an Old Testament reality and a New Testament meaning, between mad King David and the "holy David of Christian times" (p. 162), between what actually happened in the past and the resurrected meaning of Riel today. "The visions of Louis David Riel" are "a heavy hammer" to be hurled at Ottawa (p. 164), then as now. In the past Riel was insane, but in the present Riel's example is to be benign. In the literal, historical sense, the doctor's judgment is not inconsistent with Wiebe's view of Riel and his vengeful political fantasies that destroyed the Métis as a people: "Such a clear case of megalomania, of messianic paranoia; overheated on Bible-reading and persecution, the world in the clutch of evil, take the flaming sword of God and destroy it in judgement" (p. 166). As "David," Riel is committed to the asylum, and as David he is mad. At the end of the "Wilderness"

section, Riel's Davidic rage brings him to invoke the old god in the bloodthirsty Psalm 137:

> Remember O Lord the children of Babylon in the day of Jerusalem; who cried, Raze it, raze it to the ground! O daughter of Babylon, who will be destroyed; happy shall he be who rewards you as you have served us. Happy! Happy shall he be who takes your little ones and dashes them against the stones!" The silence rang with that terrible cry (p. 187).

"Gabriel's Army," the third part of The Scorched-Wood People, begins with Riel's arrival in Saskatchewan, tells of the organization of the resistance, describes the Battle of Batoche, and ends with Riel's execution. Throughout there is reference to Riel's Old Testament megalomania. He calls again on the God of destruction when he defies the priests and encourages the people to "fight for [their] sacred rights" (pp. 222-224). Riel is a sort of poet-king of the Métis, whose "every written word called to judgement" (p. 245) and whose theocratic vision "now crystallized out of his prayers and reading the Old Testament prophets . . . (p. 245). During the trial he quietly confirms the analogy by which he understands his life and which history and Rudy Wiebe impose upon him:

> I have been hunted like an elk for fifteen years. David was hunted seventeen, so I think I may also have two more years (p. 324).

Shortly before his execution, he works himself once more into a terrible rage at the injustices the Métis have suffered from

bureaucratic government and Ontario's racial hatred:

> [T]hey were reading this in London and Paris and Boston and Washington and--and he was here, in a black cell still writing, writing! He was pounding on the walls until the wood rang, where was justice, were the educated whites of the world such conscienceless bigots that one blaspheming Protestant could eliminate the longings of thousands whose rights--he was hammering so hard, screaming too, the board door clattered on its iron hinges and the grate over the hole--the guard was roaring at him, long rifle braced across the grate to hold the door shut . . . (p. 336).

Riel's violence brings out the guns once again.

Wiebe's cultural-historical Riel remains in his Old Testament condition until very near to his execution. He suffers from his limited understanding and from the incorrect historical choices his misunderstanding entails, but essentially he remains the same throughout the novel. Riel's limited vision is made explicit, at least to the theologically alert reader, by a revelation he has during the battle at Batoche while "contemplating the fire" and reviewing his life:

> Vision God gave, and sometimes miracle; last night he had seen a rider on a horse, the horse so pure white it flashed in the sunlight . . . he had heard himself say words, "My nation holds my life, my wife holds my life, my family, my nation has no other life than mine. A hundred years is but a spoke in the wheel of eternity, a hundred years, a hundred..." but he did not know what that meant; he had not been given to understand the white horse yet, and he would not recognize the rider now fading smaller and smaller on the enormous, open plain (p. 301, first ellipsis mine).

The white horse of Revelation is the Word of God, and it has the same meaning here it had at the end of The Temptations of Big Bear. With the battle coming on, Jesus is, as it were, "fading smaller and smaller." The white horse marks the end

of Riel's ministry and the beginning of his suffering. It is a hermeneutic signal that Wiebe is about to reverse his exegesis of nature as decay and begin the conversion of Riel into his theological and antitypical meaning. Riel does not yet understand that to give "life" to his nation he will have to become a saint and martyr.

If Riel's failure to "read" the white horse at Batoche marks a historical limitation of his religious understanding, then the same must be said of his Catholic mysticism. Wiebe is interested in a biblical etiology of violence, but he also investigates the origins of saintliness, searching out its roots in the historical and cultural situation. The most benign influences on Riel are those of Sara and his mother. Their Catholic piety and simple goodness do much to prepare the apostle for his "call." Yet Wiebe relates Riel's Catholic visionary experience to a sort of enticing siren's song, a beautiful but dangerous hallucination (pp. 21, 99-101, 112, 159-161, et passim).

Wiebe locates the most malign influences on Riel in the orthodox Catholic hierarchy. Father Ritchot is a priest of the people, but Fathers André and Fourmont fail in their task as shepherds. By abandoning the people, they provoke them to greater violence. The seminary in Montreal is "a rusted file drawn through the eye" (p. 20), and the violence with which Riel "cleanses the temple" (the dirty altar in the asylum,

pp. 160-161) has perhaps less to do with Riel's madness than with Wiebe's radical Protestantism. Bishop Bourget's letter encourages Riel in his mad dream. Wiebe sees it as an example of sharply limited spiritual leadership, one with little foresight or understanding of personalistic zeal. Indeed, Riel uses the letter to consolidate his political influence with the Métis. Bourget had intended the blessing formulaically, but Riel read it personally, in a "reformed" way. He makes a fetish of the letter, and, significantly enough, he loses it when Middleton's troops overrun Batoche (pp. 314-315). The same fate strikes the prayer book that Sara had given Riel and that Mother Thérèse had torn earlier when she snatched it from Riel in the asylum (p. 156). In short, the "milk" of Catholic orthodoxy is laced with "cowshit" (p. 164), illustrating once again Wiebe's stern contempt for the Catholic "heresy" (as well as his peasant sense of scatological "humour").

Wiebe considers Riel "a split personality,"[39] caught between his Métis heritage and his call, between Catholicism and apostolic dissent. He is both type and antitype, doomed and limited by his Old Testament historical condition while simultaneously redeemed and illuminated by his New Testament meaning. The Riel of The Scorched-Wood People is Wiebe's most serious and successful attempt to focus his double vision. He portrays Riel both as the product of his heritage and as its negation. He seeks to

merge, within time, the antitype with the type, re-enacting analogically in fiction the drama of the incarnation. The saint must take into himself the violence of history and enter fully into his body in order to suffer. At the same time, he must remain true to Jesus. To live this "impossibility" constitutes the paradoxical, romantic and perhaps melancholic mission of the apostolic saint. To write this doubleness is the mission of the apostolic artist. Wiebe's primary interest in The Scorched-Wood People is to dramatize Riel's call, to describe the psychodrama of possession that moves the chosen one from his ministry (his life) to his passion (his suffering and afterlife). The conversion of the one to the other is the last and most important aspect of the novel that demands commentary.

Riel's life and Wiebe's novel are structured by history, but the meaning of the novel and the contemporary significance of Wiebe's Riel, Riel's conceptual resurrection and afterlife, derive from the imitation of Jesus. Wiebe looks at history and at the Old Testament in terms of evangelical pragmatism. In this sense, what Riel and the Métis once were no longer matters. Given that a providential history is essentially timeless, one can say that the Métis rebelled and were destroyed so that Rudy Wiebe could write an evangelical novel and change the minds and hearts of readers. Wiebe is simply enacting

Paul's hermeneutic instructions. History is a dead letter that must be revived by a personal re-interpretation in the light of the Jesus-oriented spirit (II Corinthians, 3). "Deeds of faith are not completed in a few hours, or a few days," Wiebe has Riel say (p. 140), and the "practical results" that may take a thousand years (pp. 315, 326) to accomplish refer to Wiebe's novel and to other artifacts of Riel's legendary afterlife. Like Jesus then, Riel is resurrected by a chronicle of faith. The Scorched-Wood People is a biography of a man who believes himself mystically chosen but who discovers in his historical actions and choices what his real call is and what nature and God really demand of him. The ultimate story of The Scorched-Wood People is the drama of an apostolic saint struggling against community and history to clarify his vision and to conform to God's will. This psychomachia separates the saintly one from his community and from his Old Testament, historical meaning. A clearly drawn hermeneutic line divides Riel sharply from the hopeless and half-witted violence of his people.

One does well to remember that Thom Wiens and Joseph Dueck "betray" Wapiti and traditional Mennonitism for the sake of evangelical teaching, that Sally Howell leaves Abe Ross for her "heavenly lover" (for the sake of becoming a pure example), that David Epp abandons his family to follow his moral vision

and to participate in the sacrifice of Jesus, and that Big Bear "betrays" his people for the sake of pacifism and exemplary suffering. One should especially remember that Rudy Wiebe everywhere betrays the historical life given by his sources in order to sharpen the difference between life and evangelical meaning. As the argument has shown, Wiebe exaggerates the brutality, violence, and decay found in life and history. For the sake of black-vulture pedagogy, Wiebe is as interested in lurid and sanguinary spectacle as any Hollywood producer.

The secret of each of Wiebe's apostles resides in the hope of Christian eschatology. The Christian structures his life in the belief that history and experience have meaning in terms of Christian salvation. This configuration is orthodox enough, but Wiebe's vision is personalistic and evangelical. Each apostle believes that God has a job fitted for him personally; this "call" he discovers by creative prayer, by faith, and by reading the hieroglyphic of his experience in terms of the revelation of the Bible. The most sacred and private concern of Wiebe's kind of Christian is to understand his personal call, something he will discuss only with God or with another initiate. As I have noted earlier, this concern is not a struggle for faith but rather a constant state of exegetical attention or alertness. Everything has a dramatic personal meaning.

The saint's public role, his ministry, is essentially to

allow others to see him "seeing." He is at the top of a catenative hierarchy. God is working in the saint, and through him (since the world is otherwise profane and carnal) God works in the community. Consequently, the saint's duty is to be a conscious exhibitionist who looks for opportunities, postures, and pronouncements that will affect and infect others. After Riel's temper tantrum at the convention, Falcon notes that he "personally know[s] people who insist [Riel] was always completely in control of himself even in his most livid and childish rages: that he staged everything for his audience" (p. 66). Sooner or later everyone in the novel testifies to Riel's secret and charismatic power. Friends and enemies voluntarily subordinate themselves to his sacred energy even when they do not know what Riel means or sees.

I have already noted Falcon's role as artist-voyeur, his omnipresent "perhapsing" about Riel's clairvoyance, and his admiring affidavits to Riel's personal goodness and power. Gabriel Dumont's subjugation has also been noted. The Métis as a group follow the pattern laid down by Wiebe's biblical primitivism and obey Riel without question. Aside from one portentous lapse, there is no drinking or swearing in a community led by Riel. Wiebe's view of the saint as a Christian manager and administrator of "innocent primitive moral immaturity" can be seen in the episode at Red River when

Riel dismisses the army and sends everyone about his work (pp. 107-108). Similar examples of a Christian "ministering" to the public can be found in Wiebe's other novels.

Marguerite sums up what Riel means to the Métis: "We are so small and you...give us bigness" (Wiebe's ellipsis). She also points ahead to his ultimate meaning: "[T]o be arrested when you have done good is like our Lord Jesus who died" (p. 172). At Batoche, Father André is still Riel's enemy when Wiebe has him testify to Riel's sacred charisma:

> Father André, hastily come to Batoche to prevent the worst as he of course felt he could, for a moment saw Riel standing before them as the people saw him: his bearded face and black curly hair so shiningly handsome he might have been an angel newly come to earth, his eyes, his beautiful words, his brilliant mind bowed before this altar in this church . . . accepting them with a gentleness they had never known it was possible for a man to have and, even if it existed, could never have been directed towards them. A touch of...grace?... in the sodden round of their lives (p. 218, first ellipsis mine).

Even Riel's Liberal lawyers, Anabaptist caricatures of legalistic corruption, testify to "the sharp hard brilliance of concentrated fire in those unforgettable eyes" (p. 319).

God was speaking to the Métis through Louis Riel, and Wiebe's view of his saint's public role is plain enough and essentially unchanged in structure and theme from Peace Shall Destroy Many and First and Vital Candle, although Wiebe's presentation has improved immeasurably in the historical novels. But the sacred drama enacted in The Scorched-Wood People is God

at work in Louis Riel, and here the historical foundation allows Wiebe a complexity and authority not found in his other novels. At this level, The Scorched-Wood People is nothing but an Anabaptist hagiography.

The providential and inevitable symmetry of Riel's life, his obedience to God, and his role as Jesus-like sacrifice are established in the first paragraph: "[H]e will hear only his own feet slur a steady prayer down the corridor, moving him to the wood he has heard them hammering together on the prairie outside his window, to steps he will obediently mount . . . ." On the second page, Riel feels "triumph like fear in [his] stomach at a nailed door that suddenly lurched open, that had to be walked through." Riel remembers "when he was thirteen . . . praying almost consciously moment by moment" to give himself to God and to be given "the vision of [His] divine call" (p. 19). Although everyone in the novel knows Riel has a sacred secret, no one but Sara is pure enough to cross the hermeneutic line and see Riel "seeing," or rather see what he sees. Sara always knows "when he wasn't really in the room though his body moved as if it were" (p. 19). Unlike Lépine, who worries when Riel leaves his body (p. 21), Sara knows the holy meaning of a private revelation: "It is like the knowledge of looking behind your own eyelids, at the aura which flames at the surface of your own perfect purple sun. If you have one"

(p. 20). The tacked-on rejoinder indicates the privileged nature of the saint and the exclusive categories separating the initiate from his reader and from his people. The Métis celebration, as it "sinks into carousing," does not exist for Riel (p. 45), and he sits staring into the fire of his "call," a sacred icon surrounded by profane people.

After Riel sins by allowing the execution of Thomas Scott, Riel becomes ill, as allegorically he must. The "fire" of his call, its dissenting nature, is revealed to him in his delirium:

> the fire . . . raged in double spires, bits floating away in flames, a cathedral blazing to its two gigantic crosses tilting toward each other in the relentless slow motion of melting into themselves though their bells tolled on, closer and closer, as if the fire intensified their thunder, and through their tolling the flames spoke to him in a voice he had heard, o he had heard
>
> You have a call, my son . . .
>
> The crosses themselves ablaze now, leaning upon each other like numinous, gaunt old men until the spires crashed down into the cathedral while the bells and the voice tolled on in indistinguishable thunder. He tore his aching bones away, flames burst like flowers over his body and he roared with them, a rolling sun of fire . . . (p. 95).

Again, only Sara sees him seeing, and they dedicate each other to the impossible task of sainthood; they each have a call. The "awe-ful" significance and suffering occasioned by the direct intervention of God in a life is further shown in the passage that follows the posthumous blessing of Riel's father. Riel's vision of a beautiful girl in the sunshine, either Sara or Marie-Julie, modulates into a nightmare of white rocks and speechless terror (pp. 99-100).

The suffering of the saint arises from his necessary freedom. God points out in what "province" Riel's responsibility and mission lie, but He does not tell his saint exactly what to do. Riel cannot hear his authoritative patriarchal God, who is identified with Riel's father lying in his bier (p. 99), when he decides to send away his guns and to accept passively Wolseley's invasion. According to Falcon, "Riel seemed to have lost his decision" (p. 112), but in fact he has taken the correct biblical action. As he rides out to meet the army, Riel feels "he was coiled in wool, a kind of cold shapelessness that could be nothing less than the enormous wormlike fingers of hell working themselves around to clutch him forever" (p. 117). Riel thinks God has blessed him by rewarding him with the creation of Manitoba, a political province, but he is wrong. The Métis ethnic dream, attractive as it is, consists of "beautiful horses" washing up to the "spires of St. Boniface" (p. 101). The creation of Manitoba "smelled faintly of a unilateral collusion between church and state which ignored all that the delegates of the people had decided in four months" (p. 105). According to the "revived Anabaptist vision," this collusion is the neo-Constantinian heresy, the identification of "church and world without the act of God whereby evil is removed from the scene."[40] Eusebius wrote that the Christian hero is not a man "stained with blood and with countless murders for

the sake of children and country." Yoder agrees: the Christian story is not "the story of regimes and sovereignties."[41] When Wolseley's soldiers hang Riel in effigy at the end of "Riel's Province," they deliver a judgment upon his political mission and signal the onset of his suffering.

The second part of The Scorched-Wood People, "Wilderness," presents the persecution of Riel and his subsequent humiliation and purgation. As noted earlier, the conflict is mainly hermeneutical and typological, between the Old Testament conception of David as tribal king and David's antitype, the New Testament Jesus. Riel is cleansed of his megalomania in the Catholic asylum, and he makes a true biblical decision. His vow echoes the central ideal described by Wiebe in his essay on the role of the Chrisitian in a secular world[42]--to work with a few promising individuals in the "desert":

> Today I feel better; I laugh at some of my arrogant hallucinations, and my spirit is free, as my body will be soon. I will come to the United States and till the soil God gives me there, unknown, far from Canadian affairs and their excitement. I will build up the small number of good men and women . . . (p. 167).

In the place cited, Riel goes on to recall the Métis and concludes with a question: "[I]f the sacred cause of the Métis reclaims me, could I, their brother, refuse them my life, my blood?" Here, as elsewhere, Riel is neatly balanced on the hermeneutical divide. He is vacillating between his role in history as prophet-king of the Métis and his theological role

in salvation history as humble teacher and martyr.

The third part of The Scorched-Wood People, "Gabriel's Army," separates Riel more and more from his doomed people. Riel works to organize the resistance, but his mind is bent to his more sacred and "higher" call:

> And Riel listened, tirelessly, though sometimes he studied the dust rising from the trail to the spinning wheels and it seemed to Gabriel he was not listening at all; praying perhaps, or searching far away in some land where only his soul could walk for something that he had not yet found though the circle where it might be, if it existed at all, was growing smaller and smaller . . . (p. 199).

The closer Dumont and Riel approach armed insurrection, the farther Riel feels himself removed from God; "heaven is sealed over, frozen brass," he tells Gabriel (p. 214). Once the rebellion starts, Riel again becomes uncertain. His biblical ethics are in conflict with history:

> And Riel was in that strange outward stasis which cycled in him throughout his life . . . though he walked about every day and made innumerable small daily decisions, gradually the people who watched him, everyone in Batoche, understood that he was living somewhere where they would never follow him. He pored over the Bible, his prayerbook, he prayed hour for hour . . . (p. 257).

The people cannot follow him into the Bible reading and personal prayer that define Wiebe's biblical Christian; they do not understand the agony of an apostle seeking to understand God's will. Riel's uncertainty and his refusal to allow Dumont a free hand doom the rebellion, although this betrayal of his people moves Riel closer to the spiritual David, who when he had Saul at his mercy let Saul go free, rewarding evil with good (Daniel 24: 1-17).

As Riel's passion approaches, and as the historical disaster of Métis nears, Riel becomes more and more ethereal and removed. He prays without end, and "the children began to follow him and Jean" (p. 257). Riel emerges "from prayer, his face gaunt and empty almost like a sleep-walker who will not wake" (p. 258). Riel's isolation and private prayer mark the "professional" apostle who takes upon himself the fate of his community. Structurally and theologically, Sally Howell's withdrawal to Brink Island in First and Vital Candle was no different.

The "cowshit" in Riel's milk has been replaced with blood (pp. 251, 263). When the soldiers storm Batoche, Riel sees "patterns of blood . . . dribbling over the slope below St. Anthony's towards him" (p. 304). The lost battle is the final revelation of nature Riel must understand:

> Riel leaped from the porch into the street, staring up into the heavens. Woman were screaming somewhere as water struck his face. One cloud, single as any prairie rain, one small cloud but black enough, quite enough (p. 304).

When Riel surrenders to Middleton, he seems to know that "the practical results" of his mission involve voluntary self-sacrifice. If there is to be a testament, an afterlife, then there must be a shedding of blood (Hebrews 9:16).

Sara had already said that Riel carried the sins of the people "like a scapegoat" (p. 127), and, historically considered, Riel's suffering and execution appear as an "old" sort of

sacrifice. Writing to the Hebrews, Paul emphasizes that the sacrifice of Jesus makes unnecessary the yearly sacrifice of the high priest in the inner temple with his golden vessels and animal blood. According to Paul, this ritual simply signified that "the way into the holiest of all was not yet made manifest." It was "a figure for the time then present," a shadow of the promise and perfection of Jesus (Hebrews 9: 1-22). Historically, Riel's sacrifice becomes necessary because of his "old" historical choice, righteous violence.

Riel's New Testament promise is available throughout the novel for anyone reading theologically, but Wiebe "transfigures" Riel just before the execution. The trial does little to further this hermeneutical conversion, since (as the Liberal lawyers say) "It is not possible that the case be heard in the Supreme Court" (p. 318). Riel is again indecisive, subordinating himself to the powers rather than dismissing his lawyers and conducting his own defence (p. 322). This "biblical" decision ensures he will be found sane and guilty, thereby granting him "the moral existence of an intellectual being" (p. 321) and thereby also ensuring the respect of posterity for his sacrifice.

Riel further accepts public humiliation when he recants, realizing that external form means nothing:

> The priests' comprehension of God was bound by the Church, by the necessity of formula, but the revelation of those who dared believe took the believer far beyond that.
>
> He was sitting with his head in his hands, staring at the floor, when he began to understand (p. 329).

He sees that his life has consisted of "silly contradictions," and he offers to God the sacrifice of "foolish suffering " and the sorrow and pain of his people. He prays that God will thereby "renew the face of the earth." The omniscient narrator sums up Riel's understanding, emphasizing Riel's new significance for salvation history:

> The way of the cross was humiliation; the prophet must die to reveal his ultimate vision, and this conviction transfigured Riel's understanding of himself even as he heard workmen at the end of the guard-house begin to hammer together what he knew must be his scaffold (p. 330).

Wiebe maintains the hermeneutical divide to the end, even as he reverses his exegesis to reveal ever more directly the meaning of biblical Christianity. The priests are once more dumbfounded when Riel gives them his "testament": a prayer to be used when the people make him a saint (p. 337). Gabriel remains the man of nature, but now he is also the "namesake of the blessed angel who brought blessed tidings to Mary" (p. 343). Gabriel's "message" of eternal life gives Riel the courage to face death, which will free him from "the miserable sweating stone and green wood and haystacks and muddy willows and filthy shacks that had held him shivering in the dogged terror of his flesh and bone body . . . (p. 343). Finally, Riel's conduct at his execution is that of a model Christian martyr. Filled with faith, happiness, and a longing for the next world, Riel forgives Henderson and mounts the scaffold "with perfect, powerful grace" (p. 345).

No matter how "personalistically" or realistically conceived, the biography of a saint can only end "meaningfully." The life must give way to a conceptual afterlife. This earnest theological necessity of Wiebe's art explains why Wiebe cannot end his exegesis of the Riel legend with the aesthetically satisfying image of Riel's toes "brush[ing] the dead prairie grass" (p. 346). The fourth section is a sort of choric epilogue consisting of two episodes--the funeral of Riel and the meeting of Crozier and Dumont in New York. To emphasize the spiritual testament of Riel, Wiebe recalls Gabriel Dumont from the numbed state of memory and hatred to which he had been assigned earlier (pp. 190, 194, 390). Dumont affirms that Riel indeed had "received the vision." He had to be hanged, Dumont now realizes, so that "his body on the end of that rope would prove forever" how Canada had destroyed the Métis. Dumont's chthonian laughter mocks the bureaucrats and the police like Crozier who cannot believe. Riel's final meaning is thus found in Dumont's unshakeable faith and in the hope Riel gave to his people. As Dumont laughs at "that poor white who had never, would never find such a man to know," the "preposterous dangling fringes" of his jacket shake "all over him like poplar leaves in the wind" (p. 351). The image unites Dumont with Riel, whose "voice was precise and cool as the click of poplar leaves

in a quiet summer" as he handed his prayer for the people to Father André (p. 337). Wiebe would thus claim once again to have justified the ways of God in prairie history to a secular and unbelieving contemporary man.

Wiebe's double vision results in a text that is "bi-valent" rather than ambiguous or symbolic. In The Scorched-Wood People especially Wiebe has succeeded in creating two consubstantial worlds of extended and consistent reference, a Protestant artistic achievement of considerable complexity and virtuosity. Human life in history lies unredeemed beneath an all-pervasive reference to the gospel of Jesus. The texture of the novel, its local evangelical "sentence," reflects the structure of the Bible and the incarnation itself. The historical life of Riel and the Métis unfolds under the old dispensation, nature under sentence of death; their lives are unaffected by the New Testament meaning that is everywhere implied by pattern, image, pun, and narrative irony. Only a meditative reading in the light of faith and biblical insight restores Wiebe's primary meaning. A reading by the typological critic, although carnal, can at least claim, as this essay does, to have traced in Rudy Wiebe's profane texts the broad outlines of his sacred intentions.

EPILOGUE

> Seeing then that we have such hope, we use great plainness of speech: And not as Moses, which put a vail over his face, that the children of Israel could not stedfastly look to the end of that which is abolished: But their minds were blinded: for until this day remaineth the same vail untaken away in the reading of the old testament; which vail is done away in Christ. But even unto this day, when Moses is read, the vail is upon their heart.
> --2 Corinthians 3: 12-15

In the citation above from Paul, one must substitute "history and experience" for "the old testament" and "contemporary secular man" for "children of Israel" in order to approximate the hermeneutic conditions within which Wiebe perceives and writes. Wiebe is a strange mish-mash of novelist, moralist, exegete, historian, and evangelist. His authoritarian ethnic past makes him something of a Moses, the voice of God to a corrupt world. His biblical adherence to Jesus and his gospel makes him a passionate and anarchic critic of the status quo and of the social order. This essay has shown how Wiebe's Anabaptist vision and his evangelical mission have had formal and thematic consequences of considerable artistic complexity. A typological "old-new" dialectic structures his plots. Emblematic and allegorical characteristics dominate the visual aspects of his fiction, which is constituted by an imagery selected according to an all-pervasive scheme of Protestant iconography. As well, Wiebe painstakingly manipulates the

rhetoric of his fiction, the formal narrative stances whereby he seeks to give "authority" to the typologically organized events being narrated.

The hermeneutic dilemma and divide identified by Paul have forced Wiebe into an increasing "plainness" in the formal aspects of his fiction and into an increasingly ironic suppression of antitypical content. This is to say that in the practical aspects of narrative art the gospel, as a witness of faith, lacks epistemological authority while the Old Testament base, as experience and history, lacks ethical content. In style and form, Wiebe's most difficult novel is The Blue Mountains of China. His easiest novels are The Scorched-Wood People and The Mad Trapper. The "Jesus" content of the evangelical novels is explicit, retrospective, and, in the end, non-ironic. The "Jesus" content of the historical novels is unremittingly ironic and anticipatory. Riel goes to heaven knowing he will find there "the son" he has "never seen" (p. 340). Wiebe has written himself away from an initial prudish Marcionitism, moving towards a greater faith in experience, received history, and nature. To use Preuss's language, Wiebe has gone from a "shadow hermeneutic" in the direction of a "promise hermeneutic." His choice of historic and folkloric subject matter gave tremendous authority, as we have seen, to his theological patterns and evangelical ethics.

In short, Wiebe has become considerably less authoritarian and presumptuous in his judgments of history and personality.

Rhetorically, he has become more sophisticated and less insistent on a single perspective, at least at the propaedeutic surface of his fictions. Perhaps Riel's resignation at the end of his stay in the asylum has an autobiographical content:

> By pen and the spoken word I tried to make proselytes, and in all the disappointments I experienced, I remembered our Lord was also misunderstood by his own. But one day a light dawned in my mind: why struggle with those who refuse, and refuse? God will provide the fruit and ripen it for the picking (p. 167).

If Wiebe has been consciously veiling the sacred antitypical content of his later fiction, he has been equally as consciously seeking to come to terms with sexuality. Certainly, Marguerite's seduction of Riel in The Scorched-Wood People has powerful autobiographical implications. The violent image of stallion breeding mare (p. 175) echoes Wiebe's traumatic discovery of sexuality as described in his autobiographical essay on Frederick Philip Grove.[1] Marguerite exorcizes the brutal and guilty aspects of puritanical-Jansenist sex; Riel admits to bungling "past some impasse he had never admitted" (p. 177). It must be said that Wiebe has worked consciously and rationally throughout his career to control or extirpate some of the more pathological and ethereal characteristics of puritanical and sentimental Christianity. A large part of the suffering of each hero of faith Wiebe has created is the slow realization that he cannot "run out of his body," as Wiebe's Riel has it (p. 176). Wiebe's biblical Christian has the moral

responsibility to redeem the body within history; transcendental, mystical, or prudish evasions are non-biblical. As Wiebe slowly comes to terms with this doctrine, at least at the rational level, he grants his characters a greater moral autonomy and his plots a greater realism and verisimilitude. Indeed, the doctrine specifically demands a historical base.[2] Simultaneously, Wiebe's doctrine enjoins a "plainness of speech." This contradiction (or dialectic) accounts for the increase in irony in Wiebe's historical fiction as well as for Wiebe's compulsive recourse to magical phrases like "Almighty Voice," "the scorched-wood people," "Gabriel's army," "the son I have never seen," and so on.

Wiebe is in mid-career, as Professor Keith notes at the end of A Voice in the Land, but he seems to have exhausted the creative energy that flowed from his internalization of "promise hermeneutic," an evolution that led to his finest novels (The Blue Mountains of China and The Temptations of Big Bear) and to his most powerful short stories. The virtuosity of The Scorched-Wood People indicates that Wiebe was at the end of something (or at the beginning of something) in 1977. This judgment is borne out by Far As the Eye Can See (1977), Alberta: A Celebration (1979), and The Mad Trapper (1980). None of these works requires much commentary since the analysis of each can be easily inferred from the arguments already made. Wiebe is repeating (with minor innovations) the technical, rhetorical, and doctrinal advances of his "historical" period. All three of these books have the

air of being commissioned works, Wiebe's professional response to the "witnessing" opportunities arising from his fame. As a biblical Christian, it is his duty to take advantage of his access to a large readership. The resulting books are competently done, but none of them appears to derive from a primary creative passion or from a private "call."

The speed with which Wiebe wrote Far As the Eye Can See[3] is perhaps an indication of the close relationship between theatre and Wiebe's fictional method. The omniscient and hidden author as God, a visual spectacle arranged conceptually as picture and caption, and a colloquial oral speech (an oral witnessing of each character to his own moral-historical "location" or content)--these are all central attributes of Wiebe's fiction.

The plot of Far As the Eye Can See has a factual base, but in terms of its literary genesis it is a permutation of the short story "Someday Soon, Before Tomorrow" (adapted for television as Someday Soon).[4] Challenged by bureaucratized technology that is in turn backed by the legal violence of the state, a community is forced to come to terms with the impersonal forces of history. Wiebe's belief that the past offers an ethical guide to the present is reflected in the chorus. Crowfoot, Aberhart, and Princess Louise embody the past (and the spirit of Wiebe's historical research). This past acts as supernatural machinery to influence the lives and choices of the people in the present. Crowfoot is the black-vulture pedagogue of this play (the role

of the savage, the aboriginal, and the natural everywhere in Wiebe's fiction). Crowfoot describes the white man's history as "a story of destruction, of killing and being killed" (p. 32). The technological rape of nature is "a beast eating itself" (p. 68). Crowfoot uses his one intervention to shock Caroline and the Princess Louise, both of whom have sentimental perspectives, into an understanding of nature as decay, as death (p. 31). The action of the play takes place between "the black burning stone . . . under the earth" (p. 125) and "the rising mechanical throb of machinery" that "ram[s] the various places and people of the play together into a timeless, placeless confusion" (p. 116).

In aiming at a general audience, Wiebe is content only to pose and not to resolve the dilemma of individual and community as they are challenged by the nature of nature and the diabolical effects of technology and bureaucracy. Yet the systematic categories that are a logical necessity of Wiebe's ethical and theological historiography survive intact from the novels. The individuals in the play are morally immature; each responds to the moral challenge within the limits of his nature, his cultural past, and the influences of the people he knows. Wiebe's treatment of the people and the action is ironic; his biblical psychology and cultural anthropology readily encompass and accommodate all of the actors. No one in the play can "see" much beyond his own ego, as the necessary pun of Wiebe's title

indicates. The values of the past, as represented by the Regal Dead, and the crisis of the present are to extend vision and enlarge personality.

As everywhere in Wiebe's fiction, character development in Far As the Eye Can See is almost non-existent. The people are generalized stereotypes. In fact, the energy of much of Wiebe's dialogue anywhere derives from a sort of alternation of roles between a character as individual and a character as a concept. The dialogue proceeds as a sort of naming or conceptual identification. The individual so stereotyped asserts his creativity and morality to negate or to affirm his label. He then tumbles into another category, either higher or lower in the catenative hierarchy of those upon whom God is acting. Wiebe tosses his characters into a historical confrontation, and there they act and thus are "named." Stage directions indicate that "[n]othing human has been resolved by [Lougheed's] mechanical statement" (p. 125), a politician's pronouncement from the bucket of a coal scoop. Again it is the the reader who must fulfil the "old" historical action. The only antitypical guide is Aberhart. He announces that "all scripture is profitable" (p. 69), that the "coal is a sign" (p. 72), and that history is not destruction but "prophecy fulfilled" (p. 32). The hermeneutic debate is proposed but not resolved; the hermeneutic divide remains largely outside the play, separating the author from the profane world of the populist struggle presented on the stage.

Of the fourteen stories in the massive coffee-table book, Alberta: A Celebration (1979),[5] three had appeared earlier, but all seem to have been written after 1976. These stories also bear the marks of a professional at work, one who is consciously "writing down" to a mass audience and who is basically repeating himself by using methods and structures perfected in his earlier work. Seven of the fourteen stories are oral histories, anecdotes and testimonies and memoirs collected from pioneers or from documents and given moral or satirical form. They are corrective folktales calculated to juxtapose the integrity of a lost past with the corruption of the greedy, urban, industrialized present.

The biblical point of view is implied everywhere by image or theme, but it becomes explicit only in Aberhart's sermon, "The Funny Money of 1980," and in "A History of the New World," an epistolary debate between a professor and a folk philosopher. Wiebe as Christian professor allows himself to be the butt of Labarge's socialism and populist atheism; at the same time, he points out that Labarge is a victim of his hatred of Calgary Power, which had ruined his garden (p. 101).

"After Thirty Years of Marriage" is simply a "translation" of Frieda Friesen's narration in The Blue Mountains of China into secular and Anglo-Saxon terms. "Bears, All the Time Bears" is a satire of fundamentalism and an attack on blasphemous jokes. It is a story "about some hell-fire preacher in a big Winnebago

trying to shoo away a bear rattling empty cans at his neighbour's while he's got a full hamper of food standing right beside him . . . (p. 164). The story (and this summarizing emblem in particular) indicates a tidy secularization of Wiebe's essential method and message. The story placed at the end of Alberta, "The Year We Gave Away the Land," recreates in the voice of the Blackfoot chief Medicine Calf the effect of The Temptations of Big Bear. The contemporary reader is to be humbled by the reminder of the nomadic loss upon which his wealth and comfort are based. All of these stories show Wiebe having mastered the use of naive personae in the presentation of a moral dilemma, a parable, a pronouncement, a miracle story, or a corrective discourse heavy with "sentence."

Three stories in the Alberta collection have a more literary cast. "Chinook Christmas" nostalgically recalls the innocent goodness of Mennonite childhood. The two children soften the heart of a local Scrooge, who drives around in "a black Buick" with the clutch half depressed so that his car is surrounded by "the smell of gas and clutchplate," a smell that "snipped at [their] nostrils through the green of spruce" (p. 73). In a way, Wiebe has compressed all of The Blue Mountains of China into this childhood memoir of growing up in Coaldale. "The Angel of the Tar Sands" is a miracle story much like Samuel Reimer's story in The Blue Mountains of China--a sort of corrective evangelical teasing of theologically ignorant people

who think of religion in terms of miracles. The story turns the technological exploitation of the tar sands into spiritual gold, inserting a hint of doubt and fear into technical man. The superintendent has a vision that transforms "the oozing black cliff" (p. 132) into "golden brown honey" (p. 134). Meanwhile, the angel of the tar sands speaks to Bertha in Hutterite, reminding the paleontologist of her spiritual origins. "The Darkness Inside the Mountain" is straight-forward "black-vulture" pedagogy, remarkable for its exploitation of the teenage horror story. This oral genre is a kind of urban folktale to which Edith Fowke devotes a section in her Folklore of Canada, a book that Wiebe reviewed for the University of Toronto Quarterly.[6] It is also interesting because of its biographical content. At fifteen, Wiebe worked on a Coca Cola truck out of Lethbridge, making a weekly tour of the mining towns in the mountains.[7]

Three stories in Alberta: A Celebration suggest that Wiebe is re-thinking his fundamentalist, apocalyptic view of technological-empirical culture. The narrator of "The Oil Capitals of Canada" concludes that the injustice, greed, and brutality of the industrialized society is at heart a moral problem: "No world is really changed by money and skyscrapers: not if you don't want it to be" (p. 39). The same Christian meliorism (accept the status quo and improve the morals of those who benefit most from the existing arrangement) also

informs "Lake Isle of Innisfree" and "They Just Won't Believe." Both stories show model millionaires with sentimental or philanthropic souls. On the one hand, Wiebe is saying that every soul is potentially good and searching for peace. On the other, Wiebe is ironically recording a secular version of the people's desire for a saviour. Still, no matter how many naive personae Wiebe places between himself and his fictions, it is plain that he everywhere mystifies history by reducing it to moral and theological patterns.

Wiebe's latest novel, The Mad Trapper (1980), probably exists because of the collapse of Wiebe's film venture.[9] It is also possible that his plan was to publish a book concurrently with the release of the projected film, thus enacting the tenets of aggressive Christian "witness" by imitating the marketing techniques of "the sacrilegious writers."[10] There is nothing accidental about Wiebe's use of oral history, drama, television, or the movies. Wiebe knows very well that oral culture is much less easily avoided or "deconstructed" or "de-authorized" than is a literary culture. "Witnessing" consists of face-to-face encounters or, failing that, the mimesis of face-to-face encounters. Jesus worked through personal and charismatic allegiances, and Wiebe apparently made a conscious propaganda decision when he began to experiment with the mass media in order to reach large numbers of people with his carefully calculated parables.[11]

The Mad Trapper dilutes the raging misanthrope of Wiebe's short story into a sentimental misogynist. The Johnson of The Mad Trapper has been "frozen" by a woman's betrayal; he has apparently been cuckolded by a friend (pp. 29, 36, 48, 55-56, 118, et passim). In seeking solitude (a sort of "going to the garden to eat worms"), Johnson becomes a victim of the state, which is again identified with the great beast of Revelation. For Johnson, the plane and everything it represents is "some enormous roaring beast snoring him out" (p. 152). Wiebe seems to be working out a sort of Christian criminology. The implication is that (if only the system had left Millen alone with Johnson) the man of the spirit could have saved the numbed man of the body. As it is, Millen is corrupted by his single-minded pursuit (pp. 139, 159, 162, 163, 169). After the trapper shoots Paul Thompson, a young recruit for whom Millen feels responsible, Millen becomes as obsessed as Johnson. Millen seems to have a private "call" to reach Johnson and to humanize him before the others shoot him (pp. 37, 94, 103, 110). Millen believes that if you have enough "moral weight . . . personal strength, the man couldn't pull the trigger" (p. 132). The struggle is latent and secularized, but Millen's faith is tested and found wanting in much the same way as was the faith of Riel and the Métis.

The narrative point of view alternates between hunters and hunted in the manner of popular suspense-adventure fiction,

and the omniscient narrator carefully spells out the moral lesson to be found in the concluding "still":

> So Albert Johnson and Spike Millen stood face to face again. On the snow and ice of a Yukon river. And this time they both had rifles in their hands so it was more important than ever that they speak, that they say such words to each other that would hold them in their humanity, that would keep those rifles slanted down across their hips, pointed away from each other's poised bodies which, hard muscled and driven as they were, could still never be a match for the inhumanness of exploding lead (p. 183).

What causes them to shoot is Wop May, who roars over in his plane. May recalls the villainous war hero, Hank Unger of Peace Shall Destroy Many, an inhuman, scientific killer produced by the technocracy.

In attempting to humanize Millen and Johnson in terms of biblical psychology, Wiebe has somewhat sentimentalized and trivialized them. To teach the masses and to move them more explicitly in the direction of the ethics of Jesus, Wiebe has drawn the teeth of his protagonist in "The Naming of Albert Johnson." The Johnson of The Mad Trapper is still possessed by the devil (pp. 11, 21, 24, 53-54, 106, 108-109, 115, 134), but now that devil does not exist atavistically. The devil that possesses him has its origin in a human betrayal, and it is strengthened rather than exorcized by the impersonal persecution and pursuit of the state.

What was powerful in "The Naming of Albert Johnson" was Johnson's wilful self-reduction to raging appetite and his violent resistance to being named. This pattern, supported

by convincing landscapes and imagery, survives in The Mad Trapper, but there it has been shifted into the background. It provides only the context in which humanization must take place but does not (p. 125 et passim). The Mad Trapper is Wiebe's conscious attempt to write a biblical "western," an adventure story and Anabaptist homily that negatively illustrate the values of personalism and non-violence and that delineate the horrible inadequacies of the technocratic state and its impersonal violence. The Johnsons of The Mad Trapper and "The Naming of Albert Johnson" do share one major characteristic. They both fear a process that lies at the centre of Wiebe's belief and art: "a name, a name, everything had to have a name" (p. 29).

Wiebe's last three books imply a mature and self-confident Christian novelist still experimenting with different ways of combining literary power with plainness of moral speech. Two stories published in current periodicals suggest that Wiebe has repented of his brief flirtation with popular culture. These stories indicate that Wiebe has decided on a new direction, one that may occupy him for a considerable time. The decision has formal and thematic consequences; it involves a new persona, a documentary present, and a sort of Christian feminism.

What Wiebe has done in "An Indication of Burning"[12] and in "Professional Prayer"[13] is make his own "witnessing" forays

the subject of his fiction. He has merged the figure of the evangelical apostle with that of the artist-voyeur; the split personality that results recalls the calculated uncertainty of the narrator of "Where Is the Voice Coming From?". Wiebe's new persona is a Christian anti-hero who reflects upon his tendentious encounters with representative characters of city, town, and country. These encounters are embedded in a documentary present. They are undisguised fictional versions of Wiebe's own experiences as a well-known Christian academic going about his life. The personal and confessional effects that result may well prove embarrassing for some readers, but Wiebe, in part, is using the anticipated embarrassment of his reader as a literary-pedagogical device. His self-denigrating wit and openly acknowledged failures to achieve any proselytizing success are to create a "guilty" reader sympathetic to the Christian ideas and actions being discussed and dramatized.

Wiebe has made a decision to "come out of the closet," both as literary evangelist and as voyeur-namer. He is offering the painfully self-conscious "deconstruction" of the Wiebe-persona as a sacrifice intended to further his theological art and his Christian mission. Life itself has now been defined as suffering, as the "passion," an idea that was latent in The Scorched-Wood People. I might briefly "psychologize" Wiebe's new Christian persona with its roots in his own life and in his other fictions. The traumatic wound that sentimental and protected innocence

suffers at an early age is knowledge of sex and death. This "fall" is cured by faith in Jesus as redeemer, but the process has emptied life of its content (to use Walter Benjamin's language for a moment). Secretly, the apostle is only "putting in time" until God calls him home. The guilt that results from this betrayal of life is now expressed in the self-conscious self-humiliation of the hero of faith. Like Jesus, he makes a fool of himself in the eyes of the Philistines; but even so he must persist in his public "witness." Wiebe has dropped the historical context that, in his typologically organized historical novels, made martyrdom dignified and believable. In order to regain some sympathy and authority for the Christian academic "fool," Wiebe acknowledges his effeminacy, his squeamishness with respect to macho activities, his inability to be an effective Christian teacher, and his need to believe in spite of factual knowledge. In doing so, Wiebe seems to be making a rhetorical pretense of coming to terms with the "killing" that results from categorizing and emblematizing all objects and all people. In order to preserve the freedom to "name," Wiebe has become ironic about "naming."

"An Indication of Burning" appeared in Canadian Fiction Magazine (1979-80). The dramatized consciousness through which the reader experiences the story is that of a poet driving out to a small Alberta town to give a reading sponsored by the Canada Council. He stops at a farm auction sale and foolishly

buys two eight-gallon milk cans. At the sale he meets the young mother whom he had followed in his car when he had first driven into town. If one remembers Wiebe's use of milk and cows elsewhere, there is a certain self-deprecating wit in the image used to describe the poet as he talks to the girl: "he realized suddenly he was standing there a large bumpkin with two rust-burned milk cans dangling in his hands" (p. 154). The girl has two children, is pregnant with a third, is married to a grader-operator named Orlando, and lives on a street "of bottomless mud" (p. 154). It turns out that she wants to be a poet, and they meet several times in his office in Edmonton when she comes to the city for pre-natal medical appointments. He cannot deal with her or help her: "she was unstoppable--with the quiet inevitability of a glacier moving in on him; grinding him [s]o small he had to re-make himself out of detritus when she left" (p. 161). When the poet next drives out to see her, he discovers that Orlando has moved his trailer and his family north to the Meander River, where he has work in a gas field.

The allegorical names and images indicate that Wiebe's Protestant iconography is operating full-force. The black vulture has been reduced to a "black dot caught between the double panes of his all-wall window" (p. 159), but the great beast of the Apocalypse is present in a hate-filled farmer who has been deformed by a horse's kick. As people move away from the community, the farmer buys their lots; his intention is to raze the town and plough it under. He notes the poet's

pursuit of the young woman with "a kind of malign, almost satanic glee" (p. 163), his scar "an indication of burning" (p. 164). The devil incarnate thus mocks the poet's failure to bring spiritual milk to Orlando's wife, who is seeking to be an artist but who is trapped in a meaningless marriage.

"Professional Prayer" appeared in the NeWest Review (Summer, 1982) labelled as an "excerpt of a novel in progress." The story has a rhetorical form and an apophatic pedagogical intention similar to "An Indication of Burning." The professional praying is a Christian historian who wishes that individuals and cultures might cleanse their histories of "the poison . . . they want to keep." The story begins with a lecture in the Christian philosophy of history, an exposition made palatable by the narrator's interpolations about his personal life. The lecture demonstrates that Wiebe knows as well as Thomas Paine that a prophetic-typological explanation of a cultural-historical process can have the semblance of authority only when applied retrospectively, to the past. (The historian begins with a "magical" phrase: "There can be nothing on earth as peaceful as working with the dead." He is referring to the possibility of meaningful patterns in the past, but he also means his diabolical present and his spiritually dead contemporaries.) When dealing with contemporary actions, Wiebe loses this epistemological authority, especially in terms of explicit martyr-dramas. Wiebe compensates by creating a persona who mocks himself for making categorical claims and judgments as he makes them.

After the exordium on history, the narrator describes his encounter with Joy Becker, a childhood acquaintance, at a party of academics. An atheist and "Existentialist," Becker challenges him about his religious beliefs. The Wiebe-persona reacts to "her blithe irony," and he is "suddenly desperate O dear God to force one tiny wedge of faith between her perfect ironical teeth." He creates sympathy for himself by showing his difficulties in convincing her, presenting himself as a victim of her arrogant insistence. As a child, he had eaten a worm for her so that she would know how it tasted, and now she corners him with persistent rudeness at their every meeting. During their polemical exchanges (Becker is stunned by his claim that God sees timelessly and therefore that past events can be changed), the narrator is attracted by a mysterious black-haired girl. This girl soon disappears from the party, and he knows that the memory of his rhetorical conquest of the "dead" Professor Becker will give him little pleasure. Because of Becker, the Wiebe-persona fails to make contact with the girl who is still "alive" and who might have benefited from his "witness."

Wiebe's new style brings into consciousness an element only partially worked out in the earlier fiction--the repressed, voyeuristic, and lonely males following innocent girls home to their apartments. Wiebe has exploited this pattern in his last two stories by casting himself as a humble seducer of the spirit. Sexual attraction has clearly become for him an analogue

or a correspondence of God's action on the soul. Sexuality is the visible end of the Great Chain of Love, and Wiebe seems to have come to a self-conscious and earnest Anabaptist version of "the sweet new style" invented long ago by the troubadours and exploited everywhere by medieval artists. The reference to Christian chivalry is not gratuitous. Wiebe has been reflecting on how Christian writers in the past have dealt with the "problem" of sexuality. Evidence of this interest can be found in The Scorched-Wood People (Riel's description of the Holy Grail, the knightly innocence of Patrice and Napoléon as they sleep with Annie before the battle) and in "An Indication of Burning" (the allusion to the Roland-Orlando material).

Wiebe's next novel will thus illustrate only the latest permutation of an unchanging and literal faith as it seeks to assimilate its own contradictions while providing an effective artistic "witness" in a secular desert. Wiebe will continue to eat worms for the sake of his fellow man, a Canadian Milton surrounded by "sacrilegious writers" and a diabolical culture. He will never come to conceive of belief as metaphorical nor will he ever accept that "all deities reside in the human breast." All great artists can be said to have "the first fruits of the Spirit," but Rudy Wiebe declares everywhere in his fiction that aesthetic achievements are but the prolegomena to a spiritual awakening.

NOTES: Pages 1-8

INTRODUCTION

[1] (1970; rpt. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975), p. 184.

[2] Rudy Wiebe, "A Novelist's Personal Notes on Frederick Philip Grove," University of Toronto Quarterly, 47 (1978), p. 196.

[3] Wiebe, "A Novelist's Personal Notes," p. 198.

[4] Rudy Wiebe in an interview with Alan Twigg, "Of Moral Fiction," NeWest Review, 5, No. 5 (Jan. 1980), p. 12.

[5] Wiebe, "A Novelist's Personal Notes," p. 198.

[6] Twigg interview, p. 3.

[7] Rudy Wiebe, "The Artist as Witness to and Critic of Society," Journal of Church and Society, 1, No. 2 (Fall 1965), p. 55.

[8] "Mirror, Mirror Show Us All," rev. of The Scorched-Wood People, by Rudy Wiebe, Books In Canada, 7, No. 1 (Jan. 1978), p. 14.

[9] For example, the Twigg interview, p. 12; Stephen Scobie, "For Goodness' Sake," Books In Canada, 9, No. 2 (Feb. 1980), p. 3; et passim.

[10] (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1977), p. xii.

[11] Harrison, The Unnamed Country, pp. 183-184.

[12] (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977), pp. 258, 268.

[13] Moss, Sex and Violence, p. 259.

[14] The Comedians: Hugh Hood and Rudy Wiebe (Toronto: Clarke Irwin, 1977, p. 97.

[15] Morley, The Comedians, p. 98.

[16] "The Meeting of the Muses: Recent Canadian Fiction and the Historical Viewpoint," The Canadian Historical Review, 60 (1979), p. 148.

[17] An opinion poll published in Books In Canada, 8, No. 1, (Jan. 1979), p. 4.

NOTES: Pages 9-15

[18] Scobie, "For Goodness' Sake," p. 3.

[19] See Wiebe's blistering but decisive reply to his in-group critics in "An Author Speaks About His Novel," Canadian Mennonite, April 11, 1963, p. 8.

[20] "Canadian Mennonite Literature," Canadian Literature, 51 (1972), p. 71.

[21] For example, see Carlyle King, rev. of Peace Shall Destroy Many, by Rudy Wiebe, Saskatchewan History, 16 (1963), 38-39; Edward McCourt, The Canadian West in Fiction (Toronto: Ryerson, 1970), pp. 80-82.

[22] Francis Manbridge, "Wiebe's Sense of Community," Canadian Literature, 77 (1978), p. 42.

[23] "Wiebe and Religious Struggle," Canadian Literature, 77 (1978), p. 50.

[24] Unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Alberta (Edmonton), 1974.

[25] "The Storyteller," in Illuminations, ed. Hannah Arendt, tr. Harry Zohn (New York: Schoecken Books, 1969), pp. 83-109.

[26] "Religious Vision and Fictional Form: Rudy Wiebe's The Blue Mountains of China," Mosaic, 11 (1978), p. 83.

[27] "Biblical Hermeneutic and Family History in Contemporary Canadian Fiction: Wiebe and Laurence," Mosaic, 11 (1978), pp. 88-106.

[28] Jeffrey, "Biblical Hermeneutic," p. 100.

[29] A Voice In the Land: Essays By and About Rudy Wiebe, ed. W. J. Keith (Edmonton: NeWest Press, 1981), pp. 179-201. This article is one of the three items in Keith's anthology previously unpublished. It reached me too late to do more than this insertion during final revision.

[30] Rev. of Bear, by Marian Engel, fragment cited in The Book-of-the-Month Club News, Aug. 1976, p. 9.

[31] The Canadian Indian: A History Since 1500 (Don Mills: Collier-Macmillan, 1972), p. 3.

[32] The Fiddlehead, 117 (1978), p. 117.

NOTES: PAGES 15-22

33 Among many others, see for instance David Williams, "The Indian Our Ancestor: Three Modes of Vision in Recent Canadian Fiction," Dalhousie Review, 58 (1978), 309-328.

34 "On the Trail of Big Bear," Journal of Canadian Fiction, 3, No. 2 (1974), p. 46.

35 Wiebe, "On the Trail," p. 46.

36 Quoted by Scobie, "For Goodness' Sake," p. 5.

37 For the philosophical distinctions here I am indebted to John Hospers, "Aesthetics, Problems of," in The Encyclopedia of Philosophy (New York: Macmillan, 1967), I, 51.

38 "A Search For Peace," A Voice In the Land, p. 180.

39 The Rise of the Novel: Studies in Defoe, Richardson and Fielding (1957; rpt. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1972), p. 14.

40 René Wellek and Austin Warren, Theory of Literature (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1956), pp. 29, 31.

41 Ed. Alex Preminger (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), p. 76.

42 "Literature and Ideology," in Weapons of Criticism, ed. Norman Rudich (Palo Alto: Ramparts Press, 1976), pp. 131-132.

43 "Belief and the Suspension of Disbelief," in Literature and Belief, ed. M. H. Abrams (New York: Columbia University Press, 1958), pp. 1-30.

44 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), pp. 155-156.

45 Giles Gunn, rev. of The Critical Twilight: Explorations in the Ideology of Anglo-American Literary Theory From Eliot to McLuhan, by John Fekete, American Literature, 50 (1978), p. 498.

46 Abrams, "Belief," p. 28.

47 Walter Ong, "Voice as Summons for Belief," in Literature and Belief, ed. Abrams, p. 88.

48 Krieger, "Belief," Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics, ed. Preminger, p. 74.

49 For example, Reader-Response Criticism: From Formalism to Post-Structuralism, ed. Jane Tompkins (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1980); and others.

NOTES: PAGES 23-32

[50] See the classifications made by Melvin J. Friedman, "Towards an Aesthetic: Truman Capote's Other Voices," in Truman Capote's "In Cold Blood": A Critical Handbook, ed. Irving Malin (Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishers, 1968).

[51] Watt, The Rise of the Novel, p. 21.

[52] Watt, The Rise of the Novel, pp. 14-15.

[53] E. M. Forster, Aspects of the Novel (New York: Har-Court, Brace & World, 1927), p. 49.

[54] Norman Friedman, Form and Meaning in Fiction (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1975), p. 102.

[55] Friedman, Form and Meaning, pp. 190, 193, 207.

[56] Fredric Jameson, Marxism and Form: Twentieth-Century Dialectical Theories of Literature (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971), pp. 93-94.

[57] Chapter Five of The Hidden God: Studies in Hemingway, Faulkner, Yeats, Eliot, and Warren (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), p. 73.

[58] "T. S. Eliot," Open Letter, Fourth Series, Nos. 8-9 (Spring-Summer, 1981), p. 159. (Louis Dudek: Texts and Essays, eds. Frank Davey and bp Nichol.

[59] Dudek, "Eliot," p. 160.

[60] Open Letter, Nos. 8-9 (Spring-Summer, 1981), p. 173.

[61] Dudek, "Art, Entertainment and Religion," Open Letter, p. 174.

[62] Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature, trans. Willard Trask (1953; rpt. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), pp. 46, 48, 49.

[63] "Allegory to Analogy in the Interpretation of Scriptures," Philological Quarterly, 45 (1966), p. 1.

[64] See Rudy Wiebe, "Why Bother With Mennonite History," Mennonite Brethren Herald, Nov. 23, 1962, p. 3: ". . . world-renowned historians such as Butterfield and Toynbee prove that knowledge of the past, far from binding you to tradition, rather provides the basis for true progressive thinking which is most pertinent today." See also Arnold Toynbee, Civilization on Trial (London: Oxford University Press, 1946), p. 235: "If religion

is a chariot, it looks as if the wheels on which it mounts towards Heaven may be the periodic downfalls of civilizations on Earth." And see Herbert Butterfield, Christianity and History (1949; rpt. London: Fontana, 1957), p. 77: "The truth is that if men were good enough neither the ancient city-state, nor the medieval order of things nor modern nationalism would collapse." Et passim.

65 Butterfield, Christianity and History, p. 35.

66 William A. Speck, "Herbert Butterfield: The Legacy of a Christian Historian," in A Christian View of History?, eds. George Marsden and Frank Roberts (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1975), p. 102 et passim.

67 (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965), pp. 11, 21, 25.

68 Casserley, Towards a Theology of History, p. 56.

69 History and Eschatology (Edinburgh: The University Press, 1957).

70 Christian Faith and the Question of History (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1973).

71 "Christianity and the Meaning of History," in History and Truth, trans. Charles Kelbley (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1965), pp. 81-97.

72 "The Writer as Christian," in The New Orpheus: Essays Toward a Christian Poetic, ed. Nathan Scott (New York: Sheed and Ward, 1964), p. 86.

73 "The Symbolic Imagination," in The New Orpheus, p. 98 et passim.

74 "Introduction," The New Orpheus, pp. xii-xiii.

75 The New Orpheus, p. 88.

76 The New Orpheus, p. 417.

77 George Huntsdon Williams in The Radical Reformation (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1962), p. 27 uses the term "sacramentarian" (opposed to "sacramentalist") for those who hold to a purely commemorative view of the Last Supper. He traces the word to its medieval roots: "A sacramentarian in the medieval period was one who held theologically that any of the sacraments was merely a sign involving no alteration either in the sacramental res (for example, the Eucharistic bread) or in the recipient . . . ." (Italics those of Williams.)

NOTES: Pages 40-47

CHAPTER ONE: "THE FARMER, HIS SON, AND THE HOMELY CODES"

[1] Karl Kautsky, Communism in Central Europe in the Time of the Reformation (1897; rpt. New York: Kelley, 1966), pp. 293 et passim.

[2] Kautsky, Communism, p. 292.

[3] Cornelius Dick, "Menno Simons," Encyclopaedia Britannica, Macropaedia (1973), Vol. 11, p. 906.

[4] In Search of Utopia: The Mennonites in Manitoba (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1955), pp. 10-11.

[5] Harold Bender, "The Anabaptist Vision," Church History, 13 (1944), p. 19.

[6] Cornelius Dick, "Mennonites," Encyclopaedia Britannica, Macropaedia (1973), Vol. 11, p. 904.

[7] The story is most objectively and concisely told by sociologist E. K. Francis, In Search of Utopia, chapter one.

[8] Francis, In Search of Utopia, p. 26.

[9] Francis, In Search of Utopia, p. 27.

[10] Frank H. Epp, Mennonite Exodus: The Rescue and Resettlement of the Russian Mennonites Since the Communist Revolution (Altona: Friesen, 1962).

[11] Rudy Wiebe, "The Meaning of Being a Mennonite Brethren," Mennonite Brethren Herald, April 17, 1970, p. 3.

[12] Rudy Wiebe, "For the Mennonite Church--A Last Chance," The Mennonite, July 28, 1964, p. 467.

[13] See the essays in Guy F. Hershberger, ed., The Recovery of the Anabaptist Vision (Scottdale, Pennsylvania: Mennonite Publishing House, 1957).

[14] Bender, "The Anabaptist Vision," p. 3.

[15] Summarized from Bender, "The Anabaptist Vision," pp. 8 ff.

[16] John C. Wenger, Glimpses of Mennonite History and Doctrine (Scottdale, Pennsylvania: Herald Press, 1947), pp. 1-6.

[17] Wenger, Glimpses, pp. 186 ff.

NOTES: Pages 48-62

CHAPTER ONE (cont'd)

[18] John H. Yoder, The Christian Witness to the State (Newton, Kansas: Faith and Life Press, 1964), p. 5.

[19] Yoder, The Christian Witness, p. 10.

[20] The Radical Reformation, pp. 59 ff.

[21] I have pieced together this biographical sketch from the following sources: Connections: Writers and the Land (Winnipeg: Manitoba School Library Audio-Visual Association, 1974), pp. 119-121; Mennonite Brethren Herald, Jan. 22, 1971, p. 24; various publishers' blurbs; Rudy Wiebe, "Tombstone Community," Mennonite Life, 19 No. 4 (1964), pp. 150-153; Wiebe's own entry in Canada Writes! The Members' Book of the Writers' Union of Canada, ed. K. A. Hamilton (Toronto: Writers' Union, 1977), 368-369; W. H. New, "Wiebe, Rudy," in Contemporary Novelists (Don Mills, Collier Macmillan, 1976) 1485-1488.

[22] Donald Cameron with Rudy Wiebe, "The Moving Stream is Perfectly at Rest," Conversations With Canadian Novelists-II (Toronto: Macmillan, 1973) p. 148.

[23] Mennonite Brethren Herald, 1 No. 1 (Jan. 19, 1962), p. 4. (Further references will be in the text a date/month/year.)

[24] See especially Jake Letkeman, "A Novel by a Mennonite Author," The Canadian Mennonite, Oct. 12, 1962, p. 8; and Herbert Giesbrecht, "'O Life, How Naked and How Hard When Known!': A Comprehensive Review of a Controversial Novel That Destroyed the Peace of Many," The Canadian Mennonite, Mar. 22, 1963, pp. 5, 8-9. Giesbrecht was the librarian at the Mennonite Brethren Bible College in Winnipeg.

[25] William James, The Varieties of Religious Experience (1901; rpt. New York: Mentor, 1958), p. 162.

[26] James, Varieties, p. 390.

[27] James, Varieties, p. 196.

[28] Wiebe, "For the Mennonite Church," p. 468.

[29] Wiebe, "For the Mennonite Church," p. 469.

[30] "No Church Without Blood," The Mennonite, July 28, 1964, p. 469.

FOOTNOTES: Pages 62-69

CHAPTER ONE (cont'd)

[31] Mennonite Brethren Herald, April 17, 1970, 2-4.

[32] Mennonite Life, 19 No. 4 (Oct. 1964), pp. 150-153.

[33] Rudy Wiebe, "The Ghetto, the Launch Pad, the Desert," Mennonite Brethren Herald, 10, No. 2 (Jan. 22, 1971), p. 3. Wiebe presented this paper March 5, 1970, to The Study Conference on the Ministry held at Buhler, Kansas.

[34] Wiebe, "The Ghetto," pp. 25-26.

[35] Broadcast on CBC-TV, April 5, 1977.

[36] In Writings on Christianity and History, ed. C. T. McIntire (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), p. 262.

CHAPTER TWO: TYPOLOGY, PARABLE, AND WIEBE'S CHRISTIAN POETICS

[1] Cited by Victor Harris, "Allegory to Analogy in the Interpretation of Scriptures," Philological Quarterly, 45 (1966), pp. 8-9.

[2] "Afterword," in Literary Uses of Typology From the Late Middle Ages to the Present, ed. Earl Miner (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), p. 378.

[3] Theodore Ziolkowski, "Some Features of Religious Figuralism in Twentieth-Century Literature," in Literary Uses of Typology, ed. Miner, p. 347.

[4] "Figura," tr. Ralph Manheim, in Scenes From the Drama of of European Literature (New York: Meridian Books, 1959), p. 56.

[5] "Figura," p. 56.

[6] Ziolkowski, "Some Features of Religious Figuralism," p. 348.

[7] "Typology," Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, ed. James Hastings (Edinburgh: Clarke, 1921), Vol. 12, p. 503.

[8] Ziolkowski, "Some Features of Religious Figuralism," p. 349.

NOTES: Pages 69-74

CHAPTER TWO (cont'd)

9 Rudy Wiebe, "The Artist as Witness to and Critic of Society," The Journal of Church and Society, 1 No. 2 (Fall, 1965), p. 54 et passim.

10 "Afterword," Literary Uses of Typology, p. 393.

11 James Samuel Preuss, From Shadow to Promise: Old Testament Interpretation From Augustine to the Young Luther (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969), p. 200 et passim.

12 Miner, "Afterword," Literary Uses of Typology, p. 389.

13 Miner, "Afterword," p. 388.

14 "Typological Symbolism and The 'Progress of the Soul' in Seventeenth-Century Literature," in Literary Uses of Typology, ed. Earl Miner, pp. 81-82.

15 Preuss, From Shadow to Promise, p. 10.

16 Preuss, From Shadow to Promise, pp. 245-246.

17 Preuss, From Shadow to Promise, pp. 182-183.

18 Preuss, From Shadow to Promise, p. 199.

19 Preuss, From Shadow to Promise, p. 226.

20 Preuss, From Shadow to Promise, pp. 248-249.

21 Winthrop Wetherbee, Platonism and Poetry in the Twelfth Century: The Literary Influence of the School of Chartres (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), pp. 113, 267.

22 F. P. Pickering, Literature and Art in the Middle Ages (London: Macmillan, 1970), p. 174.

23 Miner, "Afterword," p. 389.

[24] Minér, "Afterword," p. 390.

[25] Edward Nourse, "Parable," Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, ed. James Hastings (Edinburgh: Clarke, 1921), Vol. IX, pp. 628-631.

[26] Denis de Rougemont, "Religion and the Mission of the Artist," in The New Orpheus, ed. Nathan Scott, p. 63.

[27] "Fable, Parable, and Allegory," Encyclopaedia Britannica, Macropaedia, Vol. VII (1973), p. 133.

[28] (1962; rpt. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), pp. 189-190.

[29] The Holy Bible (King James version) (New York: Pillar Books, 1975), Mark 4: 10-12. (Further references to this edition.) See also Isaiah 6: 9-10: "Go, and tell this people, Hear ye indeed, but understand not; and see ye indeed, but perceive not. Make the heart of this people fat, and make their ears heavy, and shut their eyes; lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and convert, and be healed."

[30] For instance, Eli Mandel's CBC interview with Rudy Wiebe (Dec. 7 1974), a shortened version of which appeared as "Where the Voice Comes From," Quill and Quire, 40 No. 2 (Dec. 1974), pp. 4, 20: "I'll try it. And if it works, I'll let the theoreticians figure it out from there." In the same place: "I'll leave that for the critics to decide." Also, see Rudy Wiebe, "A Novelist's Personal Notes on Frederick Philip Grove," University of Toronto Quarterly, 47 (1978), p. 189: "Hereafter I have been content that, whatever literary theory I may have, it be deduced if possible from whatever I write."

[31] Margaret Reimer and Sue Steiner, "Translating Life into Art: A Conversation with Rudy Wiebe," Mennonite Reporter, 3 No. 23 (Nov. 26 1973), p. 7.

[32] Cameron, "The Moving Stream is Perfectly at Rest," Conversations With Canadian Novelists--2 (Toronto: Macmillan, 1973), p. 157.

[33] Cameron interview, p. 154.

NOTES: Pages 80-85

CHAPTER TWO (cont'd)

[34] Rudy Wiebe, "The Artist as Witness to and Critic of Society," Journal of Church and Society, 1 No. 2 (Fall, 1965), pp. 53-54.

[35] Cameron interview, p. 150.

[36] In an interview with Alan Twigg, "Of Moral Fiction," NeWest Review, 5 No. 5 (Jan. 1980), p. 12.

[37] Twigg interview, p. 12.

[38] Twigg interview, p. 12.

[39] "The Artist as Witness," pp. 49-50.

[40] "The Artist as Witness," p. 51.

[41] "The Artist as Witness," p. 54.

[42] "The Artist as Witness," p. 55.

[43] "Lonely Are the Grave," Maclean's, 91 No. 18 (Sept. 4 1978), p. 34. In the same place: "You can read a dozen novels without knowing that religion, the spiritual strivings of man, exist." See also the Cameron interview, p. 157; or "A Novelist's Personal Notes on Grove," p. 196: "I get a little impatient with the pipsqueaks who people present-day fiction. I grew up in a world of working people, strong women and men with daily dirt in the crevices of their hands; they were people of physical and moral dimension who did not bother trying to find themselves. They mostly knew who and where they were . . . ." Et passim.

[44] Twigg interview, p. 12.

[45] Rudy Wiebe, "On the Trail of Big Bear," Journal of Canadian Fiction, 3 No. 2 (1974), p. 45: "For I believe in 'story' as a fact beyond and outside the entity of its maker. Michelangelo's beautiful (perhaps apocryphal but no matter) statement that he studied the rock for the shape that was inside it and then used his chisels not to create that shape out of the rock, but rather to release the shape from all encumbering rock around it--that has always seemed to me profoundly true to the storymaker's art also. At least of my own attempts."

NOTES: Pages 86-89

CHAPTER TWO (cont'd)

[46] Rudy Wiebe in an interview with Eli Mandel, "Where the Voice Comes From," Quill and Quire, 40 No. 12 (Dec. 1974), p. 20: Mandel: "I suppose it's too much to claim, but as writers I suppose finally we'd like to be known as Almighty Voice. Almighty Voice, Rudy Wiebe? How about that?" Wiebe: "No. No. No one should ever attach that to himself . . . but you know, you began this with the prophets. And that's the reason they had such great voices, right? Because they felt they spoke directly from God. They didn't speak out of the smallness of man, but out of the greatness of all that man can comprehend . . . and . . . and not only in connection with themselves but also with the spirit that made them . . . and that I think is important. For me as a writer anyway." (Ellipses in the text of the interview.) See also the Twigg interview, p. 4: "When I discovered Big Bear had actually lived where I had lived during the first part of my life, it was a perfect gift. It's like Bach saying every tune is a gift from God. His character was certainly a gift from God for me."

[47] "A Novelist's Personal Notes on Grove," p. 192.

[48] "A Novelist's Personal Notes on Grove," p. 198.

[49] "A Novelist's Personal Notes on Grove," p. 199.

[50] "A Novelist's Personal Notes on Grove," p. 199.

[51] "A Novelist's Personal Notes on Grove," p. 192.

[52] Ed. Alex Preminger, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1974), p. 664.

[53] "A Novelist's Personal Notes on Grove," pp. 194-195.

[54] "A Novelist's Personal Notes on Grove," p. 195.

[55] Victor Harris, "Allegory to Analogy in the Interpretation of Scriptures," Philological Quarterly, 45 (1966), p. 5: "For Aquinas as for Augustine, what protected the event in Scriptures from being read as a mere figure of speech was the fact that salvation was literally at stake. If this were doubted, the whole edifice would collapse."

NOTES: Pages 89-108

CHAPTER TWO (cont'd)

[56] Wiebe, "A Novelist's Personal Notes on Grove," p. 193.

[57] Cited by Stephen Scobie, "For Goodness' Sake," Books In Canada, 9 No. 2 (Feb. 1980), pp. 3-4.

[58] Wiebe, "The Artist as Witness," p. 55.

[59] "Some Features of Religious Figuralism in Twentieth-Century Literature," in Literary Uses of Typology, ed. Earl Miner, p. 350.

[60] Twigg interview, p. 4.

CHAPTER THREE: THE EVANGELICAL NOVELS

[1] "An Author Speaks About His Novel," The Canadian Mennonite, 11 April 1969, p. 8.

[2] "Rudy Wiebe," in From There To Here (Erin: Press Porcépic, 1974), p. 265.

[3] Rudy Wiebe, Peace Shall Destroy Many (1962; rpt. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972), p. 238. (Further references will be in the text.)

[4] See Wiebe's bitterness about "bad reading" in "An Author Speaks About His Novel." Wiebe does enter freely into the minds of other characters, but there is no doubt that the reader identifies with Thom's perception of the events.

[5] For instance, see Roy Harvey Pearce, The Savages of America: A Study of the Indian and the Idea of Civilization (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1965), pp. 5, 6, 250 et passim.

[6] See Wiebe's autobiographical and descriptive essay, "Tombstone Community," Mennonite Life, 19, No. 4 (1964), pp. 151-152.

[7] For example, in "Scrapbook," Where Is the Voice Coming From? (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974), p. 13.

NOTES: Pages 108-129

CHAPTER THREE (cont'd)

[8] "Scrapbook," "Tudor King," "Millstone For a Sun's Day," all in Where Is the Voice Coming From?; et passim.

[9] Angus Fletcher, Allegory: Theory of a Symbolic Mode (New York: Cornell University Press, 1964), p. 21.

[10] First and Vital Candle (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Eerdmans, 1966), pp. 33-39. (Further references will be in the text.)

[11] Wiebe, "A Novelist's Personal Notes," p. 195.

[12] Foolscap, 4 (Spring 1965), pp. 46-53.

[13] Erwin Panofsky, Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance (1939; rpt. New York: Harper and Row, 1972), pp. 99-101.

[14] D. W. Robertson, Jr., A Preface To Chaucer: Studies in Medieval Perspectives (Princeton: Princeton University press, 1962), pp. 113, 128, 255, 263-264.

[15] For instance, Art Treasures of the World, no author, (London: Hamlyn, 1969), pp. 123-124, 172-173.

[16] Rudy Wiebe, rev. of Nunaga: My Land, My Country (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1971), by Duncan Pyrde, "Guys Who Stay Out in the Cold," Books in Canada, 1, No. 6 (Dec. 1971), pp. 7-8.

[17] "Her Goodness, Our Grimace," rev. of The Young in One Another's Arms, by Jane Rule, Books in Canada, 6, No. 3 (Mar. 1977), p. 4.

[18] See especially "The Meaning of Being Mennonite Brethren," The Mennonite Brethren Herald, 17 April 1970, pp. 2-4; "Last Chance For Mennonites?: We Must Leave Our Middle-Class Cultural Heritage and Strive For Our Spiritual Heritage," The Canadian Mennonite, 11 May 1966, p. 7.

[19] Rudy Wiebe, "Conscription For Military Service," The Mennonite Brethren Herald, 11 May 1962, p. 4.

NOTES: Pages 129-139

CHAPTER THREE (cont'd)

[20] Rudy Wiebe, The Blue Mountains of China (1970; rpt. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975), p. 177. (Further references will be in the text.)

[21] Twigg interview, "Of Moral Fiction," p. 12: "Professors of English who are friends of mine tell me The Blue Mountains of China is too hard to read."

[22] Frank Epp, Mennonites in Canada, 1786-1920: The History of a Separate People (Toronto: Macmillan, 1975), p. 201. (There were several other groups.)

[23] L. Hicks, "Jacob," Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible (New York: Abingdon, 1962), Vol. II, pp. 782-783.

[24] See page 97: "Their well being what it was, the village name simply named again their thoughtless faith."

[25] Wiebe is drawing upon a motif common in the Mennonite oral tradition: the pacifist farmer--big, strong, innocent and cowlike--visits the city. Like most peasant folklore, this Low German oral tradition is scatological, realistic, satirical, and often iconoclastic. Perhaps because of its earthy and irreverent nature, little of it has "surfaced" in written literature. Arnold Dyck's Low German stories are the best examples. His two comic characters, Koop and Bua, are the Mutt and Jeff or the Ma and Pa Kettles of the Mennonites. For a brief account of Arnold Dyck's work, see J. Thiessen, "Canadian Mennonite Literature," Canadian Literature, 51 (1972), pp. 69-70.

[26] See pages 92, 102. If Wiebe has a sense of humour, as he insists, it is to be found in his magistic "jokes." It took four Reimers and six Wiebes to dig the well.

[27] Concise Oxford Dictionary (1952), s.v. "funk."

[28] From "hermenonomics," a neologism Louis Dudek proposes for "the art of interpreting names." See "The Misuses of Imagination: A Rib-Roasting of Some Recent Canadian Critics," in Selected Essays and Criticism (Ottawa: Tecumseh, 1978), p. 313.

NOTES: Pages 139-156

CHAPTER THREE (cont'd)

29 Ina Ferris, "Religious Vision and Fictional Form: Rudy Wiebe's The Blue Mountains of China," Mosaic, 11 (1978), p. 81.

30 See his interrupted musings about Russian snorers, p. 29: "Had any Friesen ever—."

31 Hicks, "Jacob," Interpreter's Dictionary, Vol. II, p. 783.

32 See p. 39: "But now, like then on the studfarm, he had played with himself; alright [sic], wanted himself to be played with, and he was beyond control. He . . . recognized with terrible clarity the horror he was working upon himself, he knew he would do it again. What had to be done now had to be done where only the impossible eye of God could see. No other."

33 The term is used by philosophers of history in discussing hermeneutic. Here I follow Avrom Fleishman, The English Historical Novel (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1971), p. 7, in using the term to refer to the general laws used by an artist "to link the historical actions of his narrative."

34 Rosemund Tuve, Allegorical Imagery: Some Medieval Books and Their Posterity (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966), p. 309.

35 To protect the youthful John Reimer from the knowledge of his father's cowardice, the aged Franz Epp purposely changes Reimer's name to Balzer. See pages 54, 56, 71.

36 The metaphor from classical music is not gratuitous. Wiebe knows something about music and contrapuntal structure. In First and Vital Candle Anton Schwafe uses an improvisation of Bach to sharpen the contradictions of violence and faith. It is no accident that Wiebe likes Bach, the originator and master of counterpoint.

37 See Bernhard's plea with David, p. 138:"We did what we could! We all signed the paper and left it, like you said, that we were doing it on our own, that no one else in any single village, not one person, knew of it. That it was our work, no one else's fault or crime. We did that, that's all we could do!"

NOTES: Pages 156-170

CHAPTER THREE (cont'd)

[38] Lice were the third plague, Exodus 8: 17-19: "Aaron . . . smote the dust of the earth, and it became lice in man, and in beast . . . . then the magicians said onto Pharoah, This is the finger of God: and Pharoah's heart was hardened." In The Blue Mountains of China, see also pages 43, 75, 107, and 110. See also Wilfrid Watson's short story "The Lice" (1960), in which lice represent the sins of the community. Wiebe anthologized the story in Stories From Western Canada (1972).

[39] "Religous Vision and Fictional Form," p. 84.

[40] Ferris, "Religious Vision and Fictional Form," p. 79.

CHAPTER FOUR: DOUBLE VISION: SHORT STORIES, 1956-1976

[1] Ed. Rudy Wiebe (Toronto: Macmillan, 1970), pp. 275-292.

[2] First and Vital Candle, p. 84; Story-Makers, p. 292.

[3] P. xxv.

[4] Preuss, From Shadow To Promise, pp. 159-161, 197, et passim.

[5] Cameron interview, p. 157.

[6] Rudy Wiebe, "On the Trail of Big Bear," Journal of Canadian Fiction, 3, No. 2 (1974), p. 45.

[7] Wiebe, "On the Trail of Big Bear," p. 45.

[8] 33, No. 7 (Sept. 1956), pp. 22, 64, 66. "The Midnight Ride of an Alberta Boy" was reprinted with minor revisions as "Scrapbook" in Where Is the Voice Coming From?, pp. 13-18.

[9] See Appendix I, "Wiebe's Short Stories in Order of Publication."

NOTES: Pages 171-176

CHAPTER FOUR (cont'd)

[10] William Faulkner's comment about the integrated whole of his Collected Stories, cited in Malcolm Cowley, The Faulkner-Cowley File (New York: Viking, 1966), p. 116. Like Faulkner, Wiebe is extending meaning from the topographical to the spiritual. Compare the section headings of Faulkner's Collected Stories and Wiebe's headings in Stories From Western Canada and More Stories From Western Canada.

[11] Dan O. Via, Jr., The Parables: Their Literary and Existential Dimension (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967), p. x.

[12] Rudy Wiebe, "Introduction," Double Vision, ed. Rudy Wiebe (Toronto: Macmillan, 1976), p. ix.

[13] Double Vision, p. 4.

[14] Double Vision, p. 2. Joyce writing to Grant Richards, 5 May, 1906.

[15] "The Midnight Ride of an Alberta Boy," New Liberty Magazine, 33, No. 7 (Sept. 1956), pp. 22, 64, 66.

[16] "Scrapbook," in Where Is the Voice Coming From? (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974), pp. 13-18.

[17] "Scrapbook," p. 15.

[18] The Wiebe papers held by the University of Calgary could settle this question. The papers include "a significant amount of material representing Wiebe's early writing attempts, the major portion being the product of a creative writing course given by Dr. F. M. Salter at the University of Alberta." (Occasional Paper No. 2, Canadian Authors Manuscripts, University of Calgary Library, 1978, p. 13.) Unfortunately, I have not been able to visit Calgary to study the papers.

[19] "Tudor King," in Where Is the Voice Coming From?, p. 21.

[20] "Tudor King," p. 25.

NOTES: Pages 176-181

CHAPTER FOUR (cont'd)

[21] (Toronto: J. M. Dent, 1956), pp. 128-133.

[22] "The Power," in New Voices, ed. Earle Birney, p. 133.

[23] "The Power," p. 128.

[24] "The Power," p. 129.

[25] In Where Is the Voice Coming From?, p. 32. This story became the basis of the television play Someday Soon. In the Twigg interview, Wiebe describes it as one of his weakest short stories." The play showed Canadian farmers crossing the border to demonstrate against the Garrison project. Both story and play are "civil disobedience," moral-action tracts for farmers. I will discuss this aspect of Wiebe further in the last chapter with respect to As Far As the Eye Can See.

[26] In Where Is the Voice Coming From?, pp. 37-44.

[27] "Passage By Land," in The Narrative Voice: Short Stories and Reflections by Canadian Authors, ed. John Metcalf (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1972), p. 259.

[28] "There's a Muddy Road," in Where Is the Voice Coming From?, p. 51.

[29] Roland Bainton has somewhere said: "If there is no accommodation to culture, Christianity is unintelligible and cannot spread. If there is too much accommodation it will spread, but will no longer be Christianity."

[30] First published in Fiddlehead, 84 (1970), pp. 40-52.

[31] "Did Jesus Ever Laugh?" in Where Is the Voice Coming From?, p. 64: ". . . no different from putting two into the dummy out on the range so fast and tight the sergeant can't yell a thing . . . ."

NOTES: Pages 182-184

CHAPTER FOUR (cont'd)

[32] See Paul Korshin, "The Development of Abstracted Typology in England, 1650-1820," in Literary Uses of Typology, ed. Earl Miner, p. 184: "But the predictions of the Book of Revelation are different, for they transfer and transform traditional Biblical typology from the religious to the secular sphere. The types of the apocalypse can only refer to antitypes in history since the writing of that book" (Korshin's italics).

[33] "Did Jesus Ever Laugh?" pp. 59, 61.

[34] "Icones Symbolicae: Philosophies of Symbolism and their Bearing on Art," in Symbolic Images: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance (II) (Oxford: Phaidon, 1972), p. 152.

[35] "Did Jesus Ever Laugh?" p. 58.

[36] On leave of absence from Goshen College in 1966, Wiebe wrote a sort of sociological and evangelical travel report, "Moros and Mennonites in the Chaco of Paraguay," published in The Canadian Mennonite, 14, No. 47 (29 Nov. 1966), pp. 1, 7. Wiebe describes "the impasse toward which the Chaco Mennonites seem to be moving with their Indian neighbors." The Mennonites realize they "had better not do it as it was done in Russia--build big estates, use the natives for seasonal work and let them starve the rest of the year." Meanwhile, the Mennonites have taught the Indians not to kill their "extra" babies, but have refused to teach them birth control. Consequently, the colonies face an Indian population explosion and an increasing pressure on scarce land, water, and food. Wiebe concludes the article by urging a return to the original evangelism of 1935: "To acquaint the Indians . . . with the living God and teach them the Christian doctrine according to the Holy Scriptures. Only then will the "Indian problem" become the "'opportunity' it seems to have been in those early difficult, pioneer days." In the article Wiebe also describes a meeting with Osowané (the Orawané of The Blue Mountains of China): "On Oct. 30 when I drove north into Moro country with Rolf Fostervold, New Tribes worker stationed in Filadelphia, we met a Mora [sic?] with a cactus spina in his foot. The foot was hugely swollen and filled with pus. We did not get to Cero Leon as we intended; we had to bring this man, Osowané, to the Fernheim doctor." Later, when he visits the Indian camp at night with the town druggist to distribute medicine, he meets Osowané again, "his

NOTES: Pages 184-189

CHAPTER FOUR (cont'd)

[36] (cont'd) foot quite healed." Another example is an innocent game of tag around the campfire at night, so described by Wiebe in the article. In the novel the game of tag becomes impulsive sex. In transforming aboriginal fact to fiction, Wiebe has made primitive live more solitary, nasty, brutal, and short than he had actually observed it to be.

[37] Rudy Wiebe in an interview with Shirley Neuman and Robert Kroetsch, "We Both Do begin," NeWest Review, 6, No. 7 (Mar. 1981), p. 11.

[38] "We Both Do Begin," p. 4.

[39] Rudy Wiebe, "All That's Left of Big Bear," Maclean's, 88 (Sept. 1975), pp. 54-55.

[40] See Rudy Wiebe's "Guys Who Stay Out in the Cold," rev. of Nunaga: My Land, My Country (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1971), by Duncan Pryde, in Books In Canada, 1, No. 6 (Dec. 1971), pp. 7-8. Pryde spent years in the Arctic as a Hudson's Bay trader. Wiebe's review reveals the source of Oolulik as well as (probably) the origin of the character Abe Ross. Wiebe expresses his disappointment in Pryde's lack of profundity, his inability to reach a "larger" meaning.

[41] "All On Their Knees," in Where Is the Voice Coming From?, p. 80. I believe Wiebe wrote this story as answer to Albert Camus' "The Guest," a story he anthologized in The Story-Makers (1970). The plots of the stories are almost identical, but Wiebe gives a radically apostolic version of Camus' existential dilemma. Daru is doomed whether he frees the Arab or sends him to prison (and so is the Arab). Herman Paetkau is sanctified by his act.

[42] "All On Their Knees," p. 73.

[43] Paul Korshin, "The Development of Abstracted Typology in England, 1650-1820," in Literary Uses of Typology, p. 203.

[44] "The Fish Caught in the Battle River," in Where Is the Voice Coming From?, p. 125. Wiebe's source was a nine-page pamphlet by Neil Brodie, Twelve Days With the Indians: Being His Experiences in Poundmaker's Camp During the Rebellion of

NOTES: Pages 189-192

CHAPTER FOUR (cont'd)

[44] 1885 (Printed at the office of the Saskatchewan Herald, Battleford, Saskatchewan, 1932). The copy in the Rare Book Room of McLennan Library at McGill is neatly inscribed "To Miss Beamer With Compliments of Neil Brodie."

[45] See W. S. McCullough, "Fish," Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, Vol. III, p. 273: "How early the Greek word for 'fish' (ἰχθύς) came to be interpreted as a cipher for 'Jesus Christ, Son of God, Savior' (Ἰησοῦς Χριστος Θεοῦ Υἱος Σωτηρ), we do not know; but once this identification was made, the fish becomes a standard Christian symbol."

[46] Brodie, Twelve Days, p. 3.

[47] "From Document to Art: Wiebe's Historical Short Stories and Their Sources," Studies in Canadian Literature, 4 (1979), pp. 106-119. Keith's treatment of this crucial problem is inadequate. He has no sense of why Wiebe edits and reconstructs the way he does, although the article is a textbook demonstration of how an artist works towards the concrete, the active and the colloquial. Keith's discussion of "Games For Queen Victoria" ignores one of the sources and omits completely analysis of Wiebe's single most dramatic change—Butler's "scratch" of the cue ball on his last shot of his "perfect" game. See my discussion of the story below.

[48] First published in The Star-Spangled Beaver, ed. John Redekop (Toronto: Peter Martin, 1971), pp. 46-54. Reprinted in Where Is the Voice Coming From?, pp. 103-111.

[49] Ironic interpolations from The Denver Post, dated 22 July, 1969.

[50] "On the Trail of Big Bear," Journal of Canadian Fiction, 3 (1974), p. 48: "One of the most enjoyable experiences of writing that novel for my whole family was visiting every place where it was recorded Big Bear had been."

[51] "Bluecoats," in Where Is the Voice Coming From?, p. 110.

[52] "Bluecoats," p. 103: "Robert Little Beaver of Oglala Sioux improvised a moon dance." (Wiebe's italics indicate the newspaper text.)

NOTES: Pages 193-197

CHAPTER FOUR (cont'd)

53 "Where Is the Voice Coming From?," in Where Is the Voice Coming From?, p. 143. The story is much anthologized, but it was first published in Fourteen Stories High in 1971. See Appendix I.

54 See I G's comment to the RCMP in "Someday Soon, Before Tomorrow," in Where Is the Voice Coming From?, p. 30: "History doesn't need a uniform."

55 "The Legend of Almighty Voice," in The Wild Frontier (Toronto: Seal Books, 1980), p. 218.

56 I have already cited Wiebe's judgment of Berton; see page 16 above.

57 "Where Is the Voice Coming From?," p. 135.

58 Wiebe in an interview with Eli Mandel, "Where the Voice Comes From," Quill and Quire, 40, No. 12 (Dec. 1974), p. 20.

59 "Where Is the Voice Coming From?," pp. 142-143.

60 "Where Is the Voice Coming From?," p. 143. To emphasize the Indians' marksmanship, Howard O'Hagan mentions that the Indians shot a crow in the air above the trees. It became their only food during the three-day siege. See "The Singer in the Willows," in Wilderness Men (1958; rpt. Vancouver: Talon Books, 1978), pp. 29-62.

61 For more imagery of this kind in more or less identical situations, see "Along the Red Deer and the South Saskatchewan" and "The Naming of Albert Johnson."

62 In The New Orpheus, ed. Nathan Scott, pp. 70-72.

63 See Margaret Reimer and Sue Steiner, "Translating Life Into Art: A Conversation With Rudy Wiebe," Mennonite Reporter, 3, No. 33 (26 Nov. 1973), A, p. 8: ". . . the world view [of the Indian] is so foreign to my own. I have never killed an animal in my life. . . . A lot of that stuff is totally inimitable [sic] to my own way of looking at the world, but it has to be done."

NOTES: Pages 197-202

CHAPTER FOUR (cont'd)

has to be done." See also "A Novelist's Personal Notes on Frederick Philip Grove," p. 192: "At six I was stepped on by a horse and my stomach was ruined for motion, forever." Wiebe's queasy stomach seems to be related to the mouse-Friesen line of the Mennonites; whether the accident happened or not, Wiebe is indulging his iconic sense of humour.

64 In The Narrative Voice, ed. John Metcalf, p. 260. (Other reprints of this article omit this section.)

65 A Study of History, Vol. 12, Reconsiderations (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 4.

66 Toynbee, Reconsiderations, pp. 3-4.

67 Toynbee, Reconsiderations, p. 10.

68 "Where Is the Voice Coming From?," p. 141.

69 "Where Is the Voice Coming From?," pp. 141-142.

70 (Chicago/Regina: S. J. Charles, 1924), Vol. 1, pp. 109-123.

71 In "Where Is the Voice Coming From?," pp. 113-123.

72 "From Document to Art," pp. 106-119.

73 In The Story of Saskatchewan, Vol 1, p. 116. Further references in the text.)

74 "Along the Red Deer and the South Saskatchewan," in Where Is the Voice Coming From?, p. 116. (Further references in the text; identical page numbers are a coincidence.)

75 "A Sunday For the Dead," Mennonite Brethren Herald, 30 Nov. 1962, p. 3.

76 Rudy Wiebe, "A Novelist's Personal Notes on Frederick Philip Grove," p. 193.

NOTES: Pages 202-207

CHAPTER FOUR (cont'd)

[77] Twigg interview, p. 4.

[78] In The Temptations of Big Bear Wiebe shows that one of the main factors in the Frog Lake massacre was exactly that: "But there were always the savage young men astride their beautiful horses. They wanted glory" (p. 37).

[79] The Great Lone Land: A Narrative of Travel and Adventure in the North-West of America (London: Sampson Low, 1873), pp. 5-137.

[80] Butler, The Great Lone Land, pp. 133-134.

[81] Rudy Wiebe, "Games For Queen Victoria," Saturday Night, 91 (Mar. 1976), p. 67.

[82] "Games For Queen Victoria," p. 63.

[83] "Games For Queen Victoria," p. 67.

[84] W. F. Butler, Sir William Butler: An Autobiography (New York: Scribner's, 1911), pp. 62-65. Wiebe's excerpts are from pages 62 and 64, with one phrase from p. 123. Keith does not mention this source in "From Documents to Art."

[85] "Games For Queen Victoria," p. 67.

[86] "Games For Queen Victoria," p. 67.

[87] Butler, Sir William Butler, p. 123.

[88] Rudy Wiebe, "We Both Do Begin," NeWest Review, 6, No. 7 (Mar. 1981), p. 4: "One of the greatest concepts to me is what Paul writes in Romans, chapter 8: that the entire created universe is triving towards Redemption, is longing for the Redemption of the Sons of God."

[89] Wiebe in an interview with Eli Mandel, in Personal Fictions, ed. Michael Ondaatje (Toronto: Oxford, 1977), p. 226. This is an excerpt of the discussion on CBC Radio, Toronto, Oct. 24, 1974. The version published in Quill and Quire omits Wiebe's comments about Johnson.

NOTES: Pages 207-214

CHAPTER FOUR (cont'd)

[90] Rudy Wiebe, "The Death and Life of Albert Johnson," in Figures in a Ground, eds. Diane Bessai and David Jackel (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1978), p. 244: "It must go from the death battle on the Eagle River in February 1932 back to its true climax: his naming on the Peel in July, 1931. Once I understood that, the question of my fiction's structure was resolved."

[91] See "The Case of 'Albert Johnson'," Report of the RCMP, in Annual Departmental Reports, 1931-1932, Vol. 3 (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1933), p. 110: "It is not unlikely that he was identical with a man who spent some time in the vicinity of Nation, near Alaska, near the Yukon boundary, living alone, occasionally burning down the cabins of person, and disabling traplines, and establishing a character for moroseness and violence. He disappeared from Alaska about the time that Johnson made his appearance in the Northwest Territories."

[92] Rudy Wiebe, "The Naming of Albert Johnson," in Where Is the Voice Coming From?, p. 146. Further references will be in the text.

[93] Johnson sees each of them as dead, then alive, and then dead again; as his camera-soundtrack consciousness circles about or runs forward and then backward again when it strikes critical moments (moments when he is threatened by human contact). The narrative technique and style are similar to those in Robbe-Grillet's "The Secret Room," a story Wiebe anthologized in The Story-Makers (1970).

[94] Rudy Wiebe, "Songs of the Canadian Eskimo," Canadian Literature, 52 (1972), pp. 57-58.

[95] "The Death and Life of Albert Johnson: Collected Notes on a Possible Legend," in Figures in a Ground, p. 246.

[96] "The Death and Life of Albert Johnson," p. 246.

[97] "The Death and Life of Albert Johnson," p. 243.

NOTES: Pages 215-220

CHAPTER FIVE

[1] Rudy Wiebe, "The Artist as Critic and Witness," pp. 51-55. (Rptd. in A Voice in the Land, with omissions, pp. 39-47.)

[2] "Rudy Wiebe," in From There to Here (Erin: Press Porcepic, 1974), pp. 267-268. (Vol. II of Our Nature-Our Voices.)

[3] Rudy Wiebe, The Temptations of Big Bear (1973; rpt. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), p. 387. (All further references are to this edition.)

[4] Appraisals of Canadian Literature (Toronto: Macmillan: 1926), p. 185.

[5] The Vanishing Point (Toronto: Macmillan, 1973), p. 12.

[6] See Larry Krotz, Urban Indians: The Strangers in Canada's Cities (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1980), p. 11 et passim.

[7] George F. G. Stanley, "The Indian Background of Canadian History," The Canadian Historical Association Annual Report (1952), p. 16. Referring to Jesuit sedentary communities, Stanley writes: "Here is the beginning of the alliance between bible and plough which has been the main feature of Canadian Indian policy from the seventeenth century to the present."

[8] Stuart Hughes, "Introduction," The Frog Lake "Massacre": Personal Perspectives on Ethnic Conflict, ed. Stuart Hughes (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976), p. xxy.

[9] While on a promotion tour for Big Bear, Wiebe mentioned the impact of Peace Shall Destroy Many on Mennonites: "I had never been in Steinbach, in Altona, in Winkler, and in all these places things were really popping. . . . It was a kind of bombshell. . . . Publishing a book is a public act. Certainly the vehemence of the way some people responded was startling to me. I would never have accredited anything I had written with such power as presumably it called forth. Something successful must have been said." Cited in an interview with Margaret Reimer and Sue Steiner, "Translating Life into Art," Mennonite Reporter, 3, No. 23 (Nov. 26, 1973), p. 7.

NOTES: Pages 220-225

CHAPTER FIVE (cont'd)

[10] "Giant Fictions and Large Meanings: The Novels of Rudy Wiebe," Canadian Forum, 60, No. 707 (Mar. 1981), p. 6.

[11] Reimer-Steiner interview, "Translating Life into Art," p. 8.

[12] Cited by Wiebe in conversation with Eli Mandel, "Where the Voice Comes From," Quill and Quire, 40, No. 12 (Dec. 1974), p. 4.

[13] Bruce Smith, "Propaganda," International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences (1968), Vol. 11-12, p. 579.

[14] Twigg interview, "Of Moral Fiction," p. 4.

[15] "Author's Note," The Confessions of Nat Turner (New York: Random House, 1967).

[16] Frontispiece to the 1973 edition, removed from the paperback reprint.

[17] Styron emphasizes Nat's Old Testament inspiration in his drive for freedom and justice. Just before the execution, Styron shows Nat being "converted" to Jesus by the memory of Margaret Whitehead. See pages 368, 428, et passim.

[18] Lerone Bennett, Jr., "Nat's Last White Man," in William Styron's Nat Turner: Ten Black Writers Respond, ed. John Henrik Clarke (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968), p. 5.

[19] Styron, The Confessions of Nat Turner, p. 410.

[20] Bennett, "Nat's Last White Man," p. 5.

[21] "Prophets on the Outhouse Walls," rev. of Aurora: New Canadian Writing, 1979, ed. Morris Wolfe, in Books in Canada, 8, No. 9 (Nov. 1979), p. 10.

[22] "The Documentary Poem: A Canadian Genre," in Contexts of Canadian Criticism, ed. Eli Mandel (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971), p. 269.

NOTES: Pages 225-229

CHAPTER FIVE (cont'd)

[23] Mary Jane Miller, "The Hurricane's Eye: Behind CBC-TV's Docudrama Lies a Contract with the Viewer: The Promise to Show the Difference Between Fiction and Fact," Books In Canada, 10, No. 4 (Apr. 981), p. 13.

[24] Among a number of other sources, see John Hollowell, Fact and Fiction: The New Journalism and the Non-Fiction Novel (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977), pp. 3-20; Mas'ud Zavarzadeh, The Mythopoeic Reality: The Postwar American Nonfiction Novel (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976), pp. 3-49; et passim.

[25] Nathalie Sarraute, "The Age of Suspicion," in Approaches to the Novel, ed. Robert Scholes (Scranton: Chandler, 1961), pp. 207-217.

[26] "Fables of Fact: New Journalism Reconsidered," Centennial Review, 21 (1977), p. 418.

[27] Barbara Foley, "History, Fiction, and the Ground Between: The Uses of the Documentary Mode in Black Literature," PMLA, 95 (1980), pp. 391-393.

[28] Foley, "History," p. 402.

[29] Foley, "History," p. 391.

[30] "The Imagination of Fact: From Capote to Mailer," in Bright Book of Life: American Novelists and Storytellers From Hemingway to Mailer (Boston: Little, Brown, 1973), p. 221. Foley cites Kazin; she seems to have drawn some of her categories from him.

[31] Literature and Art in the Middle Ages (London: Macmillan, 1970), p. 174.

[32] Writings on Christianity and History, p. 164.

[33] Rudy Wiebe, "On the Trail of Big Bear," Journal of Canadian Fiction, III, No. 2 (1974), p. 45.

NOTES: Pages 229-237

CHAPTER FIVE (cont'd)

[34]Wiebe, "On the Trail of Big Bear," p. 46.

[35]Wiebe, "On the Trail of Big Bear," p. 47.

[36]Wiebe, "On the Trail of Big Bear," p. 47.

[37]Author's note as frontispiece to the first edition of The Temptations of Big Bear (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973).

[38]Rudy Wiebe, "Personal Note," Canada Writes, s.v. "Rudy Wiebe," p. 369.

[39]Rudy Wiebe, "On the Trail of Big Bear," p. 47: "There was only Duncan Maclean [sic] left, 94 in Winnipeg when I met him, and now he too is dead."

[40]As told to Eric Wells, "On the Twilight Trail of the Fading West," The Nor-Wester, ed. Eric Wells (Winnipeg: Manitoba Centennial Corporation, 1970), pp. 37-38. Thanks to Professor Desmond Cole's vast Canadiana collection and thanks to his generosity upon his retirement, I have a copy of the booklet, which also contains excerpts of Kitty McLean's diary.

[41]Cameron interview, p. 153.

[42]The Historical Novel (1937), tr. Hannah and Stanley Mitchell, (London: Merlin Press, 1962), p. 34.

[43]See The Temptations of Big Bear, p. 41, as well as Big Bear's recognition, p. 97: "They push us, trading guns and we push too." See also David Mandelbaum, "The Plains Cree," Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, 37 (1941), pp. 155 ff. Mandelbaum believes the Cree to have been recent arrivals on the prairie, the result of a general westward movement caused by the Europeans. The Cree acted as middlemen and, by 1740, were mostly dependent on the fur trade. They got horses around 1730, but the Plains Cree differentiated themselves from the Woods Cree only as late as 1820. Wiebe appears to follow Mandelbaum quite closely, apparently deriving from Mandelbaum his information about the Thirst Dance, the pipe ceremony, and Big Bear's power bundle.

NOTES: Pages 238-260

CHAPTER FIVE (cont'd)

[44]The fate Wiebe ascribes to Little Bad Man is fictional. Imasees changed his name to Little Bear in Montana to avoid extradition. He took care of a large band. A photograph taken of him in Montana in 1895 shows a dignified and intelligent man. One taken in 1896 when Imasees was being escorted back to Canada by the U.S. cavalry shows him standing on a rock surrounded by about 35 Indians. Imasees does not look like a man living off garbage. See Peter Charlebois, The Life of Louis Riel (Toronto: NC Press, 1975), pp. 162-163.

[45]"Fifty Years on the Saskatchewan: Being a History of the Cree Indian Domestic Life and the Difficulties Which Led to Serious Agitation and Conflict of 1885 in the Battleford Locality," Canadian North-West Society Publications, Vol. I, No. 5 (1929); also, Robert Jefferson, "Incidents of the Cree Rebellion," in The Cree Rebellion of 1884, Battleford Historical Society Publications, I (1926), pp. 19-35.

[46](1926; revised 1950; rpt. Edmonton: Hurtig, 1977), pp. 9-24.

[47]Cameron, Blood Red the Sun, p. 164.

[48]Cf. Joyce, "Clay," in Dubliners; the biblical source is John 9:15: "He put clay upon mine eyes, and I washed, and do see."

[49]"Zechariah," in A Dictionary of the Bible, ed. James Hastings (New York: Scribner's, 1909), pp. 1015-1016.

[50]Wiebe's main source is John McDougall, Opening the Great West: Experiences of a Missionary in 1875-76 (Calgary: Glenbow-Alberta Institute, 1970). The buffalo hunt, the death of George McDougall, and Shaw's discovery of the dead warrior are on pages 30 ff. McDougall's advice to Sweetgrass is on pp. 57 ff. See also John McDougall, In the Days of the Red River Rebellion: 1868-1872 (Toronto: Briggs, 1903), pp. 170 ff. and p. 239: "I was indeed glad to bear witness to both Church and State as to the country and its needs."

[51]Cf. John McDougall, Opening the Great West, p. 38: "I was a little startled to find streched [sic] out at full length and sleeping his long sleep the body of a very tall man. His friends had carefully wrapped him in buffalo leather covering and somehow hoisted him up on to this huge rock. Standing beside the dead warrior I had a still wider horizon and could see still more buffalo. This was to us most encouraging."

NOTES: Pages 261-303

CHAPTER FIVE (cont')

[52](London: Sampson Lowetal, 1889), p. 158. Wiebe knows about Kitty's Indian ancestry (p. 327), but he does not emphasize it. He uses it to show Ord's racism.

[53]Walter Benjamin, The Origin of German Tragical Drama (London: NLB, 1977), p. 166.

[54]Donald Cameron interview, p. 154.

[55]C. R. North, "Servant of the Lord, The," in The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible (New York: Abingdon, 1962), IV, p. 294.

[56]David Mandelbaum, "The Plains Cree," Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, 37(1941), pp. 251-253, 258-259, et passim.

[57]William Cameron, Blood Red the Sun, p. 215.

[58]William Cameron, Blood Red the Sun, pp. 197-199.

CHAPTER SIX
The Scorched-Wood People: Anabaptist Hagiography

[1]Margaret Reimer and Sue Steiner, "Translating Life into Art: A Conversation with Rudy Wiebe," Mennonite Reporter, 3, No. 23A (Nov. 26, 1973), p. 8.

[2]Twigg interview, p. 4.

[3]NeWest Review, 1, No. 1(June, 1975), p. 6. Rpt. in A Voice in the Land, ed. W. J. Keith, pp. 158-162.

[4](Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), p. xxviii.

[5]"The Craft of Fiction: Picture, Drama, and Point of View," in Approaches to the Novel: Materials for a Poetics, ed. Robert Scholes (Scranton: Chandler, 1961), p. 267.

NOTES: Pages 305-317

CHAPTER SIX (cont'd)

[6]Twigg interview, p. 4.

[7]Rudy Wiebe, "Professional Prayer," NeWest Review, 7, No. 10 (Summer, 1982), p. 4.

[8]Morton, The Queen v Louis Riel, pp. 269-274.

[9]John H. Yoder, The Politics of Jesus (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972), p. 238.

[10]Interview with Brian Bergman, "Rudy Wiebe: Storymaker of the Prairies," The Gateway, 10 Nov. 1977, p. 11. Rpt. in A Voice in the Land, p. 168.

[11]"The Craft of Fiction," in Scholes, p. 270.

[12]Rudy Wiebe, "The Ghetto, the Launch Pad, the Desert," p. 26.

[13]"Christian Social Utopias," in Man On His Own: Essays in the Philosophy of Religion, tr. E. B. Ashton (New York: Herder and Herder, 1970), p. 118.

[14]In Search of Utopia: The Mennonites in Manitoba (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1955), p. 5.

[15]The Blue Mountains of China, p. 115.

[16]Shirley Neuman, "Unearthing Language: An Interview with Rudy Wiebe and Robert Kroetsch," in A Voice in the Land, ed. W. J. Keith, pp. 242-243. The reference to Yoder was not included in the earlier version of the interview published as "We Both Do Begin," NeWest Review, 6, No. 7(Mar. 1981), pp. 3-4, 11-12.

[17](Scottdale: Herald Press, 1971), pp. 23-24.

[18]Yoder, The Original Revolution, pp. 61, 67.

[19]Yoder, The Original Revolution, p. 97.

NOTES: Pages 317-326

CHAPTER SIX (cont'd)

[20]Yoder, The Original Revolution, pp. 95-108.

[21]Yoder, The Original Revolution, pp. 18, 29, 50, 154, 168, et passim.

[22]Yoder, The Original Revolution, pp. 77, 177, et passim.

[23]Yoder, The Politics of Jesus (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972), p. 5.

[24]Yoder, The Politics of Jesus, p. 23.

[25]Yoder, The Politics of Jesus, p. 108.

[26]Yoder, The Politics of Jesus, p. 222-224.

[27]Yoder, The Christian Witness to the State (Newton: Faith and Life Press, 1964), p. 70.

[28]Yoder, The Christian Witness to the State, p. 41.

[29]The standard histories agree on the dates, and they also agree that Parisien was mentally retarded. See, for instance, Norah Story, The Oxford Companion to Canadian History and Literature (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1967), s.v. "Red River Rebellion." What the standard histories with their inevitable centralist biases do not mention is Scott's involvement in Parisien's death. For this, see A. H. Trémaudan, "The Execution of Thomas Scott," Canadian Historical Review, 6(1925), footnote 1, pp. 228. Trémaudan cites André Nault's eye-witness account of Parisien's death. Nault testifies to Scott's violent connection with Parisien's beating. Further evidence can be found in Peter Charlebois, The Life of Louis Riel (Toronto:NC Press, 1975), pp. 61-64. Charlebois cites Mrs. Black's account given by Joseph Healy in Women of Red River (Winnipeg: Women's Canadian Club, 1923), p. 222.

NOTES: Pages 326-369

CHAPTER SIX (cont'd)

[30]Peter Charlebois, The Life of Louis Riel (Toronto: NC Press, 1975), pp. 42, 46.

[31]Neuman interview, in A Voice in the Land, p. 230.

[32](Edinburgh: Clark, 1963), ed. James Hastings, s.v. "Chiliasm."

[33]Neuman interview, in A Voice in the Land, p. 230.

[34]Thomas Flanagan, ed., The Diaries of Louis Riel (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1976), pp. 75-76.

[35]The pattern is ubiquitous in Christian literature with origins in the patristic tradition. The reader will have his own examples, but two of my favorites are Chaucer's use of the motif in Troilus and Criseyde and Flaubert's in Madame Bovary. See also D. W. Robertson, Jr., A Preface to Chaucer (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977), pp. 30, 194, 253-255, 476.

[36]Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible (New York: Abingdon, 1962), II, s.v. "Gabriel."

[37]Twigg interview, p. 4.

[38]Paul Edwards, "Reich, Wilhelm," Encyclopedia of Philosophy (1967), 7-8, p. 112.

[39]Neuman interview, in A Voice in the Land, p. 241.

[40]Yoder, The Original Revolution, p. 67.

[41]Yoder, The Christian Witness to the State, p. 35.

[42]"The Ghetto, the Launch Pad, the Desert," pp. 25-26.

NOTES: Pages 370-380

EPILOGUE

[1]Wiebe, "A Novelist's Personal Notes," University of Toronto Quarterly, 47(1978), 191-192.

[2]See, for instance, Ernst Bloch, "Man's Increasing Entry into Religious Mystery," in Man On His Own: Essays in the Philosophy of Religion, tr. E. B. Ashton (New York: Herder and Herder, 1970), p. 184: "Thus Christian faith lives by the historical reality of its founder as no other faith; essentially it means to follow a way of life, not a cult image and its cognition. This real recollection worked throughout the centuries; however internalized and spiritualized, Imitatio Christi remained primarily a historic experience, and a metaphysical one on that basis only. This concrete being of Christ mattered to believers; it gave them in intoxicating simplicity what no cult image or picture of heaven could give. The very heavens, in the sense of a mere baptized astral myth, grew empty and stale" (Bloch's italics).

[3]Rudy Wiebe and Theatre Passe Muraille, Far As the Eye Can See (Edmonton: NeWest Press, 1977), "Preface," p. 6. Further references will be incorporated in the text.

[4]See Where Is the Voice Coming From?, pp. 27-36. Adapted for television as Someday Soon for CBC's For the Record, broadcast January, 1977.

[5]Stories by Rudy Wiebe, photographs by Harry Savage, ed. Tom Radford (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1979).

[6]Rev. of Folklore of Canada, by Edith Fowke, University of Toronto Quarterly, 47(1978), 476-477.

[7]Wiebe described his job in a discussion with Peter Gzowski, 90 Minutes Live, CBC-TV, April 5, 1977.

[8](Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1980).

[9]Paul King, "Manhunt," Today Magazine, 23 Aug. 1980, pp. 12-15.

NOTES: Pages 380-388

EPILOGUE (cont'd)

[10]Wiebe's Aberhart uses the phrase in Far As the Eye Can See, p. 70.

[11]Joy-Ann Cohen, "Author Rudy Wiebe Trying Movies as a Way to 'Reach' Mass Audience," Calgary Herald, 14 Oct. 1978; also "Writer Chooses Box Office for Trapper Tale," The Gazette, 2 Nov. 1978, p. 51; "Rudy Wiebe passe à la pellicule," La Presse, 31 oct. 1978.

[12]Rudy Wiebe, "An Indication of Burning," Canadian Fiction Magazine, 32-33(1979-1980), 150-164.

[13]Rudy Wiebe, "Professional Prayer," NeWest Review, 7, No. 10(Summer, 1982), pp. 4-5.

APPENDIX I

VOICE, COUNTERPOINT, and TIME in THE BLUE MOUNTAINS OF CHINA

Vision Without Action (Of mice, cows, and weak bodies)

1. "My Life That's As It Was (1)"

   Time: 1883-1902
   Place: Saskatchewan and Manitoba
   Person: Frieda
   Theme: Peace, piety, passivity

3. "My Life That's As It Was (2)"

   Time: 1902 to April, 1927
   Place: Manitoba, New York
   Person: Frieda
   Theme: Piety on the run from evil

6. "My Life That's As It Was (3)"

   Time: May, 1927 to 1933
   Place: Chaco, Paraguay
   Person: Frieda
   Theme: Work, death, war

7. "The Well"

   Time: ca 1933
   Place: Schoenbach, Paraguay
   Person: Anna Friesen
   Theme: Abandoned daughter

10. "My Life That's As It Was (4)"

    Time: 1935-1959
    Place: Paraguay, Canada
    Person: Frieda
    Theme: Peace, plenty, and loss of face (in Canada, loss of faith)

12. "The Vietnam Call of Samuel U[3] Reimer"

    Time: ca 1966
    Place: Manitoba
    Person: Sam Reimer
    Theme: Samuel ("his name is God") calls on people to repent, but "there was no open vision" (Samuel 1, 3:1)

Synthesis of Vision and Action ("a human being, walking")

9. "Drink Ye All Of It"

   Time: ca 1935
   Place: Amur River, China
   Person: David Epp II
   Theme: Forget genealogy, you can't run away from lice, imitate Jesus (historical synthesis)

13. "On the Way" (III)

    Time: 1967
    Place: Prairie beside the highway
    Persons: Jakob IV and John Reimer
    Theme: Jakob gets his son back (contemporary synthesis)

Action Without Vision (Of lions, horses, and natural strength)

2. "Sons and Heirs"

   Time: Nov 12 to Nov 25, 1929
   Place: Karatow, Ukraine
   Person: Jakob V
   Theme: Abandoned sons, property and tribal pride, studs.

4. "Black Vulture"

   Time: November 23 to November 25, 1929 (from the perspective of 1966)
   Place: Moscow
   Person: Franz Epp
   Theme: Running from the black shadow
   Minor Synthesis: Protected son

5. "Over the Red Line"

   Time: 1930
   Place: Ocean liner crossing the equator
   Person: Elizabeth Driediger
   Theme: Abandoned daughter, plunge into nature as judgment, inadequate vision and action of the intellectual

8. "The Cloister of Lilies"

   Time: November, 1932
   Place: Abandoned cloister, Eastern Siberia
   Person: Jakob IV
   Theme: The gap between the body in prison and "the impossible waving lily fields of Mennonite childhood"--failed synthesis

11. "Wash, This Sand and Ashes"

    Time: ca 1966
    Place: Chaco desert
    Person: John Reimer (and David Epp III)
    Theme: Artist-Researcher faces the putrid body of aboriginal nature, the black shadow

13. "On the Way" (I and II)

    I. Time: 1967
       Place: Toronto Airport, plane to Calgary
       Person: Elizabeth Driediger Cereno (and Jakob IV)
       Theme: Lost intellectual as translator

    II Time: 1967
       Place: Calgary to Edmonton highway
       Persons: Dennis Williams, John Reimer et al
       Theme: The sermon in the ditch falls on deaf ears, rich men die (the end of genealogy)

APPENDIX II

Glossary to the Low German and High German of *The Blue Mountains of China*
(Page numbers refer to first occurence)

LOW GERMAN	HIGH GERMAN	ENGLISH
ackstov (p. 22)	Eckstube	corner room (largest bedroom)
atje (p. 26)	ade	adieu
awbeide (p. 19)	arbeiten	to work (Work!)
betchla (p. 8)	(English origin)	bachelor
bulchi (p. 121)	(Russian origin)	white bread
cosheet (p. 20)	Kuhscheisse	cowshit
darp (p. 193)	Dorf	village
--------	*Die Deutsche Fibel* (p. 193)	*The German Primer*
dummayoan (p. 193)	dummer Johann	Simple Simon'
etiskauste (p. 88)	Esskasten	foodbox
fiera (p. 191)	Führer	leader
foada (p. 211)	Vater	father
--------	*Friedenstimme*	*Voice of Peace* (a pietistic journal)
--------	friedlich (p. 8)	peaceful
--------	Fritz (p. 8)	Fred (mischievous boy)
(to make) froutzen (p. 8)	Fratzen (schneiden)	grimaces (to make faces)
groutestov (p. 16)	Wohnzimmer (grosse Stube)	living room
hauptcheuik (p. 11)	Hauptkirche	central church
--------	Hof (p. 13)	literally *yard* or *court* but here *farm*
--------	Kirchenbuch (p. 99)	hymnal

APPENDIX II (cont'd)

LOW GERMAN	HIGH GERMAN	ENGLISH
----------	"Kommt Ein Vogel Geflogen" (p. 103)	German folksong, significant here because of its secular nature; i.e. "dangerously" romantic emotions
Militz (p. 27)	----------	militia (here, probably civil defence)
noasch (p. 31)	Arsch	ass
nuscht (p. 21)	nichts	nothing
Ohm (p. 73)	Opa (Grossvater)	Granpaw (Old Man _____)
pribs (p. 57)	(Russian origin?)	"coffee" made from roasted barley
--------	Schlarafenland (p. 121)	fairy land
schlunga (p. 19)	Schlingel	knave
--------	Schluss (p. 7)	stop, end
--------	Schultenbot (p. 72)	town council
schundt (p. 72)	Schund	garbage, junk
schwengel(p. 31)	Schwengel	handle, here penis
sommastov (p. 16)	Sommerstube	summer room
--------	spriesel (sl) (p. 79)	sprout
Toem schinda noch immol (p. 119)	Zum Schinder noch einmal	"the devil take it"
twieback (p. 89)	Zwieback	bun(s)
velobta (p.11) velobung	Verlobter, Verlobung	fiancé, engagement
--------	Waisenamt (p. 10	Literally, "Orphans' Bureau," but here a community trust administering funds for widows and orphans
woat derchfaul (p. 190)	Wortdurchfall	verbal diarrhea
Zentralschul (p. 13)	Zentralschule	centralized high school

BIBLIOGRAPHY

I. Works by Rudy Wiebe

A. Books (in order of publication)

Peace Shall Destroy Many. Submitted as M.A. thesis, University of Alberta, 1960. Published Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1962. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1962. New Canadian Library edition, with an introduction by J. M. Robinson, 1972.

First and Vital Candle. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1966. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1966. Rpt. in paperback, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1979.

The Blue Mountains of China. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1970. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1970. New Canadian Library edition, with an introduction by W. J. Keith, 1975.

The Temptations of Big Bear. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973. New Canadian Library edition, with an introduction by Allan Bevan, 1976.

Where Is the Voice Coming From?. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974. Collected short stories: "Scrapbook," "Tudor King," "Someday Soon, Before Tomorrow," "Millstone for the Sun's Day," "There's A Muddy Road," "Did Jesus Ever Laugh?," "All On Théir Knees," "Oolulik," "Bluecoats on the Sacred Hill of the Wild Peas," "Along the Red Deer and the South Saskatchewan," "The Fish Caught in the Battle River," "Where Is the Voice Coming From?," "The Naming of Albert Johnson."

The Scorched-Wood People. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977. New Canadian Library edition, 1981.

Far As the Eye Can See. A play in collaboration with Theatre Passe Muraille. Edmonton: NeWest Press, 1977.

Alberta: A Celebration. Ed. Tom Radford. Photographs by Harry Savage. Short stories: "The Oil Capitals of Canada," "Lake Isle of Innisfree," "They Just Won't Believe," "Chinook Christmas," "The House-Smashers," "A History of the New World," "Growing Up in Rosebud," "The Funny Money of 1980," "The Angel of the Tar Sands," "The Darkness Inside the Mountain," "Bears, All the Time Bears," "After Thirty Years of Marriage," "From Montreal, 1848," "The Year We Gave Away the Land."

The Mad Trapper. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1980. Toronto: Seal Books, 1981.

I. Works by Rudy Wiebe (cont'd)

B. Short Stories (in order of publication)

"The Midnight Ride of an Alberta Boy." New Liberty Magazine (Toronto), 33, No. 7 (Sept. 1956), 22, 64, 66. Subsequently, slightly revised and retitled "Scrapbook," in Where Is the Voice Coming From? (1974).

"The Power." In New Voices: Canadian University Writing of 1956. Eds. Earle Birney et al. Toronto: Dent, 1956, pp. 128-133.

"Tudor King." Christian Living, 11, No. 12 (Dec. 1964), 10-11, 31-32. Subsequently in Where Is the Voice Coming From?; also in The Best Modern Canadian Short Stories, eds. Ivan Owen and Morris Wolfe (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1980); adapted for film, Tudor King, National Film Board, directed by Allan Kroeker, produced by Michael Scott and Jerry Krepakevich, 1979, 10 minutes.

"Incident From a Novel in Progress." Foolscap (Goshen, Indiana), 4 (Spring, 1965), 46-53. Subsequently pp. 33-59 of First and Vital Candle (1966).

"Oölulik." First published as chapter 4 of First and Vital Candle (1966), an interpolated flashback, pp. 67-84. Subsequently in The Story-Makers, ed. Rudy Wiebe (Toronto: Macmillan, 1970); also in Where Is the Voice Coming From? (1974).

"My Life: That's As It Was." Canadian Mennonite, 15, No. 24 (13 June 1967), 6; 15, No. 25 (20 June 1967), 6; 15, No. 26 (27 June 1967), 5; 15, No. 27 (4 July 1967), 5; 15, No. 28 (11 July 1967), 5; 15, No. 29 (18 July 1967), 6; 15, No. 30 (25 July 1967), 5; 15, No. 31 (8 Aug. 1967), 6; 15, No. 32 (15 Aug. 1967), 13. See also "The Blue Mountains of China: My Life: That's As It Was," Mosaic, 3, No. 3 (Spring, 1970), 154-161. Subsequently chapters 1, 3, 6, and 10 of The Blue Mountains of China (1970).

"Black Vulture." The Mennonite, 82, No. 25 (20 June 1967), 410-415. Subsequently in Christian Living, 14, No. 7 (July 1967), 20-25; in Mennonite Brethren Herald, 6, No. 25 (21 July 1967), 2-6; tr. by Ingrid Janzen as "Der Schwarze Geier," and published in Der Bote (Saskatoon), 44, Nos. 27, 28, 29 (27 June, 4 July, 11 July 1967), p. 11 in each number. Subsequently chapter 4 of The Blue Mountains of China (1970).

I. Works by Rudy Wiebe (cont'd)

B. Short Stories (cont'd)

"Millstone For the Sun's Day." Tamarack Review, 44 (Summer, 1967), 56-64. Subsequently in The Narrative Voice: Short Stories and Reflections by Canadian Writers, ed. John Metcalf (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1972); in Where Is the Voice Coming From? (1974).

"Over the Red Line." The Mennonite, 82, No. 28 (18 July 1967), 6. Subsequently in Christian Living, 14, No. 8 (Aug. 1967), 20-23; in Mennonite Brethren Herald, 6, No. 29 (8 Sept. 1967), 4-6; tr. by Ingrid Janzen as "Ueber die Rote Linie" and published in Der Bote (Saskatoon), 44, Nos. 30-31 (18 July, 25 July 1967), p. 11 in both nos. Subsequently chapter 5 of The Blue Mountains of China (1970).

"The Well." The Mennonite, 82, No. 30 (15 Aug. 1967), 502-505. Subsequently in Christian Living, 14, No. 9 (Sept. 1967), 20-23; in Mennonite Brethren Herald, 6, No. 33 (6 Oct. 1967); 4-6; in Pluck, 1, No. 2 (Spring 1968), 31-36; tr. by Ingrid Janzen as "Der Brunnen" and published in Der Bote (Saskatoon), 44, Nos. 32-33 (15 Aug., 22 Aug. 1967), 11-12, 11. Subsequently chapter 7 of The Blue Mountains of China (1970).

"All On Their Knees." The Mennonite, 83, No. 46 (17 Dec. 1968), 778-783. Subsequently in Mennonite Brethren Herald, 10, No. 24 (3 Dec. 1971), 2-6; revised for Where Is the Voice Coming From? (1974).

"Did Jesus Ever Laugh?". Fiddlehead, 84 (Mar.-Apr. 1970), 40-52. Subsequently in Stories From Western Canada, ed. Rudy Wiebe (Toronto: Macmillan, 1972); in Where Is the Voice Coming From? (1974).

"Where Is the Voice Coming From?". In Fourteen Stories High. Eds. David Helwig and Tom Marshall. Ottawa: Oberon, 1971, pp. 112-121. Subsequently in The Narrative Voice, ed. John Metcalf (1972); in Where Is the Voice Coming From? (1974); in Personal Fictions, ed. Michael Ondaatje (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1977); in Horizon: Writings of of the Canadian Prairies, ed. Ken Mitchell (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1977); in Modern Stories in English, ed. W. H. New and H. J. Rosengarten (New York: Crowell, 1975); in Fiction of Contemporary Canada, ed. George Bowering (Toronto: Coach House Press, 1980).

I. Works by Rudy Wiebe (cont'd)

B. Short Stories (cont'd)

"The Fish Caught in the Battle River." White Pelican, 1, No. 4 (Fall 1971), 33-37. Subsequently in Where Is the Voice Coming From? (1974).

"Bluecoats on the Sacred Hill of the Wild Peas." In The Star-Spangled Beaver. Ed. John Redekop. Toronto: Peter Martin, 1971, pp. 46-54. Subsequently in Where Is the Voice Coming From? (1974).

"Son of McDougall." CBC Radio, 1972.

"Grand Pursuit of Big Bear." Fiddlehead, 95 (Fall 1972), 3-12. Subsequently Part V, chapter 5, of The Temptations of Big Bear (1973), pp. 315-328. The whole section is excerpted, with some changes, from Lewis Redman Ord, Reminiscences of a Bungle by One of the Bunglers (Toronto: Grip, 1887).

"Along the Red Deer and the South Saskatchewan." Prism International, 12, No. 3 (Spring 1973), 47-56. Subsequently in Where Is the Voice Coming From? (1974); Personal Fictions, ed. Ondaatje (1977); in Wild Rose Country: Stories From Alberta, ed. Dick Carpenter (Ottawa: Oberon, 1977).

"Buffalo Run." Journal of Canadian Fiction, 2 (Spring 1973), 39-41. Subsequently Part II, chapter 5, of The Temptations of Big Bear (1973). Also, in shortened form, "The Last Buffalo," in Native People in Canadian Literature, eds. William and Christine Mowat (Toronto: Macmillan, 1975).

"How the People Used to Make Treaties." White Pelican, 3, No. 2 (Spring 1973), 58-64. Subsequently part of Part II, chapter 6, of The Temptations of Big Bear (1973).

"The Naming of Albert Johnson." Queen's Quarterly, 80 (Autumn 1973), 370-378. Subsequently in Where Is the Voice Coming From? (1974); in Stories From Pacific and Arctic Canada, eds. Rudy Wiebe and Andreas Schroeder (Toronto: Macmillan, 1974); in Personal Fictions, ed. Ondaatje (1977); in Canadian Short Stories: Third Series, ed. Robert Weaver (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1978).

I. Works by Rudy Wiebe (cont'd)

B. Short Stories (cont'd)

"Scrapbook." In Where Is the Voice Coming From? (1974). Revised version of Wiebe's first story, "The Midnight Ride of an Alberta Boy."

"Someday Soon, Before Tomorrow." In Where Is the Voice Coming From? (1974). Adapted for CBC television, Someday Soon, broadcast on For the Record, January, 1977.

"There's a Muddy Road." In Where Is the Voice Coming From? (1974).

"At the Sand Hills." In Native People in Canadian Literature. Eds. William and Christine Mowat. Toronto: Macmillan, 1975, pp. 38-39. (A reprint of the last four paragraphs of The Temptations of Big Bear, 1973)..

"The Last Buffalo." In Native People in Canadian Literature (1975). (A reprint of Part Two, chapter five, of The The Temptations of Big Bear (1973).

"Games For Queen Victoria." Saturday Night, 91 (March 1976), 60-67. Subsequently in More Stories From Western Canada, ed. Rudy Wiebe (Toronto: Macmillan, 1980).

"Home For the Night." NeWest Review, 1 (April 1976), 6-7,9.

"Hunting McDougall: 1869." Fiddlehead, 108 (Winter 1976), 17-24. Subsequently part of Part One, chapter 1, of The Scorched-Wood People (1977)

"Batoche. May 12, 1885." In Divided We Stand. Ed. Gary Geddes. Toronto: Peter Martin, 1977, pp. 26-30. Subsequently part of Part Three, chapter 3, of The Scorched-Wood People (1977).

"The Vietnam Call of Samuel U. Reimer." In Personal Fictions. Ed. Ondaatje. 1977. (A reprint of chapter 12 of The Blue Mountains of China, 1970.)

"The Year We Gave the Away the Land." Weekend Magazine, 9 July 1977, pp. 14, 16. Subsequently in Alberta: A Celebration (1979).

I. Works by Rudy Wiebe (cont'd)

B. Short Stories (cont'd)

"Riding West From Duck Lake." In Best Mounted Police Stories. Ed. Dick Harrison. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1978, pp. 72-93. (A reprint of Part Three, chapter 2, of The Scorched-Wood People, 1977.)

"In the Beaver Hills." In Aurora: New Canadian Writing, 1978. Ed. Morris Wolfe. Toronto: Doubleday, 1978, pp. 71-80.

"After Thirty Years of Marriage." Canadian Forum, 58 (Oct.-Nov. 1978), 36-40. Subsequently in Alberta: A Celebration (1979).

"Chinook Christmas." NeWest Review, 4 (Dec. 1978), 8-9, 12. Subsequently in Alberta: A Celebration (1979).

"The Good Maker." Mennonite Brethren Herald, 18 (16 Feb. 1979), 7-10.

"The Oil Capitals of Canada." In Alberta: A Celebration (1979).

"Lake Isle of Innisfree." In Alberta: A Celebration (1979).

"They Just Won't Believe." In Alberta: A Celebration (1979).

"The House-Smashers." In Alberta: A Celebration (1979).

"A History of the New World." In Alberta: A Celebration (1979).

"Growing Up in Rosebud." In Alberta: A Celebration (1979).

"The Funny Money of 1980." In Alberta: A Celebration (1979).

"The Angel of the Tar Sands." In Alberta: A Celebration (1979).

"The Darkness Inside the Mountain." In Alberta: A Celebration (1979).

"Bears, All the Time Bears." In Alberta: A Celebration (1979).

"From Montreal, 1848." In Alberta: A Celebration (1979).

"An Indication of Burning." Canadian Fiction Magazine, No. 32-33 (1979-1980), 150-164.

I. Works by Rudy Wiebe (cont'd)

B. Short Stories (cont'd)

"The Broken Arm." Canadian Forum, 61 (March 1982), 24-29. (A revised and much extended version of "In the Beaver Hills," in Aurora: New Canadian Writing, 1978, ed. Wolfe.)

"Professional Prayer." NeWest Review, 7, No. 10 (Summer, 1982), 4-5. (An excerpt from a novel in progress.)

C. Short Story Anthologies Edited by Rudy Wiebe (in order of publication)

The Story-Makers. Toronto: Macmillan, 1970.

Stories From Western Canada. Toronto: Macmillan, 1972.

Stories From Pacific and Arctic Canada. With Andreas Schroeder. Toronto: Macmillan, 1974.

Double Vision: An Anthology of Twentieth-Century Stories In English. Toronto: Macmillan, 1976.

Getting Here. Edmonton: NeWest Press, 1977.

More Stories From Western Canada. With Aritha Van Herk. Toronto: Macmillan, 1980.

D. Articles, Essays, Reviews, Addresses, Poems (in chronological order)

"New Year's Eve in the Rockies." Stet, 4 (Feb. 1956), 9-12. (Poem)

"Claude Gallinger and his Killearn Shorthorns." TS, 11-380, held by the Glenbow-Alberta Institute, Calgary. 103 pages. (Probably written while Wiebe was a student researcher for the Glenbow Foundation in 1956.)

"Muffled Return." Foolscap (Goshen), 5 (Spring 1966), 3. (Poem written in 1958.)

"Fall Sunday in Hyde Park." Foolscap (Goshen), 5 (Spring 1966), 3. (Poem written in 1958.)

"Voices." Foolscap (Goshen), 5 (Spring 1966), 40-41. (Poem written in 1959.)

I. Works by Rudy Wiebe (cont'd)

D. Articles, Essays, Reviews, Addresses, Poems (cont'd)

"An Author Speaks About His Novel." Canadian Mennonite, 11 (11 April 1963), 8. Reprinted in A Voice in the Land (1981).

"Can Something Be Done About the Bride-Centred Wedding." The Mennonite, 78, No. 20 (28 May 1963), 362. (A reprint of Wiebe's Mennonite Brethren Herald editorial "In the Spotlight at the Wedding," 8 June, 1962. See section E below.)

"Pastoral Leadership." Mennonite Brethren Herald, 3, No. 3 (17 Jan. 1964) 4-5.

"For the Mennonite Churches: A Last Chance." Christian Living, 11, No. 6 (June 1964), 26-28. Reprinted in The Mennonite, 79 (28 July 1964), 467-469; revised and reprinted as "Last Chance For Mennonites?: We Must Leave our Middle Class Cultural Paradise and Strive for our Spiritual Heritage," in Canadian Mennonite, 14, No. 3 (18 Jan. 1966), 7; first version reprinted in A Voice in the Land (1981).

"Tombstone Community." Mennonite Life, 19, No. 4 (Oct. 1964) 150-153.

"The Artist as a Critic and a Witness." Christian Living, 12, No. 3 (March 1965), 20-23, 40. (An address given at Pacific College, Dec. 10, 1964). Reprinted "The Artist as Witness To and Critic Of Society," Journal of Church and Society (Direction), 1 (Fall 1965), 45-57; also reprinted in a shortened version in A Voice in the Land (1981). I have not seen the first version, which Professor Keith probably used in VL. If so, then Wiebe expanded the essay for The Journal of Church and Society.

"Maybe You Need a Sabbatical." Mennonite Brethren Herald, 4, No. 41 (12 Nov. 1965), 4-5.

"Moros and Mennonites in the Chaco of Paraguay." Canadian Mennonite, 14, No. 47 (29 Nov. 1966), 1, 7. Reprinted in A Voice in the Land (1981).

"The Peter Neudorfs of Filadelfia, Paraguay." Christian Living, 14, No. 5 (May 196[illegible]), 4-6.

I. Works by Rudy Wiebe (cont'd)

D. Articles, Essays, Reviews, Addresses, Poems (cont'd)

"The Meaning of Being Mennonite Brethren." Mennonite Brethren Herald, 9, No. 3 (17 April 1970), 2-4. Reprinted in A Voice in the Land (1981).

"Introduction." In The Story-Makers. Ed. Rudy Wiebe. Toronto: Macmillan, 1970, pp. ix-xxx.

"The Ghetto, the Launch Pad, the Desert." Mennonite Brethren Herald, 10, No. 2 (22 Jan. 1971), 23-26. (A paper presented to The Study Conference on the Ministry, March 5-6, 1970.)

"Passage By Land." Canadian Literature, 48 (Spring, 1971), 25-27. Reprinted in Writers of the Prairies, ed. Donald Stephens (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1973), pp. 129-131; expanded for The Narrative Voice: Short Stories and Reflections by Canadian Authors, ed. John Metcalf (Toronto/Montreal: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1972), pp. 256-260.

"Pushed Back to the Ridge." Rev. of The Humback, by Mort Forer. Canadian Literature, 48 (Spring 1971), 86-87.

"Western Canadian Fiction: Past and Future." Western American Literature, 6 (Spring 1971), 21-30.

"A Clutch of Books About Canadian Indians." Rev. of Red on White: the Biography of Duke Redbird, by Marty Dunn; rev. of There is My People Sleeping, by Sarain Stump; rev. of Sacred Legends of the Sandy Lake Cree, by James Stevens; rev. of The Treaties of Canada with the Indians of Manitoba and the North-West Territories, by Alexander Morris. White Pelican, I, No. 4 (Fall 1971), 61-63.

"Guys Who Stay Out in the Cold." Rev. of Seasons of the Eskimo, by Fred Bruemmer; rev. of Nunaga: My Land, My Country, by Duncan Pryde. Books in Canada, 1 (Dec. 1971), 7-8.

"Songs of the Canadian Eskimo." Canadian Literature, 52 (Spring 1972), 57-69.

I. Works by Rudy Wiebe (cont'd)

D. Articles, Essays, Reviews, Addresses, Poems (cont'd)

"Womb With a View." Address given at The Learned Societies Conference, McGill, 1972. CBC broadcast, Ideas, June, 1972. Available on phonotape, The Writer in Canada, CBC Learning Systems, 1973, cat. 861.

"Introduction." In Stories From Western Canada. Toronto: Macmillan, 1972, pp. ix-xiv.

"A Literary Mismatch." Rev. of The Style of Innocence, by Fraser Sutherland. Books in Canada, 2, No. 1 (Jan.-Feb. 1973), 30-31.

"More Story-Tellers Are Needed," Mennonite Reporter, 3, No. 4 (19 Feb. 1973), 10.

"Wise and Witty Testaments." Rev. of Voices of the Plains Cree, by Edward Ahenakew. Edmonton Journal, 3 Nov. 1973.

"On the Trail of Big Bear." Journal of Canadian Fiction, 3, No. 2 (1974), 45-48. Reprinted in A Voice in the Land (1981).

"Review Article: The Year of the Indian." Rev. of Across the Medicine Line, by C. Frank Turner; rev. of Wilderness Man, by Lovat Dickson; rev. of Gone Indian, by Robert Kroetsch. Dalhousie Review, 54 (Spirng 1974), 164-167.

"Introduction." In Stories From Pacific and Arctic Canada. Eds. Andreas Schroeder and Rudy Wiebe. Toronto: Macmillan, 1974, pp. 203-204. (Wiebe's introduction is to the Arctic section.)

"Riel: A Possible Film Treatment." NeWest Review, 1, No. 1 (June 1975), 6. Reprinted in A Voice in the Land (1981).

"All That's Left of Big Bear." Maclean's, 88 (Sept. 1975), 53-55. Reprinted in its original, longer form in A Voice in the Land (1981), under the original title, "Bear Spirit in a Strange Land." (W. J. Keith's annotation in Epic Fiction: The Art of Rudy Wiebe, 1981.)

"Introduction." In Double Vision: An Anthology of Twentieth-Century Stories in English. Ed. Rudy Wiebe. Toronto: Macmillan, 1976, pp. ix-xi.

I. Works by Rudy Wiebe (cont'd)

D. Articles, Essays, Reviews, Addresses, Poems (cont'd)

"In the West, Sir John A. Is a Bastard and Riel a Saint. Ever Ask Why?" Toronto Globe and Mail, 25 March 1978, p. 6.

"A Novelist's Personal Notes on Frederick Philip Grove." University of Toronto Quarterly, 47 (Spring 1978), 189-199.

Review of Folklore of Canada, by Edith Fowke. University of Toronto Quarterly, 47 (Summer 1978), 476-477.

"The Death and Life of Albert Johnson: Collected Notes on a Possible Legend." In Figures in a Ground: Canadian Essays on Modern Literature Collected in Honour of Sheila Watson. Eds. Diane Bessai and David Jackel. Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1978, pp. 219-246.

"New Land, Ancient Land." In The New Land: Studies in a Literary Theme. Eds. Richard Chadbourne and Hallvard Dahlie. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1978, 1-4. Paper presented at a workshp at the University of Calgary, August 1-5, 1977, sponsored by The Calgary Institute For the Humanities.

"Introduction." In More Stories From Western Canada. Eds. Rudy Wiebe and Aritha Van Herk. Toronto: Macmillan, 1980, pp. vi-viii.

E. Editorials in Mennonite Brethren Herald

"Prospectus." 1, No. 1 (19 Jan. 1962), 4.

"Christianity That Doesn't." 1, No. 2 (26 Jan. 1962), 4.

"Wasted Youth." 1, No. 3 (2 Feb. 1962), 4.

"Not Accepted by the Mission Board." 1, No. 4 (9 Feb. 1962), 4.

"A Starry Crown." 1, No. 5 (16 Feb. 1962), 4.

"Competition Between Churches?" 1, No. 6 (23 Feb. 1962), 4.

"Recognizing Ourselves." 1, No. 8 (9 March 1962), 4.

I. Works by Rudy Wiebe (cont'd)

E. Editorials in Mennonite Brethren Herald (cont'd)

"Away From the Mennonite Masses." 1, No. 9 (16 March 1962), 4.

"Grant Them Rest." 1, No. 10 (23 March 1962), 4.

"Old Myths Revisited: Honesty Is the Best Policy." 1, No. 11 (30 March 1962), 4.

"Bridging Old-Young Ignorance." 1, No. 12 (6 April 1962), 4.

"To Church at Easter: Just To Make Sure." 1, No. 13 (13 April 1962), 4.

"Let There Be Light." 1, No. 14 (19 April 1962), 4.

"The Church and Politics." 1, No. 15 (27 April 1962), 4.

"Evaluative Criticism: An Essential in the Church." 1, No. 15 (27 April 1962), 4.

"A Mother For the 'Sixties." 1, No. 16 (4 May 1962), 4.

"Conscription For Military Service." 1, No. 17 (11 May 1962), 4.

"Christianity in the Grey Zone." 1, No. 18 (18 May 1962), 4.

"New Faces Needed at the Conference." 1, No. 19 (25 May 1962), 4.

"Old Proverbs Revisited: the Bow Kept Taut Is Useless on the Day of Battle." 1, No. 20 (1 June 1962), 4.

"In the Spotlight at the Window." 1, No. 21 (8 June 1962), 4.

"The Unbound Gospel." 1, No. 23 (22 June 1962), 4.

"If Your Right Hand Causes You to Sin, Cut It Off." 1, No. 24 (29 June 1962), 4.

"Accident." 1, No. 25 (13 July 1962), 4

"The Fifty-Second Conference of the Mennonite Brethren Church of Canada." 1, No. 25 (13 July 1962), 5-7, 15.

I. Works by Rudy Wiebe (cont'd)

E. Editorials in Mennonite Brethren Herald (cont'd)

"Not Yet Attained, But Still Trying." 1, No. 26 (20 July 1962), 4.

"An Expanding Project Needs Workers." 1, No. 27 (27 July 1962), 4.

"Opening For Modern Martyrs." 1, No. 27 (27 July 1962), 4.

"Dating That is not Courtship." 1, No. 28 (3 Aug. 1962), 4.

"On Exhibition For Christ." 1, No. 30 (17 Aug. 1962), 4.

"Part of Something Big." 1, No. 31 (24 Aug. 1962), 4.

"Our Bible Schools: A Modern Necessity." 1, No. 32 (31 Aug. 1962), 3.

"Vocation: How Do I Decide?" 1, No. 33 (7 Sept. 1962), 5-7.

"Staying Informed." 1, No. 34 (14 Sept. 1962), 3.

"Putting Away Imperfection." 1, No. 35 (21 Sept. 1962), 3.

"Primacy Over the Family." 1, No. 36 (28 Sept. 1962), 3.

"Only the Proud Know Not to Praise." 1, No. 37 (5 Oct. 1962), 3.

"The Beauty of Learning to Know." 1, No. 38 (12 Oct. 1962), 3.

"Sincerity Is Not Enough." 1, No. 39 (19 Oct. 1962), 3.

"Foreign Missions Across the Street." 1, No. 40 (26 Oct. 1962), 3.

"Faith in the Red Button." 1, No. 41 (2 Nov. 1962), 3.

"The Gentilesse of the Gospel." 1, No. 42 (9 Nov. 1962), 3.

"Quebec." 1, No. 43 (16 Nov. 1962), 3.

"Why Bother With Mennonite History." 1, No. 44 (23 Nov. 1962), 3.

"A Sunday For the Dead." 1, No. 45 (30 Nov. 1962), 3.

"Beyond the Not-So-Golden Mean." 1, No. 46 (7 Dec. 1962), 3.

I. Works by Rudy Wiebe (cont'd)

E. Editorials in Mennonite Brethren Herald (cont'd)

"The More-Christian Vocation Myth." 1, No. 47 (14 Dec. 1962), 3.

"Light at Christmas." 1, No. 48 (21 Dec. 1962), 3.

"Forming New Churches." 1, No. 48 (21 Dec. 1962), 3.

"Church Prospect 1963: Speaking." 2, No. 1 (4 Jan. 1963), 3.

"Church Prospect 1963: Writing." 2, No. 2 (11 Jan. 1963), 3.

"Church Prospect 1963: Praying." 2, No. 3 (18 Jan. 1963), 3.

"Sound Approach to a Problem." 2, No. 3 (18 Jan. 1963), 20.

"Hard Words From Young People." 2, No. 4 (25 Jan. 1963), 3.

"Read the Bible in 1963." 2, No. 4 (25 Jan. 1963), 3.

"Hope in Christ and the Church." 2, No. 5 (1 Feb. 1963), 3.

"Counting on the Conference." 2, No. 6 (8 Feb. 1963), 3.

"Mother is a Person." 2, No. 7 (15 Feb. 1963), 3.

"The Need To Confess." 2, No. 8 (22 Feb. 1963), 3.

"Avoiding the High School Hothouse." 2, No. 9 (1 March 1963), 3.

"The High School at the Front." 2, No. 10 (8 March 1963), 3.

"Gratitude For Canada." 2, No. 11 (15 March 1963), 3.

"The World We Live In." 2, No. 12 (22 March 1963), 3.

"A Time For Prayer." 2, No. 13 (29 March 1963), 3.

"Annual Tour of Our College Choir." 2, No. 14 (29 March 1963), 3.

"The Way We Go." 2, No. 14 (5 April 1963), 3.

"Significant Christian Drama." 2, No. 15 (11 April 1963), 3.

"The Blessedness of Being Miserable." 2, No. 16 (19 April 1963), 3.

I. Works By Rudy Wiebe (cont'd)

E. Editorials in Mennonite Brethren Herald (cont'd)

"Automation in the Church." 2, No. 17 (26 April 1963), 3.

"Honor--And Obedience--Is Due." 2, No. 19 (10 May 1963), 3.

"The Sin of Idolatry." 2, No. 2 (17 May 1963), 3.

"Essentials in the Ascension." 2, No. 21 (24 May 1963), 3.

"Graduation." 2, No. 22 (31 May 1963), 3.

"Church Conferences." 2, No. 22 (31 May 1963), 3.

"Saved! Saved!" 2, No. 23 (7 June 1963), 3.

"An Extra Hour." 2, No. 24 (14 June 1963), 3.

"Moral Decay: A Time For Salt." 2, No. 24 (14 June 1963), 3.

"A Personal Word To Friends." 2, No. 25 (21 June 1963), 3.

"The Rule Book and the Principle." 2, No. 26 (28 June 1963), 3.

F. Unpublished Works

Apart from the manuscript held by the Glenbow-Alberta Institute, Calgary (11-380, "Claude Gallinger and his Killearn Shorthorns"), the Wiebe papers (2.7 metres) are held by the University of Calgary. See Canadian Authors Manuscripts, Occasional Paper Number 2, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, The University of Calgary Library, pp. 12-13. Unfortunately, I have not been able to go to Calgary to consult these papers.

II. Secondary Materials: Criticism, Interviews, Profiles Making Reference to Rudy Wiebe

Bailey, Bruce. "Soft-Boiled Exile." Rev. of Far As the Eye Can See, by Rudy Wiebe. Canadian Forum, 59 (April 1979), 29-30.

Bailey, Don. "Take Five." Rev. of Stories From Western Canada, ed. Rudy Wiebe. Queen's Quarterly, 80 (1973), 104.

II. Secondary Materials: Criticism, Interviews, and Profiles Making Reference to Rudy Wiebe

Barbour, Douglas. "Original People." Rev. of The Temptations of Big Bear. Canadian Literature, 61 (1974), 82-84.

_____. Rev. of The Scorched-Wood People. Pacific Northwest Review of Books, May 1978, p. 14.

Barker, Edna. Rev. of The Scorched-Wood People. Canadian Book Review Annual, 1977. Toronto: Peter Martin Associates, 1978, p. 120.

Bergman, Brian. "An Interview With Rudy Wiebe: Storymaker of the Prairies." The Gateway, 10 Nov. 1977, pp. 9-11. Reprinted in A Voice in the Land (1981).

_____. "Canadian Contradiction--Scorched Wood People." The Gateway, 10 Nov. 1977, p. 11.

Bessai, Diane. "Canadian Docu-Drama." Canadian Theatre Review, 16 (Fall 1977), 7-10.

Bevan, Allan. "Introduction." The Temptations of Big Bear. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976. (NCL edition.)

_____. Rev. of The Temptations of Big Bear. Dalhousie Review, 54 (1974), 377-379.

Bilan, R. P. "Wiebe and Religious Struggle." Canadian Literature, 77 (1978), 50-63.

_____. "Fiction." Rev. of The Scorched-Wood People. University of Toronto Quarterly, 47 (1978), 335-338. Reprinted in A Voice in the Land (1981).

Bowsfield, Hartwell. Review of The Scorched-Wood People. Canadian Ethnic Studies, 10 (1978), 185-186.

Buckley, Marjorie. Review of Peace Shall Destroy Many. Alberta Historical Review, 11 (1963), 29-30.

Cameron, Donald. "Quick, Name 55 New Canadian Writers." Maclean's, 84, No. 7 (July, 1971), 72.

_____. "Rudy Wiebe: The Moving Stream is Perfectly at Rest." In Conversations With Canadian Novelists, Part Two. Toronto: Macmillan, 1972, pp. 146-160.

II. Secondary Materials: Criticism, Interviews, and Profiles Making Reference to Rudy Wiebe

Carpenter, Dave. "Primitive Present." Rev. of The Mad Trapper. Canadian Literature, 89 (1981), 129-131.

Christy, Jim. "A Personal Christianity." Rev. of The Blue Mountains of China. Saturday Night, 86 (April 1971), 26, 28.

Cohen, Joy-Ann. "Author Rudy Wiebe Trying Movies as a Way to 'Reach' Mass Audience." Calgary Herald, 14 Oct. 1978. This article, given by W. J. Keith, must be the origin of the CP wire service stories "Rudy Wiebe Passe à la Pellicule, La Presse, 31 Oct. 1978; "Writer Chooses Box Office for Trapper Tale," The Gazette, 2 Nov. 1978, p. 51.

Colson, T. Rev. of Stories From Western Canada. Fiddlehead, 91 (1972), 124-125.

Compston, C. N. Rev. of The Temptations of Big Bear. Canadian Author and Bookman, 49, No. 2 (Winter 1973), 23.

Davey, Frank. "Rudy Wiebe." From There to Here. Erin: Press Porcepic, 1974, pp. 265-269. (Volume II of Our Nature--Our Voices.)

Dawe, Alan. "Untaped Interviews." Event, 4 (1974), 33-40.

DeVisser, John. Rev. of Alberta: A Celebration. Beaver, 310 (Winter 1979), 62.

Dixon, Michael. "Big Bear's Visions." Rev. of The Temptations of Big Bear. Canadian Forum, 53 (Nov.-Dec. 1973), 30.

Doerksen, Daniel W. "Looking For a Place to Call Their Own." Rev. of The Blue Mountains of China. Mennonite Brethren Herald, 10, No. 2 (22 Jan. 1971), 22-23.

_____. Rev. of The Blue Mountains of China. Fiddlehead, 88 (Winter 1971), 98-102.

_____. Rev. of The Temptations of Big Bear. Fiddlehead, 105 (Spring, 1975), 128-129.

Doerksen, Victor G. "The Rehabilitation of Big Bear: Another Rudy Wiebe Novel." Mennonite Reporter, 26 Nov. 1973, A8.

II. Secondary Materials: Criticism, Interviews, and Profiles Making Reference to Rudy Wiebe (cont'd)

_____. "The Style of Peace Shall Destroy Many." Aion, A Journal of Cogitation (Winnipeg), 3 (May 1963), 13-15.

Dudek, Louis. Cited in an opinion poll. Books in Canada 8, No. 1 (Jan. 1979), 4.

Dueck, Allan. "A Sense of the Past." Rev. of The Temptations of Big Bear. Journal of Canadian Fiction, 2 (Fall 1973), 88-91.

_____. "Rudy Wiebe as Storyteller: Vision and Art in Wiebe's Fiction." M.A. thesis. University of Alberta, 1974.

_____. "Rudy Wiebe's Approach to Historical Fiction: A Study of The Temptations of Big Bear and The Scorched-People." In The Canadian Novel: Here and Now. Ed. John Moss. Toronto: NC Press, 1978, 182-200.

Duffy, Dennis. Rev. of The Scorched-Wood People. Queen's Quarterly, 85 (1978), 518-519.

Engel, Marian. Rev. of The Scorched-Wood People. The Canadian Reader. 18, No. 10 (Dec. 1977), 5-7.

Esche, Sandra. Rev. of Where Is the Voice Coming From?. Tamarack Review, 64 (1974), 85.

Ferris, Ina. "Religious Vision and Fictional Form: Rudy Wiebe's The Blue Mountains of China." Mosaic 11 (1978), 79-85. Reprinted in A Voice in the Land (1981).

Garebian, Keith. "The Saga of Riel." Rev. of The Scorched-Wood People. The Montreal Star, 7 Jan. 1978, E3.

Giesbrecht, Herbert. "'O Life, How Naked and How Hard When Known!' A Comprehensive Review of a Controversial Novel that Destroyed the Peace of Many." The Canadian Mennonite, 11 (22 March 1963), 5, 8-9. Reprinted in A Voice in the Land (1981).

Goldie, Terry. "Contemporary Views of an Aboriginal Past: Rudy Wiebe and Patrick White." Paper given at the European Association for Commonwealth Literature and Language Studies, Triennial Conference, Frankfurt, West Germany, 1979.

II. Secondary Materials: Criticism, Interviews, and Profiles Making Reference to Rudy Wiebe (cont'd)

Goldie, Terry. Videotape Interview with Rudy Wiebe. Educational Television Centre, Memorial University, St. John's, Newfoundland. A1B 3X8.

Gzowski, Peter. Television Interview. CBC-TV, 90 Minutes Live, 5 April, 1977.

Hancock, Maxine. "Wiebe: A Voice Crying in the Wilderness." Christianity Today, 23 (16 Feb. 1979), 30-31.

Harder, Bernie. "Let My People Go: Rudy Wiebe's The Blue Mountains of China." Canadian Mennonite, 47 (4 Dec. 1970), 7.

Harrison, Dick. "The Beginnings of Prairie Fiction." Journal of Canadian Fiction, 4, No. 1 (1975), 159-177.

_____. Unnamed Country: The Struggle For a Canadian Prairie Fiction. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1977.

Hilts, Dan. "The Heavy Brigade." Rev. of Alberta: A Celebration. Books in Canada (Nov. 1979), 17-18.

Jeffrey, David. "Biblical Hermeneutic and Family History in Contemporary Canadian Fiction: Wiebe and Laurence." Mosaic, 11, No. 3 (Spring 1978), 87-106.

_____. "A Search For Peace: Prophecy and Parable in the Fiction of Rudy Wiebe." In A Voice in the Land. Ed. W. J. Keith. Edmonton: NeWest Press, 1981, pp. 179-201.

Jeshke, Marlin. Rev. of Peace Shall Destroy Many. Mennonite Quarterly Review, 37 (Oct. 1963), 335-337.

Kavanagh, Nancy. Rev. of First and Vital Candle. Canadian Author and Bookman, 42 (1966), 19.

Keith, W. J. Epic Fiction: The Art of Rudy Wiebe. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1981.

_____. "From Document to Art: Wiebe's Historical Short Stories and Their Sources." Studies in Canadian Literature, 4 (1979), 106-119.

II. Secondary Materials: Criticism, Interviews, and Profiles Making Reference to Rudy Wiebe (cont'd)

Keith, W. J. "Introduction." The Blue Mountains of China. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975, pp. 1-6.

_____. Rev. of Alberta: A Celebration. Fiddlehead, 124 (1980), 112-115.

_____, ed. A Voice in the Land: Essays By and About Rudy Wiebe. Edmonton: NeWest Press, 1981.

King, Carlyle. Rev. of Peace Shall Destroy Many. Saskatchewan History, 16 (1963), 38-39.

King, Paul. "Manhunt." Today Magazine, 23 Aug. 1980, 12-15.

Klassen, Peter. "Peace! And There Is No Peace." Mennonite Brethren Herald, 1, No. 38 (12 Oct. 1962).

Kostash, Myrna. "A White Man's View of Big Bear." Saturday Night, 89 (Feb. 1974), 32-33.

_____. Rev. of Alberta: A Celebration. Quill and Quire, 46, No. 1 (Jan. 1980), 25.

Kroetsch, Robert. "Mirror, mirror, show us all." Rev. of The Scorched-Wood People. Books in Canada, 7, No. 1 (Jan. 1978), 14.

_____. Unhiding the Hidden: Recent Canadian Fiction." Journal of Canadian Fiction, 3, No. 3 (1974), 43-45.

Lecker, Robert. "Wiebe and Riel." Essays On Canadian Writing, 10 (Spring 1978), 129-233.

Letkeman, Jake. "A Novel By a Mennonite Author." The Canadian Mennonite, 12 Oct. 1962, p. 8.

MaSween, R. J. Rev. of The Temptations of Big Bear. Antigonish Review, 18 (1974), 105.

Mandel, Eli. "Where the Voice Comes From." Quill and Quire, 40, No. 12 (Dec. 1974), 4, 20. Reprinted in A Voice in the Land (1981).

Mansbridge, Francis. "Wiebe's Sense of Community." Canadian Literature, 77 (1978), 42-49.

II. Secondary Materials: Criticism, Interviews, and Profiles Making Reference to Rudy Wiebe (cont'd)

Martinson, F. G. "Meet Rudy Wiebe." Canadian Review, 1, No. 2 (April 1974), 9.

Mattison, David. Rev. of Alberta: A Celebration. In Canadian Book Review Annual, 1979. Toronto: Peter Martin Associates, 1980, pp. 50-51.

McCourt, Edward. The Canadian West in Fiction. Revised ed. Toronto: Ryerson, 1970, pp. 80-82.

McMullen, Lorraine. "A Conversation With Leo Simpson." Journal of Canadian Fiction, 4, No. 1[13] (1975), 111-120.

McMullin Stan. "Wiebe, History, and Fiction." Journal of Canadian Fiction, 28-29 (1981), 249-252.

Meeter, Glen. "Rudy Wiebe: Spatial Form and Christianity in The Blue Mountains of China." Essays On Canadian Writing, 22 (1981), 42-61.

Melnyk, George. "Rudy Wiebe and Other Rebels." Rev. of The Scorched-Wood People. 43 (Nov. 1977), 31.

_____. "The Western Canadian Imagiantion: An Interview With Rudy Wiebe." Canadian Fiction Magazine, 12 (Winter 1974), 29-34.

Monkman, Leslie. Native Heritage: Images of the Indian in English-Canadian Literature. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981.

Morash, Gordon. "Happy Birthday To-Do." Rev. of Alberta: A Celebration. Maclean's, 93 (3 March 1980), 55-56.

Morley, Patricia. The Comedians: Hugh Hood and Rudy Wiebe. Toronto: Clarke-Irwin, 1977.

Moss, John. Patterns of Isolation in English Canadian Fiction. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974.

_____. Sex and Violence in the Canadian Novel: The Ancestral Present. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977.

Muggeridge, John. "The Last of the New Mohicans is a Radical in Buckskin." Rev. of The Temptations of Big Bear. The Toronto Star, 17 Nov. 1973, F7.

II. Secondary Materials: Criticism, Interviews, and Profiles Making Reference to Rudy Wiebe (cont'd)

Neuman, Shirley. "Unearthing Language: An Interview with Rudy Wiebe and Robert Kroetsch." In A Voice In the Land: Essays By and About Rudy Wiebe. Ed. W. J. Keith. Edmonton: NeWest Press, 1981, pp. 226-247.

_____. "We Both Do Begin." Short version of "Unearthing Language." NeWest Review, 6, No. 7 (March 1981), 3-4, 11-12.

New, W. H. "Wiebe, Rudy." In Contemporary Novelists. Ed. James Vinson. Don Mills: Collier-Macmillan, 1976, 1485-1488.

Noonan, Gerald. Rev. of The Scorched-Wood People. University of Windsor Review, 14 (1978), 90-94.

Percy, H. R. Review of Peace Shall Destroy Many. Canadian Author and Bookman, 38, No. 2 (Winter 1962), 15-16.

Pomer, B. Review of First and Vital Candle. Canadian Forum, 47 (Jan. 1968), 235-236.

Read, S. E. "Maverick Novelist." Rev. of First and Vital Candle. Canadian Literature, 31 (1967), 76-77.

_____. "The Storms of Change." Rev. of Peace Shall Destroy Many. Canadian Literature, 16 (1963), 73-76.

Redekop, Magdalene F. Rudy Wiebe. (Profiles in Canadian Literature.) Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1981.

_____. "Translated into the Past: Language in The Blue Mountains of China." In A Voice in the Land: Essays By and About Rudy Wiebe. Ed. W. J. Keith. Edmonton: NeWest Press, 1981, pp. 97-123.

Reimer, E. E. "Rudy Wiebe's 'Steel Lines of Fiction': The Progress of a Mennonite Novelist." Mennonite Mirror, 1, No. 1 (Sept. 1971), 7, 27-29.

Reimer, Margaret, and Sue Steiner. "Translating Life Into Art: A Conversation With Rudy Wiebe." Mennonite Reporter, 3, No. 23 (26 Nov. 1973), A7-8.

II. Secondary Materials: Criticism, Interviews, and Profiles Making Reference to Rudy Wiebe (cont'd)

Ricketts, Alan. "Packaged Struggle." Rev. of Far As the Eye Can See. Essays On Canadian Writing, 12 (1978), 251-256.

Ricou, Lawrence. "Trusting the Wayward Senses." Rev. of The Temptations of Big Bear. University of Windsor Review, 10 (1975), 76-82.

Robertson, Heather. "Western Mystic." The Canadian, 10 Dec. 1977, pp. 20-22.

Robinson, J. M. "Introduction." In Peace Shall Destroy Many. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972, pp. 1-6.

Scobie, Stephen. "For Goodness' Sake." Books in Canada, 9, No. 2 (Feb. 1980), 3-5.

_____. "A Wise Indian's Reservations." Rev. of The Temptations of Big Bear. Maclean's, 86 (Nov. 1973), 116.

Sharpe, David. "Sparrows and Whooping Cranes." Rev. of More Stories From Western Canada. Books in Canada, 9, No. 5 (May 1980), 16

Solecki, Sam. "Giant Fictions and Large Meanings! The Novels of Rudy Wiebe." Canadian Forum, 60 (March 1981), 5-8, 13.

_____. Rev. of The Scorched-Wood People. Fiddlehead, 117 (Spring 1978), 117-120.

Spettigue, Douglas. Rev. of First and Vital Candle. Queen's Quarterly, 73 (1966), 607-608.

Stephens, Donald. "A World Sequestered." Rev. of Where Is the Voice Coming From?. Canadian Literature, 63 (1975), 102-103.

Suderman, Elmer F. "The Mennonite Character in American Fiction." Mennonite Life, 22, No. 3 (July 1967), 122-130.

_____. "Universal Values in Rudy Wiebe's Peace Shall Destroy Many." Mennonite Life, 20, No. 4 (Oct. 1965), 172-176. Reprinted in A Voice in the Land (1981).

II. Secondary Materials: Criticism, Interviews, and Profiles Making Reference to Rudy Wiebe (cont'd)

Swift, Diana. Rev. of The Mad Trapper. The Canadian Reader, 21, No. 10 (Aug. 1980), 3-4.

Taylor, Lauralyn. "The Temptations of Big Bear: A Filmic Novel?" Essays On Canadian Writing, 9 (Winter, 1977-1978) 134-138.

Tefs, Wayne. "Rudy Wiebe: Mystery and Reality." Mosaic, 11, No. 4 (Summer 1978), 155-158.

_____. "Where Is Your Voice Coming From, Rudy Wiebe?" Canadian Dimension, 13, No. 2 (1978), 51-52.

Thiessen, J. "Canadian Mennonite Literature." Canadian Literature, 51 (1972), 65-72.

Tiessen, Hildegaard. "A Mighty Inner River: Peace in the Fiction of Rudy Wiebe." Journal of Canadian Fiction, 2 (Fall, 1973), 71-76. Expanded and reprinted in The Canadian Novel: Here and Now. Ed. John Moss. Toronto: NC Press, 1978, pp. 169-181.

Twigg, Alan. "Of Moral Fiction." An Interview with Rudy Wiebe. NeWest Review, 5 (Jan. 1980), 4-5, 12. Reprinted as "Public Eye," in For Openers: Conversations With 24 Canadian Writers, ed. Alan Twigg (Madeira Park: Harbour Publishing, 1981), 207-218.

Watt, F. W. "Letters in Canada, 1962: Fiction." Rev. of Peace Shall Destroy Many. University of Toronto Quarterly, 32 (1962), 399-400.

Wiebe, Katie. "The Temptations of Big Bear: A Review of Wiebe's New Novel." The Mennonite, 89, No. 10 (5 March 1974), 154-155.

Wiebe, Rudy. "Rudy Wiebe." In Canada Writes! The Members' Book of the Writers' Union of Canada. Ed. K. A. Hamilton. Toronto: Writers' Union, 1977, 368-369.

"Wiebe, Rudy H." In Contemporary Literary Criticism. Detroit: Gale Research, 1976, Vol. 6, pp. 566-568.

II. Secondary Materials: Criticism, Interviews, and Profiles Making Reference to Rudy Wiebe (cont'd)

Williams, David. "The Indian Our Ancestor: Three Modes of Vision in Recent Canadian Fiction." Dalhousie Review, 58, No. 2 (1978), 309-328.

_____. Review of The Temptations of Big Bear. Queen's Quarterly, 81 (1974), 142-144.

Woodcock, George. "The Meeting of the Muses: Recent Canadian Fiction and the Historical Viewpoint." The Canadian Historical Review, 60, No. 2 (June 1979), 141-153.

_____. "Riel and Dumont." Rev. of The Scorched-Wood People. Canadian Literature, 77 (1978), 98-100.

Zwarum, Suzanne. "Lonely Are the Grave." Maclean's, 91, No. 18 (4 Sept. 1978), 34-37.

III. Other Works Cited and Selected Background Materials

Abrams, M. H. "Belief and the Suspension of Disbelief." In Literature and Belief. Ed. M. H. Abrams. New York: Columbia University Press, 1958, pp. 1-30.

Art Treasures of the World: Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, and Ornament, From Prehistoric Times to the Twentieth Century. London: Hamlyn Publishers, 1969.

Auden, W. H. "Postscript: Christianity and Art." In The New Orpheus: Essays Toward a Christian Poetic. Ed. Nathan Scott. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1964, 74-79.

Auerbach, Erich. "Figura." Tr. Ralph Manheim. In Scenes From the Drama of European Literature. New York: Meridien Books, 1959, 11-76.

_____. Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature. Tr. Willard Trask. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968.

Baxandall, Lee. "Literature and Ideology." In Weapons of Criticism: Marxism in America and the Literary Tradition. Ed. Norman Rudich. Palo Alto: Ramparts Press, 1976, pp. 119-132.

III. Other Works Cited (cont'd)

Bender, Harold. "The Anabaptist Vision." Church History, 13 (1944), 3-24.

Benjamin. Walter. The Origin of German Tragical Drama. Tr. John Osborne. London: NLB, 1977.

_____. Ursprung des deutschen Trauerspiels. 1926; rptd. Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1963.

Bennett, Lerone, Jr. "Nat's Last White Man." In William Styron's Nat Turner. Ed. John Henrik Clarke. Boston: Beacon Press, 1968, pp. 3-16.

Berefeldt, Gunnar. "On Symbol and Allegory." Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism, 28 (1969), 202-212.

Berton, Pierre. "The Legend of Almighty Voice." In The Wild Frontier: More Tales From the Remarkable Past. Toronto: Seal Books, 1980, pp. 217-244.

Blake, Kathleen. "Edward Taylor's Protestant Poetic: Nontransubstantiating Metaphor." American Literature, 43 (1971), 1-24.

Bloch, Ernst. Man On His Own: Essays in the Philosophy of Religion. Tr. E. B. Ashton. New York: Herder and Herder, 1970.

Brodie, Neil. Twelve Days With the Indians, May 14-May 26, 1885: Being His Experience in Poundmaker's Camp During the Rebellion of 1885. Battleford: Saskatchewan Herald, 1932. Courtesy Rare Book Collection, McLennan Library, McGill University.

Brooks, Cleanth. The Hidden God: Studies in Hemingway, Faulkner, Eliot, and Warren. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963.

_____. "The Problem of Belief and the Problem of Cognition." In The Well Wrought Urn. New York: Reynal and Hitchcock, 1947, pp. 226-238.

Brumm, Ursula. "The Figure of Christ in American Literature." Partisan Review, 24 (1957), 403-413.

III. Other Works Cited (cont'd)

Buell, John. The Pyx. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Cudahy, 1959.

Bultmann, Rudolf. History and Eschatology. Edinburgh: The University Press, 1957.

Butler, William Francis. The Great Lone Land: A Narrative of Travel and Adventure In the North-West of America. London: Sampson Low, 1873.

_____. Sir William Butler: An Autobiography. New York: Scribner's, 1911.

Butterfield, Herbert. Christianity and History. 1949; rptd. London: Fontana, 1957.

_____. The Historical Novel: An Essay. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1924.

_____. Writings On Christianity and History. Ed. with an introduction by C. T. McIntire. New York: Oxford University Press, 1979.

Cameron, William Bleasdell. Blood Red the Sun. 1950; rptd. Edmonton: Hurtig, 1977. (First published as The War-Trail of Big Bear, 1926.)

"The Case of Albert Johnson," (Report of the RCMP). In Annual Departmental Report, 3 (1931-1932), pp. 106-110.

Casserley, J. Langmead. Toward a Theology of History. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1965.

Chalmers, R. C. "Eschatology and Its Cultural Relevance." In Challenge and Response: Modern Ideas and Relgion. Eds. R. C. Chalmers and John Irving. Toronto: Ryerson, 1959, pp. 91-112.

Charlebois, Peter. The Life of Louis Riel. Toronto: NC Press, 1975.

Cherbonnier, Edward. "Biblical Faith and the Idea of Tragedy." In The Tragic Vision and the Christian Faith. Ed. Nathan Scott. New York: Association Press, 1957, pp. 23-55.

III. Other Works Cited (cont'd)

Cochin, Louis. The Reminiscences of Louis Cochin, O.M.I., A Veteran Missionary of the Cree Indians and a Prisoner in Poundmaker's Camp in 1885. Canadian North-West Historical Society Publications. Vol. I, No. 2, 1927. (Courtesy Lande-Arkin Collection, McLennan Library, McGill.)

Cochrane, Charles. Christianity and Classical Culture: A Study of Thought and Action From Augustus to Augustine. 1940; rpt. London: Oxford University Press, 1974.

Darbyshire, J. R. "Typology." Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics. Ed. James Hastings. Edinburgh: Clark, 1921. Vol. 12, pp. 500-504.

De Rougemont, Denis. "Religion and the Mission of the Artist." In The New Orpheus. Ed. Nathan Scott. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1964, pp. 59-73.

Dick, Cornelius. "Mennonites." "Menno Simons." In Encyclopaedia Britannica, Macropaedia, 1973 ed.

Dickens, Francis. Diary of Francis Dickens. Ed. Vernon La Chance. Queen's University Bulletin, No. 59, 1930.

Djwa, Sandra. "Biblical Archetype in Western Canadian Fiction." In Western Canada: Past and Present. Ed. Anthony Rasporich. Calgary: West, 1975, pp. 192-203.

Donkin, John, Trooper and Redskin in the Far North-West. London: Sampson Lowetal, 1889.

Dudek, Louis. "Art, Entertainment and Religion." In Louis Dudek: Texts and Essays. Eds. Frank Davey and bp Nichol. Open Letter, Nos. 8-9 (Spring and Summer 1981), 167-180.

_____. "The Misuses of Imagination: A Rib-Roasting of Some Recent Canadian Critics." In Selected Essays and Criticism. Ottawa: Tecumseh Press, 1978, pp. 304-319.

_____. "Prophets on the Outhouse Walls." Rev. of Aurora: New Canadian Writing, 1979, ed. Morris Wolfe. Books in Canada, 8 (Nov. 1979), 9-10.

III. Other Works Cited (cont'd)

Dudek, Louis. "T. S. Eliot." In Louis Dudek: Texts and Essays. Eds. Frank Davey and bp Nichol. Open Letter, Nos. 8-9 (Spring and Summer 1981), 155-164.

Edwards, Paul. "Reich, Wilhelm." Encyclopedia of Philosophy. 1967 ed.

Eliot, T. S. "Poetry and Propaganda." In Literary Opinion in America. Ed. Morton Zabel. Gloucester: Peter Smith, 1968, I, pp. 97-107.

_____. "Religion and Literature." Selected Essays. New York: Harcourt and Brace, 1960.

Epp, Frank H. Mennonite Exodus: The Rescue and Resettlement of the Russian Mennonites Since the Communist Revolution. Altona: Friesen, 1962.

_____. Mennonites in Canada, 1786-1920: The History of a Separate People. Toronto: Macmillan, 1974.

Etulain, Richard. "The American Literary West and Its Interpreters: The Rise of a New Historiography." Pacific Historical Review, 45 (1976), 311-348.

_____. "Western Fiction and History: A Reconsideration." In The American Frontier. Ed. Jerome Steffen. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1978.

Eusebius. Ecclesiastical History. Ed. and tr. Kirsopp Lake. New York: Putnam's, 1926-1932. (Loeb Classical Library.)

Feuchtwanger, Leon. The House of Desdemona: The Laurels and Limitations of Historical Fiction. Tr. Harold Basilius. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1963.

Fine Day. My Cree People. Ed. Adolf Hungry Wolf. Invermere: Good Medicine Books, 1973.

Flanagan, Thomas, ed. The Diaries of Louis Riel. Edmonton: Hurtig, 1976.

_____.Louis David Riel: "Prophet of the New World." Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979.

III. Other Works Cited (cont'd)

Fleishman, Avrom. The English Historical Novel: Walter Scott to Virginia Woolf. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1971.

Fletcher, Angus. Allegory: Theory of a Symbolical Mode. New York: Cornell University Press, 1964.

_____. "Fable, Parable, and Allegory." Encyclopaedia Britannica, Macropaedia. 1973 ed.

Foley, Barbara. "From U.S.A. to Ragtime: Notes on the Forms of Historical Consciousness in Modern Fiction." American Literature, 50 (1978), 85-105.

_____. "History, Fiction, and the Ground Between: The Uses of the Documentary Mode in Black Literature." PMLA 95 (1980), 389-403.

_____. "The Treatment of Time in The Big Money: An Examination of Ideology and Literary Form." Modern Fiction Studies, 26 (1980), 447-467.

Forster, E. M. Aspects of the Novel. New York: Harcourt Brace, 1927.

Francis, E. K. In Search of Utopia: The Mennonites in Manitoba. Glencoe: Free Press, 1955.

Fraser, W. B. "Big Bear, Indian Patriot." Alberta Historical Review, 14, No. 2 (1966), 1-13.

Friedman, Melvin J. "The Confessions of Nat Turner": The Convergence of 'Non-Fiction Novel' and 'Meditation on History.'" Journal of Popular Culture, 1 (1967), 166-175.

Friedman, Norman. Form and Meaning in Fiction. Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1975.

Frye, Northrop. Creation and Recreation. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980.

Gerrish, B. A. "Reformation." Encyclopedia of Philosophy. 1967 ed.

Gogarten, Friedrich. "Theology and History." In History and Hermeneutic. Ed. Robert Funk. New York: Harper and Row, 1967, pp. 35-81.

III. Other Works Cited (cont'd)

Gombrich, E. H. "Icones Symbolicae: Philosophies of Symbolism and their Bearing on Art." In his Symbolic Images: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance (II). Oxford: Phaidon, 1972, pp. 123-191.

Gowanlock, Theresa, and Theresa Delaney. Two Months in the Camp of Big Bear. Parkdale: Times Office, 1885.

Grove, Frederick Philip. Our Daily Bread. 1928; rpt. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975.

_____. Settlers of the Marsh. 1925; rpt. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1965.

_____. The Yoke of Life. Toronto: Macmillan, 1930.

Gunn, Giles. Rev. of The Critical Twilight: Explorations in the Ideology of Anglo-American Literary Theory From Eliot to McLuhan, by John Fekete. American Literature, 50 (1978), 498-499.

Harris, Victor. "Allegory To Analogy in the Interpretation of the Scriptures." Philological Quarterly, 45 (1966), 1-23.

Hawkes, John. The Story of Saskatchewan and Its People. Chicago/Regina: S. E. Clarke, 1924. Volume I.

Hellmann, John. "Fables of Fact: New Journalism Reconsidered." Centennial Review, 21 (1977), 414-432.

Hershberger, Guy F., ed. Recovery of the Anabaptist Vision. Scottdale: Herald Press, 1957.

Hicks, L. "Isaac." "Esau." "Jacob." The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible. 1962 ed.

Hollowell, John. Fact and Fiction: The New Journalism and the Nonfiction Novel. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977.

Hospers, John. "Aesthetics, Problems of." The Encyclopedia of Philosophy. 1967 ed.

Howard, Joseph. Strange Empire: Louis Riel and the Métis People. 1952; rpt. Toronto: James Lewis and Samuel, 1974.

III. Other Works Cited (cont'd)

Hughes, Stuart, ed. The Frog Lake 'Massacre': Personal Perspectives on Ethnic Conflict. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1976.

Irvine, A. G. "A Parley With Big Bear." Alberta Historical Review, 11, No. 4 (1963), 19.

James, William. The Varieties of Religious Experience: A Study in Human Nature. 1901; rpt. New York: Mentor, 1958.

Jameson, Fredric. Marxism and Form: Twentieth-Century Dialectical Theories of Literature. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971.

Jefferson, Robert. Fifty Years on the Saskatchewan. Canadian North-West Historical Society Publications. I, No. 5, 1929.

_____. "Incidents of the Rebellion." In The Cree Rebellion of 1884. Battleford, Sask.: Battleford Historical Society Publications, 1926. Vol. I, pp. 19-35.

Jenness, Diamond. Indians of Canada. Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1963.

Johnson, Pauline. Flint and Feather. 1912; rpt. Toronto: Musson, 1967.

Jones, David. "Preface." In his Anathemata. London: Faber and Faber, 1952, pp. 9-43.

Kautsky, Karl. Communism in Central Europe in the Time of the Reformation. 1897; rpt. New York: Kelley, 1966.

Kazin, Alfred. "The Imagination of Fact: From Capote to Mailer." In Bright Book of Life: American Novelists and Storytellers from Hemingway to Mailer, by Alfred Kazin. Boston/Toronto: Little, Brown, 1973, pp. 207-241.

Kermode, Frank. "Novel, History, and Type." Novel, 1 (1968), 231-238.

III. Other Works Cited (cont'd)

Korshin, Paul. "The Development of Abstracted Typology in England, 1658-1820." In Literary Uses of Typology From the Late Middle Ages to the Present. Ed. Earl Miner. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977, pp. 147-203.

Krieger, Murray. "Belief." Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics. 1974 ed.

Kroetsch, Robert. Gone Indian. Toronto: New Press, 1973.

Krotz, Larry, and John Paskievich. Urban Indians: The Strangers in Canada's Cities. Edmonton: Hurtig, 1980.

Lasswell, H. D. "Propaganda." Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences. 1933 ed.

Lewalski, Barbara. "Typological Symbolism and the 'Progress of the Soul' in Seventeenth-Century Literature." In Literary Uses of Typology. Ed. Earl Miner. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977, pp. 79-114.

Livesay, Dorothy. "The Documentary Poem: A Canadian Genre." Contexts of Canadian Criticism. Ed. Eli Mandel. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972, pp. 267-281.

Lubbock, Percy. "The Craft of Fiction: Picture, Drama, and Point of View." In Approaches to the Novel: Materials for a Poetics. Ed. Robert Scholes. Scranton: Chandler, 1961, pp. 245-271.

Lukács, Georg. The Historical Novel. Tr. Hannah and Stanley Mitchell. 1937; rpt. London: Merlin Press, 1962.

Macquarrie, John. "Pietism." Encyclopedia of Philosophy. 1967 ed.

Mailer, Norman. Of Fire On the Moon. Boston/Toronto: Little, Brown, 1969.

Mandelbaum, David. "The Plains Cree." Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, 37 (1941), 155-316.

Marsden, George and Frank Roberts, eds. A Christian View of History. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975.

III. Other Works Cited (cont'd)

McCullough, W. S. "Fish." Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible. 1962 ed.

McDougall, John. In the Days of the Red River Rebellion: Life and Adventures in the Far West of Canada, 1868-1872. Toronto: Briggs, 1903.

_____. Opening the Great West: Experiences of a Missionary in 1875-1876. Introduction by J. Ernest Nix. Calgary: Glenbow-Alberta Institute, 1970.

McLean, Amelia M. (Paget). People of the Plains. Toronto: William Briggs, 1909.

McLean, Duncan. "On the Twilight Trail of the Fading West." As told to Eric Wells. In The Nor-Wester. Ed. Eric Wells. Winnipeg: Manitoba Centennial Corporation, 1970, pp. 36-46.

McLean, Kitty. "Adventures of Kitty." In The Nor-Wester. Ed. Eric Wells. Winnipeg: Manitoba Centennial Corporation, 1970, pp. 37-46.

Miller, Mary Jane. "The Hurricane's Eye: Behind CBC-TV's Docudrama Lies a Contract with the Viewer: The Promise to Show the Difference Between Fiction and Fact." Books in Canada, 10 (April 1981), 13-15.

Miner, Earl. "Afterword." In Literary Uses of Typology: From the Late Middle Ages to the Present. Ed. Earl Miner. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977, pp. 370-394.

Mitchell, W. O. The Vanishing Point. Toronto: Macmillan, 1973.

Morris, Alexander. The Treaties of Canada With the Indians of Manitoba and the North-West Territories. Toronto: Belford, Clarke and Co., 1880. (Coles Canadiana reprint.)

Morton, Desmond, ed. The Queen vs Louis Riel. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974.

Myers, J. M. "David." Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible. 1962 ed.

New, W. H. Articulating West: Essays on Form and Purpose in Modern Canadian Literature. Toronto: New Press, 1972.

III. Other Works Cited (cont'd)

North, C. R. "Servant of the Lord, The." Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible. 1962 ed.

Nourse, Edward E. "Parable." Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics. Ed. James Hastings. 1921 ed.

O'Hagan, Howard. "The Man Who Chose to Die." "The Singer in the Willows." In his Wilderness Men. 1958; rpt. Vancouver: Talon, 1978, pp. 63-80, 29-80.

Ong, Walter. "Voice as Summons For Belief." In Literature and Belief. Ed. M. H. Abrams. New York: Columbia University Press, 1958.

Ord, Lewis Redman. Reminiscences of a Bungle by One of the Bunglers. Toronto: Grip, 1887.

Paine, Thomas. The Age of Reason: Being an Investigation of True and Fabulous Theology. Ed. Moncur Conway. 1794; rpt. New York/London: Putnam's, 1896.

Panofsky, Erwin. Studies in Iconology: Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance. 1939; rpt. New York: Harper and Row, 1972.

Patrides, C. A. The Grand Design of God: The Literary Form of the Christian View of History. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972.

Patterson, E. Palmer. The Canadian Indian: A History Since 1500. Toronto: Collier-Macmillan, 1972.

Pearce, Roy Harvey. The Savages of America: A Study of the Indian and the Idea of Civilization. Revised ed. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1965.

_____. "The Significance of the Captivity Narrative." American Literature, 19 (March 1947), 1-20.

Pickering, E. P. Essays on Medieval German Literature and Iconography. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.

_____. Literature and Art in the Middle Ages. London: Macmillan, 1970.

III. Other Works Cited (cont'd)

Pittenger, Norman. Christian Faith and the Question of History. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1973.

Preuss, James Samuel. From Shadow to Promise: Old Testament Interpretation From Augustine to the Young Luther. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press, 1969.

Ricoeur, Paul. "Christianity and the Meaning of History." In his History and Truth. Tr. Charles Kelbley. Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1965, pp. 81-97.

Robertson, D. W., Jr. A Preface to Chaucer: Studies in Medieval Perspectives. 1962; rpt. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970.

Roche, Thomas P., Jr. "Tasso's Enchanted Woods." In Literary Uses of Typology. Ed. Earl Miner. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977, pp. 49-78.

Sarraute, Nathalie. "The Age of Suspicion." In Approaches to the Novel. Ed. Robert Scholes. Scranton: Chandler, 1961, pp. 207-217.

Scott, Nathan A, ed. The Tragic Vision and the Christian Faith. New York: Association Press, 1957.

Simons, Menno. "Two Kingdoms." In War and Christian Ethics. Ed. Arthur Holmes. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1975, pp. 185-189.

Smith, Bruce L. "Propaganda." In International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences. 1968 ed.

Speck, William. "Herbert Butterfield: The Legacy of a Christian Historian." A Christian View of History?. Eds. George Marsden and Frank Roberts. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1975, pp. 99-117.

Stanley, George F., ed. "Gabriel Dumont's Account of the North-West Rebellion." Canadian Historical Review, 30 (1949), 249-269.

_____. "The Indian Background of Canadian History." Canadian Historical Association Annual Report, 1952, pp. 14-21.

III. Other Works Cited (cont'd)

Stanley, George F. Louis Riel. Toronto: Ryerson, 1963.

Stevenson, Lionel. Appraisals of Canadian Literature. Toronto: Macmillan, 1926.

Story, Norah. "Falcon, Pierre." "Red River Rebellion." In her The Oxford Companion to Canadian History and Literature. 1967 ed.

Styron, William. The Confessions of Nat Turner. New York: Random House, 1967.

Suvin, Darko. "Brecht's Caucasian Chalk Circle and Marxist Figuralism: Open Dramaturgy as Open History." Clio, 3, No. 3 (1974), 257-276.

Tolstoy, Leo. What is Art? and Essays on Art. Tr. Aylmer Maude. 1930; rpt. London: Oxford University Press, 1950.

Toynbee, Arnold J. A Study of History: Vol. 12: Reconsiderations. London: Oxford University Press, 1961, pp. 1-20.

_____. Civilization on Trial. London: Oxford University Press, 1946.

Trémaudan, A. H., ed. "The Execution of Thomas Scott." By Louis Riel. Canadian Historical Review, 6 (1925), 222-236.

Tuve, Rosemond. Allegorical Imagery: Some Mediaeval Books and Their Posterity. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966.

Via, Dan O. The Parables: Their Literary and Existential Dimension. Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1967.

Watt, Ian. "The Naming of Characters in Defoe, Richardson, and Fielding," RES, 25 (1949), 322-338.

_____. The Rise of the Novel. 1957; rpt. London: London: Penguin, 1972.

Wellek, René and Austin Warren. Theory of Literature. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1956.

Wenger, John C. Glimpses of Mennonite History and Doctrine. Scottdale: Herald Press, 1949.

III. Other Works Cited (cont'd)

Wetherbee, Winthrop. Platonism and Poetry in the Twelfth Century. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972.

Williams, George H. The Radical Reformation. Philadelphia: Westmister Press, 1962.

Williams, Raymond. Marxism and Literature. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977.

Wilson, R. "Marcion." Encyclopedia of Philosophy. 1967 ed.

Wimsatt, W. K., Jr. "Poetry and Christian Thinking." In his The Verbal Icon. New York: Noonday Press, 1958.

Woodcock, George. Gabriel Dumont: The Métis Chief and his Lost World. Edmonton: Hurtig, 1975.

Yoder, John H. The Christian Witness to the State. Newton: Faith and Life Press, 1964.

_____. The Original Revolution: Essays on Christian Pacifism. Scottdale: Herald Press, 1971.

_____. The Politics of Jesus. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1972.

Zavarzadeh, Mas'ud. The Mythopoeic Reality: The Postwar American Nonfiction Novel. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976.

"Zechariah." In A Dictionary of the Bible. Ed. James Hastings. 1909 ed.

Ziolkowski, Theodore. Fictional Transfigurations of Jesus. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972.

_____. "Some Features of Religious Figuralism in Twentieth-Century Literature." In Literary Uses of Typology. Ed. Earl Miner. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977, pp. 345-369.