

University of Alberta

The "New Canadian"
and Canada's 1927 Diamond Jubilee:
Representation of National Unity and Identity

by

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and
Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Master of Arts

in

History of Art & Design

Department of Art and Design

Edmonton, Alberta
Fall 1997



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0-612-22552-6

Abstract

This thesis is an examination of a selection of photographs of "new Canadians," produced within the context of the 1927 celebration of Canada's Diamond Jubilee of Confederation. "New Canadian" is a term that came into use in the early-twentieth century to identify the "foreign-born" immigrant who had settled in Canada with the intention of becoming a Canadian citizen. While all immigrants were technically "new Canadians" the term was reserved primarily to identify those of non-British and non-French origins. In the following pages I investigate how, in the early decades of the twentieth century, the photographic image of the "new Canadian" within a specific historical event complicated and challenged the construction of a national unity and the visualization of a homogeneous racial and cultural Canadian identity.

Acknowledgements

I have been fortunate throughout the writing of this thesis to have the support and encouragement of individuals who I admire and respect. I would like to thank Colleen Skidmore, my supervisor, for her insightful guidance and patient attention. Thank you to Dr. Frances Swyripa for reading and offering comments on the initial proposal of this thesis topic. I am grateful for the consistent support of Dr. Bridgett Elliot, Dr. Lynne Bell and Bruce Grenville. The financial assistance of the Saskatchewan Arts Board (Individual Assistance B Grant, Study and Research, 1993) is gratefully acknowledged. And finally, I thank my parents, Elizabeth and Steve Sawchyn, and Gerry Ring.

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Introduction

In *The Body Imaged: The Human Form and Visual Culture Since the Renaissance* (1993), Kathleen Adler and Marcia Pointon describe how different representations of the human body that transverse one another in the same image can be interpreted as a language:

The body is ... both an object represented in two dimensions (photograph, painting, print) and an organism that is organized to represent concepts and desires (the dancing body, the body clothed or unclothed, the body in motion or posed for an audience.) Two systems of representation intertwine and overlap. Language is here understood to mean a system of signs produced in a particular historical set of circumstances and involving repetitions and encodings of the kind to which societies attribute specific meanings either consciously or unconsciously.¹

In considering the medium of photography, Adler and Pointon remind us of the ability of the photographed body to confirm perceived differences between European and non-European bodies while at the same time to challenge the social order that the photograph is being used to communicate. They stress that access to the meanings of the historically-imaged body is to be found in the seemingly insignificant - the costumes, postures and settings; that

¹ Kathleen Adler and Marcia Pointon, *The Body Imaged: The Human Form and Visual Culture Since the Renaissance*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 125.

when considered within the context of their production, the historically-imaged body often exhibits more than is initially visible. It is with these thoughts in mind that I approach the photographs of "new Canadians" produced in 1927 as part of the celebration of Canada's Diamond Jubilee of Confederation.

If we are to begin to understand and interpret how the image of the "new Canadian" functioned within a visual language responsive to early-twentieth century political, social and economic conditions, then these images must be viewed with a comprehension of the complexity surrounding the issues of Canada's national unity and racial and cultural identity in the 1920s.² This includes a realization of the lack of a homogeneous Canadian identity within a country that was experiencing increasing immigration from non-English and non-French speaking countries. It also necessitates a familiarity of the complex relationship between a belief in the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race, a growing fear of an "immigrant invasion" of supposedly degenerative, feebleminded bodies and minds and the rise in

² Writing in the 1970s in the Preface to *The Bush Garden* (1971) Northrop Frye describes Canadian unity and identity as being two very different things with identity referring to something more local and regional and unity to the national and political. In the context of this study, the early decades of the twentieth century, the construction of Canada's national unity was also considered in national and political terms. However, identity, while influenced by the local and the regional, was largely considered in racial and cultural terms.

the popularity of eugenics.³ For it was within this context that the minds and bodies of "new Canadians" were examined, described, judged, categorized and visualized in the early-twentieth century. It is my thesis that this process, supported with the aid of photography the development of a visual language of the human body in general and the "new Canadian" body in particular.

An important study of the relationship that has existed between the human body and photography since the mid-nineteenth century is made by Allan Sekula in "The Body and the Archive" (1986).⁴ Sekula describes how in the nineteenth century the invention of a general "social body" and a more specific criminal body led to the creation of systems of identifying, classifying and disciplining the body of "the other" all in the service of protecting and bettering society. Photography was recognized as an important

³ Funk and Wagnalls Canadian College Dictionary (1986) defines eugenics as "The science of improving the physical and mental qualities of human beings, through control of the factors influencing heredity, as by controlled selection of parents." In a study of the history of eugenics in Canada, *Our Own Master Race* (1990), Angus McLaren argues that while supporters claimed eugenics as part of "an international movement and a science" in the early twentieth century, in reality it was a system of maintaining racial and class stereotypes that upheld the Anglo-Saxon as racially superior. It is this latter interpretation of eugenics, with its practice of measuring all immigrants against the Anglo-Saxon "ideal," that I am considering in relation to the visual representation of "new Canadians" in this study.

⁴ Allan Sekula, "The Body and the Archive," *October* 39 (Winter 1986): 3-64.

instrument in the service of social control and developing systems of surveillance such as the gathering of social statistics, fingerprinting and the evolution of the archive. Sekula uses the example of photographic portraiture to describe how photography provided the means of introducing into modern life the panopticon principle, a form of discipline based on constant surveillance.⁵ He describes how the imaging of social disorder, through the construction and visualization of a deviant "other," could only be achieved by the construction and visualization of its opposite. The unifying common element between these representations which inspired the development of an understandable visual code or language was the surface of the human body.

The general all-inclusive archive necessarily contains both the traces of the visible bodies of the heroes, leaders, moral exemplars, celebrities, and those of the poor, the diseased, the insane, the criminal, the nonwhite, the female and all other embodiments of the unworthy. The clearest indication of the essential unity of this archive of images of the body lies in the fact that by the mid-nineteenth century a single hermeneutic paradigm had gained widespread prestige. This

⁵ Sekula, 6-10. Traditionally, portraiture was available only to members of society's privileged classes who had the means of commissioning an artist to reproduce their likeness in a painting, drawing or sculpture. The invention of photography made portraiture available to members of most classes of society by removing the financial obstacle. Sekula describes this democratizing characteristic of photography as being "honorific." At the same time, however, photography was also used to picture the bodies of deviants and "others" including criminals and the insane which Sekula describes as "repressive." The fusion of these two systems of representation, Sekula argues, made constant surveillance possible in modern daily life.

paradigm had two entwined branches, physiognomy and phrenology. Both shared the belief that the surface of the body, and especially the face and head, bore the outward signs of inner character.⁶

One result of the intersection of the ideas of social betterment, the body and photography examined by Sekula is the work of Sir Francis Galton. Galton, the cousin of Charles Darwin, was an English statistician and the founder of eugenics who, in the 1870s, began to employ the combination photograph, a method of multiple superimposition and exposure, to produce images of superior and inferior human types.⁷ Galton considered the combination photograph, which he used until about 1915, to be a form of "pictorial statistics" that made visible class and racial characteristics supporting his eugenics arguments. In "The Body and the Archive," Sekula describes eugenics as an "utopian ideology" that was "inspired and haunted by a sense of social decline and exhaustion" and "an attempt to push the English social average toward an imaginary, lost Athens, and away from an equally imaginary, threatening Africa." To Sekula, Galton's combination photographs were in essence "an illustrated lecture on eugenics."⁸

The use of photography to identify the body of "the

⁶ Sekula, 10.

⁷ For a description of how Galton made his photographs see Sekula, 46-47.

⁸ Sekula, 44, 48, 54.

other" did not end with the nineteenth century. In the early decades of the twentieth century, ideas of social betterment, the body and photography continued to mingle, finding a suitable subject in the body of the immigrant other. It is in part this language of difference that circulates in the photographs of "new Canadians" produced as part of the 1927 celebration of Canada's Diamond Jubilee of Confederation.

The use of a public event as a method of examining a larger issue of representation takes direction from a growing inter-disciplinary discourse that gives equal importance to the production of visual images and the contexts which have produced them. An example of this research is Roy Strong's examination of the Renaissance court festival as an instrument of the modern state in *Art and Power* (1984). Strong describes how an extensive visual program that included ballets, firework displays, water spectacles, palace building, masques and the duplication and distribution of state portraits and commemorative books and medals allowed the Renaissance court festival to be used as a form of entertainment and as a strategy of enforcing certain political and social agendas. Strong identifies the festival as a kind of silent language that speaks to the visual sense, a form of visual expression that depended on the ability of the audience to recognize and interpret what

was seen.⁹

Viewers of the celebration of Canada's Diamond Jubilee of Confederation were also required to recognize and interpret what was presented to them. The Jubilee, celebrated nation wide on July 1, 2 and 3, 1927 was an event that was conceived and carried out in response to certain social, political and economic needs. Proposed as an expression of Canadian national spirit and unity, the Jubilee inspired the production of an extensive visual program including historical pageants and parades, firework displays, planting of trees, distribution of a series of commemorative stamps, plaques and medals, production of a few short films and writing of celebratory literature. The photographs of "new Canadians" examined in this thesis were also a part of this visual program. Although the British North America Act recognized two founding nations, French and British, it is a predominantly Anglo-Saxon history and culture, however, that is presented in the albums of photographs of the Jubilee celebration held in the nation's capital of Ottawa. The image of the "new Canadian" in this official narrative both confirms this interpretation and dismisses any contemporary concerns about immigrant resistance to "Canadianization" or an "immigrant invasion."

But there is more than one narrative retrievable from

⁹ Roy Strong, *Art and Power: Renaissance Festivals 1450-1650*, (Great Britain: Boydell Press, 1984), 20-23.

these photographs of "new Canadians." For while Canada had much to celebrate in 1927, including economic and material prosperity and growing international recognition, it did not possess a national unity or a homogeneous Canadian identity. By examining the photographs of "new Canadians" who participated in Jubilee celebrations in Toronto and Winnipeg, we are able to see how the construction of national unity and the visualization of a racially and culturally homogeneous Canadian identity was challenged and complicated by the image of the "new Canadian." As Adler and Pointon have argued, it is possible for more than one representation to exist in the same image of the human body and, in the case of the photographed body, it is possible for the body imaged to confirm perceived differences while simultaneously challenging the social order the photograph is being used to communicate. It is this ambiguous photographic space that offers an opportunity to see much more than a celebration of Canada's Diamond Jubilee in these images of "new Canadians."

Public events such as this one have lately been recognized as legitimate spaces for examining "the tensions and strains, as well as the links and bonds within a society." In "Conflict and Consensus on a Ceremonial Occasion: The Diamond Jubilee in Cambridge in 1897" (1981), Elizabeth Hammerton and David Cannadine acknowledge that public ritualistic occasions, such as the celebration of

Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee in 1897, can be interpreted as a method by which society "reaffirms collective sentiments and ideas which make its unity and personality."¹⁰ But it is Hammerton and Cannadine's position that ceremonial occasions can be as much about conflict as they are about consensus. They state:

such ceremonial occasions may be seen, not as the embodiment of shared consensus, but as propaganda on behalf of a particular value system. What is from one theoretical standpoint presented as a festival of consensus may more plausibly be seen as an attempt to make authoritative a certain way of looking at society by invoking people's loyalties towards a particular symbolic representation of the social order.¹¹

The photographs of "new Canadians" produced within the context of the celebration of Canada's Diamond Jubilee of Confederation provide an opportunity to access and explore official and unofficial interpretations of history and retrieve otherwise absent voices. This can enlighten our own contemporary understanding of the struggle to define Canadian identity and foster national unity. In the following contextualization and interpretation of the representations of "new Canadians," it is possible to see not only how the ideas of Canada's unity and identity were

¹⁰ E. Durkheim, *Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, trans. by J.W. Swain (London, 1915), 427 quoted in Elizabeth Hammerton and David Cannadine, "Conflict and Consensus on Ceremonial Occasion: The Diamond Jubilee in Cambridge in 1897," *The Historical Journal* 24, 1 (1981): 111-146.

¹¹ Hammerton and Cannadine, 113.

constructed and celebrated in the early-twentieth century but also how ideas of Canada's unity and identity were resisted and negotiated.

Chapter One

Mosaic or Melting Pot?

I

Is assimilation of certain peoples impossible?
What is to be reckoned as adequate or satisfactory
"assimilation?"

Would it involve a complete acceptance of the
culture of the new environment and a complete
abandonment of the old?

Would this be good for the immigrant?
For their neighbours in the new environment?

Is the most desirable result in Canada a triumph
of Anglo-Saxon culture or that of a culture based
on Anglo-Saxon tradition enriched by other
elements?¹

It is commonly thought that Canada has always
distinguished itself from the United States by its self-
portrayal as a "mosaic." This has not been the case
historically. In the early decades of the twentieth century,
there was controversy over the development of a Canadian

¹ Kate Foster, *Our Canadian Mosaic*, (Toronto: Y.W.C.A., 1926), 78. In the early-twentieth century "Anglo Saxon," as used here by Foster, generally referred to Canada's dominant English population. The term is used in recent writing by historians (including Alan Artibise, Angus McLaren and Howard Palmer) to refer to "white Anglo-Saxons" in Canada. Funk and Wagnalls Canadian College Dictionary (1986) includes in the definition of Anglo-Saxon, "A person of English nationality or descent." While recognizing the ambiguity and difficulty of using this term I have chosen to use it in this thesis as a means of maintaining a sense of clarity and consistency when referring to the dominant English population in Canada in the early-twentieth century.

"race" and debate over whether Canada should follow a "mosaic" or "melting pot" model of society. At the centre of this debate was the increase in numbers of "non-preferred" immigrants, those from southern and eastern European and Asian countries, the ability of Canada to assimilate these immigrants as well as immigrant resistance to assimilation, in the form of the retention of old-country language and culture.² In the early decades of the twentieth century, Canada's mosaic - melting pot dilemma and the fear of an "immigrant invasion" were visually manifested in photographic representations of the immigrant "other." It is the construction of this imaging that is the focus of this

² Angus McLaren, *Our Own Master Race*, (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1990), 59. A recent interpretation of the historical relationship between Anglo-Saxon Canadians, non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants and assimilation is offered in "British-Canadian Intellectuals, Ukrainian Immigrants, and Canadian National Identity." Here Barry Ferguson proposes that an awareness of a lack of a homogeneous Canadian identity during the early decades of this century caused a high level of anxiety amongst British-Canadian intellectuals and prompted an active search for an appropriate model on which to create a Canadian identity. According to Ferguson up until the late teens of the twentieth century the dominant culture desired a homogeneous Canadian identity. True assimilation was believed to be a long term social and cultural process that resulted in the "genetic blending of all of Canada's peoples." According to Ferguson, during the interwar years, for reasons not explained, the understanding of assimilation shifted from a social and cultural genetic blending to one which focused on political and economic adaptation. As will be seen in this thesis, this was neither a clean nor complete shift. See Barry Ferguson, "British-Canadian Intellectuals, Ukrainian Immigrants and Canadian National Identity," *Canada's Ukrainians: Negotiating an Identity*, eds. Lubomyr Luciuk and Stella Hryniuk, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991), 316.

chapter.

Immigration to Canada was temporarily halted by World War One but resumed again in the early 1920s with over 1.1 million immigrants arriving between 1922 and 1931.³ Both the Railways Agreement Act of 1925 and the United States' increasing restrictions on immigration encouraged non-British and non-French emigrants to approach Canada's borders.⁴ These immigrant groups tended to establish communities in "blocks," resulting in overcrowded, unsanitary "ghettos," "wards" and "Chinatowns." Old-country languages and cultures were maintained through immigrant social, political, religious and cultural organizations. By the 1920s, these came to be considered symptoms of an "immigrant problem" by members of the medical profession, social and religious groups, academics, politicians and the general public, and was the subject of many English-language books, journal articles, personal essays and government and medical studies. But how could immigrants be expected to renounce their old-country identities when no Canadian

³ Howard Palmer, ed., *Immigration and the Rise of Multiculturalism*, (Toronto: Copp Clark Publishing, 1975), 4-13.

⁴ In 1921 and 1924 the United States Government placed increasing restrictions on the entry of central and eastern Europeans while in 1925 the Railways Agreement Act between Canada's federal government and the CPR and CNR, gave transportation companies permission to populate the Canadian prairies with immigrants from southern, eastern and central Europe.

identity existed to assimilate them? A large part of the "immigrant problem," therefore, was the absence of a homogeneous cultural and racial Canadian identity.⁵

Throughout the early decades of the twentieth century but especially in the 1920s, immigration was a divisive issue amongst businesses and transportation companies, federal and provincial governments and religious, social and labour groups who had their own, often conflicting, reasons for supporting or rejecting existing immigration policies. A sense of the period's discord over immigration and its impact on Canada's identity and future is detected in a series of "Pointed Questions" offered for consideration in the study *Our Canadian Mosaic*. This work, issued in 1926 by the Dominion Council Y.W.C.A. in Toronto, outlined Canada's immigration policy and described the different immigrant groups seeking admittance into the country.

Researched and written by Kate Foster, *Our Canadian*

⁵ Attempts to spark the development of a national Canadian culture were made by numerous artists, writers, musicians and intellectuals in English Canada in the 1920s. Most agreed that Canada was in need of a national culture and identity that was distinct from all things British and European. Landscape was frequently seen as the common denominator that bonded Canadians physically and spiritually. It was this context that inspired the paintings of the Group of Seven and the national music movement of the late 1920s and 1930s. For an overview of how Canada's northern environment was used to generate Canadian nationalism in the first fifty years of Confederation see Carl Berger, "The True North Strong and Free," *Nationalism in Canada*, ed. Peter Russell, (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, 1966), 3-26.

Mosaic examined how each province had responded to their "new Canadians" and what various religious, educational and national organizations, such as the United Church of Canada, the Canadian Girl Guides Association, the Canadian Red Cross and the Y.M.C.A., had done to assist the "foreign-born's" transition to life in Canada. Throughout this 150 page volume, Foster supported her survey with government statistics including census records, statements from the Department of Immigration and Colonization and Canada's Department of Health.⁶

In the introduction to *Our Canadian Mosaic*, Foster assured her readers that the purpose of the study was to "creat[e] and promot[e] more friendly relations between all peoples within our borders." She later assisted her readers

⁶ Kate Foster (Mrs. Percival Foster, née Kate Adèle Pattullo) was born in Woodstock, Ontario of Scottish and English descent. The Canadian Newspaper Source's *National Reference Book* (1940) lists Foster as an "ex-Field Secretary of the National Council of the Y.W.C.A., and Executive of the Economic Relations Committee of the same organization; organizer and one of the founders of the Council of Friendship of native and foreign born Canadians [and] Chairman of the National Committee of the Council of Friendship." Foster is also listed as a "Member of the League of Nations Society, Toronto Branch; Council of Friendship; International League for Peace and Freedom; Y.W.C.A.; Women's Canadian Club; [and] Academy of Political Science (Columbia University, N.Y.)." Kate Foster was actively associated with the Y.W.C.A. between 1918 and 1935. In 1925, she was commissioned by this association to survey the "foreign-born" in Western Canada. Her results were published in *Our Canadian Mosaic*. Foster travelled widely across Canada and the world. She was a speaker at many church and university groups and participated in a number of international conferences.

in a visualization of what the future could be by drawing an analogy between the work of nation building and the art of mosaic, writing that "In the development of Mosaic a great many nationalities have played a part, each civilization contributing something of value to the ancient art," whether they be "glistering stones," "sombre and less precious stones," or "even the common clay."⁷ In conclusion, Foster suggested that "good will and friendliness born of mutual respect and confidence" was the "cement" required to bond "native-born" and "foreign-born" together in order to create an enduring Canadian Mosaic:

Just as the use of pictorial and figure subjects demands comprehensive historical knowledge lest misleading ideas be conveyed, so the use of human "tiles" demands that we native-born Canadians make it our business to know something of the background of our fellow workers, and that the Foreign-Born endeavor to learn something of the history, customs and aspirations of the country of their adoption.⁸

But in the mid-1920s, when this study was published, the concept of a Canadian mosaic was still fresh and the goodwill and confidence required for bonding together "glistering stones" and "common clay" remained weak. Even within the pages of *Our Canadian Mosaic* there is a lack of uniformity in the attitude towards immigrants and immigration. In the study's Forward for example, written by

⁷ Foster, 143.

⁸ Ibid.

James H. Coyne, President of the Royal Society of Canada, goodwill and friendliness appear to take a back seat to caution and protection:

At her gates, desiring admission, are nationals of various races, colours, creeds, traditions, moral standards, manners and customs. Shall we admit them indiscriminately? Shall the bars be thrown down to unrestricted immigration? Is there such a thing as a national standard to be maintained? We are trustees, not merely for the Canada of today but for our posterity, and the greater Canada that is to be. We guard our homes and farms, our shops and factories from unwelcome intrusion.⁹

At the same time that Foster was visualizing a future Canadian mosaic there was considerable support in Canada to follow the United States' melting pot model of immigrant assimilation. This powerful twentieth-century symbol was created to signify the desired immigrant experience in the United States and the "ideal form which that society [was] attempting to realize."¹⁰ In his 1964 essay, "The Melting Pot: Symbol of Fusion or Confusion?" Philip Gleason describes the symbolic value of the melting pot:

⁹ Foster, 5. It is significant that Coyne wrote the Forward to *Our Canadian Mosaic* when he was President of the Royal Society of Canada. In the 1920s, the Royal Society was one of English Canada's most prestigious intellectual organizations that concerned itself with, among other things, contemporary issues of Canadian unity and identity. See Mary Vipond, "The Nationalist Network: English Canada's Intellectuals and Artists in the 1920s," *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism* 7 (Spring 1980), 34.

¹⁰ Allan Smith, "Metaphor and Nationality in North America," *Canadian Historical Review* 51 (September 1970): 248.

... it is the melting pot as symbol rather than as theory which is of primary importance; the difficulty in framing an adequate theory of immigrant adjustment was, in fact, one of the principal reasons for the popularity of the symbol. As a symbol, the melting pot stands in some fashion for the process of interaction of different ethnic groups and for the society in which the process is taking place. At the time the symbol came into general usage, this process was not understood in any clear and comprehensive way, yet it was of great public importance and was much discussed. Theoretical concepts like "assimilation" were employed in this discussion, and so were popular figurative terms like "mixing," "melting," "blending" and "fusing." The melting pot provided a large symbol, a comprehensive figurative framework, which subsumed into itself many metaphoric terms already in common use; it seemed to conform in some way to the process that was going on, and it lent itself to picturesque elaboration which made it ideal for colorful use by journalists.¹¹

How colorful and picturesque the melting pot was is visible in a photograph published in a 1916 issue of *The Outlook* magazine as part of an article entitled "Americans First: How the People of Detroit are Making Americans of the Foreigners of Their City." The photograph (Figure 1) is of a scene in a pageant performed by Ford Motor Company's immigrant employees enrolled in the company's English-language classes.¹² Centrally placed in this photograph is a

¹¹ Philip Gleason, "The Melting Pot: Symbol of Fusion or Confusion?" *American Quarterly* 16 (Spring 1964): 43.

¹² Ford, like many large companies in the United States and Canada employed immigrants in their factories for low wages. Since many of the immigrants could not speak English, and because functioning in the English language was considered necessary for an immigrant's complete assimilation, companies like Ford often required non-English

large pot labeled with the words "Ford English School Melting Pot." Above the handle of this pot is the United States' motto *E Pluribus Unum* - Out of Many, One. Descending into the pot's depths are members of different immigrant nationalities holding signs and wearing costumes identifying their old country origins. Departing from the pot and positioned on the both sides are rows of "new Americans" dressed in business suits, carrying in one hand a scroll (possibly naturalization papers or an English language diploma) and in the other a flag of the United States.

Gleason traces the origin of the use of the melting pot as a symbol for immigrant assimilation in the United States to a play, written by a Jewish immigrant, Israel Zangwill, and performed for the first time in Washington, D.C. in 1908. In the final scene of the play the main characters, both immigrants, gaze on a fiery sunset and proclaim:

[David] It is the fires of God round His Crucible.
There she lies, the great Melting Pot--listen!
Can't you hear the roaring and the bubbling? There
gapes her mouth--the harbour where a thousand
mammoth feeders come from the ends of the world to
pour in their human freight. Ah, what a stirring
and a seething! Celt and Latin, Slave and Teuton,
Greek and Syrian,--black and yellow--

[Vera] Jew and Gentile--

[David] Yes, East and West, and North and South,
the palm and the pine, the pole and the equator,
the crescent and the cross--how the great
Alchemists melts and fuses them with his purging

speaking employees to attend company English language classes.

flame! Here shall they all unite to build the Republic of Man and the Kingdom of God. Ah, Vera, what is the glory of Rome and Jerusalem where all nations and races come to worship and look back, compared with the glory of America, where all races and nations come to labour and look forward!... ¹³

According to Gleason, while the initial uses of the melting pot symbol were confusing - did it refer to "biological blending" or "cultural assimilation?"; was it meant to be "descriptive" or "prescriptive?" - by the end of the First World War the meaning had become clear. The period's increasing nationalism served to fix the functional and symbolic use of the melting pot on the spiritual and physical transformation of immigrants into patriotic Anglo-Saxon Americans. It is this transformation that is portrayed in the photograph of the Ford Motor Company's melting pot pageant. Here the bodies of the "many," immigrants from Russia, Greece, Poland, Norway and Rumania, are visually transformed into "one" by adopting western dress and expressing loyalty to the flag of the United States. In the photograph of this performance the melting pot and the American flag function as part of a larger visual and symbolic vocabulary that includes the physical body of the immigrant. Here the body of the immigrant is a carrier of the signs of difference and sameness; old country and new; disunion and union. This is visible in the distinction made

¹³ Israel Zangwill, *The Melting Pot. A Drama in Four Acts* (London: William Heinemann, 1919), 198-99.

between the pre-assimilated bodies of the immigrant, which are contained within the rim of the melting pot, and the transformed "new Americans" who, like soldiers guarding against an "immigrant invasion," stand at attention on either side of the pot each armed with a small American flag.

The "unwelcome intrusion" referred to by Coyne in his *Forward to Our Canadian Mosaic* was more commonly described in contemporary literature as an "immigrant invasion." Some immigrants, such as those from Japan and India, were seen both as unassimilable and an unfair form of cheap labour exploited by business and industry at the expense of the native-born trying to earn a living. Furthermore, other immigrant groups such as Syrians, Jews and Italians had survived the worst of the pioneering years of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries and were now able to direct time and money towards the establishment of political, social, religious, athletic and theatrical societies. Many of these societies offered the opportunity to maintain old-country cultures, traditions and languages in Canada. This activity was often interpreted as a form of resistance to "Canadianization" by those supportive of a Canada grounded in Anglo-Saxon culture, traditions and institutions.

For example, by the early 1920s Ukrainians, one of the largest immigrant groups in Canada according to the 1921

census, adamantly and openly expressed the desire to maintain their native language and culture in their adoptive country. Increasing Ukrainian nationalism and awareness of the struggles of Ukrainians in the old country was fed by political refugees fleeing the fall of the short-lived Ukrainian state in 1917. Among the many Ukrainian organizations formed in Canada after World War One were the Ukrainian Labour Farmer Temple Association in 1918; the Ukrainian Women's Association of Canada in 1926 and the Ukrainian Self Reliance League of Canada in 1927. In 1926, Michael Luchkovich of Vegreville, Alberta, was elected as the first Canadian of Ukrainian origin to sit in the House of Commons.

The ability of Ukrainians to organize, their determination to maintain Ukrainian language and culture in Canada and their visual presence, even if only to perform traditional songs and dances, threatened those who preferred the "foreign-born" to assimilate quickly and quietly into an Anglo-Saxon Canada. This is evident in a confidential memorandum of August 31, 1921 from the Royal Canadian Mounted Police to A.F. Sladen, Private Secretary to the Governor General:

A determined fight is being made against Canadianization and assimilation among certain important foreign elements in Canada. The lead is taken by the Ukrainians, and the Russians proper show some signs of being attracted into the movement. . . . The methods employed are voluntary schools, the teaching of the Ukrainian language,

the keeping alive of Ukrainian songs and music, and the appearance of a rude cultural movement which, while grotesque in some respects, is virile, and has its roots in the mass of the common people.¹⁴

Not everyone felt the same towards Canada's Ukrainian immigrants. In keeping with the period's lack of consensus over immigrants and immigration, Foster describes Ukrainians as hard and patient workers who accepted jobs that "were often those least desired by English-speaking men." In support of Ukrainian immigrants she writes how the

"Adoption of Canadian clothes, food, vehicles and business methods are evidences that the Ukrainian is readily assimilable if given the sympathy, encouragement and educational facilities which are his due."¹⁵

Further responding to concerns regarding Ukrainian loyalty Foster states:

The intensely nationalistic spirit sometimes shown by Ukrainians tends to make native-born Canadians doubt their loyalty to Canada which is manifestly unfair for large numbers of Ukrainians born in Galicia gave ample proof of their devotion to the country of their adoption by going overseas with the Canadian Forces during the Great War."¹⁶

Moved as she was to compassionately portray the "new Canadian" to the readers of *Our Canadian Mosaic* (who would mostly count themselves members of the Anglo-Saxon middle class), Foster's goodwill and friendliness were colored by a

¹⁴ National Archives of Canada, RG7 G14, vol. 96, file 103.

¹⁵ Foster, 56.

¹⁶ Ibid.

bias toward Anglo-Saxon culture and tradition. In the final line of Foster's "Pointed Questions," the reader is asked: "Is the most desirable result in Canada a triumph of Anglo-Saxon culture or that of a culture based on Anglo-Saxon tradition enriched by other elements?" Not figured into this equation were the culture and traditions of French Canadians who in the decades following Confederation experienced increasing marginalization in Canada.

In "A Study of the CPR-Sponsored Quebec Folk Song and Handicraft Festivals, 1927-1930" (1982), Janet McNaughton examines a series of early-twentieth-century folk festivals held in Quebec City within the context of French-Canadian nationalism, a "handicraft revival" and Canadian nationalism, including the quest for Canadian national unity and identity.¹⁷ McNaughton describes how a series of post-Confederation events, including the Metis uprisings (1885), the Manitoba school crisis (1897), the Boer War (1899) and the conscription crisis of World War One, strained relations

¹⁷ Janet Elizabeth McNaughton, "A Study of the CPR-Sponsored Quebec Folk Song and Handicraft Festivals, 1927-1930," (M.A. thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1982). The first of these festivals was held in May of 1927, only months prior to the celebration of Canada's Diamond Jubilee. McNaughton notes that there were at least sixteen folk festivals sponsored by the CPR between 1927 and 1931. While she focuses on the Quebec festivals and the presentation of francophone culture, others held in CPR hotels in Winnipeg, Regina and Calgary featured the dances, songs and handicrafts of the different immigrant groups settled on the prairies. It is significant that these festivals were held at this time in Canadian history and much important research needs to be done on them.

between English and French Canada. According to McNaughton, these Anglo-related events added to the threat already felt towards French-Canadian identity. Additional threats to the latter, believed to be rooted in rural living, Catholicism and the French language, were felt from increasing urbanization and post-war immigration of non-British and non-French Europeans who settled in Quebec and became English speaking. One consequence was the rise of an "inward-looking nationalism," in the mid-1920s fed by the L'Action française movement and the writings of historian Abbé Lionel Groulx which emphasized "the mystical separateness of French-Canadians" and implied "a mystic notion of race."¹⁸

II

In time, a new Canadian type will doubtless emerge, but it can be neither definite nor permanent until racial elements in our population have shown much greater homogeneity in the matter of birthrate than has been the case up to the present. Our racial melting-pot is boiling; the ingredients therein are increasing at different rates and foreign elements are being added continuously. Anyone who is so rash to explore the cauldron for the Canadian *par excellence* will find him most elusive, and probably succeed only in getting burnt.¹⁹

¹⁸ McNaughton, 48. Note that the CPR-sponsored folk song and handicraft festivals held in Quebec were intended to promote goodwill and understanding between English and French Canadians and were not part of Groulx's separate race ideas.

¹⁹ W. Burton Hurd, "Is There a Canadian Race?" *Queen's Quarterly* XXXV (1927): 625. Note that Hurd's use of the phrase "a new Canadian type" refers here to an abstract

Canada is now the only country on the earth which possesses all the conditions necessary [climate, territory and resources] for the propagation of the Nordic race, and for the salvation of the white civilization in the centuries to come ... to attain this high destiny she has need of the severest immigration laws, the wisest use of eugenics, and the renunciation of that life of ease and of premature endeavour to cultivate the arts which has of late been creeping into the country...²⁰

At the same time that there was concern amongst French Canadians in Quebec over the preservation of a separate race, some English Canadians voiced concern over both the impact "non-preferred" immigration could have on the continuation of the Anglo-Saxon race in Canada and the development of a Canadian racial type. These issues were explored and debated in a variety of academic journals and popular magazines in the early-twentieth century. It is within this debate that calls for "quality" verses "quantity" immigration were made and that eugenics arguments gained popular support. In post-war Canada even British immigration came under attack by those who felt that Britain was using Canada as a dumping ground for its unemployed and unfit and by those who believed that continuing ties to Britain, including British immigration, actually stunted the

Canadian racial type and not immigrants of non-British and non-French origins.

²⁰ George W. Mitchell, "Canada - Saviour of the Nordic Race," *The Canadian Magazine* 61 (May 1923): 138, 140.

development of an independent Canadian identity and race.²¹ The question that remains to be addressed is how the physical body of the "new Canadian" and its visual representation, affected and was affected by early-twentieth century speculations regarding the development of a homogeneous racial and cultural Canadian identity.

In his essay, "What is the Immigration Problem?" (1927), historian Duncan McArthur stressed the need for a "more careful adjustment of immigration ... respecting the quantity and quality of immigrant we take into our system."²² By the 1920s, the belief in a "racial melting pot" was shaken when surveys showed that fertility rates amongst groups such as Ukrainians and Rumanians were much higher than Anglo-Saxons. This caused fear amongst those who viewed Canada as a place where the Anglo-Saxon race could continue its destiny in playing "the dominant part over inferior races in the march of progress."²³ Phrases like "race suicide" and "racial degeneration" began to circulate and calls for immigration restrictions increased. It is as

²¹ See Mary Vipond, "Nationalism and Nativism: The Native Sons of Canada in the 1920s," *Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism* 9, no. 1 (Spring 1982): 81-95.

²² Duncan McArthur, "What is the Immigration Problem?" *Queen's Quarterly* XXXV (1927): 625. It is important to note here that McArthur, like James Coyne, was a member of the Royal Society of Canada.

²³ Dr. Peter H. Bryce quoted in Angus McLaren, *Our Own Master Race*, (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1990), 53.

part of this quality verses quantity argument that the body of the immigrant other was objectified and visualized.

The idea that Canada had the potential for spawning a superior racial type is expressed in George W. Mitchell's article "Canada - Saviour of the Nordic Race" (1923) quoted above. Mitchell was among those who believed in the superiority of the "Nordic race" and of the opinion that immigrants from southern and eastern European and Asian countries were comparatively inferior and prone to laziness, illness and effeminacy.²⁴ Mitchell was also concerned about "quality" immigration and claimed that the future destiny of "white civilization" must be protected by severe immigration restrictions and "the wisest use of eugenics." Mitchell's reference to the use of eugenics and McArthur's call for immigrant quality should not be glanced over lightly or easily dismissed. Both essays are found in popular and respected publications; the former in *The Canadian Magazine*, one of the leading national general-interest magazines in the 1920s, and the latter in *Queen's Quarterly*, an academic journal founded in 1893.²⁵

²⁴ According to Mitchell "the Nordics occupy all the Scandinavian countries, almost all of the northern third of France, the lowlands of Flanders, all Holland, the northern half of Germany, the north of Poland and of Russia, and ... a majority of the population of the British Isles." Mitchell, 138.

²⁵ Mary Vipond, "Canadian Nationalism and the Plight of Canadian Magazines in the 1920s," *Canadian Historical Review*

In the early decades of the twentieth century, eugenics gained support amongst doctors, social and missionary workers, intellectuals and politicians in Canada. There were a number of reasons why concern over the physical and mental health of the individual human body and the human race in general grew at this time. Expanding urbanization and industrialization caused concern for the general health and well-being of a society that was spending more and more time indoors and in cities. It is within this context that wilderness parks, organized outdoor leisure activities and groups like the Boy Scouts were formed as methods of combating the negative weakening and effeminate effect urban life was believed to have on physical and mental health.²⁶

Another reason for the support of eugenics was fear, for it was believed that "non-preferred" immigrants were prone to "feeblemindedness" which, in turn, was considered

LVIII, no. 1 (March, 1977): 46; and Mary Vipond, "The Nationalist Network," 36.

²⁶ Douglas Cole attributes part of the success experienced by the Group of Seven in the 1920s to a reaction by Canadian middle and upper classes to the growth of industrial and urban landscapes that took the form of a "wilderness cult." Children were believed to be particularly at risk from urban living and the Woodcroft Indian, Boy Scout and outdoor camp movements "were seen as useful for the development of clean minds and healthy bodies." The "wilderness parks movement," including the creation of Algonquin Park (1893), the rise in wilderness literature and the metamorphosis of Archie Belaney into Grey Owl were all, according to Cole, symptoms of an early-twentieth century "wilderness ethos." See Douglas Cole, "Artists, Patrons and Public: An Enquiry into the Success of the Group of Seven," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 13 (Summer, 1978): 69-78.

responsible for various diseases of the mind and body and of society including insanity, sexual perversion and prostitution, alcoholism and drug addiction, poverty and unemployment. The thought of inferior beings breeding other inferior beings in overcrowded and unsanitary living conditions was viewed as dangerous to Canada's future as well as threatening to the continuation of the Anglo-Saxon race. In response, calls were made for increased restrictions on the kinds of immigrants allowed into Canada, the physical examination and mental testing of all immigrants prior to admittance to Canada, (or, even better, prior to departure from their land of origin) and the prevention of the procreation of the "unfit" in Canada through a sterilization program.

While eugenics was supported by professional and intellectual members of society it was not until the post-war increase of "non-preferred" immigration to Canada, encouraged by relaxed immigration restrictions agreed upon between transportation companies and the federal government, that eugenics gained popular support.²⁷ In at least partial

²⁷ Terry Chapman, "Early Eugenics Movement in Western Canada," *Alberta History* 25, no. 4 (Autumn 1977): 9. Eugenics also gained popular support in North America through late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century World's Fairs. In *All the World's a Fair*, Robert Rydell examines American World's Fairs held between 1876 and 1916. According to Rydell, World's Fairs were not only venues for the display of American progress in the form of technological advancement and material and economic growth, they also "existed as part of a broader universe of white supremacist

response to this rise in the popularity of eugenics, the Canadian Committee for Mental Hygiene was established in 1918, followed a year later by the Department of Health, both of which were mandated to address immigration-related problems. Numerous surveys were carried out by the latter in

entertainments; [the zoological garden, the circus, the museum of curiosities and the Wild West show] what distinguishes them were their scientific, artistic and political underpinnings ... International expositions, where science, religion, the arts and architecture reinforced each other, offered Americans a powerful and highly visible, modern evolutionary justification for long-standing racial and cultural prejudices." In one of Rydell's case studies, San Francisco's Panama Pacific International Exposition of 1915, where the fair's theme was "the science of man," eugenics (defined as "the science of improving the human stock") "glimmered through the physical anthropology exhibit" that featured the display of racial busts illustrating man's evolution as well as "racial portraits, charts ... and body casts." The National Conference on Race Betterment was held at San Diego's Panama-California Exposition of 1915-16 along with a theatrical "masque" and exhibit provided by the Race Betterment Foundation. The exposition's official historian, quoted by Rydell, described the exhibit as "... representing the eugenics movement in the thought of the time. Here large plaster casts of Atlas, and Venus, and of Apollo, Belvedere type, to advertise the human race at its best, and get that race interested in its glorious past and possible future." It was exhibits such as these, Rydell argues, that "went a long way toward providing the intellectual underpinnings for mass support for the immigration restriction laws of the 1920s, which placed limits on European immigration, fixed racial quotas on other immigrant groups, and, by 1927, excluded Asians altogether." Rydell's argument is supported by a column that appeared in the *San Francisco Chronicle* on the final day of the Fair's Race Betterment Conference that concised that "the problem of immigration is essentially a problem in eugenics." Robert Rydell, *All the World's a Fair*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1984): 2-8 and 208-233.

the early 1920s in Manitoba, British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan and the east-coast provinces with results regularly confirming the stereotype of the feebleminded immigrant who was a burden to Canadian society. The examination of immigrants prior to departure from their country of origin was begun in the late 1920s and in 1928 the province of Alberta created a provincial Eugenics Board and passed the Act Respecting Sexual Sterilization which remained active until 1972.²⁸

In an important study on the rise of the eugenics movement in Canada, *Our Own Master Race* (1990), Angus McLaren describes how supporters claimed eugenic arguments to be part of "an international movement and a science" able to provide a progressive and sophisticated scientific method of determining the value or cost of an individual immigrant to society.

In English-speaking Canada the arrival of newcomers fostered an ideology of "Canadianization" or what might be more accurately be described as the goal of assimilating newcomers into Anglo-conformity. English Canadians assumed that white Anglo-Saxons were racially superior and immigrants were welcomed according to the degree to which they approached this ideal. British and Americans were viewed as the most desirable, next northern and western Europeans, after them the central and eastern Europeans (including the Jews), and last of all the Asians and blacks.²⁹

In the end, according to McLaren, these arguments "served

²⁸ McLaren, 58-65.

²⁹ Ibid, 47.

specific class interests" and "provided apparently new, objective scientific justifications for old, deep-seated racial and class assumptions."³⁰

How the body of the immigrant was affected by arguments of racial superiority and eugenics in Canada is visible in photographs of "new Canadians" and of immigrants at Canada's ports of entry produced at this time. A photograph of a small group of Chinese immigrants gathered in an office in the Canadian Pacific Railways's Windsor Station in Montreal in 1926 (Figure 2) serves as an example. Interest is here focused on the physical examination of the body of a young Chinese man. The immigrant stands with his hands on his hips, tilting his head back slightly so the examiner, who holds his subject's head with one hand under the chin, can see into the immigrant's right eye. The other immigrants in the photograph are lined up waiting to be examined. Two look at the camera and two turn their heads towards the examination in progress, the movement captured in a blur. A fifth unidentifiable figure stands obscured in the background. The examiner is the only Caucasian figure visible in this photograph. Seen on the shoulder of his tailored mid-length overcoat is a symbol of the maple leaf.

In a second photograph of the same examination (Figure 3), the Chinese man holds out his hands, palms up, for

³⁰ Ibid, 49.

inspection. He looks directly at his examiner while the others lined up behind him look at the camera, their composure suggesting that they were instructed to do so. The tight framing of both photographs leaves no place for these immigrants to hide from the camera lens. Positioned between the corner of a desk in the foreground and a closed door in the background the immigrant bodies captured here are subject to inspection not only by the examiner but also by the viewers of the photographs.

On the whole, the Chinese were among the least desired immigrants in early-twentieth century Canada. Many were brought to the country in the latter half of the nineteenth century to help with the dangerous, and often deadly, business of building the railway. A high percentage eventually settled in British Columbia where they were soon discriminated against for what was considered a comparatively lower standard of living and the monopolization of certain industries like market gardening and the laundry business. Hopeful Chinese immigrants to Canada, stereotyped as gamblers and drug-traffickers and accused of being unassimilable, faced head taxes of up to \$500. In 1923, the Chinese Immigration Law excluded all Chinese from entering Canada except for those who were deemed acceptable such as students, merchants and

diplomats.³¹

It is within this context that the images of a Chinese immigrant body, as represented in these photographs, were produced by the CPR, one of the transportation companies that benefited from the Railways Agreement Act of 1925 but which found itself on the receiving end of an attack by those who felt that shipping company greed was partly to blame for Canada's "immigrant problem." These two photographs offer the viewer a controlled, ordered immigration system, supervised by qualified officials who were committed to protecting Canada from inferior immigrants and who, by the examination of the bodies of potentially dangerous immigrants, assured viewers that Canada's borders, and future, were safe. An integral component of the communication of this assurance was the act of photographing it.

The photographs of a Chinese immigrant being examined at Windsor Train Station in Montreal in 1926 are examples of how photography was used to identify and visualize the body of the immigrant as a site of difference and deviance in early-twentieth century Canada.³² Other examples exist of

³¹ Foster, 34-35.

³² In one of the few studies of the relationship between photographic discourse and issues of Canadian nationalism and ethnic identity Anna Maria Carlevaris examines photographs produced for government advertising, social reform literature (namely James Woodsworth's 1909 *Strangers Within Our Gates*) and popular literature (the work

how the photographed body was used as a tool of social control such as those included in the book *Canada's Growth and Some Problems Affecting It* (1910) where photography was used to illustrate undesirable immigrants (Figure 4) and their desirable opposites (Figure 5). These photographs also illustrate how framing strategies and gender were used in early-twentieth century representations of the immigrant other. The three photographs of undesirable immigrants, included in a chapter on "Negative Immigration," are of men of varying ages who face the camera and whose heads are tightly cropped in the style of a police photograph. In contrast, the photograph of the desirable immigrants, included in a chapter on "Positive Immigration" are of a woman and two girls whose figures are presented in full length against a studio background. While unsmiling, these latter immigrants appear to be healthy, hard workers with their seriousness suggesting sobriety and determination. As will be seen in the following chapters, women and children

of Edith Watson and Victoria Hayward). Carlevaris evolves her study from Homi Bhabha's concept of mimicry. This is where the colonizer creates an image of the colonized as "a subject of difference that is almost the same, but not quite... ." Carlevaris describes Canada's early-twentieth century immigrant problem as a "disturbing reminder of the tendentious position of the Canadian national identity" and examines a selection of photographs as part of a strategy of "the naming of the Canadian [which in Carlevaris's study was Anglo-Saxon and Protestant] in relation to the foreigner." See Anna Maria Carlevaris, "Photography, Immigration and Canadianism: 1896-1921," (M.A. thesis, Concordia University, 1992).

were frequently used in representations of the immigrant "other" that were intended to appeal to the Anglo-Saxon viewers' sympathetic and benevolent side.

In the above photographs, the body of the immigrant is visualized and identified as a site of difference with little space for alternative readings. While the relationship between photography and the immigrant body in the early-twentieth century was for the most part one of domination, "surveying" and "othering," there are examples showing how some "new Canadian" groups also used photography either as a means of demonstrating assimilability into Anglo-Saxon life or the opposite, that is, as a means of visually resisting assimilation into a melting pot. An example of the former is a set of photographs (deposited with the National Archives) taken in Toronto's Hyde Park in 1919. In "Chinese Physical Training" (Figure 6) about a dozen Chinese boys and men, dressed in white tops and bottoms, appear to be in the process of a physical fitness demonstration. All facing the same direction while bending their arms and touching their shoulders, these figures seem to be following the lead of someone who is not included in the picture frame. Visible behind this group is a line of figures dressed in dark business suits. In a second photograph (Figure 7) this same group lines up behind a row of seated Chinese boys dressed in boy scout uniforms. Behind the demonstrators is a group of Chinese men dressed in

business suits, presumably the same ones seen in the previous photograph. While a few Caucasian faces are visible the vast majority of the figures who smile and pose for the camera are of Chinese ancestry.

In both of these images, focus is on the body of the male Chinese immigrant, especially the physical health of this body and its assimilability into Canada's Anglo-Saxon institutions and society. This is visualized in the adoption of western dress and the display of the Union Jack. Produced at a time when the "new Canadian" body was a site of fear and contempt these photographs offer a body that was not weak or diseased but fit and muscular. Furthermore, a fit mind is implied, since the condition of the outer body was considered a signifier of the health of the inner or emotional body.

Like the photographs of the Chinese immigrants being examined at C.P.R.'s Windsor Train Station in Montreal (Figures 2 & 3) the Chinese immigrant body in the Hyde Park photographs is on display. However, unlike the Windsor Train Station photographs, where the immigrant body is portrayed as a site of difference and potential danger, and where the portrayal of the immigrant body exists outside of the immigrant's control, in the Hyde Park photographs the Chinese immigrant body is presented as a site of adaptation and assimilation into western institutions and a site of health and strength. In the Hyde Park photographs, these

"new Canadians" appear to be willing participants in the making of these images and show interest in how they were being represented. For examples of how "new Canadians" visually resisted assimilation into a melting pot in the early-twentieth century this study now turns to representations of "new Canadians" produced as part of the celebration of Canada's Diamond Jubilee of Confederation.

Chapter Two

Visualizing Canada's National Unity and Identity: Ottawa

I

It is the earnest wish of Parliament that the Diamond Jubilee Celebration for which plans are now being rapidly matured, shall commemorate appropriately and enthusiastically the accomplishment of Confederation and the subsequent progress of the Dominion. We trust that this commemoration will lend added inspiration to the patriotic fervour of our people, and afford a clearer vision of our aspirations and ideals, to the end that from sea to sea there may be developed a robust Canadian spirit, and in all things Canadian profounder national unity.¹

Canada's Diamond Jubilee of Confederation was proposed as a celebration of Canadian spirit and national unity. It included a wide range of events from parades to pageantry, religious services to radio broadcasts, the building of the Princes' Gate on Toronto's Canadian National Exhibition grounds to the opening of the Canada - United States Peace Bridge at Niagara Falls. It involved the writing of history in the form of books surveying Canada's progress and growth in manufacturing and industry since Confederation and

¹ House of Commons, April 14, 1927 quoted in Hon. Charles H. Mackintosh, *Chronicles of Canada's Diamond Jubilee*, (Ottawa 1929), 109. The Diamond Jubilee of Confederation was the first national anniversary to be celebrated in the history of the Dominion. Canada's participation in World War One had interrupted any plans for commemorating Canada's fiftieth anniversary as a country. Not until Expo '67 in Montreal would an expression of the national spirit be again attempted on such a massive scale.

others, such as the *Chronicles of Canada's Diamond Jubilee*, which proudly confirmed the bonds between Canada and the British Empire. Commemorative medals, plaques, coins and stamps were produced and distributed, inspired by what organizers perceived the country had accomplished in sixty years of Confederation and of the prosperous future that lay ahead economically, technologically and spiritually in the form of Canadian national unity and identity.

Given the wealth of literature and memorializing produced around Canada's Diamond Jubilee, it is surprising that the commemoration of this historic event is generally absent from public memory. This could in part be explained by an overshadowing of the celebration of Canada's one hundredth birthday of Confederation during Montreal's Expo '67. The growing academic interest in Canada's interwar years appears to have produced only a single scholarly study to date - a history thesis, "Developing a Canadian National Feeling: The Diamond Jubilee Celebrations of 1927," written by Geoffrey Kelly at McGill University in 1984.² In this study, Kelly examines the celebration of Canada's Diamond Jubilee against a background of "the changing nature of Canadian nationalism" that is influenced, on one hand, by economic growth, material progress and a post-war movement

² Geoffrey Kelly, "Developing a Canadian National Feeling: The Diamond Jubilee Celebrations of 1927" (M.A. thesis, McGill University, 1984).

towards greater Canadian autonomy in international affairs and, on the other hand, by English-French tensions, immigration from "non-preferred" countries and the rise in nativism in the maritime and western provinces.

Kelly identifies four main themes running through the Jubilee promotion and celebration: an emphasis on material progress, a sense of Canadian history, a deliberate fostering of Canadian nationalism and a Liberal [government] interpretation of society and its past.³ He divides his analysis between how both "the boosters: [the] architects of official culture" (who Kelly identifies as literary, academic and business persons) and "the knockers: [the] critics of official culture" (Quebec, the west, the maritimes and communists) responded to the planning and celebration of Canada's Diamond Jubilee of Confederation.

For Kelly, who locates his work within the discourse of intellectual history, Canada's Diamond Jubilee is useful in the study of ideas and "the question of access to agencies that transmit ideas in society."⁴ But in the pursuit of intellectual history, the rich and complex visual history offered by Canada's Diamond Jubilee, particularly in relation to the visualization of an idealized homogeneous Canadian race and identity, is overlooked. It is through

³ Ibid., 22.

⁴ Ibid., 19.

these images that we see how a future homogeneous racial and cultural identity was constructed, challenged and negotiated in Canada in the early-twentieth century. It is this visual history that is the focus of this chapter.

On February 17, 1927, a bill of Parliament incorporated the National Committee for the Celebration of the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation. This Committee was responsible for both the Jubilee's federal celebration and memorialization and for providing advice to provincial committees organizing their own related events. Commemorative pageants and parades, coins, stamps, medals, plaques and illustrated books including *The Evolution of Government in Canada* and *From Sea to Sea* were produced as well as a ten-minute film, "Canada's Diamond Jubilee," that was screened in theatres across the country in June and July of 1927. The silent film showed the room in Prince Edward Island's Legislative Building where the first Confederation conference was held in 1864 and the commemorative plaque of this historic event placed here in 1917. There are scenes of the Parliament Buildings in Ottawa and Parliament in session. A simple line-drawn map illustrated the additions of western and atlantic provinces to Canada since Confederation.

Throughout the film, European settlements in Canada before Confederation, represented by static drawings of sparsely-populated, rustic communities, were contrasted with moving-film footage of growing, bustling cities across the

country as they looked sixty years after Confederation. An example of this before and after juxtaposition is reproduced in *Sixty Years of Canadian Progress 1867-1927* (Figure 8). Here are two representations of Toronto's corner of King and Yonge Streets. One, a drawing, is of this site in 1815. A small cottage-type dwelling is seen in the foreground behind which is visible another building with a figure standing in the doorway. Besides a few trees there is nothing else around this settlement which appears to be accessible only from a dirt road. In contrast to this early-nineteenth century scene of quite, secluded country life, is a photograph (or film still) of this same site in 1927. Here, skyscrapers frame our birds-eye view from which we are able to see street lights and electricity lines. Vehicles and pedestrians crowd the paved street and sidewalk and appear to continue on past the picture's vanishing point. The contrast of these two representations, the latter possible only through advances in modern technology, portrays an image of economical, material and technological progress and growth in Canada, attributed in this context to the existence of Confederation.

The final report of the National Committee's Executive provides a list of some of the visual material supplied to the press prior to Canada's Jubilee:

The committee supplied regular features to 446 daily and weekly newspapers, both French and English, these features being sent out at

intervals and covering in picture and legend matters of interest in connection with the Confederation celebration. ...considerable work was done in the way of gathering material and photographs and also having photo engravings made for newspapers, magazines and other publications. ...the committee also sent out a large number of photographs of the carillon, Lady Willingdon striking the first Confederation medal at the Royal Mint, portraits of the Prime Ministers since Confederation, photographs of the Confederation stamps and many other miscellaneous subjects. A large number of these were supplied through the Press Associations and newspaper feature service in Canada, Great Britain and the United States.⁵

The efforts made by the National Committee to supply the press with pictures, including photographs, is indicative of the Committee's awareness of the significant impact visual images had in the construction, visualization and mass promotion of ideas of Canada's national unity and identity. Two noteworthy collections of images testify to this awareness. One was a set of drawings comprising nine historical strips "prepared by well known artists." This set illustrated the progress of agriculture, mining, hydro, forestry, printing, rail, water and land transportation and national defense. Included are two commissioned contributions by C.W. Jefferys that portray the development of train transportation (Figure 9) and agriculture (Figure 10) by contrasting early and modern methods and machinery. The second set of publicity images included representations of historical sites and persons of Confederation (Figure

⁵ *Report of Executive Committee, 67-68.*

11), the Parliament Buildings in Ottawa (Figure 12) and Prime Ministers since Confederation (Figure 13) as well as collages of Confederation medals and stamps, bronze memorials on Parliament Hill (Figure 14) and various graphs and charts (Figure 15) showing the growth of Canadian industry and commerce. Through the assemblage of such images the National Committee attempted to visually construct an idea of national unity and an idealized identity by means of the creation of a common Canadian history which drew its descent and direction from the people and institutions of government and Empire, the wealth of shared natural resources and the growth and development of technology.

The final report of the Executive of the National Committee lists a number of items deposited with the Public Archives (now the National Archives of Canada). These include "a full set of the publications of the National Executive, of the minutes, correspondence and other documents, together with samples of medals, plaques, etc; also three books of photographs taken in Ottawa on July 1, 2 and 3."⁶ It is this last item that is of special interest and importance. Within these books of photographs the official visual narrative of Canada's past, present and future, along with the individuals and groups who were considered to be a part of this narrative, is constructed

⁶ *Report of the Executive Committee*, 12.

and preserved for posterity by the National Committee. As such, these albums constitute the authoritative visual account of the events held in Ottawa in honor of this historic occasion.

The gold-embossed albums present three of the main features of the federal Jubilee celebration. One book is of the numerous official events held in Ottawa on July 1st, 2nd and 3rd, 1927. Together the photographs collected in this volume portray a sense of history and tradition that possesses ceremonial rituals, the memorialization of persons, places and events and the mass production of commemorative material objects. Here are photographs of the celebration on Parliament Hill (Figure 16) including the laying of the cornerstone of the Confederation Building, the playing of newly-installed carillon bells in the Peace Tower of the Parliament Buildings and a tree planting by Lady Willingdon, wife of the Governor-General, on behalf of the women of Canada. There are also photographs of the Ottawa Centenary Choir (Figure 17) and of the special issue of Confederation stamps (Figure 18) and commemorative medals. And there are photographs of various dignitaries addressing the crowds gathered on Parliament Hill including Prime Minister Mackenzie King, Governor-General Viscount Willingdon and the President of the National Diamond Jubilee Committee, the Honourable Sir Lomer Gouin.

A second event that merited its own album was the visit

of American pilot Colonel Charles Lindburgh on July 2, 1927. The photographs are contained in an album embossed with the words "Lindburgh Goodwill Messenger of the United States" and cover "Lindy's" landing of the Spirit of St. Louis on an Ottawa flying field, the "flying hero's" welcome and his reception and address to the crowds on Parliament Hill. Located at the back of this album are the photographs of the funeral of a member of Lindburgh's flying team, Lieutenant J. Thad Johnson, who was killed while landing his plane on the Ottawa field.

The contents of these first two Jubilee albums revolve thematically around ceremony and the participation of official persons in the celebration of the Jubilee. But it is the third album that contains photographs of one of the celebration's more popular events directed at Canada's masses: the historical pageant that wound its way along the streets of Ottawa and through the gates of Parliament Hill on July 1, 1927. It is in this book of photographs that we see how "ordinary" Canadians participated in the celebration of Canada's Jubilee. It is also in this volume that we finally come across an image which has so far been absent from the discussion of the visual material distributed by the National Committee to the press and in the description of the commemorative Jubilee albums: the image of "new Canadians."

The first thirty-two photographs of this third Jubilee

pageant album are of individual tableaux whose arrangement here corresponds with the order that the parade floats passed in procession on Dominion Day, 1927. For the most part, the photographs follow a historical ordering that begins with the arrival of John Cabot, "discoverer of Canada," in 1497 and continues through representations of subsequent discoveries and settlement (including those of Cartier and Champlain), the abundance and harvesting of natural resources (such as "Lumbering" and "Fisheries"), the progress of numerous industries ("Mining" and "Electricity"), and allegorical settings ("Arts of Peace," "Progress" and "Confederation"). An example of the latter is the tableau of "La Prospérité du Canada," identified as "Progress" in the album's index where it is further described as "Industry and Transportation which together bring the fruits of earth to the homes of the people." In the photograph of this tableau (Figure 19), we see a parade scene: a float centred between rows of spectators that line both sides of a city street. A figure in the bow of a ship precedes an allegorical figure of Progress riding on top of a cloud in a lion-pulled chariot. The Union Jack and the Canadian Red Ensign are draped beneath this figure and overflowing cornucopia flank the Canadian coat of arms.

On the page proceeding the photograph of "Progress" is a photograph of a tableau sponsored by the Department of Immigration and Colonization. Identified as "Immigration" in

the album index, this tableau is described here as "Canada welcoming her new citizens from far-off lands." In the photograph of this tableau (Figure 20) we again see a parade scene: a float pulled by a team of horses centred between rows of spectators that line both sides of a city street. On the float platform about a dozen figures are assembled. One of the figures, draped in robes, is crowned and seated on an elevated throne emitting a radiating arc behind her. The remaining figures are mostly seated at the feet of this figure and appear to be dressed in varied national costumes. Along the side of this platform are representations of the Union Jack, the shield of Canada and the words "Notre Patrie = / Our Country = Canada" above the word "Immigration."

II

Nothing so perfect in details had ever been witnessed in the Capital; possibly never before in Canada had these floats been displayed in such impressive or informative number, illustrating the progress of the pioneers and great explorers, their self-sacrifice and successes, in every branch of national life, early industries in contrast to the present-day industries of the country ... Canada as the melting pot of the nations of Europe. Canada as a land of opportunity and resources only awaiting the handicraft of willing workers.⁷

Printed in an issue of the *Ottawa Citizen* published on the eve of Canada's Diamond Jubilee is a list of the thirty-

⁷ Mackintosh, Charles H., *Chronicles of Canada's Diamond Jubilee Commemorating Sixty Years of Confederation* (Ottawa, 1929), 21.

two tableaux entered in the capital city's historical pageant accompanied by a brief description of each entry.⁸ According to this list, the pageant's opening float is of Jacques Cartier, the "discoverer of Canada" on his second voyage up the St. Lawrence in 1535. After an assortment of scenes dominated by historical and industrial achievements the procession climaxes with a tableau of "Confederation" which "...presents emblematically the spirit of unity and sympathy and progress...." About a third of the way into this list, following a tableau of canal building called "Waterways," is the entry "The Melting Pot," described in the *Citizen* as a float that "symbolizes Immigration: Canada welcoming her new citizens coming from such far-off lands as Italy, Greece, Poland, Brittany, etc. These people of foreign birth soon learn the language and value the freedom of this land of their adoption."

The tableau identified in the *Ottawa Citizen* as "The Melting Pot" is the same tableau pictured in the Jubilee photograph album as "Immigration." The discrepancy of the titling of this representation of "new Canadians" participating in the celebration of the Diamond Jubilee is in part a symptom of the challenge that the "new Canadian" and immigration in general posed to the government-appointed

⁸ "Many Colorful and Picturesque Floats Will Illustrate History and Progress Canada Has Made," *Ottawa Citizen*, 30 June 1927, 17.

body in charge of both organizing the federal program and preserving its memory for posterity.

Insight into the kinds of tensions and disunity that existed amongst elected MPs in the months prior to the Jubilee is provided by the debate initiated by Prime Minister Mackenzie King's introduction to Parliament of the bill for the incorporation of the National Committee on February 15, 1927. For while Parliament eventually passed the bill, along with a \$250,000 budget, it was only after questions over who would make up the membership of the committee, what shape the celebration would take, who should pay for it and to whom it should speak. It was also after debate over what a "real Canadian" was.⁹

The National Committee, King declared, was to be responsible for the commemoration of Canada's Diamond Jubilee in Ottawa as well as assisting provincial and municipal committees with the organization of celebrations across the Dominion. General enthusiasm for the importance of marking Canada's Jubilee was expressed by most Members of Parliament: the event was recognized as a chance to impress Canadians with the progress that had been made during six decades of Confederation. The Honorable Mr. James Charles Brady (Conservative representative for the British Columbia riding of Skeena) stated in the House of Commons:

⁹ House of Commons, *Parliamentary Debates*, 1926-1928, 379 & 452.

I do feel that the diamond jubilee of confederation [sic] is of such farreaching importance that the educational aspect of it should be given great prominence. It will be a wonderful time among the youth of Canada and I consider that the chancellor or the president or the representative direct of the educational system of Canada should receive recognition. I know myself what it will mean if we enable the youth of Canada to come to a realization of the past history of the Dominion, and to form some idea of its unity in the future.¹⁰

According to King, membership of the National Committee was to be made up of the Governor-General and his wife, provincial lieutenant-governors and premiers along with a selection of senators, the presidents of the CP and CN railways, the heads of certain public service departments and representative organizations including the Canadian Legion of the British Empire Service League, the Imperial Order of Daughters of the Empire and the Association of Canadian Clubs. These members, King concluded, had "been chosen regardless of party affiliation and with the view as far as possible of making the committee representative of the whole of the Dominion."¹¹

On this final point James S. Woodsworth (Labour, Winnipeg North Centre) disagreed. Woodsworth remarked that the committee's "personnel is very largely political in character. The organizations mentioned are of a particular type, they are not representative of all the different

¹⁰ Ibid., 379.

¹¹ Ibid., 377-378.

classes and people of Canada" and that the Prime Minister had overlooked important contributors to the building of Canada including farming organizations, labour groups and the education system.¹²

The debate continued during the bill's second reading on February 17, 1927. Here Woodsworth, on the issue of the proposed committee's membership, stated that "we are preparing for very elaborate and somewhat exclusive celebrations."

I think some of our newer citizens, hundreds of thousands of whom have located in this country - for example the Ukrainians. Perhaps eastern people hardly realize the extent to which our immigration policy has brought to this country, for good or bad, a large alien population. These people are now located in Canada and playing the part of good citizens. I am glad to note that we have one representative of the Ukrainians sitting in this very corner of the House. He is simply the forerunner of scores of others who will be here very soon, and other nationalities will have their representatives. What about these people in connection with such a celebration as this? I submit that if it is right to have a representative of the Imperial Order of Daughters of the Empire, we might also, looking to the future unification of the peoples of this country, have a representative from the new Canadians who are locating in such great numbers in western Canada.¹³

Agnes MacPhail (United Farmers of Ontario, Grey South East), the first woman elected to Parliament, agreed with Woodsworth and protested against the addition of her name to

¹² Ibid., 376-378.

¹³ Ibid., 410-411.

the committee without her prior knowledge and against the context of her inclusion:

[W]e are asking people to a banquet who have too many banquets, whereas those who, possibly, have not even enough food, certainly not enough of beauty or culture or the more delectable things in life, will not have any part in this celebration. I want to protest against the using of my name without my consent because I am the representative of a class group. I represent agriculture. If I do not, I represent nothing at all, and if I cannot go on the committee as the representative of a class, I will not go on at all, because that is the whole philosophy of my political life. If labour has no place on the committee, then I say agriculture will have no place either, and I ask that my name be withdrawn.¹⁴

At the end of the debate MacPhail let her name remain on the committee membership list and the Prime Minister, while maintaining that his original list was representative of all Canadians, added to it names provided to him by Woodsworth and MacPhail. Among these names were those of Tom Moore, President of Trades and Labour Congress of Canada; Mr. J Coldwell, President of the Canadian Teachers' Federation; and Member of Parliament Michael Luchkovich.

The proposed \$250,000 budget for the National Committee was also debated during the bill's second reading. Thomas L. Church (Conservative, Toronto Northwest) citing Canada's economic problems, the death of soldiers, "many from Tory and Orange Toronto" on the battlefields of France and Flanders and the unemployed status of many returned soldiers

¹⁴ Ibid., 411.

stated that

The only demand for this celebration is from a lot of Canadian clubs that are no more Canadian than Empire clubs are imperial. If this \$250,000 is intended to celebrate the brilliant dream of empire under the principle of separatism, to emphasize our new status, all very well and good, let the Prime Minister put it in the preamble of the bill. But why celebrate the sixtieth anniversary of confederation? Confederation has not been such a shining success that we should desire to spend \$250,000 on its celebration. With the economic problems now confronting this country I see no occasion to shout from the housetops about our status and our diamond jubilee.¹⁵

Further on in this debate, in a discussion over whether the federal or provincial governments should fund the Jubilee celebration, Horatio C. Hocken (Conservative, Toronto West Centre) is cited as remarking to Edward J. Garland (Party pol., none, Bow River, Alberta), that: "I was born here, and I am a real Canadian. I am not one of the imported variety, and perhaps I have a different feeling towards this Dominion than my Hon. friend has."¹⁶ Taking exception Woodsworth interjected:

Woodsworth: I rise to a point of order, Mr Chairman. I too am a real Canadian, a real Canadian for three or four generations, and I protest against language of that kind being used against any member duly elected to this House.

Hocken: ... I am urging, Mr. Chairman, for a

¹⁵ Ibid., 413.

¹⁶ Ibid., 420. H.C. Hocken was born in Toronto in 1857. E.J. Garland was born in Dublin, Ireland in 1885, emigrated to Canada in 1909 and settled in Alberta in 1911.

dignified and suitable celebration of our natal day. I do that as a Canadian born, and if there are any people in this country who are imported Canadians and who do not see the thing as I do, of course they are entitled to their own opinion, but I have a seat in this House and I stand for Canada and Canadians...¹⁷

These Parliamentary disputes over who qualified to be identified as a "real Canadian" (vs the "imported variety") and who represented what class of Canadians testify to the disharmony that existed in the country in the months prior to Canada's Diamond Jubilee. Exposed are the state and future of Canada's national unity and racial and cultural identity, the period's regional and class divisions and the changing status of Canada in an international post-war world. It is within this contentious context, one that existed both inside and outside the walls of the House of Commons, that the National Committee was charged with the task of inspiring the "patriotic fervour of the people" and creating a "profounder national unity," "from sea to sea." In response, the National Committee produced a prolific amount of promotional and support material in the months prior to the celebration and distributed it to Jubilee committees and the press both across the Dominion and internationally. One example of their efforts is the booklet *Diamond Jubilee of Confederation* (1927) produced to assist

¹⁷ Ibid., 452.

provincial and municipal committees in the planning and preparation of their own Jubilee celebrations.

Diamond Jubilee of Confederation included a pro-Empire version of Canadian history that briefly acknowledged the French beginnings of European settlement in Canada. It resolved how in 1759 New France, described as a "sparsely settled and poverty-stricken, but ambitious, well organized and intelligently-directed aristocratic colony in the St. Lawrence Valley," had to yield to "the far more numerous, disunited, individualistic, wealthy and democratic English colonies." Stated another way, "the genius of Montcalm ... had to give way to the genius of Wolfe and Canada became British."¹⁸ According to *Diamond Jubilee of Confederation*, the war of 1812 determined that "Canada preferred to remain British." In addition, the booklet states how at the Quebec Conference of 1864 all of the delegates

affirmed their intention to maintain and perpetuate, to cement and not to weaken, the union with the mother country ... all spoke with one voice in declaring their resolve to continue unimpaired their allegiance to the British Crown.¹⁹

Reproduced in *Diamond Jubilee of Confederation* were a series of drawings commissioned from the artist J.B. Legace. These drawings, intended as models for historical pageants, floats and tableaux, illustrated themes of industrial and

¹⁸ *Diamond Jubilee of Confederation*, 8.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 11-20.

economic progress, the abundance and harvesting of natural resources, certain events in the history of Canada, such as the "discovery" of Canada, and loyalty to the British Empire. It was in part through this series of drawings that the National Committee directed how different groups in society, including "old settlers," "Indians" and "newcomers," were to be included in Canada's Jubilee celebration. There is a strong visual resemblance between the drawings reproduced in *Diamond Jubilee of Confederation* and the actual tableaux made for Ottawa's Jubilee pageant, photographs of which are found in the Jubilee album dedicated to this theme. This suggests that those in charge of building the floats were familiar with the drawings and closely adhered to them.

One example of the close relationship between these two representations is the drawing of "Progress" (Figure 21) and the photograph of this tableau as it appeared in the federal celebration (Figure 19). In the drawing, a figure holds a scepter in one hand and a small branch in the other; a long cape is draped over its shoulders. The figure rides in a chariot pulled by two lions positioned on top of a cloud. The fronts of two forms of transportation, the bow of a boat and a locomotive engine, emerge out of either end of this cloud. In the former rides a single male figure draped in a Union Jack and carrying a flaming torch, lighting the way ahead. On the latter sit two female figures dressed in loose

flowing garments also holding scepters. Finally, the centrally-positioned shield of Canada is portrayed on the side of the platform and is flanked by sheaves of wheat and overflowing cornucopia.

A virtually identical scene is visible in the photograph of the tableau "Progress" described earlier in this chapter. While the watching crowd and city street are absent from the drawing, the visual attributes shared between the two representations include the subject matter as well as the use and arrangement of figures and objects within both the tableau space and the two-dimensional space of the drawing and photograph. Both representations portray the theme of Canada's abundant resources and technological achievements in relationship with the Union Jack thereby drawing a connection between Canada's successes and its ties with the British Empire.

Another example of the dependence of the Ottawa tableaux on the images in *Diamond Jubilee of Confederation* is the drawing "Wealth From the Sea" (Figure 22) and the photograph of the tableau "Fisheries" (Figure 23). In the drawing, two female figures are seen seated and occupied with mending fishing nets. A male figure, carrying a fishing rod and net over his shoulder, stands nearby while another male figure kneels with a basket full of fish. A small child plays in the sand and an older female figure stands by a small boat carrying a basket over her arm, perhaps to bring

some fish home for a meal. A nearly identical presentation is seen on the tableau platform pictured in the photograph "Fisheries" found in the same album. While the exact arrangement of figures between the two representations are different (which in the photograph could be explained by the shifting of performers growing stiff or tired as the pageant progressed) the subject's setting, including the sea wall, railing, net and boat, even the designs painted along the sides of the tableau, are again virtually identical in both the drawing and the tableau of this scene pictured in the photograph. That the National Committee was responsible for the publication of *Diamond Jubilee of Confederation* and the organization of the federal Jubilee celebration reinforces the visible relationship between the drawings and the tableaux. So does the fact that the tableaux were manufactured in an old machinery shop in Ottawa by a team of workers and art students from Montreal's *École des Beaux Arts* under the guidance of the National Committee.

In one of the drawings reproduced in *Diamond Jubilee of Confederation*, we see the scene after which the float pictured in the photograph "Immigration" was modeled. In this drawing (Figure 24), about a dozen figures are assembled in a contained space that resembles a float platform. One of the figures is robed, crowned and seated on a throne surrounded by representations of the shield of Canada and the Union Jack. The remaining figures are made up

of men, women and children positioned amongst pieces of baggage as if waiting at a port of departure or entry. All but one of the female figures are seated with heads bowed; one of the three standing figures at the opposite end of the space extends an arm in a gesture of appeal towards the figure positioned in a seat of authority. The accompanying caption, "The Melting Pot: Canada holds out her hand in welcome to the Foreign Born. She offers them Homes, and demands in return that they become Good Citizens," leaves little doubt that the National Committee is proposing a racially and culturally homogeneous identity for Canada's future.

In "Developing a Canadian National Feeling," Geoffrey Kelly regards the use of the symbol of the melting pot in Canada's Jubilee celebration as "an unusual choice, because Canadians have tended to see their society as a mosaic made up of various ethnic communities."²⁰ Kelly, who sees the visual component of Canada's Diamond Jubilee as being generally supportive of what he interprets as "the Jubilee's faith in multiculturalism," states that

... the images used in the celebrations can be described in terms of their symbolic importance. For example, the historical tableaux that were

²⁰ Kelly, 85. Judging by his analysis and bibliography, it appears that Kelly was familiar only with the drawings reproduced in *Diamond Jubilee of Confederation*. No mention is made of the books of photographs deposited with the National Archives or of any other Jubilee photographs held by other archives.

approved for performance across the land stress
the importance of Canada's multicultural
past...²¹

But according to historian Howard Palmer, both Canada's multicultural past and immigration in general were contentious issues by the mid-1920s. In *Patterns of Prejudice: A History of Nativism in Alberta* (1982), Palmer describes how in the early years of the 1920s the dominance of an ideology based on "Anglo-conformity" opened up to more tolerable melting pot ideas which Palmer attributes in part to increased American cultural influences and the growth of a Canadian nationalism independent of British domination.²²

²¹ Kelly, 20.

²² Palmer writes that "during the 1920's the melting pot concept, the belief in a biological merging of native Canadians with immigrant groups and a blending of their cultures into a new Canadian type, became more popular as western Canada's ethnic and cultural diversity began to be taken for granted. The idea - an import from the United States where it had been fashionable prior to the First World War - gained more currency. Groups and individuals promoting immigration from any European source generally accepted melting pot assumptions since they had abandoned the idea that British immigrants could be secured in sufficient numbers to people and culturally dominate the West. Many Canadian writers concerned with 'the immigrant question' in the early twenties and with promoting immigration were not only confident that non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants could be assimilated, but believed that the immigrants might have something to contribute in the process." (Palmer, 79). Palmer's interpretation of the melting pot as a model of immigrant tolerance appears to differ from Gleason who describes it as a model of Anglo-American assimilation. One explanation of this discrepancy is the time frame. Palmer refers to the melting pot's popularity in the United States prior to World War One while Gleason focuses on the war-time shift use of the melting pot to represent a spiritual and physical transformation of immigrants into patriotic Anglo-Americans. It is this latter

According to Palmer's study, however, these more tolerable years were short lived as reaction against increasing "non-preferred" immigration to Canada, stimulated by the Railways Agreement, caused a resurgence of Anglo-Saxon nativism by the mid-1920s. Palmer describes how certain immigrant groups, like the Ukrainians, German-Russians, Hutterites, Doukhobors, and Mennonites, who "seemed staunchly opposed to assimilation" were the object of hostility by the end of the decade.²³

In this context, promotion of the melting pot symbol by the National Committee cannot, therefore, be characterized simply as "an unusual choice" or be accepted as an image of tolerance supportive of multiculturalism. It is through "The Melting Pot" image that we encounter the ideology that informed how "new Canadians" were to be ideally portrayed in the celebration of Canada's Diamond Jubilee and how they were seen to fit within Canadian society at large. Good citizenship, in the form of obeisance to the British Empire and to Canada is visualized here through the humble and grateful position that the "foreign-born" occupy in relation to the omnipotent personification of Canada. The subdued

post-war interpretation of the melting pot that is relevant to this study.

²³ Howard Palmer, *Patterns of Prejudice: A History of Nativism in Alberta*, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982), 79. While Palmer's focus is on the province of Alberta he situates his study within the larger Canadian experience of immigration.

body postures and beseeching gestures of the "foreign-born," the wide use of the figures of passive, non-threatening women and children and the absence of any overt display of foreign flags, costumes or other nationalistic symbols further gives the impression that assimilating this group of immigrants into an Anglo-Saxon melting pot will not be difficult, or resisted.

A daily newspaper editorial contest, one of many writing contests sponsored by the National Committee in connection with the Jubilee, is another example of how the melting pot was advanced within the context of this celebration. In the winning essay, "What is this Canada?," D.A. McGregor, editor of the *Vancouver Province* describes Canada as

an experiment in nation-building; an experiment in assimilation. About 55 per cent of our people are of British stock, 28 per cent are French and the others come from the ends of the earth. Out of this human alloy we are endeavouring to cast a people which will take the same temper as the British steel itself. We have hopes - and we have gone some distance with our work - that we shall have here a nation that will be true to British traditions, that will maintain the British respect for law and order and that will play no unworthy part in the British Commonwealth.

That the National Committee awarded the gold medal prize to an editorial emphasizing Canada's allegiance to British traditions, law and order and to the British Commonwealth indicates that this Committee did not envision a mosaic or multicultural future for Canada, but rather a

melting pot one dominated by "British stock." This is further illustrated by the Committee's approval of McGregor's analogy of the casting of Canada's people and the casting of British steel.

The photograph of the tableau of "Immigration" reproduces a scene that mimics "The Melting Pot" drawing. Here again about a dozen figures are assembled on a float platform. One, a personification of Canada, is crowned and draped in flowing robes. Seated on a raised throne an arc radiates behind her, further amplifying her importance. The remaining figures portray immigrants and are mostly seated about the feet of Canada like obedient subjects. In keeping with Legace's drawing, the only flags and symbols visible on the photographed tableau are along the side of the float platform where there hang representations of the Union Jack and the shield of Canada. Deviations from Legace's drawing are, however, visible on this platform. These are seen in the costumes the immigrants pictured in the photograph appear dressed in and in the slogan chosen to identify this entry to the pageant's spectators.

That the word "Immigration" is seen below "Notre Patrie = / Our Country = Canada" in this photograph and not the phrase "The Melting Pot," after the drawing this tableau is so obviously based on is, at first, perplexing. After all, the National Committee was in charge of supplying the press, including the *Ottawa Citizen*, with Jubilee-related material.

It was also in charge of producing and distributing *Diamond Jubilee of Confederation*, organizing Ottawa's celebration and depositing the photograph albums with the National Archive. But when considered within the early-twentieth century context of English and French tensions of the time the inconsistency is less puzzling.

In the post-Jubilee publication of the *Chronicles of Canada's Diamond Jubilee of Confederation* the tableau in question is once again referred to as "The Melting Pot." But contrary to the melting pot described in the *Ottawa Citizen*, where new citizens came from Italy, Greece, Poland and Brittany, the *Chronicles'* listing of the participants who dramatized this scene is noticeably dominated by surnames of British and French origins such as Faribault, Caldwell, Lambert, Fortier, Dupuis, Bertrand and Mackay.²⁴ This bicultural make-up draws attention to another of the National Committee's objectives, that of healing "old differences" and "prejudices between English-Canada and French-Canada."²⁵ This process of rehabilitation included the "frank recognition of the equality of the two languages."²⁶ This was done above protests which were made against the inclusion of French leading up to the

²⁴ Mackintosh, p 122.

²⁵ *Report of Executive Committee*, 12.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

celebration, an example of which is expressed in a letter to Prime Minister King by SGD. John T. Morrison:

... being a staunch British Canadian subject I rather fear our great country will soon be dominated by our French Canadian friends, unless our British Canadian members of Parliament put on the brakes, as I notice in the Press they are after a Bilingual postage stamp. Now why should this be? This country is British according to the B.N.A. Act, and that being so I cannot even understand why the 2 languages have to be operated within the House.²⁷

Besides the series of bilingual stamps (with the words "post" and "postes" vs. just "post"), commemorative plaques were distributed to Canada's public schools at the end of the Jubilee year. The schools had a choice of an English ("Canada Our Country") or French ("Notre Patrie") inscription. A desire to mend cultural tensions, therefore, could explain why the text seen on the side of the float pictured in the photograph reads "Immigration" and not "The Melting Pot." After all, seeing the words "The Melting Pot" under the larger English text of "Our Country = Canada" would not have been interpreted very joyously by French Canadians or do anything to pacify English-French anxieties of the period.

In "Developing a Canadian National Feeling," Kelly describes how Quebec's provincial government was slow in responding to the call from Ottawa for establishing the

²⁷ From a letter held by the National Archives of Canada, RG 6 Vol. 447 File #14.

province's Jubilee committee.²⁸ He states, however, that while criticism circulated in the press prior to the Jubilee, over "the disregard of French rights outside of Quebec," the event was celebrated successfully and the Confederation theme was even used in Montreal's Fête de Saint Jean parade on June 24th.²⁹ The President of the Provincial Committee for Quebec, the Hon. Cyrille F. Delage, submitted to the *Report of the Executive Committee* that:

The appeal which you sent out, supported by an active and sympathetic press campaign, and reinforced by the distribution of 10,000 copies of your interesting pamphlet entitled "Sixty Years of Canadian Progress," was heard, and a prompt and enthusiastic response was received from all parts of the province. I can unhesitatingly state that, except for a few comments which were most justifiable and made in the best spirit, a discordant note was not raised.³⁰

In closing, Delage stated that "... we trust that our fine dream of a Canada better known, better loved and better served may soon be realized."³¹

III

The celebration of the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation was the occasion of an expression of the national spirit of the Dominion from coast to coast. It over-flowed differences of race and religion. It knew no provincial boundaries. It

²⁸ Kelly, 28.

²⁹ Ibid., 71-78.

³⁰ *Report of Executive Committee*, 56.

³¹ Ibid., 57.

embraced not only the older races of the Dominion but the new Canadians who represented many races and religions.³²

Contrary to this description of the celebration of Canada's Diamond Jubilee, it is the distinction of difference that first draws attention to how the image of the "new Canadian" complicated the visualization of Canada's national unity and identity in this early-twentieth century celebration. In the sets of press images and the Jubilee photograph albums, a shared history was constructed and visualized through representations of the people, institutions and ceremonies of Confederation, government and Empire. Representations of the abundance of natural resources and the growth and development of technology also emphasized the country's collective possessions. But the photograph of the "Immigration" tableau constructs a scene that reminds the viewer not of what is common and collective among members of Canadian society, but histories, cultures and traditions that are different. This includes those visible differences among "new Canadian" or immigrant bodies, non-immigrant spectator bodies and the singular, allegorical body of Canada. Here differences are not so much embraced as they are emphasized.

There are two main ways that difference is visualized among the bodies portrayed in the photograph of the

³² *The Canadian Annual Review*, (Toronto: 1927-28): 25.

"Immigration" tableau. One is by dress. The bodies of "new Canadians" or immigrants are clothed in various old-country costumes while the spectators on the street are seen in comparatively homogeneous new-country suits, dresses, shirts and pants and the allegorical body of Canada is draped in a cape and crown, garments associated with power and authority. The second is by the placement of the figures within the photographic (and pageant) space. Here the "new Canadian" or immigrant bodies are isolated and displayed on a raised platform for both Canada and the watching crowd. The spectator bodies occupy a voyeuristic position across the entire length of the photograph and along both sides of the city street. The symbolic body of Canada keeps watch from an elevated position of authority.

In the photograph of the "Immigration" tableau, Canada's national unity and identity are visualized by the portrayal of a visual opposite in the body of the "new Canadian." This is similar to a strategy of representation that Sekula describes in "The Body and the Archive" where nineteenth-century photographic and archival practices often constructed an image of a deviant "other" in order to visualize its superior, preferred opposite. Composed within the picture frame of the photograph of the "Immigration" tableau, a visual language of unity, identity and difference is created from the arrangement of the symbolic body of Canada, the body of the immigrant other and the body of the

spectator. From this language a preferred Canadian identity is pictured in the many indistinct, homogeneous bodies of spectators that are lined up along the parade route while unity is symbolized by the personification of Canada in a single body. In both instances the defining of Canada's national unity and identity is dependent on the presence of the "deviant" immigrant body. In order for the immigrant in this photograph to become Canadian, all visible connections to other lands and cultures must be shed. Only then will the immigrant be able to earn a place on Canada's streets and blend into the crowd.

Another example of how the immigrant body was portrayed as a site of difference and deviance in this celebration is visible in a second series of photographs found at the back of the Jubilee pageant album. As described earlier in this chapter, the first thirty-two photographs in this album are of individual tableaux. Since the tableaux are isolated from one another, both in the manner in which they have been photographed and by their placement on separate pages of the album, contemplation of the scenes is restricted to how the tableaux look apart from one another. But in ten photographs located at the back of the album, where longer segments of the pageant passing through the Parliament grounds are found, the juxtaposition of tableaux and street scenes creates a visual dialogue that is active both in the photographic space and in the actual pageant.

In one of these photographs (Figure 25), we see the tableau of "The Mounted Police," preceded and followed by uniformed officers on horseback, paused amidst another crowd of spectators. Visible behind this float is a fragment of the "Immigration" tableau followed by "Progress" and "Forestry." Dominating the background of this photograph are Canada's neo-gothic Parliament Buildings. The ordering of the tableaux pictured in this photograph, and the narrative constructed in the Jubilee pageant album, is different from the one described in the pre-Jubilee issue of the *Ottawa Citizen* cited above. In the *Citizen*, "The Melting Pot" follows a tableau depicting the history of canal building in Canada, not one representing law and order. This difference, along with other differences not visible in this photograph, seems to indicate that those in charge of the historical pageant understood how individual tableaux and their juxtaposition were equally important in the construction of a desired visual narrative. For example, while the opening tableau listed in the *Citizen* and in the Jubilee pageant index is of the "discoverer of Canada," in the album this is not the French seafarer Jacques Cartier as indicated in the *Citizen* but John Cabot, the Venetian seafarer and explorer in the English service. In keeping with the strong Anglo-Saxon theme of the photograph album, the final scene is not of the tableau of "Confederation" (as it is in the *Citizen*) but of the first Cunard liner, the *Britannia* which had

arrived in Halifax in July of 1840.³³

In the above photograph of the Jubilee pageant passing through the Parliament grounds, the body of the "new Canadian" is portrayed not only as a site of difference but also as a site of possible social disorder or disturbance that must be, and is, continually monitored. This is visualized in the proximity of the "Immigration" tableau to that of "The Mounted Police." Like the other tableaux looked at so far, "The Mounted Police" pictured here mimics Legace's drawing of the same name in *Diamond Jubilee of Confederation* (Figure 26). Described in the album index as "A typical post in Western Canada," a Mounted Police officer (officers including the men on horseback) stands guard over a small group of Indians gathered around a teepee. In both representations, the authority, order and permanence of the police is contrasted with a submissive and transient Indian presence. This is visualized primarily through architectural and physical bodies of difference. For example, in contrast to the stone architecture of both the police headquarters seen on the float and the soaring Parliament Buildings which fills the photograph's background, the Indian teepee is a

³³ Also included in the *Citizen's* line-up but absent in the album is the tableau of "The Scot in Canada." While the Scottish were considered to be among the preferred and oldest European immigrants in Canada their omission in the photographic narrative seems to indicate that the National Committee's Anglo-Saxon vision of Canada's future favoured English history, culture and traditions above all others.

comparatively less permanent structure. The small group of Indians assembled around the teepee wear headdresses, buckskin clothing and moccasins which sets them apart from the uniformed Mounted Police and the watching crowd. The strategy of locating Canadian Indians within the same tableau space as the Mounted Police, which is led and followed by teams of uniformed and armed officers on horseback, highlights the Indian as a site of difference and possible disturbance while simultaneously assuring viewers of the pageant, and of this photograph, that the Indian population is under control and adequately policed.

The Indian population is not the only group pictured as deviant in this photograph. Having the tableau of "Immigration" follow "The Mounted Police" (instead of a float of "Waterways" for example) extends this sense of surveillance to the immigrant population in Canada. Within the context of the post-war fear of an "immigrant invasion" and the negative impact such an "attack" would have on Canada's vulnerable national unity and undeveloped racial identity, the strong visual presence of the social institutions of law and government in the image of the Mounted Police and the towering Parliament Buildings, constructs a sense of protection, security, law and order in both the photographic and pageant spaces. A year earlier a similar sense of reassurance was visualized in the photograph of the Chinese immigrant being examined at

Windsor Train Station in Montreal.

The sense of law and order offered the viewer of this segment of the Jubilee pageant, and the photograph of it, in essence illustrates the assurance offered the reader of *Diamond Jubilee of Confederation*. In the publication's only reference made towards immigration it describes how, prior to 1850, settlement in Canada's three prairie provinces was dominated by settlers from Eastern Canada. Later, after a lull, immigration surged again ("as everybody knows") with an "influx of settlers from overseas [that] became very rapid." The reader's safety and security is quickly reassured, however, by the effective "management and control from Ottawa" in the form of the Northwest Mounted Police:

By the institution of the Northwest Mounted Police, and the skill with which this Force was conducted, certain important things were effected: the Indians were kept quiet, so that local strife (except for the feeble rebellion of 1885) there was none, and the prairies moved through the phases of fur-trading, ranching, railway building, farming and urban life without disturbance. Moreover, settlement from the outset was carried on within the framework of law, order and local administration, so that the western frontier missed the pioneer turbulence which marked development in some other countries.³⁴

From this statement it is clear that the inclusion and representation of Indians and immigrants in the celebration of Canada's Diamond Jubilee required sensitivity and careful consideration. The order which the tableaux passed in

³⁴ *Diamond Jubilee of Confederation*, 31-32.

Ottawa's Jubilee pageant and the impressions certain juxtapositions would produce were not, therefore, coincidental or undirected. Visually, the National Committee assured viewers of Ottawa's Jubilee parade, the commemorative photographs and *Diamond Jubilee of Confederation* that immigration and immigrants (and Indians) were closely monitored, obedient and assimilable and posed no threat to Canada's national unity or desired identity.

The inclusion and representation of "new Canadians" in Ottawa's celebration of Canada's Diamond Jubilee visualized an idealization of Canada's national unity and preferred cultural and racial identity, regardless of whether this representation was referred to as "Immigration" or "The Melting Pot." Contrary to Kelly's conclusion, the model promoted by the National Committee was not an image supportive of multiculturalism nor did all other cities try "to remain faithful to the National Committee's design."³⁵ To see how the image of "new Canadians" further complicated the construction of Canada's national unity and the visualization of a homogeneous identity in Canada's Diamond Jubilee, I turn now to photographs produced within the context of Jubilee celebrations in Toronto and Winnipeg.

³⁵ Kelly, 42.

Chapter Three

The "New Canadian" Body as a Site of Resistance:

Toronto and Winnipeg

I

Perhaps the most interesting event of the day was the historical pageant which wended its way through five miles. Magnificent also in its mammoth display of pageantry, but still more striking in the significance which surrounded each beautifully pictured event, Canada passed in review before the thousands of citizens of the provincial capital who lined the principal streets. It was a great spectacle, portraying as it did the mysterious, unexplored Canada of Cartier, Champlain and Wolfe, the land where great men gave their lives to bring the light of civilization into the darkness of a new world, a young Canada emerging from the depths of virginal forest to take her place among the Nations, and last of all a Canada who gathers her children from all lands, from the peoples of all nations, speaking all tongues, and welds them into one great harmonious whole.¹

There were many groups and clubs in the patriotic section, and the different nationalities - Czecho-Slovakian, Danish, French, Greek, Icelandic, Italian, German, Jewish, Polish, Belgian, Norse, English, Irish and Scotch, not to speak of the Native Sons- were represented by floats that could only be described as magnificent. In the Czecho-Slovakian float the children sang lustily the Canadian National Anthem practically all the time the parade was moving. They did not stop for any "encore," but had they done so, it was evident that they would have got it with the maximum of enthusiasm. The outstanding feature of the scenery in Holland - to judge by the picture books the

¹ Canadian Press review reproduced in *The Ottawa Citizen* (July 2, 1927), 4 and *The Mail and Empire* (Toronto, July 2, 1927).

windmill was conspicuous in the Dutch groups float and with the wheel going round merrily it was the cynosure of all eyes. The shack of the pioneer German settler was at one end of a float and the cosy modern residence was at the other end, all combining to make an interesting picture. The efforts which the national groups had put forth to produce a good impression on the crowds were singularly successful. The floats were among the most popular in the parade.²

This chapter looks at how the cities of Toronto and Winnipeg did, or did not, follow the National Committee's "The Melting Pot" in representations of "new Canadians" in the celebration of Canada's Jubilee. It further examines how the representation of the "new Canadian" in this celebration was problematic and how the body of the "new Canadian" was a site of resistance in the construction of Canada's national unity and the visualization of a homogeneous racial and cultural identity.

Two sets of images are examined here. One was reproduced in the July 2nd issue of *The Globe* under the headline "Toronto Rejoices on Canada's Sixtieth Birthday" (Figure 27). The second, in the July 2nd issue of the *Manitoba Free Press*, was printed under the headline "National Floats in Winnipeg's Mammoth Parade" (Figure 28). Unlike the photographs assembled in the album dedicated to Ottawa's historical pageant deposited with the National Archives, the arrangements of the groups of images

² "Patriotic Pageant of Progress Illustrates Canada's Development," *Manitoba Free Press*, (Winnipeg, July 2, 1927), 2.

reproduced in *The Globe* and the *Free Press* are not faithful to the actual ordering that these tableaux passed in either city's Jubilee parade. Instead, the newspapers offered their own visual narratives constructed for their respective audiences. As implied by the different headlines, *The Globe's* readership appeared to be more interested in how its city celebrated Canada's Diamond Jubilee while the *Free Press's* was more concerned with who celebrated it.

The cities of Toronto and Winnipeg both had strong Anglo-Saxon beginnings and both experienced increased immigration of "non-preferred" groups in the early-twentieth century which visibly altered their essentially Anglo-Saxon characters.³ How "new Canadians" were included and visually

³ Approximately thirty different nationalities lived in Toronto in 1927. Centrally located and segregated neighbourhoods like St. John's Ward were home to Jews, Italians, Chinese, Poles and Ukrainians. A portrait of one such neighbourhood was published in *The Canadian Magazine of Politics, Science and Literature* in 1913. "Toronto's Melting Pot," written by Margaret Bell, is a voyeuristic stroll through the city's "Lower End" that encounters "tumbledown shacks," "shrieking young ruffians," "Hebrew disorder," "slant-eyed fellows" and "a sick baby," "filth," "odours" and "lazy-looking workmen." By the 1920s, many of Toronto's non-Anglo-Saxon nationalities, had active social, religious and political groups as well as sporting and theatrical clubs. These groups and the retention of "foreign" traditions and languages were seen by some to be a hindrance to assimilation and a threat to Canada's Anglo-Saxonness. For more information on the history of Toronto's immigrant population see Robert F. Harney, *Gathering Place: Peoples and Neighbourhoods of Toronto, 1834-1945*, (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1985); and Robert F. Harney and Harold Troper, *Immigrants: A Portrait of the Urban Experience 1890-1930*, (Toronto: Van Nostrand Reinhold Ltd., 1975). Winnipeg, "gateway to the west," was home to over sixty nationalities in 1927. Alan Artibise, in

represented in these cities' Jubilee celebrations, however, are very different. One possible explanation for this difference is provided by J.E. Rea, in her essay "The Roots of Prairie Society," an examination of the significance of Winnipeg's Anglo-Saxon origins. While acknowledging the presence of an indigenous Indian culture, Rea identifies the starting point of contemporary culture on the Canadian prairies as roughly the decade of the 1880s. Even though Manitoba entered Confederation in 1870 with an approximately even number of French Catholics and English Protestants, this feature was "permanently altered by the wave of immigration from Ontario in the 1870s and 1880s," in which, Rea states, "Manitoba ... was reborn in the image of Ontario."⁴

Winnipeg: An Illustrated History, describes how in the decade following the turn of the century, a rapid growth of the population of non-Anglo-Saxons in this city was accompanied by a rise of ethnic nationalism and "foreign ghettos" in the city's North End which, writes Artibise, "all led to profound feelings of fear and apprehension on the part of Winnipeg's Anglo-Saxon charter group." He describes the period of 1914-1920 as the worst in Winnipeg's social history - witnessing the effects of the First World War, the Russian Revolution, the Red Scare, Winnipeg's General Strike and ethnic discrimination and high unemployment. See Alan Artibise, *Winnipeg: An Illustrated History*, The History of Canadian Cities Series (Toronto: James Lorimer & Company and National Museum of Man, National Museums of Canada, 1977).

⁴ J.E. Rea, "The Roots of Prairie Society," *Prairie Perspectives*, ed. David Gagan (Toronto: Holt Rinehart & Winston of Canada Limited, 1970), 47. Alan Artibise also stresses the importance of understanding the impact that large numbers of British and Ontario migrants had on Manitoba in the last two decades of the nineteenth century.

Rea situates her essay around an idea of how new societies are formed called "fragmentation," put forward in *The Founding of New Societies* by Louis Hartz (1964). In "fragmentation" a part of an older, parent society breaks away and settles in a new region taking with it the ideological development which in the new region becomes "a common assumption or a 'universal'" and "a new point of departure, capable of inspiring new concepts, or creating a distinctive regionalism," as well as, "... a different future from that of the older society."⁵ In Rea's case study, the fragment is the older, parent society of Ontario which settles in the new region of Manitoba and, by the turn of the century, establishes British political, social and economic institutions as well as language and culture as the dominate or "universal." Rea's study provides an interesting dimension to consider when looking at the different futures embodied in the photographs of "new Canadians" participating in Toronto's and Winnipeg's celebration of Canada's Jubilee.

Toronto's historical pageant stretched approximately two miles and included 8,000 participants, twenty marching

According to Artibise, Anglo-Saxons established themselves as Winnipeg's "dominant charter group" and "quickly and effectively established their economic, social, political and cultural beliefs as the norm" with the result that "all newcomers were expected to conform to an established British mould." Artibise, 42.

⁵ Rea, 47, 48.

bands and thirty-five floats that passed in front of an estimated one hundred thousand spectators who lined the city's streets. Local newspapers described the parade as a "stirring spectacle" (*Mail and Empire*) and a "picturesque pageant" (*The Globe*). A majority of the tableaux were of historical scenes including depictions of a 1000 AD visit to the Canadian coast by Norse navigators, through to the voyages of John and Sebastian Cabot, Jacques Cartier and Henry Hudson; to the arrival of "The First White Woman in Canada," the "First Art School in Canada," the "Return of the British Empire," "The Death of Wolfe," and "The Arrival of the Loyalists." Individual floats were contributed by a variety of organizations and businesses including the Daughters of Canada, Knights of Columbus, the Orange Order, Canadian Club, the United Church, Sons of England, Canadian Progress Club and Canadian General Electric, Eaton's and Simpson's.⁶

The series of nine photographs reproduced in *The Globe* depict scenes from this city's Jubilee celebration that would have been agreeable to the newspaper's primarily Anglo-Saxon middle-class audience. In this series there is a visualization of a past full of discovery and myth; scenes of loyalty and sacrifice, and of authority and empire are

⁶ "City Unites To-Morrow in Paean of Rejoicing at Dominion's Progress," *The Daily Star*, (Toronto, June 30th, 1927).

portrayed; and, a glimpse of a prosperous, hopeful and homogeneous future is offered. Following the accompanying caption, the photographs assembled here are, in the top row, a tableau of John and Sebastian Cabot leaving England on the eve of their historic voyage of discovery, an early form of transportation - the horse-car - used in Toronto before electric railway lines, and the arrival of Cartier in 1534. In the middle row are photographs of a float honouring "Canadian efforts on the field of battle," dignitaries viewing the pageant from their seat of honor, and a large galley representing the "almost mythical visit of the Norsemen to Markland, Nova Scotia"; and in the bottom row are pictures of the "New Canadian" float, a tableau depicting a mid-nineteenth century spinning bee, and a photograph of a single figure identified as "The Child at the Gate."

Excluding the central image of dignitaries viewing the historical pageant from a reviewing stand draped with Union Jacks, the nine photographs assembled in *The Globe* grouping are of tableaux entered in Toronto's historical pageant. With the exception of the image in the bottom right corner, the photographs of these entries appear to be taken from one or two elevated locations along the parade route and maintain a spectator's distance between the subject of the photograph and the viewer. Compositionally, these photographs include within the picture frame the entire

float platform, with participants, and fragments of the spectating crowds. This uniform composition and depth, along with the accompanying caption, encourages a linear reading of this assemblage of images row by row, beginning with the scene in the top left corner. The eye moves across the frames of these photographs with little interference. Even the rows of spectators lined up along the city streets continue, with a few exceptions, where the rows of spectators in the previous frame leave off.

In the lower left corner of this series is a photograph of a float carrying representatives of Toronto's "foreign-born" population (Figure 29). Here we see a group of more than thirty children, of varying ages, dressed in clothing signifying different cultural origins. Some stand, others sit and a few hold flags or other items that represent a nation other than Canada or outside the British Empire. For example, there are two rows of small girls with ribbons and flowers in their hair, a common feature of many eastern European costumes. Behind them are four boys wearing embroidered shirts and sashed baggy trousers standing on either side of a fifth child dressed as a Ukrainian Kozak carrying a flag of Ukraine. To the right of this group we can see the tops of two Asian-looking umbrellas. The sign on the left-hand side of the float identifies these figures as "New Canadians."

This representation of "new Canadians" in Toronto's

Jubilee celebration visibly deviates from "The Melting Pot" model endorsed by the National Committee in *Diamond Jubilee of Confederation*. Most noticeable in the Toronto representation is the absence of the personification of Canada and symbols of the British Empire. In their place are the costumes and flags of many different nationalities which are worn, not by passive, humble newcomers, but smiling, energetic children. At first glance, one may be tempted to interpret this representation as a scene envisioning a multicultural Canada, a Canadian mosaic that embraces and values diversity. But, when examined within the context of the larger visual narrative constructed in *The Globe*, the photograph of the "New Canadian" tableau entered in Toronto's Jubilee pageant is, in essence, yet another representation of a homogeneous melting pot or, as one *Canadian Press* editor described it, part of a visualization of "one great harmonious whole" welded "from the peoples of all nations."

For those who advocated a predominantly Anglo-Saxon future for Toronto, and the country at large, the celebration of Canada's Diamond Jubilee provided an opportunity to reassert the place of British traditions and symbols in Canada. G. Howard Ferguson, the premier of Ontario from 1923 to 1930, addressed the Toronto Local Council of Women at the group's Diamond Jubilee Banquet which honored the surviving daughters of the Fathers of

Confederation. Ferguson was quoted in the June 28, 1927 issue of *The Mail and Empire* as stating that "The future of the world depends on the dominance of the Anglo-Saxon race and the leadership must come from the British Empire."

Such a future is visualized in the closing frame of *The Globe's* narrative described in the newspaper's caption as:

... "The Child at the Gate," envisioning the future that lies before Canadian childhood of today - Canada, with her endless and diversified resources, waiting with boundless confidence her destiny under the men and women of tomorrow.

In the photograph of "The Child at the Gate" (Figure 30) a single youth is dressed in a loose robe and white shoes. The figure stands relaxed, gazing directly at the viewer. In the right hand is held a blossoming branch, a common visual symbol of spring and youthfulness. Compositionally, this photograph is unlike the other photographs included in *The Globe* sequence. Where the other scenes are taken from one or two elevated locations along the parade route, and appear to be captured during the actual passing of the parade, the photograph of "The Child at the Gate" appears to be composed from a position on the tableau platform directly in front of the youth. This suggests that the photograph must have been made either before, or after, the official procession. Unlike the scenes that include within their picture frames the complete float platform along with participants and fragments of the watching crowd, the photograph of "The Child at the Gate"

tightly confines a single figure within a shallow pictorial space, effectively isolating it from all other celebrants, including parade spectators and the tableau's own attendants. The result is an iconic isolation of this image of the body. Unlike all of the other photographs in this grouping that encourage the eye to move continuously across the series, the isolation of this single figure creates a space and an opportunity for viewer interaction and contemplation. That "The Child at the Gate" carried a significant message for all viewers of both the parade and this series of photographs is proclaimed by one *Mail and Empire* reviewer who wrote:

As though to point out that which followed was no mere historical pageant but held its message for Canadians of 1927, the parade was led by a striking tableau symbolic of Canada's future, a single boyish figure standing gazing ahead through a great gate-way - "The child at the gate." ⁷

In the actual passing of Toronto's historical pageant, the tableaux of "New Canadians" and "The Child at the Gate"

⁷ "Pageant Depicts Makers of Canada," *The Mail and Empire*, (Toronto, July 2, 1927), 4. In the *Globe & Mail* Collection of the City of Toronto Archives there is a photograph of "The Child at the Gate" tableau surrounded by its attendants moving past rows of watching spectators (Figure 31). That this photograph (which compositionally resembles the layout's other tableaux photographs) was not used in the *Globe* layout and the photograph of the single figure of "The Child at the Gate" was, confirms that the *Globe* layout was not a random assemblage of celebratory images but a constructed visual narrative. This other photograph of "The Child at the Gate" was reproduced on its own in the July 4, 1927 issue of *The Globe*.

were separated by the length of an entire parade. Yet, as one reporter for *The Daily Star* observed, this did not prohibit the recognition of a relationship between the two representations:

... and then the last float, the New Canadians, accompanied by marching groups representing various nationalities who are contributing to the building of Canada today. This float formed a fitting sequel to the first one - The Child at the Gate - and the crowd seemed to sense its significance.⁸

As in Ottawa's historical pageant, the ordering of tableaux in Toronto's Jubilee parade was not left up to chance but was carefully arranged to illustrate a particular history and social order.⁹ A different visual arrangement, but otherwise the same history and social order, is also carefully constructed in *The Globe*. The "fitting sequel" being referred by the *Daily Star* reporter is also visible to

⁸ "Nine Centuries of History Re-Lived in Epoch-Marking Jubilee Parade," *The Daily Star*, (July 4, 1927).

⁹ The importance of the construction and presentation of public imagery during the "pageantry craze" of the early decades of this century is examined by David Glassberg in *American Historical Pageantry: The Uses of Tradition in the Early Twentieth Century*. Glassberg states that "Public historical imagery is an essential element of our culture, contributing to how we define our sense of identity and direction ... by giving recognition to various groups and individual histories, [it] also suggests categories for our understanding [of] the scale of our social relations and the relative position of groups in our society." He also writes how many patriotic and hereditary societies saw historical pageantry as a way of "preserv[ing] Anglo-American supremacy in public life." See David Glassberg, *American Historical Pageantry: The Uses of Tradition in the Early Twentieth Century*, (Chapel Hill & London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1990), 1-5, 64.

viewers of *The Globe's* narrative.

Compositionally, the photograph of the "New Canadians" float is consistent with most of the other tableau scenes reproduced in *The Globe* layout, including in its frame the entire float platform, participants and fragments of spectators on both sides of the street. Also similar is the manner in which the "New Canadians" photograph is taken from an elevated location along the procession route at a distance that prevents any individual or intimate contact between the viewer and those being viewed. In the accompanying caption, the tableau is described as being:

... a float of great significance "New Canadians," symbolic of the never-ending stream of newcomers to the Land of the Maple Leaf, bringing with them their own habits and costumes, but quickly acquiring Canadian ways and loyalty.

To determine what was meant by "Canadian ways and loyalty" one has only to look at the narrative constructed by *The Globe* layout. Looking at the scenes of Canada's past, present and future, a short version of which runs diagonally from the upper left to the bottom right corner of the arrangement, this photographic narrative emphasizes Canada's connection to Empire and the superiority of the Anglo-Saxon race. This begins with the historical scene depicting the explorers John and Sebastian Cabot, in the service of England, taking leave from King Henry VII. It continues with an image of watching dignitaries and officials located behind a display of Union Jacks. The central position of

this image gives the honored guests a powerful, panoptic point of observation that oversees Canada's past, present and future with the arms of the Union Jack serving as spokes from which the other photographs of this assemblage radiate out. Finally, *The Globe* narrative ends with the photograph of "The Child at the Gate." In this context, "Canadian ways and loyalty," embodied in the symbolic figure of "The Child at the Gate," does not visualize a future Canadian mosaic but a racial and cultural "harmonious whole." This is the "fitting sequel" referred to by the *Daily Star* reporter.

In the photograph of the "Immigration" tableau discussed in Chapter Two (Figure 19), the construction of Canada's national unity and the visualization of a homogeneous racial and cultural identity is dependent on the presence of a visual opposite in the image of the immigrant. In the same way, the visualization of Canada's future "harmonious whole" in Toronto's historical pageant is dependent on the portrayal of the past and of the representation of disunity, both of which are embodied in the "New Canadians." As in "Immigration," it is the distinction of difference that connects the image of "New Canadians" and "The Child at the Gate." A group of more than thirty children are seen positioned on the "New Canadians" float platform, dressed in clothing and/or carrying symbols which signify many different nationalities and old country origins. There is no visible order to how the children are

arranged on the float, nor is there any sense of hierarchical organization. This casual gathering composed of youthful members from Toronto's diverse cultural communities appears disorderly and unharmonious in contrast to the singular figure seen in "The Child at the Gate." Even gender is visualized in these photographs as a point of difference. While the "New Canadians" are comprised of young boys and girls the youth pictured in "The Child at the Gate" is androgenous in appearance and is described in the report of the National Committee's Executive as a "boyish figure."¹⁰ As in the photograph of the scene from Ford's melting pot pageant discussed in Chapter One (Figure 1), the pre-assimilated body of the "non-preferred" immigrant portrayed in the photograph of the tableau of "New Canadians" is a carrier of difference, old-country and disunion in relation to the image of the transformed body of oneness, new-country, harmony and unity visualized in the singular body portrayed in "The Child at the Gate."

Within the frame of the photograph of the "New Canadians" tableau, the visualization of difference is again defined between the bodies of the "new Canadians" on the float platform and the spectator's bodies lined up along Toronto's city streets. As in the photograph of "Immigration," this is accomplished by dress and by the

¹⁰ *Report of the Executive Committee*, 41.

placement of the figures in the photographic space. In the "Immigration" photograph, the presence of the personification of Canada clearly projects the established hierarchy and the subordinate position of immigrants within this hierarchy. In *The Globe* narrative, "The Child at the Gate" functions in a similar way. The only way the "deviant" immigrant can become a part of the picture of Canada's national unity and homogeneous identity in *The Globe* narrative is to shed all visible connections to other lands and cultures.

The historical use of the physical human body to represent social order and the harmonious unity of many diverse parts, whether that unity be of a political state, the world or even the entire cosmos, has been the subject of recent scholarship including Leonard Balkan's examination of the development and use of such representations in Renaissance poetry entitled *Nature's Work of Art: The Human Body as Image of the World*. Balkan suggests that one of the reasons why the human body has been used so extensively since antiquity, in metaphorical and allegorical representations intended to explain humanity's place in the universe and in society, is that the human body is a very familiar and immediately accessible form. But, argues Balkan, the most singular reason for the usefulness of the human body in metaphorical and allegorical representations of the cosmos, the state and social order is the body's

ability to function harmoniously and in unity while being comprised of many different and diverse parts. According to Balkan, the human body is "multiplicity ordered in complete harmony, "... the only, as well as the most obvious, way of understanding a unity of diversity. Consequently, abstract unities of diversity are seen in the image of the body."¹¹

Evidence that the image of the body was used in the early-twentieth century as a method of describing, comprehending and identifying oneself as a political, social and/or economic entity, and to explain Canada's place in the Commonwealth of nations, appears in at least two reviews of Toronto's Jubilee celebration found in *The Mail and Empire*. For example:

But in spite of the heat, Toronto was there in a body to re-read the history of the Dominion as it was written by the floats which made up much of the parade.¹²

¹¹ Leonard Balkan, *Nature's Work of Art: The Human Body as Image of the World*. (London: Yale University Press, 1975), 62. Similarly, the use of the human body to represent social order in a public celebration is explored by Mervyn James in "Ritual, Drama and Social Body in the Late Medieval English Town." In this essay, James argues that "the theme of Corpus Christi is society seen in terms of body" and that the idea of body provided urban societies with a mythology and a ritual as well as an "instrument of language" where elements of both social wholeness and social differentiation could be conceived, affirmed and experienced. He cites how the position and status of urban community guilds in the larger, inclusive social body were visually symbolized and represented to the public through the guild's participation and hierarchical placement in the celebration's processions, pageantry and plays.

¹² "Toronto Demonstration Is Impressively Symbolic of the Progress of Canada," *The Mail and Empire*, (Toronto, July

A second description dresses up the body of Toronto in a pattern of the Union Jack:

Commemorating in a fitting manner Canada's Diamond Jubilee, the Queen City of the Dominion is decked in royal garb. The folds of a million Union Jacks are waving in the Summer breeze, while the Canadian ensign takes its place beside the emblem of the greater commonwealth, a significant reminder that on her 60th birthday, Canada finds her destiny in the wider body, yet stands as a nation among the nations of the world.¹³

Visualization of an abstract unity of diversity was what the National Committee for the Celebration of the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation had in mind when it chose a figurative design for the Jubilee commemorative medal. Recorded in the minutes of a meeting of the medals committee:

The Committee considered the design for the reverse of a Confederation medal which was submitted by Mr. Charles W. Jefferys. This design conveys the idea of Canada's unity by means of a single figure. The growth and extent of Canada is expressed by the inclusion of certain physical features and also by the position and attitude of the figure. The figure of "Canada" stands in arrested motion forward, with arms outstretched in welcome or anticipation, a gesture which gives an idea of ample space....¹⁴

On the Jubilee commemorative medal all of the diversities of landscapes and nationalities that make up

2, 1927).

¹³ "Great Array of Flags Greets Dominion Day," *The Mail and Empire*, (July 2, 1927).

¹⁴ Minutes of a meeting of the medals committee, September 6, 1927. National Archives of Canada RG6 Volume 445 File #1.

Canada are unified in the form of a single human figure which holds within its embrace all that is to be found between the Pacific and Atlantic coastlines, visually erasing any tensions between central, eastern and western Canada, between English and French and between "old" and "new Canadians." But in this early-twentieth century Canadian context, the kind of unity being embodied in the singular figure on the Jubilee Confederation medal and in the youth of "The Child at the Gate," is not what Leonard Balkan describes as a "multiplicity ordered in complete harmony," that is, in this case, the existence, maintenance and protection of different cultural origins. Instead, it is an image of a homogeneous unity that demands racial and cultural differences to be eliminated.

How then, in Toronto's celebration, does the image of the "new Canadian," undermine this construction of Canada's national unity and the visualization of a homogeneous racial and cultural identity? Focusing for a moment only on the photograph of the "New Canadians" tableau a more ambiguous future becomes visible. For while perceived differences between the "new Canadian" and the spectator are confirmed in this photograph, at the same time, the social order that visualizes these differences is being challenged. For example, on the sign located on the side of the "New Canadian" float platform, we see that the contributor of this entry is the Associated Foreign Born Communities of

Toronto. While activity did exist amongst separate immigrant groups in Toronto there is no record of the existence, in 1927, of any active umbrella organization under this name. This suggests that this "association" was assembled for the sole purpose of participating in Toronto's Diamond Jubilee of Confederation pageant. The various national costumes and flags visible in this *Globe* photograph indicate that at least some of Toronto's immigrant groups were aware of, and in some way identified with, the different countries of their ancestral origins. The fact that it is a group of young children that appear on the float platform is of primary significance.

The inclusion of children in Canada's Jubilee celebration was considered a strategy for visualizing the success of the "Canadianization" of the country's immigrant population.¹⁵ This is described in a letter dated May 23,

¹⁵ In the early-twentieth century, it was the children of the "foreign-born" (and "foreign-born" children) who were believed to be the most assimilable. Kate Foster echoed the sentiments of many of her social, educational, medical and political contemporaries when she wrote in *Our Canadian Mosaic* that "Adults cannot be expected to become other than superficial Canadians. But children still in the formative period, under teachers of the right calibre in non-English-speaking communities, readily acquire the language and are quick to adopt Canadian ways and customs." Foster, 80. Robert F. Harney and Harold Troper in their study *Immigrants: A Portrait of the Urban Experience, 1890-1930* also describe how these children were the targets of assimilationists: "The older generation, already set in its ways, was sometimes dismissed as beyond the possibility of Canadianization. ... However, if adults might remain beyond full assimilation, the teacher, social worker and settlement house volunteer regarded their children as more malleable

1927 to W.F. Kerr, Honorary Secretary of the Saskatchewan Provincial Jubilee Committee, from a member of the National Committee Executive who wrote:

The National Committee has felt all through that every effort should be made to interest the foreign settlers in Canada, particularly those in the West, and to carry instruction to them on Confederation and the progress which has resulted therefrom. One of the floats proposed is that there should be a group of adults in their native costumes, with their children before them clothed as young Canadians.¹⁶

But in the photograph of the "New Canadian" tableau entered in Toronto's Jubilee pageant it is the children who are seen clothed in native costumes. On the one hand, the presence of children on this tableau platform may have reassured the viewer that there was nothing to fear from the "foreign-born" in Canada since assimilationists considered children to be "more malleable" (and children in general were visually non-threatening). At the same time, it is this very image of children dressed in native costumes and carrying foreign flags that complicates the construction of Canada's national unity and the visualization of a

material. ... Under their watchful eye those children were marked for transformation from foreigners into useful young Canadians. ... Within one generation, two at the most, the assimilationist believed the process would be complete; immigrants would be Canadianized and their strange ways be only an historical memory." Harney and Troper, 109-113.

¹⁶ National Archives of Canada, RG 6, vol. 28, file 20.

homogeneous racial and cultural identity in this narrative, for the very reason that it was the children of the "foreign-born" who were expected to become "Canadianized." According to *The Mail and Empire* the adults dressed in trousers, white shirts and ties seen walking beside the "New Canadian" tableau were "marchers from the 'new Canadians' groups."¹⁷ This juxtaposition seems to portray the opposite of what the National Committee's Executive had in mind. That is, in this photograph, the "foreign-born" adult has visually adjusted to Canadian ways and loyalty while it is the children who seem prepared to carry on the traditions of their ancestral origins in Canada, preventing them from drifting away into "historical memory."

II

One could go on indefinitely giving short sketches of the joyous response that was seen in every city, town, village and hamlet, but this is sufficient to illustrate the tremendous effort and the magnificent success that attended the celebration of Canada's Diamond Jubilee in the province of Manitoba. It mattered not whether the community was large or small; Jewish, Protestant or Catholic; English, Mennonite, French, Icelandic or Ruthenian. The thought that inspired the effort was the same. "this is our country." The effort was grand, the spirit of unity magnificent and the celebration a real national triumph.¹⁸

The photograph of the "New Canadians" tableau and *The*

¹⁷ *The Mail and Empire*, (July 2), 1927.

¹⁸ *Report of Executive Committee*, 27.

Globe layout suggests the existence of a more complex relationship between "new Canadians," the construction of Canada's national unity and the visualization of a homogeneous racial and cultural identity in Canada's Diamond Jubilee celebration. This relationship is visibly more complex than the one put forward by the National Committee's "The Melting Pot." In the *Manitoba Free Press's* layout of photographs from Winnipeg's celebratory parade (Figure 28) further complications are visible in the nine photographs of tableaux carrying members of Winnipeg's immigrant population. On the left-hand side, from the top down, are individual floats representing Ireland, Greece, Poland, Iceland and, in the bottom image, the Native Sons of Canada and the Lord Selkirk club. On the right hand side are photographs of floats portraying Italy, the English societies in Canada, France and Norway.

Compositionally, the *Free Press* series differs from the Jubilee photographs already discussed. The majority of *The Globe* and *Ottawa* photographs were made from one or two positions above the heads of the parade's spectators who were also included in the images. In contrast, the photographs reproduced in the *Free Press* were made from the spectator's point of view at street level. There are no crowds occupying the space between the photographer and the passing tableaux and the tight, close-up framing of the scenes prevents the viewer from seeing any spectators in the

photograph's background. The layout of the *Free Press* photographs is also less linear than the other two series. There is no narrative of Canada's Anglo-Saxon past or future destiny; nor is any cultural or racial hierarchy methodically constructed. Instead, the *Free Press* photographs appear on the page like a collage of snapshots.

According to the *Manitoba Free Press* there were one hundred and seventy-five entries in Winnipeg's "patriotic pageant of progress."¹⁹ The ten floats which made up the historical section of the parade depicted scenes of Canada's discovery and early forms of settlement and transportation including the Red River cart. In the industrial section of the parade, which was comprised of seventy floats, progress in industry, transportation and manufacturing were displayed. And the approximately twenty floats that were included in the patriotic section represented "cross sections from the lives of fifteen nationalities, all of which are contributing elements that are going into the making of the Canadian race."²⁰ Unlike Ottawa's "The Melting Pot" and Toronto's "one great harmonious whole," the inclusion of "nationalities" in Winnipeg's Jubilee celebration contributed to "a thrilling stupendous

¹⁹ "Patriotic Pageant of Progress Illustrates Canada's Development," *Manitoba Free Press*, (July 2, 1927), 1.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 2.

kaleidoscope of color."²¹

According to Rea, one of the tests of the security of the "English-Ontario" fragment in Manitoba was its ability to absorb the large numbers of non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants that settled in that province and which soon were seen as a "shock" and a "threat" to "the self-contained and self-nurturing ideology of the fragment."²² Rea writes:

On the part of the dominant English group there was an implicit assumption of racial superiority - racial, that is, in the popular sense. From this followed a determination to maintain the cultural and social patterns and institutions they had established. By casting themselves as Canadians, and their society as Canadian society, the immigrant's hunger for acceptance in this new land could be channelled into sustaining rather than threatening the fragment ethic. ... What really happened in Western Canada in the early decades of this century was a "melting pot." And it was the English majority who wrote the recipe and stoked the fire. The immigrant was made plainly aware that his language and his culture were his badges of inferiority, and a continuing obstacle to assimilation."²³

Reminding the reader of the anti-immigrant activities of the Ku Klux Klan in Saskatchewan and Manitoba in the 1920s, Rea

²¹ Ibid. In the *Free Press's* reviews of Winnipeg's celebration of Canada's Diamond Jubilee it is significant that immigrant groups are not referred to as "new Canadians," a term that lumps all immigrants into one collective group, but as "nationalities," a term that recognizes differences in culture, language and history.

²² Rea, 51.

²³ Ibid. In "British-Canadian Intellectuals, Ukrainian Immigrants, and Canadian National Identity," Ferguson, contrary to Rea and Artibise, states that "Canadians did not use the American model of a 'melting pot,' even though they used the term on occasion." See Ferguson, 318.

states that "for the immigrant, acceptance could only come, if at all, at the expense of his own cultural identity."²⁴

Artibise also comments on how the focus of assimilationists in the early-twentieth century was often on "externals" including the ability to speak English and the adoption of the dominant group's dress, manners, and social rituals. He states how after 1920, a slower population growth, and the desire amongst second and third generations to be accepted by Winnipeg's Anglo-Saxon majority and their adoption of Anglo-Saxon ways resulted in a decrease in ethnic tension and hostility and an increase in the security Anglo-Saxons felt about their own dominant position in society.²⁵ Both Artibise and Rea concur that a dominant Anglo-Saxon society existed in Winnipeg in the 1920s. Immigrants who desired acceptance into this society were required to concede, at the very least visually, his or her own cultural identity to a larger Anglo-Saxon one. But, looking at the photographs produced in the context of the celebration of Canada's Diamond Jubilee, this description appears to fit the representation of "new Canadians" in *The Globe's* narrative, not the ones reproduced in the *Manitoba Free Press*.

In the *Free Press* photographs, immigrants of Irish,

²⁴ Rea, 52.

²⁵ Artibise, 130.

Polish and Greek descent proudly display to the city of Winnipeg the costumes, flags and histories of their ancestor's countries from individual float platforms. This is unlike "The Melting Pot" drawing or the photograph of Toronto's "New Canadians" tableau, where immigrant groups are portrayed within a single representation.²⁶ In the photograph of the float representing Greece for example (Figure 32), attention is focused on this civilization's ancient and glorious past. A float modelled after the Parthenon is pulled through the city's streets by a team of horses which is guided by costumed men walking alongside. A number of women dressed in long white garments are positioned amongst the Doric columns. One woman, holding the flag of Greece stands at the front of the tableau, a sash identifying her as the personification of Greece falls across her upper body. On the other side a second woman, identified in the same manner as Canada, holds the Canadian

²⁶ This is also unlike Manitoba's Provincial Jubilee Committee's suggestion for "racial groups" of "different national origins" to assemble under the sign "The Cosmopolitan Nature and Rapid Growth of Population: Canada Our Homeland." Or, alternatively, that these groups share a float: "In tableau each group or a member of each group might provide a national song or dance, or a two minute speech on 'Canada Our Homeland.' Even on a float this might be done at intervals along the route of the parade." A suggestion for a tableau of "School's Contribution to Modern Life" includes the portrayal of Business, Sports, Leisure and "Assimilation - New Canadians." See *Suggestions for Patriotic Floats, Tableaux and Pageants For the Celebration of Canada's Diamond Jubilee of Confederation* published by the Provincial Jubilee Committee for the Province of Manitoba.

Red Ensign.²⁷

In the lower right corner of this layout is a photograph of the tableau "Norway's Contribution to Canada" on which a large group is assembled. While the quality of this photograph is poor, many of the adults and children on the float are seen holding small flags of Norway; the adults appear to be in uniform and the children dressed in national costume. It is, however, what is not seen in this photograph that is interesting about this tableau. According to a *Free Press* reporter: "Physical culture was prominent in the Norwegian display. Groups of athletes swinging clubs or throwing weights occupied the centre of the float and other scenes from Norwegian life were shown at each end."²⁸ Visible below "Norway's Contribution to Canada" the words "A Sound Mind in a Sound Body" articulate the early-twentieth century's obsession over the immigrant body and the

²⁷ A brief article in the June 25th issue of the *Manitoba Free Press* suggests that the Union Jack was not as widely used in the decoration of Winnipeg's streets for the Jubilee: "The erection of flags on the light standards throughout the city July 1 was referred to the Jubilee committee by the finance committee at the city hall yesterday afternoon when it was made known that no flags with the Canadian coat of arms were in possession of the city. The only ones available were Union Jacks and blue and white ensigns. The committee instructed the Jubilee committee to procure flags with the Canadian coat of arms." That flags with the Canadian coat of arms were preferred over the Union Jack proposes that, in 1927, Winnipeg's allegiance was to Canada and not, like Toronto and Ottawa, to the British Empire. See *Manitoba Free Press*, (June 25, 1927), 3.

²⁸ *Manitoba Free Press*, (July 2, 1927), 2.

development of a Canadian race.

In an attempt to counter the fear of the "non-preferred" immigrant body as dirty, diseased and degenerative (in the language of eugenics), Canada's Diamond Jubilee provided an opportunity for "new Canadians" to display their bodies as clean, healthy and strong. Norway's presentation is a surprising one in many ways since Norwegians were considered among the "preferred" immigrant groups. That these more desirable "new Canadians" took it upon themselves to proclaim to Winnipeg (and Canada) that their bodies and minds were not defective, contaminated or insane, indicates that no "new Canadian" was free from judgement or disapproval.

Unlike the photographs of the Ontario celebrations, Anglo-Saxon and non-Anglo-Saxon nationalities are presented in the *Free Press* as equal contributors to Winnipeg's Jubilee celebration, and the future Canadian race:

Cross sections from the lives of fifteen nationalities, all of which are contributing elements that are going into the making of the Canadian race, were represented by floats in the Patriotic section of the parade. Here was to be seen portrayed in tableau, a picture of Belgian family life, stirring scenes from Italy and France, groups delineating events in the history of Poland, of Czechoslovakia, of Denmark. The contribution of Norway and Sweden to the life of Canada, and the great influence of England, Scotland and Ireland in imprinting on the Dominion the British spirit were vividly presented.²⁹

²⁹ *Manitoba Free Press*, (July 2, 1927), 2.

In this description of Winnipeg's pageant, and in the *Free Press* photographs, England (and the British spirit) is one of "many nationalities." There is no construction of "Canada as a melting pot" and no visualization of "Canadian ways and loyalty."³⁰ Following the parade an estimated 50,000 people assembled at Winnipeg's Assiniboine Park for an afternoon of sports (in the form of a "miniature Olympics"), singing and dancing. According the report of the Executive Committee, "gatherings representing more than 20 nationalities held picnics and programs under the flags of their native land with a Grande Finale that included "the massed choirs of all nationalities join[ing] in a magnificent rendering of the national songs of Canada."³¹ These events led one reporter to express how:

³⁰ This does not mean that a struggle for social and racial hierarchy was not attempted in Winnipeg's Jubilee pageant. The preference here, however, seems to have favored those born in Canada just as the flag with the Canadian coat of arms was preferred over the Union Jack. For example, the Native Sons of Canada's entry was described in the *Free Press* as a group of persons seated in a decorated car displaying a sign which "told spectators that they were four generations of Canadian born." See *Manitoba Free Press*, (July 2, 1927), 2.

³¹ *Report of the Executive Committee*, 24. A program of the events scheduled for Assiniboine Park was printed in a pre-Jubilee issue of the *Free Press* and lists the singing, dancing and music of the Netherlands and of Polish, Ukrainians, French, Swedish, Icelandic, Scottish, English, Danish, Jewish and Italians. Only the Norwegians were not scheduled to sing or dance in the post-parade festivities; their contribution was identified with the word "Gym." See "Final Details for Jubilee Complete," *Manitoba Free Press* (June 29, 1927), 2.

To the Fathers of Confederation, could they have actually seen sixty years ahead, the most astonishing thing would have been the mingling of the races in the Canada they began. To have seen this mingling at its best they would have had to look onto Winnipeg. They may have turned their backs on Europe, those thousands who surged into the park yesterday - some of them indeed knew the old countries only through the memories of their fathers and mothers - but they had not utterly forgotten it. Their contribution to the new country was to give the best they had in the old and yesterday they put on their old costumes and sang their old songs and showed in a small measure what they had in them to give.³²

This "mingling of races" does not appear to have occurred in Jubilee celebrations in Ottawa and Toronto. If it did, it did not receive attention in the press. It is this "mingling of races," however, that is portrayed in the *Free Press* layout. The future visualized in the assemblage of photographs in the *Free Press* is not that of a melting pot or a harmonious whole. It is instead more akin, in subject and layout, to Kate Foster's mosaic of "human tiles" described in Chapter One.

Within the frames of these tableaux photographs there is no personification of Canada or Canada's future identity portrayed in a single symbolic figure. There is no construction of a homogeneous racial and cultural identity in Canada's future, no construction of a deviant immigrant other. There is also no construction of difference between the "new Canadian," and the (unseen) spectators. Instead,

³² "All Nations Join in Jubilee Celebration," *Manitoba Free Press*, (July 2, 1927), 5.

other kinds of differences are visible amongst the immigrant groups themselves. These differences - of history, dress and visual symbols - resist the representation of a homogeneous racial and cultural identity for Canada. The site of this resistance is the "new Canadian" body.

Conclusion

In the photographs of "new Canadians" participating in the celebration of Canada's Diamond Jubilee of Confederation, it is the distinction of difference that contributes to the development of a visual language of the human body. The development of this language was also influenced by late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century photographic technology and how this technology was focused on identifying, classifying and disciplining the body of the "other." Fear of an invasion of undesirable immigrant bodies also affected how "new Canadians" were portrayed in this historic celebration. In photographs of celebratory pageants in Ottawa, Toronto and Winnipeg these factors intersected with the body of the "new Canadian" in an attempt to visualize, however differently, Canada's national unity and elusive racial and cultural identity. Not to be overlooked, some of Canada's "new Canadians" offered their own vision.

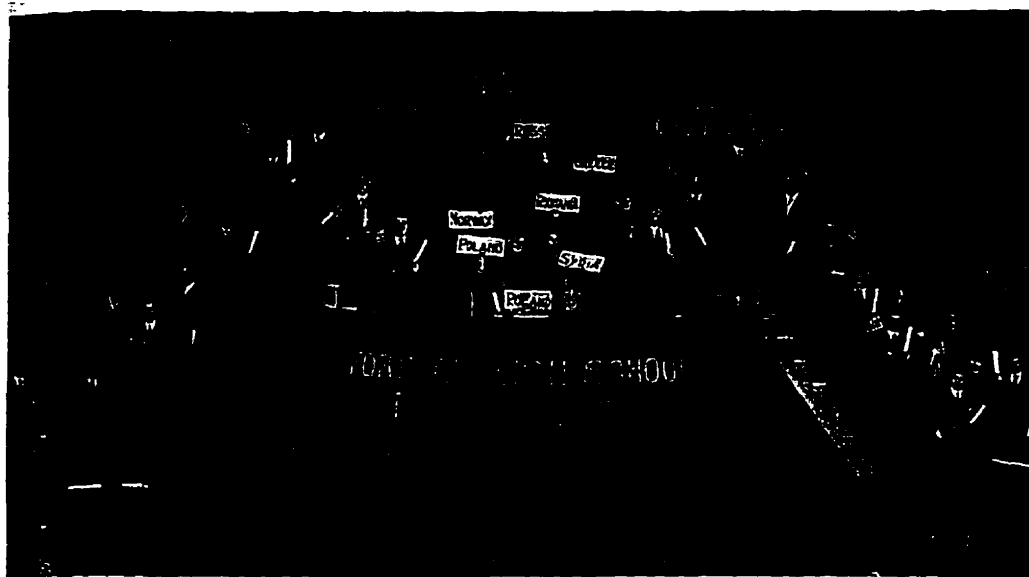
Nearly every major city and most small towns and villages held events in honor of Canada's sixtieth anniversary of Confederation. By examining how communities across the country celebrated the Diamond Jubilee it is possible to uncover how in the early-twentieth century people in different parts of Canada felt about their country and their relation to it. It is also possible to see how

different parts of Canada envisioned the past, present and future. This thesis focused on the federal celebration in Ottawa and how differences in the representations of "new Canadians" in celebrations in Toronto and Winnipeg signify complications in the construction of Canada's national unity and the visualization of a homogeneous racial and cultural identity. Other regions need to be studied within this context including the atlantic, the west and Quebec. Also, a deeper examination of how individual "non-preferred" immigrant groups responded to Canada's Diamond Jubilee and their participation in the celebration would contribute to the retrieval of these unofficial histories and voices. An investigation of the protests and opposition directed at the Jubilee would also provide a different perspective on the celebration. In Nova Scotia, for example, calls were made not for celebration but for "fasting and humiliation" and in New Brunswick, Moncton's mayor resigned over the town council's refusal to participate in the Jubilee. Celebratory literature, newspaper and personal accounts and the thousands of photographs of this important historical event held in provincial archives across the country still require examination and interpretation.

The photographs of "new Canadians" participating in the Diamond Jubilee are part of a larger body of early-twentieth century representations of Canada's diverse immigrant populations. Like the Jubilee photographs, many of these

representations objectify the body of the "new Canadian" in response both to the fear of the defective and degenerative, and as an objection to difference. But difference is relative and not always negative. In *The Body Imaged: The Human Form and Visual Culture Since the Renaissance*, Adler and Pointon state that "the body is an historically specific entity, invested in ideology, and not a biological constant."¹ It is this entity that is visible in the photographic images of "new Canadians" produced in the context of the 1927 celebration of Canada's Diamond Jubilee of Confederation.

¹ Adler and Pointon, 128.



AN OBJECT-LESSON IN AMERICANIZATION

The students enter the "melting-pot" as citizens of other nations, and leave it as Americans

Figure 1. "Ford English School Melting Pot," reproduced in *The Outlook*, September 27, 1916



Figure 2. "Montreal, Windsor Station. Chinese Being
Examined, 1926," 1926
(Courtesy Canadian Pacific Corporate
Archives/no. 16428)



Figure 3. "Montreal, Windsor Station. Chinese Being
Examined, 1926," 1926
(Courtesy Canadian Pacific Corporate
Archives/no. 16429)



Figure 4. "Undesirables,"
reproduced in *Canada's Growth
and Some Problems Affecting It*, 1910



Holland Dames—Very Desirable

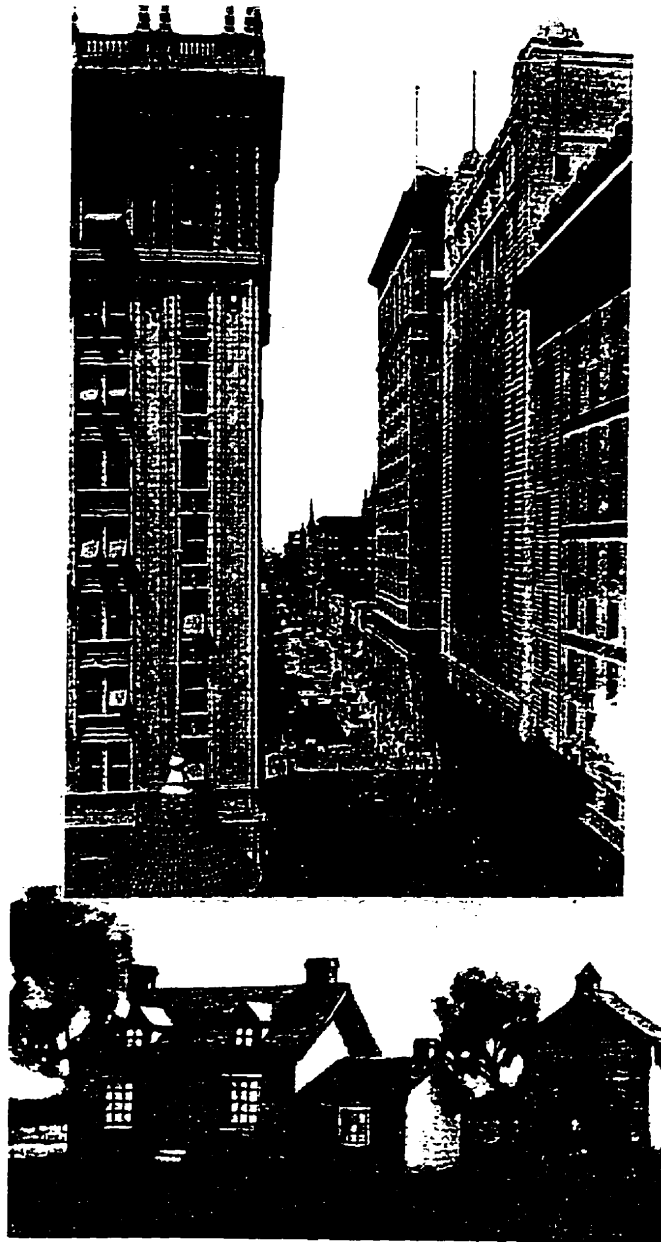
Figure 5. "Holland Dames, Very Desirable,"
reproduced in *Canada's Growth and Some Problems Affecting
It*, 1910



Figure 6. "Chinese Physical Training in High Park
8 June, 1919," 1919
(John Boyd/National Archives of Canada/PA83873)



Figure 7. "General Group of Chinese in High Park
8 June, 1919," 1919
(John Boyd/National Archives of Canada/PA83872)



Corner of King and Yonge Sts., Toronto, in 1815 and in 1927
Can. Govt. Motion Picture Bureau and J. Ross Robertson Colle

Figure 8. "Corner of King and Yonge Sts., Toronto
in 1815 and in 1927,"
reproduced in *Sixty Years of Canadian
Progress 1867-1927*, 1927

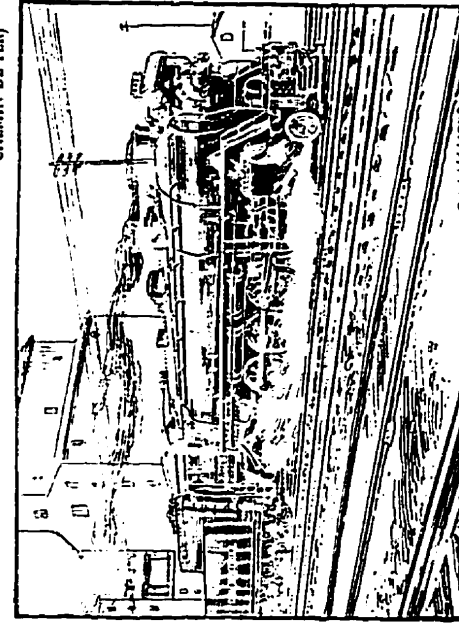
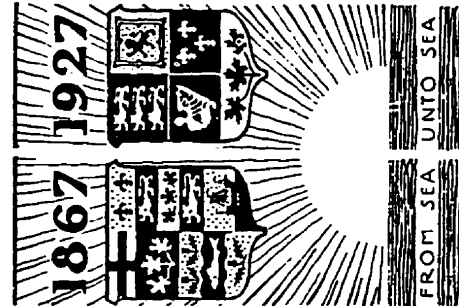
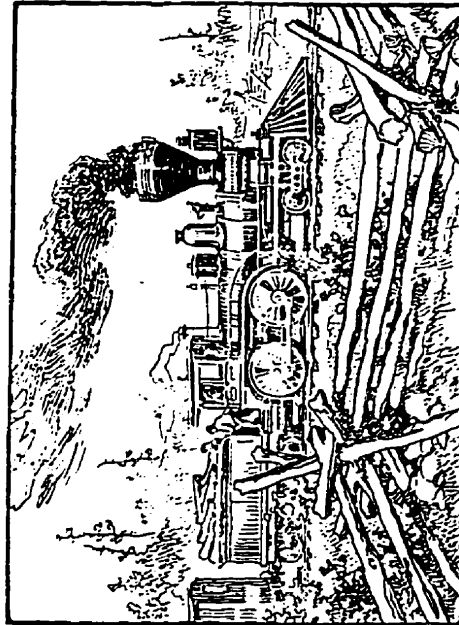
Figure 9. "Soixante Années de vie Nationale Canadienne
(Le développement de chemin de fer),"
by C.W. Jefferys. In *Historical Drawings for the Press*
issued by the National Committee for the Celebration of the
Diamond Jubilee of Confederation, 1927
(National Archives of Canada/RG6 volume 453)

Favor du Comité National pour la Célébration
du Soixantième Anniversaire de la Confédération
106, rue Wellington, Ottawa

POUR ÊTRE UTILISÉ GRATUITEMENT DANS VOS PUBLICATIONS

SOIXANTE ANNÉES DE VIE NATIONALE CANADIENNE

(LE DÉVELOPPEMENT DE
CHEMIN DE FER)



C'est bien littéralement que l'on peut dire que les diverses provinces du Canada sont reliées entre elles par le rail d'acier. Comme question de fait, ce fut sous l'impulsion de la promesse qu'elle obtiendrait des communications ferroviaires avec le reste du pays, qu'en 1871, la Colombie-Britannique consentit à entrer dans la Confédération. Il est vrai que cette promesse ne se réalisa qu'en 1885. L'extraordinaire développement des chemins de fer a été l'une des principales caractéristiques des soixante années qui se sont écoulées depuis que l'Ontario, le Québec, le Nouveau-Brunswick et la Nouvelle-Écosse s'unirent sous un seul et même gouvernement central, en 1867. À cette époque, le Dominion s'étendait sur 2,278 milles de voies ferrées. Aujourd'hui, il en possède plus de 42,500 milles. L'Ontario n'a pas été moins considérable dans le domaine du matériel roulant. La vieille locomotive de 1867, qui pouvait à peine tirer un train de marchandises, n'était qu'un joujou, n'était qu'un joujou, sous le rapport des dimensions, à côté des énormes instruments de traction ferroviaire qui roulent aujourd'hui à travers le Canada. M. C. W. Jeffrey, l'un des auteurs les plus en vue du Canada, parmi ceux qui se spécialisent dans les sujets historiques, a bien décrit, et les transformations qu'il a subi.

Figure 10. "Soixante Années de vie Nationale Canadienne (L'agriculture)," by C.W. Jefferys. In *Historical Drawings for the Press* issued by the National Committee for the Celebration of the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation, 1927 (National Archives of Canada/RG6 volume 453)

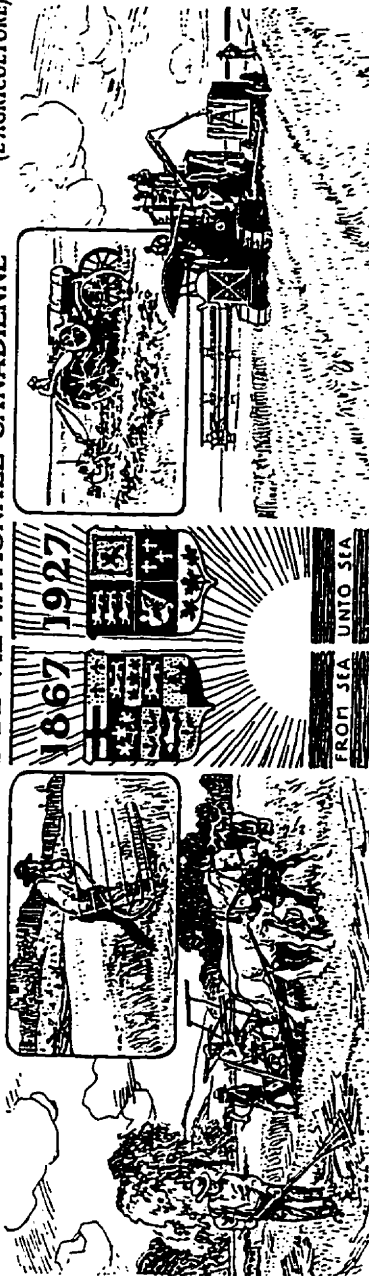
No. 2

(Libre sur sujet le 28 mai)

Bureau du Comité National pour la Célébration
du Soixantième Anniversaire de la Confédération
100, rue Wellington, Ottawa

POUR ÊTRE UTILISÉ GRATUITEMENT DANS VOS PUBLICATIONS

SOIXANTE ANNÉES DE VIE NATIONALE CANADIENNE (L'AGRICULTURE)



La production des substances alimentaires restera toujours l'industrie primordiale du Canada. Cela s'explique par l'immensité du pays, la fertilité du sol et les variations du climat, qui confèrent à la culture et à l'élevage une importance inégalée. La production de blé fut de 10,222,251 bushels en 1867, et elle atteignit 1,000,000,000 bushels en 1927. Le développement de la culture et le perfectionnement des instruments agricoles ont permis de réaliser de plus en plus grandes récoltes. En 1867, il ne fallait que peu de grains mécaniquement, et les machines employées étaient rares. Cette année-là, une compagnie canadienne fabriqua une moissonneuse mécanique avec râtelier à dents, qui était de beaucoup supérieure à tout ce qu'on avait vu jusqu'alors. C'est la machine que représentent le dessin de gauche et de droite. L'année 1927 vit le jour le premier tracteur canadien, qui remplace le cheval et le bœuf. Chaque tracteur moderne est capable de faire le travail que faisaient autrefois quatre arres ou plus. Aujourd'hui, avec une moissonneuse mécanique, on peut récolter une récolte de 100 bushels par acre en une seule journée, quarante arres de grain. Cette machine est capable de labourer, de semer, de récolter et de battre le grain. Elle est aussi capable de battre le grain et de le nettoyer en même temps qu'un autre pendant l'opération pour l'expédition du grain.



THE FATHERS OF CONFEDERATION

A rare print of the Confederation Conference held at Quebec, in October, 1864. It was presented to the Public Archives recently by the Right Hon. Sir Robert Borden.

Issued by the National Committee for the
Celebration of the Diamond Jubilee of Con-
federation, 125 Wellington Street, Ottawa.

Figure 11. "The Fathers of Confederation"
In *Historical Drawings for the Press* issued by the National
Committee for the Celebration of the Diamond Jubilee of
Confederation, 1927
(National Archives of Canada/RG6 volume 453)



Centre of Canada's Confederation Celebration

Issued by the National Committee for the
Celebration of the Diamond Jubilee of Con-
federation, 106 Wellington Street, Ottawa.

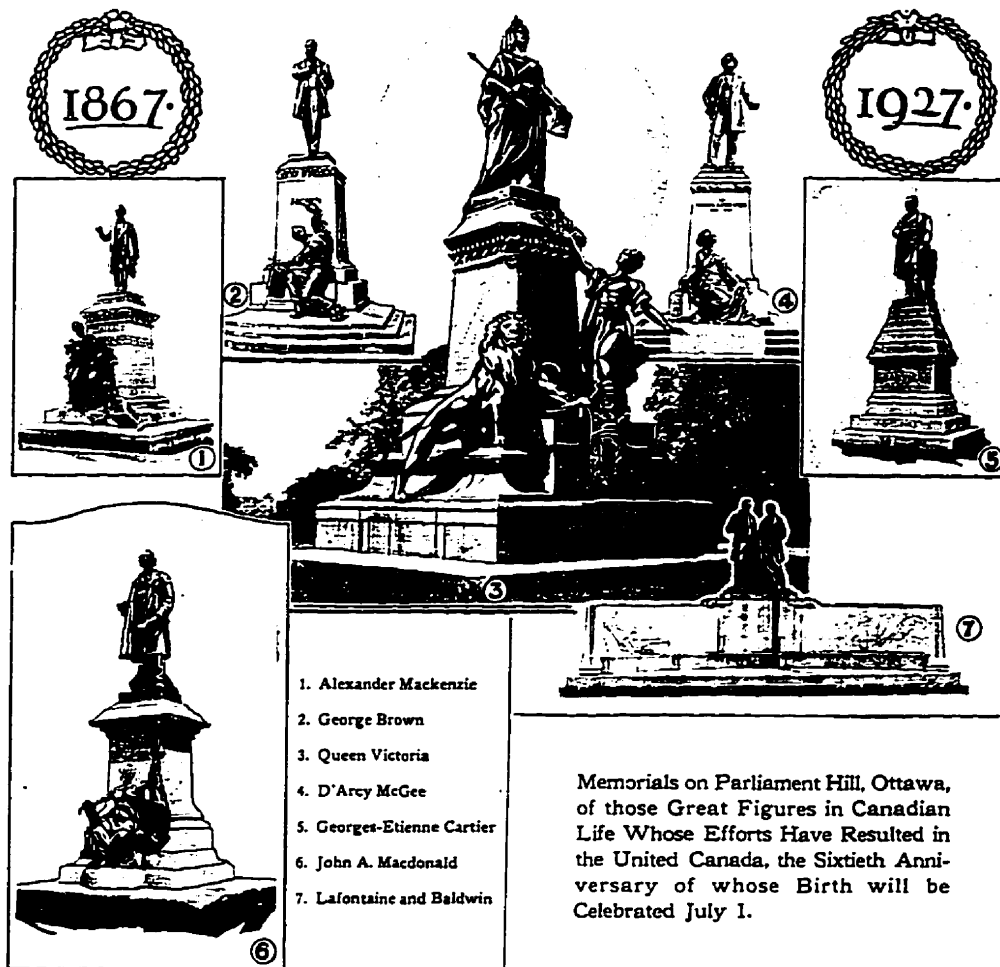
Figure 12. "Centre of Canada's Confederation Celebration"
In *Historical Drawings for the Press* issued by the National
Committee for the Celebration of the Diamond Jubilee of
Confederation, 1927
(National Archives of Canada/RG6 volume 453)



Issued by the National Committee for the
Celebration of the Diamond Jubilee of Con-
federation, 106 Wellington Street, Ottawa.

Figure 13. "Prime Ministers Since Confederation"
In *Historical Drawings for the Press* issued by the National
Committee for the Celebration of the Diamond Jubilee of
Confederation, 1927
(National Archives of Canada/RG6 volume 453)

Story of Confederation in Bronze.



Issued by the National Committee for the Celebration of the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation, 106 Wellington Street, Ottawa.

Figure 14. "Story of Confederation in Bronze"
 In *Historical Drawings for the Press* issued by the National
 Committee for the Celebration of the Diamond Jubilee of
 Confederation, 1927
 (National Archives of Canada/RG6 volume 453)

Figure 15. Various Graphs and Charts
In *Historical Drawings for the Press* issued by the National
Committee for the Celebration of the Diamond
Jubilee of Confederation, 1927
(National Archives of Canada/RG6 volume 453)

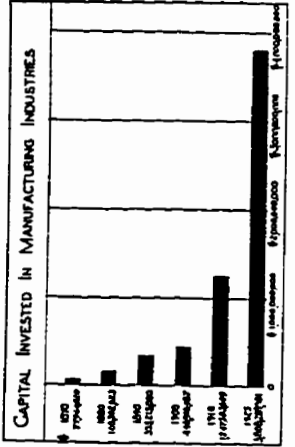
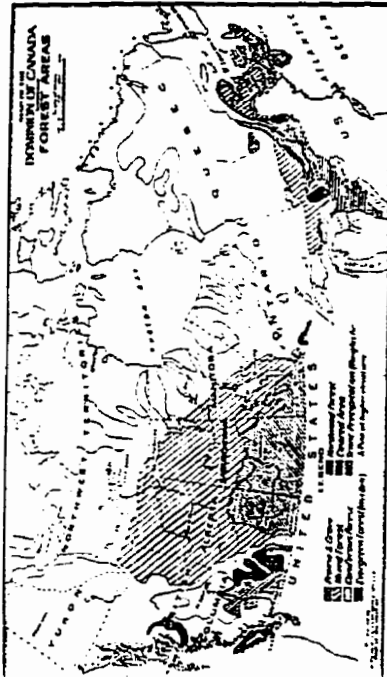
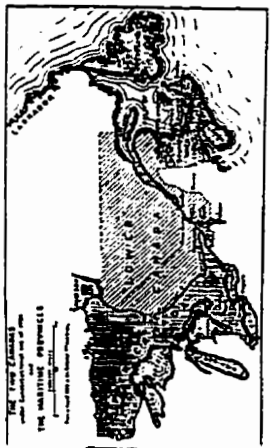
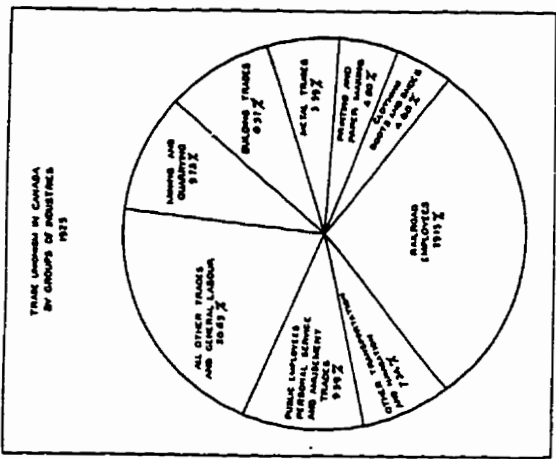
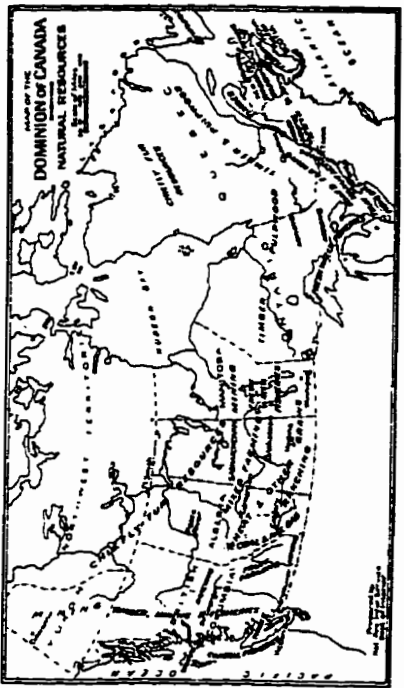




Figure 16. "Scene on Parliament Hill," 1927
(National Archives of Canada/C18068)

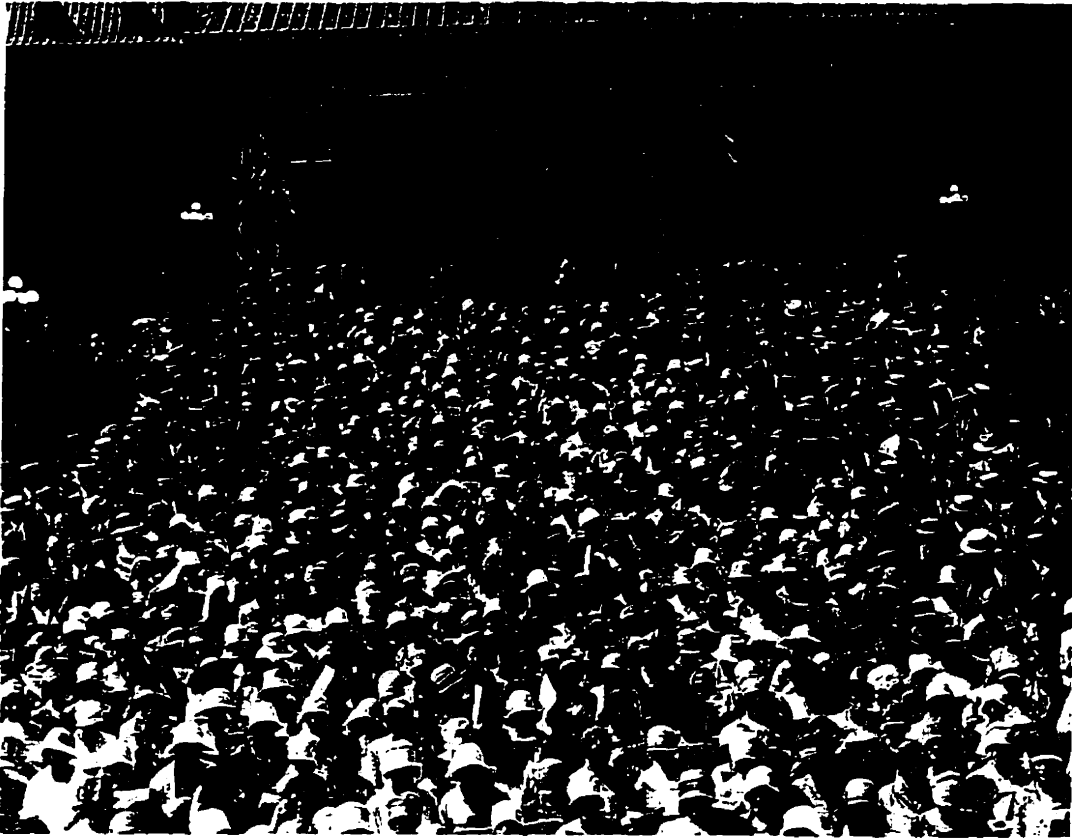


Figure 17. "A Section of the Choir," 1927
(National Archives of Canada/C21933)

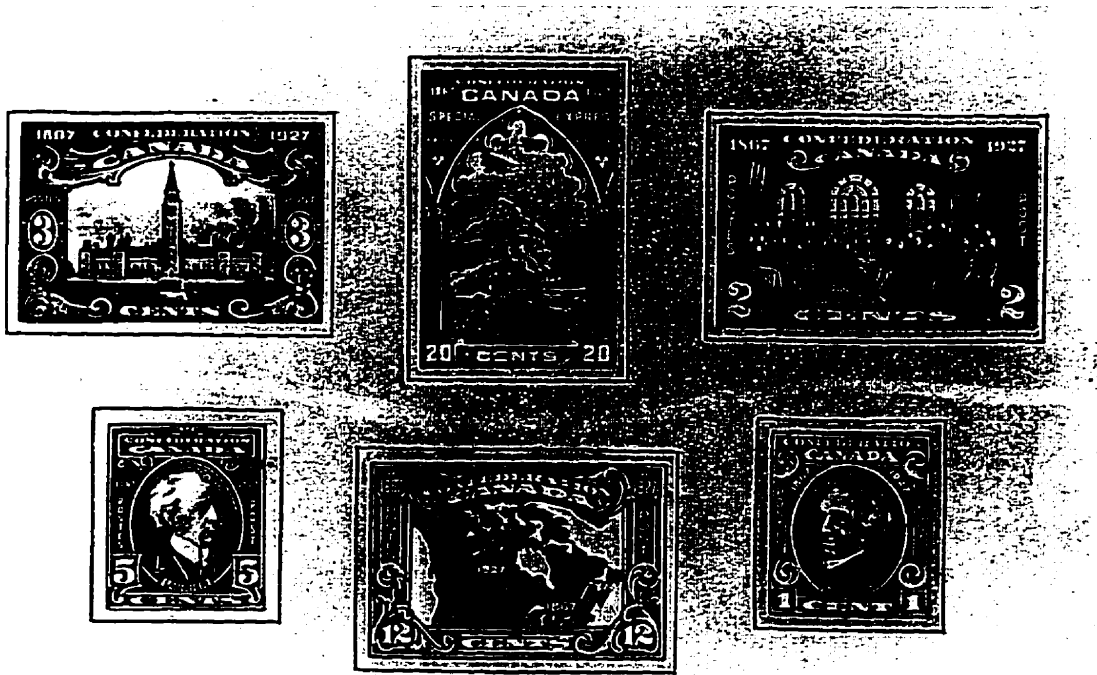


Figure 18. "Confederation Stamps Issued by the Post Office Department," 1927
(National Archives of Canada/PA135144)

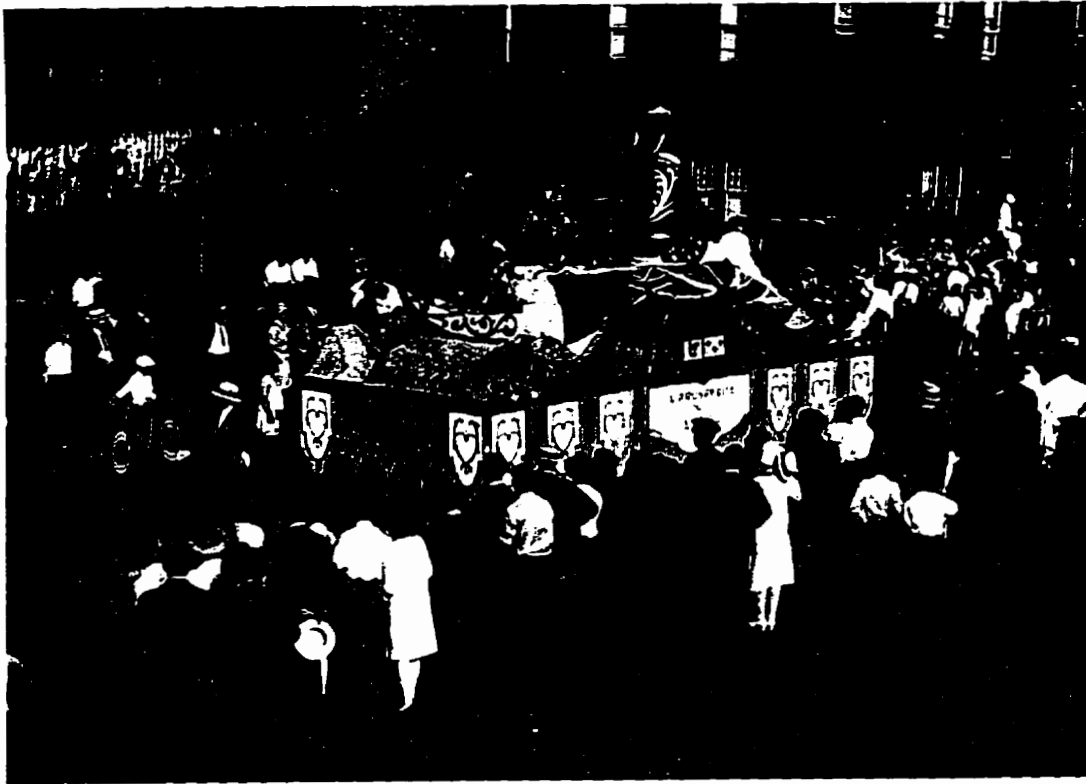
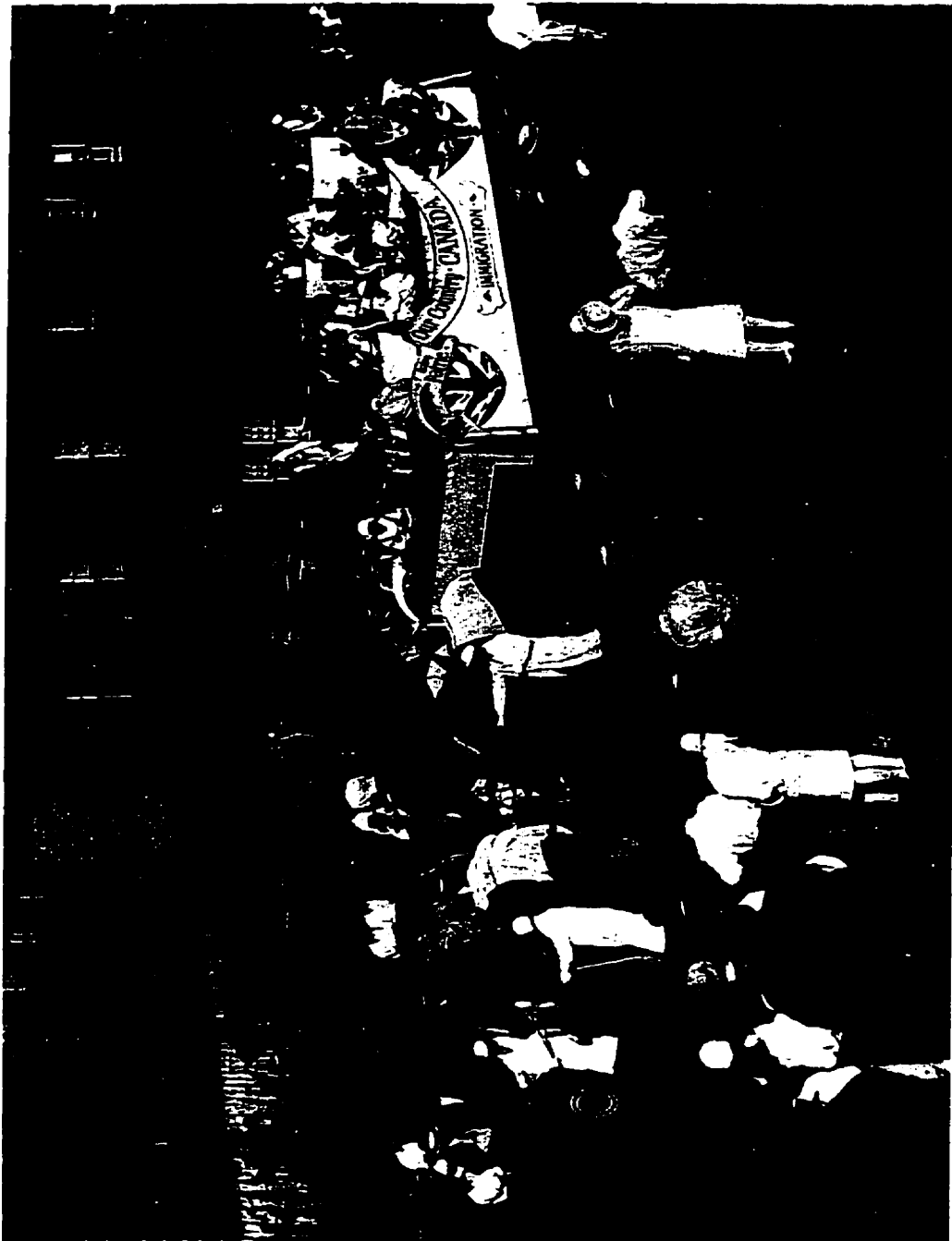
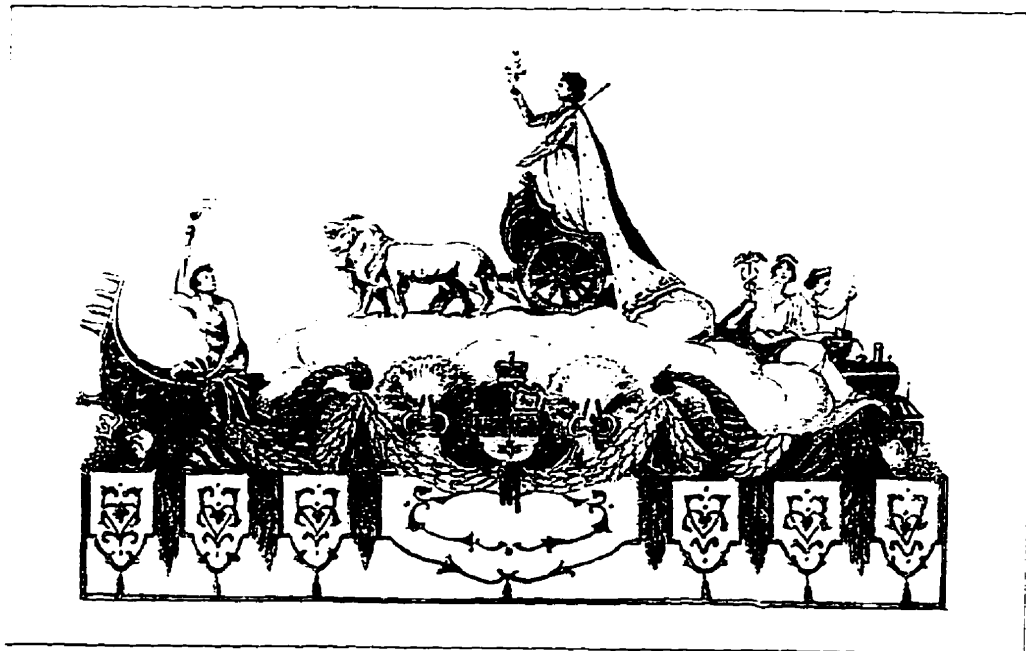


Figure 19. "Progress," 1927
(National Archives of Canada/PA27606)

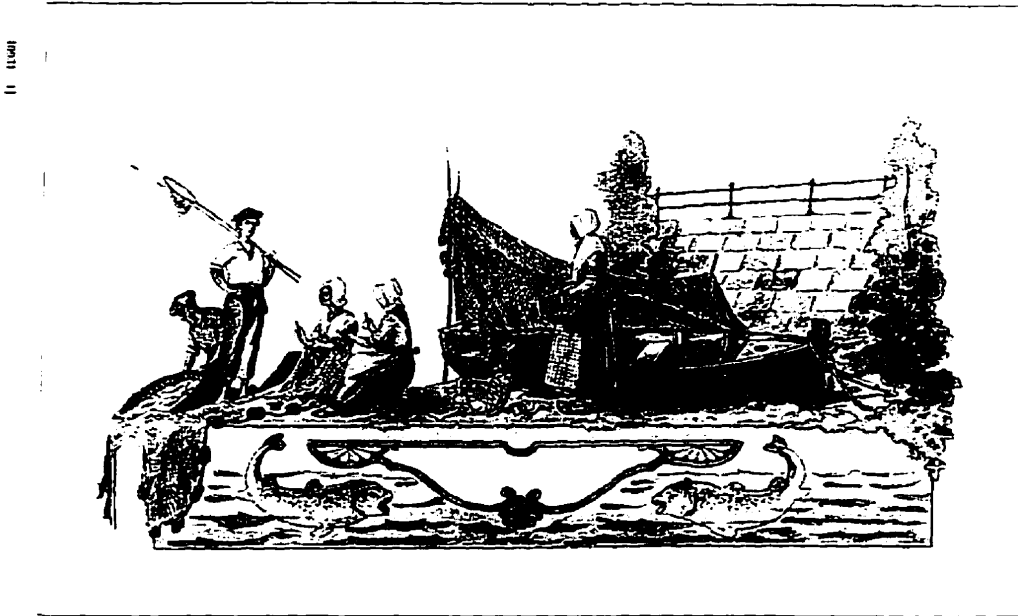
Figure 20. "Immigration," 1927
(National Archives of Canada/PA27607)





PROGRESS
Canada looks forward to an Era of Peace and Prosperity

Figure 21. "Progress," by J.B. Legace reproduced in
Diamond Jubilee of Confederation, 1927

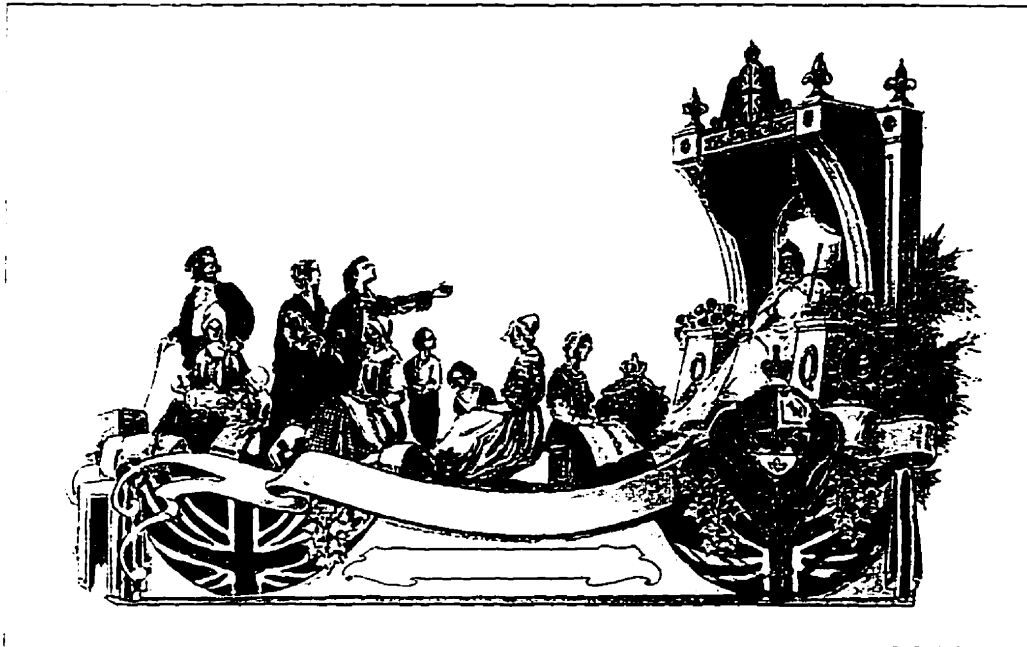


WEALTH FROM THE SEA
From her Outer and Inland Seas Canada draws Food for her People.

Figure 22. "Wealth From the Sea" by J.B. Legace reproduced
in *Diamond Jubilee of Confederation*, 1927



Figure 23. "Fisheries," 1927
(National Archive of Canada/PA27610)



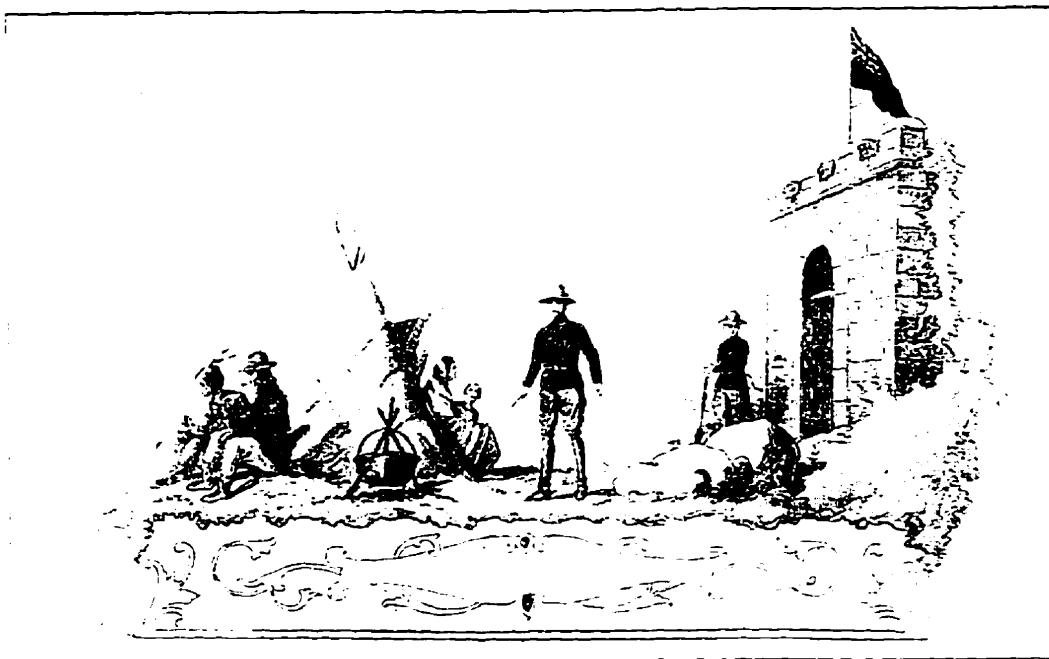
THE MELTING POT

Canada holds out her hand in welcome to the Foreign Born. She offers them Homes, and demands in return that they become Good Citizens.

Figure 24. "The Melting Pot" by J.B. Legace reproduced in *Diamond Jubilee of Confederation, 1927*

Figure 25. "Pageant Passing Through Parliament Grounds"
["The Mounted Police"], 1927
(National Archives of Canada/C18074)





THE MOUNTED POLICE

For more than half a century these Picturesque but very Efficient Police have enforced the law in the remote corners of the Dominion.

Figure 26. "The Mounted Police" by J.B. Legace reproduced in *Diamond Jubilee of Confederation, 1927*

Figure 27. "Toronto Rejoices on Canada's Sixtieth Birthday"
reproduced in *The Globe*, July 2, 1927

TORONTO, SATURDAY, JULY 1, 1937

Toronto Rejoices on Canada's Sixtieth Birthday

SCENES ON THE SIXTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF CANADA'S CONFEDERATION DAY

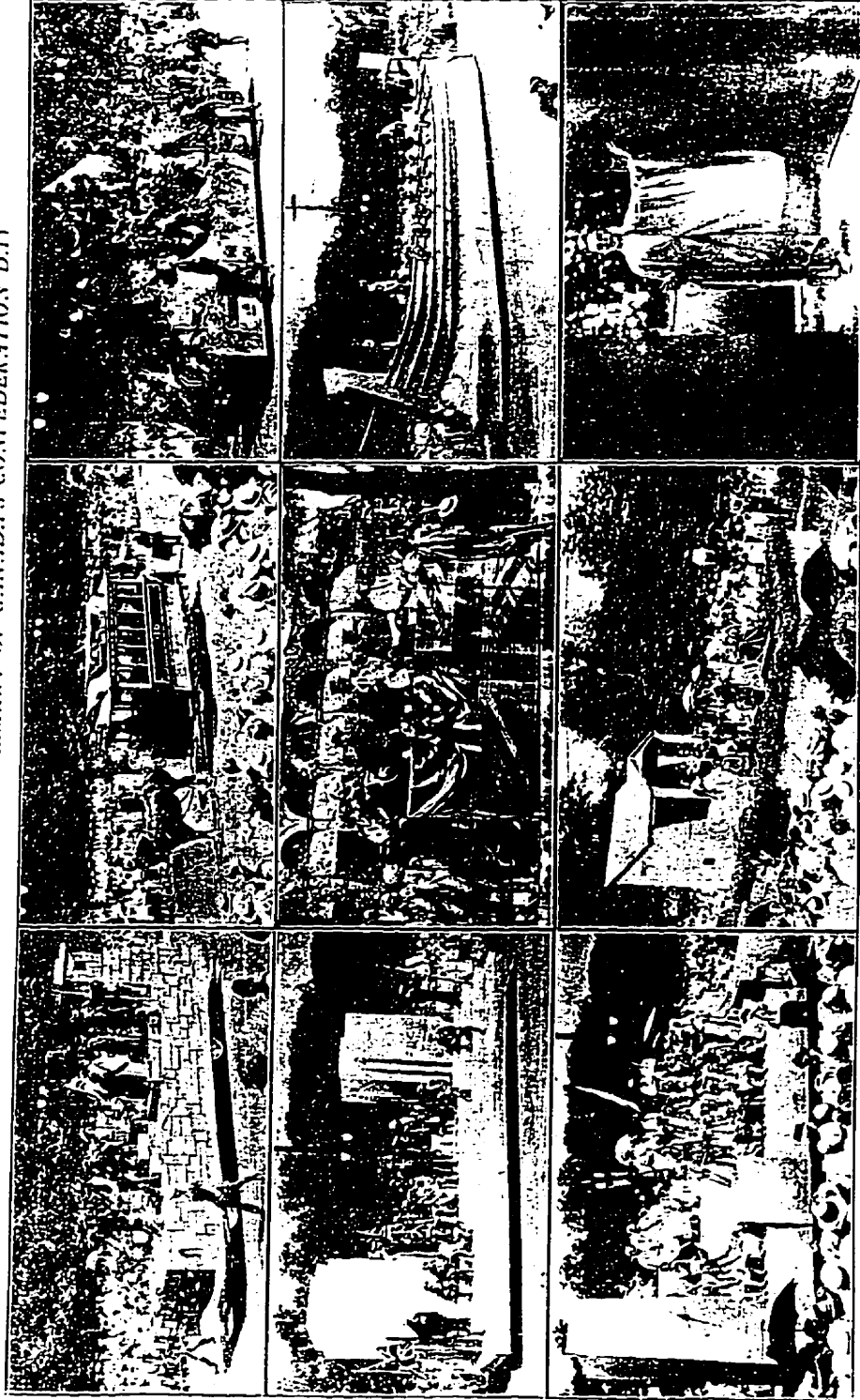


Figure 28. "National Floats in Winnipeg's Mammoth Parade"
reproduced in *Manitoba Free Press*, July 2, 1927

National Floats in Winnipeg

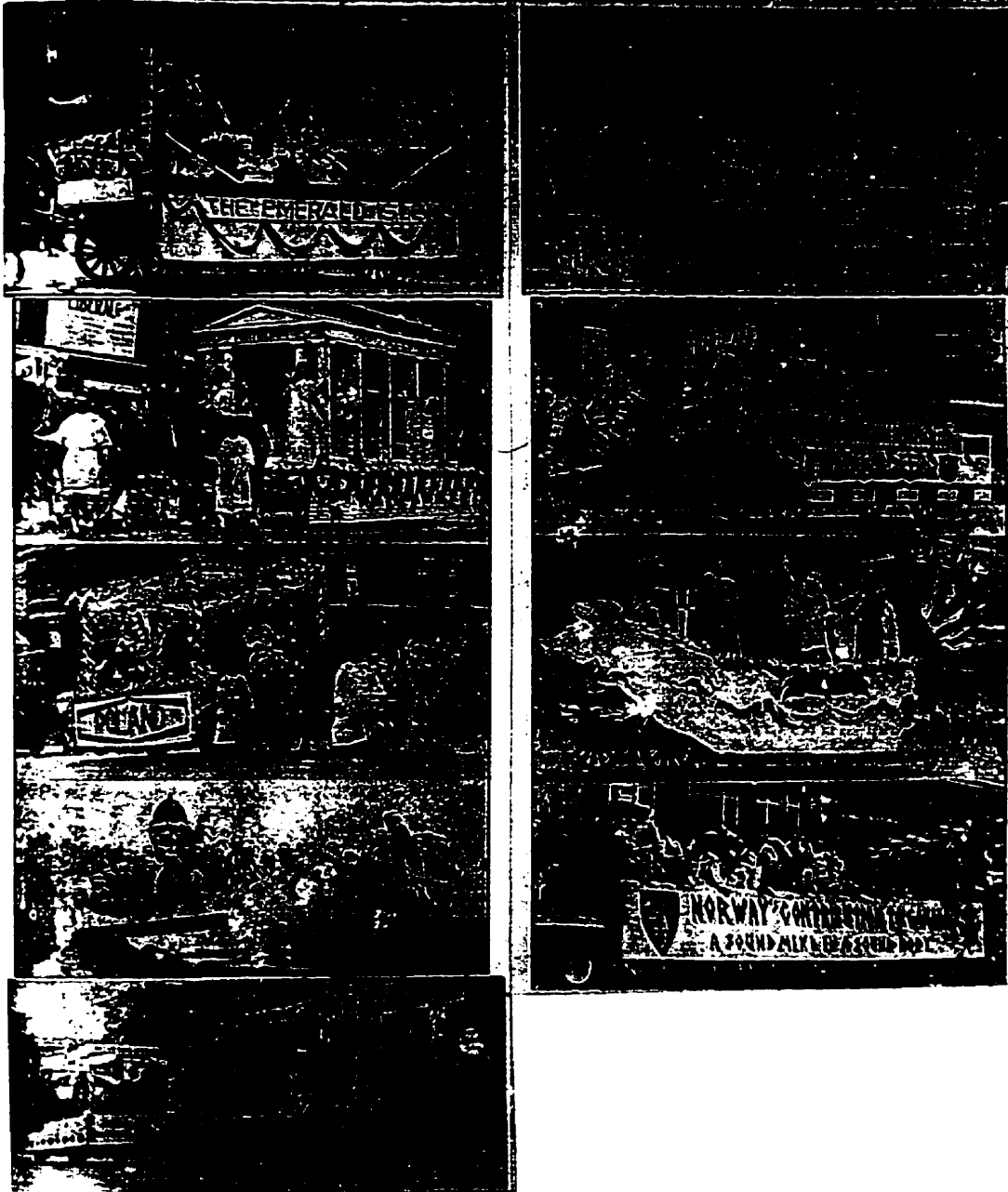


Figure 29. "New Canadians" reproduced in *The Globe*, July 2, 1927 (City of Toronto Archives' Globe & Mail Collection/SC 266-10871)



Figure 30. "The Child at the Gate" reproduced in *The Globe*,
July 2, 1927 (City of Toronto Archives' Globe &
Mail Collection/SC 266-10888)



Figure 31. "The Child at the Gate," 1927
(City of Toronto Archives' Globe & Mail
Collection/SC 266-10866)





Figure 32. "Greece" from "National Floats in Winnipeg's
Mammoth Parade" reproduced in *Manitoba Free Press*,
July 2, 1927

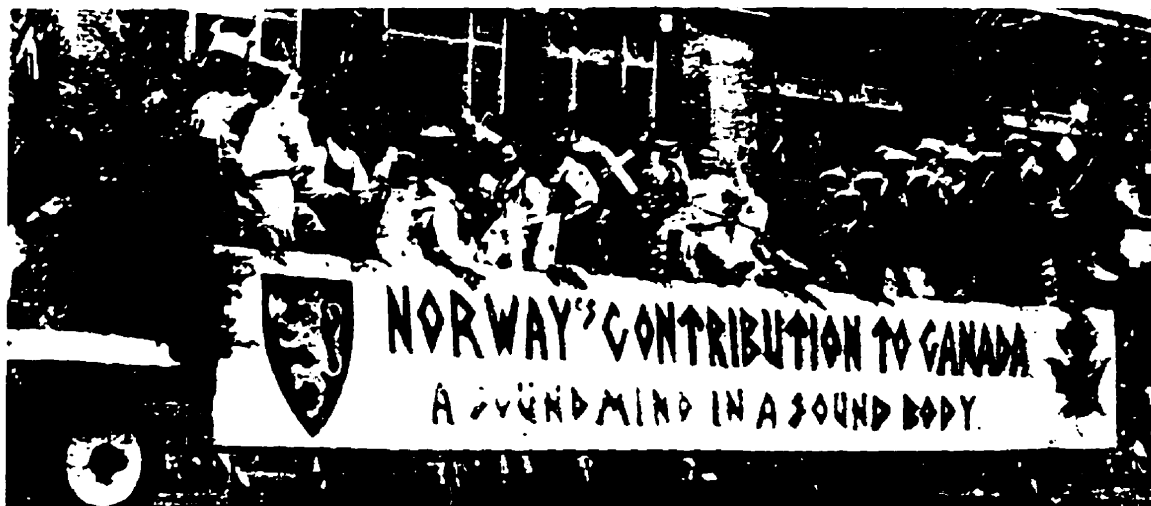


Figure 33. "Norway" from "National Floats in Winnipeg's Mammoth Parade" reproduced in *Manitoba Free Press*, July 2, 1927

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