DEVELOPING A CANADIAN NATIONAL FEELING: THE DIAMOND JUBILEE CELEBRATIONS OF 1927

by

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Abstract

The Diamond Jubilee celebrations of 1927 were a popular manifestation of emerging Canadian nationalism. Organized by the Mackenzie King Government, they reveal a great deal about the hopes and ideals of different segments of society in the 1920s.

The "boosters" accepted the prevailing faith in material progress and the beneficial effects of mass market production. In style and substance, they illustrate the naïve optimism and the assumptions held by many groups in an age of business.

This faith faced great challenges and criticism. Canadian society was distressed by the tensions caused by regionalism, bilingualism, and multiculturalism. The "knockers", or critics, pointed to the groups in society not receiving the fruits of the new national prosperity.

The Jubilee demonstrates the changing nature of Canadian nationalism, and the interests that cultural and business elites had in this redefinition. As a result, the roots of multiculturalism and bilingualism as Federal policy are uncovered.

Resumé

Le soixantenaire de la Confédération était commémoré avec un nouvel ésprit de nationalisme canadien. Organisé par le gouvernement de Mackenzie King, la commémoration indique les éspoirs et idéax des groupes differentes dans cet époque.

Les "boosters" étaient confiants que le progrés materiaux pouvait génerer la prospérité nationale à longue terme. Ils réprésentent l'optimisme naïf et les assomptions tenues par plusieurs dans une période qui était fortement influencé par les hommes d'affaires.

Cette foi était critiquée au cours des années vingts. La Confédération canadienne avait les tensions crée par le regionalisme, le bilinguisme, et le multiculturalisme. Les "knockers", ou critiques, avaient suggére que la prospérité ne touchait pas tous les membres de la société.

Le Jubilée indique les changements dans l'ésprit de nationalisme canadien. Aussi, il montre que certaines groupes, notamment les élites culturelles et financières, s'occupaient avec cette rédéfinition nationale. Comme résultat, les origines des politiques Fédérales sur la bilinguisme et la multiculturalisme sont révélées.

Preface

The primary goal of this thesis is to illustrate, on a popular level, how concepts of Canadian nationalism were changing in the decade following the First World War. The Diamond Jubilee Celebrations of 1927 were chosen because they reveal, on a nationwide basis, some of the assumptions that were being made about the nature of the new "national feeling".

Most of the work done on Canadian nationalism in the 1920s has focussed on two specific realms. The constitutional question of autonomy from Great Britain, culminating in the Statute of Westminster in 1931, has been carefully scrutinized. And, on the level of "high" culture, the emergence of distinctive Canadian styles in art (the Group of Seven) and literature (particularly the Modern poets) has been discussed in detail. But the Diamond Jubilee, which can be viewed as an attempt to transmit the nationalist sentiment to society at large, has been forgotten by the chronicles of the 1920s.

It is hoped that this study will make a modest contribution to Canadian intellectual history. Because intellectual history is such a controversial sub-discipline of history, this thesis begins with a review of the often-heated methodological debate that has been waged concerning the study of ideas. It is the author's fervent wish that the historiographical disputes can be set aside, and the study of ideas, their promoters, and their social context can be taken up unfettered by wrangles over first premises.

The writing of a thesis is a lonely assignment, which makes the assistance and comfort offered by teachers and librarians doubly welcome. The staff of the Public Archives of Canada, especially the Public Archives Library, was of great help in locating Jubilee pamphlets and programmes. Professors Martin Petter and Stephen Randall of McGill University offered encouragement. But my largest single, professional debt is to Professor John H. Thompson, whose criticism, wit, and above all else patience, must be noted with gratitude.

Family and friends must be thanked. Miss Marnie Reid has been invaluable, typing this thesis in an office occupied by Sir Herbert Marler's ghost. But my largest single personal debt is to my wife, Judy, who has supported me and endured the periods of uncertainty that come with the territory. It is to her that this work is affectionately dedicated.

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On July 1, 1927, the Dominion of Canada celebrated the sixtieth anniversary of Confederation. Organized by the National Committee for the Celebration of the Diamond Jubilee, the anniversary party was a carefully orchestrated testament to the growing "national feeling" evident in Canada in the 1920s. The Committee was set up by the Mackenzie King Government, and King himself played a prominent role in the festivities. The July 1st weekend (in 1927, July 1 fell on a Friday) featured a wide variety of events - from the inauguration of the carillon in the Peace Tower to the first nationwide radio broadcast. To cap things off, Col. Charles Lindbergh, who had made his dramatic trans-Atlantic flight six weeks earlier, flew into Ottawa on July 2. Across the country, cities and towns put on local celebrations, featuring parades, bonfires, and historical tableaux recreating key moments from Canada's past. In short, it was the first in a long line of Government-sponsored salutes to our national spirit. And, true to the decade that spawned it, the Diamond Jubilee celebrations were characterized in part by the hoopla and boosterism of the 1920s.

The first aim in this thesis is to study these celebrations. It is an exercise in intellectual history, although that is a very imprecise term. Until recently, very few Canadian historians felt that Canada had any intellectual history to study. It was only during the last fifteen or twenty years that several historians - most notably Carl Berger, Ramsay Cook, A.B. McKillop, Doug Owram, S.M. Trofimenkoff and S.F. Wise - have begun to study the topics associated with intellectual history. Ironically this pioneer work by Canadian historians occurred at the same moment that the writing of intellectual history, especially the American brand, was undergoing a withering attack. While the Canadian practitioners were attempting to establish a tradition for the study of ideas in Canadian history, the methodology and the successes of their American counterparts were being undermined. The result has been that intellectual portraits of "great thinkers", and the study of their ideas without examining their historical context, have become outdated. Similarly, the pursuit of a

"national mind" or character has become an equally unsatisfactory approach to the field. Before the study of the Diamond Jubilee can begin, a review of the aims and methods of intellectual history is required.

I. Intellectual History: A Brief Review of the Great Debate

The main challenge to the assumptions and methodology used by intellectual historians has come from the social historians and the social scientists. The points of contention include sharp differences over the use of sources, the lack of quantification, and the class bias of intellectual history. Therefore the sub-discipline, in its present state, is at times a confused mixture of exotic names and approaches. The debate over methodology centres on the difference between an "internalist" examination of ideas in their own right, and an "externalist" approach, which places greater importance on the social, political, and economic conditions that contributed to the development of ideas.[1]

The use of the term "intellectual history" comes from the American historians. As Felix Gilbert pointed out, the term does not have any equivalent in French, German, British, or Italian historiography.[2] This does not imply that the subjects connected with intellectual history are not studied in these countries, only that these subjects are not gathered together into a specific sub-discipline of history. The intellectual historian in the United States enjoyed a period of favour that extended from the 1930s (and the publication of Perry Miller's New England Mind) through to the 1950s. The search for the "national mind" was on, as intellectual history became entangled with the American Studies movement and became a way of expressing the pervasive "liberal-consensus" approach to American history. As a young historian, John Higham made special claims for intellectual history, because it was "...a branch of learning which claims for itself both a position as a new specialty and a role in surmounting specialization...". Higham confidently made these remarks while optimistically trying to deal with the problems of defining his craft. This was in 1951, and Higham could title his article "the rise of American Intellectual History".[3]

A few years later, Higham began to question the assumptions of American intellectual history, and to argue that it had failed to fulfill

its promise. He was critical of the "cult of consensus" in American history. This "cult", most commonly associated with Louis B. Hartz and his book The Liberal Tradition in America (1955), is based around a "Lockean consensus", a shared belief by all Americans in bourgeois values of individualism, family, and the sanctity of private property. Higham felt that the over-riding concern to demonstrate this consensus had the following result:

> Classes have turned into myths, sections have lost their solidarity, ideologies have vaporized into climates of opinion. The phrase 'the American experience' has become an incantation.[4]

In 1961, Higham continued to examine the problems associated with intellectual history. In an article entitled "American Intellectual History: A Critical Appraisal",[5] he discussed the problems that had arisen, particularly with the "eclectic nature" of the discipline. While recognizing that a "clarification of objectives" was underway, Higham maintained that "...the distinctive aim of the intellectual historian...is to describe and explain the spirit of an age."[6] Higham did recognize that changes were occurring in historical inquiry (with the renewed interest in social history being the most significant), and he hoped that intellectual history would be able to construct "general designs" that could "...periodize American intellectual history in terms of a sequence of dominant ideas."[7] The article is important because it points out the lack of a systematic approach to the study of intellectual history. While Higham acknowledged the contributions of the New Historians (the older generation of James Harvey Robinson and his followers), the literary historians (like Henry Nash Smith), and the American Studies movement, he saw that some "fine control" would be necessary over an unwieldly subject matter. Although Higham never signalled a retreat in his article, he backed off from the all-encompassing definition he had maintained a decade earlier.

As the 1960s progressed, the challenge to the grandiose claims made by the intellectual historians widened until the validity of much of their work was called into question. The case was made most succinctly in a review written by Gene Wise in 1975, when he surveyed the "contemporary crisis" in intellectual history.[8] Wise isolated five key objections to the 1950s' method of studying ideas.

Using Higham's objections to the "cult of consensus" as the starting point for his attack, Wise criticized the search for a national mind, complaining that the consensus seekers had minimized the diversity and intellectual differences that had marked different eras in the past.

Wise then called in the broader objections raised by the more radical social historians, whose work was gaining greater prominence in the 1960s. Their criticism included the charge that "the consensus school wilfully ignored conflict and injustice in American life". Other objections were made concerning the elitist nature of intellectual history; its over-reliance on man as a rational being; and, on its disregard for the social factors that determine behaviour.[9]

Wise's criticisms were typical of the charges made against intellectual history. At its worst, the search for grand themes and national characters had sapped intellectual studies of much historical relevance. Coupled with the renewed interest in social history in the 1960s, which emphasized the material culture of the dispossessed, the working class, and the poor, the challenge to the relevance of the study of ideas scored many telling blows. This is evident in the introductions to two recent articles on the future of intellectual history, one by Paul K. Conkin, the other by Robert Darnton. Conkin's article began with a rhetorical "widespread response" to the topic: "intellectual history has had a brief but glorious past, suffers a beleaguered present, and has no future".[10] Darnton dramatically opened his essay by stating:

> A malaise is spreading among intellectual historians in the United States. Twenty years ago, they saw their discipline as the queen of the historical sciences. Today she seems humbled. No dramatic dethronement has occurred; but after a realignment of research during the last two decades, she now sits below the salt, surrounded by rude new varities of sociocultural history and bewildering language--mentalitē, episteme, paradigm, hermeneutics, semiotics, hegemony, deconstruction, and thick description.[11]

That two of the leading American intellectual historians felt that they had to open their remarks with a gloomy assessment of their discipline demonstrates the effectiveness of the challenge mounted in the 1960s and early 1970s.

The key to this challenge lay in the concepts employed by the new social historians and social scientists in general. Traditionally, social history has been a difficult term to define,[12] but has occupied itself (in the eyes of an intellectual historian) with the mundane details of the daily routine. The intellectual historian, on the other hand, was concerned more with the substantial questions of daily life, including morality, religion, and ideas.

In relating the challenge posed by the new social history, however, Laurence Veysey sharply contrasted the two disciplines. He claimed that social and intellectual history have become "ever more distant from each other". They have become "clear-cut rivals", despite once being treated as sections of the same branch of history. They now present radically different interpretations of the American past. Amongst the dissimilarities noted by Veysey are that social history "portrays a deeply segmented society, split by race, sex, and social class". This is opposed to intellectual history's tendency either to concentrate on national cultures or to study cultural elites. Even the people being studied often vary, because the social historian tends to highlight the experiences of "blacks, immigrants, women, [and] the poor...", while the intellectual historian looks at the work of the literate members of society, including "ministers, lawyers, radicals, writers, [and] professors...". To heighten his comparison, Veysey maintained that "for social historians the central institution of the past is the factory; for intellectual historians, the university".[13]

The postwar period saw a more general challenge from the social sciences to the methods of practising historians. No field of history was more open to the charge of lacking rigorous methodological discipline than the study of intellectual history. Lawrence Stone reviewed the influences of the social scientists on the historians' work.[14] He listed five major ones: historians were now required to recognize their assumptions and presuppositions and make them more explicit; to define their terms more clearly; and, to mark off the areas of research more precisely. The fourth contribution was in methodology, particularly in the social scientist's emphasis on quantification. Finally, the social sciences had provided the

historian with new hypotheses to test in the past. The scientific inclination of the new generation of historians led to the undermining of intellectual history, which (as one of its advocates admitted) "unashamedly studies some of the most unrepresentative evidence conceivable".[15]

After a great deal of soul-searching,[16] however, intellectual history in the United States appears to be ready to reassert itself. It will not return as the "queen of the historical sciences", as it will have moved away from some of the larger (and ultimately unsupportable) claims made for it in the past. The new intellectual history, one hopes, will have learned from the critique made by the social scientists and the social historians. As Laurence Veysey observed, there are two axioms that intellectual history must learn from its recent experience. The first is that "a historian should not claim to be writing about a social aggregate broader than the one reflected in the evidence collected". This lesson is drawn from the emphasis on quantification found in the social sciences. It is intended to keep in check the tendency to leap from, for example, the sermon literature of a certain region at a certain time to a full-blown portrait of a national mind or character.

The second axiom is that "by some means, whether quantitative or intuitive, a historian should do everything possible to maximize the representativeness of the evidence used to describe either the behaviour or the mental states of any given social aggregate".[17] This indicates the social scientist's stress on the social context of ideas, and is intended to stop the sloppy use of time and place often associated with intellectual history. Intellectual historians frequently draw on literature (especially novels), obscure journals, and personal diaries and writings of "great thinkers" to illustrate the presence of an idea. While this may be an academically interesting pursuit, it does not strengthen the case for intellectual history. A much more organized approach is required, in which the historian attempts to account for the circulation of, and general audience for, a given idea or system of ideas. This can only be done by placing these ideas and their makers into a broader social and institutional context.

II. Mentalités - a New Direction for the Study of Ideas?

The second tradition available to historians of ideas in Canada is the concept of mentalités, which has evolved from the Annales school in France. The word "mentalités" has defied translation,[18] but it refers to the "collective psychology" or "mindset" of particular groups in history. It has proven to be an original, if contested, methodological device for studying the past. But it has also encountered some of the same criticisms that have been levelled against intellectual history, because the history of mentalités has been accused of being vaguely defined and lacking coherent areas for study. At its best, the history of mentalités has opened new areas for study, emphasizing the psychological factors that motivate collective behaviour in the past.

At first glance, the aims of the historians of mentalités appear even more ambitious than the claims made by the American intellectual historians. Robert Mandrou, a leading French proponent of the study of mentalités, attempts to delineate the difference between the kind of history he worked on and the older history of ideas. The latter, the study of ideas, Mandrou narrows down to the study of systems of ideas, and their "games" of influence and development.[19] He sees this as far more restrictive than the study of mentalités, which ultimately can include not only ideas, but "le terme de mentalités inclut necessairement le domaine affectif, sentiments et passions: les sensibilitiés tout autant que la registre intellectuel proprement dit".[20] Mandrou goes on to discuss the role played by mentalités in the "total" history (the concept associated with the Annales school, and Fernand Braudel in particular). Mandrou notes that the historiography, the collective memory, and the representation of the past in a society become central concerns for the historian. The past animates the myths, illusions, and beliefs of a society, and these become the keystones of a group's mentalité. To sum up his argument, Mandrou cites Marc Bloch's assertion that "l'investigation de psychologie historique doit être reconnue comme 'la base même de tout travail d'historien valable'".[21]

Given the wide variety of topics available for detailed study by the historian of mentalités, it is not surprising that there have been problems

of knowing where to begin. In 1960, Alphonse Dupront tried to outline the problems for research and the methods available to the historian of "collective psychology".[22] He listed three steps that researchers should take, and then proposed a research schedule that should keep historians busy for several generations! He suggested that an inventory of "formes, créations, images, valeurs...[qui] s'exprime l'âme collective". In addition, the "raison d'êtres" for men in different countries at different times should be catalogued. This would encourage an appreciation of the diversity of the historical experience and highlight "la puissance créatrice des hommes". Finally, historians should gather evidence illustrating the rhythms of history, demonstrating how certain ideas, needs, myths, and value systems recur in history.[23]

The all-inclusiveness of this approach has led to persistent problems of definition. In a more recent attempt, (1974), Jacques Le Goff discussed the ambiguous nature of the writing on mentalités.[24] His opening paragraph sounds as pessimistic as the Americans' (Conkin and Darnton) assessment of intellectual history. "Pour l'historien aujord'hui mentalité est encore nouveau et déjà galvaudé," Le Goff began, because of the lack of successful examples of this genre of historical writing. Although still a pioneer's area, he wondered if mentalités will ever achieve "une réalité scientifique", or obtain "une cohérence conceptuelle", and if it will ever be "épistémologiquement operatoire". Given the ambiguity it creates, and the undeniable attraction of its imprecise nature, Le Goff is not certain whether he should help the study of mentalités into being or make it disappear.[25]

What are the attractions of the study of mentalités that make it worthwhile to overcome these difficulties of definition? The most important aspect has been the use of mentalités to study historical change. This has been handled most effectively when dealing with the twin processes of civilization and modernization. As Philippe Ariès argued, "l'histoire des mentalités laisse apparaître un souci constant de mieux comprendre le passage à la modernité".[26] Ariès has been one of the most innovative users of the concept of mentalités. In particular, his L'enfant et la vie familiale sous l'ancien régime (1960) which studied the changing attitudes

towards family life and the emergence of the idea of childhood, and L'Homme devant la Morte (1977), which examined man's changing views on dying, have been widely acclaimed examples of the recreation of mentalités. Ariès, who relies heavily on demographical evidence in the preparation of his work on the family, explained that this work had been started because he had been "struck by the original characteristics of the modern family, [and] felt the need to go back into a more distant past to discover the limits of this originality".[27] Because of the links between the attitudes and behaviour of families over time and the society of the day, Ariès' study goes, he claims, "...to the very heart of the great problems of civilization."[28]

The effort of the historians of mentalités to pay special attention to the historical context of ideas, attitudes, and behaviour connects them to the recent critics of American intellectual history. Mentalités, as a concept, has also proven to be helpful to social historians, because both groups are interested in mass reactions and behaviour. The daily routine, and the attitudes and beliefs of all sections of society (as opposed to the writings of an educated elite) are the research areas preferred by both the historian of mentalités and the social historian. But the diffuse nature of the study of mentalités, and the difficulties in defining this term, have limited its effectiveness as a device for the study of ideas. As one American historian observed, commenting on the relationship between intellectual history and the history of mentalités (he was discussing the work of Ariès, Lucien Febvre, Michel Foucault, Norbert Elias, and others):

> The prestige of their work is derived from their ingenuity in retrieving data about popular culture from data hitherto inaccessible; yet their boldness in the realm of practice is matched by their caution in the realm of theory. None has attempted to move...to a model for a general theory of culture, and some question whether 'mentalités' is not a subject matter so remote and complex that it cannot provide a unified field of study.[29]

It is clear that although the concerns and the methodology of intellectual history and the history of mentalités can be very different, both have common problems. In particular, the question of a precise definition of the subject matter and its relevance to the wider problems of historical inquiry is a common stumbling block. The intellectual

historian, by drawing on literary sources, limits himself to discussing the thoughts of a small segment of society, unless a great effort is made to situate the ideas and the people who held them into a wider social and historical context. The historian of mentalités, on the other hand, has a subject matter so varied, and at times confused by an odd assortment of analytical tools borrowed from psychology, sociology, cultural anthropology, and demography.[30] One avenue available, however, if the study of mentalités is to develop greater coherence and organization, is to continue to apply its grab bag of interpretive tools to the questions of technological change, industrialization, urbanization, and the "civilizing process".[31]

III. The Seeds of a Tradition in Canadian Intellectual History

The American approach to intellectual history and the French concept of mentalité are the two traditions available to Canadians wishing to study ideas and their influence in the past. Most of the intellectual history written to date has drawn upon the American tradition. Ideas or themes are taken up and their development is traced over time. There is a reliance on literary sources, and the role played by the intellectual or cultural elite is usually highlighted. But there are two factors which have impeded successful use of American-style intellectual history in Canadian historiography.

The first factor is the "colonial" aspect of Canadian intellectual life. This argument points out that Canada has not produced any "great thinkers" (like Emerson, Thoreau, or William James in the United States), and therefore the ideas circulating amongst the intellectuals of this country merely reflect ideological developments abroad. In the English Canadian context, the United States and Great Britain have exercised the greatest influence over intellectual life. With so little original thinking being done, the "internalist", or ideas-oriented, approach to Canadian intellectual history has been unworkable.[32]

The second factor is the regional character of Canadian history. The intellectual historian, especially of the traditional American school, hopes to grapple with questions of national significance (or at least

English-Canadian national importance). As has been shown, this approach, like the "liberal consensus" interpretation, has been repudiated in the American context. In the Canadian experience, the importance of region and the impact of the diversity of cultures has made efforts to portray a "national mind" impossible.

These limitations may have pointed out to historians that there were other approaches available to help study ideas in Canada. As early as 1965, S.F. Wise observed that:

> Canadian intellectual history must be concerned...with all kinds of ideas that lie between the formal thought of the philosopher...and the world of action, probably closer to the latter. Since (to understand the matter) no connected history of formal thought in Canada is possible, the Canadian intellectual historian must be concerned primarily with the inter-relationship between ideas and actions, and therefore the intellectual commonplaces of an age, its root notions, assumptions, and images will be of more significance to him than the study of coherent bodies of abstract thought.[33]

It is unfortunate that more studies have not been written that followed Wise's suggestions. By concentrating on "ideas and action", and emphasizing the "commonplaces" and "root notions", Wise proposed a course for Canadian intellectual history that would have spared it many of the problems associated with the American example.

Students of Canadian intellectual history have been unwilling or unable to pick up on Wise's cue. Instead, there were and continue to be produced studies that neglect the crucial questions of historical and social context. For example, A.B. McKillop's study, A Disciplined Intelligence: Critical Inquiry and Canadian Thought in the Victorian Era focused on ideas without linking them to the wider questions of industrialization and modernization that transformed the face of the country during that period.[34] S.D. Shortt's The Search for an Ideal: Six Canadian Intellectuals and their Convictions in an Age of Transition, 1890-1930 is a product of the "great thinker" approach to the writing of intellectual history. But Shortt's concentration on six figures drawn from Canada's academic community undermined his ability to draw any conclusions about "an age of transition", or the importance of the ideas these men held in late-Victorian Canada.[35] A final example of the persistence of traditional,

American-style intellectual history in Canada was the special issue of the journal Canadian Literature, devoted to intellectual history. All but one of the eleven articles it contained were intellectual portraits of single Canadian writers, professors, or artists.[36]

Using the American approach, however, has produced several notable successes in the field of Canadian intellectual history. Carl Berger's The Sense of Power traced the growth and change of imperialism in Canadian thought. Much of the discussion concentrated on individuals, but this reflected Berger's argument that imperialism was "a sentiment and an outlook before it became a policy". To get at "what imperialism signified can therefore only be understood in relation to the characters who espoused it and who came to personify it".[37] But the concern with the idea's historical place remains uppermost in Berger's mind.

A much different, but equally successful venture in intellectual history was Doug Owram's The Promise of Eden: The Canadian Expansionist Movement and the Idea of the West 1856-1900.[38] Owram carefully recreated the image of the West presented to eastern Canadians by the various parties who had some interest in western settlement. Through patient marshalling of his evidence, and meticulous concern with the historical context, Owram was able to demonstrate, for example, that "between 1856 and 1869 the image of the West was transformed in Canadian writings from a semi-arctic wilderness to a fertile garden well adapted to agricultural pursuits".[39] Owram's book is an encouraging example of how ideas can be circulated in society, and how they change or are changed over a period of time.

In French Canadian historiography, the volumes prepared by Fernand Dumont, Jean-Paul Montminy and others in the "Histoire et Sociologie de la Culture" series were marked successes, and unlike any studies that have appeared in English Canada. The three volumes study ideologies in French Canada from 1850 to 1939.[40] Each volume combines the study of ideas, their circulation in society through various newspapers, magazines, and journals, and an attempt to place the ideologies and the ideologues into their sociological and historical context. Dumont insists that "l'idéologie ne plane jamais au ciel des societés"; rather, ideology is "un procédure de la

convergence qui sourd des autres pratiques sociales". The strength of each study is this insistence on the connection of ideas to the societies that produced them. Dumont is not interested in the internal logic or development of ideas. Instead, he points out that: "comprendre une idéologie ne consiste pas à se demander si elle se trompe ou non mais à la replacer dans le contexte dont elle est à la fois le produit et le complément."[41]

The ability to promote and transmit ideas in society is one way to analyze the relationship between the life of an idea and the exercise of power. It is this relationship that J.M. Bumsted argued is the next step in the development of Canadian intellectual history. Bumsted was concerned with the "standard perception" that "ideas did not much matter in the making of this nation",[42] forcing its intellectuals into isolated and even alienated positions in Canadian society. Although not clearly stated, Bumsted's focus seems to be on input by the intellectual community on the policies of government. In this narrow concern, two articles have recently examined the participation of social scientists in the formulation of public policy between the two wars.[43] These considerations of academics and social scientists as a group, and the group's place in the power structure of Canadian society, are an important development in understanding Canadian social thought.

But this relationship - the study of ideas and the exercise of power - can be extended beyond the realm of politics. This is especially true in the modern period of our history, after the coming of mass systems of communication. Access to political decision making, and the creation of a 'mandarin' class in the civil service, are only two ways to demonstrate ideas in action.[44] The study of associations and publications that influence cultural life and opinions is also an effective way to study "ideas in action". Work on this area of Canadian intellectual life has been limited, due in part to the extreme difficulty of this task. Tracing the use and influence of an idea in a society as spread out as Canada's is like catching the proverbial will o' the wisp. Ultimately, one can never be certain of the exact nature of the relationship between the men and women who put forth or supported the ideas of their day and their motives for so doing.

The access to the transmitters of ideas, and the power to place ideas into circulation are two ways to look at the celebration of Canada's Diamond Jubilee. At one level, the story of the Jubilee is the story of political ideas in action. By looking at the literature and the historical pageantry approved by the National Committee, an "official" version of Canadian culture can be revealed. This study has broader implications as well, for it provides an opportunity to watch the transmission of nationalist aspirations on a broad scale. The exploitation of the themes of "sixty years of progress" and "the growth of national feeling" will be examined, because these ideas were widely discussed and debated. It is in this style of intellectual history that the Jubilee will be studied. It will not reveal a 'national mind', because the inspiration and motivation for the celebrations came from too narrow a segment of society to justify describing them as representative of a national spirit. It will not be a study in "high" culture, because the promotional material and sources mainly come from the popular, mass-circulation culture of the 1920s. But the study of the Jubilee will remain an exercise in intellectual ideas and action in a specific historical context.

IV. The Future Use of Mentalités in Canadian Historiography

The use of the concept of mentalités in the writing of Canadian history has been limited. There certainly has been very little attention paid to the more exotic branches of this discipline, like those advocated by Michel Foucault and, to a lesser extent, Philippe Ariès. A collection of essays, Childhood and Family in Canadian History,[45] has been recently published, but it approaches the question of family from the perspective of a social historian. The focus of the essays is on children and their environments, and the larger themes that Ariès attempts to illuminate are barely touched upon.

The study of mentalités in Canada has been limited by the relatively short span of our history. The major concern of the historian of mentalités - the modernization process - is less evident in a society whose history only stretches back three-and-a-half centuries. Canada does not have a medieval past, nor a tradition of magic and sorcery, nor did it have

isolated villages and regions, that had existed for centuries, knuckling under to the march of "civilization". In French historiography, the theme of modernization is developed in Eugen Weber's Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France 1870-1914.[46] Canadian historiography does not have the wealth of local studies, the detail in several fields - from language to agronomy - necessary to support such a study. As it matures, it may be able to nourish the sweeping assertions of mentalités.

There have been attempts that could be considered as studies in mentalités in Canada, but they do not live up to the claims their authors make for them. This is particularly true of Gordon Stewart and George Rawlyk's A People Highly Favoured of God: The Nova Scotia Yankees and the American Revolution,[47] which examines the Nova Scotian response to the outbreak of the American Revolution. The authors maintain that the "Great Awakening" in religious feeling caused by the tireless preaching of Henry Alline, an itinerant minister, deflected the Nova Scotian interest away from the Yankee cause. At the heart of the Nova Scotian reaction was the mentalité of separateness, of "a people highly favoured of God", who opted at this critical juncture to turn their backs on secular concerns and concentrate on spiritual matters. The authors claim as their subjects the "people 'at the bottom' who read little and whose major preoccupations in life were tilling fields and catching fish",[48] which places them in the tradition of the historians of mentalités. However, Stewart and Rawlyk's disregard of the economic and social factors that may have contributed to the neutrality of the Nova Scotians (the Port of Halifax's reliance on British naval spending, for example) diminishes the effectiveness of their work.

But there is one aspect of the study of mentalités - the explication of symbols - that can be used with some success in Canadian historical studies. Two American historians, Henry Nash Smith and John William Ward, have used the study of symbols and myths to great advantage in the United States. Smith's Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth examined the image of the American west in nineteenth century fiction and political writing. Ward has written about Andrew Jackson as a "symbol for an age", and situated Jackson and his presidency in the general culture of

his day.[49] Ward saw the study of "symbolic action" as "an attempt to bridge the gap between material and intellectual aspects of culture, a division between mind and matter which has a long tradition behind it...".[50] Ward contended that by using a symbol - Jackson's presidency, or, for another period, Lindbergh's flight[51] - the historian can bring to light the "fundamental assumptions" of an era. Ward offered two approaches to the study of "symbolic action". The historian can go beyond the "confines of one idiom of action" (politics, literature, painting, or religion, for instance) to the "basic pattern of values which is in the many forms of 'symbolic action' of a culture". The interdisciplinary approach to the "general culture" is compared to the study of the particular (like Ward's essay on Lindbergh's flight). When writing about a specific event from history, the historian must "be sensitive to the larger pattern in which it is implicated and from which it derives the full amplitude of its meaning".[52]

In this sense, the study of the Diamond Jubilee can draw from the mentalités approach to the study of ideas. The sources available (or "idioms of action") are varied, from political speeches to magazine advertising, and from Sunday thanksgiving services to the historical pageants performed across the country. The extent to which this manifestation of "national feeling" was an artificial creation will be considered separately, but the Jubilee did cause quite a stir in the general culture of Canada in 1927. As a result, the assumptions held by Canadians about their country, their history, their progress, and their future, are revealed as clearly as anything can ever be to historians of culture and ideas.

The second of Ward's prescriptions, which called for a study of a particular event to understand the larger patterns in the general culture, can also be applied to the study of the Jubilee. Increasingly, intellectual historians, cultural historians, and historians of mentalités are borrowing from the methodology of cultural anthropology. The work of Clifford Geertz has been frequently mentioned.[53] Geertz has argued for a semiotic concept of culture,

> ...believing...that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning.[54]

The job of the anthropologist is to describe, in as meaningful terms as possible, the significance of each "speck of behaviour, fleck of culture". The "thicker" the description - or the more detail and explanation the anthropologist can bring to bear on a given gesture - the more accurate the portrait of the culture will be.

Geertz goes on to denounce any approach to anthropology that seeks to isolate a "symbolic system". The arguments he uses closely parallel the criticisms directed at "internalist", or text and biography oriented intellectual history. It is not sufficient to study culture by

> ...isolating its elements, specifying the internal relationships among those elements, and then characterizing the whole system in some general way--according to core symbols around which it is organized, the underlying structures of which it is a surface expression, or the ideological principles upon which it is based.[55]

This approach to the study of culture is "hermetical", and leads the analyst away from the "informal logic of actual life". Instead, Geertz maintained that the anthropologist must turn to the specific, to the event, instead of the theoretical or systematic approach, for accurate and effective cultural analysis. "Whatever, or wherever, symbol systems 'in their own terms' may be," he concluded, "we gain empirical access to them by inspecting events, not by arranging abstracted entities into unified patterns".[56]

One implication of this is that coherence is not a "major test of validity for a cultural description". Geertz observed that a minimum amount of coherence is required to classify a "cultural system", but that the descriptions and observations need not be forced into a larger theoretical framework. Again, his criticism of this form of cultural analysis has great implications for the intellectual historian. Just as "nothing has done more...to discredit cultural analysis than the construction of impeccable depictions of formal order in whose actual existence nobody can quite believe",[57] nothing has done more to discredit intellectual history than

the sweeping assertions made to portray a "national mind", a Zeitgeist, a Weltanschauung, or a mentalité.

While the ultimate end of intellectual history may remain the study of a "spirit of an age",[58] the present state of intellectual history in Canada cannot support many conclusions in this regard. The absence of a national consensus, and the influence of a bi- or multi-cultural society on its ideologies and identity, reinforce the restrictions that must be placed on Canadian intellectual history. Like Geertz' prescriptions for cultural anthropologists, the Canadian intellectual historian must concentrate on the specific, the event. The study of ideas or systems of ideas cannot be done without a proper understanding of the mechanics of a wider social context. Nor can generalizations be made without specific studies to support them. This is difficult because the two areas of English Canadian intellectual history that have drawn the most attention - nationalism and the Canadian identity[59] - are especially susceptible to being considered as "symbolic systems" detached from the historical tensions of region, economy, and biculturalism.

The emphasis on the specific event has support in a recent article on the use of mentalités as well. Philippe Ariès concluded his account of the history of mentalités with two suggestions for the future use of the concept. The first, which echoes the opinions of Geertz, called on the historian to:

> ...pulveriser les modèles de mentalité, c'est-à-dire à refuser la réalité de modèles cohérents et massifs et à les remplacer par une constellation de micro-éléments peu consistants, maintenus quelque temps par la conjunction, de causes nombreuses et independantes (politiques, religieuses, économiques)....[60]

This would allow the study of mentalités to preserve its eclectic nature,[61] and yet control the scope of the syntheses drawn from it. Ariès' second suggestion is to isolate a block of time from the past, much as an anthropologist may choose a past society for examination. This "ethno-history" has the aim of avoiding the problems of origins and influence of ideas in society. It is straight description, without regard to the consequences of attitudes and behaviour. Although not personally convinced, Ariès saw this method as one way of overcoming the sense of cultural superiority evident in many studies of the mentalités of the past.

V. Conclusion

The intellectual historian must be prepared to limit his topic, and to define carefully the aims and methods he has adopted. To conclude this discussion on the study of ideas, the aims of this study of the Jubilee should be enumerated. The central theme to be discussed is the perception of the Canadian nation. From the rhetoric of the politicians, and the newspaper and magazine articles that marked the occasion, a portrait of the Canadian federation (or how it was imagined) will be drawn. The 1920s were a significant decade in terms of the nationalist idea, because the First World War represented (at least to some) a "coming of age" for Canada. The Diamond Jubilee is a significant event because it attempted, on a popular level and in various "idioms of action", to explain and demonstrate this change in Canadian attitude. Unlike the appointment of ministers abroad or the emergence of the Group of Seven, the sort of example usually used to depict a developing nationalist sentiment, hundreds of thousands of Canadians participated in the Jubilee celebrations.

The second, and perhaps more innovative, approach to the Jubilee's significance will be in terms of the use of the idea of nationalism. The celebrations were highly organized, and the National Committee in Ottawa carefully orchestrated the events. The festivities of July 1-3, 1927 were not the spontaneous gestures of the people of Canada, or simply a manifestation of a nationalist mentalités. Instead, it must be remembered that the Jubilee represents an "official culture", a "from-the-top-down" imposition of government initiatives onto Canadian society. The study of the Jubilee will therefore consider the question of access to the agencies that transmit ideas in society. In the case of the Jubilee, the nationalist idea was transmitted through a wide variety of these agencies, from the daily press and popular magazines, in the schools and churches, on the radio, and in the books and essays prepared to honour the occasion. Again, the Jubilee is of special interest because of the variety of methods used to promote the event.

Although not primarily a study in mentalités, because of the Jubilee's official, or government sanctioned nature, the study of the celebration answers some of the questions raised by the historian of

mentalités. He studies a single event "in order to throw light upon the internal workings of a past culture and society";[62] a study of the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation will illuminate some of the attitudes and sentiments present in Canada in the 1920s. Secondly, the images used in the celebrations can be described in terms of their symbolic importance. For example, the historical tableaux that were approved for performance across the land stress the importance of Canada's multicultural past, and an awareness of multiculturalism is surprisingly evident in the Jubilee's literature. If the events can be placed into their social and historical setting, if they can be "thickly described", it should become possible to draw some conclusions about the symbolic import of the "flecks of culture" found in the festivities.

The late Frank Underhill observed that "...if we [Canadians] are to understand ourselves better, we need to devote a great deal more study to our intellectual history, to the values, to the guiding ideas and ideals, that have influenced the minds of different groups of Canadians at different times".[63] This study is being written in an attempt to place some significance on an almost forgotten event in Canadian history. Canada's sixtieth birthday celebrations did not move mountains or cause dramatic changes in the course of Canadian history. But a careful look at the Diamond Jubilee helps to reveal the "guiding idea and ideals" of certain groups of Canadians during the 1920s.

Chapter II The Organization of the Diamond Jubilee

The year 1927 was an auspicious one for a Diamond Jubilee. Time had begun to heal the divisions caused by the First World War. Peace had returned to Canada's industrial relations, as the easing of the postwar inflationary spiral encouraged the development of greater social harmony. As well, the Canadian economy reflected the strength and expansion of its American counterpart. This is not to suggest that there existed in Canada a 'golden age' of economic stability in the 1920s. However, Canada in 1927 was materially more comfortable than it had been five years earlier; and, the economy was running much more smoothly than it would be five years later. In the realm of politics, the election of 1926 had ended the confusion that had existed in Parliament since 1921. The Progressive challenge had been turned back, and with a comfortable majority, Mackenzie King and his Liberals could focus their attention on the celebration of the Jubilee. As King's biographer, H.B. Neatby noted, "both Mackenzie King and the nation seemed to have surmounted their crises and settled into a stable routine by 1927... Canada's century seemed finally to have arrived."[1]

The 1920s were also characterized by movement towards greater Canadian autonomy in relations with Britain, and a developing sense of a new "national feeling". Both Prime Ministers Borden and King followed a policy that was earning Canada a separate place in the eyes of the international community. After acquiring a seat in the League of Nations, the Dominion Government moved towards greater control of its foreign policy. From halibut treaties to legations abroad, a distinct Canadian presence was being established. Coupled with this was a growing awareness that there was a unique Canadian experience, and that Canada could no longer be dismissed as "a colonial, imitative, and derivative society in which no idea had been first declared and only one or two discoveries ever made...".[2]

The organization of the Diamond Jubilee was undertaken by the Dominion Government in early 1927. The organizers hoped to capitalize on the new spirit of "national feeling" to present a celebration that

congratulated the country for the achievements of the past sixty years, and looked forward to continued material and spiritual progress. To do so, the central organizing committee called on the support of provincial and local committees to put into place its suggestions for the three-day holiday weekend. Using a mixture of newspaper and magazine publicity, local historical pageants, politicians' speeches, and religious pomp and ceremony, the members of the Diamond Jubilee committee hoped to create a solemn but enthusiastic salute to Canada. Chief amongst their concerns was the desire to appeal to the youth and the immigrant population in the country. To this end, the organization enlisted the support of the various provincial departments of education in its attempt to spread the good word about Canada. In addition, the radio was used in unprecedented fashion to demonstrate the potential for unifying Canadians that improved communications held.

These were the themes that were to be important during the Diamond Jubilee celebrations. An emphasis on material progress, a sense of Canadian history, and a deliberate fostering of Canadian nationalism were the overtly stated motifs of the festivities. Underlying this was a muted endorsement of a Liberal interpretation of society and its past. But before the significance of the celebrations can be assessed, the story of their organization should be told.

I. First Steps

It is not clear who was the first person to suggest that the Diamond Jubilee should be celebrated. Among the prime movers, however, were the Association of Canadian Clubs, the Native Sons of Canada, and the Empire Clubs. Perhaps these organizations remembered that the initial steps had been taken, in 1913, to prepare for Canada's golden anniversary.[3] James Murray, a retired Toronto businessman and member of the Empire Club, noted that the Borden Government had ordered a copperplate engraving of the Fathers of Confederation in anticipation of the celebration of 1917. The war intervened, however, and "Vimy Ridge, Messines, a Victory Loan, and a compulsory military service act meant more in 1917 than a national birthday."[4]

In early 1926, however, Murray made efforts to promote the celebrations. On behalf of the Empire Clubs, he sent letters to Mackenzie King and the nine provincial premiers urging them to mark the occasion in a suitable manner. He also wrote to the editors of all the major newspapers and magazines, as well as the heads of various patriotic, industrial, artistic, and educational organizations. Murray's message was simple:

> So WHY NOT in 1927 have a great DIAMOND JUBILEE commemorating the the [sic] sixtieth anniversary of Confederation. It would arouse the latent patriotism throughout the Dominion. It would inspire national sentiment. Religion, music, art, literature would receive new inspiration which the future historian will record.[5]

Murray's tireless efforts eventually bore fruit, and Mackenzie King promised to appoint a committee at the end of the 1926 session.[6] Unfortunately for Murray, King would not be Prime Minister by then. Through his efforts, however, Murray had encouraged others, notably the Toronto Globe and Maclean's, to support proposals for a Jubilee celebration.[7]

Although the indefatigable Murray may have written the most letters in support of the Jubilee idea, the Canadian Clubs seemed to have exerted more effective pressure on the Dominion Government. In its annual meeting in Saint John, N.B., in early 1926, the Association passed a resolution urging that the event be made an important one. In the first meeting of the Jubilee Committee, it was recorded that this resolution "may or may not have given direct stimulus to the movement to celebrate the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation."[8] The Canadian Clubs' efforts convinced Senator John Lewis to make the first official proposal concerning the sixtieth anniversary. On May 4, 1926, he moved that it was "expedient" that preparations get underway. Lewis, a journalist from Toronto, mentioned that other days, like St. Patrick's Day, July 12, Empire Day, and so on, were celebrated in Canada. Dominion Day, however, was "hardly celebrated at all as a national anniversary", and that the "maple leaf is hardly in evidence...".[9]

The next mention of the Jubilee in Parliament came in the Speech from the Throne in December, 1926. The speech pledged that the Jubilee would be "appropriately" celebrated. In the debate after the speech, both Prime

Minister Mackenzie King and interim Conservative leader Hugh Guthrie indicated that his party would make the most of the occasion. The only discordant note was sounded by T.L. Church, maverick Conservative M.P. from Toronto. He attacked the Liberals for not maintaining a protectionist economic policy, commenting dryly that

> The government talks about celebrating Canada's diamond jubilee, the sixtieth anniversary of confederation. Thousands of Canadians now working in the United States - a half a million - will not celebrate our diamond jubilee. They will be celebrating the Declaration of Independence and participating in the next Fourth of July festivities.[10]

Despite Church's criticism, the government made the first step towards organizing the Jubilee Committee. A temporary committee, headed by O.D. Skelton, was set up to sift through the suggestions that had already been made to the government. The other responsibilities of this interdepartmental committee were to oversee the striking of the Confederation medal and to choose the members of the Diamond Jubilee Corporation. In this second chore, Skelton was asked by the Prime Minister that he (King) "be freed of all correspondence with individuals on these Celebration matters, and, indeed, from getting drawn into any phase of the situation, except in a purely honourary way."[11] This may have been King's intention, but as things turned out he was to play a direct role in the planning of the celebration.

While the temporary committee was at work sorting through the suggestions, the government presented Bill 65 to incorporate the Diamond Jubilee Corporation. On February 15, 1927, the Prime Minister also moved that "...there may be paid a sum not exceeding $250,000 towards defraying any expenses that may be incurred for the celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of confederation." The bill itself listed the names proposed for membership of the new corporation. They included the Governor General and his wife, Viscount and Lady Willingdon, the Lieutenant Governors and Premiers of the nine provinces, the Prime Minister and several cabinet members, selected members of the Opposition, a few senators, the presidents of the CNR and CPR, and representatives of several patriotic and service organizations (for a complete list, see Appendix "A"). King wanted to ensure quick passage of the bill, because the Senate was planning to

adjourn at the end of the week. The bill moved quickly through the first reading, with the membership of the corporation being the only contentious issue. J.S. Woodsworth was worried about the "political" character of the personnel of the corporation, due in part to the fact that "the organizations mentioned are of a particular type, [and] they are not in any sense representative of all the different classes of the people of Canada."[12] Woodsworth was especially concerned that representatives of the farmers, labour, and the teachers had been overlooked.

King replied that he had not intended to have classes represented, but rather chose individuals "because they happen to fill representative positions that are broad enough to include all groups." He continued by noting that the Premier of Manitoba, John Bracken, was a "well-known agriculturist", and that the Premier of Alberta, J.E. Brownlee, headed a "farmers' government". King also mentioned that he had considered Tom Moore, president of the Trades and Labour Council, but had decided against it because it would require that a representative of the manufacturers' association be included,

> And so it would run on; any number of organizations might be included. If it were the intention to embrace every organization that may wish to take part in this celebration, I am afraid we would have a committee incapable of functioning.[13]

But King was willing to add to the original list of forty-nine names. Interim Opposition leader Hugh Guthrie requested that four prominent Conservatives - R.B. Bennett, H.H. Stevens, Sir J.A.M. Aikins, and Major General S.C. Mewburn - be added to the Committee. While acceding to Guthrie's request, King added the names of four well-known Liberals: Charles Marcil, Sir George Garneau, Sir George Locke, and George P. Graham, the eventual chairman of the executive committee.[14] The next day, King added four Cabinet ministers to the list - Robert Forke (Immigration), Dr. J.H. King (Health), Charles Stewart (Interior), and Peter J. Veniot (Postmaster General) - along with J.E. Sinclair.[15]

The House of Commons took up the bill again on February 17. The debate during the second reading again centred on the inclusion and exclusion of names for committee membership. Woodsworth again took up the issue of representation of different classes, wondering why labour was excluded

when E.W. Beatty of CPR and Sir Henry Thornton of CNR were included; why the Canadian Battlefields Memorial Association was represented when the teachers' federation was not; and, why the I.O.D.E. was invited to join the committee when no representative of the Ukrainian community or other immigrant groups had been asked.[16] Woodsworth's remarks were supported by Agnes MacPhail, who had been asked to join the corporation because she was the first woman to have been elected to Parliament. She too was concerned that "...we 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 of life, will not have any part in this celebration."[17] At this point, King asked Woodsworth and MacPhail for a list of names to consider. After the dinner recess, King told the House that Tom Moore, M.J. Coldwell (President, Teachers' Federation), Henry Wise Wood (President, United Farmers of Alberta), George F. Edwards (President, Canadian Council of Agriculture), Cyrille F. Delâge (Quebec Council of Public Instruction), and Michael Luchkovich, M.P., had been added to make the corporation more representative.

Once the membership had been agreed to, there was very little debate. Woodsworth protested, but only briefly, that $250,000 was an "excessively large amount" to spend, since the celebration will consist "largely of flag-waving, especially when we do not have, as at the present moment, a distinctly Canadian flag to wave." He also wondered why it was that "whenever we introduce a measure calling for social legislation to meet needs of this character [for the unemployed] we are told that the finances of Canada are not in a position to stand the strain", yet the government could easily find $250,000 for the Jubilee.[18] On a less serious note, T.L. Church, the idiosyncratic Tory M.P., made a lengthy objection to the expenditure. His complaints ranged from the partisan Liberal nature of the celebrations, through the economic problems and the population loss to the United States, ending up with a plea for a "Mussolini who will stand up for the rights of the people." Church admired the Italian leader as a man of action; instead of jubilees, he argued, "they don't celebrate in Italy. They do things."[19]

Bill 65 passed second and third reading on February 17, and the Diamond Jubilee Corporation was created. The Bill also declared July 2 a national holiday, giving Canadians three days to celebrate the event (July 1 being a statutory holiday, and July 3 a Sunday).

II. The Diamond Jubilee Corporation

The first meeting of the Diamond Jubilee Corporation was held on March 16 in order to set up an executive committee. Honourary Patrons of this committee were the Governor General and his wife, and King and Guthrie were named the Honourary Presidents. Chosen as Presidents of the Executive Committee were Sir Robert Borden and Sir Lomer Gouin, and Sen. George P. Graham was selected as Chairman of the Executive Committee. (For a complete list of the committee members, see Appendix "B".) Principal responsibilities of the Committee were to include the coordination of the work of various provincial committees, the organization of the national celebrations in Ottawa, the publication of advertisements and information to foster enthusiasm for the Jubilee, the minting of commemorative medals, and the setting up of a national radio broadcast on July 1. The Executive Committee began meeting twice a week, aware that its task was "a case of doing in three months what many thought could not be done in six."[20] Eight sub-committees were rapidly assembled, dealing with Finance, Publicity, Medals, Historical Material, Pageants, Broadcasting, the Ottawa Ceremonies, and the Reception of Distinguished Visitors.

The Executive Committee went to work on determining what policies were to be followed in shaping the events of the celebration. It was decided that the Jubilee had to have a national dimension, instead of focussing on Ottawa and the ceremonies there. The educational aspects of the events were also to be stressed, which would necessitate cooperation between the National Committee and the provincial ministers responsible for education. The Committee

> recognizing that one of the chief functions of the celebration was to promote a spirit of unity in Canada, decided that, as far as possible, programs should be carried out and publications should be issued in the two official languages.[21]

The Committee then adopted a bilingual seal for the Diamond Jubilee Corporation. Bilingualism was adhered to despite the minor problems and complications it was later to cause.

Given the need for provincial cooperation, the Committee wrote to the premiers on March 22. The premiers were asked to set up provincial committees, and to oversee the preparations being made on the local level. The National Committee was particularly interested in securing provincial help in the distribution of materials to the schools. Although the provinces were free to organize the calendar of events as they chose, the National Committee offered guidelines and suggestions to local committees:

> In every program there should be a clear, strong, dominant note of patriotism that will inspire confidence in, love for and devotion to our Country. An impression should be left on the minds and in the hearts of all who call Canada "Home" that will tend to quicken the National Soul and encourage the development of a robust, self-reliant National spirit, without which no Country can ever attain real greatness.[22]

The provinces, with the exception of Ontario and Quebec, established committees patterned on the National Committee. Usually, the Lieutenant Governor served as Patron, and the provincial premier was chosen Honourary President. The rest of the committee was a mixture of representatives from politics, the civil service, business, service and patriotic organizations. In Ontario, Premier G. Howard Ferguson, who doubled as Minister of Education, personally took charge. Along with Dr. A.H.U. Colquhoun, his Deputy Minister of Education, Ferguson was directly involved in preparing the lengthy schedule of events in his province.

In Quebec, Premier L.-A. Taschereau initially was responsible for the organization of the celebrations. But the lack of activity began to worry the National Committee. On May 4, Herbert Marler, member of the Committee and M.P. for Argenteuil, wrote to Sir George Garneau in Quebec City expressing his concern.[23] At the end of the month, there was still little or no activity, leading one English Quebec newspaper to wonder whether "certain groups" were engaging in "organized obstruction" of the event. The Chronicle Telegraph editorial stated that:

> It is with profound regret but with no very great surprise that we note specific evidence of an organized effort, not to bring about the failure of Canada's celebration of the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation but to create passive obstruction wherever conditions permit and to make it appear, as far as possible, that this is not a genuinely national demonstration but one of interest merely to English-speaking persons.[24]

The next day a worried Jean Désy, Honourary Secretary of the National Committee, cabled Garneau again, asking him if a provincial committee had been established. On June 1 Mayor Valmont Martin wrote to the National Committee informing its members that a committee had been formed in Quebec City. It was not until June 8, a scant three weeks before Dominion Day, that a provincial committee was named under the chairmanship of Cyrille F. Delâge.

With the provinces more-or-less organized, the National Committee went to work on producing souvenir booklets, commemorative medals and stamps, press releases, and organizing the Ottawa ceremonies. The temporary committee had approved of three designs for medals, submitted by Alfred Laliberté, J.W. Hill, and Hénri Hébert. When the Executive Committee was formed, it was decided to use these in two ways. To honour the school children of Canada, a bronze Confederation medal was to be presented to each student participating in the Jubilee festivities. By July 1 over two million medals were ready for distribution across Canada.

A second set of gold, silver, and bronze Confederation medals was used as prizes in the various contests that were sponsored by the Committee. Although some latitude was allowed to the schools and universities involved, these contests were required to promote interest in Canadian history, in particular the history of the Confederation period. Students in elementary schools, high schools, and universities wrote essays or gave speeches on topics from Canadian history. For example, students at the University of Manitoba wrote on "The Canadian Confederation, the Problems and Ideals Underlying Its Achievements in 1867". At the University of Western Ontario, interested candidates were offered a list of nine topics, including such perennial favourites as "Canadian Literature as a factor in National Unity", "Canadian scientific research and national development", and "Religious and moral progress in Canada 1867-1927".[25] In

addition to the medals to be awarded in the universities and the public schools, the Medals Sub-Committee made sure that contests were run on all of the Indian reserves in Canada.

Other contests that were sponsored by the National Committee also used the Jubilee medals as prizes. A competition was held for the daily and weekly newspapers across Canada. Every paper was invited to submit its Jubilee editorial for consideration. There was a literary contest held to reward the best English and French essays and poems, as chosen by the Canadian Authors' Association. Finally, the Committee called on all Canadians to submit a slogan promoting Canada. Prizes were to have been awarded to the catchiest entries.[26]

The Committee also approved a special Diamond Jubilee Medal to be minted in gold, silver, and bronze. King George V, the Governor General, and the Prime Minister were awarded gold medals while the Lieutenant Governors, Premiers and Privy Councillors struck silver. Bronze awards went to Members of Parliament, Senators, Diamond Jubilee Corporation members, and members of the Provincial governments. A complete set of the medals was also deposited in the Dominion Archives.[27] The printing of six commemorative stamps was also recommended by the Committee to the Postmaster General. The stamps, to be printed in both English and French, were to help the "promotion of unity" between the races.[28]

As a final souvenir of the Jubilee, plaques were sent out to all public schools in Canada at the end of 1927. The plaques were inscribed "Canada Our Country" or "Notre Patrie", the Jubilee motto suggested by Dominion Archivist A.G. Doughty. In addition to this, they bore the Canadian coat-of-arms and a reference to the Diamond Jubilee. The plaques became a major challenge to the organizational skills of the various committees, as they attempted to distribute 25,000 English and almost 9,000 French plaques. Several provinces worried about the cost of distribution, and Saskatchewan's Department of Education wrote to Ottawa to ask for 25-to-30-cents per plaque (about $1,700) to cover the cost of mailing out 5,000 plaques.[29]

Ottawa and Manitoba had problems over the language of the plaques. Manitoba initially asked for 2,025 English plaques for its school system.

Then, after the order had been filled, Education Minister R.A. Hoey wrote asking for 200 French plaques. Hoey had originally intended to give all schools an English plaque, then give schools requesting French ones an additional souvenir. All this upset the National Committee's allotments, and did not seem to be in the bilingual spirit of the Jubilee. In the end, Hoey prevailed, after writing that "...it would be most unfortunate if this symbol, intended to be a permanent reminder to the younger generation of Confederation and all Confederation has meant, became a subject of controversy...".[30]

The second major area that the Committee focussed its attention on was publicity. It was decided that "intelligent and aggressive publicity work" was required to "develop the necessary atmosphere for a nation-wide celebration". The Publicity Sub-Committee was chaired by Walter S. Thompson, who was the head of the CNR publicity department. Other members of the Sub-Committee included H.S. Beecher from the Association of Canadian Advertising, Charles Gautier of Le Droit, J. Murray Gibbon, Publicity director for CPR, Press Gallery president F.C. Mears, Maclean's editor Napier Moore, and George Hambleton from Canadian Press. The Sub-Committee was a very busy one, supplying photographs, news features, and other information to the national and international press. As Dominion Day neared, the staff often worked late into the night to complete its tasks. The achievements of the committee were best illustrated by the fact that "...during the month of June there was a daily average of 2,234 pieces sent out by the publicity organization."[31]

The centrepiece of the publicity campaign was a series of sixteen news features with accompanying photographs or illustrations. The features either highlighted an aspect of the Jubilee celebration, or were devoted to the development of Canada's national status. In the first category, attention was drawn to the Jubilee broadcast, the medals, the stamps, and the manufacture and installation of the Carillon in the Peace Tower. The historical pieces ranged from the standard Confederation reminders (the Quebec Conference, the Fathers of Confederation at Charlottetown and Sir John A. Macdonald drafting the BNA Act), through portraits of the ten Prime Ministers since Confederation, and ended up with an article on the new

legation in Washington. This series seems to imply that King's policy on external relations fitted in with the gradual and inevitable acquisition of visible symbols of sovereignty by the Canadian government.

The publicity also included a series of nine sketches detailing sixty years of progress in Canada. Drawn by C.W. Jefferys, they illustrated a "before-and-after" look at nine areas of Canadian development--railways, agriculture, mining, electric power, forestry, newspapers, water transportation, the defense of Canada, and a series of panels showing the change in personal transportation ("from canoes to autos"). To reinforce the theme of progress, the Sub-Committee also distributed electrotypes of the maps and charts featured in the book Sixty Years of Canadian Progress, prepared by the Historical Sub-Committee.

The Sub-Committee also prepared a ten-minute movie "Canada's Diamond Jubilee", to be played across Canada. Made by C.W. Cavers and E.W. Grange of Reuters, in cooperation with the Canadian Government Motion Picture Bureau, the film was distributed by Motion Picture Distributors of Toronto. The Sub-Committee's report lists 174 bookings for the film between June 12 and August 16, with sixty-seven of them in southern Ontario. The film had twenty-six bookings in Quebec, mainly in the Montreal area. It also sparked a debate in the Executive Committee in May, when Col. John Cooper, of the distributing company, wrote to the Committee balking at handling a bilingual film. Both Charles Marcil and Jean Désy insisted that the film be bilingual. To compromise, the Executive Committee ordered three bilingual copies of the film in addition to the English-only copies.[32] The bilingual version, however, was only available if requested, which may explain why the film had far fewer bookings in the province of Quebec.

The Publicity Sub-Committee did succeed in generating a great deal of attention in the press. By the end of the summer of 1927, it had collected over 13,000 clippings of material sent out by the Committee.[33] In Canada, 123 special Jubilee editions were published by daily and weekly newspapers. In addition, sixty magazines had Jubilee numbers, including thirty-five Ontario publications and seven American publications. The Sub-Committee also reported that "every periodical of importance in England

made reference to the celebration" and it was particularly proud of the special Canadian edition of the London Times issued on Dominion Day. It was less pleased with the attention received in the American press, noting that "with the exception of an occasional story about the radio broadcast on July 1, the United States papers paid little attention to the celebration...." The visit of Charles Lindbergh on July 2 did create more of a stir in the American press, however, and the Sub-Committee took heart that three New York papers, the Times, Sun and Herald Tribune, all prepared Canadian editions filled with articles distributed by the Publicity Sub-Committee.[34]

The National Committee also issued several publications to mark the Jubilee. Two books were released--Sixty Years of Canadian Progress and The Evolution of Government in Canada. The first book, compiled by R.H. Coats, the Dominion Statistician, outlined the economic growth of the country since Confederation. In the "Foreword", James Malcolm, Minister of Trade and Commerce, hoped that

> ...the book will be convenient and suggestive for public speakers, teachers, and others who may take a leading part in the celebration, as presenting in readily accessible form the more salient facts of our national progress; so that the minds of the citizens, and especially the younger generation, may be better attuned to what should be the spirit of the day....[35]

Over 100,000 copies of this book were distributed, with every library, newspaper, clergyman, and school principal receiving one. The second book, by William E. Smith, was written at the suggestion of A.G. Doughty, Chairman of the Historical Sub-Committee. An ambitious and expensive souvenir of the Jubilee, it was written in both official languages - English on the left-hand pages, French on the right - and included many colour plates illustrating the turning points in Canadian constitutional development. The book was released in the spring of 1928.

The Committee also released several pamphlets intended to help local committees organize events in their communities. One of the first was General Suggestions for the guidance of committees in charge of local celebrations. This pamphlet offered a step-by-step guide to the formation of local Diamond Jubilee Committees. It reminded local officials to "try

to get every class of the community interested" in setting up the three days of events. For July 1, every community was advised to hold a public meeting, featuring a speech by the mayor or reeve, parades, and historical tableaux. Five groups were to be particularly encouraged to participate: school children, who were often presented with their Confederation medals as part of the celebration; veterans; old settlers of the area; Indians; and, new Canadians. The newcomers - "all who love Canada and who aspire to be good Canadians" - and the Indians - "do not overlook the earliest inhabitants" - were to be included in the parades and subsequent ceremonies. Other suggestions for Dominion Day included the laying of wreathes on the graves of public officials from the Confederation era, picnics, and the planting of Confederation trees. Proposals for the evening included musical programmes, fireworks, bonfires, and the electrical illumination of public buildings. Saturday, July 2, was to be dedicated to sports competitions, while Sunday was to be a day of National Thanksgiving.[36]

To complement these suggestions, three more pamphlets were issued. National Thanksgiving by the People of Canada outlined the standard format to be used in the Sunday afternoon service. Addresses Book featured messages from Governor General Willingdon and Mackenzie King to be read during the public meetings on July 1. The third pamphlet - Suggestions for Historical Pageants, Floats and Tableaux - was intended as a guide for the designing of floats for parades or other ceremonies. It included scenes from the past and a brief outline of Canadian history.[37]

The organizing committee's pièce-de-résistance was the setting up of a coast-to-coast radio broadcast on July 1. The technical problems that had to be overcome for the first-ever nation-wide broadcast were formidable, requiring the cooperation of CNR, CPR, and all the telephone companies across Canada. But the Broadcast Sub-Committee, chaired by Thomas Ahearn, managed to overcome all obstacles in time.

The chief problem was the lack of uniformity among the telephone and telegraph circuits available across Canada. Under the technical guidance of John Clarke, a Bell Telephone engineer, a network and a back-up network

were put into place. With the exception of one link between Winnipeg and Detroit in the back-up system, all the lines used were Canadian. Then,

> the situation called for a rapid but detailed survey of the complete network from coast-to-coast. Transpositions to cut down on extraneous interference from power wires, static, and such causes had to be quickly effected and every section of telegraph and telephone line specially studied and suitable adjustments made to balance and harmonize the entire network.[38]

But these problems were overcome, and on July 1 many of the speeches and musical performances in Ottawa were broadcast to the country and around the world.[39]

These were the main ideas developed by the National Committee in preparation for the Jubilee weekend. After its late start in mid-March, the Committee achieved a great deal by July 1. Medals had been struck, stamps printed, and publicity distributed heralding Canada's progress. All that remained was to see to what extent Canadians were willing to participate, and to measure how successful the Committee had been in generating a "robust spirit" of patriotism in Canada.

III. Mackenzie King and the Jubilee

Given Mackenzie King's affinity for numbers, birthdays, and anniversaries, coupled with his taste for pomp and circumstance, it is not surprising that he was unable to limit himself to playing an "honourary role" in the celebrations. At first, he stayed out of the day-to-day business of the Jubilee. After the passage of Bill 65 in February, little mention is made of the event in his diary for the next two months. The minutes record that King attended the first meeting of the Diamond Jubilee Corporation, but apart from this he remained pre-occupied with the parliamentary session until it adjourned April 14.

Twelve days later, King recorded in his diary his discontent with the Executive Committee. Two aspects of the celebration were essential to King--uniformity in the July 1 programmes, and the Thanksgiving Service. Instead of finding the plans evolving along these lines, he discovered:

> ...Committee appointed seems to have done little or nothing. I suggested uniform programmes on the Friday in all capitals of provinces...also on the Sunday a uniform religious service in all cities, towns and villages...It is lamentable how the Committee in charge have [sic] fallen down. Nothing of a celebration only a commemoration.[40]

From this point on, King played a leading role in the Jubilee, repeatedly urging that the Committee standardize the ceremonies. No detail was too small to receive his personal attention, from seating plans at state dinners to the distribution of titles and honours on Dominion Day.[41]

King pressed for his concept of a Thanksgiving Service on several occasions. His plan called for a nondenominational service at 2:30 p.m. on Sunday, July 3. King proposed that a service be held on Parliament Hill, as well as in front of the provincial legislatures. Cities and towns outside the capitals were also to organize ceremonies, because "no settlement or hamlet in the Dominion is too small or too remote to participate officially in the National Thanksgiving."[42] The service was inspired by a Biblical proverb "where there is no vision, the people perish", and comprised of a mixture hymn, prayer, and tributes. The pioneers and settlers were singled out for special commemoration, as were the Fathers of Confederation and the Great War dead. It was to end with a "prayer for divine guidance in the government of our land", followed by the singing of "O Canada" and "God Save the King".

Three weeks after his first run-in with the Executive Committee, King was again critical of its work. He unexpectedly met the Committee Chairman, George Graham, C.G. Cowan, and Jean Désy having lunch with Viscount Willingdon. King was horrified to discover that "they had about decided to drop the Thanksgiving service on Sunday and to give up a uniform celebration on July 1."[43] One week later, on May 25, King appeared before an Executive Committee meeting to urge that the Service be retained. King spent the following weekend drafting and re-drafting the Thanksgiving ceremony. Without attempting to write a psycho-historical analysis of Mackenzie King, his diary entry of May 30 reveals how important King felt the service to be:

> I had a very beautiful dream just before waking this morning. It was of dear Mother, it was the first time since her death that I recall seeing her full of the old radiance and strength. She seemed to me to be so happy and it seemed to me her happiness related to the July 3 National Thanksgiving Service. It was as tho' she had been arranging it all..,I had worked hard all yesterday at the Service and until late last night. Naturally it was in my thoughts, but I like to believe that Mother is guiding me and that she is not very far away.[44]

He had spent Friday, Saturday and Sunday working on its programme, and his mother's "approval" indicated that King felt the effort was worthwhile. On a less ethereal level, King was also heartened to discover "that Archbishop of Montreal was quite favourable to a united Thanksgiving of R.C. and Protestant. If this is a success it will be greatest stroke of national unity yet."[45]

But King was not above playing politics with his Thanksgiving Service. He had left A.G. Doughty in charge of printing its programme and designing a cover. When Doughty presented the cover, which shows twenty personages from Canadian history standing in front of the Parliament Buildings, he pointed out to King that his grandfather, William Lyon Mackenzie, was among the men in the foreground. King was pleased, but asked Doughty to return the cover and have Alexander Mackenzie, the first Liberal Prime Minister, included in the picture.[46]

With the Sunday programme finished, King turned to other matters, busying himself with writing the inscriptions for the carillon and the cornerstone of the new Confederation Building on Wellington Street. He also made Senator Dandurand, E.W. Beatty, and Peter Larkin (High Commissioner to London and King's personal friend) Privy Councillors, and bestowed the title "Hon." on the Lieutenant Governors. But his major task was the preparation of the speeches he was to deliver on the Dominion Day weekend.

The two speeches took on extra importance because they were going to be broadcast nationally. One, "The Message of the Carillon", was for the noon ceremony on Parliament Hill, and the second, "Canada", was to be given

later in the day. To reassure himself, King again noted that he felt "...the power of inspiration in the choice of words; that dear Mother could not be very far away".[47] King completed his "Message" two days later, and,

> As I wrote I could not keep back the tears, I was so overcome with the beauty of the thought expressed, and the truth underlying. The sacrament of service and sacrifice of a young country related to world peace symbolized in the bells and its kinship to the mystery of the Last Supper. When Joan [his neighbour, Mrs. Pattison] came down to have lunch with me at noon I read it over to her and we both cried. It was impossible to refrain.[48]

While this entry highlights King's maudlin sentimentality, it does underscore the notion of a debt owed by the living to the Canadians who died in the 1914-1918 conflict. King may have gotten carried away with his own rhetoric, but the dedication of the carillon to the peace and the sacrifice of the soldiers and their families must have been a similarly moving moment for many Canadians.

That King felt his messages were important was demonstrated by the care he took to preserve them for posterity. Modelling himself after the many British statesmen who have added literary ambitions to their political careers, King spent the autumn of 1927 compiling a book of his speeches. The Message of the Carillon is a collection of eight of his speeches made in the summer of 1927, in addition to older speeches he had made on "matters of national interest". In the "Preface", he stated that "I have been careful not to include speeches dealing with controversial politics", but recorded in his diary that the book might "do myself and the party some good".[49]

IV. The Ottawa Ceremonies

The Ottawa celebrations were the centerpiece of the Jubilee festivities. Organized by the National Committee itself, they served as a model for Jubilee festivities across Canada, and for this reason, the events of the Dominion Day weekend in Ottawa deserve to be described in detail. Many local committees incorporated the Ottawa programme into their schedule of

events, as the national broadcast was often played over loudspeakers. In Montreal, for example, 100,000 people gathered at the Cartier monument on Park Avenue to hear the broadcast, while 10,000 more "listened-in" on the grounds of Verdun Hospital.[50]

The organizers of the Ottawa festivities had a lengthy programme for Dominion Day. The schedule began at 11:00 a.m. with the laying of the cornerstone of the Confederation Building on Wellington Street by the Governor General. Then the official party, which included Lord and Lady Willingdon, King, Guthrie, Graham, and other Committee members, moved to Parliament Hill for the inauguration of the carillon. At 11:45, King delivered his "Message of the Carillon", the Governor General activated the electric key-block, and the first notes of "O Canada" were heard. With 40,000 people gathered on Parliament Hill, and an estimated five million listening across Canada, it was a dramatic moment:

> The depth and clarity of the tone of that bell thrilled hearers in every part of Canada and was an extraordinary living symbol of a united Canada listening to the striking of 12 noon on its sixtieth anniversary of Confederation.[51]

"The Maple Leaf Forever" and "God Save the King", rang from the bells, and Ottawa and Hull erupted into a cacophony of sound: a trumpet fanfare, a cannon salute, the pealing of church bells, and the blowing of factory whistles. The celebration led one witness to enthuse that the fanfare "...proclaimed that the prophecies of bygone days had been fulfilled and horoscopes of happiness, contentment and prosperity for coming generations [were] assuredly justifiable."[52]

For Mackenzie King, there was one irritant that nearly spoiled the midday ceremony. An airplane circled around the Peace Tower at noon, upsetting the official party on the reviewing stand, as the new carillon was forced to compete with the buzz of the engine.[53] These ceremonies concluded after Viscountess Willingdon planted a Confederation maple on Parliament Hill on behalf of the women of Canada.

At 3:00 in the afternoon an estimated 65,000 to 75,000 people gathered to hear speeches and music, the largest crowd that Ottawa had ever seen.[54] The crowd sat through a long list of speakers: a welcoming address from the Governor General; a reading from speeches by the Fathers

of Confederation by Sir Lomer Gouin; noted actress Margaret Anglin's[55] recital of Bliss Carman's poem "Dominion Day, 1927"; a message to Canadian Youth by Leonard P.D. Tilley, (son of a Father of Confederation); a tribute to Canadian achievement from Senator Thomas Chapais; Mackenzie King's review of the progress made in Dominion government since Confederation; and a closing speech by Senator George P. Graham. School choirs, Boy Scouts, and Girl Guides interjected patriotic songs between the politicians' messages. After the speeches, the dignitaries moved off to lay wreathes on the various monuments on Parliament Hill. In the midst of this solemn ceremony, the "Jubilee Runners" from the Gladstone Athletic Club arrived, completing a relay-run from Toronto in thirty hours and twenty-five minutes. Their arrival startled the Governor General, and confusion ensued as they attempted to present their messages of greeting from Premier Ferguson and Toronto Mayor Foster to the Prime Minister and Ottawa Mayor J.P. Balharrie.[56]

The next event was the historical pageant, featuring thirty-two floats celebrating Canada's past and development. From Jacques Cartier to "The Last Spike", and from La Verendrye to "Arctic Discovery", and from "The Melting Pot" to "The Sons of Italy" and "The Scot in Canada", Canadian society was presented in this curious pageant. The floats came along Wellington Street and passed Parliament Hill, then continued to move along the principal streets of Ottawa and Hull for the rest of the weekend.

The evening programme featured a Confederation dinner put on by the Committee, followed by an entertainment programme broadcast to the nation. In addition, some of the speeches from the afternoon were included in this broadcast. The musical performers were Mlle. Eva Gauthier, Allan McQuhae, the Hart House Quartette, and the Bytown Quartette performing French Canadian folksongs. The evening broadcast completed the radio programme for the Jubilee. In total, two hours and forty-five minutes of programming had been broadcast, presenting the carillon service for forty-five minutes at noon, and two hour-long packages of speeches and song in the afternoon and evening.[57]

Saturday, July 2 was intended to be a day for sports programmes "as distinctly Canadian as possible in character".[58] The government

contradicted its own suggestion by inviting Charles Lindbergh to fly to Ottawa in the Spirit of St. Louis. His hastily organized trip became the highlight of the weekend in Ottawa.

Canada's representative in Washington, Vincent Massey, had alerted the External Affairs Department on June 22 that a visit by Lindbergh was possible. Two days later the celebrated aviator was Ottawa-bound "as an official recognition by the United States Government of the Diamond Jubilee".[59] Once the flight was announced, several other towns and cities attempted to have Lindbergh stop in or fly over their area. Hamilton city officials, for example, thought Lindy should alight there because one of his ancestors, Charles Lindsay, had been one of the first settlers in the region.[60] The itinerary was not changed, and Lindbergh and an escort of U.S. Air Force planes took off from Detroit early Saturday morning.

The trip ended in tragedy. Lindbergh arrived at Ottawa, flew past the Peace Tower, and landed safely at the Hunt Club in nearby Bowesville at 1:20 p.m. But as his escort planes flew over the airfield, a fatal accident occurred. One aircraft, piloted by Lt. J. Thaddeus Johnson, attempted to perform a "Luftberry Circle". During this difficult manoeuver, a second plane clipped the tail of Johnson's craft. The rudderless plane then plummetted to the ground, killing the young pilot instantly.

As this happened, Lindbergh was being officially welcomed before a crowd of 5,000. As Sir Henry Thornton was presenting a lifetime pass on the CNR, news of the accident reached the aviator and the welcoming committee. After a long delay to absorb the shock, the Committee members decided to continue with the events as planned. Lindbergh was taken in a motorcade to be received by the Prime Minister on Parliament Hill. The New York Times reporter noted the contrast between the public's warm welcome and the private feelings of the aviator, still stunned by the death of his friend:

> Saddened and unsmiling, Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh rode through the streets of Canada's capital today, hardly looking to right or left, while uncounted thousands gave him as great an ovation as Canada has ever accorded any one. Only a few of the crowd knew that he had just come from the first tragedy which had attended his exploit of crossing the Atlantic and the multitudinous receptions which had followed it.[61]

Lindbergh was greeted by Mackenzie King, William Phillips, the newly-appointed American Minister to Canada, and Chief Justice Anglin. Fifteen thousand people cheered on Parliament Hill and many thousands more had waited for the procession along the Rideau Canal as the American hero had been driven in from Bowesville, seven miles south of the city. That evening Minister Phillips acted as host at a dinner at the Parliament Buildings. King was completely captivated by Lindbergh. "A more beautiful character I have never seen", he wrote in his diary at the end of the evening. King also delighted in the fact that he and Lindbergh had left the dinner using the library door behind the Parliament Buildings to avoid the large crowd waiting out front.[62]

The conclusion of the celebration was the National Thanksgiving Service. The weather, which had been sunny and hot on Friday and Saturday, did not cooperate, and the service had to be moved from Parliament Hill to an indoor location at the Ottawa Auditorium. The weather change and the state funeral for Lt. Johnson meant that the Jubilee celebrations ended on a sombre note. But the unfortunate turn of events only spurred King to comment on the tragic beauty of Johnson's service. King was particularly struck by the playing of Chopin's "Funeral March" on the carillon as the military funeral left the Parliament Buildings:

> I was never so proud of my country...The death of Johnson was a tragic event, but it proved to be the most memorable, in what it led to of all expressions of national feeling. It was a sacrifice. In the mystery of divine providence, it would seem to be part of a great plan.[63]

The state funeral and the Thanksgiving Service ended the weekend events.

The Ottawa celebrations served as a model for celebrations in other Canadian cities. There were changes and additions made in the different cities, but they tried to remain faithful to the National Committee's design.

In addition, ceremonies were also held in London, Paris, and New York. In London, a special service was held in Westminster Abbey, with Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin, Ramsay MacDonald, and Dominions Secretary L.C.M.S. Amery representing the British Government; the Duke of Connaught standing in for George V; and James Malcolm, Robert Forke, and Peter Larkin

there for Canada. In New York, a large luncheon for expatriates was held in honour of Confederation. The main speaker was Arthur Stringer, author and vice-president of the New York Canadian Club.[64]

The remaining feature of the Jubilee festivities was the visit of the Prince of Wales, his brother Prince George, and Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin. Baldwin's visit was noteworthy because it was the first time that a British Prime Minister had visited Canada while in office. Due to prior commitments, the princes and Baldwin were unable to leave England until July 23. They arrived in Quebec City on July 30 to begin a four-week tour of Canada.

While the princes' tour was generally met with a great deal of enthusiasm, their reception in the Toronto area was particularly warm. They arrived August 6, formally opening Union Station upon their arrival. They also opened the Peace Bridge at Niagara Falls on the same day. The next day, over 50,000 people attended a special memorial service at Exhibition Stadium in honour of the dead of the First World War. After a three-week tour of the western provinces, the princes returned to Toronto on August 29 to officially unveil the Princes' Gate at the Canadian National Exhibition. The 1927 CNE made great use of the Jubilee theme, and the princes saw the Jubilee pageant as part of the ceremonies on August 30.[65]

V. Financing the Jubilee

Before concluding this description of the Jubilee celebration, a note should be added about the National Committee's finances. When the Committee was established by Bill 65, Parliament passed a resolution allotting $250,000 for the celebrations. A financial sub-committee was named under the chairmanship of Herbert Marler. The books of the Sub-Committee were examined by the Auditor General, George Gonthier, who submitted two reports to Parliament on the Committee's financial activities. The first report, prepared on February 23, 1928, outlined the spending of $186,000. The chief expenses included salaries, which gobbled up over $28,000. Of this amount, $9,000 went for wages paid to carpenters and

painters to set up the grandstands and decorate Ottawa's public buildings, and $12,000 went to pay the salaries of the Committee's clerical staff. The other main expenditures were $41,000 on medals, including $21,000 spent on the two million bronze medals given to the school children. The printers' bill was $45,000, which paid for Sixty Years of Canadian Progress, and the various pamphlets issued by the Committee. The Ottawa celebration cost a further $23,400 for lumber, bunting, wreathes, photographs, fireworks, and so on.[66]

The second report by the Auditor General, filed on February 20, 1929, recorded the further expenditure of $56,000. The largest expense was the plaques, which cost $33,000, on top of the $22,000 already reported in the 1928 spending. As a result, the plaques issued to the schools to commemorate the Jubilee were the single largest expense of the Committee. The other large expense in the 1929 report was the printing of W.E. Smith's The Evolution of Government in Canada. The printing of this book had cost $13,000, while receipts from its sales had earned $223.65.[67] In brief, here are the total amounts spent (for more detail, see Appendix "C"):

Plaques:	$55,000
Printing:	$46,000
Medals:	$45,000
Salaries:	$29,000
Ottawa Cel:	$24,000
Evolution:	$13,000

The money spent reveals the two points that the Committee stressed--the importance of fostering enthusiasm among young Canadians, and the emphasizing of the historical background of the Jubilee. Over one-quarter of the total budget was spent on the school plaques and medals for children. Similarly, the expense of printing historical material was significant. On top of the $13,000 spent on Evolution, $10,000 was spent for 100,000 copies of Sixty Years of Canadian Progress. A further $6,600 was used to publish the suggestions for historical tableaux, including $1,000 paid to J.B. Lagace for his drawings that were in the pamphlet. The Publicity Sub-Committee spent $3,000 on the historical articles that were distributed to the press.[68] Added up, this meant that $32,000, or twelve percent of the budget, was spent on publishing historical material for the Jubilee.

These were the main components of the celebrations of 1927. Public acceptance of and enthusiasm for the events pleased the organizers and the politicians. The national broadcast from Ottawa had drawn praise from across the country. Despite the tragic death of Lt. Johnson, Lindbergh's visit to Ottawa had been a triumph for the National Committee. Even the financial matters had gone smoothly, and the Diamond Jubilee Corporation had $12,000 left over when its business was wound up in 1929.

Chapter III The Boosters: Architects of an Official Culture

The 1920s were the critical years in the development of an English-Canadian national consciousness. The contribution of Canada's soldiers to the Allied victory provided a heroic foundation for this new nationalism, but the crisis over conscription simultaneously posed a threat to national unity. The challenge for Canadian nationalists in the postwar period would be to turn the national spirit that had evolved in the trenches into the foundation of a great country. If Canada were to overcome the English-French tensions, if Canada were to gain an independent place amongst countries of the world, and if, as Wilfrid Laurier had promised, the twentieth century were to belong to Canada, then society's leaders and intellectual elite felt they had to foster a national spirit worthy of a great nation.

The Diamond Jubilee of 1927 represents the most broadly-based effort by the country's business, political, and intellectual leaders to cultivate the nationalist spirit of the 1920s. This first group was of special importance, because the rapid economic growth of the mid-twenties led to a new confidence in the ability of business to generate and maintain prosperity. The decade also saw the beginnings of the mass consumer market. The leading apologist for consumerism was the advertising man, who one historian has compared to the alchemist, with one important difference. Unlike his medieval forerunner, the "ad man" really could "make a silk purse out of a sow's ear". Advertising became the "ignition system of the economy...the creator of illusions in a most materialistic world".[1] The ad man's approach was boosterism, and he enthusiastically and uncritically sold a product or an idea. When their turn came, the promoters of Canada's sixtieth birthday were caught up in the spirit and the style of the decade.

I. The Nationalist Network

In the period following the First World War, Canada's intellectual and artistic elite made the creation of an intellectual tradition steeped in nationalism its pivotal responsibility. Several groups offered a

meeting place for Canadian academics interested in developing a Canadian perspective on the issues of the day.[2] For example, the Canadian Institute of International Affairs was revitalized as Canada began to assume an independent place in the world's diplomatic community. Also, the small but influential Canadian League dedicated itself to fostering national feeling and countering regionalism.[3] Publications like the Canadian Forum and the Dalhousie Review were established for the discussion of Canadian, as well as international, matters. More popular magazines, like Maclean's and Saturday Night, also increased the Canadian content found in their pages. The paintings of the Group of Seven became the most celebrated examples of the new nationalism being reflected in the arts and letters of the country. Mainstream literature was represented by the Canadian Authors' Association, which promoted the buying of Canadian books usually written in the "Maple Leaf" tradition of late-Victorian romanticism. But several of Canada's greatest poets also launched their careers in the decade, as E.J. Pratt, F.R. Scott, and A.J.M. Smith and others incorporated Canadian themes into their modernist work. In a special Diamond Jubilee edition of his essay "The Growth of Canadian National Feeling", W. Stewart Wallace argued that this new spirit "may reasonably be regarded as a vital development of Canadian history."[4]

Wallace was librarian at the University of Toronto and editor of the Canadian Historical Review. His essay is a survey of the growth of nationalism in Canada, starting with Lord Durham's plea in the 1830s for "national feeling" to offset the pro-American influences, and then outlining the evolution of Canada through Confederation, the influence of the Canada First movement, and the push for dominion autonomy.[5]

He concluded on an optimistic note for the future of the country, based on toleration and harmony between Canada's two "subordinate nationalisms" - one British Canadian, the other French Canadian.[6] This toleration he saw as crucial, and he noted that the conscription crisis indicated that "...the lesson of toleration, at once learnt so well by Canadians, may under other circumstances be forgotten." As a concession to French alienation from English Canada, Wallace ended his essay by proposing that a federal district be established in Ottawa to promote bilingualism:

> It was clearly an oversight in the Confederation compromise that...there was no provision whereby the French language was given any standing as the language of instruction in the schools of the federal capital, where thousands of French-Canadian servants of the state are compelled to live.[7]

Wallace hoped that this kind of compromise with French Canadian interests would be sufficient to overcome the animosities raised by the school issue and conscription, and pave the way for a further flourishing of Canadian national feeling.

Wallace's focus on Canadian nationalism was a precursor to the general trend in elite thought in the 1920s. This led, in Mary Vipond's words, to the establishment of a "nationalist network" in Canada in the 1920s. The chief characteristics of this network were that the English intellectual elite tended to be "small, close-knit, [and] articulate", and that the many groups and organizations it founded became "formalized, institutionalized, and made nationwide" in the postwar decade.[8] The network manifested itself in many groups that were established or revitalized in the 1920s: the Canadian Authors' Association, the Association of Canadian Clubs, the Canadian Historical Association, and the Canadian Institute of International Affairs being only a few examples. While these groups often had varying interpretations of the kind of nationalism that should characterize Canada in the postwar world, they were united in their concern about the future of the Canadian nation.[9] The role for the members of the nationalist network was simple: in response to the lack of "the spiritual cement of a national will or purpose", the intelligentsia had "to create a national feeling and to focus and direct it."[10]

The key players in the promotion of the Jubilee were drawn from this nationalist network. The political, intellectual, and business elites contributed personnel and their resources to the Jubilee committees across the country. Many of the service clubs felt that the Diamond Jubilee presented an ideal occasion to foster national spirit. The Association of Canadian Clubs, in particular, pushed the concept, and its chairman, C.G. Cowan, served as secretary of the Jubilee's National Executive Committee. In a

speech in the spring of 1927, to a gathering of teachers in Ottawa, Cowan stated that the celebrations were of solemn importance for the country, as

> The celebration of the Diamond Jubilee will serve as a spur to the imagination of old and young. We shall be greatly disappointed if it does not stimulate the growth of national feeling and the desire that our contribution to world affairs be a worthy one.[11]

The Jubilee represented a unique opportunity to the nationalist network to deliver its pro-Canadian message to the Canadian people. The need for the establishment of a "national feeling" or official culture was quickly recognized by the intellectuals of the 1920s. To overcome the feelings of inferiority that persisted in comparison to the United States, and to generate a national spirit that would match Canada's evolution as a nation in the eyes of the international community, was the challenge of the decade. To achieve these ends, the trappings of a national culture had to be set up. For the most part, these efforts by the intellectual elite were concentrated on the few, devoted more to the "Masseys than to the masses".[12] The Jubilee, however, was designed to appeal to all Canadians.

II. The Government Boosters

In his masterful study Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France 1870-1945, Eugen Weber describes the spread of French, or more specifically Parisian bourgeois culture into the rural regions of France at the end of the nineteenth century. With the introduction of transportation improvements, which featured the expansion of the road network and the building of the first railroads, areas of the country that had long been unaffected by the cultural changes in the cities were exposed to the influences from Paris. Communication links established by the transportation expansion opened the countryside to the urban agents of change - the teacher, the gendarme, and the civil servant. Contrary to historical impression, "French culture became truly national only in the last years of the [nineteenth] century.". This was achieved as "roads, railroads, schools, markets, military service, and the circulation of money, goods, and printed matter provided those experiences [of a national community], instilled a national view of things in regional minds, and confirmed the

power of that point of view by offering advancement to those who adopted it."[13]

Two features of Weber's work offer interesting parallels to Canadian historians. One, which will be discussed later in this chapter, is the relationship between material progress and the sense of nationalism. Weber assigns a critical role to the changes in the economic way-of-life and the spread of the nationalist ideology. The second parallel concerns the connection between the state and the creation of a national or "official culture".[14] For Canadian intellectuals, the 1920s were devoted to establishing an official Canadian culture. They hoped that the schools, the books and magazines, the histories, and, ultimately, the politicians and the state could be set to work to foster (one of their favourite words) a sense of nationalism in Canada. In the Jubilee, these aspirations were given their freest reign, as the agents of change and national integration united for a celebration of Canadian boosterism.

The Canadian government, through the official channels and abetted by the nation's intellectuals and opinion-makers, hoped that the Jubilee would redress some of the problems that had emerged in society during the First World War. In addition to traditional English-French tension, the government was concerned with the social friction that had been created by the large influx of immigration from Central and Eastern Europe. The presence of large numbers of immigrants in the prairie west had intensified Western Canadian nativism, directed in particular at Germans and people from the Austro-Hungarian Empire, whether they had become citizens or not. The challenges posed by the war became a major preoccupation for English Canadian nationalists. As Mary Vipond has noted:

> The war brought social disruptions and economic changes which exposed to view the many difficulties of the emerging nation. English-Canadian nationalists were only too familiar with the litany of Canada's problems: the ebbing of population growth, the increasing cultural and economic penetration of the United States, the rupturing of the East-West unity of the old National Policy, still-simmering ethnic antagonisms, the acceleration of urbanization and industrialization, the breakdown of morality - and with it all, the lingering colonial mentality, now referred to in psychological terms as Canada's 'inferiority complex'."[15]

These problems were made more difficult by the collapse of the imperialist sentiment in Canada. The war had shattered the illusions of many imperialists about equal partnership with Great Britain within the imperial structure.[16] After four years of blood and horror, Canadians emerged with a sense of national distinctiveness and a wariness towards European commitments.

The government's hopes for the Jubilee were set forth in a House of Commons resolution passed on April 14, 1927. It asked that the anniversary be marked "appropriately and enthusiastically". Parliament's instructions to the Diamond Jubilee Committee concluded:

> 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.[17]

The generation of a "robust Canadian spirit" was to be achieved through the extensive publicity prepared by the Committee before the celebrations.[18]

From all accounts, observers were pleased with the results of their efforts to inculcate a greater national awareness. In the Speech from the Throne at the opening of the 1928 session, the government noted that "the celebrations of the sixtieth anniversary of confederation, held during the summer, were of a memorable character. They evoked in all parts of the Dominion a spirit of national pride and patriotism."[19] Equally pleased was the Prime Minister, who reported that "...there never was a time in the history of Canada when its citizens were more conscious of their unity, or enjoyed a greater pride in their native land."[20]

This theme is taken up in the final report of the National Committee. The widespread celebrations, featuring bonfires, picnics, speeches, and parades, were a strong indication to the National Executive that its efforts had succeeded. It was able to report at the end of 1927 that:

> Interest was stimulated everywhere and it was not long before it became evident that Canadians were not only fully aroused to the significance of the event but also to the pride that should be felt in acclaiming oneself a citizen of this great country.[21]

One of the assumptions underlying the government's efforts to promote the Jubilee was that no nation could achieve greatness without a highly developed "national feeling". Despite the fractious domestic problems posed by the conscription crisis, English Canadians took great pride in the war effort. F.H. Underhill, who served in the Canadian and British armies, thought the war had a singular effect on Canada. He felt that the war "...was the noblest example yet given of the ability of Canadians, working in concert with a single inspiration, to achieve great ends...." The war effort represented nothing short of "the real testimony of Canada's entrance into nationhood...."[22] It was only fitting that this sense of achievement that was earned in wartime should be carried over into peacetime. The metaphor of a teenaged boy reaching maturity worked overtime in this regard. In the lead article in Maclean's Diamond Jubilee issue, John Nelson compared Canada's evolution to the "...self-revelation [that] comes to the boy as he does his own thinking, and begins to relate himself to the world and not to his parents." This was the point at which Canada had arrived, and it was "the beginning of national wisdom".[23]

The Jubilee was a comprehensive effort in national 'consciousness-raising'. It stands at the head of a long line of government initiatives in Canada's cultural life. In part to offset the influences from south of the border, the government set out to foster national spirit and unity. The agents of this culture were to be the educators of the country, whose special mission was to introduce young Canadians to the new sense of nationalism; historians, who were to draw from the past lessons to inspire national pride; and political leaders, who, under the guidance of the National Committee, were to imbue the proceedings with the proper element of pomp and seriousness. The Jubilee also experimented with an unparalleled peacetime use of the press to generate national enthusiasm.

This emphasis on the national character of the event was represented in the effort to ensure uniformity in Jubilee programs. Although the National Committee did not have the organizational ability to direct the celebrations in every corner of the country, it supplied the format for the events, the suggestions for historical tableaux, and most of the keepsakes of the event. The radio broadcast to the nation, direct from Ottawa and

featuring the nation's leaders and nationally-renowned entertainers, were integrated into many local celebrations. The national broadcast symbolized the attempt to bring the regions under Ottawa's influence, and foster a greater sense of unity. As Mackenzie King observed,

> It is doubtful if ever before, the thoughts of so many of the citizens of any country were concentrated, at one and the same moment, upon what was taking place at its capital, or those in authority brought into such immediate and sympathetic personal touch with those from whom their authority was derived.[24]

Even allowing for King's exaggerated sense of self-importance, the broadcast reflected the expanded role that government was going to play in the subsequent development of national culture.

The Dominion Government also gained access to the schools of the country, co-operating (for the most part)[25] with the provincial Departments of Education in issuing medals and donating plaques that commemorated the national event. Mackenzie King held high hopes for these efforts, predicting that "...this generation of school children will have a new and wholly different feeling of attachment and devotion to Canada."[26] This theme was also stressed by National Committee Chairman George Graham, who claimed that "we cannot have a national soul or a national spirit unless we teach our young people to think in national terms."[27] The emphasis placed on teaching young Canadians to be proud of their country, coupled with the publicfty propagated by the National Committee, represent the first step in the development of a "national policy" for culture on the part of the Dominion Government.

III. Boosting Canadian History

Prime Minister King noted, at the end of the summer of 1927, that "in nothing had the Diamond Jubilee been more fruitful than in the encouragement it has given to the study of Canadian history...."[28] To what extent this renewed interest in history percolated down to the celebrants of the Jubilee is difficult to gauge, but it is clear that the organizers felt that Canada's past had to be stressed in the events. Three major aspects of Canadian history were put to use--the exploration of the New World, the importance of the Fathers of Confederation, and the evolution of nationhood for Canada.

The increased awareness of Canada's past was important on two levels. For practising historians, it encouraged them to start considering Canadian problems in a national, rather than imperial, context. Events from the past could be understood as particular to the Canadian situation and be explained by theories that dealt with Canada specifically. On a more popular level, the Jubilee organizers emphasized the role played by great and daring Canadians of the past in an effort to encourage patriotism. The various tableaux authorized by the National Committee were tributes to the explorers, the railway engineers, and the nation builders of the past.

The emphasis on Canadian history, it was hoped, would correct what W.S. Wallace had described as "The Unpopularity of Canadian History". Wallace made a habit of asking his students at the University of Toronto how many of them were interested in Canada's past. The result, over several years, was that:

> Fully ninety percent of those interrogated have frankly and invariably confessed to a lack of interest in Canadian history; and an actual majority have indeed testified to a positive distaste for, and detestation of, the subject.

Wallace continued that if this was the case amongst undergraduates who had actually decided to take a course in Canadian history, the proportion of students who were not interested in the country's past would rise even higher. As for the general public, Wallace was of the opinion that

> ...even among educated people in Canada today [1920], there are comparatively few who if they were pressed for an answer, could tell a stranger exactly how long the Dominion of Canada has been in existence.[29]

The Diamond Jubilee Committee appointed a Historical Committee to inject a sense of the past into the festivities. The committee chairman was Dr. A.G. Doughty, the Dominion Archivist. Other members included L.J. Burpee, Senator Thomas Chapais, R.H. Coats (Dominion Statistician and compiler of Sixty Years of Canadian Progress), Léon Gérin, Gustave Lanctôt, Senator John Lewis, and Duncan Campbell Scott.[30] The committee's three main areas of concern were the publication of Sixty Years, the sponsorship of W.E. Smith's The Evolution of Government in Canada, and the contribution of historical material to the Ottawa parade. Its ideas for the Ottawa pageant became the pamphlet Suggestions for Historical Tableaux.[31]

In addition, the Medals Committee (of which Doughty was also a member) took an interest in the promotion of the study of Canadian history by donating medals for the History Contest. The Committee was worried that Canadians were frequently "more familiar with the history of any other country than their own",[32] and hoped that the use of Jubilee medals and prizes would help rectify the situation. In the final report of the National Committee, it was noted that:

> ...every authority in the country seems agreed that the Canadian history books were well scanned and that the result is not only seen in a better informed student body, but in the fostering of a spirit of patriotism well designed to give permanence to a greatly to be desired national sentiment, and the inspiring of our youth with the potentialities of their native land.[33]

The story of the exploration of Canada was one of aspects of Canadian history highlighted during the Jubilee. Of the eighteen tableaux designed by the National Committee and distributed to local committees, six were devoted to early European explorers and settlers.[34] These tableaux saluted several explorers, including Jacques Cartier and Pierre de la Verendrye. In the Cartier tableau, "The Discovery of Canada", he is depicted as he "sails up the St. Lawrence, the Great River of Canada, pioneer of a noble band of adventurers and pathfinders who are to blaze the way to the heart of the continent, where future generations are to make their homes."[35] Similarly, the link between the past and the present was evident in the "Discovery of the Canadian West", which saluted the "...memorable fact that the Prairie Provinces of Canada, with their illimitable resources, were discovered by a native-born Canadian, Pierre de La Verendrye, in 1734. The fact that the Dominion extends from sea to sea may be traced back to that discovery."[36]

The historical pageants in Ottawa and Toronto illustrate that this theme was picked up by local organizers. Of the thirty-five floats in the nation's capital's parade, seven were dedicated to the pioneer era. In addition to the six floats suggested by the National Committee, a seventh float, "Arctic Discovery", was added. This float displayed the opening up of Canada's last frontier, and demonstrated that the pioneering spirit was still present in Canada. On board was Captain J.E. Bernier, an Arctic

explorer who demonstrated the link with Canada's past adventurers. (For a complete list of the floats, see Appendix "D".)

The parade in Toronto placed even more emphasis on Canada's early days. Of the thirty-five floats in this pageant, all but seven dealt with the settlement of Canada in the days before Confederation. Significantly, the heroes of New France were featured as prominently as those worthy settlers and defenders of Ontario, the Loyalists and the soldiers of 1812. So while "After Lundy's Lane" was presented as a brave and inspirational moment from the past, so was "Dollard at Long Sault". And, while the memory of Laura Secord was kept alive, "Madeleine of Vērchères" was not forgotten either. Champlain and Cartier were joined by Leif Ericson, John and Sebastian Cabot, Henry Hudson, Etienne Brulé, and Alexander Mackenzie as members of the select group of explorers remembered in individual floats.[37] By dealing with figures from the early period of Canadian history, the Jubilee organizers could choose stereotypical French Canadian characters who did not threaten English Canada. It was much simpler to represent the achievements of a Champlain than those of a more controversial figure like Louis-Joseph Papineau or Louis Riel.

The explorers were also used to add romance and adventure to the study of Canadian history. These elements were needed, probably to entice Canadians into looking at their past. As. W.S. Wallace pointed out:

> No doubt the constitutional aspect is the most important aspect of the history of Canada, but there is in it no romance...Canada has a dramatic history. The young have been repelled from it by the dry constitutional features of too many of the school histories.[38]

The Ottawa and Toronto parades, and others like them that were held across the country, reminded Canadians of the work done settling the land. The Toronto Star echoed this spirit by noting that "the man who could cross Canada in 1867 was some such celebrity as the man who now flies across the Atlantic."[39] The use of the early explorers was also convenient not only because they stood as examples of national achievement, but also because they added a bicultural component to the celebrations.

The second historical theme of the Jubilee was the evolution of government in Canada. While this aspect was not as easy to depict in

public processions, Jubilee organizers made sure that this "most important aspect" of Canadian history was not forgotten. The Evolution of Government in Canada, commissioned by the National Committee at great cost, was the main tribute to constitutional development. Resolutely Whiggish, it discussed the various forms of administration that had prevailed over the colonies, "from the absolutism of the Governors of New France to responsible government by freely expressed will of the electorate in 1867...."[40] As A.G. Doughty noted in the introduction, "the gradual transfer of power from the state to the people, from the governor to elected representatives, is the interesting story of the present book."[41]

One of the tableaux suggested by the National Committee attempted to present the theme of constitutional evolution. "Confederation" was described by one observer (in Ottawa) as;

> ...this magnificent float, which fittingly forms the climax of the parade, presents emblematically the spirit of unity and sympathy and progress that has transformed the weak and scattered colonies of 1867 into one strong and ambitious Dominion. Canada is shown seated on a dais, the nine Provinces being represented by maidens, each bearing the shield of her province. At the head of the float rises the golden angel of Peace and Goodwill.[42]

A more popular expression of the interest in constitutional development was the greater stress placed on the importance of the Fathers of Confederation. Whether to compete with the legendary status of the American founding fathers, or merely as the logical consequence of the notion that great nations must be founded by great men, the Fathers' place in Canadian history drew particular attention. If the beginnings of the Dominion could be presented in bold tones, then perhaps the persistent inferiority complex Canadians often felt towards the United States could be overcome. The comparison between the American nation-builders and the Canadian Fathers was clearly shown in the Revue Illustré of Montréal's La Presse:

> Dans l'histoire du Canada, les Pères de la Confédération occupent le rang que les signitaires de la Déclaration de l'Indépendance occupent dans l'histoire des Etats-Unis. Comme chez nos voisins, tout ce groupe de nos foundateurs commande notre gratitude et notre vénération; mais certains noms se fixent d'eux mêmes dans notre souvenir comme ceux des mâitres

> ouvriers qui ont dominé dans la réalisation de cette vaste entreprise nationale.[43]

To help enhance the reputation of the Fathers, it was decided to focus attention on their place in Canadian history. This recognition was made in three ways. First, the Executive Committee identified the descendants of the original Fathers, and invited them to participate in the Jubilee celebrations. Hortense Cartier, daughter of George-Etienne, returned from France to participate in the celebrations in Toronto. Her presence caused quite a stir, as she offered candid observations on a wide range of topics. She hoped that "everything and everyone isn't going to be frightfully solemn about this Jubilee", and encouraged the dropping of the adjective "French" before "Canadian", because "everyone should be plain Canadian - and it is a title of which everyone should be very proud.".[44] Her comments were favourably reviewed by the Toronto newspapers. Secondly, the graves of the Fathers were decorated by the Boy Scouts Association as part of local July 1 activities. This was felt to be appropriate, having "the youth of Canada act as intermediaries in paying this tribute to the Fathers of the nation". The Committee also noted that these tributes "formed an impressive part of many community programs".[45] Finally, salutes to the men "who buildeth better than they knew",[46] and reprints of Robert Harris' sketch of the Québec Conference, were commonplace in 1927. The Harris portrait was also featured on one of the commemorative postage stamps issued for the Jubilee.

Illustrating this 'cult of the Fathers' was a pamphlet prepared in 1927 by the Ontario Department of Education. It was issued because "the boys and girls in the schools ought to know something about the Fathers of Confederation...both because they founded the Dominion of Canada, and because their careers are instructive and inspiring."[47] The pamphlet goes on to detail their achievements, noting that these men had managed to unify British North America while overcoming "strong party differences and personal ambitions", and believing in the future of Canada and refusing "to heed the pessimistic predictions of all who lacked faith and courage". In short,

> They showed wisdom and patriotism much in advance of the spirit of their day, and created a new state which was one of the most notable achievements of the nineteenth century.[48]

This emphasis on the Fathers spilled over into the advertising and commercialization of the Jubilee by Canadian companies. For example, the CNR announced that the cars on its new Toronto-to-Vancouver train, "The Confederation", would be named "Macdonald", "Cartier", "Tilley", and so on, in recognition of the Fathers' contribution to Canadian history.[49] In "The Story of Confederation", a pamphlet prepared for the Canadian National Exhibition in Toronto, the centrefold was the Harris drawing of the Québec Conference superimposed on a photograph of the CNE grounds, with fireworks exploding overhead.[50] It suggests that the CNE represents the realization of the hopes and ambitions of the politicians who gathered sixty-three years earlier! But the T. Eaton Company outdid everyone else. On the main floor of its Toronto store, it put up "The Fathers of Confederation Group",

> Showing the 34 Fathers of Confederation in life-size figures - exact reproduction of the noted Confederation group picture - the figures, the room, the furniture, the drapery, the St. Lawrence River in the background, the original setting in its entirety with a scrupulous care for accuracy in every detail - an atmosphere of naturalness that one might almost listen for the spoken word from one or other of the great men of Confederation days.[51]

The Fathers' recognition is not surprising in a Jubilee year, but the fact that it was so widespread indicates a need, on the part of Canadian nationalists, to foster Canadian legends or myths to equal their perception of the greatness of the nation. It is the kind of myth that A.R.M. Lower indicated was "concerned with a people's conception of itself, on whatever plane".[52] The nationalist interpretation of the heady days of Confederation hoped to live up to the sentiment expressed in a CPR advertisement:

> Like the Elizabethan age in England, the era of Confederation in Canada was a time of giants of constructive imagination. Confederation itself expressed the magnificent vision of great minds and fine characters.[53]

The Jubilee organizers attempted to highlight the study of Canadian history in 1927. By exploiting the romance of the explorers, and trying to elevate the Fathers of Confederation to new heights of national esteem, the Jubilee was reflecting a new interest in Canada's past. The 1920s also witnessed the development of a sense of the importance of Canadian history

as a subject to be studied in its own right. W. Stewart Wallace was at the forefront of the efforts to stimulate interest in Canadian history on the professional level, as well as promote greater public awareness of the past. The Canadian Historical Review first appeared in March, 1920, with Wallace as the managing editor. Although the University of Toronto had been publishing the annual Review of Historical Publications Relating to Canada since 1896, Wallace convinced university officials that a quarterly publication that included articles was needed. Through his efforts, Wallace later became known as "the true father of the CHR".[54] In addition, the study of Canadian history received a boost in 1921 when the Historic Landmarks Association was transformed into the Canadian Historial Association. It provided an organization for professional and amateur historians to exchange ideas.[55]

Coincidentally, the Jubilee year was significant for Canadian historians for several reasons. H.A. Innis published his first study of the fur trade, D.G. Creighton and Frank Underhill began teaching at the University of Toronto, and A.R.M. Lower was beginning has career as an historian. As A.G. Bailey looked back on his days as a graduate student in Toronto in 1927, he remembered encountering "a spirit of Canadian nationalism which was new to me...", and that through Professor Wallace he came to understand "Canadian history as having significance beyond its intrinsic interest...."[56]

The nationalist interest characterized history at the professional level, and the Jubilee organizers used this theme in drawing up its pageantry. They were pleased with the results, and their final report noted "they [the floats] were not simply meaningless decoration...but vividly represented distinctively Canadian achievements and events."[57] The Toronto Mail and Empire, describing the city's parade, enthused "it had been announced that this feature would eclipse all previous efforts in way of demonstrations. It did that and more, for it created a new standard of excellence and splendor that will be difficult to maintain."[58] But it is not clear to what extent the crowds that attended were as caught up in the importance of history to Canadian citizens. Of the 100,000 people who saw Toronto's parade, for example, how many could be characterized by the boy in this item from the Globe, as the "Death of Wolfe" float went past:

> 'That's a good way to learn history,' a woman near the stand said to her small boy. 'Yes', agreed the boy, 'but gee, mom, I'll bet that guy is hot lying there in the sun.'[59]

IV. The Cult of Material Progress

Economic growth became a main theme of the Jubilee. If the pageantry was to instill a patriotic feeling amongst Canadians, it was also intended to highlight the economic development and achievements of Canada's first sixty years. In the grand fashion of the decade, organizers could assemble graphs and charts in the manner of the new science of business, and make glowing projections for Canadian growth.

The promoters of Canadian national feeling were drawn from the literary and academic circles; the boosters of material growth came from the government and the business world. Working on sub-committees of the Jubilee organization like the Broadcast and the Publicity Committees, representatives of Canada's larger corporations helped infuse the celebrations with an emphasis on economic growth.

The development of Canadian industry since Confederation formed the basis for this aspect of the Jubilee. Growth in dollar value or tonnage or mileage was carefully plotted and analyzed in the main sectors of the Canadian economy. This faith in progress was captured in the Ottawa Citizen's announcement of its Jubilee special edition:

> This great edition of the Citizen, consisting of 126 pages, is featured likewise, from the material angle, by the fact that it comprises one of the largest daily issues ever printed by a Canadian newspaper. In its composition 54 tons of newsprint were used, made up of 94 rolls of paper of various sizes. Of these 66 rolls were 71½ inches in width, 17 were 53-3/4 inches and 11 were 35-3/4 inches. This enormous quantity of paper would cover a distance of 934 miles, with a width of two feet. In printing this monster edition 2,031 pounds of ink were consumed.[60]

It is hard to imagine that this impressive description could have included any more numbers! But progress and achievement were tangible and quantifiable, and the Citizen's special edition, chock full of success stories

drawn from the different areas of the economy, could be submitted as evidence of the length, width, and weight of Canada's prosperity.

Canadians could achieve even greater things in the days ahead revealed Sixty Years of Canadian Progress 1867-1927, a 168-page book of facts and figures assembled by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Sixty Years gained wide circulation through Canadian schools and government offices, and it was hoped that this record of accomplishment would help motivate Canadians to greater heights of productivity.

The statisticians used the censuses of 1871 and 1921 as the basis for their charts and bar graphs, and the result was a glowing endorsement of the advances made in the Confederation era. Population led the way, stretching from almost 3.7 million in 1871 to 9.5 million in 1927.[61] The increase in population was only one indicator of the progress of Confederation. In manufacturing, for example, the value of goods produced ballooned from $221 million (1870) to $2.95 billion (1925). Railway mileage was extended from 2278 miles (1866) to 40,352 miles (1926). The growing wealth of the country was reflected by the value of life insurance "in force", which skyrocketed from $35 million in 1869 to $4.6 billion in 1926. Even the life of the mind was carefully measured by the Bureau of Statistics, counting among other measures the expansion of the student population (which had gone from 700,000 in 1871 to over 2.2 million in 1925). There were more teachers, better teacher-student ratios, and a higher percentage of students carrying on into high schools and universities. Finally, the new inventions of the twentieth century were beginning to have widespread influence: the number of telephones had risen from 302,759 in 1911 to 1,144,095 in 1925; and the number of automobiles had gone from 2,130 in 1907 to 836,794 in 1926.[62] These statistics - drawn at random from the book - are merely a small sample of the success stories. It was hoped that the book would remind Canadians of all these facts, for

> Our country is so far-flung, its resources are so multiform, and its achievements have been so many and so varied that, notwithstanding general familiarity with a subject which lies so close to the heart and experience of all, a summary like the present will, it is thought, fulfill a useful purpose in connection with

> that general appraisement of our progress and present position which is appropriate to the occasion.[63]

The Jubilee Committee also commissioned a series of drawings by C.W. Jefferys on "Sixty Years of Progress: Historical Drawings for the Press of Canada". Each depicted the change (or progress) made in the development of railways, agriculture, mining, electric power, forestry, newspapers, water transport, personal transport ("from canoes to autos"), and the defence of Canada.[64] These drawings were distributed to the newspapers across Canada for inclusion in their Jubilee special editions, and they also underscored the gains made in the material progress in the preceding sixty years.

In the tableaux designed by the National Committee, economic progress is featured in several of the suggsted floats. "Electricity" presented Canada (as usual, a young lady in a flowing white robe) finding in the "Harnessing of her Streams an unlimited source of Power to drive her Factories and Light her Homes". "The "Epic of Wheat" saluted "the incredible transformation of the supposedly barren plains of sixty years ago into one gigantic wheat-field". Other floats were dedicated to lumbering, fishing, the building of the CPR (the obligatory "Driving in the Last Spike"), canal construction, forest wealth, and livestock farming.[65] Finally, "Progress" itself is presented, with Canada (the lady in white again) "looking forward to an Era of Peace and Prosperity".[66] The float "represents industry and transportation, which together bring the fruits of the earth to the homes of the people. Above rides the spirit which animates the spirit of each of the Canadian provinces from the Atlantic to the Pacific."[67] The float was decorated with sheaves of wheat, fruits and vegetables spilling out of cornucopia, a man draped in the Union Jack holding a torch high, and two women hard at work riding on the back of a locomotive engine. The specific significance of each decorative touch is not given, but the float leaves an overall impression of sober industry and endeavour.

In the Ottawa pageant, a float was added to the parade which pointed out the role played by the government in encouraging expansion. "Canada's Development" was included

> ...to illustrate the numerous activities of the Department of the Interior, providing land for the settler,

> exploring and settling new districts, irrigation, measuring streams and the waterpower on them, preserving the forests, administering National Parks [and] supplying information as to natural resources.[68]

The Jubilee message, picked up again and again, pointed to an abundant future, filled with the rewards of industry. Canadians, or more precisely well-heeled members of the Canadian Club in Montréal, would probably have nodded their heads in agreement when Stanley Baldwin said "...nothing can stop you; you may some day be the greatest nation in the world."[69] Given the stress that the theme of progress had received, especially in the giant special Jubilee Editions that most newspapers issued, it would have been difficult not to concur with Baldwin's assessment.

V. The Brave New Worlds of Radio and Aviation

Two elements of the rapid changes in technology that drew special attention during the Jubilee were the radio and the airplane. The developments in broadcasting and aviation were seen as particularly important for Canadians, as they sought to overcome the challenges of their geography and climate. Both were seen as forces that would aid in the unification of the country, as improved transportation and communication would erode the sectional differences in the country.

Due to the advances made in radio broadcasting, and the co-operation of various railway and telephone companies, the Jubilee organizers were able to air the nationwide broadcast on July 1. The radio was used to promote the uniformity of local celebrations, as each committee was encouraged to use the broadcast as part of its festivities.

The cross-Canada network broadcast three live programs from Ottawa on July 1.[70] Overcoming many operational hurdles, the Broadcast Committee was justifiably proud of its achievement. The network had consisted of twenty-two stations, and had required the co-operation of eleven communication companies. On the day of the broadcast, 341 people were at work maintaining the circuits from Halifax to Vancouver Island.

The broadcast had been eagerly awaited. When it was announced that the National Committee was attempting a national programme, some newspapers

had expressed their enthusiasm in gaudy prose. "The plans contemplate an annihilation of space which borders on the supernatural", claimed the Halifax Herald.[71] As the event drew closer, the newspaper hyperbole grew, until the Toronto Globe ran a headline proclaiming that the "Whole World Will 'Listen-In' When Canada Broadcasts". The speeches of the politicians on Dominion Day, and the notes played on the carillon were to take on worldwide significance, because

> Radio fans everywhere - from Greenland's icy mountains to India's coral strand - will hear the great carillon ring out a message of peace on earth, good-will to men. From far Cathay to the steaming deserts of the Sahara, and from John O'Groats to Land's End will be heard the speech of Canada's Prime Minister.[72]

The New York Times also discussed the "stupendous broadcast" that was planned, detailing the obstacles that faced organizers, especially "the big jump from Ottawa to Winnipeg and thence to Calgary, Edmonton and Vancouver that is causing the officials in charge to lose many hours of sleep."[73]

Evidence that the broadcast was well received was soon forthcoming. The National Committee in Ottawa reported that "within a few days after the celebration, thousands of letters were received by the committee from all parts of Canada and from many different countries throughout the world, commending this great radio achievement."[74] The Broadcast Committee published a souvenir pamphlet - Ad Mari Usque Ad Mare - as a tribute to all those who had worked on the broadcast, and included in this summary were nine pages of excerpts from letters the committee had received. The letters came from cities, towns, and villages, and most commented on the clarity of the signal and the impression that the first notes from the carillon had left with them. One letter thought the broadcast was "a feature unique and unparalleled in our history", another felt "it did much to foster a better national spirit and love of country". For the Goodales in Calgary, it "seemed to send thrills of mysterious feeling through one". But the broadcast was probably most significant for people like Mr. and Mrs. A.C. Stopp, of Cold Lake, Alberta, who wrote:

> We are living here in the wilds, the last settlers on this trail to the far North, not even Indians north of us, over a hundred miles from a railroad, therefore do not get our mail and papers often, and had it not been for our Radio we would never have heard of the Diamond Jubilee Celebration going on in Canada today.[75]

The Broadcast Committee had observed that the letters from the "outlying districts" of the western provinces were fairly numerous, and that "...for a few hours, at least, the distant listeners felt that they, with the rest of Canada, were joined together as one in a national thanksgiving."[76]

The implications of the broadcast were noted by several observers. The Calgary Herald thought that in the not-too-distant future, Canadians would be able to listen to the debates in the House of Commons,[77] thus giving them access to the political discussions of the day. Mackenzie King noted in his diary the "vastness of the opportunity given me" to be on this first-ever national broadcast:

> While speaking in the morning and afternoon word came back that we could be heard distinctly in Halifax and Vancouver and all intervening points and in Alaska. Tonight the word came of being heard distinctly in England and Brazil. Never before was the human voice heard at one and the same time over such an extent of the world's surface and by so many people. It was the beginning of Canada's place in the world, as a world power.[78]

There was another group which was quick to understand the potential importance of the broadcast. What is as remarkable as the technical achievement required in putting together the network was the fact that its cost to the Jubilee committee was "negligible".[79] Eight telephone companies, the two railways, and the twenty-two radio stations (including WWJ-Detroit, operated by the Detroit Free Press) donated telephone circuits, manpower, and airtime free of charge. The Jubilee afforded the companies an ideal opportunity to demonstrate the potential of their medium to the country and to the politicians. As a result, the Broadcast Committee included top-level executives from all the companies involved (see Appendix "E"). The railroad companies - two of the Jubilee's most fervent backers - also supplied free transportation to the committee employees, and handled all the expenses arising from telegraph and freight charges. The Bell Telephone Company of Canada took charge of all engineering duties, to the extent that its entire engineering staff was working on the project from mid-June to Dominion Day. The Western Electric Co. of New York chipped in with the loan of forty-five telephone repeater instruments, which were valued at $100,000.[80] The broadcast brought the messages of the

politicians and the patriotic songs of the entertainers to the country. It also proved to be an admirable showcase for the technical expertise and potential of the young radio industry.

The broadcast was also significant for the support it lent to the efforts to standardize the celebration of Dominion Day. If national unity was one of the goals of the government, what better way than to have all Canadians exposed to the same source of information and inspiration? Senator Graham, speaking at a luncheon honouring those who had put the broadcast together, felt that the Jubilee programs had been one of the greatest incentives to patriotism since Confederation.[81] The broadcast evoked a naïve expression of idealism, as shown in this (mercifully) anonymous verse that was included in the Broadcast Committee's report, entitled "From Sea to Sea":

A silence there, expectant, meaning,
And then a voice clear-pitched and tense,
A million hearers, forward-leaning,
Were in the thrall of eloquence.

A pause, a hush, a wonder growing;
A prophet's vision understood;
In that strange spell of his bestowing
That dreamed, with him, of Brotherhood.[82]

The faith in material progress and achievement was also strengthened by the exploits of Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh. John William Ward noted that the flight and the public reaction to it had a dual implication. Part of the recognition accorded the American flier came from the fact that he flew alone - "he was the 'lone eagle' and a full exploration of that fact takes one into the emotional meaning of his success."[83] In an age where the place of the individual was being undercut and replaced by the forces of mass culture, Ward argues, the American public seized upon Lindbergh as a descendant of the pioneer, opening a new frontier in aviation.

The second strain that was heard in the praise for Lindbergh was for the technology that had enabled him to cross the Atlantic. Ward observes that "...there was always the brute, irreducible fact that Lindbergh's exploit was a victory of the machine over the barriers of nature." The admiration of the technical achievement, however, often unwittingly ran

counter to the interpretation of the flight as a triumph of individualism. "The worship of the machine which was embodied in the public's response to Lindbergh exalted those very aspects which were denigrated in the celebration of the flight as the work of a heroic individual,"[84] Ward comments, underlining the seeming paradox in the reception of the feat in the public's imagination.

Six weeks after Lindbergh had set down at Le Bourget Aerodrome in Paris, he landed in Ottawa to help celebrate the Jubilee. His arrival in Ottawa seemed to create another perplexing paradox. How was it that this American aviator had become the central attraction in the nation's capital on a day that was supposed to be given over to sports, "with special attention to the old Canadian sports lacrosse, canoeing, etc."?[85]

Part of the answer lies in the link between the faith in material progress and the progress in aviation. The story of aviation was a twentieth century success story, from the humble origins in the early 1900s to transatlantic flights a scant two decades later. Although the industry was still in its infancy, the government's Report on Civil Aviation noted a "great awakening of public interest" in aviation in 1927, and that the amount of flying had increased more than 100 percent over any previous year. The role of the airplane in forest conservation, mapping surveys, and even mail delivery was being developed, in addition to the airplane's traditional function of opening up inaccessible areas for exploration, which was especially important for the mining industry.[86] The report also stressed the future importance of commercial air travel, still in the stage of organization. The outlook was optimistic, for "a beginning has been made in the organization of air routes which, before many years, will link our scattered provinces and give an easy method of express travel all over Canada."[87] Like the improvements in broadcasting, which would plug all Canadians into a national life and culture, the airplane would also help Canadians overcome their geography and come in closer contact with each other.

As a representative of this progress, Lindbergh was ideally suited. He was introduced by U.S. Minister Phillips as "our gallant young ambassador without portfolio, our prince of modesty" to the crowd assembled on

Parliament Hill on July 2. The ambassador mentioned that it was doubly fitting that the airman represent the United States during the Jubilee celebrations, because Lindbergh had Canadian ancestors including "the founder of Hamilton". Next, Prime Minister King spoke to the crowd, and he made his admiration for Lindbergh clear. He claimed that "...you [Lindbergh] have to your credit the greatest individual achievement in the history of the world". He then invoked Wordsworth's "happy warrior" and Kipling's "gentleman unafraid" as he lavished praise on "the embodiment of that pioneering spirit in its highest and finest form."[88] In his diary, King was even more fulsome in his enthusiasm for the American aviator, calling him "more truly the god-man, than anything I have ever seen."[89]

After this impressive introduction, Lindbergh himself spoke. It must have been anti-climatic, given the build-up that Phillips and King had offered. Lindbergh was still very shaken by the tragedy that had accompanied his arrival in Ottawa, the crash and death of one of his escort planes and its pilot. But he pressed on, and delivered a message promoting the future of aviation:

> ...I noticed the necessity of air transportation in Canada and I believe that in a very short time there will be air lines from the United States to Canada and from Canada to the United States. It is transportation that has bound the world closer together and in the future it will be transportation far more rapid than in the past which will bring nations closer together as Canada and the United States should be.[90]

Lindbergh was quite prescient on the development of continental relations. The forces of modernization did imply a closer link between the two countries. Critics of this relationship would recognize that Canadians are "bound closer together" with their American neighbours, emphasizing the subservient nature of this bond. But in 1927, in an era where the faith in material progress had not been seriously challenged, industries like aviation were viewed by many as being in the vanguard of the movement towards greater prosperity. In this context, there was no more fitting symbol for the amalgam of pioneering and technology than Col. Lindbergh. But the same token, the crash of Lindbergh's escort plane could also be seen as a bad omen, and that the visitation of high-powered Americans and American

'know-how' to Canada could be a mixed blessing at best. For a Canadian government that was always extremely conscious of Canadian sovereignty in its dealings with London, it is curious that Lindbergh's flight was not perceived to be in some way threatening. As it turned out, Lindbergh was less "a young god from the skies, bringing anew the message of Peace & Goodwill",[91] than a harbinger of future Canadian-American relations. In this light, Lindbergh can be seen as a Trojan horse for the forces of modernization and material progress, forces that would bring with them greater economic dependence on the United States.

Chapter IV The Knockers: Critics of an Official Culture

The boosters' efforts to create an official culture for Canada were not universally popular. The persistent limitation of Canadian nationalism has been the lack of consensus among Canadians about the basic principles that shape the outlook of their society. Factors such as region, language, and class have made efforts to define a pan-Canadian spirit unworkable. As a result, the Jubilee drew criticism from several groups opposed to its variety of Canadian nationalism. One source of this criticism was Québec, where conservative Catholic opinion in particular emphasized the disappointments of Confederation for French Canada.

In English Canada, voices were raised against the Jubilee for several reasons. Long-standing regional discontent in the Maritimes led to scattered incidents where the Jubilee was ignored. In the West, the revival of nativist sentiment in the mid-1920s, and the more general sectional discontents represented by the Progressive movement, placed the region at odds with some of the ideals held by Jubilee boosters. And in Toronto, the opposition to the Jubilee was led by the Communist Party, which tried to convince the working people of Canada to boycott the celebration.

Finally, there existed an element of ambiguity regarding Canada's relationship with Great Britain and the United States. Some members of the academic and journalistic communities took the opportunity presented by the Jubilee to warn Canadians against the materialism and commercialism that they felt marred American society. But the efforts of the various groups that were critical of the Jubilee did not dampen the enthusiasm of most Canadians on July 1. However, they do illustrate that the official culture promoted by the boosters was an incomplete vision of Canada.

I. Québec, Bilingualism, and the Jubilee

The attitudes in the province of Québec towards the Jubilee were ambivalent. As previously noted, the provincial government dragged its feet on the question of establishing a committee to prepare for the celebrations (Chapter Two, p. 28). In addition, there existed an undercurrent

of dissension that manifested itself in the nationaliste press of the day. The main voice of nationaliste sentiment was abbé Groulx's L'Action Française, a monthly journal published in Montréal by the group of the same name. This group was the dominant exponent of a Catholic, anti-urban, and French view of Québec society. In the early 1920s, under the direction of Groulx, it had set forth its vision of Québec and toyed with advocating separatism in a series of articles on Notre avenir politique. In anticipation of the upcoming Jubilee, L'Action Française devoted an entire issue to the subject of Confederation. By 1927, the Action française had softened its position on "the impending rupture of Canada", and, as a result, the special Jubilee number focused on "a combination of pride in French Canada's importance to confederation and complaints about unjust treatment during the last sixty years."[2]

The emphasis of the criticism in L'Action Française and, more generally, from several French editorialists, was on the disregard of French rights outside Québec, and therefore the lack of any truly national spirit. English Canadians had to recognize the diversities in Confederation before national unity (not uniformity) would emerge:

> L'unité vraie et solide n'est possible que dans le respect et l'épanouissement des dissemblances: une seule religion, une seule langue, c'est demain l'uniformité américaine.[3]

The absence of a national feeling was noted even more bluntly in another article, written by a lawyer from Trois-Rivières:

> Le Canada, parait-il, est une nation. On le dit souvent, très souvent, et il est à présumer qu'au cours des fêtes qui s'approchent, ce bobard facile, commode et flatteur connaîtra une circulation intense.[4]

Both writers go on to argue that Canadian national feeling would only emerge if English Canadians respect the original pact that they claim was made at Confederation.[5] Until then, national feeling would remain as bobard ("baloney" or "hooey"). There were two key steps that had to be taken to achieve this end. The first was to redress "les injustices dont souffrit durant ces soixante ans un tiers de la population". The re-examination of the schools questions and the promotion of the use of the French language were the key elements of the recognition of two 'founding races'. This would have to be done to obtain a faithful interpretation of

the "letter and spirit" of the Confederation agreement. The result would:

> Exiger par conséquent le respect absolu de la dualité nationale anglo-française dans l'unité de l'Etat politique canadien; réclamer pour chaçune des deux nations-mères la liberté pleine de conserver sa personalité distinctive et de poursuivre son développement selon les lois de ses traditions, de sa culture et de ses aspirations...[7]

Until this was done, there was no question, in Albert Lévesque's mind, that all national celebrations would suffer from a "médiocrité d'enthousiasme". Without a nation, the Canadian government would be forced to organize the events and impose them on the Canadian people, for fear that no one would spontaneously mark the event. His suspicion was:

> Quand les auteurs ou les responsables d'un régime politique sentent le besoin d'ériger eux-mêmes un piédestal à leur ouvre, de quémander même au peuple sa collaboration, n'est-ce pas, au moins, l'indice d'une décrépitude?[8]

The question of the 'decay' of the Dominion government, and its inability to maintain French rights in English Canada, was only one of the threats facing Confederation. The second threat came from the twin influences of imperialism and Americanism. The former was described as an "autre forme de dissolvant", which "suborne les intérêts d'un pays donné [Canada]...à la volonté de conquête et de puissance étranger - l'on sait lequel." This was rejected as being incompatible with the interests of "la vie nationale des petits peuples de l'Empire."[9] The influence of the United States, however, was blasted as being even more sinister. To the editors of L'Action Française, the Americans represented the modern, urban, and industrial influences that they felt menaced the very foundations of their society. The threat posed by américanisme was that it resulted in the "amoralisme des masses, agnosticisme des élites, dissolution de l'éspŕit familial, et par-dessus tout, mécanisation de la vie humaine qui tue toute spiritualité."[10]

These were the dominant themes in L'Action Française's critique of Canada in 1927. And while they represent an extreme interpretation of Confederation, based on a conservative, Catholic and traditional perspective on Québec society, those themes recur elsewhere. For example, Eugene L'Heureux, directeur of the weekly Progrès du Saguenay, wrote a blistering

letter to Senator George Graham replying to an invitation to participate in and publicize Dominion Day events. He claimed that he would be surprised "si les canadiens - française - qui constituent près du tiers de la population canadienne - étaient tous enthousiastes à célébrer l'anniversaire confédératif." The reason for this reluctance to celebrate was that French-Canadians were "trop souvent obligés de se demander s'ils ne sont pas plutôt tolérés que traités en compatriotes dans ce pays découvert, défriché, en partie civilisée par leurs ancêtres."[11] Again, an editorial in L'Union (Edmonton) entitled "Shall We Celebrate? Or Shall We Not?" concluded:

> ..,let us celebrate the jubilee with other Albertans. Let us realize, nevertheless, that we are not resigned to the closed doors on our rights and that we still wait from the majority the full and entire recognition of the spirit of the pact of Canadian confederation.[12]

The most significant editorial comment, however, was that of Charles Gauthier of Le Droit. Gauthier was a member of the Publicity Committee for the Jubilee, and his editorial, "Soixante Ans de Confédération" won one of two silver medals in the Jubilee editorial contest. While much of the article is a tribute to French-Canadian achievements in Confederation, Gauthier also looked at the question of the reception accorded the French outside Québec:

> Dans toutes les provinces anglaises, les Canadiens français sont regardés comme les intrus et traités comme tels; la langue française y est reléguée au rang d'une langue étrangère et ostracisée, parfois prohibée.

This was not the original intention of the Fathers of Confederation, Gauthier argued, and the persecution of the French posed serious problems that could not be overlooked:

> Nous préférons en cette heure de réjouissance universelle, ne pas faire allusion à ces tares qui flétrissent le visage de la patrie. Mais ce sont plus que les tares, ce sont des plaies qui rongent le meilleur de notre vitalité et mettent en danger l'existence elle-même du pays.[13]

The fact that these uncertainties were mentioned by someone connected with the Jubilee organization indicates the importance of bilingualism and biculturalism in the eyes of the organizers.[14]

One difference between English and French Canadians was the fact that French-Canadians tended to examine the future of Canadian nationalism in their editorials, whereas English-Canadians tended to look back on the development of the nation. This is reflected in Le Soleil, the Québec City newspaper that often spoke for the interests of the Liberal Party. In an optimistic commentary, the editor looked to a prosperous future, with perhaps a population of thirty million reached within twenty years.[15]

In Montréal, the Société Saint Jean-Baptiste organized its own ceremony on July 1 to mark the Jubilee. It took place at the base of the George-Etienne Cartier monument on Park Avenue, where the official Jubilee ceremonies had occurred earlier in the day. The principal speakers at this "examen de conscience national au parc Jeanne-Mance" were Olivier Maurault, curé of Notre Dame Church, and Henri Bourassa. Bourassa explained the significance of holding a separate ceremony was not to isolate French-Canadians in Confederation, but to indicate:

> ...à l'histoire que le peuple canadien-français ait une part, de corps et de l'ésprit, à toutes les manifestations de la vie canadienne, mais pour marquer qu'ils sont bien determinés à conserver leur caractère propres, ce n'est pas égoisme mais pour garder à la nation canadienne une chose essentielle à sa grandeur, l'égalité des deux grandes races....[16]

Both speakers gave prominence to the role played by French-Canadians in the development of Canada, and Bourassa touched on the major themes of his career - anti-imperialism, Catholicism, and la survivance. This echoed the three conditions he had earlier set forth to ensure the survival of Confederation. In his Le Devoir Dominion Day editorial, Bourassa argued that the breaking of the "imperial chain" was the first step towards greater national consciousness. Secondly, Canada had to recognize the "caractère composite de la nation", and accord full rights to both the French and Catholic communities. Finally, he argued that a drastic change was needed to re-establish an "economic equilibrium" in Canada. Specifically, Bourassa hoped to revive the Maritimes and appease the West by changing fiscal policy and transportation agreements. This, he hoped, would "mettre un frein à l'orgie d'industrialisme qui affole le pays et de

rétablir la prépondérance de la vie rurale, seule garantie de la santé et de la sanité des peuples."[17]

In the main, however, the editorials from the province of Québec saluted the achievements of Confederation. La Presse ran a thirty-six page Confederation section, which included many of the articles prepared by the National Committee. In its June 30 editorial, "le Vrai Bilan de la Confédération", La Presse concluded that despite some negative aspects of Canadian development since 1867, "...la grande majorité de notre peuple envisage avec satisfaction les résultats obtenus sous le régime confédératif".[18] In La Patrie, the editor commented on the fact that finally Canadians had une patrie. The editorial noted happily the extent to which French and English Canadians had taken part in celebrating both June 24 and July 1:

> Jamais nos concitoyens d'origine anglaise ne prirent une part aussi sincère à notre fête, et jamais les nôtres ne parurent aussi spontanés au jour du Dominion Day.

For Canadians looking for a "national soul", the editor suggested they look no further than Place d'Armes in Old Montréal. For it is here that the âme canadienne "s'exprima de façon...concrete et...definitive." The "majestic towers" of Notre Dame Church on one side of the square, the solid structure of the Bank of Montréal facing them, and the statue to de Maisonneuve in the middle form a "triptyque [qui] represente tout ce que nous sommes":

> C'est l'image même de la Patrie, avec tout ce qu'elle signifie. D'une part, l'apport des premiers Canadiens, de ceux qui furent les premiers et qui ont gardé leur foi, leur vertus, et de tout ce qui explique leur survivance et peut contribuer à la grandeur de la nation. De l'autre, l'apport matériel de nos compatriotes anglaises avec leurs éminentes qualités pratiques.[19]

In sum, while the editorialists in French Canada were pointing out the shortcomings in English-French relations, it was hoped that a renewal of the Confederation pact between the devout French and the practical English would improve conditions for the French and Catholic minorities outside Québec.

As for the Jubilee itself, the doubts expressed do not appear to have curtailed public participation in the province. Both the events of the

week of June 24 - July 3 and the visit of the two princes at the end of July were attended by large crowds. Despite their differences, French-Canadians appeared to be willing to celebrate alongside their English compatriots. The festivities were organized across the province, and a complete program appeared in most cities and towns.[20] In Montréal, the city granted $15,000 for the Jubilee, and Mayor Méderic Martin decreed that celebrations should stretch from June 24 (Fête de Saint Jean) to July 3.[21] The Société Saint Jean-Baptiste co-operated fully with the organizers, and it gave its annual June 24 parade a confederation theme, incorporating the Jubilee historical tableaux into the event. In addition, the SSJB organized the children's participation in the Dominion Day ceremonies at Jeanne Mance Park. On July 1, the headline of La Presse proclaimed "Le Canada est Devenu Une Puissante Nation", and the July 2 edition of La Patrie heralded the "Fête Qui Fortifia L'Ame Canadienne".

The festive spirit carried over to the end of the month, when Québec City welcomed Edward, Prince of Wales and his younger brother George at the outset of their tour across Canada. At a state dinner given on July 30, Premier L.-A. Taschereau remembered King Edward VII and his devotion to bonne entente in Anglo-French relations. Taschereau noted that "this half century has shown that where there is liberty to be breathed and where the British flag flies, entente is possible and life is a happy one."[22]

Part of the success of the Jubilee in Québec can be explained by the organizers' emphasis on bilingualism in the preparations for the celebration. All Jubilee literature was available in both languages, and the Executive Committee hoped that "old differences have been healed and prejudices have been dispelled by the bilingual nature of the celebration and by the frank recognition of the equality of the two languages."[23] In the days immediately following the Jubilee, Mackenzie King told the press he was very happy with the organizers' efforts in Québec.[24] All would probably have agreed with the priest from Lauzon, who wrote to the Broadcast Committee to congratulate them on their efforts, pointing out that "vos programmes ont plu tout particulièrement par leur caractère bilingue."[25]

The enthusiasm for bilingualism was not shared across the country. For example, the proposal that bilingual stamps be issued for the Jubilee

met with opposition in the House of Commons. John W. Edwards, Conservative M.P. from Frontenac-Addington, recorded his disapproval. The spokesman for the Jubilee Committee, Sir George Perley, replied that he understood the resolution to mean that the words used on the stamps would be same in English or French. The Postmaster-General, P.J. Veniot, added that he thought the resolution went on to say "as far as possible", which would permit the use of French words on the Jubilee postage.[26]

The voice of the Orange Lodge in Ontario, The Sentinel and Orange and Protestant Advocate criticized this decision in its April 21 editorial. It feared that "...English-speaking people of Canada will see in it another encroachment by French agitators, in an effort to establish their contention that this is a bilingual country." The Sentinel urged readers to write to Mackenzie King and register their disapproval. The editorial warned that:

> Even though the issue may be temporary, it will be the first step to adopting a bilingual postage stamp [on a permanent basis]. The English-speaking people of Canada, who know the limitations put on the French language by the Act of Confederation, will regard this as an affront for after all this is an English-speaking country.[27]

Several groups and individuals wrote to the Prime Minister to protest the use of French on Canadian postage. This included a fairly well organized campaign in the area of Copper Cliff, Ontario. One letter pointed out that "...being a staunch British Canadian subject I rather fear our great country will soon be dominated by our French Canadian friends." The writer went on to say that "if the Germans had been masters of our beloved land, our French Canadian friends would have to read and write German. Why not and commence with them to read and write English only." Another writer pointed out that "if you cannot read the inscription on the postage stamp all you have to do is to buy it and put it on a letter",[28] doubtless to console the French Canadians unable to read their country's postage. While these letters were isolated cases, they do demonstrate that even adding one offensive word - Postes - to Canadian stamps could provoke a reaction in certain circles.

II. Regional Discontent in the 1920s

Compared to the debate provoked by the Jubilee in French-Canada, the incidents of criticism in English Canada were very minor. But the appeals made by the organizers for national unity were directed at two of the regions of Canada where sectional protest was alive in the decade after the war. In both cases, the improved economic situation in 1927 had eased some of the tensions found more readily in the years immediately following the war. But the Dominion Government and the "interests" in Central Canada still had fences to mend in Western Canada and the Maritime provinces.

In Western Canada, the political manifestation of this discontent was the Progressive movement, which scored an impressive sweep of the prairie provinces in the 1921 General Election. Beyond the specific legislative action that the group sought,[29] however, was a more basic need for the West to alter the balance of power in the country. W.L. Morton saw the Progressive party as "a full-blown expression of the West's resentment of colonial status", evidence that the prairie provinces resented being "subordinate communities, subject to the land, fiscal, and railway policies of the metropolitan provinces and the special interests of the French Canadian in the French dispersion in the West."[30]

By 1927, the Progressive movement had foundered due to its inability to resolve internal quarrels. But its failure had led to open discussion of the West's place in Confederation[31] with several of the farm leaders openly speculating on the question of secession from the East. For the organizers of the Jubilee, these sentiments posed a threat to the harmony of the nation. But the West's enthusiasm for the celebrations was not diminished by the suspicions in East-West relations. The few protests that were recorded concerned fears that the festivities were to be centralized in Ottawa. The Calgary Albertan, for example, was worried (and, as events turned out, misinformed) about plans "to spend the whole of the quarter of a million dollars in Ottawa city, instead of distributing it equitably over the Dominion."[32] But the reports of the three prairie provinces to the Executive Committee at the end of 1927 indicated that the celebrations were widespread. The report from Manitoba was especially detailed, indicating "never in her history has the province risen so unitedly to give expression to her gratitude and national aspirations."[33]

In the Atlantic region of Canada, popular discontent in the postwar period was represented by the Maritime Rights Movement. The aim was ambitious, for the movement sought "at the beginning of the 1920s Maritimers, imbued with the optimism of the period, set out to regenerate their society and restore the region's slumping status within the Dominion."[34] The King government's response to the demands of the Maritimers was to appoint a Royal Commission headed by Sir Andrew Duncan. The Duncan Report, released in December, 1926, succeeded in defusing the agitation in the Maritimes by recommending certain concessions on issues like freight rates. The Report, however, was used by the government as an instrument for "political pacification", and its recommendations would be undermined by half-measures and neglect.[35]

There were scattered instances of anti-Confederation feeling in the Maritimes in 1927. The town of Canning, N.S., flew its flags at half-mast, mourning the effect Confederation had had on the region. In Halifax, The Acadian Recorder continued its policy of ignoring July 1 and celebrating June 21, (the founding of Halifax) instead.[36] The Recorder's owner, C.C. Blackadar, had resisted the blandishments of Confederation successfully, having declined both a seat in the Senate and the post of Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia.[37]

Although the Progressive movement in the West and the Maritime Rights Movement in the East were on the wane in 1927, they left their mark on the question of national unity in the 1920s. In addition to the more celebrated tensions that existed between English and French Canada, the regional protests serve as a reminder that the development of Canadian nationalism was still being tempered by regional concerns.

III. The Communists' Agitation in Toronto

The most sustained - if not significant - criticism of the Jubilee in English Canada came from the Canadian Labour Party and several communist papers in Toronto. In April, the Canadian Labour Party announced that it was protesting the fact that an invitation had been extended to British Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin to attend the Jubilee. With the memory of the British General Strike only ten months old, the CLP felt that Baldwin

could be "...blamed for legislation declared to be detrimental to the best interests of the workers...."[38] The Worker contented itself with running an article by John S. Ewart commemorating "A Jubilee of Sixty Years of Subservience". Ewart concentrated on the continued control exercised by Great Britain over Canadian foreign policy, concluding that "when the day of our emancipation arives we shall still be fifty years from a warranted national jubilee."[39]

The Young Worker kept up a more spirited attack on the Jubilee, eventually attracting the attention of the Globe and some non-communist workers' publications. The Young Worker started its criticism in an article on the proposal to distribute Jubilee medals to school children. "It seems that no stone is being left unturned to poison the minds of the school children," the article intoned, and it hoped that every effort would be made to counteract the propaganda of the bosses. Confederation Day "...is a sinister hypocrisy that drowns the cries of the workers by its very bluster."[40] The paper then prepared a pamphlet, "To the Workers' Children", to be distributed at the Jubilee Parade in Toronto. The pamphlet attempted to point out the underlying assumption of the Jubilee:

> But you are told in the boss' newspapers, in school and other places, that Canadians are celebrating a holiday. Whose holiday is it? It is the holiday of the bosses, of those for whom the workers toil. - It is their holiday, not ours...They have something to celebrate. But we, the workers, should have none of it. It isn't our holiday.[41]

The disruptive tactics taken by the Communists on Dominion Day drew critical notice from the Toronto Globe. In a blistering editorial, "Time To Stop Them", the Globe denounced "those enemies of the country the missioners of disruption" who had handed out "to persons who appeared susceptible circulars designed to breed suspicion and discontent, and to offset any feelings of patriotism which might be aroused by the celebration."[42] The Young Worker replied with an editorial, "The 'Globe' Goes Nuts", defending its right to free speech.[43]

Taken in isolation, this appears to have been a minor tempest in a teapot. But the incident is noteworthy for two reasons. The first, to be discussed later in the chapter, concerns the link made in the Globe

editorial between Communist agitation and Canada's immigration policies. Secondly, the Dominion Day incident was probably one of the contributing factors to the decision to mount an anti-Communist campaign in Toronto in 1928. Recent accounts of the anti-Communist crusade have emphasized the role played by the Chief of Police, Denis Draper, who took office on May 1, 1928.[44] His repression of the Communists has been described as the "utilization of all the forces of law and order at the expense of basic democratic freedoms", despite the fact that the Communists were "numerically insignificant".[45] But the response to the Communist presence at the Jubilee parade almost a year earlier sheds further light on the depth of feeling aroused against the Communists. It is for this reason that several other labour publications took pains to distance themselves from the Communists. This was no more stridently stated than in The Labor Leader (Toronto). In describing the success of the Jubilee, its editorial noted:

> The day must also have been an object lession to the 'Reds', parlor pinks, and others of that ilk, who would have us believe that Canadian citizens are only waiting for the chance to hoist the Red flag and play Russia's game of separation and industrial strife.[46]

IV. Multiculturalism and the Immigration Question.

There was one important challenge for Canadians and Canadian policy-makers if material progress was to be sustained. This was the question of population growth. The unfolding universe of prosperity and good times was dependent on a further expansion of Canada's population. As the Dominion Bureau of Statistics noted, "population growth affords an excellent measure of general economic progress",[47] and Canada's record since Confederation was impressive, although the total still lagged far behind the United States population. If Canada's national development was to continue apace, it was necessary that new immigrants be found to come and settle in Canada. By the same token, by 1927 it had become imperative to convince Canadians that immigration was a necessary component of prosperity. The arrival of many 'non-preferred' immigrants in the 1920s had occasioned a renewal of nativist spirit in Canada.

The desire to boost the population was expressed in several Jubilee editorials and articles. John Nelson, writing on the "New Canada" for an American readership, noted that immigration to Canada was (in effect) an 'open-door' policy, unlike the United States. As a result, he was optimistic that "the Dominion should have thirty-five million of people by the middle of the century and more than seventy millions when it closes."[48] Québec City's Le Soleil thought it likely that "notre population atteigne trente millions d'ici vingt ans."[49] If Canada's first sixty years had seen its population nearly triple from 3.4 million to 9.5 million, the next twenty to forty years were going to witness even more startling advances.

Part of the desire for a larger population stemmed from the inevitable comparisons to the United States. If Canada were to reduce the tremendous gap in population that separated the two nations, it would need to continue its aggressive immigration policy. As Mackenzie King's biographer has indicated, there were many traditional advocates of greater immigration. Among these were agents who sought to build up larger domestic markets--graphically illustrated by the shoe manufacturer who complained that there were "too many shoes in Canada and not enough feet."[50] But the biggest allies of an open-door policy, according to H.B. Neatby, were the railroads:

> Immigration still seemed to be a panacea for national financial difficulties. A larger population would distribute the burden of the national debt more widely and would produce more government revenues in the future. Railwaymen were the strongest advocates of immigration because an increased population was the only solution for the problem of excessive railway mileage and, on this question at least, the presidents of the two Canadian railways were in complete agreement.[51]

The railways were the major players in Canadian immigration in the 1920s. As a result of an agreement between the CNR, the CPR, and the government, the railway companies bore the responsibility for recruiting and settling new Canadians. The agreement provided for

> ...the admission of immigrants, of such nationalities, races and modes of life as were assimiliable into the citizenship of Canada, provided they were willing to settle as farmers, farm labourers or domestics and they were mentally, morally, physically and industrially fit.[52]

The principal effect of this agreement was to boost the numbers of 'non-preferred' immigrants to Canada - people who came primarily from central and eastern Europe - rather than the 'preferred' sources, the British Isles. The deal brought 165,000 central and eastern Europeans, plus 20,000 Mennonites, to Canada from 1925-1930.[53]

The railways made a great effort to help settle the new immigrant in Canada. The railway agreement was also very good for the sale of agricultural lands. The CPR, for example, set up the Department of Colonization and Development to oversee its responsibilities under the agreement. The results were gratifying to CPR shareholders. In 1927 alone, for example, 53,000 colonists were brought over, racking up impressive land sales totalling $5,111,797 for 430,368 acres (or $11.88 per acre). Under the CNR's Department of Colonization, Agriculture, and Natural Resources, 38,685 immigrants came to Canada in 1927, and in Saskatchewan and Alberta over 600,000 acres of land were settled that year.[54]

But the arrival of such large numbers of immigrants risked creating social problems. In particular, questions were raised about the suitability of certain ethnic groups as new Canadians. Also, there were many proposals dealing with the assimilation of the "foreign-born" into Canadian life. These problems were especially acute in the prairie west, where the bulk of the 'non-preferred' immigration was destined to settle. The rise of nativist sentiment in Alberta from 1925-1930,[55] and the appearance of the Ku Klux Klan in Saskatchewan provide ample evidence that the entrance of more non-Anglo-Saxon, non-Protestant immigrants into the prairie west was not going to be an easy one. As one Western social historian succinctly put it, "to be British and Anglo-Saxon and Protestant on the western prairies at the onset of the 1920s was not only the best thing. To be British and Anglo-Saxon and Protestant was the only thing."[56]

With these influences on the immigration policy providing the background, it is not surprising that the boosters of Canada seized the opportunity presented by the Jubilee to offer an endorsement of a progressive society based on assimilated new Canadians working alongside the rest of the population. The role of the new Canadian was a major theme in the official Jubilee literature. In addition, the two railroads were the main

advertisers for the Jubilee, backing the event with specially-prepared pamphlets and full-page announcements lauding the nation (and railway) builders of the past.

In the Jubilee pageants, the symbol used for Canadian attitudes toward the new arrivals was the melting pot. This was an unusual choice, because Canadians have tended to see their society as a mosaic made up of various ethnic communities.[57] Recognition of this factor was seen in several Jubilee entertainment programmes, where emphasis was placed on the cultural contributions made to Canadian life by Canada's multicultural dimension. But underlying this was a concern that the new arrivals, especially the 'non-preferred', would not fit into Canadian society. The historical tableaux prepared to represent the relationship between Canada and her immigrant population was "The Melting Pot", which depicted Canada (the woman in white) holding out her hand in welcome to the "Foreign Born". Sitting or kneeling at her feet are several immigrants, who look up to Canada perched upon a throne. Canada "offers them Homes, and demands in return that they become Good Citizens".[58] The key to becoming a "Good Citizen" was assimilation into the national life in Canada.

In his comments on the success of the Jubilee, Mackenzie King saw its role in incorporating the immigrant into the national life as an important aspect of the celebration. King told his Toronto audience:

> I am told that in the West, the commemorative medals [issued to all school children] are particularly valued, and that they are looked upon by the children of newcomers as a sort of passport to a common citizenship with the children of native Canadians.

King also noted the participation of the adult immigrants, and their help in bringing about a situation where "some of the best celebrations were held in communities in which there were scarcely any persons of either Anglo-Saxon or French origin.[59]

This was welcome news for King, whose party had actively supported large-scale immigration since Laurier. The Jubilee offered the government an opportunity to appeal to the new citizens and introduce them to their new country. The New York Times, commenting on Canada's immigration policy, had observed that "they [Canadian immigration officials] prefer a hard-working Pole or Czechoslovak to a vacant quarter-section; and for the

most part, they are willing to wait for time and circumstances to bring about his Canadianization."[60] The Jubilee was one such circumstance, and the organizers singled out the "newcomers" for special consideration in local programs. The response of the immigrants was reportedly enthusiastic. In his remarks as part of the national radio broadcast, Senator George Graham noted that:

> A very pleasant feature in connection with the work of the Committee is the information that comes from all parts of Canada concerning the very enthusiastic manner in which those who have come to us from other lands have entered into the spirit of this celebration. They seem to feel in their hearts that, from this day on, Canadian citizenship means very much to themselves, and more to their children.[61]

But if the Jubilee organizers felt enthusiastic about the participation of the "foreign born", the editorialists added an uneasy note into the discussion about immigration. If population growth was unassailable as a national goal, the quality of the immigrants who come to boost the numbers of Canadians was open for debate. Le Soleil's editorial, which had confidently predicted a population of 30 million, issued a warning to Canadians on the eve of the arrival of the immigrant hordes:

> Il faut donc que les dix millions de Canadiens d'aujord'hui se fassent une âme bien canadienne, afin qu'ils possèdent le pouvoir d'assimilation nécessaire pour canadieniser en moins de deux générations les éléments nombreux et disparates qui les envahiront de l'étranger.[62]

The Sherbrooke Record called on Canadians to focus on their new country, lamenting the fact that the "melting pot has operated slowly". Canadians "have been much too inclined to think of nationalities in this country",[63] a practice the Record hoped would soon end. The Prince Rupert Daily News declared that as long as Canadians were "a virile people springing from untainted stocks, Canada is indeed the land of opportunity."[64]

The challenge was to create a unified nation that could include Canada's new and old racial and sectional differences. To this end, one editorial hoped that the Jubilee would be "an expression of intelligent and instructed patriotism" to hold the provinces together. The Jubilee should do no less than "give us a new birth of Canadianism."[65] This strong

nationalist sentiment was needed to keep the country together and overcome the isolation of certain communities. But Canada was a country that could achieve this, according to the prize winning editorial prepared by D.A. McGregor for the Vancouver Province. McGregor called Canada more than a nation, claiming it was "an experiment in assimilation". The starting point was to take a population that was 55 percent of British origin, 28 percent French, and the rest from "the ends of the earth". Then it was hoped that "out of this human alloy we are endeavouring to cast a people which will take the same temper as British steel itself. We have hopes...that we shall have here a nation true to British traditions...."[66]

In addition to the Jubilee organizers and many of the newspaper editors, the biggest backers of increased immigration and assimilation into Canadian life were the railways themselves. Under the auspices of the Department of Colonization and Development (CPR) and the Department of Colonization, Agriculture, and Natural Resources (CNR), the railroads were active players in the attraction of immigrants to Canada. The Canadian Annual Review pointed out that by 1927 the CPR had spent $75 million on attracting colonists since the company was established - a figure surpassing the expenditure of the Dominion Government. On top of this, the CPR offered its land for sale asking only seven percent of the purchase price as downpayment and then charging no interest payments for the first year. CPR President E.W. Beatty told a meeting of his stockholders that "I know of no organization in any country which gives such terms for settlers as does your Company."[67]

The CPR prepared a Jubilee pamphlet entitled Confederation and the Canadian Pacific, which celebrated the "contribution by Canadian Pacific to the stability and progress of the Dominion". The pamphlet oozes corporate altruism, and this is particularly true of the section on the Canadian Colonization Association, a subsidiary of the Department of Colonization. The Association helped settle immigrants from Europe onto privately-owned farms near Canadian Pacific lines in Western Canada. This section on the company's work piously concluded that "all these services are carried on without expense to the Dominion of Canada. The Company's work is by no means limited to the securing of settlers for its own lands."[68]

But the CPR and Canadian Confederation were bound together. The Montreal Gazette, in an editorial written in the afterglow of the Jubilee, praised the railway company for being a "powerful and progressive factor in Canadian national life."[69] The harmony of interests existed not only in immigration policy, but extended to a vision of a progressive industrial society being serviced by the major rail networks. The CPR pamphlet recognized that "the prosperity of the Company and Canada's prosperity are indissolubly linked and in helping Canada the Company is helping itself." E.W. Beatty took the same message to a Hamilton gathering of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association, where he pledged "so long as the Canadian Pacific Railway has a dollar left in its treasury, it will fight for the ideals, uphold the faith, and maintain the precious heritage of Confederation."[70]

The representation of Canada as the land of golden opportunity was not entirely accurate. If only things ran as smoothly as they were supposed to in one Jubilee advertisement:

> Upon the prairies the new Canadian is molded into material form with cultural impulses, his background of European discontent forgotten in a new manhood of hope and loyalty.[71]

Evidence from the provinces suggested that the grand assimilation was not taking place as easily as the boosters would have liked. Where the new Canadians were being "molded into material form", the problems that were older than Confederation recurred. Language, religion, and the threat to the British-ness of the Dominion were highly sensitive issues in the prairie west by the late 1920s, for it was in this region that the bulk of the new settlers came.

While the Jubilee rhetoric could salute the people of "stout heart and willing hands",[72] who opened up the frontier areas of Canada since Confederation, the new waves of 'non-preferred' immigrants helped spark an increase in nativist sentiment. The most celebrated instance of this was the coming of the Klan to Saskatchewan in the mid-1920s.[73] The message the Klan delivered, in addition to its usual anti-Catholic and anti-Jewish platform, attacked the immigration policy and the separate schools. In one speech, "Doctor" J.H. Hawkins, an American orator imported to whip up enthusiasm for the cause, used an incident at a Jubilee celebration to bash

those who did not conform to his idea of Canadianism. Hawkins stated that "the permitting of any race of people to enter Canada that cannot become assimilated and become heart and soul Canadians, the permitting of the entry of those people is a detriment to that country." He went on to recount the story of Jubilee festivities in the southern Saskatchewan town of Ponteix, where the Union Jack was taken down and a tricolore put up in its place. His tale ended with someone taking down the "alien" flag, and throwing it in the garbage. But, thundered "Dr." Hawkins, "do you believe that any country is safe where the people in it refuse to honor the flag?"[74]

In Alberta the Klan did not meet with similar success. However, as Howard Palmer has shown, the decade witnessed a shift from "an expansive mood with considerable support for large-scale immigration" in 1920 to a rise in nativist sentiment and "a growing mistrust of the society's ability to absorb immigrants" by the late 1920s.[75] Much of the problem, according to Palmer, stemmed from the Railways' agreement on immigration, which brought groups that were not easily assimilated into life on the prairies.

It was against this backdrop that the Jubilee organizers and immigration boosters prepared to deliver their message, they promoted Canada as a land of golden opportunity, firm in their conviction that a Canada with a larger population would necessarily be a better Canada. The efforts included a nationalities concert on CKY radio in Winnipeg on June 27, 1927, and announcements urging participation were read on the air in twelve languages. The Manitoba Jubilee Committee concluded that:

> 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.[76]

The interest shown by the railway companies in promoting multiculturalism is consistent with other efforts launched by immigration boosters to "sell" the importance of immigration to the Canadian people. Donald Avery has described other campaigns that were undertaken by the railways and the banks to promote immigration in the press in Western Canada. The

companies hoped that the press would tone down critical articles about unemployment so as not to discourage prospective immigrants in Europe, and to remind Western Canadians that "unemployment was a more or less temporary by-product of active immigration efforts."[77]

At the same time that the Jubilee organizers were attempting to promote multiculturalism, however, the complaints from Western mayors about an "influx of foreigners" had forced the King government to change the terms of the Railways' agreement. Under the initial pact, the Dominion Government did not have the right to suspend the agreement if local conditions were not favourable to the settlement of new arrivals. In the renewal of the agreement signed on October 1, 1927, the Minister of Immigration was given this right. This incident had taken place because of an "emergency situation" that had characterized the immigrant question in the West in the summer of 1927.[78]

It is apparent that the boosters of immigration were putting a brave face on a difficult situation. The Dominion government attempted to carry on with the National Policy of the nineteenth century, but the rise of nativism led to increased criticism of the King government and its railway partners. The congruence of interests between the aims of the Jubilee and the railways' goals explains why the CNR and the CPR were such active participants in the 1927 celebrations. Both commissioned special series of advertisements that were carried in most Canadian newspapers, magazines, and periodicals, as well as selected foreign publications. Both the rail companies' presidents were named as members of the Diamond Jubilee Corporation. Walter S. Thompson, who was Director of Publicity for CNR, chaired the Jubilee Publicity Committee, assisted by J. Murray Gibbon (and others), who was the CPR's Director of Publicity.[79] Both railways donated circuits to the Broadcast Committee, so that over half of the Committee's network consisted of CN or CP wires. It is not surprising, therefore, to see the emphasis placed on Canada's multicultural make-up in the Jubilee. Its organizers - including the railway officials - were convinced that the material growth in Canada could continue indefinitely. Concomitant with this belief in "sixty years of progress" was a recognition that Canada's population had to keep expanding to sustain this growth. As things turned

out, this naive dream was blasted to pieces during the economic crisis of the 1930s. But for the Jubilee year at least, the supporters of an aggressive immigration policy could maintain their nineteenth century dream. This faith was neatly captured in a CPR dining car menu, dedicated to "The First Run of CPR No.1":

> The land through which it traversed on its westward course was largely virgin prairie, or wild and solitary mountain passes. Today its successors speed through vast landscapes of prosperous farms and thriving orchards, busy villages, progressive towns, and mighty cities. The change has been largely brought about by the Canadian Pacific Railway, which has added extensive colonization and development activities to its main function as a transportation agency.[80]

This vision of Canada was becoming increasingly difficult to sell to the West by the late 1920s. The worries of assimilating the new arrivals had supplanted the boosters' faith in unbridaled settlement. Canadian opinion seemed to be abandoning the position that a hard-working Pole or Czech was preferable to a vacant quarter-section. This shift in attitude had caused a change in the control over immigration policies, giving the final vote to the Dominion Government. Nativist sentiment became evident in many organizations in Alberta, including the Conservative Party, the United Farmers of Alberta, and various labour and patriotic groups.[81] In Saskatchewan, the Klan brought a great deal of pressure to bear on the Liberal Gardiner administration to help stop the open-door immigration policy.[82]

In a historical pageant presented in Winnipeg in May, 1927, by Mrs. H.J. Keith, eleven figures representing Canada's ethnic make-up take turns delivering messages of patriotism and inspiration. The group included Italian, Japanese, Indian, and Ukrainian figures, along with the British and the French. It was left to the Ukrainian representative to speak out on the pressing need for co-operation between the various communities in Manitoba. His forceful reminder caught the spirit of the Jubilee's faith in multiculturalism, as he proclaimed "what a greater disaster could happen to Canada than that races should live together, in close contact with each other, and yet not mingle."[83]

V. Canada, the Empire, and The United States

The 1920s marked an important point in the evolution of Canada's relationship with Great Britain and the United States. The old imperialist tie was being undermined by the increased American presence in every aspect of Canadian life. Nowhere was this more true than in the popular culture of the day, where American movies, magazines, and radio were the dominant forces in the Canadian market. As the imperialist sentiment in Canada waned, some writers began to see a new role for Canada as a "go-between" or "lynch-pin" binding the two great English-speaking nations of the world together.

One of the leading Jubilee figures, Ontario Premier G. Howard Ferguson, defended the traditional imperialist position. He had once declared that "I yield first place to nobody in the matter of maintaining British domination and ascendancy in this country."[84] This spirit was clearly evident in a Jubilee address he gave to the Toronto Council of Women on June 27:

> I believe that the one thing that keeps Canada together to-day is the common bond to the British empire. If you were to sever that I don't think Canada could exist as a national organization for one generation...I am not at all enthusiastic about suggestions for greater independence. I think the future of the world depends on domination by the Anglo-Saxon, but leadership must come from the British Empire, not from the United States.[85]

Ferguson hoped "the spirit of unity and co-operation, which is in evidence in connection with the Diamond Jubilee Celebration of Confederation, will ensure in due course the full realization of our manifest destiny."[86] Ferguson's use of the idea of 'manifest destiny', a slogan that seems strangely out of place without its nineteenth century context, offers substantiation to W.L. Morton's characterization of Canada in the 1920s, where "the great myths of the nineteenth century, the century of modern Canada's creation, still glowed with life."[87]

The British connection was also emphasized when dealing with questions of 'non-preferred' immigration and Communist agitation. R.B. Bennett reflected on the importance of the British heritage to Canadians. While he

acknowledged that the continental European settler had made a great contribution to Canadian society, but he added that "...it cannot be that we must draw upon them to shape our civilization. We must still maintain that measure of British civilization which will enable us to assimilate these people to British institutions...."[88]

This sentiment was echoed in the anti-Communist crusade in Toronto. In the Globe article that criticized the Communist party workers for their lack of patriotism at the Jubilee parade, the editor concluded that the Dominion Government had to either curtail the propaganda efforts of the Communists, or stop the flow of immigrants coming to Canada that gave the Communists "material for them to work upon."[89] Michiel Horn found the preservation of the British link was also part of the motivation behind the anti-communist campaign of 1928-29.[90]

If the imperial sentiment was on the defensive, there was also concern that the Jubilee celebration would become too materialistic. Canadian opinion-makers often saw materialism as one of the key differences between their country and the United States. The Winnipeg Tribune asked

> What, after all, is our ideal for Canada? Material greatness we could hardly avoid if we would...Our ideal, and our difficulty, must be to build a nation worthy of material wealth.[91]

The Brandon Sun cautioned that "we have been too much wedded to material progress to think of the things that count in national aspiration" (like the arts, science, philosophy, painting, music, and literature). And the Montreal Herald, in its editorial "July 1st-Whither Go Ye?" wondered "are we in this celebration, as in our daily life, laying too much stress on material progress and attaching too little importance to our development in the realm of character and spirit?"[92] Even Stanley Baldwin warned the Canadian Club audience "do not be in too much of a hurry to become wealthy."[93]

While these statements do not mention the United States by name, it was becoming increasingly apparent that the American influence on Canada's material culture was enormous. As J.L. Granatstein has observed of the age of Mackenzie King and the 1920s, "the American influence was probably strongest where it was least noticeable - in everyday life."[94] This

influence is remarkably evident in a Jubilee speech given by author Arthur Stringer. Stringer, in his capacity as Vice-President of the Canadian Clubs, was addressing a Jubilee banquet at the Canadian Club meeting in New York. While he was praising the general climate of friendship that existed between the two countries, an undercurrent of wariness toward American cultural influences was evident:

> ...there are reasons for this understanding [between Canada and the United States]. We happen to speak the same language and have to sit through the same atrocious movies; we can claim the same currency and the same chewing gum, the same love of liberty and ice water. We have the same social problems and the same slang, the same political ideals and the same baseball and peanuts and breakfast food and comic strips.[95]

Whether consciously or not, Stringer matched each more serious similarity with a less significant one drawn from daily life. The effect was to trivialize the "understanding" between the two countries.

In the New York Times Jubilee editorial, "Our Northern Neighbor", the roots of the closer relations between the two nations are examined:

> It is not necessary to dwell upon the statistics of trade and commerce and investment of capital which show how the two nations are knit together. These relations have grown up between individual Americans and Canadians, between their banks and companies, their explorers and developers, and our own. The resultant ties are in some ways stronger than any due simply to government action.[96]

The "knitting together" of the two economies is one of the salient features of the postwar period. Canadians then - and now - have viewed this development as a mixed blessing. For the Vancouver Province, in its gold medal Jubilee editorial "What is this Canada?" the evolution of Canadian-American relations was seen as crucial to world history. Canada becomes no less than "the hope of civilization", instrumental in the maintenance of peace in the world. The strongest guarantors of the peace are Great Britain and the United States. Therefore, in an early enunciation of a "linch-pin role", "Canada, as the link and interpretor between these two [the United States and the British Empire] occupies a strategic position."[97] Similarly, Arthur Stringer could boast that the seven million

Canadian expatriates living in the States could be seen as "pilgrims from the North", promoting improved relations between the two nations.[98]

This developing relationship was symbolized by the opening of the Peace Bridge at Niagara Falls on August 6, 1927. The British Empire was represented by the Prince of Wales (Edward), his brother the Prince of York (George), and Prime Minister Baldwin. Prince Edward opened the bridge noting that it "commemorates the peace which has happily endured between the British empire and the United States for more than a century." Prime Minister King and Premier Ferguson added a few words, as did American Vice President Charles Dawes, Secretary of State Frank B. Kellogg, and New York Governor Al Smith. The bridge symbolized the "friendly contacts by those who live on both sides of the border", concluded Edward,[99] while Baldwin spoke of "the bond [that] will not break", and Dawes noted that "we are bound together".[100] It was as if the old imperial parent had come over to approve of his child's new living arrangements on the North American continent. The bridge also would provide greater access for the "pilgrims of the north" trudging south to solidify relations between the American Republic and the British Empire.

This relationship was commented on by William Phillips, the American Minister in Ottawa, at year's end. Speaking to the American Women's Club in Montreal, he observed that "now we are deeply concerned and realize that our happiness and prosperity are very much bound up with the other nations of the world". He singled out the Jubilee as important in arousing American interest in Canadian society.[101] Two weeks later, the New York Times put the relationship in more concrete terms, revealing that for the twelve-month period ending on October 31, the balance of trade between the two countries was tilted in favour of the Americans to the tune of $235 million. Fortunately, the Canadian surplus in trade with the British Empire amounted to $280 million, which offset the American imbalance. The Times laconically noted that "for the most part Canadians refuse to show alarm over the condition of affairs: They buy goods which please them, and patriotic preference has little to do with the selection of markets."[102]

But it was seen as significant that the celebrations did rise above being merely a tribute to material progress. Mackenzie King noted in a

Jubilee address that it would be impossible in a few words to describe the economic and constitutional progress made since Confederation. But the "conspicuous growth of material resources" and the "strengthening of the moral foundations of our national life" heightened King's sense of national achievement. He concluded that "a faith grounded in an intelligent pride of what we have already accomplished is the best assurance of success in the years that lie before us."[103]

This theme was amplified in articles in the more "serious" journals of the day. The Jubilee editorial in The Canadian Forum reflected the difference between the two countries:

> ...Canada has, perhaps, not shown so much of the social unrest, lawlessness, and worship of material wealth which is characteristic of our whole civilization. We have taken our good fortune more soberly and have, in the main, avoided the more flashy ostentation of the nouveau riche.[104]

This spirit of "sober celebration" is reflected in many of the articles prepared by Canadian observers for international consumption. J.A. Stevenson described the upcoming celebration as "solemn" in The Nation; The New Statesman's correspondent commented on the "elaborate but dignified fashion" that characterized the events; and, W.P.M. Kennedy saluted Canadians' "solemn pride" in the Quarterly Review.[105] Even some Americans got caught up in this spirit. The Literary Digest saluted Canada's "triumphant toil", and characterized the editorial opinion in Canada as being "exultant and grave". Typical, thought the Digest, was the editorial in the Vancouver Province, which chided Canadians to be "humble and contrite" in the festivities.[106] Finally, in the Political Science Quarterly, a Dartmouth professor contrasted the American centennial celebrations with the Diamond Jubilee. The American centennial fell in a period that was marked by "...the demoralization of reconstruction in an atmosphere reeking with political corruption." On the other hand, the Canadian anniversary took place in the "wholesome" conditions found in 1927.[107]

In the Annual Report of the Canadian Historical Assqciation in 1927, J.C. Webster, writing on Canadian cultural development, checked off the American influences, concluding that

> When in addition to these influences, we add the daily intercourse, the ever-increasing financial and business relationships, is it any wonder that, while Canadian in name, our people (excepting the French of Quebec) tend more and more to become American in thought.[108]

The Jubilee, by placing as much stress as it did on material growth, placed Canadian development closer to American progress. The expansion of the Canadian economy and the exploitation of Canadian resources - both requisite for maintaining and raising the Canadian standard of living - were based on increased co-operation with the Americans, and higher levels of investment in Canadian ventures.

But by-and-large, Canadians were willing to accept the fruits that the "unbound Prometheus" was providing to the consumer, regardless of the country of their origin or manufacture. Already distant from their pioneer days, Canadians looked to a future of expanding wealth aligned with their neighbour to the south. The Nelson Daily News captured the exuberance (and naïveté) of the materialist sentiment, exulting:

> ...three hundred years has brought Canada from the ox-cart to the flying-machine, from the signal fire to the wireless telegraph, from the shouted word to the trans-ocean radio, from philters to insulin, from the spinning-wheel to a vast industry covering every want of humanity and from unconnected and self-centered weak colonies a well integral, young nation possessing limitless resources, with the spirit of the world open to it.[109]

Chapter V Conclusion

History is more often concerned with the dramatic moment, the instance where opposing forces, opposing wills, or opposing ideas clash. This tends to bias a nation's written history, as historians are preoccupied with battles or strikes or epidemics. When compared to the more tumultuous upheavals in our recorded past, events like the Diamond Jubilee are often ignored. It is easy to dismiss the Jubilee as a carefully controlled experiment in social manipulation by the country's elites, or to remember the celebrations as being hopelessly naïve. Ralph Allen, when looking back on the Jubilee summer, remembered the events with unabashed nostalgia:

> Perhaps Canada will never know another occasion when all the circumstances...will make for such a happy celebration. Children were still innocent enough to enjoy parades and prize-giving days...About the whole proceedings of the Diamond Jubilee...there was an air of unaffected, unsophisticated joy.[1]

This kind of event rarely forms the basis for in-depth historical analysis.

But the study of an occasion like the Jubilee does shed light on the ideals and aspirations of Canadians in 1927. Canadians wanted to believe, and the Dominion Government wanted Canadians to believe, that Canada had arrived as a nation. Mackenzie King confided in his diary that the sounding of the carillon at noon on July 1, 1927 was "the crowning fruition of grandfather's work of nation-building". The Jubilee was nothing less than "the triumph of nationhood...the beginning of a new epoch in our history."[2] It was hoped that the problems of settlement, the divisions caused by the war, and the feelings of inferiority when compared to the United States would continue to abate in the face of Canadian progress. In the words of the Lethbridge Daily Herald's editorial, "with vision and unity we should become one of the greatest nations of the world."[3]

The Jubilee operated from a set of assumptions that could be labelled the Liberal interpretation of Canada. The Jubilee, like the Liberal Party, emphasized a bilingual and multicultural country. From bilingual postage stamps to the sponsoring of ethnic dance troupes, the Jubilee marked the first popular celebration that placed greater emphasis on the Canadian

rather than imperial character of the nation. This is not to say that no one resisted this interpretation. The supporters of empire could always look to men like Ontario Premier Ferguson to keep the faith. But the Jubilee managed to enlist the enthusiasm of others left out of the imperialist, WASP image of Canada. This is not to claim that the Liberal Party, or its interpretation of Canada, has held exclusive sovereignty over ideas of bilingualism or multiculturalism. But both of these elements became key ingredients in the Liberal Party electoral strategy, and they explain in part the continued success of the Liberals at the polls.

There is always an underlying sense of irony in any study of the 1920s. For all the decade's bluff and bluster, the observer of the twenties is keenly aware of the aftermath to the events of the day. As one looks over the Jubilee pamphlets and advertisements, this irony weighs heavily on any judgment passed on the Jubilee promoters' faith in material progress, or their earnest hope that the problems of national unity lay in the past. The growth glowing described in Sixty Years of Canada Progress was not sustained in the 1930s. The Canadian economy still draws unfavourable comparisons to its American counterpart, allowing feelings of inferiority to persist in Canada. And as for the riddle of national unity, the problems of English-French relations and the discontents of the regions remain as puzzling as ever.

But it is unfair to over-emphasize the nostalgic element in the Jubilee, as W.L. Morton has done. It was more than "an avatar of a Confederation vindicated, of a nation restored to unity, disturbed but not broken by the events of the preceding decade - the Great War and the conscription crisis."[4] The past was given an important place in the celebration, but the Jubilee placed great emphasis on shaping the future for Canadian society. It recognized in popular form the trends toward nationalist sentiment that were being felt within the country's political, cultural, and intellectual elites. It stressed the modern (or American) trends in the cultivation of mass markets, material comfort, and technological innovation. Finally, the Jubilee organizers fervently believed that if Canada was to become a great nation, the Dominion Government had to help foster a sense of national pride and purpose. The Jubilee offers the

student of intellectual and cultural history an opportunity to examine the development and promotion of these new ideas of national character. The 1920s were a watershed in the course of Canadian nationalism, and in the Jubilee can be found the traces of the old stream of the imperialist image of the nation and the fountainhead of a new, distinctive understanding of Canadian society.

Notes

Chapter One

1. See Terry Cook, "Nailing Jelly to a Wall: Possibilities in Intellectual History", in Archivaria 11 (Winter 80/81), pp. 205-8, for a discussion of the "internalist" and "externalist" approaches.

2. Felix Gilbert, "Intellectual History: Its Aims and Methods", in Felix Gilbert and Stephen Graubard (eds), Historical Studies Today (New York: 1971), pp. 141-42.

3. John Higham, "The Rise of American Intellectual History", American Historical Review, LVI, No. 3 (April, 1951), p. 453. My emphasis.

4. John Higham, "The Cult of 'American Consensus'", in Richard M. Abrams and Lawrence W. Levine (eds), The Shaping of Twentieth-Century America (Boston: 1965), p. 699. The article first appeared in Commentary, February, 1959. A further discussion of the cult, as it relates to American labour history, can be found in Melvyn Dubofsky, Industrialism and the American Worker 1865-1920, (Arlington Heights, Ill.: 1975), pp. 47-49.

5. John Higham, "American Intellectual History: A Critical Appraisal", American Quarterly, XIII, No. 2, Part 2 (Summer, 1961), pp. 219-33.

6. Ibid., pp. 220-21.

7. Ibid., p. 233.

8. Gene Wise, "The Contemporary Crisis in Intellectual History Studies", Clio V, No. 1 (1975), pp. 55-71.

9. Ibid., pp. 61-62.

10. Paul K. Conkin, "Intellectual History: Past, Present, and Future", in Charles F. Delzell (ed), The Future of History (Nashville, 1977), p. 111.

11. Robert Darnton, "Intellectual and Cultural History", in Michael Kammen (ed), The Past Before Us: Contemporary Historical Writing in the United States, (Ithica: 1980), p. 327.

12. See E.J. Hobsbawm, "From Social History to the History of Society", in Gilbert and Graubard, pp. 1-3, for an attempt at definition.

13. Lawrence Veysey, "Intellectual History and the New Social History", in John Higham and Paul K. Conkin (eds), New Directions in American Intellectual History (Baltimore: 1979), p. 6.

14. Lawrence Stone, "History and the Social Sciences in the Twentieth Century", in Delzell, The Future of History, pp. 15-17.

15. Veysey, p. 7.

16. New Directions in American Intellectual History is comprised of essays that were first presented at the Wingspread Conference on intellectual history, held in December, 1977. The Future of History grew out of a conference held at Vanderbilt University in 1975. Also, a series of articles on historical methods, first published in the journal Daedalus, was collected as Historical Studies Today. These books reflect a heightened interest in theories of history and methodology.

17. Veysey, p. 20.

18. See Jacques Le Goff, "Les Mentalités: Une histoire ambigue", in Faire de l'histoire, 3ème partie ("Nouveau Objets") (Paris: 1974), note 13, p. 91.

19. Robert Mandrou, "L'histoire des mentalités", Encyclopaedia Universalis 8 (Paris: 1980), pp. 436-38.

20. Ibid., p. 436.

21. Ibid.

22. Alphonse Dupront, "Problèmes et methodes d'une histoire de la psychologie collective, "Annales Economies, Societés, Civilisations, 16, No. 1 (Janvier, 1961), pp. 3-11.

23. Ibid., pp. 4-5.

24. Le Goff, pp. 76-94.

25. Ibid., p. 75.

26. Philippe Ariès, "L'histoire des mentalités", in Jacques Le Goff (ed), La Nouvelle Histoire, (Paris: 1978), p. 412.

27. Philippe Ariès, Centuries of Childhood, translated by Robert Baldick (New York: 1962), p. 9.

28. Ibid., p. 11.

29. Patrick H. Hutton, "The History of Mentalities: The New Map of Cultural History", History and Theory, 20, (1981), pp. 243-44.

30. For example, the work of the French philosopher/historian Michel Foucault, whose subjects include madness, prisons, sexuality, and punishment. See Hutton, pp. 251-57.

31. Hutton, p. 237.

32. This point is often raised when discussing Canadian intellectual history. See J.M. Bumsted (ed), Canadian History Before Confederation, 2nd edition (Georgetown, Ont.: 1979), p. 248; A.B. McKillop, "Nationalism, Identity, and Canadian Intellectual History", Queen's Quarterly LXXXI (1974), pp. 533-34; and, Clarence Karr, "What is Canadian Intellectual History?", Dalhousie Review, 55, No. 3, (Autumn, 1975), p. 431.

33. S.F. Wise, "Sermon Literature in Canadian Intellectual History", in J.M. Bumsted (ed), Canadian History Before Confederation, p. 249.

34. See the review in Terry Cook, p. 212.

35. J.M. Bumsted, "Canadian Intellectual History and the 'Buzzing Factuality'", Acadiensis 7, p. 119.

36. Canadian Literature 83, (Winter, 1979).

37. Carl Berger, The Sense of Power (Toronto: 1970), p. 12.

38. Doug Owram, The Promise of Eden: The Canadian Expansionist Movement and the Idea of the West 1856-1900 (Toronto: 1980).

39. Ibid., p. 3.

40. Fernand Dumont, et al., Ideologies au Canada français, 3 vols., (Québec: 1971).

41. Dumont, et al., "Du Début Du Siècle à la Crise de 1929: Un éspace ideologique", in Vol. II. p. 2.

42. Bumsted, "Buzzing Factuality", p. 121.

43. Barry Ferguson and Doug Owram, "Social Scientists and Public Policy from the 1920s through World War II", Journal of Canadian Studies 15, No. 4, (Winter, 1980/81), pp. 3-14; Michiel Horn, "Academics and Canadian Social and Economic Policy in the Depression and War Years", Journal of Canadian Studies, 13, No. 4 (Winter, 1978/79), pp. 3-10.

44. See J.L. Granatstein, The Ottawa Men: The Civil Service Mandarins 1935-1957 (Toronto: 1982), pp. 1-18.

45. Joy Parr (ed), Childhood and Family in Canadian History (Toronto: 1982).

46. Eugen Weber, Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France 1870-1914 (Stanford, Cal.: 1976). I am referring here, of course, to the experience of Europeans in Canada. It would be a great challenge to use the concept of mentalités to attempt to retrieve a description of life in an Amerindian society before the arrival of Europeans.

47. Gordon Stewart and George Rawlyk, A People Highly Favoured of God: The Nova Scotia Yankees and the American Revolution (Toronto: 1972).

48. Cited in McKillop, "Nationalism ...", p. 538.

49. Henry Nash Smith, Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth (New York: 1950); John William Ward, Andrew Jackson: Symbol for an Age (New York: 1955).

50. John William Ward, "History and the Concept of Culture", in his Red, White and Blue: Men, Books, and Ideas in American Culture (New York: 1969), pp. 8-9.

51. John William Ward, "The Meaning of Lindbergh's Flight", in ibid., pp. 21-37.

52. Ward, "Culture", p. 14.

53. See John Higham, "Introduction", in Higham and Conkin (eds) New Directions, p. xvi.

54. Clifford Geertz, "Thick Description: Towards an Interpretive Theory of Culture", in his The Interpretation of Cultures (New York: 1973); p. 5.

55. Ibid., p. 12.

56. Ibid.

57. Ibid., p. 18.

58. Karr, p. 446.

59. McKillop, "Nationalism...", p. 535

60. Ariès, "Mentalités", p. 422.

61. Which Jacques Le Goff saw as its "first attraction", p. 76.

62. Lawrence Stone, "The Revival of Narrative: Reflections on a New Old History", Past and Present 85 (November, 1979), p. 19.

63. Cited in McKillop, "Nationalism..." p. 533.

Notes

Chapter Two

1. Neatby, H. Blair, William Lyon Mackenzie King: 1924-1932 The Lonely Heights (Toronto: 1963), p. 210.

2. W.L. Morton, "The 1920s," in J.M.S. Careless and R. Craig Brown (eds), The Canadians 1867-1967, Part One, (Toronto: 1968), pp. 205-6.

3. Public Archives of Canada (PAC), James P. Murray Papers, MG30/C18, File #1, "Who Was the First to Suggest the Idea of the Diamond Jubilee?".

4. Douglas MacKay, "Canada's Diamond Jubilee", The Outlook 146, No. 10 (July 6, 1927), p. 346.

5. Murray Papers, File #1, "Memo for The Canadian National Review", no date.

6. Ibid., File #4, Mackenzie King to Col. A.E. Kirkpatrick (President of the Empire Club), May 20, 1926.

7. Indeed, the Murray Papers in the PAC were donated as proof that Murray should be credited as the instigator of the celebrations. It should be noted, however, that Murray was a self-described "bumptious crank" (Murray to W.S. Fisher, File #8, no date), and that other groups, especially the Association of Canadian Clubs (ACC), took leading roles in the campaign to have the celebrations organized. See C.G. Cowan to J.P. Murray, June 13, 1927, (Murray Paperes, File #8), which credits the ACC for getting the ball rolling. Cowan, it should be noted, was chairman of the ACC and Secretary of the Diamond Jubilee Committee.

8. PAC, The Diamond Jubilee of Confederation Corporation Papers, RG6/D3, Vol. 445, File #1, "Minutes", p. 1.

9. Debates of the Senate of Canada, 1926 Session, May 4, 1926, pp. 36-40.

10. House of Commons Debates, 1926-7 Session, Vol. I, p. 93.

11. Jubilee Corporation Papers, Vol. 445, File #3, W.L.M. King to O.D. Skelton, March 1, 1927.

12. House of Commons Debates, 1926-7 Session, Vol. I, p. 350.

13. Ibid., p. 351. King had a point. See Jubilee Corporation Papers, Vol. 445, File #4, which contains many letters from groups (for example, the Red Cross and the Canadian Authors' Association) that felt slighted by their exclusion from the corporation's membership.

14. William Lyon Mackenzie King, The Mackenzie King Diaries 1893-1931 (Toronto: 1973), February 15, 1927. Hereafter referred to as "King Diary".

15. Ibid., February 16, 1972.

16. House of Commons Debates, 1926-7 Session, Vol. I., pp. 410-11.

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid., p. 410.

19. Ibid., pp. 413-16.

20. Jubilee Corporation Papers, Vol. 445, File #1, p. 2.

21. Report of the National Diamond Jubilee Executive Committee (Ottawa: 1928), p. 5. This report will hereafter be referred to as "Report of the National Committee".

22. Jubilee Corporation Papers, Vol. 445, File #1, "Minutes of the Executive Committee Meeting, March 22, 1927, p. 2.

23. Ibid., Vol. 447, File #19, H.M. Marler to Sir George Garneau, May 4, 1927.

24. Quebec Chronicle Telegraph, May 30, 1927. Clipping in Jubilee Corporation Papers, Vol. 455, File #67.

25. Jubilee Corporation Papers, Vol. 449, File #25. At the university level, the winners included Hilda Neatby, who won the gold medal at the University of Saskatchewan, and Ronald Martland, who won a silver medal at the University of Alberta.

26. Ibid., Vol. 454, File #1, and Vol. 456. Unfortunately, the CAA found no worthy entries for the English literary prize. Similarly, the Slogan Contest had no winners. An unnumbered file in Vol. 456 contains over one hundred slogan suggestions, and must be one of the most egregious collections of literary efforts in the country.

27. Ibid., Vol. 445, "Minutes of the Medals Sub-Committee Meeting", March 29, 1927.

28. Ibid., "Minutes of the Executive Committee Meeting", March 25, 1927. "Promotion of Unity" was taken by the formal resolution adopted by the Committee.

29. Ibid., Vol. 446, File #10. W.F. Kerr to C.G. Cowan, January 31, 1928.

30. Ibid., R.A. Hoey to G.P. Graham, February 22, 1928.

31. Report of the National Committee, p 67.

32. Jubilee Corporation Papers, Vol. 445, "Minutes of the Eleventh Executive Committee Meeting", p. 4.

33. Report of the National Committee, p. 70.

34. Ibid., pp. 74-75.

35. Sixty Years of Canadian Progress (Ottawa: 1927), p. viii, hereafter Sixty Years.

36. Canada Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Diamond Jubilee Committee, General Suggestions for the Guidance of Committees in Charge of Local Celebrations (Ottawa: 1927).

37. Diamond Jubilee Committee, National Thanksgiving by the People of Canada (Ottawa: 1927); Addresses Book (Ottawa: 1927); and Suggestions for Historical Pageants, Floats and Tableaux (with illustrations in colour) for the Guidance of Local Committees in Charge of Diamond Jubilee Celebrations (Ottawa: 1927).

38. Diamond Jubilee Broadcast Committee, Ad Mari Usque Ad Mare, p. 9.

39. See ibid., pp. 32-33, for a map of the entire system.

40. King Diary, April 26, 1927.

41. For example, King met with Governor General Willingdon on May 7 to discuss the use of the title "Viceroy" for Willingdon. The idea was abandoned as having too many connotations of India. King Diary, May 7, 1927.

42. National Thanksgiving, p. 2.

43. King Diary, May 18, 1927.

44. Ibid., May 30, 1927.

45. Ibid.

46. Ibid., June 18, 1927.

47. Ibid.

48. Ibid., June 20, 1927.

49. W.L. Mackenzie King, Message of the Carillon, p. viii. Diary entry cited in Neatby, p. 230.

50. Montreal Gazette, July 2, 1927, pp. 2, 4-5.

51. Toronto Star, clipping in the E. Austin Weir Papers, PAC, MG30, D67, Vol. 22, File #6.

52. Charles H. Mackintosh, Canada's Diamond Jubilee (Montreal: 1930), p. 114.

53. King Diary, July 1, 1927.

54. Mackintosh, p. 115, King Diary, July 1, 1927.

55. Margaret Anglin was a noted stage actress of her day. Like many Canadians, she headed south to pursue her career in New York. However, she had a unique claim as a Canadian, having been born in the Speaker's Chambers of the House of Commons during her father's term as speaker. Her brother, Francis Anglin, was Chief Justice of Canada.

56. Mackintosh, p. 120.

57. Ad Mari Usque Ad Mare, pp. 36-37.

58. Report of the National Committee, p. 100.

59. Jubilee Corporation Papers, Vol. 451, File #32. V. Massey to O.D. Skelton, June 22, 1927; Hume Wrong to National Committee, June 24, 1927; Report of the National Committee, p. 100.

60. Jubilee Corporation Papers, Vol. 451, File #32.

61. New York Times, July 3, 1927, "Fatal Crash Mars Lindbergh Flight", p. 5.

62. King Diary, July 2, 1927.

63. Ibid., July 3, 1927.

64. Canadian Annual Review 1927-28, pp. 26-29.

65. Report of the National Committee, pp. 46-55.

66. Jubilee Corporation Papers, Vol. 452, "Auditor General's Report", February 23, 1928.

67. Ibid., "Auditor General's Report", February 20, 1929.

68. Ibid., Vol. 445, File #1, "Statement of Receipts and Disbursements Referred to in the Report of the Treasurer of the National Committee".

Notes

Chapter Three

1. George Mowry (ed), The Twenties: Fords, Flappers, and Fanatics (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: 1963), pp. 14-15.

2. Margaret E. Prang, "Nationalism in Canada's First Century", Canadian Historical Association Historical Papers 1968, p. 115.

3. J.L. Granatstein, A Man of Influence: Norman A. Robertson and Canadian Statecraft 1929-1968 (Toronto: 1981), p. 20.

4. W. Stewart Wallace, The Growth of Canadian National Feeling (Toronto: 1927), preface. This essay originally appeared in the Canadian Historical Review I, June 1920.

5. Ibid., pp. 22-23.

6. Ibid., p. 78.

7. Ibid., pp. 80, 84.

8. Mary Vipond, "The Nationalist Network: English Canada's Intellectuals and Artists in the 1920s", Canadian Review of Studies in Nationalism 7, (Spring, 1980), pp. 32-33.

9. Ibid., p. 34.

10. Ibid., p. 44.

11. "Confederation and Nationhood", from an address by C.G. Cowan in Canadian Travel 11, No. 2 (June, 1927), p. 36.

12. Vipond, "Network", pp. 45-46. Of the seven groups studied by Vipond in "National Consciousness in English-speaking Canada in the 1920s" (her doctoral dissertation), only the Canadian Radio League and the Canadian Authors' Association sought wide public support. The first group was only formed in 1930, and relied on a small elite of nationalists to lobby for government regulation of the airwaves ("Network", p. 40). The Canadian Authors' Association was a boosterish organization whose detractors called it "the Journalists' Branch of the Canadian Manufacturers' Association". It campaigned for greater readership for its members. B.K. Sandwell, one of the authors represented, spoke of the need to judge Canadian books on "their usefulness to the state in developing a national feeling" (Vipond, "The Canadian Authors' Assocation: A Case Study in Cultural Nationalism", Journal of Canadian Studies, 15, No. 1 (Spring; 1980), pp. 75-76).

13. Eugen Weber, Peasants into Frenchmen, p. 486.

14. Ibid., p. x.

15. Vipond, "Network", pp. 43-44.

16. As Carl Berger states in The Sense of Power, "Many factors limited and curtailed the appeal of imperialism: the First World War killed it." (p. 264).

17. Sixty Years, p. vii.

18. See Chapter II, pages 31-34, for the work done by the Publicity Committee.

19. House of Commons Debates, 1928, Vol. I, p. 2.

20. King, Message of the Carillon, p. 31. From a speech given at a dinner at Houses of Parliament, August 2, 1927, in honour of the Prince of Wales.

21. Jubilee Corporation Papers, Vol. 445, File #1, p. 3.

22. Cited in Carl Berger, The Writing of Canadian History: Aspects of English Canadian Historical Writing: 1900 to 1970 (Toronto: 1976), p. 58.

23. Maclean's XL, No. 13 (July 1, 1927), p. 3.

24. King, Message of the Carillon, p. 78.

25. See Chapter II, pages 30-31, for examples of jurisdictional disputes connected with the distribution of the plaques and medals.

26. King, Message of the Carillon, p. 76.

27. Jubilee Corporation Papers, Vol. 453, File #3, p. 7. George P. Graham to the convention of Canadian Clubs, February 26, 1927.

28. King, Message of the Carillon, p. 61.

29. W.S. Wallace, "The Unpopularity of Canadian History", Canadian Bookman, January, 1920, p. 14.

30. Report of the National Committee, p. 61. Martin Burrell, Aégédius Fauteux, H.P. Hill, H.H. Melanson, Victor Morin, and Pierre G. Roy were the other committee members.

31. Ibid., p. 66.

32. Jubilee Corporation Papers, Vol. 445, File #1, p. 3.

33. Ibid.

34. Suggestions for Historical Tableaux. The six were "The Landing of the Loyalists", "Discovery of the Canadian West"(La Verendrye), "The Founding of Acadia", "The Fur Trader", "The Discovery of Canada" (Cartier), and "Champlain the Explorer".

35. Ibid., facing p. 44.

36. Ibid., facing p. 24.

37. Public Archives of Ontario (PAO), Diamond Jubilee Papers, MU 750, File #4, Pamphlet #9.

38. Cited in J.M.S. Careless, "The Review Reviewed: Fifty Years with the Beaver Patrol", Canadian Historical Review LI, No. 1 (March, 1970), p. 50.

39. Jubilee Corporation Papers, Vol. 456, "Newspaper Clippings", #10.

40. Doughty's introduction to William E. Smith, The Evolution of Government in Canada (Ottawa: 1928), p. 10.

41. Ibid., pp. 14-16.

42. Jubilee Corporation Papers, Vol. 452, "Diamond Jubilee Pageant".

43. La Presse Revue Illustrē, 2 juillet, 1927, p. 5. "Certains noms" - or Fathers whose efforts stood out - were Macdonald, Cartier, Tupper, Galt, Chapais, Taché, Brown, Langevin, and McGee.

44. Toronto Telegram, June 27, 1927, in PAO clipping file, MU 751.

45. Report of the National Committee, p. 5. For a list of descendants, and location of the Fathers' gravesites, should one ever care to know, see pp. 119-22.

46. Inscription on a commemorative tablet, Provincial Building, Charlottetown, P.E.I.

47. Ontario Department of Education, The Fathers of Confederation (Toronto: 1927), p. 4. In PAO pamphlet collection.

48. Ibid., p. 5.

49. Toronto Globe, June 25, 1927.

50. The Story of Confederation, PAO Pamphlet, 1927, No. 3, centrefold.

51. PAO, Jubilee Papers, File #4, Pamphlet "f", Programme of Attractions, July, 1927, T. Eaton Company.

52. Welf H. Heick (ed), History and Myth: A.R.M. Lower and The Making of Canadian Nationalism (Vancouver: 1975), p. 6.

53. CPR advertisement, "Lord Mount Stephen" in Canadian Forum 7, No. 77 (February, 1927), p. 151.

54. Careless, "The Review Reviewed", p. 48.

55. Vipond, "Network", p. 35.

56. A.G. Bailey, Culture and Nationality (Toronto: 1972), p. 6.

57. Report of the National Committee, p. 10.

58. Toronto Mail and Empire, July 2, 1927, p. 1.

59. Toronto Globe, July 4, 1927, p. 1.

60. Ottawa Citizen, June 28, 1927, p. 1.

61. Sixty Years, p. 32.

62. Ibid., p. 87 (manufacturing), p. 106 (railways), pp. 117-18 (life insurance), p. 128 (education), p. 110 (telephones), p. 108 (cars).

63. Ibid., p. viii. From the introduction by the Minister of Trade and Commerce, James Malcolm.

64. Jubilee Corporation Papers, Vol. 453, File #3.

65. Suggestions for Historical Tableaux, "Electricity" (facing p. 36), "The Story of Wheat" (facing p. 32), "Lumbering" (facing p. 24), "Wealth from the Sea" (facing p. 18), "Driving the Last Spike" (facing p. 16), "Transportation by Water" (facing p. 8), "Forest Wealth" (p. 6), and "Herds and Flocks" (p. 4).

66. Ibid., p. 2.

67. Jubilee Corporation Papers, Vol. 452, "Diamond Jubilee Pageant".

68. Ibid.

69. New York Times, August 2, 1927, p. 1.

70. See Chapter II, pages 39-40 for details of each programme.

71. Jubilee Corporation Papers, Vol. 446, File #7, clipping from the Halifax Herald, May 7, 1927.

72. Toronto Globe, June 17, 1927.

73. New York Times, June 26, 1927, Section 8, p. 19.

74. Report of the National Committee, p. 9.

75. Ad Mari Usque Ad Mare, pp. 39-40. The report includes letters from Britain, Holland, Mexico, Jamaica, El Salvador, Brazil, Hawaii, and New Zealand, pp. 45-46.

76. Report of the National Committee, p. 65.

77. Calgary Herald, July 4, 1927, p. 8.

78. King Diary, July 1, 1927.

79. Report of the National Committee, p. 9.

80. Ibid., pp. 64-65.

81. Canadian Annual Review 1927-28, p. 252.

82. Ad Mari Usque Ad Mare, p. 3.

83. John William Ward, "The Meaning of Lindbergh's Flight", p. 28. Mary Vipond has noted the similarity between Lindbergh's symbolic importance and that of Dr. Frederick Banting in "A Canadian Hero of the 1920s: Dr. Frederick G. Banting", Canadian Historical Review LXIII, No. 4 (December, 1982), p. 486.

84. Ward, pp. 32, 34-35.

85. Report of the National Committee, p. 11.

86. Report on Civil Aviation, 1927, p. 5.

87. Ibid., p. 5.

88. Report of the National Committee, p. 100.

89. King Diary, July 2, 1927.

90. Report of the National Committee, p. 101.

91. King Diary, July 3, 1927.

Notes

Chapter Four

1. Susan Mann Trofimenkoff, Action Française: French Canadian Nationalism in the Twenties (Toronto: 1975), p. 92. "Notre avenir politique" was the theme of the journal in 1922.

2. Ibid., p. 4.

3. Edouard Montpetit, "Les Canadiens Français et le Développement Intellectual du Canada", L'Action Française, mai-juin, 1927, p. 338.

4. Ls.-D. Durand, "Les Canadiens-Français et L'Esprit National", ibid., p. 366.

5. For a recent discussion of the "compact theory" of Confederation, see A.I. Silver The French Canadian Idea of Confederation 1864-1900 (Toronto: 1982), especially pp. 168-172, where Silver argues Québec's interest in French groups outside the provinces dates from 1885 and the Riel hanging. Before this time, he believes that Quebec saw Confederation as a deal between provinces, not as a compact between two races.

6. Antonio Perrault, "Déceptions et Griefs", L'Action Française, mai-juin, 1927, p. 401.

7. Albert Lévesque, "La Confédération et la Jeunesse Canadienne-Française", ibid., p. 420.

8. Ibid., p. 403.

9. Durand, ibid., pp. 375, 377.

10. Ibid., p. 375.

11. Jubilee Corporation Papers, Vol. 454, File #2. M.E. L'Heureux to G.P. Graham, 17 mai, 1927.

12. Translated and cited in the Toronto Daily Star, May 28, 1927.

13. Pamphlet containing three prize-winning editorials, PAC Library 1927 (137), pp. 7-8. Editorial originally appeared in Le Droit, 1 juillet, 1927.

14. It should be noted that there were 25 entries in the contest from Canada's daily newspapers (a separate contest was held for weekly papers). Gauthier's entry was the only French language editorial entered in the competition.

15. From Le Soleil, reprinted in the Ottawa Citizen Jubilee edition, June 28, 1927.

16. Le Devoir, 2 juillet, 1927, p. 1.

17. Ibid., 1 juillet, 1927, p. 1.

18. La Presse, 30 juin, 1927, p. 42.

19. La Patrie, "L'Ame Canadienne", 1 juillet, 1927, p. 4

20. Report of the National Committee, pp. 56-57. Report by Cyrille F. Delâge, President, Quebec Diamond Jubilee Committee.

21. Montreal Gazette, June 24, 1927, p. 4.

22. New York Times, July 31, 1927, p. 22.

23. Senator George P. Graham, in Report of the National Committee, p. 12.

24. Montreal Gazette, July 6, 1927, p. 3.

25. Ad Mari Usque Ad Mare, letter from E. Giguere, ptre., p. 44.

26. House of Commons Debates, 1926-27 Session, Vol. II, pp. 1959-60.

27. The Sentinel and Orange and Protestant Advocate, April 21, 1927. p. 1.

28. Jubilee Corporation Papers, Vol. 447, File #14. John T. Morrison, of Hamilton, to Mackenzie King, April 23, 1927; F.M.F. Clemow to Mackenzie King, no date.

29. See W.L. Morton The Progressive Party in Canada (Toronto: 1950), Appendix "C" for the complete Farmer's Platform, pp. 302-5.

30. Ibid., pp. 293-94.

31. Ibid., pp. 202-4.

32. Jubilee Corporation Papers, Vol. 454, File #1, clipping from the Calgary Albertan, April 18, 1927.

33. Report of the National Committee, p. 19. See the Alberta Committee report, p. 19, and the Saskatchewan report, p. 57.

34. Ernest R. Forbes, The Maritime Rights Movement, 1919-1927: A Study in Canadian Regionalism (Montreal: 1979), p. 190.

35. Ibid., p. 158, and especially pp. 173-181, which describes the denouement of the movement.

36. Canadian Annual Review 1927-28, pp. 28-29.

37. Montreal Gazette, July 2, 1927, p. 4.

38. Toronto Mail and Empire, April 18, 1927.

39. The Worker, July 9, 1927, p. 2. But as Norman Penner points out in The Canadian Left: A Critical Analysis (Toronto: 1977), the Communists had supported King's efforts to achieve greater autonomy from Great Britain, especially during the constitutional crisis of 1926 (pp. 86-97). Their failure to support the Jubilee reflected a change of strategy due in part to developments in the communist movement internationally, specifically when the communist party in China broke away from the Kuomintang signalling an end to coopecation with bourgeois parties. See Ivan Avakumovic, The Communist Party in Canada (Toronto: 1975), p. 58.

40. The Young Worker, "Confederation Day, Raw, Raw, Raw!" May, 1927.

41. Ibid., July, 1927, p. 2.

42. Toronto Globe, July 5, 1927, p. 4. The Montreal Gazette commented favourably on the Globe editorial on July 11, 1927, in "The Communists Again", p. 4.

43. The Young Worker, July, 1927, p. 2.

44. Lita-Rose Betcherman, The Little Band (Ottawa: 1983), begins its account of the clashes between the communists and the legal establishment by discussing Draper and his appointment, pp. 1-2. For a discussion of the anti-immigrant feeling in Draper's edict against foreign language meetings in Toronto, see Michiel Horn, "Keeping Canada 'Canadian': Anti-Communism and Canadianism in Toronto 1928-9", in Canada: An Historical Magazine, 3, No.1, especially pp. 43-45.

45. Betcherman, p. 215.

46. The Labor Leader, July 8, 1927, p. 1, "The Right Spirit for Canadians". Canadian Labor World, Canadian Trades Unionist, and Labor News also supported the Jubilee.

47. Sixty Years, p. 32.

48. John Nelson, "A New Canada", The World's Work, 54, p. 334.

49. Quoted in the Ottawa Citizen, June 28, 1927.

50. H.B. Neatby, King, p. 230.

51. Ibid., p. 99.

52. Canadian Annual Review for 1927-28, p. 177.

53. Howard Palmer, Patterns of Prejudice: A History of Nativism in Alberta (Toronto: 1982), p. 94. See also Donald Avery, 'Dangerous Foreigners': European Immigrant Workers and Labour Radicalism in Canada, 1896-1932 (Toronto: 1979), pp. 100-112, for the general workings of the Agreement.

54. Canadian Annual Review for 1927-28, pp. 181-83.

55. Howard Palmer, Patterns, pp. 90-122.

56. James H. Gray, The Roar of the Twenties (Toronto: 1982), p. 225.

57. Allan Smith, "Metaphor and Nationality in North America", Canadian Historical Review, LI, No. 3, (September, 1970), especially pp. 253-63.

58. Suggestions for Tableaux, facing p. 12.

59. Mackenzie King, Message of the Carillon, pp. 76-77.

60. New York Times, December 6, 1927, III, p. 2.

61. Report of the National Committee, p. 95. This sentiment is echoed in the Calgary Herald editorial "Participation of the Foreign Born", which stressed the points about the newcomers and the importance of the Jubilee to their children (July 4, 1927, p. 8).

62. Le Soleil (Quebec), cited in the Ottawa Citizen, June 28, 1927.

63. Jubilee Corporation Papers, Vol. 456, "Newspaper Clippings File", #5.

64. Cited in the Ottawa Citizen, June 28, 1927.

65. Lachute Watchman, cited in ibid.

66. PAC Library pamphlet 1927 (137), "What is this Canada?", gold medal editorial from the Vancouver Province.

67. Canadian Annual Review for 1927-28, p. 182. It should be noted that the CPR earned $5.1 million from the sale of agricultural land in 1927.

68. PAO, Pamphlet 1927, No. 10, Confederation and the Canadian Pacific, pp. 40-41.

69. Montreal Gazette, "The CPR and Confederation", July 6, 1927, p. 12.

70. Confederation and the Canadian Pacific, pp. 41, 43.

71. M.O. Hammond, The Confederation Story, p. 59. This Jubilee pamphlet was prepared for Simpson's Department Stores.

72. Ibid., p. 57.

73. The extent of Klan support in Saskatchewan from the clergy, the press, and politicians is discussed in William Calderwood, "Pulpit, Press and Political Reactions to the Ku Klux Klan in Saskatchewan", in S.M. Trofimenkoff (ed) The Twenties in Western Canada (Ottawa: 1977), pp. 191-229.

74. "The Ku Klux Klan in Saskatchewan", by "An Observer", Queen's Quarterly, Autumn, 1928, pp. 596-97.

75. Howard Palmer, Patterns, p. 121.

76. Report of the National Committee, p. 27.

77. Donald Avery, Dangerous Foreigners, pp. 105-7.

78. Canadian Annual Review for 1927-28, p. 177.

79. For a complete list, see Appendix "E".

80. PAO, Jubilee Papers MU 750, File #3, "Correspondence".

81. Howard Palmer, Patterns, p. 122

82. "The KKK in Saskatchewan", Queen's Quarterly, pp. 600-1.

83. Public Archives of Manitoba, MG 14, A10, "Canada: Her Friends and Future", a pageant by Mrs. H.J. Keith, p. 5. I would like to thank Prof. J.H. Thompson for giving me a copy of this programme.

84. Peter Oliver, G. Howard Ferguson: Ontario Tory (Toronto: 1977), p. 326.

85. Toronto Daily Star, June 28, 1927, "High Tribute Paid to Daughters of 1867".

86. Canadian Travel, 11, No.2, (June, 1927), p. 26.

87. W.L. Morton, "The 1920s", p. 205.

88. Cited in Howard Palmer, Immigration and the Rise of Multiculturalism (Toronto: 1975), p. 119.

89. Toronto Globe, Tuesday, July 5, 1927, p. 4.

90. Michiel Horn, "Keeping Canada 'Canadian'", p. 45.

91. Jubilee Corporation Papers, Vol. 456, "Newspaper Clippings". The editorial also mentioned that Canada should pull "our full weight in Empire, carrying our share of the White Man's burden...", another example of nineteenth century concepts still hard at work.

92. Ibid.

93. Canadian Annual Review for 1927-28, p. 113.

94. J.L. Granatstein, Mackenzie King: His Life and World (Toronto: 1977), p. 76.

95. New York Times, July 2, 1927, p. 22, "Canadians Here Celebrate".

96. New York Times, June 26, 1927, II, p. 8.

97. PAC Library pamphlet 1927 (137), containing the three prize-winning editorials.

98. Contrast this with T.L. Church's opinions, cited in Chapter II. Church thought the number of Canadians south of the border was scandalous, and the result of the lack of protectionist policies on the part of the King government. Stringer is in the New York Times, July 2, 1927, II, p. 8.

99. Report of the National Committee, pp. 49-50.

100. Charles Mackintosh, p. 136.

101. New York Times, November 25, 1927, p. 16.

102. Ibid., December 6, 1927, III, p. 8.

103. Canadian Travel 11, No. 2, (June, 1927), p. 14.

104. Canadian Forum VII, No. 82 (July, 1927), p. 295.

105. The Nation, July 6, 1927, p. 13; The New Statesman, July 2, 1927, p. 368; Quarterly Review, April, 1927, p. 308.

106. Literary Digest 94, No. 3 (July 16, 1927), pp. 15-16.

107. William A. Robinson, "Sixty Years of Canadian Confederation", Political Science Quarterly, XLIII, No. 1 (March, 1928), pp. 90-91.

108. J.C. Webster, "Canadian Cultural Development", Canadian Historical Association's Annual Report 1927, p. 75.

109. Excerpt from "Canada's Epic Years of Confederation", Literary Digest, 94, No. 3 (July 16, 1927), p. 16.

Notes

Chapter Five

1. Ralph Allen, Ordeal by Fire (Toronto: 1961), p. 286.
2. King Diary, July 3, 1927.
3. In PAO special Jubilee newspaper collection.
4. W.L. Morton, "The 1920s", p. 233.

Appendix "A"

Members of the Diamond Jubilee Corporation

The Governor General and Lady Willingdon
W.D. Ross, Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario
N. Perodeau, Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec
J.C. Tory, Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia
W.F. Todd, Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick
T.A. Burrows, Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba
R.R. Bruce, Lieutenant-Governor of British Columbia
F.R. Heartz, Lieutenant-Governor of Prince Edward Island
The Hon. H.W. Newlands, Lieutenant-Governor of Saskatchewan
Dr. W. Egbert, Lieutenant-Governor of Alberta
The Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King
The Hon. Raoul Dandurand
The Hon. Ernest Lapointe
The Hon. James A. Robb
The Hon. Charles Stewart
The Hon. Dr. J.H. King
The Hon. Peter J. Veniot
The Hon. Robert Forke
The Rt. Hon. Francis A. Anglin
The Rt. Hon. Sir George Eulas Foster
The Rt. Hon. George P. Graham
The Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Laird Borden
The Hon. Sir George Halsey Perley
The Hon. Charles Marcil
The Hon. Hewitt Bostock
The Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux
The Hon. Hugh Guthrie
Major-General the Hon. S.C. Mewburn
The Hon. Henry Herbert Stevens
The Hon. Richard Bedford Bennett
The Hon. Sir Lomer Gouin
The Hon. John Ewen Sinclair
The Hon. Edward Mortimer Macdonald
The Hon. Herbert Marler
The Hon. G.H. Ferguson, Prime Minister of Ontario
The Hon. L.A. Taschereau, Prime Minister of Quebec
The Hon. E.N. Rhodes, Prime Minister of Nova Scotia
The Hon. J.B.M. Baxter, Prime Minister of New Brunswick
The Hon. John Bracken, Prime Minister of Manitoba
The Hon. John Oliver, Prime Minister of British Columbia
The Hon. J.D. Stewart, Prime Minister of Prince Edward Island
The Hon. James G. Gardiner, Prime Minister of Saskatchewan
The Hon. J.E. Brownlee, Prime Minister of Alberta

The Hon. William B. Ross, Senator
The Hon. Thomas Chapais, Senator
The Hon. Arthur C. Hardy, Senator
The Hon. John Lewis, Senator
Miss Agnes C. Maphail
E.J. Lemaire
Thomas Mulvey
Arthur Doughty
O.D. Skelton
Mrs. J.A. Wilson
Tom Moore
M.J. Coldwell
The Hon. Cyrille F. Delâge
Michael Luchkovich
Henry Wise Wood
George F. Edwards
Miss R.M. Church
Mrs. Wesley Barker
Sir J.A.M. Aikins
Sir George Garneau
E.W. Beatty
Sir Henry Thornton
Lieutenant-Governor Sir Percy Lake
Thomas Ahearn
C.G. Cowan

Appendix "B"

MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR THE CELEBRATION OF THE DIAMOND JUBILEE OF CONFEDERATION

Honorary Patron: His Excellency the Governor General
Honorary Patroness: Her Excellency the Viscountess Willlingdon

Honorary Presidents:

Rt. Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King, Hon. Hugh Guthrie
Honorary Vice-Presidents:
The Lieutenant-Governors of the Provinces

Presidents:

Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Borden, Hon. Sir Lomer Gouin

Vice-Presidents:

Rt. Hon. George P. Graham, Chairman Executive Committee
Hon. Charles Marcil, Vice-Chairman Executive Committee

Honorary Treasurer:

Hon. H. M. Marler

Honorary Secretaries:

Mr. C.G. Cowan, Mr. Jean Desy

Executive Committee:

Mr. Thomas Ahearn	Hon. W.E. Foster	Mr. P.J. Mulqueen
Mr. J.O. Apps	Mr. A.J. Freiman	Hon. Sir George Perley
Mr. J.P. Balharrie	Sir George Garneau	Hon. Mr. Justice Rinfret
Hon. R.B. Bennett	Hon. Andrew Haydon	Mrs. H.H. Rowatt
Hon. W.A. Black	Mr. H.P. Hill	Mme René de Salaberry
Hon. Hewitt Bostock	Mr. T.O. Lambert	Mr. E.H. Scammell
Mr. P.M. Buttler	Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux	Hon. J.D. Stewart
Mr. M.J. Coldwell	Mr. D'Arcy McGee	Mr. Walter Thompson
Mr. J.W. Dafoe	Mr. J.E. Macpherson	Mrs. J.A. Wilson
Dr. A.G. Doughty	Mr. Tom Moore	

Source: Report of the National Committee, pp. 3-4.

Appendix "C"

Jubilee Corporation Expenditure Estimates

Medals		
Official	9,000.00	
Educational	9,000.00	
School Children	25,000.00	43,000.00
Printed Matter		
Book of Suggestions	500.00	
Pageant Book	3,500.00	
Pageant Book - 2nd edition	2,139.27	
J.B. Lagace for drawings	1,000.00	
"Sixty Years of Progress"	10,000.00	
Addresses Book	1,000.00	
National Thanksgiving	2,500.00	
Invitation Forms	1,250.00	
Other Printed Matter	1,000.00	
Letter Heads	500.00	
Stationery Supplies, etc.	1,000.00	
300 Years of Government (Doughty)	16,500.00	
Report of Committee	3,500.00	44,389.27
[Miscellaneous]		
Telegraph and Telephone	1,470.00	
Transfer and cartage	30.20	
Office Equipment, rentals & supplies	1,095.00	
Contingencies, Postage, etc.	100.00	
Fee, Manager Ottawa Celebration	1,500.00	4,195.20
Publicity		
Fees for historical articles	1,500.00	
Setting up historical articles	1,500.00	
British and Colonial Press Slips	4,500.00	
Cuts and Electros	10,000.00	
Moving pictures	2,500.00	
Incidentals	2,500.00	22,500.00

Travelling expenses	1,331.24	
Salaries	10,000.00	
Visitors' Expenses	1,500.00	
Coinage Competition	1,700.00	
Broadcast	30,000.00	
Slides	500.00	
Wreaths	1,400.00	
Memorials	1,500.00	
Banquets London and Paris	3,000.00	
Official Banquet	2,200.00	
Studio Concert Artists	1,500.00	
Certificates	500.00	
Boy Scouts	500.00	
Ottawa Celebration	26,500.00	
Plaques for schools	35,000.00	
Incidentals, coal, light, etc.	658.31	107,789.55
Total Estimated Expenditure		221,874.00

Source: Jubilee Corporation Papers, Vol. 445, File #1, "Preliminary Report of the Treasurer of the National Committee for the Celebration of the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation".

Appendix "D"

Floats in Historical Pageant

Toronto

1. The Child at Gate
2. Leif the Lucky at Markland
3. John & Sebastian Cabot Leaving Bristol
4. Jacques Cartier at Hochelaga
5. Henry Hudson at Rupert Bay
6. Neptune in the New World
7. Marie Hebert: The First White Woman in Canada
8. Etienne Brulé
9. Champlain at Caragouha
10. The Trial of Brebeuf
11. Laval's First Art School in Canada
12. Dollard at Long Sault
13. Madeleine of Verchères
14. Old Fort Rouillé
15. The Orb of Empire
16. The Death of Wolfe
17. The Arrival of the Loyalists
18. Alexander Mackenzie
19. The First Clearing
20. The Building of Castle Frank
21. The Kildonan Settlers
22. The Fur Post
23. Laura Secord
24. After Lundy's Lane
25. The Saddle Preacher
26. The Early Press
27. The Veterans
28. She Layeth her Hand to the Spindle
29. The Quilting Bee
30. Westward the Star of Empire Takes Its Way
31. The Little Red Schoolhouse
32. The Anvil Battery
33. The Birth of the Machine
34. James Evans: The Apostle of the North
35. New Canadians

Ottawa

1. Electricity
2. Confederation
3. Progress of Light
4. Half-Sized Model of the "Dorchester"
5. Fisheries
6. Mining
7. Progress
8. LaVerendrye
9. Canada's Defenders
10. The Mounted Police
11. Jacques Cartier
12. Port Royal
13. Pulp & Paper
14. The Loyalists
15. Champlain
16. Canada's Constitution
17. Sons of Italy
18. Bell's First Telephone
19. Lumbering
20. The Last Spike
21. The Scot in Canada
22. It Spans the World - CPR Co.
23. Forestry
24. Wheat
25. Post Office Progress
26. The Fur Trade
27. Brittania, First Cunard Line Steamship, 1840
28. Waterways
29. The Melting Pot
30. Canada's Development
31. Arts of Peace
32. Arctic Discovery

Source: PAO, Diamond Jubilee Papers, MU 750, #9; Charles Mackintosh, Canada's Diamond Jubilee, pp. 121-22.

Appendix "E"

Members of the Diamond Jubilee Broadcast Committee

Thomas Ahearn, Chairman
J.E. Macpherson, Vice-Chairman (VP, Bell Telephone Co. of Canada)
C.P. Edwards, Secretary (Director of Radio, Dept. of Marine)
Sen. F.B. Black (President, New Brunswick Telephone Co.)
R.B. Baxter (General Manager, Alberta Government Telephones)
D.C. Durland (President, CGE Co.)
A.E. Dyment (CGE Co.)
G.H. Halse (President, British Columbia Telephone Co.)
J.E. Lowry (Commissioner, Manitoba Telephone System)
A.R. McEwan (Director of Radio, CNR)
John McMillan (General Manager of Telegraphs, CPR)
Paul G. Myler (President, Canadian Westinghouse Company)
H.M. Short (Managing Director, Canadian Marconi Company)
Paul F. Sise (President, Northern Electric)
W. Warren (Deputy Minister, Saskatchewan Government Telephone)
J.H. Winfield (Managing Director, Maritime Telegraph & Telephone)

Source: Ad Mari Usque-Ad Mare, p. 5.

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E. Austin Weir Papers

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Confederation. Diamond Jubilee Papers

Diamond Jubilee Special Newspaper Collection

B. Government Documents

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