

Only A Working Girl: The Story of Marie Joussaye Fotheringham

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Only a Working Girl

I know I am only a working girl,
And I am not ashamed to say
I belong to the ranks of those who toil
For a living, day by day.
With willing feet I press along
In the paths that I must tread,
Proud that I have the strength and skill
To earn my daily bread.

I belong to the "lower classes;"
That's a phrase we often meet.
There are some who sneer at working girls;
As they pass us on the street,
They stare at us in proud disdain
And their lips in scorn will curl,
And oftentimes we hear them say:
"She's only a working girl."

"Only a working girl!" Thank God,
With willing hands and heart,
Able to earn my daily bread,
And in Life's battle take my part.
You could offer me no title
I would be more proud to own,
And I stand as high in the sight of God
As the Queen upon her throne.

Those gentle folk who pride themselves

Upon their wealth and birth,
And look with scorn on those who have
Naught else but honest worth,
Your gentle birth we laugh to scorn,
For we hold it as our creed
That none are gentle, save the one
Who does a gentle deed.

We are only the "lower classes,"
But the Holy Scriptures tell
How, when the King of Glory
Came down on earth to dwell,
Not with the rich and mighty
'Neath costly palace dome,
But with the poor and lowly
He chose to make His home.

He was one of the "lower classes,"
And had to toil for bread,
So poor that oftentimes He had
No place to lay His head.
He knows what it is to labor
And toil the long day thro',
He knows when we are weary
For He's been weary too.

O working girls! Remember,
It is neither crime or shame
To work for honest wages,
Since Christ has done the same,
And wealth and high position
Seem but of little worth
To us, whose fellow laborer
Is King of Heaven and Earth.

So when you meet with scornful sneers,
Just lift your heads in pride;
The shield of honest womanhood

Can turn such sneers aside,
And some day they will realize
That the purest, fairest pearls
'Midst gems of noble womankind
Are "only working girls."¹

In the annals of Canadian literature, Marie Joussaye Fotheringham occupies a slender niche. R.E. Watters' *Checklist of Canadian Literature* (2nd edition, 1972) lists her two small books of poetry, *The Songs That Quinté Sang* (Belleville, 1895) and *Selections from Anglo-Saxon Songs* (Dawson, 1920?), without an accurate publication date for the latter, nor the life dates and married name of their author. By 1994, when Gwendolyn Davies and I included two of Marie Joussaye's poems in *Canadian Poetry: from the Beginnings Through the First World War*, considerably more of her complicated personal and literary history had come to light, yet, despite a lifetime of public acts and words scattered through newspapers and archives in Ontario, the West, and the North, the very incompleteness of her historical and bibliographical record remained a tantalizing challenge. Figures like Joussaye² deserve attention because the reasons for their obscurity illuminate the hegemonic structures, theoretical assumptions, and research practices that inform the construction of our cultural and national history. As a self-educated working-class woman who combined labour activism with imperialism, populism with literary ambition, and suffragist advocacy with obvious self-interest, Marie Joussaye Fotheringham's talents, commitments, contradictions, and sheer unfathomability render her fascinating as a unique historical individual. The following essay presents the facts and fissures resulting from subsequent research on Joussaye, whose meiotic self-characterization as "only a working girl" demands that attention be paid to the demographic majorities (women and workers) who have usually been marginalised in the prevailing master narratives of Canadian cultural history.

Marie Fotheringham nearly achieved posthumous public recognition in the Yukon, where she lived from 1902 until about 1929. In August, 1991, Conrad Boyce, the Communications Coordinator for the Yukon Department of Education, informed me that the department had recently moved into a new building that was to be named for Marie Joussaye Fotheringham. His letter continues: "She was selected from a list provided to the Yukon Cabinet by our director of archives. . . mostly, I suspect because of her status as a leading suffragette and the first woman

to run for Territorial Council (albeit unsuccessfully)." As he was preparing a pamphlet on her, Mr. Boyce asked if I had acquired any information additional to the details presented in my brief account that described her as "Canada's First Woman Labour Poet."³ Because Joussaye had come to my attention through her poetry, her political activity was news to me. Mr. Boyce's pamphlet never materialized; many months later he reported that "the government changed its mind about naming the new education building after Marie Fotheringham. Although the reason for the change was not given, I suspect it had something to do with Marie's criminal record." His letter concludes: "And what did we end up calling the building? In a fit of spontaneous creativity, it was christened the Yukon Education Building."⁴

Who was Marie Joussaye Fotheringham? Even in the Yukon, she is almost invisible in the usual historical sources on women. She arrived in Dawson in 1902, too late to be included in recent theses by Barbara Kelcey and Charlene Porsild, which focus on the Gold Rush years; though one of her escapades is recounted in Carolyn Moore's thesis which examines women's work in the Yukon from 1897 to 1910, Marie Joussaye herself remains incidental to the primary line of investigation.⁵ Although at times a journalist who occasionally claimed to represent the *Toronto World*, she was not sent to the Klondike with the fanfare mustered by major newspapers for intrepid lady journalists like Faith Fenton (*Toronto Globe*), Flora Shaw (*London Times*), and Helen Dare (*San Francisco Examiner*). Nor was her journey to the Yukon sufficiently notable to produce an adventure narrative such as those published by Emma L. Kelly and Mary E. Hitchcock. While Marie Joussaye's poems, speeches and mishaps brought her to the attention of assiduous readers of Dawson newspapers, she lived at the wrong end of the social scale to appear in the autobiographies of Martha Black or Laura Berton.⁶ She left no diaries or letters home to be later resurrected by such researchers as Melanie Mayer and Frances Backhouse. Probably acquainted with Kate Ryan through the Yukon Women's Protective League, she is not named in Ann Brennan's *The Real Klondike Kate*.⁷

Yet Marie Joussaye Fotheringham lived, worked, wrote and fulminated in the post-Gold Rush Yukon for some twenty-five years. Her persistence, in spite of frequent setbacks and conflicts, illustrates the need to consider post-Klondike society in its own right: our current focus on the drama of the 1890s tends to obscure the literary, material, and social

aspirations of those who arrived after 1898 and remained to become true citizens of the North. The long shadow of the short Klondike years shaped their dreams and ambitions; running through the records of Marie Joussaye's life and writings is a desire for both personal material success and larger social change that echoes the hopefulness of the earlier gold-seeking adventurers.

Thus far I have identified Marie Joussaye as a poet, journalist, feminist, suffragist, labour activist, and criminal. As well, she homesteaded, speculated in mining claims, and on different occasions ran a restaurant, a boarding-house, a lumber business, and a roadhouse. Descriptors of her opinions include Knights of Labour advocate, royalist, imperialist, and racist; her origins were working-class, part French-Canadian,⁸ possibly also part-Indian.⁹ Those who knew her variously characterized her as "a woman of talent with a capacity for leadership," a "very kind person and a true Christian," and a "public pest."¹⁰ In addition to her two small books of verse, documentation of her life can be found in census records, regional directories, letters, and government records now in the National Archives of Canada, newspaper articles by her and about her, and occasional items in various personal collections and government records in the Yukon Archives. This essay would not have been possible without assistance of myriad scholars, students, and dedicated archivists.¹¹

Mary Josey (also spelled Josie) was born in Belleville, Ontario, ca. 1864. Her father, Michael, identified in the 1861 census as a thirty-two-year-old labourer, died before 1871. The latter census lists seven-year-old Mary as the youngest in a family of French origin, belonging to the Church of England; her mother, Hannah, who lived until 1918, is identified in her obituary as the daughter of Mr. Archie Phillips, and a United Empire Loyalist descendant.¹² In 1881 Mary Josie was a servant in the household of a widowed Belleville barrister with two small children; she later described herself to Wilfrid Laurier as "a working woman who has had to earn her own living since her eleventh year, who has never received even a common school education, and whose scant learning was picked up haphazardly in the few leisure hours that belong to the common toiler."¹³ Two 1886 poems in Knights of Labor newspapers are likely hers; February, 1890, marks the first known appearance in print of the name "Marie Joussaye," as author of the poem "Two Poets" in *Saturday Night*.¹⁴ By January, 1893, she was living in Toronto, becoming well-known for organizing domestic servants into the Working Women's Pro-

tective Association. In the debates that raged in Toronto that summer about Sunday streetcars, Miss Jouvassaye was a frequent and effective speaker on behalf of workers' access to parks and recreation. She is also reported to have written outspoken newspaper articles (most of them yet to be found) that were variously described as "brilliant" and "clever, though bitter."¹⁵

In 1895, she brought out *The Songs that Quinté Sang*, a small book (about 6.5" x 4.75") of 91 pages and 47 poems, issued by the Sun Printing and Publishing Company of Belleville. Always a competent versifier, Jouvassaye sometimes achieves considerable power in poems whose topics include friendship, holidays, memorials to the departed, and Christian resignation. Her dominant theme, sounded in the opening poem, is "live, suffer, and be strong."¹⁶ Especially distinctive are her handful of labour poems, and her poems on fame, ambition, and the loss of love. Notably absent, in view of canonized Canadian verse from this period, is attention to nature, landscape, and survival therein.

During the summer of 1895, Marie Jouvassaye travelled across Canada, sending two articles to the *Toronto Globe*: "A Woman's Visit to a Gold Mine" (not yet functioning) near Rat Portage, and an interview with Mark Twain in Winnipeg, which enlisted his sympathy on her side of the Sunday streetcar question.¹⁷ In 1897 she was living in Kamloops, whence she sent her first two letters to Laurier, requesting that he personally deliver her poetic tribute to Queen Victoria on his Jubilee visit to England, and stating that a volume of her poems was currently in press. She remained in Kamloops c.1897-1900, listed in BC directories as running first a restaurant, then a boarding house. By the autumn of 1901 she was in Vancouver, writing again to Laurier and also to John Willison, editor of the *Globe*. Her topic this time is besting the C.P.R. and organizers of the state visit of the Duke of Cornwall (the future George V) in order to present personally her verse petition, "Labor's Greeting," which she claims was "praised by the pens of Goldwin Smith, Mark Twain, Rudyard Kipling, and many others." Her letters also announce that "Her Royal Highness, the Duchess of Argyle, has accepted a copy of my book, and written me a kind and womanly letter in return."¹⁸ The full text of "Labor's Greeting" appeared in the *Vancouver Daily News Advertiser* (1 Oct 1901) and in the *Halifax Morning Chronicle* (21 Oct 1901), in both instances preceded by the note that "Mlle Jouvassaye sent a volume of her poems to King Edward some few months ago, and received a very generous

acknowledgement of the receipt of the same from His Majesty." Unfortunately, the Royal Archives at Windsor Castle have retained no records of Marie Joussaye's poetic gifts or correspondence; yet to be determined is whether the book in question is *Songs that Quinté Sang* or a subsequent volume, now lost. From Vancouver she wrote again to Willison in June, 1902, this time on the letterhead of "The Anglo-American Press Syndicate," which has also disappeared from record.¹⁹ She chastised his failure to publish work she had recently submitted, enclosed a copy of her Coronation poem,²⁰ and announced that her new book was to be published in London on her arrival there in September.

In August, 1902, Marie Joussaye turned up in Dawson City to gather material on the conditions of miners, which she planned to take to London for a series of illustrated lectures.²¹ Assigned to show her around was NWMP Constable David Hetherington Fotheringham, from St. Catharines, Ontario, about a dozen years her junior and a veteran of the Boer War.²² In November 1903 their "pretty little Klondike romance" culminated in marriage and David's resignation from the force. He turned to speculation in mining claims, assembling "a bunch of thirty-seven claims below Barlow"²³ to take to London. However, a month later, Joussaye became involved in the transactions that led to two charges concerning misuse of another woman's diamonds to finance a property survey. The case was heard sporadically through March to July, 1904 and concluded with Joussaye being found guilty and sentenced to two months of hard labour.²⁴

Despite this harsh initiation into Northern life, Marie Joussaye Fotheringham remained in the Yukon for at least another twenty-three years, without ever getting to London. On July 1, 1906, the Fotheringhams took possession of land near the mouth of the Indian River, for which they were granted formal homestead status in June, 1910 after convoluted negotiations involving disputed mining claims as well as prior tenure of the site by the NWMP. While they seem to have survived by supplying cordwood to the Yukon Gold Mining Company, they proved unable to comply with all the regulations of the Homestead Act.²⁵ Joussaye was involved in a number of legal issues during this period: in 1907 she claimed a miscarriage of justice concerning the acquittal of a group of men accused of staking illegal claims near the Indian River homestead property.²⁶ In January, 1908 she brought a complaint against prospector Margaret Mitchell after their long-simmering personal feud erupted in a

public shouting match in the Dawson streets.²⁷ In 1910, she wrote several strongly worded letters to Frank Oliver, Minister of the Interior, requesting him to “sweep clean the whole administration” of the Yukon before she publicized the efforts of Indian River Company, whose stock was mostly “owned by Government Officials,” to drive the Fotheringhams off their homestead. Archival files do not contain Oliver’s response to her presentation of the case as “the vilest and blackest blot on Canadian history,” containing “disclosures that will arouse all Canada’s wrath if published.”²⁸ Again fraught with legal complications was the Fotheringhams’ scheme to revive the Cecil Hotel in Dawson (where they had celebrated their marriage), which landed them both in jail for debt for a month in the fall of 1912. Marie Jousseye Fotheringham’s 1912 petition to Commissioner George Black recounts the machinations of Harold Blankman, Court Stenographer; she refers to David’s employment by the Indian River Dredging Company, to running a roadhouse at the time of the “Sixtymile Stampede,” and to a good claim on Matson Creek.²⁹

The First World War brought visible changes to the lives of the Fotheringhams. In 1916, David enlisted in Commissioner George Black’s Yukon Infantry and Marie returned to public visibility on several fronts of her own. She was one of the founders of the Yukon Progressive League which was formed 15 February 1916, according to a newspaper account of its first public meeting, 12 March 1917.³⁰ Its platform concurred with a manifesto of the Yukon Women’s Protective League, which included the eight-hour working day, “suffrage for the territory,” an elected school board, and workmen’s compensation. This symmetry is hardly surprising, in view of the newspaper’s identification of Marie Fotheringham as “the moving spirit” in the organization of both Leagues. In September, 1916, as Corresponding Secretary, she was one of the eight “Officers and executive members of the Yukon Women’s Protective League and Franchise Movement” who submitted a petition to Commissioner Black demanding suffrage for women;³¹ in November, she argued in the *Dawson Weekly Star* that “English speaking women of the Yukon should be given the vote to offset the illiterate alien vote which has dominated our elections in the past, and is steadily increasing for the future.” Warned that her activities could land her in jail, she retorted, “I’ve been in jail so often. . . I could find my way in blindfolded, and I will give an address on ‘How to get Into Jail and How to Get Out.’ It is easy for some

to get in, but they cannot all get out."³²

Between 1916 and 1918 Marie Joussaye issued her second known book, *Selections from Anglo-Saxon Songs*, printed by the Dawson News Publishing Co., and apparently the first book of verse produced in the Yukon.³³ Fifty per cent of the proceeds were to "be donated to provide Field Comforts for our Yukon Soldiers at the Front," with the assistance of the Recording Secretary of the Yukon Women's Protective League. This volume is smaller (5.5" x 4", 56 pp.) than her previous book, from which five poems are reprinted, and includes 13 new poems by Joussaye as well as one written for her. Wartime patriotism rings through its pages as "the war-cry of Old England" calls "the Children of the Blood" to "keep unstained the honor of the English speaking race" (5-6). Her labour themes focus on the eventual triumph of the toiling masses over their oppressors, and attack "the War Profiteers of all Nations, and the Rulers who suffer them to exploit the people" (15); more personal poems reiterate her previous focus on suffering, loneliness and eventual reward. The Yukon figures significantly in two poems (which are not among her best): "Good Luck to the Yukon Contingent," dated July 1916, and "Children of the North," which celebrates the pioneers who "build a Northern Empire" (48). The last poem is "Compensation: To Marie Joussaye," by Alfred A. Firman of Clifton, New Jersey, who remains unidentified.

After David returned from overseas and Yukon women received the vote (May 1919), the record becomes more sporadic. I have not been able to date Marie Fotheringham's unsuccessful candidacy for Territorial Council. In 1923/24 David is listed as resident in Dawson, and employed by the steamer *Klondike*; shortly thereafter the Fotheringhams moved to Mayo, where David is remembered for running a small steamboat on the Stewart River, and Marie for editing the characteristically unreticent *Mayo-Keno Bulletin* (c. 1924-28?).³⁴

In 1926, Marie Joussaye issued a Christmas pamphlet, "The Season's Greetings to You" (Yukon, 1926)³⁵ reprinting several earlier poems with the addition of "The Protest" (dated August 1926) which vituperates against "the curse of Orient labor." This publication further complicates the bibliographical record by identifying one poem as "From 'Seven Songs of Labor,' by Marie Joussaye" and another as "From 'Seven Songs of Love'"; textual and electronic searching has located neither set of seven songs. In December 1927, Marie Fotheringham appeared once more in court, this time in Whitehorse, where she was found not guilty of theft.³⁶

She may have been on her way south: from 1929 on, she seems to have lived alone in Vancouver. David is listed in a 1935 directory as a miner in Keno Hill, where he died the following March. During the 1930s and 1940s, Marie Joussaye Fotheringham resided at a series of Vancouver addresses and in 1936 was the subject of an inaccurate article in the Vancouver *News-Herald*.³⁷ During this time she issued several undated broadsides of poetry, copies of which are now in the Yukon archives. "Greetings! from Marie Joussaye, Vancouver, B.C. Canada"³⁸ prints an extract from "The Coming of the King" from her first book. "Easter Greetings, to my friends, from Marie Joussaye" with graphics in the Art Deco style of the 1930s, contains an earlier poem and two new ones: "The Dark Garden: Tryst-time in Gethsemane" and "Have you walked with the Man of Sorrows." Also in the Yukon Archives³⁹ is her 1937 birthday greeting (sans poem), printed in Vancouver, to the Duke and Duchess of Windsor. Her death, which fittingly occurred 24 May 1949, was reported by T.H. Ainsworth, public relations officer for the City of Vancouver and described on her death certificate as a friend.⁴⁰

Why devote valuable time and resources to pursuing a figure like Marie Joussaye Fotheringham? Is the fact that she may have issued the first book of verse produced in the Yukon sufficient justification for the work that has gone into this paper? Or is this a case of one researcher becoming obsessed by the challenge of teasing such a distinctive individual out of the sparse historical record—especially when that person is both female and working-class, two groups whose presence and subjectivity have been overlooked in traditional national and literary history? There is also the further challenge of identifying contexts that might reconcile the disparate features of her life and opinions into a coherent narrative—or are the story and character of Marie Joussaye Fotheringham best understood as a series of separate facets that must be simply recognized as such: the co-existence of her feminism and her racism, her labour advocacy and her imperialism, her defiance of the status quo in her labour poetry and her more conventional Christian poems? Does her effort to get from Belleville to London via Vancouver and Dawson characterise her sheer idiosyncrasy?

The difficulty of pinning down Marie Joussaye accompanies her first documented appearances in print, in two labour journals. The 25 April 1886 issue of *The Journal of United Labor* (Philadelphia) includes "Only the Working Class," its author identified as "a Sister, Belleville, Ont." This

is an earlier version of "Only a Working Girl," which appeared in 1895 in *The Songs that Quinté Sang*, the major alteration being a shift of the poem's original Knights of Labor orientation to a Christian perspective. Does this adjustment represent a change in Joussaye's thinking—for which her poem, "From Out the Depths," could provide evidence if read as autobiographical?

The other poem raises different concerns. In the 15 May 1886 issue of *The Canadian Labor Reformer* (Toronto) appears "The Ninety and Nine," by Mrs. R.S. Smith. The first four lines of this poem are nearly identical to the opening four lines of a poem of the same title published by Joussaye in *Selections from Anglo Saxon Songs* in 1918 but, interestingly, not in her earlier book. Is this evidence of a pseudonym, or plagiarism, or an otherwise undocumented first marriage, or mere coincidence? Marie Joussaye seems to have had a penchant for multiple identities. In August 1893, she appeared pseudonymously in the *Toronto World* as "Only a Working Girl," arguing for Sunday streetcars in a letter to the editor, while being written up in the same issue as Miss Joussaye, President of the Working Women's Protective Association who "received an immense ovation. Cheer after cheer rent the air. Her speech was one of the best of the evening and was notable for its simple exposition of the inestimable benefits of a Sunday car service to working women."⁴¹ Again, the 28 January 1908 issue of the *Dawson Daily News*, that mockingly reports Mrs. Marie Fotheringham's complaint against Mrs. Margaret Mitchell, also contains a poem by Marie Joussaye titled "My Prayer"⁴² All the poetry published after her marriage appears under the name Joussaye; in none of her many public appearances as Mrs. Fotheringham is she described as a poet (although she is called many other things).

The question of how to handle a figure like Marie Joussaye is nicely elucidated in a comment in Anne Michaels' recent prize-winning novel, *Fugitive Pieces*:

The hindsight of biography is as elusive and deductive as long-range [weather] forecasting. Guesswork, a hunch. Monitoring probabilities. Assessing the influence of all the information we'll never have, that has never been recorded. The importance not of what's extant, but of what's disappeared. Even the most reticent subject can be—at least in part—posthumously constructed. . . . But the search for facts, for places, names, influential events, important conversations and correspondences, political circumstances—all this amounts to nothing if you can't find the assumption your subject lives by.⁴³

Marie Joussaye's assumptions, to the extent that they may be discer-

ned, contrast starkly with the prevailing models of self-representation available to her generation of Canadian women, especially when viewed in the context of the best-known works of Yukon travel writing, biography and autobiography. Counter to the heroic adventure and survival plots of the latter, which celebrate endurance, bravery, selflessness, and ingenuity, Joussaye, if she had produced a personal narrative, would probably have represented herself as a victim of injustice, and as a crusader whose causes have been misunderstood.⁴⁴ Whereas the primary conflict in Yukon narrative is man or woman (individually or in community) against the hostile environment, in Joussaye's writings taken as whole—poetry, letters, and petitions—the major obstacles are socially constructed. Whether arguing on behalf of labour, unfranchised women, or herself, she contests lower human authority and appeals to higher powers; the pungency of her letters and petitions to men in power arises from the strength of her sense of injury, along with her faith in the ability of the truly powerful to correct injustice. Hence her appeals to royalty, to Laurier, and to Yukon Commissioner George Black are tinged with a sense of “noblesse oblige”: you have a “right” she tells Laurier in 1901, and Black in 1912, to attend to the lesser people who are dependent on you for social and legal justice.⁴⁵ This view is most fully articulated in “Labor’s Greeting,” in which she beseeches the future king of England to enact the freedoms of the Magna Carta by releasing Canada from the hold of Mammon, embodied in the masters who keep in thrall “freeborn men slaving their lives away, / Striving to live as best they could on ninety cents a day.”

While Marie Joussaye’s suffrage and labour activism certainly warrant attention, it is a little discomfoting to note that her arguments reflect the stand taken by early Canadian labour organizers against immigrant workers.⁴⁶ When coupled with the nationalism and imperialism of her era, this discrimination based on economic considerations easily slid into racism denouncing “non-English speaking aliens.”⁴⁷ Yet how can a feminist in the 1990s fail to sympathize with Joussaye’s attempt to establish a career a century ago, as recounted in her letter to John Willison:

When I lived in Toronto, I had a hard struggle to get along. I wanted to succeed in Journalism and had a lot to fight against. The worse was scandal. If I spoke to an editor or haunted a newspaper office, there was an evil construction put upon it. Nobody seemed to think it was the paper I was after, not the editor[;] so far as I was or am concerned, the editors were all alike to me, merely the gateway to work and success. Young men pushed themselves forward by sheer

persistence and a little talent, but what was permitted to them was resented in my case. Voltaire was quite right, "The profession of woman is a hard one" but in spite of its drawbacks I am glad I am a woman. Some great writer says, "Selfishness is the mother of all meanness" and if I were a man the burden of meanness would be too much for me.⁴⁸

As a writer, where does Marie Joussaye Fotheringham fit into the spectrum of Canadian poetry and Yukon literature? Although the *Yukon Sun* in 1903 described her as "known throughout Canada as an author,"⁴⁹ she had few illusions of grandeur, remembering Willison's admonition that her poetry "was away behind Bliss Carman's and W. Campbell's." Nonetheless, as we find her labour poetry considerably more stirring than the genteel reformist verse of Archibald Lampman, two of her poems appear in the anthology of early Canadian poetry I recently co-edited with Gwendolyn Davies. Joussaye's spirited independence prevails as well in the field of Yukon writing, where she seems to be almost the only author *not* to claim a connection with Robert Service.⁵⁰ Moreover, she ignored the fact that the Yukon was a literary field so dominated by masculinity that at least two women assumed male pseudonyms to write about it. Kate Simpson Hayes' 1910 tongue-in-cheek masquerade as "Yukon Bill" actually convinced Service that her poems had been authored by some unidentified sourdough⁵¹; Madge Macbeth, who never visited the Yukon, adopted the persona of W.S. Dill for *The Long Day*, her 1926 book of fabricated Klondike reminiscences.⁵²

In all fairness, the only way to conclude this paper is to give the last word to Marie Joussaye herself, by citing the last poem in her first book:

My Prayer

Ye who have struggled with me in the strife,
Ye who have braved the conflict, fought and bled,
My comrades on the battle-field of life,
Deal with me gently after I am dead.

Remember not my many frailties,
My faults and failings, though they were not few,
Nay countless as the sands beside the seas,
Still would I ask forgetfulness from you.

It may be that some comrade's heart hath bled,
Sore wounded by some careless shaft of mine,
But let not anger live against the dead,
"To err is human, to forgive Divine."

And if your wrath is fierce and fain would live,
Remember that I also suffered wrong,
Yet found it in my power to forgive.
Though Hate is mighty, Love is still more strong.

One virtue I can surely call my own,
Perchance, with it, my life has not been in vain;
My ears were swift to hear another's moan,
My eyes were swift to weep for others' pain.

So when you breathe my name in future years
Deal gently with the comrade who is gone,
Remember her as one who shared your tears
And felt your sorrows even as her own.

O friends! Deny me not the boon I ask,
Is human wrath more dread than that of Heaven?
Is pardoning a fault so great a task
That man should dare refuse what God has given?

Trace all my frailties in Oblivion's sand,
But grave my virtues deep on memory's shrine;
When this is done by Heaven's recording hand
Can human hearts refuse this prayer of mine?⁵³

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Endnotes

1. Marie Jousseye, *The Songs that Quinté Sang* (Belleville, 1895), 66-67.
2. A woman whose name changes during the course of her life poses a problem to the standard practices of scholarly discourse. Because Marie Josey/Jousseye

Fotheringham always published her poetry as "Marie Joussaye," even after her marriage, I decided to refer to her as "Joussaye" throughout this essay.

3. Carole Gerson, "Marie Joussaye Fotheringham: Canada's First Woman Labour Poet," *Canadian Notes & Queries*, No. 44 (Spring 1991): 21-23.
4. Conrad Boyce to Carole Gerson, 8 August 1991 and 24 June 1992.
5. Barbara Eileen Kelcey, "Lost in the Rush: The Forgotten Women of the Klondike Stampede," M.A. thesis, History, University of Victoria, 1989; Charlene L. Porsild, "Culture, Class and Community: New Perspectives on the Klondike Gold Rush: 1896-1905," Ph.D. diss., Carleton, 1994; Carolyn Anne Moore, "Representation and Remuneration: White Women Working in the Klondike Goldrush (1897-99) and the Decade Following (1900-10)," M.A. Thesis, OISE, 1994.
6. Charlene Porsild's dissertation, analysing the class structure of Dawson, 1896-1905, demonstrates that women of Joussaye's social class far outnumbered those of the class of Martha Black and Laura Berton, albeit the latter is better represented in Yukon literature.
7. Brennan devotes only a few pages to Yukon women suffragists; moreover, Marie was in Dawson, while Kate was in Whitehorse. See Ann T. Brennan, *The Real Klondike Kate* (Fredericton: Goose Lane, 1990); Jill Downie, *A Passionate Pen: The Lives and Times of Faith Fenton* [Alice Freeman Brown] (Toronto: HarperCollins, 1996); Emma L. Kelly, "A Woman's Trip to the Klondike," *Lippincott's*, November 1901, 625-33; Mary E. Hitchcock, *Two Women in the Klondike* (New York: Putnam, 1899); Frances Backhouse, *Women of the Klondike* (Vancouver/Toronto: Whitecap, 1995); Melanie Mayer**, *Klondike Women: True Tales of the 1897-98 Gold Rush* ([Chicago]: Swallow Press/ Ohio University Press, 1988); Martha Louise Black, *My Seventy Years* (1938); Laura Berton, *I Married the Klondike* (1954); rpt. (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1995).
8. Marie Joussaye to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Sept 10th 1897, Laurier Papers, National Archives of Canada (hereafter cited as NAC).
9. Albert Bigelow Paine, *Mark Twain's Notebook* (New York: Harper, 1935), p. 245. See Taylor Roberts, "Mark Twain and Sunday Streetcars: An Interview in Winnipeg," *Mark Twain Journal* Vol. 28, No. 2 (Fall 1990): 15-20.
10. *Saturday Night*, 5 January 1895; Lillian Cheatham, cited in Mayo Historical Society, compiled by Lynda E.T. MacDonald and Lynette R. Bleiler, *Gold & Galena: A History of the Mayo District* (Mayo, YT: Mayo Historical Society, 1990), p. 268; *Dawson Daily News*, 13 March 1917.
11. Scholars and students who have answered questions, contributed leads, copied microfilm, and otherwise directly or indirectly contributed to this project include: Ian Mackay, Charlene Porsild, Carol McIver, Peter Mitham, Barbara Kelcey, Dawn Nickel, Taylor Roberts, Greg Kealey, Jennifer Suratos. The presentation of an earlier version of this paper at the conference on the Klondike sponsored by the Centre for Canadian Studies at the University of Edinburgh (May 2-4

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12. There seem to have been six children in all: by 1871 the eldest daughter, reported in the 1861 census as Agnes A., was no longer at home. The five surviving children named in Hannah Josie's obituary conform with earlier census details: they were William C. of New York and Edward J. of Seattle; Mrs. Henry Covert of Toronto, Mrs. David Fotheringham of Alaska [sic] and Mrs. J.R. Way of Sidney (obituary, *Belleville Intelligencer*, 31 May 1918). As well, the Hastings County Historical Society sent me a clipping about the death of a Phillip Josie in Seattle in September 1903 who "left this city about 25 years ago, under dramatic circumstances." This may be the John Josey accused of murdering a young woman in September 1874, who also may have been Marie's eldest brother, named John in the census records; as Phillips was his mother's maiden name, Phillip could have been one of his given names or one he simply assumed.
13. Marie Jouvassay to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, 27 April 1897, Laurier Papers, NAC. However scant her formal education may have been, her hand-writing was impeccable and she expressed herself with great clarity and forthrightness.
14. *Saturday Night*, 8 February 1890, p. 6.
15. "Female Agitator Jailed," *Mail and Empire*, 9 July 1904, p. 7. According to *Saturday Night* (5 Jan 1895), Marie's articles had appeared in the *Evening Star* (then edited by E.E. Shepard, also editor of *Saturday Night*, and a strong supporter of Sunday streetcars). The *Toronto World*, which reported copiously on the rallies and opinions on both sides of the issue, frequently cited Marie's speeches (see, e.g., 28 July, 8 August, 23 August, 24 August), and published a long letter signed "Only a Working Girl" (7 August 1893, p. 2). For an extensive study of the issue, see Christopher Armstrong and H.V. Nelles, *The Revenge of the Methodist Bicycle Company: Sunday Streetcars and Municipal Reform in Toronto, 1888-1897* (Toronto: Peter Martin, 1977).
16. "By Quinte's Side," p. 11. Previous newspaper publication of these poems remains to be verified; in a letter to John Willison, 9 June 1902, Marie claims that the *Globe* "used to publish my letters and poems when my work was inferior to what it is now." Willison Papers, NAC.
17. "A Woman's Visit to a Gold Mine," *Globe*, 9 Aug. 1895; "Mark Twain interviewed by Marie Jouvassay," *Globe*, 10 August 1896, p. 11; *Mark Twain's Notebook*, p. 245.
18. Marie Jouvassay to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, n.d., Laurier papers, NAC. She refers similarly to the "kind heart and womanly nature" of Queen Victoria in her letter of 27 April 1897. Unfortunately, none of the letters received by Marie have survived.

19. *The Daily Klondike Nugget*, 26 March 1903, also reports her to represent the Anglo-American Press Syndicate. Unfortunately, its letterhead lacks any place names, rendering it impossible to trace.
20. Likely "In London Town," described in *Selections from Anglo-Saxon Songs* as "Coronation Prize Poem 1902," without specifying the nature of the prize.
21. According to the *Daily Klondike Nugget*, 26 March 1903, "...she has secured a vast quantity of photos and ink drawings representing almost every conceivable phase of the miner's life. . . . There are scenes in shafts, drifts, and tunnels, pictures of miners rocking and panning; drawings showing the various formations encountered in the different districts and a splendid sketch of the deep shaft on Eldorado. . . . All the latter will be placed on slides and used in a huge stereopticon instrument, the whole forming a splendid pictorial review of the industry of placer mining as prosecuted in the Yukon. A humorous tinge will be given to the lectures by the presentation of imaginary sketches of mastodons and other ante-diluvian monarchs gambolling on the shores of the Yukon."
22. The only reference to his date of birth appears in the *Vancouver News-Herald*, 30 April 1936, which states he had been born 61 years earlier.
23. "Popular Pair are Made One," *Dawson Daily News*, 18 November 1903.
24. "To Be Heard Next Friday," *Dawson News*, 16 March 1904; "Case is Adjourned," *Dawson Daily News*, 18 March 1904; "Case is Postponed Again," *Dawson News*, 1 April 1904; "Recorder on Stand," *Dawson Daily News*, 6 April 1904; "Case Opened This Morning," *Dawson Daily News*, 8 April 1904; "Fotheringham Case Up Today," *Dawson News*, 12 April 1904; "Hearing Resumed," *Dawson News*, 29 April 1904; "Is Held for Trial," *Dawson Daily News*, 5 May 1904; "Fotheringham Case is On," *Dawson News*, 8 June 1904; "Woman in the Dock," *Yukon World*, 8 June 1904; "Defense has Begun," *Yukon World*, 9 June 1904; "Sentence Imposed," *Yukon World*, 10 June 1904; "Another Charge," *Yukon World*, 8 July 1904; "Guilty is Verdict," *Dawson Daily News* 9 July 1904; "Female Agitator Jailed," *Mail & Empire*, 9 July 1904, p. 7. Court records for the case are in the Yukon Archives (hereafter cited as YA), GOV 1439, Series II, vol. 1439., f. 9.
25. See Yukon Archives, GOV 1646, f 25068, s 1 vol. 36, 1/2 and 2/2; NAC RG 85, vo. 1854, file 140379. The Homestead was to be cancelled unless the Fotheringhams inserted a new clause into their agreement, to which Marie vehemently objected, according to a memorandum to the Commissioner, 1 June 1916 (YA). They seemed to have moved away by then, as in 1915/16, David is listed in Polk's *Alaska-Yukon Gazeteer* as a miner residing in Dawson in the Yukon Hotel. By 1917 he was at the Front, leaving Marie with power of attorney. The outcome seems to have been the loss of the Homestead, given their failure to return to it after the war.
26. NAC RG 85, vol. 1854, f. 140379.
27. "Drama in the Court," *Dawson Daily News*, 28 January 1908; YA Series 11, vol. 1443, f. 7.

28. Marie Fotheringham to Frank Oliver, 28 February 1910, 15 June 1910, 19 July 1910, NAC, RG 85, vol 1854, f. 140379.
29. Marie Fotheringham to George Black, n.d. [received 16 October 1912], YA YRG 1, series 7, v. 24, f. 28452.
30. *Dawson Daily News*, 13 March 1917. The occasion was a meeting with Dawson candidates for the Yukon council, hence it is likely that the manifesto of the Yukon Women's Protective League cited here was devised for the election, whereas the somewhat different petition cited in the *Weekly Star* of 1 December 1916 is directed to those in Ottawa who had the power to alter the Dominion Election Act and the Yukon Election Act. Many thanks to Dawn Nickel for material regarding Marie's involvement with the Yukon Women's Protective League.
31. YA GOV 1661 1(1) series 1, vol. 51, f. 31504, received 8 September 1916.
32. "Yukon Women's Protective League," *Weekly Star*, 24 November 1916; *Dawson Daily News*, 13 March 1917.
33. The copy in the National Library is inscribed: "Elizabeth MacCallum, Dawson, 1920"; the copy in the Yukon Archives is inscribed: "To Lillian with loving wishes from her friend Marie Jousseaye Fotheringham Dawson Y.T. 1918."
34. The entry on the Fotheringhams in Mayo Historical Society, compiled by Linda E.T. MacDonald and Lynette R. Bleiler, *Gold & Galena: A History of the Mayo District* (Mayo Historical Society, 1990) draws on my earlier write-up on Marie, which the Mayo Historical Society received in manuscript. This book reproduces one photo of "Dave and Marie Fotheringham, taken in Dawson" (p. 375), the original of which is in the private McLaren-Swansen Collection. The Yukon Archives contain a number of photographs of David Fotheringham in the area of the Pelly River, Stewart Crossing, and White River, c. 1924-25, but none of Marie. With regard to the *Mayo-Keno Bulletin*, the only issue of this "semi-weekly" mimeographed periodical that I have seen (vol. 1 no. 9, August 1, 1924), parachutes the reader into an unspecified dispute that has resulted in the cancellation of many subscriptions by residents of the Yukon Treadwell Camp, with Marie consequently placing them on "the roll of 'dishonor' considering what the editor of the *Bulletin* has done for the workingmen of the Yukon and especially for the returned soldiers." The paper lasted until at least 1928 (*Gold & Galena*, 226); according to Lynette Bleiler, other issues survive in private hands.
35. The copy in the Pickering collection, YA, is inscribed "To Mrs. Pickering, with good wishes."
36. NAC, RCMP-Yukon Records, R.G. 18, D 4, vol. 3, Police Court Record, Whitehorse.
37. D.F.H., "Looking Around," *Vancouver News-Herald*, 30 April 1936.
38. The copy in the Yukon Archives is inscribed "For Mary."
39. YA, Lillian Cheatham papers.

40. From the early 1950s to the mid-1960s he was involved with the Art, Science and Historical Association of Vancouver, and its successor, the Vancouver City Museum, where he was curator for several years. Records from this period bear no evidence that the letters Marie claimed to have received from famous individuals, which might have been attractive for their autograph value, were added to the Museum's collection.
41. "For Sunday Cars," *Toronto World*, 8 August 1893, p. 2; "Only a Working Girl's Opinion," *Toronto World*, 7 August 1893, p. 2.
42. This is completely different from the poem of the same title in *Songs that Quinté Sang*, and does not appear in either of her books. The discovery of this poem suggests that she may have published other poems in Yukon newspapers, none of which are indexed.
43. Anne Michaels, *Fugitive Pieces* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1996) 222.
44. She does represent herself as an adventurer in her description of her visit to gold-mine, where she was the only woman on the trip into the bush; moreover, she laid no claims to a sylph-like femininity, identifying herself as a 140-pound woman.
45. Marie Jousseay to Laurier, [1901], Laurier papers; petition to George Black [October 1912], Yukon Archives.
46. As well as her more personal concern that Yukon soldiers (i.e., her husband) be regularly paid.
47. *Weekly Star*, 24 November 1916. This is consistent with one thread of argument that took on a "decidedly racist tone"; see Gail H. Landsman, "Images of Indians in the Woman Suffrage Movement," *Ethnohistory*, Vol. 39, No. 3 (1992), 257. Still to be examined is whether Marie's link between labour advocacy and suffrage advocacy was widespread in Canada, given that male union organizers are not known for sensitivity to women's issues.
48. Marie Jousseay to John Willison, Willison Papers, 9 June 1902, NAC.
49. "Married Last Night," *Yukon Sun*, 15 Nov 1903.
50. See Service's Preface to Laura Berton's *I Married the Klondike*, and the cover of the Kate Ryan biography.
51. The first poem of *Derby Day in the Yukon and Other Poems of the "Northland"* by Yukon Bill, (Toronto: Musson 1910) is dedicated to Service. See Service to Hayes, 2 March 1911, Hayes papers, Saskatchewan Archives: "I was delighted to receive your letter revealing the identity of Yukon Bill, and I am greatly surprised at the sex of the writer. I thought sure some old Sourdough was the guilty one. I have sincerely recommended your book and would have done so quite apart from your flattering verses addressed to myself."
52. W.S. Dill, *The Long Day* (Ottawa: Graphic, 1926). Macbeth was familiar with the marketability of Yukon narrative, having received \$442 for the film rights to her

1917 novel, *Kleath* (issued under her own name). However, the resulting film was given Service's title, "The Law of the Yukon," with no credit to her.

53. *Songs that Quinté Sang*, pp. 90-91.