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Female Authorship, Incomplete Archives, and the Periodical Press in Nineteenth-Century Montreal: The Case of Rosanna Mullins Leprohon

Andrea Cabajsky

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Article abstract

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Female Authorship, Incomplete Archives, and the Periodical Press in Nineteenth-Century Montreal: The Case of Rosanna Mullins Leprohon

Andrea Cabajsky
Université de Moncton

Abstract
This article revolves around a case study of Montreal-based, Irish-Canadian author Rosanna Mullins Leprohon (1829-1879) who left behind little to no material archive after her death in 1879. Leprohon's example serves to highlight the scholarly challenges that inhere in defining Canadian women's authorship in the nineteenth century. The article is divided into two parts: focussing on the *Journal of Education for Lower Canada* (Montreal, 1857-1879), the first half argues that Leprohon's periodical poetry played a greater role than previously understood in defining the terms of her authorship in Confederation-period Montreal. Examining archival documents belonging to her late husband and held in the Fonds Jean-Lukin Leprohon, the second half demonstrates the challenges that inhere in reconstructing women's authorship through the archives of men-of-letters. Although they may never make up for the absence of private correspondence written in her own voice, Rosanna Leprohon's periodical poems represent valuable resources for reconstructing the terms of her authorship and visibility in Montreal in the middle decades of the nineteenth century.

Résumé
Cet article s'articule autour d'une étude de cas sur l'écrivaine montréalaise Rosanna Mullins Leprohon (1829-1879) qui n'a laissé que peu d'archives matérielles après sa mort en 1879. Le cas de Leprohon sert à illuminer des défis méthodologiques auxquels font face les chercheur·e·s qui visent à mieux comprendre la vie d'auteure de femmes canadiennes du dix-neuvième siècle. L'argumentaire se décline en deux volets : le premier propose que la poésie de Leprohon, parue dans la revue mensuelle The Journal of Education for Lower Canada *(Montréal, 1857-1879), permet de mieux saisir les termes genrés de sa visibilité en tant qu'écrivaine montréalaise de la période de la Confédération. En examinant des documents d'archives appartenant à son défunt mari et conservés dans le Fonds Jean-Lukin Leprohon, le deuxième volet démontre l'ampleur des défis qui se posent aux chercheur·e·s quand ces derniers sont obligés de reconstruire les vies littéraires d'écrivaines par l'intermédiaire d'hommes de lettres. Bien qu'ils ne puissent jamais compenser l'absence de correspondances rédigées de sa propre main, les poèmes de Rosanna Leprohon*

parus dans The Journal of Education *permettent de reconstruire les termes de sa visibilité en tant qu'écrivaine montréalaise et de sa réception littéraire au XIX^e^ siècle.*

Keywords
Rosanna Leprohon, periodical poetry, archives, women's writing, Montreal, Canadian literature, *Journal of Education for Lower Canada*, Fonds Jean-Lukin Leprohon

Mots clés
Rosanna Leprohon, poésie, presse périodique, archives, écriture féminine, Montréal, littérature canadienne, Journal of Education for Lower Canada*, Fonds Jean-Lukin Leprohon*

Introduction

In *Unarrested Archives: Case-Studies in Twentieth-Century Canadian Women's Authorship* (2014), Linda M. Morra investigates ways in which Canadian women writers developed authorial agency and sociocultural visibility over the course of the twentieth century by negotiating the terms of their publications and material archives. Defining women writers' personal and professional relationships to public archives as "asymmetrical,"[1] Morra highlights the extent to which social class, race, sexual orientation and, of course, gender determined the relative willingness—or unwillingness—of state-sanctioned institutions to retain and preserve the print records of women. Morra's book paints a picture of material archives and authorial status as intimately interconnected and ultimately unstable, vulnerable as they have been to institutions' various refusal, misplacement, or release of women's papers. Morra's choice of temporal frame is deliberate for the twentieth century, which, she suggests, "offers a critical moment when women could increasingly appear as citizens, as public figures, and […] as authors" by contrast to earlier centuries when their authorship was more likely to have been "curtailed" because of their gender.[2] Prior to the twentieth century, "[w]hen institutional archives refused her records, as they often did," Morra concludes, "that refusal threw [a woman's]

1 Linda M. Morra, *Unarrested Archives: Case-Studies in Twentieth-Century Canadian Women's Authorship*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2014, p. 7.
2 *Ibid*., p. 3.

legibility as a citizen and her status as an author into question, if it did not entirely erase her."[3]

My paper takes for its starting point Morra's argument that the twentieth century represents a turning point during which Canadian women authors became increasingly visible in literary culture and legible to literary history. Morra uses the term "legibility" to signify "a critical moment" in the twentieth century when women "increasingly appear[ed] as citizens, as public figures, and [...] as authors"[4] in their own right. Rather than focussing on Canadian women authors in the twentieth century, however, I turn my attention to the middle decades of the nineteenth century. I investigate the obstacles that missing or incomplete archives have presented to literary historians interested in better understanding how women writers negotiated the terms of their authorship at this time. I take for my case study Rosanna Mullins Leprohon (1829-1879), an Irish-Canadian author and bilingual Montrealer who published over 110 poems, ten novels, and six short stories in her relatively short lifetime. Rosanna Leprohon represents a particularly challenging case for two material and disciplinary reasons: first, she left behind little, if any, material archive that may have helped literary historians to reconstruct the details of her authorship. None of Leprohon's private correspondence seems to have survived following her death in 1879, suggesting that it was likely destroyed by members of her family. Her publishing contracts, in turn, have not survived although her work was solicited by many of Montreal's reputable Confederation-period editors.

Second, the literary critical focus on Leprohon's publications in book form has occluded from view the role that periodical poetry played in helping her to define her authorial status. Leprohon is best known today for her three novels about Canada and Quebec, *The Manor House of De Villerai* (1859-1860), *Antoinette de Mirecourt* (1864), and *Armand Durand* (1868).[5] The latter two novels were

3 *Ibid*., p. 3.
4 *Ibid*., p. 3.
5 Rosanna Leprohon, *The Manor House of De Villerai, A Tale of Canada Under the*

published in book form in English, while all three were published in book form in French translation, during her lifetime.[6] Not only have their material visibility and nationalist themes defined Leprohon's literary historical reputation as a "literary pioneer,"[7] but they have also underpinned assumptions about the role that book publication played in defining Leprohon's trajectory as an author. In her doctoral dissertation, for example, Suzanne Bowness echoes the widely held view that Leprohon "successfully transitioned [from periodical] to book publication" in order to establish a "lasting" reputation among her peers.[8]

My own research into the pages of nineteenth-century North American newspapers and literary magazines has prompted me to question the view that periodical publication represented a predictable stepping-stone to publication in book form for women writers such as Leprohon. This research has also shed light on the important role that Leprohon's periodical poetry played in defining the terms of her authorial visibility in Montreal in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. From prominent journals such as *The Literary Garland* (Montreal, 1838-1851) to overlooked periodicals such as *The Journal of Education for Lower Canada* (Montreal, 1857-1879), the majority of periodicals that I have consulted contain fugitive poems and poetic variants that are

French Dominion, edited by Andrea Cabajsky, Peterborough, ON, Broadview Press, [1859-60] 2015, 286 p.; *Antoinette de Mirecourt, or, Secret Marrying and Secret Sorrowing: A Canadian Tale*, edited by John C. Stockdale, Ottawa, Carleton University Press, [1864] 1989, 274 p.; *Armand Durand, or, A Promise Fulfilled*, with an introduction by Lorraine McMullen and Elizabeth Waterston, Ottawa, Tecumseh Press, [1868] 1994, 193 p.

6 For more information about the publication histories of Leprohon's three novels of Quebec, see Carole Gerson, "Three Writers of Victorian Canada: Rosanna Leprohon/James De Mille/Agnes Maule Machar," in *Canadian Writers and Their Works*, vol. 1, edited by Robert Lecker, *et al.*, Toronto, ECW Press, 1983, p. 195-256. See also Andrea Cabajsky (ed.), "Rosanna Mullins Leprohon: A Brief Chronology," in *The Manor House of De Villerai* by Rosanna Mullins Leprohon, Peterborough, ON, Broadview Press, 2015, p. 33-36.

7 Gerson, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

8 Suzanne Bowness, "In Their Own Words: Prefaces and Other Sites of Editorial Interaction in Nineteenth-Century Canadian Magazines," Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Ottawa, 2012, p. 232.

not gathered in the posthumous collection, *The Poetical Works of Mrs. Leprohon* (1881).[9] Moreover, numerous articles published in nineteenth-century periodicals, including *The Journal of Education*, shed light on the popular reception of Leprohon's poetry and on Leprohon's involvement with poetic activities held at Villa Maria, a school for girls run by the Convent of the Congregation of Notre-Dame where she herself had been educated. Taken together, the poems and articles contained in *The Journal of Education* shed new light on the extent of Leprohon's visibility in Montreal in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, together with her long-standing commitment to public instruction for young women and girls.

In this essay, I argue that Leprohon's lost periodical poems represent valuable material archives available to literary historians interested in moving beyond book publication as a homologue of literary reputability for nineteenth-century women writers such as Leprohon. My essay builds on Morra's invitation, in a different context, to view archival "absence" as a "reminder that there are other, more creative approaches to [material] recovery."[10] I focus on one periodical, *The Journal of Education for Lower Canada*, to which Leprohon contributed original poems between 1859 and 1872. I have selected *The Journal of Education* because it contains articles, lost poems, and poetic variants that together shed light on Leprohon's sustained public reputation as a prominent poet and her involvement in public instruction in Montreal. It is worth noting that my research has uncovered lost poems and variants, but it has not discovered a radically new Leprohon. If anything, the perodical poems reinforce the traditional understanding of Leprohon's didacticism which is clearly displayed in her well-known novels. My research into Leprohon's periodical poetry does, however, shift critical attention away from Leprohon's novels published in book form, together with her contributions to the development of

9 Rosanna Leprohon, *The Poetical Works of Mrs. Leprohon (Miss R.E. Mullins)*, Montreal, Lovell, 1881, 228 p. [Web: https://archive.org/details/poetical-worksmr00leprgoog]

10 See Linda Morra, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

literary nationalism in nineteenth-century Canada.[11] In doing so, it reinforces the value of feminist scholarship that has highlighted Leprohon's commitment to "social, moral, [and] literary reform"[12] within the borders of her native city and province. Critic Kathryn Ledbetter has observed that periodical poetry is a "window to the past that is inaccessible in a bound volume."[13] I build on Ledbetter's observation by proposing that the periodical press played an important, albeit underappreciated, role in defining Leprohon's public status as a Montreal poet in the middle decades of the nineteenth century.

Material and Critical Contexts

As Morra has suggested, "family interventions sometimes play[ed] a vital role in the preservation or destruction of crucial papers."[14] Leprohon's private correspondence seems to have been the object of familial intervention for none of it has survived even though she enjoyed personal and professional connections with prominent politicians and men-of-letters, including Thomas D'Arcy McGee (1825-1868), John Lovell (1810-1893), and Pierre-Joseph-Olivier Chauveau (1820-1890). Although "Leprohon stands out as the third most prolific"[15] contributor to *The Literary Garland*, Victorian Canada's longest-running English-language literary journal, her

11 By and large, literary critics have proven more interested in Leprohon's poems with nationalist themes than in her sentimental poems. This focus is captured by John C. Stockdale's lament that her landscape poems are more "romantic in tone" than they are "Canadian" in content. See John C. Stockdale, "Mullins, Rosanna Eleanora (Leprohon)," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. X, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 1972. [Web: http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/mullins_rosanna_eleanora _10E.html]

12 Gerson, *op. cit.*, p. 217. See also Misao Dean, *Practising Femininity: Domestic Realism and the Performance of Gender in Early Canadian Fiction*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1998; Carrie MacMillan, Lorraine McMullen and Elizabeth Waterston, *Silenced Sextet: Six Nineteenth-Century Canadian Women Novelists*, Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992.

13 Kathryn Ledbetter, "Periodical Poetry," in *The Palgrave Encyclopedia of Victorian Women's Writing*, edited by Lesa Scholl, London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2019, p. 1-9. [Web: https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-02721-6].

14 Linda Morra, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

15 Suzanne Bowness, *op. cit.* p. 229.

correspondence with editor Lovell has not survived. Neither has her correspondence with other contemporary editors, including the editor of the *Pilot* (Boston, 1829-present) which published nearly a dozen poems by her, as well as short fiction and a short letter to the editor, in the late-1850s. My research into the Boston *Pilot* indicates that its offices burned to the ground following three devastating fires in the late nineteenth century, including the Great Boston Fire of 1872, which seemingly destroyed the majority of stored documents including editorial correspondence.[16] Such historical accidents have severely limited researchers' abilities to better understand essential details about Leprohon's professional life, including how much she was paid when she was "enrolled on the staff of some of the American journals and magazines."[17]

Furthermore, documents held by the Convent of the Congregation of Notre-Dame, the school that Leprohon attended from 1843 to 1850[18] were transferred in 1998 to the Fonds Jean-Lukin Leprohon containing papers belonging to her late husband and held in the archives of his former school at the Séminaire de Nicolet.[19] If the Convent had ever possessed original documents written by Leprohon, then at some point in their transfer to Nicolet they must have gone missing or were not retained. The entirety of the documents held in Nicolet consists of business cards and correspondence belonging to Jean-Lukin Leprohon (1822-1900)

16 Email correspondence between the author and Justine Sundaram, John J. Burns Library, Boston College, 9 January - 10 May 2013. See also Donis Tracy, "The Pilot [sic] enters 175th year," in *TheBostonPilot.com*, 3 September 2004, n. pag. [Web: https://www.thebostonpilot.com/articleprint.asp?id=1493]

17 See Henry J. Morgan, *Sketches of Celebrated Canadians and Persons Connected with Canada: From the Earlier Period in the History of the Province Down to the Present Time*, Montreal, R. Worthington, 1865, p. 747.

18 I would like to thank archivist Elise Thierry of the Congrégation de Notre-Dame for her generosity in making available relevant attendance records and tuition receipts for Leprohon. These receipts indicate that Leprohon took music lessons (piano and harp) as late as 1850. Thierry also alerted me to a donation of archival documents by the CND to the Fonds Jean-Lukin Leprohon held at the Séminaire de Nicolet.

19 Email correspondence between the author and Elise Thierry, archivist at the Congrégation de Notre-Dame, 4 June 2014.

dating from 1884 to 1899.[20] It is worth noting that, when he was preparing Carleton University Press's scholarly edition of *Antoinette de Mirecourt*,[21] John C. Stockdale published a series of advertisements in Quebec's English- and French-language newspapers, including *Le Devoir*, addressed "[à] la descendance de Rosanna Eleanor Leprohon et Dr. Luc [sic] Leprohon": "*Nous sommes à la recherche de manuscrits, lettres, correspondances d'affaires avec l'éditeur John Lovell, journaux, portraits, anecdotes de famille concernant cette célèbre nouvelliste et poétesse montréalaise.*"[22] Although Stockdale passed away in 2010 and left behind no material archive, his request for manuscripts, correspondence, and anecdotes about Leprohon likely proved unsuccessful.[23]

Leprohon's commitment to periodical poetry spanned her entire career. Beginning when she was seventeen, she published poetry and fiction, mostly in Montreal-based periodicals, including monthly literary journals and weekly story papers.[24] Her last known periodical publication before her death was the short story, "A School-Girl Friendship," that appeared in 1877,[25] although she

20 See Fonds Jean-Lukin Leprohon, Séminaire de Nicolet, Nicolet QC, F355/A1/1. I would like to thank Marie Pelletier, archivist at the Centre d'Archives Régionales, Séminaire de Nicolet, for her generosity in sharing the entirety of the Fonds Jean-Lukin Leprohon with me, as well as for her informative correspondence in June-July 2021.

21 John C. Stockdale, ed., *op. cit.*

22 See John C. Stockdale, "Avis," in *Le Devoir*, Montreal, 3 June 1987, p. 19. https://numerique.banq.qc.ca/patrimoine/details/52327/2763782.

23 In a recent phone call, Stockdale's widow, Marilyn MacNair Stockdale, admitted to me that she destroyed her late-husband's papers following his death. She also suggested it is unlikely that his papers contained anything of value that might shed new light on Leprohon's private life. My thanks to Vancouver architect Sean Ruthen for helping me to track down Marilyn Stockdale's contact information. My sincere thanks to Marilyn Stockdale for her openness to sharing information with me.

24 Most periodicals were based in Montreal, such as *The Literary Garland*, *The Journal of Education for Lower Canada*, *The New Dominion Monthly* (1867-1879), *The Family Herald* (1859-60), *The Hearthstone* (1870-1872), *The Saturday Reader* (1865-1866), *Canadian Illustrated News* (1869-1883), and *The True Witness and Catholic Chronicle* (1850-1910).

25 A bibliographical study of Leprohon's poetry does not yet exist. For her last published short story, see Rosanna Leprohon, "A School-Girl Friendship,"

also published poems into the 1870s.[26] Leprohon's long-standing commitment to periodical poetry, however, was overshadowed by the publication of a book intended to pay homage to her. Following Leprohon's death in 1879, 110 poems were gathered, presumably by poet John Reade, in the posthumous collection, *The Poetical Works of Mrs. Leprohon (Miss R.E. Mullins)*.[27] Published by Lovell in Montreal in 1881, *The Poetical Works* was prepared "in order to place in the hands of those who […] loved and honored her a memorial of what she was at her best, intellectually and morally."[28] Consisting of devotional, patriotic, and descriptive poems, as well as lyrics and elegies on themes of love and loss, *The Poetical Works* remains the only collection of Leprohon's poems published in book form to date.

The publication of *The Poetical Works* not only assigned literary authority to the poems selected for inclusion, but it also erased from view the poems that were left behind. In my efforts to verify the claim by Brother Adrian (Henri Deneau) that over two dozen lost poems by Leprohon remain scattered in the pages of nineteenth-century periodicals,[29] I have uncovered both fugitive poems and numerous poetic variants. Minor differences in punctuation and diction between poetic variants and the versions of poems that appear in *The Poetical Works* may be the result of typographical errors. The existence of numerous variants of the same poem in nineteenth-century periodicals may also suggest that Leprohon revised her poems when given the opportunity to do so prior to a fresh periodical publication. (She often republished the same poem

Canadian Illustrated News, 25 Aug.–15 Sept., 1877. For a more detailed bibliography of Leprohon's short fiction and novels, see Andrea Cabajsky, ed., "Select Bibliography," in Rosanna Leprohon, 2015, *op. cit.*, p. 279-286.

26 Leprohon's last poem published in *The Journal of Education*, for instance, appeared in 1872. The true number of Leprohon's periodical poems published in her lifetime remains unknown. As Gerson has observed, "[a]n adequate bibliographical study of Leprohon has yet to appear." See Gerson, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

27 Rosanna Leprohon, 1881, *op. cit*.

28 See *ibid.*, p. 4.

29 Brother Adrian (Henri Deneau), "Life and Works of Mrs. Leprohon, née R.E. Mullins," M.A. Thesis, Université de Montréal, 1948, p. 29.

in different periodicals as was typical practice for this period.) The existence of numerous variants may also suggest, by contrast, that Leprohon's editors took it upon themselves to modify her poems prior to publication. Finally, in a similar vein, it may suggest that editor Reade, himself a published poet, modified punctuation, diction, or phrasing where he deemed it necessary or desirable to do so when preparing *The Poetical Works* for publication. Despite these various possibilities, the existence of lost poems and variants by Leprohon calls into question the authoritative status that *The Poetical Works* has enjoyed since its publication nearly a century-and-a-half ago. Their existence serves to remind us that, as critic J.C.C. Mays (2001) has put it in a different context, "choices of text[s] are debateable"[30] because "[t]he grounds of choice are subjective and provisional."[31] The following section builds on scholarship by Helen Buss and Marlene Kadar who approach "the archive as a complex and incomplete site of feminist knowledge."[32] It investigates *The Journal of Education for Lower Canada* in order to better understand the role that Leprohon's periodical poetry played in defining the terms of her public status and authorial reputation. Leprohon is highly visible within the pages of *The Journal of Education*—primarily as a poet and an educator, and secondarily as a novelist. In this way, *The Journal of Education* inverts the traditional literary critical emphasis on Leprohon's novels, published in book form, by highlighting the sociocultural value of her periodical poems.

The Journal of Education as Poetic Archive

After periodical poems are gathered in book form, the bibliographical contexts that gave them meaning in the pages of journals and magazines risk being forgotten. Whether periodicals were published by philanthropic organizations, public associations,

30 J.C.C. Mays, ed., *The Collected Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge: Poetical Works*, vol. 1, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2001, p. cxlvii.

31 *Ibid.*, p. cxlviii.

32 Helen M. Buss, "Introduction," in *Working in Women's Archives: Researching Women's Private Literature and Archival Documents*, edited by Buss and Kadar, Waterloo, Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2001, p. 1.

or branches of government, Ledbetter reminds us, the poems appearing within their pages helped to "anchor readers to the organization's mission."[33] Viewed from such a perspective, the periodical poems that appear in *The Journal of Education* "anchor" Leprohon's poetic activities in official efforts to improve the system of public instruction in Lower Canada. *The Journal of Education for Lower Canada* and its French-language counterpart, the *Journal de l'instruction publique*, were created at the recommendation of editor Pierre-Joseph-Olivier Chauveau. Although Chauveau would eventually become the first Premier of Quebec following Confederation (1867-1873), and in 1853 had published his first and only novel, *Charles Guérin*,[34] in 1855 he occupied the post of Superintendent of the Department of Public Instruction. The *Report of the Superintendent of Education for Lower Canada for 1855* contains a series of recommendations penned by Chauveau and aimed at improving "[t]he present state of public instruction in Lower Canada."[35] These recommendations include "[i]mprovement of the body of teachers," "[u]niformity of school books," "[t]he establishment of Normal Schools"[36] for the intellectual development of teachers, and the establishment of a journal of education. "The influence of such a journal would extend not only to teachers," Chauveau points out, "but [it would] also […] contribute more than anything else to inspire our population with that active zeal without which all the efforts of the Government would always be more or less ineffectual."[37] Chauveau recommends that the proposed journal be "distributed gratuitously to all teachers, as well as to the several Boards of School Commissioners."[38] The inclusion of poems, usually

33 *Ibid.* p. 5.
34 See P.J.O. Chauveau, *Charles Guérin : roman de mœurs canadiennes*, Montreal, Cherrier/Lovell, 1853, p. 362. A large portion of the novel was first published serially in *L'Album littéraire et musical de la Revue Canadienne* (1846-1847).
35 P.J.O. Chauveau, *Report of the Superintendent of Education for Lower Canada, Translated from the French, and Printed by Order of the Legislative Assembly*, Toronto, John Lovell, 1857, p. 4.
36 *Ibid.*, p. 5.
37 *Ibid.*, p. 13.
38 *Ibid.*, p. 13.

on the first page of each issue, represented one means of rendering the journal attractive to a broader readership while encouraging a taste for knowledge and reading in the general population. "Should it be desired to recover part of the expenses of publication," Chauveau recommends that the proposed journal "be made a regular Family Journal [sic], which, under an agreeable form and small price, would spread useful knowledge through the country, […] inspire the youth with a taste for sound reading, and would be the auxiliary and the complement of the parish libraries."[39] An "absolute condition of success,"[40] then, for the *Journal of Education* includes its general-interest format modelled on "similar publications"[41] in Nova Scotia, Upper Canada (today's Ontario), and the United States.

Together with its francophone counterpart, the *Journal de l'instruction publique*, *The Journal of Education for Lower Canada* represents the first periodical on education published in what is today's Quebec. It follows the creation, nine years earlier, of the first English-language *Journal of Education for Upper Canada* (Toronto, 1848-1866) edited by Egerton Ryerson, Superintendent of Education for today's province of Ontario, and his assistant, John George Hodgins. Like Ryerson, who undertook "the major portion of the editorial work"[42] involved in the *Journal of Education for Upper Canada*, editor Chauveau was involved in managing *The Journal of Education for Lower Canada* and its French-language counterpart during the first decade of their existence. Historian Agnes Coffey has observed that "[t]he history of any newspaper is mainly the story of its editors."[43] Although Coffey has in mind a different contemporary periodical, *The True Witness and Catholic Chronicle* (Montreal, 1850-1910), her observation applies equally well to

39 *Ibid.*, p. 13.
40 *Ibid.*, p. 13.
41 *Ibid.*, p. 13.
42 F. Henry Johnson, "The First Canadian Journal of Education: an Historical Review," in *McGill Journal of Education/Revue des sciences de l'éducation de McGill*, vol. 6, no. 002, 1971, p. 170-176. [Web: https://mje.mcgill.ca/article/view/6835]
43 Agnes Coffey, "The True Witness and Catholic Chronicle: Sixty Years of Catholic Journalistic Action," in *CCHA Report*, vol. 5 (1937-1938), n. pag. [Web: http://www.cchahistory.ca/journal/CCHA1937-38/Coffey.html]

both *The Journal of Education for Lower Canada* and the *Journal de l'instruction publique*. As Jean Hamelin and Pierre Poulin point out in their entry on Chauveau in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, "[t]he two journals were the official organs of the Department of Public Instruction, and the French edition was in fact identified with Chauveau, who managed it and was virtually its sole author until 1867."[44]

The first issue of *The Journal of Education for Lower Canada* appeared in February 1857. The title page announced that it was "Edited by the Honorable P.J.O. Chauveau, Superintendent of Education for Lower Canada, and by Mr. John Radiger, of the Department of Education, Assistant Editor."[45] It was published in Montreal by the Department of Education and printed by Senecal and Daniel on St. Vincent Street. For thirteen years, *The Journal of Education* appeared regularly every month. A selection of issues from 1865 offers a representative glimpse into its pages. The first issue of January 1865 features the poem, "Jacques Cartier,"[46] by Thomas D'Arcy McGee on the first page. Subsequent issues feature comparative articles about "Elementary Education in France,"[47] or "The Grammar Schools of Upper Canada."[48] The table of contents for January 1865 lists articles on various subjects relating to education, such as "[T]he Preparation of Lessons at Home," "The Duty of Parents to Teachers," "A Talk with my Boys on Meanness," and "Never Frighten Children."[49] Finally, most issues include

44 See Jean Hamelin and Pierre Poulin, "Chauveau, Pierre-Joseph-Olivier," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. XI, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 1982. [Web: http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/chauveau_pierre_joseph_olivier_11E.html]

45 See Front Cover, *Journal of Education for Lower Canada*, vol. 1, no. 1, Feb. 1857. [Web: https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8_05086]

46 See T.D. McGee, "Jacques Cartier," in *Journal of Education for Lower Canada*, vol. 9, no. 1, Jan. 1865, p. 1. [Web: https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8_05086]

47 See *Journal of Education for Lower Canada*, vol. 9, no. 4, Apr. 1865, p. 51. [Web: https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8_05086]

48 See *Journal of Education for Lower Canada*, vol. 9, no. 10/11, Oct./Nov. 1865, p. 142. [Web: https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8_05086]

49 See *Journal of Education for Lower Canada*, vol. 9, no. 1, Jan. 1865, index. [Web: https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8_05086]

publicity about teachers' conventions, donations to the Library of the Department of Public Instruction, lists of books approved by the Council of Public Instruction for Lower Canada, details of convocations, diplomas granted, and school prizes awarded.

In total, 25 distinct poems by Leprohon appeared in *The Journal of Education* over the thirteen-year period from 1859 to 1872. Additional poems by Leprohon are either mentioned, or cited in their entirety, with or without acknowledgement, in the bodies of separate articles. These additional poems include, for example, Leprohon's English-language translation of Édouard Sempé's cantata for the Prince of Wales's visit to Montreal in 1860,[50] and the performance by a "Miss Leprohon" of a "poetical tribute to the memory of the illustrious Margaret [sic] Bourgeois."[51] Although the poet is not named, this poem is cited in its entirety and seems to represent an earlier version of Leprohon's "Sister M.B.'s Arrival in Montreal, 1654" as it appears in *The Poetical Works*.[52] Of the 25 poems by Leprohon published in *The Journal of Education*, seventeen are identified as original contributions prepared exclusively for *The Journal of Education*. The majority of Leprohon's poems published under Chauveau's editorship feature prominently on the first page, sometimes as stand-alone contributions but often followed by poems by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, John Keats, and others. Beginning in 1868, a new editorial team altered the format of the journal and, in doing so, solicited fewer original poems. Nevertheless, six poems by Leprohon appear individually in separate issues produced by the new editorial team between 1868 and 1872. It is worth noting that, while Leprohon's poems do not appear in corresponding issues of the French-language *Journal de l'instruction publique*, the latter periodical did publish regular reviews of her books. Moreover, an anonymous review of *Voices from the Hearth: A Collection of Verses* (1863) edited by Isidor G. Ascher,

50 See *Journal of Education for Lower Canada*, vol. 4, no. 12, Dec. 1860, p. 183. [Web: https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8_05086]

51 See *Journal of Education for Lower Canada*, vol. 19, no. 7, July 1875, p. 101. [Web: https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8_05086]

52 See Leprohon, 1881, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

which includes poems by Leprohon, appeared in the October 1863 issue of the *Journal de l'instruction publique*. The review concludes with a statement expressing the reviewer's desire to see Leprohon publish her collected poems in book form."[53] Finally, versions of original poems published in *The Journal of Education*, including "Given and Taken,"[54] later appeared in *The Poetical Works of Mrs. Leprohon*. Other poems, such as "The Standard-Bearer,"[55] have never been published in book form.

Admittedly, most poems by Leprohon published in *The Journal of Education* reflect her larger tendency to use her writing to promote "gentility, good morals, and correct conduct."[56] Nevertheless, a minority of poems, such as "The Standard-Bearer," represent a departure from the "high martial idealism"[57] that defines such novels as *The Manor House*, as well as some poems collected in *The Poetical Works*. First published in late 1866, "The Standard-Bearer" consists of twelve stanzas containing eight iambic lines each and an alternate rhyme scheme. It is written from the perspective of a female speaker who variously describes, and comments on, an unidentified battle scene. Frequent onomatopoeia, caesura, and graphic imagery convey a chaotic scene: "Chargers riderless, loud neighing, / Crushed down with iron heel, / Wounded soldiers, moaning—praying— / Making Heaven one last appeal."[58] The

53 "*Nous aimerions aussi à voir Mde. Leprohon réunir en un volume les charmantes poésies qu'elle a éparpillées, depuis quelques années, dans les journaux et les recueils anglais de ce pays et des États-Unis.*" See "Bulletin des Publications et des Réimpressions les plus Récentes," in *Journal de l'instruction publique*, vol. VII, no. 10, Oct. 1863, p. 157. [Web: https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8_06257_79/14?r=0&s=3] Ascher's *Voices from the Hearth* was published simultaneously in Montreal by Lovell and in New York by Appleton in 1863.

54 See "Given and Taken," in *Journal of Education for Lower Canada*, vol. VII, no. 7/8, July/Aug. 1863, p. 85. [Web: https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8_05086] See also, Rosanna Leprohon, 1881, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

55 See "The Standard-Bearer," in *Journal of Education for Lower Canada*, vol. X, no. 11/12, Nov./Dec. 1866, p. 137. [Web : https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8_05086].

56 See Gerson, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

57 See Carrie MacMillan, Lorraine McMullen and Elizabeth Waterston, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

58 Rosanna Leprohon, "The Standard-Bearer," in *The Journal of Education for Lower Canada*, vol. 10, nos. 11 and 12, Nov./Dec. 1866, p. 137. [Web: https://www.cana-

poem closes with maternal imagery conventional to Leprohon—the eponymous flag-bearer dies with his mother's name on his lips. Nevertheless, despite its conventional form and imagery, the poem deviates from Leprohon's better-known patriotic and martial poems by conveying a more cynical approach to war as incongruous with any greater principle or cause. "The Standard-Bearer" was published at a time when Fenian forces had encountered Canadian militia at Ridgeway and Fort Erie and a year following the assassination of U.S. President Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865). It may represent a kind of companion piece to another poem by Leprohon, "When Will It End? Written During the Civil War in the United States."[59] Nevertheless, the fact that "The Standard-Bearer" was excluded from *The Poetical Works* might suggest that it occupies, as Cary Nelson has put it in a different context, "the outer edges of [the] poet's enterprise."[60]

Literary critic Misao Dean has argued that Leprohon's novel, *Antoinette de Mirecourt*, "empower[s]" women to "restrain and guide"[61] political tensions. As they emerge within the pages of *The Journal of Education*, Leprohon's poetic activities can be productively regarded from a similar perspective for two different reasons. First, the back pages of *The Journal of Education* reveal that Leprohon wrote poetry in part so that it could be performed by students, including members of her own family, during school events. Notices of annual commencements at Villa Maria school, run by the Convent of the Congregation of Notre-Dame, describe recitations and performances of Leprohon's poems by her daughters or nieces.[62] These types of notices shed light on the extent to which the domestic and political spheres converged, for Leprohon, under

diana.ca/view/oocihm.8_05086]

59 See Leprohon, 1881, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

60 Cary Nelson, *Repression and Recovery: Modern American Poetry and the Politics of Cultural Memory, 1910-1945*. Madison, WI, University of Wisconsin Press, 1989, p. 192.

61 Dean, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

62 As mentioned earlier, the issue for July 1875 notes that graduation day for a "Miss Leprohon" was accompanied by the latter's recitation of "a poetical tribute to the memory of the illustrious Margaret [sic] Bourgeois." See vol. 19, no. 7, July 1875, p. 101. [Web: https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8_05086]

the cause of female instruction. Second, editorial articles convey valuable information about the terms with which Leprohon's poetry was received by her peers who were similarly committed to the cause of improving public instruction. Addressing readers "who[,] from various causes are, or ought to be, deeply concerned in seeing the great business of education rightly conducted among us," an editorial piece from December 1868 "point[s] with satisfaction to the original contributions of Mrs. Leprohon" as valuable resources for "teachers and [for] all who have the responsible care of young people."[63] Taken together, such notices and articles shed light on the role that Leprohon's poetic activities played in defining her public status and reputation in nineteenth-century Montreal.

As an Irish Catholic Montrealer, Leprohon shared her religion with the French Canadians and her maternal language with the English Canadians. Gerson has perceptively argued that characterization and theme are carefully crafted in Leprohon's novels to advocate "general Christian principles which would [have met] the approval of Catholic and Protestant alike."[64] Gerson's argument about Leprohon's conciliatory style is reflected in the political objectives of *The Journal of Education*. As the prospectus to the inaugural issue maintains, even though the English-language journal and its French-language counterpart were published "[u]nder two different names [and] clothed in two different languages," they were both conceived as "harbingers of peace" serving "the same cause": "to surmount" the differences "of language, origin and creed" while creating "a neutral ground where [readers] can meet for one common object" "in education, in science, and in literature."[65] Leprohon remains a conciliatory figure throughout the *Journal* and in frequent reviews of her poems and novels that tend to pay equal attention to her poetry and fiction published in English

63 See "To the Readers of the Journal," in *Journal of Education for Lower Canada*, vol. 12, no. 12, Dec. 1868, p. 183. [Web: https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8_05086]

64 See Gerson, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

65 See "Address to Readers," in *The Journal of Education for Lower Canada*, vol. 1, no. 1, Feb. 1857, p. 10.

and in French translation.[66] These same reviews also shed light on the extent to which Leprohon was valued for her contributions to the development of both English-and French-Canadian literatures. In "Books and Publications Received" for December 1868, for instance, an anonymous reviewer situates Leprohon's *Armand Durand*, published in English at this time, within French-Canadian literary history by comparing it favourably to Chauveau's *Charles Guérin* and Patrice Lacombe's *La Terre paternelle*,[67] "two of the best" French-Canadian novels "extant," and important exemplars of early literary realism in Quebec.

Leprohon seems to have submitted her poems for publication to the majority of Montreal's Confederation-era periodicals, both long-lived monthly journals and short-lived weekly magazines. There thus exists a varied, and variegated, set of bibliographical contexts from which to recover them. It is difficult to know for certain whether *The Journal of Education* reached as wide an audience as Chauveau had intended. As Hamelin and Poulin point out, the French-language *Journal de l'instruction publique* was popular with the literary elite and Chauveau's "Revue mensuelle" "was the delight of the literary men of the time."[68] By contrast, "teachers showed scant interest in the publication and in 1864 even launched a much more vigorous rival, *La Semaine*.[69] Although it is challenging to ascertain whether the English-language *Journal of Education* suffered a similarly divided reception as its French-language counterpart, its contents nevertheless shed new light

66 The issue for July 1864 contains a notice of publication for *Antoinette de Mirecourt*—"in every way worthy of the authoress of the Manoir de Villerai, Ida Beresford, and of so many pretty poetical compositions." See vol. 8, no. 7, July 1864, p. 99). The issue for September 1865, in turn, announces the publication of Genand's "conscientious" French-language translation of that same novel (see vol. 9, no. 9, Sept. 1865, p. 126-127). [Web: https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8_05086]

67 Lacombe's *La Terre paternelle* was published serially in 1846 in *L'Album littéraire et musical de la Revue canadienne* and in book form in 1871 by Beauchemin et Valois.

68 See Jean Hamelin and Pierre Poulin, "Chauveau, Pierre-Joseph-Olivier," *op. cit.*, n. pag.

69 *Ibid.*, n. pag.

on the sociocultural value of Leprohon's poetic contributions. Leprohon's periodical poetry, notices of her poems performed at school events, and reviews of her poems and fiction, can be viewed together as complementary kinds of material resources. Together, they shed light on the extent to which Leprohon's literary activities and public reputation aligned with sociopolitical causes espoused by Chauveau: improvement of public instruction in Lower Canada, development of a taste for reading, and intercultural negotiation.

Conclusion

In the middle decades of the nineteenth century, book publication was still relatively rare in Lower Canada. Periodicals thus represented crucial sites of literary and intellectual development. The ephemeral nature of many nineteenth-century periodicals—which were sometimes remarkably short-lived—has thus exacerbated the larger problems that have arisen around a lack of material archives for women writers such as Leprohon. Some of the periodicals to which Leprohon contributed poetry and fiction, such as *The Family Herald* (Montreal, 1859-60), have not survived, even in a partial run. It is thus impossible to consult them and certainly not to digitize them. Because many of the material details of Leprohon's authorship have fallen outside of the critical record, the original poems and secondary articles contained in *The Journal of Education for Lower Canada* represent important resources for reconstructing the terms of her social value and reputation among the literary elite of Montreal. Over the last century-and-a-half, Leprohon-the-poet (as opposed to Leprohon-the-fiction-writer) has all but disappeared from the pages of literary history. Consequently, there exists a noticeable contrast between the polite terms that critics have used to define Leprohon's achievements as a pioneering woman novelist and the terms that they have used to describe the poems gathered in *The Poetical Works* as literature of "less consequence."[70] Resituating Leprohon's poems in their initial,

70 W.H. New, "Rosanna Leprohon," in *Encyclopedia of Literature in Canada*, edited by W.H. New, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2002, p. 652.

periodical contexts suggests that an alternative critical framework exists from which to apprehend her sociocultural impact.

In my efforts to enrich the scope of available archives for Rosanna Leprohon, I have heeded the advice of Gerson who has recommended that scholars consult the "[p]ersonal and professional records of male relatives" especially "husbands," "anthology editors and other associates."[71] Taking my cue from Gerson, I have begun to expand my investigations to include previously unpublished archival correspondence by Leprohon's husband. The Fonds Jean-Lukin Leprohon held by the Séminaire de Nicolet, for example, contains a letter written by J.L. Leprohon, dated February 1899, addressed to Montreal judge and art collector, Louis-François-Georges Baby (1832-1906).[72] At the turn of the twentieth century, Baby was President of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Montreal whose executive committee included such illustrious members as "Miss Van Horne, Mrs. W.D. Lighthall, Mrs. Redpath, Mlle Baby, Mme Casgrain,"[73] and other notable female members of Montreal's literary and mercantile elite. J.L. Leprohon's short letter expresses his gratitude for the recent decision made to hang his late wife's portrait in the art gallery of the Château Ramezay Museum. His letter pays equal attention to his late wife's contributions to "literature and poetry" ("*elle a [...] consacr[é] sa plume au développement des Traditions Canadiennes [sic] et de la Poésie*").[74] The 1906 catalogue of the Château Ramezay Museum, in turn, recognizes Leprohon's literary "contribut[ions] to the periodicals of [her] day."[75] Reading *The Journal of Education for Lower Canada* through the lens of the limited surviving correspondence by Jean-Lukin Leprohon may serve to expand our understanding of the

71 Carole Gerson, "Locating Female Subjects in the Archives," in Buss and Kadar, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

72 See Fonds Jean-Lukin Leprohon, Séminaire de Nicolet, Nicolet QC, F355/A1/1.

73 See "Catalogue of the Château Ramezay Museum, 1898, p. 4. [Web: https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.02123/10?r=0&s=1]

74 See Fonds Jean-Lukin Leprohon, *op. cit*.

75 See Thomas O'Leary, *Catalogue of the Château de Ramezay Museum and Portrait Gallery*, Montreal, The Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Montreal, p. 28. [Web: https://archive.org/details/catalogueofchate00chte/page/28/mode/2up]

role that periodical poetry played in helping to define the terms of Rosanna Leprohon's sociocultural visibility, both during her lifetime and towards the turn of the twentieth century. Reading the *Journal* also, paradoxically, highlights the extent to which the terms of Leprohon's authorship have been mediated by men. Whether those men are politicians, editors, art collectors, or her spouse, it is extremely challenging to get to Leprohon without going through them first.

In *Editing Modernity: Women and Little-Magazine Cultures in Canada, 1916-1956*, Dean Irvine defines "'lost' periodicals and texts"[76] as alternative literary histories. Calling attention to the "textual materials [that] are cast aside at a given historical moment,"[77] Irvine highlights the need to recover lost texts in order to better understand "the processes of cultural selection that have shaped the canons, histories, and critical traditions that we have for the most part passively accepted without ever knowing what was left out in the first place."[78] I approach Rosanna Leprohon's periodical poetry from a similar spirit of literary historical recovery to that of Irvine. Taken together, the lost poems, poetic variants, editorial articles, notices, and reviews from *The Journal of Education for Lower Canada* may help literary historians to think differently about nineteenth-century authorship, incomplete archives, and the place of periodical poetry written by women in the Canadian literary tradition. Although they may never make up for the absence of private correspondence written in her own voice, Rosanna Leprohon's lost periodical poems nevertheless represent valuable resources for reconstructing the terms of her authorship and reception in Montreal in the mid- to late-nineteenth century.

76 Dean Irvine, *Editing Modernity: Women and Little-Magazine Cultures in Canada, 1916-1956*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 2008, p. 24.
77 *Ibid*., p. 24.
78 *Ibid*., p. 24.