University of Alberta

Uniquely Suited to this Place: The Discourse of Scottishness in Twentieth-Century English Canada

by

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Dedication

For my family: Steven Hodder, Roberta Smith, Lois Cumming, and especially to Robert Timothy Smith (1951-2008).

Abstract

This dissertation argues that English-Canadian writers throughout the twentieth-century have used a discourse of Scottishness to consolidate white hegemonic national identity. In Canada's ethnically diverse context, the discourse of Scottishness offers a visible white ethnicity that suggests a template for assimilation to other immigrants, allows for a narrative of settlement that is disassociated from colonization, and adds to the illusion that under official multiculturalism race is invisible. The discourse collapses a British romantic image of the hardy, noble Highlander—whose conquered position in Britain after 1745 contains the threat of past savagery channeled into Imperial military success—and the image of Lowlanders with some means who became prosperous colonial citizens to produce a stereotype of the Scot as uniquely suited to the challenges of pioneer life. In this project, I explore how a variety of authors have used the plurality of meanings that signs of Scottishness evoke in the Canadian context for their influence on the development of Canada's national identity during four key transitions.

My first chapter examines novels by Ralph Connor and Nellie McClung for the way representations of the Canadian settler subject as Scottish are used in the century's first decades to bridge the imagined Indigene and the civilized English. My second chapter engages texts preoccupied with the reinforcement of British Canadian hegemony in the face of massive immigration from undesirable nations. Works by J.S. Woodsworth, Ralph Connor, and John Murray Gibbon consolidate white ethnicities in order to produce a white Canadian norm into which "New Canadians" could be assimilated. Next, I analyze Hugh MacLennan's *Barometer Rising* and *Two Solitudes* to show how the model of the "family of Empire" allows MacLennan to produce a genealogy for white Canada: the ethnic Scot becomes the national English-

Canadian subject through a national domestic allegory of marriage and reproduction. Finally, I contrast Margaret Laurence's *The Diviners* with Alistair MacLeod's *No Great Mischief* to demonstrate how contemporary uses of Highland immigration narratives create a mythology of a white ethnic victim which allows white Canadian readers to distance themselves from the history of racial oppression upon which their current privilege is predicated.

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via CP Steamship. c. 1927 Courtesy Canadian Pacific Archives NS.8454. 1

Introduction: Uniquely Suited to this Place: The Discourse of Scottishness in Twentieth-Century English Canada

"Scottish Immigrants": Scottish crofter immigrants bound for Canada via CP Steamship. c. 1927 Courtesy Canadian Pacific Archives NS.8454. www.cprheritage.com

The Paradox of Visibility and Invisibility

I begin with this photo of Highland Scottish immigrants to Canada in the early decades of the twentieth century because it highlights for me the gap—and the slippery tension—between the stereotypical imagined image of Highland Scots and the very generic picture of the Scots which this historical photograph captures. The family in the photograph above, I would argue, would be unidentifiable as Scottish in the Canadian context without the sign they carry or the photo's caption. The family is white, of unidentifiable class (their identification as crofters

suggests real poverty, but their clothing and demeanor does not necessarily bear that out), and, I would suggest, the family looks like they could be from anywhere in Europe or North America.

Compare this image to another, this one an illustration that depicts Scottish Highlanders arriving at Pictou, Nova Scotia, in 1773. The image shows the Scots disembarking from the Hector, the ship tributed with bringing the first Scots to Canada. The illustration is reprinted in a little-read book by John Murray Gibbon (an illustrious man of the first half of the twentieth-century and a Scottish immigrant himself) entitled *The Scots in Canada*, published in 1911. This image shows the passengers, up to their knees in the ocean, leaving the ship in full tartan regalia and being piped ashore by a brawny man wearing even his plaid knee socks as he leads the group (all wearing tartan berets) ashore. These two images, for me, highlight the paradox of the visibility and invisibility of Scottishness in Canada, a knot that ties together the variety of threads that this project seeks to investigate. The two images also demonstrate the complex relationships of representation at stake in Canadian Scottishness. In both images, people are racially marked as white, but they are not *ethnically* marked except by their own choice—by their self-identification as crofters in the photo, and by their tartan regalia in the illustration.

Contemporary Canadian society is framed under an official paradigm of multiculturalism, which itself understands Canada to be based on two founding populations: "English Canada" and "French Canada." While French Canada, through the Quebec sovereignty movement, has spent decades clarifying and refining who this population is and how its parameters are defined, "English Canada" remains a more amorphous, flexible, and murky group. "English Canada" represents at once all English-speaking Canadians regardless of race or ethnicity, all Canadians who are understood to be part of the dominant, mainstream white majority culture and held in opposition to the "multi" cultures of "visible minorities" (regardless of how many generations

these minorities have lived in Canada), and another smaller subgroup, those Canadians whose family histories go back to the "British" (English, Scottish, Irish, Welsh) settlers who mostly immigrated to the pre-Confederation colony.[1] It was in interviewing these last two groups in the late 1990s that Eva Mackey began using the term "ordinary Canadian" to discuss the group of white, English-speaking Canadians who were comfortable identifying themselves without a cultural hyphen, despite often being descended from a mix of national origins (18).

My project is driven by the central question: how did this category of the "ordinary Canadian" come to be? How did the variety of ethnic groups—that at various points in history were all carefully demarcated or even at war with each other—come to be identifiable in a generic, yet still racialized way, as "ordinary Canadians" who are always already marked as white? Although clearly this question is not answerable in the course of one dissertation, I have pursued what I have come to see as a fundamental, inextricable thread: the discourse of Scottishness. Regardless of how fluid the category of whiteness has been over the centuries, in Canada, Scots have always been a complex part of it. Scots have occupied a variety of positions along the hierarchy of white status and power in Britain, and they brought that diversity with them when they immigrated to Canada. Scots themselves are, of course, not at all a monolithic group, but are shaped by diverse regional, religious, class, and language identities. But that complexity—combined with the security of their unique position as joint producers of the British Empire—has enabled an equal complexity of representational possibility, which in turn has proved exceedingly useful throughout twentieth-century Canada as the emerging category of "ordinary Canadian" was being developed, consolidated, and maintained. In fact, I contend that the white hegemony in Canada would not have been nearly so successful without the flexible and

[1] This does not suggest that these were either the first, most numerous, or most important settlers, but over time this last group has become arguably the most powerful.

shifting discourse of Scottishness, precisely because of the paradox I began with: Scots can be both invisible, generic and culturally unmarked white Canadian subjects, and yet they have a rich history of semiotic markers that can be drawn on to mark their Scottishness as ethnically unique and highly visible.

This project, then, works at the intersection of literature, culture, history, discourse analysis, and critical race theory to explore how "Scottishness" is produced as a white Canadian ethnic identity that acts to cement privilege and consolidate hegemonic power in shifting ways during four key transitions in the changing narratives of Canadian national identity: the construction of a white, Protestant, settler subject; the assimilation of Southern and Eastern European immigrants in the early twentieth-century; the mid-century production of a national identity distinct from that of the British colonial parent; and finally the location of Scottishenss as a white culture in the context of official multiculturalism, particularly as a victimized, postcolonial identity. I argue that despite Canada's official identity—and historical reality—of ethnic and racial pluralism, that national identity is still predicated on racial identity, and that this relationship urgently needs closer examination. My reading of the discourse of Scottishness, I hope, will be a starting place, a strong step, toward revealing the gaps and instabilities behind the construction of white hegemony in Canada.

The Liberal Project of the Canadian Nation

I begin by understanding Canada in terms of what Ian McKay has labeled the "liberal order:" a vision of Canada as, in Jennifer Henderson's words, "a project of rule—as the precarious and contested realization of a scheme to extend the government of 'freely' self-governing individuals (and the exclusion of deficient remainders) across a new space" (5). Theorizing the nation in these terms allows me to read Canada not as a stable, institutionalized

nation-state, but as an ideological project that has been formed and reformed in an elastic yet bounded process of hegemony. McKay contends that the Canadian hegemony comprises and promotes liberal values: the value of the individual always understood to be embedded in a white, Protestant, European society. Canada, originally a colonial project, in the twentieth century was being distanced from the British colonial parent for a variety of reasons, and can be read, McKay argues, as a project of liberal ideology that has shaped the values and policies that remain the underpinnings of Canadian representations of nationhood and national identity.

Reading Canada as an ideological project allows me to use discourse analysis to investigate the ways Canadian hierarchies of power have evolved and been maintained. In this thesis, I am clearly most concerned with the production of the discourse of race. Although Canadian literary critics have been analyzing individual and national identity formation through lenses of feminism, Marxism, and postcolonialism now for decades, and often touch on race and its relationship to power in those contexts, few studies have really focused on the historical production of race as a discourse in Canada and its subsequent impact on the formation of official multicultural policy. Canadian scholars have of course been critiquing multiculturalism since its inception, and the most influential works—Himani Bannerji's *The Dark Side of the Nation* and Smaro Kamboureli's *Scandalous Bodies* to name just two—have paid particular attention to the ways in which official multiculturalism is actually invested in maintaining the racial divide between the normative—read white—Canadian and multiple, always hyphenated, "visible minority"—not white—groups.

Despite wide acceptance of these criticisms among Canadian scholars, it is only recently that the whiteness of the majority culture itself has begun to be deconstructed in more rigorous ways. Daniel Coleman's recent book, *White Civility: The Literary Project of English Canada*,

has been heralded as groundbreaking in its reading of nineteenth and early twentieth century Canadian fiction for its codes of "civility:" hegemonic lessons in behaving according to British rules of conduct. Coleman understands the performance and instruction of civility as a manifestation of Canada's formation through and investment in liberalism, British values, and a desire to preserve the whiteness associated with both. Although interested in some of the same questions as this project, including "How did this normative concept of (English) Canadianness come to be established in the first place?" (5), his answer, in my mind, remains (perhaps necessarily) incomplete. Coleman contends that "English Canada" (as it is referred to through the public discourse of multiculturalism) can be read as:

> a project of literary, among other forms of cultural, endeavour and that the central organizing problematic of this endeavour has been the formulation and elaboration of a specific form of whiteness based on a British model of civility. By means of this conflation of whiteness with civility, whiteness has been naturalized as the norm for English Canadian cultural identity. (5)

Although Coleman does explore the construction of whiteness and Britishness as produced in part by historical Scots and shaped by selected allegories of how to civilize Others, his study still largely assumes the *racial* stability of that British whiteness. I would argue, however, that given the centrality of the ideas of ethnicity and ethnic difference in Canada's discourse of multiculturalism, a more thorough examination of ethnicity in relation to whiteness and British civility remains urgently necessary. It is part of the problem, in my view, that "whiteness" is a racial construct based, at least by today's criteria, largely on skin colour and "common sense", and yet the category of whiteness in Canada is both predicated on and set apart from the social categories that multiculturalism insists upon: ethnicity and culture. Whiteness has neither, by its

very claim to generic universalism, and this has helped to keep "white Canada" inaccessible to anyone classified as non-white (hence the focus on "visible" minorities). This paradox has also mired the same white Canadians in endless debates about defining a culture and identity for the nation and its (white normative) people.

Scots as Constitutive White Canadians

My project here, then, is, like Coleman's, to deconstruct the production of whiteness in twentieth century Canada. I am also interested in how Canadians have come to accept the stability of whiteness given our present context of multi-ethnic culture and the historical instability of the concept of race itself. However, I argue that closer attention must be paid to the ways in which whiteness itself as a category has been historically produced in Canada through public figures who have discursively reorganized and reclassified racial and ethnic groups over the decades into categories that, despite their obvious limitations, remain in play today. This is where a thorough deconstruction of the social construction of a white ethnicity like Scottishness becomes so valuable. Many other white ethnic groups have moved in and out of the category of generic white Canadian (Ukrainian, German, Irish, even French), and it is important to remember that the Scots were always embedded in a larger community where these groups and others were always interacting in complex ways. It would be valuable, as David Roediger and Theodore Allen have done with the Irish and other groups in the United States[2], to trace the shift from outcast to insider that has occurred for each group. However, in this thesis, I argue that the Scots—or rather the discourse of Scottishness—occupies a unique role in its relationship to hegemonic power, both historically and today.

[2] See Roediger, David. *Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class.* New York: Verso, 1991; Roediger, David. *Working Towards Whiteness: How America's Immigrants Became White.* New York: Basic Books, 2005; and Allen, Theodore. *The Invention of the White Race.* New York: Verso, 1994.

I have chosen Scottishness because of its dual position in Canadian culture and history: deeply entwined with the creation of Canada through a historical legacy of Scottish politicians, businessmen, religious and other educational leaders, today Scots are commonly held to be simultaneously victims of English colonization themselves, and thus allied with those oppressed by the British colonial legacy in Canada and around the world. Scots have, in Canada's history, largely been read as unproblematically white, yet Scottishness has the option of being invisible and generic or of being visibly marked in a way that Englishness and even Irishness or Welshness would find more difficult. It is by interrogating these paradoxes that I reveal the continuing presence of colonial attitudes about race that underpin the framework of multiculturalism and expose the historical and contemporary ethnic instability of whiteness in Canada, in the hopes that in doing so, the power of these discourses (whiteness and multiculturalism) to contain and oppress will be diminished.

Scottishness as Discourse in Canada

In my research into the knot of whiteness and power in Canada, it became clear to me that the discourse of Scottishness was an equally inextricable thread. I am convinced that the construction and maintenance of whiteness and its authority was uniquely produced in Canada because of both the Scots themselves and, more importantly for my purposes, the way that Scottishness is systematically represented in literature and popular culture. Of course, the representations would not have taken this particular shape without the historical reality of powerful Scottish lives; however the discourse of Scottishness that emerges from the literary and cultural texts does not always directly relate to the historical reality, and was clearly shaped both inadvertently and intentionally in order to serve larger agendas of power. The extent to which the Scots themselves are responsible for this representation is likely considerable; as I observed

in both of the images of Scottishness that I raised above, repeatedly marking themselves *as* Scottish has clearly been an important part of preserving an ethnic heritage and identity. Most of the authors that I read in this project are Scottish themselves, and are deeply invested in portraying their forebears or contemporaries as powerful. But the uniqueness of the Scots in Canada is precisely that the discourse is not ghettoized. The sheer popularity of these works—and the ways in which their ideas are echoed in non-Scottish writing—speaks to the influence of Scots themselves on the discourse of Canada, but also shows that the discourse of Scottishness is one that has been used by the British-descended population of Canada (of which Scots still comprise a small minority) to define and maintain normative Canadianness as white, Protestant, and British.

Historians continue to chart the reasons for the massive influence of particular Scots in a variety of settings on the development of the nation. Michael Vance argues that many Scots believed in the "reinforcement of the elite" and he notes that "Scottish societies' organizers [attempted] to link themselves with patriotism and the British Empire" (102). Daniel Coleman maintains that Scots "were the primary inventers and promoters of the category of Britishness that is the conceptual foundation of the Canadian idea of civility" (6). He contends that "Britishness" offered a "pan-ethnic leeway" that "allowed Scots who were being driven off their lands in Scotland an upward social mobility in the colonies unavailable back home" (6). But I would argue that there is more at stake here. The Scots may be effective self-promoters, but they are merely one source of the broader discourse of Scottishness. As my research shows, the influence of the authors and their works that I read throughout this project was powerful and lasting, and I argue this is due to its usefulness to elite circles (of which Scots were often a part) invested in maintaining power. The discourse of Scottishnes, throughout a wide variety of time

periods and political and social circumstances, has held fast, and this is because of its ability to shift between visibility and invisibility, as it suits the needs of the message that power in Canada is either exclusive and unique, or inclusive and accessible. Ultimately, I would argue, the process by which the ethnically marked, discursive Scot (as opposed to the historical, lived Scottish individual) disappears into the generic white Canadian subject, and then reappears as multiculturalism takes hold, is also the process by which the white Canadian hegemony consolidates and maintains power.

I employ discourse analysis, then, to trace the production of power generated through the production of knowledge and ideology as evident in literary and other texts. As Ania Loomba writes, discourse analysis "allows us to see how power works through language, literature, culture, and the institutions which regulate our daily lives" (47). Throughout this project, I offer close readings of fiction and non-fiction—as well as a series of folk music festival performances—to track the ways in which Canadian authors have constructed, added to, and changed the discourses of race, whiteness, and Scottishness throughout the twentieth century. Though these discourses are present in any texts I could have chosen, I have deliberately focused my attention on texts and authors that were extremely influential in their times: bestsellers, Governor-General and other award-winners, fiction and non-fiction still actively read and studied today. The popularity and awards these works garnered speaks to the influence they had in the public sphere, and I believe make them particularly useful for analyzing trends in Canadian attitudes toward race and the nation. Many of the authors I have selected were also passionately and publicly involved in shaping social agendas outside of their fiction; Rev Charles W. Gordon (Ralph Connor), Nellie MacClung, John Murray Gibbon, and Hugh MacLennan were all among those deeply invested and often called upon to speak and write in larger public forums about

their ideologies of race and nationalism. In reading these works, then, my close readings are not intended to be comprehensive, but rather support that I am following a strong and resilient discursive thread.

Following the discourse of Scottishness, rather than the discourse of whiteness or race more broadly, also enables me to probe the deep connections between race, gender, class, colonialism, and nationalism in a way that remains faithful to Anne McClintock's concept of "articulated categories:" the way that race, gender, and class become her inextricably linked "triangulated theme" allows her to explore "the intimate relations between imperial power and resistance; money and sexuality; race and gender" (5). McClintock's model—particularly as it relates to race, imperialism, gender and the family—enables me to interrogate the ways in which Scottishness is always already embedded in codes of whiteness because of its position in relation to British imperialism and Canadian colonialism and nationalism. The Scottish subject in Canada is always a settler subject, and is also then grounded in gendered roles in relation to Others (both Aboriginal and immigrant) and to the national project.

The connections between race, gender, class and imperialism in turn also help to shape and produce whiteness, and Richard Dyer's foundational study, *White*, theorizes that whiteness is specifically manifested through what he calls the "spirit of enterprise" (15). He writes:

> At some point, the embodied something else of whiteness took on a dynamic relation to the physical world, something caught by the ambiguous word "spirit." The white spirit organizes white flesh and in turn non-white flesh and other material matters: it has enterprise. Imperialism is the key historical form in which that process has been realized. Imperialism displays both the character of enterprise in this white person, and its exhilaratingly expansive relationship to the environment. (15)

Thus enterprise becomes a manifestation of whiteness, and I argue that in the texts I read, embodying the spirit of enterprise can, in turn, help to produce whiteness. But not all characters are allowed enterprise—the progressive, assertive, forward-moving energy required to transform the Canadian colonial landscape and people in the imperial image is granted almost exclusively to men, who can then be produced in turn as settlers and nation-builders. All of these forces remain in tension together, producing and reproducing each other: whiteness produces imperialism which produces the nation, whose builders and leaders reproduce imperialism onto the Canadian landscape, the work of which then reproduces the characters as white. Women's positions in this relationship are complex; female characters in texts written by men are offered whatever supporting role will complement and reinforce the national progress of the men. Feminist writers like Nellie McClung and later Margaret Laurence do challenge that limiting role, but that challenge does not always extend to upsetting the fundamental premise: McClung's heroines, for instance, fight for the opportunity to also be nation-builders, but largely accept the imperial and racial hierarchies that underpin the work.[3]

As I will explore particularly in my chapter on Hugh MacLennan's allegorical fiction, writers also rely on allegorical tropes of the family to organize Canadian whiteness, which at the same time employs constructions of gender and class in order to create a definable national character. Understanding particularly the novels I read from the first half of the twentieth century as types of allegorical fiction is useful in two key ways. First, as Stephen Slemon writes, "allegory proceeds from identification between things and depends upon an act of reading that recognizes events and characters to be analogous with specific points of reference in what Frederic Jameson calls a 'master code'" (161). Both reader and writer need to share a "common sense" understanding of the national history onto which is being projected the fictional parallel.

[3] For more on white settler women's complicity in Canadian imperialism, see Jennifer Henderson, *Settler Feminism*.

Analyzing allegories then, becomes particularly useful for reading historical understandings of race: individual characters, as they take on roles and functions within a narrative, must be given gender, class, and racial identities, and these correlations must feel authentic not just within the story, but for the allegory to work for its contemporary audience. Deconstructing the premises of race that are still simply "understood" is a useful tool for gaining access to historical and contemporary belief systems. Secondly, though, allegory can also be read as what Daniel Coleman (following Homi Bhabha) describes as the "*pedagogical* ideal;" the process through which "national discourse attempts to shape or discipline people's daily and repeated *performances* of citizenship; that is, national allegories teach people what 'Canadian' looks like so they can repetitively act it out themselves" (40). Most of the fiction that I read in the coming chapters are allegories shaped by this kind of national and civilizing agenda; the authors have specific goals of socializing its citizen readers to see themselves as particular kinds of Canadians—or to see and begin to performatively constitute themselves as Canadians in particular kinds of ways.

Most of these allegories, and Hugh MacLennan's in particular, rely for their pedagogical effectiveness on allegorical relationships between the family and the nation. This relationship in turn is predicated on the notion of the "family of Empire." As David Pearson discusses, across the British colonies, "settlers viewed themselves as part of a transnational British kin group, sharing the family status of monarchical subjects, bound together by ties of 'race' and national origin" (994). The, still variously defined, "transnational British kin group," was a useful way to understand relationships between those groups that felt connected through their relationship to the British Empire, and who, in Canada, ultimately come to inhabit the category of "ordinary" Canadian. Of course, the reliance on the trope of the family necessitates gender roles, and

unpacking these again helps to reveal how normativity is produced and reinforced. Use of the parallel between the family and the "family of Empire" shifts throughout much of the fiction I analyze, and I will explore these connections more deeply in the upcoming chapters.

Scots in Britain

Scots in Canada are always already constituted through their history with England and their presence in the English imagination. The history of Scotland and England, and of Scots in relation to the English imagination, remains key to understanding the discourse of Scottishness in Canada. Historically, Scottishness in English systems of representation comprises two central meanings that interact with one another: first, Scots were perceived as barbaric savages who stood as a threat to English security from Roman times, and second, thanks to Sir Walter Scott and the Romantics, a nineteenth-century vision emerged of the Scots as noble, heroic Highlanders connected to an ancient and mystical folk lineage. Both narratives collapse all Scots into Highlanders, passing over ancient Lowland patterns of assimilation and interaction with their southern neighbours as well as Scottish triumphs in business, science, literature, and philosophy, and both meanings ignore contemporary political and economic realities. Though the second way Scots are imagined depends on the threat of the first being thoroughly conquered, the image of the Scottish savage has not disappeared, and I would argue continues to inform and shape the image of the displaced noble victim that remains common today.

The English understanding (often shared by urban Lowlanders) of the Scot as savage barbarian had a long and tenacious history, often fostered by the Highlanders themselves. Though the Scots were historically an ambiguous blend of Danish, Scandinavian, Celtic and Irish settlers and invaders, they were understood as frightening early on, thanks to the legacy of Hadrian's wall. The Romans, who had traipsed through England, were stopped at the Pict

territory in the North, and built the wall that remains an indicator of the Scottish/English border. The ferociousness of the defending Picts (who were no longer in distinctive evidence after the 10th century) was easily transferred to the later Celtic inhabitants, who, like their predecessors, continued to raid and pillage southern villages and communities. Over the early centuries, Highlanders continued to be at best a nuisance to English settlements, and at worst, under William Wallace and others, a real threat to southern security. Highlanders were repeatedly described as lawless cattle raiders, drunken whiskey-distillers, and savage warriors.[4] Timothy Devine looks back to the 14th century to the writing of chronicler John of Fordun, who distinguished two Scottish languages and peoples: the Scottish who occupied the Highlands and were described as savage, cruel and unsightly, in contrast to the Teutonic, perceived as domestic, civilized, well-dressed and devout (2). English language and culture became more dominant in the Lowlands over time, and Devine contends that the Gaelic association with the Highlands added to the sense that the Highlanders were "culturally inferior to other Scots" (2).

Documenting the history of conflicts and connections within Scotland and between Scotland and England over the centuries is beyond my scope here, but in broad strokes England and Scotland gradually became more economically and administratively entwined. The Union of the Crowns in 1603 enabled the Scottish states to tame the violent Borders region with English backing, and according to Devine the Scottish elite watched England invade and colonize Ulster, which subdued the Highland chiefs at least temporarily. However, when the "Glorious Revolution" in England installed William of Orange to the English throne in 1689, the monarch overthrown was James VII of England/ James II of Scotland: son of James I (grandson of Mary, Queen of Scots) who first embodied the union of the two nations. Though James II had not been a popular ruler in Scotland, by 1715 Catholic counties drew substantial support for an uprising in

[4] For more detailed histories of Scotland, see for instance Timothy Devine, Christopher Smout, and J.M. Bumstead.

the name of restoring the Stewart line, and the Highland armies provided the military muscle for what became known as the Jacobite rebellions.

Between 1689 and 1715, however, Scotland and England became officially the United Kingdom through the Treaty of Union of 1707. Historians argue that Union largely came about because of the competition between Scotland and England for expansion of colonial territory. In an attempt to increase its wealth and influence, Scotland tried to establish its own North American colonies; in 1698 the Company of Scotland was chartered and raised capital from citizens across the country to settle a colony in Panama. The Darien Scheme proved a disaster, with thousands killed either on the journey or by the poverty and disease that awaited them in the colony, and in 1699 the project was abandoned, leaving Company and the country of Scotland both teetering on the edge of bankruptcy. In the wake of the failure, Scotland's business and political elite decided to join England in order to benefit from the resources of the now British Empire. Though the Treaty has always been controversial, Liam Connell argues that "material indicators … suggest that, as a whole, Scotland benefited greatly from the processes of modernization following the union with England, and, indeed, that these were processes over which Scots themselves exercised considerable control." (45) But the decision was not without critics from the beginning, and with deep divisions and differences between religious and economic regions across Scotland and England, it didn't take long for rebellion to erupt.

If the rebellion in 1715 was unsuccessful, the infamous 1745 was a catastrophe. "Bonnie Prince Charlie" was born in Rome, Italy, to the grandson of James II and his Polish wife. He had never been to Scotland, but was nevertheless heir to the Stewart line. He did manage to raise some ships and made it to Scotland and raised a small army with support from some, but not all, of the Highland clans. Devine writes that "there was evidence of a close correlation between

political disaffection and financial difficulty. During the '45 it was estimated that twenty-two clans were 'out' for the Pretender and only 10 for the government, but, overall, the Hanoverians had the more prosperous clans on their side" (26). The Jacobite supporters did have modest success at first, but when the English soldiers met up with them at Culloden, just outside of Inverness, the Scots were trounced and Charlie fled, never to return to Scotland.

The sympathy for the Highlanders' lost cause has been garnered less from the disorganized rebellion and more because of the "massive military, judicial, and political assault on the clan society" which in the eyes of the British governors had produced the uprising (Devine 28). The subsequent prohibitions and harsh punishments for wearing tartans and other Highland dress, sounding the bagpipes, carrying weapons, along with the abolishment of heritable territories and the forfeit of Jacobite supporting estates to the crown all meant, according to Hugh Trevor-Roper, that "the whole Highland way of life quickly crumbled" (24). If it had been difficult to define Scottish identity before 1745, the British crackdown left little doubt as to what it found threatening. Devine argues, though, that Highland society was dealt its final blows by the booming economy in the south: British demand for Highland cattle, kelp, whiskey, mutton and wool became so strong that "the Highland region effectively became an economic satellite" (33). It was, however, the British elimination of the Scottish menace once and for all that changed forever what Scottishness as an influential cultural sign has come to signify.

Along with the economic and social transformation of the Highlands came William Pitt's decision to recruit Highland soldiers to the Imperial army. The Scottish regiments met with great military success throughout battles in North America and India, and, as the only Scots still allowed to wear the kilt, back in Britain the tartans began to be associated with patriotism and

glory. Out of that success, and in conjunction with the growing connections between English and Lowland Scots gentry—many of whom now owned those forfeited Highland estates—came a growing fashion of Highland-themed clothing and invented culture. Popularized stories created at this time about clan tartans, chieftain traditions and bagpiped ceremonies still live on today. Romanticism drove a search for folk legend, music, poetry, and the lost innocence of an idealized peasant life, and as Trevor-Roper puts it, the Highlanders provided "the romance of a primitive people with the charm of an endangered species" (25). The "disappearing" Highland clans (much like the idea of the "disappearing Indian" in Canada) provided a source of imagery and mythology to fan the flames within Britain, and many capitalized on it, including James MacPherson and the others who contributed to the Ossian hoax. But the biggest promoter of the romantic Scottish legend, including a new spin on the massacre of the '45 as the story of noble but doomed courage of Bonnie Prince Charlie, was Sir Walter Scott himself.

Scott, Edinburgh born and raised, focused his novels on the struggle between the romanticized "auld ways" and the new, English, modernity that was forcing it into extinction. Thanks to novels like *Waverley* and *Rob Roy*, he became a hugely influential cultural figure. In 1820, he helped found the Celtic Society of Edinburgh, and acted as its first president. In 1822, he was asked to prepare the city for King George IV's unprecedented royal visit; and, as Trevor-Roper writes, "the capital of Scotland was 'tartanized' to receive its king" (31). Almost 85 years after the Highlands had been devastated and irrevocably tamed into rural poverty, the success of the "King's Jaunt" produced an explosion of "Highland" popularity in England and along the borders. The simulacrum of 'tartanism' was indelibly printed on the English imagination, and the earlier sense of threat produced by the sight of the Highland savage only added a small shiver of danger that perpetuated the romance.

The Scots in Canada

The Romantic Highlander discourse was transported to Canada fairly early in British colonial settlement, but Scottish communities had been thriving in the colonies for more than a generation by the mid-nineteenth century, so the Romantic discourse was simply layered onto stable perceptions of Scots as full British citizens who were hardworking, religious, frugal and educated. These Scots had come to Canada from a variety of backgrounds, and had settled throughout Upper and Lower Canada, as well as in the Maritimes. What follows is a very brief summary of the history of Scottish settlement in Canada in order to remind us of the diversity of experience even within this one ethnic group, the strong interconnections between Scottish, Canadian, British and American histories, and, perhaps most importantly, the imperial privilege that was granted to most Scots, no matter their circumstances, upon their arrival in Canada. As unquestioned British citizens, they were instantly entitled to appropriated land and were granted civil rights not always on offer to other immigrants. Though Scots escaping 19th century famines and other hardships were absolutely among the poorest citizens in Europe, when they arrived in Canada they had access to land, public support and established communities almost immediately.

Though some popular historians over the twentieth century cite the first association between Scotland and Canada as the naming of "Nova Scotia" in the early 1600s, few real connections were made, and almost no Scots remained in Canada from these early settlements. After the 1707 Acts of Union, Scots gained access to British colonies, military service, and economic infrastructure as British citizens. When the British gained Canada as a territory, they expelled the Acadian settlers and tried to replace them with British ones. Scots were present in the British forces that carried out the expulsion (some of whom undoubtedly stayed on in the colony), and others responded to the call for settlers and founded new communities throughout

the territory. Lucille Campey reports that during the late eighteenth-century middle-class Scots from various parts of the Lowlands were excited by the possibility of land ownership and the potential for prosperity, and many took the opportunity to emigrate, particularly to the Maritimes. There were no assistance schemes in those years, so those migrating from poverty in rural Scotland were for the most part staying closer to home; only those with some means already could afford to try their luck overseas. After the 1790s, Upper Canada began to draw a large share of Scottish settlers.

When the Napoleonic Wars broke out in the early 1800s, boycotts and wartime economies changed the situation for Scotland dramatically. The Highlands experienced an economic boom, particularly in dulse production, that slowed the need for migration down considerably. At the same time, timber exports from the Baltic states were cut off from Britain, and Canada's Maritimes became an invaluable new source. Demand for lumber for military and cargo ships was up, and the Lowland Scottish industrial ports were working flat out. According to Campey, this produced several opportunities: many Scots started timber businesses and relationships with settlers in the Maritimes, and many other rural Lowland Scots took advantage of the brand new, empty cargo ships headed to the New World for wood, and emigrated to Canada in relatively cheap comfort.

Once the war boom collapsed, landowners in the Highlands continued their economic shift away from feudal, tenanted, relative self-sufficiency, toward more lucrative cattle and sheep ranching. Though there were notorious and vicious "Clearances" throughout the nineteenth-century, Devine writes that, especially in the early phases, they were not the norm. At first, tenanted farmers were simply relocated to crofts, small farming plots on generally poor land, which were intended to offer a supplemental livelihood to other work. Other landowners, like

Lord Selkirk, took great interest in re-settling whole tenanted communities to lands in Canada, and some of these became prosperous new centres in the colony. In the mid-1800s, potato famines started to hit the Highlands hard, and the Scottish crofters, already living on the edge of survival, were among the hardest hit. All of Scotland struggled with what to do, and eventually some assistance programs, both public and private, were made available to relocate many of these refugees to Canada.

Beyond these economic migrations, Scots came to Canada along a variety of paths as they tried to move either further away from or closer to British ties. Throughout the 17th century, Scots "planters" were settling in Northern Ireland as Protestant colonizers for England, for new economic opportunities with strong connection to the Empire, and to flee British religious persecution. But times and politics were tumultuous, and these 'Ulster Scots' started heading to North America first in a trickle, and then as the American colonies started becoming more stable and as famines hit Ireland, in a steady stream. Before the Treaty of Union, Scots marked as rebels by the English could also be deported to the colonies, including the North American ones, and after Union, Scots could be sent overseas as punishment for treason. After the big rebellions in Scotland in 1715 and 1745, large groups of Scots emigrated both by choice and as punishment. After Culloden and the end of the 1745 rebellion, Scottish Highland soldiers were recruited into the British military, both as a solution to the unemployment and poverty that fermented rebellion, and as a way to promote political assimilation. Many fought in North America, and were granted lands in Canada when their terms of service were up, and most of those settled in Upper Canada. Highlanders fought against the American revolutionaries and stayed on after 1776, and as Scots loyalists moved up to Canada, they were granted land in similar areas, forming some of the most established and prosperous communities in Ontario.

It is, of course, important to point out that the Scots were not alone in this pattern, and Scots were never a majority of immigrants or settlers in Canada. In fact, Phillip Buckner has contended that Anglophone settlers in Canada until the major influx of United Empire Loyalists in the late 1700s were largely Irish, forming "close to 60 percent of the emigrants" (51), and most of these were, like the Scots immigrating at the time, "comfortable farming classes who feared a loss of status" (51). Buckner estimates that during this period, Scots made up about 15 percent of the immigrants, outnumbered also by the English and Welsh. The United Empire Loyalist immigration changed Canada forever, finally bringing in enough English-speaking settlers to outnumber the French population. But, as Jean Burnet and Howard Palmer point out, the Loyalists were not homogenous either; "these immigrants were of many origins, including German, Swiss, Dutch, Indian, and Jewish, but considerable numbers of them were British and even more were Anglophone" (15). Many of those would have been Scottish too. Buckner acknowledges that despite their lower numbers, Scots nonetheless made up a disproportionate amount of Canada's Anglophone elite. He writes:

> Scottish university graduates played an important role in developing Canada's system of higher education and were strongly represented in the fields of law and medicine. … Scottish involvement in the fur trade increased the numbers of Scottish merchants in Quebce in the late eighteenth century but the real growth came with the expansion of the colonial timber and grain trades in the nineteenth. Scottish firms dominated the import and export trade of the colonies and provided the leadership in organising the Canadian banking system. (52)

Throughout the twentieth-century, then, it is important to remember that despite my focus on Scottishness, the Scots were only one group engaged in enforcing imperial authority and

developing the colonial system in Canada. However, their prominence as leaders also meant that they were looked to as managers of those groups British Canada was trying to contain: First Nations, French-Canadians, and those from immigrant groups deemed less than desirable. Though my project focuses specifically on the Scots, I am interested in the ways in which Scottishness proved, because of its complex history and cultural, ethnic, and economic diversity, so useful for those trying to shape a shared vision of an emerging national character.

The Project

This thesis, then, explores the ways in which literary and other texts have continued to develop and use the discourse of Scottishness in different historical periods and for different reasons, but always with the same ultimate goals: preserving the (British Protestant) whiteness of the normative Canadian and containing power in those normative hands. I have chosen to analyze texts from four different periods of the twentieth-century where I see four different uses of the Scottish sign and thus four different aspects of or changes in the discourse. I pay attention to the material conditions and political circumstances of each period, because I argue that the shifts in the discourse are often directly related to the unique challenges that those invested in preserving hegemony faced in a given historical moment. The texts I have chosen are written by authors deeply invested in the social and political challenges of their era, and need to be read in their unique contexts.

I begin with the re-construction or "re-calling" of the Scottish settler subject in the first decades of the twentieth century through the early works of best selling authors Ralph Connor and Nellie McClung. The settler subject in these novels is already a nostalgic re-imagining of the settler as a stable entity, and I argue that the Scots are invoked to shape public understanding of the national character (historically so linked to national race). The narrative of the settler

subject is always a story of replacing the displaced indigene, and in Connor's books the Scots become characterized as white indigenous subjects that can bridge the savage wilderness of colonial Canada (thanks to the Scottish history as savage within Britain) with the civilized imperial society. Thanks to their historical shift from savage to civilized themselves, Scots are also presented as at the forefront of performing the work of civilizing others. Connor writes these subjects as male, but Nellie McClung's feminism allows women to also gain enterprise and help with the civilizing tasks, while advocating for a new Anglo-Celtic bond that would expand but also maintain the whiteness of the nation.

The second chapter examines attempts to stabilize Canadian whiteness—particularly in the West—in light of the demographic changes brought on by the massive immigration (particularly from southern and eastern Europe) that peaked in 1913 but whose impact rippled into the 1930s. This chapter reads texts that are intimately engaged with the classification, assimilation, and protection of the whiteness of the Canadian people: Ralph Connor's novel, *The Foreigner*, James Shaver Woodsworth's *Strangers within Our Gates*, and John Murray Gibbon's *Canadian Mosaic*. During this period, the Scots become reclassified from original settler to ideal immigrant group, and are highlighted as the model ethnic group whose assimilation into British culture is rewarded with authority and power. I then move to an analysis of the series of folk music festivals that Gibbon produced into the 1920s and 1930s, which had a tremendous impact on how the broader Canadian public perceived "New Canadians," and whose legacy is still evident in the multicultural festivals that are still organized across the country today. I argue that these festivals attempted to perform racial and ethnic difference as domesticated and non-threatening, and in turn perform Canadian whiteness as consolidated and stable. The unique

position of Scots as ethnically visible in the context of the folk festival also helps to create an ethnic identity for that consolidated whiteness.

In the next chapter, I move to the 1940s, and take an in-depth look at Hugh MacLennan's most famous novels: *Barometer Rising* and *Two Solitudes*. MacLennan's influence during this nation-building period was enormous, and he was explicitly trying to shape Canadians' view of themselves as distinct and sovereign. He felt himself involved in a project of decolonizing Canada, which to him meant raising Canada to an identity and status beyond that of British colony, but he also did not want Canada to abandon its British roots and race. His allegorical novels present at once narratives of national consciousness and maturation, and, I argue, a model through which a Canadian race and character could be produced. His model is the allegory of the family, where those groups who are part of the "family of Empire" can be unified through family structures through which a new race can be bred. In both of MacLennan's allegories, Scottishness is idealized as the most "Canadian" of the family of Empire groups, for it is the Scots who embody the enterprise so needed to develop the nation.

Chapter four moves into more contemporary times, and reads two novels set against the backdrop of official multiculturalism. Margaret Laurence's *The Diviners* was written as bi-culturalism and then policies of multiculturalism were being developed and hotly debated; while Alistair MacLeod's novel *No Great Mischief* was among the best regarded Canadian novel in the last year of the twentieth-century. Though separated by twenty-five years, both novels return to the nostalgic vision of the displaced Highland Scot, and I argue it is no coincidence that the discourse of Scottishness, in the context of multiculturalism, becomes rewritten as a colonized identity allied with other colonized groups around the world. The marginalized Scot is only tentatively recognized as a colonizer, and I contend that this new meaning of the Scottish sign

allows white Canadians (now so often descended from a variety of ethnic backgrounds) to disavow their complicity in and benefit from hegemonic whiteness and to situate themselves as postcolonial subjects.

Potential Pitfalls and Hopeful Prospects

I recognize that embarking on this kind of project retains some inherent dangers. As a white critic trying to deconstruct the hierarchy of white power, I run the considerable risk of simply returning the white subject and its systemic representations of itself to the centre of scholarship. However, if literary and cultural scholarship is to have any real impact in the world beyond academia, it must engage with the power structures that exist in that world. That engagement can only take place from within or from without, and as a white, "ordinary Canadian", I have no position as an outsider. This kind of "whiteness" study, I hope, offers me a channel, an avenue, through which to attempt to deconstruct hegemonic power without trying to claim insight into the authentic voice of an Other. My goal in this project is to reveal the instability and fluidity of the project of white hegemony in Canada, the processes and narratives that produce and maintain it, in the hope that doing so creates the potential for change in two ways: it leaves those white Canadians who actively work to maintain their own power one less narrative to use in service of that aim, and it may open another gap through which First Nations and other activists may seek real political change.

I believe this work to be valuable and urgently necessary because the power and dominance of whiteness in Canada has become increasingly naturalized and seamless—either in spite of or because of twenty years of official multiculturalism—and thus, as Eva Mackey discovered in her surveys, more easily deniable and more resistant to change. Liberal narratives of equality and civil rights, as many have argued, continue to disguise and be used to ignore

inherited inequalities. I would argue that it has become even more important to understand and revisit the fluidity and historical shifts that have occurred in the discourse of race and whiteness over the last century. Ignorance of this instability contributes to the misunderstandings by "ordinary Canadians" of the challenges faced by minority groups and adds to the sense of threat that global racial and ethnic tensions play to so effectively. The research and analysis that follows does not just put forward the discourse of Scottishness as a case study of white ethnicity in Canada, though it is that as well, but rather contends that this discourse has uniquely been an indispensable tool in the maintenance of the white normative Canadian.

Chapter 1: Industrious Habits: The Scottish Settler Subject

As Ralph Connor's novel, *The Man from Glengarry* (1901), opens, Connor introduces us to the Macdonald clan from Glengarry County, famous log-drivers along the Ottawa river. The "boss," "best and chief" (4) Macdonald is Donald Bhain Macdonald, or the Big Macdonald, and he is described as the ideal settler:

> There were none like him. A giant in size and strength, a prince of broad-axe men, at home in the woods, sure-footed and daring on the water, free with his wages, and always ready to drink with friend or fight with foe, the whole river admired, feared, or hated him, while his own men followed him into the woods, onto a jam, or into a fight with equal joyousness and devotion. (4)

The description illustrates the key position that Scots inhabit in this era of settler writing: they are still rough and in need of the moral refining that comes, in Connor's view, through religion, gentle women, and an understanding of service to the community. However, the Scots are unique in their natural fit with the Canadian land, their ability to lead, and their physical hardiness so well suited to the rigours of the colony. They have, according to the novel, brought Canada from indigenous inhabited wilderness to burgeoning nation, and the next stage, as exhibited by Connor's young hero, Ranald Macdonald, is the education, moral guidance, and self-mastery that enables leadership towards British-defined civility and thus creates a civilized nation.

Written in 1901, however, the Macdonalds and their like were already perceived as the settlers of long ago. Connor was writing to a much more urbanized, modern audience, and he writes in his preface:

> The solid forests of Glengarry have vanished, and with the forests the men who conquered them. The manner of life and the type of character to be seen in those early days have gone too, and forever. It is part of the purpose of this book to so picture these men and their times that they may not drop quite out of mind. (xiii)

Connor here is already memorializing earlier settlers, recasting the legacy of their forbearers in order to produce a narrative that would define the emerging nation's history. As Paul Hjartarson writes, this act of what he terms "recalling" serves "to construct and what is being constructed is either the tradition itself or an alternative or oppositional response … to 'recall' someone or something from the past is to shape that past in the interest of what [Raymond] Williams aptly terms a 'pre-shaped present'" (4-5). As interest in nation-building grew during these first decades of the twentieth century, and as immigrants began to arrive in large numbers in the Canadian West, writers and other members of the cultural elite tried to solidify what it meant to be a white, Protestant, normative Canadian, while they tried to brand Canada as a white, Protestant nation in the image of its imperial British homeland. This was not an easy task, as Canada had a large French Catholic contingent, a substantial indigenous population (particularly in the West), and, as Phillip Buckner reminds us, a history of more Irish (both Protestant and Catholic) than English or Scottish settlers. "Recalling" the past allowed those complex legacies to be re-shaped into a narrative of "British" settlement. Given the context, it's no wonder that the creation of the settler subject required some creative license, and that, as Diana Brydon observes, "the settler colony serves as an unstable site for memories" (55). My task in this chapter, then, is to look closely at the instabilities inherent in the acts of "recall" that early twentieth-century Canada's most popular authors were engaged in, specifically to reveal how the stable settler subject that lives still in popular understandings of Canadian history came to be

imagined as generically "white." I argue that the discourse of Scottishness facilitated this process, as Scots discursively act as a bridging identity between the indigenous wilderness and British civility, and then, thanks to their always almost-English status, were able to lead, manage, and contain other ethnic groups, while also modeling how to become civilized, and often how to intermarry with other British family ethnic groups in order to create the new Canadian race. Using Scots as settler subjects allowed for the white British Canadian race to be constructed out of members of the British "family of Empire" (see Pearson) and for these settlers to replace the original inhabitants of the colony.

While postcolonial theorists have asked for decades who this settler subject is, how he/she is gendered, and how he or she operates in opposition to the indigene or to other ethnic immigrants, in this chapter, I will be examining closely the way the discourse of Scottishness is used to establish how the settler subject is characterized in the context of race. Most critics rely on the shorthand that the Canadian settler is an imperial subject who identifies as "white" in opposition to the indigene; however, I argue that until perhaps the mid-twentieth-century, the boundaries of the "white" race were highly unstable, and that earlier bestselling authors like Connor and Nellie McClung were deeply invested in shaping the racialized characteristics of the settler who was to become representative of the early Canadian race and therefore of the nation's characteristics. For Connor and McClung, among other public intellectuals (and as I will discuss in chapter two), race came from national origin, and dictated character, which meant that racial character defined national character. Writing Canada's history as white and British was key to the contemporary claim that Canada was a civilized nation as defined through a lens of British imperial civility. Clearly, however, the demographics of the nation did not support a definition of Englishness (and neither did the family histories of either author).

In this chapter, then, I argue that writing the Scots as Canada's settlers allowed for Canada to become—in the fictional reworking of Canada's history—British in character through an allegorical parallel of the Scots themselves becoming civilized British subjects. I read John Richardson's *Wacousta* and John Galt's *Bogle Corbet* as examples of the paradoxical possibilities signified by Scottishness in Canada in the late nineteenth-century: Scots are always already haunted by their perceived history as lawless, uncivilized, savages in Britain, yet are also seen as prosaic producers of British civilization, the workers, farmers, mundanely successful pioneers. I then trace how this legacy of meanings appears in works by Connor and McClung. Connor uses the history of Scots being perceived as living without the mediating force of British civility—living close to and off of the land in a primal community where power is gained and maintained through violence and without benefit of religious or other moral guidance—and then, through the influence of religion and education, maturing in a way parallel to the nation into full British manhood. I argue that this shift is an example of the Scots being used as figures of white indigeneity—as almost as uncivilized as the aboriginal savage but not quite—to replace the aboriginal and to thus bridge a Canadian history that seamlessly moves from indigenous to British. McClung's Scots are similarly on either side of the civilized line, though for her this is a class distinction: civilized Scots doctors and ministers work at educating and raising up poor immigrant crofters and other Highlanders. In both cases, Scots become the ideal settlers—much as they become the ideal immigrants in the next chapter—because they have the capacity to do the physically demanding work of cultivating and transforming the wild Canadian land in a way the urbanized English are written as incapable of. The Scots are simultaneously able to maintain their access to English civility, which ensures that the land and people of colonial Canada are transformed—recalled—into appropriately imperial subjects.

As I outlined in my introduction, in the history of Canada's colonial settlement, the Scots have always played a prominent figurative as well as literal role. Though from the early days of British occupation the Scots were outnumbered by British descendants from the United States and later by Irish immigrants, Scots nevertheless came to be uniquely identified as ideal Canadians. Phillip Buckner estimates that in the first half of the nineteenth century, the Irish made up about sixty percent of immigrants to Canada (51), while Scots made up only fifteen percent (52)—outnumbered by the English and Welsh as well. However, as Highland emigration slowed after the Napoleonic wars and the subsequent economic depression in northern Scotland, the Scots who began to arrive in Canada in larger numbers were Lowlanders—largely well educated, Protestant, and industrious. Lowland Scots began to develop a major presence in medicine, law, politics, and commerce, and their reputation grew. As settler recruitment expanded in the colony, Scots became known as the most desirable potential Canadians; Lucille Campey quotes Walter Johnstone, a Scot who researched and produced a guide on emigration to Canada in the 1820s:

> No settlers are prized more...upon that Island from Dumphriessire and the southern counties of Scotland. None excel them in agricultural knowledge, domestic economy or steady industrious habits. None who can supply more of their own wants with their own hands, submit without murmuring to mean fare or make greater exertions to increase their own comforts. I mean such of them as are sober and industrious; but I cannot say they are all so. I would rank the Highlanders as next to these in eligibility and the well-behaved Irish next, if not equal to them; and the English as the most unsuitable of all. (66)

Given their disproportionately small percentage of the nineteenth-century Canadian population, however, this chapter investigates how the discourse of Scottishness contributed to their developing symbolic power as a representative settler subject.

The settler subject, like settlers themselves, has changed throughout Canada's colonial history, and some would argue that the continued occupation of First Nations lands means that Canada remains invested a current manifestation of an imagined settler: the white multicultural Canadian that I will discuss later. In this chapter, I contend that the settler subject whose influence is still felt in current political and social discourse took hold in the early twentieth century as bestselling authors Ralph Connor and Nellie McClung wrote to a quickly urbanizing Canadian audience about both the legacy of earlier settlers and of those engaged in settling Western Canada. In the context of the pre-war enthusiasm for nation building, the need to represent Canada as having resolved conflicts with First Nations groups and having domesticated the wilderness became more urgent, and authors recast the early pioneers while writing into being their ideals of civilization and social reform.

The settler subject is the representation—both literary and cultural—of the historical settler, and it exists discursively in tandem with actual individual settlers. Anna Johnston and Alan Lawson theorize that "it is in the translation from experience to its textual representation that the settler subject can be seen working out a complicated politics of representation, working through the settler's anxieties and obsessions in textual form" (363). In some cases, that representation may come through the voices and writing of historical settlers—Susannah Moodie and Catharine Parr Traill are among Canada's most famous. My focus here, however, is on texts that represent the settler but that are written at a distance (usually by time, but also by physical distance or by class experience) from the actual pioneer—those texts that are deliberately re-

creating, re-imagining, a settler subject. These works can be conceived of as what Elleke Boehmer calls "colonialist literature:" imperial writing "specifically concerned with colonial expansion … written by and for colonizing Europeans about non-European lands dominated by them … [and] informed by theories concerning the superiority of European culture and the rightness of Empire" (3). As early twentieth-century texts, these works also discuss Canada as a political entity in a different way than the earliest settlers would have conceived of their colonial home, which adds to the way these novels embody what Douglas Ivison has described as "the ambiguities, tensions, and contradictions of the imperial project" (164).

The settler subject is usually understood as a conflicted figure, who, in Diana Brydon's words, "might more properly be termed the colonist, a mediating figure between colony and empire" (57). In trying to be both an authoritative representative of, in Canada's case, Britain, and a legitimate citizen of the new nation, the settler is theorized as psychologically torn. The settler wants to be "native" to the new nation (where settlement has already displaced indigenous groups), but does not want to be a second class citizen of the empire. As nationalism grows, as it does in this period of Canadian history, Johnston and Lawson observe that through a "strategic disavowal of the colonizing act," "'the national' … replaces 'the indigenous' and … so conceals its participation in colonization" (365). This disavowal and attempt to become discursively "native" to the occupied land is clearly precarious and fraught. Its success depends on removing indigenous peoples both figuratively and literally from the nation, and because this is never entirely possible, other strategic processes—such as that which Terry Goldie has theorized as "indigenization"—must be employed. Canadian lands are represented as empty, as Goldie writes; the figure of the indigene is trapped in a historical and commodified position, and, most importantly for my purposes here, the settlers are written in as the new natives. The actual

presence of the indigene is always the challenge to colonial authority, however, because the indigene reminds the imperial representative of the double-bind of his or her ersatz position: the mission of bringing progress and civilization to the New World. Settler literatures (as well as other systems of representation) develop various strategies to figuratively create a legitimate nation in the contentious physical space of invasion and occupation. The indigene must be made to disappear in order for the new, white, "native" citizen to be created seamlessly in its wake. Lawson and Johnston report that in settler literatures, this is done partly through the replacement of the Indigene by "forms of white Indigeneity such as the pioneer, the Mountie, the bushman" (364): white, colonial subjects that live in indigenous spaces, and embody similar characteristics as those attributed to stereotyped indigenous subjects, but who transform the land and the character of its people in service to the industrializing imperial order.

It is in this representation of white indigeneity that the discourse of Scottishness becomes extremely useful; the figure of the Scot became a perfect match for the settler subject in Canada. Thanks to their long history with and unique position within Britain, the Scots could be portrayed all-at-once as one step above savagery (Highlander), as a subject moving toward becoming civilized (hardy, forthright pioneer), and as already completely civilized as the financially acute industrialist and/ or literate politician. This discursive flexibility allowed for the Scot to be used as a bridging identity between the displaced and "disappearing", Canadian Indigene, and the ideal, but illegitimate imperial occupier. Where Goldie theorizes that the settler must face "the impossible necessity of becoming indigenous" (13), the discourse of Scottishness creates a solution: a discursive Scottish indigene who becomes the defacto settler subject. In Canada, it is the Scots who inhabit the positions of white indigeneity; steps away from the Celtic "primitive and 'natural' character" (Goldie 26) that allowed them to be already marked as "noble savages"

themselves, their enterprising, industrious potential can also channel their renown physical strength into useful service for civilizing both other groups and the landscape. In Canadian literature and in broader cultural media, Scots are those most often associated with those figures Johnston and Lawson point to—particularly the pioneer and the Mountie. In some of Canada's most widely read novels of the early twentieth-century, Scots are written as particularly suited to inhabiting and transforming the wilderness, as those in need of civilizing work themselves to model rising out of that wilderness, and, equally, as those engaged in and directly performing that civilizing work.

The Scot loomed large in the nineteenth-century British imagination, thanks to a romanticized view of the Highlands produced largely by Sir Walter Scott. The Highlanders, who had for centuries been portrayed in England as savage barbarians, lawless cattle raiders living like primitives close to the land with few morals and full of warrior ferocity, had been not only conquered definitively at Culloden, but had been tamed through the brutal crackdown on Highland culture that followed the British victory. In the wake of the oppression, Highland men joined the British army and fought with distinction in the colonies, and their reputation began to be associated with service to and glory for the empire. By the mid-nineteenth century, Scott was able to create a passion for the romance of the defeated Highland culture that was no longer seen as a threat to Britain's security. This romantic discourse of Scottishness translated well to stories about the colonies, and is evident in one of Canada's canonical early settler novels, John Richardson's *Wacousta* (1832). In *Wacousta,* Richardson uses the familiar savagery of the stereotypical Celtic character, as well as the imagined wild landscape of the Scottish Highlands, to convey the foreignness and wilderness of the Canadian context that most of Richardson's readers would never have experienced.

Richardson is often described as an internationally recognized Canadian-born novelist; he was born in Ontario in 1796, and served in the regimental army in North America, and then moved to England before returning to Canada in 1838 and trying to make a living as a writer. Despite these credentials, Ivison notes that *Wacousta* was nonetheless "written and published in Britain and explicitly addressed to a British readership" (165), and he draws attention to the novel's first line:

> As we are about to introduce our readers to scenes with which the European is little familiarized, some few cursory remarks, illustrative of the general features of the country into which we have shifted our labours, may not be deemed misplaced at the opening of this volume. (Richardson 11)

Clearly Richardson is aware that he is setting his tale against an unfamiliar backdrop, and he feels a duty to try and describe the world of the North American colonies in a way that will convey both his own experience of those lands, and add to the drama and adventure of the story. The discourse of Scottishness, so comfortably lodged in the British imagination, allows Richardson to locate his audience in the foreign territory, but also adds the foundation to the idea that Scots are uniquely suited to life in the wilds of Canada. The Scots are portrayed as embodying the line between the savagery that parallels them with the indigenous inhabitants of the colonies and the civility that enables them to help transform the Canadian wilderness into an imperial society.

Wacousta is a gothic adventure heavily informed by the romance of the Highlander and by Walter Scott's historical fiction, and it portrays Scotland as such a dramatic and emotional place that it becomes a training ground for Canada's savage-populated wilderness. Set in Canada in 1763, barely a generation removed from 1745, the British troops garrisoned in the

savage-encircled wilderness include Scottish soldiers. Though Lieutenant Johstone, the "brave Scot" (120), is not defined instantly as ethnically different (unlike Lieutenant Murphy, whose voice is written in Irish brogue and marked from his first mention), there comes a point at which he feels he must justify his position. Johnstone describes his history:

> If the head of our family was unfortunate enough to be considered a traitor to England, he was not so, at least, to Scotland; and Scotland was the land of his birth. But let his political errors be forgotten. Though the winged spur no longer adorn the booted heel of an Earl of Annandale, the time may not be far distant when some liberal and popular monarch of England shall restore a title forfeited neither through cowardice nor dishonour, but from an erroneous sense of duty. (120)

This odd passage could only be written in the early 19th century. Richardson's 1830s imagination sees romance in the earlier rebellion, not true treason or threat, and yet is still anxious enough about the presence of these Scottish soldiers to need to explain the historical tensions as resolved. The young Johnstone is allowed to be proud of his heritage without fear of recrimination, yet he also labels his father's choice as "erroneous." He apparently sees no inconsistency in his own position in the army of his father's enemy. The real politics of 1763 are written away with only the romance of the noble Scot fighting unsuccessfully for a lost cause remaining, and his son's full integration into the English system is affirmed. This passage illustrates the fine line that Scots inhabited within both the English imagination and the British Empire: vacillating between the romance of the Highlander who fought for Bonnie Prince Charlie and the harsh political reality that demanded allegiance to the English Crown. The key to the success of the narrative of the Scot as model colonist, however, is that Johnstone has no trouble seeing his father's romantic sense of duty as misplaced. He has fully accepted his own

position as conquered, and his loyalty is never questioned. The brief episode reinforces that the issue of Scottish loyalty to Britain is a resolved one; the subject never comes up again. In this way, *Wacousta* points to the Scots as a narrative lesson for other immigrant groups, as well as for indigenous subjects: Scots model conquered indigenous loyalty and allegiance rewarded with assimilation and power.

As the story unfolds, however, Scotland takes on more sinister levels of meaning. Wacousta, the mysterious enemy who terrorizes the garrison and shifts disturbingly in and out of Aboriginal and European worlds, reveals that his motives for revenge against Colonel De Haldimar, commander of the garrison and father to the two young heroes of the novel, connect back to dramatic events that took place in Scotland decades past. Wacousta began life as a young Cornish nobleman named Reginald Morton, and met young Ensign De Haldimar while they were both stationed in Scotland. Both were respectable, admirable young men, but the wildness of Scotland's landscape and the woman it contained changed them forever. Morton recounts that

> The wild daring by which my boyhood had been marked was again powerfully awakened by the bold and romantic scenery of the Scottish Highlands...The course we happened to take lay through a succession of dark deep glens, and over frowning rocks; the difficulties of access to which only stirred up my dormant spirit of enterprise more. (442)

The untamed Scottish Highlands hold a remarkable treasure: a beautiful young woman who has been completely hidden by her father, a Scottish rebel in 1715 who became disillusioned with civilization. Morton meets her during an incredible journey through rocks and over cliffs, and he ultimately rescues her from her isolation. Once she meets De Haldimar, however, she betrays her innocent promises to Morton and marries the young Ensign. Morton swears revenge and

becomes more and more savage as the years go on—eventually becoming Wacousta, a man even more savage than the Canadian Natives he tries to recruit to his cause.

Morton's Celtic skill at negotiating the craggy, dangerous Scottish Highlands is directly translated into the Canadian forests, where his talents for exploration and adventure are regularly paralleled with aboriginal expertise and described disparagingly (without diminishing their considerable threat) as "Indian ingenuity" (516). While in Scotland it is his Cornish past that Morton draws on for his proficiency, in Canada his ability translates immediately into "native" skill: the cunning craftiness of the savages. While Scots are depicted as invisible within an English context when they have sworn allegiance to the crown (either through marriage or military loyalty), the fable of Wacousta's life shows the barbarity that those who swear allegiance to England's enemies risk descending into. *Wacousta* demonstrates that Scotland's wilds are parallel to Canada's, and that Scots have a history that is steps away from savagery. If handled within a strong allegiance to England, that history can prove extremely useful, but if not, its natural tendency is highly threatening. As Justin Edwards writes, "part of what makes Wacousta a threat to the English … is that his body questions the rhetoric of colonial discourses that emphasize ethnic, racial, or cultural differences as a means of establishing their superiority" (7). Wacousta embodies the liminal space between European and indigene, and is not interested in reconciling the difference. In contrast, the diversity of those serving in the British forces find unity and homogeneity in their alliance to and physical inhabitation of the military uniform. Wacousta's choice to cast off the British uniform and to take on the guise of other ethnic or racial identities as it suits him adds to his dramatic power as the novel's villain.

Scotland throughout *Wacousta* represents the heights of the English Other. It is the foreign and dangerous land where English soldiers are trained and required. Its rocky,

threatening Highlands are opposite to the pastoral English countryside. Its inaccessible glens contain the tainted paradise that unnaturally hides femininity, betrays innocence, and fosters obsession. In Scotland, Wacousta—who fights against the English with the Scots in 1745, and fights against them again in Canada thereafter—becomes a traitor and begins his descent from civilization. He also learns the survival skills he needs to function in the Canadian wilderness. *Wacousta,* in fact, points early to the way the discourse of Scottishness is naturalized in Canada. As it is in so many later writings, Canada's wilderness is paralleled with Scotland's, and this constructed similarity later adds to the naturalization of the Scottish settler subject, who is uniquely suited to settle Canada in service of the Empire. While Morton's disguise as Indigene is never entirely successful, he inhabits the indigenous world with an ease apparently attributable to his Celtic past.

Although this discourse of the barely civilized Celtic Scot haunted the British imagination, it was by no means the only, or even the dominant discourse of Scottishness. Written at almost exactly the same moment, John Galt's 1831 novel *Bogle Corbet* reveals the Highland savage's polar opposite—the small-minded, prosaic, civilized but naïve Lowlander. *Bogle Corbet* follows the Scottish Kailyard tradition, and Galt's emigrating Scottish characters arrive in Canada to find some society already in place, easily find land to clear, and they begin to farm in an amusing, but utterly mundane way. *Bogle Corbet*'s Scotland couldn't be more different than Richardson's dramatic, isolated, and treacherous mountain passes. The Lowland society from which Bogle emigrates is a complex world of colonial trade, manufacturing, industrial class pettiness, and education. Bogle sees himself as a highly civilized and intelligent man who offers his tome as advice to those emigrating to Canada with less information and

fewer useful contacts. The Canada that he encounters is a foreign land, to be sure, but it is not a savage one. He describes his first impressions of Ontario and its inhabitants:

> They were of a sedate and ruminating habit, much like Englishmen in appearance, but more languid in manners, and less decisive in conversation; not discriminating with so much accuracy the difference between the credible notion and a fact. (5)

Corbet treats the English authorities with respect, while in his conversations with other Scottish settlers the suggestion is that people from each region of the British Isles have their strengths and that they should "scatter and mix" and "ye'll have a prosperous settlement" (12). Corbet finds this idea odd, but fascinating, and as his "Glasgow settlers" arrive and they begin to clear land and try to establish a community, he sees the wisdom of the man who suggested it. Galt has a great deal of fun at the expense of Bogle's notions of British class rigidity as they are challenged by the equally satirized working-class settlers who are unable to work together without strong leadership. Galt creates drama in tales of families re-united and re-connected in unexpected stories that move from the old world to the new in ways not dissimilar to Richardson's, but Bogle's experience in Canada that grounds those tales is described as typical pioneer life. As Bogle himself says about the dramatic events that permeate his book:

> In a romance, a mystic tale of this kind would seem curiously improbable; but when I consider it in connexion with that sterile desert of events, in which our destiny has been thrown, I imagine in my cooler moments that it has been no very wonderful occurrence, and that it is the absence of other interesting incidents which have given to it all its importance. (205)

Those uninteresting events are still described in some detail; land is cleared, settlers learn about Canada's climate and soil, struggle to find people to attend to the schooling needs of the

children. Women and families do the domestic work "that would have served for the supply of any ten decent families in the old country" (176), and not without the occasional minor and amusing disaster.

Bogle Corbet's world is almost entirely populated with Scots who exhibit the range of human characteristics, but Canada as the larger context is consistently described as English. When Mr. and Mrs. Corbet take a trip to Niagara falls, they comment that the landscape has, "the same beautiful resemblance, in outline, to England… and when we reached the Queenstown Heights, the domesticated aspect of the country became even more similarly British" (220). Despite the Scottish names for the communities they build, *Bogle Corbet's* Scots are comfortable living within a larger English community at home or abroad. Though they mark themselves as distinct, and value their Old Country connections, the Corbets never feel like second-class English citizens. The Englishness of the landscape signals its domestication and homeyness—and emphasizes the accessible possibilities for development, while presenting much of that development as *fait accompli.*

Settling means transforming the land into a place equally foreign to its previous occupants, and, as Daniel Coleman writes, "improvement … is most readily demonstrated by steady cultivation of the land" (96). In writing the ordinary work of that "improvement," however, Galt is clearly signaling to his audience that Canada is no longer a wilderness, and therefore no longer belongs to the indigene; instead, by virtue of the work being done, the land has been earned and deserves to be inhabited by the settler.

The Canadian landscape that the Corbets attempt to cultivate and civilize may not be rife with threat the way Richardson describes it, but Bogle still understands that he, and the larger colony, are displacing and impacting the previous indigenous occupants. Bogle reflects that this bringing of civilization to the wilderness justifies the imperial presence. He writes, tellingly, "By extending communications through the forest, and by multiplying the means of conveyance, we make atonement for our usurpation of the wide and wild domains of the aborigines" (219). As in *Wacousta*, the knowledge that to become a settler is to become an occupier is undeniable. However, in *Bogle Corbet* the indigenous peoples have disappeared, and, as Daniel Francis writes, the perception of the time was that "because [Aboriginals] did nothing with the resources of the land—built no cities, tilled no fields, dug no mines—Indians deserved to be superceded by a civilization that recognized the potential for material progress" (52). While the soldiers in the garrison in *Wacousta* are forced to use violence to gain the lands to clear and cultivate, Bogle Corbet and his team of emigrants are following behind, ready to turn the plough.

By the turn of the twentieth-century, Canada was a very different place than Galt or Richardson inhabited, but these two discourses—the Scot as a white indigenous figure who replaces the actual indigene, and the Scot as prosaic civilizer and pioneer—were still being drawn on by bestselling authors like Ralph Connor and Nellie McClung. Though Canada in the early nineteen hundreds "witnessed the transformation of [the nation] from a relatively unsophisticated land full of

frontiers into a modern, cosmopolitan society" (Karr 3), Connor and McClung were living at the boundary between the city and the last frontier of the quickly growing Prairies. Both writers were active in Winnipeg and other major centres, but both had also had formative experiences in much smaller, pioneer communities: Connor as Charles W. Gordon, was a Presbyterian minister who had served as a missionary in the Rockies in his early adulthood, and McClung's family had left Ontario for a Manitoba homestead that they reached in the 1880s by traveling "180 miles by ox cart" (Karr 14) to land just outside the town of Milford. When they settled in Manitoba, McClung was still a child of six, and she watched the community and the nation grow and change over the decades. Part of that change included the audience and readership available and interested in Canadian writers. Historian Clarence Karr calls the period between 1890 and the 1920s a "'golden age' of writing and reading" (3), when literacy rates were above ninety percent, and "Canadian consumers … conformed to the international trends by purchasing or borrowing popular fiction at record levels" (32). In this context, Connor and McClung could become true bestselling authors reaching international audiences.

At the same time, Karr notes that:

> One of the most significant elements of this turn-of-the-century modernity was liberalism, with its separate but related components of individualism and self-realization and its belief in progress, human rights, the value of education, and the perfectability of humankind. (5)

This trend meant that readers were not only more engaged and interested in popular fiction, but that they turned to books and other media in a spirit of enthusiastic self-improvement. Connor's and McClung's novels have been, since the later decades of the twentieth-century, dismissed for being too didactic and formulaic, but in their day the agendas of social reform and individual potential spoke directly to a receptive audience. These works can also clearly be read as part of the attempts to establish Canada as a society based on the liberal order. Daniel Coleman adds the legacy of "civility" to this project by suggesting that liberalism demanded not just individual self-improvement, but improvement along a path of a "moral-ethical ideal of orderliness ... demonstrated by cultivated, polite behaviour (most commonly modeled on the figure of the bourgeois gentleman)" (10). He argues that proponents of this gospel of self-improvement believed that "education in civility shepherds people onto the path of progress" and thus "operates as a mode of internal management," as those who wish to climb the social ladder "discipline their conduct in order to participate in the civil realm" (11). Both McClung and Connor were famous beyond their writing for their social activism—their novels were an extension of their engagement with the social issues of the day. As authors (in both fiction and non-fiction), both emphasize strongly the potential for individuals to become leaders no matter what their roots (though not wholly regardless of race), and they equate civility (always the end goal) with education, Protestant values, capitalism, and individual self-improvement. And in works by both authors, Scottish characters lead the way, demonstrating the path to civility for a variety of

ethnic groups—from Eastern European immigrants (*The Foreigner, Painted Fires*) to the beleaguered, transplanted English, who have a hard time with the reality of the quickly modernizing but still frontier-like land in Canada.

Nellie McClung was once one of Canada's most famous citizens. She was an author, activist, politician, speaker, mother, religious elder, and much more. Her fame spread beyond Canada to Britain and the United States, and she was celebrated wherever she went—she was nothing short of extraordinary for any era. McClung was the youngest daughter of an older Irish father and a serious, Scottish mother. McClung reportedly had a happy childhood under the two influences; Karr observes that "from her father, she inherited her wit and good-humoured approach to life, while from her mother she learned duty, sacrifice, and charity" (14). Her novels, particularly her so-called Pearlie Watson trilogy—*Sowing Seeds in Danny* (1908), *The Second Chance* (1910), and *Purple Springs* (1921)—celebrate the possibility of developing hybrid Anglo-Celtic Canadians, but those idealized citizens are modeled on her social gospel values and her commitment to maternal feminism, which incoporated beliefs about race and motherhood based on her understanding of eugenics. McClung was a famous social reformer, dedicated to women's rights, temperance, and religious ecumenism, as well as to the potential of the individual. Her books were unapologetic in their agenda; as Randi Warne describes McClung's work, "literature and public speaking were two sides of the same coin; novels became speeches, just as speeches … became so well known as books that their original context is largely forgotten" (12).

Though McClung's reputation was impressive during her lifetime, later feminists and critics have had a mixed response to her legacy. Cecily Devereux examines McClung's complex historical place in Canadian history and feminism, notes that she "is now just as regularly castigated as she is praised for her part in Canadian history" (6), and demonstrates that the tension largely stems from McClung's (along with her peers of the day) embracing of eugenics as part of a larger agenda of social progress. As Devereux writes, "social progress in early twentieth-century English Canada was also always the advancement of the Anglo-Saxon empire of Great Britain;" (10) however, McClung and her colleagues also believed that they were "working towards liberating women from oppressive conditions and moving all people towards a better nation that the one that they had inherited" (11). McClung's writing largely draws on images figured through maternal feminism, instructing women on how to better society through better use of their innate mothering skills both within their own families, and acting as mothers in the wider community. Misao Dean observes that the internal conflict of McClung's writing is its "struggle to reconcile liberal self-actualization with membership in a moral community" (79); Dean posits that McClung unfortunately resolves the dilemma through an appeal to "a new and universal 'nature' which is as confining as the outworn stereotypes it is meant to replace" (78). Maternal feminism falters because of its reliance on this essentialist definition of motherhood. Maternal feminism extended to McClung's figuring of the position of women within the nation as "mothers of the race," and as Devereux makes clear, "empire-building

makes national strength all the more urgently required for maintaining the home 'stock' while also populating colonized territory with nationally identifiable settlers" (7). However, how these "nationally identifiable settlers" were characterized depended greatly on what McClung considered the parameters of the Canadian race, and in the context of an increasingly racially diverse nation, this aspect of her work needs to be studied more closely.

McClung's bestselling Pearlie Watson trilogy is preoccupied with the settler subject: how to define it, how to model it, how to preserve it. In her fictionalized town of Milford, there are Scots, Irish, some undefined settlers that are safely presumed English (sometimes named as Methodist), and English immigrants, but McClung's challenge (as it was for many others at the time) was trying to develop a "Canadian" racialized subject from the above mix of possibilities. There are no original Native inhabitants in Milford or the surrounding areas, and though a later novel, *Painted Fires* (1925) tells the story of a Finnish immigrant girl, there are no European immigrants in these novels. Class, however, is very much a part of the complexities of race in McClung's writing. The Scots figure prominently in the town, but class splits the two discourses I identified above: though the Highlanders still retain the taint of their primitive history, other Scots offer the path to civility though education and self-improvement.

In *Sowing Seeds in Danny,* the Lowland Scots are the driving force for progressive society, but Highland Scots are in dire need of "raising up". Although the English family lives in the manor house and is the centre of wealth, the Scots are the active pillars of the town: they are

the doctors and ministers shown doing the real work of creating Canadians. Dr. Grantley, the minister, and Dr. Barner, the physician, are both involved with educating those who are still living as if they were in the wilderness. Among those not up to par are the Highlanders and the crofters; these groups are still living as white indigenes, just a bare cut above the never-mentioned aboriginals that they have replaced. Dr. Barner is called on a medical emergency to John Robertson's home, where the doctor goes beyond caring for the son who has been caught in the mower. McClung writes that Dr. Barner remained in the Robertson "shanty" for two days, where he

> superintended the cleaning of the house and scolded John's wife soundly on her shiftless ways; he showed her how to bake bread and cook little dishes to tempt the child's appetite, winning thereby her undying gratitude. (35)

The Gaelic-speaking family hardly understands a word of English, but they respond to the doctor, and slowly make some changes. This moment also, of course, models the ideal colonizing process: that through education of the primitive (whether indigenous or racially inferior), civility is accessed, and the primitive remains eternally grateful for the master's lesson. McClung's crofter community is depicted as equally backward; John Kennedy, an Irishman who lives among them (which shows in itself what social status the crofters had), is described as having

> picked up [their] strange ways of housekeeping. He ate out of the frying pan; he milked the cow in the porridge pot, and only took what he needed for each meal, reasoning that she had a better way of keeping it than he had. Big John had departed almost entirely from "white man's ways," and lived a wild life free from the demands of society. (209)

The crofters were among the poorest Highlanders, and McClung suggests that though the "white man" is still the definition of civility, skin colour alone is no guarantee of social acceptability. Clearly though, these Celts have the right skin colour to adapt the "white man's ways" and become socially satisfactory with training, and Scots again serve as an example of how to rise above the tendency towards wildness. Here again the white crofters have replaced the position of the indigene—the Scots bridge the savage and the civilized by being white savages who can be brought up to the level of their settler colleagues.

Sowing Seeds in Danny reveals the fluidity of British ethnicity in these early days of the twentieth-century. McClung's Scottish characters, even when pillars of society, are racially distinct; they are rarely allowed to step outside of their Scottishness. Dr. Barner is not just an alcoholic, but, "being Scotch to the backbone, he never could see how good, pure, 'Kilmarnock,' made in Glasgow, could ever hurt anyone. He knew that his hand shook, and his brain reeled, and his eyes bleared, but he never blamed it on the whiskey" (30). The minister, Reverend Hugh Grantley, "was a typical Scotchman, tall and broad shouldered, with an eye like cold steel. Not many people had contradicted [him], at least not to his face. His voice could be as sweet as the ripple of a mountain stream, or vibrate with the thunder of the surf that beats upon his own granite cliffs" (74-75). Among the crofters, the romance of the Highlander is still strong in McClung's vision. Tonald McKenzie dances one night at a big party typical of McClung's spirit—big, inclusive, generous, and fun—but unlike the others who perform (English, Irish, and undefined), Tonald is inseparable from his Scottishness: "it was not Tonald McKenzie alone who danced before them, but the incarnate spirit of the Highlands, the unconquerable, dauntless, lawless Highlands, with its purple hills and treacherous caverns that fling defiance at the world and fear not man nor devil." (208).

At the same time, perhaps drawing on her own mixed-heritage family model, McClung has a vision of pan-Celtic unity that transforms these British-family racialized identities into new Canadians. Her trilogy's heroine is Pearl Watson, oldest daughter of a large Irish family trying to make a go of life on the homestead despite a legacy of poverty. Pearl's intelligence, compassion, imagination, and drive is able to significantly improve her and her family's economic and social position as she grows up over the three novels. Pearl has little time for differences between the people in her community, and she crosses social boundaries that others see as impassable, usually to heralded result. As children, she and her younger brother Danny are satirically taken on as projects by the English upper-class lady of the manor house, Mrs. Francis, which provides much humour as the story progresses. But it is Pearl's experience during one of Mrs. Francis' educational experiments that signals the possibilities for transcendent understanding between British ethnic groups. Mrs. Francis arranges for Pearl and Danny to attend a piano recital organized by the "Ladies Aid of the Methodist Church." Pearl is unengaged by Professor Welsman's performance until he plays a "Welsh rhapsodie," and suddenly,

> It was all there—the mountains and the rivers, and the towering cliffs with glimpses of the sea where the waves foam on the rocks, and sea-fowl wheel and scream in the wind, and then a bit of homely melody as the country folk drive home in the moonlight, singing as only the Welsh can sing … Then a burst of patriotic fire as the people fling defiance at the conquering foe, and hold the mountain passes till the last man falls. But the glory of the fight and the march of many feet trail off into a wailing chant—the death song of the brave men who have died. The widow mourns, and the little children weep comfortless in their mountain home. (67-68)

In this moment of Celtic understanding, Pearl is swept away by the Welsh music, and there is seems a possibility that these early settler groups might be brought together in empathy. McClung writes into being a similarity between these groups that allows them ultimately to intermarry and to contribute to the new Canadian society.

At the same time, McClung treats those that she identifies as the elite—usually English, whether new immigrant or urbanized business family—satirically. Mrs. Francis, organizer of the concert, is not moved; she asks Pearl, "What are you crying for?" and later writes, upon reflection, about "Late Hours a Frequent and Fruitful Cause of Irritability in Children" (68). Mrs. Francis, and other upper-class members of Canadian society are portrayed as dangerously out of touch with the realities of frontier life. As Daniel Coleman writes, "The physical sturdiness and discipline required on the homestead were believed to contribute to a moral rectitude and orderliness that would produce citizens of the highest order" (134). Clearly it is Pearl's ability to really engage with the hard work of the pioneer—whether rolling up her sleeves to work on the farm or empathizing with the experiences of those neighbours who left their homelands in difficult times—that makes her an authentic settler. Those who share those characteristics, when they are also descended from the British community, are depicted as worthy of the new nation. But even Pearl, along with the rest of the town, is led through the process of becoming civilized Canadians by the Scots who have already achieved that status.

McClung's support of eugenicist ideas, however, creates tension with her desire to bring together these British-related early settler groups to create the new Canadian race. Consistent with her maternal feminism, a considerable portion of these novels is preoccupied with romance and the finding of appropriate mates for her characters. Though there are times when characters are allowed some social and racial mobility in that choice, there is a sense of inevitability about

which character is "suited" to whom. *Sowing Seeds in Danny* sorts out the first of many love triangles: Dr. Clay and Dr. Grantley are both believed to be vying for the love of Dr. Barner's daughter, Mary. In the end, after much comment on Dr. Grantley's Scottish stubbornness and Mary's Scottish silence, the two middle-class Scots finally pair off. When it comes time for Mrs. Francis' housekeeper Camilla to marry, class and race come in to play again. Though her suitor, Jim Russell, is not clearly characterized, he is of the same working class background as Camilla, the same undefined English-Canadianness, and to seal the deal, Mrs. Francis announces that Jim will be managing Mr. Francis' business, which could be read as the equivalent position to Camilla's in Mrs. Francis' domestic sphere.

At the same time, class is clearly not as important to McClung as strong settler skills: strength and knowledge about farming, a focus on the community good, and, for women, strong housekeeping skills. It is these settler skills that allow immigrant characters access to becoming Canadian, and when combined with education, those settler skills produce the best civil Canadians. Arthur Wemyss is an immigrant from Kent who struggles at first with Canadian life. He is of a relatively noble background, but knows little of the homestead, so he begins by working on the Motherwell's farm to learn the trade. Over the course of the trilogy, Arthur's skills and socialization improve, and in *The Second Chance*, the time comes for him to marry. Another love triangle appears, however, between Arthur and his two choices: the urban, coquettish Thursa, to whom he became engaged in England, but who cries at the idea of doing dishes, and Martha Perkins, a local farm girl who is much less attractive and of lower social status in English terms than the educated Arthur, but whose "record on butter and quilts and mats stood high" (*Sowing Seeds* 198). Of course, Thursa becomes clearly unsuitable, and Martha is

transformed so that her outer beauty matches her inner spirit and competency. Through his marriage to Martha, Arthur can complete his transformation into a true Canadian.

The other character who is allowed to marry outside of her social and racial history is Pearl Watson herself. Pearl is, of course, the model of self and social improvement, and one of the signals that Pearl has earned a new social status is her ultimate marriage to Dr. Clay. Pearl begins her life as a poor Irish farmgirl, daughter of illiterate immigrant parents. However, Pearl is passionate about her own self-improvement as well as generous to others, and her moral actions provide her with the funds that enable her education and allow her to help improve her family. She impresses Dr. Clay at a young age, and he watches as she becomes a teacher and member of respectable society. Although her roots were meager, she reflects in *Purple Springs* that, thanks to her school teacher, Mr. Donald, she had come to see her parents as "the real Empire-builders who subdued the soil and made it serve human needs, enduring hardships and hunger and cold and bitter discouragements, always with heroism and patience" (72). Over time, they had improved their own lot drastically:

> The farm on which they now lived, had been abandoned, deserted, given up for a bad job, and her people had redeemed it, and were making it one of the best in the country! Every farm in the community was made more valuable because of their efforts. It had seemed to Pearl a real source of proper pride--that her people had begun with nothing, and were now making a comfortable living, educating their children and making improvements each year in their way of living and in the farm itself! It seemed that she ought to be proud of them, and she was! (72)

Pearl embodies McClung's most hopeful ideals, and demonstrates to her audience that some mobility is possible, with enough effort. When Pearlie becomes truly "civilized," she is able to

finally marry Dr. Clay—above both her race and class. McClung's message, over the course of the trilogy, is feminist within the gendered hierarchy of the family and within the liberal project: the Scots and other Celtic members of the British family of Empire have the potential to become the most suitable Canadian British subjects, but they need education and training to become fully civilized. If they are so trained—and both men and women have the responsibility to engage in that work—then they may surpass the English as Canada might surpass Britain as the future home of imperial prosperity.

The Reverend Charles W. Gordon, who wrote under the name Ralph Connor, was a peer of McClung's, and was, in his role in the Presbyterian ministry, engaged in many of the same social reform efforts. He too was respected for his public work as a minister and social activist, as well as internationally renowned for his fiction. Karr writes that the Connor novels were read by presidents and housewives alike, and that like McClung, Connor was a speaker in high demand. His novels—the biggest bestsellers of the day—explored Western Canada's settlement experience from several angles. *The Man from Glengarry* (1901) tells the story of Ranald MacDonald, a young Scot born in Canada whose maturation follows the nation's, and *Corporal Cameron of the Northwest Mounted Police* (1912) is the tale of a Scottish immigrant who finds his place as a Mountie, solving conflicts between settlers, First Nations groups, and Americans in the West. Connor's work is usually firmly entrenched in what has since been called "muscular Christianity," which genders the settler subject definitely as male, with "his untiring and virile physical body balanced by his spiritually sensitive heart," and who is considered to be the ideal person "to carry out the hard physical work of territorial expansion, as well as the equally important social work of building a new civil society" (Coleman 129). Where McClung's feminism led her to present Pearlie as a young woman capable of taking on both tasks, in

Connor's novels the women provide moral and spiritual guidance to the men who are the only ones engaged in the battles necessary to build the nation.

Gordon was born and raised in Glengarry county, Ontario, and once ordained, he moved west in 1890, and spent the rest of his working life on the Prairies. Besides his devotion to his ministry, Gordon, as Ralph Connor, became one of the most popular writers in North America, and his books—often set in the small settlements of the Western frontier—mixed adventure with wholesome, conventional, religious moral reassurance. Connor's novels are populated with Scots of every stripe, and I would argue that his heroes—loggers, missionaries, mounties, and ranchers—were among the most influential images of the settler subject that live on today. Connor's early bestseller, *The Man from Glengarry*, traces the parallel evolution of Scottish settlers in Glengarry county from a life begun close to savagery—not unlike McClung's crofters on the Prairie—but who become essentially civilized as they tame the Canadian forest:

> The sons born to [the first pioneers] and reared in the heart of the pine forests grew up to witness that heroic struggle with stern nature and to take their part in it....Their life bred in them hardiness of frame, alertness of sense, readiness of resource, endurance, superb self-reliance, a courage that grew with peril, and withal a certain wildness which at times deepened into ferocity....the sons, with rifles in hand, trod [the forest's] pathless stretches without fear, and with their broad-axes they took toll of their ancient foe. (3-4)

These Scottish settlers also replace the indigene in the Canadian forest, but importantly they are able to transform that space into land congruent with the imperial nation. Like the Indigene, Connor's young men understand the Canadian wilderness—it is not foreign to them, and they approach the forest without fear. Having been born and raised in Canada, they become equally shaped by the land as by their ancestral culture. But these young men do not just inhabit the

forest, as the indigenous population did, they also use their British civility to harness nature to imperial ends.

Connor rarely alludes to the indigenous presence throughout the novel, but he does acknowledge that these settlers inhabit lands that were once populated by others. He manages to imply that the Indians are part of Canada's almost forgotten past, and that his settlers made better Indians than the Indians—his Scots were woodsmen able to struggle with nature and triumph, where the indigenous tribes were never able to rise beyond being a part of the land. The Macdonald family

> came, most of them, from that strip of country … known as the Indian Lands— once an Indian reservation. They were sons of the men who had come from the highlands and islands of Scotland in the early years of the last century. Driven from homes in the land of their fathers, they had set themselves with indomitable faith and courage to hew from the solid forest homes for themselves and their children that none might take from them. (3)

The passage illustrates one strategy of indigenization—though the ghosts of the first "natives" clearly still haunt the lands the settlers are occupying, the occupied lands are identified not as previously owned territories, but as land always already used for Indians always already contained by the British on the reservation. In another strategy, Connor here demonstrates a pattern in settler writing that continues today: justifying occupation by arguing that the settlers are displaced from their own homes, and that they need and deserve the land in the New World. Connor creates sympathy for his displaced victims who need a home, then his settlers prove they are worthy of the occupation because they put tremendous amounts of hard work into constructing a new home. These Scots are the ideal settlers because they do not become more

savage, or "go native;" they become more civilized as they transform the wilderness; their resourcefulness and determination then proves their commitment to and suitability for creating and leading a new nation.

Though they are more civilized than the Indigene, like McClung's Highlanders and crofters, Connor's Scottish settlers have a ways to go before they become full British subjects civilized enough to manage a new nation. Connor traces the evolution of a Scottish family and community from a kind of tribe that still goes "wild with the delight of battle" (9), to one that, once tamed through religion and education, produces an ideal leader. Ranald Macdonald, the young protagonist, comes from a rough backwoods family that drinks too much, and whose pride leads to violence on more than one occasion. Connor preaches that Presbyterian faith is the force that can tame the last reckless instincts of the proud Highlanders. At the hands of the local minister's wife, Mrs. Murray, Ranald receives a religious education that proves formative in its emphasis on literacy and the moral responsibilities of strength and courage. While the community in Glengarry continues the hard work of survival in the backwoods, Ranald becomes the exemplary young Canadian. Though his quiet strength and straightforward, infallibly honest ways sometimes cause him distress as he moves into the world of the city and big business, Connor continues to showcase these qualities as heroic. Ranald ultimately serves as an important bridge between those less civilized (Chinese, French, Irish) whom he manages and employs, and those big business investors and politicians whom he impresses at every meeting.

Ranald becomes the ultimate settler subject as his growth and maturation parallels the nation's, an allegory I will discuss more extensively in my third chapter. His roots in white indigeneity as a highly successful logger earn him increasingly powerful positions in the business and political spheres. Ranald moves out of his rural world—shared by even rougher

Irish and French-Canadian logging communities—and steps slowly toward the urbanized civility of Montreal, where he encounters the English and American business class. Ranald is an exotic novelty to them, and he finds them equally strange. In their presence, he feels suddenly his "bushman" appearance: "at once he began to feel how badly dressed he was. The torn shirt, the ragged trousers, and the old, unshapely boots that he had never given a thought to before now seemed to burn into his flesh" (174). In this attire, Ranald nevertheless goes to meet the governor, who is desperate for honest men as his company is in the midst of discovering that they have been defrauded by their "book-keeper, clerk, and timber-checker" (174). Ranald is hired as the new timber-checker on the spot, for, as the governor exclaims, "you understand timber, and you are honest" (176). In a similar fashion—by impressing powerful men with his forthright intelligence and honesty paired with his knowledge of the nation's land resources—Ranald moves up the social hierarchy until he ultimately becomes a parliamentary representative for British Columbia, elected by the people. In this capacity—as the man who understands the west enough to advocate for it at the federal level—he meets John A. Macdonald, and the two men exchange information about the province and the need for the railroad link to develop the colony's resources. Sir John assures Ranald that the railway will go through, so that they can "make this Dominion a great empire," as long as Ranald and others like him "do [their] part" (279).

Ranald's progress, then, follows the nation's from Scottish white stand-in for the Indigene to corporate developer and politician. But this Scot becomes a leader not just of other company men, but of French Canadians and Asians who have also come to Canada to make a living. Wherever he goes, Ranald leads by example, and commands the respect of those who work for him. He does more than employ by fair standards; Ranald civilizes those in his care. In

the logging camps out West, he insists the men limit their drinking, he provides them with a library and reading room, and makes sure they don't live like savages in the bush, but like civilized men. His workers, in return, are grateful, loyal, and protective of this father figure who looks out for them. Coleman argues that Connor was trying to construct Canadianness by combining the best qualities of British and American culture, and discarding the worst. Coleman writes that Connor took "from Britain ... the sense of 'fair play' and its attendant high valuation of law and order, while from the United States, he valued classless egalitarianism, enterprise and initiative, and openness to immigrants" (144). In most of Connor's books, it is the Scots who are allowed to embody this unique combination of positive characteristics, and with that virtue comes the responsibility to show others the way.

This leadership ability as an important quality of the ideal settler becomes even more prominent when a young Scot joins the Northwest Mounted Police and must learn to manage and contain—respectfully but explicitly—the First Nations groups themselves. As earlier writers like Richardson outlined, it was "absolutely essential to the future interests of England that the Indians should be won over by acts of confidence and kindness" (Richardson 26). The British sense of superiority, particularly in North America, rested on this belief that the imperial occupation had not been unnecessarily violent, and that conquered subjects could be "won over" to the justness of the British system. Clearly this attitude also applied to assimilating other ethnic groups and bringing them up to a British standard, but it remained an important part of the British-imagined relationship between the settler and the Indigene, and was particularly manifested in the legendary relationship between the Mounted Police and First Nations groups in the West. The Mountie is among the forms of white Indigeneity listed by Johnston and Lawson, and it is no coincidence that Scots are especially celebrated as respectful keepers of law and

order—the cornerstone of civility and to the maintenance of its illusion. Crucial to the mythology of Canada's non-violent settlement, and to the position of the settler subject is the indigenous reverence for the Mounties. The examples of tribal chiefs willingly giving over their lands to those they respect enables the legitimizing passing of the torch from indigenous ownership to imperial ownership, and such stories abound in both fictional and non-fictional texts.

Ralph Connor found tremendous success with his Corporal Cameron novel, which gave new life to these standby tropes. In *Corporal Cameron of the Northwest Mounted Police*, young Allan Cameron comes to Canada from Scotland where he has been raised in a wealthy family and has gained few practical skills. When he arrives in Canada he has access to all levels of business—letters of introduction and a willingness to settle him in business abound in the network that appreciates Cameron's history as a football player. But Cameron is useless in the offices and dreams of making his fortune out West. In order to become worthy of leadership in Canada, Cameron must first learn to be a Canadian man, in the muscular Christian tradition. Cameron, like McClung's Arthur Wemyss, soon discovers that experience in the "Old" world of Britain—usually administrative or other work that holds little relevance on the Canadian homestead—must be overcome, and that immigrants must prove their hardiness. Cameron lands a job on the Haley farm, outside of London, Ontario, which, Connor writes, "was to be the scene of Cameron's first attempt to do a man's work and to fill a man's place in the world" (172). This is the era of writing that valorized the physical settler experience to a readership of largely urban Canadians who no longer had to do such work. Nevertheless, the idealized work of the settler continued to be portrayed as a rite of passage into Canadianness, as well as here into manhood. Though Cameron has to use all of his discipline to become skilled, over time he found that

"every day his muscles were knitting more firmly, his hands were hardening, and his mastery of himself [was] growing more complete" (199). This self-mastery, a crucial part of British civility, becomes fundamental in Cameron's dealings with a disparaging colleague, and then in the test of maturity and leadership that is part of being a Mountie.

In this novel, Connor again layers the signs of Scottish tradition onto Canadian experiences until they become one and the same. Cameron gains the respect of the farming community and proves his worth in his determination to learn settler skills, but he wins their hearts thanks to his prowess at the Scottish traditions: piping and hammer-throwing. He has competed at the Highland games common in Scotland, and in Canada he soon finds that these Highland sports are a key part of the Dominion Day picnic, that celebration of the fledgling nation. On this day, the land, the people, and the nation are held in place of pride and brought together through sport:

> The grove of noble maple trees overlooking a grassy meadow provided an ideal spot for picknicking, furnishing as it did both shade from the sun and a fine open space with a firm footing for the contestants in the games. High over a noble maple in the centre of the grassy meadow floated the Red Ensign of the Empire, which, with the Canadian coat of arms on the fly, by common usage had become the national flag of Canada. (229)

Though Dominion Day brings the whole community together, from every ethnic group, the Highland sports take centre stage, and Cameron is the day's hero: he pipes as well as the most famous piper in the county; he beats the arrogant French Canadian in a running race, but graciously encourages him to try again and LaBelle does beat Cameron; and lastly Cameron wins acclaim by coaching and encouraging another young Scottish Canadian who breaks a world record in the hammer toss. Cameron shows himself to be the ultimate Canadian gentleman—

physically capable of winning at anything he wants, but modest and self-contained, he channels his skills into service to others. His Scottish skills are showcased at the festival for the nation, which earn him his settler stripes.

Cameron's restlessness and his vision of greater life possibilities get the better of him, and he gets on with a survey crew heading to Alberta. In this real frontier land, he learns those necessary skills of the indigene: orienteering, hunting, and surviving snowstorms. He also learns that this is a part of the country where law and order are sorely needed, as

> all through the Western plains the whiskey runners had their way to the degradation and demoralization of the unhappy natives and to the rapid decimation of their numbers. Horse thieves too, and cattle "rustlers" operating on both sides of "the line" added to the general confusion and lawlessness that prevailed and rendered the lives and property of the few pioneer settlers insecure. (333)

In making his way through the West, Cameron encounters all of the characters described above. The First Nations people fall into two categories: drunken victims who become criminals under the influence of white villains, and devout tribes who respect British law and culture and are doing their best to abide by it. One night, Cameron stumbles onto a group of "Stonies," who reportedly "never went on a hunting expedition without their hymn books and never closed a day without their evening worship" (345). Sure enough, as he watches them from a distance, he hears "the music of the old Methodist hymn, the words of which were quite familiar to him" (345).

Working as a surveyor, Cameron sees for himself the power of the sign of the Mountie, as, watching a young man in the famous "scarlet jacket and pill-box cap" (308) disarm a gun-toting outlaw without raising his voice, he observes: "Irresistible authority seemed to go with the

word that sent him forth, and rightly so, for behind that word lay the full weight of Great Britain's mighty empire." (308) Cameron's eyes are awakened to the nobility of the career, and later in the novel, thanks to his experience in Canada so far, combined with his natural Scottish ability and temperament, he gets his chance to join them himself. He proves himself a valuable member of the force and with them not only brings whiskey traders and horse raiders to justice, but does his part in keeping the West tamed by containing the Indians.

Connor uses a contrast with the American attitude towards the Indians to emphasise the power and compassion of British justice. He introduces a wealthy rancher from Montana who alleges that Indians have stolen horses from him. The rancher ends up at the NWMP office in Fort MacLeod and demands assistance, hoping the guilty party will be arrested. Cameron and the Inspector manage to take back the horses and keep the peace with the Indians all without firing a shot, much to the amazement of the highly parodied rancher, who can't get over the difference in the treatment of the Indians. Connor insists that the various tribes all respect the police because, as his Native "brother knows, … the Police do not lie" (396). The Crow are raucous throughout the seizure, and their chief, Red Crow, is shown as weak and unable to control them, but as the Mounties depart they let the tribe know that they will be given the opportunity to appeal the decision to take the horses back. The officers then demonstrate that "the Police never break a promise to white man or Indian" (397), over protests by the American "that he should delay his journey to answer the charges of an Indian" (397-8) At the end of the incident,

> the American citizens departed to Lone Pine, Montana, with their recovered horses and with a new and higher regard for both the executive and administrative excellence of Her Majesty's North West Mounted Police officers and men. Chief Red Crow, too, returned

> to his band with a chastened mind, it having been made clear to him that a chief who could not control his young braves was not the kind of a chief the Great White Mother desired to have in command of her Indian subjects. (399)

Connor claims that, cowed and impressed by the example of the NWMP, indigenous chiefs recognize that they would be better off with the Scottish heroes, as representatives of the Queen, the "Great White Mother," in charge. Daniel Francis reminds us that this portrayal of the First Nations peoples as grateful children was "integral to the Mountie myth" (68), but that the reality was quite different:

> From [the aboriginal] point of view, the Mounted Police were agents of a foreign government. The Red Coats arrived on the Plains without warning and began enforcing alien laws and stamping out long-held cultural practices. It is hard to imagine what Natives must have thought when customs which had served them sell for generations suddenly landed them behind iron bars. (68)

However, Francis also recaps the way the image of the Mountie respected by the Native "allowed Canadians to nurture a sense of themselves as a just people," in contrast to the Americans who were seen as "waging a war of extermination against their Indian population" (69). The Scot as Mountie, then, also underpins the Scot as uniquely Canadian, and in becoming a Mountie, the Scottish Cameron is beginning to disappear into a representative Canadian.

As with McClung's Arthur Weymiss, Cameron's last hurdle to becoming Canadian is choosing a mate. Like Arthur, his original impressions of Canadian farm girls are less than favorable. When Cameron first meets Mandy Haley on her family's farm, he sees a seventeen year old girl "with little grace and less beauty, but strongly and stoutly built, and with a good-natured, if somewhat stupid and heavy face" (177), and his first reaction is mixed. He

experiences "a feeling of repulsion, but in a moment this feeling passed and he was surprised to find himself looking into two eyes of surprising loveliness, dark blue, well shaped, and of such liquid depths as to suggest pools of water under forest trees" (178). Mandy has to go on her own journey of transformation, like Martha Perkins, from unrefined farm girl—whose skills are none the less valourized—to more modern woman who has found a life of satisfactory service. When Cameron meets Mandy again at the end of the novel, she has worked her way into becoming the renowned "Nurse Haley," and this time he sees quite a different vision before him:

> Before his eyes there floated an illusive vision of masses of fluffy golden hair above a face of radiant purity, of deft fingers moving in swift and sure precision … of two capable arms whose lines suggested strength and beauty, of a firm knit, pliant body that moved with easy sinuous grace. (427)

As with Arthur, when Cameron finally marries Mandy, he is matched with a naturalized Canadian whose settler roots are firm, and he can be transformed into Canadian himself, even as his Scottishness enables him to continue to inspire, lead, and civilize those under his care.

As Scots are transformed into Canadians, Canada itself—in both land and people—grows more civilized and mature as Scottishness is layered on to it through place names, festivals, leaders, and industry. "Recalling" the Scots as the primary settler subject allows for the indigene to be replaced—with Richardson's "confidence and kindness"—with a group that bridges Canada's more "primitive" history with a civilized future. The effectiveness of this strategy is clear in the invisibility of its legacy. In the first paperback edition of *The Man from Glengarry*, published in 1960 in the first New Canadian Library series, S. Ross Beharriell's introduction frames for a new audience the significance of Connor's novel. Beharriell encourages the modern reader to take Connor's descriptions as "faithful, accurate, detailed, and vivid re-creation[s] of a

phase of life in frontier Ontario" and suggests that the book be read as "lively social history" (x). Beharriell praises Connor's depiction of dialect—whether Murphy's Irish brogue, LeNoir's French Canadian broken English, or "the fine Scotch burr ... ranging through all degress from south country to pure Gaelic" (x) as all adding to the accuracy of Connor's tribute. Lest the reader conclude that Connor's tale is simply a local history of Glengarry county, however, Beharriell concludes his introduction with a comment on the novel's representation of the Canadian settler. He writes:

> Finally, there is a suggestion of the epic in the story, for Glengarry and its people have a significance that is not merely local. The novel covers the decade of Canada's birth; the hero reaches manhood as his country reaches nationhood. During that decade, the frontier of Ontario was being conquered, and the men of Glengarry were moving westward, making empire beyond the Lakes. At the opening of the story a cry is heard in a brawl in a logging camp on the Scotch River ... we hear it again on the Pacific coast at the moment of a nation's crisis; it rings later in the centres of industry and finally when the frontier has gone forever, across a nation's football fields. It is the battle-cry of the that sturdy little breed of God-fearing men who were helping to create a new nation: "Glengarry forever!" (xii)

As Connor's act of "recalling" his childhood attempts to create a stable legacy out of the instability of the settler colony's history, so Behariell takes Connor's constructed memory as a new history on which Canadians of the 1960s can rest their sense of nationalism and identity. But though the construct of the settler and certainly the roles of gender and class have been paid close attention since the 1960s, scholars have continued to overlook the complexities of the historical construction of race. McClung's current critics, for instance, continue to examine her

contentious legacy as an influential feminist who problematically wrote about women as "guardians of the race" (Devereux 20) and figured as "mother of the race" (21). However few have probed more deeply into what this stable ideal of "the race" was, and how it was to be specifically configured. Deeply invested in the social and national goal of "growing a race" (13), and seeking a powerful role for women in that process, McClung's novels use acts of "recalling" her childhood years to demonstrate a model for "growing" the new Canadian race not just through selective breeding, but also through assimilation and training. Irish and other British "family of Empire" immigrants look to the Scots doctors and ministers for guidance, and gradually improve and educate themselves enough to become part of the Canadian race, but in the Pearlie Watson trilogy that option is limited to those already closely "related" in national character. The next chapter investigates what happens when writers need to expand their concept of Canada and its people to include subjects outside the "family"—immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe primarily, who continued to arrive in larger and larger numbers until the First World War and beyond.

Chapter 2: The Immigrant Insider: Consolidating Whiteness and Performing Assimilation[5]

In his influential 1938 book, *Canadian Mosaic*, John Murray Gibbon recounted the transformation of audience response to a Polish dance performance he witnessed at the 1928 New Canadian Folk-Song and Handicraft Festival which he staged in Winnipeg. He writes:

> The vivacious and graceful dancing of a Polish group at [the Festival] had a marked influence on the attitude taken by Anglo-Saxons towards the foreign born in that city. When the Festival was being organized, I was told quite frankly by a number of those whom I met there that the Canadian Pacific Railway was doing the wrong thing in encouraging these people to retain their old customs. In the course of conversation it usually developed that the critics were influenced by a novel written twenty years before by Ralph Connor…entitled *The Foreigner*, a somewhat lurid melodrama of the shack-town which had grown up on the skirts of this mushroom city. (276)

Concerned that the audience turnout might be low, Gibbon decided to get in touch with Connor, "an old friend" (277), and asked him to come to the performance himself. Connor agreed, and also went afterwards to speak to the dancers, who, according to Gibbon, Connor found "to be as simple as they were charming" (277). Gibbon reports that Connor came away from the encounter quite changed:

> "This is a revelation to me," he said, when he came back. "I always looked on the Poles as husky, dirty labourers whose chief entertainment was drink, but these are delightful,

[5] Sections of this chapter have been published. Smith, Antonia. "'Cement for the Canadian Mosaic': Performing Canadian Citizenship in the Work of John Murray Gibbon." *Race/Ethnicity: Multidisciplinary Global Contexts* 1.1 (Autumn 2007): 37-60.

> cultivated people. I feel that I have done them an injustice in my book. What can I do to make amends?" (277)

Gibbon suggested that Connor show a "good example" by coming to all remaining performances of the Festival, as well as bringing all of his friends (278). This he did, and Gibbon believed that Connor's change in attitude extended to "all Winnipeg," who by the final performance were attending en masse.

This incident offers a glimpse into the complex ways in which public figures in early twentieth-century Canada perceived the power of spectacle to be an aid in the process of nation-building and ethnic assimilation, to shape national identity, and to produce "New Canadian" citizens. In this chapter I will read fiction and non-fiction works—Ralph Connor's *The Foreigner* (1909), James Shaver Woodsworth's *Strangers Within Our Gates or Coming Canadians* (1909), and Gibbon's *Canadian Mosaic*, as well as the folk festivals Gibbon staged across Canada in the late 1920s and early 1930s—to explore the attempts by the British descended elite in Canada to respond to the perceived destabilization of Canadian identity in the face of massive immigration from non-British countries in the early twentieth-century. The perceived threat to British-Canadian identity provoked by the presence of new, non-"family of Empire" ethnic communities incited a reaction among the elites who, I argue, attempted simultaneously to consolidate white, British-Canadian identity, perform it as stable both for themselves and for their immigrant audience, and in so doing cause it to function as a model for successful assimilation into "Canadian culture." The new neighbours arriving by the train-load each day in Winnipeg revealed deeply embedded concepts of race, gender, imperial economics, and nationalism; I will try to untangle the knot by reading the dialogue between the various audiences and performers that come to light in the above works.

The dance between the British-Canadian elites and the not-yet-Canadian immigrants reveals the complexities of the settler subject and the layers of mimicry and performance being enacted in Canada during this period. In her discussion of colonial mimicry and ambivalence, Anne McClintock summarizes Homi Bhabha's "schema" of mimicry as:

> a flawed identity imposed on colonized people who are obliged to mirror back an image of the colonials but in imperfect form...Subjected to the civilizing mission, the mimic men (for Bhabha they seem to be only men) serve as the intermediaries of empire; they are the colonized teachers, soldiers, bureaucrats and cultural interpreters whom Fanon describes as "dusted over with colonial culture." (62)

Bhabha, of course, is referring primarily to the Indian context, where English-trained Indians could do much to try to become good English citizens, but still found themselves "not white." In settler colonies, this category of the colonial intermediary is theorized as the settler subject with a duality-plagued psyche. Rather than the native population trying to become like the colonizer, in the settler dynamic, colonizers themselves are disparaged by their "mother" countries and are no longer equals, yet they can never fully be "native" to the new land. As Anna Johnston and Alan Lawson describe it:

> The settler subject is signified, then, in a language of authority and in a language of resistance. The settler subject enunciates the authority that is in colonial discourse on behalf of the imperial enterprise, which he (and sometimes she) represents. The settler subject represents, but also mimics, the authentic imperial culture from which he (and more problematically she) is separated. This is mimicry in Bhabha's special sense...since the authority is enunciated *on behalf of, but never quite as*, the Imperium. (369)

Though legal and political authority had been established over indigenous peoples in Canada through the implementation of the Indian Act, the settler subject never becomes unproblematically "native", and settler authority over the Indigene needs to be repeatedly performed as resolved. This inherent insecurity of the authenticity of the settler subject leads, according to Johnston and Lawson, to attempts to establish the settler's "native" legitimacy (usually in opposition to the Indigene) through representation and discourse. But in Canada at this time, the settler proved to be doubly challenged. Still insecure in his and her legitimate authority over the Indigene, the tenuously constituted white settler community was now being influenced by the presence of a new group of Others. As Gibbon puts it, "[t]he Canadian race of the future is being superimposed on the original native Indian races and is being made up of over thirty European racial groups, each of which has its own history, customs and traditions" (vii).

Race complicates mimicry, as it does assimilation. McClintock argues that while Bhabha intended his concept of mimicry to be a tool for resistance, in fact "the global changes wrought by imperialism reveal that colonials were able, all too often, to contain the ambivalences of the civilizing mission with appalling effect" (65). Citing Rudyard Kipling's novel *Kim*, she demonstrates that mimicry—when read in conjunction with race—can actually be used to powerfully reinscribe the authority of the Empire. As she points out, Kim's ability to move seamlessly between Indian and English culture through his hybrid identity is "the privilege of whiteness" (70). Kim's half-Irish nature immediately positions him between English and Indian, but it is his whiteness that "allows him to contain the ambiguities of culture and gain a privileged universalism that puts him 'beyond all castes'" (70). As she notes, "Kim is the other side of mimicry: the colonial who passes as Other the better to govern. In this way, the regeneration of

the Anglo-Irish orphan becomes an exemplary allegory for a reformed and more discreet style of Imperial control" (70).

McClintock's analysis of Kim's hybrid whiteness proves relevant to the Canadian context. When faced with new, undesirable immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe, British-descended Canadians used the hybrid potential of whiteness to consolidate groups like the English, Scots, Irish, Welsh, and increasingly the Scandinavians (particularly those who were immigrating from the United States), into normative Canadians and then to control assimilation in order to re-secure British-Canadian authority. At the same time, nationalism becomes an important mediator as issues of whether British-descended Canadians are colonized or colonials are pushed to the backburner; nationalism provides the potential rallying point for the stabilization of a new identity.

Mimicry requires a kind of performance, a performance that must be repeated ad infinitum. The white settler subject who is trying to establish a native authenticity that can never be realized is also trying to stabilize a white racial identity that can never be stable, and so is always failing and always performing. At the same time, whiteness has to perform its power as natural. As Dyer suggests, it does so by laying claim to universality through its normative status; whiteness tries to represent itself as "without properties, unmarked, universal, just human" (38). This desire for invisible universalism conflicts with the necessity of the spectacle of power in the colonial setting, however. As Dyer writes,

> The subject without properties none the less has to be seen, which means being represented as having some properties or other. . . . [The] successful negotiation [of this problem] cannot be taken for granted, and constitutes an instability at the heart of the representation of whiteness. (39)

I argue that, yet again, the solution to this dilemma in Canada in the early twentieth-century was the performance of Scottish ethnicity. Where Englishness could remain ethnically unmarked, Scottishness could be performed both as ethnic *and* as white *and* as British-Canadian, which provided numerous benefits to white British Canadians concerned with the assimilation of new, not-quite-white citizens. Helpfully, Scottishness in Britain was often already mimicking or performing assimilation to Britishness, and when transplanted to Canada, this performativity served both to provide a model for other ethnic groups looking for access to power and status, while acting to reinforce the primacy—thus also performing the legitimacy—of white, English Canada.

Given the instability of British identity in Canada at this time (which is not at all to suggest an instability of British-Canadian colonial power in the nation), perhaps the melodrama of the debates among the British-Canadian elite once immigrants began to arrive en masse was predictable. For instance, in his introduction to James Shaver Woodsworth's highly influential book, *Strangers Within Our Gates, or Coming Canadians*, Methodist minister and president of Winnipeg's Wesleyan College J.W. Sparling writes passionately:

> *There is a danger and it is national!* Either we must educate and elevate the incoming multitudes or they will drag us and our children down to a lower level. We must see to it that the civilization and ideals of Southeastern Europe are not transplanted to and perpetuated on our virgin soil. (8)

Despite strong reactions like this one to the arrival of non-British immigrants in the twentieth-century's early decades, historically Canada's immigration policy is, of course, deeply engaged in the goal of expanding colonial wealth and stabilizing imperial power. Ironically, the challenge posed by these newcomers to British-Canadian identity simply provided an opportunity to

reassert and stabilize the hegemony, while benefiting from the economic growth provided by the new labour and development of agricultural potential.

There really is no way, of course, to separate Canada as a nation from immigration or from Imperial politics. Colonies were sought and traded to build Imperial wealth, and Canada was "settled" in order to secure that wealth for the British Empire. At the same time, the colonies provided an outlet to "outsource" those groups of people who were displaced, rendered destitute or criminalized by economic restructuring in Britain. Canada itself, one could argue, was created to maintain flows of wealth to British citizens, away from the economic and social challenge of the newly created United States, who had ruptured the colonial relationship. Certainly the "Fathers of Confederation" soon realized that if the new nation was to thrive, population disbursement needed to be addressed. From at least John A. Macdonald's 1879 government, "National Policy" meant creating a strong national economy, and to do so Macdonald believed the country needed three things: immigrants to settle the Prairies, strong East-West trade (rather than South with the U.S.), and to facilitate both, the transcontinental railroad. Making any of these goals a reality, however, was not so easily done.

In fact, for decades emigration from Canada (particularly to the U.S.) had outpaced any new immigration gains, despite many government attempts to recruit new settlers. It was not until the late 1880s that a number of factors converged to make Canada more attractive: Jean Burnet and Howard Palmer name "the completion of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the closing of the American frontier, the gold rush to the Yukon, developments in dry-land farming, and bumper wheat crops, combined with high prices in the markets of the world" (27). There is also no question that the tide did not really turn for Canada until the government and business broadened their spectrum of desirable nations from which to recruit potential immigrants, and

this was controversial. Certainly state policies always emphasized preferred status for British and American immigrants, who were seen as already assimilated—more of "us" were always welcome. Valerie Knowles writes that Sir John himself made it quite clear whom he would target: "When detailing recent appointments to the ranks of government immigration agents, he informed the House of Commons that a Scotch agent would also be appointed, 'Scotch emigration being as a rule, of the very best class'" (48).

Perhaps Canada's most infamous name in immigration issues of the time was Clifford Sifton, Minister of the Interior under Wilfred Laurier from 1896 to 1905. Though his later efforts proved contentious, as I will discuss shortly, his first efforts, stepping up recruitment from Britain and America, were met with praise. Knowles quotes the *Lethbridge Herald*'s comments on Alberta's new inhabitants:

> This class of immigration is of a top-notch order and every true Canadian should be proud to see it and encourage it. Thus shall our vast tracts of God's bountifulness...be peopled by an intelligent progressive race of our own kind, who will readily be developed into permanent, patriotic, solid citizens who will adhere to one flag--that protects their homes and their rights--and whose posterity...will become...a part and parcel of and inseparable from our proud standards of Canadianism. (66)

When he inherited the portfolio, Sifton's ambitions were high. He could see the Canadian West stretching before him with seemingly endless, wasted potential and fragile land appropriation treaties with Aboriginal peoples. The land had been figuratively emptied, but it had still yet to be filled by a more desirable population. At the same time, though industry was building in Central Canada, markets were hard to come by. Sifton's first priority became filling the Prairies with people who would be able to work under the extremely difficult conditions to

successfully develop homesteads that would prosper for generations—who would feed the industrial east while providing a market for their manufactured goods. As Knowles writes, Sifton kept his eyes on the bottom line, and "was firmly convinced that massive agricultural immigration was the key to general Canadian prosperity; if primary resources were developed, then industry and commerce would follow naturally" (61). In a memo to Laurier in 1901, Sifton makes clear that his policy was not about recruiting immigrants just for the sake of population growth. Rather "the Government of Canada [is] encouraging immigration for the development of natural resources and the increase of production of wealth from these resources" (Knowles 62).

But according to biographer D.J. Hall, Sifton quickly recognized that there simply weren't the masses of agricultural labourers he needed ready to leave Britain and America. He began aggressively recruiting from Europe, particularly Eastern Europe, where many peasants were already leaving and looking for places to go. Sifton is often quoted as having said that his ideal immigrant was "a stalwart peasant in a sheep-skin coat born on the soil, whose forefathers have been farmers for ten generations, with a stout wife and a half-dozen children" (Hall 24)—he didn't care so much where that peasant came from, as long as he was willing to come and develop the Canadian West. In actuality, Sifton was not undiscriminating; according to Knowles, he focussed efforts on Northern Europe (including Russian and Finland) and Romania because recruitment had been successful there in the past, but he excluded southern Italy, for example, "because of [his] disdain for southern Europeans and their mythical inability to meet the challenges of prairie frontier life" (Hall 69). He also excluded Scandinavians, despite their desirability as settlers, because recruitment in the past had proved so unsuccessful. In fact much of the Scandinavian settlement in Canada at the turn of the century came through expanding

Scandinavian settlements in the United States looking favourably at Canada's cheaper land (Burnet 27).

Generally speaking, Sifton's policies proved effective at boosting the numbers of immigrants to Canada, and finally raising Canada's overall population. In 1897, Canada received 21,716 immigrants; in 1903 that number was 138,660. By 1907 Canadian immigration had topped 272,409, and the numbers climbed to a peak of over 400,000 newcomers in 1913 (Knowles Appendix A.1). Though the numbers are a testament to Sifton's overall achievement, he had also tried to exclude urbanites and industrial workers in preference for the peasant farmer, and in this regard he was less successful. According to Knowles, about 70 percent of the immigrants ended up working in industry and transportation—many actively recruited by Canadian companies looking for unskilled labour. Popular image of the pioneer farmer aside, "thousands of the immigrants who came to this country from southeastern and central Europe became either part-time or full-time industrial workers" (77). Of course, Canada's settlement support once the immigrants were in the country left much to be desired, and many newcomers who wanted to farm had to work in industry for years in order to earn enough money to do so.

Despite the goal of creating wealth for Canadians already entrenched in the establishment, many British-descended Canadians could not see the potential benefits of the influx of eastern and southern Europeans. As I will discuss below, the popular understanding of race in the early decades of the twentieth century was not stable, but it was most often marked by the commonly held belief that national and/or ethnic origin determined both character and physiology. In Canada, the Victorian classifications of race and ethnic origin were still popularly accepted, and these mixed with the emerging science of eugenics and were layered over the earlier influential discourse of the Canada First movement. These different threads all created a

certain fluidity that meant the discourse of race could serve many agendas, and the texts of the time voice shifting and sometimes contradictory positions on whom is included in the "us" of the normalized Canadian.

In his 1867 lecture and essay series, "On Celtic Literature," Matthew Arnold outlined the shifts in the Victorian understanding of race. Arnold's objective was to preserve the ostensibly dying primitive race and folk culture of Britain—the Welsh and other Celtic peoples. He articulated the mid-nineteenth century change in the understanding of the world's races which occurred thanks to apparently scientific advances. He writes that as a young man, he

> was taught to think of Celt as separated by an impassable gulf from Teuton; my father, in particular, was never weary of contrasting them; he insisted much oftener on the separation between us and them than on the separation between us and any other race in the world; in the same way Lord Lyndhurst, in words long famous, called the Irish "aliens in speech, in religion, in blood." (23-24)

However, later in life, Arnold rethought those racial boundaries entirely, thanks to

> the pregnant and striking ideas of the ethnologists about the true natural grouping of the human race, the doctrine of a great Indo-European unity, comprising Hindoos, Persians, Greeks, Latins, Celts, Teutons, Slavonians, on the one hand, and, on the other hand, of a Semitic unity and of a Mongolian unity, separated by profound distinguishing marks from the Indo-European unity and from one another. (25)

This new understanding conveniently created commonality within the British Empire, and connected the noble history of ancient Greece both to the English and to their colonized subjects in India, as all were "Teuton born kinsfolk of the common Indo-European family" (26). It also

lays the groundwork for the development of a new racial category for white Canadians: the Anglo-Celt.

Commonalities and unity aside, Arnold's listed racial groups were still understood to have strong differences between them, and of course, we cannot underestimate the importance of skin colour in marking visible boundaries. These categories may have helped to justify the presence of the British Empire in India for the British, for instance, but I am not proposing that Indians were ever seen as assimilable to their "kinfolk" English. I do, however, want to suggest that the understanding of the differences between what we might label "ethnic" groups because they share a skin colour, were still, in the early twentieth century, seen as distinct races regardless of skin colour. In fact, as we approach Gibbon and Woodsworth momentarily, it should become clear that it is the very shifting concept of whiteness at this time that interests me; that it is in the face of new foreignness that the consolidation of whiteness that we take for granted today stabilized and began to become invisible.

This is not to say that Canadian whiteness was never in contention before the early twentieth century. A second strain of racial discourse in Canada came from the Canada First movement in the late nineteenth century. Though the movement itself was short-lived, Carl Berger observes that it nonetheless "mirrored a way of thinking about Canada and the British connection which became the abiding and most distinctive feature of imperialist thought" (49). The small group of men who were at the core of the movement were inspired by Canada's potential as a new nation as voiced by D'Arcy McGee, and found optimism for the future in the distinctiveness of Canada as Northern. Robert Grant Haliburton wrote in his infamous address, "The Men of the North and Their Place in History," that Canada was "a Northern country inhabited by the descendents of Northern races" (Berger 53). Northern character meant

"toughness, strength, and hardihood," and Haliburton attempted to create unity out of Canada's diverse peoples by arguing that they "all shared a Northern ancestry" (Berger 53). The strength inherent in this Northern character implied clearly, the Firsters believed, that Canada was destined to take on a prominent role in the world, echoing the dominance of the Northern European countries. As Eva MacKey writes, according to this view, northern races were also "more oriented towards freedom and liberty," and other moral attributes (126). Desirable new immigrants, then, were those also perceived as from "northern" nations: Scotland (as the most northern part of Britain) and Scandinavia were thus most attractive.

The discourse publicized by the Canada Firsters about who was "suitable" for Canadian habitation dovetailed nicely during the same time period with the international eugenics movement, which also took hold in Canada, particularly by those invested in the social gospel and whose intentions around improving conditions for the poor connected with their investments in improving the (white) nation. Though the eugenics movement in Canada for a time held tremendous sway, what is important for my purposes here is the way in which the discourse of eugenics provided a scientific framework on which to base discussions of immigrants and their varying qualities. According to Angus McLaren, the popularity of eugenics signalled a deep insecurity about the place of the consolidating "Anglo-Celtic" elite in Canada. There was a "new fear of the lower classes" (18), and of the prospect of the "unfit multiplying thoughtlessly while the prudent restricted family size" (18). This fear of the possibility of being outnumbered met head-on with suspicion of the Catholic Church's position against all intervention in reproduction, which produced another level of fear of French Canadians and the new immigrants, the great majority of whom were Catholic (though affiliated with a variety of reformed and orthodox

churches). McLaren quotes Dr. Alexander Peter Reid, who was superintendent of the Nova Scotia Hospital for the Insane at the turn of the century, as warning that

> All attempts to favour the slum population by encouraging the support of the children on the State ... places a heavier burden on the shoulders of the Nordic race, who form the bulk of the taxpayers. (24)

The above passage also speaks to the way the conversations about eugenics integrate arguments based on fear, race, religion, and economics, and of course gender—as the discussion and policies were all about controlling women's bodies in the face of the frightening virility of unassimilated, not-white men.

As Jean-Pierre Beaud and Jean-Guy Prevost suggest, eugenic discourse was so pervasive that those who were influenced by eugenic ideas "went far beyond the ranks of those who advocated severe restrictions on immigration, or of those who argued that the Canadian melting pot should satisfy itself with immigrants who were biologically and culturally closer to the British and French races" (Section 1). Instead, "the relevance of racial classifications, the relative irreducibility of races and a good part of the eugenical credo were admitted even by authors who out-rightly rejected racial inequality, were not at all frightened by the "new immigration" (Section 1). While eugenics seemed to irrefutably conflate national or ethnic origin with race, and race with personality characteristics as well as physiological traits, it also posited that those characteristics would change over the generations, through racial interbreeding. This meant that "the assimilation of 'foreign races' was a necessity of 'nation-building'" which state officials "defined as a homogenizing process" (Section 1). Despite all the scientific research and rhetoric, there was little resolution and much debate in these years about how precisely racial characteristics manifested, how they mixed and changed through immigration, assimilation and

intermarriage, and what kind of Canadian race might develop—positive or negative—from the changing demographics of the day. This uncertainty led to prolific writing and public debate over the immigrants and the future of the nation.

Richard Dyer writes in *White:*

> A shifting border and internal hierarchies of whiteness suggest that the category of whiteness is unclear and unstable, yet this has proved its strength. Because whiteness carries such rewards and privileges, the sense of a border that might be crossed and a hierarchy that might be climbed has produced a dynamic that has enthralled people who have any chance of participating in it. (19-20)

Dyer's point is particularly relevant during this period in Canada. While "Canadian" identity had always been tenuous because of the French population the British inherited with the colony, the categories of race were generally clear—British, French, or Aboriginal—other groups of any size, including African and African-American, for instance, were obviously different in terms of race, but could nonetheless be classified by language and immigration history into one or another group. The Irish had proved controversial in the 1840s when famine brought them in great numbers to Canadian cities; though often included in a category of "the British Isles" (complicated by Ulster Scots and other sub-groups), Scott See writes that when destitute hordes began arriving in North America "the combination of their decidedly "foreign" Celtic culture and Roman Catholic beliefs fuelled Canada's first significant nativist response" (435). Though initially Canadians voiced humanitarian concern for the "famine Irish," See determines that "as the century progressed … diatribes against the Roman Catholic Church and its adherents became intricately interwoven with racially based attacks on the Celtic Irish" (435). By the early

twentieth-century, however, the Irish and other Northern European groups were looking more familiar than their Eastern and Southeastern European counterparts.

Scottish Canadians, however, continued to occupy a unique place in the national imagination. Catholic, Highland Scots continued to immigrate to Canada in large numbers until the late nineteenth-century, for reasons parallel to those of the Irish—potato famine and forced relocation. But though these Scots were just as different as the Irish—often non-English speaking and just as rural and poor—their reputation as ideal settlers, as well as their stereotyped assimilation into Britishness, persisted. As I have already discussed, Scots had been successfully positioned in the British Empire, to borrow Gayatri Spivak's words, as a "domesticated Other that consolidated the imperialist self" (Goldie 12). Even more usefully, the Scots consolidated the imperialist self with ethnic signifiers: clothing, accent, religion (Presbyterianism), occupations—particularly military and business. When debates began to emerge about particular groups of settlers, and the sheer volume of their numbers, the discourse of Scottishness began to serve a new purpose.

Woodsworth's *Strangers Within Our Gates* was published in 1908, in the midst of the national debate. The Methodist superintendent of the All People's Mission in Winnipeg was a central figure in that city, and was of course at the forefront of the social gospel movement that ultimately led to the formation of the CCF. Marilyn Barber's introduction to a 1972 edition of the book describes Woodsworth's text as a "compilation of government statistics and publications, selections from United States immigration literature, and quotations from Winnipeg sources, pasted together with comments, suggestions, and interpretations by the author" (vii) and by A. R. Ford, a local journalist. The book was intended as a plea for compassion and understanding of the immigrants Woodsworth was serving in the slums of Winnipeg, in the

hopes that introducing "the motley crowd of immigrants to our Canadian people [would] bring before our young people some of the problems of population with which we must deal in the very near future" (9). Despite his good intentions, Woodsworth does not escape the racial discourse of his day; rather he hopes to use it to provoke Christian charity and social justice. He also sees a new line mapped between "us" and "them:"

> A line drawn across the continent of Europe from northeast to southwest, separating the Scandinavian Peninsula, the British Isles, Germany and France from Russia, Austria-Hungary, Italy and Turkey, separates countries not only of distinct races but also of distinct civilizations. It separates Protestant Europe from Catholic Europe; it separates countries of representative democracies and popular governments from absolute monarchies. ... It separates an educated, thrifty peasantry from a peasantry scarcely a single generation removed from serfdom; it separates the Teutonic races from Latin, Slav, Semitic and Mongolian races. (164)

Despite the clarity of that line across Europe, within Canada the white line was becoming harder to draw. Woodsworth writes in his introduction that the "ordinary Canadian" "classifies all men as white men and foreigners" (9). The foreigners are easily identifiable, because they "are all supposed to dress in outlandish garb, to speak a barbarian tongue, and to smell abominably" (9). However, Woodsworth himself has more difficulty with the simple categories of "white" and "foreign" when looking at the myriad of groups frequenting the mission, and he goes through each racial group in detail, examining the potential harm and benefit each group might offer to the nation.

From the first chapter, though, the attempt to consolidate and evaluate whiteness and belonging is evident. Woodsworth begins at the top of the heap, with "Immigration from Great

Britain," and includes English, Irish, Welsh and Scottish immigrants almost indiscriminately. Though this is the group that is "ordinary" Canada, it is not as stable as even Woodsworth would like. Though the group as a whole is described as having "done well" (46) as settlers in Canada, the English are not given a free ride as the indisputable leaders of the nation. Woodsworth does presume that the English are "our own blood," necessary to "maintain in Canada our British traditions and to mould the incoming armies of foreigners into loyal British subjects" (46), but he spends most of the chapter apologizing for the more recent English immigrants who had experienced a backlash from farmers and small business owners who felt that the recent English immigrants were too soft for the rigors of Canadian life. Woodsworth acknowledges that "England has sent us largely the failures of the cities," and that these newcomers have not done well, which he attributes to "a national characteristic which is at once a strength and a weakness—lack of adaptability" (46).

The Scots are treated with much more enthusiasm, as is perhaps best demonstrated in Woodsworths's chapter on the Scandinavians. The Irish are normalized as a group from the "British Isles," and therefore can be consolidated within the chapter on "Great Britain," but Woodsworth champions the Scandinavians (as had been done by the Canada Firsters) as worth bringing into the fold as white Protestant Canadians because of their whiteness, Protestantism and perceived hardy Northernness—differences in language and culture notwithstanding. The Swedes and other Scandinavians are described as "serious, sober, determined and possibly a little bit obstinate" and therefore "astonishingly like the Scotch" (74):

> In their severely religious trend of mind … in their purity of life, and in their general temperament, they are for all the world like the sons of the heather. I have no hesitation in saying that we have no better settlers. (74)

As such, the Scandinavians are depicted as almost über-white immigrants: the men are "big, brawny, broad-shouldered, fair-haired giants;" the women are "pretty, healthy, clear-featured and rosy-cheeked, with great masses of golden hair" (74). The Scandinavian chapter gives the Scots the best possible endorsement in *Strangers*: they are the benchmark group against which other immigrants are held up. The comparison illustrates two things. First, that the Scots occupy the position of the assimilated norm against which other groups can be compared, but second, that the Scots are still singled out as different from the English. Scots are "ordinary Canadians," and can move into invisibility under that generic identity, but they can also be identified in chosen moments as distinctive, with traits that specifically belong to them. Importantly, Woodsworth positions the Scots as immigrants—and does not explicitly include them with the English in his invocations of "our blood." He addresses an explicitly *English*-Canadian audience, and his positioning of the Scots not as part of the original British settler population, but as an immigrant group on a par with Scandinavians and others also acts as a reassurance to his English audience that other, seemingly strange ethnic groups can be compared to that most familiar and non-threatening ethnic Other, the Scot, with all the potential for seamless assimilation that the sub-text implies. The fluidity in the discourse of Scottishness evident here is what makes it so useful in the creation and consolidation of white Canadian hegemonic identity. Where the Scots had earlier been pointed to as exemplary settler subjects, the discourse here shifts, and Scots are idealized as ethnic immigrants who have performed assimilation so well that they have gained the privilege of becoming subsumed into the fledgling normative white Canadian.

Ralph Connor's influential 1909 novel, *The Foreigner*, illustrates how discursive Scots are still singled out as ethnically distinct, yet they are used as enforcers of state authority to manage and contain racial difference. At the same time, Scottish recognition of the

Canadianness of an Other can determine the success of assimilation. Connor's novel imagines how the process of assimilation for Ukrainian immigrants might work and be rewarded. In his ministry work as Charles Gordon, Connor was a contemporary of Woodsworth's in Winnipeg, and his novel was apparently inspired by the work he saw happening at the All People's Mission. Through his social gospel ideology, Gordon became convinced that assimilation through "civilizing" education could be achieved successfully, and *The Foreigner* suggests some techniques. While Scots are often the heroes of Connor's writing, in this book they are pushed to the side, and instead, Englishman Jack French does the main civilizing work for young Kalman Kalmar, transforming him from poor, ignorant, Russian peasant, into a prosperous and promising young Canadian.

Scottish characters nonetheless serve two important roles. The first Scot to appear in the novel is Sergeant Cameron, and he is introduced as follows:

> ...Sergeant Cameron strolled into the station house, carrying his six feet two and his two hundred pounds of bone and muscle with the light and easy movements of the winner of many a Caledonian Society medal. Cameron, at one time a full private in the 78th Highlanders, is now Sergeant in the Winnipeg City Police, and not ashamed of his job. Big, calm, good-tempered, devoted to his duty, keen for the honour of the force as he had been for the honour of his regiment in other days, Sergeant Cameron was known to all good citizens as an officer to be trusted and to all others as a man to be feared. (83)

Cameron is a distinctively, stereotypically Scots presence in very explicit service of the state. He is visibly marked both in his Scottishness and in his representation of the authority and power of the Crown. His job in the novel is to manage the growing diversity of the city, and to enforce British law over those living in the immigrant ghettos. However, Sergeant Cameron is not

entirely an unmarked Canadian. He is unproblematically on the side of the white men in authority, but he nonetheless still actively works on the performance of his own transformation into an "ordinary" citizen: Connor writes that Cameron is also "diligently endeavouring to shed his Highland accent and to take on the colloquialisms of the country" (85). As a Scottish subject, he walks a fine line between Canadianness and foreignness, without sacrificing any sense of agency or power in Canada. He offers to the immigrants on his beat a display of how ethnic support for the state is rewarded with power.

The other major Scottish character in the novel is Miss Marjorie Menzies, Kalman's love interest. Marjorie is the daughter of a "Mr. Robert Menzies of Glasgow, capitalist, and, therefore, possible investor in Canadian lands, mines, and railroads,—consequently, a man to be considered" (292). She is fresh from Scotland, and Kalman becomes her escort through the Canadian wilderness, at one point saving both her and her family's ostensible guide, a young Englishman who turns out to be quite unsuited to the job. Kalman and Marjorie fall in love, but near the end Marjorie witnesses the denouement of the novel's political subplot, wherein Kalman's father is identified as a Ukrainian revolutionary, and Marjorie is horrified by the violence of Kalman's history. She leaves him then, but few years later Kalman and Marjorie meet again, and this time circumstances are different. A mutual friend, Mr. Brown, has taken Marjorie to Russia, where her mind has been opened. In her eyes, Kalman is now, "the son of a hero, who paid out his life for a great cause" (382), and though earlier she swore that "never, never could she love one of those foreigners" (384), now she says, "with sweet and serious emphasis, 'but not my foreigner, my Canadian foreigner'" (384).

Obviously several things are of interest here. Kalman and his mentors work hard throughout the novel to transform him into a Canadian, and that transformation is nearly

accomplished. He achieves whiteness by demonstrating "enterprise"—through the economic prosperity gained through mining and business development—and though he never loses his connections to his ethnic community, Connor tells us that Kalman is invisible as "a Canadian among Canadians" even as he honours "the Slav blood that flowed through his veins" (374). Marjorie, by contrast, is a more recent and less experienced immigrant who is, as a Scot, never marked as a foreigner, though she is marked as unfamiliar with Canada. Indeed it is her willingness to marry Kalman that is the ultimate prize for his efforts to assimilate; once he becomes "her" foreigner, he can truly be no longer a foreigner at all, but can disappear into Anglo-Celtic ordinariness. So despite Marjorie's status as immigrant, she is instantly a Canadian insider who can bestow the mark of true Canadianness on one more foreign than she. Marjorie's new possession of Kalman's foreignness however, also demonstrates the continuing discursive process of consolidating the imperial self that is facilitated by the Scots.

The discourse of Scottishness thus has a unique function at this point in Canadian history. Scots are clearly entrenched in and agents of British authority and they maintain their status no matter how long they have been in Canada—unlike even some English. But their discursive power in Canada stems from their conquered position within the British Empire, which allows for their markers of ethnicity to be used in unquestioned service to the state. Though in the background many English, Scots, Irish and Welsh continued to work at performing themselves into a Canadian norm that would control the terms of assimilation for others, at the same time the discourse of Scottishness constructed a visible example of the rewards of whiteness. The spectacle of Scottish ethnicity offers the hope of those rewards to others, which produces a hegemonic tool with which to manage new immigrants. Though the political power and economic prosperity modelled by Scots were of course not always available to other groups

(including at times the real Highland Scots who were more likely to be illiterate, Catholic, desperately poor, and non-English speaking), Connor and Woodsworth both write loudly about the success that awaits those groups that can follow the Scottish example and embrace Protestant, "Canadian," capitalist culture.

Almost two decades later, though immigration to Canada had levelled off considerably, relations between British-Canadians and other European settlers were still often tense. In the late 1920s, John Murray Gibbon began staging Folk Festivals across the country with the explicit goal of bridging the levels of suspicion and misunderstanding between Canada's cultural groups. Gibbon himself was a prototypical imperial British citizen. Raised in Ceylon by Scottish parents, he was sent to Europe for university schooling and eventually settled in London, where he was hired by the Canadian Pacific Railway (CPR) to act as a publicity agent for Canadian immigrant recruitment in Britain. He later immigrated to Canada when he moved to Montreal to take up another publicity position for the CPR. Gibbon was passionate about the possibilities of inter-cultural understanding as the vehicle for successful nation-building. Though Gibbon and his works are rarely studied today, he was a prominent public figure for many decades in early twentieth-century Canada. His folk festivals were enormously popular and served as precursors for several festivals still in operation. He was a prolific writer and was a founding member of the Canadian Authors Association. When Gibbon was first invited to stage folk music festivals across the country in the late 1920s and early 1930s, he saw the festivals as an opportunity to bridge the levels of suspicion and misunderstanding between Canada's cultural groups. The festivals raised Gibbon's public profile, and he was subsequently invited to create a series of programs for CBC radio, which aired in early 1938. Those programs were then expanded into the book, *Canadian Mosaic: The Making of a Northern Nation*, which won the Governor-General's

Award for non-fiction later that year. Though no visible records of the festivals were made at the time, Stuart Henderson provides a valuable reading of the festival programmes, advertising, and some of the media response to the concerts, and Gibbon himself refers often to his festivals in his later book, *Canadian Mosaic*. What follows is my reading of the highly successful book, its extraordinary images, which illustrate stereotypes of each ethnic group explored in a chapter, and the earlier folk festivals, all of whose legacies live on in contemporary expressions of multiculturalism.

Gibbon's *Canadian Mosaic* and his work staging a series of folk festivals for the Canadian Pacific Railway company demonstrate that the power relations of the time necessitated the simultaneous performance of stable white Canadianness and of ethnic difference as domesticated and non-threatening. I would argue that in fact the spectacle of ethnicity was required in order to *constitute* a homogeneous white Canadian audience. Gibbon used both literal and discursive performances in his attempts to consolidate a variety of Northern European ethnic groups into an imperial display of stable white British Canadian identity, and at the same time to fragment all other ethnic groups into spectacles of difference open to assimilation. As Gibbon stumbled on to it, the folk festival turned out to be an ideal vehicle to attempt to resolve these issues. The festival performances allowed Gibbon to put the consolidation of white Canadian identity on display in direct juxtaposition with performances of foreignness, and thus brought to life his vision of the resulting cultural pluralism safely contained within the British-Canadian hegemony.

Gibbon's underlying beliefs about race and the potential creation of a new Canadian race through the intermarriage of all settler groups are made clear in his introduction to *Canadian Mosaic*:

> It seems … only right that Canadians should make themselves familiar with the countries from which [the immigrants] have come and the reasons why their forebears have taken up Canadian citizenship. They should examine the progress being made in the amalgamation of their own and other racial groups in the new democracy of the Dominion. (v)

Canadian Mosaic is an oddly complicated book. Gibbon's contemporary audience was overwhelmingly the British Protestant majority, whose racism he felt compelled to address with his inclusive and often respectful vision of racial and ethnic harmony. He wrote passionately about the importance of understanding the unique histories and cultures of all European immigrants; he himself was extraordinarily well-travelled, and he believed that "each racial group has brought with it some qualities which are worth-while contributions to Canadian culture" (vi).

Gibbon was strongly influenced by contemporary ideas about "Folk" culture as the expression of ethnic authenticity. The marketing and performance of ethnicity that took place at the folk festivals, and which is reinforced in the chapters that describe each immigrant group in *Canadian Mosaic*, removes "culture" from its socio-political and religious contexts, and transforms it into an objectified Folk culture that can be shared, commodified, translated, and packaged at will. As Ian McKay argues in *The Quest of the Folk*, the Folk discourse is an essentializing belief in the "deep, organic solidarity" (13) between cultures, an anti-modern ideology which was constructed by the viewer. Elaborating, McKay notes "the real Folk did not live anywhere … [they] did not belong to political parties or read newspapers or mount labor movements. They were the passive recipients of tradition, not its active shapers" (21). The Folk

ideology allowed Gibbon to promote the value of different ethnic identities without challenging the status quo of the Canadian power structure.

In fact, Gibbon's real gift was as a marketer and salesman, and he had few qualms about repackaging foreign cultures in the name of realizing his own artistic or humanistic vision. In describing how his book came to be, for instance, Gibbon recounts that when he was asked by CBC producers to develop a program:

> It seemed to me that a series of programs which would illustrate the contribution of music brought by the different European Continental groups to Canada could convey a message and an opportunity of mutual understanding to a large audience…As for the songs, the language sung should be the language most widely understood, and the Census lists proved that language to be English…Since English words had to be found, I undertook to write new words on Canadian themes adapted to the spirit of the music and fitting into the general idea of the accompanying talk. This was perhaps a bold innovation, but it worked, judging by the response from a very large number of listeners. Among those listeners were the partners of the publishing firm which asked me to elaborate these talks into a book. (x-xi)

These comments are typical of Gibbon: grand in their liberal Romantic vision of Folk harmony, while shameless in their demonstration of racial and class privilege. For Gibbon, the manipulation of another culture to serve his own purpose seems a laudable innovation, and communicating his own message via another culture's folk music is still representative of that culture's true expression. Writing "new words on Canadian themes" also repackaged the foreign culture as domesticated to Canadian culture, and suggested that assimilating the foreigners

themselves might be as easy a project. "Cultural understanding" actually became a project of cultural translation, one in which difference was contained through his own nationalist narration.

Gibbon's work often had three simultaneous intentions: humanist, artistic, and commercial. The folk festivals were first conceived through economic necessity. In late 1925, a fire destroyed a wing of the Chateau Frontenac in Quebec City. Gibbon, as publicity agent for the Canadian Pacific Railway who owned the Chateau Frontenac, was hired to stage an event celebrating the reopening of the restored section. He decided on a performance of French-Canadian folksongs, and asked renowned folksinger Charles Marchand to sing a selection of traditional pieces. To make the concert more accessible, Gibbon translated the lyrics onto leaflets to pass out to the largely Anglophone audience (Henderson 147). The event was very successful, and Gibbon was particularly struck by the possibilities for new understanding gained through the sharing of folk culture. He began to believe that he could build, in Stuart Henderson's words, "a bridge between alien cultures through an internationalist vision of the power of the Folk" (148). After the success of the event in Quebec City, the general manager of the Canadian Pacific Hotels asked Gibbon to produce another concert to mark the tourist season and from there Gibbon was off. He designed and staged folk festivals in a variety of formats across the country.

Among sixteen festivals produced between 1928 and 1931, the three major Prairie festivals held in Winnipeg, Regina, and Calgary particularly grappled with integrating a wide variety of ethnic performances and displays. While the festivals in Central Canada tried to resolve differences between the French and the English—each established Canadian identities—the Western festivals were about bridging the many cultures of the new settlers and building a cohesion that could intensify the strength of the nation. To better foster the understanding that

would lead to healthier nation-building, the three Western festivals gathered representative artists from a large number of European groups and staged both musical concerts and handicraft displays and competitions. Though the configuration of the festivals varied, the Prairie festivals all comprised a variety of handicraft displays, informational posters, and afternoon and evening music and dance performances. The performers and artists were dressed in folk costume, and some accompanied their displays with demonstrations of their crafts. Some of these crafts were then juried for prizes or auctioned for sale. The containment of each group as its own 'tile' in the 'mosaic' of the festival or the nation fragmented ethnic groups into spectacles of difference open and available to assimilation, yet restricted within a performance of allegiance to their new nation. For as Gibbon makes clear, the immigrants would willingly sing the national hymns, "if they were only taught the words" (193).

The festivals gave Gibbon ample opportunity to refine his vision of sharing folk culture to consolidate a strong Canadian identity, and to do so through a new form of marketing ethnic performance for commercial gain in Canada. His timing was astute. Although the tensions between the French and the English in Central Canada were a lucrative starting point, Gibbon quickly moved West recognizing the anxiety felt among British-descended Canadians regarding their increasingly numerous new neighbors from a host of "uncivilized" European countries. The advertising for the festivals enthusiastically illustrated Gibbon's goals. The newspaper ad that ran in the *Manitoba Free Press* days before the Winnipeg festival finished with the statement: "As an Entertainment, It Will Eclipse Any Show You Have Ever Seen; As An Education in Constructive Citizenship, Its Importance and Value Cannot Be Exaggerated" (Henderson 151). The ad describes the festival as a gathering of hundreds of performers "from 15 Racial Groups in picturesque songs, dances and costumes" and declared that it would demonstrate "to Anglo-

Saxon Canadians that the newcomers of Continental European extraction have a fine gift of music and artistry for the making of the Canadian nation" (Henderson 151).

Beyond the liberal humanist idealism, these festivals had two underlying sales pitches. The audience for the festivals is described implicitly by the media and by Gibbon in *Canadian Mosaic*, as being primarily British Canadian. Certainly Gibbon's concern is about showcasing the foreign in the best possible light *for* the British Canadian public. When discussing his goal of cultural understanding, he addresses a variety of foreign cultures that are misunderstood by the British Canadian—but he never worries about the Hungarians not understanding the Italians, for instance. His first sales pitch to his audience, however, was always for entertainment value. Gibbon worried about the standard of the performances and carefully organized his events for commercial success. Although he did bring in amateurs, he also felt the need to hire professional artists to raise the bar and to impress the British Canadian audience with the quality of the arts brought to Canada by other groups. According to Henderson, Gibbon "was conflicted about this, and he voiced his concerns to the professionals that they not overpower the amateur acts, but it is clear that the professionals stood apart from the rest come show night" (142).

Gibbon's second pitch was ostensibly for "cultural understanding," but it is evident from the festival programs and his comments in *Canadian Mosaic*, that what he was really selling was the message to British Canadians that the diverse European immigrants were not a threat to their political and social position. The dissipation of the perceived racial threat performed in the festivals was by no means subtle. The Winnipeg New Canadian Folksong and Handicraft Festival of 1928, for instance, held matinee and evening concerts over a few days. Each afternoon and evening, different national groups performed folk song and dances. The big finale concert showcased each invited group to perform once, and then, for the finish, they all united on

stage to sing together a rousing chorus of "O Canada," and "God Save the King." The signals could not have been clearer for the British Canadian audience: folk culture was now frozen in the past, no longer a source of potential disruption but a source of entertainment. New allegiances had been embraced, and full assimilation was forthcoming. As the review in the *Manitoba Free Press* declared, "Entertainers from nine nations, who are now Canadian, had gone back for inspiration to their parent countrysides, and their traditional impulses toward dancing and delight" (Henderson 158); the reviewer describes the finale as the "babel of tongues synthesized again in the anthems of Canada and of England" (158).

Gibbon's re-packaging of ethnicity went beyond his Folk ideology, however, and beyond simple nationalism. Phillip Bohlman, writing about Folk Music, noted that festivals like Gibbon's are one "institutional mechanism whereby ethnicity is made manageable" (Henderson 148), and he reminds us that they can "reduce the active process of ethnic identification to several common denominators, most commonly food, dress, and folk music" (148). I think it is important to notice that these common denominators—to which we can add handicrafts—are all pulled from the domestic, female sphere, and deliberately ignore the traditionally male cultural expressions like politics, religion, or the military. Reducing ethnic expression to traditionally female cultural forms, I would argue, feminized foreignness itself, and thus helped defray the sense of threat so often associated with powerful, stocky, unemployed, Catholic men who put "decency" at risk.

Canadian Mosaic reinforces this feminization and domestication of foreignness. Each chapter in Gibbon's book outlines the history and characteristics of a different national group who has settled in Canada. Each "type" is also represented in a drawing, and by far the majority are pictured as demure young women in traditional costume, some involved in prayer with eyes

cast down, some at work at traditional craft, and others looking flirtatiously at the reader. The drawings are attributed to a variety of artists (the majority are by Kathleen Shackleton), and the circumstances of their contributions are unknown, but despite the diversity, some noticeable patterns emerge. The drawing of the Frenchman, the first in the book, depicts a smiling, grandfatherly man with a pipe. The second chapter is highlighted with the drawing of an urban young Englishwoman, the third with a noble, young, Scottish soldier. The fourth drawing illustrates an Irishwoman, darker in hair and eyes than the others, wrapped in a shawl. After these four portraits—who arguably make up the family in the "Family of Empire"—the drawings shift markedly from these ethnically unmarked characters to portraits of almost exclusively young women in folk costume. The drawings reinforce the hierarchy of whiteness first by reinforcing who is depicted as ethnically marked, but also in their colors: the Finnish woman is so fair as to be almost translucent, whereas the Russian woman is drawn noticeably darker. The last drawing, from the chapter on "The Hebrew," is of a very small, very dark young girl with a rather fierce expression. Except for the Ukrainian, Italian, and Hebrew "types," these women look quaint, wholesome, and entirely non-threatening. The message seems to be that women are more open to assimilation—not militant or mired in ideology, but passive and receptive to the new national interests. Women, of course, are also available for intermarriage, and, as Gibbon reminds us in his introduction by quoting the Administrative Report of the Dominion Statistician prefacing the Canadian Census of 1931:

> In tracing origin in the case of those of European descent, the line is through the father. By applying this rule rigorously, those of mixed family origin are (by the law of large numbers) resolved with a fair degree of accuracy into their constituent elements. (viii)

In other words, once women of various groups are married into "Canadian" households, the negative elements of their "race" are easily bred out. Gibbon's transformation of racial threat into the performance of assimilable culture is done through the spectacle of feminized ethnicity.

The performances at the folk festivals reinforce the cultural hierarchy and demonstrate the complex necessity of the opposing performance: authentic whiteness. The marketing of non-white ethnicity as no threat to a British-Canadian audience takes place against an important backdrop of the changing definition of white Canadian identity. In both the festivals and in *Canadian Mosaic*, Gibbon uses literal and discursive performances in his attempts to consolidate a variety of Northern European ethnic groups into an imperial display of stable white Canadian identity. As I discussed earlier, "white Canada" was amorphously-defined at the time; the many linguistic and religious differences between English, Scottish, and Irish groups (to name the most prominent) were peacefully but carefully demarcated in Canadian communities. Against the influx of new immigrants, however, those differences between earlier settler groups began to seem less important than claiming a stable, normative "Canadian" culture into which new populations could be assimilated. As I discussed in the previous chapter, popular authors like Nellie McClung and Ralph Connor began to write into being what Daniel Coleman has termed "white civility"—a non-ethnic, but still legibly British, code of power that could be accessed by all early settler groups. The new racial category of "Anglo-Celtic"—as opposed to Anglo-Saxon which had been earlier used to define against Celtic or Teutonic "races"—emerged as the "civilized" Canadian norm. In Gibbon's later festivals, where he chose to include performances by the hegemonic groups, normative Canadian cultural and national identification became a very tricky construct.

Planning the Regina concert, Gibbon chose to open with performances by the various early settler groups. He scheduled an English group, followed by recitals by Irish, Scottish, and Welsh groups. Interestingly, the performance of "Englishness" entailed a brief concert by the Knox United Church Choir. Stuart Henderson argues that this performance was a display of "High" culture, to declare English primacy prior to the subsequent performances of ethnic "Folk" cultures. Rather than asserting the dominance of English culture however, Gibbon's placement of the Knox United Church Choir illumines the difficulty in generating spectacle out of the hegemonic culture whose goal is, as Dyer argues, to remain *invisible*. The choir's very name signals the contentious process of consolidation, for the United Church of Canada was formed out of the Scottish Presbyterian, English Methodist, and American-descended Congregationalist Churches, and only after a decade of heated debate. The strongest argument for the merger—and the one ultimately victorious—came from the congregations in the West who felt that their mission work of assimilating new Canadians necessitated cooperation. Knox United was a newly transformed Scottish Presbyterian Church and would therefore be an ironic display of "representative" Englishness. In other words, although the concert program ultimately signals the primacy of the "Anglo-Celtic" (still not quite identified in the program as seamlessly "Canadian") groups over the other ethnic groups, the composition of the spectacle is one that highlights the instability and newness of the hegemonic group. The choice of a church choir—so connected to the patriarchal political powers of the day—is also situated against the feminized Folk performances, where religion and other social contexts are stripped away. This positioning reinforces the Protestantism of Canadian culture.

The illustrations in *Canadian Mosaic* reinforce the strong alliances between these hegemonic groups. The French man is a chummy, grandfatherly type—his position firmly

established as the domesticated ally to the English-Canadian. The English woman is contemporary, urban, modern, and ethnically unmarked. The Scot—whose clothing gestures toward the tartans of the military regiments—is depicted as a strong male leader. *Canadian Mosaic* also begins to expand the list of non-British, but still white Canadians to include Scandinavians, and gradually widens the net towards the industrious, Protestant Germans. In the accompanying chapter, Scandinavians are figured positively. Special attention is given to their devoutness, Northernness, hardiness as farmers, and historical connection with the Scots through the Orkneys and Shetlands. The speed of their assimilation is also stressed; as Gibbon describes the Icelandic choir being rehearsed for the Winnipeg Festival, he notes that for the young Icelandic-Canadians, "their ancestral language is a foreign tongue," and "the conductor of the choir had to give his instructions in English" (244). The illustrations reinforce this attraction; *Canadian Mosaic* depicts the Norwegian and the Swede as male, extremely fair, and dignified. They are portrayed as white allies, equals, rather than assimilable peasants.

Part of the consolidation of whiteness and Gibbon's study of the continuum of potential assimilation of these European groups is also the demarcation of which groups are not listed at all. "The Hebrew" is as close to non-European as Gibbon is willing to go, and indigenous groups are, as he comments early on, naturally being supplanted by the European settlers. He is unwilling to elaborate on why he chose not to include any of the non "white-skinned Europeans known as Caucasians" (2), and writes only briefly: "For various reasons, it was decided to confine this survey to the European racial groups in Canada (including those that have come by way of the United States" (xi). Certainly, however, those reasons would have included the widely-held belief, as articulated in Woodsworth's *Strangers Within our Gates*, that "Orientals," and others who are not-white-skinned, simply "cannot be assimilated" (155). These Others—

Chinese, Indian, African—were considered to be foreign at another level entirely, and their place in the Gibbon's mosaic is wholly excluded.

Echoing the patterns spectacularized in Gibbon's folk festivals, *Canadian Mosaic* showcases the way these shifting borders of whiteness are used to control and manage the influx of "foreigners." Foreignness is imaged as feminized, domesticated, and non-threatening to the British-Canadian hegemony, while those shifting groups that constitute the "Anglo-Celt" are presented as stable and dominant. At the same time, the festivals and the text make clear to "New Canadians" that assimilation is available, and that other groups—like the Scandinavians and the Irish—have achieved some measure of social status, privilege, and acceptance. The performance of allegiance and the mimicry of those white Canadian ethnic groups is showcased as the path other ethnic groups might follow to "Canadianization." At the same time, Gibbon also sends the message to British-Canadians that making space for the cultural contributions of other "races" can be contained within a British hegemonic framework, and that—as his own provision of English words to foreign folk songs demonstrates—folk cultures can be appropriated and used to promote a stronger nation.

In both the British and the British-Canadian contexts, the discourse of Scottishness demanded a successful performance of assimilation to Britishness. That performance enabled Scottish authority in the colonies, but it also acted to reinforce the primacy of British authority (as the norm to which others had to aspire). While within Britain that performance could perhaps be discussed in light of Bhabha's theorization of mimicry—where Scottish distinctiveness never disappears completely, and maintains the position of never quite achieving the higher goal of invisible Britishness—in the Canadian context, the performance changes significantly. With the influx of non-British immigrants to Canada in the early decades of the

twentieth-century, the security of the white, Protestant, British-descended Canadian national identity seemed to be under threat, despite the political goal of immigrant recruitment to expand the wealth of those who already had power and status. One facet of the response to Canada's changing demographic was racism disguised as nationalism. At times this was expressed as demands by the public to preserve racial purity by restricting access to Canada to those easily perceived as white—made explicit through the remnants of the Canada First discourse, and through the powerful eugenics discussions of the day. In other instances, as in the examples I have provided, a more humanist spin was put on the desire for a strong national identity. For Woodsworth, Connor, and Gibbon, a vision of a new, progressive nation meant challenging the instinct to hide from difference, and these men all tried to look to the positive aspects that Canada's new citizens could bring to society. However, none of them wanted to preserve ethnic diversity; their immediate concern was to create national harmony and cohesion and to limit the influence that the new immigrants might have on the status quo.

To reach that goal two simultaneous performances had to be enacted repeatedly, and in both of these performances discursive Scots played a cruicial role. First, with new immigrants as the audience, stable white British Canadianness had to be performed, and Scots now were needed no longer to mimic Britishness but to help perform consolidated white Canadianness. At the same time, Scots became mediators for Gibbon's immigrant performance of the desire for assimilation. Scottish ethnicity allowed British Canadians to more convincingly extend the possibility of true assimilated Canadianness to those ethnically marked as Other, while reinforcing the dominant hegemony. These performances were in turn shaped through gender conventions. Non- or not-quite-white immigrants became perceived as less threatening when foreignness was feminized and therefore domesticated, reinforcing the paternal role of the

British-cum-Canadian government. The feminization also re-enabled the public belief that race could be "bred out" over time; that race was passed down through the father (along with, presumably, threatening political or religious beliefs) and that intermarriage would produce Canadian children. These beliefs also coincided with the public policy decisions made by numerous assimilation organizations (the United Church, the YMCA, along with the state agencies) to focus on immigrant children, who were more likely to both assimilate more easily and to go home and educate their parents about Canadian ways. With the discourse of Scottishness firmly entrenched in the nationalist project of ethnic assimilation, and with the consolidation of white Canadian identity underway, my next chapter looks at the complex moment where, thanks to Hugh MacLennan, Scottishness disappears almost entirely into normative "English Canadianness."

Chapter 3: Blending In: Hugh MacLennan's Genealogy of English Canada

"This country, which was once Britain's senior Dominion and now stands on her own, has acquired a purely feminine capacity for sustaining within her nature contradictions so difficult to reconcile that most societies possessing them would be torn by periodic revolutions."

—Hugh MacLennan, "The Canadian Character" (5)

As I have discussed in the previous chapters, during the early decades of the twentieth century, Canadian public debate equated national origin with national race and character, and this conflation was by definition manifested in individual citizens. Race was inescapable, but assimilation into Canadian whiteness was both biologically and symbolically available to those groups generally defined as "British" (those already included in the "Family of Empire") through interbreeding (though never available to non-European groups), and was becoming increasingly accessible to other European groups through mimicry and performance. For those mid-century writers concerned with the development of a Canadian national literature, determining a unique biological allegory for the development of the national character was a necessary concern. Authors like Hugh MacLennan, who wrote with a clear nation-building goal, used strategies of direct allegorical representation through individual characters whose growth and maturation paralleled Canada's. Using individual characters to represent aspects of the nation and its relationships required making decisions about a given character's race, ancestry, religion, class, gender and family relationships, which then also came to hold some symbolic weight. MacLennan's two national allegories, *Barometer Rising* (1941) and *Two Solitudes* (1945), were instrumental in creating a paradigm of national identity in English Canada which remains entrenched today, and I argue that it is in these novels—so embedded in public discourse—that mark the disappearance of the Scottish subject into the national one. MacLennan believed

deeply that Canada needed to distinguish itself from its British "parent" and foster a unique national identity, and he relied heavily on the discourse of Scottishness to build a normative Canadian character that was distinct from that of British colonial subject while still made flesh in a definitively white, Protestant body. In these novels, I argue that Scottishness begins seamlessly to stand in for English-Canadianness, and the notion of a stable, white Canadian culture as the "centre" against which later voices push begins to take hold. In this chapter, I read these seminal novels to demonstrate how MacLennan uses a gendered and domestic national allegory of the family to forward the project of consolidating a hybrid, British-descended Canadian normative whiteness.

Born in 1907 in Glace Bay, Nova Scotia, MacLennan was educated in the elite circles of his day, first at Dalhousie, then as a Rhodes scholar at Oxford, and later as a PhD student at Princeton. He struggled as a Canadian to find work in academia, explicitly told on more than one occasion that an Englishman was applying for the Canadian job, and despite equal or better qualifications, MacLennan wouldn't have a chance. As one kindly Dalhousie professor told him, "you're a Canadian and he's an Englishman. It makes a difference" (Cross Country 40). In the mid 1930s, MacLennan settled near Montreal to teach, first at Lower Canada College, then later at McGill University, where he remained for thirty years. Though it apparently took some time for him to publish his first works of fiction, when *Barometer Rising* finally appeared in 1941, it was, Elspeth Cameron observes, "considered a nationalist landmark" (24). Cameron believes that the critical responses to the novel, "which hinged more on national pride than on literary evaluation, convinced MacLennan that his career as a writer would depend to a great extent on the 'Canadianness' of his work" (25), though he didn't always wholeheartedly embrace his role as a "spokesman" (26) for the Canadian psyche. Nevertheless, the subsequent success of *Two*

Solitudes, which won MacLennan the first of his record five Governor General Awards, cemented his position in the Canadian literary establishment. As Cameron comments, "it cannot only be said of his literary heyday that he was *in* the mainstream; but even that he played a major role in *creating* the mainstream" (23).

MacLennan's critical reception in the decades since World War II has been mixed. He continued to be celebrated as a national icon at the 1982 conference fêting his retirement from McGill, where writers like Robert Kroetsch and Marian Engel, who had numbered among his students, thanked him for his profound influence and generosity as a teacher. Other writers like Margaret Laurence and Mavis Gallant have credited *Two Solitudes* for teaching them that "novels could be written here" (Leith 15). MacLennan's novels retained canonical status for decades; in 1978, when the Calgary Conference on the Canadian Novel attempted to establish the top one hundred Canadian novels, all of MacLennan's novels to date were on the list, one in the top ten, three in the first twenty (Cameron 24). However, as Rosmarin Heidenreich found when she surveyed the criticism on *Two Solitudes* for the 1994 "Reappraisals: Canadian Writers" series collection published after MacLennan's 1990 death, his novel was "hailed as a masterpiece" well into the 1950s, but later criticism became more harsh as, she speculates, social changes in the late 1950s and 1960s rendered "many of the premises underlying the novel increasingly problematic" (125). Scholars have speculated over the years about why MacLennan's fiction has fallen out of favour; in 1982 Robin Matthews suggested that MacLennan's texts were an uneasy fit with critical trends:

> He is often despised in Toronto, for instance, for being a nationalist; attacked from the left for being a bourgeois; discredited by formalist critics for being a thesis novelist; and

> attacked by social realists for being a philosophical idealist drawn towards ideological personalism and thus socially irresponsible. (69)

Others have weighed in about the literary value of various novels; Linda Leith concluded that the problem was the nationalist thesis, but argues he deserves attention despite the flaws: "There can be no surprise when so ambitious a project falls short of success, as MacLennan's certainly does," she writes; "Like Icarus, MacLennan is trying for the sun when his wings fail him...we may know him doomed, but we have to marvel at his daring" (13). Whatever the reason, Stephen Smith's 2001 re-assessment of the status of the Canadian canon found that although *Barometer Rising* continues to be taught occasionally, MacLennan's novels have by and large disappeared from university Canadian literature classrooms.

I am less concerned here with whether MacLennan's novels are weighty enough for literary study; their place in the history of Canadian literature and their iconic status in Canadian national culture is undeniable. I am returning to his most famous and popular novels here for a variety of reasons. First, MacLennan's influence in developing a Canadian literary establishment is incomparable. However critiqued today, MacLennan was perceived as "one of Canada's premier novelists" for many decades (Tierney 1), and it is his works that later novelists reacted to and challenged, even as they acknowledged their debt to him for establishing credibility for Canadian writers in the first place. I would argue that what later writers and critics, working in the context of official multiculturalism, often neglect is how MacLennan's novels worked to create that cultural centre, that white, Protestant normativity that is so commonly taken for granted today as stable. Secondly, for my purposes, MacLennan's early allegorical novels engage with race in complex and revealing ways. Writing in the 1940s, MacLennan's work teeters on the edge of the understanding of differences between British "kin" groups as racial

differences and a consolidated sense of whiteness, and his novels tell stories of how disparate races might come together to become universal white Canadians. The strategies these stories employ layer discourses of gender and ethnicity, including a prominent Scottish presence, onto nationalism. Thirdly, MacLennan was explicit about his desire to write a national Canadian character into being, reflect it back to his readers, and then project it onto an international stage. Looking back on his early goals, he later wrote:

> Canada was virtually an uncharacterized country. It seemed to me then that if our literature was to be anything but purely regional, it must be directed to at least two audiences. One was the Canadian public, which took the Canadian scene for granted but had never defined its particular essence. The other was the international public, which had never thought about Canada at all, and knew nothing whatever about us. (Beran 76-77)

A widely respected public figure into the 1960s, MacLennan was often called upon to comment publicly on Canadian national character and culture, and his fiction and non-fiction on the topic offer insight into the public consciousness of the era. His impact was perhaps as great outside of artistic and scholarly circles as within them; as Francess Halpenny observed, remembering the year *Barometer Rising* was published, "His books were read at once by members of one's family and by friends. One was conscious of a wide community of attention, that went beyond any from 'literacy' or academic readers" (185).

In the 1940s and into the post-war years, the sense that Canada needed to define its national identity was becoming more urgent, at least among the intellectual elite. There had been changes in Canada's status as an independent dominion within the British Empire since World War I, particularly the independent control over Canadian foreign policy gained at the Imperial

Conferences of 1923 and 1926, which was then confirmed by the Statute of Westminster in 1931. Trade and popular culture in Canada had begun to shift toward the United States, while trade and foreign investment from Britain had continued to decline in the 1920s and 1930s (see Buckner, Canada and the End of Empire). 1947 brought the first Canadian Citizenship Act; in 1949 Parliament decreed that the Supreme Court of Canada would be the final court of appeal, ending that relationship with the British Privy Council, and in that same year the British Commonwealth of Nations was renamed the Commonwealth of Nations. Momentum was building towards a re-consideration of the nature of the Canadian nation and its role within the Empire.

Despite the inter- and post-war political and legislative changes, however, Phillip Buckner and Douglas Francis insist that "it is a myth that Canadians emerged from the [First World War] alienated from, and disillusioned with, the imperial connection" (1). Buckner argues that though the Second World War did have a stronger impact on increasing Canadians' sense of independence from Britain, Canada simultaneously experienced a second wave of postwar British immigration which strengthened ties. Buckner does not believe that most Canadians had a sense of the Empire's decline immediately following the war, nor that they felt the necessity for a stronger sense of Canadian identity distinct from Britain's for many years yet (5). Buckner and Francis point out that John Diefenbaker was elected in 1957 "at least partly due to a desire by many English Canadians to reaffirm the importance of the British connection" (3), and even several years later Prime Minister Lester Pearson's project of drafting a Canadian flag still provoked controversy across the country.

At the same time, however, Buckner argues that Canadians seemed to have no difficulty defining themselves dually as both Canadian and British, and a sense of Canadian nationalism

was indeed growing. Particularly for the cultural elite, defining and charting a Canadian national culture seemed an important challenge. The 1949 Order in Council that invoked the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters, and Sciences (popularly known as the Massey Commission), for instance, submitted:

> That it is desirable that the Canadian people should know as much as possible about their country, its history and traditions; and about their national life and common achievements;
>
> That it is in the national interest to give encouragement to institutions which express national feeling, promote common understanding and add to the variety and richness of Canadian life. (xi)

The Commission stirred up a remarkable public interest. Paul Litt describes the commission's "114 public sessions in sixteen cities in ten provinces, [which] heard from over twelve hundred witnesses" (207), and he recounts the public pressure on the government for the final report, writing that Prime Minister St. Laurent "was impressed with the amount of interest it attracted" (209). Most of that interest came from those with clear interests in cultural institutions, but after the report was released, the sense of the need to create a connection between Canadians and their ostensible national culture continued to grow. Litt quotes an editorial from the Winnipeg Tribune commenting on the final Commission report: "it is to be hoped that ... the rank and file of Canadians will increasingly realize that the subject under discussion is a vital and essential part of Canada's life and progress, of the happiness and well-being of her people" (226). The importance of the link between culture and nation in the creation and maintenance of a Canadian national identity seemed very clear.

Accepting the link proved relatively easy; determining the characteristics of each piece, culture and nation, was another matter entirely. As Jonathan Kertzer writes, "although nations are supposed to grow spontaneously from the soil, in practice they require a lot of work. Great creative effort is necessary to make national destiny seem like the inevitable reward of progress/ modernization/ sovereignty" (7). Though the nation is always precariously defined, it is a particularly tricky project in a settler colony, and the discourse of nationhood during this period in Canadian history is perhaps slipperiest of all. Benedict Anderson famously defined the nation as an "imagined community," theorizing that to imagine the necessary relationships within a population too numerous to meet at an individual level required technological developments for communication and representation, hence the development of national literatures, among other forms of print media. But establishing the authority to write that national literature is more complicated for settler writers, who, despite having established authority over the Indigene, are still trapped in the "double-bind" (Johnston and Lawson 365) of being neither authentically native nor true representatives of the "mother" country. Settler literature must write its stories of origin to constantly re-establish the legitimacy of the colonial presence, and tries repeatedly to (re)constitute the settler subject as, in this case, a "native Canadian." As Johnston and Lawson put it, "The settler seeks to establish a nation, and therefore needs to become native and write the epic of the nation's origin" (365). Hugh MacLennan's novels were front and centre in the Canadian efforts to develop, in Johnston and Lawson's words,

> a national literature as a case study in nation building ... customarily articulated as reading symptomatically for signs of the national character, often figuring it as an evolving—maturing—organic entity reflected in the themes and metaphors of canonical nation-building texts. (365)

But as I discussed in the previous chapter, in the face of massive non-British immigration in the earlier decades, Canada's British-descended elite was only tenuously able to consolidate a normative, white Canadian identity. Trying to create a national literature in the midst of that demographic shift was no less urgent, and no less challenging. As Jonathan Kertzer writes, "Countries are supposed to share a domestic language, religion, culture or race" (9), particularly when trying to naturalize their existence; Kertzer continues, "Purity then becomes a prime value, and purity is not a natural state of affairs" (9). One of the goals of Canadian nation builders, then, was to produce unity out of the undeniable racial diversity of the nation. Ken Montgomery, in a study of history textbooks produced for Ontario students between 1940 and 1960, observes the attention paid to "harmony and homogeneity as key to a strong nation … recognizing the possibility of overcoming the divisiveness of 'race'" (325-6). Like Gibbon in *Canadian Mosaic* a few years earlier, the textbooks ask if the diverse racial groups now populating the country can somehow come together and breed, over time, a new Canadian race. MacLennan's allegories seem preoccupied with this question: his protagonists embody a variety of British "kin" races and his novels' romantic relationships produce children he clearly hopes will be representative of the future Canadian race. To create this new race, however, new defining characteristics must be made available to a broader number of ancestries. If men and women from those kin groups can perform those characteristics of the new nation, then they can transcend their individual ethnic histories and simply become representative white Canadians.

This is where the structure of allegory becomes so useful. As Daniel Coleman reminds us, before literary modernism became the accepted norm, Canadian "literary texts were overwhelmingly characterized by allegorical or formulaic representation" (37), and "Canadian literary culture had not yet undergone the private-public, personal-political split that later became

dogma under the modern turn to the psychological narrative" (36-7). Hugh MacLennan's long career straddles this divide, but his two best-known novels—perhaps because of their explicit nationalist agenda—sit comfortably in the earlier period. Kertzer documents the literary tradition of the national allegory in Canada, usually homogenized in one male figure whose growth and development represents and imagines the nation's. As he writes, "personification conveniently assimilates the diversity of historical experience and civil discord into a single figure … Then it elevates that figure into a hero in quest of self-fulfillment" (43). Coleman comments that allegory in this context "functions as a primary form of national pedagogy in its attempts to condense the narratives of private and public, individual and collective life, in such a way as to foster individual govermentality" (39). In other words, writers like MacLennan are writing allegories not just to imagine a new nation, but to demonstrate to its citizens who they are and how they should behave. Coleman looks specifically at the allegory of "manly maturation" (169): "the allegory of the young colonial Canada growing to maturity and separating from its British parent" (171), and notes the anxiety present in the instability inherent to the representation. MacLennan's allegorical heroes, Neil Macrae and Paul Tallard, have often been read through this lens—as embodying a national *bildungsroman*—but I would argue that MacLennan's allegories do not simply fuse the nation into one male character, but through the new family, which brings racial groups together and allows the new nation to be (re)produced.

The national allegory of the family relies on the "Family of Empire" model. Anne McClintock writes profoundly about the usefulness of the "family trope" to nationalism. She theorizes that the metaphor of the family "offers a 'natural' figure for sanctioning national *hierarchy* within a putative organic unity of interests" (357). In other words, nationalism (and certainly "dominion nationalism" that doesn't desire revolution) requires a stable social

hierarchy, and relating the various subject positions of the national population to the accepted roles of family members—wife subject to her husband, and children subject to both—allows for that stability to be naturalized, and for difference to be contained within the unity of the family whole. The family allegory also provides "an indispensable metaphoric figure by which national difference [can] be shaped into a single historical genesis narrative" (McClintock 357). So, as Canada remained distinct within the British "family of Empire," so could racial, ethnic and religious differences be contained within the national narrative through the metaphor of the family, and then both could be written into a "genesis narrative" through the allegory of the national family layered on to narratives of the birth, if not of the nation, at least of its national consciousness. In the case of MacLennan's novels, the different races already present in Canada are able to be unified through the sanctioned genesis of the allegorical family, as long as those races were already an accepted part of the British "family of Empire." As Kertzer points out, "nationalism imposes the homogeneity of family resemblance" (9). The model of difference contained in the sanctioned British-Canadian family, through the potential for reproduction, allows for racial difference to be overcome, and for non-ethnically marked, universal Canadians to be created—at least discursively within the novel.

Not only are the members of the allegorical family racially marked, but they are, of course, also gendered. McClintock writes that in the gendering of national time, women are typically, "represented as the atavistic and authentic body of national tradition (inert, backward-looking and natural), embodying nationalism's conservative principle of continuity" (359), while men "represent the progressive agent of national modernity (forward-thrusting, potent and historic), embodying nationalism's progressive, or revolutionary principle of discontinuity" (359). These masculine and feminine traits play out in interesting ways in MacLennan's family

allegories. In both novels, it is the heroines who are racially pure, and who represent the historical continuity with Britain. They are presented as modern working women, women who want more than traditional family life, but who also long for partnership and care. As soon as they are matched with their heroes, these women are settled and ready to turn back toward raising normative families. MacLennan's male heroes, by contrast, are racial hybrids—interesting in itself for those who read the heroes alone as standing in for the nation: Canada as always already racially divided—who are dismissed by the elitist families of the young women for not being good (pure) enough. Ultimately, however, the young men prove themselves worthy—if not to the families, then to the women and to the reader—and marriage ensues. It is in the marriage to the young men, whose forceful natures and resourcefulness are portrayed as essential to the future of the Canadian nation, that the British bloodline of the young women is disrupted; however, for MacLennan this disruption makes the new nation and its progress possible as in the marriage both the heritage and inheritance from Britain is preserved *and* a new distinctive identity is achieved.

Part of the biological allegory of the nation, beyond the racial and other identity markers of its character, as Johnston and Lawson remind above, is the pre-occupation with its birth (and thus with its parents and their ability to reproduce). Given Canada's slow historical progression into "nationhood," lacking a moment of revolution or proclaimed independence, pinning down any moment of origin is an artistic challenge.[6] MacLennan's two novels engage the history of the Canadian nation, revisiting key moments and attempting to imbue them with epic significance. *Barometer Rising* endeavours to link the birth of the nation's consciousness with the Halifax explosion of 1917. In this story of the nation's birth, Scots become both literal and

[6] For a discussion on how historians currently view Canada's shift towards a sense of independence, see Buckner's introduction to Canada and the End of Empire, as well as John Darwin's article, "Imperial Twilight, or When Did the Empire End?" in the same collection.

figurative nation-builders; they are the leaders capable of both envisioning the greatness of the future nation and of bringing it into being through their business and management skills. They are charged with the task of joining with other white, British kin groups in order to become the normative Canadians of the future, and, perhaps most importantly, in both novels, the Scots begin to fade from distinctiveness and ethnicity, and simply become representative of "English-Canada."

Contained by the familial allegory of the nation, then, *Barometer Rising*'s characters occupy a variety of Scottish and English positions both within Canadian identity, and, thanks to the encounter with the "motherland" through the war, outside of it. Daniel Coleman reads *Barometer Rising* as embodying "Scottish-English tensions" that stand-in for MacLennan's "view to Canadian-colonial tensions" (125), and points out that little attention has been paid by scholars to "the ethnic dimension of MacLennan's allegorical scheme" (124). But Coleman's reading still doesn't grapple with either the ethnic and racial shading of a variety of characters, including Neil's own hybridity (for he is not unproblematically Scottish), or MacLennan's move beyond a simple Scottish-English polarization into a consolidation that MacLennan clearly sees as necessary to the successful future reproduction of the nation. The novel tells the story of the Halifax explosion of 1917 as seen through the eyes of the Wain family. Before the story opens, the Wain patriarch, Colonel Wain, and his nephew, Neil Macrae, have been entangled in a conflict over a decision made on the World War I battlefield in France. Neil is presumed dead, and Wain returns to his family's shipbuilding business in Halifax. But Neil has not been killed, and instead he secretly returns to clear his name and to reconnect with his love interest, Wain's daughter Penelope. Neil and Penelope had fallen in love years earlier, in college, and unbeknownst to him, they had produced a child, Jean, who was adopted by another Wain sibling

and her husband, Penelope's Aunt Mary and Uncle Jim Fraser. When the munitions ship in the harbour explodes and nearly destroys the city, the explosion becomes a metaphor for the nation's awakening, as Halifax has to stand on her own for many days before help can come from the East or the South, and Britain, engaged in war and strikingly far away, was able to offer little practical support.

Colonel Geoffrey Wain, as the head of the Wain family, is usually read as straddling Englishness and Canadianness in a struggle that exemplifies the colonist's psychological double-bind. Wain is a fifth-generation Canadian and is so strongly linked to the city of Halifax that MacLennan tells us that "the history of the family was to some extent the history of the town itself" (19). The Wains, embodying Canada's imperial history and struggle to define itself within the Empire, fought the French in Louisburg, the Americans in the war of 1812, and traded with the West Indies. They are exemplary capitalists, and their bloodline is pure, for the family will still contains the proviso that "if the heir should marry a Roman Catholic the legacy was forfeit" (19). However, Geoffrey Wain has also felt the ceiling of the Canadian position in the British family, that he is not quite British enough: "in Nova Scotia his family had gone as far as the limitations of the province permitted. He had been born at the top of things with no wider horizon to aim for" (66). The war offers the possibility of moving beyond his colonial status, and he is ruthless in his goal to capitalize on it. Though the Colonel is the patriarch of the family, he does not embody the energy or resourcefullness that the young white nation needs; he is too preoccupied with the past.

Despite the burden of representation placed upon him, or perhaps because of it, Wain's Englishness is actually never revealed. His whiteness and place within the Empire is clearly marked and assured, but Wain is never marked as either English or Scottish. The will's proviso

and his hatred of his nephew—who, as I'll discuss in a moment, is clearly ethnically marked as half-Scottish Highlander—suggest that this is a case of what Daniel Coleman identifies as English-Scottish (read as Britain-Canada colonial) tension (125). However other Scots are implied to be already part of the family. Colonel Wain's siblings are key members of the extended family, and his brother Alfred is described as an elder in the Presbyterian—nationally Scottish—church. Colonel Wain's sister Mary is married to Jim Fraser, whose last name is usually a sign of Scottishness. In both cases, the Scottishness is not highlighted through *ethnic* markers—accent, physical characteristics—but their character is directly linked to capital and imperialism. Alfred is able to "estimate the collection value of any congregation to within half a dollar;" (22) and Jim is a man physically shaped by his imperial experience: "his face [was] walnut-brown from years on the South African veldt" (24). In the Fraser home are "pictures of him as a mining engineer in South Africa, ... pictures of him in uniform, pictures of the mess of the Royal Canadian Regiment and a framed drawing of the company in bivouac before Paardeberg" (71). Thus, MacLennan begins to make less visible markers of difference between Scottishness and Englishness, and instead stresses masculinity defined through imperial prowess—a pride accessible to Canadian colonial subjects.

The Colonel's daughter Penelope Wain is, by contrast, the modern British-Canadian woman. She is an unusual career woman, in part thanks to the social upheaval of the war, but she is also trapped, waiting to be liberated to her full potential as mother of the nation. She is most often paralleled with Halifax itself, located "at the terminus of the longest railway in the world, her back to the continent and her face to the Old Country" (32). Her femininity is never in question, for she is "dainty" and "fragile" (10), and she is also, for much of the novel, described as stationary. Penelope fills McClintock's description as representing the "body of

national tradition" and "nationalism's conservative principle of continuity" (359) in two ways. First, she is, if not specifically marked as English, certainly considered purely colonial British, ensuring the continued connection to the motherland. Second, although she is a strong and intellectually brilliant woman who when the novel opens is running the Wain's shipbuilding business, she does so only because the war has displaced the nation's rightful leaders. Her ship design, which the men in Halifax are so shocked that she produced and that was accepted for production by the British navy, was actually her cousin Neil's, conceived in "fifteen careless minutes, years before" (20). Penelope is ensuring the conservative continuity of the nation by stepping in to replace her missing cousin—thus keeping the economy going while the chaos of war temporarily disrupts the national family. As Dyer reminds us, "white women do not have the same relation to power as white men. [Ella] Shohat stresses their always temporary occupation of the position of power" (30). At the end of the novel, as the chaos in the aftermath of the explosion begins to be re-ordered, Penelope resumes her rightful place as mother, and allows her male counterpart, Neil, to take over the leadership role.

Penelope is also an appropriate mother for the Canadian nation for her biological availability to racial mixing. Though her class and social position are hereditarily assured, unlike her father, she is partnered with men from other (British family) bloodlines, an important quality if the family allegory is to create the national racial unity MacLennan is looking for. Penelope's suitor at the novel's opening is the respected Scottish doctor Angus Murray. Murray, an overtly Scottish descended Cape Bretoner, seems to truly understand that the new Canadian nation, should "she" ever come fully into awareness, will need to be racially consolidated, and

> he derived a great deal of pleasure from studying various sections of the city which seemed to him to be homogenous. One section … was mostly Irish. In the North End

> there were districts peopled largely by descendants of English garrison soldiers. He discovered one street where every inhabitant was a Newfoundlander. (29)

Murray sees Halifax's ties to Britain as "bondage," and mourns that the country "never seemed to be able to become truly North American" (33). For Murray, hybridity is what Canada needs to celebrate, moving beyond racially delineated purity to a citizen who blends the "urbane and technical heritage of both Europe and the eastern United States (208).

Neil Macrae is exactly this kind of citizen. Neil embodies McClintock's "forward-thrusting" energy of industrial progress which defines modernity, and he defines nationalism's "revolutionary principle of discontinuity" (359). Neil's very birth caused a rupture; for his uncle Colonel Wain, Neil represented a loathed discontinuity in the bloodline, and he is blamed for his parents' deaths—another rupture in the family. Neil's father was a Cape Breton descendant of Highland Scottish immigrants (presumably Catholic), and despite his equal Wain blood, Neil grows up as a tainted outcast. His uncle categorizes Neil clearly as the product of miscegenation; Wain tells Angus Murray that "like a lot of the Highland Scotch [Neil] was shiftless" (96), a strong insult to Neil's whiteness if "shiftlessness" is the opposite of that "forward-thrusting" energy. Not that MacLennan agrees with Wain; the other Highland Scottish characters in the novel are stereotypical in other ways: big and brawny, good fishermen and boat builders, noble of heart and good with their hands, but uneducated and rough. Neil incorporates both the Highland pioneer industriousness and talent for boatbuilding with a modern twist granted by his bourgeois half. He is educated at a prestigious boarding school in Montreal with the highest crust of English-Canadian society and shows great ability. Like Canada, Neil has fluctuated between identities as British and American, even taking on a false English identity

(trying to fake a Lancashire accent) after he is wounded in France. He is depicted as a wanderer, never quite able to settle down and put his restless male energy to proper use.

Neil and Penelope have counterparts in MacLennan's *Two Solitudes*, which, as the author himself writes in the novel's foreword, he intendes to be "a novel of Canada." Though in this novel MacLennan is less concerned with writing Canada's origins, he again places his family allegory in the big sweeps of history. The novel is divided into two major sections, and each part takes place during one of the World Wars. The first section, set against the conscription debates during World War I, deals with the relationships between the Quebecois Tallard family, headed by Athanase Tallard and his Irish wife, Kathleen, and his French parish community and introduces the connection to "English Canadian" John Yardley and his extended family, the Methuens. The second section moves us decades later, with World War II looming, to Athanase's youngest son, Paul Tallard, and his subsequent relationship with Yardley's granddaughter Heather Methuen. The primary thrust of the novel is the attempt to create national unity between the two "founding" Canadian groups, "French" and "English" Canada, again represented through the allegorical trope of the family. Though critics have debated the validity of the national allegory in *Two Solitudes* for decades, none have really looked at the implications of race and ethnicity in the novel and its allegories, and particularly at the construction of "English" Canada.

The novel's opening conflict arises when English Canada—concerned only with capitalist advancement—sends industrialist Huntley McQueen to assess what can be done with all the "wasted" water from the local river and an impressive waterfall. Huntley meets with Athanase Tallard, the town's most prominent citizen thanks to inherited privilege, for "since the days of the early French colonization, the Tallards had been seigneurs" (8). John Yardley

accompanies McQueen, eventually settles comfortably into the French parish, and soon the key characters of McLennan's domestic allegory begin to emerge. Representing French Canada is the Tallard family: Athanase and his two sons, Marius and Paul, and representing the English side are McQueen and his cohort of businessmen in Montreal, as well as Yardley's daughter, Janet, and her daughters, Daphne and Heather Methuen.

From the beginning, though, the family allegory is complicated, as MacLennan strives to support his agenda of creating racial and national unity. To be successful, his French characters must transcend their Frenchness in order to become available to assimilation into British-Canadianness: Athanase contentiously supports conscription of French Canadians to serve in the Canadian/ British army during the ongoing First World War, and he does battle with, and ultimately leaves, the Catholic church. Athanase's eldest son, Marius, whose mother was devoted to the Church and to tradition, fights his father's shift toward the federal nation, and ends up a bitter, poor, thin, Quebecois nationalist lawyer. Athanase tries to embrace the English Canadian capitalist life, almost giving up his French identity entirely, but he doesn't meet with full success either. Athanase's son Paul, however, in the second part of the novel, is obviously intended to be the nation-builder, and to be the French side who marries the English woman, Heather Methuen, thus unifying the political divide within the national family and, through yet-to-be-born children, produce the new Canadian race and nation.

As critics over the years have pointed out, however, Paul is not unproblematically French, so the allegory, they contend, falls apart before it begins. Like Neil Macrae before him, Paul is the product of ethnic difference; his mother, Kathleen, is Irish. I would argue, though, that within Canada's racial hierarchy, Paul's hybridity makes sense. Irishness was coming to be seen as a British kin group, and Irish Catholicism could easily be perceived as a bridging identity

(paralleling the Highlanders in chapter one) between French and English. It is also possible that MacLennan could not conceive—or worried that his audience might not have been able to conceive—of a relationship between even an aristocratic Frenchman and a purely English counterpart. Kathleen's Irishness is an important link for Paul to be able to fulfil his national destiny; it means he learns English at a young age, and eventually gives him (and his father) access to English Canada. Kathleen is also described in liminal terms. She is certainly more English than French, and is lonely in the French Canadian parish. She doesn't speak French well. But, as an Irishwoman, she is not unproblematically English, or even unproblematically white. As MacLennan writes, "the contrast between Kathleen's white Irish skin and the intense ebony blackness of her hair was startling" (35). She is also defined by her laziness, her slow way of moving, and her sensuality, all of which oppose the frenetic energy of capitalist masculinity and allow her to bridge the French-Canadian ethnic and English whiteness. So Athanase and Kathleen's relationship begins MacLennan's goal of building unity between the British family of races, and this precursor merger of French and Irish ethnicities paves the way for the coming unity between French-Irish-English-Scottish characters.

The ethnic bait-and-switch continues on the English side: "English-Canada" is in fact, unproblematically written as Scottish. Though MacLennan takes a little while to disclose it, Huntly McQueen, John Yardley, and the Methuen family are all of Scottish ancestry. None of them are ethnically marked, and they are identified by the French characters as "English." And MacLennan begins by highlighting only their qualities of enterprise and Canadianness:

> Huntly McQueen … was well known in the financial circles of Montreal. Beyond the fact that he had been born obscurely somewhere in Ontario, that he was a bachelor, that

> he was a great church-goer, and that he was rapidly becoming one of the richest men in Canada, little was known of his personal affairs. (11)

McQueen is really defined by his financial acumen; as Athanase remarks to himself of McQueen and his business ilk, "Dollars grew on them like barnacles, and their instinct for money was a trait no French-Canadian seemed able to acquire" (17). John Yardley is described in physical details that emphasise his manly experience linked, presumably, to imperial trade: "a retired sea captain from Nova Scotia … he was equally tall … he was lean and muscular, his face showed the marks of years of sunburn and windburn" (11). He entertains Paul with stories of sailing on merchant ships to Barbados and of serving in the war. Yardley is also interested in buying the French-Canadian land the two men are visiting.

It soon comes out, though, that McQueen is an "Ontario Presbyterian," and Yardley too tells Paul that he's a Presbyterian. When McQueen goes up to his office, nestled among the wealthiest entrepreneurs in the nation, he remarks, "they were Presbyterians to a man, they went to church regularly, and [Rupert] Irons was known to believe quite literally in pre-destination" (92). The link between these Presbyterian men, the power of their industrial spirits and imperial connections and their identification with the nation is made very clear through McQueen's thoughts: "They had definite advantages over the British and the Americans, for they could always play the other two off one against the other. … That gave the Canadians an advantage both ways" (93). Immediately after this reflection, McQueen turns to the "oversized globe on a heavy wooden stand" and to the "relief map of Canada, ceiling-high, dotted with coloured pins at various points to indicate where his enterprises and interests were located" and "an oriental rug covered the floor" (93). It is in this scene in his office, against the backdrop of those imperial icons, that McQueen's genealogy is explicitly revealed, and MacLennan also gives him a

prescient, satirical link to Scottish-Canadian Prime Minister John A. Macdonald: McQueen also idolizes and speaks with his dead Scottish mother. Gazing at the portrait of his mother he keeps in his office, McQueen observes the way "her face as a whole distilled a Scottish kind of sternness, a Scottish melancholy that finds pleasure only in sad ideas" (93). His sense of her guidance of his life, was "the most closely guarded of all his secrets" (94).

Ultimately, MacLennan moralizes that McQueen embodies the worst of English Canada and the Presbyterian mastery of money, and so McQueen is biologically stunted—he never marries and his genealogy is not passed on to the next generation. John Yardley is treated much more kindly, and in fact he acts as a second father to Paul and is Heather's beloved grandfather. Yardley's genealogy is never given so explicitly, but he does speak of his Presbyterian upbringing, and he is strongly linked to Nova Scotia. Yardley's late wife, however, was a "pure" Englishwoman who was disappointed by the colonies:

> Ursula Yardley's values were those of her class, and her class had always been the colonial civil service. Her father had upheld the white man's burden in the minor colonies and did everything so correctly he was incapable of doing anything really well … John Yardley's salary had never been ample enough to permit her to take Janet back to the old country to live in the manner to which her mother had been accustomed. So she had moved restlessly about the Empire, finding it better to be poor in the colonies than at home. (130)

I'll come back to Yardley in a moment, but first it's important to note that the other half of Heather's representative English Canadian family, the Methuens, are as entrenched in the English Canadian business aristocracy as is Huntly McQueen, and their ancestry is just as Scottish. According to MacLennan, the Methuens

> were all Scotch-Canadians who went to a Presbyterian church every Sunday and contributed regularly to charities and hospitals ...and had the haggis piped into them at the Saint Andrew's Day dinner every winter. ... No Methuen found it possible to feel inferior to the English in any respect whatever; rather they considered themselves an extension of the British Isles, more vigorous than the English because their blood was Scotch, more moral because they were Presbyterians. Every branch of the family enjoyed a quiet satisfaction whenever visiting Englishmen entered their homes and remarked in surprise that no one could possibly mistake them for Americans. (130-131)

Daniel Coleman argues that Scottish characters like these are using the "elasticity of Britishness" (126) to move in and out of Scottish or British identities as it suits them, and that this flexibility enables Scots to "enter wholeheartedly into the national project of establishing English Canada," while feeling "no need to repudiate their Scottishness in the process" (127). While this is undoubtedly true, it is important to remember that the national project here is being managed not by Neil Macrae or by Paul or Heather, but by MacLennan, and I would suggest that MacLennan's goals are deeper. In *Two Solitudes* Scots are not just trying to rise to positions of power, they are unproblematically standing-in for English Canada with little qualification, and I am arguing that this is part of MacLennan's agenda of creating a new Canadian identity from the consolidation of these white, "family of Empire" ethnicities. At the same time, I think it holds that writing English-Canada as Scottish also provides the advantage of a further layer of distinction between English-Canada and the English from England, who are largely disparaged in the novel.[7]

The central allegory of the novel is the romantic relationship between Paul, as a representative of French Canada, and Heather, as a representative of English Canada. Their love

[7] See, for instance, MacLennan's treatment of Daphne Methuen's English pilot husband, Noel Fletcher.

and marriage are clearly intended to suggest the path to the national unity of the two solitudes of the title, and it is ironic that despite MacLennan's best efforts in the novel, his famous phrase is still used to describe English and French Canada as solitudes that are not capable of being solidly bridged. Like Neil and Penelope in *Barometer Rising*, Paul and Heather are also the young, modern generation—the future of Canada. Like Penelope and Neil, Paul and Heather never feel like they fit in with the old guard, and individually they face insult and misunderstanding from their families as they try to find their ways in the world. Heather fights the constraints of the Methuen push for marriage founded on status and wealth as she tries to pursue her own education and possible career. Paul's family disintegrates, but his brother Marius feels bitterly betrayed by Paul's lack of commitment to the Quebec nationalist cause. Paul, like Neil, wanders the world restlessly, looking for a cause, a direction of his own. Despite their similarities, and their sense of having found a home in each other, Heather and Paul face severe opposition to their marriage from those still trapped in their lack of understanding of national progress, and particularly from Heather's mother, Janet.

Two Solitudes is an English-Canadian novel that tries to contain French Canada, and while Heather is never ethnically marked except by genealogy, Paul faces racial insults from both Marius and from Janet—two characters trapped by their choices and bitter and miserable from the consequences. Marius wants his brother to be French, and tells Paul that his Oxford education, travel, and national service, all mean that Paul "de-raced [himself] long ago" (337). Janet does not see Paul as a positive hybrid of two founding Canadian cultures, but instead considers him racially inferior. She tells her father that "mixed marriages" are "undesirable" (311), and Heather realizes that her mother will never approve of Paul "because his father happened to be French and his mother Irish" (348). Janet is horrified that Paul is likely a Roman

Catholic because he is French, and is unaware that MacLennan has already dealt with that difference by making sure Paul was raised Protestant thanks to his father's extraordinary decision to leave the church. But most of all, Heather feels her mother will disapprove of Paul because he is poor.

MacLennan, however, makes sure his readers understand that, in the tradition of "muscular Christianity" (see Coleman 128-167), material wealth in *Two Solitudes* and in the new Canada is not the full measure of worth. Both race and poverty can be trumped, for MacLennan, by white masculine energy, defined by what Richard Dyer names its industrious, forward-thrusting "white spirit of enterprise," in this case channelled into service of the nation. For Dyer, enterprise—ultimately embodied in imperialism itself— is a key way in which whiteness makes itself manifest:

> At some point, the embodied something else of whiteness took on a dynamic relation to the physical world, something caught by the ambiguous work 'spirit'. The white spirit organizes white flesh and in turn non-white flesh and other material matters: it has enterprise. Imperialism is the key historical form in which that process has been realized. Imperialism displays both the character of enterprise in this white person, and its exhilaratingly expansive relationship to the environment. (15)

This is how the individualized ethnic identity can disappear into the national: Paul, as a racial other, can transcend ("de-race") his own ancestry if he accepts the primacy of the Canadian nation and focuses his restless, masculine power into Canada's development by capturing his spirit of enterprise. By accepting the moral responsibility that comes from that choice, Paul becomes at once truly a man, truly white (enough to marry Heather), and truly a Canadian. Coleman discusses the trope of the "muscular Christian" in earlier Canadian writing as focussing

on the strong male body balanced with the civility—the civilizing force—of Christian morality. "Muscular Christianity" is paradoxical, however: it can be taught, and is democratic, because "regardless of race, class, or creed, [anyone] can learn and practice the virtues of manly Christianity" (132); on the other hand, the Christian side of the Canadian ideal always requires new "Others" to be charitable towards and to welcome in to the fold, and so is continually identifying those who do not belong.

Two Solitudes was written later than the works Coleman analyses, and I would argue that in this novel MacLennan is striving to offer a way out of the need for the constant search for the Other to assimilate. Paul and Heather provide an allegory of how dedication to the nation—always defined within a Protestant Britishness—and the fulfilling of an idealized masculinity is the path to a unified and powerful Canada. Moving his characters toward this idealized masculinity in service to the nation allows MacLennan to blend his allegorical family and consolidate the white Canadian who is then no longer ethnic. The path isn't straightforward; Paul is still an ethnic Other, and so MacLennan endows him with aristocratic class, an English education, and his father's conversion to Protestantism. Paul must move away from his Frenchness decisively in order to become a plausible nation bearer. But Paul's guidance comes from his second father figure John Yardley, a true member of that earlier muscular Christianity, who teaches Paul about how to embrace his moral manliness and find his way in the world. It is also Yardley who endorses Paul and Heather's match, and who recognizes the future of the nation in it. When Paul first meets Heather again as an adult, he has educated himself and had numerous jobs, but still hasn't left his race behind or truly matured. Yardley observes to himself that Paul simply needs to embrace his imperial potential: "Paul was the new Canada. All he needed was a job to prove it" (270). Yardley sets him up with the same job that matured him:

going to sea on an imperial ship. The *Liverpool Battalion* plies the trade route between England, Newfoundland, and Trinidad. In working for the commercial side of the Empire, Paul gains some success and some more muscles, and saves enough money to liberate himself from physical labour and re-educate himself into an Englishman at Oxford. There he also polishes his writing skills.

When he returns to Heather five years later, Paul is fully a man, and fully Canadian. Heather knows his masculinity is solid physically, through his "strong and powerful" hands (318), and the "hardness of his chest muscles, the hardness of his thighs" (322), and his virility. But truly being a man also means that he is apart from her, at some level untouchable, because "in spite of loving her he had never lost the sense of himself" (319). This is in contrast to her own sense that "she loved him so utterly he had become her way of life" (321). Heather recognizes that Paul, fully embracing his spirit of masculine enterprise, now "had the ruthless drive inside that would never let him alone" (321). But central to the novel's conclusion is Paul's channelling of that drive to the nationalist cause in two ways. First he becomes the writer of Canada, the novel; this novel. Paul can write the novel of the nation because he is the nation and its duality. But even as he does so, he is certain that Britain will be going to war, and that he must fulfill his patriotic, national male duty, and enlist. In doing so at the end of the novel, he closes the bitterness over French-Canadian forced conscription that opened the story, and proves himself worthy of joining Heather's establishment family to move the nation into the future.

As Paul wrestles with the moral obligations of World War II, so in the midst of crisis of the Halifax explosion, Neil Macrae's transformation is also the nation's: he too discovers his spirit of enterprise—transcending earlier race issues particularly as Geoffrey Wain, the old colonial guardian, is killed—and becomes a self-reliant leader. Dyer writes that enterprise "is an

aspect of both spirit itself—energy, will, ambition, the ability to think and see things through—and of its effect—discovery, science, business, wealth creation, the building of nations, the organisation of labour" (31). Neil's military service becomes an asset in the aftermath of the explosion; he is able to see the big picture, and is literally the surveyor of the map of the damage as he takes charge of organizing the stunned population around him. The trauma of World War I's battlefields fades, and Neil's confidence, and his sense of place, returns. At that point, he is also able to bring a full Canadian identity into being:

> It was more than the idea that he was young enough to see a great country move into its destiny. It was what he felt inside himself, as a Canadian who had lived in both the United States and England. Canada at present was called a nation only because a few laws had been passed and a railway line sent from one coast to the other. In returning home ... for better or for worse he was entering the future, he was identifying himself with the still-hidden forces which were doomed to shape humanity as certainly as the tiny states of Europe had shaped the past. Canada was still hesitant, was still ham-strung by men with the mentality of Geoffrey Wain. But if there were enough Canadians like himself, half-American and half-English, then the day was inevitable when the halves would join and his country would become the central arch which united the new order. (218)

Notice here that by the end of the novel, having grown into himself, Neil is no longer identified as Scottish or even British. He is half-English and half-American, what MacLennan would consider half British and half North-American; Neil *is* Canada, with the various "family of Empire" ethnic groups now subsumed into their new Canadian identity poised in opposition to England and America. In the novel's final scenes, the disorder of the war and the explosion are

on the road to being put back to rights: Neil and Penelope are heading to retrieve their child, Jean[8], and to start a new life in the new nation.

As MacLennan strives to write the Halifax explosion as the nation's moment of self-conscious awakening though, he continues to simultaneously create and maintain the nation's discursive, narrated history *outside* of temporal history, of colonial history. E.D. Blodgett posits that Canadian writers—and literary historians trying to construct a national literature—often turned to something beyond divisive issues of colonization, race, or religion to create national unity: the land itself. Blodgett observes that as literary historians attempted to naturalize the birth and growth of the Canadian nation, they searched for a way to begin their narratives outside of British history. One common strategy was to write "the nation [as] constructed primarily as space" (11). Relying on this construct also "implies an antipathy to time and history" (14), which Blodgett notices is regularly used to remove Canada from history altogether. For instance, the introduction to Carl F. Klink's influential Literary History of Canada (1965) begins, "Canada was not discovered; it just grew" (Blodgett 10). Benedict Anderson writes that nations "always loom out of an immemorial past and … glide into a limitless future" (19), but settler Canadians cannot forget their British connection, for to do so would diminish their racial history, and would mean they could not write their history *in Canada* as immemorial unless they focussed on the timelessness of the landscape, rather than on the more recent arrival of the European population[9]. Using the Canadian landscape itself to represent the Canadian people and their shared consciousness depends then in turn on the imperial move to empty the land, which lies, usually gendered as female and passive, awaiting civilization. To bring Dyer and Blodgett together, the

[8] Jean, of course, gestures toward the need to connect English and French Canada. Born in Quebec, her name is also doubled: Jean as female in English, and as male in French.

[9] I'll discuss the post-multiculturalism trend toward solving this dilemma through the constant retelling of immigration narratives in chapter 4.

land is passive and female and requires the male spirit of enterprise to develop it, which in turn manifests whiteness. As Blodgett puts it, this process also means that "Canada becomes a kind of travelogue … Canada is the function of the gaze of these explorers and history is a record of possession of the land" (14). In other words, even as they argue for the "decolonization" of the Canadian nation—gaining sovereignty and identity apart from Britain—authors like MacLennan replicate the colonial gaze. In both *Barometer Rising* and *Two Solitudes*, the land indeed holds this function in the national narrative: the colonial gaze sees the land, and by extension the nation, as timeless and beyond history, and also enables the narrative of national development. If the land is waiting for progress, then national industrial development is also a natural consequence of national maturation. MacLennan thus uses the Canadian landscape to provide the ahistorical continuity for his national narrative, with passages like this one providing the sense of time and space, without actually engaging the past:

> The sun had rolled on beyond Nova Scotia into the west. Now it was setting over Montreal and sending the shadow of the mountain deep into the valleys of Sherbrooke Street and Peel; it was turning the frozen St. Lawrence crimson … while all the time the deep water poured seaward under the ice, draining off the Great Lakes into the Atlantic. Now the prairies were endless plains of glittering, bluish snow over which the wind passed in a firm and continuous flux, packing the drifts down hard over the wheat seeds frozen in the alluvial earth. Now in the Rockies the peaks were gleaming obelisks in the mid-afternoon. The railway line, that tenuous thread which bound Canada to both the great oceans and made her a nation, lay with one end in the darkness of Nova Scotia and the other in the flush of a British Columbian noon. (*Barometer Rising* 79)

MacLennan writes national time as natural and based on the universal cycles of the land, and surveys that land with the colonial gaze, now newly appropriated for the nationalist cause. That ahistorical time, though, doesn't disrupt the novel or its national allegory, because of MacLennan's reliance on the trope of the family, which, as McClintock notes, has itself "been figured as the antithesis of history" (357). Thus, while MacLennan chooses to represent national progress through Canada's response to the wars, through Halifax's heavily industrial development and modernization, and through the city's (and the nation's) redemption through the fire of the explosion—all male, public spheres—he also writes the nation's genealogy through the family allegory, "conventionally the domain of private, female space" and "figured as beyond history" (McClintock 360). The historical events MacLennan uses are nonetheless contained and re-framed through time as experienced through the family and through the land, not through a strict historical chronology.

Two Solitudes begins with as classic a description of the physical continuity of the national landscape as one could wish for. After opening with the description of the Ottawa river,[10] MacLennan casts the colonial gaze over the feminized, empty, immemorial land waiting to be harvested for (male) progress:

> Nowhere has nature wasted herself as she has here. There is enough water in the Saint Lawrence alone to irrigate half of Europe, but the river pours right out of the continent into the sea. No amount of water can irrigate stones, and most of Quebec is solid rock. It is as though millions of years back in geologic time a sword had been plunged through the rock from the Atlantic to the Great Lakes and savagely wrenched out again, and the pure water of the continental reservoir, unmuddied and almost useless to farmers, drains untouchable away. (3)

[10] See W.H. New on the "great river theory" used in *Two Solitudes*.

The use of the land soon also becomes a cultural metaphor, delineating enterprise and thus whiteness. The French-Canadians are described as passive farmers in small communities run by Catholicism, and they are compared unfavourably to the new order of progress that demands more industrialization. The French cannot be the leaders of the nation because they are under the thumb of the Catholic Church and have more in common with the "shiftless Scotch" in their lack of enterprise. MacLennan writes that rather than being the masters of the land, the French "waste" their opportunities to develop the land, which keeps them from becoming more connected to national progress, and justifies the desire of English-Canada to take over economically:

> French-Canadians in the farm-land were bound to the soil more truly than to any human being; with God and their families, it was their immortality. The land chained them and held them down, it turned their walk into a plodding and their hands into gnarled tools. (68)

Robyn Wiegman writes that "critical race theorists have assumed that the power of whiteness arises from its appropriation of the universal and that the universal is opposed to and hence devoid of the particular" (117), and Richard Dyer theorizes that the "white man" strives to occupy "the position of being without properties, unmarked, universal, just human" (38). I would argue that this is the genealogy that MacLennan is trying to write into his national allegory: the process by which the marked, distinct ethnic—whether Scottish, Irish, or French—becomes the unmarked, universal white Canadian. Eli Mandel quotes MacLennan on his goals for *Barometer Rising*:

> Somehow I was going to write a book which would not depend on character-in-action, but on spirit-in-action. The conflict here, the essential one, was between the human spirit of Everyman and Everyman's human condition. (98)

For MacLennan, this was also the challenge—which Paul Tallard also expresses—of believing that writing a regional Canadian novel would also be writing an internationally regarded novel. From today's vantage point, of course, it is clear that the "international" audience MacLennan desired was really a British/ European one, and that only those characters from British or French kin groups could be read as universal, Everyman subjects.

I would argue that this attempt to write into being an unmarked white Canadian was, thanks to MacLennan and others during this period, largely successful. Modernists like A.J.M. Smith and others resisted writing about the Canadian subject because the powerful white nations (Britain and the United States) wrote from a position of the universal subject ("man"), and they argued that Canadian literature would not be great literature on a par with British or American writing until it succeeded in also writing from that universal, ahistorical, subject position. In fact, in *Two Solitudes,* Paul's first attempts at exactly this kind of novel of the universal subject fails, and MacLennan endorses Paul's move toward the universal Canadian, mostly because Paul sees that the successful European and American writers of the past and present grounded their universal subjects in very particular historical and material settings. MacLennan recognizes that the particular national discourse produces the universal subject, even as the universal subject reinforces the particular hegemonic nation. His use of the national allegory of the family enables him to use inter-racial marriage to breed a new "race" of seamless white Canadians who can remain members of the British family of Empire, but who are distinctly not British themselves. Scottishness in particular, as I've discussed in earlier chapters, offers the benefit of a fluid

British-but-not-English position that becomes extremely useful when trying to write Canada as distinct in the same way. However, as the decades pass, and other ethnic groups need to have access to Canadian whiteness, the family allegory allows for the creation of a universal white Canadian subject that can absorb more diversity. That power of absorption still has very defined parameters, to be sure. As the plot twists in *Two Solitudes* show, differences in religion and language must still be overcome—Catholic must become Protestant before the marriage can take place. But the key in both *Two Solitudes* and *Barometer Rising* is the accessibility of gendered nationalism. If men are willing to be defined by national service, and to accept that national service means a Protestant enterprising masculinity, then they too can be granted white Canadianness and transcend their individualized ethnicity. In both novels, Canada's British heritage, which in no way does MacLennan dismiss despite earlier critics' approach to this novel as an attempt at cultural "decolonization,"[11] is preserved in the female protagonists. Heather and Penelope both, confirming McClintock's theorization of gendered nationalism, represent the "pure" colonial class and Canada's British connections. They retain British class, education, intelligence and refinement. The "impure" male leads, impugned as racially inferior by the colonial establishment, must earn their way into marriage and parenthood through the development of their "muscular," enterprising nationalism—proving their whiteness. As the men travel the world—particularly when they visit the motherland—and give their bodies to the physical work of nation building or to imperialist enterprise, MacLennan also gives them the vision of the nation and its potential future. Once they have been granted this vision, they are ready to legitimately merge with the allegorical feminized colonial past, in order to bring her—and their offspring—into the future of industrialized, progressive, prosperous mature nationhood.

[11] See Robin Matthews, for example.

Beyond his fiction and these allegories, MacLennan believed that the nation itself was gendered. In his essay on "The Canadian Character," published in 1949, he expounded on the idea that the reason so many had such difficulty defining Canada's national identity was because of a gender bias in their perception:

> Canadians are thought of as preeminently masculine, and this is fair enough; in both public and private life it is the men who are dominant in Canada. A masculine common sense, even a masculine lack of sensitivity, reveals itself in every facet of Canadian life from architecture to food. But the very truth of this fact has diverted nearly everyone who has tried to make visible the psychology of Canada as a nation. … [H]ere is the paradox which has caused Canada to be so often misunderstood. Canada, *as a nation,* is not masculine at all. She is feminine. (5)

Canada's feminine character itself is specifically defined through a different kind of family relationship; Canada is female because of her unavoidable relationship to the United States. That proximity has shaped Canada into the figure of "the good woman," meaning the good wife. As MacLennan proposes:

> Canada has acquired a good woman's hatred of quarrels, the good woman's readiness to make endless compromises for the sake of peace within the home, the good woman's knowledge that although her husband can knock her down if he chooses, she will be able to make him ashamed of himself if such an idea begins to form in his mind. Canada also possesses the hard rock which is in the core of every good woman's soul: any threat to her basic values calls up a reluctant but implacable resistance. (5-6)

MacLennan's essay reveals his deep commitment to ideas of gender, race, and nationalism and his belief that he was, in his fiction, simply giving voice to principles and ideas that held true for

the Canadian public. He felt a great responsibility to help British kin group Canadians to better understand and believe in their unity and power as a national people. Though it didn't take long for his ideas to be challenged, they were, for a time, embraced as social truisms of great power and effect. In fact, I would argue that the struggle that "minority voices" experienced to be recognized by the hegemonic "centre" Canadian culture confirms MacLennan's and others' success in establishing and consolidating that white national—not ethnically marked—centre. Despite MacLennan's feeling at the time that a radical "decolonization" was necessary, ultimately this was a conservative break whose real goal was to enhance the status and privilege of the British-descended Canadian middle and upper classes. In the next chapter, I address the shift in the discourse of Scottishness and the reappearance of white ethnicity. But I continue to argue that MacLennan's legacy of making those members of the "family of Empire" disappear into the national Canadian character was extremely successful. Even as the concept and institutionalisation of multiculturalism grew during the 1970s and beyond, first to delineate the equality of the founding "English" and French peoples, then ostensibly to provide recognition and a place for other immigrant cultures, MacLennan's white Canadian (national) culture remains yet to be fully deconstructed.

Chapter 4: Celtic Gloom: The Romance of the Displaced Scottish Highlander in Margaret Laurence's *The Diviners* and Alistair MacLeod's *No Great Mischief*[12]

With the major shift in state policy that was the Canadian Multiculturalism Act introduced in 1971 and entrenched in 1988 came an equally major shift in the discourse of Scottishness. Whereas in MacLennan's novels, discussed in the previous chapter, the Scots disappeared into white Canadian normative subjects, the paradigm of multiculturalism promotes the visible display of cultural markers, and so in contemporary Canadian literature the Scots reappear proudly. As Smaro Kamboureli comments, multiculturalism's emphasis on ethnic recognition is a double-edged sword; it at once "recognizes the cultural diversity that constitutes Canada" (82)—a shift away from the demand for assimilation of immigrants I discussed in chapter two—but "it does so without disturbing the conventional articulation of the dominant Canadian society" (82). Like multiculturalism itself, which exists in a tension between highlighting pluralism and conservatively containing it, the contemporary discourse of Scottishness denies its secure place as a constituent part of Canadian hegemony and instead puts on display its markers of historical oppression. In this chapter, I read two major novels that bookend Canadian multiculturalism, and examine the ways that Scottishness tries to come out from behind the curtain of normativity and occupy a space outside colonial complicity, without, of course, threatening its position in the current, inherited, hierarchy of power.

Margaret Laurence's *The Diviners* (1974) and Alistair MacLeod's *No Great Mischief* (1999) are separated by twenty-five years of major social change and the introduction of official Canadian multicultural policy, but both have significant status in Canadian literature. Both were

[12] Sections of this chapter have been published. "The Culture of Whiteness: Immigration, Race, and Ethnic Mythology in Alistair MacLeod's *No Great Mischief.*" *Migrance compare/ Comparing Migration: The Literatures of Canada and Québec.* Eds. Marie Carrière and Catherine Khordoc. Berlin: Peter Lang Editions, 2008.

bestsellers that reached an audience far beyond the literary or cultural elite. Laurence in particular has been celebrated for her connection with Canadians; Christian Riegel's introduction to *Challenging Territory: The Writing of Margaret Laurence* quotes Dennis Lee: "She was the most loved writer in English Canada for a decade or so, about fifteen years from the mid-1960s to the 1980s. There were people who found she spoke for them" (xi). Kristjana Gunnars goes so far as to write that "Margaret Laurence has been a founding mother of Canadian literature" (viii). If Laurence's influence has been tremendous, *The Diviners* has been the pinnacle of her success: it won the Governor General's Award for fiction in 1974, and remains one of the most canonized and taught novels in Canadian classrooms (see Smith). Though *No Great Mischief* is perhaps yet too recent to be similarly assessed, it nonetheless has had quickly gained considerable status, winning several awards and being lauded by critical and popular audiences. I will discuss the reception of MacLeod's work in more detail later in this chapter, as I believe it is particularly telling that MacLeod's depiction of Scottishness in this novel has yet to be challenged by critics.

Though significantly separated by time and geographic location, reading these two novels together raises some fascinating parallels and connections. Both novels centre around mythologies of Scottish identity, and both use the discourse of the nineteenth-century persecuted, displaced Highlander to explore an individual character's relationship to contemporary Canada. The authors themselves also have some things in common. Laurence, who died in 1987, was ten years older than MacLeod, but both were born on the Prairies: Laurence (1926) famously in Neepawa, Manitoba, while MacLeod (1936) was born and raised until the age of ten in North Battleford, Saskatchewan, before his family moved back to Cape Breton. The novels themselves offer an interesting moment of intertextuality: the final motto and war cry given to Morag at the end of *The Diviners* are defining proverbs for *No Great Mischief*'s MacDonald family, and

MacLeod's narrator mentions *The Diviners* specifically as one of his treasured books. For both authors, personal Scottish heritage proved to be a profound influence on their writing and its themes, and a comparison of these two novels and their treatments of how their Scottish ancestry connects them to the Canadian nation is tremendously revealing. Though it is the earlier work, it is Laurence's novel that is attentive to the complexities of the mythology of the Scottish Highlander and the Scottish role in the colonization of Canada and the development of the settler subject, while *No Great Mischief* rarely troubles the romance of his fictional family's Scottish ancestral history.

Laurence is often seen as a successor to Hugh MacLennan, and indeed, *The Diviners* does reinvent the gendered national family allegory I discussed in the previous chapter. Instead of Paul Tallard or Neil Macrae left orphaned and wandering the world searching for a way to belong to and to lead the emerging Canadian nation, Laurence relates the story of Morag Gunn, an orphaned woman who searches for a way to belong to the world through her past, ancestries, her work as a writer, and her relationships. Morag is born in Laurence's infamous small Prairie town, Manawaka, Manitoba. Her parents die of polio when she is a small child, and she is subsequently raised by the town garbage collector and his wife, Christie and Prin(cess) Logan. Morag discovers her passion for writing and literature at an early age, and ultimately her gifts get her out of Manawaka and first to university, then eventually to England and to Ontario. Along the way she has a complicated romance with a Manawaka Métis man, Jules Tonnerre, and they have a child, Pique. Morag is restless and determined as she makes her way in the world and tries to develop a sense of belonging. Where MacLennan's heroes find their national identity through white, industrial, masculine, enterprise, however, Morag must make peace with all of Canada's ancestors through both her real and imagined relationships: her own mythologized

Scottish forefather, the indigenous community those forebears displaced, the English colonial parent, and the early English settlers who became both the early Canadian elite and whose literary tradition Morag responds to. She does try to resolve many of these relationships through "enterprise," but her energy is expressed through her work as a creative writer, and she later rejects the male, settler drive to develop her land. Instead, in an imagined conversation with early English Canadian writer and pioneer Catherine Parr Trail, Morag tells herself, "I'll never till those blasted fields, but this place is some kind of a garden, nonetheless, even though it may only be a wildflower garden. It's needed, and not only by me. I'm about to quit worrying about not being a either an old or a new pioneer" (431). Morag spends much of her life trying to find peace with her orphaned status; revisiting her earliest memories, grappling with what her adoptive parents meant to her, and continually trying to develop a sense of belonging to a community of family and friends, an ethnic identity, and a sense of home in the Canadian nation.

Despite being orphans, both Morag and Alexander MacDonald, the narrator of MacLeod's *No Great Mischief*, have some definable ethnic and familial roots. Neither has been left mysteriously on a doorstep, but in both cases parents die prematurely, and the children are left to be raised by others who then try to create a past and a history for the orphans through story. Perhaps this is, in fact, the narrative for the post-MacLennan Canadian settler writer's condition: as Dick Harrison writes about *The Diviners*,

> Especially after their rejection of the British myth of Empire, they are left … with a plurality of contending narratives of meaning. Morag's lost parents, like the ubiquitous disappearing fathers in Prairie fiction generally, are suggestive of this postcolonial condition in which history has abdicated or derelicted the ancestor function of defining the individual in a meaningful continuity. (141)

Through this lens, then, Morag and Alexander are symbolically orphaned several times over: as Canadians they are orphans of the British Empire, unable to completely access their ancestral history and inheritance. They are postcolonial orphans who want to reject the colonial violence that led them to being contemporary white Canadians. And as Canadians they are then wandering, searching for a new community to replace the family that they have lost. In *White Civility*, Daniel Coleman explores more deeply how the allegory of the specifically Scottish orphan functions in early Canadian literature. Coleman argues that orphanhood in early novels "functions as an allegory for the displacement of the emigrant from the homeland and the justice of his or her pursuit of status property in the colony. More specifically, it emphasizes the removal of Scotland as a viable parent" (98). The allegory thus both provides justification for the presence and wealth of Scots in Canada, and "solicits empathy from the reader so that the protagonist's ambition to climb the social ladder does not invite the censure of vaulting avarice or doomed Promethean ambition" (Coleman 98). Though Coleman is writing about *Bogle Corbet* and other early novels, this theory of Scottish orphanhood plays out in interesting ways in these contemporary works. As I will discuss shortly, Morag is clearly an allegorical national figure who can no longer authentically claim the cultural history of her unknown ancestors, however Alexander MacDonald is a different kind of orphan—one whose extended family provides a secure safety net even as, like Morag, Alexander and his sister must substitute stories for parents. I do conclude, though, that *No Great Mischief* uses the trope so often voiced in the multicultural context that "we" are "all immigrants" to provide the same justification for and reinforcement of the possession of what Coleman calls "status property in British North America" (98).

Both of these novels thus explore ways to belong to the Canadian nation as white settlers who do not want to be affiliated with the violent history of colonialism, yet who are always already evidence of it. If the novels reject "British" identity because of its untenable history, they must create a new kind of relationship with Canada. Both novels, like MacLennan's, choose family narratives through which to explore those possible relationships, and both choose Scottish identities, marked distinctly and visibly from English British or Canadian history, for their white identity and community. In both cases, then, Morag and Alexander are the orphaned Canadians who cannot draw proudly on the British-Canadian identity so lauded and protected through much of the twentieth-century. Instead, the protagonists relive particular narratives of immigration and settlement (a trope that has proved very popular during, perhaps because of, multiculturalism), and in Laurence's case, negotiation and peace with the indigenous community, rather than drawing on the official national story. Both novels are structured through intertwining narratives of present, remembered pasts, and stories passed down as history by others as the protagonists try to negotiate a place in contemporary Canada.

While Morag is raised by a couple who doesn't know her biological family history beyond her parents, Alexander MacDonald, the narrator of *No Great Mischief* can never escape his ancestral story. Alexander and his brothers and sister are orphaned when their parents fall through the ice one Cape Breton winter, and Alexander and Catriona (his twin sister), the youngest siblings, are taken in by their father's parents. *No Great Mischief* is a fictional memoir of sorts; the novel follows Alexander MacDonald's thoughts as he goes to see his dying, alcoholic oldest brother Calum in Toronto. Alexander spends the drive and the visit reflecting on his family and its complex relationships and history as he ultimately prepares for his brother's death. The MacDonald clan in Cape Breton is described as a deeply rooted and large extended

family, and though Alexander's parents are lost, his sense of family remains powerfully present throughout his life. The family's relationship is expressed through a metaphor in a story that Calum once told Alexander, and that Alexander recounts to his sister. The story is about the day their brothers "went to a tightly packed spruce grove down by the shore" (239), to find a tree with which to make their boat. Once they had chosen their tree, they tried to cut it down. However, "the tree's upper branches were so densely intertwined with those of the trees around it that it just remained standing. There was no way it could be removed or fall unless the whole grove was cut down. … Because all of the trees were evergreen they never lost their foliage, and the supporting trees extended their branches every year" (239). Alexander's large extended family steps in when his parents are killed, and the whole family fills in the gaps with story.

The stories that knit the MacDonald clan together so tightly range from the story of the family's original immigration to Canada in the late eighteenth-century, to the more recent stories of Alexander and Catriona's adult experiences. MacLeod weaves the stories passed down in and out of more recent reflections, and as a result, Alexander's sense of history itself is unique: he inhabits the present and the past in seemingly almost the same way, with the same immediacy. For Alexander and Catriona, whose parents died when they were small children, the stories of all of their ancestors seem as close as those of their parents, whom they also cannot remember. The time span between the generations then makes little difference, because, as Alexander tells us:

> much of this information is not really mine at all—not in the sense that I experienced it. For, as I said, while our parents were drowning, my sister and I were playing store. And in the generations a long time before, we did not see *Calum Ruadh's* faithful dog swimming after her family to a life beyond the sea. And we did not see our great-great-great-grandmother, the former Catherine MacPherson, sewn into a canvas bag and

> thrown into that same sea. But still, whatever its inaccuracies, this information has come to be known in the manner that family members come to know one another because they share such close proximity. (57-58)

The story of the family's emigration is told repeatedly, but the story is rich in family detail rather than in political or historical context. Alexander explains "the facts" of the family history: his great-great-great-grandfather, known as *Calum Ruadh*, emigrated from Scotland in 1779. He had six children with his first wife, and six more with his second wife, Catherine MacPherson, who was the sister of his first wife. The family's black dog (whose ancestry was apparently closely entwined with that of the MacDonald family) swam behind the boat until she was allowed to come along. Catherine died on the journey, and when the rest of the family arrived on the shores of Cape Breton, "*Calum Ruadh* broke down and wept and he cried for two whole days" (24). It took two weeks to meet up with the Gaelic cousins who had facilitated the move and helped them through the first winter. *Calum Ruadh* lived fifty-five years in Scotland and another fifty-five in the New World—which gave "his life a strange sort of balanced structure" (27)—and his gravestone is still visible, set "on the farthest jutting headland that points out to the sea" and is "marked only by a large boulder with the hand-chiselled letters which give his name and dates and the simple Gaelic line: *Fois do t'anam.* Peace to his Soul" (27). The family still refers to itself as *clann Chalum Ruaidh.*

The story is referred to regularly throughout the novel, but the story is not simply history. It is present through its retelling, but also remains present because of the physical and symbolic repetitions that continue through the generations. The MacDonalds are continually surrounded by the same black dogs that are descended from the first one who swam after the boat; physical traits repeat through the MacDonald generations and are traced back to the *clann.* Names are

repeated through the generations, and cousins seem to be interchangeable to the outside world. Narrator Alexander is one of three Alexander MacDonald cousins in the same generation, and when one is killed in a mining accident, narrator Alexander simply takes his place in the crew. Later the third cousin comes up from the United States to escape the Vietnam draft and takes over the security pass, SIN card, clothing and shift of his dead cousin, "as if the red-haired Alexander MacDonald had merely gone on a short vacation and had now returned to resume his appointed tasks" (225). In the *clann Chalum Ruaidh*, members can never escape their family history; children are stopped on the street by strangers; the MacDonalds are recognized for their clan as they travel through airports. The story of the clan's coming to Cape Breton lives on in each of the extended family's branches, and in their very existence, newer generations keep that original story alive.

Morag, by stark contrast, has no extended family to keep her sense of belonging and identity intact when her parents die. She knows only her own name, Morag Gunn, and she knows her father Colin was a gunner during the First World War. She is taken in by Christie and Prin Logan because they have no children of their own (and no real extended family either), and because Christie served in the war with Colin. Unlike the MacDonald family legacy which is congruent and cyclical both in story, symbol, and physical traits, Morag is haunted by the very intangibility of the family history which she knows must be there, but whose story is lost to her. She says of her parents, "I remember their deaths, but not their lives. Yet they're inside of me, flowing unknown in my blood and moving unrecognized in my skull" (27). For Christie, ancient Scottish clan identity is a powerful way to order his relationship to contemporary Manawaka. Though he has chosen a life on the margins, which means he is looked down upon by "the Connors and the McVities and the Camerons and Simon Pearl and all them in their houses up

there" (56), Christie is grounded by the knowledge that "[his] kin and clan are as good as theirs any day of the week, any week of the month, any month of the year, any year of the century, and any century of all time" (56). Morag, on the other hand, feels dispossessed through her lack of biological family, through her marginalized adopted family, and thus by her insecure place in the small-town hierarchy. But when she tries to find a clan history of her own to provide her with a place in the world, the presumed authoritative *Clans and Tartans of Scotland* says only that "the chieftainship of Clan Gunn is undertermined at the present time, and no arms have been matriculated" (58). When she shows Christie that she is once again invisible, he replies by telling her tales of "the most famous Gunn of all" (58).

Piper Gunn becomes a powerful mythic substitute ancestor for Morag, for his story doesn't just explain how she came to be in Canada, but also why, and why she is in Manitoba today. The story also inspires her to write her own versions both as a child and as an established writer. As Christie tells it, Piper Gunn was a charismatic leader who saved the crofting community being "cleared" for sheep by the "Bitch Duchess" (58) of Sutherland by inspiring them to leave for a new life in Canada. Piper Gunn was "a great tall man, a man with the voice of drums and the heart of a child and the gall of a thousand and the strength of conviction" (58), and when he and his wife (also Morag Gunn) and children piped their way on to the ship that was to take them across the ocean, the people followed the music and they made their way together to the Red River colony in Manitoba. The story gives Morag a lineage and sense of strength, but she is always acutely aware that it is a story, and she's never sure of its "truth." When Morag and Jules first talk outside of school, as teenagers, Morag uses the story of Piper Gunn to prove her worth and belonging, but also reveals her doubt:

"Listen here," Morag spits, "my family's been around here for longer than anybody in this whole goddamn town, see?"

"Not longer than mine," Skinner says, grinning.

"Oh yeh? Well, I'm related to Piper Gunn, *so there*."

"Who in hell's he?"

"He—" She is afraid to speak it, now, in case Christie has got it wrong after all, but she can't quit. (82)

Later in life, Morag revisits the story in a novel of her own, and through historical research, pieces together the facts of the Highland immigration and the founding of the Red River colony. But this time, she recognizes that those facts are not necessarily the most important truth. She writes to her friend Ella:

> The man who led them ... was young Archie MacDonald, but in my mind the piper who played them on will always be that giant of a man Piper Gunn, who probably never lived in so-called real life but who lives forever. Christie knew things about inner truths that I am only just beginning to understand. (443)

Morag thus self-consciously inhabits the nuances between myth, oral history, history, and ancestry. While Morag understands that "a popular misconception is that we can't change the past—everyone is constantly changing their own past, recalling it, revising it" (70), Alexander and the MacDonalds simply re-inhabit the past—whether myth or historically "real"—with the same immediacy as the present, never questioning, perhaps not seeing a need to question, its truth or its role in their lives.

Regardless of how self-conscious the narrators are about the stories of their Scottish heritage, both novels are invested in a particular discourse of Scottishness: that of the Highlander

refugee, persecuted and in need of a new life in Canada. As I explored in my introduction, this story emerges out of a complex historical moment and has a powerful hold on the contemporary Scottish diaspora—but this was not necessarily so for earlier generations. MacLeod's MacDonald clan is preoccupied with the eighteenth-century Highlanders who fought in the 1745 Jacobite rebellion, and suffered for it later. He writes that *Calum Ruadh* "had been twenty-one 'at the time of the Forty-Five' when the call had gone out to 'rise and follow Charlie'" (21), and MacLeod implies (though he doesn't state explicitly) that the patriarch did fight for the Jacobites. But MacLeod does not offer any reason why the family might have left more than thirty years later. He leaves the specific details of the family's decision to leave Scotland oddly vague; he simply writes that "Anyone who knows the history of Scotland, particularly that of the Highlands and the Western Isles in the period around 1779, is not hard-pressed to understand the reasons for their leaving" (20). But circumstances thirty years after the Forty-five varied greatly. In some places the Clearances were well underway, where in others they had not yet really begun; the unusually vicious clearing of the Sutherland lands that Laurence recounts, for instance, took place in the early 1800s. Historian Tim Devine writes that the major re-organization of ancient systems of tenancies during this period of modernization "was one factor in stoking up the social tensions stimulating wave after wave of emigration from the Western Highlands in the later eighteenth-century" (33). Though MacLeod could no doubt have constructed a suitably horrifying story of suffering, I would argue that his choice to leave the circumstances to "anyone who knows the history of Scotland," allows the reader to identify with the family more strongly as we draw on our own stories or stereotypes to fill in the blanks.

By contrast, Laurence's Christie Logan offers precise detail of the Sutherland clearances:

> And her tacksmen rode through the countryside, setting fire to the crofts and turning out the people from their homes which they had lived in since the beginning of all time. And it was old men and old women with thin shanks and men in their prime and women with the child inside them and a great scattering of small children, like, and all of them was driven away from the lands of their fathers and onto the wild rocks of the shore, then, to fish if they could and pry the shellfish off the rocks there, for food. (58-59)

Laurence's version is historically accurate; as Devine assesses, between 1807 and 1821 the Duchess of Sutherland and her husband "removed between 6000 and 10,000 people from the inner parishes to new crofting settlements on the coast in the most extraordinary example of social engineering in early nineteenth-century Britain" (37). Most of the Highlanders who were displaced to subsistence crofts during the Clearances were too poor to emigrate until social assistance became available during the potato famines of the 1840s, and MacLeod and Laurence explore two of the other ways that Highland families came to Canada. In MacLeod's version—before the worst of the Clearances—the family would have had some means to travel on the merchant ships that were bound for Canada's timber and other resources (see Lucille Campey), and perhaps saving this money was what took the MacDonald family thirty years. The other option occasionally available was when a wealthy aristocrat got involved in colonial land development and actively recruited settlers, as Lord Selkirk did in the early years of the nineteenth-century. It is through Selkirk that Piper Gunn and the other Scottish crofters gained the opportunity to settle in Canada without any real means of their own.

In both novels, an important part of the story is the victimization and/ or exploitation of the Scots by the English (which is not always historically accurate). In *The Diviners*, Christie tells Morag that "the clans were broken by the Sassenach canons and the damned bloody rifles of

the redcoat swine" (57) during and after Culloden. Christie's self-definition as a Scot is produced in opposition to the English persecutors, and though he marries a woman from an English family, Prin was a victim too—her father was a remittance man, which "meant his family in The Old Country didn't like him so good, and were pretty mean" (43). Morag's first husband, Brooke Skelton, is an English professor, and critics have read their relationship as allegorical for Canada's imperial relationship with Britain. Importantly, in this interpretation once again, building on MacLennan's work, the Scottish Morag stands in unproblematically for English Canada in order for Canada's struggle for independence from Britain to parallel Scotland's oppression by England. For the story and the allegory to work, Scottishness must retain its visible distinctiveness *and* be understood to disappear into the representative national identity.

For instance, Neil ten Kortenaar believes that Brooke represents "the culture and the tradition of the imperial metropole … [whose] heart has been twisted and unnaturally hardened by his childhood in that most imperial of colonies, India" (14). In this allegorical reading, Morag's attraction to Brooke as a substitute father figure is Canada's longing for the colonial parent, but the price is Canada's disregarding of its own history and culture in favour of Britain's. As ten Kortenaar writes, "Brooke loves Morag's lack of a past—she is virgin territory—and Morag's acceptance, under his spell, that she has nothing to put alongside his cultural tradition … Brooke patronizes Morag and makes her feel like a child" (14). But the allegory continues as Morag finally matures and sees how the relationship stifles her, and she "does what the nation is called upon to do as well: she recognizes the falseness and the psychological harm resulting from her dependence on the representative of English imperialism, breaks with him, and forms a union with the representative of the indigenous population" (ten

Kortenaar 14). Morag's lesson from the marriage is the nation's: Canada needs to recognize that it does have a history and community and can successfully make its own way in the world. This rejection of the British imperial relationship is nevertheless embodied in an English professor of English literature, and the Scottishness that Morag defines herself by is not implicated in the "British" relationship, except as the relationship which forces emigration. Like her Scottish forefathers, after a disastrous (and in their case unsuccessful) break-up from the English union, Morag flees to Vancouver, which feels to her like the end of the earth.

No Great Mischief's family also finds its Scottish identity in its exploitation by allegorical English, though his Cape Breton Scots remain distinct from normative Canadians. The novel takes its title from the betrayal of the Scots by the English that Alexander's grandfather painstakingly researches over a lifetime. Alexander's grandfather longs to know the details of the Highland soldiers who fought with General Wolfe against the French on the Plains of Abraham in 1759—paving the way for a British Canada. After the 1745 Jacobite rebellion, many Highlanders were recruited into the British Army and Navy, some on the promise of land in return for service (see Devine 43). In Quebec, the Highlanders won Canada for Britain, and made Wolfe a hero. However Alexander's grandfather feels the dynamics of the Scottish soldiers fighting for an English general must have been complex, and he finds evidence to support his instincts that four years after fighting against Wolfe at Culloden, Wolfe was indeed suspicious of his troops. According to Grandfather's research, Wolfe "was just using them against the French ... and probably would have been satisfied if the French had killed them all" (108). Grandfather reads a letter written by Wolfe where

> Wolfe referred to the Highlanders as his secret enemy and once, speaking of recruiting them as soldiers in a letter to his friend Captain Rickson, he made the cynical comment, "No great mischief if they fall." (109)

In Grandfather's mind, these are "deceptive circumstances" (108), typical of the way the English treated the Scots over the centuries, and the letter reinforces his perception that the Scots were victims in the Empire and the dynamic has not disappeared in the Canadian context.

In MacLeod's novel, though Scots are allied with other indigenous victimized and displaced peoples around the world, in Canada there are only glimpses of the participation of the Scots in the British colonization. No story of Canadian immigration and settlement can be separated from the colonial appropriation of indigenous territory, and the mythology of Scottish immigration to Canada portrayed in *No Great Mischief* is no different. Regardless of the circumstances that prompt the voyage, the story of the MacDonald family's eighteenth-century arrival in Cape Breton evokes many familiar tales: "When the boat landed on the gravelled sand, the cousins who had written the Gaelic letter and Micmacs who were at home in the 'land of the trees' helped them ashore and continued to help them though that first long winter" (26). This is the last mention of the Micmacs, and there is no discussion of how there came to be land for the Gaelic immigrants. This narrative move from welcoming indigenous community to empty land is a necessary one in settler writing; according to Johnston and Lawson, "empty land can be settled, but occupied land can only be invaded" (364). Terry Goldie describes the settler's dilemma in this way:

> The white Canadian looks at the Indian. The Indian is Other and therefore alien. But the Indian is indigenous and therefore cannot be alien. So the Canadian must be alien. But how can the Canadian be alien within Canada? (12)

Goldie offers the solution of "indigenization," the process by which white settlers attempt to write themselves discursively into legitimate occupation of the appropriated lands. As in Coleman's analysis of early Canadian fiction, MacLeod does this by emphasizing the MacDonald family's refugee status—they are in need of a new country that Canada generously provides—and by rewriting a naturalized, timeless relationship with the Cape Breton land that the family inhabits over many generations.

The MacDonalds had access to the colonies because they were securely British citizens, and the family responds to letters sent back by previous Gaelic settlers who were most likely taking advantage of the Maritimes' resource-based business opportunities. Historian Lucille Campey's research shows that the swell of immigration from Scotland to the Maritimes in this period was also a result of the timber boom in the "land of the trees," and that most Scottish immigrants had some means and ambition. The demand for Maritime lumber was high because the British army and navy were engaged in the Napoleonic Wars and needed masts and ships, and thanks to various embargoes and trade suspensions, European sources were temporarily unavailable. Campey demonstrates that most Scottish settlers of these years arrived in Canada in relative comfort by sailing in the modern ships travelling empty to the Maritimes, designed to return to Britain full of timber[13]. *Calum Ruadh* and his family, by contrast, were apparently not so lucky; they travelled on a ship where

> the quarters below were cramped and overcrowded and were apparently modelled partially on those of the transport ships used to carry Highland soldiers to fight in the New World, and partially on the quarters of the slave ships plying from Africa to ports of that same New World. (23)

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[13] See especially A Very Fine Class of Immigrants": Prince Edward Island's Scottish Pioneers 1770-1850 (Natural Heritage, 2001), and Fast Sailing and Copper-Bottomed": Aberdeen Sailing Ships and the Emigrant Scots They Carried to Canada 1774-1855 (Natural Heritage, 2002).

Of course, many may have had the harsh experience of *Calum Ruadh* and his family (and certainly many did in the early nineteenth-century when the worst of the potato famines hit both Ireland and Scotland), but MacLeod falls back on the stereotypes that emphasize the difficulty in the journey and the beacon of hope that this New World presents for the immigrants.

Next, *No Great Mischief* naturalizes the Canadian and Cape Breton land itself as Scottish. From the first, Canada's call to the MacDonalds is in Gaelic, thanks to the letters from earlier settlers, and the MacDonalds are welcomed by Gaelic cousins when they then arrive in the Maritimes themselves. But it is the relationship that develops over the generations between the MacDonald descendants and the *Calum Ruadh* homestead that is drawn as impenetrably, almost mystically rooted, and that naturalizes the Gaelic voice of the land itself. MacLeod's narrator, the great-great-great-grandson of *Calum Ruadh*, Alexander MacDonald, recounts how his older brothers, after their parent's death, are affected by their return to the homestead:

> In the time following their return to the old *Calum Ruadh* house and land, my brothers spoke Gaelic more and more, as if somehow by returning to the old land they had returned to the old language as well. (64)

The link between the land and the language affected the grandparents who raised Alexander and his twin sister, Catriona, as well. Their grandparents had grown up on the *Calum Ruadh* lands and water much the same way the previous generations had lived. Gaelic was the language of life on the homestead, "the language of their courting days and they had always been more at ease with it" (40). They later became, happily, "people of the town," (61) and became functional and comfortable in English, but "towards the end" they reverted back to Gaelic, "as if it had always been the language of their hearts" (193).

The writing of Cape Breton and Canadian land as Scottish goes beyond the Gaelic language itself. MacLeod describes the *Calum Ruadh* lands as belonging in ancient ways to the Highlanders:

> In the country of the *clann Calum Ruaidh* the moon governed the weather and the planting of potatoes and the butchering of animals and, perhaps, the conception and birth of children. ... And even as I think and tell this now, the moon-affected waters are exerting their pressure by the *Calum Ruadh*'s Point. Within the circle of the sun the tides are rising and falling, thrusting and pulling and bringing to bear their quiet but relentless force under the guidance of the moon. (140)

The Cape Breton landscape is given a timeless history that is always already named as belonging to the colonizers, and no mark is left by previous inhabitants. The homestead is often contrasted in the novel with Catriona's modern life married to a petroleum engineer in Calgary, but towards the end of the narrative, Calgary and the West turn out to be not as disconnected from Highland history as Alexander might have thought. Catriona tells him "that Calgary gets its name from a place located on the Isle of Mull," and later, as they discuss taking a trip to Banff, she informs him that the letter that contains the phrase of the novel's title and the central story of the Highlanders in Canada, "was written from Banff, [...] Banff, Scotland" (241). Despite this security in the transposition of the Scottish landscape to Canada, and the strong sense of belonging that the MacDonalds have to the *Calum Ruadh* lands in Cape Breton, another of MacLeod's solutions to the settler's dilemma of legitimacy in the colony is to reinforce that the MacDonalds do not identify themselves as Canadians, but remain always displaced Scots, no matter how many generations have passed.

Laurence in *The Diviners* takes a very different approach to the role of Scottish settlers in Canada and their relationship to the original inhabitants. Morag's relationship with Métis Jules Tonerre and their daughter, Pique, has also been read as allegorical. As in MacLennan's work, characters of different racial backgrounds are brought together to literally reproduce a new generation which unifies the previously disparate races. Greta McCormick Coger sees this move in *The Diviners* as generated by Morag's name, which is Gaelic for the Biblical Sarah "who founded a new dynasty; this biblical association is congruent with Morag's conscious decision to have a child with Jules Tonnerre; in doing so she contributes to a new kind of Canadian dynasty which harmonizes separate ethnic (Scots-Métis) cultures" (xxiv). For this alliance between white and indigenous peoples to work, Laurence uses the kind of "bridging" identities that I have discussed earlier. As in MacLeod, Laurence emphasizes the Scot as victim; Ken McLean points out that "Laurence chooses to utilize histories that she believed to have been marginalized, those of Scots crofters and the Métis, in order to undermine the dominant WASP (White Anglo-Saxon Protestant) discourse of Canadian history" (98). Rather than an Englishwoman and a Cree man, for instance, Laurence offers an orphaned Scot and a Métis, both with ancestral roots in the same Canadian valley. Jules's Métis character has French heritage despite his status as "Indian" at other times (and certainly in Brooke Skelton's eyes). Morag, on the other hand, is "Morag Dhu. Black Morag" (400), who falls in love with Dan McRaith, an artist from the "part of Ross-shire known as the Black Isle" (395). With these racial proximities drawn a little closer, Morag and Jules' relationship can perhaps progress more believably.

But Laurence does take the distance and conflict between white settlers and the displaced aboriginal groups seriously and through much of the novel is careful to acknowledge that neither she nor her protagonist can truly see through someone else's eyes. Morag wonders, for instance,

as she contemplates Jules once again, "was she interpreting him, as usual, only through her own eyes? How else could you interpret anyone? The thing now was not to interfere, not to enter fear" (469). Though their relationship is not violent or tumultuous, Morag and Jules experience many moments where the distance and differences between them are not treated lightly. When Morag finds out from Jules that his sister is ill, for example, she struggles to find a way to help, but Jules is clear that she is an outsider:

> "Is there—I mean, could I help in any way?"
>
> Jules puts his hand under her chin and looks at her, only his mouth smiling, his eyes hard.
>
> "No, lady, you could not help in any way."
>
> "You never let me forget it, do you?"
>
> "No. I never let you forget it." (363)

Morag and Jules do not live happily ever after, nor is Jules a romantic martyr. Instead, they move in and out of each other's lives with caring and support, but without expectations or easy resolutions. As authentic and particular as these exchanges feel, Morag's understanding that she can only see the world through her own eyes becomes limiting. Though Morag is the protagonist, *The Diviners* is written as a third person narrative in a post-modern historical meta-fiction, and this raises issues if the allegory is to succeed. For instance, as ten Kortenaar points out, despite Laurence's retelling of the stories of Jules' aboriginal ancestors as a balance to Christie's version of the Scots settlers,

> The original Tornnerre, the Chevalier or Rider Tonnerre that Jules has heard about from his father, is imagined as already Métis, not as Indian or French (160). Rider Tonnerre, like the first man to bear the name Gunn across the ocean, is the sole ancestor, the single

> source of a whole and complete inheritance. (No one asks who Jules' mother or grandmothers were.) (22)

A certain level of stereotyping takes hold as Jules becomes the representative indigene, and Morag the representative Canadian—not English—settler. Jules cannot escape his own destiny as short-lived, tortured "Indian" soul, and this creates an odd role for their daughter, Pique.

Where Morag's sense of familial history is tenuous, Pique very clearly carries the weight of the nation's two late-twentieth century solitudes on her shoulders, embodying both European and Indigenous ancestries. However, Pique is an unsatisfying character, whose choices and sense of identity raises more questions than they answer. Barbara Godard, for instance, understands that Jules, as a Métis, does have some European, and therefore white, heritage, and that really, Pique should therefore be identified more strongly with Morag's white side of the racial divide (68). However, Pique is clearly treated by Canadian society as a generic aboriginal woman, and with that perception comes little opportunity to bridge or united disparate cultures. Instead, despite being raised also with Morag's stories of Christie and the Scots, Pique feels she belongs more securely with Jules' side of her family. Rather than become more fully a part of Morag's created community by the river, marrying one of the young men who profess to be deeply in love with her, at the end of the novel, Pique feels strongly the responsibility that Jules laid upon her on a rare visit:

> "Too many have died," he says. "Too many, before it was time. I don't aim to be one of them. And I don't aim for you to be, neither." (456)

Jules does later die before his time, but Pique does go and visit Jules' brother Jacques, who lives on the ancestral land at Galloping Mountain. There, with a host of other adopted and lost aboriginal children that Jacques and his wife take in, Pique starts to feel at home. Laurence does

try to stress that Pique wants to take both of her family histories seriously; Pique visits Christie and Prin's grave sites as well as the Tonnerre lands. And the novel is open ended to some degree—the suggestion is certainly present that Pique is merely doing what her mother felt she had to do as a young woman visiting the lands of her ancestors in order to build a relationship with Canada.

Despite Laurence's careful framing of her novel as a limited perspective—through Morag's white Canadian eyes—at the end of the day Laurence does fall back on an easy resolution for her allegory of settler-indigene relations. After recognizing through the stories of Louis Riel, Gabriel Dumont, and the Scottish Red River settlers the positions and claims of each side, at the end of the novel, justice is symbolically offered through a kind of "fair trade" exchange. Throughout the Manawaka novels, two artifacts travel circuitous routes away from their original owners. Near the end of *The Diviners*, these objects are returned to their rightful owners, or at least to their legitimate descendants. When Jules is visiting Pique and Morag, he wants to give Pique a momento of her history. He passes her a silver brooch: "The only thing I got now that belonged to Lazarus, and it's not a thing which was even really his" (456). Morag recognizes the brooch as a "plaid pin"—a Scottish heirloom. Jules came by the brooch through an ancestral trade; Lazarus traded a good hunting knife for the brooch, thinking it was worth more money. However, Lazarus had no way to trade the brooch for money because he was Métis, and no one in the white town would believe he had a legitimate claim to the pin. So Lazarus adopted it as his own heirloom, and passed it to his son Jules, after Jules survived the war. While listening to the story, Morag realizes that a similar trade and adoption had occurred with Lazarus's knife: the boy who traded for the knife traded it again for a package of cigarettes—a transient commodity—to Christie Logan. As Christie never knew who the knife

had come from, he too adopted it as an heirloom and passed it down to Morag. Neither Jules nor Morag could ever really decode their talismans; when Morag identifies the brooch as a "plaid pin," Jules responds, "is that what you call it?" (456), and Morag acknowledges that despite carrying the knife around for years, she "always wondered … what the sign on the hilt meant. I see now it's a 'T'" (457).

As Morag and Jules exchange the pin and the knife, they are symbolically enacting a kind of treaty negotiation, finally resolving the issues of the past. They seem to recognize that this is a process of righting old wrongs. Morag returns the knife to Jules, and Jules responds in kind:

> "Here," [Jules] says, shoving the plaid pin across the table to Morag. "Fair trade."
>
> She takes it and examines it. Neither of them has thanked the other. No need. A fair trade. (457-458)

There are two ironies in this trade. The first is that while Jules is getting back something that belonged to his specific ancestor, Morag is adopting another orphaned talisman. She doesn't recognize the tartan, and when she looks it up, it is the clan MacDonald's, not the Gunn's. However, symbolically the pin gives her an entry—a motto and a war cry—in the book whose authority she has longed for throughout her life. And the suggestion is that the Scottish artifact has been returned to a Scot, and that this is close enough. But in fact this repeats the refugee Scot's claim to Canada outside of the colonial narrative: the Scot has been forcefully orphaned by the English, and so has earned a legitimate right to Canadian land. Any British territory will do, in the same way as any Scot will do for the ancestral pin. The second irony is that despite the long overdue returning of goods to their rightful owners, ultimately both of these artifacts will be inherited by one person, Pique, who again is laden with the task of thus unifying the nation for the future.

Despite the limitations of her depiction of the settler relationship to indigenous Canada in *The Diviners*, Laurence at least grapples with the issue in a thoughtful, intentional way. Despite its more recent publication date, MacLeod's *No Great Mischief* simply uses the discourse of the persecuted Scot to reinforce Scottish settler legitimacy and erases, once again, the Scottish participation in colonizing Canada. As I discussed above, the Micmacs who help the first members of *clan Calum Ruaidh* through their first winter conveniently disappear and there is no conflict over settler rights to the land they homestead. There is one token aboriginal character in the novel, a mysterious Cree who appears at the mine where the MacDonald brothers are working. But this young man's name is James MacDonald, and he plays an odd role in the novel. He establishes himself as a cousin to the MacDonald clan, who in turn treat him as one. He plays the part well: he knows some Gaelic, recognizes the MacDonald tartan, and fiddles the familiar tunes. In fact, his fiddling presence creates a rare moment of pan-Celtic unity between the various ethnic groups at the mine who work tensely alongside each other; the French Canadians, Irish, Newfoundlanders, the MacDonald Highlanders and James, the James Bay Cree, all play the same music, though they call it by different names. James MacDonald—cousin to the Highlander—is offered work, food, and a place in the clan by the rest of the family, but in the end he leaves in the night, realizing that he is unsuited to this mining life: "'He was not made to do this anyway,' said my brother … 'He's better off away from the underground'" (158). In the end, once again, the Scot is more native than the native; in this case more comfortable on and in the land that the indigene is too weak to develop. The presence of this aboriginal character simply reinforces the MacLeod's claim for the legitimate white settler who lives in peace with the mysterious indigene.

The second major way in which MacLeod uses the discourse of the persecuted Highlander to avoid the colonial legacy is by ensuring that his characters, who settled Canada in the late eighteenth-century, do not really identify themselves as Canadians at all, but remain always displaced Scots, no matter how many generations have passed. Central to the novel is the sense of immediacy, the presence, of every generation of the *clann Calum Ruaidh* at once. No member of the family, not even Catriona with her modern life in Calgary, is ever removed from her identity as a dispossessed member of the Scottish clan. MacLeod layers the stories of several generations and familiarizes the broad range of characters through an endless repetition of names and family sayings so that the distinction between the eras becomes blurred. This blurring between contemporary Canada and a kind of timeless, ahistorical Scottishness is emphasized through the constancy of shared blood and physical characteristics: "a predisposition to have twins," "colouring," "some of the individuals have bright red hair while that of their brothers and sisters is a deep, intense and shining black" (29). The red-haired MacDonalds often have "eyes [...] so dark as to be beyond brown and almost in the region of a glowing black" (30), and these traits are described as so striking that throughout the novel strangers regularly recognize each other as relatives—driving down a road, sitting at the airport, walking down a city street in a foreign country. At the same time, MacLeod emphasizes that these markers are not just a sign of the shared blood of a family, these are markers of Scottishness that are recognizable even in contemporary Scotland. Alexander's brother, for instance, escapes from a family tragedy by moving to their homeland, and though more than two hundred years have passed, while waiting for a train in Glasgow,

> a red-haired man approached him. "Hello MacDonald," said the man. "*Ciamar a tha sibh*—how are you?"

"*Glé mhath*," he replied.

"I'm waiting for the train to the Highlands," said the man. "I suppose you are too. We have time for a dram in the station bar."

"Well," said my brother, "I guess I have time."

"When I first saw you," said the man, "I thought you were from the Highlands, but now that I hear you talk you sound like you're from Canada." (262-263)

The stranger offers Alexander's brother work and a place to stay based on this brief conversation, unproblematically accepting Alexander's brother as one of his own. And MacLeod emphasizes their mutual recognition by closing their conversation with a familiar phrase from the MacDonalds' life, "If only the ships had come from France!" (263), alluding to the French ships that were expected by Bonnie Prince Charlie during the 1745 rebellion, and whose absence may have lost the Jacobites the war. The true marker of belonging to the Scottish community though is clearly physical—the visible signs of Scottishness in the hair, eyes, whiteness, and perhaps the other features that allow the stranger to recognize a MacDonald anywhere.

Alexander's sister has a similar, but more personal, experience while visiting the Highlands. When Catriona takes a trip to Moidart and the home of her ancestors, she hears, to her surprise, the story of her family's emigration to Canada from the perspective of those waving goodbye from the cliffs above the harbour. She meets an old woman on the beach who greets her:

"You are from here," said the woman.

"No," said my sister, "I'm from Canada."

> "That may be," said the woman. "But you are really from here. You have just been away for awhile." (160)

Later, after meeting and visiting with the woman's family, Catriona is told, "you are home now" (167). The Scottish family all have the black eyes and either red or black hair, and Catriona feels strongly as if she is at home, surrounded by relatives she knows. The Gaelic spoken by the Scottish family begins organically to pour out of her as well, "like some subterranean river that had been running deep within me and suddenly burst forth" (163). Her true being, as a Scottish MacDonald from Moidart, is solid and timeless; her Canadian middle-class Calgary identity is made superfluous and almost irrelevant, except as an extension of the immigration story. Back in Canada, the MacDonalds pass down the stories of Scottish heroes along with their black eyes and red hair. The family regularly reminds each other, "'my hope is constant in thee, Clan Donald,' which is what Robert the Bruce was supposed to have said to the MacDonalds at the Battle of Bannockburn in 1314" (88). Images and stories become so familiar that they spring to Alexander's mind as counterpoints or parallels to contemporary dramatic moments. When his cousin, another Alexander MacDonald, is decapitated in a mining accident, the narrator finds himself remembering

> "Mac Ian," the leader of the MacDonalds of Glencoe, falling forward across his bed on February 13, 1692. Propelled forward and downward by the unseen and unexpected force at the back of his head. The redness of his hair dyed forever brighter by the crimson of his blood. (122)

MacLeod makes sure we understand that his characters are Highlanders above all other layers of identity, and that it is this timeless Scottishness—always already displaced by imperialism—that means they are not associated with Canadian colonization.

While MacLeod emphasizes this link even to contemporary Scotland as a kind of inescapable birthright, Laurence uses Morag's trips to Scotland instead to reconnect her to Canada. Morag moves with Pique to London to pursue her writing career, and is conscious of both her desire to make the trip to Scotland and her fear of what she might find if she does. Christie pesters her about when she will make it to Sutherland, to visit "where her people came from" (393). Morag is aware that the journey should be a pilgrimage, but

> She is afraid that she will be disappointed, that there will not, after all, be any relations. She is afraid that she will feel nothing and that nothing will be explained to her. Or else she is afraid that she will feel too much, and that too much will be explained in those rocks and ruined crofts, or whatever is there, now, these days. (393)

When she meets and develops a relationship with Dan McRaith, the opportunity to visit Scotland finally presents itself. Pique and Morag visit Dan in Ross-shire, with the intention of going from there to Sutherland. However, once in Scotland, Morag's feelings are mixed. Passing the sign for Culloden, "she feels like crying," moved that the legendary place "really exists, in the external world" (408). But later, when Dan asks her when she wants to drive up to Sutherland, she decides she doesn't need to go after all. She has realized instead that she's already learned what Scotland has to teach her:

> "It's a deep land here, all right," Morag says. "But it's not mine, except a long way back. I always thought it was the land of my ancestors, but it is not."
>
> "What is, then?"
>
> "Christie's real country. Where I was born." (415)

Shortly after this trip, Christie dies, and Morag and Pique return to Canada. Morag's pilgrimage instead becomes her brief trip back to Manawaka, where she collects the trio of books that

Christie valued highly and which she chooses as her inheritance from him. Interestingly, *The Poems of Ossian, The Clans and Tartans of Scotland,* and the *60th Canadian Field Artillery Battery Book* all point to the elusiveness of her "real" history: the Ossian poems were exposed as a hoax (though Christie chooses not to believe that), and *The Clans and Tartans of Scotland* were largely a romantic invention (see Trevor-Roper). The artillery battery book is so valuable because of the photos of Christie and her father Colin Gunn, who were in the regiment together, but as Morag discovers as a child, their faces remain hidden to her as "they all look the same, because no face is clear" (100). As Morag observes of her inherited books, "Ambiguity is everywhere" (427).

With her last ties to Manawaka cut, Morag moves her family to Ontario and finally carves out a permanent homestead in Canada. When she buys her acreage on the river, she is conscious of really gaining more: "Land. A river. Log house nearly a century old, built by great pioneering couple, Simon and Sarah Cooper. History. Ancestors" (439). For Morag, then, the trip to Scotland, in contrast to MacLeod's clan, doesn't confirm her timeless, inherent Scottishness, but rather her Canadianness, as linked through the chosen and experienced family ties that she has lived and created for herself. As ten Kortenaar concludes, it's not that Morag goes to Scotland to discover that she has really been Canadian all along, but rather that "Morag's Canadianness requires that she be Scottish first" (19). He argues that this is the case because "the novel wants to assert that Canadianness is homologous with Scottishness" because of the "strongly delineated Scottish national character that the novel envies," because the novel desires "a Canadian identity that, like the Scottish, is based on a clearly defined and circumscribed territory, on an inspiring, even romantic history, and on a particular relation to the English

language" (19). Though I agree, I believe that Scottishness is also the desired identity because it can both claim British heritage and simultaneously disavow colonial violence and occupation.

I would also argue, however, that both of these novels are also shaped by the narratives of immigration that Laurence anticipated and MacLeod is shaped by because of the reliance that contemporary Canada has on the narrative (and policy) of multiculturalism. Himani Bannerji maintains that Canadian multiculturalism "segments the nation's cultural and political space [...] into ethnic communities. This results in fractured cultural communities, each with its ethnicized agents hooked into the ruling apparatus of the state" (7). I would contend that one of the ways that it does so, at the level of the national narrative, is by discursively disconnecting Canada's colonial history into many, seemingly unrelated, narratives of immigration. It is a common Canadian refrain that "we" are "all immigrants." This axiom disconnects stories of immigration from their political histories and constructs Canada as a nation of refuge for the persecuted, rather than as a recruiter of settlers to occupied lands; re-positions indigenous people outside the national narrative of immigration, and flattens out the discrepancies of power between the many immigrant groups that make up the Canadian population.

The critical response, or lack thereof, to MacLeod's *No Great Mischief* serves as telling evidence of this problem. The novel was widely praised by critics across Canada and around the world. It won the 2001 International IMPAC Dublin Literary Award, and the 2000 Trillium and Thomas Radall Prizes, as well as the Drummer General's Award, a prize presented as a corrective to the Governor General's Award (a clerical error evidently prohibited *No Great Mischief* from being nominated for the latter). Reviews of the book focused on MacLeod's powerful writing and storytelling abilities, and on the novel's investment in the past's impact on

the present, but that investment itself remains unquestioned by Canadian critics. British scholar Karl Miller commented about MacLeod's writing generally that

> Strikingly, there's not a word in these books about the politics of Canada: it's as if MacLeod's Highlanders have lived separate lives in that respect, for all their exposure to urban and foreign environments. (156)

While this does not hold entirely true for *No Great Mischief* (which does relate its narrative to some Canadian historical markers), it certainly holds that the novel is far more firmly rooted in the history and politics of Scotland than of Canada. But Canadian critics seem disinterested in how the book might be read for its implied politics. Jane Urquhart's essay on "The Vision of Alistair MacLeod," for instance, reinforces stereotypes about the ancient Scottish character: "Like many other Canadians of Irish or Scottish background, MacLeod himself was brought up in the midst of a tribal, Celtic family much given to remembering the past and measuring the present in terms of it" (36). Her sentimental description of the power of MacLeod's writing is typical of Canadian reviews and commentary:

> In MacLeod's fiction the "voice" of the oral tradition is never far away ... In the space of a few short sentences we, the readers, have joined the family, have entered the rooms of their houses, and have gathered together to hear the remainder of the tale. By the time the story is finished, the identification is so complete that we feel the hair rising on the backs of our own necks and hear the claws of the *cù mòr glas*, the big grey dog, scratching at our own doors. (37)

While MacLeod's writing is certainly crafted to draw the reader in with an immediacy and intimacy that is undeniable, Urquhart and other white Canadian critics have often extrapolated that power to a universalized audience that problematically parallels Scottish diasporic

experience—or even British settler experience—with all other experiences of immigrating to Canada. Urquhart argues that even MacLeod's early stories still have social currency and power today. Thanks to their depiction

> of an ancestral past that continually affects the present and in their sense of deep yearning for forsaken landscapes, [his stories are] as fresh and complex as the present moment. We Canadians are, after all, a nation of people longing for a variety of abandoned homelands and the tribes that inhabited them, whether they be the distant homelands of our recent immigrants, the abducted homelands of our native peoples, the rural homelands vacated by the post-war migrations to the cities, or the various European or Asian homelands left behind by our earliest settlers. (37-38)

This kind of generalizing—which is common in Canadian multicultural discourse from the "centre"—denies the imperial history that has shaped every stage of immigration to Canada. How can the longing for a lost homeland by indigenous peoples be compared to that experienced by those who "abducted" the land from those native inhabitants? As *The Diviners* makes clear, the settler story of courageous immigration *is* often the same story of stolen indigenous homelands.

Though *The Diviners* takes as one of its central goals the challenging of these national settlement narratives, and thereby delves headfirst into issues of race, *No Great Mischief* only obliquely addresses race thematically. However, Richard Dyer theorizes in *White* that "white discourse" usually permits "neither the recognition of similarities nor the acceptance of differences except as a means for knowing the white self" (13). He challenges critics to take a closer look at texts written by white authors not actively engaged in a reading of the Other, and argues that new ways to read white texts *as* white without the need to identify against another is

of vital importance. *No Great Mischief* is usually read as preoccupied with the history and memory of an oppressed minority. However, I would argue that the novel, and the overwhelming praise lavished upon it by critics, reinforces an ethnic mythology of the Scottish victim, and reveals the deep stake white readers have in believing in their imagined position as generic immigrants to Canada, which invites them to discursively distance themselves from their colonial inheritance.

This tension between the white subject's desire to be the universal subject (in this case the universal immigrant) and the need, particularly within the context of Canadian multiculturalism, to claim an ethnic cultural history is what plays out here. As Eva Mackey writes, white Canadianness gains its status as "ordinary" because of the perception that it is "unmarked" and "non-ethnic" (18). However, racial whiteness has no cultural singularity and is not a cultural identity, nor is there one narrative of white Canadianness. Multiculturalism privileges the cultural and the ethnic over other aspects of identity formation and national belonging, and thus leaves many white Canadians in a bind (which was perhaps one force behind the endless attempts to define Canadian identity during the late twentieth-century). Most white Canadians are descended from a variety of ancestries, and have to select one with which to mark themselves with the desired cultural heritage. In *Colour Conscious*, Kwame Anthony Appiah distinguishes between "ascribed" identities, where racial markers deemed visible by the dominant culture or race are ascribed a concomitant set of personality, historical, and physical attributes, and "identification," whereby individuals choose how central those ascribed characteristics will be to a given sense of identity. If one belongs to the dominant, invisible race, where ascription does not have the same power, one can choose to display visible markers of identity that will be recognizable to the rest of society (78-81). In Canada, then, white ethnic

markers are chosen and exhibited voluntarily (otherwise whiteness remains unmarked); creating an ethnic mythology based on stories of immigration for white Canadians provides a way for them to fit into multicultural discourse, without having to question their privileged position within Canadian society.

The discourse of Scottishness as a displaced, post-colonial subject is thus particularly useful, as these two novels make clear. Thanks to the earlier historical romanticization of the noble Highlander—which transformed the longstanding English and Lowland Scots perception of the Highlander as a threatening, uncivilized, savage—the narratives of persecution by the English, or at least by the economic needs of imperialism, still hold easy cachet. By focussing on stories of eighteenth and nineteenth-century immigration, authors can conveniently gloss over the fact that the imperial forces that displaced the Highlanders were the same forces that allowed them access to Canada, often thanks to their participation in the colonial army that conquered Canada in the first place. The Highlander becomes a romantic subject only once securely conquered by the British army, and the subsequent flexibility of its distinctness within a British identity means that Scottishness can conveniently disappear into ordinary white Canadianness yet can also become ethnically marked with a history of oppression through which white Canadians can ally themselves with other oppressed groups. As Smaro Kamboureli commented in her critique of Linda Hutcheon and Marion Richmond's early multicultural Canadian anthology, *Other Solitudes*, paralleling ethnic with ex-centric experience can produce "a model affirming the magnanimity of the majority culture whose celebration of diversity becomes yet another way of containing it" (164). The nostalgic re-discovery of white ethnic identities like the Scottish Highlander becomes another strategy by which white Canadians fit themselves into Multicultural discourse while disavowing the racial hierarchies that maintain the status quo.

Though I would argue that this particularly true of MacLeod's *No Great Mischief*, Laurence's novel is an interesting case. Writing just as Canada's first multiculturalism policies were being developed and adopted across the country, *The Diviners* explores ancestral ethnic history and its relevance to contemporary national belonging. Though Morag never rejects her identity as a Black Celt, by the end of the novel she is reasonably clear that this is now a personal identity, not her defining relationship to the larger community. As an orphan in a small Canadian town, her identity as a direct descendant of Piper Gunn gave her the story of how she came to be a young marginalized woman in Manawaka. But as an adult with a history of her own, her journey to Scotland helped her realize that the ancestral history that mattered was the one she was directly connected to through the family ties of living memory. As Laurence wrote in her essay about visiting Scotland, "Road from the Isles,"

> I am inclined to think that one's real roots do not extend very far back in time, nor very far forward. ... I care about the ancestral past very much, but in a kind of mythical way. ... finally, the mock Scots retain as much emotional hold on me as the real Scots, because of very specific things –the daft and un-named bird on our plaid pin, and my grandmother singing ... These things are genuinely mine. They don't relate to Scotland any more than the transplanted names do, at least for me, and they don't need to. I know where they belong. (157)

Ultimately, Morag's preoccupation with her ancestral identity keeps her from realizing that she already is defined as a Canadian, because she has been born and raised here, by people who also lived here, and because her child was born here. When she embraces this reality, she finds her true relationship to the nation—one which ironically produces her as an "ordinary" white Canadian who has transcended the ethnic identity that multicultural policies were beginning to

emphasize more. This option of transcendence, is of course largely limited to white subjects. At the same time, Morag never forgets that this relationship is predicated on her history as a settler, whose presence in Canada came at a direct cost to the First Nations, however she offers only a "fair trade" solution to repaying that cost. Unfortunately, even twenty-five years later, *No Great Mischief* offers even less.

Conclusion

Throughout the twentieth century, the signifiers of Scottishness have largely remained the same: Highland tartan, bagpipes, accent, Highland dancing and sports, names. At many points, certainly today, these markers have become commodities available to everyone, rather than inherited remnants of ancestral history. However, what these signs represent has changed and shifted depending on social and political circumstances. Across the decades, though, Scottishness has remained a powerful discourse of race, ethnicity, national belonging and identity that has become increasingly entrenched. Scottishness has been available as an influential discourse precisely because of the flexibility and variety of its signifiers, and because they are inextricable from Scotland's relationship with Britain—a relationship which remains as complex as Britain's with Canada.

In the last five years, Canada has seen a plethora of books published that celebrate the Scottish contribution to the creation of the nation: Jenni Calder's *Scots in Canada* (2004), Paul Cowan's *How the Scots Created Canada* (2007), Peter Rider's *Kingdom of the Mind: The Scots' Impact on the Development of Canada* (2006), and Matthew Shaw's *Great Scots! How the Scots Created Canada* (2003) are just a few. However, as Michael Vance observes, the "area that has received the least amount of attention from scholars is the question of the ethnic representation of Scottish Canadians" (112). This project has attempted to go some way—building on the work done by Vance, Coleman, and a very few others—toward problematizing the stability of Scottishness, the stability of its representation, the stability of the nation and the idea of a white, ordinary, national identity itself.

As this study has demonstrated, the discourse of Scottishness is at the heart of the construction and preservation of the white, ordinary and originary Canadian for a variety of

reasons. Canada has always been a place of racial diversity, and the liberal project of English Canada to perform and stabilize a normative, homogenous white Canadian identity has always required some work. The imagined Scot, with a legacy of barely contained savagery blended with a prosaic, mundane familiarity, was "re-called" as the ideal settler at the turn of the century. The Scottish settler proved a model subject; easily depicted as a white indigenous figure, the Scottish settler was also depicted by early Canadian writers as available to self-improvement through religious guidance and economic resourcefulness. These attributes enabled the Scot to act as a bridge in the settler bind of indigenizing the nation: Scots replace the Aboriginal subject, act as white indigenes, and then are civilized in an allegory that parallels the development of the colony. Nellie McClung and subsequent writers of the 1920s and 1930s were able to use the hybridity of the Scottish-British subject to simultaneously open up and consolidate a "family of Empire" based pan-ethnic identity that became the normative Canadian: the Anglo-Celt. The success of this figure is still evident today, but it was not easily produced in the face of massive immigration to Canada from south and eastern Europe, as the tensions and efforts revealed in John Murray Gibbon's early Folk Festivals attest to.

Hugh MacLennan remains perhaps Canada's most influential novelist—though he is rarely studied today. His allegories, I argue, were so powerful that their premise of the blended family that produces the new Canadian character and race largely created the currently-held understanding of the dominant culture of "English Canada." MacLennan promoted the Scots as the best bet to lead and produce the new Canadian race, particularly as he "re-called" them as the British subjects most suited to the rigours of Canadian life and the challenges inherent in building a new kind of "decolonized" nation. While the English (descended from England) Canadian, he believed, was trapped by his settler longing to be acknowledged by the colonial

parent, the Scots had the toughness and independent spirit—and again, enterprise—that could develop a more independent nation. Blending that Scottishness with other family of Empire groups in Canada allowed MacLennan to imagine a new kind of English-Canadian culture. It was a powerful way to define Canadians to themselves, and though the idea of that dominant culture has been under attack ever since, its creation has never really been fully deconstructed. Instead, that understanding of English-Canada as a blended family of Empire-descended groups became entrenched in the development of official multiculturalism.

Multiculturalism has created a new kind of bind. Though it allows the white elite to preserve their power over the "visible," hyphenated "minorities," multiculturalism insists that citizens define themselves according to ancestral culture, and after a few generations as ordinary Anglo-Celts, this has proved difficult for white Canadians to do. Decades in the late twentieth-century that were devoted to defining "Canadian character" or "Canadian culture" were stymied by this very point. Scottishness again offered a potential solution: a set of visible ethnic markers that do not demand physical characteristics beyond whiteness, and that can be commodified and made available to all white Canadians. This is perhaps what has been behind the tartan simulacrum that exploded in the late twentieth-century, particularly in the tourist culture of the Maritimes. But there have been consequences: Margaret Laurence and Alistair MacLeod joined those who tried to recapture the authenticity of specific ancestral histories, perhaps in response again to the oppression of a "dominant" culture. However, in a postcolonial world, Scottishness has become a problematic culture with which to choose to identify.

Though MacLeod and others try to fit Scottishness into Canadian history through its status as displaced victim from a lost homeland—a refugee subject who sits nicely within the contemporary rubric that Canada is a nation of immigrants, Laurence tries to find a place for that

history to sit alongside her acknowledgement of the role of the Scots in the colonization of Canada and the displacement of First Nations people. This is not, of course, an easy task. White Canadians do not yet have a vocabulary with which to recognize both their complicity in and responsibilities toward a First Nations population that was decimated and yet remains present in Canada *and* to express a sense of community and national belonging. My hope is that beginning to better understand the construction of the white Canadian identity that is taken for granted today may help to open space for a new vocabulary to develop.

I also hope that explicating the role of Scottishness in the creation of this limiting Canadian identity leads to more research on the stake that Scots themselves have had in creating this discourse. This is a difficult question, and not one that I have chosen to delve into in the course of this project. Though most of the authors whose works I have read in this study were either from Scotland or descended from Scots, not all were. Though it is certainly easy to believe, as Michael Vance and Daniel Coleman both argue, that Scots were invested in mobilizing themselves as British subjects in order to gain access to the privilege and power that the British wielded, this was not always the case. Certainly the example of the Presbyterians who refused to join the United Church of Canada in the 1920s—rejecting the opportunity to become a leading part of the most powerful Protestant denomination in the country—shows the divisions within the Scottish community. And though it is easy to see the Scots celebrating their own identities, opportunities, and successes in Canada through books like John Murray Gibbon's 1911 *Scots in Canada: A History of the Settlement of the Dominion from the Earliest Days to the Present Time*, those who weren't Scottish, like J.S. Woodsworth, celebrated Scottish accomplishments too. The influence of the discourse over the century, as well as the popularity of the Celtic revival across white ethnic groups, also seem to speak to the acceptance and

usefulness of the discourse of Scottishness to those other than the minority of white Canadians who actually trace their ancestries to Scotland.

In *Scots in Canada*, Gibbon tries to sell the idea that in fact all Canadians are Scottish-Canadians. He traces human civilization from Adam and Eve forward, as, he writes, "the Spirit of the World has been impelled for many thousand years into a westward motion" (11). As "tribe followed tribe, nation followed nation, race followed race" (11-12), races begin to converge in Scotland. The Norsemen, Vikings, who settled the Orkneys also explored Labrador, Iceland and Greenland. Norsemen become "Northmen" and become the Danes who move into England and the Scottish Lowlands. The Normans were also "Northmen," who pushed the "Anglo-Danes...back closer into the Scottish Lowlands, where in truth they found many a Northman cousin" (15). While trying to hold back the Norman English, the Lowland Scots allied with France, and "under the shadow of that Ancient League, many Scots went south to serve the Golden Lilies, gaining seigneuries for their valour under names that curiously reappear in Nouvelle France" (16). For, "who so likely as those Franco-Scots, rovers and warriors and merchants and colonisers by instinct, to be the pioneers for France adventuring into the New World" (16-17). Gibbon links all those who were exploring and trading in the Americas as a brotherhood of "sea rovers," and questions the distinctions made between the various national groups:

> The records centre round the so-called English and the so-called French. But it is significant that the ships which later sailed from Gravesend for the Company of Adventures Trading into Hudson Bay never failed to call at the Orkneys for their crews. (19)

In his portrait of inevitability of Canada's imperial colonisation, Gibbon ties all these groups together once again as "the history of the North-West Trail—of Northmen, Normans, and Scots, waves of the same great human tide for ever pressing to the West under the impulse of economic circumstance and the inspiration of bold adventure" (20). His book begins to examine the Scots in Canada through a lens viewing the Scots first as the universal Northern European.

Gibbon then constructs the Scots as the universal white Canadian settler subject. He traces the stories of the Scots who came with the French to Quebec, to Nova Scotia, and those who fought (on both sides) on the Plains of Abraham. Scottish prisoners from various rebellions were shipped off to the New World as punishment, and more joined the English army as the Highland chieftainship system went into "decay due to the union with the English" (35). He moves through the settlement of the Maritimes and into Ontario through the United Empire Loyalists—also primarily Scots in his story. Though he credits French *voyageurs* for opening up the fur trade, he also points to their weakness for "Indian squaws, good enough wives for a canoe life, but hardly the wives to help to build up a nation" (90). That task falls to the Scots, who took over from the French in the West through the North West Company. According to Gibbon, these men were proper explorers and traders who *led* groups of French and Indians across the West searching for trading passages and notoriety. Scots ran the Hudson's Bay Company and negotiated with it to settle the Red River colony and "Win the West" (119). In the end, he also attributes the call for a unified Dominion of Canada to "the Scots settlers who now were stretched in almost unbroken line from Nova Scotia to Vancouver Island" (136).

When he comes to his present day Scottish-Canadian peers, they are no longer universal, but now specifically idealized: they stand out from the crowd of other farmers and industrious labourers in the fledgling nation. When Gibbon recounts his own visit to Canada, he is directed

to John Murray, a local Scots farmer, with the endorsement, "he is the best man we have round here" (157). When they meet, Gibbon writes, "Of course he came from Aberdeen! The rich Doric bewrayed him, as it bewrayeth many thousand of the best of the new Canadians" (157). John Murray's farm was exemplary in every way, according to them both, and Murray reported that "he could tell a Scotsman's farm in Canada simply by the look of it. The Scot, he said, could teach the Canadian farming" (158).

Gibbon finishes his work with an admission that Scots are not the only Europeans in Canada, but that they are among the best of its citizens:

> They are only one-eighth of the total population, but they hold among them more than one-half of the positions worth having. The best passport for any immigrant into Canada to-day is to speak with a Scots accent. One occasionally sees the notice in connection with some situation, "No English need apply." If any Canadian had the temerity to say, "No Scots need apply," he would not only advertise himself a fool, but he would probably be lynched. (161)

Though Gibbon's early book may occupy a unique niche in Canadian writing of the era, this summary again explicitly reveals the way Gibbon works within the paradox of visibility and invisibility that the Scots embody in Canada. Gibbon works hard to construct the Scots as the naturalized, seamless, universal white civilized identity, but also needs to highlight them as special and particular in order to make them an example worth following and to acknowledge their historical context as one among many settler groups in Canada at the time. As I have explored throughout this thesis, though time and political and social circumstances have altered the particular aspects of the discourse of Scottishness that are exploited, Gibbon's project of "re-calling" the ordinary Canadian as a Scottish Canadian is not as out of date as it might first

appear. In fact, the category of generic, ordinary Canadian is reinforced and preserved through the many visible markers of ethnicity that the discourse of Scottishness provides.

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