臺大文史哲學報　第九十三期
2020年05月　　頁147~182
臺　灣　大　學　文　學　院
DOI: 10.6258/bcla.202005_(93).05

Listening to (Talks with) Ghosts: Haunting in Margaret Sweatman's *When Alice Lay Down with Peter*[*]

Wang, Mei-Chuen[**]

Abstract

Margaret Sweatman's *When Alice Lay Down with Peter* (2001) is a multigenerational saga that interweaves the stories of two Scottish settlers and their descendants with influential historical events in Canada between 1869 and 1979. Commonly classified as a magic realist text, the novel also employs a few conventions of ghost stories to multiply the layers of haunting in the Canadian context. By manipulating these conventions of ghost stories, Sweatman shifts attention to the figure of the ghost-seer, foregrounds the spatial dimension and the economic basis of haunting, and applies the dialectical relationship between possession and dispossession to revisiting the history of two Métis uprisings, the Red River Resistance of 1869-1870 and the North-West Rebellion of 1885. Her fictional account rejects the binary relationship between the colonizer and the colonized, highlights the in-between position of the Métis, and exposes the dispossession and displacement inflicted on Indian populations by the conflict between Métis nationalism and Canadian settler nationalism. This article examines how the manipulation of these conventions enables Sweatman's novel to turn its readers into ghost-seers listening both to ghosts speaking and to talks with ghosts, to differentiate the multiple layers of haunting involved in the tripartite struggle over territory between white settlers, the Métis, and Indian communities, and finally to shatter the dream of indigenization in the settler-invader society of Canada, where the very fact that the craving for indigenization has been rekindled during the recent decades makes it more compelling than ever to revisit *When Alice Lay Down with Peter*.

Keywords: Margaret Sweatman, *When Alice Lay Down with Peter*, Ghosts, Haunting, Land Claim

---

2018.09.04 收稿，2019.11.16 通過刊登。

* I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the two anonymous reviewers of my article for their insightful comments and extremely helpful suggestions.

** Associate Professor, Department of Foreign Languages and Cultures, Fo Guang University. Email: mcwang@gm.fgu.edu.tw

臺灣大學學術期刊資料庫

I. Introduction

Margaret Sweatman's *When Alice Lay Down with Peter* (2001) is a multigenerational saga that interweaves the stories of two Scottish settlers and their descendants with influential historical events in Canada between 1869 and 1979.[1] The rich historical elements and the seemingly chronological storytelling make this 459-page book an accessible historical novel. It, however, is not a traditional historical novel in that some concepts of poststructuralist and postmodern questioning of historiography have been integrated into its narrative structure. The prologue presents a frame story that draws attention to the role of its narrator while the whole family history is related by a first-person narrative voice bordering curiously on omniscience. Reinhold Kramer describes this text as a "postmodern historical novel," part of whose "cachet is that it allows the reader to approach historical cruxes obliquely: to remember the moments that made us, and to play among them."[2] Juxtaposed with this postmodern playfulness is magic realism, a style appreciated by Nicole Markotic because it is "exciting and hair raising" but dismissed by Kramer as "a miscalculation" because the way it operates in the novel is too "didactic."[3] On the contrary, Herb Wyile celebrates *When Alice Lay Down with Peter* as "an interesting study" in the adoption of magic realism by English-Canadian writers preoccupied with postcolonial issues, arguing that the array of supernatural and mythological elements enables Sweatman to "address the unsettling legacy of colonization but also participate in a dialogue about the past, undermining the view of it as a single story whose cover has been closed" and that "her ghosts play a particularly postcolonial role in resisting a rationalist, monolithic, colonial narrative of progress that seeks to erase the Aboriginal past."[4]

Wyile's postcolonial reading of *When Alice Lay Down with Peter* is based on the binary relationship between Aboriginals and white settlers. However, in revisiting the history of the Red River Resistance of 1869-1870 and the North-West

1 Margaret Sweatman, *When Alice Lay Down with Peter* (Toronto: Knopf Canada, 2001). The book title will be abbreviated as *Alice* for references below.

2 Reinhold Kramer, "A Red River Epic," review of *When Alice Lay Down with Peter*, by Margaret Sweatman, *Canadian Literature* 178 (2003): 172.

3 Nicole Markotic, review of *When Alice Lay Down with Peter*, by Margaret Sweatman, *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 34, no. 1 (2002): 157; Kramer, "A Red River Epic," 173.

4 Herb Wyile, "'It Takes More than Mortality to Make Somebody Dead': Spectres of History in Margaret Sweatman's *When Alice Lay Down with Peter*," *University of Toronto Quarterly* 75, no. 2 (2006): 736-37, 749.

臺灣大學學術期刊資料庫

Rebellion of 1885 (also known as Riel uprisings because both were led by Louis Riel), Sweatman provides a very unorthodox narrative that rejects the binary relationship between the colonizer and the colonized, highlights the in-between position of the Métis, and exposes the dispossession and displacement inflicted on Indian populations by the conflict between Métis nationalism and Canadian settler nationalism. The Métis involved in the two historical events were descendants of French voyageurs and coureurs de bois who had come to what was then called Rupert's Land to do fur trade[5] and settled down with Indian wives mainly in the Red River region.[6] Based on the mixture of their European and Indian heritage, they gradually developed a distinctive culture and lifestyle different from both sides of their ancestry, and in the early nineteenth century, they started to view themselves as a separate ethnic group.[7] The Métis history witnesses the creation of a new tribe or nation in North America and their struggle to win recognition as an Aboriginal

5 The fur trade, which continued for nearly 250 years, was a large and profitable commercial enterprise across the region of what is now Canada. French traders arrived in the early seventeenth century to set up the first trading posts; English traders came in the second half of the same century. The fur trade established not only economic but also complicated social relationships between Indians and Europeans.

6 The Red River Resistance took place in the Red River Colony, founded in 1812 by Thomas Douglas, 5th Earl of Selkirk. The colony grew into a multiracial society, composed mostly of people of mixed European and Indian blood. The population of the francophone Catholic Métis was much larger than that of the anglophone half-breeds. Out of the same concern about land rights, the latter also joined the Métis resistance.

7 S. H. Jennifer Brown, "The Métis: Genesis and Rebirth," in *Native People, Native Lands: Canadian Indians, Inuit and Métis*, ed. Bruce Alden Cox (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988), 142; J. R. Miller, "From Riel to the Métis," in *The Prairie West: Historical Readings*, eds. R. Douglas Francis and Howard Palmer (Edmonton: Pica Pica Press, 1992), 187; Jennifer Reid, *Louis Riel and the Creation of Modern Canada* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008), 84; Fred J. Shore, "The Origins of Métis Nationalism and the Pemmican Wars, 1780-1821," in *The Forks and the Battle of Seven Oaks in Manitoba History*, eds. Robert Coutts and Richard Stuart (Winnipeg: Manitoba Historical Society, 1994), accessed July 30, 2018, http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/forkssevenoaks/pemmicanwars.shtml; Chris Andersen, "From Nation to Population: The Racialisation of 'Métis' in the Canadian Census," *Nations and Nationalism* 14, no. 2 (2008): 350; Jacqueline Peterson, "Red River Redux: Métis Ethnogenesis and the Great Lakes Region," in *Contours of a People: Métis Family, Mobility, and History*, eds. Nicole St-Onge, Carolyn Podruchney, and Brenda Macdougall (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012), 30.

臺灣大學學術期刊資料庫

people for more than two centuries.[8] Both of the Métis resistances arose from concern about their culture, religion, and particularly land rights in the face of burgeoning invasion from the new Dominion of Canada and the flood of white Protestant settlers; the first one led to short-lived official recognition of Métis rights and the creation of Manitoba as the fifth province while the second brought about the long-term suppression of the Métis fight for an Aboriginal identity distinct from that of Indians.[9] Sweatman adopts an unorthodox approach to the Métis issue by placing it in a tripartite competition over land claims between white settlers, the Métis, and Indian communities.

The exploration of the tripartite competition is carried out mainly through

8 Chris Andersen describes the genesis of the Métis nation as follows: "Red River Métis collectively created, borrowed and combined elements to form a distinctive culture and lifestyle separate from both their Euro-Canadian and First Nations neighbours. . . . Indeed, by Canada's formal establishment in 1867 the Métis constituted an indigenous nation of nearly 10,000 people possessing a history, culture, imagined territorial boundaries, national anthem and . . . a sense of self-consciousness as Métis." See Andersen, "From Nation to Population," 350.

9 Section 35 (2) of the *Constitution Act, 1982* affirms that "'aboriginal peoples of Canada' includes the Indian, Inuit and Métis peoples of Canada." See Rights of the Aboriginal Peoples of Canada, Part II of the *Constitution Act*, 1982, last modified November 22, 2019, https://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/const/page-16.html#h-52. This is the second time the Métis win legal recognition after the *Manitoba Act* of 1870 and become explicitly one of Canada's three Aboriginal peoples. However, the usage of the term "Métis" has become more and more complicated. Originally, it means the francophone people of mixed European and Indian ancestry, originating in the Red River region. D. N. Sprague's *Canada and the Métis, 1869-1885* and Chris Andersen's *"Métis": Race, Recognition, and the Struggle for Indigenous People* insist on this original signification while the authors in the collection of *Métis in Canada*, edited by Christopher Adams et al, discuss the meaning of Métis identity outside the Red River context. In *From New Peoples to New Nations*, Gerhard J. Ens and Joe Sawchuk address the long and complex history of the Metis from its ethnogenesis in the Red River region to the diversity of Metis identity in today's legal and political debates, and so does John Weinstein in *Quiet Revolution West*. However, for many Canadians nowadays, "Métis" just means "mixed race" or "part-Indian, part-white." To reduce confusion, scholars usually make a distinction between métis/metis and Métis/Metis, the former meaning individuals who are part-Indian and part-white and the latter referring to those who insist on a distinct ethnic and cultural identity. Recently, however, the scholarly distinction has been so blurred in Canada that the term "Métis" is now used to describe anyone with mixed European and Aboriginal heritage. This leads to a rapid rise of groups who self-identify as Métis during the past few decades even if they lack connections to the Métis nation that originated in the Red River region. This will be briefly discussed near the end of this article.

臺灣大學學術期刊資料庫

magic realist elements. The use of the supernatural as "an ordinary matter, an everyday occurrence—admitted, accepted, and integrated into the rationality and materiality of literary realism" creates ontological disruption that "serves the purpose of political and cultural disruption."[10] Sweatman's ghosts perform many of the functions outlined by Lois Parkinson Zamora for ghosts in magic realist texts, such as links to lost individual or communal histories, as reminders of communal atrocities and crises, as carriers of the burden of the past and collective memories, as the index of alienation and displacement, or as the externalization of internalized fears.[11] But at the same time, their haunting gestures toward unfulfilled potentials regarding Métis nationalism. These magic realist elements foreground the "gaps, absences, and silences produced by the colonial encounter."[12]

In addition to magic realism, *When Alice Lay Down with Peter* also employs a few conventions of ghost stories to multiply the layers of haunting in the Canadian context. Although the ghost story as a genre is infamous for being, in Julia Briggs's words, "at once vast, amorphous, and notoriously difficult to define," there are some generally accepted features that characterize a tale as a ghost story.[13] Under the narrowest definition, it is "a story about the spirits of the returning dead" and conventionally told by ghost-seers or those who have learned about ghost sightings from other eye-witnesses.[14] Also fundamental to this genre is space because "only space can be haunted" and because "the word 'haunting' is etymologically bound to that of 'house.'"[15] It is almost impossible to imagine a ghost story without the figure of the haunted house. This spatial dimension is interconnected with "the economics of haunting."[16] Ghosts alienate the house from its residents, and haunting as a form

10 Lois Parkinson Zamora and Wendy B. Faris, "Introduction: Daiquiri Birds and Flaubertian Parrot(ie)s," in *Magical Realism: Theory, History, Community*, eds. Lois Parkinson Zamora and Wendy B. Faris (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), 3.

11 Lois Parkinson Zamora, "Magical Romance/Magical Realism: Ghosts in U.S. and Latin American Fiction," in Zamora and Faris, *Magical Realism*, 498.

12 Stephen Slemon, "Magic Realism as Postcolonial Discourse," in Zamora and Faris, *Magical Realism*, 411.

13 Julia Briggs, quoted in Srdjan Smajić, *Ghost-Seers, Detectives, and Spiritualists: Theories of Vision in Victorian Literature and Science* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 12.

14 Julian Briggs, "The Ghost Story," in *A New Companion to the Gothic*, ed. David Punter (Malden: Blackwell, 2012), 177.

15 Mark Wigley, *The Architecture of Deconstruction: Derrida's Haunt* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1993), 163.

16 Jodey Castricano, *Cryptomimesis: The Gothic and Jacques Derrida's Ghost Writing*

臺灣大學學術期刊資料庫

of possession threatens the current resident's status as owner and undermines the owner's control over his or her property.[17] The ghostly possession of the physical house compromises the living resident's ownership. In other words, haunting activates dispossession, provoking conflict over ownership of the material site where it takes place.[18]

By manipulating these typical conventions of ghost stories, Sweatman shifts attention to "the figure of the ghost-seer,"[19] foregrounds the spatial dimension and the economic basis of haunting, and applies the dialectical relationship between possession and dispossession to revisiting the history of the Red River Resistance of 1869-1870 and the North-West Rebellion of 1885. This article examines how the manipulation of these conventions enables Sweatman's novel to turn us, the readers, into ghost-seers listening to ghosts speaking and to talks with ghosts, to differentiate the multiple layers of haunting involved in the tripartite struggle over territory between white settlers, the Métis, and Indian communities, and finally to shatter the romantic dream of indigenization in a settler-invader society.

II. A Word on Terminology

In this article, I will stick to the terms "Métis," "Indians" (or the names of First Nations peoples mentioned in the novel), and "white" or "European." The Métis depicted by Sweatman are the French-speaking people of mixed European and Indian blood, originating in the Red River region and involved in the Red River Resistance and the North-West Rebellion. Beginning with Columbus, the term "Indian" is a misnomer that reduces the enormous variety of cultures and societies to

(Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), 11.

17 Madeleine A. Vala, "Re-Reading the Haunted House: Victorian Quests for Property," in *Space, Haunting, Discourse*, eds. Maria Holmgren Troy and Elisabeth Wennö (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), 27-28.

18 The haunted house raises questions about social class and economy, reflecting shifting class structure. Dale Bailey points out that the haunted house in American popular fiction indicates the "tension between old-wealth past and the middle-class affluence of the present." Likewise, Madeleine Vala holds that ghost stories in late Victorian and Edwardian Britain employ ghosts and haunted houses to signal both the collapse of the British aristocracy and their resistance against the nouveaux riches, along with their desire to purchase and commodify the past. See Dale Bailey, *American Nightmares* (Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1999), 57; Vala, "Re-Reading the Haunted House," 38.

19 Smajić, *Ghost-Seers*, 17.

臺灣大學學術期刊資料庫

a single, homogeneous entity and that has evolved into a subculture of stereotypes disseminated by white North American entertainment and cultural productions. It is, as Robert F. Berkhofer declares, "a White invention," which "does not square with present-day conceptions of how those peoples called Indians lived and saw themselves."[20] In Canada, the designation is further complicated by the legal distinction made in the *Indian Act* between Status and Non-Status Indians. Often used interchangeably, the terms "European" and "white" are as obstructive, reductive, and stereotypical as the word "Indian." First Nations is a phrase used to describe, and preferred by, Aboriginal peoples in Canada who are not Inuit or Métis and who have been traditionally called "Indians." In *When Alice Lay Down with Pete*, Sweatman uses the term "Indian" as a collective category in contrast to two other categories, the Métis and white settlers, but when it comes to the specific Indian communities involved in the two Métis resistances, she applies their self-designated First Nations terms. In my discussion of the novel, I follow Sweatman in the reductive but convenient classification of Indians and whites. "Aboriginal," "Indigenous," and "Native," commonly considered synonymous, are avoided in the rest of this article unless they appear in the phrases or passages quoted from other sources, in which cases notes will be offered to explain which group is referred to.[21] It should be noted that all the aforesaid terms are neither unproblematic nor immune to colonial undertones or resonances and that their significations may vary historically and contextually.

III. Listening to (Talks with) Ghosts

Though a story "about the spirits of the returning dead," *When Alice Lay Down with Peter* twists a pattern of ghost stories, the familiar pattern that presents a narrator who is either a ghost-seer talking about personal encounters with ghosts or a third party retelling a ghost-seer's eyewitness testimony. It is a ghost story told, uncannily, by a ghost who has been a ghost-seer while alive. The novel opens with a regular, though slightly philosophical, prologue, in which a first-person narrator declares the creation of a story nurtured by the Red River: "I'm dipping my pen into the Red River, always at the same spot, and like they say, all the time into a different river. I have hauled this story out of the fish-smelling muck of the Red."[22] With the

20 Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., *The White Man's Indian* (New York: Vintage Books, 2011), Part One, Kindle.

21 The term "indigenous" will be used later in the discussion on indigenization.

22 Sweatman, *Alice*, 1.

臺灣大學學術期刊資料庫

setting of the story specified, the prologue continues with a mixture of a brief recollection of the narrator's earlier life and a description of the scene where the act of storytelling is being performed. Interestingly, the narrator keeps addressing "you" as if we the audience were right on the spot listening to her speaking: "From this lucid perspective, you see me, I laid out beside my vegetable garden"; "you wouldn't think a garden could sense the age of its gardener"; "The buttons tore off when I fell, and so it is that you see an old woman's breasts."[23] She also divulges that she has had her 109th birthday that month. Everything seems quite ordinary until the shock tagged to the very last sentence: "And today, which happens to be a Tuesday, I am dead as a stick."[24] It turns out that this narrator is lying dead in her garden and that the prologue is narrated by her ghost. Then her spectral voice begins to relate her family saga with the moment of her conception on one August night in 1869 before tracing her ancestry back to the first encounter in Scotland between her parents, Alice and Peter McCormack. Afterwards, in a chronological way, she continues her narrative from the unexpected reunion of her parents in the Red River region to the last few years of her life after the birth of her great-granddaughter, Helen, in the 1970s. Except her family name, the narrator remains anonymous until the episode of her birth, in which her parents call her Blondie because of her "white cloud of curls."[25] The five-generation family history is interwoven with the significant historical events that help shape Canada into its present form, including two Métis/Riel uprisings, two World Wars, the Winnipeg General Strike, and Canadian participation in the South African War and the Spanish Civil War. As a ghost, Blondie relates her story in a first-person narrative voice bordering unusually on omniscience. There are several encounters with ghosts in the family saga. The absence of an eyewitness recounting personal contact with ghosts, or of a storyteller reporting someone else's ghost sightings, erases the buffer between audience and ghosts. We, the audience, come face to face with the ghost of Blondie, listening to her talking about personal encounters with ghosts. By means of a ghost giving testimonies about ghosts, Sweatman multiplies the layers of haunting, and the layers continue to pile up within the stories of these ghosts who are simultaneously haunted.

The ghosts Blondie witnesses are those of Thomas Scott and Marie. While they were alive, their respective brief encounters with Alice and Peter changed the course of their lives; after death, their hauntings continue to exert profound influences on them and their descendants. The key event bringing about the encounters and

23 Ibid., 1-2.
24 Ibid., 2.
25 Ibid., 53.

臺灣大學學術期刊資料庫

hauntings is the Red River Resistance of 1869-70, led by Louis Riel to protect Métis rights against the Canadian government's attempt to take over the Red River region.[26] This historical event is viewed from the perspective of Alice and Peter, who, despite being Scottish, enlist in the Métis army, and recounted and commented by the ghost of Blondie one hundred and ten years later. Based on the historical Thomas Scott, who was tried by the Provisional Government of the Métis Nation and executed on March 4, 1870 outside the walls of Upper Fort Garry (now Winnipeg),[27] Sweatman's fictionalized version of Scott was shot by a firing squad which Alice volunteers to join, and soon after the Métis resistance comes to an end, he returns in the form of a ghost to haunt the McCormacks in their newly purchased homestead. Marie is a fictional Métisse, raped by a group of drunken soldiers hunting for Riel with the aim of avenging the death of Scott and found by Peter in a clearing on their homestead, which Marie also identifies as her home. Soon after helping the McCormacks settle in, she and other Métis move west, but fifteen years later, after the vanquishment of the North-West Rebellion, her ghost returns to haunt her previous grotto and the McCormacks. The ghosts of Scott and Marie are conjured up in the novel to revisit the history of Manitoba, as well as that of the Prairie West, and to expose the violence implicated in settler nationalism and Métis nationalism. In order to understand the full complexity of their hauntings, we need to refer briefly to the historical context of the Red River Resistance and the North-West Rebellion.

As mentioned previously, the Métis started to be aware of their ethnic and cultural distinctiveness in the early nineteenth century. By the time of the Red River Resistance, "the Métis in the region identified culturally with neither the European nor the Native communities from which they had descended, but had developed a distinct sense of cultural identity."[28] The Resistance was sparked by the planned transfer of the vast territory of Rupert's Land, a corner of which was occupied by the Red River Colony, from the Hudson's Bay Company to the new Dominion of Canada. The negotiation of the transfer ignored the Métis, who, in fear for their land

26 This armed confrontation has been described as "rebellion," "insurrection," or "uprising," but after the mid-1950s, considering that Canada did not yet establish a legal claim to the Red River Colony, more and more historians and writers redefine the first Riel conflict as a defensive action. See Albert Braz, *The False Traitor: Louis Riel in Canadian Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), ix.

27 J. M. Bumsted, *Thomas Scott's Body and Other Essays on Early Manitoba History* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2000), 3.

28 Reid, *Louis Riel*, 85. Reid applies the term "Native" only to Indians or First Nations and "Aboriginal" to both Indians and the Métis.

臺灣大學學術期刊資料庫

rights and culture under the control of Protestant Canadians, established a provisional government to negotiate terms for entering Canada, with Riel assuming the leadership. It was the first clear articulation of Métis nationalism. The Resistance led to the passage of the *Manitoba Act* on May 12, 1870, which secured the admission of Manitoba as Canada's fifth province and stated that 1.4 million acres of land would be allotted to the children of Métis residents and that both English and French language rights, as well as Protestant and Roman Catholic educational rights, would be safeguarded.[29]

Thomas Scott was executed by the Métis provisional government during the armed confrontation.[30] The execution infuriated English Canadians, especially the Orange Lodge of Ontario, of which Scott had been a member. A reward of five thousand dollars was offered for the arrest of Riel, who then had no choice but to go into exile, during which he was elected three times to the House of Commons but was never able to assume his seat in Ottawa.[31] Riel did not return to Canada until 1884. The victory that the Red River Resistance of 1869-70 had won for Métis land rights, language, and faith did not last. Métis landholders were harassed by hostile English-speaking Protestant settlers and troops, and new laws and amendments to the *Manitoba Act* undermined their power to ward off speculators and newcomers. Two-thirds or more of the approximately ten thousand people of mixed descent in Manitoba in 1870 migrated in the next several years to what is now Saskatchewan and Alberta,[32] where the Métis communities faced a similar challenge of securing land titles from the federal government. In 1884, the Métis leaders in Saskatchewan brought Riel back from exile in the United States to help with their grievances. Riel established a provisional government, whose resistance escalated into a military confrontation, the North-West Rebellion. The five-month insurgency ended up with Riel arrested and hanged on November 16, 1885 for high treason and with the most vocal members of the Métis leadership either thrown in jail or forced to flee across the border. The defeat set off a second dispersal of the Métis, primarily to Alberta.

29 The *Manitoba Act, 1870*, last revised October 15, 2000, http://www.solon.org/Constitutions/Canada/English/ma_1870.html.

30 Bumsted describes the execution as "one of the most frequently recounted and analyzed incidents in Canadian history" because the charges against Scott were not clear; some of Riel's explanations focused on Scott's unacceptable behavior while others treated him as a pawn in a larger political game. See Bumsted, *Thomas Scott's Body*, 197-99.

31 In 1875, the federal government granted an amnesty to Riel on condition that he remained outside Canada for five years, which he accepted and did not return to Canada until 1884, when he was again called upon to fight for Métis rights.

32 Brown, "The Métis," 142.

臺灣大學學術期刊資料庫

These displaced Métis communities had remained subdued for almost one century.[33]

Unlike the Red River Resistance, which consisted of French-speaking Métis and a minority of English-speaking half-breeds, the North-West Rebellion found a few Indian allies. By the time of the rebellion, Indian communities in the region had suffered a series of disasters, such as massive decline of buffalo herds (their main source of livelihood), tremendous loss of land caused by Indian treaties, epidemic diseases, and large-scale invasion of Euro-Canadian settlement. Some disaffected groups were already on the verge of open confrontation with the police and government representatives. In 1885, while the Métis were fighting for official recognition of their land rights and culture as they had been doing in the Red River Resistance, Indian communities were struggling desperately for survival against starvation, death, and Canadian domination.[34] The defeat in the Rebellion caused more immediate and long-term damage to Indian populations. More than fifty Indians, including Big Bear and Poundmaker (two Cree chiefs), were indicted for crimes relating to the insurgency, and six Cree and two Assiniboine warriors were hanged on November 27, 1885, "in the country's largest group execution."[35] The federal government proceeded to implement more heavy-handed Indian policies, such as reserve systems and residential schools, the latter of which aimed to assimilate Indians into Euro-Canadian society in the name of "civilization" and by crippling the traditional functions of band life.[36] An unexpected side effect of the North-West Rebellion was the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway. After offering its half-finished line to move soldiers quickly westward to quell the uprising,

33 Ibid., 144-45.

34 The disappearance of buffalo herds and the ensuing famine gave rise to the outbreak of infectious disease across the plains, and tuberculosis was the primary cause of morbidity and mortality within the Indian population. The disease had remained latent among them, but its epidemic was triggered by malnutrition. The Canadian government turned starvation into a means to control Indian communities in order to facilitate the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, to complete the occupation of reserves, and to clear the way for agrarian settlement of white immigrants. For the roles that infectious disease and the policy of starvation played in the subjugation of Indians and the creation of a chasm between the health conditions of Indians and mainstream Canadians, see James Daschuk's brilliant study, *Clearing the Plains: Disease, Politics of Starvation, and the Loss of Aboriginal Life* (Regina: University of Regina Press, 2013), especially Chapters 6-9.

35 Reid, *Louis Riel*, 25.

36 J. L. Tobias, "Indian Reserves in Western Canada: Indian Homelands or Devices for Assimilation?" in Cox, *Native People*, 150-51.

臺灣大學學術期刊資料庫

the CPR, which had been teetering on the brink of bankruptcy in the spring of 1885, received funds from a grateful government to complete the railway, which facilitated the great immigration boom beginning in 1896.[37]

Most of the events between 1869 and 1885 in the aforementioned history are succinctly represented in *When Alice Lay Down with Peter* to form the fictional background against which the saga of the McCormacks is played out and against which Sweatman reassesses the significance of Scott's death in relation to the Métis people originating in the Red River region. The reassessment starts with Peter being gripped by a deep but puzzling fear soon after he and Alice return to their homestead: "how the execution of Thomas Scott had changed the world."[38] His fear will remain incomprehensible until we take into consideration the way Sweatman conjures the ghost of Scott as her means of revisiting the rise and fall of the Métis nation. With Scott's spectral haunting, Sweatman suggests that his death triggers off a chain of events that reshape the history and landscape of the Prairie West after 1870: Riel's exile for more than a decade, loss of Métis lands in the Red River region, the first Métis displacement and dispossession, the second Métis fight for land rights, the hanging of Riel for high treason, the second Métis displacement and dispossession, and finally extensive, institutional oppressions of Métis and Indian peoples. His death not only forces Riel into long exile, preventing him from providing further leadership for the Métis after the newly won victory under his command in the *Manitoba Act*; it also weakens Métis political cohesiveness and influence that has been established in 1870 and impedes significantly the progress of Métis nationalism after 1885. Losing their land base twice, the Métis become more and more diasporic, marginalized in history and nearly erased from the landscape. Indians are similarly marginalized but since treaties confine them to reserves, they become tiny dots in the landscape reinscribed by Euro-Canadian settlers. The disappearance of Métis and Indian peoples is a change that Blondie does not realize until it is too late: "An environment thriving on its differences, on a lovingly nurtured variety that would expire so gradually I never noticed its diminishment—not until I was forced to see how small, how uniform, the world had become, not until I was ancient."[39]

37 Daniel Francis, *National Dreams: Myth, Memory, and Canadian History* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1997), 21-24. Built on the land obtained almost for nothing from the Indians, the railway was mythologized as a great Canadian achievement "which united the disparate regions of the country in a single, bold dream of nationhood" (Ibid., 15-16). One famous example is E. J. Pratt's narrative poem, *Towards the Last Spike* (Toronto: MacMillan Company of Canada, 1952).

38 Sweatman, *Alice*, 45.

39 Ibid., 28. The cultural, ethnic, and racial diversity in the novel is not limited to the

臺灣大學學術期刊資料庫

For Albert Braz, *When Alice Lay Down with Peter* is "an anomaly among English-language representations of Scott" because Sweatman makes him return in the form of a ghost to remind Alice that she is no different from white settlers like the Orangeman.[40] Similarly, Cynthia Sugars notes that one of the most innovative elements in the novel is "the conjuring of the ghost of Scott rather than Riel as the haunting figure" and as "an index of settler memory."[41] This index of settler memory, however, costs Riel and Métis nationalism dearly, leading to the diaspora of the Métis. Even before his death, Scott is seen as a serious menace: "One man after another testified under oath: Thomas Scott had threatened to assassinate *le president* Riel; he'd attacked a guard; he'd struck down simple Parisien; he was a murderous rebel, a stinking threat to our provisional government."[42] The Métis council holds a court martial that imposes a death sentence on him. Riel has no vote, but as the president of the provisional government, he orders the execution of Scott,[43] which then provokes "a whole lot of Orangemen . . . to avenge the death of Brother Thomas Scott. The troops had stormed Lower Fort Garry, hoping to wipe out Riel and his men. . . . A short distance away, Riel stood watching them awhile before he turned to the south and walked into exile (and in exile he would be elected to the House of Commons)."[44] If for the English-speaking Protestants, Riel is the murderer of Scott, then his ghost "kills" not only Riel but also the Métis nation, which reaches its fullest collective expression in the Red River Resistance and the North-West Rebellion. Nevertheless, despite his brutality and caustic tongue, Scott is also a victim of the violence bred by Métis nationalism in the attempt to resist new Protestant settlers and Canada's territorial takeover. His death sentence is passed by the court martial primarily because of his threat to Riel and the provisional government. In this sense, the haunting of Scott represents a communal and historical scale and demonstrates one of the characteristic features Avery Gordon

presence of Indian and Métis peoples. Sweatman also depicts European settlers of non-British origin, especially their influx into the prairies in the first half of the twentieth century.

40 Albert Braz, "The Orange Devil: Thomas Scott and the Canadian Historical Novel," in *National Plots: Historical Fiction and Changing Ideas of Canada*, eds. Andrea Cabajsky and Brett Josef Grubisic (Waterloo, ON.: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2010), 49.

41 Cynthia Sugars, *Canadian Gothic: Literature, History and the Specter of Self-Invention* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2014), 175.

42 Sweatman, *Alice*, 39-40. Alice witnesses the brutal torture Scott inflicts on Paristien, a slow-witted Métis woodcutter.

43 Ibid., 40.

44 Ibid., 55.

臺灣大學學術期刊資料庫

delineates for haunting: when a haunting takes place, "it is the complexities of its social relations that the ghostly figures."[45] The ghost of Scott returns because his life is taken in the struggle between Métis land claims and Canadian annexationism, that is, taken in the conflict between Métis nationalism and Canadian settler nationalism. The fact that his first visitation takes place on May 12, 1870, the very day when the *Manitoba Act* was historically passed, suggests both that the Métis political triumph in the Red River Resistance is scored at the cost of Scott's life and that his death plagues the future of Métis nationalism.

But at the same time, his haunting is also pregnant with unfulfilled possibilities. What would have happened if Riel had not been forced into exile after 1870? What would have happened if he could have continued exercising his leadership for the newly cemented Métis nation? What would have happened if the Métis rights secured in the first version of the *Manitoba Act* had been implemented? What would have happened if the first Métis dispersal and the North-West Rebellion had not taken place? What would have happened if the North-West Rebellion had been successful? What would have happened if Riel had not been hanged in 1885? These are most likely the implicit questions Blondie has in mind when she makes a sarcastic comment on the strategy employed by Riel's lawyers:

> What might've happened if the lawyers for his defence hadn't pinned their case entirely on the question of Riel's sanity? What if they'd said, "He's sane as most of us, just not as foxy. The man's got a point." Of course he was nuts; he wasn't a landlord! Native and Métis land rights? Self-government? The right to educate your children in your own tradition? What was the history that we lost over the lawyers' crummy judgment? Is it ghosting down the Saskatchewan River, rising with the morning dew? How good we are at losing our own glorious options.[46]

She laments that the dream of a self-governing Métis nation, first openly and proudly declared in the Red River Resistance, disappears with the hanging of Riel. The ghost of Scott gestures toward what might have been if that very dream had been realized. What might have been is what Wayne Johnston calls a "ghost history,"

45 Avery F. Gordon, *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 179.

46 Sweatman, *Alice*, 96-97. In this quoted passage, the word "Native" has nothing to do with Indian. The Métis insist that they are different from but at the same time as native as Indians.

臺灣大學學術期刊資料庫

keeping people aware of "this parallel existence between their reality and their hopes and their dreams."[47] It is a history that "we have lost, but never had,"[48] a history that will always haunt the people who have ever sensed its potential for difference.

In addition to representing a Métis ghost history, Scott's haunting also operates at the level of the individual. His ghost haunts the McCormacks because Alice takes part in his execution by volunteering for the firing squad. Having witnessed Scott's brutal assaults on Métis when sent out by Riel to scout their Canadian enemy, she regards Scott "as the source of evil and danger to her unborn" and wants to "remove him from an otherwise blameless world."[49] Her participation in the execution is out of maternal protectiveness. Scott's ghost appears for the first time on May 12, 1870, the very day of Blondie's birth and of the creation of Manitoba. Alice "alone saw his passing, saw the white face, his scanty rounder's jacket, his thin-soled boots soaked with icy runoff and his six wounds, five to the scrawny body and one to the side of his face."[50] Emerging in the terrible state of his executed body, the ghost brands the newborn baby with a bright red mark, which, Blondie's ancient ghost remarks, "appeared on my infant skin so suddenly, like a devil's kiss, marked my mother worse than it marked me."[51] The brand mocks Alice's "guardian role of motherhood."[52] Her attempt to erase Scott from the world her baby is about to born into ends up with Blondie having been haunted by the ghost and his "devil's kiss" for her entire life. "He's never gone," Blondie says to Peter when Alice becomes hysterical after sensing the ghost's impending return.[53] Coming back after the suppression of the North-West Rebellion, Scott's ghost materializes with "high-pitched ghostly, triumphant laughter," his corpse being "corpulent with a diet of victory," and then in front of Alice, his apparition transmogrifies into a giant judge sentencing Riel to death by hanging.[54] The verdict is a prophecy, delivered by the ghost before Riel's trial in Regina takes place. The second spectral emergence forces Alice to realize her involvement in Riel's coming death: "Riel was surely to

47 Wayne Johnston, "An Afterlife Endlessly Revised: Wayne Johnston," in *Speaking in the Past Tense: Canadian Novelists on Writing Historical Fiction*, interview by Herb Wyile (Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2007), 111-12.

48 Gordon, *Ghostly Matters*, 183.

49 Sweatman, *Alice*, 38.

50 Ibid., 51.

51 Ibid.

52 Ibid., 38.

53 Ibid., 82.

54 Ibid., 83-84.

臺灣大學學術期刊資料庫

be hanged for a murder in which she herself had taken part."[55] She is racked with guilt. Both visitations are Scott's acts of revenge. The first is taken against Alice for killing him on account of maternal protectiveness; the second against both Alice and Riel because she participates in the execution ordered by Riel to establish Métis sovereignty. The life taken in the Red River Resistance, as Sweatman's novel suggests, becomes the cause of the heroic Métis leader's death fifteen years later.[56]

Scott's ghostly presence also indicates a crime both Peter and Alice commit: the betrayal of their own idealism. Peter sails from Orkney to Canada in the hope of finding a land "where a man could be free from tyranny" and where "nobody can own you."[57] He and Alice start new life by joining Métis buffalo hunters in the Red River region. When the buffalo hunt fails, they hide among a crew of Métis hunters employed by a retired Hudson's Bay Company officer to drive domestic cattle and a herd of buffalo for private sport. Depressed by the disappearance of traditional Métis hunt and by their boss's speculation in real estate, Peter feels "like someone witnessing a murder, and the victim was the land they looked on."[58] The murder refers not only to the disappearance of buffalo, Métis hunters, and their distinctive lifestyle but also to the commercialization and individualization of the land by Canadian speculators swarming into the region. They follow Riel to join the Métis struggle; they prefer "the company of 'rebels,'" find "a feral home" among the Métis soldiers, and revel in "the companionship of an army of idealists."[59] However, after

55 Ibid., 85.

56 Riel is depicted as a Métis hero in this novel. However, Riel is perhaps the most controversial figure in Canadian history. As the leader of two Métis uprisings, he was a rebel to the Canadian authorities but later memorialized by the descendants of the group that defeated him and his people; in Quebec, he was seen as a victim of the domination of English Canada. Even the Métis are ambivalent about him. Some describe him as an advocate for Métis rights while others blame him for the failure of the North-West Rebellion. The Métis historian Howard Adams is the most vocal: "If Riel had not been at Batoche, the Métis and the Indians may have had a much better chance of winning their liberation battle, and may have maintained control of their territory and established a nation." See Reid, *Louis Riel*, 32-56; Braz, *The False Traitor*, 19-41; Howard Adams, *A Tortured People: The Politics of Colonization* (Penticton, BC: Theytus, 1995), 119.

57 Sweatman, *Alice*, 8.

58 Ibid., 14.

59 Ibid., 30, 32, 67. Sometimes two or more excerpts from Sweatman's novel are combined into one sentence in my argument. To reduce the fragmentation caused by several footnote numbers, I place only one note at the end of the sentence but there may be more than two page numbers in the note. The order of these page numbers is the very sequence in which the excerpts are quoted.

臺灣大學學術期刊資料庫

the resistance, it grieves Peter to find himself "homesteaded," and, as Blondie's ghost remarks, "while all around us Métis and half-breeds were being kicked off their land, my dad was busy putting up fences and sheds" to make their claim "invincible."[60] Instead of witnessing, Peter and Alice now participate in the murder of the land; they become little different either from the red-haired surveyor, who draws a grid system upon the topography "like a net, like a snare" in his notebook, or from "the right kind of settlers"—"Protestant Anglo settlers"—encouraged by the Canadian government to "stake vacant land wherever they found it."[61] Moreover, Peter's desire to find a free land turns ironically into an obsession with staking a claim to the homestead. No one owns him but he wants to be "possessed" by the land. Scott's ghostly manifestations also serve to ridicule their complicity in the authorities or the Establishment they battle against. The complicity is found again in their financial reliance on Richard Anderson, Helen's husband[62] and "a capitalist bogeyman,"[63] to keep their ownership of the property despite their passionate enthusiasm for the cause of labor during the restless years that culminate with the Winnipeg General Strike of 1919.[64]

Anxiety over ownership of the land is mostly dramatized in the relationships with Marie and her ghost, and fully exposed in a conversation about home between her and Alice soon after their first encounter:

> "Where is that?" my mother asked.
>
> "Home?" Marie looked out from under the steaming branches they'd cut to form a shelter. She smiled calmly. "I'm home now," she said. "This is our land."
>
> "Yours? This is your land?"
>
> Marie put a rosehip in her mouth. "Ours," she said.

60 Ibid., 45, 67.

61 Ibid., 18, 45.

62 Helen runs away after a decade of marriage with Richard and chooses to be a hobo for a while. She returns to live with her parents and gives birth to Dianna, whose father is Bill, a former monk. Then she goes to Spain to fight fascism but never comes back. Even so, Richard expects Helen to return and never divorces her.

63 Kramer, "A Red River Epic," 173.

64 Sweatman revisits the Winnipeg General Strike in her first novel, *Fox*, published in 1991 by Turnstone Press, and intends the novel to dispel the myth of Canadian culture as classless.

臺灣大學學術期刊資料庫

> "Oh. Well. Yours." My mother bit her lip. "We have a lot in common."
>
> Marie tipped her head. "No," she said, "not much. But you're going to hang around anyway."
>
> Then my mother . . . said, "I'm not leaving." She flinched when Marie turned to her. But stayed. Wavering. "We could share . . . " But stopped. A look of sardonic pity passed over Marie's face.[65]

Yet Marie is forced to leave her home with her family when the military force sent by Ottawa brings more harassment to the new province, which has already been laden with intense feelings and assaults. They join the first wave of Métis dispersal westward. Ironically, Alice's suggestion of sharing the land is "accepted" by Marie fifteen years later, when her ghost follows Eli back to the grotto on the homestead after the capture of Riel at Batoche in the North-West Rebellion. Marie's haunting unsettles Blondie much more than Scott's does. While Scott's ghost lives with them "in the dark corners," "Marie hovered over our lives."[66] Accommodating the ghost of Scott is an act of reparation—"We let him stay on, a deranged boarder. We owed him that"[67]—whereas living with Marie's ghost heightens Blondie's awareness of being a settler-invader—"We made our home in Marie's grotto, slipping into its shady rooms as into the third hour of sleep. I belonged there, among sheaves of dreams. Yet I was a visitor."[68] Blondie feels like a stranger at the home she makes out of Marie's grotto. Her uncomfortable feeling is the settler experience of the "uncanny," which occurs "when one's home is rendered, somehow and in some sense, unfamiliar; one has the experience, in other words, of being in place and 'out of place' simultaneously"; by reawakening the sense that "what is 'ours' is also potentially, or even always already, 'theirs,'"[69] the ghost of Marie produces "destabilizing effect on the McCormack family, troubling their existential inhabitation of the land."[70]

However, the McCormacks are not the only people who have the experience of "being in place and 'out of place' simultaneously" and who feel that what is "ours" is always already "theirs." Marie's death occurs one year ahead of her ghostly return,

65 Sweatman, *Alice*, 62-63.
66 Ibid., 55, 96.
67 Ibid., 58.
68 Ibid., 171.
69 Ken Gelder and Jane M. Jacobs, *Uncanny Australia: Sacredness and Identity in a Postcolonial Nation* (Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 1998), 23.
70 Wyile, "'It Takes More than Mortality to Make Somebody Dead,'" 742-43.

臺灣大學學術期刊資料庫

the timing of which implies the beginning of the second displacement of the Métis after the North-West Rebellion since the homeland Marie's ghost comes back to has become the McCormacks' property and the home she used to inhabit has been occupied by Blondie. Therefore, the return of her ghost not merely challenges Alice and Peter's claim to the homestead; it also mocks their betrayal of Riel and the Métis cause despite their voluntary enlistment in the Red River Resistance and reminds them of their complicity in dispossessing and displacing the Métis. For Marie, what is "ours" has long become "theirs." In fact, Marie has been triply displaced and dispossessed. Growing violence from newly arrived Protestant settlers in the Red River region compels her to join the first wave of the westward dispersal soon after the victory won by Métis nationalism in the *Manitoba Act*; her ghost cannot rest in the new settlement recently rebuilt by the Métis in Saskatchewan and is forced to join the second dispersal caused by the defeat of the North-West Rebellion; her ghost finally returns to her origin of country, where her home has come into Blondie's possession and where Protestant settlers have long taken over the Métis land. Haunting the grotto on the homestead is the means she uses to declare her ownership and reveal the trace of prior Métis inhabitation. Through haunting, the ghost of Marie gestures toward what used to be—a home owned by Marie and a land belonging to her people, the Métis—and to what is going on and what is going to be—the current and future appropriation of Marie's home and the dispossession and displacement of the Métis.

While Marie causes the McCormacks to have the experience of "being in place and 'out of place' simultaneously," both Marie and the McCormacks are haunted by the fact that what is "ours" is always already "theirs." In *When Alice Lay Down with Peter*, the unmistakable dual struggle over land claims between settlers and the Métis is paralleled with a not so palpable tripartite contest among settlers, the Métis, and Indians. Peter and Alice purchase their 160-acre homestead from a young Cree man, who lives in a wood shack by the riverbank with his woman and baby, and who gives them a piece of paper as proof of land title. Yet soon after the transaction, their ownership faces challenge in the first encounter with Riel, who acts as a host giving the two new arrivals a friendly welcome and explaining to them the trouble he and his people are suffering from: "The Canadians have come with their chains, to steal our land from us."[71] Peter's immediate reply is "Well, we paid, you see," a reply to which Riel responds with a concern about Canadian disrespect for their tradition and a reiteration of Métis land title: "This is our native land."[72] Curiously, the brief

71 Sweatman, *Alice*, 26.

72 Ibid.

臺灣大學學術期刊資料庫

conversation with Riel motivates Alice and Peter to leave their new home and join the coming Métis struggle against English-speaking Protestant settlers like themselves. What is noteworthy is that the encounter takes place exactly on their newly purchased land and just outside the shack previously inhabited by the Cree couple and currently occupied by the McCormacks. The timing and location of the encounter reveal the multiplicity of land claims. The Cree Indians seem to transfer the land ownership to Scottish Peter and Alice, who are told by Riel that the land belongs to the Métis, while Canadian surveyors have been dispatched to measure and document the territory before the transaction of Rupert's Land between Hudson's Bay Company and the Dominion is completed. Just before their encounter with the Cree couple, Peter and Alice run into a mutton-chopped surveyor, whose comment in his notebook containing survey data of the land pre-empts the desire and capacity of its original inhabitants for land ownership: "Little of the land has been cultivated, though the soil is rich black loam. The people who wander through it know nothing of agriculture and will not prove to be desirable landowners."[73] The Cree, the Scottish, the Métis, the British, and the Canadian all stake claims to the land.

The faith in the legitimacy of the homestead transfer is destroyed when Alice and Peter discover the scrip given by the Cree as proof of land title is "a charcoal drawing of a buffalo."[74] While Wyile regards the scrip as "a neat metonym for the historical transaction (and transition) between Native peoples' nomadic lifestyle and European settlement,"[75] it seems more likely that the Cree is intended as a trickster playing upon the settlers' obsession with land ownership and European mania for territorialization. It is no accident that the purchase is timed to take place before the meeting with Riel, the Red River Resistance, the passage of the *Manitoba Act*, and the McCormacks' first encounter with Marie. This temporal arrangement and the Cree's drawing of a buffalo as proof of land title pose radical challenges not only to Marie's and the McCormacks' home ownership but also to the Métis, the British, and the Canadian territorial claims. If the presence of Marie's ghost indicates the displacement and dispossession of the Métis and compromises the McCormacks' control over the land as proprietors, then the charcoal drawing as a tangible object haunts Marie and the McCormacks because both the Métis and newly arrived settlers also displace and dispossess Indians of their territory. That Sweatman's novel charges both the Métis and settlers with complicity in the removal of Indians from their inhabitation is made explicit in Blondie's sarcastic comment on the Red River

73 Ibid., 18.

74 Ibid., 49.

75 Wyile, "'It Takes More than Mortality to Make Somebody Dead,'" 741.

臺灣大學學術期刊資料庫

Resistance: "The Red River Colony fell into the grips of a standoff: annexationists (largely English-speaking Protestants, some of them more eager to join the United States than Canada) on one side; the Métis, Catholic, French on the other. (The Indians—Saulteanux and Sioux—truly parenthetical, were out in the cold, unimpressed by the Métis coup, which must have struck them as little more than another colonization.)."[76] The Métis struggle for land rights excludes Indians and is regarded as a clash over territory between two colonial forces.

The forgetting of the inhabitants prior to the Métis and Protestant settlers is like the disappearance of the shack, previously possessed by the Cree couple and then washed away by a flood at a time right between the end of the Red River Resistance and the creation of Manitoba. When the *Manitoba Act* admits the contested territory into Canada as the fifth province, Riel becomes the founding father of Manitoba and the province a "Métis country."[77] Indians are totally ignored and forgotten in this conflict over territory,[78] their existence being an almost indiscernible trace haunting the name: "And it shall (on orders from Ottawa) be called Manitoba, and hereafter no one will remember whether it was, in the language of the Assiniboine, 'the lake of the prairies,' or if it was Cree, 'the god who speaks.' So they'll say it in English, call it real estate and swear it has always been so."[79] This is a province made "out of

76 Sweatman, *Alice*, 30.

77 Ibid., 57.

78 Though excluded from the Métis-Canadian conflict in the Red River Resistance, Indians had been well aware of the threat posed by Canadian sovereignty to the future of their territories before the transfer of Rupert's Land. They took the initiative in the early treaty making process and demanded recognition of their ownership of the land. In August 1871, Indian communities of southern Manitoba signed Treaty 1 and Treaty 2 with Canada, not as British subjects but as equal, self-governing nations. See Daschuk, *Clearing the Plain*s, 91-92; D. J. Hall, *From Treaties to Reserves: The Federal Government and Native Peoples in Territorial Alberta, 1870-1905* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015), 47-48. James Tully argues that the treaty system is premised on mutual consent between two equal, self-governing nations, that is, between the Aboriginal peoples and the British Crown. See James Tully, "The Historical Formation of Common Constitutionalism: the Discovery of Cultural Diversity, Part I," in *Strange Multiplicity: Constitutionalism in an Age of Diversity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 99-139. However, the mutual consent was not honored by the Canadian government, which turned reserves, lands supposedly held for the use and benefits of Indian communities, into something like concentration camps.

79 Ibid., 46-47. In a letter sent on April 19, 1870 to one of the delegates negotiating the transfer of the Red River to the Dominion in Ottawa, Riel instructed that the name of the new province be either "Manitoba" or "North-West"; John A. Macdonald, then prime

臺灣大學學術資料庫

squatters' territory" first because the area is part of the vast territory transferred from the Hudson's Bay Company, a proxy of the British Crown, to Canada, "an Eastern, Protestant, Anglo-Saxon powerhouse," but the legitimacy of the transaction and all the parties involved are called into question: "if this *Canada* wanted to buy their land, why couldn't they buy it from the people who were living here?"[80] The second reason is that by striking a deal with Canada, the Métis legimatize their territorial claims at the expense of Indian land title. The triumph of the Red River Resistance turns into a collusion of Métis nationalism with settler nationalism in erasing Indian inhabitation, as seen in the disappearance of the Cree couple and the loss of their shack. The forgotten Indian populations can only be detected in the Cree's charcoal drawing of a buffalo, which becomes an apparitional presence haunting not only the McCormacks to unsettle Canadian settlement but also Marie to trouble the Métis land claim.

The tripartite struggle over territory among Indians, settlers, and the Métis is intensified in Sweatman's fictionalized version of the 1885 North-West Rebellion and its after-effects, a fragmented version consisting of Blondie's comments made about 95 years later and her recollection of Eli's sad account of his work for Riel during the second Métis resistance. The ignored Indian party in the Red River Resistance becomes a force in which Riel would like to find an ally. However, Eli fails in the mission to pursue Indians to join the Métis fight against the Canadian government because almost "all the Indians were disinclined to go Riel's way."[81] While Blondie shows compassion for Riel's fight for Métis land rights, she gives admiration and reverence to the Cree chief Big Bear, who is her "alternative rock star, [her] rock of ages" and a tragic hero charged by the Canadian government with "treason for protecting his own land."[82] The Indian claim to territory, which is excluded from the first confrontation between the Métis and the Canadian government, is foregrounded by Blondie's celebration of Big Bear and then remains constantly visible in the symbolic form of the Cree's charcoal drawing of a buffalo, which is framed by Peter and Alice and then hung over their kitchen table.[83]

minister of Canada, chose "Manitoba." See "Origin of the Name Manitoba," accessed July 1, 2018, https://www.gov.mb.ca/chc/origin_name_manitoba.html#.

80 Sweatman, *Alice*, 46, 29, 29-30.

81 Ibid., 119.

82 Ibid., 75. Big Bear resented the Métis for "their incursion into Cree lands" and for their "militaristic" way of hunting; in fact, he saw the Métis "as interlopers living off Cree buffalo." See Hugh A. Dempsey, *Big Bear: The End of Freedom* (Regina: University of Regina Press, 2006), 53.

83 Sweatman, *Alice*, 95.

臺灣大學學術期刊資料庫

Sweatman's revised history of the North-West Rebellion presents the conflict as a struggle over territory between the Métis and the Canadian authority at the cost of Indians—"Métis and the police, they want to fight on our land"[84]—but draws more attention to the long-lasting damage inflicted on Indians. About fifteen years after the second Riel uprising, while working with some Indians in a North West Mounted Police camp at Duck Lake, the very historical site where the first battle of the North-West Rebellion takes place, Eli faces bitter accusations leveled by his Cree coworkers against Riel and the Métis—"We always pay for your fear. And for the fuckin' Riel"[85]—and against him—"Maybe Eli will tell you why our land is now our prison."[86] What also unsettles Eli at Duck Lake is the disturbing names and phrases whispered in the wind, "trailed off painful as accusations," and the apparitional faces appearing in the blowing grass, especially "the face of the old blind warrior, Assiyiwin, who seemed to nod sadly."[87] The phantom face of Assiyiwin materializes in the account that depicts his death as collateral damage in the battle between Métis soldiers and the police, an account given by a young Cree from Assiyiwin's band to embarrass Eli, whom he calls "this . . . friend of Indians."[88] These phantom names, phrases, and faces haunt Eli because of his participation in the North-West Rebellion, which "had left the Indians with nothing but a death chant in their bellies."[89]

IV. Impossibility of Indigenization

Although the ghost of Marie makes the McCormacks have the experience of being in place and out of place simultaneously and the sense that what is "ours" is

84 Ibid., 117.

85 Ibid., 116.

86 Ibid., 118.

87 Ibid., 113, 115. The official interpretation of the event at Duck Lake was that Beardy's Band, where Assiyiwin belonged, had joined the Rebellion. However, based on the oral story told by Assiyiwin's nephew, A. Blair Stonechild argues that Assiyiwin was shot during the Rebellion, not because of his involvement, but because of his "being in the wrong place at the wrong time." Like Big Bear, Beardy and Assiyiwin regarded the Métis as intruders on their Indian land and dissociated themselves from Riel's activities. See A. Blair Stonechild, "The Indian View of the 1885 Uprising," in *1885 and After: Native Society in Transition*, eds. F. Laurie Barron and James B. Waldram (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, University of Regina, 1986), 157.

88 Sweatman, *Alice*, 116-17.

89 Ibid., 120.

臺灣大學學術期刊資料庫

always already "theirs," the uneasy feelings her haunting evokes are not intended to achieve what Ken Gelder and Jane M. Jacobs call the "postcolonial uncanny," which leads to a moment of decolonization by raising settlers' awareness of prior land claims.[90] On the contrary, Warren Cariou regards the same uneasy feelings as "neocolonial uncanny"[91] because it "creates only a horrified sense of inevitability, a passive conviction that colonial sins will be punished, and therefore it is not necessary to work towards reconciliation with those who have been wronged."[92] In *When Alice Lay Down with Peter*, the uncanny feelings indicate explicitly the continuation of colonization and the multiplicity of occupation in the settler society of Canada. The sense that what is "ours" is always already "theirs" is complicated first by the process of how "theirs" is usurped to become "ours" and then by the pluralization of what is "theirs" and what is "ours." That is to say, when the Cree couple's "theirs" becomes Marie's "ours" and the McCormacks' "ours," the McCormacks' "ours" is haunted simultaneously by Marie's and the Cree couple's "theirs" and Marie's "ours" also by the Cree couple's "theirs." The multiple layers of haunting concerning land claims make it impossible for the McCormacks (and hence settlers) to secure legitimacy for their land ownership. It is a fact that the ghost of Blondie is fully aware of and also makes explicit by referring to their homestead as "'our property,'" always enclosed inside quotation marks. The McCormacks finally lose their insecure ownership to capitalism, the twin of colonialism, when Richard, a successful banker and Blondie's son-in-law, pays off all the outstanding property

90 Gelder and Jacobs, *Uncanny Australia*, 23. Gelder and Jacobs note that in "postcolonial Australia, in particular after the Mabo decision in 1992, Freud's 'uncanny' might well be applied directly to those emergent (that is, yet-to-be established) procedures for determining rights over land" (ibid.). The legal decision recognized Aboriginal land rights in Australia and challenged the legal principle of *terra nullius* that had been applied since British occupation in the seventeenth century. However, in North America, the *Royal Proclamation of 1763* and the *Quebec Act of 1774* recognized Indian title to lands. Jonathan Bordo points out that the difference leads to a distinction in the landscape imaginary between two colonies: "the dominant cultural project of Euro-North Americans came to articulate itself aesthetico-theologically in terms of the emptying of the wilderness" while the "Australian imaginary came to articulate a hybrid space that contradicted the official operations of voiding." See Jonathan Bordo, "Picture and Witness at the Site of the Wilderness," in *Landscape and Power*, ed. W. J. T. Mitchell (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 309-10.

91 Warren Cariou, "Haunted Prairie: Aboriginal 'Ghosts' and the Spectres of Settlement," *University of Toronto Quarterly* 75, no. 2 (2006): 727.

92 Ibid., 730.

臺灣大學學術期刊資料庫

taxes before the municipality puts their homestead up for auction.[93] With Richard as their landlord, they "had finally been out-squatted,"[94] by another squatter. Yet they continue to have the homestead in their "possession" by insisting on squatting. Just as Alice tells Marie that she is not leaving, her great-granddaughter, Dianna, described by Blondie as "the true Canadian girl," sets fire to the homestead to reduce its market value so that her family can continue to stay.[95] Despite Alice and Peter's contribution to Métis nationalism in the Red River Resistance and the money paid to the Cree couple for the homestead, the McCormacks' insistence on not leaving prevents Sweatman's version of Canadian settler nationalism from strengthening the "mythology of white settler innocence."[96] Blonde never denies the fact that their home is obtained through invasion and conquest: "I wanted to go home. But home, now, was in abeyance, a state of suspension. Another colony. Yes. But mine."[97] Although there is no plan proposed for reconciliation with those who have been wronged, *When Alice Lay Down with Peter* makes it explicit that colonialism in Canada never belongs to the past, demonstrating Sweatman's conviction that her homeland is a "squatocracy," where settlers pretend to own a place they are never entitled to.[98]

The state of being a squatocracy shatters a settler nation's dream of becoming "native" and belonging here, making any effort at indigenization futile and fruitless. Terry Goldie defines "indigenization" as a process in which white settlers in Canada, Australia, and New Zealand appropriate elements of Indigenous culture in order to fulfill their compelling need to become native and to belong in a land stolen from its original inhabitants. Indigenization serves to authenticate their presence in the country gained through invasion and occupation and to dispel the lingering fear of being perpetual foreigners in their native landscape. Goldie describes "indigenization" as a "peculiar word" because it ironically "suggests the impossible necessity of becoming indigenous." [99] Sweatman's novel foregrounds that

93 Sweatman, *Alice*, 445-46.

94 Ibid., 447.

95 Ibid., 63, 414, 451.

96 Eva Mackey, *The House of Difference: Cultural Politics and National Identity in Canada* (London: Routledge, 1999), 39.

97 Sweatman, *Alice*, 157.

98 Margaret Sweatman, "Ghosts Are Our Allies: Margaret Sweatman," interview by Herb Wyile, in Wyile, *Speaking in the Past Tense*, 180. Sweatman said she heard the term from an Australian.

99 Terry Goldie, *Fear and Temptation: The Image of the Indigene in Canadian, Australian, and New Zealand Literatures* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989), 13.

臺灣大學學術期刊資料庫

impossibility, rather than the necessity, of becoming indigenous through several narrative strategies. The characterization of Marie and the utilization of her spectral haunting, as Wyile notes, resist "the urge to deploy ghosts to symbolically indigenize the settler"[100] while the marriage between Blondie and Eli, Marie's adopted son, seems to bestow the McCormacks with a legitimizing genealogy. However, Sweatman rejects the potential for legitimization first by creating Eli as a white boy of unknown origin and as a stray found by Marie[101] and second by parodying the marriage vow made by Blondie and Eli under the jurisdiction of Marie's ghost.[102] If the Métis assert their land claims by reason of their Indian ancestry, the lack of blood relationship between Eli and Marie makes it impossible to graft Métis descent onto the lineage of the McCormack family, let alone legitimize either their presence or land ownership. The vow the couple repeat after Marie is "the treaty between Mawedopenais, the leader of the Ojibwas, and the Great Mother, our dead queen, spoken more than thirty years ago" and described by the ghost of Blondie as "a beautiful misunderstanding, a necessary promise impossible to keep" because "we held the right of trespass" on "promised boundaries."[103] This treaty is Treaty 3 of 1873, by signing which Chief Mawedopenais believed they had made firm pronouncements of Indian ownership of the land while the federal government assumed Indians had agreed to the surrender of their territorial rights.[104] Conjuring up Treaty 3 gives overriding priority to Indian land claims over that of the Métis, calls into questions Marie's authority to legitimize the merger between Blondie as a settler representative and Eli as a problematic proxy of the Métis, and further annihilates any other possibilities for indigenization. That settlers and their descendants are doomed to remain foreigners at what they call "home" is announced by Blondie in answer to Richard's question of whether Jack, who is about to father her great-granddaughter, is foreign or not: "Aren't we all?"[105] Blondie's reply exposes not only Richard's xenophobia and self-righteousness but also her own realization of the impossibility of indigenization.

The yearning and need for indigenization cannot be overstated in a settler culture. Nevertheless, as a narrative of settler nationalism, *When Alice Lay Down with Peter* resists the urge to fulfil that yearning and need by cutting any possible blood relationship between settlers and Métis or Indian peoples. Despite a few minor

100 Wyile, "'It Takes More than Mortality to Make Somebody Dead,'" 744.
101 Sweatman, *Alice*, 61, 78.
102 Ibid., 174-76.
103 Ibid., 176.
104 Hall, *From Treaties to Reserve*, 51-52.
105 Sweatman, *Alice*, 412.

臺灣大學學術期刊資料庫

Indian characters, none of them performs the function of what Daniel Francis calls the imaginary Indian, an ideological construct that white settlers either romanticize or demonize to justify their occupation of and settlement in the "New World."[106] Moreover, the novel lays bare annexation of land as the (economic) foundation of a settler nation by revisiting the history of the two Métis uprisings and by foregrounding the multiplicity of displacement and dispossession of Indians in the territorial struggle. As the ghostly presence of the Cree's charcoal drawing of a buffalo and the haunting of Marie's ghost suggest, there can never be rightful inheritance regarding land claims for settlers. Unlike Jane Urquhart's *Away*, also a novel of settler nationalism, where the ghosting of the Canadian landscape is "an attempted decolonizing" that "becomes as well an act of colonization," [107] Sweatman's novel employs ghosts and hauntings to produce a double narrative of nationalization, presenting the rise and fall of Métis nationalism and the triumph of Canadian settler nationalism while exposing the fact that colonialization remains in the present progressive tense in Canada when it comes to Indian and Métis peoples.

If learning to live, as Derrida claims, demands learning to live with and talk with ghosts,[108] then the McCormacks can be said to have learned to live by learning to live with and talk with the ghosts of Scott and Marie; in particular, they have learned to live with the fact that they have been and will always be squatters on a land they call home. Yet Derrida also stresses that learning how to talk with ghosts is as indispensable as learning "how to let them speak or how to give them back speech."[109] If the ghost of Blondie tells her family history to show how the McCormacks have learned to give speech back to the ghosts that haunt them, then in returning from the dead to tell her story, she demands to be heard, and she keeps addressing "you" throughout her first-person narration in order to interpellate "you" not only as ghost-seers but also as audience listening to her ghost speaking and to her talks with ghosts, listening to how a narrative of settler nationalism refuses to seek legitimate descent and rightful inheritance and declares the impossibility of indigenization in a settler society.

Now it is more urgent than ever to revisit *When Alice Lay Down with Peter* and to listen with assiduous attention to the ghost of Blondie and to the talks with

106 Daniel Francis, *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture* (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1992), 221-24.

107 Cynthia Sugars, "Haunted by (a Lack of) Postcolonial Ghosts: Settler Nationalism in Jane Urquhart's *Away*," *Essays on Canadian Writing* 79 (2003), 9.

108 Jacques Derrida, *Specters of Marx* (New York: Routledge, 1994), xviii.

109 Ibid., 176.

臺灣大學學術期刊資料庫

haunting ghosts in her family saga since the craving for indigenization reemerges during the past few decades in the rise of new "Métis" in Eastern Canada, especially in Quebec and Nova Scotia.[110] The number of self-declared Métis organizations and groups started to increase after the inclusion of the Métis people as an Aboriginal people along with Indians and Inuits under Section 35 (2) of the *Constitution Act, 1982*.[111] The growth rate has been rocketing up since the Supreme Court of Canada made the decision of *Daniels v. Canada* in 2016, a decision which regrettably falls back on the racialized logic of "Métis" as mere bio-mixedness of European and Aboriginal ancestry while resolving the constitutional question regarding which level of government, federal or provincial, has legislative authority to conduct Métis affairs.[112] The *Daniels* decision not only overrides Aboriginal peoples' self-understanding of "place- and history-based peoplehood"[113] but also undermines their "self-determination and ability to productively regulate the membership of their community."[114] These new groups of self-identified Métis, who have no connections with any historical Métis or other Aboriginal community but claim their share of Indigeneity via distant Aboriginal ancestors located in archival documents

110 Adam Gaudry and Chris Andersen, "*Daniels v. Canada*: Racialized Legacies, Settler Self-Indigenization and the Denial of Indigenous Peoplehood," *TOPIA: Canadian Journal of Cultural Studies* 36 (2016), 24-25; Chelsea Vowel and Darryl Leroux, "White Settler Antipathy and the *Daniels* Decision," *TOPIA: Canadian Journal of Cultural Studies* 36 (2016), 34-36; Adam Gaudry and Darryl Leroux, "White Settler Revisionism and Making Métis Everywhere: The Evocation of Métissage in Quebec and Nova Scotia," *Critical Ethnic Studies* 3, no. 1 (2017), 123; Justin Brake, "Proliferation of Self-Identified Indigenous People Represents 'New Wave of Colonialism,'" *APTN National News*, May 10, 2018, https://aptnnews.ca/2018/05/10/proliferation-of-self-identified-indigenous-people-represents-new-wave-of-colonialism/; Brett Bundale, "'We're Reclaiming Our Heritage': The Controversial Rise of the Eastern Metis," *Global News*, May 27, 2018, https://globalnews.ca/news/4234783/eastern-metis-canada/; Brett Bundale, "Rise of Self-Identified Métis Population in Eastern Canada Prompts Divided Debate," *The Star*, May 27, 2018, https://www.thestar.com/halifax/2018/05/27/rise-of-self-identified-mtis-population-in-eastern-canada-prompts-divided-debate.html; Brittany Hobson, "'They're Stealing Our Identity' Métis National Council Calls Out Eastern Métis Groups," *APTN National News*, Nov. 26, 2018, https://aptnnews.ca/2018/11/26/theyre-stealing-our-identity-metis-national-council-calls-out-eastern-metis-groups/.

111 Gaudry and Leroux, "White Settler Revisionism," 123. These categories of Indigenous peoples are by no means free of colonial connotations.

112 Gaudry and Andersen, "*Daniels v. Canada*," 23; Vowel and Leroux, "White Settler Antipathy," 31.

113 Gaudry and Andersen, "*Daniels v. Canada*," 27.

114 Ibid., 25.

臺灣大學學術期刊資料庫

or even DNA tests, "deny Métis nationhood by claiming a new origin story for the Métis Nation itself."[115] Moreover, they even unapologetically "assert presence in First Nations territories without consultation," showing no respect for their sovereignty.[116] In addition to outright antipathy towards First Nations and Métis peoples, they launch the process of "self-Indigenization," attempting to "claim Indigenous lands and rights as their own" while maintaining white settler privilege.[117] The self-indigenization of these groups is part of what Gaudry designates as the "Métis-ization of Canada," a cultural project to indigenize the entire Canada through appropriating the Métisness represented by Riel and the entire Métis people and constructing a Canadian identity premised on "multicultural *métissage*."[118] Considering that the surge of self-declared Métis and the Métis-ization of Canada are the latest incarnations of the abiding yearning for indigenization, it is unquestionable that Sweatman never underestimates the depth and tenacity of that yearning in a settler society, especially when we recall the fact that she publishes *When Alice Lay Down with Peter*, a narrative of settler nationalism, in the very beginning of the twentieth-first century and resolutely refuses to allow her white settler characters any means to realize the dream of indigenization.[119]

115 Gaudry and Leroux, "White Settler Revisionism," 134. In Canada, Métis identity is more susceptible to appropriation for self-indigenization than that of First Nations because the term is commonly understood to mean a person with Aboriginal and European ancestry. In the United States, self-indigenization takes the form of racial shifting, which means white Americans claim Indian identity. The most famous examples of self-indigenization are the proliferation of self-identified Cherokee tribes and the phenomenon of White Appalachians. For the Cherokee case, see Circe Sturm, *Becoming Indian: The Struggle over Cherokee Identity in the Twenty-First Century* (Santa Fe, NM: School for Advanced Research Press, 2011); for White Appalachians, see Stephen Pearson, "'The Last Bastion of Colonialism': Appalachian Settler Colonialism and Self-Indigenization," *American Indian Culture and Research Journal* 37, no. 2 (2013): 165-84. In Canada, the latest study on this shift into Indigenous identity is Darryl Leroux's *Distorted Descent: White Claims to Indigenous Identity* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2019).

116 Vowel and Leroux, "White Settler Antipathy," 38.

117 Gaudry and Andersen, "*Daniels v. Canada*," 27.

118 Adam Gaudry, "The Métis-ization of Canada: The Process of Claiming Louis Riel, Métissage, and the Métis People as Canada's Mythical Origin," *Aboriginal Policy Studies* 2, no. 2 (2013), 66, doi: https://doi.org/10.5663/aps.v2i2.17889.

119 Taiwan witnesses a similar but perhaps more complicated scenario of self-indigenization. For the past two decades, the debate over Taiwanese Han having Indigenous genes has

臺灣大學學術期刊資料庫

remained heated and fierce. It was sparked off mainly by the controversial studies of Marie Lin (a.k.a.林媽利), an established hematologist and medical anthropology researcher. Similarities are indigenization of Taiwanese Han through the racialized logic of mixed Indigenous and Han ancestry, appropriation of Indigenous elements to legitimate territorial claims and to satisfy the need for belonging here, and re-marginalization of Indigenous peoples in Taiwan. What makes this scenario more complicated is that it is intended predominantly to disseminate the idea of genetic difference between Taiwanese Han and Chinese Han and to boost Taiwan nationalism and independence. See Shu-juo Chen and Hong-kuan Duan, "Plains Indigenous Ancestors and Taiwan Blood Nationalism," *Taiwan: A Radical Quarterly in Social Studies* 72 (2008), 137-73.

臺灣大學學術期刊資料庫

Works Cited

Adams, Christopher, Gregg Dahl, and Ian Peach, eds. *Métis in Canada: History, Identity, Law & Politics*. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2013.

Adams, Howard. *A Tortured People: The Politics of Colonization*. Penticton, BC: Theytus, 1995.

Andersen, Chris. "From Nation to Population: The Racialisation of 'Métis' in the Canadian Census." *Nations and Nationalism* 14, no. 2 (2008): 347-68.

---. *"Métis": Race, Recognition, and the Struggle for Indigenous People*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 2014.

Bailey, Dale. *American Nightmares: The Haunted House Formula in American Popular Fiction*. Bowling Green, OH: Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1999.

Berkhofer, Robert F. Jr. *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to the Present*. New York: Vintage Books, 2011. Kindle.

Bordo, Jonathan. "Picture and Witness at the Site of the Wilderness." In *Landscape and Power*, edited by W. J. T. Mitchell, 291-315. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.

Brake, Justin. "Proliferation of Self-Identified Indigenous People Represents 'New Wave of Colonialism." *APTN National News*, May 10, 2018. https://aptnnews.ca/2018/05/10/proliferation-of-self-identified-indigenous-people-represents-new-wave-of-colonialism/.

Braz, Albert. *The False Traitor: Louis Riel in Canadian Culture*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003.

---. "The Orange Devil: Thomas Scott and the Canadian Historical Novel." In *National Plots: Historical Fiction and Changing Ideas of Canada*, edited by Andrea Cabajsky and Brett Josef Grubisic, 39-52. Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2010.

Briggs, Julian. "The Ghost Story." In *A New Companion to the Gothic*, edited by David Punter, 176-85. Malden: Blackwell, 2012.

Brown, S. H. Jennifer. "The Métis: Genesis and Rebirth." In Cox, *Native People, Native Lands*, 136-47.

Bumsted, J. M. *Thomas Scott's Body and Other Essays on Early Manitoba History*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2000.

Bundale, Brett. "'We're Reclaiming Our Heritage': The Controversial Rise of the Eastern Metis." *Global News*, May 27, 2018.

臺灣大學學術期刊資料庫

https://globalnews.ca/news/4234783/eastern-metis-canada/.

---. "Rise of Self-Identified Métis Population in Eastern Canada Prompts Divided Debate." *The Star*, May 27, 2018. https://www.thestar.com/halifax/2018/05/27/rise-of-self-identified-mtis-population-in-eastern-canada-prompts-divided-debate.html.

Cariou, Warren. "Haunted Prairie: Aboriginal 'Ghosts' and the Spectres of Settlement." *University of Toronto Quarterly* 75, no. 2 (2006): 727-34.

Castricano, Jodey. *Cryptomimesis: The Gothic and Jacques Derrida's Ghost Writing*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001.

Chen, Shu-Juo, and Hong-Kuan Duan. "Plains Indigenous Ancestors and Taiwan Blood Nationalism." *Taiwan: A Radical Quarterly in Social Studies* 72 (2008): 137-73.

Cox, Bruce Alden, ed. *Native People, Native Lands: Canadian Indians, Inuit and Métis*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988.

Daschuk, James. *Clearing the Plains: Disease, Politics of Starvation, and the Loss of Aboriginal Life*. Regina: University of Regina Press, 2013.

Dempsey, Hugh A. *Big Bear: The End of Freedom*. Regina: University of Regina Press, 2006.

Derrida, Jacques. *Specters of Marx: The State of the Debt, the Work of Mourning, and the New International*. Translated by Peggy Kamuf. New York: Routledge, 1994.

Ens, Gerhard J., and Joe Sawchuk. *From New Peoples to New Nations: Aspects of Metis History and Identity from the Eighteenth to the Twenty-first Centuries*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015.

Francis, Daniel. *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture*. Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1992.

---. *National Dreams: Myth, Memory, and Canadian History*. Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 1997.

Gaudry, Adam. "The Métis-ization of Canada: The Process of Claiming Louis Riel, Métissage, and the Métis People as Canada's Mythical Origin." *Aboriginal Policy Studies* 2, no. 2 (2013): 64-87. doi: https://doi.org/10.5663/aps.v2i2.17889.

Gaudry, Adam, and Chris Andersen. "*Daniels v. Canada*: Racialized Legacies, Settler Self-Indigenization and the Denial of Indigenous Peoplehood." *TOPIA: Canadian Journal of Cultural Studies* 36 (2016): 19-30.

Gaudry, Adam, and Darryl Leroux. "White Settler Revisionism and Making Métis

臺灣大學學術期刊資料庫

Everywhere: The Evocation of Métissage in Quebec and Nova Scotia." *Critical Ethnic Studies* 3, no. 1 (2017): 116-42.

Gelder, Ken, and Jane M. Jacobs. *Uncanny Australia: Sacredness and Identity in a Postcolonial Nation*. Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 1998.

Goldie, Terry. *Fear and Temptation: The Image of the Indigene in Canadian, Australian, and New Zealand Literatures*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989.

Gordon, Avery F. *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997.

Hall, D. J. *From Treaties to Reserves: The Federal Government and Native Peoples in Territorial Alberta, 1870-1905*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015.

Hobson, Brittany. "'They're Stealing Our Identity' Métis National Council Calls Out Eastern Métis Groups." *APTN National News*, Nov. 26, 2018. https://aptnnews.ca/2018/11/26/theyre-stealing-our-identity-metis-national-council-calls-out-eastern-metis-groups/.

Johnston, Wayne. "An Afterlife Endlessly Revised: Wayne Johnston." Interview by Herb Wyile. In Wyile, *Speaking in the Past Tense*, 105-31.

Kramer, Reinhold. "A Red River Epic." Review of *When Alice Lay Down with Peter*, by Margaret Sweatman. *Canadian Literature* 178 (2003): 172-73.

Leroux, Darryl. *Distorted Descent: White Claims to Indigenous Identity*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2019.

Mackey, Eva. *The House of Difference: Cultural Politics and National Identity in Canada*. London: Routledge, 1999.

The *Manitoba Act, 1870*. Last revised October 15, 2000. http://www.solon.org/Constitutions/Canada/English/ma_1870.html.

Markotic, Nicole. Review of *When Alice Lay Down with Peter*, by Margaret Sweatman. *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 34, no. 1 (2002): 156-57.

Miller, J. R. "From Riel to the Métis." In *The Prairie West: Historical Readings*, 2nd ed., edited by R. Douglas Francis and Howard Palmer, 185-203. Edmonton: Pica Pica Press, 1992.

"Origin of the Name Manitoba." Accessed July 1, 2018. https://www.gov.mb.ca/chc/origin_name_manitoba.html#.

Pearson, Stephen. "'The Last Bastion of Colonialism': Appalachian Settler Colonialism and Self-Indigenization." *American Indian Culture and Research*

臺灣大學學術期刊資料庫

Journal 37, no. 2 (2013): 165-84.

Peterson, Jacqueline. "Red River Redux: Métis Ethnogenesis and the Great Lakes Region." In *Contours of a People: Métis Family, Mobility, and History*, edited by Nicole St-Onge, Carolyn Podruchney, and Brenda Macdougall, 22-55. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2012.

Pratt, E. J. *Towards the Last Spike*. Toronto: MacMillan Company of Canada, 1952.

Rights of the Aboriginal Peoples of Canada, Part II of the *Constitution Act*, 1982, last modified November 22, 2019. https://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/const/page-16.html#h-52.

Reid, Jennifer. *Louis Riel and the Creation of Modern Canada: Mythic Discourse and the Postcolonial State*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008.

Shore, Fred J. "The Origins of Métis Nationalism and the Pemmican Wars, 1780-1821." In *The Forks and the Battle of Seven Oaks in Manitoba History*, edited by Robert Coutts and Richard Stuart. Winnipeg: Manitoba Historical Society, 1994. http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/forkssevenoaks/pemmicanwars.shtml.

Slemon, Stephen. "Magic Realism as Postcolonial Discourse." In Zamora and Faris, *Magical Realism*, 407-26.

Smajić, Srdjan. *Ghost-Seers, Detectives, and Spiritualists: Theories of Vision in Victorian Literature and Science*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Sprague, D. N. *Canada and the Métis, 1869-1885*. 1988. Waterloo, Ont.: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2009.

Stonechild, A. Blair. "The Indian View of the 1885 Uprising." In *1885 and After: Native Society in Transition*, edited by F. Laurie Barron and James B. Waldram, 155-70. Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, University of Regina, 1986.

Sturm, Circe. *Becoming Indian: The Struggle over Cherokee Identity in the Twenty-First Century*. Santa Fe, N. M.: School for Advanced Research Press, 2011.

Sugars, Cynthia. *Canadian Gothic: Literature, History and the Specter of Self-Invention*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2014.

---. "Haunted by (a Lack of) Postcolonial Ghosts: Settler Nationalism in Jane Urquhart's *Away*." *Essays on Canadian Writing* 79 (2003): 1-32.

Sweatman, Margaret. *When Alice Lay Down with Peter*. Toronto: Knopf Canada, 2001.

臺灣大學學術期刊資料庫

---. "Ghosts Are Our Allies: Margaret Sweatman." Interview by Herb Wyile. In Wyile, *Speaking in the Past Tense*, 165-87.

Tobias, J.L. "Indian Reserves in Western Canada: Indian Homelands or Devices for Assimilation?" In Cox, *Native People, Native Lands*, 148-57.

Tully, James. "The Historical Formation of Common Constitutionalism: the Discovery of Cultural Diversity, Part I." In *Strange Multiplicity: Constitutionalism in an Age of Diversity*, 99-139. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Vala, Madeleine A. "Re-Reading the Haunted House: Victorian Quests for Property." In *Space, Haunting, Discourse*, edited by Maria Holmgren Troy and Elisabeth Wennö, 25-40. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008.

Vowel, Chelsea, and Darryl Leroux. "White Settler Antipathy and the *Daniels* Decision." *TOPIA: Canadian Journal of Cultural Studies* 36 (2016): 30-42.

Weinstein, John. *Quiet Revolution West: the Rebirth of Métis Nationalism*. Calgary: Fifth House, 2007.

Wigley, Mark. *The Architecture of Deconstruction: Derrida's Haunt*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1993.

Wyile, Herb. "'It Takes More than Mortality to Make Somebody Dead': Spectres of History in Margaret Sweatman's *When Alice Lay Down with Peter*." *University of Toronto Quarterly* 75, no. 2 (2006): 735-51.

---. *Speaking in the Past Tense: Canadian Novelists on Writing Historical Fiction*. Waterloo, ON: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 2007.

Zamora, Lois Parkinson. "Magical Romance/Magical Realism: Ghosts in U.S. and Latin American Fiction." In Zamora and Faris, *Magical Realism*, 497-550.

Zamora, Lois Parkinson, and Wendy B. Faris, eds. *Magical Realism: Theory, History, Community*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1995.

---. "Introduction: Daiquiri Birds and Flaubertian Parrot(ie)s." In Zamora and Faris, *Magical Realism*, 1-11.

臺灣大學學術期刊資料庫

聽鬼魂說話：瑪格麗特·史威特曼小說《當愛麗斯與彼得同眠》中的鬼魅糾纏

王 梅 春*

摘 要

瑪格麗特·史威特曼的《當愛麗斯與彼得同眠》是一部將兩位蘇格蘭移民的家族史與 1869 年到 1979 年間加拿大重要的歷史事件相互羅織的歷史小說。這部小說借用部分鬼故事這個文類的敘事手法來增加加拿大情境裡鬼魅糾纏的層次。挪用這些鬼故事敘事手法時，史威特曼聚焦在見鬼者這個身份上，凸顯鬼魅糾纏的空間面向與經濟基礎，並將擁有與剝奪、佔有與驅逐的辯證關係用來重新檢視「1869-70 年紅河抵抗」與「1885 年西北叛變」兩次美蒂斯人（Métis）抗爭的歷史。本論文將探討史威特曼的小說如何將殖民與被殖民的二元對立複雜化成印地安人、美蒂斯人、白人移民三者間的土地爭奪戰，以及她的文本如何召喚讀者成為見鬼者，聆聽鬼魂敘述移居者國族主義希冀原住民化的不可得。

關鍵詞：瑪格麗特·史威特曼　《當愛麗斯與彼得同眠》　鬼魂　鬼魅糾纏　土地權要求

* 佛光大學外國語文學系副教授。Email: mcwang@gm.fgu.edu.tw。

臺灣大學學術期刊資料庫