Discovering Lily Lewis: A Canadian Journalist and New Woman

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In September, 1888, two young Canadian journalists, Sara Jeannette Duncan, originally from Brantford, Ontario, and Lily Lewis, of Montreal, headed west on the CPR, beginning a trip that would take them to points in western Canada, to Japan, India, Egypt, and eventually to England. Both had obtained commissions to send regular articles to prominent newspapers in eastern Canada, writing under already well-known pseudonyms: Duncan as "Garth Grafton" for the *Montreal Daily Star* and Lewis as "Louis Lloyd" for the Toronto paper *The Week.* Neither returned to Canada to live. Duncan settled in India and has been increasingly recognized for her novels, stories, and sketches, her first published work being *A Social Departure: How Orthodocia and I Went Round the World By Ourselves,* a partially fictionalized account of the world tour. Lewis has been almost entirely forgotten or misremembered as Duncan's fictional "Orthodocia." According to Canadian bibliographer Henry Morgan, Lewis lived in Paris following the tour, at least until 1912, and continued to publish a variety of work. Almost nothing has been known about her personal life, however, and her work prior to and following the tour has received no critical attention. In the pages that follow, I begin to redress that neglect.

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I became interested in Lily Lewis when I discovered just how absent she was from sources of information about Canadian women writers of her time, and several years ago began a dissertation project hoping to learn something about Lily Lewis's life and recover as much as I could of her later writing. Duncan's and Lewis's accounts of their journey in the *Star* and *The Week,* respectively, were easily accessible when I began my project. Also readily available were thirty-three sketches by Louis Lloyd published in *The Week* between November 1887 and September 1888 under the heading "Montreal Letter," a regularly-appearing column in which Lloyd describes and comments upon people, places, and current culture in Montreal. The following entry from Henry Morgan's *Men and Women of the Time,* published in 1912, describes Lily Lewis's career as an author as she would have described it to him:

> **Rood, Mrs. Lily**, author, D. late John Lewis, Surveyor of Customs, Montreal b. and d. there; wrote for *The Week* and other Can. Publications, under the *nom de plume* of "Louis Lloyd"; went round the world and subsequently wrote descriptive articles about the journey; later, went to Egypt with the Princess Gortchakow-Stonrdza, a daughter of the Russian Chancellor, going up the Nile to Dongola, where no white woman had ever been before; published an account of this expedition in a French review; has written for other newspapers and mags. in Paris and London, including *Gagliani's* (*sic*) *Messenger,* the Paris *Temps,* the *Pall Mall Gazette*, the *Budget*, London *World*, London *Times* and *St. James Gazette;* also the Boston *Transcript* and N.Y. *Bookman* in Am.; published a remarkable character sketch of Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, late Presdt. of the New Salon (1895), and since then a little book of Japanese sketches; m. Roland Rood, s. Prof. Ogden Rood, Columbia Coll., has lived for many years at Paris.—*9 Quai Voltaire, Paris, France.* 1912.[1]

In what has proved to be the only critical commentary about Lily Lewis that I have encountered, Marian Fowler, in *Redney: A Life of Sara Jeannette Duncan,* and Thomas Tausky, in *Sara Jeannette Duncan: Novelist of Empire,* refer briefly to some of Lewis's articles from the world tour in conjunction with their critical and biographical writing about Duncan.

1 A similar, but not identical, entry for Lily Lewis Rood appears in Morgan's 1898 edition of *Men and Women of the Time.* In this entry, "*Galignani's Messenger*" is spelled correctly.

Fowler speculatively presents a Lily Lewis rather less assertive than her companion, a modest Lily who "habitually stayed in the background" (153), but who shared with Duncan a "youthful *joie de vivre* and … a keen sense of humour" (149). Tausky, too, sees both dissimilarities and shared sentiments, and attributes to Lily "more flexibility of mind and greater cultural sensitivity" (63). Of Lewis's life subsequent to the tour and in addition to Henry Morgan's information, Fowler was able to state only that Lily Lewis "would spend her married life in Paris, have a baby who died, get a divorce, and pass a rather sad old age in England" (219). Apart from Fowler's and Tausky's comments and a few brief references in Marjory Lang's *Women Who Made the News: Female Journalists in Canada 1880–1945* to Lewis as Duncan's companion on the world tour and author of the "Montreal Letter" column, Lily Lewis has been omitted from critical or biographical commentary about Canadian writers in general, Canadian women journalists, or Canadian travel writers.

I have located some of the later work mentioned in Morgan's account, notably several sketches by Louis Lloyd in London's *Pall Mall Gazette,* and some prose poems and an original copy of the monograph describing the life and work of French artist Pierre Puvis de Chavannes by Lily Lewis Rood. I have also identified an earlier body of work not previously attributed to Lewis, a series of newspaper sketches in which, as a precocious twenty-year-old Canadian visiting the cities of Europe, she confidently positions herself as an art critic as well as a travelling journalist. I have been especially fortunate to discover a surviving great-nephew of Lewis's, Mr Herbert Lewis of Vancouver, who has generously shared with me stories and speculations about his aunt's later life, and, more recently, granted me access to newly unearthed family papers including diaries, letters, and other documents. While this material provides new information about Lewis's life and begins to explain the silence that has obscured her story, it is nevertheless sketchy and incomplete, and Lily Lewis remains a shadowy figure whose life in many ways continues to be a mystery.

Her wide variety of public sketches, most of which describe other people and other places, help to complete the story of Lewis's own life as a Canadian woman writer at the turn of the nineteenth century. Lewis's work also provides an important source for scholars interested in early Canadian women's writing. Recent scholarship in this area tends to focus on feminine aspects of women's writing: private forms, domestic and sentimental themes, social concerns. For example, Marjory Lang emphasizes the "separate sphere" occupied by "lady journalists," claiming,

"[t]hey wrote for women as women about things that traditionally occupied women" (*Women Who Made the News* 7). Similarly, much criticism of early Canadian writing places it within a distinctly national context. Lewis's journalism, in contrast, is international rather than domestic or national in scope, and concerned as much with the masculine domains of art and culture as with the feminine realms of fashion and housekeeping, or even political activism; as such, it provides new insight into the breadth and diversity of Canadian feminist expression in the nineteenth century. For scholars interested in Duncan, Lewis's sketches of the world tour, together with letters written to members of Lewis's family by both Lewis and Duncan during the tour, offer an intriguing counter-text and alternate perspective to Duncan's better-known versions. Lewis's sketches published both prior to and following the tour reveal the extent to which a young Canadian woman could position herself on the international scene, though details of her struggles and probable later breakdown also suggest the difficulties of such an adventure.

The primary work for this project has involved many frustrations and disappointments along with some gratifying discoveries. At one point in my research, in answer to a request for statistical information from the Quebec National Archives, I was informed that only Lily's brother Lansing is recorded as having been born to the people Morgan names as Lily's parents. Lansing Lewis is described in *The Canadian Who Was Who* and in his obituary as a prominent and distinguished citizen of Montreal who participated actively in the civic, religious, political, and cultural life of the city, and who apparently was a strong supporter of women's suffrage, but only Morgan's brief entry describes Lily. A search of the records of the Montreal High School and the Montreal Girls' School similarly revealed no trace of Lily. I was beginning to wonder if perhaps she had not existed at all, if Sara Duncan had perhaps invented Lewis and written both Louis Lloyd's and Garth Grafton's columns herself. I was gratified finally to find Lily Lewis's signature on Lansing Lewis's 1875 baptism certificate. Through an extensive search of later editions of *Who's Who in Canada,* I managed to locate Lansing Lewis's grandson, Herbert Lewis.

Lily Lewis did, indeed, exist. Conflicting information lists her birth date as 30 October 1866, and as sometime in 1867, but she died in 1929 and is buried in the John Lewis family plot in Montreal's Mount Royal Cemetery. The inscription on the flyleaf of an elementary school book prize refers to her as "Lily Amy Lewis." Besides Lansing Llewellyn Mostyn (1854–1924), she had another brother, Albert Edward (born in 1860), and

an older sister, Eleanor Ida (Ella) (1856–1930). Her parents, John and Matilda Lewis, appear to have been prominent and highly respected members of Montreal's Anglophone community. According to Herbert Lewis, Lily was considered "a bit of a black sheep," and consequently was not talked about very much by the family. Her family apparently did not approve of her choice to live and work in Paris, and they did not care much, either, for her "artist husband." According to Morgan, Lewis married Roland Rood of New York, the son of Columbia University Professor and prolific author Ogden Rood, and among the papers that I examined some time ago at Mr. Lewis's invitation, I found a newspaper notice announcing the marriage April 23, 1891, at St George's Church, Bloomsbury, London, as well as a number of letters referring to divorce proceedings in 1899. No mention of a baby appears anywhere. The Lewis papers include warm letters from Lily to her family written during the tour with Duncan and affectionately signed photographs dated in the early eighteen nineties, as well as correspondence providing evidence of an acrimonious estrangement from her family towards the end of the decade. Mystery continues to surround Lewis's later years, but bits of correspondence indicate that she suffered a lengthy mental illness in England. British medical records to which I have recently been granted access in fact reveal she spent several months in 1915 as a patient in the hospital known then as the Broadmoor Criminal Lunatic Asylum and was transferred from there to a private hospital in Staffordshire. Members of Lewis's immediate family appear to have supported her in various ways during these years. At the time of her death, she had for some time resided voluntarily at Camberwell House, an institution for the mentally ill located on the outskirts of London.

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After collecting Lewis's and Duncan's accounts of their world tour in *The Week* and the *Montreal Daily Star,* and Lewis's "Montreal Letter" column of 1887 and 1888, I began to search for the material that Morgan reports Lily Lewis published after the trip. Marian Fowler claims that at the end of May, 1889, one month after she and Duncan ended their trip in London, Lily Lewis moved to Paris (175), and in a number of articles in the Montreal *Star* as well as in *The Week*, Louis Lloyd describes the great Paris Exhibition of that summer. I located several articles by Louis Lloyd published in 1890 in the *Pall Mall Gazette* under the heading "Parisian Personalities." These sketches describe Parisian artists and their ateliers, some writers and journalists, and "The Princess Gortschakoff," a Russian woman famous for her Parisian entertainments. This descriptive piece about the princess has turned out to be the only link I have been able to

find to the expedition up the Nile noted by Morgan. Among the Lewis papers I discovered a copy, signed by Lily Lewis Rood herself, of the monograph about Puvis de Chavannes. An 1885 article by Lily Lewis Rood in the journal *Modern Art* portrays de Chavannes from a rather different perspective. Lastly, two prose poems in the 1896 New York *Bookman* represent an interesting departure from Lewis's usual prose and indirectly present Lily Lewis's story in a different and affecting way.

A close reading of earlier editions of *The Week* offers strong textual evidence that Lewis also spent some time as a journalist in Paris in 1886 and 1887, working under yet another signature. Thirty-two sketches by a writer using the initials "L. L." appear between 3 January 1886 and 9 June 1887. Of these, the first eighteen describe Parisian life and cultural events from the perspective of a young Canadian correspondent residing in Paris; the last fourteen, beginning 4 November 1886, describe a tour of Switzerland and Italy. Having carefully examined these columns together with the later ones by Louis Lloyd, I am convinced that L. L., like Louis Lloyd, is a pseudonym adopted by Lily Lewis. L. L.'s sketches introduce Lewis as an erudite and versatile writer possessing a sophistication unusual in someone so young. Lewis would have been twenty years old in 1886, and in small but significant moments she emerges within L. L.'s sketches as a young Canadian woman, privileged, educated, lively and opinionated, and linked, in both blatant and subtle ways, to the Louis Lloyd and the Lily Lewis Rood of later years.

Two articles explicitly connect L. L. and Lloyd. In a sketch entitled "A Paris *Pension,*" L. L. describes her Paris accommodation: "a perfect nest of artists" that includes musicians, painters, and newspaper correspondents of various nationalities. Among the colourful crowd around the dinner table is "the solitary Canadian" (*The Week* 6 May, 1886: 365) (further described in an earlier column as "a little music student" in awe of the great composer, Franz Liszt [*The Week* 22 April 1886: 328]). The view from L. L.'s little room on the "fifth *étage*" of this "*pension de famille*" (6 May) matches the one Louis Lloyd describes in an article in the *Montreal Star,* 9 June 1889. Back in Paris after the tour with Duncan, Lloyd remarks, "The Paris of today will jar upon you should you have left it two years ago in the sleepy dignity of a June afternoon." She writes of having gone "to see *madame* at the *pension*" and finding both *madame* and the *pension* much changed. The "modest *pension de famille*" had become "Hotel," and as she discovered after climbing the five flights of steps, her "dear dirty little room" was no longer either dirty or affordable. Its view of "a myriad chimney pots" (*Montreal Star* 9 June 1889) had remained

unchanged, however, and remains consistent with L. L.'s earlier "magnificent panorama," "unsurpassed in Paris," of "the Seine *sous les mille falots assises en souveraine,*" the white villas dotting the hill of Meudon to the west, the "vast sea of houses" below the domes of Les Invalides to the south, "far away to the east, through a veil of mist," *Notre Dame,* and to the north, the heights of Montmartre (*The Week* 6 May 1886: 365).

L. L.'s sketches attest to an international focus in Canadian cultural life and thought in the 1880s that later faded as intellectual leaders sought to create a distinctly national cultural milieu. In her volume *Canadian Travellers in Europe, 1851–1900,* Eva-Marie Kröller highlights the importance of internationalism to educated Canadians in the 1880s and 1890s. She points especially to the value that the Canadian elite placed on the cultural aspects of European cities, and she devotes one chapter of her book to "Women Travellers" to London, Paris, and the cities of Italy. It was very common for upper-middle-class young Canadians to complete their education with a trip to Europe, and this indeed seems to have been the case with Lily Lewis. To the nineteenth-century Canadian imagination, Paris represented the pinnacle of European culture, and *The Week,* an especially cosmopolitan periodical published in Toronto between 1883 and 1896, regularly featured columns with titles such as "Notes from Paris" and "Views from the Paris Salons." L. L.'s "Our Paris Letter" therefore entered a well-established tradition.

Beneath L. L.'s journalist persona we begin to perceive a young writer who is a product of her background and at the same time a unique individual with very much a mind of her own. Her subjects are diverse. She writes of rushing "in a pardonable burst of enthusiasm" (*The Week* 22 Apr. 1886: 328) to kiss Franz Liszt's hand when granted a personal interview with him, of joining a group of "dilapidated socialists" (*The Week* 30 Dec. 1886: 4) to listen to a speech by the controversial feminist Louise Michel, and of sipping champagne on the top of a train on a hot August evening. Adopting a voice that more closely resembles that of the *fin de siècle flâneur,* the relaxed loiterer in sidewalk cafes and gaslit streets, than that of the social reformer and temperance advocate prevalent among Canadian women writers of the turn of the century, L. L. expresses Lewis's belief in the social and educational value of travel. As L. L. observes and comments upon "the outcasts of society" (*The Week* 11 Feb. 1886: 166) represented in current theatre productions, "enlightened vivisectionists" ("Paul Bert," *The Week* 7 Apr. 1887: 301), and educated Parisian "coquettes" (*The Week* 5 Aug. 1886: 572), Lewis reveals a characteristically ambivalent attitude towards social and feminist issues and a liberal Christian humanism that

influences much of her later writing as well. L. L.'s descriptive sketches of Italian art and architecture expose glimpses of an educated scholar immersed in the ideas of the British Victorian intellectuals and art critics John Ruskin, Walter Pater, Matthew Arnold, and Anna Jameson, and a talented impressionist familiar with the popular travel essays of the American writer Henry James. Striking similarities between L. L.'s Italian descriptions and those of contributors to *The Week* in the 1890s, notably the Halifax writer Alice Jones, whose work is much better known today than Lewis's, suggest that Lewis's writing certainly anticipated and perhaps directly influenced her successors.

Like Alice Jones,[2] only earlier, L. L. articulates in her impressions of the churches, statues, and paintings of Florence and Venice a belief in the power of art to bring out the noblest impulses of humanity. Beginning with L. L.'s work and continuing throughout her oeuvre, Lewis often invokes Matthew Arnold to support her assertion that an enhanced appreciation of the arts will result in a better society. In L.L.'s opening remarks about Rome, for example, she declares: "Taste and sentiment … should be cultivated to the highest degree; for we have need for all that is best in us … by the subtle perceptions that art can bestow … upon even a Philistine" (*The Week* 21 April 1887: 334).[3] L. L.'s sketches also often echo Henry James's leisurely walks through changing scenery and his sophisticated evocation of Ruskin to counter modern utilitarianism.[4] She bids farewell to Florence with a nostalgic sketch about the "the ghosts of past joys" (*The Week* 7 Apr. 1887: 300) encountered in the Boboli Gardens that directly echoes James's "Florentine Notes." Lewis's work at this stage is remarkable not so much for its content, but rather for the fact that someone so young should affiliate intellectually and artistically with these powerful international figures, although unfortunately that affiliation has remained more or less buried in the pages of an old weekly newspaper.

2 Alice Jones published two series of "vignettes" in *The Week,* one in 1891 describing her travels in Italy, and one in 1895 describing a trip up the Nile in Egypt. Barry Callaghan has reprinted several of her Italian vignettes in his volume, *Canadian Travellers in Italy,* and Eva-Marie Kröller discusses Jones's, and to a lesser extent, L. L.'s, Italian vignettes in the context of art criticism in her volume *Canadian Travellers in Europe 1851–1900* (82–88).

3 In *Culture and Anarchy,* Arnold labels most members of the middle class "Philistines" for what he sees as their failure to live by the light of art and beauty.

4 See Kröller, Chapter Five, "A Ruskinite in Canada: Alice Jones and *The Week,*" for a comprehensive discussion of Alice Jones's and L. L.'s evocation of Ruskin in their Italian sketches.

L. L. disappears from *The Week* following her final "Letter from Rome" column of 9 June 1887, and five months later, Louis Lloyd, identified by Henry Morgan as Lewis, appears as the author of "Montreal Letter," a column similar in voice, content, and attitude to L. L.'s "Our Paris Letter." Moving from the strict anonymity of the "Zs" and "L. L.s" who authored the "Paris Letters" and "London Letters,"[5] Lloyd joins the *noms de plume* of a variety of Canadian women journalists who had begun to carve a place for themselves in the profession. Examples include Agnes Maule Machar's "Fidelis," Francis Harrison's "Seranus," "Amaryllis," the Ottawa social commentator only recently identified by Sandra Gwyn as Agnes Scott, and, of course, Duncan's Garth Grafton. Lloyd, like Grafton, "[wears] her disguise lightly" (Lang 27), making no attempt to hide either her gender or her identity.

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In many of Lloyd's comments in these accounts, we can see Lily Lewis attempting to connect her current persona with the cosmopolitan voice of L. L. Lloyd informs her readers that she has recently been in Europe. When she writes about a violinist who "has taken up amongst us" she adds, "I have heard him very enthusiastically applauded by a Paris audience" (*The Week* 17 Nov. 1887: 819), and in a discussion about the duty levied on French wines, she mentions having "sip[ped] those ambiguous decoctions at … a Parisian *pension*" (*The Week* 28 June 1888: 489). Similarities in language and metaphors provide further threads linking Lloyd with L. L. For example, L. L. describes a canal ride through Venice in the dead of winter as "a Dantesque expedition" in which "all the weird beauty seems of such stuff that dreams are made" (*The Week* 13 Jan. 1887: 104), and Louis Lloyd refers to the "weird" aftermath of a Montreal winter fire as both "Dantesque" and "theatrical" (*The Week* 26 Jan. 1888: 135). The word "bovine" variously describes the faces of Italian peasant women (*The Week* 2 June 1887: 429), a crowd of East Montrealers attending a picnic (*The Week* 5 July 1888: 508), and a group of German immigrants on the CPR (*The Week* 11 Oct. 1888: 733). As she describes her interview with a visiting child-widow from India and a visit, in New York, with a prominent leader of the suffrage movement, Lloyd continues to express Lewis's eclectic views. Calling herself "an Arnoldian," Lloyd deplores what she sees as bad taste in an American exhibition of Phillipoteaux's "Christ Entering Jerusalem" (*The Week* 6 Sept. 1888: 652). Sketches such as one describing Montreal artist William Brymner's attic studio "in the

5 Newspaper policy at the time often insisted on the anonymity of regular contributors; other examples in *The Week* include "F. H.," "G.," and "XYZ."

dingiest, busiest, smokiest part of the city" (*The Week* 9 Feb. 1888: 169) anticipate the focus on art and artists that infuses Lewis's later writing from Paris in the 1890s and also exemplify Lewis's refusal to write only as a "lady journalist."

Despite her many departures from the typical, Lewis nevertheless in many ways epitomizes Carole Gerson's and Veronica Strong-Boag's "Canadian version" of the "New Woman."[6] Gerson and Strong-Boag define the New Woman as "an international phenomenon whose leitmotif … was independence" (*Paddling Her Own Canoe* 59). "Often identified with feminism, though not always a suffragist, the New Woman appeared in the Western World in the 1880s and survived until the 1920s" (59). In her espousal of many causes, she "sought to improve her own lot and that of her sex in general" (60). The Canadian version, they claim, usually comprised middle-class women who "set about to earn their own living, able to assert both respectability and some independence from their families" (60). Eva-Marie Kröller defines as the goals of the New Woman the acquisition of a profession and "the freedom to move about at will" (*Canadian Travellers in Europe* 74). She refers to the women travellers she discusses as New Women striking out on their own and devising their own itinerary and their own way of thinking about the sights and people they encounter—"women like Sara Jeannette Duncan's heroines in *A Social Departure*" (74).

The corresponding non-fictional travellers depicted in Louis Lloyd's and Garth Grafton's columns in *The Week* and the *Montreal Daily Star* describing Lewis's and Duncan's world tour similarly fit these descriptions. Lewis and Duncan embarked upon their journey across Canada on 17 September 1888. Joseph Pullitzer of the *New York World* co-sponsored the enterprise along with the Canadian publications, and the resulting articles attracted much attention throughout the continent. Duncan had gained considerable experience as a journalist by this time, having worked as a parliamentary correspondent in Ottawa, as a reporter for the Washington *Post,* and as a columnist for both the Toronto *Star* and *The Week.* The two young correspondents had probably met in Montreal between October, 1887, and March, 1888, when Duncan lived in Montreal and wrote a column for the *Daily Star.* The narrator of Duncan's *A Social Departure* describes her companion as being twenty-two, as Lewis would have been in 1888, and after commenting at some length about their families' concerns that the girls have chaperones, she states, "Orthodocia had

6 In *Paddling Her Own Canoe.* See "The Canadian New Woman," 59–62.

simply prevailed" (*A Social Departure* 2). This, I suspect, might very well have been precisely what had transpired between a determined Lily Lewis and her family as she obtained their permission to go round the world, unchaperoned, with her friend and colleague. Herbert Lewis lent me a number of photographs of Lily Lewis and her family, several of which portray an enthusiastic and determined looking young woman who can easily be imagined abroad on her own for the first time, living in a *pension* like the one L. L. describes, and trying her hand for the first time at the profession at which she subsequently will make her own living. Others reveal what might very well be a slightly older and bolder New Woman, now a celebrated world traveller and newspaper correspondent.

As they cross the country, Louis Lloyd and Garth Grafton describe their experiences from the vantage point of the train and from a variety of somewhat less limited perspectives during the stop-overs that Lewis and Duncan made in Winnipeg, where they visited Lily's brother Lansing, in Moosomin and Regina, at "a glacier in the Selkirks," and in Vancouver, where they decided to remain for a couple of weeks before taking a steamer to Japan in December. As they comment on their fellow travellers, among whom are a number of immigrants bound for new homes on the prairies, their hosts in Winnipeg and Regina, and some Indians they encounter in various places along the way,[7] both Lloyd and Grafton participate in a number of popular Canadian discourses, reflecting and no doubt contributing to some common stereotypes, and resisting others. As the journey progresses, Lewis's voice becomes increasingly strong and distinctive; then it begins to fade and eventually disappears well before the end of the tour.

Some extra-textual items suggest that Lewis enjoyed both prominence and social connections. An account in the *Regina Leader* of 2 October 1888 notes a visit to that city "last week" by "Miss Duncan and Miss Lewis," each of whom "is well known all over the dominion by consequence of many a brilliant article," confirming that Lewis was indeed better known at that time than subsequently. The account later refers to "Miss Lewis" as "an accomplished linguist" able to converse with both French and German settlers in their respective "tongues." An announcement in a Winnipeg paper refers to the two visitors to that city as "guests of Captain Lewis" (Lily's brother Lansing lived in Winnipeg in 1888, and was an *aide de*

7 I use "Indian" here in the sense of Daniel Francis's "Imaginary Indian," a collective image of North American indigenous people constructed by Europeans in the nineteenth century.

camp to the lieutenant governor.),[8] and a letter from Duncan to Captain Lewis thanking him for his hospitality[9] provides one of the very few items of private writing that exist in connection with this trip. Duncan's letter goes on to talk about how "Lily's uncle" had procured a suite of rooms for the two of them at the Hotel Vancouver.

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While Lloyd and Grafton for the most part describe similar experiences, Louis Lloyd's accounts contain a few narratives of episodes that she alone describes. One of these involves a convivial evening at the home of their "genial host" in Regina, Nicholas Flood Davin, Member of Parliament for Assiniboia West, and Editor of the *Regina Leader*. "We were … grateful to Mr. Davin," she writes, "for introducing us to 'Elaine,'" whose real name she was "not yet at liberty to disclose." The "literary lady" (*The Week* 25 Oct. 1888: 765) whose coffee and conversation Lloyd so enjoyed would surely have been Kate Simpson Hayes, one of western Canada's first successful women journalists. She and Davin never married but lived together for several years, had two children, and worked together for his newspaper. Hayes later became famous as "Mary Markwell" of the *Winnipeg Free Press* and was prominent among the organizers of the Canadian Women's Press Club. In choosing to have Louis Lloyd mark this meeting with a sister newspaperwoman and "literary lady," Lily Lewis perhaps reveals her own desire for a community of colleagues that, had she returned to Canada, she would most likely have found in the Women's Press Club. Lewis's absence from the membership of this club, has, in fact, contributed significantly to her erasure from Canadian women's history.

Another of these narratives is a sketch in Lloyd's account from Vancouver describing an overnight hunting expedition that imaginatively participates in domestic discourses of nationhood and settlement and at the same time draws on Lewis's earlier immersion in international concerns. Lloyd recounts/imagines discovering three French gentlemen, Mssrs. "Hirondelle," "Moineau," and "Pinson," in a salon of the Hotel Vancouver, working off at the piano the effects of their day's transactions in the booming Vancouver property market. A "duly chaperoned" party of seven was to travel by yacht to the north arm of the river, camp overnight at a hut, and next morning "slaughter as many ducks as a pleasure

8 This announcement is pasted in the flyleaf of a copy of *A Social Departure* lent to me by Herbert Lewis. The title of the newspaper and the date are not included.

9 This letter, the property of Herbert Lewis, is headed "Vancouver, B.C., October 12," and presumably was received by Captain Lansing Lewis in 1888.

expedition can." The gentlemen appeared dressed "*à la militaire*" and the party "sped away and away." During the trip these "birds" "sang Massinet," quoted de Musset, talked about "simplicity in art," and shot at anything that moved. Playing with an opposition currently fashionable in European popular culture, Lloyd writes of dreaming later that night about being "in a battle between the French and the Prussians. The Prussians "had web feet and their brass helmets were continually slipping down over their beaks" (*The Week* 28 Dec. 1888: 55). Deliberate literariness of this kind tends more and more to be a feature of Lloyd's sketches as the trip progresses.

Lewis and Duncan left for Japan in December, 1888, and the beauty and charm of that country inspired both writers to produce some of their best impressionistic work. Like L. L.'s earlier sketches from Italy but with greater sophistication, both Louis Lloyd's and Garth Grafton's columns from Japan echo Ruskin and James as the travellers portray themselves moving through ever-changing scenes coloured by delicate mists and lanterns and moonlight. Both writers connect travel writing and watercolour painting precisely as Henry James does in his famous portrait of Venice.[10] Garth Grafton describes the colours of a December morning as "dainty and cool, in clean delicate washes of grays and blues" (*Star* 21 March 1889), for example, and Lloyd writes of the "bare country" around a teahouse as "a delicate sketch awaiting the paint brush of spring" (*The Week* 21 June 1889: 55). In Grafton's "good-bye" to Japan, a budding red carnation slowly becomes covered with silently falling snow as her language moves from prose to poetry, affirming the value of art. Lloyd similarly writes of walking, "one mild evening," through the "witchery of moonlit streets" to visit and praise the artistry of a "little geisha" (*The Week* 21 June 1889: 55). Humorous anecdotes convey the fun the two were having. And as in her Vancouver vignette, an element of fiction enlivens Louis Lloyds's narratives about her Japanese friends. A sense of artistic confidence and aesthetic pleasure combine to set her Japanese sketches slightly apart from Lewis's other writing; it is not surprising that, as Henry Morgan indicates, she planned to publish them as a separate collection.

Lewis's voice begins to fade in a number of ways shortly after the time the young women left Japan. The strong sense that has emerged earlier

10 "Venice," *Portraits of Places* 1–17. See also Graham Good's chapter, "Henry James: Patterns of Art and Life," for a comprehensive treatment of James's use of watercolour imagery in his descriptive writing.

in the journey of two equal voices articulating similar but nevertheless individual impressions of a shared experience changes in the later part of the tour. Thomas Tausky notes that the Lily Lewis he describes as "a lover of Japan and cultural philosopher … does not bear much resemblance to her fictional counterpart, Orthodocia Love, of Whittingdon, Devonshire" (Tausky 64), the rather conservative English girl who becomes Duncan's travelling companion in her novel *A Social Departure: How Orthodocia and I Went Round the World By Ourselves.* The "Louis Lloyd" of Garth Grafton's "Special Correspondence," however, bears more and more resemblance to Orthodocia Love as the journey progresses. Earlier in the trip, when she writes of Winnipeg, for example, Grafton presents interesting factual information about the city, whereas the narrator of *A Social Departure* focuses on Orthodocia's surprise at finding things so civilized. The companion Grafton describes in the early *Star* columns, Louis Lloyd from Montreal, comes across as a modern Canadian woman much like Duncan herself. Later in Duncan's accounts, Louis begins to say and do rather silly things. Both Louis and Orthodocia leave Japan encumbered with nineteen teapots, for example. Towards the end of the journey, the newspaper accounts are often identical to entire chapters of Duncan's novel except for the names. The particular fictional genre in which Duncan published her novel, travel writing as a comedy of manners, in a sense erases the "real" Louis Lloyd. Prior to its publication in book form, the novel was serialized in a British pictorial journal aimed at a female audience, and Duncan was encouraged by her editors to make her companion English and to keep her subject matter light and humourous. Duncan would have been working on these chapters and sending her later columns back to the *Star* at the same time; hence, the overlap and Lloyd's disappearance.

Coincidentally, Louis Lloyd's columns stop appearing in *The Week* at just about the same time as she becomes Orthodocia in both of Duncan's texts. Lewis and Duncan left Japan late in January 1889, and after short stops in Hong Kong, Singapore, and Penang, spent several weeks in Ceylon, and sailed on to Calcutta at the end of February. They visited Madras, Bombay, and Agra, where Duncan's future husband proposed to her. In March, they headed for the Suez and Cairo, and arrived in London on 1 May 1889. Twenty-three of the total forty chapters of *A Social Departure* describe this latter part of the journey. Twenty-two of Garth Grafton's accounts in the *Star* correspond to these later chapters, whereas only three more columns by Louis Lloyd appear in *The Week* after her "Sayonara" to Japan on 9 August 1889: one from Ceylon, one

from Calcutta, and one from Hong Kong. Of the trip to Agra and all that occurred afterwards, there is nothing. Only one concrete item keeps Lily Lewis in the picture of the later part of the journey: a photograph taken at a studio in Cairo, located among the Lewis papers, shows the two young women posed together under an umbrella.

Lloyd's remarks upon leaving Japan: "the music and the laughter have died away and the lights have gone out, and now it is gray morning" (*The Week* 9 Aug. 1889: 568), together with her description of a sad Calcutta shortly afterwards seem somehow in tune with Lily Lewis's apparent loss of interest in this later part of the journey. They hint at a susceptibility to intense mood changes or perhaps even depressive illness that might help to explain her later difficulties. Two letters that Lewis wrote to her family from Kandy, Ceylon and Calcutta[11] indicate the beginning of a loss of confidence in both a social and a professional sense.

Two letters that Lewis wrote to her family from Kandy, Ceylon and Calcutta indicate the beginning of a loss of confidence in both a social and a professional sense.

In the first of these she sends "a great deal of love" to her family and tells them of her delight in Ceylon, "this intoxicating island paradise" where "vegetation has gone mad." She says she "revel[s] in the warm sweet-smelling air," notes that the "Galle Face Hotel" is the "sweetest" they have stopped at, and speaks of buying "blue silk" for a new dress to wear to an elegant dinner party. "People can't get over our travelling alone this way," she says, "but it is a very jolly way, for despite a little tall language between us when something has disagreed with Garth, or my work has gone badly, we have lots of fun." Then she recalls having seen things in a darker light the day before and comments about how people are so "taken with" Garth that they sometimes forget to notice her.

Stronger contradictions can be discerned in the second letter. Lily describes having dinner at Government House, wearing "the loveliest frock [she] ha[s] ever owned," being escorted to a table with silver plates "laid on a bed of dark red roses," and dancing, "not badly," in a low-necked dress. She writes, too, of being "tortured by anxiety" about her work and the possibility that it might fail and she might "accomplish nothing." "I dreamed last night that not one of my letters had appeared in *The Week*," she confesses. Again in this letter, she expresses a fondness for her family that makes the later rift hard to comprehend.

A close look at Lewis's and Duncan's newspaper accounts of the tour reveals a couple of small acts of literary one-upmanship on Duncan's part that might also have contributed to Lewis's declining confidence in her own ability. Lloyd describes a "perfectly intoxicating" buggy ride across

11 Property of Herbert Lewis.

the open Canadian prairie, seeing in the "swirling clouds" "whole cities outlined against the sky—towers and minarets in … delicate splendour" (*The Week* 18 Oct. 1888: 749). Duncan employs the same the image but treats it as a cliché: Garth and Louis stand on the platform at the back of the train and remember that they are supposed to see towers and minarets as they look at the mountains.

Duncan outperforms Lewis in terms of sophistication again in her account from Columbo, Ceylon. Louis Lloyd writes of sitting in their hotel room "pondering over a pamphlet of statistics" when, she says, Garth came in and placed on her pages "a very large flower, with a multitude of velvety rounded petals, pearly pink, like the lining of a shell"—a lotus. "I bent over it with a sort of rapture," she continues, and "felt my brain go giddy" (*The Week* 27 Dec. 1889: 60). Grafton has been emphasizing in her articles that unlike a fellow Canadian male correspondent travelling in the east at the same time, she and Louis are *not* interested in factual details, and Lewis uses this poetic image to enter the conversation and demonstrate, artistically, her own intention to focus on beauty and art. Garth Grafton also includes a lotus in her vignette, and in a little moment not unlike Grafton's more sophisticated treatment of the towers and minarets in Canada, Duncan's account subtly undermines another slip into *cliché* in Lewis's corresponding one. Lloyd writes of visiting the "native quarter" and, while passing a big pond filled with lotuses, having her *jinricksha* overtaken by a native who had been "lurking around" the shop where she was buying material for a new dress (*The Week* 27 Dec. 1889: 60). Grafton writes, from a more enlightened stance, of passing the same pond ("a shining green-brown lake") and of a native "going in up to his neck" to fetch lotuses for her and Lloyd (*Star* 20 July 1889). It had begun to be fashionable for sophisticated women travel writers to eschew the typical Victorian narrative about encountering potentially threatening native men when finding themselves unprotected in strange places, and Duncan seems to have taken advantage of an opportunity, here, to appear comparatively modern.

Duncan's novel of the New Woman, *A Daughter of Today,* published in 1894, contributes to Lily Lewis's erasure in yet another way. Many scholars interested in the New Woman and her fictional counterpart have suggested that the actual New Woman—the woman simply seeking a career and a degree of independence—lost credibility and virtually disappeared because the New Woman depicted in fiction tended so often to be extreme and generally reprehensible, such a threat to moral decency and social stability that she had either to be corrected or destroyed by

the author who created her. *A Daughter of Today* follows this pattern precisely, and in the process inadvertently disparages the woman whom its heroine so closely resembles in many specific ways. The novel's Elfrida Bell does many of the things that Lewis actually did, but in the novel they are trivialized. Elfrida sends "Paris Letters" to American newspapers. She writes a series of articles "about artists and their ways of working and their ideas and all that" (92). She wants to write for *Raffini's Chronicle* (Lewis, Morgan says, wrote for *Galignani's Messenger* in Paris), and she associates with a Princess Bobaloff from Russia (corresponding to Lewis Rood's "Princess Gortchakoff"). She reads Ruskin's *Stones of Venice* (4). Bits of French intersperse with English in her speech and her letters as they also do in Lewis's letters to her family. Elfrida calls herself "a female Zola" (101). (Lewis wrote positively about the French naturalist in several of her sketches and in her monograph of de Chavannes mentions a personal acquaintance with him.) Echoing L. L.'s moment with Franz Liszt, Elfrida "strikes a false note" (142) socially when she kisses the hand of a visiting celebrity in an excessive burst of public enthusiasm. "Art spoke to her from all sides" (14) the narrator says, and mentions again and again the "little flame within her" (126) that Elfrida so enjoys talking about. Walter Pater's doctrine of aestheticism becomes sheer egotism in Elfrida's total devotion to creating herself as a work of art. Elfrida refuses feminine desire, choosing instead the motto "*pas femme—artiste*" (281) to define herself, and for this the book's narrator also condemns her: Elfrida commits suicide while the more conventional female character in the novel finds romance and happiness. Carole Gerson suggests that as a writer "attempting to write herself back to Canada" ("Wild Colonial Girls" 63), Duncan had no choice but to condemn Elfrida. Her "Bohemian irregularity" (63) would be simply unimaginable in a Canadian character. Here as in the case of *A Social Departure,* Lily Lewis, the actual woman, disappears as a character resembling her in terms of sharing her experiences becomes a fictional type.

Aside from Louis Lloyd's articles describing the Paris Exhibition in the summer of 1889, Lloyd's articles about "Parisian Personalities" in the *Pall Mall Gazette* in 1890, the notice of her marriage in 1891, an undated press pass photograph, and a photograph from Italy showing a young woman in a jaunty straw hat, inscribed "Lansing and Katie, with love, Lily," and dated "1892," Lily Lewis disappears, in terms of my research, until 1895, when her book on de Chavannes was published by Prang & Co. of Boston.

The final two items of Lily Lewis's writing that I have been able to locate, two prose poems published in the New York *Bookman* in 1896, seem to anticipate the fading out of a woman.

Lily Lewis Rood rewrites Duncan's negative version of her life, in a way, in her sketch of de Chavannes. Imbedded in the monograph's description of de Chavannes and his values and habits of work, we can discern the international intellectual influences that have characterized Lewis's work from the very beginning. Pierre Puvis de Chavannes, the head of Paris's New Salon in the 1890s, is perhaps best known for the decorative borders that grace many of France's public buildings. Lewis Rood writes of how he "is indifferent to Ruskin's praise or censure" (15) yet professes and demonstrates a joy in his vocation that has helped to make his native land great. The sketch includes the figure of the writer talking with the artist "in the gray atelier in Place Pigalle" (29), seeing him "in the heat of midsummer" (29) and again in cooler times, and remembering "a rush, four years ago" (4) to a delicately dusty studio in Montmartre, to interview de Chavannes for the first time.

Throughout her writing, Lily Lewis often indirectly expresses a concern about artists and their work being forgotten. L. L.'s nostalgia regarding "crumbling temples" (*The Week* 21 Apr. 1887: 335) among the Roman ruins and lovely works of art no longer visited or enjoyed in Florence's Boboli Gardens provides the earliest example. Commenting upon a collection in Montreal of celebrated Canadian artists, Louis Lloyd focuses her attention on two individuals regrettably referred to only as "Inconnus" (*The Week* 29 Dec. 1887: 70). Attempts to remain visible as a public writer appear in a variety of forms in Lewis's later work. With her return to the *pension* in 1889, Louis Lloyd subtly but explicitly connects her current persona with her earlier L. L. Now, writing as Lily Lewis Rood, Lewis again but less directly refers her international readers back to an earlier time when she was writing more prolifically under her Canadian pseudonym Louis Lloyd.

The final two items of Lily Lewis's writing that I have been able to locate, two prose poems published in the New York *Bookman* in 1896, seem to anticipate the fading out of a woman. In both poems, a woman appears for a moment, then disappears, leaving behind only a trace, rather as Lewis herself seems to have done at this point in her career. In "The Face in the Mirror," a third-person speaker relates an elliptical narrative about a woman who appears momentarily in the doorway of a room, then disappears into a "shrouding fog" outside in the city streets. The first-person speaker of "A Perfume" recalls being joined for a moment on a hot, dusty train by a woman whose features remain indistinct, and noticing "a dress of old-time flowered silk patterned with little faded roses," a bonnet with "velvety geraniums," and "a sweet-smelling perfume."

The train stops, and the woman disappears in the crowded station. The speaker follows the trace left by the perfume until it, too, "fade[s] into the city air [and is] lost" (*Bookman* 1896 322–3). The "velvety rounded" petals of the lotus flower in Louis Lloyd's vignette about Ceylon (*The Week* 27 Dec. 1889: 60) reappear in an altered form in the details of the dress and the hat in the poem. Lloyd says she "felt [her] brain grow giddy" when she buried her nose in the lotus, and here, in the poem, "dusty, giddy heat" fills the car. Poetic technique obliquely connects Lewis's several writing selves as well as images and ideas that recur in her work. The vagueness of the disappearing figure in both poems, its inability fully to materialize in both cases, corresponds, perhaps, to Lily Lewis's own difficulties establishing a career and her subsequent disappearance after a brief moment as a writer.

Ironically, the two poems almost literally disappeared in the process of my discovering them in the periodicals archive of the National Library. Many of these journals from the 1890s are falling apart. The ink comes off the pages at the slightest touch. The pages in the volume I was working with actually began to crumble as I handled them. By the time I had photocopied the pages containing the poems, it was impossible to read the title and date of the journal. Five days later, the volume was still on the shelf where I had left it. I do not know whether it was ever returned to its place in the archives.

References suggest that a few additional pieces of Lily Lewis's writing exist, but their whereabouts remain as mysterious as the details of Lewis's later life. I have found no trace of either the account of the trip up the Nile with the Russian princess or the "little book of Japanese sketches" mentioned in Morgan's bibliography. Correspondence in the Lewis papers refers to "articles that Mrs. Rood wrote" while a patient at Camberwell House, but I have not located any of these. Excerpts from legal documents, including her mother's will granting Lily a perpetual allowance, and family correspondence, including a letter written by her brother Albert talking about "the trouble he and Lily have caused the family," reveal something about Lily Lewis's troubles and conflicts in the late 1890s. Photographs courtesy of Broadmoor Hospital contrast sadly with the earlier ones taken in Montreal, Paris, Italy, and Cairo. British medical records, correspondence between Lewis's siblings and authorities at the institutions where she spent her later years, and notes written by Lily Lewis Rood herself provide brief moments of clarity in the still-blurred picture of those later years. Lewis apparently suffered from a delusion that she had been denied an inheritance rightfully hers, and her incar-

ceration resulted from numerous letters she wrote to this effect. Among the recipients of these letters was British Prime Minister Lloyd George, a close friend of the Lewis family. Although she disappeared from the Canadian writing scene relatively early, and from the international scene not long afterwards, Lily Lewis nevertheless deserves to be remembered for her unique contribution to the writing of her time. The life and work of this Canadian journalist and New Woman adds a chapter to the story of Canadian women's writing that has been missing for too long.

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