

CLASSIC REALIST ETHNIC, GENDER AND CLASS FICTIONS
IN QUÉBEC, 1939-1945

by David Leahy

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ABSTRACT

Classic Realist Ethnic, Gender and Class Fictions in Quebec, 1939-1945

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Concordia University, 1995

It is a truism in comparative Canadian and Quebecois literary studies that historically there has been no influence of one literature upon the other. There is no disputing this absence of influence, but as Richard Giguère's comparative poetic study *Exil, Révolte et Dissidence* evidences strongly, in spite of cultural differences the common socio-historical context necessitates "des thèmes, des questions de fond, une problématique qui leur sont communs" and "[d]es comparaisons au niveau formel mériteraient d'être tentées". To this end, this dissertation's comparative cultural study of English- and French-Canadian classic realist social and literary texts produced in Québec between 1939 and 1945, with especial attention to literary fictions' absorptions and transformations of the social discourses of ethnicity, gender and class, examines what Mary Poovey refers to in *Uneven Developments* as "the conditions of possibility" of texts, their "symbolic econom[ies]" and their "cultural work."

The narrative mode of classic realism, which attempts to convince its reader of its plenary, non-contradictory, truth value, naturalized the dominant social and literary discourses of ethnicity, gender and class within English- and French-Canada during the historical moment of the Second World War. And yet,

contrary to the post-modernist tendency to dismiss classic realism as an inferior, over-determined, narrative form, the selected classic realist texts of my social and literary corpuses, including histories, newspaper reports and editorials, advertisements, films, propaganda, and fiction, also often embody ideological migrations and contradictions which signal contemporary ethnic, gender and class controversies, anxieties and resistances

Thanks to Graham Carr, Pierre L'Herault, Sherry Simon, Robert Schwartzwald, Robert Majzels, Sheena Gourlay and Gail Bourgeois for your many years of advice and encouragement.

And special thanks to Robert Martin, for mentoring me with such friendship and patience, and Ming Shyr, for your patience and everything else

I can reminisce but without the writing there is no
order, only a chaos of memories

Robert Majzels
Heliman's Scrapbook

il a choisi d'être tout seul c'est-à-dire un être seul
qui fait des livres, donc qui n'aurait pas de pouvoir, puis
qui n'en veut pas, au fond Il y a toujours cette
tentation-là, chez les petits peuples, d'être tout ou
d'être rien Et d'être rien, ça veut dire d'être soi-même,
au fond, et ce n'est jamais suffisant

Gerald Godin
A propos d'Hubert Aquin

He leans over and takes her hand With the other he
touches her face "You your best thing, Sethe You are "
His holding fingers are holding hers
"Me? Me?"

- Toni Morrison
Beloved

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INTRODUCTION

This dissertation analyses how the narrative mode of *classic realism*,¹ which attempts to convince its readers of its plenary, non-contradictory, truth value, was important to the naturalization of the social and literary discourses of ethnicity, gender and class within the Anglophone and Francophone communities of Québec during the historical moment of the Second World War. Contrary to the post-modernist tendency to dismiss classic realism as an inferior narrative mode,² however, said naturalizations were nevertheless often riddled with signs, enigmas, contradictions and ruptures which marked ideological anxieties, *migrations*³ and resistances. Thus, given that traditional and more contemporary critical approaches to classic realism in Canada and Québec have tended to presume its narratives' *intentionality*⁴ or *readerliness*,⁵ its more complex *cultural work*⁶ has often been sorely neglected.

It is also a truism in comparative Canadian and Québécois literary studies that "[l]es chercheurs [...] traitent en particulier d'affinités, de parallélisme, de ressemblances et de dissemblances. Ils semblent unanimes à dire qu'il n'y a aucune influence d'une littérature sur l'autre".⁷ While there is no disputing this literary absence of influence,⁸ as Richard Giguère's comparative poetry study *Exil, Révolte et Dissidence* evidences strongly, in spite of cultural differences the common socio-historical context necessitates "des thèmes, des questions de fond, une problématique

qui leur sont communs" and "[d]es comparaisons au niveau formel mériteraient d'être tentées"(233). Or to appropriate Mary Poovey's summary of her *cultural studies* approach in *Uneven Developments* "[t]he object of my study is neither the individual text [] nor literary history, but something extrapolated from texts and reconstructed as the conditions of possibility for those texts" "the symbolic economy or [] the internal structure of ideology" (15). In other words, it is my contention that the comparative cultural study of the narrative form of classic realism with special attention to its social and literary discourses of ethnicity, gender and class, is particularly well suited to better understanding not only English- and French Quebecers' historical cultural similarities and differences, but one of the fundamental ways in which their symbolic economies have been socially and artistically constructed. To date, the wartime explosion of supposedly more realistic fiction has often been associated with the maturation of the two cultures, yet the function of classic realism in the framing and diffusion of contemporary social discourses and texts which come to be associated with the "real", and their classic realist absorptions and transformations¹⁰ in literary texts, have yet to be historicized and theorized.

Having established the broad main lines of interest and investigation of the dissertation, the remainder of this introduction briefly focuses upon the following areas: 1) a more detailed definition of the narrative mode of classic realism and of its cultural work; 2) the identification of several operative

epistemologies and related terms, 3) brief explanations of the choices of the material and discursive axes of ethnicity, gender and class; 4) an outline of the selected classic realist social and literary corpuses, and 5) a summary of the overall structure and guiding methodological principles. I trust that this introduction is sufficient to the task and that the subsequent socio-historical, critical and theoretical work of the chapters and the conclusion illustrate how the important wartime discourses and myths of ethnicity, gender and class were both reinforced by the narrative mode of classic realism and sometimes more volatile, permeable, and dynamic, than its formal constraints.

Classic Realism

Classic realism can be summarized as being composed of "*illusionism*, narrative which leads to *closure*, and a *hierarchy of discourses* which establishes the 'truth' of the story."¹¹ Accordingly, following Roland Barthes's example, Catherine Belsey warns how said "strategies of the classic realist text divert the reader from what is contradictory within it" (128), as when

[c]lassic realist narrative [...] turns on the creation of enigma through the precipitation of disorder which throws into disarray the conventional cultural and signifying systems. Among the commonest sources of disorder at the level of plot in classic realism are murder, war, a journey or love. But the story moves inevitably towards *closure* which is also disclosure, the dissolution of enigma through the re-establishment of the order which is understood to have preceded the events of the story itself.

The moment of closure is the point at which the events of the story become fully intelligible to the reader. The most obvious instance is the detective story where, in the final pages, the murderer is revealed and the motive made plain (70)

According to my understanding of classic realism, however, its enigmas, illusions and closures are generally dependent upon or secondary to the "truths" privileged by its hierarchy of discourses, since

[...] a high degree of intelligibility is sustained throughout the narrative as a result of the *hierarchy of discourses* in the text. The hierarchy works above all by means of a privileged discourse which places as subordinate all the discourses that are literally or figuratively between inverted commas (Belsey 70).

Emile Benveniste's distinction between "discourse" and "history," or *histoire*, indicates one of the fundamental ways in which a social or literary classic realist text performs its cultural work.¹² Or to cite Belsey again.

History narrates events apparently without the intervention of a speaker. In history there is no mention of 'you' and 'I'; "the events seem to narrate themselves" ([Benveniste], 208). Discourse on the other hand, assumes a speaker and a hearer, the 'you' and 'I' of dialogue. In third person narrative fiction [...] the discourses are placed for the reader by a privileged, historic narration which is the source of coherence of the story as a whole. [...] The authority of this impersonal narration springs from its effacement of its own status as discourse. [...] Through the presentation of an intelligible history which effaces its own status as discourse, classic realism proposes a model in which author and reader are subjects who are the source of shared meanings, the origin of which is mysteriously extra-discursive. It thus does the work of ideology in

suppressing the relationship between language and subjectivity (Belsey 71-2).

I would add that the authority of impersonal narration to which Belsey refers does not only apply to "third person narrative fiction" but to the classic realism of other media and genres such as newspaper editorials, advertising, propaganda and films, all of which perform, as evidenced by the many examples in this dissertation, similar self-effacements of their discursive status and ideological investments. Obviously, social texts are generally not concerned with constructing enigmas and disorder for the sake of the dramatic effectiveness of their closures, but they very much move towards closure and would "divert the reader from what is contradictory within it" for the sake of establishing the "truths" of their *histoires*.

Paul Smith's shorthand definition of classic realism also emphasizes the ideological role of the hierarchy of discourses in constructing subjectivity:

The form of Narrative by which we are most usually surrounded in capitalist society is what is known as "classic realism" [...] The primary interest of this mode of representation for literary and cinematic theory seems to be [...] its setting into place of particular forms and relations of subjectivity. Specifically, the classic realist text is understood as an attempt to install the illusion of a plenary and controlling producer (the authorial "subject"), and also to create in the reader the particular subjectivity or subject-position appropriate to the consumption of the text.¹³

This citation gets to the heart of the bourgeois individualistic illusionism or bias of classic realism and, as shall become more apparent in the course of the thesis, implies how ethnic and gender biases can be reinforced by it as well. For since the subject-positioning most common to its hierarchy of discourses presents "[h]uman nature [...] as a system of character-differences existing in [a non-contradictory] world" where "readers, like the central figures of fiction, are unique" (Belsey 74) and totality can be "contained within the single and non-contradictory invisible discourse of the reader" (Belsey 81), classic realism not only privileges a rather bourgeois individualistic outlook on the world but one which is likely to reinforce rather than question the homogenizing ethno-linguistic and gender biases of dominant cultures.¹⁴

Implicit in the above citations, and as Belsey citing Barthes, Benveniste and others argues, is the idea that "[a] scientific criticism [...] distancing itself from the imaginary coherence of the text [...] can] recognize[] in the text not 'knowledge' but ideology itself in all its inconsistency and partiality." (Belsey 128) I am, however, wary of making such a large claim for a "scientific" critical practice since I regard said belief as being too imbued with an idealistic faith in the objectivity of ideological critique (though I appreciate its appeal in opposition to conventional thematic criticism and ahistorical approaches).¹⁵ A presumably "scientific" reading of classic realism (or of any mode, genre, discourse or phenomenon) also runs the risk of overtotalizing; of myopically interpreting and dismissing classic realist texts as monolithically

imperative or *declarative*.¹⁶ This critical tendency might even be said to have become more common in recent years given the frequent privileging of *interrogative* post-modernist writing and critiques, and the consequent comparative presumption that classic realist works are more ideologically closed, as opposed to open-ended, more tightly restrictive in terms of their discourses, and too concerned with *closure*, rather than *process*, to significantly challenge readers' awareness of their construction by texts.¹⁷

Arun Mukherjee has made a case for another definition of the interrogative which does not presume that a classic realist text cannot be "interrogative" in terms of its content.¹⁸ Though this is not a new idea, since Marxist criticism has long specialized in distinguishing and celebrating the political commitment (read: critique or interrogations) of various realist, critical realist and socialist realist aesthetics and writings, I have found it to be a useful reminder of the necessity of trying to avoid falling into a post-structuralist formalism which is more reminiscent of "New Criticism" than the Barthes of *Mythologies*.¹⁹ After all, one of the important objectives of the thesis's querying of classic realism's naturalizations of ethnic, gender and class relations is the analysis of the extent to which the selected classic realist social and literary texts are more interrogative in both Belsey's and Mukherjee's senses of the term than they might otherwise be credited, and of how these characteristics can be related to the historical moment of the war years. Read for their intentionality or declarativeness most of the selected texts undoubtedly fulfill

dominant "common sense" biases about ethnic identities, or class and gender roles. However, read for their interrogative qualities and contradictions their "realisms," "illusions," "closures" and "truths" are often less unitary or homogeneous, more complex, heterogenous and conflicted.

* * * * *

Some Other Epistemological Strategies

In the broadest terms the ideological, critical and theoretical continuum of my work in this dissertation, or the *archive* or *unconscious*²⁰ of prevailing social discourses and identities within which I am writing, runs the gamut from white, heterosexually male-privileged, liberal-humanism to new historicist, pro-feminist and pro-queer, post-structuralism²¹. I mention this eclectic, partial, yet representative range of my un/conscious epistemological and theoretical formations and approaches in anticipation of the possible concern or critique that I am applying knowledges of today to codes and texts which circulated and were created within quite different epistemological frames of reference. Aside from my attempts to adhere to the dictum to "always historicize" (Jameson 9) my response to such concerns is threefold. First, as should become more apparent, the classic realist, ethnic, gender and class discourses of the war years participate in long historical continuums which are not so removed from the present. Second, I believe that my attention to historical specificities actually demonstrates how my use of current knowledges does not impose readings as much as it helps me to read the past anew

Third, that all of the dissertation's historical and critical concerns and strategies are consistent, for better or worse, with the key assumptions of the "new historicism" "1 that every expressive act is embedded in a network of material practices; 2. that every act of unmasking, critique, and opposition uses the tools it condemns and risks falling prey to the practice it exposes; 3. that literary and non-literary 'texts' circulate inseparably, 4. that no discourse, imaginative or archival, gives access to unchanging truths nor expresses inalterable human nature, 5 finally [. . .] that a critical method and a language adequate to describe culture under capitalism participate in the economy they describe ""²² While the thesis does not constantly explicitly raise and address these new historicist points, each of them does function as a critical presumption in many different instances of my study and theorization of the cultural work and contradictions of classic realism's successes and/or failures to naturalize ethnicities, genders and classes. Even the very titles of the individual chapters -- "Ethnic Fictions," "Gender Fictions" and "Class Fictions" -- are meant to imply that the social and literary narratives of said socio-cultural categories are non-objective constructs which are constantly subject to re-writings.

In a broad sense the thesis is a *discourse analysis* insofar as it studies the kinds of complex relationships and exchanges between texts and their contexts.²³ Yet I use the term discourse in several senses, depending upon the particular object of study. It most often refers to the historically contingent *discursive formation* , or the discursive practice, of a particular field of opinion or knowledge,

such as the discourse of ethnicity.²⁴ Every social discourse has a historical dimension and is governed and changed by rules, procedures, writings and debates which define and exclude. No discourse is self-contained or static. Rather, it is serially overlapped with or influenced by other discursive fields, as were the discourses of femininity and class during WW II as a result of changes in industrial production and wo/man-power. Or as Marc Angenot suggests in his definition of a *sociogram*, a shorthand term for a "noeud gordien d'idéologèmes intriqués" "les différents discours et les différentes idéologies thématisent, figurent et interprètent simultanément certains aspects de la vie sociale [] le tout formant un ensemble instable [un] ensemble dont les éléments sont porteurs d'enjeux et de débats; ensemble dont enfin les limites sont floues, dont les 'frontières' ne sont aucunement étanches (Angenot 103-04)." This *intertextuality*, *interdiscursivity* and *migrations*, as Angenot pluralistically defines the process, does not mean that there are not predominant discourses within a particular historical period, but that the hegemony of dominant socio-economic groups is not only dependent upon their control of the economic structure,²⁵ or of "Ideological State Apparatuses" and their interpellation of subjects,²⁶ but is a result of dynamic interchanges or migrations amongst several discourses.²⁷ It follows that as with the Bakhtinian School's critique of traditional Marxism, ideology is not merely a mental false consciousness which results from a material socio-economic substructure. It is inseparable from the medium of language, which has its own material reality.²⁸

As has been argued time and again by semioticians and post-structuralists, we are all -- including the most accomplished writers -- products of, and spoken by, language before we produce and shape it. One way to conceptualize this is Jacques Derrida's "critique of the notion of language as communication" and his "assertion of the materiality of all discourse", or what Antony Easthope refers to as "the precedence of the signifier"²⁹ Though Derrida's deconstructionist argument and methodology are much more complex than can be discussed here, his critique of what he calls *logocentrism* -- "the view that speech is the original source of meaning", that "[m]ind expresses meaning (the signified) almost but not quite transparently through words (the signifier)" -- subverts "[t]he notion of an original context as source of meaning" and replaces it with "the idea of a variety of potential contexts of which the so-called original is only one" (Easthope 14-15). Or as Derrida stresses in *Of Grammatology* "the text will always mean for its readers something other than it means for its author. In every text, written or spoken, read silently or performed aloud, there will always be some 'gap' between intention and reading", or what Derrida refers to as *différance* (Easthope 15).³⁰ Put another way, "[a]s far as the social fact of discourse is concerned the bond of signifier and signified ceases to be arbitrary; but it never ceases to be arbitrary for the subject" (Easthope 35) -- for the socially and discursively constructed individual consciousness in the act of being spoken by and interpreting the text.

It follows that unlike biographical and thematic critics I am much less interested in the intentionality of an author. Or as Gayatri Spivak has said regarding her own skepticism about intentionality:

The fear of a critical reading that would question the writer's direct access to his or her meaning is related to the received dogma of the illusion of freedom. Strictly speaking, received dogma is another name for ideology. Ideology in the critical sense does not signify an avowed doctrine. It is rather the loosely articulated sets of historically determined and determining notions, presuppositions, and practices, each implying the other by real [...] or forced logic, which goes by the name of common sense or self-evident truth or natural behavior in a certain situation.³¹

Or to mention an example from my corpus, Jean-Marie Gaboury was the first critic to study Germaine Guèvremont's style, but like most of his contemporaries he read her texts as being directly accessible, without ambiguities and contradictions.³² Such faith in intentionality led Gaboury to conclude that "la reconstitution" of the world in Guèvremont's texts "témoigne de l'auteur" (68).³³ Not only is it no longer fashionable to believe in the "unity" of the author, but semantic recurrences, images, character types, *etcetera* which may come to be identified with an author are not her/his private property. Such *signs* or *significations* may give us the illusion of the unity of an author and/or of textual discourses, but they are also inevitably interdiscursive sedimentations of language and of the actual world rather than products of the individual psyche or text.³⁴

One of the major advantages of this deconstructive approach to sign systems and texts is that it can help put the lie to classist, universalist, euro-centric, heterosexist, and ethnically biased informed beliefs, as well as to any false understanding and appreciation of a text as fundamentally dependent upon our objective knowledge of a timeless, "seamless whole" of literature, or of key canonical texts. The historical-materialist caution here is that a

particular 'theme' and the characters who seem to dramatize it are themselves simply so many allusions to a more basic ideological 'sign' which would have been grasped instinctively by any contemporary reader but from which we are culturally and historically somewhat distanced. This sign or ideologeme, it is true, exists nowhere as such. part of the 'objective spirit' or the cultural Symbolic order of its period, it vanishes into the past along with the latter, leaving only its traces -- material signifiers, lexemes, enigmatic words and phrases -- behind it (Jameson 200-01).³⁵

A historically informed approach to semiotics and deconstruction therefore not only makes us more aware of the *différences* of the text, but of how they are historically constituted and dis/continuous. Discourses may not only have radically different associations and meanings for subsequent generations, but for different consumers, readers or audiences within the time present of the same historical moment and -- in terms of the formal focus of this thesis -- in spite of the limiting strategies of classic realism.

The deconstructive work of the thesis is perhaps best summarized by the following comments from Michael Ryan's *Marxism and Deconstruction*:

Deconstruction teaches one to attend to gestures of exclusion [..] Standard philosophic deconstruction consists of showing how what a norm of sovereignty or identity (of meaning, say) excludes is in fact an 'internal' necessity for that norm. Usually, what is excluded is some sort of crisis that could befall the norm [] The norm is displacement; hence, all attempts to establish a normative identity of meaning can be shown to be a *construct*, a fiction. That is the meaning of the word *deconstruction* -- to show the fictive nature of such constructs [.. .] To affirm the abyss deconstruction opens in the domain of knowledge is politically to affirm the permanent possibility of social change."³⁶

Accordingly, the dissertation pays much attention to the *non-dits* or *unsaid*s of texts. I am wary though, like Robert Scholes, of deconstruction's possible "bottomless abyss of textuality, a vertiginous perspective in which constructs are erected upon constructs, without foundation and without end"³⁷. Or as Scholes critiques mainstream deconstruction's incompatibility with feminism: "feminism and deconstruction [] are founded upon antithetical principles: feminism upon a class concept and deconstruction upon the deconstructing of all such concepts" (208)³⁸

This essentially historical-materialist anxiety about not attending enough to what might be summarized as "the historical determination of [...] literary and other discourses"³⁹ echoes another epistemology of the dissertation, that of *cultural studies*. It has

become academically so popular and so diffused, like so many other critical approaches of the last few decades which I invoke, that an attempt to begin to define it adequately would require at least a short essay. Therefore, I make no apologies for the following garden variety definition. A cultural studies perspective is a form of socialist or contestatory cultural criticism much beholden to Antonio Gramsci's stress on the analysis of the cultural dimension of bourgeois rule, of how its hegemony is maintained less by force than by its implicit and explicit cultural manifestations. This form of critique is also profoundly indebted to Raymond Williams's analyses of culture.⁴⁰ I would add, however, that I am using the term socialist in a broad sense which assumes the inter-cursivity of ethnic, gender and class identity politics and critique of recent decades. Cultural studies attempts to identify and to dismantle received notions of society, social values, and especially mass market cultural products (i.e. the false binaries of "High" and "low" cultures; marketing publicity; newspaper articles and editorials) so as to interpret their cultural work in shaping the subjectivities and various subordinations of consumers of culture. In short, many concepts, hypotheses and conclusions can be related to and drawn from such post-structuralist and cultural studies attention to language, signs, discourses and their cultural work, but I leave it to the remainder of this introduction and the practices of my text to enunciate and clarify them.

* * * * *

Why Ethnicity, Gender and Class?

I explore the critical axes of ethnicity ("race"), gender and class because they represent indisputably crucial, interrelated, social and discursive formations in the interpellation and constitution of subjects. Like Robert Scholes I conceptualize all three categories as "classes"

I do not [] restrict the term to socioeconomic class, though that remains as a central type or model for [my] concept of *class* []. Readers who read as members of a class can be distinguished from those who are members of what Stanley Fish has called an *interpretive community* [] in that membership in a class implies both necessity and interest. A member of the class *Jew* in Hitler's Germany or of the class *Black* in South Africa at present, is a member of those classes by necessity and has an interest in the situation of the class as a whole [..] A class, in this sense is a cultural creation, part of a system of categories imposed upon all those who attain subjectivity in a given culture. One may belong to a party or faction through choice [] but one is assigned to a class by a system that allows no abstentions (Scholes 1985, 206)

Analogously, ethnicity, gender and class are not simply imposed upon the thesis's classic realist social and literary texts. Rather, they are inevitably embedded with these three "classes" and their historically specific, contending, discourses which are so crucial to the creation of narratives and "truths". My selected individual texts occasionally may not evidence many signs of one or two of these axes, but usually at least two of them are dialectically related and fundamental to the narrative's cultural work. One good thumbnail example is the persistent yet quite moribund campaigns to

encourage *colonisation* in Qu ébec (a discourse which, even though it persisted even after the war, and is related to all three of my thesis's "classes", will not be addressed in detail for the sake of expediency.) As late as the 1940s it still constituted a *paradigmatic discourse*⁴¹ as to what it was to be French-Canadian which was extremely oppositional or binary in its ethnic self-definition, and quite patriarchal and semi-feudal in terms of its gender politics and political-economics.⁴² Its classic realist embodiments included everything from Camille Roy's and Lionel Groulx's regionalist⁴³ literary tracts and historical narratives; to heroic, ostensibly "realistic", advertising campaigns and magazines; to countless sermons; as well as novels such as *Un Homme et son péché*, *Menaud, maître-draveur* and *Trente arpents* (and, many years later, even the pastoral sequence in Gabrielle Roy's *Alexandre Chênevert*).⁴⁴

* * * * *

The critical optic of "ethnicity" -- the socially identifiable cultural traits of a group-- should not be confused with the concept of "race", though in the historical period of my study "race" was by far the operative term to distinguish different ethnic groups from one another. After all, in those days (and even in the 1971 version of *The Complete Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary*) an "ethnic" was generally considered to be a heathen or non-Christian and "ethnicity" was considered a synonym for "race".

Henry Louis Gates, Jr. has put forward very compelling reasons to avoid using "race":

Race, as a meaningful criterion within the biological sciences, has long been recognized to be a fiction. When we speak of 'the white race' or the 'the black race,' 'the Jewish race' or 'the Aryan race,' we speak in biological misnomers and, more generally, in metaphors [...] Race, [...] pretends to be an objective term of classification, when in fact it is a dangerous trope [...]

Race has become a trope of ultimate, irreducible difference between cultures, linguistic groups, or adherents of specific belief systems which -- more often than not -- also have fundamentally opposed economic interests. Race is the ultimate trope of difference because it is so very arbitrary in its application. The biological criteria used to determine 'difference' in sex simply do not hold when applied to 'race.' Yet we carelessly use language in such a way as to *will* this sense of *natural* difference into our formulations. To do so is to engage in a pernicious act of language, one which exacerbates the complex problem of cultural or ethnic difference, rather than assuage or redress it.⁴⁵

The longstanding trope of race in Canada and Québec during the inter-war years and WW II definitely fulfilled the function of arbitrarily marking off the cultural, linguistic, religious, ideological, and economic differences between English and French speakers -- as well as, very frequently, Jews -- as essential and irreconcilable. Yet the differences amongst English-Canadians, French-Canadians, and other groups were cultural rather than racial; socially constructed, through time, rather than reflecting any innate or essentialist differences. Or as Gary Caldwell has summarized this dynamic: "une collectivité ethnique n'est pas seulement une sous-culture, ou le produit d'une constellation quelconque des facteurs structurels: elle est, en plus, caractérisée par une

dimension temporelle [...] Toutefois, en pratique, le concept d'«ethnicité» n'est pas utilisé pour n'importe quelle collectivité stable. On se sert plutôt de ce terme pour désigner une collectivité placée dans une situation qui invite à ce qu'on la distingue d'une autre collectivité."⁴⁶

That French-Canadians were a relatively isolated ethno-linguistic branch of European French culture did not stop many French-Canadians from considering themselves as part of a French race. Many English-Canadians, even when they were of Irish or Scottish extraction, subscribed to an equivalent racial paradigm which, whether or not they were born in the British Isles, similarly allowed them to identify with a specious English race. Such racial self-definitions were not exclusive to English- and French-Canadians. All ethno-linguistic groups accepted and wielded the trope of race. There were many historical and political-economic reasons which compelled people to identify themselves as members of distinct races. First, it was a European inherited concept which, aside from its ideological function in the historical conquest of the indigenous peoples,⁴⁷ was already long entrenched in colonial competition and cultures in the Americas. Second, "[t]he European emphasis on language as a criterion of the 'genuine' nation"⁴⁸ had been crucial to local political debates since the early 19th century and thereby heightened the identification of "race" with a linguistic based nation-state.⁴⁹ For many French-Canadians their supposed racial heritage was intrinsically linked to their colonial status within the Canadian nation-state and hence the expression of a

nascent or frustrated nationalism. Identifying with a French *race* was a form of ideological, and hence emotional and psychological, differentiation and empowerment in a situation of relative socio-economic oppression and in the face of British, Eastern- and Southern-European immigration. A related process was at play for many English-Canadians in their identification with a mythical English race whose elite, and its political-economic dominance, had been bolstered by the large migrations of Britons since the 1840s. Within the Québec and Montreal contexts of the 1940s English-Canadians were still both numerous and influential enough that they could remain relatively separate from other ethno-linguistic groups. Yet the fact of the majority of relatively underprivileged French-Canadians, coupled with the urban Anglophone community's growing dependence upon the absorption of immigrants to sustain its own numbers, were sources of tension and conflict. Third, the international inter-war explosion of class and racial discourses and conflicts reached a crescendo at the same historical moment in which local racisms were aggravated by the proliferation of immigrant ethnic groups and languages. Finally, racial identifications allowed competing ethnic-classes to try to erase or minimize differences within their own groups and, hence, strategically maintain overly homogenized, antagonistic, self-definitions.⁵⁰

Still, in spite of pervasive racist practices, social codes and discourses against ethnic diversity and hybridity, their contradictions were also ever present and the ethnic opponents and

heterogeneities which they meant to reject and control were not so accommodating. The social and symbolic conditions of World War II, especially given how much internationally and locally they concerned and generated controversies about ethnicity and ethnic intolerance, would both fuel and subvert traditional, conventional, biases and "truths" about "race" in Québec.

Concomitantly, like much of the rest of North America, the accelerated urbanization and industrialization of Canada and Québec as a result of the war also made for important shifts in gender construction and relations. The social discourse of gender may not have been as explicit, or at least as acknowledged, as that of ethnicity, but its importance was just as fundamental and pervasive. I am thinking, for instance, not only of the most obvious terrain regarding the war effort's expansion and reconstruction of female labour and sexual rules, but of the war's actual and symbolic virilization of males who had been disenfranchised -- and thereby "castrated" -- by the previous war and the Great Depression.⁵¹ Paradoxically, though not surprisingly, the war's expansion of the publicly acceptable *homosocial continuums*⁵² of male and female subject positions, especially through same-sex institutions and sites such as the military, were simultaneously prone to increased *moral and homosexual panics*.⁵³

Accordingly, male-dominant heterosexist culture's phallogocentric⁵⁴ privileges and discourses continued to construct essentialist ideas and images of gender differences, including what

constituted normalcy and deviancy, which were further naturalized by classic realist narratives of many kinds. However, the scale and variety of ways in which dominant culture's gender biases were threatened by wartime conditions was without precedent. For instance, between 1939 and 1945 the conventional acceptable sites of labour and socialization for women shifted radically from the exclusivity of the home and the nursery to include the factory and the public sphere, then back again as the war effort, demobilization and the commodification of family life rejected and repressed the recent variety of female subject positions. Homosexually panicked heterosexual culture continued to persecute same-sex individuals and orientations during the war, but the homosocial institutions and sites of military life, like much wartime factory working and social conditions, nevertheless facilitated the feasibility, attractiveness and expansion of same-sex desires and sub-cultures -- especially in a port and troop embarkation point like Montréal -- phenomena which, no matter how limited, were threatening to dominant *sex and gender relations*.⁵⁵ In short, though the military, social and symbolic conditions of the war were such that their virilization and valorization of masculine bonding and values at the expense of women, homosexuals and lesbians were obviously incredibly magnified, hegemonic sex and gender relations had to be simultaneously undermined by the demands of wartime same-sex cultures. Unfortunately however, as shall become apparent, due to a lack of historical and primary materials on gay and especially lesbian subcultures during the war, as much as the dissertation deals with deviancies from heterosexuality it is only scratching the

surface. This is a sign perhaps, as well, of how as much as I have tried to make my readings pro-feminist and pro-queer my gendered subjectivities as a heterosexual male limit the possibilities of the feminism/s or "queer"-ness of my project.

The conditions of class, class consciousness and class conflict were also greatly, and often paradoxically, affected by the war. It has been a cliché of Canadian and Québec studies that in spite of the election and social reforms of the Godbout government (1939-1944), conservative, traditional, classism was hegemonic in Québec during the war, but this is only one classed narrative of many. For after a decade of increased class exploitation and resistance as a result of the Depression, the war created conditions, such as an insatiable demand for labour, which empowered working people and ideologies at the same time that the popular desire to win the war, and the dominant classes' defensive neo-liberal appropriation of social democratic and leftist programs, attempted to defuse the radical class potential of the moment.

The term class, as I use it, does not refer to "two great hostile camps" of the bourgeoisie and proletariat as Marx and Engels broadly schematized it;⁶ but to the stratified, variously homogeneous and heterogenous, classed interests (i.e. financial, political, ethnic, literary) of socio-economic groups which assume diverse forms and consequences as a result of their changing material and ideological relations.⁵⁷ While this broad definition may seem too general, abstract and fluid to be of descriptive or

analytical use, I believe its flexibility is appropriate to the complexities of class relations in general and to the historical moment of my study -- with its rapid, turbulent, capitalization, proletarianization and ethnic-class complications. Secondly, I believe most other definitions of class relations are too Leninist⁵⁸ to reconcile with the ways in which I address class conflict and class consciousness in this thesis.

For I am not so interested in absolutely defining how a particular class is conscious of itself as a class, of its awareness of itself and its material interests within the production process, as I am in how a general, relational, context of class interests, conflicts, social measures (i.e. laws, organizations, social alliances), and especially classic realist strategies, as I understand, narrativize and deconstruct them, may have contributed to the maintenance, questioning or reform of the classist status quo.⁵⁹ For instance, though my brief social-historical attention to, say, trade union conflicts (see "CFs" 306-12) may be read as implying that I equate them with a coherent revolutionary class consciousness, this is not my intent. Similarly, my attention to the growing hegemony of neo-liberal ideology, politics and social programs may be wrongly read as suggesting a unitary ruling class agenda. Rather, I see such phenomena as parts of a dialectical process which derives its primary importance not from whether or not political-economic decisions and actions are taken on the basis of revolutionary proletarian, or bourgeois, class consciousness, but from what I understand to be their classed causes and effects.⁶⁰

The most obvious dangers of this approach are that it risks investing too much positive faith in minor signs of anti-classism or risks minimizing the worst instances of classism. I hope both of these tendencies are minimal; avoiding the historical left-mythos which only grants progressive cultural value to rigorously class conscious actions and critiques, while deconstructing an ideologically diversified range of discourses and texts for what they may further reveal about the complexities of the classist status quo during the war.

To reiterate, the "classes" of ethnicity, gender and class are not simply imposed upon the thesis's classic realist social and literary texts. They are categories which are central to the social histories of the war years and to their absorptions and transformations in social and literary classic realist texts. More specifically, I will concentrate upon several particular social controversies which were crucial to each of the three larger discursive axes. They are the ethnic aspects of the contemporary immigration, bilingualism and conscription controversies; the sex and gender controversies around wartime fe/male labour and military service, as well as male and female "deviancy"; and the ideologies and politics which condemn, accept or deny the existence of class exploitation, and would counsel, practice or defuse resistance to it. These social controversies sometimes had a fairly obvious one-to-one interdiscursive relationship with literary discourses, but they were more often embedded in classic realist

fictions in ways which only several epistemologies and methods can lever, expose and explain.

* * * * *

The Selected Corpuses and Methodological Principles

After reading several years of pre-, post- and World War II Québec-based newspapers, any number of contemporaneous works of fiction, radio and burlesque scripts, related cultural and literary criticism, histories and other disciplinary studies, as well as viewing many popular, contemporary, Hollywood feature films and Canadian documentaries, my final corpus of primary social and literary texts is highly selective. I do not pretend to have read every published periodical or monographic example of classic realist writing which falls within the historical and cultural parameters of my study's frame, but I have read enough to feel confident that my selections are highly indicative of the interdiscursive range and complexities of the social and the literary during the war years in Québec.⁶¹

Bi-partite phrases separating "the literary and the social" or "social and literary discourses" are not meant to imply that literature is not a "social" text or discourse, or that social texts are not "literary." The distinction is made for two reasons. One, as much as I believe in the notion of undermining or discarding the exclusivity of literature,⁶² said cultural convention was *de rigueur* during the historical moment of my study and therefore, to some extent, is an inescapable construct which cannot simply be

retrospectively willed away. Two, since "it is not possible, within discourse, to escape essentializing",⁶³ and especially between set binary oppositions, I try as much as possible to strategically consider the essentialisms of my social and literary texts within their own generic terms in order to be better able to critique what their classic realist strategies have in common. For instance, literary texts obviously absorb and transform social discourses in ways which are more peculiar to the dictates of a fictional narrative's characterizations and psychologizations, or to plot development and drama -- such as a greater emphasis upon the creation and dissolution of *enigmas* -- than they are to the rhetoric of a newspaper editorial.⁶⁴ And though non-literary, ostensibly objective, genres such as a history or a newspaper editorial may not narrate the "stories" of social controversies in quite the same ways as a work of fiction, especially since their hierarchies of discourse tend to be much more limited, their *histoires*' effacements of their status as discourse, and the consequent suppression of the ideological relationship between language and subjectivity, are as classic realist as any novelistic example. Before considering the ways in which I read the social and literary texts and discourses of my overall primary corpus, however, let me briefly outline how it was arrived at.

Since newspapers were the dominant vehicle for the dissemination and consumption of public discourses during the war their reportage, editorials and advertisements constitute the largest source of social texts within my corpus. The extent of the

classic realist strategies of each of the aforementioned newspaper genres varies considerably, but they are obviously often as important for what they say or report -- for what they record and thereby valorize as living history -- as for how they say it. Thus, the newspaper material which is cited or analyzed in the thesis is used to help establish the arguments and symbolic parameters of contemporary social controversies about ethnicity, gender and class, but they are just as frequently deconstructed for their classic realist illusions, hierarchies of discourse, and consequent "truths".

The newspaper research involved three kinds of reading strategies. The first consisted of alternately scanning and reading all of the relevant local and international news, including the women's pages, editorials, and any appropriate advertisements, in major English and French Montréal based newspapers on alternate week-days and all Saturdays (including week-end magazine supplements). More specifically, this meant reviewing microfilm material for the Monday, Wednesday, Friday and Saturday of one week and the Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday of the subsequent week. The second strategy involved surveying more diachronic sequences depending upon the news stories that were breaking or, depending upon the third strategy, as pertinent events and dates were identified by my secondary research. However, three relative weaknesses emerged during the course of this work. First, in the face of the sheer mass of potential material and of time constraints I eventually concentrated on *The Montreal Gazette*, *The Montreal*

Daily Star, *La Presse* and *Le Devoir*. This meant giving much shorter shrift than I originally intended to other important newspapers like *Le Canada* and *The Montreal Daily Herald*. Second, I also eventually concentrated on newspaper material of the initial and final years of my study's historical frame -- in particular January 1939-to-December 1941 and January 1944-to-December 1945. I had, after all, started my primary research of the newspapers by reviewing the years 1939 and 1945 in tandem as a means of trying to better grasp the overall continuum of social controversies; and by the time I was through the 1940 and 1944 material, and most of my secondary readings, I was quite satisfied as to the main lines of my research. This meant relying more upon my third reading strategy for the intervening two years of 1942 and 1943 but -- and this is my third point -- it did not prevent me from still acquiring a much greater supply of texts and annotations than I could effectively synthesize or cite. I would also add that it is the newspapers' advertisements and war propaganda which are most consistently thoroughly classic realist, and which are especially interesting regarding their gender and class discourses; whereas it is in the newspapers' feature articles and editorials where classic realist strategies are most important to the discourse of ethnicity. Yet another indication, given the obvious privileged position of the latter genres within the semiotics of a newspaper, of the extent to which Canada's two ethno-linguistic "charter"^{6.5} groups were obsessed or possessed by questions of "race".

Contemporary histories, such as Morden Long's *A History of the Canadian People* (1942), Stanley Ryerson's *French Canada* (1943), or Jean Bruchesi's *Histoire du Canada pour tous* (1946); or social science studies and political-economic or social tracts, such as Everett Hughes's *French Canada in Transition* (1943), Richard Arès's *Notre Question Nationale* (1943), or Lorne Pierce's *A Canadian People* (1945); constitute the next largest body of non-literary texts of my corpus. They tend, not surprisingly, as signalled by their very titles, to be most relevant to recording and deconstructing contemporary discourses about ethnicity. Without fail, their rhetoric and narratives are also invariably constructed so as to divert readers from their ideological contradictions and to privilege the "truths" of their *histoires*. As Hayden White has so brilliantly shown, when submitted to rhetorical analyses most traditional histories can be shown to be overly reliant upon rhetorical techniques which exploit commonsensical generalizations rather than exhibiting explanatory logic.⁶⁶ Yet, having said this, I also use many post-war histories and social- and political-science articles and monographs to historicize the social discourses of ethnicity, gender and class during the inter-war years and WW II, and they are rarely deconstructed as thoroughly as my primary texts. This is definitely one of the ways in which my attempts to unmask, critique, and oppose the limits of classic realist constructed social discourses is most weak, since in using the very kinds of tools I otherwise reject the thesis becomes more susceptible to the illusions and contradictions of their practices (see "INTRO" 9). So too, at times I have not successfully resisted "la tentation [..] forte

pour l'historien de s'en tenir à celles [idéologies] qui ont la forme extérieure la plus articulée";⁶⁷ such as in my invocations of Lionel Groulx.⁶⁸

My attention to the classic realism of other non-literary genres, such as feature and documentary films, are much more limited in comparison with my original intentions but, after reviewing many examples, I trust the selected works are strategic and informative. They include deconstructions of the documentary, *Proudly She Marches* (1943), as well as of a much more recent lesbian reading of it by Marilyn Burgess; and of the homosexual panic in Billy Wilder's Academy Award winning *The Lost Weekend* (1944). Given the neglect of gender issues in the history, social- and political-science texts of the era, these two films have proved to be invaluable signs of its gender revolutions and panics. Another outstanding text, but this time in terms of the interdiscursivities of class and gender, is the burlesque "Tizoune C'est Le Coq". It may not be classic realist, but that is exactly why it proves to be so useful to my analysis -- since it helps foreground the class and gender conflicts which classic realist narratives of the period tend to inoculate⁶⁹ against or leave unsaid.

My final literary corpus was decided on the following basis. At first, I had already read and would read in the course of my research a substantial number of pre-, post- and wartime works of fiction in order to develop a broad sense of the two linguistic traditions. These included works as disparate as Morley Callaghan's

Strange Fugitive (1928), Jean-Charles Harvey's *Les demi-civilisés* (1934), Félix-Antoine Savard's *Menaud, Maître-Draveur* (1937), Philippe Panneton's *Trente arpents* (1938), F. P. Grove's *The Master of the Mill* (1944), early stories by Mavis Gallant, Eric Cecil Morris's *A Voice Is Calling* (1945), Robert Charbonneau's *Fontile* (1945), Panneton's *L'héritage et autres contes* (1946), Jean Simard's *Félix. Livre d'enfant pour adultes* (1947) and *Hôtel de la Reine* (1949), Anne Hébert's *Le torrent* (1951), Callaghan's *The Loved and The Lost* (1951), Roger Viau's *Au Milieu, La Montagne* (1951), Douglas Sanderson's *Dark Passions Subdue* (1952), Mordecai Richler's *Son of a Smaller Hero* (1955), Robert Pelchat's *Derrière le sang humain : Une étrange confession* (1956), and Pierre Gélinas's *Les Vivants, les morts et les autres* (1959), to name a few.⁷⁰ Others, even more obscure, included short stories from *The Canadian Forum* during the 1930s and 1940s; the Montréal based little magazines of *Preview* (1942-1945); *First Statement* (1942-1945) and *Northern Review* (1945-1956); and newspapers of the day. The Francophone reviews, however, like *La Relève* (1934-1941), *La Nouvelle Relève* (1941-1948) and *Amérique française* (1941-1964) were rarely venues for fiction. The next step was to decide upon the criteria which would establish the final selections. The first one, given my decision to focus upon the Anglophone and Francophone communities of Québec, was to limit my selected literary texts to works that had been written and were set primarily within the Québec context. (The one exception to this rule, the reasons for which will be made obvious later, is Hugh MacLennan's *Barometer Rising* (1941).) The second major criterion was that because of the traditional critical

bias against considering "literary" texts as "social" texts, or as profoundly interdiscursive, I would favour deconstructing fiction that was considered to be especially "literary" within and since the historical moment of the war. Clearly, this limited the number of Anglophone texts which I could draw upon. Yet I think that between the canonicity of MacLennan's two wartime novels, and the critical neglect of Gwethalyn Graham's *Earth and High Heaven* (1944) and of Patrick Anderson's autobiographical fictions, along with the interdiscursive richness of these works, the lack of titles is more than made up for.⁷¹

The comparative volume of possible Francophone texts created even greater problems for deciding upon the selections. Though my analyses begin with François Hertel's much neglected novel *Le Beau risque* (1939), which was actually written before the war commenced but which embodies almost all of the major social controversies concerning ethnicity, gender and class which were prevalent on the cusp of and throughout the war, the rest of the final Francophone literary corpus is more canonical than I had originally anticipated. This is largely because, as I noted above, it is hoped that my readings of the ethnic, gender and class discourses of Robert Charbonneau's *Ils posséderont la terre* (1941), Roger Lemelin's *Au Pied de la pente douce* (1944), Gabrielle Roy's *Bonheur d'occasion* (1945), Anne Hébert's story "Le Torrent" (1945), and Germaine Guèvremont's *Le Survenant* (1945), will encourage others to reconsider the cultural work of canonical texts. Some excluded texts, such as Charbonneau's *Fontile* (1945), or Germaine

Guèvremont's stories and sketches in *En pleine terre* (1942), were considered to offer too little that was new in terms of formal or discursive considerations. I also wanted to try and maintain an approximate numerical balance between the English- and French-Canadian selections. The one great loss, especially from a gender perspective, is the exclusion of the wartime French expatriate, Jacqueline Mabit's, *La Fin de la joie* (1945), a fascinating, finely wrought, lesbian panicked novel, but with a French setting that left me no choice but to exclude it from the corpus. The only other non-canonical inclusion after Hertel's *Le Beau risque* is a military Christmas story, "Un Volontaire", published in *La Presse* at the beginning of the war.

Which brings me to my final comments on the dissertation's structure and principles for narrating and addressing social histories, and social and literary discourses and texts. Each of the three chapters of "Ethnic Fictions," "Gender Fictions" and "Class Fictions" commences with social historical narratives, constructed primarily on the basis of secondary sources, which are concomitantly supplemented and illustrated by the deconstruction of primary classic realist social texts or "fictions", including contemporary histories. Depending upon the chapter, however, the mix and sequencing of the social historical materials and close readings varies. In the case of the "Ethnic" and "Gender Fictions," after general introductions about the discourses in question the two chapters are sub-divided into alternating sections. For instance, as part of the chapter on ethnicity, a social historical section on

"Immigration, Assimilation Panic & Tolerance" is followed by close readings of literary texts under the rubric of "The Immigration Narrative: From Anti-Cosmopolitanism to the Hybrid Self." Similarly, in the "Gender Fictions" chapter, the initial social historical sub-sections on "Homsocial Continuums and Ruptures" and "Women and Threats to Femininity/Masculinity" are followed by a sequence of sub-sections entitled "Some Literary Signs of Male Hegemony", "Male Authored Feminine Resistance, Some Contradictions and Recuperation", and "A Revolutionary Moment in Women's Literature, More Resistance and Contradictions." For a variety of reasons, including its comparative brevity, the "Class Fictions" chapter is, ironically, less dialectically structured. Instead, after some introductory contextualization, it moves more linearly from a continuous series of social historical sub-sections under the rubric of "Monopoly Capital, Ethnic-Classes and Class Exploitation", to close readings of literary works under the larger rubric of "Class(ic Realist) Exploitation", which includes themes such as "Two Francophone Petty/Bourgeois Imaginaries", "Some Anglophone Literary Progressivism and Its Contradictions", or "Writing The Writer As Bourgeois Subject." For the sake of brevity and to avoid being too redundant, none of the three chapters draw final conclusions. This work is saved for the actual "Conclusion" of the dissertation.

As should be apparent from my previous comments on my epistemological influences and strategies, it is my hope that I have avoided -- for I know I have not solved -- some of the literary

specialist's errors of doing sociology and history badly; or what André Belleau describes in critiquing Goldmann as "sociologisme sans médiations".⁷² Hence yet another reason, other than my being a product of the intellectual ferment of my times, for resorting to such a variety of theoretical and methodological strategies. (No doubt too many even, and not rigorously enough, for those who prefer purer approaches to theoretically informed criticism.) So too, though it may seem anathema to a comparative cultural project, I have tried to read each text as much as possible within its own terms, respecting each text as a unique object, or what Richard Hoggart calls "reading for values".⁷³ Like André Belleau I have generally tried to envisage each text as a different response to the same, yet ethno-linguistically divided, society, rather than putting the emphasis upon monolithically concluding what the texts have in common. Put another way, as I noted previously, like Mary Poovey "[t]he object of my study is neither the individual text (of whatever kind) nor literary history, but something extrapolated from texts and reconstructed as the conditions of possibility for those texts", or what she calls the "symbolic economy or, more generally, the internal structure of ideology" (15). The major differences in my thesis are that unlike Poovey's concentration upon social texts, such as the debates about the use of chloroform in *The Lancet* (see Poovey, Chapter 2), my close readings have tended to concentrate on canonical literary texts; and I primarily analyze the "conditions of possibility" for social and literary discourses and texts in terms of classic realism's ability and failure to naturalize them. The consequent dialectic of the thesis is constantly "moving from

concrete to abstract to concrete" -- from social history; to identifying, deconstructing and theorizing its absorptions and transformations in classic realist texts; to hypothesizing the consequent variety and limitations of their cultural work -- in ways, it is hoped, such that the "abstraction[s]" and their concretizations remain "historical and determinate".⁷⁴ The perennial paradox, once again, with this or any other dialectic is that it can be interpreted as implying a presumed objective perspective. On my better days I do not have, nor encourage, such an illusion. Rather, I would say that I adopt points of view and take critical positions which, as the labour of this text has taught me all too well, I may believe passionately but which I also have to accept as indeterminate.

Finally, my self-conscious ideal as a new historicist, pro-feminist and pro-queer, post-structuralist oddly brings to mind Margaret Atwood's *Survival : A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature* .⁷⁵ For just as Atwood's critical emphasis upon the theme of survival was a result of the conjunction of Frygianism and Canadian nationalism in the late 1960s and early 1970s, my emphasis upon the trinity of ethnicity, gender and class is obviously a product of current identity politics oriented post-structuralist tendencies which insist on deconstructing form and meaning in terms of their "political unconscious", in resistance to a perceived national and international context of racist, politically-economically neo-conservative, gender-panicked, hegemonies. However I have absorbed and transformed these and other social

controversies, and whatever the dissertations weaknesses -- and they are all mine -- I make no apologies for my ideological biases; only for my failures to refine and sharpen them.

* * * * *

ETHNIC FICTIONS

This chapter addresses the social and literary construction, and occasional contestation, of ethnic homogeneities in Québec between 1939-1945 by foregrounding the three related social controversies of immigration, language and conscription. Each of the competing "charter" groups generally defended its ethnic essentialism; while the aforementioned controversies and their various social practices generated debates and anxieties which both reinforced and marked the limits of the established ideological certainties of what it was to be an English- or French-Canadian, a Canadian or a Québécois/e. The binary antagonisms of such ethnic tensions were far from new but they were simultaneously accentuated and eroded by the pressures of wartime culture.

With few exceptions ethnicities were defined, reported, historicized and fictionalized with few conscious considerations as to how they were contradictory or heterogeneous. The classic realist strategies of texts, as well as the journalistic and historical convention of reproducing and summarizing social discourses within their own terms, performed quite specific ideological work. They either reinforced the ethnic tensions of the period as relatively monolithic, essentialist, oppositional signs of what it was to be English- or French-Canadian or, that other significant "other" of the historical moment, a Jew; or, less frequently, ethnic differences were simply erased. Still, classic realist social and literary texts often evidenced signs, discourses

and contradictions which put the lie to such ethnic essentialisms and denials.

* * * * *

Myths of Purity vs. The Heterogene

*...and in the darkness rises
the body-odour of race¹*

As was noted in the "Introduction" it has become a commonplace to replace the concept of *race* with that of *ethnicity* since the terms of the definition of race have proven to be more and more difficult to sustain (see "INTRO" 17-19). However, during the inter-war years the biological, essentialist, differences constructed and perpetuated by the pervasive discourse of race made it difficult to recognize and appreciate how ethno-linguistic differences were cultural rather than innate. The discourse of race and its politics reached an appalling crescendo with the rise of fascism and the subsequent global conflagration. Meanwhile, in Canada and Québec the racisms which had been endemic since the colonization of the indigenous peoples and the English conquest of New France were aggravated and threatened by the proliferation of many other immigrant ethnic groups and languages.

During the inter-war years, Lionel Groulx, the foremost French-Canadian nationalist historian, popularized the doctrine of Québec as a homogeneous cultural community on the basis of its religion, language, and a collective will-to-live. Or as Denis Monière has summarized Groulxism.

Chez Groulx, la religion est le principal facteur d'homogénéité nationale. Le catholicisme est immanent à la nation canadienne-française et la langue est la gardienne de la foi: «Nous sommes restés catholiques parce que nous sommes restés français», dit-il [...] Il se rattache en ce sens à la tradition ultramontaine [...] où le national et le religieux se confondent, ce qui le différencie d'Olivar Asselin qui dans *le Nationaliste* tentait de dissocier politique et religion et défendait une conception canadienne du nationalisme sur le plan politique.²

In an accompanying footnote Monière problematizes the presumed homogeneity of Groulx's nation, but only in terms of Groulx's rejection of class divisions.³ Esther Delisle's more recent critique locates Groulx's Catholic racialism within the contemporary stream of European right-wing thought which presumed that coupling between people of different races led to "1) la dégénérescence des individus; and 2) à une plus grande échelle, celle de la «race» elle-même."⁴

Socio-culturally speaking pre-WW II French-Canadian society was relatively homogeneous, but Lionel Groulx's claim that "[i]l suffit à notre fierté d'avoir dans les veines le sang de France et de n'avoir que celui-là"⁵ was specious. His concept of the French-Canadian race, as Delisle documents, was profoundly dependent upon denying its genetic and cultural hybridity and heterogeneity. For instance, Groulx conveniently misrepresented or ignored the French colony's "Norman" heritage; the inter-marriage and consequent *métissage* of Francophones and Natives; the approximately 1,500 Black slaves and 1,500 non-Francophone European immigrants of

New France; the influx of 1,300 German mercenaries after the American revolution; the frequent inter-marriage between Anglophones and Francophones since the Conquest, and the massive migration and frequent assimilation of the Irish during the 19th century.⁶ This erasure of the ethnic heterogeneity of French-Canada was crucial to building and maintaining a racist nationalist discourse. It was also fundamental to the demonization of the "English" -- since by association it made it easier to reductively homogenize the ethnic and class differences amongst Britons, Scots, Irish and other Anglophones -- as well as to the demonization of other ethno-linguistic groups who could be devalued and dismissed on the basis of their being recent and supposedly unassimilable *arrivants*

This emphasis upon racial purity was not only an ill-informed defensive posture against French-Canada's vulnerability to "cosmopolitan" influences. It was consistent with contemporary international right-wing ideologies and anti-semitism; though too much emphasis can be placed upon French-Canada being fertile ground for anti-semitism because of religious ideology at the expense of the powerful socio-economic factors, or to the neglect of evidence of friendly relations between Jews and French-Canadians. Zachary Baker cites Israel Medres's account of "[r]elations between Jews and French Canadians in the small towns and villages of Québec [as being] quite warm during the era of mass immigration";⁷ while a committed anti-Fascist like Léa Roback has commented upon how in spite of the fact that most people of the

small town of Beauport did not want to sell land to Jews at the turn of the century: "La plupart des gens étaient très bons pour nous -- ce qui ne veut pas dire qu'on n'avait pas à se défendre de temps en temps -- mais c'est une des raisons qui me font tant aimer les Canadiens français. J'avais de très bonnes amies."⁸ Nevertheless, organizations and individuals associated with the Catholic Church clearly promoted and facilitated anti-semitic propaganda. These included *Action française*, modeled after the extreme rightist French movement of the same name; the newspapers *L'Action Catholique* and *L'Action nationale*; and the Catholic youth organization *Jeune-Canada*, all of which were founded or much influenced by Father Lionel Groulx.⁹

Much revisionist ink has been spilt to clear Groulx of charges of anti-semitism, often it would seem in attempts to reconcile today's French and Jewish communities by downplaying this historical sore point.¹⁰ This defensiveness has even led otherwise astute specialists on the history of Québec Jewry to claim that Groulx "non pas [...] ait officiellement publié des propos antisémites",¹¹ that we cannot speak of his creating an "œuvre d'antisémitisme", or that he "ne milita pas contre les Juifs, sauf au cours [de la] brève période [...] des années 1934-1935".¹² These claims are based on a questionable relativism that rejects considering Groulx as an anti-semite on the basis of his attacks against Jews being less virulent or "official" than the likes of Adrien Arcand or a fascist "newspaper" like *Le Goglu*; or because he did not produce an identifiable "œuvre" of anti-semitic books.¹³

These distinctions hardly constitute a defense against charges of the coherence and influence of Groulx's anti-semitism¹⁴

An equally influential intellectual of the period, André Laurendeau, who also happened to be a former student of Groulx's, was influenced by the Catholic left and "personnalisme" in France during the 1930s. Subsequently, Laurendeau propagandized for the liberation of French-Canadians through Christian values that sought to alleviate social injustices while rejecting ethno-linguistic and religious intolerance (see "CFs" 303-04).¹⁵ values and perspectives which would be echoed in novels such as *Bonheur d'occasion* and *Le Survenant*. When Laurendeau wrote to Groulx in 1936 and critiqued the newspaper *La Nation*'s sympathies with right-wing European movements Groulx responded as follows

Vais-je vous surprendre si je vous affirme que nous sommes tout à fait d'accord au sujet de *La Nation* ? Je n'aime ni leur fascisme à l'italienne, ni leur haine de l'anglais et de l'Angleterre, ni leurs habituels procédés de polémiques. Ils entendent secouer toutes les servitudes, se donner pour des esprits libres [...] Pourquoi cette haine de l'Anglais quand nous sommes surtout victimes de notre haine pour nous-mêmes¹⁶

That such anti-fascistic values could be shared by Laurendeau and Groulx is indicative of the difficulties and contradictions for French-Canadians in trying to come to terms with the ways in which they internalized and consequently externalized the causes of their oppression (though it is perhaps noteworthy that Groulx avoids critiquing Hitlerian fascism or anti-semitism and that his agreement with Laurendeau is not made in a public forum).¹⁷ This

anecdote is also indicative of the ideological hybridity of ethnic discourses and politics of the period.

The two differing tendencies in the Chicago School's "folk society" model of Québec can also be seen as parts of a larger hybrid discourse which was both accepting of and resistant to rapid social change. Horace Miner and Everett Hughes did a formidable job in the 1930s and early 1940s of helping to explain the ways in which French-Canadians had remained rurally acculturated for so long¹⁸. As Sherry Simon has summarized it, Miner's seminal work was dependent upon "le schéma organisateur de la recherche [de] la famille [habitant]", while Hughes's analyses were more cogniscent of the complex relations between French-Canadian ethnicity, industrialization and urbanization¹⁹. Both of these social science approaches were beholden to the anthropologist, Robert Redfield, who situated Québec society within a continuum of transition from a traditional to a modern society, but Miner's emphasis upon the traditional family and its *œconomy*²⁰ seems to have partially blinded him, to the extent to which Québec folk culture had already changed.²¹ Or as Simon has summarized the differences in Miner's and Hughes's studies, as much as "les transformations de la société traditionnelle arrivent en appendice du travail de Miner, elles sont au contraire le point de départ de Hughes." (Simon 29) Hughes's initial article and his subsequent book are not only more focussed on the industrialization and urbanization of French Canada, they foreground the socio-economic contradictions which allowed traditional culture and modernity to co-exist.

However antithetical may be the spirit of the new industry to that of traditional Quebec, it is this very industry which allows the customary mode of life to persist. Based as it is on the indivisible family farm, the prevailing rural system presupposes a stable relation between population and tillable land. But the family occupying the indivisible farm is one of the largest in the Western world. How is this contradiction to be explained?

[...] A function of industry in Quebec -- though not the purpose of its founders -- has been to allow the family system to continue.²²

Hughes's article was undertaken when Québec's industrialization was still in its initial phase. But in the wake of the massive industrialization and urbanization consolidated by the war Hughes would later approvingly define Québec's social space in terms of its heterogeneity and the ideological instability of discourses on and "attitudes" towards ethnicity (Simon 32), contemporary examples of which are evident in several of my selected novels.

One relevant historical test case concerns the question of whether racist politics were most important to Maurice Duplessis's electoral success in 1936, or whether he was able to profit from French-Canadians' desires for populist reforms which might lessen the burdens of the Depression? It is difficult to establish the extent to which populist support for the *Action libérale nationale*'s and then the *Union nationale*'s promises of more financial support for farmers, anti-trust legislation, improved social programs, the nationalization of electricity, *etcetera* were ethnically driven. There is little doubt that as a direct result of the classist conservatism and corruption of

Duplessis's first government (1936-39) a majority of voters then supported Adélard Godbout's more reformist Liberal party (see "CFs" 302, 318-19), but the extent to which this shift may have represented some greater ethnic tolerance is minimal. Especially when several years of war, social reforms and industrial expansion socio-economically uplifted many Francophones, yet their increased awareness of and openness to the world would nevertheless be counterbalanced in 1944 by a strong sense of ethno-linguistic autonomy as championed by the re-elected Duplessis. However, as some studies have convincingly argued the contradictions amongst the traditionalist and modernist tendencies and actions of Duplessis and his government at a variety of material and discursive levels would actually favour modernization, and hence the "cosmopolitan", at the expense of traditional ethnic biases (see "CFs" 291).²³

The discourse of the "Nation Pure! Nation Forte!" of Groulx or Duplessis, or of an organization like *Jeunesse ouvrière canadienne* (JOC), had many equivalents in the equally racist Anglo-Saxon nativism and Gentilism discourses of individuals such as the Ontario Anglican Bishop, A. C. Headlam, and Harold Hendershot of the United Church, as well as organizations such as the Ontario based Nationalist Party.²⁴ The Anglo-Protestant, Scots dominated, communities in Québec were also just as accomplished in perpetuating overarching racist myths about themselves and others. Anglo-Protestant chauvinistic attitudes towards Francophones, a carry over from both ancient European tensions and

New World colonialism,²⁵ were even ironically reinforced by the Chicago school of sociology's paternalistic romanticization of French-Canadians as "an idiosyncratic [...] Catholic peasantry caught in the vortex of the twentieth century." (Waddell 30) Eric Waddell has also remarked how the fascination with French-Canadians as a quaint, folk-loric, culture had no equivalent interest within the Anglophone community for its own sociology. After all, "[i]f one were so evidently successful in the accumulation of wealth and the exercise of power, what need had one to know or to ask questions of oneself?" (Waddell 31) This lack of self-reflection was exacerbated by the fact that prior to World War II a mere fifty Scottish and English families of Montréal controlled much of Canada's natural resources and economic wealth. Consequently, by their direct and indirect control of Anglo-Protestant institutions, from key industries, to banks, newspapers, hospitals and charitable organizations, they determined the overall character and ethnic-class privileges of the Anglophone communities.²⁶ The consequent ethnic-class hegemony also encouraged the erasure of embarrassing divisions amongst Anglophones; such as the fact that a large proportion of the Irish, who accounted for half of Anglophones prior to the great Jewish migration at the turn of the century, were poor and underemployed.²⁷

The silencing of intra-Anglo schisms was also perpetuated by the maintenance of a binary English/French approach to Canadian and Québec history by Anglo-Canadian historians. For instance, some were attracted to the religious racialism of Québec but on the

basis of their Anglo biases and privilege. George Wrong of the University of Toronto -- who was important to the institutionalization of the discipline of history in Canada -- is said to have admired "the clerical leadership of [Québec] society" to such an extent that "French Canada became a foil against which [he] could contrast a profoundly religious and stable society with the more disturbing features of his own rapidly changing and secular province [of Ontario]".²⁸ On the other hand, Caldwell and Waddell have regretted how: "[u]ntil recently the concept of 'English Quebecer' scarcely existed" marking "a harsh duality that left no basis for legitimizing the particular status and identity of [...] English speakers that happened to live among the French in [...] Quebec."²⁹ This in turn allowed Anglophone Quebecers to continue to think of themselves solely as Canadians -- the unsaid, and often the said, being that Canadian equated with English-speaking -- and to think of their significant "others" as *French* -Canadians.³⁰ This chauvinism was aggravated by the fact that even as of the beginning of the Depression "95% of all English mother tongue Quebecers were of British origin"³¹ -- meaning they were either English, Scottish, or Irish -- many of whom had recently been recruited by Anglophone firms.³² And not surprisingly given Canada's ethnic-class hierarchy, as of 1935 96% of Canadians of British origin in Québec only spoke English.³³ Furthermore, as various waves of immigrants to Québec were assimilated between 1900 and 1930 the English-speaking population grew by 50%; though this rate was drastically "cut to 9% in the 1930s owing to the freeze on immigration" (Rudin 152).³⁴

"Objective" Racial Histories and Some "Popular" Relatives

A paradox of the subsequent war years is the credence given to racist discourse by liberals and even devoted anti-fascists in their simplistic uses of the concept of race. Even a strongly anti-racist article which championed Christian values as being anathema to anti-semitism still advanced the false racialist notion that "[w]e differ as biological beings, that is, as animals;" perhaps because of the author's metaphysical emphasis upon our being "alike as spiritual beings, that is, as men."³⁵ Contemporary histories -- a genre which often, in its privileging of the *histoire*, effaces its own status as discourse -- consistently invoked and naturalized race as the source of the strengths and weaknesses of Canada and Québec. In some instances it was as innocent as referring to how the conquest of Québec "began a momentous experiment in the association of *two peoples of different races*" (my italics),³⁶ or a chapter heading such as "The Racial Background" (see Morden, Chapter 2).

The plenary authorial subject of Donald Creighton's first edition of *Dominion of the North*³⁷ similarly constructs an ethnically non-contradictory country. Written and published before the end of the war it only sets the stage until 1939, however it is emblematic of many English-Canadian characterizations of Canada's races:

As the sky over Europe darkened with menace, as the very safety of the motherland itself became imperilled, the Canadian consciousness of the reality -- and the vitality

of this ancient tie steadily strengthened; and the visit of King George and Queen Elizabeth, in the early summer of 1939, confirmed [...] the old partnership of the British peoples [...]

Once again, the two [English and French] races, whose association had given Canada its distinctive character and history, were jointly committed to an enormous and dangerous task. They were well aware that latent differences of opinion lurked between them. The whole course of the War of 1914-18 had taught them the gravity of the difficulties and possible disagreements which lay ahead. But they went forward together to meet them (502-03)

The ethnic biased syntagmatic chain of "motherland," "Canadian consciousness" and "the British peoples" (and there is much more of this Anglo-Saxon nativist discourse in the extent text), like the muted, controlled, allusion to the conscription crisis ("latent differences of opinion"), evidences how the *histoire*'s sanitary, abstractified, acknowledgement of ethnic "differences" serves to erase rather than to deal with them. Because of the *histoire*'s faith in the British cast of "the Canadian consciousness" it cannot afford to admit, especially in 1944, the extent to which many French-Canadians were not "jointly committed" nor happy to go "forward together" with all of the tasks of the war.

A similar illusionary tendency manifests itself in Stanley B. Ryerson's *French Canada*.³⁸ The book is famous for its materialist explanations of French-Canadian nationalism and nationhood, and for its refutation of "the race-mythology of 'Anglo-Saxon superiority' (170)". It presents Canada as being made up of different "peoples"

(read: ethnicities) as opposed to races. But no matter how material its analyses, it also participates in an identifiably Anglo-Canadian centralising discourse which alienated so many French-Canadians from leftist, pan-Canadian, political agendas (see "CFs" 312-18). In the chapter on "The Problem of National Equality," for instance, the *histoire* lauds French-Canadians' supposedly growing "sense" of the necessity of "popular struggle[s]" against national "inequalities" (178). And in contrast with earlier references to how popular resistance to social inequalities can be exploited by ultra-conservative forces (see 20), the *histoire* stresses "the democratic right of the French Canadians to the choice of their own state." (178) Yet as radical as this position was for its time, a close reading of the text's development of this idea shows it to be more rhetorical than substantive. A signifying chain stressing "Canadian unity," "*Canadianism*," and "Democratic Canadianism" (179-80) soon makes it apparent that as much as French Canada is praised for its profoundly "anti-imperialist" and anti-colonial "sentiment[s]", in keeping with marxist class and centralizing values the radical potential of "national sentiment" in Québec is evoked more as an imagined stimulus to pan-Canadian unity, more as "a powerful lever for progress in English-speaking Canada (181)", than it is for French-Canadians' sake³⁹ This is borne out by the *histoire*'s sudden recourse to the discourse of "race", which in another text might have been little more than a euphemism for ethnicity, but which in *French Canada* has previously been textually established as a retrograde term. "We must, in the words of a contemporary commentator, 'accept the fact that Canada is and must remain a nation of two great

and distinct races which will not merge in our time and perhaps never; [...] to reject [...] that once [sic] race will finally overwhelm the other' (181)."⁴⁰ Why resort to uncritically citing such a binary myth of race in an otherwise anti-racialist text unless: 1) the concept is thought to have some validity, and 2) unless there is some repressed doubt or anxiety about the viability of the fit of French-Canadian cultural difference and autonomy with Canadian unity?⁴¹

Though published in 1946, Arthur Lower's *Colony to Nation* is emblematic of decades of "liberal" Canadian attitudes towards French-Canada.⁴² Like the previous examples from Creighton and Ryerson, it helps us to better situate and understand Anglo-identified discourses and contradictions about ethnicity in *Barometer Rising*, *Two Solitudes*, *Earth and High Heaven* or Patrick Anderson's "Baie St. Paul" memoirs'. As with the aforementioned historical texts there is a reserved strain of anti-colonialism to Lower's analysis, but like most of the English-Canadian observers who came before him Lower was paternalistically enthralled by the dichotomy between English- and French-Canadians. Witness the following stereotypical characterizations.

The English separate themselves from home and family with ease and cheerfulness [...] The French cling to the ties of mutual support. They dislike going away from the near and familiar, they accept and enjoy the life of small communities [...] They found happiness in life, not in things." (Lower 32-3)

Rather than analysing the political-economic bases for the actual and ideologically imagined construction of these ethnicities, Lower

confuses the results of circumstances with causes (while effacing his own text's status as discourse).

The English and French tempers which Lower invokes are made to seem natural when whatever truth there was to his concept of an English "temper" was a product of socio-economic privilege and mobility, while the supposed French "temper" was the result of socio-economic subordination. What about the English who did not "separate themselves from home and family with ease and cheerfulness"; or the French-Canadians who rebelled against the more feudal or anti-republican strictures of their society? Instead of looking for evidence which might challenge or contradict his narrative Lower reifies it (and his historical subjects); as when he baldly states that in Lower Canada "[w]here, [...] in lumbering, English and French met on an employer and employee basis, *an association which suited the qualities of each* , things went well." (Lower 217, *my italics*)⁴³

Like his English-Canadian confrères Richard Arès identified "Le Problème des races" as "le problème fondamental au Canada"⁴⁴ and in spite of some thorough analyses of political-economic causes resorted to essentialist, racialist, "psychological" explanations of social disparities.

Homme d'action avant tout, suivant d'instinct la vie plutôt que la théorie, désireux de résultats pratiques et solides, utilitariste, résolu, dominateur, habitué à regarder le succès comme un signe de supériorité, possédant un sens aigu de la solidarité et le génie de l'organisation spontanée, l'Anglais, en général, est

admirablement doué pour réussir dans le domaine matériel de la civilisation (Arès 120-21).

De tempérament et de tour d'esprit, nous sommes restés Français. Or «le Français, épris de pensée, ramène sans cesse à lui l'univers des forces, pour l'ordonner dans le sens de ses idées. Il est richement individualiste. Honnête dans ses opinions, il tient d'autant plus à elles qu'il les juge opportunes. [.] Il abhorre tous les empiètements de la contrainte [..] Il s'isole par tempérament et ne s'adonne à la collaboration que s'il reconnaît conforme à sa raison » (133-34)⁴⁵

In Wilfrid Bovey's pre-war defence and celebration of Québec, *The French Canadians Today*,⁴⁶ which was in turn translated and published in French in 1940, we are rhetorically asked "Que! peuple au monde peut de nos jours se flatter d'une telle pureté de sang?" (16) The reader is then told how "[l]es Canadiens-Français sont aussi homogènes par la culture que par le sang." (16) Within a few brief turns of phrase, the French-Canadian "people" is made inseparable from its "pureté de sang," and this same blood is syntagmatically made synonymous with "culture." Thus, while the text consistently attacks English-Canadian presumptions about a French-Canadian penchant for fascism, Bovey's confusion of "race" and "culture" virtually obliges him to entertain the notion that "[i]l est piquant et significatif à la fois que les Canadiens-Français, [...] se rencontrent, dans leur estime de la pureté de race, en communion d'idées avec les États totalitaires." (19) Once he identifies French-Canadian culture not only as inseparable from the concept of racial purity, but as being innately rooted in the blood, then it becomes impossible within the context of the 1930s and 1940s, in spite of his goals to the contrary, not to contribute to the

misrepresentation of French-Canadians as culturally fascistic. I prefer Denis Monière's argument that one has to understand the xenophobia of many French-Canadians, or the appeal of Groulx's calls for a strong, heroic, "chef", as arising out of pressing socio-economic difficulties and as perverse effects of colonialism (Monière 1983, 61-2).

One of Bovey's most striking attempts to find common ground amongst English- and French-Canadians also relies upon the "body-odour of race": "La visite du Roi prendra une signification particulière aux yeux des Canadiens-Français. Pour leurs aïeux, les rois d'Angleterre étaient les ducs de Normandie [...] au Canada, [le Roi] se trouvera au milieu de Normands canadiens, ses propres sujets, et qui pourront le recevoir à titre de descendant du duc de Normandie qui conquiert l'Angleterre" (394)⁴⁷ Yet no sooner is this synecdochic bond between the English and the French suggested than it is undermined by Bovey's appeal to "John Bull" not to favour "[Maid] Marianne" (English-Canada) at the expense of French-Canada's jealousy (394). Thus, the English Crown and French-Canada are momentarily rhetorically united by blood, but the subsequent courtship metaphor implicitly returns to emphasizing a racial divide by recourse to the vehicle of gender difference and competition. The commonsense illusion of the closure of Bovey's narrative may encourage "le Canada français" as an integral "partie du tout dans ce gigantesque décor" of North America (403), but the text's racial discourse consistently militates against it. This contradiction on the part of a major spokesperson for ethnic

tolerance testifies to the pervasiveness and profundity of racialist ideology during the Depression and the war.

A related contradiction is evidenced by a large, bold, banner headline and the accompanying article on the front-page of *Le Devoir* for the royal couple's visit in May 1939: "La Foule Montréalaise Acclame et Admire les Souverains du Canada."⁴⁸ Given the frequent articles and editorials in *Le Devoir* attacking federal government policies on immigration -- which had been reduced to a trickle during the 1930s⁴⁹ -- and especially regarding Britons and Jews, the *La Presse* article is indicative of the complexities of ethnic politics in Québec on the eve of WW II.⁵⁰ For while said royal visit attests to how the British Crown was still widely respected for the benevolence, stability and "commonwealth" which it materially and symbolically offered to Québec within Canada, the line was increasingly being drawn by Francophones against the demographic and ethnic-class consequences of a more centralized, English dominated, confederation. (Of course, not all Anglophones and Francophones were politically divided because of their ethno-linguistic identities. For example, for a twenty year period starting in 1936, the year Duplessis first came to power, the majority of rural English speakers, like their Francophone neighbors, would support the Union Nationale because of its attention to rural voters and its conservative economic and social policies (Rudin 258).

Jean Bruchesi's three editions of *Histoire du Canada* in 1934, 1946 and 1951, like Lionel Groulx's works of the same period,⁵¹ also embody conservative political discourses but from a more nationalist French-Canadian perspective than Bovey or most Anglophone Quebecers were likely to find acceptable. The 1946 edition praises Duplessis' 1944 election victory for allowing him to have "le champ libre pour servir les meilleurs intérêts de la province" (643), and though its historical narrative is ostensibly about Canada it is decidedly focussed upon French-Canada, and particularly Québec, at the expense of a detailed pan-Canadian history. As much as Lower naturalizes French-Canadians' domesticity, or Arès naturalizes their spirituality, Bruchesi eulogizes their history of resistance. "<<Le Canadien français, écrivait Charles Maurras [.] n'est pas resté ce qu'il était par un aimable octroi des faveurs d'aucune Gracieuse Majesté londonienne, nos pays ont duré, comme tout ce qui dure, parce qu'ils ont résisté (646).>>"⁵² The *histoire* may wax victorious about Canada's war economy and its military contributions to the liberation of Europe (see 634-37), but considering Maurras' conviction and life-time imprisonment in 1945 for his role in the Vichy government the ventriloquistic citations from Maurras contradict the text's celebration of the victory against Fascism. Thus, while an Anglophilic Creighton minimizes and erases the French-Canadian fact, Bruchesi's Francophilism performs a similar slight of hand about English-Canada; while Bovey uses a questionable racial synecdoche to heal national ethnic rifts, Bruchesi invokes radical ethnic difference and French-Canadian resistance "pour conduire les

Canadiens français vers leurs hautes destinées, dans les cadres d'une nation qui se cherche encore (650)." and while there is some radical ethnic-class potential in Bruchesi's celebration of cultural resistance, the *histoire*'s appropriation of Maurras's discourse naturalizes autocratic, totalitarian, values as inseparable from being French-Canadian.

Clearly, just as characters in a classic realist fiction are differentiated by their supposed uniqueness within a non-contradictory world, during the war Canadian and Québécois readers of history, and of other ostensibly "objective" genres, were commonly interpellated to identify whole ethno-linguistic groups as being fundamentally different and therefore somehow naturally irreconcilable. Like the juxtaposition of a 1939 *Petal Tone* skin cream advertisement -- a product which was supposed to lighten one's complexion as a means of creating "un 'vous' idéalisé" -- with a chauvinistic photo essay on the dark-skinned "Vraies Tarzans" of the Amazon jungle, the aforesaid "learned" discourses and their semiotics of race were just as indicative of the epoch's pervasive, often banal, acceptance of racism.⁵³ A "Life Savers" advertisement from late 1944 also sadly testifies to how little, in spite of the anti-racist lessons of the war, would soon change in terms of the banality of racism (see "Appendix" 1).⁵⁴ A young black woman in profile in an apparently tropical clime carries a basket of fruits on her head. Two white males in military fatigues leer at her, one from behind, as he is about to pop a *Life Saver* in his mouth, and the second from a greater distance in the background. The written text

consists of one short, punchy, discourse and a lengthier *histoire*. The discourse, apparently that of the soldier with the *Life Saver*, is in several irregular fonts and is punctuated by an exclamation mark -- graphematic devices⁵ which are indicative of a playful, mocking, jaunty, tone -- and precedes that of the *histoire*. It reads: "Pas de vente, Madamel" The *histoire*, printed in a much smaller font, reads as follows:

Nous devrions peut-être appeler ceci, "Portrait d'une Dame dans une Affaire sans Avenir." En effet, quel est le soldat qui, raffolant de fruits frais tels que limes, citrons, oranges et ananas, serait assez idiot d'aller en chercher pour les transporter par monts et par vaux...lorsqu'il est en mesure de jouir de ces saveurs exquisés sous une forme beaucoup plus pratique. grace aux Life Savers Five-Flavor (5 saveurs)

Obtensively then, according to the supposedly practically minded *histoire* which lauds how good *Life Savers* are, the soldiers are justified in making wide-eyed mocking faces as they refuse to buy the black woman's wares. However, in spite of the pathetic petty excuse not to buy her fruits, a sexually charged semiotic field composed of the soldier's bemused looks, the woman's askance look at the leering soldier; the feminine, exotic, signs of flowers in her hair, a large hooped earring, and a large metal bracelet on her naked arm; the association of eating and especially of fruit, with sex, and, most importantly, white dominant culture's historic presumption of the sexual availability of black women; implies another, masculinist, jibe and semiosis, in which the woman as a strange, colonial, sexual fruit is imagined being shared and consumed by the two soldiers and the implicitly male-identified

reader/viewer. In other words, it is implicit that though the soldiers may refuse the actual fruits they are prepared to enjoy not only the substitute of *Life Savers*, but the strange "fruit" of the black woman as sexual object. A more "innocent" reading can only work by ignoring or unconsciously accepting the blatant interdiscursivity of these sexually charged signs and their associated colonial and racist discourses.

* * * * *

Immigration, Assimilation Panic & Tolerance

As I have already noted, immigration had been greatly reduced during the Great Depression, but the imminent war in Europe, coupled with an improved economy and a growing number of asylum seekers, catapulted debates about immigration to the fore again. Immigration is therefore one of the social controversies which is most indicative of the anxieties and contradictions about ethnicity between 1939 and 1945. Nor, given French-Canadians relative social subordination, is it surprising that anti-immigration discourse was most articulated within their culture. English-Canadian communities' privileges, business interests and related powers of assimilation made it more lucrative and feasible to exploit and tolerate non-English immigrants than could be the case for French-Canada.

Even though by the end of the 1930s very few Jews could escape from Europe, let alone get past Canada's anti-semitically

biased immigration controls, many English- and French-Canadians still perceived Jews as a threat.⁵⁶ This was reflected in the flurry of articles and editorials about Jewish and European refugees in 1939.⁵⁷ The first major article in *Le Devoir* in 1939 announced "Deux députés s'opposent net à l'immigration juive au Canada". Though the body of the article refers to the two federal deputies' general hostility against immigration, they singled out Jews as "un peuple qui n'a rien d'agricole".⁵⁸ This hostile presumption of an innate Jewish urbanism was already *de rigueur* in English-Canadian directed policies in Ottawa (see "EFs" 81-3), but given the importance of nostalgia for the land to many French-Canadians' sense of self⁵⁹ their expression of this bias was frequently more public. Nor should we underestimate French-Canadians' frustration at the failure of their federal politicians to deal with contemporary discrimination against their own ethno-linguistic group.

[S]'ils veulent que les droits des minorités comme ils disent, soient universellement respectés, s'ils bataillent éperdument au nom de la liberté et de la tolérance [...] Pourquoi ne se sont-ils pas élevés contre cet ignoble règlement XVII qui spoilait en Ontario les droits naturels des pères de famille canadiens-français et catholiques, leurs frères du sang, du cœur et de l'esprit? [...] Ils n'ont pas ouvert la bouche parce que leur intervention risquait d'être mal interprétée pas les pères libéraux ou les pères conservateurs des autres provinces. Ils ont usé contre nous d'une diplomatie lâche et complice.⁶⁰

When the Czechoslovak government announced that English sources would provide millions of dollars to send Jewish refugees to Canada, the secretary of state of Canada, Fernand Rinfret, stated that Canada would not alter its immigration policies "surtout tant

qu'il y aura du chômage au pays."⁶¹ Even a liberal paper like *Le Canada* applauded this position as "le bon sens "⁶² The same day, *Le Canada* reported on a Radio-Canada talk by Me. E. Panet-Raymond which encouraged friendly French- and English-Canadian relations, but which also insisted that "la minorité juive [...] n'a aucun droit acquis dans notre province. Elle jouit plutôt d'un droit de tolérance".⁶³ A week later Prime Minister King played the rhetorical card of being open to studying the political refugee question, especially since it allowed him to appear less xenophobic than his own liberal MP, Wilfrid Lacroix, who had just tabled a strongly anti-Jewish anti-immigration petition and bill (see "EFs" 102).⁶⁴

The proposed bill was threatening to the Québec power base of the federal liberals which had already been weakened by Duplessis's defeat of the provincial liberal party in 1936. Mackenzie King and his Québec lieutenant, Ernest Lapointe, were fearful that a federal softening on Jewish immigration would strengthen popular support for Duplessis (see Abella & Troper 18-19). But, as Abella and Troper have documented, the rationalizations which were so dear to King and other federal politicians and bureaucrats of severely limiting immigration for the sake of maintaining national unity, or as a result of restrictions imposed by the Great Depression, were inseparable from the established systemic anti-semitism of English Canada (see "EFs" 81-3).

When *Le Devoir* subsequently reported that hundreds of German Catholic refugees would be settled on prairie land owned by the railways,⁶⁵ the newspaper would slight King's liberalism and humanitarianism as "grands mots creux" not because he didn't live up to them but because King had expressed any sympathy towards refugees at the presumed expense of Canadians.⁶⁶ *The Gazette*, on the other hand, valorized the Sudeten immigrants as "Anti-Nazi Germans" and as bona fide farmers. April 13, 1939 witnessed a "Grand ralliement contre immigration"⁶⁷ in Montreal where the fear was expressed that "les étrangers continuent de *pénétrer* dans le pays." (4, my *italics*) The fear of Québec being "penetrated" by foreigners is connotatively sexual, a common paranoid trope expressing a fear of miscegenation and/or of sodomy.⁶⁸ One of the Montreal Jewish community's responses to this panic paradoxically confirmed and worked against the hysterical portrayal of Jews as an essentially invasive, disruptive, urban population by setting up a Canadian Jewish Agricultural Association (its impact, however, would be limited)⁶⁹ The founding of this organization was not reported in the Francophone press. Though I can only conjecture, perhaps this was because as much as the Association confirmed Jews' urban bias its goals also threatened to disrupt dominant French-Canadian ideas about Jews. This kind of journalistic erasure was less likely to happen in the English press, in spite of the English community's anti-semitism, because of Jews linguistic assimilation and their growing importance as newspaper readers and consumers of advertised goods and services.

Consistent with the expressed concerns of the aforementioned rally, articles and editorials appear regularly in the early 1940s ruminating upon how to assimilate immigrants into French-Canadian culture.⁷⁰ In June 1940, in response to a C. C. F. MP's concern about there being a million people in Canada of Italian and German origin, Léopold Richer would characterize immigrants and neo-Canadians as "colonies étrangères."⁷¹ In May 1940 this defensive ethnocentrism would even lead *Le Devoir* to question whether Jews had been passing themselves off as Germans, Czechs, *etcetera*; a clear indication of the extent to which Jews were regarded as a separate race.⁷² This sub-narrative about refugees as imposters was also often inseparable from anti-communist hysteria which frequently emphasized the foreignness of communist ideology and its adherents. For instance, a *Le Devoir* pre-war editorial praised 430 French newspapers' denunciation of communism in France. The fourth major point held against it was that it was "de l'étranger."⁷³ A critique a month later of communist veterans from the Spanish Civil War being sympathetically interviewed on CKAC radio made especial note of their East European, supposedly Jewish, names.⁷⁴ Such fears were ostensibly substantiated when "foreigners," or people with foreign sounding names, were arrested for communist agitation.⁷⁵ Even towards the end of the war, in spite of the knowledge of what European anti-semitism had led to, the trope of the East European Jewish subversive had such legitimacy that the Progressive Conservative candidate for Grey-North in Toronto, M. Garfield Case, tried to

slight the C. C. F. candidate, David Lewis, for being a "réfugié Juif né en Russie"⁷⁶

The question of the successful assimilation of immigrants was clearly not only a French-Canadian worry. At first glance Lorne Pierce's *A Canadian People* (1945)⁷⁷ seems to offer a more anti-racialist, or what we might now call transnationalist, vision of immigrants as citizens in waiting rather than as threats to the established ethno-linguistic franchises.⁷⁸

We can not hold this vast Dominion against the land-hungry world [...] the resulting conglomerate will be neither French nor English -- but Canadian. If we can get it into our heads, that vast areas of Canada remain to be peopled by permanent, self-sustaining plantations; who will care nothing about French or English traditions as such; who will be indifferent to the hates of warring sects unless priest and parson stoke the fires [...] -- if we can once clearly see this, then our big battle is over.

[...] we go on bickering over the possibilities of the melting pot, the ascendancy of this race or that, the percentages of jobs available in public service, and the relative sacrifices of principal nationals in times of war. We set up Switzerland as a model for states within states. If we have French and English states within Canada, why not a Hebrew state, or a Slavic state? If Canada must accommodate itself to a noisy and intransigent minority, then can not the Jew bide his time and demand, by the force of numbers, economic power, control of newspapers, radio, motion pictures, drugs or tailoring, a place in the sun? [...] A people is either one or it is two; and if it is two then it is on its way to join the dodo (78-9)

The authorial subject which the reader is encouraged to identify with may posit itself as being against racial privilege, but its

assumption about the conflict-free compromises and future of what it has previously referred to as Canada's "spiritual enterprise" belies English-Canadian privilege. Presuming Canada could avoid an ethno-linguistically divided nation which language did Pierce imagine predominating as the *lingua franca* ? The answer was rhetorically stated earlier in his text: "Canada as a part of North America is committed to an American way of life [...] and in time an American language [...] in time, sooner or later, there will be an American speech, and it will be our mother tongue. Perhaps the basis of it will be English, since 150,000,000 speak different kinds of English now. What matter? (67)" Thus, in spite of Pierce's record as a good-will ambassador for amical relations between English- and French-Canada, his rhetoric about not being concerned about the successful assimilation of immigrants, nor about the import of the hegemony of English, marks a profound failure to acknowledge the cultural vulnerability of French-Canada. It is also interesting to note how the threatening, diminutive, signs of the "noisy and intransigent minority" are synecdochically associated with "the Jew." Not only does this example reinforce the extent to which Jewish immigration was commonly perceived as the most problematic; it marks how Pierce's supposedly non-racial vision of Canada was not as liberal as he nor many other English-Canadians liked to think.

* * * * *

The Immigration Narrative:
Anti-Cosmopolitanism and the Hybrid Self

The absorption and transformation of the immigration controversy, particularly as it was inflected with anti-semitism, was a common suit in war time classic realist fiction though rarely on an extensive scale. This conforms to Pierre Macherey's theorization of the *non-dits* of a literary text, that they foreground ideology but do not necessarily always *speak* it directly. *Le Beau risque*'s 1939 celebration of the French-Canadian peasantry evidences a racialist ideology whose positive sense of the identical is dependent upon its opposition to the unsaid presence of foreigners. Walking along a country road Père Berthier, the nationalist mentor of the novel, his preferred student and the hero of the novel, Pierre, and several other students encounter two *habitants*. When Berthier asks his students: "Où sont les vrais hommes de la race?" (83) Pierre points to the "deux montagnards [...] Ce sont eux, en effet. Nos paysans demeurent ce qu'ils sont: des campagnards pauvres, mais fidèles à leur pauvreté." (73)¹⁹ Throughout the text the *identitaire* of the clerico-nationalist ideal predominates (i.e. via the *paysans*, the emphases upon the need for a purer faith and language), paradigmatically implying binarily opposed, cosmopolitan, "others" who are not rural and have different faiths and languages.

In contrast with the aforesaid exemplars of the "folk" is Pierre's disdain for Montréal as a site of the cosmopolitan. Or as Père Berthier's discourse describes Montréal from the vantage point

of the countryside of Boucherville: "Vers l'ouest, à l'horizon confus, des milliers de lumières percent le nuage de brume: c'est Montréal. On danse, on s'amuse dans la grande ville cosmopolite." (80)⁸⁰ Given the novel's heroic, essentialist, emphasis upon the traditions of the French-Canadian race -- "Les races qui reculent sont des races qui meurent (93)" -- the moralistic, judgmental, reference to the cosmopolitan connotes contemporary indictments of immigration, of the ethnic heterogeneity associated with the urban, and associated sexual fears. Or consider how when Pierre idolizes the country to a love interest, and she complains of the boredom of countryside living and fantasizes about going to "Old Orchard" (65), his racist response demonizes cultural heterogeneity: "Old Orchard! Tu ne sais pas ce que tu dis. Une plage américaine, juive et tapageuse.... Ça me donne des nausées" (74-5)

This protonarrative denunciation of the noisy Jewishness of Old Orchard complements Berthier's earlier pseudoidea reference to lacrosse as an "expression authentique de notre mentalité nordique" (63). (This seems to be a strange appropriation of a Native sport, until we consider how it is a sign of the extent to which ethnically revisionist French-Canadian discourse had succeeded in erasing Native cultural influences and intermarriage.) This rather fascistic ideologeme⁸¹ is elaborated in Berthier's heroic musings after visiting Nelligan:

Ces œuvres originales jaillies de notre peuple seront la source où puisera de plus hautes raisons de se perpétuer... Intussusception (sic) féconde des grandes nations qui trouvent sans cesse en elles-mêmes la

raison et l'aliment de leur continuité... Le tout reposant sur une histoire qui fut glorieuse, mais que l'avenir devra dépasser pour qu'il n'y ait point de recul. Les races qui reculent sont des races qui meurent... (93)

The racialist signifying chain which is linked with the idea of Nelligan's poetry emanating from and in turn advancing the cause of the French-Canadian "race" implicitly contrasts the cosmopolitan, noisy, "other" with the gushes ("jaillies") of a supposedly pure poetry. This discourse about the originality of French-Canada's best poetry and its cultural continuity being dependent upon its racial self-absorption is not only consistent with the contemporary privileging of the genre of poetry (Popovic 209), but with the many alarms in defense of the purity of the French-Canadian language in the face of competing English-Canadian and immigrant cultures and languages.

Ironically, as much as Francois Hertel (Rodolphe Dubé) would soon become a pariah for his rejection of post-war Québec's conservatism and religious orthodoxy,⁸² *Le Beau risque* is embedded with French-Canadian ideologies which identified nationalist aspirations with traditional values.⁸³ Its nostalgia for *habitant* culture is also inseparable from the unsaid of the urban Francophone population jumping from 51,8% in 1921 to 59.5% in 1931 (Linteau *et al.* Tome II, 55)⁸⁴ Though a renaissance of rural colonization projects had been attempted and largely failed prior to 1939, one would never know it from reading *Le Beau risque*.⁸⁵

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Robert Charbonneau's *Ils posséderont la terre* has been credited as one of the first French-Canadian rejections of "realist" and *terroiriste* fiction. Romain Légaré also credited Charbonneau with importing the psychological novel of Mauriac to Canada⁸⁶ and with developing a style in which the reader is forced to "re-cr  er avec l'auteur".⁸⁷ However, though the novel's title falsely suggests a *roman de la terre*, this generic connotation is significant given the ambiguities of the novel's setting and plot. Likewise, as much as the minor fragmentation of the novel into a first person "Prologue" by Andr   and the novel's subsequent third person *histoire* distinguish it from other classic realist texts of the period, it is still very dependent upon illusionism, a narrative leading to closure and a hierarchy of discourses which privilege xenophobic traditional values.

Ils posséderont la terre's assertion of French-Canadians' homogeneity is less explicit than that of *Le Beau risque*, but its portrayal of the cosmopolitan is similarly marked by the immigration controversy and related signs. The explicit references to ethnic affiliations indicate a small town Qu  bec which is more heterogeneous than was commonly acknowledged in social discourse and fiction of the period. There is the supposed revolutionary, "Marchadowski, lequel se pr  tendait Polonais" (44), Edward's brief tryst with "une jeune anglaise" (51), Dorothe  's avowed detestation of "les Juifs," and Andr  's quirky, paternalistic, love of Jews "pour leur nonchalance, leurs extraordinaires trognes sales et l'  talage qu'ils font de leurs sentiments en public" (57). With the limited

exception of Marchadowski none of these "others" are privileged with a discourse. What is more, they are all found wanting or xenophobically demonized. The "jeune Anglaise" (51-2) is invoked only as a sinful sign of Edward's heterosexual virility, while Dorothée's disgust for "les Juifs" is reinforced by André's stereotypical anti-semitic references to Jews supposed nonchalance, dirty mugs and the exoticization of their public composure. Though Marchadowski can be imagined as a Catholic -- after all, he is not identified as a Jew -- his East Europeanism and his supposed status as a revolutionary are interdiscursively inseparable from contemporary anti-semitic discourse. Coupled, as shall become more apparent, with his enigmatic feminization and its implicit potential threat to Edward and André, as well as the uncertainty about his ethnic affiliation ("[il] se prétendait Polonais"), he embodies contemporary English- and French-Canadian discourse which consistently claimed that immigrants from Eastern Europe were a grave danger to our societies (see "GFs" 261-62 & "CFs" 346). Or as "la grosse Emma"'s populist version of this discourse characterizes East Europeans in *Bonheur d'occasion*. "Oh! tu me diras pas [] que les Polonais, les Ukariens, c'est comme nous autres. Ça bat leurs femmes, ça se nourrit à l'ail (48)."

Ils posséderont la terre's setting of Fontile is suggestive of any number of Québec towns that were in the process of becoming small cities, but the way this imaginary site is constructed suggests a strong ethnic uneasiness about the process. In keeping with the title's future tense suggestion of process and change,

Fontile is a heterocosm of the transition from a rural to an urban culture, though as an ethnically diverse, modern city it appears to be totally lacking in redeeming features or potential for its French-Canadian subjects. The *terroiriste* tradition of the anti-urban is evident in the novel's rather Bunyanesque planting of the "drôle de petite ville [...] au milieu des marais (72)", and in its characterization of "l'église qui symboliquement, <<ressemble à un gros navire dématé, jeté à terre par la tempête et tenant en équilibre sur l'arête de sa quille>>"⁸⁸ In short, Fontile is a tenuous "agglomération industrielle" (Falardeau 501)⁸⁹ and it is difficult not to read its stranded church as a metaphor for threats to French-Canadian Catholicism.

This implicit nationalist ideologeme about an endangered Catholicism -- and in the early 1940s the sign of religion was inseparable from the bulwarks of language and the family⁹⁰ -- is strongly reinforced by André's brief visit to the countryside; the setting in which André is finally able to think clearly enough to decide to give up his hopeless designs on the temptress Ly. His peasant uncle and aunt also possess a simple, calm surety; a "majesté" (133) which virtually none of the other characters seem to possess. The exceptions are Jerome, André's idealized friend who dies in a rural sanatorium, and Madame Génier, the embodiment of maternal domestic order and fortitude (though she is "stérile" (174) and her businessman husband is chronically unfaithful). These positive, stable, rural and domestic types are minor suits in the text but they stand out against the pervasiveness of urban

decadence and dissolution. Thus, in spite of *Ils posséderont la terre*'s relatively "modern" psychological realism it can also be read as a tacit valorization of the ethnic-identified *terroiriste* narrative of Québec's fall from a supposed pastoral grace as a result of modernity.⁹¹ Accordingly, the novel's "non-temps", "un jeu verbal qui glisse du passé au présent pour revenir au passé, en général sous la forme de l'imparfait" (Falardeau 501), retreats almost more than it advances. Whether this use of the imparfait is interpreted as a form of sedimented content which signals a nostalgia for the past, or tensions about the present and the future, both possibilities are consistent with the text's conservative, ethnocentric, discourse. Marchadowski, Jews and the English are all signs of the complex semiotic field of urbanism within contemporary French-Canadian discourses and its negative associations with immigrants' erosion of the French-Canadian *identitaire*. Thus, though much has been made of Charbonneau's identification with "left" Catholic ideas and personalities prior to and during the war, and with literary breaks from the past, his first novel is rife with conservative, ethnic-identified, values.⁹²

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Another solitary enigmatically Jewish figure in Roger Lemelin's *Au Pied de la pente douce* is also suggestive of contemporary anxieties about immigration and French-Canadian cultural dissolution. The conventional anti-semitic signs of the Jew in gentile authored texts are at first destabilized by the *histoire*'s casting of doubt upon Jean-Baptiste Bédarovitch's ethnic

origins. While Jean-Baptiste was the standard Québécois name, Bédarovitch makes the curious claim that "son grand-père était un nommé Bédard, un Français authentique" who decided to pass himself off as a Jew in order to succeed in business (48). As Jean-Baptiste cites his grandfather.

"Tous les Juifs réussissent dans les affaires, ici. Je me fais Juif." Il s'était donc installé à Québec, ayant soin d'ajouter à son nom la payante désinence. Il avait prospéré, fièrement de ce "vitch" que tant de Juifs à vergogne renient (48).

Presumably then, and the extent to which the reader is meant to take it satirically is unclear, a non-Jew only has to take on a Jewish name in order to profit from the racist belief that Jews have an affinity for making money, even with "un arsenal de riens qui ne sont quelque chose que pour les Juifs de ghetto (47; see also "CFs" 298-300)." The *histoire* makes much of Bédarovitch not fitting the physical stereotypes of a Jew, just as his ill-fitting false teeth are said to mark him as a French-Canadian for the people of the district -- though this reference can also be read as a satiric double entendre on the ethnic-class poverty of French-Canadians *and* the supposed parsimoniousness of Jewish merchants since Bédarovitch is said to have picked his false teeth out of the local curé's garbage.⁹³

The possibility that Bédarovitch is a Jew attempting to pass as a gentile in order to protect himself against anti-semitism is also implicit, but the humour of this scenario traffics in the racist prejudices that Jews are dissemblers and conniving small

merchants, and that what is essential about being Jewish is a pathological drive to make money."⁴ The decision to cast Bédarovitch as "French" is also perfectly consistent with Everett Hughes's observation:

that the symbolic Jew receives the more bitter of the attacks which the French Canadians would like to make upon the English or perhaps even upon some of their own leaders and institutions. When French Canadians attack the English, they pull their punches. Against the Jew, however, attack may proceed without fear of retaliation or of a bad conscience. In fact, the Jew in Quebec is the physically present small competitor rather than the hidden wirepuller of high finance and big business (Hughes 1943, 217-18).

Or as Réal Caux has written of the infamous "l'Achat chez nous" movement: "[I]l était une manifestation de défense dirigée contre l'Anglo-saxon, mais par un biaisement assez compréhensif, il atteignit surtout le juif, à qui il était plus facile de s'attaquer." (Caux 12) In other words, that Bédarovitch is not portrayed as anglicized may have much to do with the setting of Québec city, but his "French" identity trucks in the paranoid fear of the immediacy of small Jewish merchants' competition for low prestige jobs and businesses. Finally, given that *Au Pied de la pente douce* is primarily a *bildungsroman* about Denis Boucher's life in the impoverished lower town of Québec City, it is not surprising that Bédarovitch does not play a greater role. That this enigmatic character appears at all is suggestive of the uneasy volatility of the Jewish question in Québec, even towards the end of WW II. Still, while the portrait of Bédarovitch is dependent upon stereotypes about Jews it also implies that the associated

characteristics are not natural. Thus, unlike *Le Beau risque* and *Ils posséderont la terre* which only invoke cosmopolitan figures in passing and perjoratively, Bédarovitch's ethnic ambiguities verge on breaking from the xenophobic paradigm.

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Amongst the Francophone texts of my corpus, however, it is Germaine Guèvremont's *Le Survenant* which deviates most significantly from the negative immigrant narrative, though it is not without its contradictions. The Survenant's "rupture définitive", to use André Vanasse's term, in his refusal to be sedentary, suggests that he is a symbolic alternative not only to the constraints of the genre of the *roman du terroir* but to more provincial ideas of what it meant to be Québécois. For instance, the local people flock to Chenal du Moine: "Curieux d'entendre ce que le Survenant pouvait raconter du vaste monde." (39) And contrary to the xenophobia of the epoch, the Survenant's passing associations with gypsies and his anecdotal reference to a black seaman are dramatized as positive and life-reinforcing. While waiting for the Survenant to finish a conversation with a gypsy woman, Angéline is at first quietly panicked by a gypsy couple's public display of physical affection, but in contemplating the Survenant's valorization of them her eyes are said to open to life (see 149). Similarly, when the Survenant recounts a parable-like anecdote about a black sailor who always cast his first slice of bread upon the waters because he had once been saved from starvation after a shipwreck thanks to a sea-gull (161), the Survenant's affinity with

the black man's spiritual largesse is clearly in opposition to sedentary, xenophobic, biases against non-French-Canadians.

But as much as the figure of the Survenant may be symbolic of Québec's tentative opening up to the larger, more heterogeneous world,⁹⁵ his enigmatic separateness and mobility can also be read as valorizing a traditional insular, xenophobic, discourse. The Survenant is not an immigrant in the strict sense, but his enigmatic arrival, origins and departure echo several characteristics negatively associated with the cosmopolitan Amable's definition of "[u]n survenant" as "quelqu'un qui s'arrête à une maison où il est pas invité .. et qui se décide pas à en repartir" (36) conforms to contemporary antagonistic discourse towards immigrants. There is no indication that the Survenant might be Jewish but the name given to him by the Beauchemin family -- which translates as the chance-comer or unexpected guest -- is analogous to the stereotype of the "wandering Jew". "Il était ivre, ivre de distances, ivre de départ [... du] vin illusoire de la route, des grands espaces, des horizons, des lointains inconnus (166) " The Survenant's red hair -- often associated in Gentile discourse with Jewishness (and Judas) -- his disquieting attractiveness and his enigmatic, possibly hybrid, ethnic origins also mark him as a disruptive, cosmopolitan, sign. Consistent with the negative baggage of this perspective, though Montréal and Sorel are briefly invoked as sites of the contemporary cultural shift to the urban (see 105-07), they are also associated with the Survenant's drunken debauchery and with his pivotal part in Père Didace's ill-fated relationship with

l'Acayenne.⁹⁶ The final intimation that he is Marc Petit de Lignères (see 135 & 192-94), a quarter-Scottish grandson of a wealthy, immigrant, merchant who is said to have "fit preuve du sens des affaires de ceux de sa race" (192), even conforms to the British bias against Scots as the "Jews" of British commercial life. Hence, these interdiscursive signs of the immigrant and of wealth, like the emphasis placed upon the Survenant's libidinality and his appeal to others on this basis (see 28-9, 37-8, 48-9 & "GFs" 218-31),⁹⁷ were virtually inseparable from xenophobic discourse.⁹⁸

The Survenant may not be an immigrant but he is simultaneously a negative and positive equivalent of one; a signifier whose many sliding signifieds may not lend themselves to a coherent resolution but which reflect, in their very enigmas, the growing French-Canadian dual attraction towards and repulsion by *les étrangers* and French-Canadians' own increasingly migrant, urbanized, culture. Still, though the Survenant may disrupt the provincial staidness of Chenal du Moine's traditional rural culture, he offers no alternatives to it other than his solitary, self-centred, libertarian existence. Having said this, it is worth remarking that the brief appearance of the French-Canadian "commerçant de Sainte-Anne" (75), whose small talk is characterized by the *histoire* as "[son] but principal, plutôt que la vente de sa marchandise" (75), foreshadows the positive appearance of the Jewish pedlar in Guèvremont's subsequent novel, *Marie-Didace*. Like his Francophone counter-part and the Survenant the Romanian Jewish pedlar, "Zarovitch," is associated with the unknown larger

world. Unlike the "commerçant de Sainte-Anne," however, Zarovitch is not important to the chain of regional news and gossip. Instead, he brings items of beauty and pleasure to rural Quebec, and especially to the women (see 45-51), including a talent for playing the harmonica "[I]l commença à jouer lentement, péniblement, comme s'il arrachait un morceau de son cœur, un air si langoureux, si nostalgique, que chacun pausa croyant entendre la plainte de sa propre nostalgie (48)." In this regard he is closer to the Survenant in terms of the passion and joy he generates. "Pierre-Côme" may criticize the local women for fawning over "un étranger" and his wares at the expense of the local "commerçant alerte qui passe à la porte [...] qui nous fait du bon, qui vend à crédit au besoin (47-8)," but given Pierre-Côme's inferior, slightly negative, place within the hierarchy of discourses of Guèvremont's novels this "achat chez-nous" critique has little credibility. Still in keeping with the standard anti-capitalist and related semiotic field of the Jew, Zarovitch's commercial success contrasts with that of his Francophone counterpart and the Survenant. This immigrant identified sign of the larger money economy is thus yet another reminder of the modern, cosmopolitan, world which the *terroir* bound residents of Chenal du Moine for the most part seem alienated from.⁹⁹

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Gwethalyn Graham's central theme in *Earth and High Heaven* is about the inter-ethnic obstacles to love within the Québec context. But while the novel puts the lie to English-Canadian

semitic tolerance, it does not dramatize the extent to which popular and powerful Anglophone interests were against Jewish immigration and often extremely anti-semitic.¹⁰⁰ As Zachary Baker recounts Israel Medres's memoirs of urban anti-semitism in Montréal at the turn of the century: "the most serious manifestations [...] apart from the Plamondon case, came from the English side of the street in the form of physical attacks against Jews in Irish working-class neighbourhoods like Griffintown and Point St-Charles, in the form of stage caricatures of Jews presented in local vaudeville houses, or in the form of snide remarks aimed at Jewish children by Protestant schoolteachers." (Baker 46) It is true that with time much of the organized opposition to immigration and especially Jewish immigrants, came from highly organized French-Canadians, that in their competition for scarce jobs many French-Canadians, like their English-Canadian counterparts, erroneously characterized Jews as inherently urban creatures, but this stereotype was also guiding Ottawa's immigration decisions.

Jewish immigration to Canada had been fairly dramatically cut during the relatively prosperous 1920s and the anti-semitism behind this shift became fully blown as of the 1930s when Jews needed to escape from Nazism and were refused entry to Canada. An anti-semite, Charles Blair, had become the assistant deputy minister of the Immigration Branch in 1926 and was its director between 1936 and 1943.

Jews, according to the director of immigration, were 'city people.' To almost every request to admit Jewish farmers or agricultural workers, he had the same attitude: it was impossible to keep them on the farm or in the bush; every attempt to do so had failed¹⁰¹

Similar racist sentiments and their political consequences were echoed by Vincent Massey in External Affairs (Abella & Troper 50) and by a large number of Canadian organizations and institutions.

Jewish quotas existed in various professions, universities, medical schools and industries. Jews were restricted from buying property in some areas, from holidaying at some resorts, from joining many private clubs or using their recreational facilities and even from sitting on the boards of various charitable, educational, financial and business organizations. Anti-Jewish sentiments were being voiced regularly -- and with impunity -- by many respectable newspapers, politicians, businessmen and clergymen, and by leading officers of such groups as the Canadian Corps Association, the Orange Order, the Knights of Columbus and farm and business organizations. There was even some violence as Jew and anti-Semite confronted one another on the streets of Toronto, Winnipeg and other Canadian cities (Abella & Troper 50-1)¹⁰²

David Rome observes that there may have been "no fascist group speaking English in the Province [of Québec]. But, by the same token, there was hardly any Protestant defence of Jews [.] not even such defence as Henri Bourassa and Taschereau sought to initiate." (Rome 1982, 117) Morton Weinfield characterizes Anglophone Québec's anti-semitism as "une manifestation de snobisme élitiste de la part du pouvoir financier",¹⁰³ but such prejudices were more likely a result of economic competition than mere snobbism and were just as common to other classes (see "CFs" 298-300).

At the beginning of *Earth and High Heaven* the *histoire* refers to the "three categories" of Montreal social life as the "French," "English," and "Jewish", as well as their respective "minority" "inferiority complex[es] (13)." That the *histoire* identifies all three communities as minorities was quite innovative for its time; suggesting a nascent post-colonial awareness of the complexities of competing ethnic identities within a shared colonial space. Yet the multiplicity of and divisions within Montréal's ethnic groups are obscured and displaced by the French, English, Jewish triad. For instance, the "English" identity of the upper class Drake family stereotypically stands in for and thus erases the likes of the absent, English-speaking, Irish working classes. Likewise, Marc Reiser, the novel's Jewish protagonist, may come from an immigrant lumbermill family in Northern Ontario -- a significant break from the urban small merchant and pedlar stereotypes -- but his identity as a Jew is not dramatized through evocations of the populous Montréal Jewish community¹⁰. Consequently, Marc's genetic rather than his cultural Jewishness sometimes takes symbolic precedence, an abstraction which reproduces essentializing assumptions about what constitutes ethnicity.

A significant exception to this is the emphasis Marc places upon the heterogeneities of being Jewish. Mr. Aaronson, Marc's former boss, is an Anglo-Imperialist (70-71); Marc's brother, David, a Jewish doctor, "rides the freights" in Northern Ontario to service "mostly French Canadian farmers and their families" (72); while it is Marc's father who has a segregationist faith in the

insurmountable differences between Jews and Gentiles (235) Then there is Marc's discourse about himself and about the multiplicity of Jewish subject positions. He tells Erica that he "is more middle-class and small-town Ontario than particularly Jewish" (76); a discourse which is radically opposed to the dominant ethno-linguistic groups' belief in Jews' and other immigrants' perennial foreignness. Marc also warns Erica that he cannot give her "'the Jewish point of view' [...]"

"Because there isn't one You get Jews like Mr Aaronsen [...] Communist Jews who are Russian Imperialists, Jews who are Zionists, Jews who are violently anti-Zionist, Jews like me who are just Canadians or Americans or Englishmen [...] There are only two characteristics which most Jews have in common [] one of them is a determination to survive [.] and the other is a basic sense of insecurity [.]" (76)

Given that racism lumps all the members of a targeted group into a homogeneous block Marc's discourse's emphasis upon the heterogeneity of Jewishness is an effective anti-racist device It also helps strengthen the sense of Marc's complex contradictory allegiances and tendencies. As the *histoire* informs us, one moment he identifies racially with other Jews and then rules out "'race' [as] misleading. for [] the racial force was not by itself strong enough to survive" (226-27) But this implicitly assimilationist position is also consistent with how anti-semitic discourse negatively identified Jewishness with a supposed threat to the charter groups' cultures

This reading against the grain of the positive Jewish pluralism of *Earth and High Heaven* can be related to contradictions concerning the representation of Marc's struggle between his love of Erica and his cultural identity. His relative secularism may finally allow him to feel free to ignore the social and religious "rules" which would keep him separated from Erica; but it is his brother's last minute observation that Marc's and Erica's religiosity is so minimal to begin with that seems to end the dilemma for Marc (245). Superficially Marc and Erica may be equals in terms of their relative irreligiosity, but it can also be read as yet another sign of Marc's assimilation into mainstream Anglo-Canadian secular culture. Moreover, the closure's solution of their forthcoming marriage is fundamentally predicated on Charles Drake's sudden change of heart towards Marc after his son Anthony has disappeared in action and on the reader being convinced that Marc's inferiority complex (see 248) has until then been strong enough to make him acquiescent to Charles's anti-semitism. Marc's supposed inferiority complex may be consistent with his presumed concern for Erica's endangered familial ties, but the burden of guilt it places on Marc is inconsistent with the rest of his characterization and especially his discourse about the diversity and richness of the Jewish experience.

In other words, both Erica and Marc will presumably continue to be targets for racist intolerance, yet the narrative tends to minimize the differences in their ethnic subject positions. Erica may be a woman who resists male domination, but she is still a

privileged member of the dominant ethno-linguistic class. Meanwhile, Marc's desire to break with segregation, and ironically this is facilitated by the novel's total lack of a Montreal Jewish heterocosm, leads him to defer to the constraints and needs of Erica *vis-à-vis* her own, dominant, culture. Eli Mandel dismissed Graham's implicit "assimilationist solution" by stating that "history is against her"¹⁰. But he also thought the social problem of "preserv[ing] distinctions by intermarriage" is irrelevant to the novel's "[l]ove" as "idyll" (x). Even if one agrees with Mandel's belief that "history" may have been "against" the assimilation of Jews, it does not change the assimilationist aspect of the novel's cultural work. Nor can its ideological import be so easily divorced from its romantic theme.

Consider how the complex gender politics of the novel are inseparable from the novel's ethnic tensions and their resolutions. Charles's discourse expresses a patriarchal possessiveness and fear of miscegenation which he justifies by the presumption that Marc is "on the make professionally" (49) and "for what he could get" sexually (206). The first instance is just after Erica has first met Marc and wants to introduce him to her father. To Erica's surprise her father is even more dismissive of Marc, a stranger, than of his French-Canadian in-law René de Sevigny, whom we are told Charles has never liked (42-3) because he automatically views Marc as a Jewish "shyster lawyer" (43). Erica is doubly shocked because this is not the "We don't take Jews" racism of an "anonymous, ill educated concierge" to whom Marc has just

referred to but that of her bourgeois educated Anglo father (43). When Erica finally confronts Charles with his inhospitality and his racist venom she characterizes them as "a prophylactic measure" (50). This barb euphemistically identifies Charles's fear of miscegenation and its deeper roots in patriarchy's need for sexual control over its female property.

This fear of miscegenation -- which I elsewhere relate to a repressed incest discourse (see "CFs" 218-21) -- can also be read as a powerful sign of the profundity of the tribalism of the English community -- a community which too easily pointed the finger of anti-semitism at French-Canadians. As I note elsewhere, the educated and entrepreneurial segments of the Jewish immigrant community posed serious threats to the petty-bourgeois and bourgeois sectors of both French-Canadian and Anglo-Canadian society, but in many ways the growing linguistic and secular identification of many Jews with the dominant Anglo culture posed even greater threats to the latter ("CFs" 298-300)¹⁰⁶. This helps explain why, in contrast with Francophone culture's emphasis upon the Jew as a foreigner whose differences are what are most threatening, *Earth and High Heaven* represents Jews as quickly rooting in Canada and competing for jobs, social standing and influence; since in English-Canadian culture it is Jews' passage from their immigrant to their "Canadian" status -- from their "otherness" to their assimilation -- which was most anxiety generating and conflictual. It also explains why René, the text's token French-Canadian, poses less of a threat to Charles Drake

René's ethnic class and linguistic subordination ironically make him less threatening than the Anglo-identified Marc Reiser.

The novel's absorption and transformation of this social contradiction is diminished somewhat since as much as it dramatizes WASPs and Jews as being more alienated from one another than WASPs and French Catholics, the extent to which Anglo anti-semitism is embodied by the solitary figure of Charles Drake can be read as symbolically minimizing its pervasiveness within Anglo society. Just as René's discourse is representative of the French-Canadian collectivity during WW II from a rather chauvinistic English-Canadian perspective (see "CFs" 353-54),¹⁰⁷ Charles's anti-semitic discourse is also presented as part of a much larger social discourse. "Erica had heard most of [it] before, particularly the part about not having any objection to Jews, but, etc., which seemed to be the one that was always used [] (50, see also 97)." René's critique of Charles's anti-semitism also characterizes it as consistent with a much larger, hypocritical, English-Canadian discourse about racism.

"I know what he thinks about the war, what a violent anti-Nazi he is, how revolted he is by the way the Germans are treating the Jews and the Poles and the Czechs as 'inferior' races[] "

" [Erica] But he really means it." "Of course he means it [] I took a little too literally, that's all [..]"

"René, don't talk like that!"

He said acidly, "Sorry, I'm just a French Canadian. I don't quite grasp these subtle distinctions. You English Canadians are always preaching at us, but it never seems to occur to you that if you 'd once make an effort to practice what you preach, your preaching might have a little more effect." (66-7)

Thus, the narrative may reinforce English-Canadian biases about a homogeneous collective French-Canadian xenophobia, but to its credit it does not totally let Canada "take off" as an aberration either. But then is it not this very sense of balance, this kind of liberal *inoculation* which makes the aforementioned assimilationist project more palatable, especially insofar as in true classic realist fashion it passes off stereotypes as truths and its closure helps obfuscate the *histoire*'s and the narrative's social contradictions?

Of course, anti-immigration discourse not only targeted East Europeans and Jews. Its French-Canadian component was understandably also anti-British. This had much to do with the frequency with which "British" immigrants were recruited for Federal government and other jobs.¹⁰⁷ Anti-British immigration sentiments were also related to a larger anti-Imperial discourse which feared how the war's Anglo-American business interests and cultures would impinge upon French Canada.¹⁰⁸ Once the war neared its end French-Canadian concerns about British immigration to Canada became particularly marked, especially once it became apparent that it had jumped by 50% between 1943 and 1944.¹⁰⁹ However, anti-British sentiment was never monolithic. For instance, a *La Presse* editorial of May 1939 describes an "Amitié Anglo-Américaine" and sympathetically praises "les deux grandes nations anglo-saxonnes".¹¹⁰ The aforementioned examples of French-Canadian fervour for the British monarchy also attest to how the

hostilities towards British immigrants were quite specific to its material consequences for French Canadians, as opposed to an expression of purely ethnolinguistic antagonism.

Ironically, however, although there was vocal anti-British immigration discourse amongst French Canadians, it is non-existent in the Francophone texts of my literary corpus. Like the wartime failure to deal fictively with the conscription crisis (see "EFs" 127-28) this lack may have to do with claims about somehow being charged under the War Measures Act. So too, given the Catholic Church's hierarchy's support for the war and its direct control of many of the larger publishing firms, it is not surprising that anti-British or anti-conscription material did not see print under its aegis.¹¹³ In fact, war-related narratives were generally published in pulp formats and usually within detective and spy series.¹¹⁴ What is more, their pro-Allied propaganda was little different from what was being diffused by radio.

Ironically, antagonisms towards British colonialism and immigration are more evident in my selected Anglophone fictions. Britons may have accounted for a large proportion of the immigrant population before and towards the end of the war, and English-Canadian support for Britain's war effort may have been extremely high, but anti-colonial, anti-British sentiments were not exclusively the domain of French-Canadians.¹¹⁵ Accordingly, even though the vast majority of the action of *Barometer Rising* takes place in Halifax, Nova Scotia, I have chosen to include it as

part of my corpus. For though it is set during World War I, it reflects the absorption and transformation of contemporary Canadian disenchantment with the vestiges of British colonialism in Canada at the same time that it offers put-ting invocations of French Canada reveal a major contradiction about the Anglocentrism of its anti-colonialism.

Most criticism on *Barometer Rising* treats it as a national allegory about Canada reaching maturity and throwing off its colonial vestiges. In such readings, Ned Macrae, the working-class hero, embodies a New World spirit in revolt against the wealthy Geoffrey Wain's scheming, classist, colonial attitudes, and the cataclysm of the 1917 Halifax explosion is symbolic of the tragic self-destructiveness of the Old World and the ability of "true" Canadians to survive and surpass it. Hence, when Halifax's colonial history is invoked, the *histoire* refers to Halifax harbour as having been "for a century and a half [] a link in the chain of British sea power", and how this "is all that matters in Halifax, for the place periodically sleeps between great wars (4)". And when Colonel Wain anticipates imminent overseas service, he chauvinistically rants at how "I've wasted a whole lifetime in this hole of a town. Everything in this damn country is second rate. It always is, in a colony. Now I'm going to get away from it for good" (101). Throughout the narrative, however, the *histoire* privileges Macrae's sentiment that "the traditions of the Old World could never compensate him" for what "his own country" had to offer (4).

In keeping with these diametrically opposed perspectives the Wain's house is described as "so a British colonial" [] It had stood just as it was for over a hundred years. It looked permanent enough to last forever (8)." The British colonial heritage is also described by the *histoire*'s and Angus Murray's hybrid discourse as "a bondage" in which "the town figured more largely in the calamities of the British Empire than its prosperities (33)." Yet while this hybrid discourse lends credence to the text's nationalism it also helps create the *illusion* that it is non-contradictory. Nothing could be further from the truth. For as much as the novel clearly rejects Canadian subservience to British military interests it also privileges the country's Anglo-Americanness. Consider Neil Macrae's realization of "what being a Canadian meant" of what "heritage" it was "he had no intention of losing." He is taken with "this anomalous land, this sprawling waste of timber and rock and water [] this nation undiscovered by the rest of the world and unknown to itself, these people neither American nor English, nor even sure what they wanted to be" (79). Not only are England and the United States presented as the fundamental cultural coordinates via which Canadians define themselves, but in all instances of Macrae's and the *histoire*'s passion for the nation's potential, French-Canada, the European based ethno-linguistic community of Canada which was probably least confused about its distinctness, is left out. It can be argued that this unsaid is consistent with the cultural characterization of Macrae as a Cape Bretoner and the historic site of the novel's action. But textual evidence suggests that *Barometer Rising* is

even more indicative of Macleannan's protean Anglo-Canadian vision of Canada as a fundamentally Anglo nation – and that it thereby embodies in spite of its anti-British anti-colonialism, what many French-Canadians feared about English Canadian socio-political hegemony and especially British immigration.

Consider when Angus Murray, a war-wounded military doctor and English skeptic, is searching for a "pattern" which will make sense of the Halifax explosion. After a hybrid discourse epically contemplates all the major characters of the novel, Murray thinks

We're the ones who make Canada what she is today [] neither one thing nor the other, neither a colony nor an independent nation, neither English nor American. And yet [] England and America can't continue to live without each other much longer. Canada must therefore remain as she is, noncommittal, until the day she becomes the keystone to hold the world together (208)

Macrae's hybridized interior monologue at the close of the novel is similarly constructed: "if there were enough Canadians like himself, half-American and half-English, then the day was inevitable when the halves would join and his country would become the central arch which united the new order" (218). This clearly echoes concerns not only about Canada's role prior to the United States' entry into WW I, but the analogous situation in 1941. Yet this celebrated Anglo-American unity with Canada as the *trait d'union* goes against the grain of the allegory of Geoffrey Wain's British colonialism and resistance to it by the heroic "Canadian" figure of Macrae.

Nor is there ever the slightest indication as to how French-Canada could be a part of such an Anglo-American marriage. Even when Macrae imagines the sun's synchronic relationship to the breadth of Canada, setting over Nova Scotia at the same time that it shines in the mid-afternoon of the Rockies, the coordinates of the heterocosm of Montreal are markedly Anglo: "Now [the sun] was setting over Montreal and sending the shadow of the mountain deep into the valleys of Sherbrooke Street and Peel" (79). Montréal is elsewhere almost exclusively identified by other Anglo-identified signs and sites like "Victoria Bridge" a hockey game with "Bishop's" "Ste. Catherine Street" and "Notre Dame des [sic] Grace" (43-4). With the exception of the reference to the hockey game (43), the only other instance invoking French Montréal involves a psychosexual signifying chain which reduces French-identified signs to metonyms of the libidinal (see 44-5). Thus *Barometer Rising* may evidence a strong anti-colonial discourse regarding Britain, a discourse which ostensibly has much in common with French-Canadian discourse against British Imperialism and immigration, but consistent with English-Canadians comparative privileges the narrative's anti-colonialism is contradicted by its colonial assumptions about the Anglo-American character of Canada and its consequent neglect of the French fact. *Barometer Rising* can still be read as an anti-colonial text, but its Anglo-American fantasy is clearly embedded with the very ethno-linguistic, colonial, biases which favoured Anglophone culture, including British immigration, at the expense of French-Canadian anxieties.

A similar contradiction manifests itself when comparing Patrick Anderson's original and late autobiographical sketches about wartime Baie St. Paul. In a retrospective piece Anderson comments upon how the townpeople identified him and his wife as "*les Anglais* . . . the imperialist oppressors" ¹⁵. But in the original notes from his journal which were first published in *Preview* , Anderson expressed the belief that "being plain 'anglais' and not 'canadien anglais' was some help with these people who mentally, make a considerable distinction" ¹⁶. As I observed earlier, French Canadians may have generally been in favour of the democratic institutions associated with British parliamentary democracy, and they may have been romantically attracted to the pomp and ceremony of the "Norman" related British Crown, but immigration anxieties were such that most French Canadians would not have been so sympathetic to Anderson's British immigrant status.

Aside from the obvious possibility that Anderson may have misinterpreted or have experienced limited reactions to his being a British immigrant, another way to reconcile his subjective observation with the contrary evidence of many social texts is to remember that often people's ethnic or social biases can be easily sustained in the abstract but that they are often softened or undermined by actual contact with a living subject of their regular calumny. It can also be interpreted as a reminder of how the texts which tend to get identified as being representative of social discourse (i.e. newspaper articles and editorials, mass market books; *etcetera*) may be more representative of particular

intellectual and class interests and perspectives than of any general social or ethnic-class consensus. On the basis of Anderson's own textual accounts, however, I tend to favour the idea that his earlier perception was altered with time because it is truer to his original experiences and sentiments, that once his wartime, communist inspired "national unity"¹²⁰ perspective was long behind him it was easier to admit to his non-idealized experiences of the ethno-linguistic divide.

In any case, in the same original Baie St. Paul sketch, as much as Anderson "felt that I could understand and sympathise with [French-Canadians'] grievances and loyalties just as I could sympathise with the Boers or the Irish" (11) the text evidences a rather paternalistic, even identifiably British, attitude. Hence the very invocations of the Boers and the Irish as analogous to French-Canadians, and the subsequent backhanded compliment that "If they were wrong, they were wrong on old historical grounds" (11) Anderson's citation of passages from *Menaud Maitre-Draveur* -- such as "Autour de nous des etrangers sont venus qu'il nous plait d'appeler [sic] les barbares" -- may express his sympathy for French-Canadians' colonization, but they also reinforce the standard narrative of French-Canada's provincial insularity, an insularity, it is implicit, which is inferior to Anderson's more worldly perspective, as when he describes a local adolescent proudly flying his model aeroplane. "There was something exactly right about it all, the whiteness of the plane, its graceful yet, really, blundering movement -- the sense of everything being on a small scale and

infused with a warm domestic feeling — which made me wonder whether French Canada was not the perfect place for trying out a model aeroplane" (10). Though such commentary is infused with a warm sympathy for the "small-scale" "domestic[ity]" of rural Québec, it is also embedded with the paternalistic perspective and values of the English Imperial centre. Thus, like Ryerson's *French Canada*, or MacLennan's *Barometer Rising* in true classic realist fashion, the rhetoric and *histoires* of Anderson's Baie St. Paul sketches may foreground anti-colonial ideology, but this can divert us from their contradictions — from how their effacements of their status as discourse are particularly dependent upon the neglect of their ethno-linguistic illusions and biases.

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There are no English-Canadian identified anti-immigration discourses in *Two Solitudes* though, as in *Barometer Rising*, the more British identified characters tend to be characterized the most negatively (see 130, 268-70, 343-45). The exception is the retired Nova Scotian sea-captain, John Yardley, who represents the most benevolent, sympathetic possibilities of Anglophone adaptation to traditional French-Canada. During the course of his short career as a gentleman farmer, Yardley sympathizes with the French-Canadian fear of being culturally and economically swamped by English-Canadians, but he admits he can't identify with it. "Guess I'd feel the same way if I was you. Only I'm not, so I don't" (64)¹²². Most importantly, several of the moments in which the narrative hybridizes Yardley's discourse enunciate various ideas,

elements of plot and forms of idealism concerning ethnicity which are indistinguishable from those of the *histoire*'s or Paul's. Consider the following lengthy excerpt:

Thinking of Heather and Paul, he reflected with wonder and some indignation that each was the victim of the two racial legends within the country [. . .] On both sides, French and English, the older generation was trying to freeze the country and make it static [. . .] Yet the country was changing. In spite of them all it was drawing together, but in a personal, individual way, and slowly. French and English getting to know each other as individuals in spite of the rival legends [. . .] Paul would never be as simple as his father had been. He would see to it that his battle to become himself remained a private one. And Paul was the new Canada. All he needed was a job to prove it.

As he got into bed, Yardley wondered if he would live long enough to see the country merged into a whole. He smiled ruefully. Paul might, but not he. (301-02)

The reference to the oppressive limits of "racial legends" echoes the *histoire*'s invocations of them at the beginning and the end of the novel, as well as Paul's decision to surmount them personally and artistically. Yardley's faith in how "the country was changing" is the recipe for Paul's and Heather's marriage, it parallels Paul's belief in the lack of hostility between individual English- and French-Canadians, and it's the theme of Paul's novel. Predictably, Yardley will not live to see "the country merged into a whole" -- neither symbolically, through Heather and Paul's marriage, nor in actuality -- since his death is clearly meant to heighten the sympathetic ante, and virtuousness, of his vision. But the great unsaid of this discourse about the merging of "the two racial legends" -- and the whole narrative, for all of its sweep,

manages to avoid the issues that arise. Like Pierce, MacLennan absolutely ignores the growing ethnic heterogeneity which was so responsible for increasing ethnic nationalist tensions amongst and between English- and French-Canadians. Thus, whereas most of the selected French-Canadian fictions tend to equate immigrants with a general cultural threat, Graham's *Earth and High Heaven* is embedded with anxieties about the increasing presence of assimilated Jews. *Two Solitudes* ignores the very immigrant diversity which heightened English- and French-Canadian controversies about what constituted a desirable or coherent nation in favour of a typically English-Canadian assimilationist solution.

* * * * *

The Language War

Most French-Canadian concerns about immigration were directly related to the endangered status of the French language.¹³³ On one level, French-Canadian linguistic anxieties were part of the reaction against the recent introduction of English as a compulsory subject in primary schools. There were growing concerns about the increased anglicization of French. And perhaps most importantly, from 1931 onwards Québécois of French origin made up the second largest group of English-speakers (Radin 172). One of the major assimilative phenomena was the influence of Anglo-American culture via mass media. For instance, some French-Canadians who felt creatively and culturally stifled, through social controls such as the Index or bans upon dancing,¹³⁴ were often attracted to

Anglophone-identified culture and diversions. This was amplified in the inter-war period by the massive invasion of American monopoly capital and cultural products, including mass market magazines, radio, and films.¹²⁵ Laurendeau saw the resultant "anglomanie" as a form of passive assimilation,¹²⁶ while Robert Charbonneau would reflect back upon how many young French-Canadian intellectuals valorized Anglo-American culture at the expense of their own.¹²⁷ The war economy created an even greater demand for popular American films and greater means for people to afford attending them. Only a small percentage of films were dubbed and many Francophones attended the original English versions. The explosion in 1941 of popular spy and detective stories and pulps, such as those published in *Mon magazine policier et d'aventures* and by *Les Éditions variétés*, also paradoxically contributed to the linguistic anxieties and debates by diffusing both vernacular and relatively learned French at the same time that they evidenced and reproduced its creolization by English (Bleton 134-36)

Though by the early 1940s English-Canada was even more Americanized than Québec, French-Canadians could hardly take solace from this when recent events in New England showed just how vulnerable very large Franco-American communities were to being anglicized and assimilated.¹²⁸ Especially when it was patently clear that if an urban French-Canadian wanted to get ahead economically it was usually imperative that they be able to function in English; a linguistic shift which was almost never

required in the other direction. Blame has frequently been cast upon French-Canadians' general educational impoverishment as posing the greatest threat to their language and culture, or upon the *collèges classiques* for their neglect of the disciplines necessary to be socio-economically and culturally competitive (see Linteau *Tome II*, 99-104). But even highly skilled French-Canadians in business and trades were consistently discriminated against. It was as common at the highest levels of society as it was at the level of the shop floor (Porter 93-8).

Given French-Canadians' lack of substantial political-economic means to pressure the English-Canadian dominated state and business into being more ethno-linguistically egalitarian, resistance to discrimination was instead channeled into themes and tactics such as attacks upon the perceived French-Canadian "anglomanie"; the Anglo-identified trusts, or the launching of the "l'achat chez nous" campaigns.¹²⁹ Renewed anxieties about ethno-linguistic assimilation also prompted a large number of articles, pamphlets and columns in favour of a purer language.¹³⁰ Speeches by the likes of Camille Roy warning that bilingualism would eventually lead to English unilingualism were not new.¹³¹ This argument had consistently been advanced against the teaching of English in French Catholic schools. But the fears of a uni-directional shift of French speakers to English took on greater significance within the context of the war given that Federal state, the military and big business clearly favoured English. For instance, on the eve of the war unilingual official communiqués in

English were still common in Ottawa, in spite of the obvious value, the necessity even, of winning the hearts and minds of French-Canada.¹³² Or as Léopold Richer said when denouncing said communiqués: "On se moque de la presse et du public de langue française -- Cela travaille-t-il à assurer l'unité nationale?" (Richer 1) And when M. Wilfrid Lacroix, the liberal MP from Québec-Montmorency, tabled a bill which would have obliged the railway companies to provide bilingual public service in Québec, the Francophone press emphasized the inequalities of the status quo while the Anglophone press played up the negative "racial" aspects of the critique.¹³³

Even a pro-business, staunchly federalist oriented, newspaper like *La Presse* felt compelled to editorialize in defense of the French language. Or as it cited and endorsed the council of Monseigneur Camille Roy

"Prenons un soin plus grand de notre langue française; prenons soin de notre esprit français. Refrancisons tout ce que, dans la vie familiale, sociale, industrielle, commerciale, tout ce que sur les routes elles-mêmes nous avons mal à propos sacrifié à la langue anglaise. C'est par notre langue française, par son usage et sa qualité que l'on reconnaîtra nos origines et les vertus de notre esprit. La fierté de soi-même et de sa race est une vertu; que saint Jean-Baptiste nous la donne!"¹³⁴

This collective appeal to the French language as being synonymous with the "spirit" of a French identified "race" is not only typical of the extent to which the English language was seen to be eroding French-Canadianness, or related to critiques of the discriminatory

ethnic structure (i.e. ethno-linguistic occupational segregation). The extent to which a supposedly purer, original, language was nostalgically imagined as the best bulwark against linguistic and cultural competition and hybridization, also enunciates faith in an essential French-Canadian self based upon "langue," "esprit" and "race" -- which is doubly powerful for being embedded in the almost seamless *histoire* of the editorial column -- and which presumes an essential unity and lack of contradiction amongst these three qualities. But as I have already indicated in my critique of Groulx this was far from the case

Meanwhile, during the 1930s the Anglophone population of Québec grew in spite of the decade's setbacks to the economy and British immigration. By the late 1930s the Anglophones of Québec were anything but a homogeneous ethnic group (see Linteau 1982, 205), but most immigrants' acquisition of English helped sustain a language based socio-cultural category and system of privilege at the expense of French-Canadians.¹³⁵ Thus, in keeping with its communities' comparative privileges local Anglo-Canadian discourses about language were generally much more muted and less frequent -- at least in the press. The lack of threats to the predominance of the English language even allowed English-Canadian commentators on French-Canada to be quite liberal -- though often paternalistic -- about accepting French-Canadians' militancy about defending their culture and language.¹³⁶

That the Anglophone community was not committed to becoming bilingual is also evident in many ways. Consider how the only wartime educational radio programming to teach French to Anglophones in Québec was instituted and broadcast by CKAC, the Francophone radio station owned by *La Presse*,¹³⁷ how *The Gazette*'s "Quebec Weekly Review" column by Abel Vineberg rarely surpassed an eighth of a page or how Wilfrid Bovey of McGill was virtually alone as a good-will ambassador in his ability to speak to and on behalf of French-Canadians in their own language.¹³⁸ Bilingualism was often criticized by French-Canadian activists as being part of a chauvinistic assimilationist agenda and frequently English newspapers, like *The Montreal Daily Star*, fulfilled this anxiety when praising bilingualism "[D]iversity of language and race fully justifies itself when it produces leadership of the kind Mr. Godbout is now offering"¹³⁹ -- as if without the influence of Godbout's knowledge of English good government would be well-nigh impossible! This negative attitude was reinforced by the Federal civil service becoming "even more thoroughly Anglophone as a result of its enormous and rapid expansion during World War II."¹⁴⁰ Or as Jean Pariseau and Serge Bernier have summarized an important example cited by the *Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism*

When [Ernest] Lapointe called for more French-speaking public servants to be hired, the Minister of Munitions and Supply, the Honourable C. D. Howe, gave a distinctly negative reaction. Even though the acting Minister, Angus MacDonald, assured Lapointe that his Department had spared no effort to recruit more bilingual public servants over the past six months, Lapointe discovered by personal inquiry that the Department did not have a

single French-speaking public servant as of November 22, 1940, either in Ottawa or in the Province of Quebec. When Lapointe returned to the attack, insisting that Howe hire at least one purchasing agent in Quebec who spoke French. Howe replied that he was quite willing, but that such a person had to be competent. This suggests that competency was an attribute earned only by anglophones.¹⁴¹

Given the recent importance and the sheer size of the ministry of Munitions and Supply, if Ottawa granted French-Canadian bilingualism so little value then how could wartime calls for national unity not be perceived as window-dressing for the continued linguistic and cultural dominance of English-Canadians?

But not everyone in French-Canada was as concerned about the status of the French language. There were even articles in *Le Devoir*, though their appearances were far from frequent, which suggested that French-Canadian culture was healthy and that bilingualism was not to be feared. These ranged, for instance, from Omer Heroux's comments in 1940 upon the holding of the *Association Canadienne-Française des Associations Savantes'* annual congress in Ottawa as a sign of French-Canadians' confidence and skills;¹⁴² to a positive interview with the director of the newly founded journal *Culture* about its project of building a bridge between the two main linguistic groups,¹⁴³ to impassioned arguments of the socio-political benefits to be won by French-Canadians in acquiring English "pour nous en servir, non pour servir les autres."¹⁴⁴

"Apprenons la langue anglaise dit Me (sic) Panet-Raymond, et enseignons-la à nos enfants. Non seulement nous en retirerons, au point de vue pratique, des avantages sérieux et précieux, mais aussi notre culture intellectuelle en sera considérablement augmentée, puisque nous aurons ainsi accès à la pensée anglaise, manifestée sous toutes ses formes."¹⁴

Like the absorption and transformations of the immigration controversy, many of the aforementioned linguistic controversies and anxieties would be absorbed and transformed in obvious and not so obvious ways in my selected classic realist fictions

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Francophone Narratives of Linguistic Assimilation and Hybridity

In *Le Beau risque* the teacher Père Berthier is constructed as the spiritual "father" of the male youths of French-Canadian culture. Not only is his discourse privileged within the hierarchy of discourses, but his mentoring of the equally heroic student, Pierre Martel, and of his classmates is consistently represented as fulfilling the clerico-nationalist ideal. But much of this construct is dependent upon Pierre's father, Doctor Martel, standing in for the French-Canadian bourgeoisie and its apologists for the Anglo-dominated status quo. Or as he says to Pierre: "Je t'en prie, mets de côté les questions de race [] ça n'a jamais rien changé. D'ailleurs, tu gâcherais ton avenir" (86).

Consistent with contemporary French-Canadian worries for the purity of the French language, one of the major sites of conflict

between Pierre and his father revolves around anglicisms. One day Pierre writes in his journal that "il n'y a plus guère de Canadiens français qui parlent sans anglicismes" ¹⁶. His entry for the next day -- which is approvingly read by Père Berthier -- recounts how he argued with his father about how he is "indigne contre une affiche" for the "Beaugrand Inn". By Pierre's sights the linguistic hybridity of the Inn's sign should not be tolerated, while his father claims: "Nous n'y pouvons rien" (115). Pierre argues that this should not happen "chez nous en terre canadienne-française". Doctor Martel counters that Québec is a "[] colonie anglaise [.] Et cessons de nous torturer le cerveau avec des rêves impossibles" (116). Given Doctor Martel's recognition of the colonial status of Francophone Québécois, and the text's nationalist biased hierarchy of discourses, his unwillingness to react marks him as a cultural and linguistic traitor.

Doctor Martel's expression of his colonized consciousness is also one of the few instances in the text where he speaks for himself. Most of the time he is spoken for by the other discourses. This is in keeping with the autobiographical generic strategies of the text, but it is simultaneously a standard classic realist means of diminishing a character by limiting his or her discourse. Consider how Père Berthier recalls his disappointment in Doctor Martel's use of English when referring to Pierre's "combat pour la vie! (Il dit struggle for life)" (27). Not only is Doctor Martel's discourse subsumed under Père Berthier's in keeping with the latter's supposed command of the "truth" but the English phrase is

first presented to us in translation and subsequently without the appropriate grammatical signs of italics or quotation marks. In other words it is symbolically diminished by the absence of conventional linguistic markers. These discursive and graphematic choices are perfectly consistent with Berthier's negative opinion of Pierre's father's anti-nationalism and of his assimilation as "peut-être le principal obstacle à l'ascension de son fils vers la virilité." (28)¹⁴⁷

Pierre's father is further diminished even demonized, when Pierre wrestles with why he is not as good a Catholic as he could be. Pierre concludes that because "[m]on père a une âme de sceptique, matérialisée, une âme de médecin positif" he has also been infected with it. "[J]e le retrouve en moi. Hélas! Je le sens: papa m'a passé son âme" (99). This discourse about materialist "contamination", as if it were acquired biologically and socially, is given little space in the narrative, but it is possibly the most refined condensation of the text's anxieties about cultural-linguistic hybridity. In keeping with Catholic Francophone biases against the decadent materialism of Anglophones, Doctor Martel is presented as being colonized not only linguistically but spiritually. As in Camille Roy's and Lionel Groulx's texts and speeches these negative attributes are all of one piece. But precisely because according to clerico-nationalist ideology the spirit precedes and takes precedence over the material, including language, in spite of Pierre's outward defence of the French language and his devotion to

the nationalist cause, his most precious belief, his religious faith, is what is emphasized as being most endangered by his filial bond

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The linguistic transfers from English to French which generate so much nationalist angst in *Le Beau risque* are virtually absent from *Ils posséderont la terre* though they have subtle equivalents. For example, evidently the Wilding family had English ancestry but its ostensible cultural assimilation -- though Edward is not yet an *Edouard* -- is suggestively counter-balanced by Edward reading Joyce's "*Ulysse*" while André peruses "un périodique américain" (51). These signs of Anglo-Irish and American culture, and of the English language seem to have little significance until one recalls that Charbonneau was militantly against cultural assimilation.¹¹⁸ Yet as Robert Schwartzwald remarks, Charbonneau valorized American realist writing¹¹⁹ at the same time that he insisted upon founding "la 'personnalité nationale' canadienne-française sur des bases culturelles et surtout religieuses dans son esprit, la littérature canadienne-française doit chercher à rejoindre l'universel par le biais de l'humanisme catholique qui sert déjà de fondement à la civilisation canadienne-française (21) "

Considered in terms of these relatively contradictory aesthetic and cultural tendencies, the context in which Edward and André are presented as consuming the aforementioned Anglophone cultural products takes on greater meaning. They are on board a train *en route* to join a military expedition in defense of Ethiopia;

yet another sign of their potential waywardness from the traditional cultural values of isolationist Québec (50-1). However, Edward's mother -- who, while portrayed as cold and severe (51), symbolizes the power of the hearth -- inexplicably succeeds in contacting and convincing him to return home and André dutifully follows (54). Throughout the remainder of the narrative André, Edward, Ly and Monsieur Génier are all anxious to leave the provincialism of Fontaine behind them, but the cited Anglophone identified destinations, San Francisco, New York and "l'Ouest", are all presented as places to which one stealthily escapes (rather than lives in). For example, when Ly is still Monsieur Génier's mistress she secretly accompanies him on business trips to New York for amorous trysts (see 123, 172-3). The surrounding Anglophone continent is further associated with sexual deceptions and immorality when, at the close of the novel, Edward and Ly (who is pregnant by Génier), run-off together, again on a train, hurtling towards the Anglo-identified West (see 179)¹⁵⁰. Thus, in 1942, François Hertel would characterize *Ils posséderont la terre* as follows: "Tout est raide, les âmes, les attitudes, les sentiments. Tout est brûlé par l'égoïsme humain [..] Tout est corrompu par une médiocrité natale; et on sent peser partout l'influence d'une éducation sotte"¹⁵¹. Hertel's critique is clearly imbricated with conservative clerico-nationalist values. Yet though the novel's portrayals of vital human instincts, which Charbonneau associated positively with American writing (see "L'Avenir" 861-2), are linked with freedoms which Hertel found repugnant, the absolute lack of representation of the sites outside of Québec and the narrative's

moral dilemmas are also consistent with contemporary anxieties about the negative influences of the more secular, surrounding, increasingly assimilative, Anglophone continent and cultures.

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In keeping with Gabrielle Roy's more bilingual Manitoba roots, *Bonheur d'occasion* is proportionately less marked by linguistic anxieties. However, its absorption and transformation of contemporary social controversies about language do manifest themselves in three ways: 1) through the use of barbarisms, or 2) of English words, by French speakers, and 3) via some negative associations with Anglicization.¹²² Azarius Lacasse's malapropism of "[l]a ligne Imaginot" for "Maginot (38)" is not only a comic representation of his lumpen, semi-literate, use of language, as well as an authorial pun on the ineffectiveness of France's "imaginary" defence. Like Azarius's other barbarisms, such as "l'Anguelterre," "la Palogne," "la Tchecoslaquie (39)." It simultaneously embodies the foreignness of the international subjects of his discourse and the lack of his command of French. Still, the text's many examples of linguistic transfers from English pass without explicit debate or comment representing vernacular speech rather than critiquing it.¹²³

..

The novel's famous hospital scenes, however, signal the privilege of English Montréal, and its otherwordliness to French-Canadian lumpens and working class types like the Lacasses (see 190-203). Rose-Anna's inability to communicate with the Nurse

who cares for her dying child at the Montréal General Hospital not only heightens the pathos of the situation -- along with Rose Anna's stress and feelings of inadequacy as a result of the linguistic gap, it speaks volumes about how within the ethno-linguistic class hierarchy of urban Montréal French-Canadians' lack of English left them at a great disadvantage. Two of Jean Levesque's minor uses of English are just as telling of the narrative's ethnic-class critique of Anglophone privilege. In the first instance, when he is bragging to Florentine about his future prospects, Jean is happy that he will be able to say "good-bye à Saint-Henri" (74). This simple use of an anglicized exclamation signifies the ethno-linguistic bias of monetary success and its foreignness from a proletarian French-Canadian environment. Similarly, the post-scriptum of Jean's parting note to Emmanuel is "...Out for the big things.>>" -- a simple, but powerful linguistic marker of how Francophones frequently had to become Anglicized in order to succeed financially. This association is also consistent with the ways in which the Anglophone identified store fronts and glitter of St. Catherine street (see 51-2), or Anglophone identified Westmount ("la montagne dans son rigide confort anglais" (33)), are made synonymous with conspicuous consumption and wealth.

Yet as much as such associations are related to contemporary liberal French-Canadian discourse about the socio-economic merits of acquiring English, their coloration is interdiscursively more consistent with the ethnic-class perspective that the acquisition of English is synonymous with a selfish Darwinian, ruthlessness.

Though there is no developed textual ideologeme in *Bonheur d'occasion* which supports an essentialist correlation between English and economic exploitation per se, to the extent which Jean is demonized as being selfish and destructively class ambitious his character corresponds to contemporary conico-nationalist critique which did not distinguish between negative capitalist values and English language and culture. This is particularly ironic given Roy's opinion of herself as "peut être a dem. revolutionnaire" during the same historical moment and is as good an example as any of the interdiscursivity of competing ideologies.²² Finally, the *histoire* may mention Monsieur Letourneau's disapproval of "le langage" of the French-Canadian youths who come to party at his house (114), but at no point in *Bonheur d'occasion* are the contemporary language debates dramatized as they are in Hertel's or MacLennan's novels. Azarius's discourse and the many signs of the anglicization of French-Canadians may be consistent with the fearful warnings by Camille Roy, Hertel and others, but for the most part Roy leaves it to the reader to co-produce their socio-linguistic significances.

Linguistic transfers from and signs of English are also common in *Le Survenant*. For example, the Survenant uses "neveurmagne" for *nevermind*, momentarily slips into English ("Cast your bread") (161) and at one point the local people even begin to sing a jig in English ("Way down de Gatineau Where de big balsam grow ...", 95). Even more significantly, Guevremont supplies a "Vocabulaire" at the end of the text in which some of the French-

Canadianisms are identified as being "de l'anglais" (197). This "Vocabulaire" was clearly created to make the novel more accessible to its expected French continental readers, but in non-judgmentally isolating and translating said anglicisms this paratextual device also valorizes them as signs of a living, popular, dialect. At no point in the narrative or in the index are any of these signs of English presented negatively. Thus, in keeping with Miner's observation that rural French-Canadians were often not adverse to English during this historical moment, and contrary to calls for linguistic purism, *Le Survenant* foregrounds and celebrates linguistic diversity as a dynamic part of everyday, popular, culture.

Two Anglophone Assimilation Narratives

Insofar as it challenges anti-semitic biases *Earth and High Heaven* is a consummate liberal English-Canadian text. But in keeping with its assimilationist tendencies its linguistic politics are as problematic, and in some ways just as anxiety-ridden, as contemporary Francophone texts. Though it is hardly exceptional in this regard, the narrative's poverty of signs of a linguistic heteroglossia tells of its gentle and Anglophone biases and of its failure to truly reconcile ethnic differences. English- and French-Canadian inter-marriage may be dramatized as acceptable, even to Charles Drake, but there are only two minor occasions when there is a slight sense that some Anglophones might take an interest in understanding or speaking French. The first instance involves Erica critically eyeing an "Acheter des certificats d'épargne de guerre"

placard in a French restaurant as being too sequestered away to serve its intended function, while the second briefly revolves around Erica and Marc ordering from a menu in French (112-3). Furthermore, René de Sevigny's tokenistic discourse is not only abruptly erased from the narrative but the frenchness of it is absolutely minimal. His discourse may virulently express of ethno-political differences, but with the exceptions of a solitary "Tiens," and the repetition of the affectionate diminutive of "petite" (63 & 65) for Erica, not linguistic markers of difference

René's facility in English is obviously, on one level, simply an illusionary device for the sake of facilitating the telling of the narrative. But for all of the narrative's ethnic liberalism, the Anglophone characters' virtual lack of French -- while true to the epoch's hierarchy of ethno-linguistic segregation and privilege -- ironically embodies contemporary French-Canadian fears about the Anglo-privileged unidirectionality of bilingualism. Nor does the text evidence linguistic, graphematic, signs of Jewish linguistic heterogeneity. Thus, ethnic difference is represented as something which implicates different languages -- and only for the English- and French-speakers -- but only non-linguistic distinctions are addressed substantively. At no point in the novel is there any suggestion that racism or anti-semitism might involve biases against Yiddish or any other non-English or non-French language.¹⁵⁵ In other words, the primacy of English as the undisputed *lingua franca* of the narrative privileges it at the expense of all others,

thereby reinforcing the false "natural"-ness of Anglophones' ethno-linguistic privilege

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MacLennan's imaginative construction in *Two Solitudes* of contemporary linguistic politics evidences similarities with and differences from *Earth and High Heaven*. But for now let me address some of the relevant ethnic identified ground of *Two Solitudes*. The present tense of the prologue of the novel helps establish the notion that Québec is a static place where "[e]very inch of it is measured, and brooded over by notaries, and blessed by priests." (2) Likewise, "Montreal", "the angle" where "the Ottawa River [...] of Protestant Ontario" and the "Saint Lawrence" of "Catholic Quebec" meet, is said to evidence "little sense [...] of new and endless space." "Two old races and religions meet here and live their separate legends, side by side." (2-3) MacLennan tries to develop and maintain some historical verisimilitude, but consistent with the ethnic personification of the land the rest of the novel will reinforce the sense of static, binary, ethnic opposition -- the exception being Paul Tallard's cultural and linguistic assimilation.

In keeping with the ideologeme of the incontrovertible otherness of the "separate" ethno-linguistic groups, the dramatic action begins with the introduction of "Father Emile Beaubien". He rapidly becomes one of the crucial signs of the pseudoidea of Francophone Québécois as a feudal, Church dominated, people. Variations on the related protonarrative pit Beaubien and his

religious flock against Athanase Tallard's individualism; a proposed Anglo financed power dam, Marius' conscription; as well as Athanase's and Paul's conversion to Protestantism. Athanase's failure to moderate between his people and the English during the conscription crisis, his lack of business acumen and his re-conversion back to Catholicism on his death-bed -- like Marius's Catholic, quasi-fascistic, nationalism -- also reinforces the common English-Canadian *and* clerico-nationalist ethnic fantasies of French-Canadians as a historically static, homogeneous, collectivity. This *ideologeme* was much in need of requalification by the end of World War II but, unlike Gabrielle Roy's *Bonheur d'occasion* or Germaine Guèvremont's *Le Survenant*, one would never know it from reading *Two Solitudes*.¹⁵⁰

Consider *Two Solitudes*' Anglophone biased dramatizations of linguistic choices. Throughout the narrative, the increasingly Anglophone-identified Paul Tallard and his discourse are clearly meant to represent sanity, reasonableness, a great middle way, in contrast with his increasingly unstable Francophone-identified, nationalist, brother. This binary opposition is established from the beginning, as when Athanase first plans to send his favourite son to an English school. "Unless he took a firm hand in steering Paul's career, the boy would become involved in all the same old dilemmas. The simplest way to avoid that happening would be to send him to an English school. And again the legend would be challenged." (80) In keeping with Athanase's presumption that an English education would save Paul from "the same old dilemmas" of ethnic self-

absorption and intolerance, Frobisher School, where Paul is sent, is presented as a quaint oasis of liberal tolerance.

The other boys never made an issue of his race. They never even thought about it, for he was one of themselves. They might have considered themselves superior to French-Canadians in a vague sort of way, but what few ideas they had on the subject were derived mainly from casual remarks they had heard at home [...] The boys never worried themselves about national problems of any sort, indeed, they did not know they existed. Their home was the English section of Montreal; as a result of what everyone told them, their country was not Canada but the British Empire (232).

This thumbnail sketch of an ethnically tolerant bourgeois English community -- for what other class could afford to send their sons to a private school in the Laurentians in the early 1920s -- is contradicted by the strong ethnic biases of Huntly McQueen, the General and Janet Methuen (see 111-12, 211-16, 401-02).¹⁵⁷ But it is perfectly consistent with the narrative's accretive valorization of Paul's assimilation into English culture.

Rejecting his father's "strait-jacket of his own nature" (313) -- the "strait-jacket" which, as Paul tells Heather, "'a French-Canadian is born in'" -- Paul does not "'intend to stay this way.'" (313) Subsequently, the *histoire* describes Paul's sense of freedom after years at sea as a relief from "the *artificial* pulling of the two races within him" (331, my *italics*) And soon after Heather becomes his wife she is presumably so accustomed to experiencing Paul as an English person that she has to ask him if he's "still French" (361). Ironically, Paul's eventual "bilingualism" can be

read as the embodiment of the major French-Canadian fear of its assimilative role; and contrary to the minority French-Canadian discourse about the acquisition of English as a means of empowerment, Paul's bilingualism does not empower him in the conventional socio-political sense. Rather, his "artistic" use of English to create a novel, like his deferral to Heather's Anglophone unilingualism, is symbolic of *Two Solitudes*' assimilationist cultural work.

Accordingly, it is after he visits his disturbed nationalist brother for the last time that the germ of what will become Paul's novel begins to percolate in him. He listens "to the talk of night-workers around him" and is struck by how "[t]hey were relaxed and easy with each other, French and English together" (375). Or as the *histoire* describes the source of the thematic "harmony" of Paul's novel -- his literary "escape" from the ethnic "dilemma that had nearly strangled him" (375-76) -- "in all his life, he had never seen an English-Canadian and French-Canadian hostile to each other face to face. When they disliked, they disliked entirely in the group. And the result of these two group-legends was a Canada oddly naive, so far without any real villains" (377). This supposition is hardly sustained by the novel's own dramatic terms of reference, such as the Freudian demonization of Marius as a mad-cap nationalist; while the idealism of this supposed "harmony" is hardly convincing given the actual differing material conditions and resultant ethnic-class conflicts of Québec society. The cultural and linguistic bias of this idealism is especially evident in Paul's and the *histoire*'s

hybrid presumption that a Canadian novel written in English can "take its place in the English and French traditions" (365);¹⁵⁸ especially considering that at the time of the publication of *Two Solitudes* no French-Canadian literature was considered for the Governor General's Literary Awards.¹⁵⁹ Paul may symbolically represent a faith in the possibility of a bilingual, humanist, solution to the ethno-linguistic tensions of Canada and Québec, but it is a symbolic solution, as the writing of Paul's novel in English belies, which presumes it is the Anglophone culture of the national equation which will uplift French Canada out of its supposed stasis.

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The Conscription Controversy

Several months before Canada declared war Mackenzie King announced that Canada would not resort to conscription.¹⁶⁰ Only the week before at a large rally of students in Montréal:

Le président de l'association générale des étudiants a déclaré que les jeunes Anglais sont, autant que les jeunes canadiens-français opposés à la conscription dans une guerre extra-territoriale

Un autre s'est écrié. "S'il nous faut mourir jeunes, nous mourrons en combattant ici ceux qui veulent nous enrôler."¹⁶¹

When war was declared such potential ethno-linguistic commonality of opposition to conscription would erode relatively quickly.¹⁶² Initially, support for a volunteer army was strong within both charter groups and no occasion was lost by the federal

government and major newspapers to promote it. For instance, a front-page article in *The Gazette* lauded how "French-Canadians Rush to Colors Swamps Regiments in Montreal"¹⁶³. Yet it did not take long before such enthusiasm gave way to serious doubts and accusations on the part of many French-Canadians. Even the federalist oriented *La Presse* buried a story about how 80% of the initial volunteers in the Montréal area were French-Canadians on page nineteen,¹⁶⁴ and within days it was denouncing unnamed Anglophone employers for laying off French-Canadian workers as a means of encouraging their enrollment in the military.¹⁶⁵ In the face of such ethno-linguistic tensions, and in order to ensure national unity, the Federal Liberals renewed their promise not to resort to conscription and in Quebec their re-election in 1940 was very much supported on this basis.

Though on a per capita basis French-Canadians would never enlist as much as English-Canadians,¹⁶⁶ the pressures after a decade of economic depression were such that many working class and lumpen French-Canadians had no choice but to enlist. The best known fictional account of this phenomenon in French is Gabrielle Roy's *Bonheur d'occasion*, but a minor precursor is the story *Un Volontaire*, by Fulgence Charpentier, which was published in *La Presse* on December 23, 1939.¹⁶⁷ *La Presse* may have been critical of questionable attempts to drive French-Canadians into the military, but the commissioned story is indicative of the liberal newspaper's awareness and support of military service as both an

option for economically disenfranchised French-Canadian men and as a form of volunteer patriotic service

The story is about a Monsieur Viau who, after having abandoned his family because of his failure to support them, joins the military and anonymously sends home money because of his sense of shame. After being decorated as a hero for helping catch a spy, Viau becomes the attendant of his lieutenant-colonel and is subsequently obliged to help his commander's wife distribute Christmas aid baskets. As a result, he delivers one to his family, is reconciled with them, and yet is discovered to have lied to the military about who he is. When he is given the option of staying in the service while maintaining contact with his family, or of quitting to lead a normal family life, Viau decides "c'est ici que j'ai appris à être un homme. Je reste soldat." The truth of "Un Volontaire"'s classic realist narrative clearly rests upon its invocation of the economic crisis as castrating men and of military service as virilizing them. The *histoire* also tries to valorize modern military life as an unromantic affair:

"La vie militaire moderne n'a plus les attrait de gloriole qu'elle avait autrefois. Plus de conquêtes au son des fifres et des tambours, plus de défilés dans les villes prises d'assaut avec des drapeaux qui claquent au vent, et le sac des maisons et les dépouilles optimes. C'est au contraire, un dur et fier métier qui exige de l'homme un parfait équilibre physique et moral."

This antiseptic version of modern warfare is as romantic as the story's Maupassant-esque plot, which portrays the Canadian military as a purely uplifting, humane, option for disadvantaged

French-Canadians In actuality, real military service was much more fraught with problems for French-Canadians

One of the fundamental aspects of contemporary Canadian military life which is missing from "Un Volontaire" is its virtual English unilingualism and its consequent domination by Anglophone officers. For instance, as was denounced in July 1940, French-Canadians only accounted for one out of thirty-four members of the military's general staff, six sergeant-majors out of ninety and none of the general quarter-masters ¹⁶⁸ Jean Pariseau and Serge Bernier record in detail how the linguistic bias of all branches of the Canadian military not only created ethno-linguistic antagonisms, but prevented the formation of more French-speaking units, as well as the creation of trade and professional courses for French-speakers, thereby limiting most French-speakers to being infantrymen (see Pariseau & Bernier 109-42) And as Pariseau and Bernier observe: "the Wartime Information Board demonstrated a singularly poor grasp of the French Canadian mind by launching appeals such as 'Canada stands with England' and by using the Union Jack on war posters (120) " In short, the general French-Canadian hostility to the war would not only be the result of conscription *per se* , but because of the perception that the Anglophone biased assimilationism of the war effort endangered French-Canadian culture and language

In his reminiscence, *La Crise de la conscription , 1942* , André Laurendeau comments that upon his return to Montréal from France

in 1937 he was shocked to rediscover the extent to which English- and French-Canadians "vivaient à l'écart l'un de l'autre." (1962, 22) Compounded by the contemporary debates about immigration and language, the conscription crisis would accentuate this "racial" divide. Consider the federal parliamentary session of 1942. As Michel Brunet notes, it is particularly revealing of English-Canadians' patriotic fidelity to Britain or, what J. H. Harris, a conservative politician, characterized as "la survivance des liens qui unissent les gens de la grande race anglo-saxonne".¹⁶⁹ Said session was particularly marked by this latter discourse as Parliament approved a donation of a billion dollars to Britain and voted in favour of holding the plebiscite on conscription. Laurendeau expressed the *Bloc populaire*'s sense of betrayal by the plebiscite law as follows:

En somme, la promesse anticonscriptionniste a eu son heure d'utilité, elle a aidé à mieux engager et poursuivre la guerre, puisqu'elle a sauvé l'unité du pays [...] Maxime Raymond [...] invoque le témoignage d'Ernest Lapointe sur le compromis accepté au début de la guerre. Ce compromis est devenu un «-contrat» entre les deux nations, un pacte d'honneur, ratifié par l'élection générale de mars 1940 les Canadiens français acceptent de participer à la guerre, les Anglo-Canadiens consentent à ne jamais recourir à la conscription (Laurendeau 1962, 71-2)

As the radically polarized Canadian and Québec results of the plebiscite would testify, this French-Canadian version of the conscription narrative, with its profound sense of betrayal, was not simply a partisan political issue.¹⁷⁰

That the conscription debate was so ethnicized also blinded people to facts and contradictions which did not conform to their opposing ethnic narratives. It allowed English-Canadians to conveniently avoid addressing the resistance to conscription and absenteeism amongst many Anglophones and Allophones.¹⁷¹ It allowed the Anglophone dominated military brass, to avoid too many of the thorny, self-damning, questions about the failures to create more French regiments, training programs, and a basic respect for the use of French in the armed services, shortcomings which, if corrected, would have satisfied many French-Canadian nationalists' demands for greater national equality (Painseau & Bernier 109-42). It permitted English-Canadians to ignore the very real political and constitutional concerns of French-Canadians concerning Canada's degree of independence.¹⁷² And it tempted English newspapers like *The Gazette* to indulge in falsely characterizing French-Canadians in the armed services as predominantly "zombies", as the conscripts who originally were to serve only four months as NRMAs, and were not to be sent overseas, came to be popularly called.¹⁷³ Significantly, the term "zombie" appears to have originally come into being as a racist perjorative on the California coast during anti-Japanese riots at the beginning of the American entry into the war, and continentally, in popular parlance, its sliding signified came to be used for supposed traitors, social misfits and "ethnics" who resisted service or who would not enlist.¹⁷⁴ The racist connotations of the term circulated widely when there was the "zombie" NRMA units' mutiny against being sent overseas in Terrace, B. C. in November, 1944, and during the mass desertions of the

winter of 1944-45,¹⁷⁵ contributing to the myths that "ethnics" and French-Canadians were the prime culprits in these events.

The ethno-linguistic antagonisms of the conscription controversy similarly allowed the French press to ignore the classed economic necessities which drove many Anglophones, like their Francophone counterparts, into military service. It made it easier for many Francophones to ignore or underestimate the immediate and long term dangers of the threat of Fascism, just as the general situation made it too easy to accuse anti-conscriptionists of being Nazis.¹⁷⁶ In short, it created a highly charged climate which allowed tragedies such as the murder of the deserter Georges Guénette by the RCMP to be appropriated and exploited by pro- and anti-conscriptionists in an on-going divisive dialogue of the deaf.¹⁷⁷ Incidents such as the murder of Guénette, the decision to send the NRMAs overseas, as well as the election of the Union Nationale in 1944, created an atmosphere by early 1945 in which all of the Québec provincial parties denounced conscription and were in turn denounced right across the country.¹⁷⁸

Another aspect of the conscription crisis which Laurendeau treats eloquently, and which has been barely addressed in literature on the war, is the question of the importance and the impact of War Measures Act censorship. When Canada's National Defence Regulations came into effect with Britain's declaration of war on September 3, 1939, "<<nuire au recrutement et au succès des forces de Sa Majesté>> devient un crime. Crime, par conséquent, que les

assemblées [contre la guerre] tenues dans le Québec tous les jours qui vont suivre, criminels, les orateurs, criminelles, les foules (Laurendeau 1962, 28)" When Camilien Houde refused to mince words and preached open disobedience against national registration and the possibility of conscription on August 2, 1940, the gross irony was that *The Gazette* could publish his extant declaration yet, unlike Houde who was interned for four years it did not pay any consequences (Laurendeau 1962 58) " As time passed, when reported speeches and articles weren't outright censored, the fear of prosecution or internment for anti-conscription opinions affected what many people said and wrote

The extent to which ethno-linguistic biased limitations on free-speech about the war and conscription affected literary narratives during the war years is difficult to ascertain. But it may very well have caused French-Canadian writers of fiction to be cautious about how they appropriated and represented war related characters and situations. Not surprisingly, given how much the majority of English-Canadians supported the war effort, all of the English literary texts of my corpus evidence war related scenarios and debates. In marked contrast, the French literary texts, with the exception of Roy's *Bonheur d'occasion*, are almost totally devoid of them, or they are present in enigmatic ways. This is not only peculiar to my selected French-Canadian corpus but to Francophone Québécois fiction throughout the war years. The possibility of French-Canadians' greater anxieties about the consequences to be paid for supposedly contravening the War

Measures Act aside, said comparative difference between the two corpuses is perhaps most indicative of the basic cultural and ideological differences between English- and French-Canadians concerning the war. Certainly, the directness and centrality of wartime signs and scenarios in English-Canadian fictions marks a general faith in and support for the Canadian war effort; while their absence, brevity, or enigmaticness in French-Canadian fictions are suggestive of how the war's social controversies were much more anxiety laden for French-Canadians.¹⁸⁰

More Conscription Binarisms and Some Resistance

Given *Le Beau risque*'s appearance before the commencement of World War II the conscription crisis is not one of its social controversies. Nor is it apparent in *Ils posséderont la terre*, which originally appeared in serial segments in *La Relève* in 1938 and 1941. However, the two male protagonists fantasize going off to Ethiopia to fight as volunteers and "vivre comme des hommes" (50) in order to escape the boring limitations of the "monde [...] fermé, connu." (50) Aside from the obvious classic association between military adventurism and manhood, this scenario is also consistent with French-Canadian resistance to serving in the Canadian army or in any military venture which was perceived as supporting English Imperialism; as in the famous case of René Lévesque enlisting in the American military. It can also be read as echoing the contemporary French-Canadian preference for the option of

enlistment. And, as I noted earlier (see "EFs" 110), though they take a train towards the coast for their embarkation, André and Edward never leave for Ethiopia because Edward's mother convinces them to return to the safety of home (54) -- a scenario which is consistent with French-Canadian discourse about how war was only justifiable if the hearths' of Canada were directly threatened.

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Though *Le Survenant* was written and published towards the end of the war it does not address the context of World War II either. Ostensibly this is because the narrative's historical time frame is before World War I. Yet in the subsequent post-war novel, *Marie Didace*, the *Survenant* does make an enigmatic reappearance as a World War I soldier (see 204-06). As with Charbonneau's novel, this brief military scenario can be read as having absorbed and transformed contemporary French-Canadian attitudes towards military service. First, given the previous characterization of the *Survenant*, he is presumably a volunteer, as opposed to a conscript. Second, of all of the male characters of Guèvremont's two linked novels only the *Survenant*, with his enigmatic quarter-Scots ethnic identity (see *Le Survenant* 192), is associated with military service. Furthermore, though his suggested soldiering is consistent with his wander lust, this same attribute is also a fundamental part of what distinguishes him as an "other". In other words, the only character in Guèvremont's novels who presumably has non-French-Canadian blood (other than the Jewish salesman of *Marie-Didace*) is associated with military adventurism. Thus, two of the

key signs of the Survenant, his mobility and his *métissage*, not only supposedly make him atypically French-Canadian, but they are inseparable from contemporary social discourses which identified the war effort as foreign to French-Canadian culture. Therefore, as much as the Survenant can be read as symbolizing a disenchantment with and disruption of traditional French-Canadian culture, as an alternative vision to the provincial status quo, his implied military service can also be read as yet another sign of his ethnicized difference and thereby of French-Canadian isolationism.

* * * * *

Though *Bonheur d'occasion* was written and published towards the end of the war it only deals with the advent of hostilities. However, unlike the other French-Canadian literary texts of my corpus it invokes conscription, though barely. Towards the beginning of the novel the *histoire* succinctly alludes to the diversity of French-Canadian reactions to the war -- "Dans ce quartier populaire, on s'était fait à diverses sortes d'émotions au sujet de la guerre; on s'était fait à l'indignation, à l'intérêt, à une opposition violente, à la révolte, ou à la peur (41)" -- but Jean Lévesque, the narrative's most demonized character, is said to be amused that Azarius and some other men at the *Deux Records* "portaient la peur de la conscription en eux comme un microbe (41)." Coming as this judgement does from Lévesque, it is clearly meant to be read as arrogant and cynical, like his reveries about profiting from the war effort (see 41-2, 58). Léon Boisvert, a similar relatively negative figure, is doubly mocked by the *histoire* and

Eugène Lacasse. "[*Histoire* .] Sa peur de la conscription était devenue une hantise constante, effrayante, qui lui tourmentait jusque dans le sommeil"; while the volunteer, Eugène, goads Boisvert that "La conscription va venir betôt [.] Prends le bois... Ou marie-toi (216)." Yet the moral authority of Eugène's satiric perspective is somewhat undermined by his naïve belief that "c'est les gars qui s'en vont volontaires qu'auront les braves places après la guerre (216)."

These minimal exchanges and signs about conscription are consistent with *Bonheur d'occasion*'s major *ideologemes* about ethnic-class socio-economics, especially insofar as the controversy of military service, as in the case of Eugène's illusion about the post-war privileging of volunteers over conscripts, tends to be dramatized via a class optic (see "CFs" 365-77). Emmanuel likewise counsels the unemployed Alphonse, Boisvert and Pitou that "la tentation de se battre" is the best immediate way to uplift themselves, "c'est ta seule chance de redevenir un homme (53)." Though of the three only Pitou enlists, the economic betterment and consequent renewal of self-esteem of Eugène, Pitou and Azarius validates Emmanuel's prediction, and commensurately, as I analyse in the chapter on "Class Fictions," given the extent to which Emmanuel personifies and shares a pro-war stance with the *histoire*, the narrative morally justifies and endorses the allied war effort as much as it "realistically" dramatizes the socio-economic benefits of military service (see "CFs" 365-77)

An element of doubt as to the ethnic-class politics of the war effort is nevertheless raised at the end of the narrative when Emmanuel overhears Anglophone soldiers during the embarkation at Bonaventure station:

Soudain, Emmanuel entendit dans la foule une voix aux accents métalliques et impérieux.

<< *We'll fight to the last man for the British Empire* >>

[...] Maintenant un groupe tout entier chantait: << *There'll always be an England* .>>

<<Oui, mais moi, mais Pitou, mais Azarius! pensa Emmanuel.>> Est-ce pour merry England, est-ce pour l'Empire que nous allons battre?

[...] Il repoussait la pensée qui s'offrait à lui, monstrueuse, paradoxale. Et pourtant, elle s'imposait de plus en plus à son esprit. aucun d'eux n'allait faire la guerre dans un même but (339)"

The Anglophone Imperialist discourse encapsulates the major point of difference between English- and French-Canadians concerning the validity of Canada's declaration of war. But rather than further dramatize or consider this social controversy about British Imperialism and its related, even more divisive, social controversy of conscription, the hybrid of Emmanuel's and the *histoire*'s discourse shifts to listing several different reasons why people are drawn to fight in the war (see 339-40). While this may give a greater sense of verisimilitude to Emmanuel's diverse, impressionistic, thoughts at the moment of embarkation, it also facilitates the subsequent introduction of the same hybrid discourse's idealization of the war's objective as "détruire la guerre (341)" -- a rhetorical, oxymoronic, flourish which is consistent with much contemporary rhetoric about the spirituality

and justice of total war and conscription. Thus, given the extent to which French-Canadians actually resisted or were perceived to be resisting participating in the military, the climactic enlistment of several of the novel's French-Canadian males can be read not only as a classic realist *protonarrative* about how the war creates the material conditions to escape from ethnic-class poverty, but as a symbolic retroactive resolution to, if not an erasure of, the social conflict of the conscription crisis. It is also inseparable from Emmanuel's and the *histoire*'s hybrid class idealism as to the outcome of the war (See "CFs" 375-78), an optimism whose implicit faith in Popular Front and working-class solidarity was heavily contradicted by the actual ethnic-class divisiveness generated by the conscription crisis.

* * * * *

Like some of the contemporary French-Canadian novels, most of the action of MacLennan's two selected novels takes place during World War I and the inter-war period, though *Two Solitudes* does end at the dawn of the Second World War. So too, MacLennan's novels' motifs of military service and conscription, like their contemporaneous French-Canadian texts, are inflected with WW II ethnic tensions. MacLennan may have strongly supported the allied effort against Nazi expansionism, but he started *Barometer Rising* before the commencement of hostilities when many English-Canadians were still hoping to avoid being dragged into another European conflagration. *Barometer Rising*'s anti-militarism can therefore be read as embodying many English-Canadians' doubts

about the virtues and necessity of supporting yet another European war. Considered in this light the *histoire*'s Anglo-American identity for Canada not only echoes a common geo-political discourse of 1917, but those anxious moments between 1939 and 1941 before America's participation in World War II when Canada played a special role in trying to bridge and reconcile British and American differences. Similarly, the *histoire*'s patriotic mapping of Canada as united under one sun from coast-to-coast, after Neil Macrae contemplates Europe "tearing out its own entrails as the ancient civilizations had done before it" (see 79), can be read as echoing, yet erasing, contemporary concerns about the possibility of another conscription crisis which many people feared could tear Canada and Québec asunder.

In *Two Solitudes*, perhaps because MacLennan had had more time to become familiar with Québec and with French-Canadian concerns -- after all, when he published *Barometer Rising* he had only lived in Québec for six years -- and he was consequently more aware of French-Canadians' resistance to English-Canadian domination, the first novel's idealized Anglo-American identity was transformed into an *inoculative* bi-lingual, bi-cultural, one. This does not mean that the narrative of *Two Solitudes* is not true to the World War I and inter-war periods which it fictionalizes. Rather, I am suggesting that its discourses concerning military service are also those of 1939-to-1945 as they were played out in Québec; and, more importantly, that Paul Tallard's Frenchness in *Two Solitudes* is consistent with *Barometer Rising*'s earlier

search for a resolution to Canada's colonial identity crisis and with chauvinistic English-Canadian practices and discourses during WW II about the assimilative benefits of the war effort and the imposition of conscription. For as much as *Two Solitudes*' romantic narrative is about the symbolic blending of French and English, at the end of the novel, on the eve of World War II, Paul's nationalist brother, Marius, who was previously arrested for avoiding conscription, is still railing against English Canada, and Paul, his federalist, bilingual opposite is about to enlist. Moreover, consistent with his assimilation, Paul is the one to understand the supposed virtue of voluntarily participating in the war, whereas Marius, as the embodiment of French-Canadian resistance to English-Canadian domination is vehemently against it. This binary opposition is a marked sign of the text's absorption and transformation of English-Canadian biases about the ethnic politics of conscription and attitudes towards the war.

In a radically different tack, I would note that Pariseau and Bernier have argued much French-Canadian support for the war effort manifested itself in war production which, "[i]n view of its small excess of males, [meant] Quebec's effort was greater than that of the other regions (see 118, 138-141)." The general motivations, after a decade of economic depression, may not have been very altruistic, but it is an important reminder that isolationist and nationalist tendencies were weak enough in Québec that they never endangered the success of the war effort. Accordingly, an argument against the grain of my analysis of the

Anglo-identified assimilationist cultural work of *Two Solitudes* would be that given the extent to which Marius is portrayed as an ineffective, isolated, fanatic he can be read as an inverted sign of most French-Canadians' tacit support for the war (though not conscription). Yet the novel's closure in turn militates against such a generous interpretation. The final sentence presumes that with the advent of World War II "out of the instinct to do what was necessary, the country took the first irrevocable steps toward becoming herself, knowing against her will that she was not unique but like all the others, alone with history, with science, with the future." (412) This unified female nation is not only consistent with contemporary discourse about the nation pulling together for the sake of the war effort. Its implicit erasure of ethno-linguistic difference and conflict in supposedly "becoming herself", like the reference to this process of becoming as being "against her will", is perfectly consistent with the narrative's dramatic embodiment of English-Canadian conscription propaganda and assimilationist ideology.

* . . . *

The absence of imaginative alternatives to English- and French-Canadian ethnic tensions is also prevalent in Graham's dramatization of the war. The context of World War II is one of the first referential effects of the opening of *Earth and High Heaven* when we are told that Marc Reiser will go "overseas in September, 1942" (13 & 23) as an enlisted soldier. The first chapter also evidences three relatively non-descript references to uniformed

members of the armed services attending the party (15-16, 19); the invocation of an office boy, Weathersby Canning, who is waiting to be old enough "to get into the Air Force" (32); as well as a reference to Erica's brother serving overseas in the R. C. A. F. (14). Similar military-identified male figures make brief appearances throughout the text (see 77, 155-57, 253). Amazingly, however, in spite of the fact that the dramatic events of the narrative ostensibly take place between June and September 1942, just months after the actual conscription plebiscite of April 27, conscription, let alone the associated debate or crisis, is never named. Instead, it is embedded in the signs and discourses referred to and cited above; and in the accumulative privileging of an English-Canadian identified pro-war and pro-conscription perspective.

A virtual unsaid regarding most of the aforementioned military men is that they are Anglophones. This is variously established by the Anglophone dominated ethno-linguistic profile of the Drakes' party; Marc's association of a lieutenant with an Officer Training Center in Brockville (16), or the signs of Anglophone surnames. More pointedly, English-Canadian perspectives on why French-Canadians are not as committed to military service re-occur, as when a minor character argues

"[...] they don't want to fight for Canada [.] I'll tell you what's at the bottom of it," he said "Quebec knows that the war isn't going to be lost if they don't fight. But, on the other hand, if enough English Canadians make suckers of themselves and get killed,

then the French who had enough sense to stay home will be that much nearer a majority when it's over (19)."

This paranoid theory is counter-balanced somewhat by the attendant sarcasm of René's comment -- "Now why didn't I think of that? (19)" -- but the former discourse is also strongly supported and paralleled by the narrative's total lack of signs of French-Canadians in the armed services, Erica's skepticism about a Gaullist being able "to do propaganda in Quebec for the Free French" (see 19-20); Marc's discourse about the monolithic "combination of bigotry and stupidity and sheer backwardness" of Catholic Québec (29); and Charles Drake's defense of his occasional anger towards René:

"How in hell can I help it with my only son in the Air Force, making the world safe for René to sit at home playing politics?" he demanded angrily "Not that René ever says anything about it," he went on sarcastically. "He doesn't even bother to make excuses for himself. He just blandly ignores the whole war except when he's talking all round the subject and then he's so bloody smart when it comes to avoiding issues that you can't even push him into it" (42).

There are two slight disclaimers by Erica and Charles himself about the un"fair"ness of the latter diatribe (see 42), but Charles's hyperbole about René "playing politics" at Tony Drakes' expense is eventually implicitly borne out by Tony going "missing" in action (see 247 & 251).

René's discourse, which as I mentioned earlier is firmly established as the symbolic voice of French-Canada, and Erica's and

Marc's discursively privileged comments on his opinions about the war, only reinforce negative stereotypes about René and French-Canada. "[Erica:] René seems to think the war is just a racket." / "[Marc:] I know. He says it's just another war for conquest between the Great Powers and the political aspect of it doesn't matter because ideologically, we're immune. Just why he imagines we're more immune to Nazi ideas than anyone else, I don't know (77; see also 67-8)." Likewise, Erica declares that "they don't want to fight for Canada" or that "you can't even push him [René] into *it*" (my *italics*) -- the "it" being a sliding signified for French-Canadian rejection of "the war, English Canadian domination" (67) *etcetera*. Ironically then, given *Earth and High Heaven*'s laudable cultural work against anti-semitism, it still appropriates and reproduces the myth that French-Canadians did not significantly contribute to the war effort. Not so ironically, however, the narrative's demonization of French-Canadian resistance to voluntary military service is a mirror image of its corollary erasure of conscription -- the text's silenced metonymic "it" for the "war" -- and how it was "legally" imposed upon the unwilling French-Canadians of Québec.

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Patrick Anderson's "At Baie St. Paul: A Documentary Idyll",¹⁸¹ evidences quite another perspective on the social controversy of military service or, more particularly, desertion. Quite unlike MacLennan's Oedipal demonization of Marius's attempt to escape conscription; Graham's erasure of conscription; or, more pertinently, Stanley Ryerson's marxist demonization of French-

Canadians who were against military service, Anderson, in spite of his left politics, sympathizes with a French-Canadian deserter. After witnessing the deserter hide his army coat in a river Anderson remembers how his wife

Mary had cried 'Poor kid, poor kid', and both of us knew -- leftest supporters of the war that we were, proponents of a Second Front -- that we would do nothing about it. Not even go near where the bundle was hidden. The look of that thick khaki had been obscene. I shuddered to think of it, muffling and destroying everyone's individuality with its clumsy harshness, abolishing grace, insulating all those bodies against the thrills and refinements and shynesses of touch. How could I ever put it in on myself? (119-20)

Then, after relating how the deserter drowns, Anderson reflects upon how "all that summer we were discovering ourselves to be victims" and he "think[s] that, as I identified myself with the deserter, something in me deserted too (121) " This sequence did not see the light of public print before 1963, but this is hardly surprising given Anderson's role in the Communist front Labour Progressive Party and his public position regarding "the creation of national unity in support of an all-embracing win-the-war program".¹⁸²

Nor is it simply ironic that a British born and raised immigrant should sympathize so strongly with a French-Canadian deserter. As I note in the "Gender Fictions" chapter, Robert Martin has theorized how Anderson's homosexuality allowed him to identify with the French-Canadian deserter's resistance to military culture's denial of difference ("GFs" 277 & 284); the kind of denial

of difference which conscription culture imposed by denying ideological or cultural difference as grounds for avoiding military service. Whatever relationship Anderson's empathy with the deserter's plight may have had with his own sense of vulnerability as a homosexual in a heterosexual dominant world, or with the deserter's homoeroticism, the emphasis upon the deserter can also be read as a powerful synecdoche for French-Canada. The apparatus of the Anglo-dominated state and military is embodied by the deserter's military coat, and Anderson's representation of the deserter secretly hiding it, as opposed to destroying it, is consistent with the largely passive insubordination of the French-Canadian populace when it came to resisting military service. Furthermore, as much as Anderson may be simply reporting what he actually witnessed, the epithet of "kid " the "victims" motif, and Anderson's reference to his own "desertion" elicit sympathy for French-Canadian isolationism and anti-militarism. Thus, whether or not one agrees with Martin's gay reading of Anderson's ability to identify with the deserter, and especially given the contraries of *Earth and High Heaven* and *Two Solitudes*, Anderson's text is a powerful example of how not all English-Canadians demonized French-Canadian resistance to military service and conscription, and of how the illusions, hierarchies of discourse and truths of classic realist texts are not always necessarily, or in some way essentially, reactionary.

GENDER FICTIONS

Throughout most of the nineteenth century, settler, frontier and agrarian cultures in North America were dominated by the necessity of procreation to survival and economic well-being and so "[h]eterosexuality remained undefined, since it was literally the only way of life."¹ Since then the great unsaid of compulsory male-dominated heterosexuality has been that it is dependent upon the denial and demonization of same-sex desires and of much more complex fe/male homosocial continuums than it dare admit to as negative means of defining itself. Or, to appropriate a statement from Craig Owens: "homophobia is not primarily an instrument for oppressing a sexual minority; it is, rather, a powerful tool for regulating the entire spectrum of [fe/]male relations."² Consequently, as Andrew Tolson has said: "The history of masculinity is [...] truly 'hidden', not only because it is largely unexamined by historians, but also because it enters the present unconsciously -- in cultural predispositions beneath the surface of individual awareness."³

This double necessity within male dominated cultures of controlling females and same-sex desires has been too well documented by feminist, gay and gender historians, theorists and activists for me to belabour it here.⁴ Yet it is important to summarize some of the salient material and discursive practices which gendered people in North America, Canada and Québec in the decades prior to WW II if the classic realist absorptions and

transformations of social controversies in Canada and Québec surrounding wartime fe/male roles, as well as "deviancy" from heterosexuality, are to be appreciated.

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Inter-War Homosocial Continuums and Ruptures

The half century before World War II witnessed the organization and consolidation of the modern gender categories and codes in the Occident of the "masculine" male, the "feminine" female and same-sex or bi-sexual deviancy. Richard von Krafft-Ebing's influential work, *Psychopathia Sexualis* (1886), with its "elaborate sexual system based on the complementary nature of male and female reproductive functions" (D'Emilio 17), was a seminal discourse in the many attempts to gender domestic and non-domestic social relations and labour and to discourage non-reproductive sexual relations.⁵ Krafft-Ebing believed all non-heterosexual variations were based upon genetic defects, except when masturbation or same-sex activities heightened or produced them. Anything other than marital coitus for the purpose of procreation was considered a perversion. Condemned sexual "perversions" ranged from murder during rape, to fetishes, to masturbation and their gravity was barely differentiated. The pathological slant to such heterosexual biologism and the demonization of same-sex attraction was more widely perpetuated and refined after World War I by Freudian and then neo-Freudian discourse;⁶ such that in Canada "[b]y the mid-to-late 1920s neo-

Freudian ideas, including the notions of 'proper' and 'deviant' mother/child relations and heterosexuality as the norm, were entering popular discussion"⁷ -- as opposed to being presumed givens.

Yet as much as the proliferation of medical and psychiatric discourses naturalized heterosexual relations by abnormalizing and pathologizing other gender positions, they concomitantly subverted their moralistic, heterosexist, approaches to sexuality because of their use of scientific methods (D'Emilio 18). Or as D'Emilio puts it: "[i]n elaborating upon their theories, doctors helped create the phenomenon that most of them wished to eliminate [...]. Medical authorities made homosexuality not a deed that one avoided but a condition that described who one was." (D'Emilio 21) In other words, the very proliferation and popularization of "case work" on various gender identities would also ironically normalize, much the way fictional narratives can, non-heterosexual attributes.

These contradictory processes had much to do with the rise of industrial capitalism and its consequent social crises and contradictions. "Naturalized" notions and practices about gender separate traits and trades, which were so crucial in training a girl or boy in the rudiments of domestic or manual labour and their acceptable gender roles were no sooner strengthened than eroded.⁸ For instance, in response to the loosening morals of the "Roaring Twenties" and the "Jazz Age" there were increased secular and clerical pressures to convince women to seek fulfillment in the

domesticity of "companionate marriage". Thus, social discourse promoting the maternal norm during the inter-war period in Québec:

a appelé la femme la clef de voûte de la famille et de la société, son âme, son inspiration. Ces qualités donneront d'autant plus d'importance au discours dont elle fera l'objet, car sa position privilégiée dans une institution aussi fondamentale tant au point de vue religieux que national inspirera une pléthore de textes descriptifs et surtout prescriptifs.⁹

This discourse was less prevalent in Québec Anglophone culture, or at least more subtle, perhaps because married Anglophone women had had more acquired rights for almost eighty years. Another important ideologeme of this discourse in Québec was the famous clerico-nationalist dictum of the *revanche des berceaux*. Ostensibly meant to prevent French-Canadians' assimilation by Anglo dominant culture, it was also about keeping women domesticated at the altar of patriarchal family values. Regardless, by 1940 the average Québécoise would give birth to only three children as opposed to the previous generations' six or more. One of the reasons is that abortion, although illegal, was becoming relatively common, as was the use of birth control.¹⁰ The falling birth rate not only attested to a weakening of the hegemony of the traditional "œconomy" due to urbanization, secularization and the financial pressures of proletarianization, but it was consistent with the fledgling opening up of other gender possibilities.

The impersonality of the growing cities and the demands of the labour markets did not significantly erode "le réseau des relations familiales" in Québec, as "la famille nucléaire vit souvent

en situation de famille élargie" (Clio 267), but as in the United States they did create "cultures" in which more autonomous personal lives could develop. Males and females were increasingly obliged by changing socio-economic relations, such as the proliferation of factory, clerical and secretarial work, to spend more time away from the home and their families. A good example of how urban working and leisure cultures altered some women's roles is the inter-war phenomenon of the "flappers".¹¹ In keeping with women's increased economic and legal freedom, the prosperity of the boom years of the 1920s, and the club life and sexual hedonism associated with Jazz culture, many women had more opportunities to be economically independent and to experiment sexually; subverting traditional notions of the passive female. "Alors qu'on a jusque-là demandé aux femmes d'avoir l'air pures; on les convie maintenant à avoir l'air «sexy»." (Clio 246) The enormous popularity of burlesque theatre in Montréal during the inter-war period, replete with its ribald bedroom farce humour and dancing girls, was a major site of such female sex-gender shifts; especially when we consider that women made up the largest portion of the burlesque theatres' audiences.¹² Most burlesque skits may have been profoundly sexist, but they often dramatized how women were exploited by men and they were sometimes even suggestive of non-heterosexual sex-gender possibilities.¹³ By the midst of the Depression, however, the freer life-styles of women became less morally tolerated and less economically sustainable.¹⁴

Meanwhile, anxieties about the female prostitutes servicing Montréal's considerable number of bars and its night life reached such a point that a special information service was provided during the 1930s at Windsor Station to prevent young female arrivals to Montréal from being seduced into "white slavery".¹⁵ As Mariana Valverde points out "white slavery [...] was never proven to exist on a large scale".¹⁶ Rather, its discursive "invention" arose out of a whole series of social purity anxieties arising out of the new urban environment in which traditional moral, class, sex and gender lines were increasingly being challenged.¹⁷ Occidental fears about the modern city as a female gendered corrupting Babylon had been growing since the 1880s,¹⁸ but within the Québec context the xenophobic and classist components of such moral panics were coloured by French-Canadian identifications of Montréal as a cosmopolitan, foreign controlled place and by other groups' biases about French-Canadian sub-alternity.

Contrary to such moral panics the vast majority of women were still confined to the domestic sphere. It was still consistently presented as an exclusively female domain, yet it was increasingly dependent upon male generated knowledges, practices and products. "Les femmes doivent, continuer à être mères et éducatrices, mais pour bien le faire, elles doivent se conformer aux prescriptions masculines. Les femmes deviennent dès lors, dans la sphère domestique, les simples exécutantes du savoir des hommes." (Clio 350).¹⁹ On the other hand, though prior to 1939 most men were socio-economically privileged simply due to their sex, as a

result of the Depression men became more vulnerable to being laid-off or locked-out. The marked increase in the number of women in the labour force since the First World War and their impact as cheap labour was such that during the Depression "les femmes perdent moins vite leurs emplois que les hommes" (Clio 254). The highest rates of urban unemployment in Canada were in Montréal and in the Québec countryside similar market stresses were compounded by the decline of family -- patrilineal -- homesteads. In such economically tough times the loss or diminishment of patriarchal privilege often translated into a lack of self-worth, or what I shall hereafter refer to as the *castration complex*, amongst men.²⁰

Consequently, male dominant culture devoted ever more energy to attacking women's emancipation and autonomous female sexuality. Henri-Bourassa denounced the "véritables «femmes-hommes»" who militated for more domestic power and female suffrage in the 1920s and 1930s; even though, as the Clio Collective points out, the demands of the suffragettes of the day were quite restrained (see Clio 331-49). Or as the famous Dorion Commission Report stated: "Quelques voix [...] remettent en question la position vénérée du chef de famille, mais personne ne suggère que les époux devraient gérer la famille ensemble."²¹ A decade later the preservation of this male dominant division of familial labour and gender roles was still a popular discourse in the women's columns of newspapers:

la vie extérieure et publique du citoyen est et doit demeurer [...] le domaine exclusif de l'homme, cependant au titre d'épouse et de mère, la femme exerce une influence légitime, non moins puissante, quoique indirecte, sur le sort des nations [...] L'histoire a prouvé que la société est bonne, si la femme est bonne, et qu'elle est mauvaise si la femme est mauvaise.²²

The tenor and intent of Pope Pius XI's encyclical letter on marriage in 1939 is clearly the same:

[The "order of love"] includes both the primacy of the husband with regard to the wife and children, the ready subjection of the wife and her willing obedience [...] [This subjection] forbids that exaggerated liberty which cares not for the good of the family; it forbids that in this body which is the family, the heart be separated from the head to the great detriment of the whole body and the proximate danger of ruin. For if the man is the head, the woman is the heart, and as he occupies the chief place in ruling, so she may and ought to claim for herself the chief place in love.²³

Other expressions of this anxiety during the 1930s included denunciations of female workers by the *Confédération des travailleurs catholiques du Canada* for taking jobs from «pauvres pères de famille»; or the proposed Francoeur Law of 1935 which would have banned women from male identified fields of labour (see Clio 255). In short, within the rapidly changing climate of gender relations during the inter-war years male dominant culture kept attempting to stave off and recuperate its "losses" to women.²⁴

The moral panic against women becoming "femmes-hommes", however, while inseparable from such socio-economic anxieties, was as much about the fear of how social and sexual equality

"masculinized" women.²⁵ Or as Andrée Lévesque summarizes heterosexist concerns about *garçonisme* :

Selon le père Panneton, auteur d'une petite brochure sur le sujet, <<la garçonne entraînerait l'humanité au fond du gouffre creusé par la faute d'Eve>>. Le garçonisme est le fruit de l'émancipation fondée sur l'égalité des sexes, qui conduit à la confusion des rôles dont l'ultime expression serait le port de vêtements masculins. La féminité dans toutes ses manifestations extérieures défend contre l'impudeur, les comportements trop libres, en somme contre la pratique d'une sexualité extra-conjugale (Lévesque 69).²⁶

The explicit male fear of sexually and socially assertive women aside, this discourse also implied the even greater fear of the *non-dit* of lesbianism. For like the occultation of female masturbation and sexual desire from normative discourse -- in marked contrast with the edicts against male masturbation during this period²⁷ -- the lesbian, "la déviante par excellence", supposedly did not exist (Lévesque 95).²⁸

Despite such denials the same social processes of urbanization and factory work, including the proliferation of popular bars, clubs and theatres which were important to changing heterosexual relations, were also important to "men and women who felt a strong erotic attraction to their own sex" and allowed them more opportunities to "begin to fashion [...] a personal identity and a way of life." (D'Emilio 11). And yet, until World War II lesbians and gays generally experienced enough personal isolation and anonymity -- since the gay oriented individual was not likely to have many role models -- such that whatever gay subcultures

there were remained quite miniscule.²⁹ It was the same-sex changes in the secular sphere which would account for most of the development of more overt gay and lesbian subcultures. It was also during this period in North America that same-sex oriented men were increasingly demonized as a threat.

Prior to the 1920s most of those categorized as psychopaths in the U.S. [and presumably Canada] were "hypersexual" women and unemployed or transient men who lived beyond the boundaries of familial and social regulation [...]

[...] The sexualization of the male psychopath took place in the U.S. in the 1930s. This decade saw psychologists investigating gender and sexual "deviance." In the process they were creating a sharper definition of homosexual masculinity. This was at a time when the previous hegemonic form of heterosexual masculinity was undermined by the impact of the Depression on the male ability to earn a 'family wage' and be the 'breadwinner', and with changes in family and gender relations[...] if holding a job could no longer be counted on to define masculinity, a masculinity-femininity test could (Kinsman 84-6).

These shifts in the categorization of psychopaths does not mean that the misogynistic moralism against sexually active ("hypersexual") females, or that the classism against economically marginalized ("beyond the boundaries") males, suddenly went away. Rather, the homosexualization of the psychopath category joined them within an ever more complex system of identification of and measures against deviations from male dominant heterosexuality.

Thus, the inter-war period, and especially the Depression, heightened male sex-gender anxieties and the policing of male

relations; producing a general atmosphere in which heterosexual men felt increasingly threatened about their sexual and gender roles. What John Berger calls the masculine "promise of power" through the institutionalization of male aggression, athleticism and sexism in the family, the school, the workplace and peer-groups no longer seemed so natural or unshakeable.³⁰ And yet, in spite of the war's perceived and actual subversions of male heterosexist privilege, its heightened "masculinist" practices, signs and discourses would subsequently reinforce and valorize male heterosexism and privilege, re/creating a variety of social discourses, codes and apparatuses to feminize, re-domesticate and punish women and to identify, rehabilitate and punish gays.

* * * * *

The War and Gender Revolutions

In spite of the many volumes that have been written on World War II relatively little attention has been paid to how it altered and affected males, whether they were combatants or civilians, in terms of gender and sexuality. Such a total absence was to be expected in the likes of *The Canadian Army: 1939-1945, an official historical summary* (1948),³¹ but the subject is just as absent in recent popular historical works like Desmond Morton's *A Military History of Canada*, or Robert Bothwell's *et al.*'s *Canada 1900-1945*.³² In other words, the emphasis has continued to be upon major military events and individual actions by "great" political men from a highly institutional or mythopoetic perspective,³³

without reference to the cultural challenges and anxieties about masculine identities and roles.

Similarly, so little historical research has been done on lesbians and gays in Canada and Québec during the 1940s that I am forced to be just as speculative about their wartime cultures. Even Lillian Faderman's exhaustive study of lesbianism in the United States in this century races through the war years after having devoted much more space to "romantic friendships", sexology and lesbian chic of the 1920s. Most researchers agree that the war years witnessed an explosion of gay and lesbian subcultures, but the two are barely documented. This is even more the case for the Canadian and Québec contexts. Unfortunately, given these lacks, and especially the absence of lesbianized characters and discourses in my survey of fiction, I will not be devoting as much attention to lesbian and gay social history as would otherwise be warranted. Finally, as I noted in the "Introduction" ("INTRO" 22-3), as a result of such historical and analytical gaps, and because of male dominant heterosexist culture's tendencies to define masculinity in terms of the perceived negativities of femininity and homosexualities, I have decided to concentrate on the wartime gender controversies about non-traditional female roles and about "deviancy" from heterosexuality.

* * * * *

Women and Threats to Femininity/Masculinity

World War II catapulted large numbers of Canadian women into the work and military forces as they replaced absent men. As more soldiers were called to the frontlines the government introduced ever more arguments and measures to encourage single and then married women to enter the workforce.³⁴ These varied from patriotic propaganda about working women as the "soldiers" of the home front, to tax exemption incentives for married women, to government funded day cares which privileged mothers working in crucial war industries.³⁵ Thus, the number of working women almost doubled "from approximately 638,000 in 1939 to an estimated 1,077,000 by October 1, 1944". However, it was commonly "regarded as a temporary phenomenon" (Pierson 61) in spite of the fact that many women consistently stated they were working out of economic necessity rather than for patriotic reasons.³⁶

This major gender labour shift was achieved in spite of considerable public resistance across Canada to women, and especially mothers, working outside of the home; a social controversy which dove-tailed with the equally divisive women's suffrage issue in Québec, since the acquisition of the right to vote for women was regarded by many as yet another threat to femininity and therefore, implicitly, men's masculinity.³⁷ The greatest fears still revolved around the presumed threats to child rearing and the family, and especially fears of women's economic

and sexual autonomy.³⁸ Organized opposition to working women was particularly strong in Québec. Working women were accused of abandoning their children, destroying the family, recklessly chasing after consumer luxuries and endangering their health (see Auger & Lamothe 127-33). Such objections ignored the possibility that many women and their children were in effect abandoned by their husbands and fathers under the guise of patriotic duty; or that military pay packets were inadequate compensation for the loss of a male breadwinner.

"Did you know what a sergeant's wife made? Don't even think of a private's wife. It was scandalous. How they expected us to live I don't know, and it wasn't much easier either I'll tell you, when they gave us the children's bonus in '44. You could just get by, and that was being generous. Without my parents, my sisters passing down shoes and clothes for the kiddies, I couldn't have done it, and none of my friends could have."³⁹

Nevertheless, public figures like Jean Drapeau of the Bloc Populaire would vitriolically accuse the National Selection Service of forcing women out of their homes and into war factories.⁴⁰

The following excerpt from a House of Commons' speech by Hervé Brunelle is representative of this social controversy's extreme logic and rhetoric: "[L]et me say that it will create an overwhelming after-war problem. At present in England an organization is being formed to protect mens' jobs against what I might call the *infiltration* of women into the domain formerly almost exclusively occupied by men. They say the *menace* is as

great as Hitlerism."⁴¹ (my *italics*) When the federal government commissioned a poll in 1943 to measure the public's attitudes towards women in the armed services it indicated that only 23% of the people polled were in favour of women working in war factories (Auger & Lamothe 171) and that 26% of Canadians and 40% of French-Canadians believed that "[m]aintaining home life" was the best way for women to serve Canada's war effort (Pierson 135).

Once more women entered the work force there was certainly less resistance to hiring them;⁴² but the contradictions between traditional sexual, gender and family values and the effects of the war upon women's lives remained enormous. For instance, the established double standard around male promiscuity and female chastity was seriously undermined. As one woman reminisced, when she and her female neighbours got "letters from [their] husbands saying what a good time they were having on leave in London [...] I didn't have to read between the lines to know that there was jiggery-pokery going on.' Clearly, some wives didn't have qualms about being promiscuous themselves. "What our guys in England were doing, well, we couldn't care less. It was what we were doing that was fun." (Broadfoot 251)⁴³ Single women were obviously even freer to indulge their sexual desires, especially since it was that much easier for them to maintain economic independence. Such independence was also mildly, but nevertheless daily, reinforced by signs as varied as popular female film stars, such as Marlene Dietrich, or the American comic strips "Paulette"

and "Jenny L'Aviatrice", which were translated into French and published in *La Presse*.⁴⁴

It is a truism that many soldiers enjoyed the sexual freedom that military life afforded them and that they tested their heterosexual metal at home and abroad. Barry Broadfoot, like most of his male subjects, glibly naturalizes men's proclivity to seek female companionship during wartime as "a fact of life" (Broadfoot "Husbands" 251-52), but such an attitude masks the anxieties that many men had to feel about the very sexual freedom of the women whom they were associating with. After all, what were their sweethearts, fiancées and wives up to during their absence?⁴⁵

There are just as many examples, however, of the extent to which male dominant culture and women's limited place in it were in fact reinforced by the war. We should not underestimate the importance of war industry, military and corporate attempts to maintain, construct and reinforce the femininity of female workers and recruits. For example, war propaganda to encourage the purchase of Victory Bonds, or the conservation of household goods, monies and materials, bombarded the population with classic realist structured sexist ideology. The Victory Bonds advertisement, "L'Ennemi n'épargne rien" (see "Appendix" 2), presents an expressionistic drawing of a muscular disembodied hand grabbing at a frightened woman's blouse as if about to rip it off. Part of the text states:

"Pour l'ennemi, le viol est un élément de la guerre totale comme le massacre des civils [...]. En Pologne, le Gestapo enlève les jeunes filles de la rue, les arrache au toit paternel, et les expédie au front pour les jeter à la soldatesque allemande. Cela vous donne la nausée? Oui, sans doute [...] ces femmes et ces enfants, ce pourraient être vos femmes et vos enfants [...] L'ennemi n'épargne rien."

The effectiveness of the pun on "épargne" and the protonarrative about Nazi ruthlessness aside, the pseudoidea about the helplessness of civilian women, with which the ad's *histoire* interpellates the fe/male audience/s, is crucial to the image's and the text's combined impact. Implicit in this demonization of the male-identified enemy and the vulnerable female citizen is the defensive line of the good Canadian male soldier, thereby reinforcing traditional notions of male breadwinners/protectors and vulnerable female hearthkeepers.⁴⁶

A more muted but no less sexist example was entitled "Beaucoup Dépend de Vous ." (see "Appendix" 3) An attractive, neatly coiffured woman is in the foreground, staring contemplatively out of the picture plane. Behind her and slightly to her right a middle-aged male inspects a gear wheel with some industrial calipers, while similarly placed beyond him is a soldier bearing a cannon shell. This photo-montage technique suggests the woman is thinking of the men. The majority of the text, superimposed in a shielding square across her bosom, bears this out in its apology for men's wartime irritableness and absences and in its edict to the women of Canada to: "[f]aites [...] gaiement votre

part pour votre pays. Gardez votre mari heureux et bien en forme pour son travail." The tactical decision to remind women of the stresses of their spouses is understandable, but it also effectively disregards or dismisses the possibility of female stresses during the war, such as spousal alcoholism and wife-abuse, the difficulties of single-parenting, or the domestic labour problems or "travail" which resulted from rationing, *etcetera* . In keeping with the photo-montage's portrayal of a "passive" female and "active" males, the text places the onus upon the female population to be the emotional and psychic nurturers of their male partners at the price of their own self-effacement. Such relentless "realist" propaganda had to reinforce heterosexist codes, biases and practices about women as self-sacrificing, maternal, figures as much as other discourses and practices were redefining and liberating them.

Faced with persistent alarmist prejudices against women in the work force and the military, such as the claim in *La Revue Moderne* that "quand la femme perd son charme et sa féminité [...] elle oublie ses devoirs et qu'elle s'expose à tomber",⁴⁷ much was done to reassure the public that women were not turning into men nor jettisoning their morals. Once again, classic realist advertising strategies validate and interpellate females as worldly, capable, subjects at the same time that they privilege male dominant values and especially the "male scopic gaze".⁴⁸ Two prevalent means of doing this cultural work included commercial advertisements and factory beauty pageants, both of which stressed the importance of female workers maintaining their feminine

appearance. A *Palmolive* soap ad of the period even appropriates the factory beauty pageant phenomenon (see "Appendix" 4). An image of a woman called Dorothy Linham, heavily mascaraed, her lipstick reflecting light, stands at a drill press, staring directly at the viewer/reader, a word balloon above her head : "Moi, dans un concours de beauté? Allons, ne faites pas les sottises, dis-je!" Presumably she does not think herself worthy, and given the site of the drill press and the context of the war the viewer/reader is invited to imagine her devotion to the serious task of war production. Yet the majority of her lengthy discourse consists of her explaining how to use Palmolive soap and its benefits. The ad then "closes" with the hybridized discourse of Miss Linham as product -- set off as her text is in bold print next to the wrapped bar of soap: "Maintenant plus que jamais je compte sur le *Palmolive*".

In typical classic realist fashion the "'daydream' story" of the advertisement presents us with a stereotypical female beauty who is "'liberated'" yet "recupera[ble] for ideology as a new [...] stereotype[]".⁴⁹ Given the text's hierarchy of discourses we are invited to construct connections between Miss Linham's visual appearance, the setting and her hybrid patriotic/beauty queen product discourse which de-demonize her threat as a worker by sexistly aestheticizing her and thereby foreclosing other sensual or gender scripts. This is especially encoded in the unsaid of such beauty pageants being instituted primarily by and for men, as in the use of the honorific "Miss travailleuse de guerre". In other words,

to be a true beauty like Dorothy Linham one must not only use Palmolive but be single (read: available to men), and hence marriageable -- a synonym, in this instance, for exile from the otherwise male-identified factory. A more subversive factor worth considering, however, in accounting for some of the appeal of cosmetics and beauty contests to female workers is evidenced in the following word of advice from "une célèbre aviatrice américaine: 'L'erreur réside dans le fait de se masculiniser. Demeurez aussi féminines que vous le pouvez. Sur son propre terrain, un homme accepte plus volontiers la compétition d'une jolie femme. Il pardonnera plus facilement à la femme attrayante de remporter des succès à son détriment."⁵⁰ Nor should my readings blind one to the above advertisements' (or beauty pageants') potential for lesbian viewers/readers who might have their own "daydream" fantasies about what to do with a Dorothy Linham.⁵¹

Another important means of propagandizing on behalf of traditional femininity was the mass market medium of film. In Canada during the war no films were probably more widely seen than National Film Board (NFB) documentaries. According to Ernest Borneman: "[...] Canadian weekly attendance during the war years, for [NFB] documentaries like *Canada Carries On*, was one-third of the Canadian population."⁵² This statistic gives special weight to Teresa Nash's reading of selected NFB films between 1941 and 1947 as representative of a patriarchal context in which "the images of women [...] reflect neither how women actually were in society, nor shape how they might [wish to] become, but rather [...] reflect how

men, the controllers of the images, wanted to see women and how these men wanted women to see themselves." (Nash 6)⁵³ As with classic realist fictions which purport to offer a "realistic" semblance of the actual, the "real" of most women in these documentaries was subsumed under the assumption of the "ideal" spectator being male and the dismissal of female agency simply by exclusion.⁵⁴

Consistent with most Hollywood films of the period -- with the exception of the so-called "women's films" made in the 1940s⁵⁵ -- the male constructed NFB war films of Nash's study consistently present women as dependent, non-essential, helpmates to men, "play[ing] down the personal satisfaction that women might gain from their work, and emphasiz[ing] the greater national goal".⁵⁶ The two war films made by women, *Women Are Warriors* (1942; 14 min.) and *Before They Are Six* (1943; 15 min.), not only valorize women's work more but, unlike the male produced films, they do not offer "patriotism as the major motivating factor for female participation in the war effort" (Nash 283). The aforementioned *Report of the Subcommittee on the Postwar Problems of Women* (1943) made recommendations which obviously recognized the economic hardships of women and the limitations of their lives as housewives and mothers.⁵⁷ Yet during the same period the House of Commons debates stressed women's patriotism in ways that 1) "reinforced the idea that women are motivated by sheer goodness", so that "[n]ot paying, or underpaying women for their work, therefore , becomes proper rather than exploitative"; 2)

"neutraliz[ed] the notion that some might desire and be motivated by economic independence"; 3) "linked [patriotism] to the woman's expected role in the home and community"; and 4) suggested that "women may have a duty to work [...] in times of national emergency, [but] the right to work is still the sole prerogative of men." (Nash 88-91)

Meanwhile, the militarization of Canadian and Québécois societies nurtured and expanded the long-standing "normality" of male aggression and dominance. As one of Barry Broadfoot's interviewees puts it: "You could have tanks with armour a yard thick and a gun that could shoot a mile [...] -- but remember this. It was still always the guy in the infantry, the rifle company, the guy with the rifle, who got the job done." (Broadfoot 5) In "It Only Took a Minute" another Broadfoot interviewee relates how he passively witnessed the cold blooded murder of German soldiers. "It probably went into our history, I guess, as a German patrol wiped out. None of us really thought too much about it [...] But I'll tell you this, a year before, if I'd been there, I'd have been puking up my guts." (Broadfoot 9-10) Or consider the case where a group of German prisoners-of-war near Lethbridge, Alberta "stopped three canteen workers, girls from the town, from getting raped by a bunch of Canadian soldiers who were drunk and mean [...]. That was one piece of news that wasn't in the newspapers, but everyone sure knew that one." (Broadfoot 31)

Such anecdotes are grim reminders of how the war brutalized and bonded Canadian men in ways which were consistent with the worst aspects of traditional masculine culture; something which did not suit the interests of Canadian propaganda. In fact, the vast propaganda machine was crucial to the maintenance of masculinist values since it was constantly sanitizing and censoring reports about the war and, consequently, its dehumanizing effects upon men. As much as this sanitization was necessary to maintaining civilian and military morale and productivity, it invariably meant (and always means) the romanticization of masculinist values and their passing for common sense realism. Accordingly, a typical overseas recruitment advertisement presents an image of a contemplative, well-dressed, young man staring out from the picture plane as if into a mirror and the banner text representing his thoughts asks: "Have I the 'GUTS'?" All of the *histoire*'s text accordingly emphasizes that enlistment is a certain way to prove one's manhood (see "Appendix" 5).⁵⁸

One way of softening the horrors of the war was to create nostalgic or peaceful military images which were devoid of any explicit suggestion of violence. A series of Molson Breweries' print advertisements which represented solitary, sociable looking soldiers in elaborate uniforms from by-gone eras are classic examples of this war time sub-genre. A widely circulated one was dated 1850 and had the caption "La bière que votre arrière-grand-père buvait" ("Appendix" 6).⁵⁹ Interestingly, the supposedly post-1837 costuming and demeanour, including the nostalgic invocation

of the "Great Grandfather", invite the targeted French-Canadian audience to imagine a post-rebellion Canadian harmony. This was hardly the case concerning the heated contemporary issue of conscription (see "EFs" 121-28). Concomitantly, given the context of the war the very sign of a military man in repose implies that he has been or might soon be less pleasantly engaged, while deferring any explicit violence. Most importantly, from a critical gender perspective, the generic sign of the ("votre") great-grand-father soldier figure naturalizes men's participation in war, implicitly appealing to the belief that little has changed not only in terms of what men drink but how militarism defines what it means to be a man.

A two page Victory Bonds advertisement from 1942 is similarly representative of how many patriotic appeals were ostensibly addressed to all "Canadians", to "all loyal sons and daughters", but how they were weighted to valorize the heroic men of the home front (see "Appendix" 7).⁶⁰ In the left picture plane a nimbused phalanx of civilians advances towards the right panel which includes the title of the ad, "Canadians Rally to the Call", the boxed narrative of the Victory Bonds campaign, and two Union Jacks. The imperative caption, "WORK...SAVE...LEND", traverses the two panels, with the word "WORK" positioned beneath the advancing civilians. At the forefront of the advancing populace is a man with his white shirt sleeves rolled-up and his arms awkwardly akimbo, almost as if he were carrying an invisible rifle. Slightly behind him flanking his left and right are two women. The one on the left is in

an apron and the one on the right is smartly dressed in a woman's suit, replete with a ribboned hat and an attaché style purse. The latter figure could be read as representing a female office worker though she is as much a middle-class sign as anything else. Interestingly, in spite of much war production emphasis upon female industrial workers the only stereotypical sign of the "working-class" is the pea-capped head of a male figure behind the lead male.

The boxed text begins "The land you love at the feet of the Nazi?" and accordingly, in keeping with the subsequent call for vigilance -- "the first *sure* step to victory" -- the male figure at the head of the phalanx is the only one who has yet visibly placed a foot forward (literally stepping into the nearest picture plane). The text is relatively balanced in its references to male and female civilians, though Canada is personified as a Motherland and the identifiably male figures amongst the advancing Canadians outnumber the females by two to one. This inordinate masculine presence was consistent with men's predominance in the workforce and their control of the family purse strings -- after all, the ad is intended to encourage wage earners to invest in Victory Bonds. Clearly, the overall gendered semiotic field of the advertisement reinforces traditional male dominant gender roles. For instance, it is the foregrounded civilian male who exudes a military posture signifying the heroism of men on the home front and on the battlefield. So too, the textual metaphor of Canada as a Motherland in need of protection trucks in sexist notions of the vulnerability of

females; a trope which is underwritten by the female figures as "feminine" signs and in the absence of any "Rosie the Riveters". Thus, in the same period in which parliamentarians like Hervé Brunelle were warning Canadians against the work force invasion by women, advertisements like this Victory Bonds example were subtly reassuring male soldiers and civilians that they were not being replaced by women.⁶¹

The militarization of women also raised pervasive fears about risks to femininity and by association, though it was hardly discussed, the risks to masculine self-definition. After all, the military was one of the most masculinist homosocial institutions.⁶² Or as Ruth Roach Pierson puts it:

As the primary purpose of the services is the provision of the armed might of the state, their male exclusivity had been in keeping with a deeply rooted division of labour by sex that relegated women to nurture, men to combat, women to the creation and preservation of life, men, when necessary, to its destruction. Closely connected to the sexual division between arms bearers and non-arms bearers was a gendered dichotomy of attributes that identified as masculine the military traits of hardness, toughness, action, and brute force and as feminine the non-military traits of softness, fragility, passivity, and gentleness [...]

Canada's mobilization of women for the war effort necessitated violation of the social ideal of the woman dedicated to home and family (Pierson 129 & 132).⁶³

There were occasional historical reminders of women's armed heroism, "telle Madeleine Verchères qui soutint un siège contre une

nuée de sauvages",⁶⁴ but the Canadian armed forces constantly reassured the populace that the carrying of arms was a

«tâche réservée au sexe mâle». Cependant, Jean Knox, directrice de la force territoriale féminine de Grande-Bretagne, ne pense pas que cette exclusivité soit fondée uniquement sur les qualités «viriles» de force et de courage: «Je crois pas, dit-elle, que les femmes puissent enlever la vie comme les hommes le font. Les femmes donnent la vie. Elles ne sont pas faites pour l'enlever, même dans une guerre totale.»⁶⁵

Like Knox's reliance upon an essentialist idea of what it is to be female, the Canadian public demanded and was assured that female recruits would be non-combatants and so they were largely deployed in clerical, kitchen, cleaning and nursing duties that liberated more men for active service. One of the military's corresponding sexist catch-phrases was: "Côte à côte avec les hommes, mais dans leurs sphères à elles".⁶⁶ Paradoxically, one of the common discourses to attract women into military service appealed to their sense of their historical evolution: "Nous, les femmes, avons réclamé et obtenu le droit de participer par notre vote à la direction des affaires publiques. Aujourd'hui, nous faisons un nouveau pas en avant et nous demandons à nos pères, à nos maris et à nos frères la faveur de défendre à leurs côtés notre pays et notre liberté."⁶⁷ Clearly, the invocation of contemporary feminist social gains is immediately diminished by reference to "la faveur" of men. And as much as this request encourages men to support even more radical changes in women's roles, it also marks the actual and anticipated resistance.

Le Devoir's "La Page Feminine" may have occasionally celebrated female war production workers and aviators, but its editorial articles were more likely to associate Canadian servicewomen with striptease artists and prostitution.⁶⁸ This discourse was particularly marked in Québec, where service women were often thought of as having given up their respectability.⁶⁹ Pierson dates the pan-Canadian "moral panic" or "whispering campaign" about licentious servicewomen from about 1942 onward and states that "by early 1943 [it] was causing alarm among military authorities [...]. The April 29, 1943, progress report of the Combined Services Committee observed that 'The need for recruits will not be met unless we beat down the negative factors at present retarding recruiting, the malicious rumours and gossip [...].'" (Pierson 170; see also Auger & Lamothe 174-179)⁷⁰ The incidence of pregnancy amongst unmarried servicewomen does seem to have been some two-to-three times greater than in the civilian population (though there is a lack of solid comparative statistics).⁷¹ And this discrepancy may have had more to do with the ability of civilian women to hush up or abort their pregnancies, and avoid institutional scrutiny or repercussions, in ways which were not available to more closely surveyed servicewomen.

No matter how large or small these differences may have actually been the military had to respond. Given the strategic needs of the war effort this moral panic did not lead to an attempt to drive women out of the services. Instead, it was a major factor in the armed forces growing emphasis upon military women's

femininity.⁷² This feminization policy included making women's barracks more "home-like" -- the sexist logic being that if military life was best suited to men, as evidenced by the masculinized (demoralized) "bad type" women, then the best way to protect servicewomen from such a transformation was to make concessions to the (re-moralizing) feminine realm (see Pierson 180-87). Ironically, because of its dependence upon such sexist notions, this femininity campaign's reliance upon emphasizing the glamour and sex-appeal of military life, no matter how sanitized and controlled, could hardly be expected to undermine the "moral panic". For example, servicewomen were increasingly encouraged to be extra considerate of their appearance, occasionally given domestic and makeup training sessions, and their sexuality was judiciously monitored and commodified. Recruitment propaganda tried to enhance the sex-appeal of women in the service through the use "glamour shots" of attractive women in training; participation in Army organized pin-up contests was encouraged; and the wearing of slacks was prohibited for female staff car drivers and others who were considered too visible to the public (see Pierson 142-52).⁷³ In other words, as much as the masculinized female soldier was popularly associated with the libidinal, the defensive emphasis upon female soldiers' femininity was embedded with and had to encourage the same anxiety.

This panic about "immoral" servicewomen probably tells us more about male dominant society's fears about losing control over female sexuality than it does about servicewomen's actual morals.

This would better explain why the military put so much emphasis upon *controlling* the packaging of female soldier's sex-appeal when it might have been more in its interest to avoid such associations. It also catapults the sexual double standards of the day to the fore. Sexual promiscuity and its venereal consequences were considered commonplaces amongst servicemen, but if women were sexually active, contracted sexually related diseases, or got pregnant, alarms were set ringing. For instance, the classic "lady/'loose' woman polarization" (Pierson 188) allowed the military to divest "VD control of punitive implications" for male servicemen, while preventing the same privilege from being "extended with equal ease and thoroughness to female personnel." (Pierson 193) In fact, so much blame was placed on the "bad types" in the female corps and general public that the military's sexual policies and propaganda kept reinforcing "the dominant idea [...] that men needed protection from women, not vice versa." (Pierson 199)⁷⁴

* * * * *

Clearly, any nostalgic desire to identify the war years as a period of unadulterated sexual and gender liberation for women is not borne out by research. Such nostalgia has to fail to account sufficiently for the rapidity with which women would be driven back into the domestic sphere towards the end of the war, and immediately afterwards, other than by referring to demobilization, the consequent competition for jobs, and a retrogression to pre-war domestic values. Rather, women were gendered and sexualized in highly contradictory ways which challenged the male dominant

status quo while concomitantly reinforcing it. While there were feminist gains during this period, such as the federal government's limited, short-lived introduction of daycare centers, they were so controlled and constrained by male dominant culture that they could not be sustained with the termination of the war. Even a relatively "feminist" identified woman such as Ottawa's Charlotte Whitton would give talks to quell fears as to what the war had done to women's domesticity.⁷⁵ Given the extent to which traditional views, practices and codes about women's sex-gendered social and domestic roles remained unchanged, the re-domestication of women would be widely accepted and instituted.⁷⁶

A contemporary warning of this "restoration" was evidenced in Dorothy Johnson's prescient socialist-feminist *Canadian Forum* article, "Feminism, 1943", in which she argued that though the war allowed women to be "gainfully employed again", unless they organized to protect their economic gains and interests they would lose them as they had done after World War I. She also argues that the war facilitated the imposition of double standards as much as it undermined them.

Women are now being employed as taxi-drivers, but in one western city at least they must first produce a certificate of character from a clergyman. Since perhaps 70% of the population (my guess) is not connected with organized religion this may cause some difficulties. Perhaps choir-leaders or Sunday-school teachers do make better taxi-drivers. Apparently no one has thought so in the case of men.

There is agitation, too, over "protecting" women from night work. For years fruit-packing houses, for example, have used night shifts for women, and there

have been no protests over the work of night switchboard operators, office cleaners, waitresses, the twelve-hour shifts of night nurses and so on. One is always suspicious when people suddenly wish to "protect," particularly since there was absolutely no interest as long as women were only working at night in the traditional and underpaid women's jobs. What is behind this unwonted chivalry?⁷⁷

As Johnson's rhetorical question signals such "unwonted chivalry" was clearly often an expression of male anxieties about female incursions into formerly male exclusive domains of labour and women's greater prominence in public life in general (though a feminist perspective should not blind us to genuine contemporary concerns about the exploitative shift lengths and night work of many female workers, especially considering their domestic labour and nurturing roles in the home (see Auger & Lamothe 134).

Most importantly, Johnson argues that women's liberation is dependent upon sustainable economic, material, gains:

Will the end of the war bring a surge of feminism like that of the 1920s, which was based in some respects on a man shortage? The feminists often could not marry, and often would not, and so left the upbringing of the next generation to the home-bodies. Thus the crusading spirit largely died out. This, however, was not the chief cause of the failure of feminism to make its influence felt.

[...] Economics were untouched, biology shunned, psychology from Freud to D. H. Lawrence, particularly execrated [...]

Women, on the whole, are still stupid. They will rush to work now, and they will give up their work to men after the war as soon as they are asked to. I do not expect feminism to be any more deeply rooted than

it was shown to be in the 1930s, unless it is realized that the soil about it is the major factor in its growth.

Feminism must rest on a basis of sound economics. The 1920 feminist did not perceive this [...] Education departments of the CCF please take note, and start now while many women are excited over their freedom (Johnson 352-53).

As Johnson's article implies the "common sense" and practices of male hegemony remained strong during the war years in spite of women's various threats to it. There were some women's protests against their re-domestication and demobilization⁷⁸ but, as Johnson predicted, many women's socio-economic gains were endangered and forfeited almost as quickly as they had been won.⁷⁹

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Some Literary Signs of Male Hegemony

The homosocial continuum of François Hertel's *Le Beau risque* presents male and female identities which are both quite typical and atypical of Québec society and French-Canadian realist writing of the period. Like Hugh MacLennan's *Barometer Rising* or *Two Solitudes* it is first and foremost a male centered text but, as we shall see, a male centered text which is profoundly homosexually panicked. This is also true of Robert Charbonneau's *Ils posséderont la terre* but in even more enigmatic ways. For the moment, however, I am most interested in teasing out how these four male-authored texts explicitly and implicitly reinforce masculinism and male hegemony over women.

* * * * *

For most intents and purposes *Le Beau risque* represents a world of men without women. Ostensibly this is because the action takes place at a Catholic *Collège* for adolescents and young men. But it may have as much to do with the homosociality of the text's nationalist cultural work as it does with the site of the dramatic action. The text's male homosocial ambiance is certainly reinforced by the privileging of Père Berthier as the heroic authorial subject by which we are most often expected to consume the text and by Pierre Martel as the central object of Berthier's discourse. Similarly, all of the grandfather's discourse and Pierre's records of it are contained and framed by Père Berthier's larger discourse. And just as Père Berthier leaves behind an inspirational record (the novel) of nationalist ideology, the grandfather leaves his "livres et la maison" to Pierre because: "[a]vec toi, je sais que ça restera dans la famille." (80) In this instance the grandfather is a secular equivalent of Père Berthier whose discourse reinforces the phallogocentrism of the novel's nationalist project. "[L]a famille" for the grandfather is also much larger than the immediate biological one. Or as Pierre characterizes him: "Le grand-père, c'est la terre, la patrie incarnée dans ce petit coin de province." (76) In keeping with George Mosse's theorization of the female as being symbolically synonymous with the land and civility,⁸⁰ grandfather Martel, like the male *paysans*, implicitly plants and nurtures the female-identified earth, reminding us of how feminized nouns such as "la terre" or "la patrie" can be crucial to a

male identified, nationalist, ideology at the same time that the symbolically central "female" is socially peripheral.⁸¹

In keeping with the profoundly homosocial paternalism of grandfather Martel's family line no sooner does he die than Pierre announces his masculine maturity: "Je suis le jeune homme." (100) In contrast, Pierre's father personifies the kind of ethnic traitor and materialist a true-blooded French-Canadian should supposedly avoid becoming (see "EFs" 107-09). Yet even Pierre's grandfather implicitly absolves his son when he says to Pierre: "Les fils de ceux qui ont tout abandonné [la génération des Taschereau] sont si beaux que je pardonne toutes les trahisons." (112) Consistent with this nationalist celebration of a supposed renaissance of the masculine line the symbolic terrain where Père Berthier's and Pierre's father's discourses coalesce is that of sports. Père Berthier consistently characterizes himself and his attraction to Pierre in terms of athletics; references to sports which contest the popular notion of priests as effeminizing *faux-pères*. This anxiety is voiced by doctor Martel but is proven to be false by Pierre's successes in sports -- which please his father greatly:

<<C'est mon gars, dit-il à ses amis. Il est le meilleur joueur de hockey du collège>> (44).

[Père Berthier:] Le docteur Martel me serre la main. Il est heureux: son fils s'est distingué sur le terrain sportif (56).

Père Berthier's discourse about sports is quite homosexualized (see "GFs" 256), yet it also functions to virilize the text's nationalist

discourse while neutralizing conventional homophobic reactions. His discourse may fault doctor Martel for being concerned with Pierre's physical prowess at the expense of his intellectual development, but the only point where their two discourses concur is around the importance of masculine virility.

Throughout most of *Le Beau risque* females are subordinated simply by their absence. Consistent with Patricia Smart's analysis of how male identified literature is historically reliant upon dead or absent maternal figures, Pierre's mother is referred to only once in passing (Hertel 13).⁸² This is especially important when we consider how her absence facilitates the privileging of Père Berthier as a nurturing, nationalist, male in opposition to Pierre's ineffective, assimilated, father. Thus, the novel's anti-colonialism is predicated upon the re/virilization of colonized men, and upon Père Berthier supplanting a colonial father. But this scenario is also dependent upon the displacement or erasure of female nurturers -- as if women could not be adequate or equal symbolic parents of the nation.⁸³

When females do appear in *Le Beau risque* they either momentarily distract the text's young protagonist from his supposedly higher nationalist calling, are idealistically made to conform to sexually panicked masculinist biases, or boldly challenge Pierre -- but only to be summarily dismissed or ignored. Pierre's moralistic, misogynistic, struggles with his desires for women prompts a complex discourse about his sister Claire as a

model of modesty and beauty in opposition to the threat of "un amour trop charnel" (41). When Pierre later contemplates his idealized sister, Claire, she functions as the binary opposite of Jeanne, a young woman whom he has fallen in love with and then rejected because of her independence and sensuality: "Claire, l'idéale jeune femme [...] Son fin visage pâle [...] sa silhouette gracieuse et frêle sont venus abolir les troubles attrait de Jeanne." (69) "C'est à la pureté de Claire, que je devrais aller plus souvent retremper mon âme dévastée." (69) Pierre invokes Claire as an idealized non-sexual being, transferring and transposing his sexual longings for others onto his sister as an icon of chastity. However, like Père Berthier's repressed carnal attraction to Pierre, what is excluded remains fundamental to the construction of the ideal.

* * * * *

Though *Barometer Rising* is set during World War I its portrayal of the role of women in the workforce, female sexuality, and male-female relations are consistent with contemporary social discourses at the beginning of WW II. However, as much as Penelope Wain might initially seem to embody a feminist critique of contemporary male anxieties, the masculinism of her portrayal is such that I believe it does not warrant being classified under this chapter's rubric of "Male Authored Female Resistance" (see "GFs" 199). For virtually all of the novel's male characters and *histoires* share a sexist grammar and the male gaze within a male dominant

hierarchy of discourses which is consistent with women's perceived threats to men's self-definition during World War II.

The portrayal of Penelope Wain as a "ship-designer" is most indicative of just how pronounced such anxieties had become. Though the *histoire*'s discourse occasionally appears to defend Penelope against sexist biases --

To be a woman and work at a profession pre-eminently masculine meant that she must be more than good [...] It had taken a war to open such a job to her in the first place, but she was undeceived as to how superior she must be to keep it (*Barometer* 11).

-- it also consistently objectifies her. A case in point is when Penelope is first described physically.

There was something delicate, something extremely fragile in the appearance of the girl alone against that angular background of motionless machinery and silent engines. She appeared slight because the lines of her waist were slim and her fingers and feet dainty. A second glance would discover definite curves at her hips and breasts, a latent fullness the more pleasing because it revealed itself as a surprise (10).

The abundance of "feminine" signs not only signal Penelope's unusual presence in the masculine world of the shipyard; they also minimize her threat, de-Amazonize her, like much War propaganda and advertisements of the period, assuring the reader she is still a man's woman even if she does design submarine-chasers. This strategy is reinforced when Penelope's uniqueness is curiously shifted onto a fetishized "lock of white hair running from the left

side of her forehead along the temple and over her ear. It set her apart from other women and arrested men's attention by its obscure appeal to their sensuality" (10). This passage may close with the suggestion that men still "kept their distance in fear of the excessively unfamiliar" (10), but the sensualized syntagmatic axis of our introduction to Penelope Wain and subsequent examples of the male gaze suggest otherwise. For instance, one of the junior superintendents is said to run his eyes "over her shoulders", "slid[ing] his glance down her arms", then to "her waist"; though the *histoire* tries to assure us "there was nothing *directly* impertinent in it (51-2, my *italics* ; see also 13)"; implying, of course, that there was something *indirectly impertinent* about it (and in the *histoire* 's telling of it?).

Penelope's credibility as a ship-designer is also no sooner established than it is undermined. For example, we are told that

the credit for her success did not belong to her at all. The entire idea of the design for the submarine-chaser had been outlined by her cousin Neil before the war. All she had done had been to work out his principles in detail [...] and merge such pedestrian details with her own knowledge of construction and with Neil's general plan. She felt sure that any other engineer could have done as much (20).

This sequence is part of a larger textual strategy to ensure us that Penelope has not been ruined for domesticity, that she can be recuperated for a traditional female role and labour. That same night she thinks of her design (which is not her design!) as "an abstraction, a monstrous abortion of an attempt to avoid thinking

too deeply about matters she could not control." (20) Ostensibly the "matters she could not control" are the frightening conditions that the actual craft would have to endure. Yet the paradigmatic axis of the "monstrous abortion" also connotes her sublimation of her secret about having given birth to a daughter and the "waste" of her proper female powers in a domain meant for men.

On another night she lies in bed guiltily reflecting upon how "[s]he had gone through a ridiculous life during these past few years, trying to outwit the Almighty by handing over her daughter to a kindly uncle and aunt, pretending that her sole ambition was to succeed in a man's profession." (145) As much as this sentence addresses the tragedy of her secret, it also implicitly chides her -- abetted by the *histoire*'s ventriloquism of her thoughts -- for taking the difficult but necessary decisions to protect herself and her daughter. Accordingly, Neil and Penelope may be very much in love, but it is a love which will demand her subordination and domestication; or as the *histoire* filters one of Penelope's negative reveries:

A woman could reach a point in which want of normal things became so chronic that her organism rebelled against a change from the familiar privations [...] The lack was not in Neil, but in herself [...] and as she remembered his eagerness she was frightened by the prospect he offered her. After all this time she would never be able to equal his desire (145).

The "normal things" which she "lack[s]" are clearly a husband, a maternal role and domesticity -- the social coordinates of psychologized normalcy. Detoured from this by the war; an

illegitimate, secret, pregnancy; and her profession; she has presumably become less of a woman, less capable of providing "normal" female nurturing.

This discourse is strongly reinforced at the novel's closure when Neil and Penelope are en route to reclaim their daughter. "[...] Penny required [Neil's] tenderness so greatly that it was as though all her life she had been starving for it [...] but the habit of restraint, the cold control she had trained herself to acquire, was still unbreakable." (219) That Neil will cure her of this lack of femininity, or masculinized deformation, by his masculine presence and attentions is symbolized at the close of the novel by a complex syntagmatic chain. When we are told that "his fingers touched her hair where it escaped over her temples" (219) we are being reminded of Penelope's supposedly unique ability to appeal to men's "sensuality" and thus, implicitly, Neil's ability to touch, awake and possess her sensuality and femininity. This is reinforced by Neil's reference to her as "Wise Penelope!", the classical symbol of female strength, devotion and chastity during the absence of an adventurous (and wayward) warrior husband. Symbolically Penelope's subjecthood, which was previously associated with Neil's absence, is about to be subordinated to his. Her renewed status as a female object is further reinforced by Neil's statement that "I don't think [Odysseus] ever told her he loved her. He probably knew the words would sound too small." (219) Having dismissed the importance of having to speak his love, asserting that his silent love for her would be more primal and pure, and thereby further

negating her subjecthood, the novel closes with Neil "look[ing] over her head to the patch of moonlight that broke and shivered in the centre of the Basin, and heard in the branches of the forest behind him the slight tremor of a rising wind." (219) Clearly, Penelope, like her mythic predecessor, is to be the passive, mirror-like, moon of femininity to Neil's active, phallic, "rising wind." That the new love and power relations between them are not as "natural" as the setting, but constructed, is minimized and obscured by such intertextual referents and enigmatic allusions.

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The critically neglected "solitude" of *Two Solitudes* is undoubtedly that of gender. I am not referring to the literal, ethnic-crossed, "two solitudes" of Paul Tallard's and Heather Methuen's love affair, but to how the representations of the relations between men and women dramatize the divides between them and, more specifically, the containment and domestication of women.

As in MacLennan's other novels the male gaze in *Two Solitudes* is crucial to its constructions of gender. Typical of a number of MacLennan's female characters, Kathleen is large breasted and sensual (39) and the repetitiveness of Marius's and Athanase's narrativized allusions to her "full breasts" and "slender, independently moving hips" are indicative of the emphasis upon her physicality (see 39, 88). Her process of undress in a hotel room is neutral enough until, when she is naked before a full length mirror,

the *histoire* comments that she is "not thinking of the arc her arm made in its rhythmical movement" as she brushes her hair, "nor of the dutiful reflection in the glass" (121). Yet the *histoire* makes up for her supposed lack of awareness of herself by implicitly encouraging the reader to imaginatively compensate. Moreover, consistent with this spectatorship the subsequent paragraph informs us that Kathleen is fantasizing about men looking at her: "She wanted men; not to sleep with, not necessarily to touch or even to hold, but men who would look at her in a way suggesting that these things could be if she wished." (121). This throws doubt upon Kathleen's supposed obliviousness to her naked reflection, as does the subsequent reference to her "looking herself over with eyes that paid little attention to what they saw reflected in the long glass." (125). Why is so much made of Kathleen's supposed disinterest in her own body at the same time that she fantasizes men desiring it unless, as in the realist cinema, the male reader is being voyeuristically invited to imagine himself looking at Kathleen; to participate in "the scopic regime of the male psychic economy"? (Modleski 13)⁸⁴ This gaze is further reinforced by Kathleen's naked reverie being broken by the seductive phone call of Dennis Morey who stands in for the passive voyeur; a striking example of how her fantasy and its fulfillment is a form of highly male-identified wish-fulfillment.

The gaze in *Two Solitudes* also suggests as much about the limitations of the male characters who are doing the surveying as it does about the subordination of women. When Marius

clandestinely peruses the "[n]ude women" in one of his father's "art books" they are said to "signif[y] only the female being he did not know, the being which was beautiful and dangerous and at the core of sin." (36-7) This contradictory fear and fascination is incarnated for Marius by his stepmother. To Marius Kathleen's beauty "seemed mysteriously evil, warm with sin." (38) "Marius suspected that she saw through him completely and knew his secrets thoughts as well as he did himself. There was a dreadful instinct in her for seeing into every male she met." (39-40) Kathleen is also contrasted with Marius's ideal of his dead, "virginal" (41) mother and her presumed lack of knowledge of men. His mother's "eyes" in a photographic portrait are even said to be "lowered as though in modesty" (41). The contrast between Marius's trauma at Kathleen's gaze and the averted eyes of his saintly mother are clearly meant to discredit him as sexually self-conscious and obsessive. Hence too "[t]he face of Kathleen" is later said to "[rise] before his mind. But his hatred was caused by more than one woman alone. He had always hated them." (180) Once again Marius is made synonymous with odious values, in this case misogyny; but it is a Freudian identified psychopathology which is implicitly rooted in the trauma of the early loss of his mother.

Other key male characters' attitudes towards women are also far from ideal. For instance, both Athanase Tallard and Huntly McQueen are shown to be dependent upon defining themselves negatively through the primary women in their lives. Athanase's relationship with Kathleen is clearly constructed as having been

based upon her sexual value to him. "His ideas of developing her mind had been an absurd failure. Her instinct held it against him as a grievance, even though her nature was easy-going and accepting, for he had not married her because of her mind and they both knew it." (86) Huntly McQueen, on the other hand, is portrayed as living a perennial asexual existence in the shadow of his deceased mother. His office, with its "oriental rug" and "an oil painting of his mother, with fresh flowers in a bowl beneath it" (106), is variously described as a "romantic", "eccentric" space. Its implicit femininity is further suggested by the details of McQueen's devotions to the memory of his mother whom he believes he "commune[s]" with when making his business decisions (see 106). Behind the facade of the potent businessman, McQueen is constructed as a shy, sexless, boy. "However blank a face he managed to show to men, with women he felt the shyness of a boy at his first party." (109) Hence his attraction to Janet Methuen, whose "chest, not a bosom" he "greatly admired" for its "flat neatness, for no woman with a bosom could be quite a lady in his eyes." (110) Such fear of the markedly female body is subsequently presented as an important code of the wealthy Methuen "tribe" (see 149).

The question then arises, especially given his role as the symbol of "the new Canada" (301), whether Paul may be said to represent a new kind of man? His relationship with Heather, presumably the best place to start, suggests otherwise. For they no sooner meet as young adults and immediately begin to experience a

mutual attraction than Paul's desires and motivations become confused by a convoluted grammar and syntax which belie masculinist content.

From time to time Paul glanced at her. Without knowing what she was doing, Heather was relaxing the tension inside him. He felt it and it disturbed him, along with the memories she called up in his mind. Her presence seemed to be saying, 'Tell me and I'll understand, and that will be enough because I like you.' [...] all the time the tension grew inside him.

For a long time now it had been growing, all through his teens, and getting steadily tighter. It woke him nearly every morning except when he was physically exhausted after a hard game. It was more than a physical state of nerves; it was a quality of mind, breeding a kind of solitude of its own. Soldiers' books written on their experiences in the war talked about the same thing: not so much the tightness produced by near danger as the way they had to lock a door inside themselves to prevent what mattered from spilling out. You had a choice: you could let it spill out, you could pretend it wasn't there, or you could guard and protect it and suffer with it. If you did either of the first two things you were finished. You became an empty pail if you let it spill out, or what counted inside you dry-rotted if you pretended it wasn't there. In the latter case, you knew it yourself even if others didn't see it, and then you were finished (297-98).

The next time this multivalent "tension" occurs is when Paul and Heather are talking at her studio and Paul has just admitted his desire to write. Then "[t]he tension rose to his throat and he got up and began pacing the room [...]. He stood looking down at her, and then it overwhelmed like a bursting wave [...] without spilling. She met his glance and held it." (311) Moments later: "Desire broke within him like an explosion" (314) and they embrace passionately.

It is tempting to bemusedly dismiss this sequence and its deferrals as an example of bad writing about overactive male hormones, but this would be to grossly underestimate the interdiscursivity of the codes and values which are at play. The sliding signifieds of the signifiers of "tension" and "it" are alternately those of Paul's divided cultural background, his consequent desire to write, and his contained sexual energy. Heather "relax[es]" the first, valorizes the feasibility of the second, and excites the third in Paul. The coincidence of the clichés of sexual development, attraction and its repression, however, in the references to the effects of Heather's presence upon Paul, "his teens", "it[s]" absence "after a hard game", and the signifying chain around "spilling" suggest that it is sexuality and male gender definitions which are most at play here. But if this is true then why the tortured, ambiguous, prose, especially given the relative straightforwardness of sexuality's importance and repression in the characterizations of Athanase and Marius?

The sexual act or its possibility between principal characters in MacLennan's novels often elicits such "tension[s]". In the case of *Two Solitudes* it is perfectly consistent with the *histoire*'s attempt to make Paul out as having to struggle to avoid and supersede the "spilling" faults and weaknesses, and particularly the sexual ones', of his father and his brother, before he can "distill" them (310), as he puts it, through art. Another way to make sense of the gendered ambiguities of the aforesaid lengthy passage is to relate it to the curious invocation of "[s]oldiers' books" (297). Why

is there such an eclectic invocation of the war memoir genre and the cited repressed sentiments of soldiers? Paul's "near danger" is not the war (it is still five years in the offing), but Heather Methuen and her ability to "relax[] the tension inside him", to listen to Paul and "understand". Yet in keeping with gender anxieties generated by WW II the implicit immediate "war" is the one between the sexes and especially what it means to be a male; just as Paul's nervousness about being "understood", as well as the *histoire*'s highly euphemistic distinction between "pretend[ing] it wasn't there" and the third choice of "guard[ing] and protect[ing] it" (my *italics*) are suggestive of a threatened sense of masculinity.

This euphemistic discourse, which is very much about male resistance to female nurturing and hence domesticity, is more explicit in the text's presentation of female civilians and soldiers during the demobilization of World War I.

The women were the ones you noticed in the crowd, for the day was more theirs than the troops [...] eyes leaping to the familiar face when it marched into view while in a private agony each woman hoped to find it the same, still lovable, able to be magnetized back to the cage again from what it had seen and where it had been, from the horror and the hunting and the Champs Elysées and Regent Street, to the suburban house and the tenement, the groceries, doctor's bills, insurance premiums, pay cheques, slippers before the fire and three square meals a day. Women's bodies, unenjoyed for several years, stirred in involuntary anticipation (205).

The "common sense" of this narrative passage is dependent upon conceptualizing the home as a tranquil female sphere in which wild,

untamed, men become domesticated or "cage[d]" by women. This metaphor may highlight the contrast between the disruptive, deforming, horrors of war and the comparatively mundane safety of the homefront, but it ignores the possibility that many men would themselves have been desirous of domestic tranquility, or that women themselves were "cage[d]" by the domestic sphere or may have broken its marital bonds. This paradigm is repeated in a brief but telling dramatization of some soldiers' repartee about "the women".

'When I get home to the Missus I'm finished batting around see. I'm going to show her right off I'm through with all that stuff. If you guys are smart you'll do the same.'

'What's the use? They can always tell.'

'My Old Lady's a very religious woman,' [...] 'and she can't tell on account of she never thinks about stuff like that.' He was very serious. 'I'm not kidding. It was all right before the war but now it's going to be different.'

'Like hell!'

'I'm telling you, the women are all set to get their hands on us again and tame us down. You take a look at their faces. I'm telling you, they're after us.' (224)

Like the *histoire* this anonymous soldier need only survey the "faces" of the women attending the demobilization march to know that they are preparing to "cage" or "tame" their men. The recurrence of this hybridized point of view (and contradictory or even corroborating female discourses are conspicuous by their absence) is certainly consistent with male anxieties towards the end of World War II when faced with the wartime empowerment of women. Furthermore, as was noted earlier, male dominant social discourse may have been very concerned about maintaining female

domesticity, but many men, in spite of the restrictions of military life, were ill at ease with the prospect of forfeiting much of their social and sexual freedom upon demobilization.

A related instance occurs when Heather shows Paul a canvas in her studio.

In this one, figures climbed the flight of wooden steps that led up to Pine Avenue from the head of Drummond Street on the face of the mountain [...] the design showed a smooth rhythm of hips and shoulders as the figures mounted the steps [...] Because it responded to an idea of his own, he liked the picture, and still he felt there was something wrong with it. It was intended to be grim. The women were poorly dressed, almost in uniform like convicts, and their individual features were removed

He swung around and looked at her. 'Did you believe it, when you did it?' he said.

[...] 'I think so. It's meant to be stylized [...] I wanted those lines to compensate for these [...] It was the uniformity of their movement I was after.'

'You certainly got that.'

She was disappointed. 'But I've missed something else?'

He pointed to a splash of colour in one corner. 'That's the only part of yourself I see in it. That's joyful. It's good.' (308)

The unsaid of Paul's repressed corresponding idea would appear to disguise the common wartime anxiety about changing female gender roles. The featureless women may literally be said to resemble poorly dressed "convicts", but a contemporary reader might just as likely have set upon the words "uniform" and "uniformity" and their common discursive associations with the regimentation of factory and military life which supposedly defeminized and corrupted

women. This possibility is further suggested by the tension between the relatively natural, implicitly feminized, setting and the masculinized, militaristic "smooth rhythm of hips and shoulders". Ostensibly Paul alights upon the "splash of colour" in the painting because for him its "joyful[ness]" represents Heather and, in keeping with his larger framing discourse against socially engaged art (see 308-10 & "CFs" 363), how "[t]he world is dying for the lack of [joy]" (309). That the "splash of colour" represents the female and an associated joy makes for a rather abstruse example of synecdoche, but one which clearly corresponds with Paul's masculinist fear about not being able to "prevent what mattered from spilling out" (297). The corresponding sexist parts representing the whole are the fluidity associated with the female, as opposed to the rigidity associated with the masculine; or the affective, associated with the female, versus the repressed emotions of the male. In other words, the semiosis of the hybridity of Paul's and the *histoire*'s discourses concerning fluidity is as much about a complex male sexist fear of the transgression of rigid, heterosexual, gender categories as it is about painterly aesthetics or soldier's memoirs.

Paul's anxieties about Heather as a woman are less vociferous than those of the aforementioned soldiers, but it could be said that the construction of Paul as the sensitive male, like Paul's critique of previous Canadian writing (364), fails to dig "underneath". Hence, there are the kinds of awkward generic and discursive ruptures alluded to above. Other relevant ones are when Paul and Heather are

at the beach and Paul suddenly remembers the sight of a "naked woman" from his days as a stevedore (316); which is followed by his subsequent uncertainty that rape of a woman -- specifically Daphne, by her husband -- is possible (317); a thought of Heather's that men's "tenderness", such as Paul's, might be reliant upon "a touch of ruthlessness" (353); and Paul's recollection that it was "the coming of [the probable war] which had given him the confidence to marry Heather Methuen." (376) This syntagmatic chain of Paul's scopism,⁸⁵ of his naivete about sexual violence, and of the cataclysm (and alienating distances?) of war as a rationalization for his marrying Heather, is indicative of the extent to which Paul's and Heather's relationship is based upon their unequal relations to sex-gendered power. Like the "naked woman", seen from his passing boat, "le[aving] her there with a peculiar immortality in his mind, strangely transfigured" (316), Heather is also left behind, an icon in Paul's imaginary to which he can return during the war. This repeated separation may dramatize one of the tragedies of young couples who loved and married during the depression and the war, but it also symbolizes the male privilege of the strict sex-gender divide between them. Paul may not rape nor get violent with Heather but his authority over her is formidable. Paul may be in love with Heather but, as Kathleen has done for his father and Emilie for his brother, it is very much a love of the woman as phallus which enounces and validates Paul as a man. Or as Heather expresses it: "'Darling, I suspect you want to overpower me. When you love me you want to overwhelm me entirely.'" (357) Then there is Paul as the male hero as writer *versus* Heather the

Sunday painter. Paul as the male hero as soldier to be *versus* Heather the civilian wife. Paul as "Odysseus ever returning", as George Woodcock has summarized MacLennan's male protagonists, to Heather's Penelope⁸⁶ Paul, however, unlike Odysseus, avoids domesticity given the novel's truncated closure at the dawn of the war.

* * * * *

A contemporary novel that can be said to fall between the Hertel and MacLennan texts in terms of its masculinist content is Robert Charbonneau's *Ils posséderont la terre*. The socio-critic Jean-Charles Falardeau has remarked that the novel's two major female characters "semblent n'avoir comme raison d'être que de servir de contreparties des deux garçons".⁸⁷ He characterizes the women as opposites; Ly Laroudan as the evil, fallen, divorcee whose "la présence entraîne la catastrophe" and Dorothee Wilding as her "antithèse radicale" (Falardeau 502). However, Falardeau's mapping of this binary schematic does not fully explain the novel's gender politics; especially when we consider how Ly's and Dorothee's binary relationship has more to do with the animosity between them as a result of their shifting relations with André and Edward than any innate polar opposition. In other words, an analysis like Falardeau's does not consider the extent to which André and Edward, as well as the *histoire*, "traffic in women".⁸⁸

Ly, who is characterized as an uncaring "dénaturée" mother (31, 120) and as insensitive to her dying husband (145-6), is

contrasted with "l'amour maternel [...] plus près de la miséricorde divine" (147) of her own mother, and is identified as a "danger" for the "adolescent" Edward (157). Dorothee also incarnates misogynistically biased attributes. Consider, for instance, how André recalls an evening when Dorothee was "plus coquette qu'à l'habitude" and he fearfully imagines "[s]es belles dents de carnivore" (58-9). André may later find some solace in what he conceives of as Dorothee's "cœur pur", but this only comes about after "[l]a perte de Ly", a loss which "le ramenait malgré lui à Dieu" (131) and to Dorothee. The moralistic references to Ly may be more extensive and explicit, but as much as Ly is demonized Dorothee is also a site of male fears of the female. As for Edward, he may be recouped for heterosexuality -- saved as it were from the transvestitism of the priesthood, Marchadowski, and Adrienne (see "GFs" 262-67) -- but his affair with Ly is also founded upon a fear of the female. This is one of the crucial ideologemes of the text, knitting together pseudoideas and protonarratives around the domineering, hypochondriacal, castrating Mrs. Wilding (see 68, 83-6) and Edward's apparently compensatory attraction to the anti-domesticity, coquetterie, extravagant femininity and sexual libertinism of Ly (see 30-1, 61, 123-4). Such pathologization and demonization of the female would not be fully complete, however, without an alternative ideologeme.

I think that this is the best explanation of the rather sudden shift in focus towards the end of the novel, and especially in the last two chapters, to the domestic disaster of the Génier family.

The frantic middle-aged Mr Genier, whose seduction of his wife apparently resulted in her having an abortion (152) and becoming "stérile" (174), and whose obsession with the youthful Ly prompts him to consider giving up everything in the hope of running away with her (177-9), is sharply contrasted with his strong, resourceful, wife. The *histoire* makes it clear where our sympathies should be.

Madame Génier était une épouse modèle. Elle tenait soigneusement leur intérieur et était de bonne compagnie dans un salon. Il ne pouvait désirer une femme plus parfaite en tous points, sauf un. Mais si quelqu'un méritait des reproches, c'était lui, Génier (151).

Prone to drinking problems and philandering, Mr. Génier is not a sympathetic figure. Cécile Génier, on the other hand, is a self-sacrificing, "maternal" heroine who, as the aforementioned unsaid ("sauf un") implies, has been turned off sex as a result of her abortion. This reading is reinforced by the *histoire*'s account of her largesse when she becomes aware of her husband's obsession with Ly:

Cécile avait compris que son mari souffrait par cette femme. Il n'était plus jamais à jeun quand elle était là. Cécile se dit qu'il ne lui servirait à rien de quitter Alain. Cette femme ne l'aimait pas. Et puis, elle savait que son mari, elle vivante, ne pourrait trouver le bonheur dans aucune union. Elle concevait le péché comme un désordre, même si la vie droite exige un héroïsme dont la plupart des hommes sont incapables. Et elle maudissait l'accident qui l'avait rendue stérile et laide (174).

The novel's closure corroborates Mdm. Génier's perspective on Ly and her moralistic attitudes as a result of her sexual wound might even be read as a form of female resistance to male heterosexist oppression⁸⁹ -- if it were not for the fact that this idealization of the saintly, all-suffering, domestic female had more in common with the buttressing of patriarchy than its subversion.

Consistent with Charbonneau's Catholic religiosity and the clerico-nationalist tradition of the privileging of the maternal, Cécile Génier's family romance at the end of the novel embodies a powerful ideologeme. The pseudoidea is that the family, religion and the avoidance of the "désordre" of sin are our best chances at happiness. The classes in opposition of its protonarrative are all those who stray from the domestic, the Church, and the order that can come from following the latter's teachings -- that is to say virtually all of the novel's characters. In short, *Ils posséderont la terre* may be too psychological and formally open-ended to be easily grouped with the here-to-cited "realist" novels, but given the gendered values the reader is invited to "re-cr  er avec l'auteur"⁹⁰ the text is more of a gender panicked conservative novel in drag than has heretofore been thought.

* * * * *

Male Authored Female Resistance.
Recuperation and Some Contradictions

Two postcolonial critics, Diana Brydon and Helen Tiffin, suggest that: "a politically interested postcolonial criticism runs

the risk of recuperating conservative texts for a radical politics."⁹¹ Nowhere is this perhaps more the case within my selected corpus than in the recuperation of female resistance (and its contradictions) in some of the male authored texts. For instance, the most interesting, though limited, sites of resistance to *Le Beau risque*'s homosocial nationalism are its two female discourses. "Jeanne, la fille de l'oncle Émile" (64), takes Pierre to task when he waxes eloquent about the virtues of rural life. "La poésie de la campagne [...] Si tu savais comme je m'en bats l'oeil. Tu y vis trois ou quatre semaines par année, toi, à la campagne. Tu en rapportes des souvenirs ensoleillés. Si tu étais condamné à demeurer ici à perpétuité, ce que tu te dégonflerais!" (64) When Pierre persists in idealizing rural life, Jeanne complains of the boredom of country living and fantasizes about going to "Old Orchard". Pierre's response is: "Old Orchard! Tu ne sais pas ce que tu dis. Une plage américaine, juive et tapageuse. Pas de plaisir [...] Ça me donne des nausées." (65) Jeanne then counter-attacks against Pierre's nationalistic pastoralism: "Je te vois venir: la patrie, le réveil national, l'achat chez nous. Épargne-moi ces rengaines dont tu te saoules. La patrie, c'est un motif à beaux discours pour les hommes." (65-6) Pierre's disdain for the United States and Jews, and his idealisation of the land, are perfectly consistent with clerico-nationalist ideology of the epoch, but Jeanne's critique of nationalism's association with male privilege is relatively unique for its time.

Yet lest we think Hertel is dialogically constructing a strong, positive, female figure, Jeanne's subsequent expression of desire is politely rejected by Pierre in a transparent attempt by the narrative to dismiss her for being sensual: "Ne trouves-tu pas qu'il fait bon ce soir, ici, tous les deux, loin des théories, loin des rêves... Je parie que tu ne connais pas l'amour... / -- Si nous rentrions, dit-il simplement." (66) Jeanne may link and reject Pierre's nationalistic, male homosocial, values but she is subsequently perfunctorily dismissed in Pierre's journal as a new woman, temptress -- "la jambe croisée, la cigarette aux lèvres... à l'affût de conquêtes futiles et faciles." (68) Or as Père Berthier approvingly informs us: "Le soir, dans son journal, [Pierre] écrivit ces seuls mots: <<Encore un amour qu'il faut empêcher de naître>>." (66) In subsequent extracts from his journal Pierre may refer to Jeanne as "la girl brillante" (66) but she is still characterized as the "[p]auvre Jeanne qui ne comprend pas le ruisseau." (67) This becomes a metaphor for the larger current of love of country where Pierre can presumably lose and find himself in ways which he finds impossible with an apparent *garçonne* like Jeanne. Thus, he symbolically suppresses his desire for Jeanne by fantasizing how: "[l]e fleuve m'avait absorbé, je me dissolvais dans la grande brûlure du soleil." (68) This syntagmatic chain of masculine nature metaphors, and especially the imagined climactic dissolution by the heat of the sun, draws upon the traditional mythological associations of rivers and the sun with male procreative power and can be read as exemplary of the homo-social/sexualized structuring of Hertel's nationalist imaginary.

Immediately afterwards in the same journal extracts Pierre contemplates his sister, Claire, who functions as the idealized opposite of Jeanne and whose name alone, denoting the bright or clear, is semiotically suggestive of Jeanne as a dark threatening force: "Claire, l'idéale jeune femme.... Son fin visage pâle... sa silhouette gracieuse et frêle sont venus abolir les troubles attraits de Jeanne." (69) Claire is clearly invoked as a non-sexual iconic means of repressing and transferring Pierre's desires for Jeanne. "C'est à la pureté de Claire, que je devrais aller plus souvent retremper mon âme dévastée." The emotional and ideological incestuousness of this transference is implicit in Pierre's subsequent recording of his grandfather's advice that: "[t]u es dans la bonne voie. Continue de t'attacher à ce qui est éternel, la vraie beauté, nos coutumes, notre foi. Tout le reste passe. Notre peuple se meurt d'avoir perdu le vrai sens des valeurs." (69) Syntagmatically, the "idéale" "beauté" of Pierre's sister and an ethnically based nationalism become synonymous. This syntagmatic suturing may superficially appear to go against the grain of my reading of the text's homosocialized nationalism except for the fact that the desexualization of Claire is consistent with the text's homosexualized, conservative, nationalism. Another way of conceptualizing Claire's symbolic function is to say that she embodies a maternalized ethnic insularity rather than a literal incestuousness.

Yet in spite of Claire's function as a maternal symbol of male nationalist ideals there is a brief sign of feminist resistance in her

discourse. Pierre may reflect upon how: "Ses grands yeux me regardaient avec une tendresse maternelle." But he also remembers how she has said: "Moi aussi je souffre de n'être pas comprise. Et je n'ai pas les mêmes facilités d'évasion que tu as. Je ne suis qu'une fille. On ne m'a point ouvert les beaux livres." (77) Claire's limited critique is consistent with a general lack of access to books by women in middle-class French-Canadian households of the period.⁹² However, the challenge of Claire's rejoinder is undermined by Pierre's appropriation of her discourse: "Jamais je n'aurais cru que cette enfant, si fragile et si gaie, eut pu souffrir, comme moi, de la même manière." (77) Of course, Claire does not suffer in the same manner because she is a woman and without Pierre's homosocial privileges; still the ethnic exclusivity and sexism of nationalist ideology allows Pierre's discourse to invoke the specificity of her plight only to cancel it out. Consistent with this erasure the aforementioned citation is also the last time that Claire speaks. In fact, no sooner is the grandfather dead -- fulfilling a similar kind of sentimental, though Québec nationalist, function to John Yardley's death in *Two Solitudes* (see "EFs" 99) -- than Claire conveniently dies as well. Implicitly the conjunction of their deaths links and sanctifies them and the nationalist agenda which Pierre is romantically left to carry on alone.

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Contrary to the explicit and sedimented sexist content in a work like *Two Solitudes* some of its females offer fairly strong signs of resistance. Kathleen Tallard, for instance, is said to have

"held" Athanase's paternalistic, Pygmalion-like, attempts to develop her mind "against him as a grievance" (86).⁹³ Kathleen may be a relatively stereotypical, exoticized, Irish female to Athanase (and the non-Irish reader), but she is also constructed as a mature sexual woman who can distinguish between desire and fantasy (see 121). Consequently, when she has her one-night fling with Dennis Morey, when "her thoughts began to rebuke her, telling her that this was a sin [...] Yet more thoughts [...] in the wake of the rebuke advised her that this had happened in accordance with some deep necessity, and that even though for others it might be a sin, for her at this particular time it had been good" (133).

A hybrid of Heather's and the *histoire*'s discourse also decries the difficulties some Canadian women encounter in trying to establish careers.

In Canada, a girl with background could seriously consider only one of three or four professions. She could nurse, teach school, work in a library, or be a dietician; she might even work in a hospital laboratory if she had the technical training. But whatever a girl chose to do in Canada, she was badly paid for it. All the careers American girls were making for themselves [...] were practically barred to women in Canada. Plenty of girls tried to make their way into some of them, but they were never able to get even halfway to the top (267).

This passage foregrounds the patriarchal bias against working women and Heather is portrayed as disagreeing with the edict of her class "that it was her economic duty to be useless" (286). Regardless, her Columbia University "M.A. in the history of art"

(334) and a couple of brief related jobs in New York while Paul is in Europe form the sum total of her working career.

Heather's proto-feminist attitude towards male writers and their books similarly erupts only to be dissipated and contradicted. Heather's hybridized parody of the masculinist stereotypes found in the writings of D. H. Lawrence, Aldous Huxley, Dos Passos and Hemingway when she realizes that all of her favourite authors are men is quite humourous and without precedent in Canadian or French-Canadian fiction.

[...] actually she loved them for their style. She could not bear a book that lacked style.

It was certainly a man's dream-world they all wrote about [...] What a world! Everything was so lousy there was nothing you could do but take it [...] everything was lousy, the men bitter, close-mouthed and inarticulate, with chips on their shoulders but sexually as potent as Hercules [...] every girl you met rolled into bed with you if you were a man. Straight between the sheets [...] But if you were a girl in their man's world you were struck out before you reached the plate unless you were a bitch. If you were a bitch you got by. If you were a nice girl your only way of proving it was by being good in bed, smooth and lovely under the cool sheets with rain on the windows in the dark. And then afterwards they got you for it. You died in childbirth or you died from something else because that was the way it was. And always it was tough for the man, standing by your bed close-mouthed and too manly to say anything while you died, but before the lights faded out you at least knew he could take that too (287-89).

As biting as this parody gets, however, it is immediately contradicted by Heather losing herself "in the splendour of the prose" of Hemingway's *Farewell to Arms*. Or as the *histoire*

summarizes her reaction: "It was vibrant, it was beautiful, it was life!" (289) And so "style" is presented as being more important than content -- as Heather's feminist parody of male authored constructions of women is superseded by a modernist, new critical, faith in art.

As stylistically different as the above passage is from the rest of the novel its contradictory resolution is a microcosm of the novelistic construction of Heather Methuen. For her resistances to male privilege are frequently contradicted and incrementally become subsumed by her love for Paul who, ironically enough given the aforementioned parody, is a novice writer. Heather's discourse can succinctly refer to the gender oppression of women -- "You don't have to be a French-Canadian to be born in a strait-jacket. Every girl's born in one" -- only to be contradicted in the same breath by her questionable example of her tormented sister Daphne as a woman who is not (323). Heather's socialism, and Janet's, McQueen's and Paul's dismissals of it, can be related to contemporary social discourse associating socialism and female liberation (see "GFs" 173-75 & "CFs" ednt 76). Yet it is strongly criticized by Paul, without resistance from Heather, as mere bourgeois guilt (see 308-09). After this dismissal of Heather's politics her compliance to Paul becomes almost absolute and she submits to the "style", if you will, of his maleness. For instance, in accepting Paul's decision to get married -- like his unilateral decisions to go to Europe or enlist -- Heather is said to have "loved him so utterly he had become her way of life. For a man it could

never be the same. He had his work, he had the ruthless drive inside that would never let him alone." (356) What else could be expected from a literate, "liberated", female character in the late 1930s who makes no mention of Virginia Woolf, Colette, Katherine Mansfield, or Dorothy Parker, or a novel whose construction of sexual liberation was still beholden to the masculinism of D. H. Lawrence or Ernest Hemingway. One answer is: a lot more, given the actual social and sexual empowerment of women during the war years. However Heather's deferrals to Paul are in keeping not only with a general societal or literary sexism, but the end of war's renewed attempts to domesticate women.

* * * * *

A Revolutionary Moment In Women's Literature, More Resistance and Contradictions

Women's fiction of the war years, especially in Francophone Québec, was excitingly innovative, even liberatory.⁹⁴ Yet it is also important to try and take account of how women's texts are complicit in the semiosis of the female which one finds in patriarchal discourses of the time. This is not to deny the feminist content or *writerly* potential of novels like *Bonheur d'occasion*, *Le Survenant* and *Earth and High Heaven*, or of the story «Le Torrent». But not enough has been done to problematize the contradictions of their cultural work within a context in which social phenomena such as the war and war production, social discourses about gender differences and domesticity, and psychiatric narratives about psychopathology, including the

castrating mother, involved new symbolic exchanges of women which were often less traditional but still sexist. In short, as much as the wartime explosion of women's writing created more heterogeneous, anti-sexist, ways of imagining being female (and, in *Le Survenant*, of feminizing and eroticizing the masculine), they were not immunized against mediation by male dominant ideologies and discourses.

* * * * *

The most important critically neglected facet of *Earth and High Heaven* is undoubtedly its signs of contemporary social change in women's culture. This is especially true regarding the portraits of Erica and her sister, Miriam. Unlike their mother, Margaret, for whom "[t]he sexual element" is said not to have "exist[ed]... except in [a derogatory sense]" (Graham 125), Miriam and Erica are portrayed as being relatively sexually liberated. However, whereas Erica's love tryst with Marc emphasizes the affectionate intimacies associated with mutually satisfying sex, Miriam is plagued by sex absorbed and impotent males.

Most of the men who fell in love with her bored her; she would put up with their efforts to make an impression for just so long and then, because they always turned out to want just one thing, and worse still, were apparently incapable of believing that she herself could really be interested in anything else, still wholly unimpressed, Miriam would proceed to get rid of them (81).

The feminism of Miriam's savvy and fortitude is reinforced by the suggestion that most of her love affairs have been unsatisfactory because of men's obsession with sex. It is also implied more than once that Miriam has already suffered through one marriage in which her husband was impotent, or incapable of sharing sexual pleasure (see 153, 186). Coupled with her recently failed affair with a man who "had found himself getting in too deep" after "she had given herself away for the first time in her life" (145), Miriam is said to "fear" the "inexperience" (145) of a long time admirer, John Gardiner, who claims to "hav[e] kept himself for her." (153) Miriam's fear of John's "inexperience" may be presented as an almost masochistic phobia about male sexual inadequacies (see 153 & 186-7), but it also announces a feminist concern about the lack of attention to female sexual and emotional pleasure and fulfillment under patriarchy.

Another sexual minefield associated with Miriam which is even more euphemistically expressed concerns her abortion. Its introduction and resolution are so rapid and abstractified that one has to read between the lines to understand what is being alluded to.⁹⁵ Two initial obtuse references to an undefined "it" being "too much this time" and "too late" (180) for Miriam to be able to marry slide into guarded references to a "doctor", Erica's "fear for Miriam", and the relief of "it" being "over and done with" (182). The most telling indicator that this unsaid is an abortion has to do with Erica's surprise that the recommended "doctor [...] was fairly well known" and that "the larger part of [his] practice was perfectly

legitimate, so that up to the last moment, Erica was sure that someone had blundered and that she had got into the wrong office." (182)

Eli Mandel refers to the implied "abortion" as "[t]he image for Miriam Drake's world" and he exploits its metaphoric potential for explaining "Charles Drake's behaviour" as resulting from "his society [being] an abortion. Its economy, its politics, its religion, its newspapers [...] lifeless."⁹⁶ I am more interested in how the social stigma and illegality of abortion under patriarchy was translated into a form of sedimented content -- the very absence of the word testifying to its morally panicked ability to traumatize. For example, Erica may help her sister find the means to be aborted but the whole sequence of events is compacted into three paragraphs of the *histoire* which do not allow either female character to speak. The form as sedimented content of this narrative strategy raises a pressing social issue that was rarely mentioned publicly, only to simultaneously silence the potential female identified discourses which could have given it more subversive impact and significance, as well as more emotional resonance.

There is also a sexual discourse at play in *Earth and High Heaven*, as in Hertel's *Le Beau risque*, which is related to an ideology of ethnic homogeneity. In the case of *Earth and High Heaven*, however, emotional/sexual incest is also the deferred unsaid of an enigmatic signifying chain around Charles's fear of

losing his daughter. This signifying chain first appears when we are told that:

[Charles Drake] knew that Erica was the only human being who really understood him and with whom he did not have to put up a false front of consistency, but that was as far as he got. To go any further would have involved some disloyalty to his wife, and in all the years of his marriage Charles Drake had never been disloyal to her, even in thought (35).

The sexual connotations of the colloquialisms "as far as he got" and "go any further", and the affective and sexual denotations associated with marital "disloyalty", seem strangely out of place as an expression of Charles Drake's strong parental concerns for his daughter, or of a possible concern about confiding in his daughter rather than in his wife. Why describe his daughter's ability to understand him as being "as far as he got" if we are not to presume his having wanted to "go [...] further"? The incest subtext is also psychologically consistent with Erica's recollection of "one recurrent nightmare" after her father offers her the job in his business. Erica rationalizes the nightmare's "interminably long corridor from which there was no turning back and no exit" and her "trying to get away from something which threatened to close in on her" (39) as symbolic of her fear that "[h]er father would dominate her life" and that her prospects of marriage would consequently be ruined (39). Yet the associated "unpleasantly familiar sensation of something closing in on her" (39) also reads like a classic incest trauma.

At a glance Mr. Drake's declaration to Erica that "We want you to marry someone--someone like us" (105), or Mrs. Drake's counsel that "I doubt if Charles will ever think anyone is really good enough for you" (105), would seem to represent ethnic chauvinism or a possessive parental jealousy. Yet Erica's mother admits that her daughter fulfills a spousal role of which she is relatively incapable: "I don't understand him the way you do"; "There's one side of him which you've been able to bring out, but which I've scarcely been able to touch since we were first married." (108) The metaphor of "touch" would be quite innocent if it were not for the fact that the "one side of him" which Erica supposedly "bring[s] out" were not left so ambiguous. If it is merely a passionate spirit, or possessive jealousy, then why not simply name it as such?

This question becomes that much more poignant towards the end of the novel during Charles Drake's final confrontation with his daughter about her affair with Marc Reiser.

"Good God, don't you realize that after what he's done to me [...]"

"I see," said Erica, for now at least she did see all of it, including the motive which had been largely hidden by all the other motives and had remained unaccounted for. It was not what he was saying, or even the rasping tone of his voice, but the way he looked." (207-08)

Once again an apparently important quality of Charles Drake is alluded to but in such an enigmatic way as to leave its exact meaning disturbingly in question. What "motive" could be so "hidden" and "unaccounted for" that even with its recognition it remains unnamed by Erica and the *histoire* ? And how are we to

read Erica's subsequent declaration: "You gave yourself away when you said, 'After what he's done to me.' It would have sounded nicer if you'd at least said 'After what he's done to you.'" (208) Even if we consider all of the above citations as convoluted signs of a possessive jealousy, it would appear to be conceptualized as so profound, as so incestuous in its underpinnings, that it cannot be named outright but must be constantly referred to euphemistically -- as was the case with the abortion taboo.

One could argue that all of these ambiguities are merely the result of bad writing, but the consistency of their common point of exclusion suggests otherwise. A Charles Drake may have no qualms about expressing his opposition to marriage between his gentile daughter and her Jewish lover, but the non-rational reasons which are rooted in patriarchal fears of the loss of control of the female body were not likely to be expressed in a more explicit way at the time -- even in a work of fiction by a fairly feminist author. Thus, in spite of the novel's representation of Erica as a relatively liberated working woman, none of the discourses can explicitly name the phallogocentric power dynamic which is crucial to the norms of ethnic identity and gender oppression and so it erupts as a repressed incest motif.

Finally, there is also the sense that Charles Drake's racism is an aberration given his acceptance of Erica's and Marc's relationship after the news that his son, Tony, is missing in action (247-8). Given the established gender dynamics of the novel this about-face

is more than a simple result of the emotional fatigue or spiritual renaissance that can accompany profound grief (247). That Charles's bravado about disowning Erica becomes too traumatic to support after the death of his actual, alienated, son suggests the extent to which Charles has supposedly transferred his needs for a male filial bond onto his successful, professional, masculinized daughter. Given the eroticization of the masculinized female during the war this does not necessarily contradict the incestuousness of Charles's discourse. Rather, given that incest, like rape, is really about power and who wields it, Charles's sudden capitulation after the death of his male heir means that Erica need no longer be a masculinized cypher for her brother Tony; that her feminine role can take precedence again (in the hopes of producing another male heir?) and, consequently, that her being exchanged with another man, even if he is Jewish, becomes more tolerable to Charles Drake. In short, the ethnic contract of the family romance may shift at the end of *Earth and High Heaven* but Charles's patriarchal power presumably remains intact.

* * * * *

The much vaunted "revolutionary" break in *Bonheur d'occasion* concerning *les mœurs urbaines*⁹⁷ is just as true of its representations of women and male-female relations. For example, never before had a French-Canadian novel centered so much of its action not only upon urban female protagonists but upon their gendered-class oppression as women. Similar things can be said of the depictions of the male characters, of the socio-economic and

consequent psychological castration of lumpen and proletarian French-Canadian men. And yet, most criticism of *Bonheur d'occasion* has to date been little interested in reading for contradiction. This is even more the case in terms of gender and so, as fresh as the novel was, its gender fictions reproduce dominant values as much as they challenge them.

Azarius and Eugène Lacasse, Alphonse, and Pitou are all unemployed at the beginning of the novel and resigned to their fates, after years of economic depression, as socio-economically castrated men. Emmanuel Létourneau does not need to enlist in the army for socio-economic reasons, but it is his discourse which articulates a masculinist faith in enlistment as "la tentation de se battre [...] de redevenir un homme. [...] c'est pour ça qu'il faut se battre" (53-54). Azarius is the most developed sign of this castration complex and its resolution via military enlistment. Azarius goes from "souffr[ant ...] de sa déchéance" (141), from believing that no one had confidence in him (142), to radiating what the *histoire*'s and Emmanuel's hybrid discourse describe as "[u]ne vigueur [...] presque irrésistible. Tout simplement, il était devenu un homme; et de l'éprouver lui donnait une joie sans mesure" (338). Ironically, at the same juncture Emmanuel is less confident of his own previous arguments about the masculinizing virtue of war because of his fear that men like Azarius have simply been bought off; though there is a subsequent narrative attempt to redeem Emmanuel's idealism (see "CFs" 376-77). That the catalyst of this redemptive shift is a silent "petite vieille", whom the *histoire*

omnisciently knows to be "humble" (340), concurs with Mosse's research on the cult of manliness's dependence upon the bourgeois nation state's ideology of women as sedate, civilizing, mothers of their country.⁹⁸ That the same or a similar maternal figure appears to Florentine and inspires her with an uncharacteristic patriotic pride in her husband further reinforces such a reading. In fact, Rose-Anna herself can be understood as just another version of the "sedate mother" and this may greatly account for the extent to which English- and French-Canadian readers and critics have been interpellated by and idealized the text.

Consider the question of the "maternel" in *Bonheur d'occasion*. Given its subordinate status within patriarchy the maternal is inevitably a sociogram which is a product of the migration of several ideas, values, clichés, *etcetera* of the period. This hypothesis is quite consistent with Carole Melancon's synthetic analysis.⁹⁹ She remarks how for the majority of French-Canadian critics between 1945 and 1952 *Bonheur d'occasion*, and especially Rose-Anna, embodied a "glorification de l'image de la mère" and of "valeurs traditionnelles" (461); that in effect Rose-Anna was largely received as a symbol of "l'idéologie de conservation".¹⁰⁰ Contesting the conservative matriarchal and patriarchal privilege of such readings, Patricia Smart sees Rose-Anna as representing a "l'instinct de vie" which is "l'énergie génératrice de *Bonheur d'occasion*" (Smart 200). It is incontestable that there is a "vision féminine" at work in the text, but this vision is too infiltrated by male dominant culture to be representative of a coherent feminist

perspective. For instance, even if "Roy met en scène une multiplicité de mères, toutes *différentes* " (211), the emphasis upon the withholding of love by Jean Lévesque's adoptive mother to explain his brutishness can be related to neo-Freudian discourses of the period which held women almost singularly responsible for the psychic damage and symbolic castration of their sons (see Kinsman 106). The fact that Madame Lévesque is not Jean's "natural" mother -- and isn't the absence of a "natural" mother implicitly the primordial reason for Jean's selfishness and cruelty? -- can be related to the expanding discourse during the war which expressed a fear of women's rejection of the maternal.

Or consider Florentine's pregnancy. The fact that the young waitress becomes pregnant has to be considered not only in terms of her rape and abandonment by Jean, but in terms of the contemporary and widely circulated social discourse of the period, especially towards the end of the war, against the entry of women into the workforce and military exactly because of such potential consequences. The fact that Florentine conspires to marry Emmanuel not only marks her classed lack of socio-economic options. It is consistent with these male dominant biases. Yet as "realistic" as this scenario is it is problematic given the textual absence of other working women -- the minor exceptions being Florentine's independent workmate and girlfriend, and an Anglophone nurse -- and the absence of a textual discourse which valorizes the non-domestic work and cultures of contemporary women (aside from Florentine's financial contributions to her

impoverished family). Or to appropriate Patricia Smart's critique of traditional, patriarchal, "realism" which reduced "la multiplicité du réel à la cohérence rassurante d'une vision unie (28)", the relative absence of the representation of the new women's cultures of the epoch which were in the process of redefining gender parameters and the gendered division of labour puts the "real" female cultural work of *Bonheur d'occasion* into question. As much as *Bonheur d'occasion* evidences a multiplicity of voices which surpass the realist monologism of its predecessors, it does not render the voices of other women who were in the process of redefining the parameters of female genders.

Furthermore, Florentine's "fall" is not only largely constructed by her internalization and acceptance of the hegemonic ideas and values of men, but neither Florentine, nor Rose-Anna, nor the *histoire* offer alternatives to their individual and collective oppression as women other than through perseverance and love. Once Florentine has maneuvered Emmanuel into marrying her the *histoire* may implicitly critique the dishonest selfishness of Florentine's new found domesticity and wealth as "[e]lle organisait leur vie d'une façon logique, habile, avec un sérieux tout nouveau" (344); but there is no evident critique of her consequent reliance upon her husband, nor of the independence she has lost or will lose. Rather, consistent with the closure's reliance upon the masculinizing virtues of war and its enigmatic, almost phantasmic, patriotic matron, there is an implicit valorization of this process, a foreshadowing even of the post-war association of gender balance

and respectability with the re-virilization of men and the re-domestication of women.

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There is a critical tendency to presume that as of its appearance *Le Survenant* was seen as a sign of "la rupture définitive" from the traditional *terroiriste* novel. But this idea was first enunciated by André Vanasse in 1966.¹⁰¹ Before then both of Guèvremont's novels were well received,¹⁰² but essentially for general characteristics such as their intensity and their fidelity to the land.¹⁰³ That predominantly male critics were incapable of appreciating the contestatory gender possibilities of these texts before the second wave of feminism is hardly surprising. Nor is it surprising that most critics seem to have been attracted to a "realism" which was rooted in their interpellation by dominant cultural codes. The same kinds of phallogentric codes and discourses, for instance, which circulated in the pages of the conservative rural women's magazine, *Paysana*, which Guèvremont co-directed for some time during the war.¹⁰⁴

The *Survenant* (and "l'Acayenne") may very well represent ruptures in the sedentary order of French-Canadian peasant life (see Vanasse), or may inspire *jouissance* and desire (see Smart 143), but this does not guarantee that said ruptures are ultimately exempt from male dominant ideologemes. As Barthes demonstrates in *S/Z* ruptures in a realist novel are not only dependent upon the creation of enigmas like the *Survenant*, but upon the movement of

the tale towards closure via the revelatory dissolution of enigmas which re-establish order. In other words, once the enigma of the Survenant passes, as much as he has upset the gender stasis of the peasant world the traditional gender hierarchy is not as threatened as one might suppose.

The disruptive figure of the Survenant may appear to predominate, especially when his enigmatic signs haunt even the subsequent novel so thoroughly, but ultimately it is the discourse of "père Didace" and the cultural codes which he embodies which are privileged by the *histoire*. It is "père Didace" who invites the Survenant to approach the table (9); "père Didace" is the one who is said to be capable with "[s]on regard de chasseur qui portait loin, bien au delà de la vision ordinaire, [de] pénétr[er] au plus profond du cœur de l'étranger comme pour en arracher le secret" (12); and he allows the Survenant to stay at "Chenal du Moine" because of his narcissistic attraction to the Survenant's manliness.¹⁰⁵ It can also be argued when "père Didace" accepts the advice of the Survenant to take "une deuxième femme" (140) because he is seduced by "l'idée de se refaire un fils", "de procréer des fils 'semblables à lui'" (Major 197), that it is not only a sign of the re-birth of his virility, but a concretization of the phallogocentrism at the heart of his discourse and of the *histoire*.

One way of substantiating this critique is to consider how the eroticism of Guèvremont's novels were not considered to be censorable by an influential Catholic periodical like *Lectures*.¹⁰⁶

According to *Lectures* the two novels were irreproachably for everybody. To what extent this marked a moral liberalization or a naïveté about the erotic content is not clear. Or perhaps it indicates that Jean-Marie Gaboury and the editorial team of *Lectures* identified with the phallogocentrism of the texts; that they naturalized the everyday patriarchal values of the novels by identifying them with "realism". This possibility is quite likely given Théophile Bertrand's statement that he was convinced by "la vérité et le réalisme" of the two novels. And yet, Bertrand was also disappointed to meet "dans ces fresques rurales, un chef de famille qui ne fût pas taillé sur le même patron rugueux et absolu". He would have also preferred "un prêtre dont on aurait pu percevoir l'âme un peu plus humaine que celle des autres personnages, parce qu'en contact plus étroit avec le divin."¹⁰⁷ In short, Bertrand would have preferred not to be confronted with the lack of humanity of père Didace as patriarch and, in accordance with Bertrand's religious position, he would have liked to have seen more emphasis on the priest's phal-/logos ; the same system of signs and values, paradoxically, which were so crucial to the very type of "chef de famille" which Bertrand claims to feel uneasy about.

The cultural code of the importance of ancestors and the need to have paternal "héritiers du nom" (113) dominates the discourse of "Didace, fils de Didace" (10) and the *histoire*. Nevertheless, the fantasy of "père Didace" that the Survenant will replace him at Chenal du Moine (see 136-7) is not fulfilled by the closure of the novel. The curé's fears that "l'Acayenne" is not "digne de devenir"

the wife of Didace (195) is also strongly reinforced by the *histoire* which informs us that "père Didace" does not listen to the curé's "sages conseils [...] "de le dissuader d'un mariage précaire" (196) . If it were not for this intervention by the *histoire* one could read the patrimonial "passions" of "père Didace" as an ironic critique of patriarchy. The irony of the scene with the curé is that in pursuing the passions inspired by "le Survenant", "père Didace" endangers the very patriarchal order and lineage which he hopes to preserve. But this irony does not mean that patriarchy as symbolically embodied by Père Didace is ultimately shown up as moribund. It only suggests that "père Didace" does not follow the appropriate route for the achievement of his goals; and the consequences of his neglect of the curé's "sages conseils" will be tragically confirmed in *Marie-Didace* . This puts all that much more weight upon trying to answer questions as to what gender values are reinforced by the Survenant's passage?

In the 1950s Gilles Marcotte's assessment of the Survenant as ambiguously representing "l'Inconnu et [...] l'Aventure"¹⁰⁸ became a fairly standard, relatively uncritical, way of understanding his symbolic function. But twenty years later critics such as Robert Major and Adrien Thério focussed on the eroticism of Guèvremont's novels. For Major the Survenant is "la plus belle incarnation d'Éros dans notre littérature" (Major 196) and he traces the critical silence concerning eroticism, noting that critics like Duhamel, Duquette, Robidoux and Renaud hadn't discussed it.¹⁰⁹ To rectify this silence Major interrogates what he refers to as "la fascination

proprement érotique que le Survenant exerce sur les personnages, personnages masculins autant que féminins." (196) Whereas Gérard Bessette had a few years earlier suggested that "le Survenant est un impuissant",¹¹⁰ Major's approach is at least cognizant of homosocial attraction. Or as Major says: "Ce qui compte n'est pas la possibilité de coït du Survenant, mais son effet sur les autres, par le simple fait de sa présence. Celle-ci est érotique." (208)

The following examples of the Survenant's erotic effect upon others are indicative of how he is simultaneously virilized and feminized. In the first paragraph of the novel the *histoire* refers to his "bonne taille" and "jeune [] âge" (9), and subsequently, when he is washing, to "ses mains extraordinairement vivantes", to how the water "s'inonda le cou, aspergea sa chevelure, tandis que les regards s'archaient à suivre le moindre de ses mouvements. On eût dit qu'il apportait une vertu nouvelle à une geste pourtant familier à tous." (10) The androgynous sensuality of the Survenant is further reinforced by the *histoire*'s accounts of Angéline's and Alphonsine's erotic interest.

[...] Angéline trouva qu'il avait bonne mine. À la fois sec et robuste de charpente, droit et portant haut la tête, pareil à un chêne, il avait ce bel équilibre de l'homme sain, dans toute la force de l'âge [...] sa chevelure rebelle et frisée dru, d'un roux flamboyant, descendait bas dans le cou [...] Et quand il s'était penché pour amasser un clou, elle avait vu à la naissance de la nuque une éclaircie de peau blanche, trop blanche pour un homme, une peau fine, il lui semblait (28).

A dynamic of erotic attraction and its repression is constant throughout *Le Survenant*, such that even after the Survenant has proven himself to be a drinker, unreliable, and he takes again to the open road, Angéline and even Marie-Amanda sing his praises more than they fault him.

[Angéline:] -- Il avait ses défauts, j'en conviens. Il fêtait parfois. Et s'il éprouvait pas plus de sentiment pour moi, il est pas à blâmer. J'ai pas su le tour de me faire aimer [...]

-- Ah ! il avait ses qualités, renchérit Marie-Amanda: il était ni malamain, ni ravagnard. Et franchement il était beau à voir. Si droit... si vaillant ! Avec des belles manières... (184)

Yet while the Survenant's virility may expose the sexual desperation and desire for passion of the women of the community it also encourages a male identified narcissism and bravado. The Survenant's good manners are thus less evident when he sings an amorous song about his "Tonkinoise" (45-6) and inspires Père Didace to sing his own romantic ditty (46). And when he accompanies "père Didace" on his duck hunt, it is clearly the Survenant's presence which prods "père Didace" to shoot and brag of the sixty-two ducks he bags as a sign of his own virility (see 54-5). Thus, while André Vanasse understandably cites the Survenant's fight with Odilon Provençal as an example of "la rupture entre le nomade et le sédentaire" (Vanasse 608), it's quite possible to read his physical force, or his reinforcement of the cultural code of masculine aggression as marking him as a *figure identitaire*, as a masculine type with whom "père Didace" can identify, at the

same time that it appears to reinforce the Survenant's heterogeneity when contrasted with his more "feminine" traits.

The construction of the Survenant can therefore be said to encourage a doubly gendered reader/viewer; one who can participate in the fe/male *gaze* and excitement of his body. As Steven Cohan has suggested this kind of *doubled* attention to the eroticism of the male body would become marked in the United States in the 1950s as a result of the perception of post-War culture as being more female-dominated, the startling revelations of the Kinsey Reports, the growing specularization of the male body through mainstream films and male body-building culture, and the expansion of homosexual subcultures with an attendant increase in homosexual panic.¹¹¹ *Le Survenant* obviously pre-dates some of these phenomena but, consistent with the rapid changes to male-dominant society in the inter-war period and especially as a result of WW II, the novel does dramatize a broad range of sexualized and anxiety ridden fe/male subject positions. For example, it can be argued that like William Holden's character of Hal in the movie *Picnic* (1956), the Survenant's feminized masculinity, his "vulnerability, beneath all [of his] muscles, is the basis of his appeal" (Cohan 209); and that an enigmatic psychosexual fear of castration can be said to drive the Survenant to "a male form of masquerade that constitutes virility out of fakery and spectacle." (216)¹¹²

Vanasse says that "le Survenant n'avait peur de rien" (Vanasse 608) when one *writerly* possibility is that he has a dominant, perhaps even hysterical, fear. Given the fact that the Survenant is the site of the erotic in both of Guèvremont's novels, but that he never makes love with anyone, for him to be "revealed" would demand his sharing his sex; the demystification of the power of his phallus. In maintaining his enigmatic persona he retains and manufactures anew his phallic power. In such a *writerly* reading the Survenant is more of an escapist than a contestatory figure; or, as is suggested time and again, he appears to be controlled by his "passion" for liquor (see 115-16) but it might be the tragic result of a more profound source. Adrien Thério suggests it is that the Survenant is a "homosexuel qui se cache" (Thério 25 & "GFs" 268-74),¹¹³ but whether or not we read him as a homosexual his attitudes towards women are sexist and reinforce the privileged social position of men at the expense of women. For instance, the *histoire* informs us that "[q]uand [le Survenant] ne se moquait pas de leur [les femmes] inutilité dans le monde, il les ignorait." (40) So too, the emphasis upon the male stranger as the motor of change in *Le Survenant*, while true to the comparative contemporary socio-economic and sexual freedom and power of men, is also dependent upon stereotypical notions of women's domestic sedentariness and economic and sexual dependence upon men.

Nevertheless, several of the female characters also embody qualities and tendencies which, while not very contestatory, deviate from traditional fictional portrayals of women in French-

Canadian literature. For instance, both Angéline and Alphonsine are dramatized as being oppressed by their circumstances as women and as leading secret imaginative lives. The *histoire* informs us that Didace is not happy with his daughter-in-law, Alphonsine; that he thinks she does not measure up to the long line of hard working, child bearing, Beauchemin women (see 18). For her part, Alphonsine may be attracted to the presumed "sécurité" of life at Chenal du Moine" (see 37) but she is increasingly frightened by the prospect of being displaced (see 111-12). Angéline is a classic spinster type except for the fact that the *histoire* informs us she has not accepted marriage proposals "pour la bonne raison qu'aucun ne lui disait rien au coeur." (22) In other words, she is presumably not passive, not merely subject to the whims and fancies of men. The novel is also rife with signs of Angéline's highly eroticized attraction to the Survenant -- as when, like Alphonsine (see 10), her sight of his hands evokes female desire: "cette grande main d'homme, déliée et puissante, tout à la fois souple et forte, une main qui semblait douce au toucher et en même temps ferme et blonde comme le coeur du chêne, une main adroite à façonner de fins ouvrages" (48-9). But when she offers herself to him he decides to let "la route le reprendra" and she is crushed (see 171-73).

Female desire may be more eroticized in *Le Survenant* than in any prior French-Canadian fiction, but it is also quickly stymied. So too, the very two female characters and discourses which are best placed to vigorously critique patriarchy ultimately end up mimicking and reinforcing its misogynistic values. For instance,

after the Survenant disappears "père Didace" treats Alphonsine badly and she continues to internalize his oppression of her. "[Elle avait] honte de ne pas être une bonne femme de maison et à la fierté de s'entendre honorer, par son beau-père [...] Quand elle aurait donné à la famille un Didace de plus, elle saurait prendre sa place dans la belle confrière des dames Beauchemin." (178) When Angéline grieves at the Survenant's departure, she likens herself and her affection for the Survenant to that of the Beauchemin family's faithful dog (see 182).

As Major claims "[l]es relations d'Alphonsine avec le Survenant sont plus complexes, plus ambiguës aussi, mais, partant, beaucoup plus significatives. D'un côté [...] il représente une certaine menace [...] Mais constamment on sent qu'elle se désolidarise de la petitesse d'Amable [...] on sent une complicité grandissante avec le grand dieu des routes" (Major 200). Major even suggests Alphonsine is imaginatively impregnated by the Survenant. Or in Major's words: "le Survenant, source de vie, force vitale, est le véritable père spirituel de l'enfant qu'Alphonsine porte et le grand responsable de sa grossesse." (201) Major makes much of the idea that the Survenant has "le don", which implies "une idée de grâce reçue par quelques privilégiés" (199), ou "une richesse vitale, d'une plénitude de vie, le don d'être <<source vive>> qui a fait d'[Alphonsine] une femme, enfin." (202) The same "gift" can be said to have partially transformed Angéline, except that her consequent obsession with the Survenant leaves her more debilitated than strengthened. This notion can in turn be related to Vanasse's

suggestion that the Survenant is "dans la perspective féminine [...] l'image de l'amour en liberté, c'est-à-dire un amour qui ne connaît pas d'obligations sociales et particulièrement celle de remplir les berceaux." (Vanasse 610) Nevertheless, we should not be blinded to the fact that this liberation remains a male domain in Guèvremont's novels.¹¹⁴

More recently, like Major, Patricia Smart associates Père Didace's daughter, Marie-Amanda -- "La femme déjà entière" -- (Smart 145) with "l'idéal féminin" (Major 208). But as much as she is a strong, frank, female the characterization of Marie-Amanda is simultaneously dependent upon its reinforcement of values and codes which have traditionally constrained and limited women. No sooner does she visit the paternal homestead than she takes charge of its domestic tasks. In the process the *histoire* subtly praises her for not complaining of her fatigue, naturalizes her domestic skills, and through her narrativistically hybridized discourse comments upon how "[c]'était à elle, la fille aînée, de donner le bon exemple." (see 72-4) So too, Marie-Amanda is valorized for her fecundity which is at the heart of the patriarchal favour she reaps from her father. Major was right to observe that "Marie-Amanda, la féconde, la femme forte et franche, vivifie tout à son passage [...] et représente [...] l'idéal féminin de cet univers romanesque" (208). However, he does not consider how she represents these qualities not only because she is fecund, *etcetera*, but because she has submitted to the phallus of her father -- in the Lacanian sense of the paternal phallus as signifier of the symbolic order --

and subsequently to that of her husband. The latter dynamic is demonstrated in small, for instance, when Marie-Amanda avoids mixing with her paternal family after a service at church because she is in the company of her husband. What is more, the virtual absence of her spouse can be read as subtly signalling the hidden but constantly present power of patriarchy.¹¹⁵ This quality is made more explicit when she advises the love-lost Angéline how "[a]imer, ma fille, c'est pas d'attendre quoi que ce soit de l'autre que de consentir à lui donner ce qu'on a de meilleur." (183) The male-identified nature of this "hu-man -ist" discourse is immediately foregrounded by Marie-Amanda's subsequent advice to Angéline: "Ton père est à la veille de revenir. Faut pas qu'il te retrouve de même. Redresse-toi." (183)

Not surprisingly a critic like Théophile Bertrand in the 1950s was gender blind to such signs of Marie-Amanda's oppression and her small role in the oppression of other women. Bertrand's analysis was exemplary of the conviction that Guèvremont's novels "illustrent [...] les qualités d'un art à la fois poétique et réaliste en ce sens qu'il butine le charme des réalités les plus ordinaires" (Bertrand 9). "[L]a foi poétique et réaliste" which attracted Bertrand to Guèvremont's novels is not gender neutral. He appreciated the following passage for its "discrétion" and "délicatesse", for its "fixations poétiques de la fugacité de la vie" (9):

Ainsi donc la vie est comme la rivière uniquement attentive à sa course, sans souci des rives que son passage enrichit ou dévaste? Et les êtres humains sont

les roseaux impuissants à la retenir, qu'elle incline à sa loi: des joncs bleus pleins d'élan, un matin, et le soir, de tristes rouches desséchées, couleur de paille? De jeunes joncs repousseront à leur place. Inexorable, la rivière continue de couler: elle n'y peut rien. Nul n'y peut rien. (*Le Survenant* 74)

Bertrand totally ignores the tragic irony of this stream of consciousness passage as being Maria-Amanda's; the one female in the text who is considered by the other characters, and especially by her father, to be an eternal source of strength just like her deceased mother. Yet as her aforementioned complex metaphor about the "roseaux" suggests, Marie-Amanda's fatalism is just as profound as that for which she chastizes Alphonsine (see 74). Marie-Amanda never divulges such somber thoughts to members of her family nor friends, but neither Bertrand nor, to my knowledge, have other critics commented on this. This textual gap or silence is one of the more "writerly" features of the novel and suggests that Guèvremont may have wanted to subtly signal the dark side of the traditional romantic vision of the strong, silent, maternal type. Still, the most obvious reason for the double textual and critical silence about how Marie-Amanda implicitly feels oppressed by her traditional, maternal, child-bearing role is that neither she nor her discourse are allowed the opportunity to dialogically contest it. Consistent with the sexual liberation which many women experienced during the war years *Le Survenant* may acknowledge female desire in new ways, but the passivity and silencing of the novel's female characters is also consistent with those of actual women as the war wound down and they were being re-domesticated.

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One can choose to read "la Grande Claudine" in Anne Hébert's story, "Le Torrent," written during the winter and spring of 1945, as representative of the profoundly self-destructive power of traditional, male-dominant, French-Canadian culture upon female desire. In such a reading "la Grande Claudine" is a victim of patriarchy who exiles herself because of her shame at getting pregnant out of wedlock (see "Le Torrent" 14). She in turn projects her obsessive sense of sin upon her son, François: "Le monde n'est pas beau, François. Il ne faut pas y toucher. Renonces-y tout de suite, généreusement [...] Tu es mon fils. Tu me continues. Tu combatteras l'instinct mauvais, jusqu'à la perfection ..." (15-16) Having been made to fall she imagines being redeemed by François: "Tu seras prêtre! Le respect! Le respect, quelle victoire sur eux tous!" (16)

Read in this way "la Grande Claudine" is a major sign of the destructive religious colonization of French-Canadians and especially of women. This is even more horrifically dramatized by François's rebellion against and murder of his mother (see 22-27) and in his subsequent relations with the vagabond woman Amica, whom he also seems to eventually murder (see 44-46). Emotionally deformed and driven to madness by his mother's oppressiveness François in turn embodies the most destructive aspects of patriarchy: "Posséder et détruire le corps et l'âme d'une femme." (29) In his relations with the whorish Amica, whom he literally

buys (see 32), François thinks of how "elle est devenue mienne et j'ai acquis le droit de la désigner" (33); and he fantasizes how "[e]lle verra que je suis le plus à craindre des deux et frissonnera [...] Mes mains sur sa gorge. Ses yeux suppliants" (33). Once François has had sexual relations with her he complains to himself how "[e]lle m'embarrasse. Elle m'ennuie. Elle me gêne" (35); and he increasingly demonizes her for her cat-like eyes "qui me dévisagent" (36); as a "sorcière" (38); and as a spy who will expose his murder of his mother (see 43-44). Narrativized in this way François's all-consuming fear of the female, and his consequent desire to exercise power over women, including their murder, is a classic fiction about the hysteria of male misogyny and without parallel in contemporary English- or French-Canadian literature in terms of the ferocity of its critique.

But is there another way to understand the text? For even if it is implicit that "la Grande Claudine"'s destructive rearing of François emanates from the intolerance of male dominant culture, François's hatred for "l'univers maternel dans lequel j'appris [...] la dureté et le refus" (12) is quite consistent with contemporary psychiatric discourse against dominating mothers. Claudine may be interpreted as a phallic mother -- "Tu me continues" (16, 17) -- who deforms her son and his potentially "normal" masculine identity. Max Roy may associate Claudine's physical power (see 15 & 22) and Catholic moralism with "une allégorie de la société québécoise, écrasée sous la toute-puissance de l'idéologie religieuse",¹¹⁶ but her wilfulness and physicality can also be

related to the moral panics of the era against the perceived masculinization of women and castrating mothers.

In this kind of reading, as psychopathic as François becomes he is a pathetic *victim* of his overly dominant mother. Or as some key phrases from François's discourse characterize his relationship with his mother: "Je voyais la grande main de ma mère quand elle se levait sur moi [...] J'avais seulement le sentiment de sa terrible grandeur qui me glaçait" (9); "je participais de ma mère, tel un outil dans ses mains" (9); "la façon maternelle de sanctifier le jour du Seigneur, à mes dépens" (12); "Ah! ma mère, je ne pouvais deviner toute l'ampleur de votre destruction en moi!" (36); "O ma mère, que je vous hais! et je n'ai pas encore tout exploré le champ de votre dévastation en moi." (40) Thus, if we read "Le Torrent" as allegorical of the destructiveness of traditional Catholic culture in Québec, it has to be foregrounded that this gendered anxiety, the homosexual panic of which I will address shortly (see "GFs" 274-76), turns upon the demonization of "la Grande Claudine". And perhaps most importantly, given the predominance of François's interior monologue -- for though "la Grande Claudine" speaks, it is only through François's recollections of her voice -- his privileged masculine subjecthood should be read not only in terms of its being a sign of patriarchy but of the text's exclusion of feminine subjecthood.

In other words, as much as "Le Torrent" can be read as a proto-feminist text its demonizations and objectifications of the

female, as well as its hierarchical privileging of a male discourse, can be read as being contradictorily "pétris par des manières de connaître et de textualiser le connu propres [de sa] conjoncture historique donnée" (Angenot 97); as concomitantly embodying female resistance to, and fears of female resistance to, male dominant culture. This kind of reading is particularly pertinent considering the patriarchal roots and elements of Hébert's mythopoetic system in subsequent years. I am thinking especially of the poems of *Tombeau des rois* and of "Mystère de la parole".¹¹⁷ I am less convinced than Patricia Smart of the positive cultural work in Hébert's invocation of the "mythologie plus ancienne où il existait encore des figures féminines *actives* ", such as "Diane la chasseresse" (Smart 190). For I question whether such ancient symbols, even if they are reappropriated from their masculine bastardization, don't blind us to or displace other, more contemporary, possibilities; whether "[c]e renouvellement de la mythologie" (Smart 190) didn't direct women's imaginations (and those of men) too much towards the past rather than towards figuring present or future positive female signs and possibilities?

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Same-Sex Cultures and Panics

As was mentioned earlier, one of the consequences of WW I and of the inter-war explosion of urbanization and factory work was that it allowed existing and potential lesbians and gays more opportunities and venues to meet, commiserate and pleasure one

another. Much same-sex subcultural ground was lost during the 1930s, but the profound shifts in objective conditions during WW II allowed lesbians and gays to recoup and benefit even more fully from the increased sexual experimentation of the 1920s and psychoanalysis's expanding identification, demonization and generation of same-sex discourse -- which, in spite of its homophobia, sometimes helped lesbians and gays to identify themselves and others. As Lillian Faderman has phrased it however: "World War II brought only a brief hiatus" (Faderman 96).¹¹⁸

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The war-time viability of female same-sex desires was heightened by women's increased mobility and economic empowerment, their liberation from the gender exclusive sphere of domestic labour and the sudden dearth of men. As much as Québec's strict anti-divorce laws had forced many discontented women to remain in economically, emotionally and sexually unfulfilling marriages, the enlistment and conscription of a husband could suddenly liberate a woman from compulsory monogamy or heterosexuality. Or to cite John D'Emilio, whose observations on American culture are relatively applicable to Canada and Québec:

Women made up the bulk of the civilians who migrated during the war. They moved to distant cities, away from the watchful eyes of male kin, lived in makeshift residences that accommodated the influx of laborers, worked night shifts, and in general engaged in a range of activities that marked their independence and signaled their departure from the normative female role.

Focusing attention on the large-scale entry of white married women into the work force and on Rosie

the Riveter [...] has obscured the significance of the home front experience for women of lesbian inclination [...]. The dearth of young men that conscription imposed necessarily encouraged many women to structure their social lives around their female companions. This shift toward sex segregation may or may not have affected the erotic focus of women with a long history of heterosexuality. But, by expanding the social space in which women predominated, the war opened possibilities for lesbians to meet at the same time that it protected all-female environments from the taint of deviance (D'Emilio 1983, 29).

For example, Canada's largest munitions factories in St-Paul L'Ermite, Québec, threw together thousands of women from all walks of life and many lived in all-female barracks. Nor should we assume that dominant discourses and practices were as efficient in their repression of lesbianism as heterosexist hegemony has made it appear.¹¹⁹ Thus, though lesbian panicked figures are really a non-suit in my literary corpus, a few simple but exemplary deconstructions of lesbian embedded wartime signs should help clarify how lesbian panic relates to anxieties about the larger, changing, female homosocial continuum.

For instance, with the advent of the war women wearing men's clothing or asserting their socio-economic independence, which until then had been considered signs of lesbian abnormality or monstrosity, suddenly became laudable, even associated with the heroic. The general public did not automatically embrace such changes to normative female codes, but it was coaxed along by governmental appeals to patriotism. A case in point in this process was a widely circulated "message [...] issued by the Department of

Munitions and Supply for Canada" in 1942 (see "Appendix" 8)¹²⁰ In this advertisement, a young woman, in profile, wearing dark pants under a plain light colored winter coat, is about to walk out of the picture frame to the right. She is carrying some amorphous packages and her head is covered in a patterned scarf. Her face is fairly expressionless and it is impossible to judge the probable length and cut of her hair because of the scarf. Behind her, at the centre of the page, though most of his body is blocked out by framed text, is a relatively middle-aged man in a dark coat and homburg. He is staring bemusedly downwards, ostensibly at the young woman's pants -- since large bold letters of the young woman's discourse cut across the page declaring "PLEASE DON'T STARE AT MY PANTS" -- but he could just as easily be eyeing her buttocks. To his left, though slightly foregrounded, is a matronly, middle class woman in a light colored fur coat. She too is carrying amorphous packages, but she also has a purse, a fashionable hat, and half of one of her calves is showing (leaving the viewer to presume from her general attire that she is wearing a dress/skirt and stockings). She is also looking in the direction of the younger woman. Her facial expression is more ambiguous than the man's but it can be interpreted as disdainful. This possibility is enhanced by her having one gloved hand raised, palm outward, fingers apart, as if she has been startled. Below all three figures, as if holding them and the framed text up, is a triptych of photographs of women at work in various war industries.

The young woman's discourse is clearly structured to reassure the reader that she is not "wear[ing] trousers like the men when I go about the streets" because she is less feminine or a *butch*, but "[b]ecause I'm doing a man's job for my country's sake." And lest the viewer/reader has imagined that she may be dressed like a man in order to attract attention to herself, or because it gives her some kind of sexual pleasure, her discourse informs us that "[m]y coveralls are my working clothes. I wear them for safety's sake. They are less likely to become entangled in the factory machinery." The subsequent discourse of the royal "we" of Munitions and Supply establishes a signifying chain of "young ladies", "women folk", "young women", and "girls and women", whose "heroic spirit" and "delicacy of touch" support "our fighting men." When these prosaic elements are sutured with the visual semiotics of the ad, the potential lesbian rupture of a heterosexist taboo -- "Would you like to know why I wear trousers like the men when I go about the streets?" -- is paradoxically both implied and erased. What is more, the pairing of the two women via the color schemes of their coats and their physical framing of the male; the complementarity of the young woman's dark pants and the man's matching coat and hat; and the ambiguity of the focus of the male's gaze visually reinforce a heterosexist erotic-economy that is also capable of eroticizing the masculinized woman.

It is worth noting, as Cyndra MacDowall points out,¹²¹ that by the 1930s "male-produced sexual images often include representations of lesbians and suggestions of lesbian interaction.

Although unusual, butch-femme suggestions are occasional [sic] evident in this material." (MacDowall 33) The bemused male's gaze in the cited advertisement can be interpreted as a more subtle sign of just such a reverie. Similarly, given that this same period begins to witness the proliferation of "the classic lesbian love triangle, [in which] the older "confirmed" lesbian struggles to gain the affections of the younger "convertible" woman and take her away from a man" (MacDowall 35), we should not ignore the potential lesbian reading of the matronly woman as a "femme" who may be intrigued by the (potential) "butch". In this instance, their amorphous packages link them not only as female consumers but as women who, in spite of their age and social differences, have something discreet in common.

Clearly, such state promoted shifts in the sign system of what constituted femininity could not avoid or eradicate actual or symbolic lesbianism. On the contrary, the predominant "butch/femme" paradigm of lesbian subcultures was inadvertently promoted and "normalized" by factory and military life. Just as women's colleges, such as Vassar, had become institutional oases for lesbian attractions and subcultures, so too wartime factory and military life allowed for the expansion of lesbian subcultures in spite of strictly enforced lesbophobic rules and regulations. Lesbians could seize the opportunity and pass as "straight" in order to enter the military or work at formerly male-identified jobs. One could suddenly even look like a butch without necessarily being automatically dismissed as one.¹²²

If little is known about lesbianism in Canadian civilian society during the war, even less is known about its military subculture. There is, however, little reason to believe that the Canadian women's forces were that different from the American "Women's Army Corps" which, given the era's associations of "homosexuality with the reversal of gender roles", D'Emilio has referred to as "the almost quintessential lesbian institution" (D'Emilio 27).¹²³ Men's gender self-doubts as a result of military women's masculinization aside, perhaps this is yet another way to understand the Canadian military's femininity campaign. To what extent did it represent a disguised fear of the incidence of lesbianism within the Canadian military?¹²⁴ The female forces clearly unnerved heterosexist males. A classic case in point is recounted by the former servicewoman Monique Comeau Gauthier:

Quand je travaillais à Moncton [...] on allait danser au YMCA ou à la Légion; les hommes avec qui on travaillait y venaient aussi. Mais on faisait tapisserie. On disait aux garçons: bande d'innocents, qu'attendez-vous pour nous inviter à danser? Ils répondaient: Ce n'est pas drôle de danser avec vous autres, vous êtes habillées comme nous, on a l'impression de danser avec des garçons. Et ils allaient chercher des civiles (Auger & Lamothe 180).

If women merely wearing traditionally male-identified apparel could have such an impact it is hardly surprising that there are so few accounts, "official" or otherwise, of lesbians in the Canadian forces. One has to also assume that administrators would have

guarded against the dissemination of news or anecdotes about lesbian soldiers even more than they did about pregnancies.

Another important factor would have been mere ignorance of lesbianism, as indicated by the veteran, Rosamond "Fiddy" Greer:

When two sisters [fellow service women] slept together in a lower bunk across from mine, the thought of lesbianism never crossed my mind. This is not at all surprising, as I had never heard of it. The more worldly-wise than I (which was probably almost everyone) may have known about 'it', but none spoke the unmentionable word and for some time I thought how nice it was that the girls could comfort one another when they felt homesick. However, one day I heard that they had been 'found out': shortly afterwards they disappeared from *Stadacona* ; and I surmised that 'something funny' had been going on (Pierson 275, ednt. 83).¹²⁵

From today's perspective such ignorance may seem remarkably naive but it suggests just how unremarkable "emotional demonstrativeness" amongst women was considered to be.¹²⁶ Or as Bérubé remarks: "[m]ost young women had been raised to be nurturing and romantic and to focus more on relationships than on casual sex. Removed from men's company, they were more likely than men to pair up casually into physically affectionate couples"; thus, "[t]he affectionate milieu of barracks life made it difficult for trainees to tell exactly when such close friendships became 'strange' or 'queer.'" (Bérubé, 1990, 42-3)

Another factor in the growing shift of "erotic focus", and which has been hardly theorized to date, was the war's promotion of pin-up culture. There may have been a dearth of eligible men but

films, magazines and advertisements, all of which intertextually fed and reproduced variations on the "pin-up" genre, bombarded women with erotic images of themselves which, while products of the male "gaze" and a heterosexual erotic-economy, were also appropriable by lesbians.¹²⁷ The irony is that this male-centered economy of objectified "normative" female signs may have played a significant role in nurturing lesbian "deviance" from the intended heterosexist norms, eroticizing women for women.¹²⁸

Jane Marsh's female recruitment film *Proudly She Marches* (1943) embodies the doubleness of this shift; dramatizing how "common sense," realistic, readings of presumably heterosexist female signs can be appropriated and subverted by a lesbian sensibility.¹²⁹ Ostensibly, the film is a straightforward attempt to glamorize the excitement and career options open to young women in the Canadian Forces. A new recruit, shown in bed in various stages of undress before donning her uniform, peruses a photo album and daydreams about her enlisted female friends. Interpreted from a heterosexual feminist perspective, as Teresa Nash has done, one might presume that the scantily clad female narrator is too objectified for the film to have much liberatory potential (Nash 307-08). The juxtaposition of image's such as Botticelli's *Birth of Venus* and women in two-piece bathing suits with male voice-over commentary like: "[f]rom the Renaissance to the present day women have taken their rightful place as the flowers and ornaments of the human race [...] the supreme object of man's admiration and of

man's esteem", clearly perpetuates stereotypical male hetero/sexist ideology.

Yet where Nash sees objectification Marilyn Burgess sees a lesbian "strip tease" and argues that "the new recruit's pleasure (sexualized by the context of bedroom and undress) is [...] constructed in terms of her gaze" and its structuring of the film.¹¹⁰ Burgess goes on to "translate" one of the film's sequences as follows:

The next fantasy introduces "Dorothy" as the "lesbian" recruit sways to the slow and languorous jazz tune, by now clad only in a slip, staring dreamily ahead as she puts on her stockings. The camera pans down one of her stockinged legs as she suggestively slides her pointed toe over another photo in her album. "Dorothy" looks back at us from the page. This time, the woman's gaze is aimed at the lesbian spectator, for whom the camera 'stands-in,' in an exchange of looks which mimics the ritual of lesbian recognition of self and other lesbians. Dorothy [...] will go on to become a professional photographer in the army, a scenario which allows for some interesting role reversals, extending the promise that in the Forces, women have the power to look (Burgess 26).

Though I think that Burgess does not take enough historical account of the film's function as an erotic palliative to heteroseixst fears about the threats to femininity of female recruits, her analysis of the lesbian "authority and power" which the rituals and practices of the army confer on the sexualized recruits is convincing and marks what I would call a butch/femme double-sense of "being/having" (see "GFs" ednt. 139).

This certainly rings true in Burgess's comments on the closing sequence of the film.

To the beat of the sexy jazz tune once again, the dressing scene begins with the new soldier standing in her underwear before her mirror surrounded by photos of female movie stars. She adjusts the snapshot of her girlfriend pasted in the corner of the mirror and slowly dons her uniform item by item. In a studious montage, she lifts her jacket from its hanger, slides it on, straightens her tie -- a cliché of male dressing -- and puts on her cap. Attention to such details provide a point of identification for the 'mannish' lesbian (and no doubt by now potential recruit herself!) who cross-dresses in 'real' life (Burgess 27)

Curiously, however, especially given Burgess's important emphasis upon the need to privilege the possible variety of viewers' responses -- and especially lesbian viewers -- her reading concentrates on the "butch" gaze and does not take account of the film's possible appeal to "femmes" or to other women. Why insist upon the lesbian potential of the film being dependent upon a consciously "'mannish' lesbian [...] who cross-dresses in 'real' life", when the lesbian subject in question is also thoroughly feminized? What about the film's erotic potential for "femmes" of the day who might have been subconsciously attracted to the implied opportunities to meet "butches"; especially since the "strip tease" seems to claim a space in army life for "femmes"? The "butch" who knots the masculine sign of the "tie" is also the "femme" of the strip tease, potentially suggesting to viewers who were open to it that they could be both. As the recent film, *Forbidden Love*,¹³¹ makes clear, however, the theoretical possibility of such "doubleness" eroding the established "butch"/"femme" paradigm is

not borne out by events. The hegemonic symbolic and lived examples of what it was to be lesbian would not *get out from under* the binary, heterosexist, male-centered aspects of their erotic-economy for decades to come.¹³²

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World War II's forced separation of civilian heterosexual partners, as well as the military segregation of men and women, accounted for many cases of what was sometimes called "deprivation homosexuality".¹³³ Professor Kinsey's 1948 report suggested one in ten North American males could be considered almost exclusively homosexual, that three in ten had participated in same-sex acts, and that two in ten could be qualified as bisexual (Costello 103).¹³⁴ However, Kinsey's study normalized the incidence of male homosexual acts and orientations without taking into account the extent to which "war aphrodisia", as Costello puts it (see 102), accounted for male same-sex liaisons. And as much as the war was productive of same-sex excounters and gay subcultures it also heightened the institutional surveillance and punishment of same-sex acts and gays.¹³⁵

As Kinsman elaborates, "sexual policing" in the 1940s (and 1950s) increasingly "revolve[d...] around the concept of 'sexual psychopath' [and...] applied to gay men [...it] identified male homosexuality with social danger" (Kinsman 1989, 15-16). As was suggested earlier, this targeting of homosexuals was coterminus with the shift from the identification of 'hypersexual' women and

unemployed or transient men as psychopaths in the 1920s to the homosexualization of the male psychopath which took place in the 1930s (see "GFs" 151-53). The following extracts from a *Montreal Gazette* article of 1939 are indicative of some of the common elements of this discourse:

Arthur Dagenais, alias "Alexandrine" Dagenais, a 57-year-old roomer at 929 City Hall Avenue, was in detective headquarters cells early this morning awaiting a sanity test and arraignment today on a vagrancy charge.

The middle-aged prisoner was arrested late yesterday afternoon, when detectives were called to the rooming house to investigate the report that a strange woman was occupying one of the men inmate's rooms [...]

Dagenais [...] had been despondent in the past few days because he had been unable to find work [...] the roomer had warned [the landlord] that if he did not succeed in finding a job today he would commit suicide.

Upon discovering "Alexandrine" in Mr. Dagenais' room, the landlord called for the police and "[t]he prisoner's fingerprints [were] sent to Washington and to Ottawa for investigation." An incredible number of the signs of this article criminalizes Arthur Dagenais. Even the use of the term "inmate", instead of "roomer" or "lodger", is a sign of the transient transvestite's or transsexual's implied criminality.¹³⁶

The military's wartime psychopathologization of gays was yet another attempt to define heterosexual masculinity more sharply. At one level it was clearly a result of the heterosexist bias that homosexuals were not manly enough to make reliable soldiers; but it may also be understood as an expression of the fear that the

military could be attractive to homosexuals because of its homosociality and its sublimated homosexuality. There was an important difference, however, between the Canadian military's approach to identifying homosexuals and that of the United States.

American military recruits were actually asked upon induction whether they were homosexual or whether they had ever been in love with someone of the same sex; in Canada, however, the military placed homosexuals and lesbians under the heading 'psychiatric disorders' (which included psychoneurosis, and psychosis) and more specifically as 'anti-social psychopaths' and 'psychopathic personalities' with 'abnormal sexuality'. (Kinsman 1987, 110)

According to section 195 of the Canadian military document *Physical Standards and Instruction for the Medical Examination of Recruits—1943*, homosexuals were to be classified under the category of "psychopathic personality":

The chief characteristic of this disorder is the inability of the individual to profit by experience. Men with this disorder are unable to meet the usual adult social standards of truthfulness, decency, responsibility and consideration for their fellow associates [...]. They are impulsive, show poor judgement [...]. They often present a favourable impression superficially [... and] incorrigibility, restlessness, frequent changes of job, will indicate the real defect. Among this group are many homosexuals [...] chronic alcoholics and drug addicts. All such men should be regarded as medically unfit for service anywhere in any capacity (Kinsman 1989, 80).

The Canadian armed services' medical "statistics [did] not differentiate between 'psychopathic personality and other 'disorders,'" and so "[w]e are therefore left with no recorded 'pevert'

count. It is apparent, nevertheless, that thousands of men and women were labelled "psychopathic personalities" and promptly rejected or discharged (Kinsman 1987, 111)¹³⁷

Most gays in the Canadian military appear to have never been found out, or at least were not targeted and consequently discharged. The very homosociality of the services, as with the womens' corps, doubtlessly contributed to this. It is even possible that though "psychiatric practice [...] became integrated with military rule", Canada's broader, less confrontational screening process may have made it easier for lesbians and gays to pass undetected. So too, the process of cross-examination and elimination may have caused many men and women to begin to identify and construct themselves as homosexuals for the first time in their lives. Kinsman hypothesizes, however, that the very lack of "specific labelling of homosexuals" may account for a (yet to be proven) comparative lack of "the Canadian war mobilization [...] forming and expanding homosexual and lesbian networks." (Kinsman 1987, 110-111)¹³⁸ One of Maurice Leznoff's informants in *The Homosexual In Urban Society*, an MA thesis on homosexual subcultures in Montréal in the early 1950s, would seem to suggest otherwise: "During the war people were scattered all over the place and morals were very loose. At the same time facilities became numerous. I mean places where homosexuals could go and also the number of practicing homosexuals. This was because of the close association of people in the services."¹³⁹ In the light of such testimonials homophobes were probably naive about the abilities of

gays to "profit by [their] experience[s]" as targets of heterosexism and thus pass as straights to avoid oppression.¹⁴⁰

Nevertheless, even a homophobic post-war article in *Maclean's Magazine* suggested that "[e]very Canadian serviceman can recall at least a few instances where one of the fellows in his outfit was suddenly sent home for discharge because he was a 'queer'."¹⁴¹ If this is true, given the close quarters, absence of privacy, regimentation and other institutional restraints of military life, there had to be a fair amount of tolerance of gay soldiers by their heterosexual peers and commanding officers.¹⁴² Kinsman cites one Canadian vet's reminiscence of how "[i]n my outfit, it was generally known certain men were gay. Nothing was ever done about it.' Military policies could be experienced as inconsistent and if one was accepted in one's unit and was 'a good fighting man' you were unlikely to be disposed of while the war pressures were on."¹⁴³ (Kinsman 1989, 66) In other words, the potential loss of combatants made their persecution strategically questionable. The naive acceptance of homosexual acts in the military is also apparent in a Canadian oral history anecdote which focuses upon the shooting up of a water tower:

You can imagine a camp on the prairies, in January or February [...] and training every day and lying around in our stinking H-huts the rest of the time. Fighting, feuds, arguments and, in retrospect, some homosexuality, although I didn't know what the word meant then (Broadfoot, "The Water Tank", 39).

The syntactic linking of homosexuality with a conventional "masculine" pursuit such as barrack room "[f]ighting" and the inclusion of homosexuality merely as an aside are suggestive of its normalization under military life.¹⁴⁴

Not surprisingly such normalization was also fostered by civilian cultures. For instance, as in many other large North American cities of the period, Montréal's active night life and its role as the largest troop and supply port in Canada allowed a small but active gay bar scene to flourish.¹⁴⁵ "In Montreal, in the 1930s and 1940s gays frequented the Lincoln and Monarch Taverns [...] There were also the 'tapette' (pansy) sections of a number of taverns." (Kinsman 1989, 143)¹⁴⁶ Accordingly, though we know very little yet about male prostitutes during this period "les premières traces de celle-ci se retrouvent dans les années quarante."¹⁴⁷ What is more many "straight" men, especially those on leave, regularly participated in homosexual acts in clubs and bars and their environs.¹⁴⁸ These hundreds, if not thousands, of "straight" men would have been thought of as guilty of indecency, poor judgement and unfit for service because they would have become homosexualized; when they were actually in need of affection, companionship and sexual pleasure and were able to find it in gay subcultures.¹⁴⁹

A number of lurid newspaper reports in the end of the winter of 1945 on the rape and murder of a boy in "the jungle" gay cruising area of Mount Royal are indicative of how the wartime expansion of

same-sex desires and subcultures did not brake hysteria against homosexuals.¹⁵⁰ News reports in both linguistic communities on the rape and/or murder of females, when the cases were publicized, were rarely so thorough.¹⁵¹ And whereas coverage of stories by the French and English presses was normally reserved for major political debates and war news, "the jungle" murder investigation was consistently reported on by both presses for several weeks. Not surprisingly, much was made of gays as psychopathic criminals; though there were some marked differences between some of the French and English reports. For instance, *Le Devoir* does not mention the rape, nor does it implicate homosexuals as responsible for the murder. *La Presse* and the English coverage tends to go into more negative graphic detail about the subculture of "the jungle" and refers to the rape as "indecent assault". One way of interpreting such euphemisms is to credit them to journalistic and societal decorum of the day. But they may also be read as an important aspect of the hysterical psychopathologization of gays; since they name what is most feared about the homosexual end of the homosocial continuum at the same time that they simultaneously function to repress it -- making the heterosexual fear of the homosexual more enigmatic and hence that much more powerful. Furthermore, that the gay "jungle" should co-exist with heterosexuals' uses of and associations with the mountain had to heighten the sense of an imminent, yet covert, threat to male heterosexuals' self-definition. In other words, while negative signs and definitions of what it was to be gay multiplied as a result of such incidents, they had to generate more anxieties about latent

homosexual tendencies, about whether or not one was or might be identified as a gay. Consequently, when the only major newspaper editorial on the tragedy declared that all people with such "tendencies" were criminals, and no distinction between homosexuality and criminal pathology was countenanced, anyone who had ever had a homosexual experience or fantasy was obviously that much more likely to police themselves, to become or to remain covert, to pass as heterosexual at all costs.

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Given the demands of the war effort "emotional demonstrativeness" amongst men seems to have been more tolerated than we have traditionally been led to believe. What is more, the consummate "masculine" institution of the military inadvertently fostered gay subcultures at the same time that it reinforced gays' "caste-like status".¹⁵² What Kinsman refers to as the "opening up of erotic possibilities" (Kinsman 1989, 68), was soon set-back however by the end of the war. When the necessities of total war were replaced by the Cold War, homosexual panic and homophobia would flourish. The extent to which this was prodded by "straight" males guilt about their intimate acquaintances with gay individuals and subcultures during the war is impossible to assess, but homosexual panic certainly would dovetail with Cold War paranoia about the "enemy within".¹⁵³

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Same-Sex Literary Panics

It could be argued that my attention to the homosexual panic of the war years reflects the selectiveness of my literary corpus more than any general cultural trends or ethnic differences if it were not for the fact that most of my corpus consists of canonical texts, and if the gender signs, codes and discourses of the Francophone texts were not so consistently more homosexually panicked than those of the Anglophone ones. Interestingly, Antoine Sirois's analysis of how "le problème de <<l'autre>> dans la métropole ou <<des autres>> parlant anglais [...] a pratiquement défini le problème national des Canadiens français",¹⁵⁴ or Marcel Rioux's analysis of the city as the site of French-Canadians' discovery of their colonization¹⁵⁵ are quite accurate, but such readings have ignored the significant appearance of the predominantly urban homosexual "other" in Francophone Québécois fiction since the 1940s.¹⁵⁶ Not surprisingly, the critical tradition which has read for the *roman national* has necessarily neglected its homosexual panic. I would be tempted to credit the rather sudden proliferation of gay signs in Francophone Québécois fiction during World War II to the expansion of gay subcultures in North America and Québec, except that English-Canadian fiction shows no such marked increase.¹⁵⁷ I believe this is consistent with Anglophone and Francophone authors' perceived and actual different relationships to power within Canadian and French-Canadian societies; and that within the Anglophone dominated, patriarchal, heterosexist cultures of the 1940s and 1950s the Francophone

expression of colonization, male psycho-social anxieties and resistance were more likely to be symbolically homosexualized.¹⁵⁸

From a feminist- or lesbian-identified critical perspective, what my selected English- and French-Canadian literary texts may have most in common is their absence of female emotional demonstrativeness. And in most instances, in keeping with Patricia Smart's critique in *Écrire dans la maison du père*, females are either extremely alienated from one another, solitary, absent or dead, or some combination thereof. The hegemony of patriarchy explains how wartime fears of women's sex-gender independence would be transformed into stultifying, negative, scenarios for female literary characters. But the unsaid of lesbianism, in comparison with my literary corpus's gay ruptures, testifies to the even greater anxiety that female same-sex attractions represented in a historical moment in which women's traditional sex-gender roles were most challenged.

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The interdiscursivity of *Le Beau risque*'s nationalist and homosocial ideologies embody normative identities which are simultaneously typical and atypical of Québec society and Québécois realist writing of the period. Nationalist ideology dominated Francophone Québécois fiction at the time of the publication of *Le Beau risque*, but it had never before been so homosexualized. Robert Schwartzwald correctly characterizes Réginald Hamel's neo-nationalist homophobic "*nam[ing]*" of *Le Beau*

risque " as homosexual" as being "consistent with the self-representation of the colonized subject as a wayward son, vulnerable to seduction by a flattering but ultimately exploitative, 'false father'" (Schwartzwald 186);¹⁵⁹ but I believe that the concept of homosexual panic is more germane to deconstructing and critiquing Hertel's text as embodying "a repressed pederastic model" or a "masculinist identification of nationalism" (186). Jean Tétreau denies any possibility of Hertel having been homosexual -- "C'était bien là la plus stupide des plaisanteries."¹⁶⁰ -- but Tétreau's cursory catalogue of examples of Hertel's "goût certain pour le deuxième sexe" (72) cannot erase the homosexual signs of *Le Beau risque*. Tétreau is too reliant upon a faith in psychological and artistic intentionality; nor does he seem aware of the intimate bonds between the homosocial and homosexual panic. Thus, as I shall try to show, his mere denial of homosexuality on Hertel's part cannot effectively explain away the novel's homosexualized discourses and intertextual references.

The novel is ostensibly a compendium of journal entries, correspondence and memoirs by a Père Henri Berthier as published by an anonymous friend. These auto/biographical genres are used to create an intimate narrative which constructs Berthier as the authorial subject by which we are expected to consume the text; including the occasional journal entries by his favourite student, Pierre Martel. Pierre and his discourse are important, but more as markers of Berthier's effectiveness as a mentor, a nationalist ideologue and of his implicitly homosexualized fascination with his

favourite student. For Berthier's discourse persistently evidences a homoerotic attraction towards Pierre which it struggles to control and transfer to homosocially acceptable objects such as the nation. The first sign of a homosexualized sensibility is when Père Berthier refers to Pierre as possessing "une indifférence souveraine, un mépris olympien" of a "jeune fauve en muscles" (10). Such homoerotic classicism, which was still often a gay subcultural literary and artistic norm in the middle and upper classes for signaling and constructing homosexuality, is also implicit in the likes of Berthier's association of the "humain" with the "éternellement jeune" (22).¹⁶¹ This sensibility is even more marked in Berthier's musings on sharing moments of rugged physicality with Pierre. While playing lacrosse he remarks how they develop "un chassé-croisé rythmique, harmonieux." (12) And Berthier asks himself: "Qu'est-ce qui m'attire en lui? Une physionomie d'adolescent tourmenté [...] Assez grand pour son âge, il est aussi nerveux que musclé." (13) He concludes that Pierre is "[t]rès souple, vif de mouvements, de gestes, il possède une mobilité de jeune animal qui trompe sur son véritable caractère." (14) Just what is meant by Pierre's "véritable caractère" is never fully spelt out but it is strongly linked with the "un peu de joie" which Berthier claims to have procured ("procuré") from him (13); a joy which is focussed upon Berthier's love of the "éternellement jeune" (22).

This guarded desire for Pierre is reciprocated by the young man's apparent platonic passion for his mentor, though it is

Berthier's discourse which is homosexualized not Pierre's, as when Berthier remarks how during a lecture on humanity "[Pierre] m'écoutait passionnément, douloureusement; et je voyais, [...] qu'il avait peine à retenir ses larmes." He subsequently concludes that "[Pierre] vivait, à ce moment-là, une double, une triple vie." (40) The latter sentence can be read as referring to the new intellectual and emotional worlds that are being opened up to the young student of life, but it is also a strong reminder of how a gay informed reading of the text can help us appreciate the often blurred continuum between the homosocial and the homoerotic. Consider Père Berthier's reaction to Pierre's difficulties with his father, who fears that his son will turn into "un savant poussiéreux", that he will fail to become manly enough because of his classical college training. "Il raille les littérateurs, les poètes, comme il dit. <<Jamais ils ne réalisent quoi que ce soit.>>" (49) Docteur Martel's advice to Pierre against indulging in poetry implicitly marks it as a site of gender anxieties; especially when his fear that his son will turn into a "savant poussiéreux" paradigmatically invokes other euphemisms for homosexuals such as "une poudrée" (49-50). But when Père Berthier worries that the father will disapprove of him as "emballé, poète peut-être" (64), he is spared the Doctor's disdain by his heterosexual pride when his son excels during lacrosse and hockey matches (44, 56). Still, given Berthier's previous sensualized references to playing sports with Pierre, what the father may read as a sign of heterosexual prowess can also be read as homoerotic.

The confluence of nationalist ideology, intertextuality and homosexual panic is also marked throughout the novel. For example, there are several references to Homer's epics and Berthier declares that "[l]'étude de la littérature grecque demande que nous ressuscitons cette civilisation lourde de beauté" (25). In keeping with contemporary hetero-sanitized discourses about Greek history and culture Berthier does not mention the profoundly same-sex culture which was at the heart of its "civilisation" and "beauté", but "Greek love" would nevertheless have been semiotically at play for many readers in spite of its being unsaid. Similarly, when Père Berthier's discourse enounces the meaning of the text's title -- "mes petits gars en sont venus peu à peu à l'étude passionnée des problèmes nationaux [...] Ils s'avancent, confiants, vers ce que je me plais à nommer le beau risque." (129) -- it may be reminiscent of Blaise Pascal's emphasis upon religious passion and intuitionism, as well as denote the homosocial dream of a manly nation of the "folk", but given the text's semiotic field of the homosexual it may also connote the "beau risque" of male same-sex love. The mutualness of these discourses is also implicit in the importance of Berthier's students' visit to Nelligan in the Saint-Jean-de-Dieu sanitorium. (see 102-07) Nelligan inspires a nationalist crescendo and the students inspire Nelligan: "Il est redevenu le Poète" (105). This scenario is directly related to the established homosexually panicked signifying chain of poetry as a site of gender tension between Pierre and his father, as well as Berthier's concern that he will be disapproved of as "emballé, poète peut-être" (64); while the invocation of Nelligan is especially homosexually charged when we

recall the homophobic encoding of Nelligan's persecution as an effete poet.¹⁶²

Yet as much as such references interdiscursively suture and celebrate a heroic, nationalist literature, and homoeroticized cultural touchstones such as classicism and Nelligan, when Pierre believes he has reached manhood -- "Je suis le jeune homme." (119) -- he decides to stop writing. As if a "real" man could not do both. Or as he puts it: "Un homme ne se raconte point. Il vit. Je vivrai." (120); presumably, as Pierre's grandfather and Père Berthier would wish, for the nationalist cause. Pierre's decision to "live" may also be read as being negatively echoed by Père Berthier's departure for missionary work in China. Ostensibly, Père Berthier's decision is a heroic Catholic action (see 114), but it is also qualified by his having supposedly learned "auprès de Pierre et de ses amis [...] que c'est de jeunesse que vit l'Église, que l'Église est la seule jeunesse." (114) Once again he links "l'aventure [...] de la fierté nationale retrouvée dans la lumière ardente de la beauté grecque", but in an uncertain attempt to reconcile them with a "Catholicisme éternellement jeune, porteur des promesses de vie éternelle?" (114)" The element of doubt is signalled by the question mark, especially coming as it does at the end of a long, evasive, run-on sentence. Given the established homoerotic signifiers of Berthier's discourse and the unforeseen suddenness of his departure, this attempt to syllogistically replace the previous rather pederastic emphasis upon eternal youth with the eternal youth of the Catholic

Church's mission is suggestive of an attempt to avoid a crisis -- such as a homosexual scandal.

Le Beau risque 's homoerotically charged nationalist imaginary may not "name" Berthier as a homosexual, but the progressive homogeneity of Père Berthier's and Pierre Martel's nationalist discourse may be said to go as far in coupling the two characters as homosexual panic of the period could tolerate. Berthier's masculine nurturing of the young men in his care may contradict, or contest, the popular notions of priests, especially the more intellectual ones, *and* of pederastic gays, as effeminizing *faux-pères* , but the text's dominant clerico-nationalist discourse, with its heterosexist emphasis on *la patrie* , necessitated the steering away from the homosexual end of the homosocial continuum. In other words, Hertel may not have been consciously aware of the homoeroticism of his novel, but the contradiction between it and the text's clerico-nationalism was too great for Hertel not to have to exile his homosexualized nationalist priest for the sake of the heterosexually acceptable homosocial objects of the nation and the Church. Pierre Martel's *bildungsroman* -like evolution as a nationalist may drive the text's explicit enigma and its resolution -- will he or will he not see and adhere to the light of the sanctity of the nationalist cause? -- but his mentor's homosexual panic is the repressed *enigma* of the text and so its resolution necessarily involves Père Berthier's unanticipated exile rather than the dis/closure of said enigma.

One can read Edward Wilding's and Andre Laroudan's exchange of female love interests in *Ils posséderont la terre* as simply a romantic tragedy. In such an account Edward, the failed seminarian, whose family has planned to marry him off to his cousin Dorothee, becomes obsessed with and marries the pregnant Ly Laroudan; while André, who has lost Ly to Edward, finds refuge in Dorothee's more chaste embrace. Such a reading, however, is likely to ignore the extent to which the relations between Edward and André flirt with the homosexual and how this possible "danger" is avoided by their final homosocial, though heterosexual, traffic in their female cousins.

In the "Prologue" André recounts how during his childhood "je n'aimais pas jouer, passant la journée dans les jupes des femmes et dans les livres" (29); while Madame Wilding's non-emotional relationship with her son, Edward, is psychopathologized as accounting for his "haine du péché" (84-5) and, by association, for part of his attraction to the homosocial world of the priesthood. There is, as well, a certain feminine "orientalism" to Edward's room: "[l]e moindre espace était surpeuplé d'objets disparates de cuivre, de jade, de faïence, qui, si invraisemblable que cela paraisse, formaient un ensemble vivant" (43). On their own, none of the aforementioned gendering elements are particularly indicative of a coherent semiotic field of the homosexual. This alters when we scrutinize the peripheral but nevertheless significant role of Marchadowski. Edward ostensibly introduces André to Marchadowski -- "lequel se prétendait Polonais", enigmatically

implying he could be something else -- because Edward wants to demonstrate his seriousness about revolution. Marchadowski is variously described as having "cheveux longs", talking "comme une actrice", and as possessing "l'air d'une vieille femme" (45). The reader is thus likely left with a stronger sense of Marchadowski as a feminized male than as a revolutionary organizer; or, more specifically, to associate revolutionary types with some kind of sexual decadence or deviance. André may reject Edward's youthful attraction to revolutionary destruction of the "vêtement de culture" (45) and his "surexcit[ation] par les discours de Marchadowski" (50), but when André is with Edward he feels that "nous étions de la même race." (49) It is after the expression of this homosocial bond, and André's rejection of the feminized revolutionary, that Edward and André are said to fantasize going off to Ethiopia to fight, to "vivre comme des hommes." (50) The gender rupture of feminized all male relations provoked by the foreigner Marchadowski, and the intimate more personal fantasy of being a "race" apart, are thus contained and translated into a more acceptable, more class neutral, homosocial domain -- that of war.¹⁶³

Instead of being masculinized by revolution or war, however, André and Edward are masculinized by their relationships with and mutual traffic in women. Yet all is not what it seems on this front either. Edward, the *histoire* informs us, contemplates his attraction towards André's girlfriend as follows: "[il] se tournait vers [André] parce que, inconsciemment, ce qu'il cherchait ce n'était pas Ly, ni même un ami, mais une présence." (91) Just what

the term "présence" signifies in this instance, what exactly it is a euphemism for, is not explicitly clarified. It certainly can be related to Edward's belief that "la conquête de Ly" -- which he imagines as a means to surmount his "terreur du péché" (114) -- is dependent upon his ability to mimic "une vie d'homme à l'image de celle d'André" (114). Edward's plan to learn how to be more of a man, less afraid of his libidinal side, by adopting André as his model and stealing André's lover raises the possibility of Ly being a cypher for an unsaid same-sex attraction.¹⁶⁴ Similar questions arise concerning André's motivations; especially since André's relations with Dorothee are also literally a placebo for his failed affair with Ly. When his friendship with Edward ostensibly ends because of their rivalry for Ly, André enunciates a sentiment which reverberates with echoes of the contemporary stereotype about the homosexual couple. "<<Notre amitié n'était possible, songea-t-il, qu'en autant qu'il me rendait service. Il lui fallait absolument dominer.>>" (163)

The most developed homosexually panicked signifying chain erupts and circulates, however, around the enigmatic female figure of Adrienne. She first appears when André and Edward have gone out for a night on the town. They first notice her crossing a "rue transversale" (98) outside a jazz joint and, after she stares at them with what is referred to as "une étrange fixité" (98), she accepts a ride in their car. At this juncture the *histoire* informs us that André's and Edward's "soirée n'avait pas été *gaie* ." (99, my *italics*) Syntagmatically, this would remain a mere adjective and their

encounter with Adrienne a straightforward heterosexual pick-up, if it were not for a subsequent sequence and its aftermath, which I will cite briefly:

Elle avait le nez, la bouche et les poignets d'un garçon.

-- C'est un garçon en robe, dit André d'un ton plaisant en s'adressant à son ami.

Elle fit mine de n'avoir pas entendu mais elle se mit à chanter des épigrammes à leur adresse sur l'air du jazz joué dans la salle tout près. Elle pétillait d'esprit d'un genre assez vulgaire mais irrésistible.

-- Vous êtes gaie, dit André, désarmé tout à coup devant un trait un peu personnel.

Elle rejeta ses cheveux en arrière d'un coup de tête et brava son regard.

-- Non!

-- Mais vous chantez?

-- Mais je chante...(99-100)

Edward, who is driving, is said to be nervous (about what exactly it is not clear), and when he turns to give Adrienne a package she has left on the front seat, André cries out: "--Un homme! Là!" (100) Edward swerves the car off the road to avoid a male pedestrian and it crashes into a ditch. Oddly enough though: "L'homme qui avait été la cause de l'accident avait disparu." (101)

From the first sighting of Adrienne at the "rue transversale", to her "étrange" stare, to the *histoire*'s description of and André's joke about her masculine traits, to the comment about her "gaie" spirits and her forceful denial, to the sudden appearance and disappearance of the "homme", the signs syntagmatically associated with Adrienne could be regarded as mere happenstance. On the other hand, they exhibit a semiosis which suggests a doubt about

her sex-gender identity and, by association, Edward's and André's. After all, André no sooner refers to Adrienne as a male in drag than he comments on her being "gaie"; a euphemism for "homosexual" which was quite current in gay circles by the 1940s.¹⁶⁵ In the light of Adrienne's later account of her fiancé's hospitalization her exclamatory denial that she is "gaie" carries more literal weight. But André's sudden subsequent sighting of the ephemeral "homme" who causes the accident can also be read as a form of displacement of the danger a gender ambiguous figure like Adrienne poses to André and Edward and their own relations; just as the homonymic quality between André's and Adrienne's names can be related to Edward's subsequent confused obsession with Adrienne. Whether or not we literally interpret Adrienne as a man passing for a woman is beside the point.¹⁶⁶ What is important is how the gendered sliding signifieds associated with this *femme-homme* figure highlight and provoke yet more textual ambiguities about gender definitions and relations.

For instance, consider how the enunciation of Edward's subsequent obsession with Adrienne occurs after the *histoire* philosophically comments on how "[d]es idées se forment en nous à notre insu, nées secrètement de désirs refoulés et de rêves, nourries de sollicitations obscures et qui tout à coup éclatent" (113). Ostensibly Edward becomes obsessed because he seems to want to use Adrienne -- whom he views as embodying "l'impureté" (116), "la terreur du péché" (114), which he desperately wants to surpass -- as a heterosexual dry-run or warm-up for "conquering"

Ly. But by the text's own aforementioned Freudian standards neither Edward's nor the *histoire*'s intentions are necessarily obvious, not without their "désirs refoulés". Exactly what imagined "impureté" or "péché" excites Edward about Adrienne is unclear. What is the "angoisse indéfinissable" which he feels as he enters the jazz club in search of her? (115) What are we to make of the question: "Portait-il encore une marque que n'avaient pas les autres catholiques?" And why when Edward sees Adrienne at a table with other women does he no longer find her beautiful? (117) Is it because of cold feet or moralism; or because, as the *histoire* would have us believe, he finally recognizes how "il avait été victime de son imagination" (118), of heterosexual fantasies which he no longer finds appealing? Significantly, what has changed in the representation of Adrienne is that the signs associated with her are no longer masculine nor bi-sexual. Thus, in Edward's and the reader's "imagination" there is little doubt left as to her normal, female, gender identity. And as if for good measure, in spite of Adrienne's feminization, the *histoire* then replaces her with Ly who conveniently happens to come into the club. From this moment on Adrienne disappears from the narrative and Edward's heterosexualizing affair with Ly begins in earnest.¹⁶⁷

This final jettisoning of Adrienne, a more gender ambiguous wo/man, for a highly sexualized feminine figure like Ly, like the finalization of the exchange of Dorothée for Ly between Edward and André, is consistent with the observation by Eve Sedgwick that: "women [have] a kind of ultimate importance in the schema of men's

gender constitution -- representing an absolute of exchange value, of representation itself, and also being the ultimate victims of the painful contradictions in the gender system that regulates men." (Sedgwick 1985, *op. cit.*, 135) *Ils posséderont la terre* barely dramatizes the consequences of this hetero-economy for women, with the previously noted exception of the late introduction of Madame Génier, but signs of male homosexual panic are rife throughout the text. It is not part of my project to attempt to hypothesize the possible auto/biographical relationships between Charbonneau and the homosexual panic of *Ils posséderont la terre*, but from a gay informed perspective the novel is clearly interdiscursively part of the same-sex panic of its historical moment, especially when we compare it with revisionist readings of Germaine Guèvremont's *Le Survenant*, Anne Hébert's "Le Torrent", or Patrick Anderson's Baie St. Paul sketches.

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The kinds of gender sliding ambiguities and enigmas of *Ils posséderont la terre* are more subtle in *Le Survenant* but the latter is just as homosexually panicked. In rejecting the rubric of "roman de la terre" to describe *Le Survenant* Adrien Thério opts for the term "le roman de l'amour impossible" and claims the *Survenant* is a fearful "homosexuel qui se cache" (Thério 25-8). He tends to overread this possibility insofar as he presents limited, little theorized, textual evidence; but like Hertel's *Le Beau risque*, or Charbonneau's *Ils posséderont la terre*, a number of the signs and

enigmas around Guèvremont's mysterious loner are imbricated with contemporary anxieties about homosexuality.

As was suggested earlier, the paradox of the Survenant's erotic power is that for him to be revealed, to lose his enigmatic aura, would have meant his sharing of his sex, and consequently the possible demystification of the power of his phallus. That this is not done in the course of *Le Survenant* (or *Marie-Didace*) can be attributed to several reasons: a general prudishness on Guèvremont's part; the greater consequent "writerliness" of the text; an implicit critique of masculine posturing or masquerade; or the unconscious repression of more overt same-sex possibilities. The first possibility is a rather moot point given the extent to which the Survenant is already more highly eroticized than many other fictional characters of the period. The other three possibilities are quite intertwined, especially when considered in terms of Thério's reading. In searching for the source of the unknown passion of the novel Thério neglects the Survenant's enigmatic function; how as *the* principle enigma he is the catalyst of the development and crises of the other major characters. Thério claims that Guèvremont "aurait pu lui permettre de se laisser aller de temps en temps, avec les filles, sans que cela ne portât à conséquence"; "[qu'] elle aurait dû surtout nous faire croire qu'il savait reconnaître et désirer les beaux corps féminins quand il en avait devant lui." (27) The homophobia of the latter "should have" aside, with the creation of such incidents the Survenant and Guèvremont's novels would have lost a large portion of their

engaging ambiguities and the enigmas which are so crucial to their success. Or, in other words, as much as Thério theorizes an unsaid homosexual *différance* which cannot be explicitly announced, he inevitably minimizes how the Survenant's intriguing presence and power are dependent upon remaining enigmatic. Therefore, I believe it is not possible to theorize a resolution to the enigma of the Survenant's gender identity unless it deals more thoroughly with the question of his enigmaticness.

The Survenant's enigmatic socio-spatial freedom not only goes against the grain of the sedentary rural lifestyle associated with the traditional *roman de la terre*, but psychosexually it offers readers a greater freedom to fantasize the attribution of desires and acts to him which would have been circumscribed by a more conventional, declarative, narrative. This was certainly in keeping with the more libidinal society of the war years. What is more, in spite of his masculine virility, his sexism and his phallocentrism, the hidden sexuality of the Survenant remains ambiguous enough that the unsaid of his eroticism can create doubts for his readers as to his gender orientations. Or, in the words of Patricia Smart: "[p]our chacun des personnages, le Survenant représente l'autre, le féminin-maternel refoulé, le désir secret qui cherche à s'éveiller" (145). But while the Survenant's androgyny may understandably lead Smart to consider that each of the characters, and by proxy the readers, somehow associate him with the feminine, his characterization also lends itself to imagining other "secret desires", such as his being an *homme-femme*.

The Survenant is definitely heterosexually virilized via his masculine-identified waywardness, by his attractiveness to the women of Chenal du Moine, and by his masculine narcissistic value and advice to Père Didace. And yet, the trope of the itinerant male, or hobo, was commonly associated in the 1930s through the 1950s with the unmanly or sexually deviant;¹⁶⁸ the Survenant is also attractive to other men; and he seems incapable of initiating, let alone sustaining, a heterosexual love interest. Consequently, the symbolic masculine power of his phallus is both undercut and homosexualized; shown up to be a masquerade, a pose, a performance. Rather than neutrally signalling gender as performance, as Judith Butler has insisted such performance and its reception are always historically specific.¹⁶⁹ Though the figure of the Survenant pre-dates the doubts cast upon orthodox masculinity by the Kinsey reports on sexual behavior in men (1948), his apparent aversion to domesticity, his appeal to both sexes, and his unfulfilled sexual promise, were consistent with a growing heterosexist consensus, in a period of gender flux, about heterosexual failures and homosexuals as "living in a state of constant deception."¹⁷⁰

It is true that there are no signs of the Survenant expressing an attraction towards men unless, as has already been indicated, we read like Thério for signs of the repression of this potential -- be it via his itinerant lifestyle, his "passion"-ate drinking binges, or his virile posturing. Still, it has to be remembered that the dominant heterosexual and gay definitions of homosexuality at the

time still defined it as a form of inversion; that to be considered anything less than a whole "man", or to be even slightly feminized, was to be homosexualized, and thus psychopathologized. Billy Wilder's classic realist film, *The Lost Weekend* (1945), which won the Oscar for Best Film of the year, is worth briefly invoking in terms of some of the more common, psychopathologized, homosexually panicked signs of *Le Survenant*'s historical moment and the question of masquerade. While the homosexual overtones of Charles L. Jackson's novel of the same name are stronger than those of the film, like the novel, and like *Le Survenant*, the film derives much of its dramatic interest from the enigmas of its protagonist and his complaint.

Ostensibly Don Birnam's (Ray Milland's) "passion" is drinking, but the reason/s for his alcoholism are never made explicit. At one point when his girl friend, Helen, played by Jane Wyman, asks him what all his "covering up" about drinking is about he replies: "I know the reason, the reason is me, what I am; or rather what I am not. What I wanted to become and didn't." And when he drinks "[t]he other Don Birnam", as he puts it, "pops up again". One can imply that he is ridden with guilt about not making it as a writer and that his guilt complex keeps him on a vicious cycle of "bender[s]". But just how is the "other Don Birnam" presented to us?

Much of the film takes place in a local bar which Birnam frequents and his conversations with Nat, his favourite bartender, are occasionally laced with rather homoerotic "jokes" by Birnam.

The bar is also frequented by a statuesque young woman, Gloria, who has a crush on Birnam: "You're awfully *pretty* Mr. Birnam." In a series of flashback sequences as Birnam is getting deeper and deeper into his weekend drinking spree, he remembers how he first met Helen and her discovery of his problem; and how he ran away from meeting her parents because of his fear of their "respectab[ility]." His hetero-realist fantasy has apparently been to find a job, get married to Helen, and "that's that", but his drinking has been a constant impediment.

The subsequent signifying chain of "inverted" or homosexually panicked signs suggest that it is not drinking per se which is his problem but a repressed homosexuality.¹⁷¹ When Helen declares how she is going to "rival" the "other" Don Birnam -- "I'm going to fight and fight and fight." -- at one point she quickly reaches for the cigarette dangling from Birnam's mouth and reverses it. It had been "inverted" though Birnam had not noticed, nor does he react to her gesture, as if it is a commonplace occurrence. Later in the weekend he steals a woman's purse to pay a bar tab, gets caught and beaten up; and after several drunken misadventures he wakes up in an Alcoholics Ward. He is greeted by an effeminate male nurse who sadistically taunts him about how men end up in the ward. After making his escape Birnam steals Helen's coat to pawn it for a gun in order to commit suicide. But when Helen surprises him at his apartment and pleads with him not to "kill Don Birnam the writer" -- reversing his "inverted" cigarette again -- Birnam puts the cigarette out in a drink and the film melodramatically closes with

his supposedly being saved from the self-destructive "other" Don Birnam by the love of a good woman.

While this partial plot summary of *The Lost Weekend* may appear too perfunctory and digressive, I believe it has enough attributes in common with *Le Survenant* to warrant comparison. Guèvremont may not have been a closeted gay artist like Wilder (or Jackson), but all three "texts" can be read as variously relying on homo/sexualized, yet enigmatic, signifying chains for much of their impact and interest. The Survenant exhibits a less complex signifying chain of homosexually panicked signs of being "inverted", of perhaps being an *homme-femme* ; nor does he make homoerotically charged comments to another male, steal women's purses, nor end up being taunted by a more overtly feminized male. Yet Birnam and the Survenant do share profound fears of being found out or uncovered, of having their public personas unmasked. Likewise, Birnam is feminized by Gloria's perception of him as "*pretty*" and the Survenant is feminized by the aforementioned references to his feminine physical attributes; Birnam is incapable of consummating his relations with Helen and Gloria and the Survenant exhibits similar reticence with Angéline. And like Don Birnam the Survenant is apparently often ruled by his "passion" for liquor, and by his consequent inability to be a real "man" -- to hold down a steady job and settle down. These contemporary psychopathologized symptoms of repressed homosexuality may be more thorough in *The Lost Weekend* , but their semiosis with other signs in *Le Survenant* lend themselves to just

such a homosexually charged metonymic reading. Clearly there are limits to the one-to-one relationship between signs of homosexual panic in a Hollywood film and in a French-Canadian novel, but it can be argued that the very lionizing of both "texts" within their respective cultures can also be related to the pervasiveness of this fear by the end of WW II. The Survenant may be homosexualized differently from Père Berthier in *Le Beau risque*, Marchadowski and Adrienne in *Ils posséderont la terre*, or Don Birnam in *The Lost Weekend*, but he is definitely a site of homosexually panicked social anxieties which feared the feminization of men.

* * * * *

"Le Torrent" can also be read in terms of homosexual panic, but the residue of this is even more rooted in contemporary psychiatric discourse. Many of the supposed traits of the "psychopathic personality" cited earlier are even more pertinent to "Le Torrent"'s François. In conformity with contemporary male heterosexist fears of dominating mothers perverting their sons, François finally turns into an Oedipal monster who kills his overbearing mother, whose masculinization includes her inability to nurture her son emotionally, her violence towards him, and her rather "patriarchal" obsession that François "me continues" (16, 17). The absence of a father figure, while sharpening our sense of "la Grande Claudine"'s isolation, and perhaps even vulnerability, thus leaves the mother as ultimately responsible for deforming her son, implicitly deflecting responsibility for male violence away

from its masculine sources and focussing it solely onto the principle female of the narrative.

This sexist moralizing sense of justice revolving around an ostracized, deviant, mother's nurturing of a psychopathic son is just as central to "Le Torrent" as any allegorical critique of clerico-nationalism. And though François may not be overtly homosexualized, as was noted previously, deviations from rigid contemporary definitions of masculinity were increasingly homosexualized in social discourses. Thus what can be read from a feminist perspective as François's misogynistic rejection and murder of his mother and of Amica can also be read as consistent with the contemporary presumption that such "deviance" was tantamount to homosexuality. Consider also the scenario when François silently savours the pleasure of being asked to help one of his schoolmates at the end of the school year, but his desire for homosocial bonding with his "préféré" is so great that in waiting to be asked a third time his schoolmate leaves him in disgust. Much like the initial enigmatic passage about Adrienne in *Ils posséderont la terre* the paradigmatic axis around the sign "malle" in the following citation is quite homosexually charged:

Un seul garçon restait maintenant dans le dortoir. Il paraissait avoir de la difficulté à boucler sa malle. Je fus sur le point de m'offrir à l'aider. Comme je me levais de mon lit, il demanda:

--Aide-moi donc un peu à fermer ma malle?

Surpris, mécontent d'être devancé, j'articulai pour gagner du temps:

--Qu'est-ce que tu dis? (20)

Then, after several moments of inaction by François:

[...] je ne bougeais pas, éprouvant la volupté de faire ce qui est irréparable.

--Merci de ton obligeance et bonnes vacances, sacré caractère!

Puis, ce camarade que, en secret, j'avais préféré aux autres, disparut, ployant sous le poids de sa malle. (20)

In this signifying chain the "malle"/coffre that François does not close can be connotatively related to his *mâle* (penis) -- especially given that he has just referred to the results of his oppression by his mother as "une impuissance, une stérilité" (20). He may not touch "la malle" nor the *mâle* of his favourite ("préféré") (the erotic connotation also being consistent with the homosocial site of a male college), but like his communion with the male horse, Perceval (see 29-30, 32-34), this evocative passage is homoerotic. Even if one reads the above citation as an expression of his profound sense of alienation rather than of a homosexualized subtext, the psychopathology of his very alienation, and of his attraction to "la volupté de faire ce qui est irréparable", is consistent with contemporary heterosexist discourse about homosexuality.

* * * * *

Patrick Anderson is the only gay writer of my corpus and the same-sex signs in his wartime autobiographical fictions operate at a fairly disguised or sublimated level.¹⁷² Most of Anderson's literary production during the war consisted of poetry, but some of his prose, like his erotic poems, provide examples of homosexually

charged writing which challenged conventional notions of gender and "realism".¹⁷³ In a reading of Anderson's prose piece, "At Baie St. Paul: A Documentary Idyll",¹⁷⁴ in which Anderson is forced to reconsider his popular front politics when faced with the aforementioned French-Canadian deserter, Robert Martin suggests that

The protagonist of this story comes to suspect that things are more complex than they seem from the outside, and that he must acknowledge his own outsider status. Anderson seems to recognize, at least in retrospect, that his own separate status as a gay man, like the status of the Québécois resisters to British imperial service, must make him doubt the utility of a common front that allows no place for difference (Martin 113).

An equivalent formal complexity is not apparent in this "At Baie St. Paul" sketch, but Anderson's "Dramatic Monologue", a poem structured around a man and a boy talking in a park -- and published in the same issue which prompted John Sutherland's attack on Anderson for homosexual "dishonesty" in his poem "Montreal"¹⁷⁵ -- attempts a hybrid stream of consciousness, and a vernacular yet intellectual voice, which resonate with a gay sensibility and sensuality.¹⁷⁶ Though Sutherland did not include references to this "Dramatic Monologue" in his attack he likely had it in mind when condemning "Montreal" for its presentation of "some sexual experience of a kind not normal" (Sutherland, "Writing" 4).

Sutherland's comments on "realism" were generally related to poetry, but their applicability to fiction are worth considering as markers of the formal and ideological limitations of the realist

aesthetic in much English-Canadian fiction and criticism of the 1940s. Anderson's *Preview* consistently published poems and prose which stretched and challenged the limits of conventional style and content. Or as Anderson theorized the reading of poetry (and by association writing and fiction):

it is really impossible to separate the 'Meaning' of a poem from its associational values [...] An approximate meaning can of course be reached critically [...] But [...] the reader should be encouraged to be susceptible over as wide a range as possible to the connotations. While it is inevitable that he should, especially in this political age, be still anxious about meaning [...] By attempting to enjoy the poem, as he would attempt to enjoy music or painting, he will be more likely to lay himself open to a greater totality of meaning than if he angrily suspects the poem of being obscure. He will then be able to apply his particular, and maybe political, standards.

The outstanding problem of poetry is that, unlike music for instance, it is caught in an inexorable dialectic between the widest vistas of emotional associations and the denotative function of words, their logic of grammatical progression.¹⁷⁷

This aesthetic was necessarily opposed to Sutherland's notion that "the final criterion of judgement [of art] is still the standard of art itself -- good taste, which derives its authority from a long tradition, and from a sense of what is significant and close to human nature."¹⁷⁸ The "realism" of Sutherland's conservative aesthetic with its emphasis upon the "normal", "good taste", "tradition", and a universalist, heterosexist "human nature", could not tolerate the open-endedness of Anderson's connotative sense of realism -- which may very well have had as much to do with

Anderson's quandries and challenges as a closeted gay writer as it did with his interests in literary modernism.

The public differences between these two gendered aesthetics first became apparent in Sutherland's attack on a "proletarian" story by Bruce Ruddick, a regular contributor to *Preview*.¹⁷⁹ It would barely deserve notice if not for the fact that such attacks became regular occurrences, which in hindsight were part of the long build to Sutherland's charge of homosexual "dishonesty" against Anderson. Ruddick's story, "Vi", is about a young woman -- the kind then referred to as a "good time girl" -- and is written in a hard-boiled style. Furthermore, the first-person narrator is critical of his gang's utopianism and how "[n]one of us seemed to know what was to become of Vi and her kind while we were building these heavens." (5) Sutherland's attack on Ruddick objects to the author as a "socialist aching for a revolution" but many of the critical signifiers foreshadow the later, more fully-blown, homophobic discourse. Consider the self-pollution metaphor. Sutherland imagines the "socialist wip[ing] grime from himself" -- substituting an abstract noun for Ruddick who in turn stands in for Anderson and *Preview*. Writing is "a dirty business" Sutherland ventriloquizes the "socialist" proudly saying -- "this last paragraph dirties both myself and you". Sutherland also admonishes the "socialist" for treating words as if they were "*instruments* introduced down a *man-hole*" (my italics). One could read such metaphors as expressing a purely ideological class aversion, except

for the fact that they were repeated and elaborated upon in a variety of ways which were so patently sexual and moralistic.¹⁸⁰

In a later piece Sutherland was ostensibly only having another run at modernism when he praised A. J. M. Smith, Irving Layton and Louis Dudek for "producing work that is much more *honest* and *wholesome* than that of our modernist school" (my *italics*).¹⁸¹ Considering that Smith was already long synonymous with Canada's "modernist school" and that Sutherland regularly attacked *Preview* for its modernism, the negatives of *honest* and *wholesome* were clearly meant for *Preview* and Anderson -- the "dishonest ", supposedly *unwholesome* , homosexual. Or consider the implicit buggery allusion in Sutherland's editorial "The Role of the Magazines":

No one believes that the new magazines are in a stronger position than those of the past: the contrary fact is probably true. But all of them -- yes, even *Preview* , although it pretends to have put its face to the wall and turned its back on us -- represent an impulse to duplicate on a Canadian scale the function that the magazines first performed.¹⁸²

Why *Preview* should be imaged as putting "its face to the wall and turn[ing] its back" is in no way self-evident given the subject matter. Is it that in "turn[ing] its back" -- offering itself to be bugged? -- *Preview* , like Anderson, "pretends" to not be able to "duplicate" it/him/self -- to be homosexually sterile? -- when in fact it/he can "duplicate" it/him/self? Such a reading is not ingenious given the form of the homophobic attack upon Anderson only months later and because once Sutherland was forced to

retract his charge under the potential penalty of a libel suit, such homophobic markers virtually disappeared from *First Statement*.¹⁸³ Homosexual markers, on the other hand, persisted in Anderson's writings and they deserve more positive readings.

Anderson's invocation of citations from Felix-Antoine Savard's *Menaud Maître-draveur* -- "Rien ne changera parce que nous sommes un témoignage" (Anderson, "Notes" 9)¹⁸⁴ -- suggests an identification with French-Canadian nationalist sentiments, with "this place that was so lovely and so wrong, so much minority-land, rich in grievances, frustrations and out-moded faiths", to an extent which neither Klein nor MacLennan ever countenanced. Two major ironies of such identification, however, are that Savard's novel's politics are so right-wing, in contrast with Anderson's leftism; and that the patriarchal gender politics of Savard's novel, with its emphasis upon the perpetuation of the race, were so radically opposed to Anderson's developing gay identity. As I noted earlier, Robert Martin has convincingly argued that it was Anderson's "separate status as a gay man" (Martin 113) which allowed him to identify with French-Canadians as oppressed colonials; that

[a]lthough it was through an appeal to a virile nationalism [...] that Anderson could be excluded from Canadian Literature, in some ways it was Anderson's own recognition of the claims of a certain nationalism (in this case, Québécois) that coincided with his sense of himself as particular (marked off by sexual or national difference) and hence put into doubt the idea of a common cause fundamental to Anderson's Communist sympathies in the early years of the war (111).

Anderson's growing gay sensibility might also very well account for his identification with a French-Canadian "countryside" which

symbolized many confused haunting preoccupations of my own [...] Even some of the idiots one passed on the country lanes had about them when they were still at a distance, or when one caught only a glimpse of their faces, a strange bright tender quality, a beauty that was perverse without as yet changing into positive ugliness -- which reminded me of the people one meets in dreams (Anderson, "Further Notes" 7-8).

That "idiots" should symbolically stand-in for the deformed, retarded, potential of Québec and that their virtues should be so tentative suggests a fearful identification which possibly had more to do with Anderson's personal "preoccupations" about the "beauty that was perverse" of homosexuality, of his fears of its heterosexistly perceived "ugliness", of his being considered mentally deficient or insane for having same-sex desires, than it did with Québec per se. The metaphor of institutionalized "idiots" is certainly consistent with the contemporary psychopathologization of homosexuals and the sudden digressive allusion to "the people one meets in dreams" is perhaps suggestive of a self, or selves, with which Anderson had not yet come to terms.¹⁸⁵

A more obvious homosexual semiosis appears operative in Anderson's rendering of the "Conjuring Show" at Baie St. Paul (Anderson, "Further Notes" 8). Martin understandably reads the bullying "Conjurer", Brother Maurice, as a dual sign of fascism and of the "reactionary, nationalist premier, Maurice Duplessis" (Martin

113). However, the transgressiveness of the magic show seems to excite Anderson as much as it sparks a recognition of the complexities of Québec and of his status as an outsider. The show is performed in the school auditorium under poised "plaster casts of saints" (8). Brother Maurice's appearance is said to be frightening because "he wore the long black cassock of a priest". He then disports "the robes of a mandarin" in a decor said to be dependent upon "a number of dolls [...] which were carefully, if rather indecently, perched over a semi-circular row of light bulbs so that their tulle skirts were illuminated from within. This was considered a masterpiece by the audience". Anderson then "confess[es]" to being "intoxicated by the heat [...] the sweat and shuffling and barging and the incandescent loins of the dolls" and is prompted to place "a sharp bit of wood on the seat" of an obstructive male viewer. When he fails to get a reaction from this man he does "something quite out of character. I got mad and gave him a yank from behind." (9)

A strong sub-text of this rather carnivalesque narrative is that Anderson, like other members of the audience, was excited by the sexual transgressiveness of the scene; but especially by the male priest in his feminine cassock and his masquerade as a "robe[d]" Chinese conjurer -- the latter role echoing the phallicized "indecent[cy]" of the "incandescent loins" of the dolls in skirts -- to the point where Anderson was capable of doing "something quite out of character", and both literally and figuratively quite physical, with another male. In other words, this trans-sexual scenario

seems to allow Anderson to identify with the French-Canadian Catholic love of the transgressive while flirting with fantasies about anal and genital contact with another male.

This reading for gayness is not meant to minimize the conviction of Anderson's identification with French-Canadian ethnic difference. On the contrary, like Martin's suggestion that a young deserter's discarded army coat seems to represent the liberation of the erotic for Anderson (Martin 113), it suggests yet another way in which Anderson's political "common cause" with French-Canadians was also gendered and sexually inspired; thereby strongly reinforcing how we have to understand individual ideological and political identification/s as being profoundly multi-faceted, or interdiscursive, as opposed to unitary. Which brings me back to Sutherland's attack upon Anderson for his homosexuality. It was not only representative of homosexual panic but of a realist aesthetic which was troubled by the *différences* of modernist influenced realist experiments.¹⁸⁶ The extent to which the hegemony of this conservative aesthetic within English-Canadian literature and criticism accounts for the lack of gender ambiguities and experimentation in the selected English-Canadian fiction of the period in comparison with French-Canadian examples, such as *Ils posséderont la terre* or *Le Survenant*, is difficult to assess. One thing that is for certain, however, is that in spite of the confluence of a heightened post-war homosexual panic and the Cold War, English- and French-Canadian "realist" fictions would begin to include more homosexual types and scenarios and both corpuses

would be more overtly marked by the anxieties about and the resistances of its gender sub-cultures.¹⁸⁷

CLASS FICTIONS

According to one of the most common narratives about class conflict and exploitation in Québec from the 1930s through the 1950s, the economic crisis, the war, and the immediate post-war period were dominated by the proliferation of ultra-conservative values, organizations and political parties which, while sometimes reformist as a result of their populism, looked to a more classist past than towards a classless future. After all, as Pierre Elliott Trudeau and others have conceptualized it, didn't Maurice Duplessis's successful transformation of the *Action libérale nationale* (ALN) into the much more conservative *Union nationale*, his virulent anti-communism, and his return to provincial power in 1944, in contrast with a relatively strong pan-Canadian tendency for more neo-liberal or socialistic reconstruction, testify to the hegemony of class conservatism in Québec?¹ It is my contention, however, that such a reading is dependent upon a "common sense" assumption about the class representativeness of electoral politics. I too consider them to be an important marker of the state of class conflict. Yet just as the homophobia of dominant heterosexist culture persecuted and tried to erase the explosion of gay and lesbian subcultures during and after the war, similar revisionisms have tended to reductively dichotomize class conflict in Québec in the 1930s through the 1950s to a traditional, conservative, petty-bourgeois class versus communist and democratic leftists and "progressive" liberals, much to the neglect

or diminution of more complex, interdiscursive and contradictory class politics and discourses of the period.²

One of the most common ideologemes of this reductive process was circulated by conservative traditionalists who were in opposition to any significant kind of social change. It consisted of a pseudoidea characterizing "communists" as evil incarnate. The complementary protonarrative of imminent revolutionary danger, while not peculiar to Québec, was accentuated by an anti-liberalism which saw it as a knowing or unwitting front for communism.³ Leftist discourses' complementary demonizing ideologemes about conservative Québec and colonial political-economic relations symbiotically mirrored and reproduced conservatives' manichean allegory. Yet social oppression and resistance always has its own heterogenous life no matter how much it is steered, agitated or narrativized by competing ideologies. For example, as much as businesses and governments of the day were often violently intolerant of union attempts to improve wages and working conditions, conservative business unionism and legal measures consistently failed to satisfy workers' demands.⁴ Consequently, even the conservative Catholic Unions were often split and radicalized for reasons as different as union recognition, economic nationalism, or as a result of workers' opposition to sell-out contracts by Church officials.⁵

Or consider how in the face of general public discontentment and the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation's successes in

Saskatchewan and Ontario in 1944, the federal Liberals felt compelled to appropriate and institute social-democratic and Keynesian welfare state ideas and policies during the war and the federal election of 1945. Or as Paul-André Linteau *et al.* have argued: "le libéralisme, répandu par la presse à grand tirage, ou [le] néo-libéralisme [est] en train de prendre forme au même moment [et] c'est probablement l'idéologie la plus visible et la plus explicite".⁶ The neo-liberal discourses of Premier Hepburn of Ontario and of Prime Minister King before the delegates of the 1942 American Federation of Labour conference in Toronto are indicative of the extent to which liberalism was reconstituting itself in order to placate the working classes. Hepburn blamed the "present war on 'international financial and industrial cartels'" and even went so far as to say "that in the revolution of 1917 'the Russian people were on the right track.'" Accordingly, he argued "'[p]eace will never be safe, except in the hands of the laboring people and the great masses of organized society."⁷ King's speech to the convention was more subdued but, as *Le Devoir* cited and editorialized it, it too signaled the imminent end of traditional liberal economics.

À mon avis, la guerre nous enseigne que les obstacles à l'embauchage n'avaient rien de réel et que, grâce à la collaboration des directeurs d'entreprises, des ouvriers et de la collectivité, il serait possible, en temps de paix aussi bien qu'en temps de guerre, d'affecter à des tâches utiles tous ceux qui veulent travailler.⁸

Léopold Richer of *Le Devoir* was understandably cynical about King's sudden Road to Damascus conversion to the valorization of "notre capital humain",⁹ but he also supported the idea of an "ordre

nouveau" -- albeit a more traditional one. "Il devra reposer sur un ensemble de réformes sociales bien agencés, réformes qui correspondent à des besoins véritables et permanents et qui respecteront la constitution et le caractère propre de notre pays."
(Richer)

No matter how much an increasingly hegemonic neo-liberalism and its privileged classes were clearly reconstructing "liberalism" for their own class conscious needs, there was no way to ultimately control all of its consequences. Even if neo-liberal statist and social welfare policies were largely only self-protective measures by the upper classes against the threats of more radical possibilities, as well as an important means of encouraging a more profitable consumerist culture, such a perspective can grant too little credit to the leftist, trade union and popular organizations which propagandized on behalf of and struggled for such progressive programs for truly class conscious reasons. Nevertheless, though the working class sympathies exhibited by some neo-liberals were ideologically too contradicted by a faith in private enterprise and individualism to be comparable to working class consciousness, the recourse to social welfare policies was a far cry from traditional liberal attitudes which naturalized class divisions and poverty and hence very much an example of ideological migrations.

Such migrations, however, do not change the fact that neo-liberal ideologemes about class relations, which dominated

historical, political and sociological discourses in Canada and Québec as of the late 1950s, consistently demonized conservatism and leftism. Given neo-liberalism's capitalistic common ground with conservatism, however, it was tactically and politically more expedient to demonize traditionalism and Duplessism while paying what ultimately amounted to lip service against the suppression of communists and labour. Trudeau's *La grève de l'amiante* is once again a classic case of the consequent neo-liberal sociogram and its ideologeme of Québec culture of the 1940s and 1950s as being dominated by French-Canadian social and political elites whose world, or class conscious, vision "ne correspond plus au temps de son époque" (Létourneau 83).¹⁰ The associated protonarrative portrays the technocratic, neo-liberal, classes as being ideologically and practically capable of recognizing and reconciling capital and labour in contrast with "les postulats nationalistes de la pensée traditionnelle" (Trudeau 90)¹¹ Trudeau's appropriation of the Asbestos Strike of 1949 may have recognized "l'importance pour la nation de la classe ouvrière" (Trudeau 90), but his valorization of the working classes was dependent upon minimizing or ignoring the importance of their already established abilities to promote and defend their own interests. As shall become more apparent, this neo-liberal diminution or erasure of previous radical working class struggles and values was already quite established in various social discourses and fictional imaginaries during the war years.

In drawing upon revisionist deconstructions of the ideological migrations and contradictions between Maurice Duplessis's political and discursive modernity and traditionalism, Pierre Popovic has recently proposed that the historical convergence of a traditional social hierarchy with its mythic, Catholic, sense of the collectivity, and the expansion of monopoly capitalism with its emphasis upon fordism and consumerism -- and I would add and emphasize individualism -- made for a far less monolithic culture and politics in Québec than has often been thought. Popovic's discourse analysis of Duplessis's consequent "formation discursive antinomique qui collige les restes d'une forme de légitimation traditionnelle du cadre social (mystique du <<Chef>> clérico-religieux, représentation familiale de la communauté) et divers éléments modernistes (développement industriel, rationalité du progrès)" (138-139), does not analyse public policies and controversies as much as it could.¹² However, Popovic does situate the obvious beginnings of these competing, contradictory, tendencies during the war years and, most importantly for my purposes, remarks that "[c]ette hybridité ne lui est pas spécifique en tant que telle. Elle concerne au contraire tout l'espace du discours." (139; see also 125-126) In short, competing class discourses of the epoch were much more interdiscursive, and especially towards the end of the war, than is often acknowledged.¹³

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Analogously, though class controversies were pervasive from 1939 to 1945 it has been more difficult to isolate well-circumscribed debates which illuminate their interdiscursivity with literary discourses than was the case for the immigration debates, or controversies about female domesticity and masculinization. For example, trade-union conflicts were widely fought and vigorously argued, but even their implicit relevance to the selected fiction is too minimal to warrant much historicization. Similarly, as heated as social discourse and politics about socialism got during the war its sedimentation within my selected literary texts is most often obtuse and more remarkable for its absence. Therefore, since I am just as interested in how the displacements and erasures of class and class conflict, as much as its explicit signs and dramatizations, can be read for their cultural work, this chapter focusses upon the major competing ideologies in Canada and Québec during World War II which condemned, accepted or denied the existence of class exploitation, but especially upon how their ideological migrations and associated classic realist strategies shared a broad sociogram promoting "social harmony." It was variously a conservative, neo-liberal and leftist reaction against class disparities and conflict, as well as an expression of hopes that the war, reforms or spiritualism would contain them or bring about their end. This does not mean that the different imagined means to achieve social harmony, nor that the imagined repercussions for class relations, were the same. Far from it. However, the different ideologies' shared the classic realist strategy of diverting readers from what was contradictory about

their version of the "truth" about how to achieve social harmony; a narrative illusion that could only contribute to their mutual alienation.

* * * * *

Monopoly Capital, Ethnic-Classes and Class Exploitation: Collective Values versus Bourgeois Individualism

In the latter part of the nineteenth century Québec began to go through a marked change in social relations. Rural culture and values remained strong but rapid industrialization and urbanization altered the class landscape. Industrial capitalism, at first largely controlled by Britons and English-Canadians, increasingly replaced other sectors of the economy in importance and created large rural and urban pools of cheap labour. The majority of French-Canadians were urbanized and proletarianized by the 1920s and as of 1931 approximately 20% of the workforce was made up of women. Light manufacturing, such as women's clothing, would dominate Québec production through the 1930s and 1940s and would be dependent upon very low salaries (Linteau *et al.* ., Tome II, 60). The contradiction between traditional, Catholic, *terroiriste* values and the rapid proletarianization of most French-Canadians, however, would often inhibit them from acting upon their collective strengths in significantly class conscious ways.

The concentration of economic power was virtually synonymous with the personal ties which united the owners of the largest financial, commercial, and industrial companies.¹⁴ For instance,

the approximately fifty Scottish and English families of Montreal which controlled much of Canada's natural resources and economic wealth were all virtually inter-related (see Westley 18, 23-4 & "EFs" 48).¹⁵ The middle-bourgeoisie, which was dependent upon traditional light industries such as shoes, clothing and saw-milling was largely Francophone and more regionally dispersed. Concurrently, the growing marginalization of the traditional petty-bourgeoisie of notaries, lawyers, and doctors was fairly counter-acted by the rapid expansion of what can be called the new petty-bourgeoisie of functionaries, government bureaucrats, intellectuals, etc. (Linteau *et al.* Tome I, Chap. 25). Nevertheless, as the global shift from laissez-faire to monopoly capitalism speeded up in the 1920s,¹⁶ an explosion of American investments in Canada also had incredible economic, social and political impact.¹⁷ They often involved a direct loss of English- and French-Canadian control of industries or of sectors of the economy. The major ethnic-class difference was that English-Canadians, because of businesses' English-biased linguistic hierarchies, maintained a competitive advantage. Québec's small- and medium-sized merchant fractions, which had limited recourse to affordable capital, were also as susceptible to being wiped out by American interests as they were to profiting from urbanization. These, and other, political-economic realities would fuel important "nationalist" bases of support amongst the middle- and petty-bourgeois classes.¹⁸

Meanwhile, these monopolistic developments also meant the decline of the economic power of Montréal's Anglophone elite.¹⁹ This was accelerated by the Crash, which devastated the Anglo-Protestant elite of Montréal even more than it did socio-economic elites elsewhere in Canada. The huge scale of many of these families' wealth and of their enterprises nevertheless still protected them considerably.²⁰ Nor did the gradual decline of the local Anglophone elite stop British and Canadian controlled firms from continuing their recruitment of British skilled workers. "English and Scottish artisans dominated the immigration flow as Irish labourers had done at an earlier date."²¹ The same was true for the expanding tertiary sector, including banks and insurance companies.²² These tendencies would persist through the 1940s and the 1950s, widening the employment and wage-earning gaps between English and French speakers (Rudin 209-10).²³

Bourgeois French-Canadians, including the clerical hierarchy, were largely intermediaries between the French-Canadian populace and the Anglophone "grands entrepreneurs". Yet French-Canadians' subalternity was in some ways masked by the Catholic Church's pervasive social presence and its significant role in culturally nationalist politics. A century of nationalistic Ultramontanism founded upon the inseparability of faith in the land, the Church and the French language was too powerful not to hold a great amount of ideological sway which diverted people from non-traditional means of resistance. And as Linteau *et al* . have noted, the clergy:

met volontiers son influence au service des grands entrepreneurs[...] Le curé de paroisse a une influence considérable mais qui ne dépasse guère le niveau local. Les évêchés et les grandes communautés religieuses ont souvent à leur tête des individus issus de la bourgeoisie [...] Elles investissent dans des entreprises, elles agissent comme institutions de crédit et de financement et même comme des quasi-banques dans les régions où le système bancaire est peu implanté. À ce niveau, les intérêts des grandes institutions religieuses sont assez près de ceux de la bourgeoisie (Linteau *et al.* Tome I, 175).

Corporatism -- an ideology of "*harmonie généralisée* " as Marcel Rioux characterizes it, which "se fonde sur ce qu'on nomme <<la doctrine sociale de l'Église>> qui prêche l'harmonie de la société et s'oppose à la lutte des classes"²⁴ -- speaks strongly to Linteau's *et al.*'s point. During the interwar years, and persisting throughout WW II, the European corporatist models of fascist Italy and Portugal were celebrated by many Catholic organizations in Québec in moral critiques of Capitalism which nevertheless naturalized class hierarchies and exploitation.²⁵ Capitalism itself was not evil according to corporatist ideology but its emphasis upon materialism and its supposedly indiscriminate moral corruption of individuals was. It was argued that a return to more feudal-like "corps professionnels" would obviate class conflict by organizing and binding individuals according to their social activities: "La coopérative intègre l'individu dans la société et le discipline".²⁶ Furthermore, Catholic organizations which championed corporatism, such as the Jesuit *École Sociale Populaire*, consistently attacked communism. For instance, of the 56 tracts or pamphlets which the *École Sociale Populaire* published between 1931 and 1935 almost

half were significantly devoted to the theme of anti-communism.²⁷ Typical of dozens of similar wartime books and tracts were Charles-Edouard Campeau's *Les Internationales* (1942), the Action paroissiale's *Le Komintern, internationale communiste* (1943), or the translated republication of works by foreign Catholic rightists like Fulton Sheen.²⁸ In short, in keeping with the bourgeois interests of factions within the Church, and corporatist nostalgia, communist threats to religion and the family were consistently characterized as more dangerous than the negative excesses of the capitalist system.²⁹

In 1940 Alvarez Vaillancourt may have critiqued Italian corporatism for having been overcome by the capitalist spirit and political aspirations but, aside from certain corporatist features of *le Mouvement Desjardins* or of the *Confédération des travailleurs catholiques du Canada* (CTCC), neither Vaillancourt nor any of his contemporaries offered any rigorous, workable, means for corporatism to overcome its fundamentally contradictory support of capitalism.³⁰ Maxime Raymond, the federal leader of the *Bloc populaire*, may have at one point publically embraced corporatism as the best way to restructure society, but this idea would not carry the day within his party.³¹ Some social activists and thinkers like Esdras Minville would continue to develop elaborate analyses as to the merits of corporatism for the socio-economic upliftment of French-Canadian workers and farmers, but the hegemony of Capitalism was only skittishly challenged:

On peut en régulariser le jeu, mais il est dangereux de chercher à l'abolir. C'est pourtant ce qui est arrivé dans le monde au cours du dernier demi-siècle [...] Or -- à moins d'accepter le capitalisme d'Etat, genre russe, avec ses conséquences au point de vue humain -- le coopératisme est seul de taille à réintroduire [...] dans l'économie, le principe assainissant de la concurrence, car seul il peut édifier des entreprises libres.³²

Minville idealistically argued that French-Canada was on the verge of a liberating corporatist revolution, though he recognized that this would only be truly possible via education and concrete leadership by the provincial government (Minville 233). For most practical purposes Minville's panegyrics were already a swan song of corporatism more than a sign of things to come. The failure to appreciate Duplessis's primary allegiance to Capital would ensure that the betterment of the French-Canadian ethnic-class and corporatism would receive more political lip-service than actual support. Moreover, as Paul-André Comeau has remarked, as much as corporatist ideas were everywhere debated or embraced between 1935 and 1945 by organizations as diffuse as the CTCC, l'Association des Entrepreneurs, l'Ordre de Jacques Cartier, or even some members of the provincial Liberal government, they were ultimately discredited by events in Europe.³³

* * * * *

The Sliding Classed Signified of the Jew

As I mentioned previously, class competition and anti-communist hysteria were also separable from the anti-immigrant

xenophobia of the period which often characterized "bolshevism" as "une incarnation de la pensée sémite qui camoufle, sous des formes économiques, un athéisme." (see "EFs" 65)³⁴ Morton Weinfield summarizes another facet of the antagonism as follows:

la position économique des Juifs au Québec était celle d'une minorité classique d'intermédiaires qui exerçaient, à une échelle modeste, des métiers de boutiquiers, de commerçants, d'hommes d'affaires ou de membres des professions libérales. Les Juifs étant souvent très en évidence parmi les gens de la classe ouvrière francophone, ils étaient parfois, par contagion, victimes de leur ressentiment contre l'élite industrielle anglophone, dominante mais inaccessible ou invisible. En outre, comme quelques familles juives (les Bronfman, les Steinberg) développaient leur commerce, l'image d'une vaste puissance économique juive se dessinait. À cet égard, l'antisémitisme des francophones ressemblait à celui des Noirs à l'égard des Juifs aux Etats-Unis [...]³⁵

Because of ethnic-class privileges local Anglophone anti-semitism may not have so closely resembled that of American Blacks, but neither the Anglophone business elite, nor the Anglophone middle and working classes, were any more enamoured of the Bronfmans, the Steinbergs, or petty-bourgeois Jews. The demonization of Jews was obviously not exclusive to Québec, but the ethnic-class demographics and politics of Québec definitely facilitated it.

The prominence of Jews as merchants in particular trades clearly gave a skewed impression of the Jewish community's overall class composition and relations; obscuring the fact, for example, that most Jewish owned garment industry sweatshops exploited large numbers of proletarian Jews. Robinson, Anctil and

Butovsky suggest that difficult material conditions and imported ideologies "produced a Montreal Jewish environment that would be politically leftist-oriented".³⁶ However, this statement presumes that since many Jews were involved in left-wing causes the majority of Jews were socialists.³⁷ In fact, the Jewish community was much more ideologically divided than most non-Jews could be aware of given their lack of significant contact and knowledge. "The community regarded them [the Communists] as enemies of religion, nationalism, traditions and institutions in Canada, of Zionism and the Hebrew language, of efforts to perpetuate Judaism and defend the rights of Jews living under anti-Semitic regimes."³⁸ Jewish antagonisms towards Communism or Capital were in short little different from their Francophone or Anglophone counterparts. Jews were nevertheless constantly fit by most gentiles into two manichean, yet contradictory, allegories: one which stereotyped them as economic exploiters, while the other demonized them as wanting to violently do away with class exploitation.³⁹

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French-Canadian Liberalism

Another class myth of the period is that French-Canada's conservatism left little or no room for liberal socio-economic culture and values; that Anglophone culture was the virtual arbiter of liberalism. Nothing could be further from the truth given the growing French-Canadian business and middle classes.⁴⁰ Claude Couture argues that the dominant historical assumption of the last

several decades that Québec was religiously, ideologically and socially closed and homogeneous prior to the 1960s⁴¹ does not bear up to readings of its liberal newspapers between 1929 and 1935.

Couture's research:

a révélé une idéologie libérale classique fondée sur le primat de la propriété privée et de l'individualisme comme source du "progrès"[...] les éditorialistes [...] n'ont jamais douté de la valeur du libéralisme et du système capitaliste [...] Il va sans dire que le fascisme, le corporatisme et le socialisme n'ont exercé sur eux aucun attrait[...] Hitler fut sévèrement condamné, surtout en raison de son antisémitisme[...] Fédéraliste, évidemment, cette presse concevait l'avenir des Canadiens français dans un nationalisme pan-canadien.⁴²

These discourses were all that more significant when we consider that by 1933 a liberal paper like *La Presse* had approximately ten times more readers than the more conservative *Le Devoir*.⁴³

Obviously, French-Canadian liberalism was not only a discursive and ideological domain of the fifth estate. It had classed, socio-economic, foundations. As Couture has noted:

il importe de distinguer entre la faiblesse relative de la bourgeoisie francophone et son inexistence, car, outre le secteur bancaire, des francophones ont été actifs dans d'autres domaines. À tel point qu'en 1931, 57% des propriétaires de manufactures étaient d'origine francophone. Par ailleurs pour l'industrie de la construction, la même année, les francophones représentent 75% des effectifs et 78% dans le transport et les communications. Certes, le nombre de francophones dans ces secteurs a diminué pendant la crise. Mais malgré ce recul, on ne peut nier la présence de francophones dans des activités économiques importantes.⁴⁴

Therefore, like their English *confrères*, Francophone liberals' material interests meant industrial and economic development were seen as the motors of prosperity and of the social good. Or as Couture has summarized the positions of *La Presse*, *Le Soleil* and *Le Canada*: "Etre 'moderne', c'était se livrer à une défense inconditionnelle de l'entreprise privée." (Couture 1987, 163)⁴⁵ Accordingly, their editorials and labour pages supported trade unions as long as they in turn supported economic liberalism and were staunchly anti-socialist.⁴⁶ Though this must have played a role in working against the development of class oriented unions, it also represented an opening up to less parochial, conservative, influences. Nevertheless, one should not presume too much about French-Canadian liberals' sympathies for the working classes. The Francophone liberal press was also against the Canadian "New Deal" under R. B. Bennett and supported Mackenzie King's call to liquidate it during his successful 1935 federal election campaign.⁴⁷ This liberal bias against state intervention had much in common with clerico-nationalist attitudes, but its bourgeois faith in individual effort did not. Still, in failing to consider the breadth and importance of liberal culture in Québec in the 1930s and 1940s one has to underestimate or to fail to explain the "progressive" elements within the *Action libérale nationale* (ALN);⁴⁸ the electoral and other successes of the reformist Godbout government;⁴⁹ the importance of some progressive influences upon the *Bloc populaire*;⁵⁰ or the sustained opposition to Duplessism.

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French-Canadian Progressive Idealism

Once again, perhaps the most notable example amongst young French-Canadians of a modern, hybrid, "liberal" who attempted to reconcile traditional and modern values was André Laurendeau (see "EFs" 44).⁵¹ After his trip to France, where he was influenced by Catholic socialists, his first article in 1937 as the new director of *L'Action nationale* supported the strikers at Dominion Textile and critiqued Duplessis's strike breaking tactics, the confessional trade union movement and Cardinal Villeneuve's role in breaking the strike (Monière 1983, 111).⁵² This was the starting point of a long term strategy on Laurendeau's part of trying to use *L'Action nationale* to awaken Catholic French-Canadians to the Church's biases against the left at the expense of questions of social justice; to propagandize on behalf of a limited form of provincial statism to correct the weaknesses and faults of capitalism, while undercutting Ottawa's centralist tendencies; and to support non-corporatist trade unions as one of the best means of improving working and living conditions.⁵³ All of these classed perspectives had echoes in the *Bloc populaire canadien*, of which Laurendeau became the Provincial leader, but ideological diversity within the party would prevent them from becoming more developed.

It has to also be admitted that Laurendeau's grasp of the material needs and potential of French-Canadians was rather exceptional. The most common contradiction amongst the increasing number of "progressive" French-Canadian thinkers who were critical of the negative consequences of capitalism was that

their ideological formation was still too spiritual and anti-materialist for them to adequately address questions of ethnic-class exploitation.⁵⁴ Two examples of this contradictory phenomenon were the journal *La Relève* and the youth organization *Jeunesse étudiante catholique* (JEC), both of which were formed in 1934. *La Relève*'s greatest debt to traditional culture was its members' faith, largely inspired by the French philosopher Jacques Maritain, in the primacy of a spiritual revolution. Maritain's notion of "personalism", of faith in the integral humanism of the individual, in opposition to the fracturing imperialisms of monetization, the nation, rationalism, materialism/s, or left and right fascism, was embraced by Robert Elie, Robert Charbonneau, Guy Frégault and others, and manifested itself in a number of their articles and editorials. As "personalists" they favoured the individual's personal efforts to make a better, more humane world, though they were against a wholesale individualism which privileged material needs or rejected collective values.⁵⁵ Nevertheless, as Monière has characterized their classed limitations and politics: "Ces enfants de familles aisées n'aperçoivent pas la pauvreté ambiante [...] Leur révolte reste à l'intérieur de leur classe [...] Ils cherchent à renouveler la vision du monde de la petite bourgeoisie en lui donnant des habits neufs" (Monière 1983, 36); a phenomenon which is obviously not so far removed from the attractiveness for more conventional liberals of neo-liberalism.

The JEC was inspired by Catholic workers' youth groups in France and Belgium. Its areas of concern revolved mostly around issues of social life, such as theatre and sports, but this was already "bien loin de la <<race>> à part, de l'univers clos de Lionel Groulx qui en 1939 censurait un mode de vie <<bourgeois>> (à son dire) dont les activités comportaient le ski, le golf, le bridge et les <<coquetels>>." (Bélanger 1977, 48)⁵⁶ Like *La Relève*, one of the JEC's most important contributions was as a promoter of the laicization of Québec's intellectuals.⁵⁷ As André-J. Bélanger has noted, however: "L'anticommunisme développé par l'École sociale populaire des Jésuites depuis 1931 y est largement retenu [... et] la JEC au Québec est fondée en grande partie sur cette appréhension du spectre marxiste." (Bélanger 1977, 37)

As the Depression and the conflicts between competing right- and left-wing ideologies wore on, *La Relève*'s and the JEC's analyses began to deal with the workplace as sites of human production, alienation and exploitation.

Pour qui le travail est-il autre chose qu'une corvée pénible et stérile qui asservit pour toute la vie à gagner et à garantir ses titres qui n'a de fin que dans une vie intime préservée de la misère des autres, et séparée de la vie [...]⁵⁸

Il faut que soit brisée la structure inhumaine d'une civilisation qui, pour le primat de l'argent sur l'humain, l'institution du salariat et la prolétarianisation généralisée, sépare l'homme de son oeuvre, coupant, par là même, son activité démiurge de toute racine spirituelle et affective.⁵⁹

As with many corporatist discourses, the worker as a historically contingent actor was nevertheless abstractified into a generic universal. When the question of class exploitation was raised emphasis was more often placed upon its adversity to a healthy spiritual life, or to the achievement of spiritual rehabilitation, than upon how to change offensive social and material conditions. Come the war, the successor to *La Relève*, *La Nouvelle Relève*, would virtually abandon classed social issues for the sake of more literary concerns.

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The Working Classes and Class Consciousness

In spite of the growth of wealth during the 1920s approximately two-thirds of the male family-wage population of Montréal earned "bien au-dessous du minimum nécessaire pour subvenir aux besoins d'une famille moyenne".⁶⁰ And during the Depression the unemployment rate in Québec was the highest in Canada, reaching as much as 30% in Montréal.⁶¹ Even those who remained employed experienced substantial pay cuts and/or large reductions in their hours of work.⁶² At the beginning of the war nearly 60% of the French-Canadian population had never attended secondary school -- a fact that would lead the Godbout government to pass legislation obliging instruction until age 16 in 1942; the average Québec worker was earning the equivalent of approximately three days of salary per month *less* than their Ontario counterpart; and as much as the war economy improved living and working

conditions, the migration of more than 85,000 rural people to the urban centres between 1941 and 1944 exacerbated the existing inferior housing and sanitation conditions (see Comeau 28-36).

Though prior to the 1930s workers and their organizations wanted a more just distribution of wealth, they rarely contested the capitalist system. One reason was that in the 1920s there had been a stagnation and decline of militant trade unionism in Québec. It was largely due to the failure of the "international," American controlled, unions to move beyond their emphasis upon trades and the consequent neglect of the majority of the work force which was unskilled or labouring in large factories which employed several trades. Coupled with the Canadian Trades and Labour Congress's 1917 decision not to contest conscription, "international" non-Catholic unions were suspect to many French-Canadian workers. This was compounded by Catholic propaganda against the materialist, Godless, internationals -- "l'ouvrier qui aime sincèrement son Dieu, son pays et sa race ne s'affilie point aux internationales [...]"⁶³ -- and by the fact that like the socialist and communist movements of the subsequent decades "international" trade unions would fail to successfully address the national question in Québec (see "CFs" 312-18).

These and other factors contributed to the creation and the growth of Catholic unions. The CTCC, which was formed in 1921, the same year as the Communist Party of Canada, soon represented a quarter of the unionized work force of Québec. It was an

expression of corporatist ideology and was expressly formed to steer French-Canadians away from being radicalized by secular and socialist oriented "international" unions, while providing a modern, popular, vehicle for defending the Church and the existing social order.⁶⁴ A similar imperative about social peace also predominated in many Anglophone dominated "business" and company unions, but in keeping with the Anglophone upper classes' ethno-linguistic privileges, and the much smaller size of the Anglophone working classes in Québec, none of them were as influential as the CTCC

Initially, the CTCC consistently performed the double function of maintaining Catholic values while defending the interests of private property and employers.

Il rappelle à l'ouvrier [...] le rôle bienfaisant de la souffrance, l'éminente dignité de la pauvreté et la fragilité des choses temporelles [...]

C'est parce qu'il a été national que le syndicalisme chez nous à enrayer (sic) le communisme de 1931 à 1939, qu'il a diffusé un grand esprit de modération et de conciliation [...]

Si ce grand projet [the 1933 *Quadragesimo Anno*] se réalise, ce sera la consolation des ouvriers, la gloire des patrons et la grande récompense de l'Église [...] l'ouvrier et le patron, l'un et l'autre rachetés par le sang du premier ouvrier de tous les siècles, Notre-Seigneur Jésus-Christ (Gauthier).

In spite of the ideological power of this sacerdotal, reconciliatory, attitude towards the major differences between Labour and Capital, there would eventually be struggles, such as the 1937 textile strike, when the CTCC's opposition to companies and governments

became pronounced.⁶⁵ Similarly, the CTCC strongly supported the Federal Government's Unemployment and Family Allowance programs, in spite of strong pressures from the nationalist movement because of said programs' constitutional encroachments on Québec's autonomy (see Comeau 40-41).⁶⁶

Towards the end of the 1930s the combination of accumulative socio-economic hardships, left-wing influences and a growing working class consciousness would lead to some bitterly contested strikes by workers, such as the famous Dominion Textile strike of 1937.⁶⁷ It was organized by the National Catholic Federation of Textiles and thanks to public opinion and the solidarity of the workers the company was eventually resigned to negotiate a collective agreement.⁶⁸ Yet such struggles were still exceptional. Most Québec workers, like their Canadian counterparts, were relatively passive until the value of their labour to the war effort strategically enabled them to become more militant historical actors. Accordingly, the number of unionized workers doubled in Canada between 1939 and 1945, with about 100,000 new unionized workers in Québec between 1942-1944. In 1943 alone "[m]ore strikes were fought [...] than ever before." (Lipton 267 & Palmer 236) The major reasons for these rapid changes were that big business, in conjunction with the State, tried to keep wages down; and the Federal Government, invoking its special wartime powers, tried to limit and control labour's demands (see Palmer 236-38). Yet in spite of business' and governments' attempts to deradicalize unions, or the Communist Party of

Canada's attempts at labour peace in support of war production,⁶⁹ union militancy increased enormously. The general situation reached such crisis proportions that the Federal government was finally compelled to pass P. C. 1003 in February 1944, guaranteeing workers the right to organize and to collective bargaining. This calmed matters significantly, though once the war was drawing to a close in 1945 conflicts between Labour and Capital rebounded significantly as employers tried to claw back the recent gains made by workers at the same time that their socio-economic expectations rose.

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"La Liberté D'Association"

The following brief deconstruction of a sample of wartime propaganda serves as an example of how class conflict between organized Labour and Capital during the war could be subtly appropriated and symbolically exploited by an arm of the State in a false posture as an objective, benevolent, force in its appeal on behalf of the war effort. As much as the Fascist repression of labour in Europe was obviously a far worse fate, many English- and French-Canadian trade unionists must have been less than amused by the 1942 Victory Bonds propaganda advertisement "La Liberté D'Association" (see "Appendix" 9). It images two armed Nazis leading a worker off to some unidentified, implicitly ominous, site beyond the picture plane. Part of the accompanying *histoire* reads as follows:

S'il se révolte, on le tue. S'il refuse de mettre son habilité au service de ceux qui ont bâillonné sa patrie, on le menace de fusiller ses parents ou ses amis dans les camps de concentration.

Certes, l'ouvrier des nations conquises est libre de s'associer ... à ses nouveaux maîtres! *L'atelier fermé, le syndicat, le droit de régler les heures de travail, la convention collective? Vous voulez rire. L'ennemi ne tolère pas de corps autonomes dans l'État (my italics).*

At the literal, syntagmatic, level of the *histoire*'s discourse, which paternalistically interpellates Canada's workers ("La Patrie s'adresse à vous, ouvriers ses enfants"), the advertisement is obviously a condemnation of Nazi brutality, and a celebration of Canadian freedoms, which is meant to inspire Canadian workers to buy war bonds. However, given that "la liberté d'association" of Canadian and Québécois workers was still so frequently in violent dispute, and without adequate legal safeguards, the invocation of trade union demands as signs of the relative rights and freedoms of Canadian and Québécois workers is also part of a classed signifying chain as to how their goals and desires should defer to the larger Allied effort. Struggles for the closed shop ("L'atelier fermé") or collective bargaining ("la convention collective") were amongst the most common reasons for many bitterly violent strikes during the war, yet such attempts at working class "autonomy" are implicitly dismissed by the *histoire* -- "Vous voulez rire." (and notice the imperative form's lack of interrogation) -- as of secondary importance or unpatriotic in the face of the greater threat of Nazism.⁷⁰ Therefore, the "truth" of this classic realist propaganda not only embodies a class neutral On-To-Victory goal. Its very appeal to comparative Canadian labour freedoms, the rhetorical

success of which is dependent upon its ironizing them and silencing their actual tenuousness, is simultaneously an interdiscursive expression of contemporary capitalist and corporatist antagonisms towards the more militant fractions of the labouring classes who were thought to be trying to acquire too many rights. Not surprisingly, the *histoire* avoids the fact that Canadian Capitalism (and not just Nazism) was capable of exploiting labour.

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Of Communists and CCFers

The Communist Party of Canada (CPC) was clandestinely formed in 1921 and it would adopt various levels of clandestinity over the next quarter century in keeping with its attempts to infiltrate and win over other organizations, as well as a result of its repression. In Montréal organizations such the Anglophone and immigrant centered Labor College (1920-1924) and Albert Saint-Martin's Francophone oriented Université ouvrière (1925-1934) contributed to the popularization of marxist thought amongst thousands of people. But whereas the Labor College's demise was a result of the growth of its members' affiliations with the CPC,⁷¹ Saint-Martin's self-styled communism, or what Tim Buck characterized as his "extreme petty-bourgeois nationalism",⁷² led to his being expelled from and continually opposed by the CPC. The negative consequences of this schism for communist organizing in Québec in the late 1920s and through the 1930s is difficult to measure, but along with the Anglophone top-heaviness of most left

groups in Canada it had to contribute to some progressive French-Canadians' sense of the foreignness of the CPC and socialism. The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation's (CCF) British inspired Labour Party roots, the missionary zeal of its public meetings, its emphasis upon a better, material, world, and its local leaders' Anglophone, rather bourgeois, alienation from the popular French-Canadian classes, had similar effects upon the CCF's ability to develop a broad base of support in Québec.⁷³

Another major reason for the absence of French-Canadians in the CPC, the CCF and other left groups was that their relatively recent and rapid urbanization and proletarianization generally meant that they perceived their socio-economic exploitation on the basis of ethnicity rather than class.⁷⁴ Most importantly, most French-Canadian anti-communist propaganda was successfully based upon the defence of traditional culture and values and attacks upon the materialistic, atheistic, foreignness of socialism.⁷⁵ Another reason anti-communism succeeded was as a result of the CPC's erratic policies. Shifting in little more than a decade from the aggressive Leninist line denouncing "reformist traitors" as "social fascists"; to the October 1941 non-revolutionary reform politics of a "National Front For Victory" against fascism; the CPC often mechanically supported Russian policies to the detriment of its local work.⁷⁶ For instance, whereas during the 1930s the CPC played a major role in organizing militant unions and the unemployed against corporations and governments,⁷⁷ its reform politics in favour of the war effort would lead it to try to curtail

union militancy, alienating it from some militant elements within the populace.⁷⁸

Yet the most problematic issue for the CPC and the CCF concerning their fortunes in Québec was by far the national question. In the early years the CPC's acceptance of the Leninist notion of the self-determination of ethnically identified peoples implied the same for Québec, especially since it saw French Canada as forming "the most exploited section of the Canadian working class".⁷⁹ But this position proved to be the exception rather than the rule. Firstly, the CPC still saw class struggle as primary. Regional or ethnic differences were considered much less important. Secondly, in the face of American imperialism it preferred to champion Canadian unity (Avakumovic 253-54; Fournier 100). Thirdly, it "did not accept the opinion of separatists and some Marxists that Quebec was a colony run by Anglo-Saxon Canadians." (Avakumovic 253) Nor did it recognize Québec as a nation since, as Fred Rose argued in 1935, it did not fulfill the Stalinist criterion of "a common economic life" (Penner 112-13).⁸⁰ The strategic rationalization for these positions was that the CPC feared the division and consequent weakening of the pan-Canadian working classes.⁸¹ Similarly, J. S. Woodsworth of the CCF may have considered "les Canadiens français comme un groupe exploité dans ce qu'il appelait 'l'heureux terrain de chasses des capitalistes Canadiens anglais'",⁸² but a number of local and national CCF leaders' biases against French-Canadian conservatism, Catholicism and lack of education caused them to write off the masses of

Québec as potential social-democrats (see Lévesque 72-4). Moreover, the CCF's linking of the federal centralization of powers with the building and maintenance of the welfare state, as in Frank Scott's and Leonard Marsh's brief to the Rowell-Sirois Commission in 1939, flew in the face of many French-Canadians' aspirations for greater provincial autonomy.⁸³ For instance, during the war the "progressive" Bishop of Montreal, Monseigneur Charbonneau, may have commissioned a study with the hope of softening the Church's attitude towards the CCF, but this tactic was undermined by the committee's conclusion that the CCF's ideology was incompatible with French-Canadian nationalism.⁸⁴ Thus, the CPC and the CCF may have occasionally theorized French-Canadians as the most exploited masses in Canada, but such positions were never coherently reconciled with French-Canadians' sense of nationhood and cultural differences (see Linteau *et al.* Tome II, 113).

Once again, Stanley Ryerson's *French Canada* serves well as an exemplary text. The dove-tailing of Communist Party and English-Canadian values in its attacks upon French-Canadian resistance to conscription and upon a wide-range of French-Canadian socio-political players and activists as "fascists", or as dupes of fascism, are indicative of the hollowness of the *histoire*'s support for French-Canadian nationalism which did not conform to Communist ideology. The *histoire* does make an important class distinction between English-Canadian assumptions about fascism in Québec and its potential benefits to Capital.

'Quebec Fascism' is frequently equated, in the public mind of English-speaking Canada, with either reactionary French-Canadian nationalism or political clericalism. Important as both these factors are, they do not constitute the essential core of Fascism in Quebec. For in essence *the Duplessis régime expressed the strivings of the great capitalist monopolies to impose a dictatorship directed against the working class*. It was a régime backed by the most reactionary circles of Big Business, and its primary aim was the destruction of the awakening Labor movement in Quebec (Ryerson 185).

But while Ryerson's characterizations of repressive anti-Labour policies and the Padlock Law as fascistic were understandable,⁸⁵ his lumping together of the *Union Nationale*, Arcand's National-Socialist Party, *Jeunes-Canada*, the *Ecole Sociale Populaire*, "the foreign fascist network", French-Canadian petty-bourgeois nationalism, the "League for the Defence of Canada", the *Bloc Populaire*, and "the C. C. F. right-wing, headed by Professor Frank Scott" (see Chapters IX & X)⁸⁶ as fascistic, or as playing into the hands of fascism, casts too wide a net to be credible.

Understandably, in the heady "people's war" days it was easy for a communist to accuse Québec conservatives and nationalists of "anti-Big-Business demagogy" (186), confident that one's own "progressive" appeals to the Québec masses were democratic.

The *Bloc Populaire* makes its appeal to the masses in Quebec first and foremost on the basis of a demagogic exploitation of the traditional anti-imperialist sentiment of the French-Canadians -- misrepresenting the present struggle as a 'British War' in which Canada is involved as a 'colony', and placing the issue of selective service as 'a repetition of 1917'.

Every special grievance of the French-Canadians is seized upon -- language inequality in the armed forces, sub-standard wages, and so forth -- not with a view to correcting the grievances in the interests of the war effort, but with the undisguised purpose of disrupting the struggle for victory. Finally, the slogan 'down with the trusts!' is advanced anew, with a like motivation (197).

While there is no disputing that anti-socialist elements dominated the *Bloc Populaire*,⁸⁷ the above-cited accusations are possibly more indicative of how the English-Canadian dominated communist movement could not appreciate the depths and the validity of French-Canadian ethnic-class anti-colonialism, nor how French-Canadian struggles against the "trusts" were not automatically reactionary simply because they did not always conform to left-wing concepts of "total war" or class consciousness. This ideological blindspot insisted that all French-Canadian Catholics who saw Communism as being "'incompatible with Christian civilization' (199)" were reactionaries. Presumably it was this very kind of cultural difference to which Ryerson was referring when he appropriated the *MacLeans* ' commentary on accepting "racial" difference (see "EFs" 53). But when cultural differences did not conform to the CPC's agenda he simply dismissed them. Such biases meant that socialist ideology would remain marginal in Québec until a generation later when the contradictions of traditional nationalism would generate organic left-nationalists.

* * * * *

Class and the Ballot Box: 1944 & 1945

The aforesaid "Liberté D'Association" advertisement is once again indicative of the direct and powerful role that government sponsored discourses, let alone policies and laws, could play concerning social controversies. Much classed, ideological, muscle and its contradictions were, however, most apparent during electoral campaigns. Consider how the economic policies of Louis-Alexandre Taschereau and his provincial Liberals, in power since 1920, favoured development through industrialization and foreign investors' exploitation of natural resources; yet how contrary to Maurice Duplessis's successful, populist, electoral campaign against said policies in 1936, the wholesale exploitation of Québec's resources continued to escalate.⁸⁸ Over the next decades, Duplessis's populist rhetoric would often effectively mask how his allegiance to the colonial political-economics of the status quo and its elites was greater than his ethnic allegiance to the majority of the populace.⁸⁹ Yet the contradictions proved too great in 1939 to prevent Adelard Godbout's reformist Liberals from ousting Duplessis. The broad class benefits for most Quebecers of Godbout's government's reforms, such as compulsory education until age fourteen, the creation of Hydro-Québec and the adoption of a provincial Labour Code which recognized unions and formalized collective bargaining would, however, in turn fall prey during the 1944 electoral campaign to Duplessis's ability to exploit Francophone ethnic-class anxieties about the erosion of Québec's political autonomy as a result of the Federal government's wartime centralization of powers, including its "betrayal" of the 1940 anti-

conscription "entente". But what about the possible class reasons for such anxieties?

In 1944 most French-Canadians were still quite socio-economically disadvantaged and wanted social reforms and a strong leader to institute them, while still nostalgically hearkening for a more traditional cultural ideal. Duplessis's electoral platform for provincial autonomy superficially synthesized these ethnic-class issues and desires and promised their resolution.⁹⁰ Yet his classed rhetoric was more subdued during the 1944 electoral campaign than it had been in 1939. For instance, in 1939 Duplessis regularly made public statements justifying class disparities on the basis of Divine Providence: "La Divine Providence a donné à chacun de nous des dons divers: aux uns, elle a donné beaucoup, à d'autres, moins; ces dons elle désire que nous les faisons (sic) fructifier".⁹¹ In spite of the windfall of the "conscription crisis", given the increased class militancy of many workers during the course of the war; and the Bloc's attacks not only "contre impérialisme" but "contre la dictature économique";⁹² Duplessis had to be strategically more careful about expressing his classism in 1944 for fear of alienating the working populace, or of playing into the anti-monopolistic hands of the Bloc. None of which prevented Duplessis from continuing to demonize communists, a perjorative in his vocabulary which he continued to use incredibly broadly.⁹³ And most of the effective ideological work on this flank had been and would continue to be done by a variety of corporatist and other clerico-nationalist organizations, the mainstream English and

French press, and business and community leaders -- usually in the name of Christianity, freedom and "the little fellow" against an enigmatic, anarchic, specter of revolution. Furthermore, most exploited people were already too alienated from the CPC and the CCF to recognize the extent to which such attacks upon socialism were indirect attacks upon their own class interests.⁹⁴

Most militant organized labour threw its electoral weight behind the unity of the Labour-Progressive Party (LPP) -- the legal, electoral, wing of the outlawed CPC -- and the Liberals.⁹⁵ However, anti-socialist ideas, whether against communists, CCFers, or trade unionists, were legion and hegemonic. Consider the exemplary call by J. M. Macdonell, an important financier from Toronto, the week before the Québec election, for "responsible cooperation" by capital, labor and raw producers in an attack focussed upon the CCF.⁹⁶ According to Macdonell the CCF's gains were dependent upon fomenting "fear" and "hatred" against capitalism, as opposed to representing the actual facts. As French-Canadian corporatists had been doing for decades Macdonell's most concrete proposal was for "management [to] take labor more into its confidence, and that capacity is looked for and rewarded." Appropriating MacDonell's speech, the editorial page of *The Montreal Daily Star* echoed his idea that labour had the "most to lose from the introduction of Socialism" and hypothesized that socialism would be just as disastrous for labour in Canada as "National Socialism" had been for labour in Germany.⁹⁷ Perhaps most importantly, the specter of a

hidden socialist agenda framed the beginning and the end of the editorial:

The lines of C.C.F. strategy have been apparent for some time. They consist of preaching a broad Socialism in general appeals, but minimizing the Socialist platform for purposes of particular elections [...]

The lesson for labour and other classes of the community is clear [...]. They are deluding themselves if they accept at face value the Utopian promises of the Socialists.

This recycles perhaps the most common anti-socialist trope of the period in an attempt to convince "the general public [that it] does not yet appreciate the nature of *the threat* presented." (my *italics*) Erasing, as in the aforementioned Victory Bonds advertisement (see "CFs" 310-12), class exploitation and conflicts via a cross-class "lesson" or interest, the *Star* promotes a notion of "harmonie sociale" which was only removed from corporatists' and Duplessis's versions by its relative secularism and its classed ethno-linguistic charge.

Within the same week there was a social controversy around another issue which I believe has been little appreciated in terms of its upping the ante and influence of classist discourse on the eve of the 1944 Québec election. It is exemplary of contemporary classist attacks upon the freedom of labourers to fight for their interests, denying the existence of socio-economic exploitation while supposedly defending "les plus pauvres et les plus faibles"⁹⁸ -- as Duplessis claimed he would be able to do if Québec were more autonomous. I am referring to the famous Montreal Tramways

strike of August 1944 for the recognition of a "closed shop". *The Montreal Daily Star* noted:

since yesterday there was distributed among the employees [...] \$1,813,413.44 representing the company's profit-sharing bonus. This is in accord with the company's agreement in 1942.

The employees, therefore, all with a few hundred dollars of unearned money in their pockets, naturally feel they can afford to stage a strike for several weeks duration, if necessary, and, egged on by sinister influences, have decided to [...] force the company to accept their terms.⁹⁹

The characterization by the *Star* of the "profit-sharing bonus" as "unearned money" is indicative of the common bourgeois illusion that "profit" has nothing to do with workers' creation of surplus value, or that their small return of inferior wages is not a form of exploitation.¹⁰⁰ Similarly, the negative reference to the workers withholding their labour conveniently neglects an employer's prerogative of controlling and exploiting it. The *histoire*'s implicitly objective characterization of the supposedly unnatural state of affairs as a result of the strike is in turn twinned with "sinister influences". Implicit in this rhetoric is the imminent subversion of the existing socio-economic order, including business's and the state's autonomy, by radical workers.

The inconveniences to all sectors of society were similarly invoked by *Le Devoir*. "Mais les autres, les petits marchands, les tous petits industriels, les petits patrons de toute sorte, comment seront-ils assurés de la présence de leur main-d'œuvre?"¹⁰¹ Omer Héroux in turn lamented the "petits enfants" who were unable to go

to the countryside; and he dramatically stated that "pareille situation ne peut longtemps durer. Autrement, ce serait la démission de tout pouvoir."¹⁰² Five days later *The Montreal Gazette* would commend "[t]he ordinary man [...] for his patience and fortitude in getting along through the strike without tram service, and without any discernible demand for knuckling down to the union demand."¹⁰³ Narrativized this way the possibility of common class interests between the tram workers' desire for a closed shop, and hence job and collective bargaining security, and most of the working populace are ignored, while paternalistic classist praise for "the little fellow" would convince him (or her) that s/he has the same class interests as the dominant classes, and that trade union militancy is a threat to them all.¹⁰⁴

A more subtle example is *The Gazette*'s use of the euphemism of "the Canadians of moderate means" for the lower or working classes. On two occasions the editorial in question uses the term "class" when referring to the wartime sacrifices of the "people of moderate means" -- i.e. "no other class in Canada has suffered more from the anxieties and tragedies of war" -- but in keeping with the humanistic, eulogistic, tone and purpose of the piece the references to class have no radical charge. One of the other rhetorical strengths of the text is how its abstraction of lower and working class people makes their common problems seem most important in terms of the individual's success in overcoming them: "All this has been done [...] while trying, under great difficulties, to discharge the independent responsibilities of their class, such responsibilities as

educating their children, meeting their own medical expenses, paying for various types of insurance, particularly to make provision for their old age." Such praise, while much deserved, implicitly deflects the pressing demands of the mass of labouring Canadians of the time for socialized services to meet said exigencies. Accordingly, while the editorial closes by stating that "the wartime record of the people of moderate means [...] will be the basis of their expectations for a fairer and more equal deal in the arrangements of post-war Canada", it makes no suggestions as to what this may entail. Thus, there is the semblance of the expression of a "progressive" sympathy for the less privileged classes but, when read from a class perspective for its contradictions, this eulogy is probably better understood as a timorous attempt to defend the socio-economic status quo. This bourgeois class bias is also evident in the editorial's frequent references to "the Canadians of moderate means" as "them" and "they," and "their incomes," "their income taxes". Thus, the *histoire* addresses subjects who are apparently a class above the objects of the essay, and thereby naturalizes and reinforces class divisions rather than questioning or challenging them.¹⁰⁵

Given that the Godbout government and, more recently, Federal legislation had actually empowered trade unions, and that they had become popular, effective, means of making real socio-economic changes for common people, Duplessis's calls for provincial "autonomy" cannot be separated out from the Federal government's "[c]oncessions to labour [especially] from 1943 on, when Leonard

Marsh issued a rejected but influential report on social security and a 'comprehensive' scheme to embrace health insurance, family allowances, and workmen's compensation (Palmer 234)." Measures, such as P. C. 1003 were "'the price Liberalism [was] willing to pay to prevent socialism,' as the *Canadian Forum* commented in the 1940s. As Mackenzie King well knew, such social legislation was fundamentally conservative in intent, and was passed to dampen discontents that emerged from the rising expectations of wartime prosperity." (Palmer 234-35 & "CFs" 325-31) Duplessis's discourse about the Federal, Liberal, threats to Québec's autonomy may suggest his rejection of and unwillingness to make such class concessions, as well as his inability to recognize the conservative nature of said reforms, but the motivating class anxieties were little different. On the surface the ethnic-class interests of Duplessis's calls in defense of a threatened provincial autonomy, and those of the centralizing, Anglophone dominated, increasingly neo-liberal, Federal state may have seemed at odds, but their perceptions of a common class threat and their general classed motivations in defense of Capital's ability to exploit labour were essentially the same.

* * * * *

Norman Penner has suggested Mackenzie King's liberal reformist oriented book, *Industry and Humanity* (1918),¹⁰⁶ and his success at the 1919 Liberal Convention, were not only influenced by the recent British Labour Party platform, but by the radicalism of the Winnipeg General Strike. In Penner's words:

It [...] showed that a substantial section of the Canadian capitalist class recognized and responded to the need for change in view of the shattering effects [...] Tory ideology had produced [...] Liberal reformism arose as a response to the emergence of an industrial working class, an organized labor movement, and the development of the socialist idea. The socialist idea became a part of the Canadian ideological spectrum at the same time as liberal reformism was becoming the predominant ideology of Canadian society (Penner 37 & 39).

Where I differ with Penner is in his giving too much credit to the reformism of King's and the Liberal party's policies of the inter-war years. It is true the Conservative government failed to provide enough socio-economic reform during the Depression, but King and his party successfully propagandized against Bennett's Canadian "New Dealism." As King's own speeches during WW II attest, it was only when faced with growing socialist parties, and the glaring wartime examples of how massive state intervention could benefit the economy, that reform liberalism or neo-liberalism was implemented.

Perhaps most significantly in terms of the Québec context, King's "renewed" concern about material social justice was tempered by an idealistic spiritual discourse which was little different from that of the corporatists or progressive idealists within organizations like the Bloc. "Afin d'implanter cet ordre nouveau, il faudra dégager la vie du matérialisme qui l'etireint, pour lui donner son sens spirituel [...] Il faudra attribuer à l'âme un plus grand prix qu'au corps."¹⁰⁷ This kind of spiritual idealism was not

new to liberal discourse but its appeal after a decade of economic depression and in the midst of a global war should not be underestimated. Nor should the ethnic-class politics of the Liberal Party's representation of King as a "Chef". Doubtlessly having learned from Duplessis's recent success at dressing himself in the mantle of a strong father-like figure, the federal Liberals' 1945 election propaganda in French consistently referred to King as our "chef" and to "sa direction". See the advertisement, "Malgré la guerre, KING a porté le Canada AU SOMMET" ("Appendix" 10), for example, which visually presents King in a nimbus of light and tries to convince the reader/viewer that Canadians' and Québécois' increased national and personal wealth were the result of King's paternal guidance rather than the war economy itself. Similarly, King was heroized and virilized as an international leader who could protect Québec from Bracken's English-Canadian Conservatives' anti-Québec biases, or prevent the Bloc and other Québec politicians from misappropriating public funds.¹⁰⁸ Another advertisement, "King et la famille canadienne", accordingly encourages the reader/viewer to believe that "Jamais premier magistrat n'a plus aimé la FAMILLE de son pays", that "King est votre sécurité".¹⁰⁹ Personal economic and class stability and growth are, in short, metonymically embodied by King, who stands in for the wartime prosperity of the capitalist system while the "family" metaphor erases its class differences and conflicts.

Meanwhile, even the newly renamed "Progressive" Conservatives were promising to create social security programs,

including a national health system, if elected. Though they and their supporters feared liberals' and social democrats' supposed penchant for "dangerous and irrevocable [social] experiments."¹¹⁰ And though the federal liberals had actually begun to institute social-welfare policies, in keeping with the CCF's electoral victory in Saskatchewan in 1944, and their taking 34 provincial seats in Ontario in the same year, most conservative ire was reserved for those "[a]rdent advocates of the more radical forms of social and economic enlightenment [who] ordinarily make it a practise to forget, or to disregard, the long history of the steady progress of mankind."¹¹¹ So much greater was the perceived threat of "progressive" forces in fact, that the same *Gazette* article could invoke the concept of a "people's war" as a democratic virtue when all other aspects of its discourse would erase the extent to which democracy's supposed "steady progress" was not a result of the "magic" of time, but of class conflict -- whether it concerned "the more broad interpretation of the Great Charter; the passage of the Reform Bill [... or the granting of] the franchise to citizens [and] not [only] property owners".¹¹²

King's Liberals emphasized that their social programmes "ne sont pas des promesses; ce sont des lois opérantes!"¹¹³ -- neglecting to mention, of course, that most of them had been appropriated from the political planks of the CCF and the LPP. On the other hand, just as the LPP's support for total war caused it to soften its line on trade union issues, its softening of its rhetoric

during the 1945 election failed to distinguish it enough from the Liberals.

The Labour-Progressive Party is a new and vigorous force in the political life of Canada. Its spokesmen come from the ranks of the working-people, the middle-class, the men and women who by their toil have made this country great. Their record of anti-fascist struggle -- their devotion to all that is healthy and good in our democracy -- their knowledge of Labor's needs -- [...] all recommend them as worthy of your confidence and your vote. Give Labor and the common man a voice in Canada's next Parliament. Give Canada a lift to better times.¹¹⁴

The King government's war record was also too good for appeals to anti-fascism to hold much sway with many people outside of the left; and the actual economic "better times" towards the end of the war did not make the prospect of gambling on the LPP that compelling.¹¹⁵ However, Capital took no chances and fired salvo after salvo of political propaganda against the perceived greater threat of the CCF. Whereas French-Canadian anti-socialism was usually systematically propagated by groups and organizations affiliated with the Catholic Church, in English-Canada, in keeping with its ethnic-class privilege, such propaganda was most often the domain of "Free Enterprise".

[...]f you want to retain your individual freedom and right to live your life as *you choose* , then you simply *cannot* vote for *any* C.C.F. candidate, because every such candidate is positively committed to *Complete State Socialism* , under which the politicians would take over control of the country -- *lock , stock and barrel* .¹¹⁶

When the supporters of free enterprise were not appealing to the recent flourish of consumer goods -- "What countries have the radios? The motor cars? The telephones? The bathtubs? The electrical appliances? WE HAVE! ("3 Things...") -- they celebrated the profit motive and the associated "right of every individual to exercise his own initiative"; "the opportunity for every man to compete with others in business"; "no government competition with private business through the use of public funds"; the "right of labor to meet employers on an equal basis [...] in an atmosphere of co-operation"; and "the right of every businessman to make a profit from his investments if he can."¹¹⁷ Of course, the advertisement's image of a middle-aged, paternal, pipe-smoking man who interpellates the reader/viewer with these capitalist values necessarily ignores the possibility that the existing political-economic system makes some individuals more "equal" than others in their ability to exercise their "initiative" or "to compete"; while the very emphasis upon individual initiative and the profit-motive puts the lie to any genuine support for labour's collective needs.

A newspaper like *The Montreal Gazette* might occasionally publish an anti-cartel article or even cartoon strips which satirized the ruthlessness of monopoly capital¹¹⁸ but, as with many corporatists' ability to support ethnic-class social justice while simultaneously acknowledging and denying the importance of material questions, Capitalism's imagined reform was consistently inseparable from the demonization of more class conscious options.¹¹⁹ Whether the CCF or the LPP would have done any better

in the 1945 federal election in the absence of such concerted anti-socialist propaganda, or by adopting more class antagonistic planks, are moot points. What is most important for my present purposes is the extent to which the election marked the consolidation of a neo-liberal hegemony whereby many capitalists and socialists, liberals and conservatives, Anglophones and Francophones, co-participated in a discourse which echoed yet limited popular desires for socio-economic, and especially class, change.¹²⁰

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Class(ic Realist) Exploitation

The title for this sub-chapter gnomically signals how the relations of class exploitation in most of the selected texts of my literary corpus are "realistic" insofar as the reader accepts the ways in which classic realism, as in many of the aforementioned social texts, "frames" class conflict and exploitation -- if they are acknowledged or made obvious at all. Yet before I begin to deconstruct the class fictions of my literary corpus -- whose production and consumption was largely bourgeois identified -- let us briefly consider the more ribald, satiric, genre of the burlesque for what it suggests not only about how a popular theatrical genre of the period dealt more directly with class exploitation and resistance, but how it could be boldly ethnicized and gendered. This example of "low" popular cultural production is a strong sign and reminder of just how class conscious much of the populace was.

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The Burlesque's Witnessing of Class Exploitation and Resistance

The incredible popularity of burlesque theatre in Montréal from the beginning of the century through WW II is one of several cultural examples which testifies to the thoroughness of cultural urbanization and proletarianization.¹²¹ The burlesque, like the cinema, recorded music, or radio was a popular way to briefly forget life's problems, but much of its "entertainment" value was marked by ribald urbanity, secularization, and class politics.¹²² Starting as a largely Anglophone phenomenon at the beginning of the century, many of Montreal's burlesque venues became more francized during the inter-war period. As of the late 1920s much American comic material began to be translated and adapted to the French-Canadian context. Eventually there were many locally conceived skits or "burlesks", many of which were recycled over the decades.¹²³ Nor was there a lack of venues or audiences and the entry prices were extremely affordable. "La Poutine", the most famous burlesque comedienne, has recalled how: "Dans la salle, outre les habitués de la classe ouvrière, il y avait aussi [...] des spectateurs d'Outremont, des dames de la haute, des professionnels".¹²⁴ This class diversity was not only almost without precedent in the urban context, but it attests to the Churches' and dominant cultures' inability to discourage people from enjoying "sex shows", erotic dancing, bedroom farces and the satirization of the privileged classes.¹²⁵

What is most striking from a class perspective is the extent to which burlesque comedy sent up conventional morals, social

institutions and their representatives. Bourgeois types -- usually judges, lawyers, doctors, business men and priests -- were particularly popular satiric targets for what we now call the carnivalesque. "[La burlesque] était en quelque sorte une revanche allégorique contre les <<grands>>, contre la discipline morale et contre l'ordre. Les rôles étaient intervertis et la hiérarchie troublée l'espace de quelques heures; c'était le monde à rebours, la libération éphémère des sous-fifres!" (Hébert 1981, 201).¹²⁶ Much of this carnivalesque perspective was at play in farces in which cuckolding involved class betrayals and transgressions. Or conceptualized another way, class exploitation, including sexploitation, especially by privileged males, was stymied and turned on its head. Thus, burlesque lower class types, who were sometimes buffoons and just as one-dimensional as their upper class adversaries, usually had the last laugh at the expense of their class betters.

The class dynamics of "Tizoune C'est Le Coq" are typical of this kind of farce.¹²⁷ The skit's social hierarchy is based on the exploitation of working class people. The use of the class terms "le bourgeois" and "la bourgeoise" in the script's index of characters and by several of the working class figures, as well as the perjorative English epithet of Monsieur and Madame "Fatty" for the upper class figures, clearly embodies a working class perspective.¹²⁸ And Juliette and Alice, two servants, are dramatized as being preyed upon by the likes of the "bourgeois", Mr. Fatty, who tries to buy Alice's silence for having made advances to

her. Tizoune, the skit's working class hero, is in turn portrayed as being militantly against "scabs". In fact one of the central comic ironies is that during a farcical series of costume changes Tizoune mistakes "le bourgeois" for a scab painter and begins to beat him up.

Though the working class types participate in bedroom farce deceptions, they are portrayed as being less hypocritical than Monsieur and Madame Fatty. For instance, when Tizoune has the option of availing himself of "la bourgeoise" he remains true to his girl-friend, Juliette (242-43); while Madame Fatty, who has supposedly convinced herself she must resist the temptation to sleep with the working class baker, Hector, falls into his arms as soon as the opportunity arises (240 & 244). In the end it is clear that "le bourgeois" is going to be cuckolded, but only he doesn't know it. There is a working class vengeance operative in this knowledge and in Tizoune's aside of it to the audience -- which was usually predominantly working class. This "burlesk" may be no call to revolution, but the cultural work of its class antagonisms and its threats to the dominant order through classed sexual treason and transgression clearly reinforced imaginative resistance to class and class gendered exploitation.¹²⁹

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Two Francophone Petty/Bourgeois Imaginaries

Unlike the above "burlesk" class exploitation and its resultant conflicts are usually more disguised or defused in the texts of my classic realist corpus. Consider *Le Beau risque*, which consistently

embodies the classist values of contemporary clerico-nationalism. Pierre Martel's petty-bourgeois nationalism, including his nostalgia for a more feudal past and his anti-trustardism, is a near perfect enactment of most of the charges levied against it by a communist like Ryerson. Read within its own terms it is primarily a nationalist novel about French-Canadians as an ethnically oppressed class. However, just as its expression and containment of homosexual panic is inseparable from its homosocialized, homogenizing, discourse of nationalism, so too its nationalist discourse is extremely classed. Père Berthier is not only a sign of clerico-nationalism but of its petty-bourgeois lifeblood. This is especially embedded in his role as a *collège classique* teacher of literature, his nostalgic attitude towards *habitants*, and the contrast between his attitudes towards the peasantry and the assimilation of Dr. Martel. Together, all of these motifs form a semiosis about class exploitation which obscures contemporary material conditions and conflicts as much as it professes the contrary.

Not only is Père Berthier's professional social role representative of traditional French-Canadian Catholic culture, but of its petty-bourgeois classes' privileges, aspirations and sense of political-economic blockage. For instance, the conjunction of proletarianization and clerico-nationalism historically translated into a number of petty-bourgeois led rejections of industrialization and foreign monopolies in favour of movements such as "L'Achat

Chez Nous". Denis Monière characterizes these anxieties as especially particular to Québec's petty-bourgeois classes because:

Le commerçant ou l'industriel canadien-français doit affronter la concurrence des capitalistes étrangers alors qu'il n'est pas équipé pour y faire face et lutter à armes égales. Ses grandes orientations idéologiques refléteront son désarroi devant cette situation économique dont elle ne contrôle pas l'évolution. Elle rejettera le phénomène de l'industrialisation, s'opposera à la domination des monopoles étrangers et préconisera un nationalisme économique axé sur «l'Achat chez nous» et le coopératisme. Son nationalisme traduit les anxiétés d'une classe menacée et incapable de surmonter les nouvelles orientations imposées par le développement du capitalisme [...]

La petite bourgeoisie réduit dans sa vision du monde les intérêts de la nation à ses intérêts de classe (Monière, 267-68).¹³⁰

Accordingly, Berthier's bond with Pierre Martel is not only that of a literary and nationalist mentor. His primary role is to inculcate in Pierre and his classmates the attitudes and values which will allow them to assume their traditional petty-bourgeois roles in society. At no point, however, is it even momentarily suggested that the site of the *collège*, or Berthier's and Pierre's roles in it, are extremely privileged and somewhat dependent upon the socio-economic exploitation of the very *habitants* whom they idealize -- presumably because the novel's petty-bourgeois cultural work cannot admit to such a contradiction.

Pierre's class privilege is implicit in his being the son of a doctor and in his attending a *collège*, but in spite of this he privileges the Québécois farming classes. When Berthier asks his

students: "Où sont les vrais hommes de la race?" (73) Pierre points out "deux montagnards [...] Ce sont eux, en effet. Nos paysans demeurent ce qu'ils sont: des campagnards pauvres, mais fidèles à leur pauvreté." (73) Ostensibly, the *paysans* are of the same ethnic-class as Groulx, Berthier, or Martel, yet their larger material interests cannot be. So too, the concomitant anti-cosmopolitan vision implicitly dismisses rather than engages the pressing issue of proletarianization, avoiding the very real impossibility of a French-Canadian agrarian alternative to the foreign controlled, industrialized, capitalist market. This romantic idealism not only denies the oppression and material hardships of the rural classes, but it is based upon an equally fallacious myth. Or as Pierre writes in his journal: "Nos ancêtres étaient vraiment des gentilhommes." (78)¹³¹ In keeping with this rather feudal vision of the nobility of Québec's past Pierre violently denounces the present bourgeoisie -- "'Mort aux bourgeois que nous fûmes!" (109). However, Père Berthier counsels: "Ne soyez pas trop sévère pour les bourgeois [...] vous ne pourrez cesser de l'être par droit de naissance. D'ailleurs, je n'en veux pas au bourgeois. Seul le bourgeoisisme est répréhensible (109)."¹³²

The implied acceptance of bourgeois class oppression as opposed to a supposedly even more reprehensible bourgeois style or "bourgeoisisme" is not only indicative of the classism of Père Berthier's nationalism. It is inseparable from the tendency at that historical juncture of totally blaming the dominant Anglophone classes for the deformation and assimilation of French-Canadians,

a protonarrative which allows the text to avoid inter- and intra-class conflicts amongst French-Canadians except within a very circumscribed frame. Instead of dramatizing how the very skills which Père Berthier teaches play a significant role in maintaining the French-Canadian petty-bourgeois classes' subordination to more mercantile and industrial Anglophones, trapping much of the petty-bourgeoisie between modernity and the past, French-Canadians' ethnic-class subordination is blamed solely upon ethno-linguistic assimilation and the foreignness of modern, urban, industrial culture as an imposed aberration. Père Berthier's love of bourgeois pastimes like tennis may not conform to Lionel Groulx's interdictions against them, but his critique of Dr. Martel's partial assimilation does. To be bourgeois and Francophone is to be assimilated in the petty-bourgeois imaginary of *Le Beau risque*; it is to conform to the cultural hegemony of the dominant Anglophone class. This anxiety is perfectly true to how the ethno-linguistic subordination of French-Canadians encouraged the assimilation of its more bourgeois classes. Yet it also conveniently avoids how resistance to this colonial hierarchy had to be fought upon the modern, industrial, terrain of the dominant Anglophone classes. Instead, not a single significant sign of Montreal's modernity, nor a single Anglophone or immigrant of any class, appears within the text; an abstraction of the complexity of contemporary ethnic-class relations which allows the narrative to avoid the fact that the majority of working Anglophones and immigrants were also exploited.

This manichean ideologeme is echoed by the form as sedimented content of the novel's generic strategies and its limited hierarchy of discourses. The contemplative, intimate, genres of the private journal and the unrequited epistolary which constitute the novel are perfectly in keeping with the middle-class luxury and self-absorption of the French-Canadian petty-bourgeoisie; in contrast with a different generic strategy which might have more directly and dialogically pitted representatives of competing classes against one another. Instead, true to the informing clerico-nationalist emphasis upon the past, and the monolithic notion of French-Canadians as a single ethnic-class, the novel maintains a very limited hierarchy of discourses (i.e. briefly introducing some gender dissension only to quickly dismiss it (see "GFs" 199-200)).

The literary sign of "Nelligan" in *Le Beau risque* (see "EFs" 70-71 & "GFs" 258-59) is also worth examining in terms of class since the text's celebration of him as the national poet marks a contradiction between Père Berthier's and Pierre Martel's ethnic-class politics and Nelligan's aesthetics. Nelligan may be invoked as embodying the ideal, truly Québécois, poet, but this is done at the expense of ignoring the apolitical aspects of his "Parnassian", symbolist, poetics and its content. There is no denying the nationalist potential of his poetry's symbols of alienation. But Nelligan has been more often appropriated as a nationalist symbol of cultural frustration and repression because of his psychiatric institutionalization than he ever could have been for his nationalism. This contradiction becomes even more problematic

when the nationalist sacralization of Nelligan is syntagmatically linked with the text's constant valorization of higher education and literary culture, be it via the site of the *collège*, Père Berthier's frequent literary and philosophical references, or the epistolary and journal genres of the novel itself. For how are we to reconcile the novel's celebration of French-Canadians as predominantly a simple "nordic" "folk", or the ideal of "le retour au simple," with its profoundly classed literary signs of nationhood? Clearly, it is a contradictory ideal which implicitly privileges certain fractions of French-Canada's *classe-ethnie* at the expense of its less-educated masses.¹³³

The classed "symbolic economy" or cultural work of *Le Beau risque* proposes Québec's traditional French-Canadian petty-bourgeois classes as the only ones capable of effecting fundamental social change -- as is implied by Grandfather Martel's suggestion that Pierre's generation will finally fulfill the original mission of the *patriotes* (83). Yet it can be argued that the pressures and struggles for the most fundamental, material, social changes were already being fought for and won by the recently proletarianized French-Canadian masses and non-traditional petty-bourgeois classes -- none of whom appear in the text. This absence is not only indicative of traditional petty-bourgeois anxieties about working class militancy subverting its class privileges and nationalist leadership. The resultant avoidance of the assimilation of the French-Canadian working classes within the industrial work place and as a result of mass culture -- anxieties which only

manifest themselves in rather abstract condemnations of the city and the United States (28-9, 65) -- underlines just how inadequate the traditional petty-bourgeois nationalist project was and therefore just how unsuccessful it had to be in doing away with ethnic-class exploitation. In short, the novel's hierarchy of discourses, and especially its "illusion of a plenary and controlling producer (the authorial 'subject')" (Smith 92), may offer a seemingly coherent solution to French-Canadian ethnic-class exploitation, but the failure to imaginatively embody other classed sites and voices make its imaginative solutions all that much more illusionary.¹³⁴

* * * * *

It is slightly more difficult to decide if *Ils posséderont la terre* is just as thoroughly petty-bourgeois as *Le Beau risque* or whether it ultimately creates a bourgeois imaginary. A reader or critic who is less than enchanted by marxisms or class readings might find these concerns critically perverse given that *Ils posséderont la terre* is such a *writerly* text in comparison with most contemporary English- and French-Canadian novels;¹³⁵ a form of proof even that class critique, like those of ethnicity and gender, must necessarily militate against the pluralities of a text. Yet as much as "the writerly text is *ourselves* [the readers] *writing*,"¹³⁶ it is also important to theorize some of the ways in which a text, and especially a classic realist one, may militate against its own pluralism. Or to invoke Roland Barthes again: "the work of the commentary, once it is separated from any ideology of totality,

consists precisely in *manhandling* the text, *interrupting* it. What is thereby denied is not the *quality* of the text [...] but its 'naturalness.'" (Barthes 15)

In writing about himself André says: "Il est dur, sans transition, de faire un intellectuel d'un fils de paysan" (36); and hence, in contrast with Père Berthier's and Pierre Martel's more privileged romanticizations of the *habitants*, when André is "féru de Virgile et d'Horace, je trouvais nos paysans vulgaires." (29) Edward is only vaguely the son of an ambassador and cannot put up with the life of a seminarian. Otherwise, there is little textual evidence to suggest just how petty-bourgeois or bourgeois the young protagonists' or their girlfriends' lives are (though minor contrary examples occur in the brief appearances of André's grandparents, Marchadowski and Adrienne). André, Edward and the other main characters exist in a heterocosm where, whatever their differing socio-economic degrees, money and education are no object and where labour is highly abstractified or non-existent. One can argue that this class limbo is simply a narrativistic reflection of the protagonists' youth, but one can also interpret it as uncritically marking them as members of the privileged classes and as to how their classed values tend to be naturalized by the narrative. Consider, for instance, how at the beginning of the "Prologue" André informs us that "[j]'aimais m'imaginer à la tête d'une grande industrie, fier, admiré, redouté, à la façon [des] grands bourgeois (37)," and then at the end of the "Prologue" he announces "[j]e n'aspirais plus à dominer, mais seulement à me faire une

situation enviable dans un monde que j'acceptais tel qu'il était. Ma grande ambition se portait vers une augmentation de salaire, un congé." (62) This transition may signal André's quickening sense of lost youth and resignation, of a more realistic attitude towards his actual and potential social station, but even these diminished, middle class, ambitions are signs of just how far he has come for a "fils de paysan". What is more, said fantasized salary increase and vacation are narrativistically prepared for not by any reference to his labouring, but by his having just been told by a more privileged family friend that "on te trouvera quelque chose."(60) Whether or not this comes to pass is not resolved by the text, a factor which can be dismissed simply as extratextual or taken up as yet another sign of the narrative's failure to engage with class and its darker consequences. In either case, the subdued, yet privileged, social ambitions and bonds of André's place within the narrative's classed heterocosm are exemplary of how the ambiguous *travaux* of its psychologically tortured petty/bourgeois subjects implicitly take precedence over any other class or form of social tragedy.

One could argue that the novel's class ambiguities are a result of its emphasis upon the psychological life as opposed to the social (see "EFs" 71-4). But from a class oriented psychoanalytical perspective these social settings and their virtually non-existent personal interactions -- "On aime sans se mettre à aimer. On souffre sans avoir commencé à souffrir (Belleau 84)." -- provide little coherent sense of how psychological differences, anxieties and conflicts can be related to classed material circumstances.¹³⁷

Consequently, though there are many signs and settings of the social, be they the sanatorium where André's friend, Fernand, dies; Edward's short life as a seminarian; or the ambiguous, aborted, heroic departure for Ethiopia; the novel invokes classed social relations, differences and tensions even more abstractly, and then only to circumspectly erase or dismiss them, than in most English- and French-Canadian fiction of the period.

The appearance and erasure of the enigmatically classed and gendered figure of Adrienne is the most obvious case in point. Given the "low" venue outside the night club where André and Edward encounter and pick-up Adrienne, or the fact that they pick-up this fe/male stranger at all, suggests that she is of a different, lower, class than they are; a cultural code which automatically vulgarizes her given the overall petty/bourgeois ambience of the narrative and its central characters. Her ambiguous gender is associated with a popular, public, venue where the lower and other classes might voyeuristically encounter one another but maintain their distance; except for the purposes, of course, of the very kinds of transgressions which are suggested by Adrienne's disruptive psychosexual effect upon Edward. Once, however, Edward sees Adrienne again at the night club her exoticness, whether it be for her/his sexuality, or class difference, or both, suddenly inexplicably dissipates: "Il s'apercevait qu'il avait été victime de son imagination (118)". Upon the subsequent unexpected arrival of Edward's obvious class equal, Ly, upon the scene, Adrienne is literally and unceremoniously disappeared from the text. As I noted

previously this sequence can be read as yet another expression of the text's male traffic in women and/or homosexual panic -- after all, in scopically surveying the sensual women around him, Edward decides "s'il y a des êtres qui sont faits pour le plaisir, il n'en était pas" (119) -- but its embedded classism is also implicitly dismissive of the social and psychological difficulties, stresses and, perhaps most importantly, the potential appeal of a "low" type like Adrienne. Like the enigmatically gendered figure of "le Survenant", Adrienne can also be conceptualized as symbolically encapsulating social modernity and rapid change, but in such a way that nevertheless mystifies the actual, profound, socio-economic changes that were taking place in Québec society. In what can be theorized as a standard bourgeois identified classic realist strategy, instead of dealing directly with the doubly classed and gendered psychological alienation and economic exploitation which might lead a Survenant to become, or are a result of his being, a migrant worker; or which might account for the sex-gender ambiguities of a possibly working class female like Adrienne and her exotic attraction for Edward; we are presented with ambiguously psychologized effects.

Another way in which the novel's traditional, conservative, classism is unable to imagine other significant representatives of class differences as anything but negative and immoral is pithily dramatized by the figures of Mr. Genier and Marchadowski. Once again, we never exactly know what Genier does to earn a living. It is however intrinsically linked with his moral corruption, as

signaled by his constant flirtatious advances to Ly to accompany him on one of his "business" trips to New York. Given the absence of other signs of working life in the novel these "immoral" overtures are subtly made synonymous with modern commercial culture. Likewise, the foreign, feminized, revolutionary, Marchadowski -- who also seems to live off of the very air -- is synonymous, in keeping with dominant gender and class values, with corruption and revolution. Both of these "immoral" class poles can also be related to contemporary idealist and corporatist ideologemes which claimed that business had to be moralized and that the immoral dangers of communism had to be defeated. Yet because literature is a distinct mode of production of meaning it does not simply present these ideas as ideas, but as characters who embody protonarratives about perceived classed threats.

These eclectic examples of class conflict and disdain are consistent with the novel's petty/bourgeois privileging of the sheltered, self-absorbed, *ennui* of André, Edward, *et al.* throughout; an *ennui* and insularity which might be said to represent fractions of either the French-Canadian petty-bourgeoisie or of the bourgeoisie. At the historical moment of *Ils posséderont la terre*'s production neither class could be said to have fulfilled its socio-economic potential and both were as yet seriously blocked by or subordinate to Anglophone competition. Individuals within the alienated fractions of either Francophone class could easily be represented by André, Edward, Ly and Dorothée, who can be conceptualized as signs of how the French-Canadian

petty/bourgeois classes were not yet classes "for themselves". The appropriateness of Monière's comment on how the revolt of Québécois "personalists" like Charbonneau "reste à l'intérieur de leur classe" is thus made even more apparent by *Ils posséderont la terre*.¹³⁸ André's class ambitions, like Edward's rejection of the seminary, may suggest some possible "habits neufs" of the petty and bourgeois classes, but André's *collège classique* education and biases, like Edward's conflicted psycho-sexual compulsions, are also indicative of how they are prisoners of the traditional, ossified, social codes of the past. The insularity of this psychologically troubled yet always materially comfortable heterocosm also calls to mind Raymond Williams's critique of Jane Austen: "where only one class is seen, no classes are seen"¹³⁹ -- meaning that any substantive dramatization or understanding of class is necessarily relational. In other words, *Ils posséderont la terre* attempts to pass off, no matter how innocently, its psychologized, fractured, classic realist copies of troubled, self-absorbed, petty/bourgeois codes and subjectivities as reality, when their very exclusiveness only foregrounds (when queried by a negative hermeneutic) how the novel's ostensibly classless heterocosm is only a copy of very limited classed copies or discourses of the real (see Barthes 55).

This classic realist illusion is consistent with the contemporary middle and upper classes' un/conscious investments in ignoring the underlying economic processes of exploitation, or at least the ones that were more profound than a corporatist or "Achat

Chez Nous" perspective could clarify, which accounted for said classes' privileges as opposed to their socio-economic frustrations and blockages. Charbonneau elsewhere de-classed or abstractified these negatives by conceptualizing the novel's role as emphasizing man's spiritual quest as opposed to his era's or society's social conditions and relations.¹⁴⁰ All of which, given the class ambiguities of the novel, then begs the question whether there is ultimately any need to split hairs about the extent to which *Ils posséderont la terre* embodies bourgeois or petty-bourgeois class visions. For whatever contradictions may exist between, and are disguised by, the enigmatic signs of these two class positions in the novel, their actual, historical, counterparts had a common interest in its working class-less, anti-revolutionary, imaginary.

* * * * *

Some Anglophone Literary Progressivism and Its Contradictions

Earth and High Heaven is so identified with ethnic conflict, and especially its anti- anti-Semitism, that its class politics have been critically overlooked.¹⁴¹ The characters and settings of *Earth and High Heaven* may be predominantly bourgeois, but the novel's female protagonist, Erica Drake, betrays her upper class origins somewhat by working as a journalist. She also supports her union and in general might be best characterized as a social-democrat or CCFer. There is a certain class consciousness at work in *Earth and High Heaven*, especially via Erica's discourse and its hybridization with that of the *histoire*. Yet as in *Le Beau risque* and *Ils*

posséderont la terre there is also an abstraction of the working classes -- though the character René de Sevigny does serve as an ethnic-class representative of French-Canadians, allowing for some debate about colonial, ethnic-class, oppression and resistance. Interestingly too, as actually happened to a number of upper class English-Canadian families during the 1930s and 1940s, the Drake family is in economic decline. This scenario was almost never treated in fiction during said epoch,¹⁴² possibly because it did not conform to most imaginaries about the dominant ethnic-class. Regardless, as much as these attributes of the text evidence some class consciousness, the contradictions in its "left" identified discourses, as well as the uncritical predominance of bourgeois codes, undermine much of its radical potential.

Consider how Erica views herself and is viewed as a class traitor. Or as the narrator summarizes Erica's change in social status at the beginning of the novel:

She got a job as a reporter on the society page of the *Montreal Post* and dropped, overnight, from the class which is written about to the class which does the writing [...] When, at the end of three years, she became Editor of the Woman's Section, she had ceased to be one of the Drakes of Westmount and was simply Erica Drake of the *Post*, not only in the minds of others, but in her own mind as well (14).

This class shift and its implicit antagonism is made more explicit by our being told she joined the newspaper "Guild" (20-21) and how it was "disconcerting" for her former friends "to discover that in any discussion involving politics or economics, Erica was likely to

be on the side of Labour, as it was for her to realize that they were not." (28) But as much as Erica may supposedly "be on the side of Labour" the narrative's signs of the working class are ironically either fairly bourgeois or non-existent. The reader first encounters Erica in the Drakes' luxurious house overlooking the city and, with a couple of minor exceptions, almost all of the novel's action takes place in bourgeois sites and situations. For instance, Charcot's, the restaurant where Erica and René meet and debate their ethnic-class differences, offers everything from Martinis, to mixing one's own salad dressings, to French pastries -- hardly the ambience and amenities of a traitor to the upper-class. Even Miriam's abstractified visit to the abortionist is sedimented with signs of class privilege, with just how removed from the dangers in having an abortion privileged women like the Drakes are since they can at least afford to go to an experienced doctor.¹⁴³ Furthermore, Erica may be a member of the "newspaper 'Guild'", and it might cause her some tensions and embarrassment with her family's upper class friends and associates, but newspaper journalists were fairly rarefied representatives of the working classes.

Nor, in spite of Marc's humanistic desires -- for he claims he wants to effect social change in Québec (29) -- is he portrayed as being engaged in any social causes, such as helping to organise or defend any of the exploited Jews who historically were sweating away in the textile factories of the city. In other words, the trope of the Jew as activist is invoked only to be erased. This is curious given the novel's "progressive" sympathies, but it may reflect a

decision not to encourage the anti-immigration-Semitic- and -Socialist possibilities of the larger ideologeme. A related problematic concerns the rather ambivalent class consciousness of Erica and Marc. In fact, when their friend John asks if they are socialists Erica's response is: "Must we be labeled?" asked Erica, making a face. She grinned at Marc and said, "I'm allergic to labels." (see 139-40) In comparison with John's radicalized overseas wartime experience Erica's and Marc's rather "arm-chair socialism" is reminiscent of the more privileged intellectual fractions of the CCF.

The credibility of Erica's class progressivism is also contradicted by her indulgence of her "rugged individualist" (23) father's wooly politics. For instance, the *histoire* remarks how with Erica:

[Charles] could talk like a Tory one day and like a Socialist the next, without -- as often happened with his wife -- being informed that he was 'hopelessly illogical' and without running the risk of having anything he might say used against him the next time he chose to contradict himself (36).

The *histoire* informs us Erica accepts "the duality of her father's nature" because she rationalizes it as a result of the recent decline in her family's fortune as a result of the Depression (14-15). "It was primarily a conflict between the theories and beliefs on which he had been brought up and which were an integral part of his background and tradition [...] and the facts, as they presented themselves to him from day to day" (35-6). As logical as this

analysis appears, given that the decline in Erica's family's fortunes still seems to permit the "Drake's of Westmount" more than a modicum of class privilege, Charles' internalized class "conflict" is not very credible. Nor is it made any more so when Erica explains her compassion or tolerance for the contradictions of Charles' supposed conflicted class formations to her sister Miriam: "Charles is a lot more radical than most people think [...] He just doesn't want to be labeled, that's all. I don't know exactly where he stands, but it's certainly somewhere to the left of centre" (86). Thus, in a very shorthand enigmatic manner Charles is appropriated for the sake of the "progressive" tendencies of the text.¹⁴⁴ Yet other than Erica declaring him to be so, Charles does not express a single classed idea that could truly be defined as "left of centre".

The novel's ethnic discourses are also indicative of the tameness, or guardedness, of its class critique. As I argued in the chapter on "Ethnic Fictions," Charles Drake's fear of miscegenation can be related to the actual social passage of Jews from their immigrant to their assimilated status and so to their competition for jobs, social standing and influence (see "EFs" 81-3). In other words, anti-semitism is a class phenomenon as much as, if not more than, it is anything else. This can be critically teased out of Charles Drake's discourse (see 92-7 & "EFs" 86-8) but the class anxiety of his fear of miscegenation is all but ignored by the *histoire* and sarcastically addressed by Erica only in passing: "the Drake connection isn't quite as important as it used to be, even to a Jewish lawyer." (95) In fact one can argue that Charles's class

anxiety is mystified even further by the enigmatic incest motif (see "GFs" 209-12).

A similar process of enunciation and deferral of class antagonisms between the two official charter groups is dramatized by the exchanges between Erica and René de Sevigny: "If you want to convince us that you really mean what you say about Nazism, and your "democratic ideals," [...] you've got to stop exploiting French Canadian labor and let us control our own economic life instead of having you control it for us." (68) As much as this debate acknowledges ethnic-class tensions between English- and French-Canadians, René is largely an English-Canadian biased stereotype of the militant French-Canadian as a nationalist, overly race-conscious, politician (see 62-8). Thus, this ideologeme of *ressentiment*, like Marius' embodiment of it in *Two Solitudes*, acknowledges René's critiques at the same time that it inoculates against them. Furthermore, we are told about tensions between French- and English-Canadians in generalized, abstract terms. Their material manifestations, such as an "Achat Chez Nous" demonstration, or a CTCC union strike for collective bargaining rights or for wages on a par with equivalent workers in Ontario, are totally absent. This absence also minimizes the credibility of René's ethnic-class critiques, making them appear, in keeping with the aforementioned negative trope of the French-Canadian nationalist politician, as if they are so much hot air or rhetoric. Or as Marc's and Erica's comparatively privileged discourses confirm:

[Erica] "René, seems to think the war is just a racket."

"I know. He says it's just another war for conquest between the Great Powers and the political aspect of it doesn't matter because ideologically, we're immune. Just why he imagines we're more immune to Nazi ideas than anyone else, I don't know." (77)

This response to René's anti-Imperial discourse, which was historically most identified with the *Bloc populaire canadien*, was *de rigueur* in the English-Canadian press. As was so often done in reality, it chauvinistically ignores, in a classic example of *ressentiment*, the ethnic-class bases of René's anti-war biases by shifting the focus to an apparent irrationality and the consequent dangers.

In brief, there is a certain amount of "progressive" sound and fury to *Earth and High Heaven*, but its classed cultural work ultimately embodies Anglophone biases against French-Canadian ethnic-class resistance, and the ideological migrations and confusion at the end of the war between democratic socialism and neo-liberalism's appropriations of it, more than it offers a coherent progressive perspective on contemporary class controversies. One might consider this critical summary to "manhandle" the text more than is justified (see Barthes 15 & "CFs" 341), yet it is imperative if its contradictory class discourses and values are to be denaturalized and recognized as sedimentations of actual competing discourses about ethnic-class exploitation and socialism.

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True to its complex metaphor at the beginning of the novel (see 1-2), Hugh MacLennan's *Two Solitudes* attempts a vast canvas of English- and French-Canadian cultures and their symbolic unity or melding. As I've already indicated the complete text is too culturally assimilationist to truly fulfill the latter goal and I believe similar contradictions apply to its representations of class. The range of its class types and their relations is somewhat broader than in all of the aforementioned novels, but as much as *Two Solitudes* dramatizes Anglophone political-economic dominance and exploitation of French-Canadians it is ideologically too bourgeois, too structured around classist *inoculations* and *ressentiment*, not to reinforce the very ethnic-class differences which it might otherwise subvert.

Two Solitudes makes overly binary examples of class relations stand in for more complex realities. As with Graham's novel, *Two Solitudes*' English imaginary is almost exclusively set in bourgeois Montréal and especially upper Westmount. This self-absorbed world is rendered well, from the conformism of its dress codes (103), to the rituals "considered fitting for women in the Square Mile" (265), to its paternalistic biases against the French (see 112). There is the occasional inclusion of more seedy elements, as in the description of Kathleen's and Paul's neighbourhood after Athanase's death --

It had been a good street once. The grey, stuccoed Victorian houses had dignified lines, but the old families had long ago sold out to rooming-house proprietors [...] When the light was soft, the street was like an exiled aristocrat trying to cover up his poor

clothes and worthlessness with the fine manners he had never been able to forget. But during the day boys ran around on the asphalt and dodged traffic as they played catch, and trucks roared through constantly (247-48).

-- but like the subsequent muted allusions to prostitutes, or to Paul's rooming-house when he is unemployed, this working-class world is generic, without local colour. It's also ethno-linguistically neutral. Consequently, it is the more elaborate details of Huntley McQueen's business world:

[His] office overlooked one of the panoramas of the world [...] McQueen's satisfaction constantly renewed itself through his ability to overlook all this. He felt himself at the exact centre of the country's heart, at the meeting place of ships, railroads and people, at the precise point where the interlocking directorates of Canada found their balance. Saint James Street was by no means as powerful as Wall Street or The City, but considering the small population of the country behind it, McQueen felt it ranked uniquely high (105).

-- or his drawing room:

This was another lofty chamber, furnished with oriental rugs, three ormolu clocks, walnut tables, chairs covered with rose brocade, imitation Constables surrounded by ponderous gilt frames, two bronze statuettes on marble bases and several Dresden figurines (254-55).

-- which ultimately stand out as signs of Anglo-Québec society.

Furthermore, Huntley McQueen may at first be portrayed as being quite considerate of French-Canada's needs if it is to become modern --

[Athanasie Tallard] "You business friends in Montreal [have] grown fat on us."

McQueen shook his head and raised a forefinger. "I know that. I know it only too well. Some of our trusts have been irresponsibile. What I want is to see French-Canada develop her own resources. I don't want to come in here and do it for you." (16)

-- and he is at first ostensibly different from the rest of "the hierarchy of business families in Montreal, a group of men regarded by all French-Canadians with a mixture of envy and suspicion (17)." McQueen's generosity has its limits however when he "take[s] over [Tallard's] interests in the company" (214) they had formed together. Tallard is stereotypically incompetent in business, presumably because he is still too representative of a redundant, rather feudal, privileged class. Where McQueen recognizes a river's potential for a profitable power dam Tallard has a toll bridge (16). Throughout, Tallard's and the *histoire*'s hybridized discourse credits Anglophones with "an instinct for money" (17) -- "Beyond that the English in Canada never went a step. The production, acquisition and distribution of wealth was about the only purpose they ever seemed able to find." (100)¹⁴⁵ The *pseudoidea* of the English of Québec as almost exclusively comprising financial wizards is reinforced by essentialist *protonarratives*.

All his life he had lived here without so much as dreaming of the possibilities that lay under his own nose, while McQueen had taken a single look at the falls and had seen everything at once. Why could people like himself never see such things unless they were pointed out first by someone else? (99)

Such thoughts prompt Athanase to conceptualize the history of Québec as follows:

[...] the English, working sporadically and generally for money, never planning anything, had inherited the continent by default when the politicians around the French king had decided to write off the Saint Lawrence area as so many acres of snow and ice [...]. Now once again the English, working sporadically for profit, were appropriating what they wanted in the Saint Lawrence Valley. His own people put toll-bridges across rivers and floated timber down them, but by instinct the English harnessed them to the future (100).

The references to the "sporadic[ness]" of English business adventurism and enterprises, to their "never planning anything" and, most importantly, to their "instinct" for turning a profit, could be read merely as signs of Athanase's misguided essentialism if it were not for the fact that such passages are actually hybridized narrative discourses and ultimately indistinguishable from the essentialist oppositions enunciated by the *histoire* in the prologue.¹⁴⁶ In other words, we cannot simply read such a passage as representative of Athanase's psychology. It also represents the narrative's "common sense" truth, the English-biased ethnic-class argument within the *histoire*'s larger *structure of feeling*, as to what distinguishes and empowers the English of Québec at the expense of the French.¹⁴⁷ Thus, the negative portrayals of the Anglophone business class, and at times of McQueen, are ultimately inoculations which defer to this larger essentialist myth.

Still, in keeping with the growing wartime radicalization of political discourse, there are several instances in *Two Solitudes* of a more critical dramatization of ethnic-class biases and conflict. For instance, both Marius and Father Beaubien react strongly

against the exploitation of French-Canadians as "cheap labour" by English interests (44, 167). An anonymous Englishman on a train also comments on the phenomenon, but from the perspective of a profiteer: "Labour's cheap here. That's one good thing." (77) In another instance, an anonymous French-Canadian farmer who works for an English lumber company fantasizes about the possible ethnic-class consequences of the war.

'Now suppose we win the war. What happens? Me and the kid, we go on sawing the wood, same as now [...] But suppose we lose it? Maybe I keep on sawing, same as before. But goddamn it, this time I got an Englishman on the other end of that saw, for sure.' (64)¹⁴⁸

These discourses about Québec's cheap labour and its ethnic-class hierarchy are quite analogous to Stanley Ryerson's analyses of the political-economic exploitation of French-Canada. In fact, the dramatization, no matter how circumscribed, of ethnic-class conflict is probably the most radical aspect of *Two Solitudes*. For in spite of its inoculations and the fact that it does not go as far as several post-war Francophone novels in terms of its critique of ethnic-class exploitation in Québec,¹⁴⁹ it still went very much against the grain of social discourses in Anglophone dominant culture and in Francophone venues which were hostile to class critiques.

On the other hand, the portrayals of Marius and Paul Tallard are equally germane to understanding how much of the classed cultural work of the text critically foregrounds ethnic-class competition and exploitation only to neutralize or diminish their

significance. As I noted previously, the oedipalization of Marius and his dogmatism do much to discredit his nationalist discourse (see "EFs" 120-22 & "GFs" 186) and the same applies to his class critique. He may be the only figure, aside from his father, to seriously denounce the ethnic-class exploitation of French-Canadians (see 44-46). Yet even a French-Canadian nationalist politician calls him to task for being too Bolshevist during a speech:

"You can talk about our rights [...] But the English part of this country is run by big business, even if they don't know it. And their big boys don't like their names thrown around in public, understand? [...] They'd a lot sooner have us curse their race than kick for higher wages. You remember that next time. And for Christ's sake remember that French-Canadian nationalism isn't Bolshevism -- or anything like it." (49)

Marius may reject the politician's comments as being hypocritical, or as the result of jealousy (see 49-50), but this motif has the double effect of discrediting Marius's ethnic-class perspective as simply an ill-informed dogmatic ranting, and of identifying mainstream French-Canadian nationalism, represented by the politician, with a cynical attitude towards class critique which is without popular, class conscious, potential. This ideologeme of *ressentiment* was, as I noted before, common to dominant English-Canadian political-economic culture and even at times to the Anglophone dominated Canadian left, both of which were antagonistic to the populist class critiques of some French-Canadian nationalists.

Given Marius's sustained lack of credibility, the classed symbolic economy of the novel is perhaps even better understood by examining Paul's contradictory enunciations on class. Paul's discourse is the most privileged after the *histoire's* and so, after his family's loss of its fortune and his subsequent adult life as an underpaid itinerant worker, when the *histoire* tells us Paul dismisses "class struggle" (310) the bourgeois "truth" value of this declaration is considerable. This stance is subsequently qualified somewhat when Paul laughs at Heather for her supposed idealism:

"You're probably a socialist," he said. "Or think you are."

"But Paul!" She flushed with anger. "Why should you be against socialism? Why should a man like you agree with McQueen?"

"I'm not against it. And so far as I know, I don't agree with McQueen, either." [...] "I don't seem able to look at politics as if it were a science. I look at people instead."

She kept her back turned to him. "But doesn't the system produce the people?"

"It would be pleasant to think so. At least you could change a system." (312)

Ostensibly this conversation takes place on the eve of WW II, but this rather abstractly condensed debate about whether or not class exploitation is systemic and/or reformable is in essence little different from that which gripped Canada and Québec during the war years and especially leading up to the Federal election of 1945. Paul may claim not to be against socialism, but his apparent doubts about social formation being systemic or changeable are closer to political nihilism, or at least a grudging acceptance of the status quo, than anything else.

The aforementioned bourgeois "truth" value of Paul's discourse also carries that much more weight given that Paul is, in effect, the novel's only example of a working class figure. Only Paul is ever presented as a worker in the classic sense and so his privileged discourse is the only one that ostensibly speaks from a working class subject-position.¹⁵⁰ If this appears to give too much credit to a Newtonian-like "Great Clockmaker" notion of the power and influence of the hierarchy of discourses of a classic realist text, consider Yardley's complimentary "common sense" discourse in the novel concerning Paul's "battle to become himself remain[ing] a private one" (301) and Paul subsequently gleaning from Yardley that "things were what a man's mind made them" (317). Yardley is also credited with the death-bed Calvinistic reverie "that with the talent and the courage there was no limit to what a man could obtain out of life" -- note the acquisitive verb -- "if he merely accepted what lay all around him." (350) This Protestant ethic, essential to the spirit of capitalism,¹⁵¹ can be related to Paul's polemics against "[t]he machine" and "the city" (306-07) -- to his mistaking the negative consequences of capitalism for causes -- much the way a traditional nationalist like Marius does. This is not to suggest that the novel is completely forgiving of the Anglophone capitalist class nor that this similarity erases the ideological differences between Paul and Marius. Rather, it is meant to stress how the bourgeois individualistic values evident in Yardley's and Paul's discourses are consistent with the world view and interests of the class they otherwise appear to reject. This perspective is subtly reinforced by the *histoire*'s implicit, hybrid, dismissal,

like Paul's, of Heather's attraction to socialist ideology: "All the students she had liked in college had been socialists, and she had accepted their point of view easily. She had never known anyone who was poor or worked with his hands" (309). In other words, socialism is supposedly only an intellectual parlour game of the idle rich, a fantasy of those who have no practical knowledge of what it means to labour. Or as a narrative hybrid of Paul's discourse subsequently tells Heather (and interpellates the reader): "[a]n artist had nothing worth offering the world, absolutely nothing, except distilled parts of himself [...] and to hell with the class struggle." (310) Thus, though anti- Québécois nationalist discourse is at least ironically embodied by Marius, no identifiably militant socialist or working class voices are tolerated. Instead, they are spoken for by Heather's or Paul's discourses and in the process socialism is dismissed.

In summation, though there is some historical verity to the novel's ethnic-class stereotypes, they cannot stand-in for more complex ethnic-class relations. In keeping with the Anglophone biased assimilationist aspects of the text the virtual representation of Anglophones as being comprised solely of upper class business people and their families, and a complementary lack of commercial French-Canadian bourgeois, or even petty-bourgeois types, does much to naturalize an exploitative, historical, material relationship between the two ethno-linguistic groups; as do its class biased invocations of the inadequacies and misguidedness of class consciousness. Thus, like most classical realist fiction, *Two*

Solitudes was reliant upon the absorption and transformation of established class "legends", or ideologemes of *ressentiment* , more than it subverted them.

* * * * *

Class Consciousness and the Emergent Genre of *mœurs urbaines*

According to many critics Roger Lemelin's and Gabrielle Roy's first novels mark a movement away from traditional themes and values of the ideology of *conservation* , while confronting the neglected problems of urban life and suggesting the possibility of *contestation* . Or as Jean-Charles Falardeau writes:

C'est avec Gabrielle Roy et Roger Lemelin que la ville dans le roman devient un espace concret qui conditionne le destin des personnages: un espace humain, difficile, exigeant dans lequel ils doivent définir et défendre leur existence. A l'intérieur de la ville, Montréal ou Québec, les personnages habitent un quartier défini. Pour la première fois, le héros urbain est d'un quartier populaire et il est directement aux prises avec un conflit qui oppose des valeurs traditionnelles [...]¹⁵²

What critics like Falardeau have tended to take less account of is how these texts absorbed and transformed ideas and values which were compatible with traditional, dominant, cultures, as well as the limitations and contradictions of their *contestation* . For instance, if one concentrates on the obvious anti-clericalism of *Au Pied de la pente douce* , or if Rose-Anna's confused religious devotion is read as a pathetic succour (see 88-89), then one is likely to read them as marking breaks with the social and literary

past. One can, however, deconstruct their presumably contestatory signs of religious ideology and its consequent social relations as performing quite different cultural work. Or as Denis Monière has written of the developing neo-liberal *Citélibriste* ideology at the end of the war and during the immediate post-war years: "[la] rupture avec l'idéologie dominante ne sera pas radicale. Tous les ponts ne sont pas coupés, de sorte qu'on retrouve certains éléments de continuité [...] [et l]a religion sert de trait d'union."¹⁵³

* * * * *

Gabrielle Roy's *Bonheur d'occasion*, like Lemelin's novels, centres upon urban lumpen and working class French-Canadians. The parish life and politics which are still legion in many other novels of the period, including *Au Pied de la pente douce*, are virtually absent. Claude Racine suggests this difference marks a radical break from the traditional novelistic centrality of the parish,¹⁵⁴ but this does not mean that religious ideology is any less central to *Bonheur d'occasion*. Marc Gagné has suggested that the themes of *Bonheur d'occasion* and *Alexandre Chenvert* "[se] rattachent au 'reditus' du progress", that they are "oeuvres de contestation", and that they are fictional equivalents of Roy's faith in "le progres matériel" evidenced in her journalistic writing.¹⁵⁵ Such a reading does not take account, however, of the novels' contradictory ideological tendencies. Marie-José des Rivières sees *Bonheur d'occasion* as embodying both the ideologies of *conservation* and *contestatio:n*, though her analysis is probably too reliant upon attributing each of them solely to distinct

characters.¹⁵⁶ And whereas Albert Le Grand sees Roy's overall *œuvre* as moving from "la contestation sociale à l'interrogation métaphysique", as shall become more apparent, I see *Bonheur d'occasion* as already being heavily imbricated with metaphysical idealism.¹⁵⁷

Gabrielle Roy's *Bonheur d'occasion* is understandably famous for remembering the everyday horrors of the French-Canadian working classes of Québec at the end of the Depression and the beginning of the war. Without being preachy (at least until the end of the novel), the narrative presents a relatively wide range of lower class types, including: Florentine Lacasse, a young lunch-counter waitress; her domestic, perpetually pregnant mother, Rose-Anna; the recently proletarianized, irregularly employed and psychologically castrated patriarch, Azarius Lacasse; the petty-bourgeois soldier Emmanuel Létourneau and his family; Jean Lévesque, an aspiring student of engineering; and the dispirited, chronically unemployed, male youths of Mère Philibert's snackbar. Most of the characters are, in one way another, victims of the Depression and its consequent exploitative economy, and about to be uplifted and endangered by the brutal "solution" of WW II.

A relatively class conscious anger is shared by several of the characters about the capital available to a highly profitable war economy:

[Emmanuel:] "Les gars qui ont de l'argent, c'est eux autres qui décident si vous allez travailler, vous autres, oui ou non, selon que ça fait leur affaire ou bien qu'ils

s'en fichent. Mais la guerre, c'telle-ci, va te le détruire le maudit pouvoir de l'argent [...] L'argent s'en va pour la destruction pis a se détruit elle-même." (55)

[Sam Latour:] "[L]'argent [...] Y en avait pas pour les vieux, ni pour les écoles, ni pour les orphelins, ni pour donner de l'ouvrage au monde. Mais à c'te heure marque ben qu'il y en a pour la guerre. A se trouve à c'te heure, l'argent.

-- A se trouve toujours en effette pour la guerre, répliqua Azarius (132-133).

Jean Lésvesque, on the other hand, revels in the class upliftment which the war can provide him, and his selfishness -- "L'âpre satisfaction de ne devoir son succès qu'à lui-même versait déjà dans ses veines un orgueil insensé."(181) -- is dramatically played out and literally and symbolically condemned by his rape of Florentine who, ironically, is said to trouble him because "elle évoquait toute son enfance malheureuse et son adolescence inquiète." (179) If Lésvesque is symbolically the embodiment of the worst, corrupting, rapacious, exploitative aspects of capitalism,¹⁵⁸ Emmanuel Létourneau, an old school friend of Lésvesque's, is his positive *doppelganger* or idealistic opposite. For it is his *hybrid* discourse which both champions the war's liberatory potential for the oppressed, and yet dreads its equally destructive, deradicalizing, potential (see 53-55, 338-341) (though for the moment I will defer a close reading of this discourse and its contradictory classed significance (see "CFs" 371-77)).

Consistent with the historical immediacy of its subject matter and its publication, the narrative leaves us with no clear

indication as to whether or not the military's economic and psychological empowerment of the exploited like Azarius, Eugène and Pitou might translate into something more radical; though the tragedy of their "liberation" being bought at the cost of their intimacy with their families or perhaps even their lives is perfectly consistent with the aforementioned class critiques of the callousness of Capital by Emmanuel, Sam Latour and Azarius. What is most obviously missing from the working class milieu which Roy otherwise so convincingly reconstructs, however, are signs of collective resistance to class oppression; be it in the form of trade union struggles, unemployment or anti-eviction demonstrations, participation in political movements or rallies, or other sites and forms of class resistance which were so common during the Depression and the war.¹⁵⁹ Instead, with the careerist exception of Lévesque, all of the text's exploited, disadvantaged, people are quite passive. While this may be true to the depressed lethargy of much of the populace at that historical moment, or to the dramatic way in which the war swept up and changed the lives of millions of people in its wake, it also ignores or erases the historical combativeness of the working classes.¹⁶⁰

Or consider some of the classed cultural work of the semiosis of the "maternel" in *Bonheur d'occasion* (see "GFs" 215-18). As much as *Bonheur d'occasion* creates an imaginary working class which shows almost no signs of resisting its exploitation, a complementary lack, consistent with the contemporary "glorification de l'image de la mère,"¹⁶¹ is evident in the novel's

relative absence of working women, let alone militant ones. This does not mean that I am faulting Roy's novel for not encompassing every possible aspect of contemporary female working class life. Rarely can a writer create an engaging heterocosm without focussing upon a relatively small array of characters and scenarios. What I want to stress is how the sociogram of the "maternal" in *Bonheur d'occasion*, be it in the form of Rose-Anna, her mother, the pregnant, newly married Florentine, or the matronly, phantasmic, woman at the end of the novel, is inextricably dependent upon a conventional sense of women as relatively passive domestic types. For instance, just as Rose-Anna is resigned to her fate,¹⁶² Emmanuel's vision of the "petite vieille", as recounted by the *histoire*, characterizes her as "doucement résignée" (340). This does not mean that Rose-Anna's (nor her mother's) perseverance is not portrayed as courageous, nor that the "petite vieille" cannot be internalized by the reader as heroic. But in the absence of alternative female working class subject-positions, such as military volunteers, war production workers, militant textile workers (of which St-Henri had a large share), or community activists, the text's female types do much to reinforce the common sense notions of the day of the non-domestic realm as an essentially male domain, the domestic realm as female and the working classes as passive. Yet already during the Depression, though they still constituted only a minor part of the labour force, women retained existing jobs and won new ones at markedly greater rates than men; largely because they were an important source of cheap labour. So too, the economic independence which

the war fostered and reinforced for many women did much to erode the conventional gendered division of labour of Québec's modern industrial culture. But one would never know it from reading *Bonheur d'occasion*.

This absence may be historically truer to actual conditions at the beginning of the war, and so might be read as an example of the text's historical verisimilitude, but such unsaid may also speak to the anxieties generated by contemporary changes in the gendered division of labour and to corollary anxieties about working women, and especially working class women, resisting their exploitation or domestication. Florentine's initial independence and her pay's economic significance to the welfare of her parents' family give us a glimmer of this possibility (see 105),¹⁶³ but throughout the novel the possibility of economic security accounts for much of her attraction to Jean Lévesque (see 18-19) and then, by default and desperation when she is pregnant, to Emmanuel (342-44). Given the narrative's total investment at the end of the novel in her apparent dependence upon Emmanuel's military pay (see 340-345) the possibility of her returning to the work force is never considered. This reinforces contemporary sexist conventions about the gender of breadwinners, and of women's classed investment in catching a man, while gradually effacing Florentine's social and symbolic power as a female labourer. Thus, just when the war had proven that women could become more independent socio-economic actors outside of the home, *Bonheur d'occasion*'s portrayal of

Florentine falls back upon the domestic and the maternal as a tragic solution to and continuation of her s/exploitation.

Clearly, the verisimilitude of the general ambience and living conditions of the largely working class population of Saint-Henri, and of many of its women, at the end of the Depression is quite accurate. Unemployment was exceptionally high and the newly proletarianized French-Canadian population was ill-prepared to deal with the situation. Much emotive class conscious power is definitely achieved by the hybridity of the *histoire* 's and the working class characters' discourses about poverty: "[R]ose-Anna endurait leur pauvreté avec assez de courage à condition qu'elle n'eût pas des gens de la famille pour témoins. Aller leur montrer ses enfants en guenilles! Non, elle ne s'y résignerait jamais."(153) So too, the symbolic ways in which the advantaged, largely Anglophone, classes just up the hill in Westmount are depicted as remote and abstract creates a strong sense of the divide between the exploited and their exploiters, as when Rose-Anna looks down upon Saint-Henri and the city from Cedar Avenue:

Et voici que dans la maladie les enfants des bas quartiers venaient aussi habiter cette montagne ouverte au flot salubre et protégée de la fumée, de la suie et du halètement des usines qui, dans les tristes creux, s'épandent autour des maisons basses comme une grande ha'eine de bête, tendue au travail (193).

Still, Raymond Williams' faulting of overly limited class heterocosms is also quite applicable to *Bonheur d'occasion* (see "CFs" 347). For the abstractions of the upper classes and their

relations with the working classes, as well as the narrative's lack of class conflicts and their attendant discourses about power, collective struggles and repression, are consistent with the idealistic leftism of the narrative, which ultimately privileges a vision of mind over matter, of philosophical, spiritual, changes preceding and taking precedence over material ones.

This retreat from the working class anger of the narrative is most apparent in Emmanuel Létourneau's discourse and its hybridization by the *histoire*. Early on in *Bonheur d'occasion* Emmanuel enunciates a romantic left-idealist notion that "la guerre. . .va te le détruire le maudit pouvoir de l'argent"; "[l]'argent s'en va pour la destruction pis a se détruit elle-même." (54-55) Later, Emmanuel's hybridized discourse strains at a more radical class perspective but it is held in check by the *histoire*'s reassurance that Emmanuel is not a radical and by semantic shifts to abstract and religious language which embody more subtle, sedimented forms, of ideological content. Emmanuel walks up the mountain in Westmount, marvelling at "le doux confort anglais", but we are immediately told that "[i]l n'avait jarnais eu de rancune contre les riches"(285), that "Emmanuel n'avait point de haine contre les riches."(286) Instead, he feels "un malaise indéfinissable" which leads him to contemplate the divide between the rich and the poor and to ask whether the rich ("[e]ux autres"), like the poor, "donnent tout ce qu'ils ont à donner?"(286) Consistent with Emmanuel's humanist concerns throughout the novel the objects of this abstractified, questioned, "giving" are

society and the war effort, but they also mark a narrative retreat from the previously intimated ethnic-class conflicts.

Instead of imagining the wealthy occupants of "les grands hôtels princiers" (286) -- as Emmanuel metaphorizes their dwellings -- responding to his question, the narrative fantasizes the stones and expensive woods and metals of the surrounding mansions as speaking:

"Qu'est-ce que tu oses penser, toi, pauvre être humain! Prétendrais-tu par hasard te mettre à notre niveau? Mais ta vie, c'est ce qu'il y a de meilleur marché sur terre. Nous autres, la pierre, le fer, l'acier, l'or, l'argent, nous sommes ce qui se paye cher et ce qui dure."

-- Mais la vie, la vie d'un homme, insista Emmanuel.

"La vie, la vie d'un homme! On n'a jamais calculé ça encore. C'est une chose si petite, si éphémère, si docile, la vie d'un homme." (286-87)

As much as this sequence signals the devaluation of humans and human values within a capitalist economy, its personification of inanimate wealth actually abstractifies the exploitative, human, class relations and conflicts which invest such objects with value. This abstraction is furthered by the *histoire*'s subsequent reposing of Emmanuel's question: "De la richesse, de l'esprit, qui donc devait encore se sacrifier, qui donc possédait le véritable pouvoir de rédemption?"(287) Throughout Emmanuel's visit to Westmount, the noun "la richesse" of the implied class dichotomy stands in for the adjective wealthy. However, rather than directly counterpointing the wealth and consequent power of the privileged classes with the likes of Azarius, Alphonse and Pitou, whose poverty drives them

into military service (to "donne[r] tout ce qu'ils ont à donner"), through a connotative slide "pauvre" become the classless "la vie, la vie d'un homme" and then "l'esprit"(286). Thus, once again, a noun replaces an adjective and in the process a spiritual state replaces a material condition.

As with the portrayal of Rose-Anna, this spiritualization of the poor is apparently intended as being in praise of their self-sacrifice and fortitude. The question about "rédemption" is also patently weighted in favour of the spirit *qua* the poor who will be making the ultimate sacrifice. Yet the notion of "rédemption" concomitantly shifts Emmanuel's already ambiguous class consciousness away from the possibility of contemplating contestatory, liberatory, actions to an emphasis upon the virtue of sacrifice. No sooner is the above rhetorical question about redemption evoked than Emmanuel is imagined asking himself:

Et qui était-il, lui, pour aborder ce problème et en porter ce soir le fardeau? Un jeune homme qui, jusqu'ici, avait vécu une vie assez agréable, facile. . . de classe moyenne. . . . Oh, tout ce problème de la justice, du salut du monde était au-dessus de lui, impondérable, immense. Qui était-il, lui, pour essayer de l'examiner?
(287)

Ostensibly, Emmanuel doubts his ability to make sense of and criticize the oppressiveness of the status quo because of his own class privilege. Yet this hybridized foreclosure, like the signifying chain of abstract and metaphysical signs, is yet another retreat from the implied class conflicts which Emmanuel's discourse and the *histoire* fail to address more directly. Thus, as much as Rose-

Anna's, or Emmanuel's or any of the other discourses touch upon some of the material results or affective aspects of class exploitation and degradation for the working classes, the general imaginative failure to embody their class enemies and their discourses -- to be more directly shocked, angered, humiliated, challenged, *etcetera* by them -- means that the novel ultimately fails to explore how and why class exploitation happens, or just how systemic and relational it is.

Even when Emmanuel is shipping out to war from Bonaventure station and clearly thinks that "[c]eux qui partent, ce sont les moindres profiteurs"(339), a metaphysical idealism undermines his epiphany. Troubled by "une voix aux accents métalliques et impérieux: -- '*We'll fight to the last man for the British Empire* '", Emmanuel vigorously rejects the possibility of a Pitou or an Azarius fighting for "merry England" (339). But he is also horrified by the realization that "aucun d'eux n'allait faire la guerre dans un même but" (339). This nightmare is soon assuaged, as if in a vision, when Emmanuel sees the "petite vieille . . . doucement résignée":

L'humble femme remuait les lèvres comme pour lui adresser un message ultime. Les mots ne parvenaient pas à Emmanuel, mais il perçut au mouvement des lèvres qu'elle disait, rien que pour lui: '*Ça finira. Un jour, ça finira. Un jour, ça prendra fin.*'

Une lumière intérieure éclaira Emmanuel.

C'était donc cet espoir diffus, incompris de la plupart des hommes, qui soulevait encore une fois l'humanité: détruire la guerre (340-341).

The very imagined lack of class consciousness and consensus about the goals and possible radical outcomes of the war is thus translated into a virtue. Emmanuel's interpretation of this seeming oracle is that war will be destroyed and, implicitly, Capitalism -- as was suggested by much LPP and other leftist propaganda in favour of Total War. But as with the previous abstractions of social conflict just how this is to be accomplished is avoided by the text. Instead, a benevolent, rather Hegelian World Spirit ("cet espoir diffus"), rather than any concrete actions to change ethnic and class relations is imagined as being primary. As much as the humanism of this perspective is consistent with the outrage which fuels so many of the class themes and characterizations of the narrative, it is also as idealist as the restrained class perspectives of *La Relève* or the JEC. In keeping with the narrative's dramatizations of varied effects of class exploitation upon the residents of St-Henri, Emmanuel may be more engaged with the classed reasons for the tragedies of the Depression or the war than, say, Paul Tallard in *Two Solitudes*, but neither Emmanuel's discourse nor the *histoire* are any more capable of offering revolutionary, material, visions of or solutions to their socio-economic causes.¹⁶⁴

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In comparison with many former and contemporary novels, Lemelin's *Au Pied de la pente douce* does much to materialize working class oppression. The verisimilitude of the representation of popular cultures of the Lower Town of Québec City during the

Depression is quite powerful and quite different from the predominantly bourgeois class-scapes of *Ils posséderont la terre*, *Two Solitudes* and *Earth and High Heaven*. Consider, for instance, the comic opening scene with Denis Boucher and his childhood companions being chased by the police after robbing apples from a monastery orchard (25-33); the reference to the gang fights between youths of the Upper and Lower town (92); the aspiring petty-bourgeois competition between the owners of two neighbourhood snack bars (151-152); the ethnic-class competition associated with Jean-Baptiste Bédarovitch (see "EFs" 75-6); or a typically pathetic detail about how some poor people buy frozen cubes of dirty snow to try and keep their butter and spruce beer cold (187). There is obviously much melodramatic and comic working class rage at play here also. However, in spite of this, the novel is not always as contestatory as it might first appear -- be it in terms of the contradictions between its explicit satires and its implicit valorizations of the Church and Catholicism, or its protagonist's, Denis's, paradoxical ideological tendencies.

It is true that the Church and most of its clerics are given a fairly thorough satiric drubbing. For instance, we are told L'Abbé Trinchu "se donnait des airs de grande race"; that he "attendait son transfert chez des ouailles plus cultivées, moins terre-à-terre (98)". Curé Folbèche, with his tenacity for raising money and sending youths into the priesthood and nunneries, is another easy target (see 99-103). Religiosity is consistently identified with a self-serving privileged or aspiring class position, as when

Printotin runs to the curé to expose the supposed "communists" at the local liberal party office (and thereby raise his status in the parish) (56-61). Aside from mocking Duplessist paranoia's anti-liberal "pseudo-revolutionary menace" (Shek 151), this scenario also suggests the extent to which lay and ecclesiastical positions surrounding the Church provided a limited class ladder for the "Mulots" and "Soyeux"(25), the "Field Mice" and "Silkens", of the lower town or similarly impoverished areas.

L'Abbé Bongrain, as his name implies, is a much more down to earth peasant bred priest. "Il aimait les ouvriers et son âme de prêtre donnait l'illusion d'un bon Dieu qui vous touche." (54) But Bongrain serves another narrative function other than representing the humane side of the Church. When the anti-clerical drunkard, Tit-Blanc Colin, tells Bongrain "Vous pouvez Jéfendre les trusts, vous êtes dedans, vous autres (55)", Bongrain admits the Church is a trust but argues it is a necessary one which twice saved Tit-Blanc's job and helped his wife through childbirth. Coming from Bongrain, and uncontested by the *histoire*, this defense is likely to interpellate the reader. After all, hasn't Père Bongrain worked and participated in labour struggles in Thetford Mines (40) and therefore doesn't Bongrain have the *mulots*' best interests at heart? In the process, however, the actual historical role of the Church as a trust with intimate, organic, links with Capital's exploitation of the populace is skirted over. What is more, given that the critique comes from Tit-Blanc, a pathetic *ressentiment* "revolutionary" who disrupts a Church service by exploding a

firecracker under a churchwarden's pew, its credibility is undermined -- or doubly inoculated against. Such a reading is also reinforced by the absence, once again, of more concrete signs of contemporary working class resistance to exploitation.¹⁶⁵

Denis's development, on the other hand, suggests that though the Church's ideologues are vehemently against socialism and communism -- because they rightly see these ideologies as the most threatening? -- a long stymied French-Canadian bourgeois order and values are much more immediate and threatening. Consider the *histoire*'s critical perspective on Denis at the close of the novel:

Parce que les hommes extraordinaires répugnent à la société et qu'il n'y a plus d'ordre où apparaît le génie, Boucher, qui n'était pas un génie mais ne l'acceptait pas, se réfugiait dans une lutte acharnée contre l'ordre. Par ses étrangetés, ses faux bonds, il retardait l'échéance qu'on paie toujours: l'absorption par la société (330).

Denis se retourna et contempla le quartier [...] Denis n'avait pas encore l'esprit social. Il ne révolutionnerait rien de cela. Boucher se disait laid: il voulait sans humiliation s'établir un commerce d'épicerie dans son quartier, où il se créerait une supériorité protégée par l'hermétisme de la paroisse. Et la littérature commençait à rapporter. Déjà on lui confiait la rédaction d'adresses pour enternements de vie de garçon, d'anniversaires, de mariages (336-37).

Denis is critiqued by the *histoire*, and almost resentfully, for his "lutte acharnée contre l'ordre" and against his "absorption par la société;" for dreaming beyond his abilities; for his overly individualistic resistance to the embrace of his social class and

culture. The *histoire* also informs us that Denis is equally attracted to the idea of a typical French-Canadian petty-bourgeois existence as a grocer or as a small scale copy-writer (implicitly because of Denis's maudlin state of mind as a result of his friend Gaston Colin's tragic death). Yet the *histoire* subsequently implies that he is just as likely to become just another one of "les jeunes Mulots" which, according to the very last words of the novel: "se tranquillisaient après la vingtaine, devenaient des ouvriers rangés, de bons pères de famille, d'excellents paroissiens (337)." But the obvious ironies aside, what class values are being dismissed and privileged by this contradictory portrait of Denis?

Jean-Charles Falardeau has written that for Denis: "Les objets de sa contestation sont forcément [...] la famille, la paroisse", that his contestation "prend surtout la forme d'une émancipation intellectuelle", that it's "par l'esprit que Denis veut acquérir la puissance et, dans ce but, il écrira un livre."¹⁶⁶ Falardeau also suggests there is "un curieux retour de son idéalisme" at the closure which signals "un sentiment de culpabilité vis-à-vis des objets de sa contestation." (17) Denis's supposed "*curieux* retour de son idéalisme (my *italics*)" is not curious at all, however, given the extent to which it is perfectly consistent with the *histoire*'s apparent skepticism about Denis by the closure, or the narrative's equivocations and ambivalencies throughout the text concerning the Church as a trust, Tit-Blanc as a pathetic excuse for a revolutionary, or the ethnic-class xenophobia embedded in the portrayal of Bédarovitch. The narrative and Denis's

discourse may attack the dogmatism and intolerance of the Church and its stifling social effects, but this is a mere inoculation given the extent to which religious faith remains a fundamental value to which Denis aspires and which the *histoire* upholds. Denis may be able to say: "Nous sommes devenus les parasites d'une petite antiquité qui pourrait dans ses traditions" (307), but the *histoire* characterizes this statement as "la grandiloquence," a sign of *ressentiment*, and assures us that "Denis [...] ne révolutionnerait rien de cela." (336) Twinned with the aspiring petty/bourgeois ambitions of Denis's character and discourse, Denis's and the *histoire*'s contestations are not very rigorous and therefore ultimately quite compatible with the existing social order. Or as Falardeau conceptualized it: "il demeure un contestataire équivoque" (17) and "l'univers social du *Pied de la pente douce* reste circonscrit et dominé par des valeurs qui étaient celles du passé." (18)

* * * * *

Writing The Writer As Bourgeois Subject

In the first part of *Ils posséderont la terre*, André Laroudan, the son of peasants, ostensibly writes a long prologue, but the narrative is soon taken over by a more distanced, third-person, discourse;¹⁶⁷ while the novel's momentary juxtaposition of Joyce's *Ulysses* with an American mass market magazine (see 51) can be read as signs of class privilege, of mass market cultural leveling, or of classed competition between high and low cultures. The

construction of *Le Beau risque* and its principal characters via the genres of the epistolary and the personal journal embody class privilege and values which its discourses claim to reject; Erica Drake's profession as a journalist is a sliding signified of her class demotion, betrayal and privilege; and Patrick Anderson's wartime prose writings only make occasional references to the act of writing in class conscious terms in spite of his actual Left political engagement.¹⁶⁸ Thus, of the texts of my literary corpus, only *Two Solitudes* and *Au Pied de la pente douce* invest so much classed symbolic value in their protagonists' attempts to become successful writers. I believe the bourgeois individualist cultural work of the figures of Denis Boucher and Paul Tallard as writers is worth briefly examining separately because of their obvious similarities as types and because of the extent to which the altered, though comparatively different, literary cultures of the war years in Canada and Québec can be read as underpinning Denis and Paul as classed "literary" heroes.¹⁶⁹

* * * * *

As I noted previously, with the dawn of the war Canada became a much more important international political-economic player. In keeping with the changes in their international statuses English- and French-Canadians looked more to their own writers and artists to verify, valorize and create their senses of cultural distinctiveness and of their national coming of age. Thus, though there was the publication of novels such as F. P. Grove's *Two Generations*, Irene Baird's *Waste Heritage*, Ted Allan's *This Time a*

Better Earth and Gwethalyn Graham's *Earth and High Heaven*, it was Hugh MacLennan's *Barometer Rising* and *Two Solitudes* which were seized upon as the English-Canadian novels of the war years which best performed this nationalistic cultural work. Even so, as I have been exploring throughout the thesis, there are other social discourses which were important to MacLennan's novels' success and their cultural work and Paul Tallard's literary valorization of bourgeois values was certainly one of them. Lemelin's *Au Pied de la pente douce* was comparatively not such a singular success, nor did it conform to dominant French-Canadian nationalist values, but Denis Boucher as a striving creative writer was also an important neo-nationalistic sign of potential social change and of class betterment by the exercise of one's intellect and imagination.

Mary Poovey has written of how in Victorian Britain, given the "rhetoric of 'free trade,' the literary profession simultaneously reinforced and disguised the differences among individuals created by class" (Poovey 107); of how

the individual writer was represented as unique and the new incarnation of the self-made, self-sufficient man (if not always a 'prophet' or 'genius') by virtue of the fact that he was *like* -- not different from -- the other men with whom he was free to compete. This paradox, whereby (class) difference is represented as (human) likeness, and this likeness becomes the ground of one's unique identity, is essential to the structure of individualism in class society (Poovey 108).

This same paradoxical formula is also essential to the construction of the classic realist hero/ine and to their ability to interpellate

the reader; foregrounding class difference and bourgeois ambitions and values only to sublimate or inoculate them via a humanist faith in our likeness or human commonality.

The constructions of Denis Boucher and Paul Tallard can be read as functioning in much the same manner described by Poovey, though the two respective novels obviously embody some important, historically specific, cultural differences. Neither Denis nor Paul may be in explicit competition with other would-be writers in *Two Solitudes* or *Au Pied de la pente douce*, but this is consistent with the comparative nascence and much smaller scale of the contemporary English- and French-Canadian publishing industries and literary cultures. The very lack of literary competition in the two novels can also be read as a sign of the vanguard role of the two characters, implying that if the two persist in trying to become writers there are few, or only minor, obstacles in their way. On the other hand, Denis does at one point rather naively -- or perhaps realistically, depending upon one's opinion about his classed obstacles and objectives -- momentarily associate literature with the writing of publicity tags (see 336). In keeping with his more privileged history, Paul Tallard is never as concerned with such mundane professional tactics and financial issues in trying to be a writer. He does wrestle briefly with the potential international marketing problem that "Canada was a country that no one knew" and realizes "that his [non-Canadian] readers' ignorance of the essential Canadian clashes and values presented him with a unique problem (365)", but it is a very minor suit of the narrative

(though it was obviously a major concern of MacLennan's).¹⁷⁰ Since neither text involves itself very concretely with whether or not a sufficient living wage can be earned at writing, the relative absence of the question of money, in spite of the two characters' limited economic resources, can also be read as betraying an underlying class idealism which, in spite of contemporary changes in the related LMPs, abstractifies and erases such colonial writers' still disadvantageous relationships to international markets in the Anglo-American and French-speaking worlds, or writers' frequent subordination to editors and publishers.

Denis and Paul and their creators share with David Copperfield and Charles Dickens the aforementioned paradox of "(class) difference" being "represent[ed] as (human) likeness" and this likeness being "essential to the structure of individualism in class society" (see Poovey, Chapter 4). But whereas Dickens was already established as a writer before he "capitalized on his own public image" in the classic realist persona of David Copperfield (Poovey 108), Lemelin's initial literary success is inseparable from his auto/biographical romanticization of the potential class betterment for a French-Canadian *mulot* via the *metier* of writing. Paradoxically, this class climbing via intellectual labour holds out the promise of making a bourgeois of Denis at the same time that the classic realism of *Au Pied de la pente douce* is dependent upon the author's and his protagonist's roots in and identification with working class French-Canadian culture. This paradox was likely easily reconcilable in readers' *imaginaires* since the recent mass

proletarianization of French-Canadians, the co-terminus expansion of the French-Canadian petty-bourgeois and bourgeois classes, and the material, cultural, importance of Québec to global French literary culture during the war years, reinforced an ethnic-class identity politics which allowed Denis Boucher and Roger Lemelin to be read as representatives of the Francophone working class majority at the same time that Boucher's middle-class ambitions (and eventually Lemelin's actual middle-class status) allowed him (them) to symbolically or vicariously stand-in for most contemporary (male) French-Canadians. Nor should we underestimate the symbolic ethnic-class significance of the Word as appropriated by the working-class hero (even if Denis's consideration of himself as "un garçon instruit" (52) because he has studied stenography is quite bathetic). After all, his social context is a predominantly Catholic Québec where clerics are still the sole official interpreters of the scriptures and the primary interpreters of culture. Yet we are also told that Denis is taken with European writers who "recherchent Dieu" (263).

That Denis is highly individualized as a writer, as somebody apart, yet at the same time supposedly "like" his Catholic subjects and readers is yet another way to account for Denis's ideologically confused state of mind at the end of the novel when the *histoire* hybridly enounces his double-fantasy about being a grocer and a writer (while Denis looks down, both literally and figuratively, upon the lower town of "excellents paroissiens" at the same time that he apparently identifies with them (337)). This contradiction

between bourgeois class aspirations and the pull of the past ("recherche[] Dieu") is perhaps the most central contemporary *morale* of what made *Au Pied de la pente douce* one of the first truly urban French-Canadian novels. It is certainly the contradictory ethnic-classed grist at the heart of the literary mill which would make Lemelin and his novels signs of French-Canadian ethnic-class aspirations and fatalism. Denis's desire to be a writer, as well as the very materiality of *Au Pied de la pente douce*, creates a semiosis in which the writing of literature and its bourgeois potential are fantasized as the ideal means for Denis to escape his class exploitation. In keeping with the historic material and social limitations of a type like Denis Boucher, said ideal is deferred, incomplete; but given the *histoire*'s final, summary, attitude towards Denis this deferral may also be read as a romantic stratagem which emphasizes Denis's *ressentiment* more than his classed motivations.¹⁷¹

The construction of Paul Tallard's "(human) likeness" as "the ground of [his] unique identity" in *Two Solitudes* is just as historically specific and classist, but from the narrative's Anglophone identified, assimilationist, perspective. Paul Tallard's class history is mostly downward, at least until he becomes romantically involved with Heather and she recognizes and confirms him as a writer (though it should be noted that her uncertainties about the "balance" of Paul's first manuscript, and his consequent re-starting from scratch, do mark writing as a form of labour (see 363-366)). As with Denis Boucher there is no confirmation of the

class advantages for Paul of finally completing his first novel, since he burns the aforementioned manuscript before the end of the narrative. However, this romantic gesture is done with such heroic courage and bravado -- "Burn the mistakes. Otherwise they'll haunt you permanently (365)" -- that *Two Solitudes* itself may be seen as an exemplar of Paul Tallard's and MacLennan's success, of their having been able to give a bourgeois "form" to "the essential Canadian clashes" as they see them (see 365).¹⁷²

Moreover, Paul as everyman, as the bi-cultural symbol of the "new Canada," is not only a product of his mixed ethnic heritage. His diversified class history supposedly makes him like, and yet different from, most Canadians and Québécois. Thirty years ago, Robert L. McDougall characterized such ambiguities in the writings of MacLennan and many of his Canadian contemporaries as signs of "an abnormal absence of feeling for class"¹⁷³ and understandably accounted for them as a result of the authors' privileged, educated, class backgrounds (228-31).¹⁷⁴ However, Paul's rather *seigneurial* roots; his subsequent urbanization and private school English education; his slide into relative poverty and wage labour; and his contested marriage to a young woman from a wealthy English-Canadian family; cover such a wide gamut of class positions that the very range of their differences supposedly makes him like most of his novelistic subjects (and readers). And yet, though he does not marry into the upper class *per se*, nor automatically re-establish his class privilege, his implied success as a writer is co-terminus with his marriage to an upper-class woman (see 355 &

363-366), and so Heather can be read as a sign not only of his ethno-linguistic assimilation but of his bourgeois arrival (or revival). Paul's heterogenous class positions do not remain in flux at the end of the novel. Like the post-Depression and imminent post-War "new Canada" his *embourgeoisement* may be incomplete, but there are no doubts about the confident classed direction in which he is moving. Paul's "battle to become himself (301)" is ultimately personified by his "job" as the novelist as hero and the bourgeois individualism of his aesthetic, which attempts to pass itself off as non-ideological (see 310), is not discrete from Paul's cultural assimilation. It is yet another indicator that the ethnic-class "harmony" which Paul supposedly embodies and creates in his fiction is dependent upon a bourgeois-identified atrophy of his Francophone self, upon the rejection of the "distilled part[] of himself" that is associated with an oppressed ethnic-class.

In short, Paul Tallard may be more obviously a self-made man than Denis Boucher, though this is also ironically in keeping with the comparative classed advantages of Paul's youth. Ben-Zion Shek has remarked that "Denis Boucher is certainly not an admirable character" (Shek 1977, 127), but it can be argued that Denis's very panicked "groping for a way out of the shabbiness that he finds in his home and parish" (Shek 127), like Lemelin's "view of the Quebec poor" as "one of constant defeat and failure" (Shek 153), makes Denis's frustrated literary aspirations emotionally and ideologically that much more realistic and compelling. Consistent with their ethnic-classed differences (and those of their authors);

with Paul's comparative, bourgeois, Anglo-assimilated, advantages, and with Denis's rougher working class formation and disadvantages; Paul is implicitly going to succeed as a writer, while Denis's very literary failure reinforces the narrative's critical sense of a clerical-bound alienation and of the attractiveness of more, imaginative, secular, bourgeois writing and lifestyles. Thus, in spite of the profound class differences of the fictional and actual aspiring writers of *Au Pied de la pente douce* and *Two Solitudes*, they all valorize and interpellate readers and writers as bourgeois subjects -- at least to the extent to which their classic realist strategies divert us from their contradictions.¹⁷⁵

* * * * *

CONCLUSION

Like the hegemonic material and discursive formations of their respective ethno-linguistic cultures, the social and literary classic realist texts of my corpus often attempt to install the illusion of plenary, non-contradictory, truths regarding ethnicity, gender and class. And yet, as I have attempted to demonstrate via a variety of critical strategies which question the imaginary coherence of texts, the ethnic, gender and class heterogeneities and interdiscursivities of the cultures of the war years in Québec were not always so easily contained by classic realism's tendency to homogenize or to erase differences, or to offer partial truths as the whole truth, via its illusionism, enigmas, narrative closures, or hierarchy of discourses. Regardless of the potential ideological unity of a privileged narrative discourse and its readers as a result of a classic realist text's declarative and imperative modes, its interdiscursive absorptions and transformations of social discourses are almost always imbricated with problematic contradictions, erasures and unsaids. Unlike more interrogative works the texts of my corpus may tend to impose answers rather than to invite answers to questions, but the very social contradictions of all social and literary texts' conditions of possibility means that their consequent symbolic economies and cultural work are not always as monolithic as they may first appear to be.

In the following concluding remarks, I will at first summarize what I perceive to be the broad contemporary cultural work of each of the main discourses of my dissertation, with special attention, as was the case throughout, to their absorptions and transformations in the fiction. I will then observe and conclude not only how ethnicity, gender and class were highly interdiscursive during World War II in Canada and Québec, but how their dialectical relationships within their ethno-linguistically colonial, male dominant, heterosexist, classist cultures were both imaginatively reinforced by the narrative mode of contemporary classic realism and disrupted by its inability to fully contain or reconcile social contradictions and anxieties.

* * * * *

With few exceptions during the war years ethnicities were socially defined, reported, historicized and fictionalized in Canada and Québec without considerations as to how they were contradictory or heterogeneous. The immigration, language and conscription controversies in political debates and propaganda, the press, and other social texts continued, as they had done for decades, to revolve around a profoundly rooted French-English ethno-linguistic divide. The continued Anglo-Scots dominated socio-economic hierarchy; the assimilation of large numbers of formerly Yiddish speaking Jews into Anglophone culture; dominant French-Canadian culture's ideological dependence upon notions of "pureté de sang" and of "langage" in the face of French-Canadians' cultural subordination and assimilation; and the added divisiveness

of the conscription crisis; aggravated the continued naturalization of "racial" discourse and its consequent myths.

Influential French-Canadian nationalist historians such as Groulx and Bruchesi ignored French-Canada's history of assimilative ethnic hybridity, while ideologically more diverse English-Canadian historians, such as Creighton, Lower and Ryerson either ignored French-Canadians' differences in order to subsume them, or naturalized them for the sake of pan-Canadian agendas such as national unity or the war effort. Anglophone diversity in Québec and its consequent tensions, especially regarding the socio-economic competition of Jews, were largely ignored or glossed over by English- and French-Canadian spokespersons and commentators; and French-Canadians' similar fears of the cosmopolitan allowed a nostalgia for the cultural homogeneity of the past to supersede dealing with the irrevocable material and cultural changes of the present. Monolithic racial myths were likewise promulgated daily by newspaper editorials and articles whose subjective positions were masked and made more acceptable, like those of historians, by the "objective" case of their *histoires*. Because of French-Canadians' subordinate social status their ethno-linguistic anxieties tended to manifest themselves in an anti-cosmopolitan discourse, while English-Canadians' relative privileges within the ethno-linguistic socio-economic hierarchy of Québec (and elsewhere in Canada) fostered an assimilative discourse. In the absorption of these social discourses in the classic realist fictions of my corpus, from the predominance of the clerico-nationalist

ideal in *Le Beau risque* and its resultant demonization of "others"; to *Ils posséderont la terre*'s signs of the dangers of immigration and modernity; to *Earth and High Heaven*'s liberal erasure of Jewishness and *Two Solitudes*' demonizations of French-Canadian nationalism; it is the *identitaire*, or the identical or the culturally recognizable, which is most often privileged and normalized.

Still, given the socio-economic contradictions which forced traditional culture and a more cosmopolitan modernity to co-exist with an even greater intensity during the war, ethno-linguistic tolerance, or at least a growing fascination with "others" instead of immediate rejection, percolates and erupts in some of my selected Francophone classic realist fictions. The enigmatic East European figure of Marchadowski in *Ils posséderont la terre* may ultimately be demonized, but Edward's initial attraction to him and his revolutionary beliefs not only marks Edward's youth and naiveté from a conservative, traditional, perspective. It also implies, like the signs of Joyce's *Ulysses*, the gender ambiguous Adrienne, or the escape to the West, that an intelligent young man like Edward may find his own staid, traditional, culture terribly wanting. More significantly, the very anti-Semitic stereotypes in the portrayal of Jean-Baptiste Bédarovitch in *Au Pied de la pente douce* imply that ethnicity is cultural and not natural; a noticeable deviation from the essentialism of most contemporary "racial" discourse. And in *Le Survenant*, in spite of the *histoire*'s rather elegiac valorizations of traditional Québec's sedentariness, the sliding signifieds associated with the ethno-linguistically enigmatic

Survenant, like Guèvremont's novels' signs of common people's appropriations of and pleasures in linguistic diversity, embody a growing contemporary attraction towards a more worldly, urbane, culture.

The ethnic contradictions of *Earth and High Heaven*, *Barometer Rising*, *Two Solitudes* and Patrick Anderson's "Baie St. Paul" sketches are of quite a different order since their hierarchies of discourse ostensibly pride themselves on ethnic liberalism and tolerance, when their major contradictions show up English-Canadian ethno-linguistic chauvinism and intolerance. Thus, Marc's discourse in *Earth and High Heaven* may emphasize the ethnic, class and ideological heterogeneities of being Jewish, and Charles's anti-semitism may be condemned, but the novel's WASP-identified assimilationism simultaneously testifies to the very English-Canadian anti-semitism which the text critiques. So too, for all of the text's attention to discrimination against Jews, the conjunction of stereotypical representations of René in Erica's and Marc's privileged discourses, with the absence of a French-Canadian heterocosm, valorizes the outright rejection of French-Canadian nationalist grievances. The latter case is both just as explicit *and* more subtle in *Two Solitudes*. Marius's *ressentiment* is more subtly reinforced by the various textual strategies whose collective ideologeme fantasizes French-Canadians as a homogenous people which is incapable of positive change -- ironically reinforcing clerico-nationalist ideology -- other than by assimilation into Anglophone culture as embodied by Paul and

hybridly valorized by the *histoire*. Patrick Anderson's explicit identification with the cultural difference of a French-Canadian deserter may go against the grain of such assimilationist discourse, but the paternalism of some of his observations about French-Canadian provincial life is nevertheless a part of the same colonial discourse.

Therefore, the French-Canadian texts of my corpus may be more obviously xenophobic than the English-Canadian texts, but the general differences of anti-cosmopolitanism versus assimilationism hinge upon the two charter groups' competing, colonial, concerns and relationships to power -- as does the absence of signs of the war in most of the French-Canadian texts and its centrality to the English-Canadian ones. Accordingly, the self-absorbed social privileges embedded in the Anglophone texts' liberal accounts of ethnic relations in Québec not only tends to blind them to their own chauvinistic cultural work, but militates against their producing types and discourses which significantly disrupt the symbolic economy of the ethno-linguistic status quo. Or, in other words, the *histoires* of these texts, tend to install "truths" about ethno-linguistic politics which are in keeping with English-Canadian ethno-linguistic privilege. The French-Canadian texts, on the other hand, while defensively chauvinistic ethnically, also evidence a greater narrative uneasiness, more contradictory signs or discourses, and more enigmatic types and possibilities, which challenge French-Canadian ethno-linguistic biases -- a contradiction which speaks volumes about the culture's very

subordination, its tensions between tradition and modernity, and its confused sense of being on the edge of a major cultural change which was as yet largely beyond its control. It also speaks to how though classic realist narrative is well-suited to reinforcing the more conservative aspects of both English- and French-Canada's discourses about ethnicity -- with the *histoires*, for instance, attempting to establish the illusory plenary truths of the stories -- its absorptions and transformations of social discourses, replete with their own instabilities and contradictions, cannot be fully controlled and made to confirm one homogenizing "truth".

* * * * *

Of my three discursive axes gender has to be the most neglected social and literary critical terrain of the war years in Canada and Québec. Like the contemporary social controversies concerning ethnicity, male dominant heterosexist culture's perspectives on wartime fe/male roles and on deviancy from heterosexuality were already strongly established and quite predictable, and so the rapid expansion in Canada and Québec of women in the male-identified domains of the industrial factory and the military; the equally sudden large homosocial cultures of male and female military service; and the increased opportunities for and anxieties about same-sex "perversions"; made for a wide variety of attempts to control wo/men's sex-gender roles. Accordingly, like most military histories of the war, contemporary newspaper advertisements and articles most often naturalized the strong, protective, male bread-winner or soldier as the exclusive

signs of maleness; and self-sacrificing, maternal, women, or their feminized labouring sisters, as the only *signs* of femaleness. That hetero-realist values dominate the advertising, films and other media of the period -- and especially newspaper reports and editorials -- as they do the vast majority of the fiction of my corpus is not, however, a "natural" condition of the generally male dominant, heterosexist, status quo, but a result of the attempts to reassure the populace that the war was not eroding or subverting male-identified heterosexual dominance.

Given the socio-economic conditions of the war there were in fact many more opportunities for alternative sex-gender identities and cultures. As much as women were encouraged to work for the sake of the war effort (and businesses' attendant profits), women who had no intention of giving up their new found socio-economic freedom could not always be neatly controlled. While Québec members of Mackenzie King's own party, or the conservative press, militated strenuously against the risks to femininity and the perceived even greater *menace* of women in formerly male-identified domains, working and military women in Canada exercised greater economic and sexual freedom than they ever had before within modern patriarchal culture. Likewise, as much as wartime social institutions expanded their attempts to identify and punish same-sex individuals and practices, the very measures which were meant to suppress them often paradoxically strengthened same-sex self-identification and subcultures, as Marilyn Burgess's lesbian reading of the film *Proudly She Marches*

suggests. In spite of attempts to block and silence alternatives, the many sex-gender possibilities of the male and female homosocial continuums which male dominant heterosexist culture would deny persisted and *migrated* from one set of discourses or texts to others. Thus, though there may be no conscious homosexual resistance in the classic realist literary works of my corpus, as with many of their signs of women's liberation, the apparent panics tell us as much about shifting sex-gender relations and cultures as any conscious, coherent, signs of resistance.

Conventional male and female gender types and relations are the norm in MacLennan's and Graham's wartime novels. When there are deviations, the individuals in question are generally gradually "rehabilitated" or somehow demonized. Consider Neil Macrae's domestication of Penelope, the already feminized shipyard engineer; Paul Tallard's masculine authority over Heather (in spite of her parodic reverie against masculinist writing); or the equation of Marius Tallard's oedipal anxieties with his nationalism. Erica and Miriam Drake's resistances to patriarchy would appear to threaten the sexist mold in *Earth and High Heaven*, except for the narrative's repressed phallocentrism and hence its implicit eruptions as an incest motif; for its obfuscations of the important women's issue of abortion; and for the novel's climax falling back upon Charles Drake's conventional family romance approval of the marriage between Erica and Marc. Interestingly, biological, nurturing, mothers are either non-existent or relatively unimportant in the Anglophone texts, including Graham's *Earth and High Heaven*.

Instead, in keeping with the large wartime social controversies about women in the workforce and military, much more emphasis is placed, paradoxically, upon positive representations of "liberated" women who are nevertheless concomitantly de-Amazonized and domesticated

Conservative sex-gender norms are also central to the French-Canadian fiction corpus. However, whereas the English-Canadian texts' female protagonists are gradually domesticated, in the French-Canadian fiction women's subordination and its consequences are generally much more severe. The traffic in women is legion in *Ils posséderont la terre*. From a humanist perspective Rose-Anna of *Bonheur d'occasion* and Madame Genier of *Ils posséderont la terre* may be read as female-identified signs of love and perseverance, but they are also trapped by their tragic domestic maternal roles; a role which Rose-Anna's daughter settles for in the face of her own powerlessness and the same maternal ideal which Alphonsine pathetically strives for in *Le Survenant* (and is defeated by in *Marie-Didace*). In keeping with French-Canada's dominant, Catholic, sex-gender values, socially and/or sexually "liberated" women tend to be more demonized -- as are Jeanne in *Le Beau risque* or Ly in Charbonneau's novel -- or more disciplined and punished -- as is "l'Acayenne", or most emphatically the domineering "la Grande Claudine" -- rather than domesticated and tamed as in the Anglophone texts. Adrienne, "l'Acayenne" and "la Grande Claudine" may disrupt conventional sex-gender norms, but all three are eventually killed off or summarily

erased from the narrative. Adrienne's erasure is in fact the safest, most neutral, way of laying to rest the enigmatic disruptiveness of her sex-gender doubleness, while "la Grande Claudine"'s death is a direct consequence of her deformation of her son. In accordance with French-Canadian culture's emphasis upon the maternal, mothers are commonly idealized throughout most of the narratives. But they are also virtually absent from *Ils posséderont la terre* and, most surprisingly, *Le Beau risque* (until, as I argued previously, we appreciate the extent to which such erasure signals the male-identified homogeneity of the text's imagined nationalist project).

Furthermore, in most of the English- or French-Canadian texts women are either in implicit or explicit competition with one another for the attention or affection of a male, or they are alienated from one another in other ways.¹ In the Anglophone texts there may be emotional demonstrativeness between the sisters in *Two Solitudes* and *Earth and High Heaven*, but not with the mothers. There may be an emotional demonstrativeness between Rose-Anna and Florentine, but it is always rather strained and obviously does not threaten male-dominant heterosexual norms. Likewise, there may be some camaraderie between Marie-Amanda and Alphonsine, but they are more defined by their relations to Père Didace and the Survenant than they are by their relations with one another.

Another way of conceptualizing the sex-gender cultural work of the literary corpus is that the classic realist enigmas concerning women -- questions of whether the masculinized Penelope will find love, or whether the rather independent "l'Acayenne" will make a good wife -- are almost always resolved by the women's feminization and their consequent domestication or destruction, in keeping with male dominant culture's notions of "common sense" sex-gender values. Another classic realist element which helps subordinate female discourses, in *Le Beau risque*, *Barometer Rising*, *Ils posséderont la terre*, *Two Solitudes* and *Le Survenant* is the *histoires*' male-identified biases. For instance, it is not only that the male homosociality of *Le Beau risque* precludes women as characters, except to idolize or demonize them, but that their discourses are given extremely short shrift. Similarly, in spite of *Le Survenant*'s several female discourses it is the cultural codes which "père Didace" embodies which are ultimately privileged by the *histoire*. Male scopism in *Barometer Rising* and in *Two Solitudes* is a major factor in their *histoires*' ventriloquization or colonization of Penelope Wain's and Kathleen Tallard's discourses, while the extent of the *histoire*'s hybridity with Paul's discourse in *Two Solitudes* leaves little room for female-identified discourses. In "Le Torrent" even "la Grande Claudine"'s discourse is recounted and thus controlled or silenced by her matricidal son; while in Roy's novel, for all of Rose-Anna's and Florentine's female tribulations, the "petite vieille", and the hybridization of her discourse with Emmanuel's and the *histoire*, marks the extent to which the narrative valorizes women as strong as long as they are

sedate, civilizing and maternal -- like Marie-Amanda in *Le Survenant* -- rather than resistant.

Still, rather than being monolithically conservative, contemporary female sex-gender issues and resistance cannot be totally contained by the English- and French-Canadian texts of my literary corpus whether they be male- or female-authored. There may be no consummate feminist rebel amongst the women of these narratives, but Jeanne's and even Claire's discourses in *Le Beau risque* challenge male privilege; as do the non-domestic labour and/or independent sexuality, and their frequent associations with being masculinized, of Penelope Wain, Kathleen Tallard, Heather Methuen, Erica and Miriam Drake, Adrienne, "l'Acayenne" and "la grande Claudine" -- who has obviously paid dearly for, and been painfully strengthened by, her having a child out-of-wedlock. Penelope Wain's feminist potential may be contained and undermined by several male dominant and classic realist strategies of *Barometer Rising* but, in spite of the de-Amazonizing closure, none of them can totally erase it. The romance of Erica Drake's affair with Marc Reiser may in some ways cloud its feminist aspects, but her resistance to her father's attempts to control her and her sexuality foregrounds it. Angéline's and Alphonsine's erotic attractions to the Survenant may not be fulfilled, but the non-demonized expression of female heterosexual desires within such a *terroiriste* narrative is quite a radical break from works like Ringuet's *Trente arpents* or Savard's *Menaud Maître-Draveur*. Thus, in spite of the predominance of male scopism, the traffic in women,

the domestication of non-traditional women, or their discursive and dramatic erasure, my selected classic realist texts' absorptions and transformations of wartime socio-sexual advances for and anxieties about women also significantly challenge contemporary illusions about women. Yet consistent with the greater resistance to women's greater socio-economic responsibilities and freedom in French-Canada, the negative consequences for women who deviated from the sex-gender conventions of the day are generally more severe in the Francophone imaginaries. The relative liberalism of the sex gender politics and relations of the English-Canadian literary texts, however, may too easily distract one from their sexist cultural work.

Not surprisingly, given the social anxieties about same-sex individuals and cultures of the period, my literary corpus evidences a relatively wide, complex, range of homosexual panic. However, having said this, three important qualifiers have to be stressed. First, as I've noted previously, given its even greater social erasure, the breadth of this panic in the selected fiction excludes lesbianism. Anxieties about women being too sexually independent or masculinized, as evidenced in *Barometer Rising*, "Le Torrent" or *Le Survenant*, are always implicitly lesbophobic, but the associated signifying chains are not truly lesbianized. Second, with the exception of Patrick Anderson's homosexually panicked persona, the homophobic end of the homosocial continuum in the Anglophone corpus is only represented by the feminized demonization of Huntly McQueen who, like the oedipal Marius Tallard, is obsessively fearful

of feminine women. Moreover, Huntly and Marius are more obviously points of contrast with the heroic, masculine, virility of Paul Tallard than they are signs of homosexuality. Most of the Anglophone texts' scenarios of female socio-economic and sexual freedom, and their eventual containment and domestication, play important roles in virilizing male protagonists, but the stakes are not those of defending Neil Macrae, Paul Tallard or Marc Reiser against any implicit homosexual tendencies.

Which brings me to the third and most important point. In marked contrast with the virtual absence of lesbian and homosexual panic in my Anglophone literary corpus, or their being so deeply embedded in the fabric of said texts as to be extremely difficult to critique, homosexual panic is much more obvious and frequent in the Francophone fiction. The feminized Marchadowski is perhaps the clearest sign of this. Though he is obviously an expression of the growing interdiscursivity amongst xenophobia, anti-communism and homophobic paranoia, like the "homosexualité cachée" of the Survenant, or Adrienne's enigmatic gender and its consequent attractiveness to Edward in *Ils posséderont la terre*, there is a recurrent dual attraction to and rejection of same-sex signs and possibilities. Even more ironically, given that he would become the only bona fide gay writer of my corpus, it might even be said that Patrick Anderson's sympathy for the French-Canadian deserter, or his sublimated sexual attraction to the transgressiveness of the conjuring show, are less obviously homosexually charged than the semiosis of Hertel's novel's discourses about sports, poetry,

classicism and nationalism. Still, in Anderson's texts the homosexualized ruptures seem to be signs of his gradually, and at times rather subconsciously, coming to terms with his homosexuality; whereas *Le Beau risque*'s more pronounced homosexual signs and discourses, while indicative of the homosociality of the sites of the narrative, or of the novel's male-identified, homogenizing, nationalist project, are apparently even more panicked attempts to sublimate or contain homosexual fantasies and impulses.

As I argued earlier, Hertel may not have been consciously aware of the homoeroticism of his novel, but the contradiction between it and the text's clerico-nationalism was certainly too great for Hertel not to be compelled to exile Père Berthier for the sake of the heterosexually acceptable homosocial objects of the nation and the Church. In other words, homosexual panic is the repressed *enigma* of the text but it is not so repressed that it could avoid being resolved without threatening or at least disturbing the dominant heterosexist symbolic economy. Similarly, the enigmatic homosexual potentialities and panics of the homosocial bonds between Edward and André, of the androgynous Survenant, and of the psychopathologization of François in "Le Torrent", are ultimately resolved by literal exile or madness -- thereby narrativistically mimicking the silencing and erasure performed by homophobic social discourses and practices. This, I would argue, is an important component of what I would call the hetero-realist mode of classic realism during the historical

moment of the war, and for some years after, before homophobia became a much more explicit, aggressive, social phenomenon and discourse in tandem with the Cold War. Yet it is not sufficient to say that homosexual panic results in the madness or banishment of homosexualized characters in the aforesaid texts. The hetero-realism of my corpus can be said to turn not only upon their homophobic defenses of heterosexism, but upon the creation of homosexually panicked enigmas whose very resolutions are highly enigmatically charged. This narrative strategy goes somewhat against the grain of the classic realist mode's illusion of a plenary and controlling producer at the same time that it maintains it; thereby reinforcing the panicked sense of the apparently radical difference of the "homosexual" via the perpetuation of uncertainties about homosexualized characters or their futures, in contrast with the more fixed, coherent, subject positions of the obviously heterosexualized figures.

None of which accounts, however, for the number of homosexually panicked signs and figures in the French-Canadian fiction of my corpus. The homosexual panic of *Le Beau risque* foreshadows what would become a broadly developed French-Canadian *littératureologie* throughout the 1940s and 1950s in works like *Ils posséderont la terre*, *Le Survenant*, "Le Torrent", *Derrière le sang humain*, *Au Milieu*, *La Montagne* and *La Bagarre*. I would be tempted to credit the rather sudden proliferation of gay signs in Francophone Québécois fiction during World War II to the expansion of gay subcultures in North America and Québec, except

that English-Canadian fiction shows no such marked increase.² A similar homosexually panicked *littératureologie* is not apparent within Anglophone fiction produced and set in Québec until the 1950s.³ Nor do I think it is likely that the phenomenon can be credited to Francophones being more numerous in relation to Montréal's expanded wartime same-sex subcultures, nor the anxieties which this generated, since the city's large Anglophone population was even bigger as a result of the war effort and so too, it seems, was its gay community. Rather, I believe the difference is consistent with Anglophone and Francophone authors' perceived and actual different relationships to power within Canadian and French-Canadian societies; and that within the Anglophone dominated, patriarchal, heterosexist cultures of the 1940s and 1950s the Francophone expression of colonization, male psychosocial anxieties and resistance were much more likely to be symbolically homosexualized.

In short, as much as the war reinforced the worst aspects of masculinist culture, as was the case with the government's and businesses' hetero-realist femininity campaigns and propaganda, it also made it more difficult to imaginatively circumscribe what it meant to be fe/male. Classic realist fictions' absorptions and transformations of social discourses about gender are no purer, nor more static, in their appropriations than they are in terms of ethnic social controversies. At the connotative levels of all of the classic realist modes, and especially in the more declarative classic realist fiction -- where the absorption and transformation of social

discourses are more likely to embody unsaid and repressed sex-gender anxieties than in non-literary genres or imperative classic realist texts -- feminist and same-sex signs and anxieties disrupt, challenge and contradict the texts' hetero-realist illusions, whether their authors intended them to or not. Thus, for all of their conservative cultural work maintaining the biases of the sex-gender status quo, contemporary female sex-gender issues and resistance and the homosexually panicked, but nevertheless nascent, *littératureologie* of same-sex possibilities, could not be totally contained nor repressed.

* * * * *

Given the many ways in which material conditions, ideas, political movements and conflicts concerning class had such profound impacts upon politics, social policies, working class peoples' lives and class relations prior to and during the war years, progressive class discourses are remarkably restrained or absent in the fiction of my literary corpuses. To some extent this can be simply credited to the class conservatism of much English- and French-Canadian culture of the period. One can also factor in the petty-bourgeois and bourgeois backgrounds or aspirations of most of the authors, as Robert McDougall did for English-Canadian authors. But a historical, cross-cultural, factor which has been neglected is that some of the classism of the literary texts can also be attributed to the absorption and transformation of the growing hegemony, especially towards the end of the war, of neo-liberalism's appropriation of competing class discourses -- and

especially the more socialistic ones -- in order to defuse or derevolutionize them. Likewise, specifically in terms of the Québec context, even Duplessism, that great bogey-man which was eventually so important to the rise of the social-democratic, statist, neo-nationalist movement, absorbed and lent itself to hybrid discourses which valorized both traditional and more modern social structures, while consistently demonizing socialism.

Nevertheless, like the two literary corpuses' marked gender differences insofar as the Anglophone texts tend to concentrate upon social anxieties about women while the Francophone texts are more obviously homosexually panicked; or their ethnic fictions hingeing so heavily upon cultural differences about the social controversies of immigration, language, conscription and assimilation; the inoculations and expressions of *ressentiment* of the two corpuses consistently diverge in terms of ethnic politics. Yet as much as this is strongly suggestive of the descriptive accuracy and of the critical utility of the concept of contending ethnic-classes for said period, it also has to be said that the class fictions of the two corpuses present a much more unified semiosis in favour of a classist status quo.

The obvious common ground of political-economic bourgeois hegemony aside, this relative unanimity is also because the classic realist narrative mode is especially well-suited to naturalizing classist values since its very dependence upon a hierarchy of discourses, which privileges the *histoire* and/or a privileged

discourse, tends to divert the reader from what is contradictory in the text and in the process valorizes over-totalizing, highly individualist, understandings of the fictional and the actual world for the principle characters and the reader. In other words, as much as the resultant erasure of the complexities of social relations can be equally applied to ethnicity and gender, the form as sedimented content of the classic realist text is obviously potentially quite bourgeois individualist and thereby classist in its underpinnings. None of which means, however, as I have tried to show, that the classist illusions, enigmas and contradictions of classic realist texts are any more monolithic or inviolable than our ability to historicize and deconstruct them.

The class conservatism of contemporary corporatist ideology, with its anti-materialism and its nostalgia for a more pastoral, pre-proletarian past, is obviously important to the cultural work of *Le Beau risque* and *Ils posséderont la terre*. *Habitant* life is idealized by the privileged discourses of *Le Beau risque*, and modern, urban, petty/bourgeois life in *Ils posséderont la terre* is dramatized as morally bankrupt and debilitating. Likewise, "bourgeoisisme" is condemned by Père Berthier and embodied by the assimilated Dr. Martel, while the feminized, foreign, figure of Marchadowski implicitly warns against the seductive danger of revolutionary ideology. Both texts' contradictions and silences regarding their protagonists' class privileges, and the lack of competing class discourses and relations, are also indicative of the extent to which the contemporary manichean ideologue about

ethnic-class oppression by English-Canadians allowed traditional conservatives, corporatists and Duplessists to ignore and thereby perpetuate a classed intra-ethnic oppression of their own people, while maintaining the ideological illusion that socialistic class consciousness, organizations and policies were inherently inimical to French-Canadians' welfare.

Just as the afore-cited conservative works can be recuperated for their radical implications about class antagonisms and class panic, so too a class conscious exegesis of the more liberal texts of my corpus shows up the contradictions of their competing liberal, conservative, and radical discourses and their narratives' frequent illusion of an objective class neutrality or open-mindedness. In fact, in some ways it is even more imperative to problematize the classed implications of these more neo-liberal fictions since they are also more indicative of the historical neo-liberal political-economic shift and of the concomitant classic realist strategies which would try to deny and pacify class conflict and resistance for decades to come.

The class motifs in *Earth and High Heaven*, *Two Solitudes*, *Bonheur d'occasion* and *Au Pied de la pente douce* have much in common in spite of the differences in their ethnic-class focuses and the class positions of their protagonists. Erica Drake's trade-union sympathies, like Marc Reiser's interest in questions of social justice; the financial ruin of Athanase Tallard by Huntley McQueen; the various class critiques of Capital's disregard for creating and

perpetuating human misery in *Bonheur d'occasion* ; and the satire of classist members of the Catholic clergy in *Au Pied de la pente douce* : all touch upon class competition and disparities and some of their tragic consequences. So too, René de Sevigny's critique of English Canada's socio-economic domination of Québec; the unsympathetic portrayals of Montréal's chauvinistic Anglophone business families in *Two Solitudes* ; and the symbolic binary oppositions between the Upper and Lower towns of Québec City and of Westmount and St-Henri in Lemelin's and Roy's novels; address some of the ethnic-class aspects of class relations in Québec. There are even slightly working-class conscious moments in some of the texts, as when Emmanuel critiques "[l]es gars qui ont de l'argent (55)"; or a capitalist in *Two Solitudes* remarks upon the exploitability of French-Canadians as cheap labour.

But like *Le Beau risque* or *Ils posséderont la terre* the class heterocosms of most of the literary fictions of my corpus, including Patrick Anderson's autobiographical texts, and Germaine Guèvremont's *Le Survenant*, are too limited in their class relations for them not to be classist.⁴ *Two Solitudes* may dramatize Athanase Tallard's political-economic, Anglophone engineered, fall from privilege, or *Earth and High Heaven* might give voice to René de Sevigny's nationalist political-economic critique of English-Canada's hegemony, but the two narratives' essentialized ethnic-class differences and scenarios perpetuate class myths more than they subvert them. As well, in both novels, whenever the idea of socialism is introduced it is just as quickly discredited as an

inappropriate fantasy, and/or it is invoked in such vague terms, by petty-bourgeois and bourgeois figures who never evidence any great stake in arguing on its behalf, as to be without impact or appeal. All of which is compounded by both texts' virtual absence of working class types and conflicts. As a result, Erica Drake's supposed class rebellion is easily subsumed by Anglophone-identified upper class biases and the narrative's family romance resolution; while Paul Tallard's potential progressive class consciousness is displaced by his ethno-linguistic assimilation and the bourgeois individualist artistic resolution of art; without either text substantially addressing the extent of class exploitation in Canada and Québec.

The predominantly working class heterocosms and dramas of *Bonheur d'occasion* and *Au Pied de la pente douce* may appear, at first glance, to be more contestatory in terms of class. After all, most of their characters are consistently presented as victims of their proletarianized, impoverished, working class environments. But like corporatist, Duplessist and neo-liberal discourses of the war years both novels raise issues of class exploitation only to ultimately defuse and undermine them by discrediting more radical options, or by recourse to spiritualized, metaphysical, idealism -- be it via *Bonheur d'occasion*'s various abstractions of class conflict and its transference onto the object of the War, or *Au Pied de la pente douce*'s valorizations of traditional religious faith and of Denis Boucher's bourgeois faith, like Paul Tallard's, in the power of the imaginative spirit over matter.

Whereas an even more monological contemporary genre like the burlesque may obviously reduce class relations and conflicts to stereotypes and farce more than is the case in my selected classic realist texts, for all of the latter's realistic, mimetic, strategies and signs of class disparities and tensions, the classed coherencies of their *histoires* are ultimately compatible with the "truths" of both established conservative and dawning neo-liberal political-economic social institutions and cultures. Their many signs of class, and especially of ethnic-class oppression, often create the illusion that their narratives are relatively class conscious, when the class truths of their closures are usually quietist; accepting and promoting deferred, less radical, class change in opposition to the *ressentiments* of discredited characters and discourses associated with more radical options. So too, like *Le Beau risque* or *Ils posséderont la terre*, which are more obviously classist either explicitly or by omission, the class malcontents of Paul Tallard and Denis Boucher and their narratives' *histoires* interpellate readers as bourgeois-identified subjects. In short, when queried by a class conscious hermeneutic, even the liberal-humanist discourses and glosses of MacLennan's, Graham's, Roy's and Lemelin's cited works, can be understood as complex signs of the migrations, absorptions and transformations of contemporary conservative and especially neo-liberal attempts to stymie and appropriate more radical, socialistic, discourses and politics; appropriations which, as I noted, ironically echoed the radical left's softening of its tactics and programs in favour of the war effort

and their interdiscursivity with corporatist and Capitalist calls for social harmony.

* * * * *

To the extent which the narrative mode of classic realism succeeded during the war years in socially and artistically naturalizing the dominant cultures' discourses of ethnicity, gender and class for English- and French-Canadians, it may be said to have been both a great social harmonizer and divider. A harmonizer insofar as it helped perpetuate both cultures' traditional, ethno-linguistic, sex-gendered and classist biased myths; and a divider, paradoxically, for the very same reasons. Both charter groups' established inter- and intra-cultural conditions of possibility, with all of their broadly articulated sets of historically prescriptive, binary, hierarchical practices, conflicts and values, were clearly reinforced by the cultural work of classic realism's illusionism, narrative leading to closure, the truths established by its hierarchies of discourse, and the resultant diversions from social and textual contradictions. For instance, the xenophobia of traditional French-Canadian cultural nationalism and its inseparability from patriarchal sex-gender codes and anti-materialism; and the colonial chauvinism and ethno-linguistic assimilationism of English-Canada's privileged classes and their related fears of miscegenation for their more sexually liberal culture's women; were all heightened by events of the Depression and the War, and rearticulated in a variety of ways in classic realist social and literary texts.

But as I have contended throughout, as much as the narrative form of classic realism lent itself to reinforcing and naturalizing dominant ethnic, gender and class myths and discourses during the war years, it was also not impervious to absorbing the very social conditions, controversies and contradictions which dominant cultures and discourses were trying to repress. Thus, as traditional and static as many of the terms and arguments of social controversies could be, the events and conditions of the war years also made it more difficult to self-righteously demonize immigrants and Jews, to ignore many women's needs and desires for socio-economic independence, to silence same-sex possibilities, or to resist the power and influence of working class militancy and socialistic discourses. Consequently, rather than simply reproducing already over-determined discourses about ethnicity, gender and class, a Marchadowski or a Jean-Baptiste Bédarovitch remain more enigmatic than they otherwise might have while still conforming to many of the periods' biases against foreigners and Jews; Jeanne of *Le Beau risque*, or Penelope Wain, Heather Methuen and "L'Acayenne" embody serious challenges to male-dominant culture which their hierarchies of discourse and closures work hard at to contain and repress; Père Berthier, Adrienne and the Survenant are signs of libidinal and homosexual desires whose threats to anti-hedonistic, heterosexist, norms are both heightened and defused by their narratives' enigmas and textual closures; and the classed signifying chains around an Erica Drake, a Marius Tallard, or an Emmanuel Létourneau valorize critiques of the

systemic exploitative nature of class under Capitalism at the same time that they are inoculated against, demonized and abstractified.

Such collective instabilities of the ideologemes of ethnicity, gender and class were not peculiar to the historical moment of World War II, nor to English- and French-Canada. And any truly historical cultural map of any era must try to take into account the divergent social forces and discourses which invariably contend with and influence one another. Accordingly, rather than accepting the truism in comparative Canadian and Québécois literary studies that historically there has been no influence of one literature upon the other, this dissertation's interdisciplinary emphasis upon the historical and discursive conditions of possibility of the two cultures' symbolic economies of ethnicity, gender and class has tried to show how the comparative study of a formal mode like classic realism can reveal how the two cultures' relationships to one another are more fluid and dynamic, and especially more socially and imaginatively interdiscursive, than has to date been thought.

INTRODUCTION - ENDNOTES

1 Unless otherwise indicated each of the italicized terms in the opening remarks will be defined subsequently. Please also note that throughout the dissertation, for the sake of expediency, the Introduction, subsequent chapters, and the Conclusion are frequently abbreviated as "INTRO," "EFs," "GFs," "CFs" and "CON "

2 Two versions of this critical approach are David Caute's *The Illusion: An Essay on Politics, Theatre and the Novel*. New York. Harper Colophon Books, 1971; as well as Roland Barthes's "meditation on reading", *S/Z*. New York: The Noonday Press, 1974 [1970]. A more obvious example is Catherine Belsey's *Critical Practice*. New York. Methuen, 1980, where she qualifies "[c]lassic realism" as readily doing "the work of ideology, not only in its representation of a world of consistent subjects who are the origin of meaning, knowledge and action, but also in offering the reader [...] the position of subject as the origin both of understanding and of action in accordance with that understanding (67)." Linda Hutcheon's earlier work, *Narcissistic Narrative: the metafictional paradox*. New York & London: Methuen, 1980, takes a similar, though less political, post-structuralist position; but her most recent work, like *The Canadian Postmodern: A Study of Contemporary English-Canadian Fiction*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1988, while celebrating how post-modernist texts encourage readers to co-produce the text, blames critics for reading realist texts too narrowly. "[R]ealism, like mimesis, is a convention and thus 'constitutively' a social and historical phenomenon." [Barbara Foley, *Telling the Truth: The Theory and Practice of Documentary Fiction*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986, 42.] "T. D. MacLulich has worried about the appearance of technically innovative postmodern fiction in Canada. He feels it denigrates 'the straightforward possibilities of fiction' by which art mirrors culture. ['What Was Canadian Literature? Taking Stock of the CanLit Industry.' *Essays on Canadian Writing*. 30, 1984-85, 25.] But have there ever been such 'straightforward possibilities'? Or have there only been critics who choose to ignore the conventionality and complexity of realist representation?" (20)

3 See "INTRO 11" & ednt. 27.

4 See "INTRO 12" & ednt. 31.

5 See Roland Barthes, *op. cit.*, 4-6: "[T]he writerly text is *ourselves writing*, before the infinite play of the world (the world as function) is traversed, intersected, stopped, plasticized by some singular system (Ideology, Genus, Criticism) which reduces the plurality of entrances, the opening of networks, the infinity of languages [...]. But the readerly texts? They are products (and not productions)". Of course, as Barthes mentions elsewhere, texts are rarely simply in one of these modes but a hybrid of both

6 Mary Poovey's bi-partite definition of *ideological work* is probably the most indicative of what I inter-changeably refer to as *cultural work*. Her use of the term "gender" can obviously be replaced by ethnicity or class and for the sake of clarity I have altered some of the grammar of the following citation. "I give the phrase *ideological work* two different emphases. In one sense, it means 'the work of ideology': representations of gender [are] part of the system of interdependent images in which various ideologies [become] accessible to individual men and women. In another sense, however, the phrase means 'the work of making ideology': representations of gender [constitute] one of the sites on which ideological systems [are] simultaneously contested images, the sites at which struggles for authority [occur], as well as the focus

of assumptions used to underwrite the very authority that authorize[s] these struggles." From *Uneven Developments: The Ideological Work of Gender in Mid-Victorian England*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press (Women In Culture And Society), 1988, 2.

7 Antoine Sirois, "Bilan de la recherche," *Bibliography of Studies in Comparative Canadian Literature / Bibliographie d'études de littérature canadienne comparée 1930-1987*. Antoine Sirois, Jean Vigneault, Maria van Sundert, David M. Hayne. Université de Sherbrooke: Département des lettres et communications, 1989, 83-84.

8 The most important recent exception to this historical divide is the pan-Canadian exchanges amongst and influences upon feminist writers and literary critics within both linguistic groups. I am thinking in particular of Nicole Brossard, Daphne Marlatt, Barbara Godard, Louky Bersianik, Patricia Smart, Louise Dupré, Gail Scott, Caroline Bayard, and Anne Dandurand, to name only a very few. See also the literary journals *La Barre du jour*, *Tessera*, and *(f)lip*.

9 Richard Giguère, *Exil, Révolte et Dissidence: Étude comparée des poésies québécoises et canadienne (1925-1955)*. Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval (Vie des Lettres québécoises. 23. Centre de Recherche en Littérature Québécoise.), 1984, 225.

10 Or as Marc Angenot remarks: "Un texte n'est pas reproduction passive d'un système discursif mais <<compréhension responsive>> et réactivation dans une pertinence conjoncturelle propre." See *1889: Un état du discours social*. Longueuil, Québec: Le Préambule (Collection L'Univers des discours), 1989, 96.

11 The citation is from Belsey, *op. cit.*, 70; see also Barthes, *op.cit.*.. These classic realist attributes may be considered as examples of *form as sedimented content* or of *the ideology of form*. For more about this concept see Fredric Jameson, *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1981, 98-99.

12 See Emile Benveniste, *Problems in General Linguistics*. Miami: University of Miami Press, 1971 [1966]. I will use the French sign of this concept, *histoire*, throughout so as to avoid confusions with the conventional English denotation of *history*.

13 Paul Smith, *Discerning The Subject*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press (Theory and History of Literature), 1988, Vol. 55, 92; see also Belsey, *op.cit.*., especially 73-84.

14 Or to invoke Belsey's appropriation of Louis Althusser's notion of *interpellation* (see ednt. 26 below) as regards the mode of classic realism: "The argument is not only that literature represents the myths and imaginary versions of real social relationships which constitute ideology, but also that classic realist fiction, the dominant literary form of the nineteenth century and arguably of the twentieth, 'interpellates' the reader, addresses itself to him or her directly, offering the reader as the position from which the text is most 'obviously' intelligible, the position of the *subject in (and of) ideology*." (Belsey 56-7) See Louis Althusser, "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses," *Lenin and Philosophy and Other Essays*. trans. Ben Brewster. London: New Left Books, 1971, 121-73.

15 For a similar position to that of Belsey's see Terry Eagleton's "scientific" critique of Raymond Williams in *Criticism and Ideology*. London: Verso, 1978, 21-42; and Chapter 3, "Towards a Science of the Text". For a similar anti-"scientific" approach see

Michel Foucault's *The Order of Things* . London: Tavistock, 1970 [1966] and *The Archaeology of Knowledge* . London: Tavistock, 1972 [1969].

16 In fairness to Belsey, she does not elide these three modalities. "Classic realism clearly conforms to the modality Benveniste calls *declarative* , imparting 'knowledge' to a reader whose position is thereby stabilized, through a privileged discourse which is to varying degrees invisible. The *imperative* text, giving orders to its readers, is what is commonly thought of as 'propaganda' [...] Propaganda [...] exhorts, instructs, orders the reader, constituting the reader as a unified subject in conflict with what exists outside.

The *interrogative* text, on the other hand, disrupts the unity of the reader by discouraging identification with a unified subject of the enunciation. The position of the 'author' inscribed in the text, if it can be located at all, is seen as questioning or as literally contradictory [...] it [...] literally invite[s] the reader to produce answers to the questions it implicitly or explicitly raises.

These three categories, of course, are in no sense self-contained and mutually exclusive, nor are their characteristics timelessly sealed within specific texts. It is possible to locate elements of one modality in a text characterized predominantly by another. More important, a different way of reading, a different critical approach can transfer a text from one modality to another" (*op. cit.* , 91-2).

17 *Process* and *product* oriented modes or genres of writing are conventionally associated with Barthes's definitions of the *writerly* ("le scriptible") and the *readerly* ("le lisible"), *op. cit.*, 1974.

18 See Arun Mukherjee, "Whose Post Colonialism and Whose Post-Modernism?," *World Literature Written in English* . XXX, 2, 1990, 1-9. She argues against some post-modernist theorists' over-emphasis upon the literary destabilization of reality for "precisely because a literary discourse is caught in several affiliative networks, its ideal reader, one who has epistemological privilege, is someone who is a cultural insider, who, in S. K. Desai's words, possesses 'cultural inwardness'" (5).

19 For some important marxist and marxist influenced works which have addressed this form and content question see Georg Lukács, *The Historical Novel* . London: Merlin, 1962; *Realism In Our Time : Literature and the Class Struggle* . New York: Harper Torch Books, 1971; *Studies in European Realism* . London: Merlin, 1972; Bertolt Brecht, "Against George Lukács," *New Left Review* . 84, March/April 1974; David Caute, *The Illusion : An Essay on Politics, Theatre and the Novel* . New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1971; and Terry Eagleton, *Marxism and Literary Criticism* . London: Methuen, 1976.

20 This refers to Foucault's use of the concept (see *op. cit.* , 1972 [1969]) and Edward Said's appropriation of it in *The World, the Text, and the Critic* . Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983. Of course, Foucault claimed that "it is not possible for us to describe our own archive, since it is from within these rules that we speak, since it is that which gives to what we can say [...] its modes of appearance, its forms of existence and co-existence, its system of accumulation, historicity, and disappearance. The archive cannot be described in its totality; and in its presence it is unavoidable". *The Archaeology of Knowledge* . Trans. A. M. Sheridan Smith. New York: Pantheon, 1972 [1969], 130. Nevertheless, we all inadvertently attempt to describe our archive and cultural critics are necessarily obliged to; otherwise, how can one ever develop a serious, self-reflexive, position of critique?

21 Obviously any self-definition is fraught with difficulties and especially one which is so cumbersome. I should also signal that I am aware of the furious debates about the supposed incompatibility of materialist and post-structuralist orientations. Like Dominick La Capra, I believe that "[a]ny overly formulaic solution is misleading, and it should be resisted. [...]. Indeed a crucial question at present is how to relate psychoanalytic, Marxist (or post-Marxist), and poststructural orientations to one another and to the set of problems bearing on relations of class, race, and gender. It has become clear that an exclusive focus on any one of the latter relations is overly confining, as is an exclusive reliance on any one of the former theoretical orientations. The articulation of all of these relations is no doubt the imposing, problematic current horizon of critical thought." *Soundings In Critical Theory*. Cornell: Cornell University Press, 1989, 208-09. See also Derek Attridge, Bennington & Young eds. *Post-structuralism and the question of history*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987, for a number of stimulating essays on this critical problem.

22 See H. Aram Veveser, ed., *The New Historicism*. New York: Routledge, 1989, xi.

23 See T. A. van Dijk's *Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. 4 vols. London: Academic Press, 1985, for the most comprehensive guide to the finer points of various discourse analysis approaches and methods; as well as his *Text and Context: Explorations in the Semantics and Pragmatics of Discourse*. London: Longman, 1977. *Discourse analysis* is often interchangeable with "new historicism".

24 My use of the concept of a *discursive formation* may not always rigorously conform to Michel Foucault's criteria of "the *objects* its statements are about, the kind of cognitive status and authority they have (what Foucault calls their *enunciative modality*), the *concepts* in terms of which they are formulated, and the *themes* (theoretical viewpoints) they develop" (see Gary Gutting, *Michel Foucault's Archaeology of Scientific Reason*. New York: Cambridge University Press (Modern European Philosophy), 1989, 232), but they resonate throughout the thesis.

25 See G. A. Cohen, *Karl Marx's Theory of History: A Defence*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978 [1980], for his important re-readings of Marx's senses of the "modes of production" and Cohen's emphasis upon the concept of "economic structure" as more indicative of the framework of power in which productive and social relations occur (see Chapter III, "The Economic Structure").

26 See Althusser. *op. cit.*, 1971, 127-86. "In a formula borrowing from Lacan, he states that 'ideology represents the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence' (162). Althusser's 'central thesis' depends on '*the category of the subject*' (170): '*ideology has the function ... of "constituting" concrete individuals as subjects*' (171). It constitutes subjects through '*interpellation or hailing*' (174); we recognize ourselves as subjects by acknowledging our interpellation by ideology. '[A] Unique and central Other Subject' (178) hails us as its subjects through ideology, but this Subject in turn only exists through our acceptance of subjection.... Both subjects and Subject are imaginary, however, and the misrecognition implied conceals real conditions of existence." See John Thurston, "Althusser, Louis." *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Literary Theory: Approaches, Scholars, Terms*. Ed. I. R. Makaryk. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993, 231-32.

27 Or as Angenot, *op. cit.*, appropriates Bakhtin: "Nous retiendrons de Bakhtine [...] la thèse d'une *interaction* généralisée. Les genres et les discours ne forment pas des complexes imperméables les uns aux autres. Les énoncés ne sont pas à traiter comme des <<choses>>, des monades, mais comme les <<maillons>> de chaînes dialogiques; ils ne

suffisent pas à eux-mêmes; ils sont les reflets les uns des autres, <<pleins d'échos et de rappels>>, pénétrés des <<visions du monde, tendances, théories>> d'une époque. On voit s'esquisser ici les notions d'*intertextualité* (comme circulation et transformation d'idéologèmes c'est-à-dire de petites unités signifiantes dotées d'acceptabilité diffuse dans une doxa donnée) et d'*interdiscursivité* (comme interaction et influence des axiomatiques de discours)." (16-17) [L]e concept de *migrations* [décrit] la diffusion de certains idéologèmes, axiologèmes et traits rhétoriques d'un genre à l'autre, d'un champ à un autre, avec l'adaptation de ces entités migrantes à la logique du champ d'arrière et à son héritage de formes propres." (102; see also ednt. 37 below). Angenot is citing from Mikhail Bakhtine's *Esthétique et théorie du roman*. Traduit du russe. Paris: Gallimard, 1978.

Another Bakhtinian concept which I employ with some regularity is that of "hybridization", one of three degrees of presence of an other's discourse in a text: "We call *hybrid* construction any utterance that belongs, by its grammatical (syntactic) and compositional features, to a single speaker, *but that actually contains intermingled within it two utterances, two manners of speaking, two styles, two 'languages,' two semantic and axiological horizons* ." From Mikhail Bakhtin, "Discourse in the Novel," *The Dialogic Imagination . Four Essays* . ed. Michael Holquist. trans. Caryl Emerson & M. Holquist. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981; and cited in Tzvetan Todorov, *Mikhail Bakhtin : The Dialogical Principle* . trans. Wlad Godzich. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984 (Theory and History of Literature, Volume 13), 73.

"These two voices, Bakhtin reminds us, can only be social, not individual" (Todorov, *ibid.*, 73); as should be apparent in my secondary use of the term "hybrid" when I use it to refer to multivalent or polyvocal social discourses.

28 See also Bakhtin, *ibid.* , 1981; *Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics* . ed. & trans. Caryl Emerson. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press (Theory and History of Literature, Volume 8), 1984; V. N. Voloshinov/M. M. Bakhtin, *Marxism and the Philosophy of Language* . Trans. Ladislav Matijka & I. R. Titunik. New York: Seminar Press, 1973; and Rosalind Coward & John Ellis, *Language and Materialism : Developments in Semiology and the Theory of the Subject* . London: Routledge & Paul, 1977.

29 See Antony Easthope, *Poetry As Discourse* . London & New York: Methuen, 1988 [1983], 13; and Jacques Derrida's *Of Grammatology* . Trans. Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1976.

30 As Easthope summarizes the definition and use of this term "no text can ever be fully permeated by conscious intention -- the text will always mean for its readers something other than it means for its author. In every text, written or spoken, read silently or performed aloud, there will always be some 'gap' between intention and reading." See Easthope, *ibid.* , 15; as well as Jacques Derrida's "Signature event context," *Glyph* . I, 172-197, 1977.

31 Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Reading the World: Literary Studies in the Eighties," *In Other Worlds : Essays in Cultural Politics* . New York & London: Methuen, 1987, 97.

32 Jean-Marie Gaboury, "Triomphe féminin: Deux romans de Germaine Guèvremont," *Lectures* . mars 1948, 65-9.

33 For Gaboury, *ibid.*, à la Maurois: "[c]e qui est important [...] c'est en effet l'unité d'une personne, celle de l'auteur, qui se projette sans cesse à travers les événements" (68).

34 As Robert Scholes has amusingly put it: "A little linguistics is a dangerous thing. Still one must risk it." *Semiotics and Interpretation*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1982, 151. See, of course, especially Fernand Saussure's *Course in General Linguistics*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966; Emile Benveniste, (*op.cit.*); Roland Barthes, *Elements of Semiology*. New York: Hill and Wang, 1967; and Barthes's *S/Z*. (*op.cit.*). To appropriate from Kenneth James Hughes's introductory summation from *Signs of Literature: Language, Ideology and the Literary Text*. Vancouver: Talonbooks, 1986: semiotics involves the study of signification, or of *signs* (Gk. *semion* = a mark) and *sign systems* (Gk. *systema* = an organized whole). Sign systems vary widely. For instance, there are navigational or astrological sign systems and there are the more complex sign systems of spoken and written discourse. A sign is part of a network of elements that signify in relation to each other. One advantage of semiotics is that "[c]ommon definition makes nouns stand for things. This attitude easily slides over into the view that words equal the things they are seen to stand for. From there it is easy to take the step to the naive realist assumption that words in some way are the things they stand for[....] Semiotics avoids this error because of the way in which it defines the sign."(20)

35 An ideologeme is a minimal, but fundamental, unit of a larger discourse. Fredric Jameson has principally applied it to class discourse but it is just as applicable to ethnic, gender and other discourses. "The advantage of this formulation lies in [the ideologeme's] capacity to mediate between conceptions of ideology as abstract opinion, class value, and the like [...] The ideologeme is an amphibious formation, whose essential structural characteristic may be described as its possibility to manifest itself either as a pseudoidea -- a conceptual or belief system, an abstract value, an opinion or prejudice -- or as a protonarrative, a kind of ultimate class fantasy about the "collective characters" which are the classes in opposition. This duality means that [...] as a construct it must be susceptible to both a conceptual description and a narrative manifestation all at once." (*op.cit.*, 87) A good shorthand example of the interdiscursivity and migration of an ideologeme is the 19th century "<<la lutte pour la vie>> [qui] est un axiome dans les sciences naturelles [...]; il est un micro-récit pour les genres romanesques et dramatiques; il est devenu un moyen d'exégèse de <<l'actualité>> pour le journaliste. Il a sa variante libérale et sa variante socialisante. Il est polyvalent, versatile, sous l'apparence de l'identité, mais il impose aussi une certaine logique, un dénominateur commun" (Angenot, *op.cit.*, 102-03).

36 Michael Ryan, *Marxism and Deconstruction: A Critical Articulation*. Baltimore & London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989 [1982], 3, 7, 8. Ryan's reference to "gestures of exclusion" can obviously be related to Pierre Macherey's stress upon the *non-dit* of texts as being most indicative of ideology. Or as Terry Eagleton summarizes Macherey's approach: "It is in the significant *silences* of a text, in its gaps and absences, that the presence of ideology can be most positively felt. It is these silences which the critic must make 'speak'. The text is, as it were, ideologically forbidden to say certain things; in trying to tell the truth in his own way, for example the author finds himself forced to reveal the limits of the ideology within which he writes. He is forced to reveal its gaps and silences, what it is unable to articulate. Because a text contains these gaps and silences, it is always *incomplete*. Far from constituting a rounded, coherent whole, it displays a conflict and contradiction of meanings; and the significance of the work lies in the difference rather than unity between these meanings." See *Marxism and Literary Criticism*. London: Methuen, 1983 [1976],

34-5. See also Pierre Macherey, *Pour Une Théorie de la Production Littéraire*. Paris: F. Maspero, 1970.

37 Robert Scholes, "Reading Like a Man," *Men in Feminism*. eds. Alice Jardine & Paul Smith. New York & London: Methuen, 1987, 213.

38 See "INTRO 16" for other examples of Scholes's use of "class".

39 Geoff Bennington & Robert Young, "Introduction: posing the question," Attridge *et al.* eds., *op.cit.*., 2.

40 See Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*. eds. & trans. Quintan Hoare & Geoffrey Nowell Smith. London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1971; and especially *Selections From Cultural Writings*. eds. David Forgacs & Geoffrey Nowell-Smith. trans. William Boelhower. London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1985. I could cite many of Williams's titles but the most pertinent are *Culture and Society 1780-1950*. Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books, 1968 [1958] and *The Long Revolution*. Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books, 1980 [1961], especially Chapter 2, "The Analysis of Culture".

41 My use of the term "paradigmatic discourse" is similar to Angenot's concept of a "paradigme thématique fondamental" which expresses a vision of the world in which "les idéologies du moment [ne] fournissent que des versions successives ou des variantes". See "Pour une théorie du discours social : problématique d'une recherche en cours," *Littérature*. ("Médiations du social. Recherches actuelles"), no. 70, mai 1988, 86.

42 See Pierre Dagenais's "Le mythe de la vocation agricole du Québec," *Cahiers de géographie du Québec*. 6 (avril-septembre 1959), 193-201; Normand Séguin's "L'histoire de l'agriculture et de la colonisation au Québec depuis 1850," N. Séguin, dir., *Agriculture et colonisation au Québec, 1850-1960*. Montréal: Boréal Express, 1980, 9-37; and the Clio Collective's "Women Workers: Invisible, Or Almost," *Quebec Women : A History*. Toronto: The Women's Press, 1987, 233-39.

43 The nationalist literary school of *régionalisme* was promoted by many critics and writers like Camille Roy and Lionel Groulx between 1904 and the end of the 1930s. Its main goals, like those of its counterpart in France, were to promote local stories about traditional French-Canadian culture which would rehabilitate and restore its colonized language, celebrate the Catholic faith, exalt its heroes, and defend values rooted in the land, the family and the French-Canadian nation. See *La Dictionnaire des œuvres littéraires du Québec*. Tome II. "Introduction à la littérature Québécoise (1900-1939)," dirs. Maurice Lemire *et als*. Montréal: Fides, 1982.

44 See Bernard Proulx, *Le Roman du territoire*. Montréal: les cahiers d'études littéraires, UQAM, 1987, for the best study to date of the complex interdiscursivity of the *régionaliste* genre of *le roman de la terre*. Where Proulx's work falls the most short is in its lack of attention to the centrality of hetero/sexism to the genre.

45 Henry Louis Gates, Jr., ed., "Race," *Writing, and Difference*. Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1986, 4-5. The function of the trope of racial difference within the colonial context has been well theorized by Abdul R. JanMohamed via his concept of the "manichean allegory. This economy [...] is based on a transformation of racial difference into moral and een metaphysical difference [...] The dominant model of power- and interest-relations in all colonial societies is the opposition between the putative superiority of the European and the supposed inferiority of the native [...]. The

power relations underlying this model set in motion such strong currents that even a writer who is reluctant to acknowledge it and who may indeed be highly critical of imperialist exploitation is drawn into its vortex." "The Economy of Manichean Allegory: The Function of Racial Difference in Colonialist Literature," Gates Jr., ed., *op. cit.*, 80 & 82. See also JanMohamed's more extant work on the subject: *Manichean Aesthetics: The Politics of Literature in Colonial Africa*. Amherst, Mass. University of Massachusetts, 1983.

46 Gary Caldwell, *Les Études ethniques au Québec: bilan et perspectives*. Montréal: Institut Québécois de Recherche sur la Culture (<<Instruments de travail>> no 8), 1983, 15.

47 That the indigeneous peoples were the actual first peoples of Québec and Canada was obviously without currency in white dominant cultures until very recently. The absence of native characters in realistic novels of the period in question is a telling sign of the two white dominant cultures' erasure of natives from social discourse.

48 Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*. Oxford, U.K.: Basil Blackwell, 1989 [1986], 220.

49 See Benedict Anderson's *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso, 1983 for a thorough study of how "print-capitalism" is historically crucial to the development and spread of nationalisms.

50 Within the Canadian and Québec contexts the concept of ethnic-class has tended to be theorized by and applied to Québécois. The notion of Francophone Québécois as a *classe ethnique* became popular with the gradual rise of the neo-nationalist movement in the post-War period. The seminal work on it is by Jacques Dofny & Marcel Rioux, "Les classes sociales au Canada français," *Revue française de sociologie* 3.3, 1962, 290-300. Dofny and Rioux saw the global economic inferiority of Francophone Québécois and their ethnic consciousness as making for a *classe ethnique*; or what Pierre Vadeboncoeur would later refer to as the "statu de classe de la nation canadienne-française" (See Vadeboncoeur, *La Dernière heure et la première*. Montreal: Editions de l'Hexagone et Editions Partis Pris, 1970, 48). A succinct summary of the subsequent decades of debate about this notion can be found in Anne Legaré's "Heures et promesses d'un débat: les analyses des classes au Québec (1960-1980)," *Cahiers du socialisme*. 5 (printemps 1980). I believe my application of the concept to other ethno-linguistic groups is appropriate given the "racial" binarisms of the historical moment in question. For example, many English-Canadians implicitly defined themselves and functioned as a privileged ethnic-class in opposition to the ethnic-class of French-Canadians.

51 See Sandra Gilbert & Susan Gubar's *No Man's Land: The Place of the Woman Writer in the Twentieth Century. Volume 1. The War of the Words*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1988. Actually, Gilbert & Gubar concentrate upon how the context of World War I was particularly generative of male writing which offered up heroes who suffer specifically from sexual wounds and are "un men" or "impotent", and a generalized sexual anxiety but also a sexual anger directed specifically against the female. The reasons for the pervasiveness of this narrative during and after World War I are variously explained by male combatants and veterans resentment of women's relative safety on the home front and by the sudden socio-economic empowerment of women by their increased work outside the home in war factories and professions, and their power over men, even in relatively subordinate positions such as nursing. Female narratives of the same period however exhibit antipodal attributes.

52 This term was coined by Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick to refer to the whole continuum of male homosocial bonds, ranging from overt homosexualities to extreme expressions of heterosexuality, though I am using it more broadly to refer to male and female homosocial bonds and subject positions. See *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire*. New York: Columbia University Press.

53 See Mariana Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, And Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart (The Canadian Social History Series), 1991, for analyses of the discursive invention of a whole series of "moral panics" resulting from social purity anxieties arising out of the new urban environment in which traditional moral, class, sex and gender lines were increasingly being challenged. Valverde theorizes the volatile interdiscursivity of moral panics as follows: "White slavery, like all other moral panics, can easily be dismissed as merely a cover for the real issue by interpreters who have decided beforehand what the real issue always is: for instance, one might want to prove that under the rhetoric of white slavery lay real shifting class relations in an urbanizing Canada, or, alternatively, that the panic was merely a patriarchal plot to frighten women into staying in the domestic realm. Such unidimensional approaches do not help us to understand the complex ways in which a moral issue that appears to be singular serves as the site for social debate on a number of important and interrelated issues; and they certainly do nothing to further our understanding of what I call the back-and-forth 'slippage' among categories such as class, gender, sexuality, and race" (90).

Sedgwick, *ibid.*, defines "homosexual panic" as follows: "If we see homophobia as a mechanism for regulating the behavior of the many by the specific oppression of a few [...] So-called 'homosexual panic' is the most private, psychologized form in which many [...] western men experience their vulnerability to the social pressure of homophobic blackmail." (88-89) In "The Beast in the Closet: James and the Writing of Homosexual Panic," *Sex, Politics, and Science in the Nineteenth-Century Novel*. Ed. R. B. Yeazell, Baltimore & London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986, Sedgwick also refers to it as "a newly active concept" originating in the 19th century in which "a secular, psychologized homophobia -- [...] seemed to offer a new proscriptive or descriptive purchase on the whole continuum of male homosocial bonds" (150).

54 "Derived from the psychoanalytic work of Ernest Jones [...], this term, in its most general sense, denotes a system of power relations which promotes and perpetuates the phallus as the transcendent symbol of empowerment." Heather Jones, "Phallogentrism," *Encyclopedia of Contemporary Literary Theory: Approaches, Scholars, Terms*. Genl. ed. I. R. Makaryk. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993, 606-07. Like many feminist critics, as Jones notes, I prefer to identify phallogentrism with a male-centered social and symbolic economy of patriarchal hegemony, as opposed to the Lacanian psychoanalytic emphasis upon the symbolic. See also Jane Gallop, *The Daughter's Seduction: Feminism and Psychoanalysis*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1982; and Elizabeth Grosz, *Jacques Lacan. A Feminist Introduction*. New York: Routledge, 1990.

55 After Gary Kinsman, "I prefer the use of [the term] sex and gender relations to [Gayle Rubin's] sex/gender system since the notion of system tends to conflate questions of sexuality and gender and suggests that sex/gender relations are a separate system from other social relations rather than an integral aspect of them." See Gary Kinsman, "Men Loving Men: The Challenge of Gay Liberation," *Beyond Patriarchy. Essays By Men On Pleasure, Power, And Change*. ed. M. Kaufman. Toronto & New York: Oxford University Press, 1987, 117; and Gayle Rubin, "The Traffic In Women: Notes on the Political Economy of Sex," ed.s Rayna Reiter. *Towards An Anthropology Of Women*. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975, 159.

56 See Karl Marx & Friedrich Engels, *Capital* . III, Chapter 47. London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1975.

57 My use of the term ethnic-class is consistent, I believe, with this definition.

58 That is to say too dependent upon identifying class consciousness with a class which transforms itself from being a class in itself into being a class for itself; and upon the intellectuals within classic Marxist theory bringing a political class consciousness to the working classes from the outside. For an example of this paradigm see Georg Lukàcs, *History and Class Consciousness* . London: Merlin, 1971 [1923]. For an alternative to this inside/outside paradigm see Antonio Gramsci's concept of "organic intellectuals" in "The Formation of the Intellectuals," *op. cit.* , 1971, 5-14.

59 Once again, I am avoiding any reference to an "objective" situation because of my belief that my historicizations or narratives of class (or of gender and ethnicity) are more the expression of my knowledge and perceptions of social history, texts and discourses than they are of absolute "facts". From a traditional Marxist perspective, of course, this is tantamount to a naive confusion about the qualitative difference between my subjective awareness and the objective relations of classes.

Still, having said this, I have to admit that my use of a critical concept like *ressentiment* is, like my use of ethnic-class, *inoculation* , *etcetera* , inescapably suggestive of an objective sense of class relations. Fredric Jameson defines the classism of *ressentiment* as follows: "First, in a kind of exoteric and vulgar sense, the ideologeme of *ressentiment* can seem to account in a 'psychological' and non-materialistic sense for the destructive envy the have-nots feel for the haves, and thus account for the otherwise inexplicable fact of a popular mass uprising against a hierarchical system of which the historian [or author] is concerned to demonstrate the essential wholesomeness and organic or communitarian virtue. Meanwhile, in a secondary and more esoteric, 'overdetermined' use, *ressentiment* can also explain the conduct of those who incited an otherwise essentially satisfied popular mass to such 'unnatural' disorders: the ideologeme thus designates Nietzsche's 'ascetic priests,' the intellectuals par excellence -- unsuccessful writers and poets, bad philosophers, billious journalists, and failures of all kinds -- whose private dissatisfactions lead them to their vocations as political and revolutionary militants." (*op. cit.* , 201-02; my *italics*) As shall become apparent, *ressentiment* in the texts of my literary corpuses tends to revolve around the latter category to the point where it is hardly "esoteric".

60 In other words, I am not disputing that "[c]lasses are permanently poised against one another, and that class tends to prevail whose rule would best meet the demands of production." Rather, I am more interested in understanding how a "general stake in stable and thriving production" is such that "the class best placed to deliver it *attracts allies from other strata in society* ." (Cohen, *op. cit.* , 292, my *italics*)

61 For the lists of my selected texts see the "Bibliography - Cited Primary Cultural Texts", as well as the "Non-Cited Primary Cultural Texts".

62 See Robert Scholes, *Textual Power . Literary Theory and the Teaching of English* . New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1985; especially the chapter "The English Apparatus," 1-17.

63 For a more elaborate explication of this citation see Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "The Problem of Cultural Self-representation," *The Post-Colonial Critic : Interviews*,

Strategies, Dialogues . ed. Sarah Harasym. New York & London: Routledge, 1990, 51. This article originally appeared in *Thesis Eleven* . 15, 1986.

64 "Classic realist narrative, as Barthes demonstrates in *S/Z* , turns on the creation of enigma through the precipitation of disorder which throws into disarray the conventional cultural and signifying systems. Among the commonest sources of disorder at the level of plot in classic realism are murder, war, a journey or love. But the story moves inevitably towards *closure* which is also disclosure, the dissolution of enigma through the reestablishment of order, recognizable as a reinstatement or a development of the order which is understood to have preceded the events of the story itself" (Belsey 70). As Barthes stresses, after likening "the development of an enigma [... to] that of a fugue": "*it is precisely this constraint which reduces the plural of the classic text .*" (*op.cit.*, 1974, 29-30)

65 See John Porter, Chapter III, "Ethnicity and Social Class," *The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada* . Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965, 60-68, for his definition of this term.

66 See Hayden V. White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* . Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973; and *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* . Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978.

67 Paul-André Linteau *et al.*, *Histoire du Québec contemporain. De la Confédération à la Crise* . Tome I. Montréal: Boréal, 1989, 307.

68 In other instances, perhaps I do not take enough account of the personal reasons which account for and blind historical and artistic actors to their choices. For an interesting comment on this problem, see Marcel Rioux, *Un peuple dans le siècle* . Montréal: Boréal, 1990, 12: "Souvent, certaines raisons qui expliqueraient telle ou telle option politique ou intellectuelle sont tellement enfouies dans le tréfonds d'une histoire personnelle. que ceux qui les défendent les ignorent eux-mêmes."

69 See Roland Barthes, *Mythologies* . Trans. Annette Lavers. London: Paladin, 1973. Inoculation "consists in admitting the accidental evil of a class-bound institution the better to conceal its principal evil. One immunizes the contents of the collective imagination by means of a small inoculation of acknowledged evil; one thus protects it against the risk of a generalized subversion (150). Of course, one could argue that the genre of the burlesque usually performs just such inoculations.

70 For a more complete list of these and other fictional works which are not part of the primary literary corpus of the thesis, see "Bibliography - Non-Cited Primary Cultural Texts."

71 I use the term "autobiographical fictions" in reference to some of Patrick Anderson's cited prose works for the following reasons. I decided to bend the rules of my own selection criteria in order to recuperate Anderson's autobiographical writings about his wartime experiences in Québec not only because of the paucity of available prose works which met my criteria of time and place, but because I believe, in keeping with the recent revalorization of "life writing" by feminist and postmodern critics, "to write of anyone's history is to order, to give form to disparate facts; in short, to fictionalize." See Linda Hutcheon, *op. cit.* , 1988, 82. As shall become apparent, given the extent to which heterosexist dominant culture forced (and still forces) homosexually panicked men and gays to literally fictionalize their lives, said recuperations of Anderson's texts

for my analyses of how classic realism absorbs and transforms social discourses are particularly justified and pertinent. For more on the question of the fictionalities of life writing and on life writing in general, see Marlene Kadar, ed. *Essays on Life Writing: From Genre to Critical Practice*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992.

72 See André Belleau, "La démarche sociocritique au Québec," *Voix et Images*. Vol. 8, no. 2, hiver 1983, 305.

73 See Richard Hoggart, *Contemporary Cultural Studies*. Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, Birmingham University, Occasional Paper No. 6, 1969.

74 See Ian McKay's analysis and defense of this method in his essay "Historians, Anthropology, and the Concept of Culture," *Labour/Le Travailleur*. Vols. 8 & 9, Autumn/Spring, 1981-82, 194 [185-241].

75 See Margaret Atwood, *Survival: A Thematic Guide to Canadian Literature*. Toronto: Anansi, 1972. For a list of all of the cited and many of the non-cited secondary critical works relevant to the thesis see "Bibliography - Cited Secondary Cultural Texts" and "Non-Cited Secondary Cultural Texts".

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CHAPTER I - ETHNIC FICTIONS - ENDNOTES

1 From A. M. Klein's poem "Political Meeting," *The Rocking Chair*. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1948, 16.

2 Denis Monière, *Le Développement des idéologies au Québec: des origines à nos jours*. Montréal: Québec/Amérique, 1977, 246. The Groulx citation is from *Notre maître le passé*. Tome II. Montréal: Granger frères, 1945, 324.

3 See Monière *ibid.*, 246 and ednt. 41: "Sa conception de la nation reposant essentiellement sur l'homogénéité, Groulx n'accepta jamais de reconnaître l'existence de classes sociales au Canada français. Il refuse l'hétérogénéité sociale."

4 Esther Delisle, *Le Traître et le Juif: Lionel Groulx, Le Devoir, et le délire du nationalisme d'extrême droite dans la province de Québec 1929-1939*. Outremont, Québec: L'Étincelle Éditeur (Collection: *plura lisme*), 1992, 19. Delisle identifies "Gustave LeBon, héraut de la droite révolutionnaire française, auteur des *Lois psychologiques de l'évolution des peuples*" (19) as one of Groulx's most important sources.

5 Lionel Groulx, *La naissance d'une race*. Montréal: Bibliothèque de l'Action française, 1919, 258. Horace Miner's *St. Denis: A French-Canadian Parish*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939, reinforced this racial discourse. Though he initially characterizes French-Canadians as "racially [...] mixed," he immediately limits it. "Nordic strains, which originated in Normandy, are common in rather pure form. Blue-eyed blondes with long heads and thin hair are frequently encountered. [...] In contrast to these types are shorter, extremely dark persons of marked Mediterranean appearance (31)."

6 See Delisle *op. cit.* ,14-18, in which she draws upon "L'Entrevue du Lundi/Marcel Trudel", *Le Devoir* . 24 fév. 1992, 9; Marcel Fournier, *Les Européens au Canada des origines à 1765* . Montréal: Éditions de Fleuve, 1989; Jean-Pierre Wilhelmy, *Les mercenaires allemands au Québec du XVII siècle et leur apport à la population*. Belœil, Québec: Maison des mots, 1984, 196-97. See also Marcel Trudel, *L'Esclavage au Canada français : histoire et conditions de l'esclavage* . Québec: Presses Universitaires Laval, 1960.

7 See Zachary M. Baker, "Montreal Of Yesterday: A Snapshot of Jewish Life in Montreal During the Era of Mass Immigration," in Robinson *et al.* , *op. cit.*, 45. Baker is citing from Israel Medres's book *Montreal of Yesterday [Montreal Fun Nekhtn]* (1947). See also David Rome, "Jews in Anglophone Quebec," in Gary Caldwell & Eric Waddell, eds., *The English of Quebec : From Majority to Minority Status* . Montréal: IQRC, (Collection: Identité et changements culturels, no. 2), 1982, 165.

8 See Madeleine Parent /Léa Roback : *Entretiens avec Nicole Lacelle* . Montréal: les éditions du remue-ménage, 1988, 115.

9 See Susan Mann Trofimenkoff's *Action française ; French Canadian Nationalism in the Twenties* . Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1975; and Abbé Groulx . *Variations On A Nationalist Theme* . Toronto: Copp Clark (Issues in Canadian History), 1973. However, though Claude Ryan may have referred to Groulx in 1967 as "the spiritual father of modern Quebec" (*Action française* , ix), his influence is often said to have been overestimated. For instance, see Richard-A. Jones's and Pierre Trépanier's reviews of Trofimenkoff's *Action française* in *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* . XXX, juin, 1976, 121-123 and *L'Action nationale* . LXVII, 5, jan 1978, 390, respectively.

10 Doubtless there has been a fear of Groulx's anti-semitism reflecting badly on the history of the development of modern Québécois nationalism. This seems to be the major reason why Esther Delisle's doctoral thesis at Laval University ran into such incredible institutional resistance. For such a thorough analysis of Groulx's antisemitism necessarily demands a reconsideration of some of the roots and influences of modern Québec nationalism.

11 Jacques Langlais & David Rome. *Juifs et Québécois français : 200 ans d'histoire commune* . Montréal: Fides, 1986, 154.

12 Pierre Anctil, *Le Devoir , les Juifs et l'immigration : De Bourassa à Laurendeau* . Montréal: IQRC, 1988, 122.

13 See also René Durocher, "Le Fasciste canadien, 1935-1938." J. Dumont, J. Hamelin et J. P. Montminy, dir. *Idéologies au Canada français 1930-1939* . Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1978, 257-71; and Réal Caux, *Parti National Social Chrétien : Adrien Arcand, ses idées, son œuvre et son influence* . Québec: Maîtrise, Sciences Politiques, Université de Laval, 1958 for histories of fascism in Québec during the 1930s.

14 For instance, see Groulx's 1954 letter to M. Lamoureux in Victor Teboul, *Mythes et images du Juif au Québec : Essai d'analyse critique* . Montréal: Éditions de Lagrave (Collection "Liberté"),1977, 173-74, as an example rebutting Anctil's claim that Groulx's anti-semitic period lasted only between 1934-35.

15 See André Laurendeau, *La crise de la conscription, 1942*. Montréal: Éditions du Jour, 1962, 11; and Denis Monière, *André Laurendeau et le destin d'un peuple*. Montréal: Québec/Amérique, 1983, Chapter IV, "Pèlerinage en vraie France," for a more thorough account of Laurendeau's conversion to Canadian, socialist and personalist solutions to French-Canadians' collective problems.

16 Lettre de Lionel Groulx, 2 septembre 1936. P2A33; cited in Monière, *ibid.*, 94.

17 For examples of liberal, socialist and reformist attacks upon racism, anti-semitism and anti-immigration in the contemporary liberal press, see Victor Teboul's *Le Jour : émergence du libéralisme moderne au Québec*. Montréal: Hurtubise HMH/Cahiers du Québec, 1984.

18 See Horace Miner, "Changes in Rural French-Canadian Culture," *The American Journal of Sociology*. XLIV, November, 1938, 365-78; *St. Denis*. *op. cit.*, 1939; and Everett Hughes, "Industry and the Rural System in Quebec," *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*. IV, 3, August, 1938, 341-349; and *French Canada in Transition*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943. Their work would be appropriated and expanded upon by Québec sociologists, such as Léon Gérin, in the 1940s and 1950s. See Léon Gérin's *Aux sources de notre histoire : les conditions économiques*. Montréal: Fides, 1946.

19 See Sherry Simon, "Espaces incertains de la culture," *Fictions de l'identitaire au Québec*. Montréal: XYZ (Études et documents), 1991, 15-52.

20 Miner did not use this term, but his focus upon the traditional family suggests Foucault's revival of the term in his essay on "Governmentality". In referring back to Machiavelli's *The Prince* and Rousseau's article on *Political Economy*, economy applies to the government of the family, "that is the correct manner of managing individuals, goods and wealth within the family (which a good father is expected to do in relation to his wife, children and servants) and of making it thrive". See Michel Foucault, "Governmentality," *I & C*, 6, Autumn, 10. Foucault's use of the term is particularly applicable to the French-Canadian context which Miner was addressing insofar as Foucault traces the transition from economy to increased government by the state -- a continuum which, in the French-Canadian context of the 1940s and 1950s, can be said to have been paradoxically played out materially and symbolically by the rise and fall of Duplessism.

21 Having said this, I believe Sherry Simon, *op. cit.*, could give more credit to Miner's awareness of the breakwater which traditional French-Canadian society was up against at the end of the 1930s. Consider, for instance, two comments of his on contemporary rural youth: "Now a large part of the youth knows it can never farm and that it must find work in the city. The values of this group are increasingly influenced from the city. Urban ways have definite value to these young men (239)". "At present the rural clergy tries to maintain the old traditions by attacking city values, but the social necessity of these values to farmers' sons weakens confidence in the church (254)." Though I take Simon's point that Miner's emphasis upon the hegemony of traditional "attitudes" creates a relatively static, heroic, "tableau immobile" (see Simon 28-29).

22 Hughes, 1938, *op. cit.*, 341 & 346.

23 See Gérard Boismenu, *Le Duplessisme . Politique économique et rapports de force . 1944-1960*. Montréal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1981; Gilles Bourque et Jules Duchastel, *Restons traditionnels et progressifs . Pour une nouvelle analyse du*

discours politique . le cas du régime Duplessis au Québec . Montréal: Boréal, 1988; and Pierre Popovic, "Le duplessisme," *La contradiction du poème : poésie et discours social au Québec de 1948 à 1953*. Candiac, Québec: Les Éditions Balzac (Collection L'Univers des discours), 1992, 117-45.

24 See Lionel Groulx, "Les bases de nôtre survivance," *Le Devoir* . 24 juin 1939, 30 & 49; "M. Earl Lawson est repris de sa rage impérialiste," *Le Devoir* . 15 jan. 1945, 1; Howard Palmer, *Patterns of Prejudice* . Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1982, H. Blair Neatby, *The Politics of Chaos* . Toronto: Macmillan, 1972, 166; Robert Bothwell et al. *Canada 1900-1945* . Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987, 299, 312-13; Stephen Speisman, "Antisemitism in Ontario: The Twentieth Century," *Antisemitism in Canada : History and Interpretation* . Alan Davies, ed., Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1992, especially 120-27; and Marilyn F. Nefsky, "The Shadow of Evil: Nazism and Canadian Protestantism," Davies, *ibid.* , especially 208-10.

25 See Eric Waddell, "Place and People," in Caldwell & Waddell, *op cit.* , 30, for a brief summary of related romantic colonial phenomena such as the poetry of William Henry Drummond or the early McCord Museum.

26 See Margaret Westley, *Remembrance of Grandeur : Montreal's Anglo-Protestant Elite , 1900-1950* . Montréal: Libre Expression, 1990, 18, 22-4.

27 According to the 1931 census the peoples of "British" heritage within the greater Montréal area were divided as follows: 56% English and roughly 22% each of Irish and Scots origin. See Paul-André Linteau, "La montée du cosmopolitisme montréalais," *Questions de culture* , 2, 1982, 39.

28 For a summary of George Wrong's career and ideas see Carl Berger's *The Writing of Canadian History: Aspects of English-Canadian Historical Writing since 1900* . Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986, 18-19. At this level of reaction against modernity Wrong had much in common with conservative French-Canadian thinkers.

29 Caldwell & Waddell, *op. cit.* , "Introduction," 17. Only ten years later the idea of a hyphenated or adjectivally defined Quebecer or Québécois/e has even less appeal, since the rapidly changing demographics of the province make it imperative that all of its citizens be considered as *Québécois/es* if its social fabric is to hold together.

30 Or as Robert Schwartzwald has put it. "Those of British descent gradually appropriated the appellation 'Canada' wholly for themselves and created their hyphenated Other, the 'French'-Canadians." See "Fear of Federasty: Québec's Inverted Fictions," *Comparative American Identities : Race, Sex, and Nationality in the Modern Text* . ed. Hortense J. Spillers, New York & London: Routledge (Essays from the English Institute), 1991, 176-77.

31 Ronald Rudin, *The Forgotten Quebecers : A History of English-Speaking Quebec, 1759-1980* . Montreal: IQRC, 1985, 165, citing the 1931 Canadian census.

32 Or as Westley, 1990, *op . cit.* , has put it: "Although there were hundreds of small and medium-sized enterprizes in Montreal, owned and managed by people of French, European, or British backgrounds, the biggest manufacturing and financial firms were owned by Anglo-Protestants. They preferred British workers (36)."

33 See André Siegfried, *Le Canada, puissance internationale*. Paris: A. Colin, 1939, 59. The Irish population had been predominant until the 1870s but was thereafter outstripped by English immigration (see Rudin 152). According to Carla Lipsig-Mummé, "The English Working Class of Quebec: Fragmentation and Silence," in Caldwell & Waddell, *op. cit.*, 188: "in the use of [the] ethnic-origin definition, the Irish are considered of British stock which glosses over, to put it mildly, the considerable cultural and political differences which, before 1920, existed between the British and the Scottish on the one hand and the Irish on the other, as well as their continually divergent occupational paths. It also seems to ignore the sizeable number of Irish Catholics who integrated with the francophone majority in the nineteenth century."

34 Langlais & Rome, *op. cit.*, summarize some other pertinent immigration statistics as follows: "Entre 1901 et 1931, alors que la population montréalaise s'accroît du triple, passant de 267 730 à 818 577 habitants, celle d'origine autre qu'anglaise et française déculpe, à quelques milliers près, passant de 16 233 (4,5%) à 135 262 (13,5%). Or les Juifs en provenance de l'Europe de l'Est forment la moitié de cette population. C'est dire qu'en termes strictement statistiques, la situation du Québec, et singulièrement de Montréal, présente un potentiel de problèmes d'absorption." (141) Their statistics are gleaned from Linteau *et al. Histoire du Québec contemporain. De la Confédération à la Crise*. Tome I. Montréal: Boréal, 1989, 416 & 422.

35 See Gregory Vlastos, "Christian Youth and Race," *The Gazette*. June 17, 1939, 3.

36 Morden H. Long, *A History of the Canadian People*. Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1942, ix.

37 Donald G. Creighton, *Dominion of the North: A History of Canada*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1944.

38 Stanley B. Ryerson, *French Canada: A Study in Canadian Democracy*. Toronto: Progress Books, 1944 [1943].

39 While this "democratic" discourse was ideologically opposed to conservative Anglophilic emphases upon democracy as part of the British heritage, it is at the same consistent with the common Anglo-Canadian emphasis during the 1930s and the war years upon "the principles of Anglo-Saxon democracy [as being] above narrow racial concerns (Nefsky, *op. cit.*, 209)."

40 Ryerson is citing from B. Hutchison, *MacLeans*. July 1943.

41 Or as Robert Comeau and Bernard Dionne have characterized the Labour Progressive Party's positions in relation to Québec during the 1940s: "La lutte contre les privilèges de la nation canadienne-anglaise que devait mener la direction du Parti n'a jamais pris beaucoup d'ampleur [...] Au plan politique, on oublie que la Confédération fut imposée aux Québécois et que ces derniers n'ont jamais obtenu la pleine reconnaissance de leurs droits nationaux et politiques." *Les communistes au Québec 1936-1956: Sur le Parti communiste du Canada / Parti ouvrier-progressiste*. Montréal: Les Presses de l'unité (Histoire/Débats), 1981, 49.

42 Arthur Lower, *Colony to Nation*. Toronto, New York. Longmans, Green, 1946.

43 Similar kinds of Anglo-identified stereotypes appear when Lower, *op. cit.*, places greater emphasis on the dark side of German romantic idealism as a substantive cause of WW I rather than on Germany's unprecedented economic expansionism and competition

within Europe, especially eastern Europe (458-9). Likewise, Lower taints his discourse on inter-war Western Canadian settlement with paternalistic patter about the versatility of the "Chinese coolie" (495).

44 See Richard Arès, *Notre Question Nationale : Tome I : Les faits*. Montréal: Éditions de l'Action Nationale, 1943, 13.

45 In both excerpts Arès is reliant upon or citing E. Montpetit's *Le front contre la vitre : Anglais-Français*. Montréal: A. Levesque, 1936.

46 Wilfrid Bovey, *The French Canadians Today : a people on the march*. Toronto: J. M. Dent, 1938; but I cite from the translated version, *Les Canadiens-français d'aujourd'hui, l'essor d'un peuple*. Montréal: Éditions ACF, 1940. According to the rather Imperial *Who's Who In Canada* (including, *The British Possessions in the Western Hemisphere, 1938-1939*). ed. B. M. Greene. Toronto: International Press Limited, 1939, 422, Bovey was a lawyer and educationalist who spent much of his professional career at McGill.

47 Similarly, a front-page feature article in *La Presse* paid homage to the British Royal couple and characterized Québec as a "Terre de Normandie." See Ephrem-Reginald Bertrand, "Le seul parlement français de l'empire britannique rend des hommages officiels à son roi," 17 mai 1939, 1.

48 [Anon.], *Le Devoir*. 19 mai, 1939, 1.

49 Immigration between 1930-1940 was 25,000 or 0.3 %; an incredibly dramatic fall from the decade of 1920-1930 when there were 450,000 immigrants or a rate of 6.0%. See Gérald Bernier & Robert Berily, *Le Québec en chiffres de 1850 à nos jours*. Montréal: ACFAS, 1986, 30, citing Statistique Canada, *Statistiques de l'État civil*. (Cat. 84-202 et 84-204).

50 See, for example, Léopold Richer, "À Ottawa : Deux députés s'opposent net à l'immigration juive au Canada," *Le Devoir*, 25 jan. 1939, 1; Léopold Richer, "Le Canada recrute presque un tiers de ses fonctionnaires parmi ses étrangers," *Le Devoir*, 20 avril 1939, 1; Omer Héroux, "L'exemple des Juifs," *Le Devoir*, 21 déc. 1939, 1; Émile Benoist, "Une tâche que nous avons négligée: l'assimilation des étrangers," 14 mars 1940, 1; Léopold Richer, "Lettre d'Ottawa : L'hégémonie anglo-saxonne s'affirme de plus en plus," *Le Devoir*, 4 sept. 1940, 1.

51 See Jean Bruchesi, *Histoire du Canada pour tous*. Montréal: Beauchemin, 1946; and *Histoire du Canada*. Montréal: Éditions Beauchemin, 1951; or Lionel Groulx, *Notre maître, le passé*. 1ère série. Montréal: Bibliothèque de l'Action française, 1924 [various editions and series: 1924-1946]; *La Naissance d'une race*. Montréal: Librairie Granger, 1933 [1918]; and *Vers l'Indépendance politique : un centenaire de liberté*. Montréal: Éditions de l'Action Nationale, 1942.

52 Charles Maurras (1868-1952) was a French poet and prose-writer whose ultramontane and royalist social formation and politics led him to develop proto-Fascistic ideas from the turn of the century through the 1930s. He was also responsible for turning *L'Action française* into a daily newspaper for the propagation of said authoritarian politics; the same paper which inspired Lionel Groulx and others to found their own French-Canadian version of *L'Action française*. Even as late as 1945, as Bruchesi's 1946 edition of *Histoire du Canada* attests, there were some strong sympathies in Québec for Maurras and for how his politics had supposedly been

misunderstood. For a contrary perspective see [(A.P.), Anon.], <<Charles Maurras parle en son propre nom,>> *Le Devoir* . 25 janv., 1945, 3, in which it is unsympathetically noted that Maurras spoke with hatred during his defense against democracy, Jews and foreigners, and that the audience in attendance was particularly displeased with his monarchism.

53 In said *Petal Tone* advertisement, the face of an ostensibly "caucasian" woman is split down the middle into dark- and light-skinned sides. The imperative text of the ad interpellates a "'vous' nouveau et d'un plus grand charme," "un 'VOUS' plus ravissant et plus charmeur", while the *Petal Tone* ad is boxed into the corner from above and the side by photographs of swarthy skinned, virtually naked, Amazon tribesmen wading through water and standing arrayed in trees. The semiotics of the page imply that as much as the Amazon natives are an anthropological curiosity for whites, they are a far cry from the acceptable, gendered, racial "ideal" offered by the Parisien perfume and skin care company of *Derny* . See the Saturday weekend magazine of *La Presse* . mars 11, 1939, 2.

A relevant citation from Michel Condé suggests that the discursive semiotics of such layouts: "l'équivalence des discours (c'est-à-dire le fait qu'une publicité puisse se trouver à côté d'une information politique ou d'une œuvre d'art, pour citer un exemple de Zima) ne résulte pas de la généralisation de la valeur d'échange, mais d'une situation institutionnelle, à savoir la liberté de conscience et de publication: cette situation n'a rien à voir (du moins directement) avec le système économique, et est la conséquence d'une certaine conception de la démocratie, qui refuse de sacrifier certaines paroles (c'est-à-dire de les déclarer plus légitimes que d'autres), et qui donne à tout discours le même statut formel (ou si l'on veut un statut équivalent et indifférent)." See Michel Condé, *La Genèse sociale de l'individualisme romantique* . Université de Liège, Thèse de doctorat en Philosophie et Lettres, 1985-1986, 77 and cited in Popovic, *op.cit.* , 41.

54 See *La Presse* . 14 octobre, 1944, [Week-End Magazine], 24.

55 The graphematic literally refers to the written feature of language; whereas a gaphematic device is one which foregrounds the physicality of a written sign in order to suggest tone, mood, a point of view, *etcetera* . See Jacques Derrida, "Signature event context," *Glyph* . I, 172-197, 1977.

56 For instance, the summer of 1939 saw a marked increase in concerns about anti-semitic activities in Québec, such as actions in some Laurentian communities against the presence of Jews. Consistent with their different relationships to the Jewish community the local English and French press responded quite differently. *The Gazette* , for example, gave front page coverage to the incidents and the ensuing debates, while the French press virtually ignored the question. See [Anon.] "Anti-Jewish Drive Shocks Bercovitch," *The Gazette* . August 1, 1939, 11; and "Puize [the Provincial Police Commissioner] Reports Anti-Jew Drive Is Not Serious," [my brackets] *The Gazette* . August 5, 1939, 1. Defensive French-Canadian ethnocentrism aside, it has to be remembered that the linguistic assimilation of Jews into Anglophone culture made it socially and economically more difficult for a paper like *The Gazette* to ignore such controversies to the same extent. Nor should we forget the extent to which such reporting allowed chauvinistic Anglophone interests to discredit French-Canadians *en masse* .

57 See [Anon.], "Prêt Anglais de \$2,335,000 pour envoyer 5,000 Juifs au Canada," *Le Canada* . 19 jan. 1939, 1; Abel Vineberg, "Flitch Praises Welcome Given Jews in Québec. Jewish M.L.A. Calls Province's Minority Record 'Brilliant'," *The Gazette* . Jan. 20, 1939, 1; [Anon.], "Pas d'immigration de réfugiés au Canada," *Le Canada* . 21 jan.

1939, 1; [Editorial] "The Refugee Problem," *The Gazette* . Jan. 22, 1939, 9; [Editorial], "L'honorable M. Rinfret et l'immigration," *Le Canada* . 23 jan. 1939, 2; Richer, À Ottawa. Deux députés", *op. cit.*, *Le Devoir* . 25 jan. 1939, 1; [Anon.], "Deux députés opposés à l'immigration au Canada," *Le Canada* . 25 jan. 1939, 1; [Presses Canadiennes], "M. King déclare qu'il étudiera avec sympathie la question des réfugiés politiques d'Europe," *Le Canada* . 31 jan. 1939, 1; Émile Benoist, "À Ottawa. M. King favorable à l'immigration juive?", *Le Devoir* . 9 mars 1939, 1.

58 Richer, *ibid.* ., 1. See also [Anon.] "Deux députés," *ibid.* ., *Le Canada*. 25 jan. 1939, 1.

59 For instance, see Felix-Antoine Savard's "Le sol n'attend que le travail pour se changer en pain, lait et viande," *Le Devoir* . 23 fév., 1939, 7; and "Le Paysan Devant La Nature. Le paysan de chez nous a fait ce chef-d'œuvre que j'appelle: un être accordé," *Le Devoir* . 25 fév., 1939, 7. Even *La Presse* , which was much more urban oriented than *Le Devoir* , produced several editorials during the war years which supported and encouraged colonization and rural culture. For instance, see [Editorial], "Le Retour à la terre," *La Presse* . 29 sept., 1939, 6; or the editorial <<Colons Désirables,>> 16 nov. 1944, 6. It should be noted, however, that *La Presse*'s view of colonization is usually implicitly more pan-Canadian than that of *Le Devoir* .

60 André Laurendeau in Collectif. *Politiciens et Juifs* . Montréal: Les cahiers des Jeunes-Canada, n° 1, 1933, 57; and cited in Monière, *op. cit.*, 1983, 59. For a more anti-semitic statement by Laurendeau from the same period see *Le Devoir* . 27 avril 1933, 1; paraphrased in Moniere, 1983, 60.

61 [Anon.], "Pas d'immigration," *op.cit.* , *Le Canada* . 21 jan. 1939, 1.

62 [Editorial], "L'honorable M. Rinfret," *op. cit.* ., *Le Canada* . 23 jan. 1939, 2.

63 [Anon.], "Notre attitude envers la minorité anglaise du Québec," *Le Canada* . 23 jan. 1939, 12 & 6.

64 Lacroix, Wilfrid. *House of Commons Debates* . 1 (1939), 428; cited in Irving Abella & Harold Troper. *None Is Too Many* . Toronto: Lester & Orpen Dennys, 1982, 18. The petition was signed by nearly 128,000 people and had been organized by the St. Jean Baptiste Society of Québec. See also David Rome, *Clouds in the Thirties: On Antisemitism in Canada 1929-1939* . Montreal: Canadian Jewish Congress, Section 12, 684-85, 712.

65 [Anon.] "Immigration de centaines de réfugiés des Sudètes," *La Presse* . 4 mars. 1939, 1.

66 Benoist, *op.cit.* ., *Le Devoir* . 9 mars, 1939, 1.

67 [Anouncement], "Grand ralliement contre immigration," *Le Devoir* . 13 avril, 1939, 4. See also the coverage of the rally in [Anon.], "La grave question de l'immigration," *Le Devoir* . 14 avril, 1939, 6; and a similar discourse in Omer Héroux, "L'exemple des Juifs," *op. cit.* ., *Le Devoir* . 21 déc., 1939, 1. *La Presse*'s report on the rally ([Anon.] <<Un grand ralliement contre l'immigration," 14 avril, 1939, 9) emphasizes Georges Héon's discourse, including his fear that ultra-imperialists would use Québécois concerns about immigration to stir up anti-French-Canadian campaigns. Curiously, neither *The Gazette* nor *The Montreal Daily Star* reported nor commented on the April 13th rally; a reflection perhaps as much upon the

Anglophone communities' ignorance of Francophone culture and current events as it is of any possible editorial decisions not to feed the ethno-linguistic fires of the heated immigration debate.

68 As American "international" unions, the Labour Progressive Party and the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation would make gains in Canada (though in the case of the latter two, much less so in Québec) this trope would become even more prevalent. See [Anon.], <<"La menace communiste extrêmement grave">>, *Le Devoir* . 4 janv., 1945, 3.

69 See [Anon.] "Rural Settlement Planned For Jews," *The Gazette* . April 19, 1939, 11: "It is felt by the association that an abnormal disproportion of Jews compared with their Gentile neighbors is engaged in commerce, industry and the professions while Jewish concentration in urban centres has become a social anomaly 'which cries for radical change.'" Note how *The Gazette* fails to contextualize how the concentration of Jews in urban environments provided cultural coherence *and* physical safety given the contemporary anti-semitic climate.

70 For instance, see Benoist, *op. cit.* , 14 mars, 1940, 1; and R. P. Breton, "Le rôle du Québec vis-à-vis des minorités," *Le Devoir* . 11 juillet, 1940.

71 Léopold Richer, "La guerre et les colonies étrangères au Canada," *Le Devoir* . 12 juin. 1940, 1.

72 Léopold Richer, "Immigration . Juifs et réfugiés nouvellement arrivés au Canada," *Le Devoir* . 10 mai, 1940, 1 & 10.

73 Lucien Romier, "Un document historique. L'appel des 430 journaux français contre l'action communiste en terre française," *Le Devoir* . 7 jan. 1939, 6.

74 Émile Benoist, "Où en est la radio . 'CKAC' fait bon accueil à des communistes revenues d'Espagne," *Le Devoir* . 6 fév., 1939, 1. Generally speaking, the English press was less openly concerned with the Jewish elements within leftist groups; but it was no less aggressive when it came to attacking the left.

75 See [Editorial] "Deux Ukramiens arrêtés aux Trois-Rivières," *Le Devoir* . 14 juin, 1939, 6; or, the articles [Anon.] "Three Sent To Jail For Red Campaign," *The Gazette* . February 7, 1940, 17; and [Anon.] "\$500 Fines Imposed On Propagandists," *The Gazette* . February 10, 1940, 13, respectively.

76 See [(C.P.) Anon.] "M. Case attaque le chef CCF Lewis," *Le Devoir* . 26 jan., 1945, 3. See also J. P. Fugère, "Le fait néo-canadien dans la vie montréalaise et dans la vie canadienne," *L'Action nationale* . 25, 5, mai 1945, 354-65; 6, juin 1945, 445-58.

77 Lorne Pierce, *A Canadian People* . Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1945.

78 Pierce's text was partially reprinted in J. H. Stewart Reid, Kenneth McNaught and Harry S. Crowe. *A source-book of Canadian history : selected documents and personal papers* . Toronto: Longmans Canada Ltd., 1959, 461, as "A Liberal-Protestant View."

79 This pastoralist discourse was pervasive in Québec society. For other examples, see Félix-Antoine Savard, "Le Paysan Devant La Nature," 23 février, 1939, 7, where he states "Le paysan de chez nous a fait ce chef-d'œuvre que j'appelle: un être accordé."; and various titles by Groulx, *op. cit.* ..

80 A contemporary, more explicit, poetic equivalent of this discourse can be found in part of Jean Narrache's [Émile Coderre's] poem, <<Notre fête nationale>>, in *Quand J'Parl'Tou Seul* > Montréal: Éditions Albert Lévesque, 1936: "<<Encourageons les nôtres! / Soyons des frèr's! Mercier l'a dit.>> / Mais les plus gueulards des apôtres / S'habillent chez les Juifs à crédit. (92)"

81 It is also reminiscent of Camilien Houde's famous 1939 statement that: "Les Canadiens français du Québec sont fascistes par le sang, s'ils ne le sont pas de nom". See [Anon.], *Le Devoir*. 8 fév. 1939, 2.

82 See Jean Tétreau, *Hertel : L'Homme et l'œuvre*. Montréal: Pierre Tisseyre, 1986; and Richard Giguère, "François Hertel," *Dictionary of Literary Biography . Canadian Writers*, 1920-1959, 1st Series. Vol. 68. W. H. New, ed. Detroit: Gale Research Co., 1988, 175-79.

83 See also Hertel's *Leur Inquiétude*. Montréal: Albert Lévesque, 1936 and *Nous ferons l'avenir*. Montréal: Fides, 1945; as well as the Ultramontanes' *Programme Catholique*, published in 1871. In *Le Développement des idéologies au Québec*, *op. cit.*, Denis Monière accounts for the initial rise of ultramontanism as being a mixed result of Confederation, the defeat of the Riel rebellion, the abolition of separate schools in New Brunswick and the 1870 Vatican declaration of the infallibility of the Pope. With the shift of "national" power to Ottawa, the Church in Québec felt increasingly compelled to protect its interests by manipulating voters as to whom to vote for. While not always successful, this usually meant encouraging or threatening French-Canadians to vote against liberals (see 212-14).

84 This nostalgia is strongly present in a contemporary sociological work like Léon Gérin's "La famille canadienne-française, sa force, ses faiblesses," in *La Société canadienne-française*. eds. Marcel Rioux & Yves Martin. Montréal: Éditions Hurtubise HMH, Ltée, 1971, when he states that "le Canadien français est foncièrement campagnard" (46); originally published as "Le paysan de Saint-Irénée, hier et aujourd'hui," in *Revue trimestrielle canadienne*. XIX, mars 1932.

85 See Raoul Blanchard, *L'Est du Canada français : Le Centre du Canada français; L'Ouest du Canada français*. 5 volumes, Montréal. Beauchemin, 1935-1954. There was the federal Gordon Plan (1932), the provincial Vautrin Plan (1935), and the subsequent joint federal and provincial Rogers-Auger program. "Ces programmes ont un impact certain sur le monde rural. On estime entre 42 000 et 54 000 le nombre total des personnes touchées [...] Cependant [...] cette colonisation est précaire: après quelques années, les colons trouvent plus rentable d'abandonner ce mode de vie pour retourner en ville ou pour travailler dans les mines ou en forêt. Selon Raoul Blanchard, ce sera le cas des deux tiers de ces nouveaux colons (Linteau *et al.* Tome II, 41)."

86 See Romain Légaré, "Le Roman canadien-français d'aujourd'hui", *Culture*, VI, 1945, 58-59; se also Guy Sylvestre, *La Revue dominicaine*, mars 1953, 115-118.

87 See Romain Légaré, "L'Oeuvre romanesque de Robert Charbonneau", in *L'Action nationale*, nov. 1948, 209-212.

88 Jean-Charles Falardeau, "Ils posséderont la terre," *Dictionnaire des œuvres littéraires du Québec*. Tome III. 1940-1959. dir. Maurice Lemire *et al.* Montréal: Fides, 1982, 501.

89 Or as the protagonist of the subsequent novel, *Fontile*, describes the city: "Elle présente tous les caractères des villes construites sans préméditation." See Robert Charbonneau, *Fontile*. Montréal: Éditions de l'Arbre, 1945, 10.

90 See Diane Lamoureux's (Département de science politique, Université Laval) unpublished paper "L'Auto-détermination comme condition du multiculturalisme Québécois (1994)" for examples of how this traditional nationalist trilogy of language, religion and the family "s'est parée d'horipeaux plus modernes: langue, État et institutions." (3)

91 Robert Choquette's lyric-epic *Metropolitan Museum: poème*. Montréal: Herald Press, 1931, for all its modernity, is a poetic example of a similar nostalgia for an endangered or lost pastoral grace.

92 See Madeleine Ducrocq-Poirier, *Robert Charbonneau*. Montréal: Fides (Écrivains canadiens d'aujourd'hui), 1972, 45-6, citing "Les problèmes spirituels et temporels d'une nouvelle chrétienté," *La Relève*. 5, 1934, 101; and Charbonneau's *Chronique de l'âge amer*. Montréal: Éditions du Sablier, 1967. Interestingly, however, in contrast with *Ils posséderont la terre*, *Fontile* makes no mention of non-French-Canadians.

93 A similar perspective is evident in Alphonse's satiric anecdote in *Bonheur d'occasion* about a poor French-Canadian who has enrolled in the army "[p]our avoir un manteau l'hiver. Ce gars-là, il en avait assez de s'habiller chez les juifs de la rue Craig, dans de la pénillierie qui sent la sueur pis les oignons. (52)" In other words, according to this racist *ideologeme*, to be a poor French-Canadian is to be reduced to resorting to dressing oneself with clothes from supposedly unclean Jewish second-hand stores and pawnshops.

However, that the curé in Lemelin's novel can afford to throw away his false teeth can also be read as a sign of his class privilege given the famous stereotype of poor French-Canadians relying upon ill-fitting dentures from their adolescence onward.

94 See Sophie Bissonnette's recent award winning documentary film, *Des lumières dans la grande noirceur* (1991), for a striking example of a Church sponsored anti-semitic boycott campaign against Lea Pool's father and community resistance to it.

95 Though Antoine Sirois's analysis of French-Canadian representations of other ethnic groups towards the end of the war and in the immediate post-war period as being less xenophobic does not deal with *Le Survenant*, nevertheless see "L'Étranger de race et d'ethnie dans le roman québécois," *Recherches Sociographiques*. XXIII, 1-2, 1982, 187-204.

96 In *Marie-Didace* Amable is driven by circumstances to work in Montréal and promptly dies on the job (Montréal: Fides, 1947, 139).

97 See André Vanasse, "La notion de l'étranger dans la littérature canadienne - IV: La Rupture Définitive", *L'Action nationale*. V, 5, janv. 1966, 610.

98 See Sander L. Gilman, "Plague in Germany, 1939/1989: Cultural Images of Race, Space, and Disease," *Nationalisms & Sexualities*. eds. Andrew Parker, Mary Russo, Doris Sommer, & Patricia Yaeger. New York & London: Routledge, 1992, 175-200; and Edward J. Bristow, *Prostitution and Prejudice: The Jewish Fight against White Slavery, 1870-1939*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1982, regarding the anti-semitic trope of the sexually over-active, syphilitic, or diseased Jew.

99 It is not until Yves Thériault's *Aaron* and Pierre Gélinas's *Les Vivants, les morts, et les autres* in the 1950s that Jewish characters truly begin to be imbued with a fullness and humanity by French-Canadian authors.

100 Terence Craig's *Racial Attitudes in English-Canadian Fiction, 1905-1980*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1987, takes the novel more to task for its "naively optimistic solution" of "love" yet praises its "frontal assault on anti-Semitism (98-99)."

101 See Abella & Troper, *op. cit.*, citing from Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Immigration Records, File 644452, Blair to Mrs. I. Grenovsky, Dec. 5, 1938; and Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, Robert James Manion Papers, Blair to R. A. Bell, Feb. 29, 1938.

102 Of course, there were fascist groups throughout the rest of the country and they had close links with one another throughout the 1930s. They met in Kingston, Ontario in July 1937 and all eight groups gave up their separate names to found the National Unity Party with Adrien Arcand as its national leader. See Caux, *op. cit.*, 46-7. Lita Rose Betcherman's *The Swastika and the Maple Leaf*. Toronto: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1975, 45, suggests that anti-semitic organizations in English-Canada were even larger and better organized than they were in Québec.

103 See Morton Weinfield, "Le Milieu juif contemporain du Québec," in Pierre Anctil & Gary Caldwell, *Juifs et réalités juives au Québec*. Montréal. IQRC, 1984, 72.

104 Terence Craig, *op. cit.*, therefore suggests that one can "complain that the Reisers have as little in common with the average Jewish immigrant [...] as the wealthy Drakes have in common with the average Protestant (100)", but this criticism runs the risk of not considering the anti-racist potential of the characterizations of the Reisers.

105 Eli Mandel, "Introduction", *Earth and High Heaven*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Ltd., NCL no. 13, 1960 [1944], viii.

106 The historical paradox of this tension was that in spite of Jews greater contact with Anglophones, social contact between the two groups was actually quite limited. This, in spite of the fact that "[b]y the early 1920s Jewish children made up nearly 40% of the students in Montreal's Protestant schools" (Rudin 238). Jews were also "widely described as 'our educational problem' by Protestant officials who saw too many Jewish students with too little Jewish tax revenue to pay for their education." (Rudin 238-9) Rudin's source for the term "our educational problem" is E. I. Rexford's *Our Educational Problem: The Jewish Population and the Protestant Schools*. Montreal, 1924.

The infamous McGill University quotas on the admission of Jewish students was yet another manifestation of intolerance. In fact, so many Protestants were against the presence of Jews in their public school system that after WW I a number of leaders even invoked Article 93 of the BNA Act which specified educational rights for Protestants and Catholics only (Rudin 239-40). See Langlais & Rome, *op. cit.*, 1986, "L'école juive" (119-140), for a more detailed summary of the struggles around Jewish education during the inter-war period and how they are indicative of the extent to which anti-semitism had grown by the 1930s.

107 René is presented as a nationalist oriented, overly race-conscious, anti-conscriptionist, politician, implicitly of the Union Nationale or the Bloc populaire, and bracing to get elected (see 64-8).

108 See Richer, *op. cit.*, *Le Devoir*. 10 mai, 1940, 1 & 10.

109 See Léopold Richer, "Lettre d'Ottawa. 'L'hégémonie anglo-saxonne s'affirme de plus en plus,'" *Le Devoir*. 4 sept. 1940, 1; and Alvarez Vaillancourt, "Commerce et Finance. Consortium des nations britanniques. La guerre nous rend de plus en plus dépendants, économiquement, de la Grande-Bretagne et des Etats-Unis," *Le Devoir*. 23 nov. 1940, 10.

110 See Alexis Gagnon, "L'immigration anglaise au Canada," *Le Devoir*. 22 jan. 1945, 1; and Omer Héroux, "50% d'augmentation," *Le Devoir*. 15 fév. 1945, 1.

111 [Editorial] "L'Amitié Anglo-Américaine," *La Presse*. 30 mai. 1939, 6.

112 See Sirois, *op. cit.*, especially 190-93, for a statistical breakdown of the regular occurrence of negative portrayals of the "Anglais".

113 Or consider André Breton's comment published in *Arcane 17* (1945), after his 1944 trip to Québec: "L'église catholique, fidèle à ses méthodes d'obscurcissement, use ici de sa toute-puissance, influence pour prévenir la diffusion de ce qui n'est pas littérature édifiante (le théâtre classique est pratiquement réduit à *Esther* et à *Polyeucte* qui s'offrent en hautes piles dans les librairies de Québec, le dix-huitième siècle semble ne pas avoir eu lieu, Hugo est introuvable)." Cited in Yves Bertrand, "Chronique de 1945: La grande noirceur," *Cahiers Pour La Littérature Populaire*. 8/9, automne 1987, 28.

114 See Bertrand, *ibid.*, 27-32; Richard St-Germain, "Le Québec à 10 cents: Une époque opaque," *Cahiers pour la littérature populaire*. 8/9, automne 1987, 33-43; and Paul Bleton, "Services secrets québécois. Les espions de la paralittérature des années 1940-1960," *Voix et Images*. XVIII, 1 (52), automne 1992.

115 See Bleton, *ibid.*; Renée Legris, *Propagande de guerre et Nationalisme dans la radiodiffusion (1939-1955)*. Montréal: Presses Université de Québec, 1972; and Pierre Pagé et Renée Legris, *Répertoire des œuvres de la littérature radiophonique québécoise, 1930-1970*. Montréal: Fides, 1975.

116 At the beginning of the war this was most noticeable in the Communist Party of Canada's anti-Imperialist line, especially within the Québec wing; a discourse which would remain strong in Québec left politics throughout the war. See Communist Party of Canada, *Canadiens Debout!* n.d.; Parti ouvrier-progressiste, *Pour le bien-être de notre peuple. Programme du Parti Ouvrier-Progressiste du Québec*. Montréal, 1943, 12 p.; Marcel Fournier, *Communisme et anti-communisme au Québec (1920-1950)*. Montréal: Éditions Albert Saint-Martin, 1979, 273-74; and Comeau & Dionne, *op. cit.*, 6-8. The ethno-linguistic diversity of anti-British/Imperial sentiments in Québec was probably also a factor in the Bloc Populaire and the Union Nationale each receiving 17% of the neo-Canadian vote in the 1944 election. See Paul-André Comeau, *Le Bloc Populaire*. Montréal: Québec/Amérique, 1982, 361 & 370.

117 See D. O. Spettigue, "Hugh MacLennan," *The Oxford Companion to Canadian Literature*. William Toye, ed. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1983; and Helen Hoy, "Hugh MacLennan," *Canadian Writers And Their Works. Fiction Series*. eds. Robert Lecker, et al. Toronto: ECW Press, 1990, 171.

118 Patrick Anderson, "At Baie St. Paul (A Documentary Idyll)," *The Character Ball: Chapters of Autobiography*. London: Chatto, 1963, 119; and cited in Robert Martin,

"Sex and Politics in Wartime Canada: The Attack on Patrick Anderson," *Essays in Canadian Writing* . 44, Fall 1991, 113.

119 Patrick Anderson, "Notes From My Journal: Baie St. Paul," *Preview* . 10, January 1943, 10.

120 For example, see *Preview* 's special issue "Dedicated to the Red Army" and especially an anonymous "Political Worker"'s article: "Unity," 11, February 1943, 9-10.

121 Anderson was inspired by Ryerson's works on French-Canada for his long poem "Poem For Canada", *The White Center* . Toronto: Ryerson, 1946.

122 See Richer, *op.cit.* , *Le Devoir* . 10 mai, 1940, 1 & 10, for an example of the French-Canadian concern that jobs would be lost to British immigrants during and especially after the war.

123 This in spite of the fact that the French-Canadian population of Montréal grew from 63% in 1911 to 66.3% in 1941 (see Linteau *et al.*, Tome II , 63) and that French-Canadians represented 80.9% of Québec's population in 1941. See Linteau *et al.* , Tome II , 584, citing H. Charbonneau & R. Maheu, *Les aspects démographiques de la question linguistique* . Québec: Éditeur officiel, 1973.

124 For instance, in the early 1930s dancing was banned in the Québec city region by Cardinal Villeneuve; though no such interdiction existed in Montreal (Monière, *op. cit.* , 1983, 37).

125 For some fascinating, contemporary, linguistic examples of "culture-borrowing" by French-Canadians from Anglo-American mass culture and material products, see Miner, *op. cit.* , 1939, 242-48.

126 See Collection André Laurendeau, conférence non datée. P2B70a. Cited in Monière, 1983, *op. cit.* , 34, ednt. 22.

127 See Charbonneau, *op. cit.* , 1967, 25. A powerful example of French-Canada's relative weakness in defending and improving upon the status of its language is Duplessis's about face on his 1937 law designed "to enhance the status of French. Entitled the Law Concerning Interpretation of Laws of the Province, it accorded priority to French in the interpretation of provincial laws and regulations. [Yet] it raised such opposition among businessmen, lawyers and journalists in the [Anglophone] community that Duplessis a year later passed a new law abrogating it" Sheila McLeod Arnopoulos & Dominique Clift, *The English Fact in Quebec*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1980, 63-4.

128 See M. Montpetit, "Le Canada anglais plus américanisé que le Canada français," *Le Devoir* . 13 fevrier, 1940, 6. An article several months later on French studies at the University of Baton Rouge may have heartened some French-Canadians about the possible survival of the French fact in the United States, but for those in the know it was no consolation for what had been and stood to be lost. See M. Brossard, "Je vous promets la survivance en Louisiane," *Le Devoir* . 10 juin, 1940, 6.

Horace Miner makes much of how upon returning home from several years in New England French-Canadian emigrants did not speak English (Miner, 1939, *op. cit.* , 41-2), but he does not address how quickly New England born French-Canadians were assimilated.

129 Arnopoulos and Clift have suggested that "[l]anguage disputes [...] did not become the focal point of communal tensions [in Québec] until recently. In the past the main differences between the two groups were social and economic rather than linguistic." (*op. cit.*, 51) The problem with this hypothesis is its failure to appreciate how the linguistic divide was inseparable from many of the cultural and socio-economic differences between Francophones and Anglophones in Québec; how ethnic politics were identified with language politics; and how both of the latter were concomitantly at the centre of Canadian and Québécois social discourses.

130 See Valdombre's (Claude-Henri Grignon's), "La persécution et le massacre de la langue française," *Le Devoir*. 17 avril, 1939, 2; and François Hertel's "L'éducation du patriotisme par la langue," *Le Devoir*. 13 janvier, 1941, 5, about trying to establish a purer language through the proposed institution of diction schools. See also the weekly columns during the war years of "Le Bon Parler" and "Notre français sur le vif" in *La Presse* and similar columns in *Le Canada* and *Le Devoir* respectively called "Défense de la langue française" and "Au Service de Sa Majesté la Langue française." But as Horace Miner observed, the rural French-Canadian's "acceptance of the fact that he speaks nonstandard French and will never learn anything else means that there is little resistance to the entrance of English words, the exactly opposite effect from that desired. Because of the value placed on learning English, there is no reticence in the use of words borrowed from that language. There is formal purist teaching in the school, but it goes no farther (*op. cit.*, 1939, 34)." This scenario, in spite of efforts such as the aforementioned newspaper columns, seems to have been just as true for contemporary urban French-Canadians.

131 For instance, see Mgr. Camille Roy's *Radio-Canada* speech of October 15, 1940 as reproduced in "La 'volonté de vivre' du Canada français," *Le Devoir*. 18 octobre, 1940, 2.

132 See Léopold Richer, "Dix communiqués officiels unilingues dans une seule semaine," *Le Devoir*. 27 juillet, 1, 1939.

133 For example, see [Anon.], "Le bilinguisme pour le personnel ferroviaire," *La Presse*. 18 fév. 1939, 25; and F. C. Mears, "Lacroix Avers C. N. Race Feud / Commons Told There Is Plan to Oust French-Canadians," *The Gazette*. Feb. 18, 1939, 1.

134 [Editorial], "Notre fête nationale," *La Presse*. 23 juin, 1939, 6. See endnote 151 below for a quite different contemporary perspective in *La Presse* which favours bilingualism, but not at the expense of francophone culture. *Le Devoir*'s basic anti-bilingualism editorial position by the end of the war would be such that it would call for an end to bilingual legislative texts for the Québec National Assembly. See Lewis Robillard, "Le français et l'anglais dans les textes législatifs québécois," *Le Devoir*. 3 avril 1945, 1.

135 The major exception was the immigrant Italian community, because prior to WW II "the majority of Italians passed French along as the mother tongue of their children as the old language dropped by the wayside." Addressing more recent developments since the late 1960s, Ronald Rudin, *op. cit.*, remarks how: "Had it not been for the precipitous decline of the birthrate among French speakers, the manner in which Italians passed along either English or French to their children would never have become a major issue of controversy (169)." See also 233.

136 See Bovey, *op. cit.*; [Anon.], "Books and Their Authors : French-Canadians On the March As Seen By Col. Wilfrid Bovey," *The Gazette*. February 4, 1939, 5; [Anon.],

"Habitants Descend On City For Parade: 'Country Cousins' By the Thousands Drop Plows and Make for Montreal," *The Gazette* . May 17, 1939, 11; or [Anon.], "Character of War Said Unliked Here / Bloc Populaire Leader Laurendeau Explains French Conscription Views," *The Gazette* . Jan. 11, 1945, 14.

137 Thomas Archer, "Instruction In French By Radio Is Introduced," *The Gazette* . Jan. 19, 1940, 10.

138 [Anon.], "French-Canadians Urge Racial Amity," *The Gazette* . March 1, 1940, 13.

139 See [Editorial], "Towards Unity" *The Montreal Star* . April 8, 1941, 10. See also J. H. Bender, "En Marge de la question du bilinguisme," *Le Devoir* . 26 avril 1941, 7, for a strong, lengthy, reaction against the *Star* editorial.

140 *Report of the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism* . Ottawa, 1969, Book III, The Work World, 105. This discriminatory state of affairs had already been vigorously protested for many years. See one important example in Monière, *op. cit.* , 1983, 50-1.

141 Pariseau & Bernier, *op. cit.* , 138; citing *Report of the Royal Commission* , *ibid.* , 106-07.

142 Omer Heroux, "L'Acfas à Ottawa," *Le Devoir* . 10 octobre, 1940, 1.

143 Anonymous interview with P. Edmond Gaudron, "Les livres et leur auteurs. Culture." *Le Devoir* . 2 novembre, 1940, 7.

144 Georges Pelletier, "L'anglais, langue de culture," *Le Devoir* . 22 mars, 1941, 1. See a similar editorial piece, "Pour Nous Comprendre," *La Presse* . 1 août 1939, 6.

145 [Anon.], "Notre attitude envers la minorité anglaise du Québec," *op. cit.* , 6.

146 See Hertel, *op. cit.* , *Le Devoir* . 13 janvier, 1941, 5. Horace Miner remarks that there are approximately 700 English words in use in Quebec as of 1939 (see *op. cit.* , 1939, 243).

147 The graphematic device of a tramway driver's italicized announcement of " *Bloury - Packavenue* " (93), after Père Berthier and his students have visited and been inspired by the narrative's clerico-nationalist version of Nelligan, fulfills a similar function; thereby doubly suggesting the decadent, culturally threatening, quality to everyday language in Montréal which nationalists have to be vigilant against.

148 See ednt. 94, *op. cit.* , 1967. Nevertheless, as Robert Schwartzwald has established, Charbonneau is also notable for defending "les maisons d'édition laïques et donc une production littéraire libérée de l'emprise matérielle et idéologique du clergé, ensuite parce qu'il cherche à situer la production littéraire avant tout dans un contexte nord-américain." See *Institution littéraire, modernité et question nationale au Québec (1940- à 1976)* . Thèse de Doctorat, Université Laval, 1983, 21.

149 See Robert Charbonneau, "L'Avenir du roman," *La Nouvelle relève* . 4, 10, octobre 1947, 861-62.

150 This exile motif can be considered a modern mirror image version -- like that in *La Bagarre* and other novels since then -- of the very longstanding French-Canadian trope of the exile in poetic works like François-Xavier Garneau's "Le Dernier Huron" or Louis Fréchette's "La Voix d'un exilé" and "Le retour de l'exilé." The major difference obviously being that there is little or no nostalgia in the more recent versions for a traditional, conservative, Québec.

151 See François Hertel, *Amérique française* . 1, 3, février 1942, 42.

152 Much like Vincent L. Schonberger in "The Problem of Language and the Difficulty of Writing in the Literary Works of Gabrielle Roy," *Studies in Canadian Literature* . XIV, 1, 1989, 127-138), I am of the opinion that questions of language have rarely interested English-Canadian critics of *Bonheur d'occasion* because they have tended to thematically embrace the novel as a humanistic tribute to suffering and perseverance. Some linguistic oriented analyses are: Suzanne Grenier, "Problème linguistique que pose, ici et en France, le roman *Bonheur d'occasion*," *La Presse* , 11 nov., 1947, 8; James E. La Folette, "Le Parler franco-canadien dans *Bonheur d'occasion* ," Thèse de maîtrise ès arts, Québec, Université Laval, 1950; and Paul Socken, "Use of Language in *Bonheur d'occasion* : A Case in Point," *Essays on Canadian Writing* , Summer 1978, 66-71.

153 See, for instance, the uses of "blood" (47), "Like fun!" (49), "Loan" and "Boy" (52), "swell" (70), "steady" (120 & 165), "coke" (130), "truck" (136), "runner" (137) -- instead of "fait conduire" -- and "run" (175) instead of "route", "overtime" (161), "'You bet'" (215, 282), and "Thumbs up!" (282)

154 The Roy citation is from Ben-Zion Shek's article, "De quelques influences possibles sur la vision du monde de Gabrielle Roy: George Wilkinson et Henri Girard," *Voix & Images* . 42, printemps 1989, ftnt. 51, 450-51.

155 For two of the most interesting recent perspectives on Montréal Yiddish culture, see Benoit Mélançon, "À la recherche du Montréal Yiddish," *Vice Versa* , no. 24, 1988; and Ira Robinson - Pierre Anctil - Mervin Butovsky. eds. *An Everyday Miracle: Yiddish Culture in Montreal* . Montreal: Véhicule Press, 1990.

156 See the Carling Brewing Company Limited's *Know Quebec Better* advertisements of 1945 for examples of this homogenizing discourse. For instance, one published on January 1, 1945, in *The Gazette* refers to how loggers "represent but one of many types that make up Québec's progressive, *homogeneous* population" (14; my *italics*).

157 It is also contradicted by what is known about the ethno-linguistic attitudes of the actual bourgeois English community, not only of the early 1920s but of the 1940s as well. As Westley, *op. cit.* , remarks: the English of the "Golden Mile" may have often acquired French as a second language in keeping with their emulation of the British upper classes, but it was hardly perceived or used by them as a practical means of communication (44).

158 It may be true that novels like *Two Solitudes* and *Bonheur d'occasion* quickly found respectable niches for themselves in their respective ethno-linguistic groups' literary traditions; but because of the colonial nature of linguistic politics in Québec until the 1980s successful literary cross-overs from English to French were much more exceptional than the reverse case. See Lorne Pierce's in some ways ill-informed comments on this state of affairs in *A Canadian People* . *op. cit.* , 46.

159 In 1947, the first translation of Gabrielle Roy's *Bonheur d'occasion* would win the Governor General's Award for Fiction; but no Québécois work in the original French was considered for competition until 1959. See Jocelyn Harvey & Katherine Berg, "Governor General's Literary Awards", *The Oxford Companion to Canadian Literature*. General Editor, William Toye. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1983, 309-314.

160 For example, see [Anon.], "Pas de conscription au Canada, déclare M. King," *La Presse*. 31 mars, 1939, 1 & the pro-King, anti-conscription editorial of the same day: "Pas de conscription," 8. For three important post-war sources on the conscription crisis, see R. MacGregor Dawson, *The Conscription Crisis of 1944*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961; J. L. Granatstein & J. M. Hitsman, *Broken Promises : a History of Conscription in Canada*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1977; Jean-Yves Gravel, ed., *Le Québec et la Guerre, 1867-1960*. Montréal: Boréal Express, 1974.

161 [Anon.], "Les étudiants reçoivent l'approbation du maire contre la conscription," *La Presse*. 23 mars, 1939, 3.

162 See [Anon.], "'Anti-War' Faction Refused A Hearing, Is Held Dissolved," *The Gazette*. Feb. 7, 1939, 11, concerning the Canadian Student Association's national debate about support for the coming war; as well as Laurendeau, "À la recherche d'alliés anglophones," *op. cit.*, 22-24.

163 See article of same name by Ian J. Ogilvie, *The Gazette*. Sept. 6, 1939, 1 & 9.

164 See [Anon.], "Une grande proportion de Canadiens-français chez les volontaires," *La Presse*. 9 sept., 1939, 19. See also [Anon.], "Quebec Town Cool To Anti-War Plea / Small Crowd Attends 'Paul Gouin Rally' at Ste. Scholastique," *The Gazette*. Sept. 6, 1939, 6.

165 See [Editorial], "Pas D'Intimidation," *La Presse*. 15 sept., 1939, 6.

166 According to Jean Pariseau & Serge Bernier, *French-Canadians and Bilingualism in the Canadian Armed Forces. Volume I, 1763-1969: the Fear of a Parallel Army*. Ottawa: Department of Supply and Services Canada, 1986: "25.69 per cent of the male population of Quebec aged 18 to 45 enlisted as compared to 42.38 to 50.47 per cent in the other provinces." However, "[t]hese statistics [...] do not take into account the excess of males in each province. Implicitly, the unsuspecting reader is led to believe that the Quebec contribution equals that of the French Canadians; the truth is more complex. Many Quebecers are English-speaking and many French Canadians living in other provinces were subjected to nearly total language discrimination (117-18)."

167 See *La Presse*. 23 déc. 1939, 31.

168 See [Anon.], "La part des Canadiens français," *Le Devoir*. 27 juillet, 1940, 1.

169 J. H. Harris, 6 février, 1942, *Débats de la Chambre des Communes*, session de 1942, 1: 408. See also Michel Brunet. "Fidélité britannique," *Histoire du Canada par les textes. Tome II (1855-1960)*. Montréal et Paris: Fides, 1963, 133-38.

170 See Dawson; Granatstein & Hitsman; and Gravel; *op. cit.*, for more than ample statistics and analyses on the ethnic divisions of the plebiscite.

171 For instance, see Barry Broadfoot, *Six War Years 1939-1945. Memories of Canadians at Home and Abroad*. Toronto: Doubleday Canada Ltd., 1974; especially "The Deserter" and "Straight from the Stable;" or C. P. Stacey, *A Date With History, Memoirs of a Canadian Historian*. Ottawa: Deneau, 1983, 158.

172 In fact, Jack Granatstein makes much of English-Canadians using differences over the war effort and conscription to try to reinforce dominance over Québec and the French language. See Granatstein & Hitsman, 1977, 125. See also P.-A. Comeau, *op. cit.*, 208-212.

173 See Mason Wade, *The French Canadians, 1760-1945*. Toronto: Macmillan, 1955, 955, 960, 990.

174 Jean-Yves Gravel, on the other hand, reports that "Le mot vient du Zulu et signifie 'forcé'; le sens original n'est pas flatteur... *The Overseas Mail*, 21 octobre 1944, p. 5. Il semble que la première mention publique du mot vienne d'un éditorial de la *Gazette de Montréal*, le 13 novembre 1943, journal qui avait le mépris facile." See Gravel, *op. cit.*, 102, ednt., 123. In Broadfoot's *Six War Years*, *op. cit.*, "Zombie" is associated with "Hunk[ies]", yet another ethnic perjorative, this time for Ukrainians.

175 See [(C.P.) Anon.], "700 Conscripts Fail To Report At London, Ontario," *The Gazette*. Jan. 19, 1945, 1; [(C.P.) Anon.], "Police Continue Roundup of 6,300 N.R.M.A. Absentees," *The Gazette*. Jan. 22, 1945, 1; and [(C.P.) Anon.], "4,631 Absentees Still Unaccounted For," *The Gazette*. Feb. 2, 1945, 1. However, as Jean-Yves Gravel remarks, given that these desertions clearly "n'était pas l'exclusivité des Canadiens français, [...] la presse anglophone n'a pas déversé à leur endroit ses critiques et ses sarcasmes habituels (*op.cit.*, 108)." This difference is most marked in *The Montreal Daily Star* editorial of January 22, 1945 which comments how: "close to fifty per cent of the men warned for overseas duty failed to return before embarkation day [...] this evasion of military duty is not being practised by men from Quebec only. The men now A.W.L. come from all parts of the country and are by no means all French-Canadians against whom most of the criticism has been directed."

176 See *The Montreal Star* editorial "Appeal To Hatred," July 5, 1944, 10. In response to such rhetoric, see Laurendeau's position of more values being destroyed than saved by the war effort in "M. André Laurendeau définit l'attitude du Bloc populaire Canadien," *Le Devoir* 15 jan. 1945. Amongst other things, he cites the spread of communism as proof.

177 See "Verdict de mort accidentelle," *Le Devoir*. mai 9, 1944, 2; ??, "??," *Le Bloc*. 27 mai 1944;

178 See Louis Robillard, <<La Session Provinciale. Tous les chefs de partis dénoncent la conscription,>> *Le Devoir*. 22 fév., 1945, 1.

179 See the editorial: "Ottawa and Paul Gouin," *The Gazette*. Sept. 6, 1939, 8, for one of the earliest standard calls for such an arrest under the War Measures Act in the Anglophone press.

180 As the war wound down, any number of attempts were made in the media and in political discourses to heal the ethno-linguistic rifts caused by the controversy. See, for example, the previously mentioned "Know Quebec Better / Connaissez Mieux le Québec" Carling brewery advertisements; or *The Gazette*'s commencement on January 2, 1945 of a bilingual editorial column which provided translations in English of

editorials in French "in the interest of better understanding between Canadians of the English and French languages (6)." This new policy did not stop the same newspaper, however, from continuing with its editorial page summaries of "The French Press" in predominantly negative ways.

181 This prose piece was published in Anderson, *op. cit.*, 1963, 109-28.

182 See Anderson, "Unity," *op. cit.*, 9.

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CHAPTER II - GENDER FICTIONS - ENDNOTES

1 John D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940-1970*. Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press. 1983, 10.

2 See Craig Owens, "Outlaws: Gay Men in Feminism," Alice Jardine & Paul Smith, eds., *Men In Feminism*. London & New York: Methuen, 1987, 221.

3 Andrew Tolson. *The Limits of Masculinity*. London: Tavistock, 1977, 14.

4 See the "Bibliography -- Cited Secondary Cultural Texts" and "Non-Cited Secondary Cultural Texts" for works which have influenced my gender readings.

5 See Richard von Krafft-Ebing, *Psychopathia Sexualis : with especial reference to contrary sexual instinct : a medico-legal study*. Philadelphia: F. A. Davis, 1893, c. 1892. See also Jeffrey Weeks, *Coming Out*. London, Melbourne, New York: Quartet Books, 1977, 27, 58-9 as to how Krafft-Ebing's and Havelock Ellis's sex psychologies were indebted to degeneration theory.

6 See Sigmund Freud's *The Psychopathology of Everyday Life*. *Standard Edition* 6. London: Hogarth Press, 1960 [1901]; *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality*. *Standard Edition* 9. London: Hogarth Press, 1953 [1905], 125-243; and "Fragment of an Analysis of a Case of Hysteria," *Standard Edition* 7. London: Hogarth Press, 1953 [1905] 7-122. See also Juliet Mitchell's groundbreaking feminist re-appropriation of Freudian psychoanalysis: *Psychoanalysis and Feminism: Freud, Reich, Laing, and Women*. New York: Vintage Books, 1975.

7 Gary Kinsman, *The Regulation of Desire : Sexuality in Canada*. Montreal, New York: Black Rose Books, 1987, 106. Or as D'Emilio has synthesized : "Freud himself did not write extensively on homosexuality (though when he did, he tended to view it sympathetically and to refrain from categorizing it as pathological), but his theories did provide a much sharper definition of the "normal," with the libido moving in stages from polymorphous expression in infancy to genital heterosexuality in adults. Almost without exception, however, Freud's pupils and successors in psychoanalysis placed homosexuality firmly in the sphere of pathology (D'Emilio *op. cit.*, 16)." For an analysis of Freud's sympathies for homosexuals see Henry Abelove's "Freud, Male Homosexuality, and the Americans," *Dissent*. Winter 1985-86.

8 See Mary Poovey, *Uneven Developments: The Ideological Work of Gender in Mid-Victorian England*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988; and Joy Parr, *The Gender of Breadwinners: Women, Men, and Change in Two Industrial Towns, 1880-1950*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990; for some of the most interesting readings to date of these phenomena and contradictions.

9 Andrée Lévesque, *La norme et les déviantes: Des femmes au Québec pendant l'entre-deux-guerres*. Montréal: Les Éditions du remue-ménage, 1989, 24.

10 See Le Collectif Clio, *L'Histoire des Femmes au Québec depuis quatre siècles*. Montréal: Quinze, 1982, 248 & 250.

11 Modern "liberated" women of the 1920s came to be called "flappers", after the style of a popular hat, but also, no doubt, because the word had long denoted "a person who arouses the attention or jogs the memory" (*The Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary*. Vol. I, 1016).

12 See Chantal Hébert, *Le Burlesque québécois et américain*. Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1989, 25. One of Hébert's sources for this demographic observation is Juliette Petrie's memoir *Quand on revoit tout ça! Le burlesque au Québec, 1914-1960*. Montréal: Les Éditions Juliette Petrie, 1977, 124-125.

13 See Hébert, *ibid.*, 1989.

14 For instance, Lilian Faderman, *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers: A History of Lesbian Life in Twentieth-Century America*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1991, refers to the Depression as being responsible for the loss of the lesbian subcultural ground established during the 1920s, especially since it was so dependent upon the maintenance of bars as semi-private places for lesbians to meet and consort.

15 This was still a major concern by the end of the war. See Sr Marie Gerin-Lajoie, "La protection des jeunes filles à Montréal," *Le Devoir*. le 8 jan., 1945, 5; an extract from *Relations* based upon Me Jean Penverne's "Rapport Canon sur la prostitution," *Relations*. juin 1944; [Anon.], "Eviter les embûches," *La Presse*. 25 oct., 1944, 12; and Collectif, *Contre la prostitution*. Montréal: École sociale populaire, 1945.

16 Mariana Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart (The Canadian Social History Series), 1991, 79. For instance, the *Montreal Gazette* article, "International White Slave Ring Alleged Operating in Montreal," Sept. 16, 1939, 1, reflects the hysteria of said discourse when one considers that less than a handful of people were implicated in the "Ring".

17 Or as Valverde, *ibid.*, theorizes the volatile interdiscursivity of these anxieties: "White slavery, like all other moral panics, can easily be dismissed as merely a cover for the real issue by interpreters who have decided beforehand what the real issue always is: for instance, one might want to prove that under the rhetoric of white slavery lay real shifting class relations in an urbanizing Canada, or, alternatively, that the panic was merely a patriarchal plot to frighten women into staying in the domestic realm. Such unidimensional approaches do not help us to understand the complex ways in which a moral issue that appears to be singular serves as the site for social debate on a number of important and interrelated issues; and they certainly do nothing to further our understanding of what I call the back-and-forth 'slippage' among categories such as class, gender, sexuality, and race." (90) See also M. Valverde and L. Weir, "The

Struggles of the Immoral: More Preliminary Remarks on Moral Regulation," *Resources for Feminist Research* . 17, 3, Fall 1988, 31-35, for a more detailed account of the "slippages" of moral panics.

18 The fear of "white slavery" was part of a decades old Occidental discourse of the symbolic demonization of female prostitution as "the social evil" of "modern urban life" (Valverde, *ibid* ., 77). See Valverde's book, especially Chapter IV: "The White Slavery Panic", for an analysis of these discourses' symbolic power and their social practices. Though Valverde barely deals with Québec her work provides useful examples and tools to understand and deconstruct social purity discourses and movements in Québec within the larger national and international contexts. The French film *Jeunes filles en détresse* (1939), produced by the "Ligue Contre le Divorce des Parents," with its mixed agenda to support the "loi sacré" of marriage and its contention that the female children of divorced parents were considerably more likely to "fall," is a classic example of the social purity movement's creation and fueling of the fear of "white slavery". It ran for several week in Montréal.

19 Changing birthing practices is one of the most powerful examples of this male dominated shift. In the countryside "<<l'accouchement était une affaire de femme.>> Affaire de femme, se faisant gratuitement, [mais] qui est déjà devenue largement affaire d'hommes dans les villes, où les femmes sont accouchées, la plupart du temps, par des médecins" (Clio, *op.cit* ., 250-51). See also pages 255-257 and 349-50, for more detailed examples of such phenomena in Québec from 1900-1940.

20 My use of the term "castration complex" comes out of recent feminist appropriations of Freud's concept, though Freud's attention to the anxieties created by a phallic mother still apply; especially in terms of male self-definition and privilege being dependent upon a phallic identity. Various manifestations of the castration complex are dramatized in several novels of the thesis' corpus of fiction. Its current equivalent is broadly being called "the crisis of masculinity". See also Sandra Gilbert & Susan Gubar's *No Man's Land: The Place of the Woman Writer in the Twentieth Century. Volume 1. The War of the Words* . New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1988; and "INTRO" ednt 51

21 See "Premier Rapport de la Commission des droits civils de la femme," *Revue du Notariat* . Vol. 32, 1929-30; cited in Clio *op.cit* ., 335.

22 Rachel Reid, "La femme et la société," *Le Devoir* . ("La Page Feminine") 5 janv., 1938, 5. See also [Anon.], "Un danger intérieur / La vie de famille, institution fondamentale à protéger, dit M. A.-J. Cronin," *La Presse* . Jan. 8, 1945, 4; or Margaret Currie's Chat , "Some Wives Are 'Asking for It'," *The Montreal Daily Star* . Jan. 13, 1945, 18.

23 Cited in Martha J. Saunders unpublished paper: "Behold The Handmaid: Woman-identification and Woman-bonding in Catholic Convents," presented at *La Ville en Rose* Conference, UQAM & Concordia Universities, Montreal, November 1992, 3-4. See Susan M. Trofimenkoff's "Feminism, Nationalism, and The Clerical Defensive," *Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History* . eds. Veronica Strong-Boag & Anita Clair Feldman. Toronto: Copp Clark Ltd., 1986 for an excellent summary of the interdiscursivity and dilution of feminist objectives by nationalist, sexist, discourses and strategies at the turn of the century and during the inter-war period.

24 One of the exceptions was the liberal press which from the late 1920s onward may have maintained a paternalistic attitude towards increased legal rights for women, but often supported the right for married women to administer their own wealth, to have the

vote and for working women to receive a minimum wage. See Claude Couture, *La Presse Libérale au Québec entre 1929 et 1935 : analyse de contenu des editoriaux de La Presse, du Soleil et du Canada*. Université de Montréal: Thèse de doctorat, Département d'histoire, 1987, 328-330.

25 In "Henri Bourassa and 'the Woman Question'," *The Neglected Majority*. eds. Susan M. Trofimenkoff & Alison Prentice, Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1977, Trofimenkoff suggests that the term "femmes-hommes" reflects the common vision of the necessity of separate spheres between women and men, but she does not seem to appreciate its connotative associations with lesbianism or a term like *la troisième sexe* (108-09). The pejorative "femmes-hommes" was an important synonym for the related inter-war discourse about *garçonisme*, a term based upon the title of the female emancipation novel, *La Garçonne* (1921), by the French novelist Victor Marguerite. It was the first text in Marguerite's pro-emancipation trilogy entitled *La Femme en chemin*. *La Garçonne* is not a lesbian novel, but its currency within the growing semiotic field of lesbian discourse should not be underestimated; especially given the subsequent publication of and debates around Radclyffe Hall's famous lesbian novel *The Well of Loneliness* (1928).

26 See Georges Panneton, *Le garçonisme*. Québec: Semaine religieuse de Québec, 1932.

27 See Pierre Hurteau, *Homosexualité, religion et droit au Québec*. Ph.D. Thesis, Concordia University, Department of Religion, Montreal, 1991.

28 Or as Gary Kinsman puts it in *Official Discourse as Sexual Regulation: The Social Organization of the Sexual Policing of Gay Men*. PhD Thesis, Toronto: OISE, University of Toronto, 1989: "Lesbian sexuality has often been excluded from consideration in official sexual discourse as it has been made invisible and unspeakable. Lesbian sexual activity is less often specifically regulated through criminal code sex offences and police practices than is that of gay men." (12-13) "Lesbians are oppressed not only as lesbians but also as women, and the general denial of any autonomous female sexuality by regulatory social agencies plays a central organizing role in lesbian oppression[...] This brings out the gendered character of sexual regulation." (13) See also Lévesque, *op.cit.*, 62, 94 & 139 for brief references to male dominant culture's occultation of female masturbation and sexual desire, lesbianism, heterosexual extra-marital affairs and contraception.

29 Though to a great extent it depends upon how one defines gay or lesbian, from the more gay and lesbian conscious perspectives of today, the vast same-sex cultures of the Catholic Church in Québec may be presumed to have harboured highly covert same-sex networks, but this has not yet been borne out by the critical literature.

Consider how Catholic women who were attracted to convent life and who lived as sublimated lesbians, especially since sex -- if young Catholic nuns had any first hand knowledge of it all -- was culturally defined heterosexually and phallogcentrically. Or as Martha Saunders remarks upon the context of the even more sexualized 1960s: "most nuns [...] did not really fear that others might engage in lesbian activity. For many of us, such a possibility was beyond our wildest imaginings (*op. cit.*, 12)." See also Rosemary Curb & Nancy Manahan, eds., *Lesbian Nuns: Breaking Silence*. Tallahassee, Florida: The Naiad Press Inc., 1985.

Anxieties in religious institutions about same-sex desire during the interwar years in Québec do seem to be embedded however in a number of practical manuals about the acceptable physical and moral decorum of priests in their relations with their young charges (see Hurteau, *op. cit.*, 125-26).

30 See John Berger, *Ways of Seeing*. Harmondsmith: Penguin, 1972, 45; also, Tolson *op. cit.*, 8 & 22.

31 See C. P. Stacey, *The Canadian Army: 1939-1945, an official historical summary*. Ottawa: Edmond Cloutier, 1948.

32 See Desmond Morton, *A Military History of Canada*. Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1985; and Robert Bothwell *et al.*, *Canada 1900-1945*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987.

33 I am thinking here of standard general Canadian histories from Arthur Lower's *Colony To Nation*. Toronto, New York: Longmans, Green, 1946; to Donald Creighton's *Canada's First Century 1867-1967*. Toronto: Macmillan, 1970; and *The Forked Road: Canada 1939-1957*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1976.

34 On March 24, 1942 "Prime Minister Mackenzie King [...] announced the establishment of National Selective Service (NSS) to co-ordinate and direct the near total mobilization of Canada's labour power for the war effort, [and] he declared that "recruitment of women for employment was 'the most important single feature of the program.'" From Ruth Roach Pierson, "*They're Still Women After All*": *The Second World War and Canadian Womanhood*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1990 [1986], 23.

35 See Geneviève Auger & Raymonde Lamothe, *De la poêle à frire à la ligne de feu : la vie quotidienne des québécoises pendant la guerre '39-'45*. Montréal. Boréal Express, 1981, 120-127, for more details about these policies and programs; as well as Chapters I & II of Pierson, *op. cit.*

36 This was already true prior to the commencement of the war, when it was reported that 20% of employed workers were women. It was also reported that five-sixths of "independent" working women financially supported their families. See [Anon.], "Women Represent Financial Power," *The Montreal Gazette*. Feb. 16, 1939; and [Anon.], "'Independent' Women Usually Obligated to Support Relatives," *The Montreal Gazette*. July 1, 1940, 7.

As for some telling war statistics, a Jeunesse ouvrière catholique (JOC) study of 700 Montréal female workers in 1943 indicated that 31.4% of them were working because they had to (Auger & Lamothe, *op. cit.*, 130), while a 1943 federal government report estimated "that in Canada between 55% and 65% of the women wanted to keep their jobs after the war", though it estimated "that of the 1,200,000 women in the work-force during the war, only 750,000 would be required after". See Teresa Nash, *Images of Women in National Film Board of Canada Films During World War II and the Post-War Years (1939-1949)*. PhD Thesis, Communications, McGill University, Montreal, 1982, 61, citing *The Report of the Subcommittee on the Post War Problems of Women*. Canadian Federal Government, Advisory Committee on Reconstruction, 1943.

37 In 1940 Québec would have the dubious honour of being the last province to grant women the vote.

38 For a highly politically charged, though slightly pre-war, example of a social controversy on this subject, see how theatre reviews of an International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union sponsored play about contemporary socio-political issues reductively criticized it as an attack upon maternity. See Lucie Desbien, "Au His Majesty's La Maternité ridiculisée dans *Pins and Needles*," *Le Devoir* 25 jan., 1939,

3. See also Gérard Dagenais, "Le Théâtre / Pins and Needles," *Le Canada* . 24, jan. 1939, 2. The English press praised the play, especially for its satiric anti-Mussolini "sketch concerning the All-Italy Fecundity Handicap". See [Anon.] "Labour Stage Show Here," *The Montreal Daily Star* . Jan. 21, 1939, 14; and also S. Morgan-Powell, "Pins and Needles' Bitter Satire," Jan. 24, 1939, 6. *The Montreal Gazette* 's only review of the play is largely about its censorship and police protection for the cast and crew. See Jan. 28, 1939, 5.

Another related ideologue revolved around anxieties about women's reading and viewing habits. Supposedly women's literary judgement had been better fifty years earlier, that is to say less corrupted by popular novels, as opposed to the classics, or by marriage manuals and movies. See "La Page Féminine/Lettre de Fadette," *Le Devoir* . 18 avril, 1939, 5; M. Teilhard-Chambon, "La Page Féminine/L'Influence du roman," [Extraits de l'*Enseignement chrétien* .] *Le Devoir* . 17 août, 1939, 5; Michelle S. Gosselin, "La Page Féminine/Comment préparer son mariage," *Le Devoir* . 19 mars, 1940, 5; Jeanne L'Archeveque Duguay, "Les mères et le cinéma," 3 juin, 1940, 5. This discourse seems to be non-existent in the equivalent English press of the day, perhaps because of the greater secularism of Anglophone culture.

39 Barry Broadfoot, "The Girls' Place," *Six War Years 1939-1945: Memories of Canadians at Home and Abroad* . Toronto: Doubleday Canada Ltd., 1974, 251.

40 See Auger & Lamothe, *op.cit* , 128, citing Florence Martel of the National Selective Service.

41 *Debates of the House of Commons* (1942), cited in Nash, *op . cit .* , 78. Aside from the obvious misogynistic hysteria of this opposition, keywords such as "infiltration" and "menace" foreshadowed the Cold War fears and rhetoric which would later be brought to bear against women, gays, and Communists; when "infiltration" would be associated with a tri-partite misogynistic/homophobic/anti-Communist discourse of being sapped of one's sexual, gender, and class virility.

42 After all, "les femmes se sont révélées plus constantes et plus appliqués que les hommes; les munitions par exemple, demandaient un travail de précision où les femmes excellaient." Auger & Lamothe, *op. cit.* , 121. citing Florence Martel again.

43 See Broadfoot, *op. cit .* , "Husbands Overseas, or Something Like That," 250-51, for a similar testimonial, but from a male recruit's perspective, on the facility with which soldier's could pick-up women during the war.

44 In keeping with the dawn of the war's strategic "masculinizations" of women, Paulette is an aviator who can pull-off "masculine" tasks of daring-do -- such as bombing an enemy hideout with her plane at close quarters (i.e. see *La Presse* . 16 sept., 1939, 3). The "Jenny" strip, however, replaces "Paulette" towards the end of the war, and in spite of Jenny's dangerous, masculine-identified, profession, as if to reassure readers that she was still feminine, the strip includes cut-out feminine clothes or "Les toilettes de Jenny". This was obviously in keeping with the end of war's redomestication of women campaigns.

45 One of Broadfoot's female subjects refers to the troubled truces which were struck between randy soldiers and their formerly promiscuous wives after the demobilization, and to the incidence of divorces as a result of soldiers' inabilities to accept their wives' sexual needs and liaisons during their absence (see *op . cit .* , 250-51).

46 See Maureen Honey, *Creating Rosie the Riveter, Class, Gender, and Propaganda during World War II*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1984, for more wartime examples of this gendered divide. Honey only uses American examples, but most of them had their equivalents in Canada.

47 *La Revue Moderne*, décembre 1942.

48 The phrase regarding male scopism is from Tania Modleski, *The Women Who Knew Too Much: Hitchcock and Feminist Theory*. New York & London: Methuen, 1988, 13, and is directly related to Laura Mulvey's famous essay "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," *Screen*, 16, no. 3, 1975, 6-18, which provides a theoretical framework about how men fetishistically objectify women's appearance in artistic production.

49 See Catherine Belsey, *Critical Practice*. London: Methuen, 1980, 47-49, for similar deconstructions of more recent advertisements.

50 The cited female pilot is Mrs. Arlene Davis, the world's highest ranked female aviator of the time. See (Washington, P. A.), "L'erreur réside dans le fait de se masculiniser," *La Presse*, 25 avril 1940, 4; and (Washington, A. P.), "Making Good in a Man's World," *The Montreal Daily Star*. April 25, 1940, 12. The *Star*'s headline is obviously less gender panicked and negative than *La Presse*'s version but the variants between the texts are miniscule.

51 For a more detailed example of this kind of reading see my analysis of Marilyn Burgess's lesbian perspective on the war documentary *Proudly She Marches*, "GFs" 100-04.

52 Ernest Borneman, "Documentary Films: World War II," in the *Canadian Film Reader*. Eds. Seth Feldman & Joyce Nelson. Toronto: Peter Martin Associates, 1977, 58.

53 I would note, however, that Nash's thesis (*op. cit.*) and Yvon Matthew-Klein's related article "How They Saw Us: Images of Women in National Film Board Films of the 1940s and 1950s," *Atlantis*, IV, 2, (Part 1), Spring 1979, 20-33, evidence an essentialist faith in women's ability to portray women's realities that does not account for possible contradictions. This is understandably an outgrowth of their rejection of male filmmakers' sexism.

54 Nash acknowledges that "a discussion of absence regarding certain film images may seem fatuous, [except that] it is important where the images of women are concerned. The extent to which the female half of the population is filmically defined in terms of negation and negativity, is in itself revealing [...]. To consider women in certain film genres is to realize absence." (*op. cit.*, 26-7)

55 See Barbara Martineau, "Before the Guerillères: Women's Films at the NFB During World War II," in Feldman & Nelson, *op. cit.*. It has to be said that many of Hollywood's women's films are ultimately far from contestatory. For instance, *Laura* (dir. Otto Preminger, 1944), a highly popular mystery, may be centered around a strong, independent, working woman and a bourgeois male's attempts to control her, but most of the film does not subvert conventional sexist notions about women nor does it de-naturalize "male traffic in women". Then there were films like *Susan and God* (dir. George Cukor, 1940), starring Joan Crawford. It was publicized by *Le Devoir* as a "comédie satirique dirigée contre le féminisme (19 juin, 4)", whereas *The Montreal Gazette* characterized it as being about the troublesome jealousy of a religious

convert. In many ways the film can be interpreted as being as anti-evangelical as it is anti-feminist, though its defence of marriage, including its "comic" condoning of the threat of a husband's violence when faced with an uppity woman, is a strong pervasive theme.

56 See Nash, *op. cit.*, 30; 280; 288. The five male produced NFB films which Nash's thesis invokes are *Home Front* (1941), 11 minutes; *Proudest Girl in the World* (1942), 2 min.; *Wings On Her Shoulder* (1943), 9 min.; *Proudly She Marches* (1943), 18 min.; *Sixteen to Twenty-Six* (1945), 18 min..

57 For instance, they recommended "[i]mmediate preparations to increase employment opportunities for women"; "[t]he implementation by the Government of a new plan for raising the status of household work and household workers"; "[t]he extension of nursery schools"; and "[i]mmediate and serious attention to the problem of the 100,000 women over the age of 20 working for less than \$12 a week in occupations covered by unemployment insurance." (Nash, *op. cit.*, 24)

58 See "Have I the 'GUTS'?" *The Montreal Daily Star* . July 25, 1944, 17. Curiously, a subtle way in which the mirror-like bond is established with the reader/viewer is that just behind his left-shoulder are the words "French Mustard," but in reverse, as if he were in a diner booth or at lunch counter somewhere. I cannot help but wonder as well if this reversed, compositionally "negative," sign of "French"-ness is not meant -- if only by the ad's artist -- as a playful commentary on Francophone's opposition to overseas service.

59 "Appendix 6" is reproduced from *Le Devoir* . 26 juin, 1940, 2. The same series was circulated in the English press.

60 See "Canadians Rally to the Call," published by the National War Finance Committee. My copy is reproduced from *The Canadian Forum* . Oct. 1942, XXII, 261.

61 Of course, one has to distinguish between signs and discourses of the heroism of civilian men and some of the negative ways in which male civilians were regarded and treated. Within the gendered wartime pecking order servicemen were clearly a privileged group. Civilian males were important to the war effort but given the heightened masculinism associated with militarization they occupied a difficult social and symbolic space. For instance, many men in the military viewed male civilians as cowards and/or as profiteers and sexual predators. In a short oral history account entitled "Pure Hell for a Guy Not in Uniform", a master mechanic and engineer whose military service was constantly deferred because of his ability to run a bearings parts factory for war ships recounts how:

I was essential. And I took shit for it. Ask my wife.

We couldn't go to a dance. We'd be bumped on the floor by army and navy types [...] you'd hear all sorts of cracks like, "Maybe he's got a wooden leg," [...] and, "I guess his old man's got money" [...] We finally stopped going to dances. The wife just couldn't take it any more. She used to cry about it.

After relating how he was insulted and menaced on the street the same man remembers how "I just developed a hard shell. It got so I was immune, or I'm telling you now I was. I wasn't really. You kind of got the feeling of what it must be like to be a Negro in Georgia." (Broadfoot, *op. cit.*, 161)

62 For instance, as much as war service robbed masses of men of a modicum of free-will -- ironically, yet another lynch-pin of masculinist ideologies -- it was credited with turning boys into men, effeminized men into "real men", and promoting self-reliance, physical and moral strength, perseverance, *etcetera*. That most of these ideals were achieved through coercion, an authoritarian hierarchy, and misogynistic or homophobic values and behavior which were hostile to feminine attributes and practices which did not conform to masculinist ideals tended to be accepted uncritically. The horrors of the process of wartime self-preservation (i.e. murder, maiming, capturing, and eluding the enemy, *etcetera*) were constantly being reconciled with muscular Christianity, the privileging of the "tough" or toughness, and the necessary repression of emotion; all of which were consistent with the masculinist trope of the "Masculine Primitive." See E. Anthony Rotundo, "Learning about manhood: gender ideals and the middle-class family in nineteenth-century America," in J. A. Mangan & James Walvin, eds. *Manliness and Morality: middle-class masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987, 35-51. See also K. Theweleit, *Male Fantasies*. Vols. I & II, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1987 & 1989.

63 The women's divisions respective titles and acronyms were: the Canadian Women's Army Corps (CWAC) (pronounced Quack); the Women's Division of the Royal Canadian Air Force (WD); and the Women's Royal Canadian Navy Service (WRCNS), whose acronym came to be known as WRENS. This was ostensibly for the sake of facilitating pronunciation, but the fact that the popular names of two of the three female services could be associated with "birds" -- a contemporary slang term for women -- suggests otherwise.

64 See Auger & Lamothe, *op. cit.*, 170, for a reproduction of this women's recruitment advertisement.

65 From *La Presse*, 30 septembre 1942; and cited in Auger & Lamothe, *op. cit.*, 168.

66 Or as Auger and Lamothe deconstruct the slogan: "L'infériorité des salaires, l'inégalité des chances d'avancement et la limitation du pouvoir font mentir la première partie de l'énoncé. Mais la deuxième confirme la division sexuelle du travail: les emplois occupés par la majorité des femmes ne sont que des prolongements du travail domestique et ne font que reproduire la discrimination dont les travailleuses civiles sont victimes (*op. cit.*, 194)."

67 Capitaine Madeleine Saint-Laurent, CWAC, *La Presse*. 17 janvier 1942; and cited in Auger & Lamothe, *op. cit.*, 168.

68 See [Anon.], "Les femmes ailleurs / "Quand les femmes construisent des avions de bombardement," *Le Devoir*. "La Page Feminine," 16 fév., 1940, 5; [Anon.], "Les aviatrices françaises dans l'armée de l'air," *Le Devoir*. (La Page Feminine)" 11 juin, 1940, 5; and "P. A." [Paul Anger?], "Femmes qui se montrent et femmes qui se cachent," *Le Devoir*. "L'Actualité," 17 avril, 1940, 1. One of the reasons for this negative attitude, as was mentioned earlier, was that the moral panic about "white slavery" persisted throughout the war years.

69 Or as one servicewoman recalls: "C'était difficile de s'engager, raconte Anne Lafôret, les gens disaient qu'on était des filles à soldats, des femmes légères." (Auger & Lamothe, *op. cit.*, 174)

70 As another former servicewoman has reminisced female recruits had "dates whenever they wanted, picking and choosing, [...] some of them got pretty tough[.]

Spreading it around they used to call it [...] Hitting the mattress on every date." (Broadfoot, *op. cit.*, 8) In spite of the commensurate disapproval the appeals of patriotism, adventure, decent salaries, and the promise of training in a trade managed to attract a total of 27,000 women into military service by July 1943 (Auger & Lamothe, *op. cit.*, 196). This figure was statistically comparable to female recruits in the American armed forces. See D'Emilio, *op. cit.*, 27, where he indicates that "fewer than 150,000 women served in the [American] armed forces during World War II." It is worth noting that it was decided in 1943 to raise female recruits salaries to four-fifths that of their male compatriots for the sake of attracting more recruits; a considerable sum when one considers that the average working woman's wages between 1921 and 1941 fluctuated from 51% to 56.1% of that of a man's (the lowest point being in 1941) (Clio, *op. cit.*, 289) and that even today most women earn only two-thirds as much as their male co-workers.

71 See Pierson, *op. cit.*, 172 for statistics on unmarried servicewomen's ratios of sexually transmitted diseases and pregnancy.

72 See Pierson, *op. cit.*, 177-78 for cogent examples of the military's class-biased attempts to explain incidences of females' "immorality". The "bad type" also came to be associated with female French-Canadians in the Anglophone imagination. "<<Les Canadiennes françaises, ces 'french girls' aux moeurs faciles étaient souvent visées>>" (Auger & Lamothe, *op. cit.*, 174) This ethno-gendered discourse was obviously a product of the combination of the long standing exoticization and consequent fetishization of the doubly "other" French female in the English psyche, and of the unequal power relations between the predominantly English officers and the Francophone recruits. Some male Army officers used these discourses to argue women's supposed unsuitability for military life.

73 The National Council of the YWCA eventually even offered "'beauty culture' classes at their Women's Active Service Club in Ottawa", which were photographed for propaganda purposes; just as "[i]n April, 1944, Army Public Relations did a photo series of two CWAC corporals shopping for new spring outfits" (Pierson, *op. cit.*, 154 & 156).

74 Pierson's chapter on "VD Control and the CWAC in World War II" makes the related misogynistic double standards of contemporary discourse on sexual promiscuity, venereal diseases and their medical control absolutely clear.

75 [Anon.], "Post-War Woman Rehabilitation Problem Discussed at Charter Day Luncheon," *The Montreal Gazette*. March 3, 1945, 5.

76 See the following articles suggesting and/or reporting on plans to re-domesticate women: [Editorial], "Restaurer la vie familiale," *La Presse*. 8 janv. 1945, 6; [Anon.], "La Mission de la femme / Mlle. E. Le Blanc rappelle que la mère joue au foyer le rôle le plus essentiel," *La Presse*. 16 fév. 1945, 4; Louis Robillard, "La session provinciale / Le travail féminin dans les usines de guerre," *Le Devoir*. 15 mars 1945, 1. There is also a marked increase in print advertisements directed towards women for domestic oriented appliances such as washing machines, stoves and fridgidares in 1945. On one level this represents greater consumer demands as wartime restrictions were being reduced; but on the level of the imaginary, it is part and parcel of the contemporary re-domestication of women in preparation for the demobilization of men.

77 Dorothy Johnson, "Feminism, 1943," *The Canadian Forum*. March 1943, XXII, 352-53. One has to be skeptical of Johnson's straw-poll figure of 70% which certainly would not have applied to Québec, but the anti-sexist point remains valid.

78 See [Anon.], "La démobilisation féminine soulève des protestations," *La Presse* . 8 janv. 1945, 4.

79 Johnson's references to "the feminists [who] often could not marry, and often would not", and the syntactical binary opposition of "home-bodies", suggests an implicit reference to lesbianism. Many of Johnson's readers would certainly have been familiar with how such euphemisms of the day referred to lesbians.

80 See George L. Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe* . New York: Howard Fertig, 1985. According to Mosse, the middle-classes' cult of manliness, which ironically was symbolized by ancient Greek nude sculptures which were supposedly purged of any erotic content, was wedded with the faith in and symbol of women as passionless mothers of their country. Hence, the half-dressed, revolutionary, Marianne of France symbolically became the sedate matron of the Third Republic.

81 See Allon White & Peter Stallybrass. *The Politics and Poetics of Transgression* . London: Methuen, 1986, 5-6.

82 See Patricia Smart, *Écrire dans la maison du père* . Éditions Québec / Amérique (Collection Littérature D'Amérique), 1988.

83 Though this scenario is consistent with Fanon's analysis of resistance to alienation by colonized men, it is still rooted in what Fanon referred to as "manichaeism delirium" in which the primary signs of the dominant, oppressive, culture continue to mystify the historical and political forces of alienation and to make difficult the creation of new liberating narratives. See Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin. White Masks*. New York: Grove Press, 1967. See also Diana Fuss's forthcoming work on the hetero/sexism of Fanon's theories.

84 A lesbian subject could obviously try to assert their sensibility in imagining the cited scene but Kathleen's desire for men certainly militates against sustaining it. A similar scopic scenario occurs in a lengthy description of different stages of Daphne's undress as she talks about sexuality and her marriage (see 282-85).

85 It might even be said that Paul's vision of the "naked woman" recapitulates the *histoire's* scopic view of Kathleen (see 14-15).

86 See George Woodcock, *Hugh MacLennan* . Toronto: Copp Clark (Studies In Canadian Literature), 1969; and *Odysseus Ever Returning* . Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, NCL, 1970.

87 Jean-Charles Falardeau, "Ils posséderont la terre," *Dictionnaire des œuvres littéraires du Québec. Tome III. 1940 à 1959*. Montréal: Fides, 1982, 502.

88 This feminist term for patriarchy's and individual men's exchange and s/exploitation of women has been well defined and popularized by Gayle Rubin. See especially, "The Traffic in Women", in Karen V. Hansen & Ilene J. Philipson, eds., *Women, Class, and the Feminist Imagination: A Socialist-Feminist Reader* . Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990.

89 Similarly, one might choose to read some of the narrative's discourse about Ly as valorizing female resistance to patriarchy. For instance, she is said to have learned when young "que les hommes n'aiment pas qu'on les aime, que l'amour les rend

arrogants, impitoyables, faux. Elle sait qu'en vieillissant, elle ne pourra garder ses admirateurs qu'à force de science et d'exigences."(159)

90 See Romain Legaré, "L'Oeuvre romanesque de Robert Charbonneau," in *L'Action nationale*, nov. 1948, 209-212.

91 See Diana Brydon & Helen Tiffin, *Decolonizing Fictions*. Sydney & London: Dangaroo Press, 1993, where they refer to V. S. Naipaul's writings as offering up the most interesting "disobedient" subversions" within the postcolonial canon (146).

92 See Lévesque, *op. cit.*.

93 Kathleen's resistance is somewhat undermined by the narratorial comment that "Athanasé wondered how it was that an ignorant woman who had known a man with her body could understand him better than an intelligent man who could speak to his mind." (200) Yet the *histoire*'s and Athanasé's hybrid heterosexist devaluation of Kathleen's intelligence are subsequently called into question by the acknowledgement of her ability to see through Athanasé's rationalizations of his "compulsion[s]" (200). Nevertheless, her supposed intuition still relegates her intelligence to a pre- or proto-rational realm.

It is also worth remarking that in two of the text's most explicit moments of female resistance to heterosexist practices and norms the women smoke. Before Kathleen tells off Athanasé in the aforementioned scene: "She got up and tossed her cigarette into the hearth, where it lay smouldering among ashes and waste paper." (200) Similarly, before Heather criticizes her mother for attempts to dissuade her from marrying Paul, we are told how: "Heather pulled a package of cigarettes out of her purse, extracted one and lit it. Janet watched every movement closely. Heather exhaled the first breath of smoke and said quietly...." (400) MacLennan's dramatization of these scenes of female assertiveness are clearly related to the cinematic device made famous by Bette Davis in the film *Now Voyager* (dir. Irving Ropzer, 1942). This code has become diluted today, but it would have been transparent to most contemporary readers.

94 See Smart, *op. cit.*, especially Chapters 3, 4 & 5.

95 This is less the case in *Ils posséderont la terre*, but the process of Cécile Génier's abortion is not any more graphic. Moreover, in keeping with other sexist aspects of the novel, she is said to become sterile, even "laide", as a result of her abortion (152 & 174).

96 Eli Mandel, "Introduction", *Earth and High Heaven*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Ltd., NCL no. 13, 1960, ix;

97 For some examples of this critical tradition see Marcel Rioux, "Aliénation culturelle et Roman canadien," *Recherches sociographiques*. jan.-fév. 1964; J. Tassie, "La société à travers le roman canadien-français," *Le Roman canadien-français*. Montréal: Fides (Archives des lettres canadiennes), 1965; Paul Wyczynski, "Panorama du roman canadien-français," *Le Roman canadien-français*. Montréal: Fides (Archives des lettres canadiennes), 1965; Antoine Sirois, *Montréal dans le roman canadien*. Montréal, Paris et Bruxelles: Marcel Didier, 1968; and Maurice Arquin, *Le roman québécois de 1944 à 1965. Symptômes du colonialisme et signes de libération*. Montréal: l'Hexagone, (Collection Centre de recherche en littérature Québécoise (CRELIQ)), 1989.

98 See Mosse, *op. cit.*. For some telling examples of this ideology in newspapers and pamphlets of the day, see: Marie-Elise Begin, "L'employée de bureau et son rôle social," *Le Devoir*. ("La Page Feminine") 3 août, 1939, 5; Judith Jasmine, "Le cercle

de famille réconfortant ou déprimant?", *Le Devoir* . ("La Page Feminine") 7 déc., 1939, 5; Collectif, *Le Travail féminin et la guerre* . Ecole sociale populaire, 1942; J.-P. Archambault, *Pour restaurer la famille* . École sociale populaire, 1944; an Georges Desjardins, *Si les femmes voulaient* . École sociale populaire, 1945.

99 See Carole Melançon, *Bibliographie descriptive et critique de la réception canadienne de Bonheur d'occasion (1945-1983)*, Mémoire de maîtrise, Université de Sherbrooke, 1984; and her article "Évolution de la réception de Bonheur d'occasion de 1945 à 1983 au Canada français," *Études littéraires* , XVIII, 3, hiver 1984, 157-168. See also Marie-Josée des Rivières, "Une analyse idéologique de Bonheur d'occasion," *Littérature et idéologies, La dynamique des fictions* . Québec, Université Laval, novembre 1978, 73-87. The ideological reading of this latter article is a little too mechanical but it is useful for its historicism.

100 See François Ricard, *Gabrielle Roy* . Montréal: Fides, 1975.

101 See André Vanasse, "La notion de l'étranger dans la littérature canadienne-IV. La rupture définitive," *L'Action nationale* . V. 5, janv. 1966; see also his piece on "Le Survenant" in the *Dictionnaire des œuvres littéraires du Québec . Tome III . 1940 à 1959* . Montréal: Fides, 1982, 953-959.

102 Guèvremont's second and last novel is *Marie-Didace* . Montréal: Éditions Beauchemin, 1947.

103 See Roger Duhamel, "Chroniques. Courrier des lettres", *L'Action nationale* . sept. 1945; Romain Légaré, "les livres canadiens. Guèvremont, Germaine, Le Survenant", *Culture* , déc. 1945; Jean-Paul Pinsonneault, "Idéal et Principes. Germaine Guèvremont peintre de l'âme paysanne et poète terrien", *Lectures* . nov. 1953; Gilles Marcotte, *Cahiers de l'Académie canadienne-française* . (III- Essais critiques), 1958; and Marcotte, *Une littérature qui se fait* . Montréal: Hurtubise, 1962.

104 The founder of *Paysana* , "Françoise Gaudet-Smet, dont l'influence n'est pas négligeable chez la femme rurale", for instance, "est opposée au suffrage féminin." For example, she believed that "la femme ait tellement de pouvoir à la maison qu'elle n'a besoin de rien de plus." (Clio *op. cit.*, 347 & 348)

105 See Robert Major, "Le Survenant et la figure d'Eros dans l'oeuvre de Germaine Guèvremont," *Voix et Images* . XI, 2, déc. 1976, 196.

106 See Jean-Marie Gaboury, "Triomphe féminin. Deux romans de Germaine Guèvremont: *le Survenant*, *Marie-Didace*," *Lectures* . mars 1948, 65-69.

107 See Théophile Bertrand, "Appréciation D'Ouvrages: Germaine Guèvremont, 'interprète de l'âme paysanne,'" *la Revue de l'Institut Pie XI* . 14 juin 1958, 7.

108 See Gilles Marcotte, *op. cit.* , 1958, 68.

109 According to Major, André Langevin was the sole exception but at a level too abstract to be of consequence. Major affirms that Langevin "reconnaître que la vie stable du Chenal du Moine est 'cernée de passion étouffée et de désirs inavoués'. Mais il ne va pas plus loin et ne précise ni cette passion, ni ces désirs." (*op. cit.*, 196) See André Langevin, "Nos écrivains. Madame Germaine Guèvremont," *Notre Temps* 12 juillet 1947, 1, 3.

110 See Gerard Bessette, *Une littérature en ébullition*. Montréal: Éditions du jour, 1968, 91.

111 See Steven Cohan, "Masquerading As the American Male in the Fifties: *Picnic*, William Holden and the Spectacle of Masculinity in Hollywood Film," eds. Constance Penley & Sharon Willis, *Male Trouble*. Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press, 1993, 203-233.

112 This itinerant male type and the consequent foregrounding of how masculinity is as much of a masquerade as femininity is even more marked in Yves Thériault's *Le Dompteur d'ours*. Montréal: Cercle du livre de France, 1951.

113 See Adrien Thério, "Le Survenant de Germaine Guèvremont," *Lettres québécoises*. no. 28, hiver 1982-3.

114 The exception is "l'Acayenne" in *Marie-Didace*, but even then she is dramatized as having been hardened, even corrupted, by "l'amour en liberté".

115 See a review by Heinz Weinmann, "Don Juan notre prochain," *Le Devoir*. samedi 18 mai 1991, for a parallel critique of this phenomenon which is reminiscent of Patricia Smart's analysis of the role of the dead or absent mother. "Sarah Kofman a trouvé une solution plus élégante à l'énigme maternelle de Don Juan. Certes, la mère est invisible non parce qu'elle est absente mais trop présente."(D-1) In other words, just as the female has to be erased or suppressed because she is potentially so threatening to the phallogocentric order, the absent male figure can also mark the pervasiveness of phallogocentric privilege.

116 Max Roy, "Le torrent," *La Dictionnaire des oeuvres littéraires du Québec. III. 1940 à 1959*. Montréal: Fides, 1982, 1008.

117 See Anne Hébert, "Le Tombeau des rois" & "Le Mystère de la Parole", in *Poèmes*. Paris: Seuil, 1953.

118 For obvious historical reasons there are no reliable statistical records as to the percentage of self-identified lesbians, gays or bi-sexuals in the workforce, the military, or in society in general during the war.

119 There was also likely a common presumption that lesbians, being women, did not pose as much of a threat to the heterosexual order as gays. This is not to deny the established masculinist trope of lesbianism as a form of vampirism which could rob "straight" women of their souls.

120 See *Maclean's*. September 1, 1939. Reproduced from M. Susan Bland's "Henrietta the Homemaker, and 'Rosie the Riveter': Images of Women in Advertising in *Maclean's* Magazine, 1939-50," *Atlantis*. VIII: 2, Spring/Printemps 1983, 73.

121 See Cyndra MacDowall, "Sapphic Scenes: Looking Through A History," *FUSE Magazine*. Spring 1991, XIV, 4, 24-39.

122 See Faderman's analysis of how "military women during the war had been brought up in the homophobic 1930s, and they usually knew that they must not be flagrant in their lesbianism [...] Few women who loved other women had serious difficulty during the war, since the military needed all the women it could get who would do their jobs and not disrupt the functioning of the service [...] (*op. cit.*, 124-25)"

There was, however, a *cause célèbre* within the Québec context when Marie Antoinette Lucienne Arsenault, "the pretended husband" of Miss Eugene Ouellet -- the both of them "war plant workers" -- was condemned to twenty-three months in prison for passing as a man and their "legal" marriage was annulled. See [Anon.], "Two-Woman Nuptials Ruled 'Marital Farce'," *The Montreal Daily Star* . July 9, 1942, 3; [Anon.], "Annulation du mariage Arsenault," *La Presse* . 9 juillet, 1942, 3 & 24. Arsenault would be re-arrested two years later, "still garbed as a member of the sterner sex", for shop-lifting. See [Anon.], "'Man' Changes Sex in Court," *The Montreal Daily Star* . October 25, 1944, 3.

123 Furthermore, "[t]aken together, popular stereotypes, army policy, and the special conditions of military life may [even] have kept women of confirmed heterosexual persuasion away from enlistment, while drawing in an unusually large proportion of lesbians." (D'Emilio, *op. cit.*, 8) See also Allan Bérubé, "Coming Out Under Fire: The untold story of the World War II soldiers who fought on the front lines of gay and lesbian liberation," *Mother Jones* . VIII, 2 (February/March, 1983), 23-29, 45; as well as Bérubé's *Coming Out Under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World War Two* . New York: The Free Press, 1990. See especially Chapters I & II: "Getting In" & "Fitting In".

124 Or as Ruth Roach Pierson, *op. cit.*, puts it: "The research to test [the lesbian] hypothesis for Canadian military life is yet to be conducted." (219)

125 Pierson is citing from Rosamond "Fiddy" Greer's *The Girls of the King's Navy* . Victoria, B.C.: Sono Nis Press, 1983, 83-84.

126 "Emotional demonstrativeness was an acceptable trait among women, who thought nothing of kissing or embracing female friends or walking arm-in-arm with them." Bérubé, 1990, *op. cit.*, 42, is citing the WAC's official historian, Mattie Treadwell: *The United States Army in World War II, Special Studies, The Women's Army Corps* . Washington, D. C.: USGPO, 1954, 625.

127 The literary equivalent of this possibility is the Lesbian "Pulp:" -- paperback novels, primarily of the 1950s and 1960s, which offered explicitly lesbian melodramas, but in which the "preying" or overt lesbian was usually ultimately discredited or punished. Or as Faderman puts it, the lesbian pulps were allowed to circulate "since they were generally cautionary tales (146)." Once again, however, such "cautionary" texts and narratives were still capable of being appropriated by lesbians or potential lesbianians.

128 This hypothesis obviously remains applicable to all of the post-war period. In fact, as censorship became more lax, and the objectification of the female body more intense, we have to question to what extent such materials have contributed to the development of lesbian same-sex desires. (My thanks to Sandra Langley for suggesting this hypothesis to me.)

It also brings to mind Lacan's notion of women "being" the Phallus and its possibilities for the production and reading of lesbian cultures, signs, and texts (see Jacques Lacan's "The Meaning of the Phallus," in *Feminine Sexuality: Jacques Lacan and the École Freudienne*. eds. Juliet Mitchell and Jacqueline Rose. Trans. Jacqueline Rose. New York: Norton, 1985). The masculinist emphasis upon the "feminine position of not-having" the Phallus and the consequent, almost exclusive, association of *jouissance* with the female body are perfectly consistent with a lesbian sensibility. Before Irigaray theorized the lesbian erotics of the female body, (see Luce Irigaray, *Ce Sexe qui n'en est pas un* . 1977. *This Sex Which Is Not One* . Trans. Catherine Porter with

Carolyn Burke. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985.) it was prohibited and also thereby generated in male-dominant heterosexist culture. I am not suggesting that mere prohibition always necessarily leads to its opposite or paradoxical deviations, but that particular historical moments heighten and expand such contradictions. For instance, though the proliferation of pin-up and beauty-queen culture identified the female with *jouissance*, *jouissance* was in turn simultaneously being displaced onto sites and figures, such as the female factory worker and soldier, which allowed for the proliferation and valorization of previously repressed lesbian possibilities. The historical moment of the war not only created more opportunities for women to take on and appropriate "masculine" jobs and codes, but to identify themselves as socially and sexually self-sufficient. Thus, contrary to Freud's and Lacan's universalist, transhistorical paradigms, during the historical moment of WW II changing material and social contingencies altered and facilitated lesbian sex and gender possibilities. Or to return to my metaphorical appropriation of Lacanian terminology, as the female role of "not-having" the Phallus, symbolized by the repressive imposition of "feminine" codes and practices upon women, was confused and displaced by women's acquisition and exercise of previously "masculine" dominated codes and privileges, the established female status of "being" the Phallus was suddenly subversively *coupled* with signs of "having" it. I should add that I recognize I am taking great liberties with Lacan's notion of this binary Law, and that my appropriation of his use of the Phallus is more metaphorical than psychoanalytical, but given his inability to account for lesbianism I believe such licence is forgivable.

129 See the NFB's video "Women's Film Archival Package".

130 Marilyn Burgess, "Proudly She Marches: Wartime Propaganda and the Lesbian Spectator". *Cineaction* . 23, Winter 1990-91, 25.

131 See Aerylyn Wiseman & Lynn Fernie, dirs. *Forbidden Love: the unashamed stories of lesbian lives* . Montréal: NFB, 1993.

132 See Faderman, *op. cit.*, 124-126 regarding the strict butch/femme roles of the period.

133 John Costello, *Virtue Under Fire: How World War II Changed Our Social and Sexual Attitudes* . Boston, Toronto: Little, Brown and Co., 1985, 102.

134 See Alfred C. Kinsey *et al.* , *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* . Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders, 1948; especially Chapter 21: "Homosexual Outlet."

135 Kinsey *et al.*, *ibid.*, critique the United States Selective Service Boards' failures to gather scientifically useful information on homosexuality because of their aggressive homophobia, while questioning the negative consequences for individuals who were identified as homosexual by the military (i.e. preventing subsequent employment, etc.) (621-22). See also "GFs" 247-48 & ednt. 136 below for Canadian Military policy differences in the identification of homosexuals.

136 See [Anon], "Faces Sanity Test For Pose As Woman / Male Rooming-house Inmate Is Discovered in Feminine Attire," *The Montreal Gazette* . Feb. 1, 1939, 17.

137 Kinsman cites the following relevant statistics from W. R. Feasby, ed., "Clinical Subjects", *Official History of the Canadian Medical Services, 1939-1945, V. 2* , Ministry of National Defence (Edmund Cloutier, Queen's Printer, 1953): "From 1939 to 1945, the Navy Rejected 10,734 males and 775 females for medical reasons. This

group included a reported 387 men and 49 women in the period May 1941 to September 1945 because of nervous and mental disorders. Under category E, 'unfit for service,' 5,535 men and 139 women were apparently rejected because of 'psychopathic personality' in 1944 alone." (Kinsman, 1987, 111) The size of the latter two figures likely reflect the breadth of the male recruiting net once conscription was introduced and the winding down of female enlistment in the latter part of the war. Certainly the gay percentage of Canadian recruits was likely more in keeping with their general representation in the overall population than military rejection notices and discharges indicate; but as was mentioned above there are no discrete records about rejections on the basis of same-sex orientations. According to John Costello's reading of the American Selective Service board, they "rejected only 1 percent of draftees as homosexuals unfit for military service, and [...] less than .5 percent of the men in the military were subsequently discharged for homosexuality." (Costello 103)

A homophobic study published in 1945 by L. H. Loeser of prosecutions for homosexual acts within the American army concluded that: "[m]any of those who were caught were normal heterosexuals who were accused of homosexual behavior on a single occasion, usually while under the influence of alcohol". The "true homosexual who admitted to repeated acts of sodomy was brought to trial infrequently, while the infrequent or first time offender was usually court martialed." See L. H. Loeser, "The Sexual Psychopath in the Military Service," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 102, July 1945, 92-100.

Loeser ignores the possibility that the "normal" heterosexual's defence of drunkenness may have often been a conscious attempt at hiding other homosexual acts; nor does he allow for the possibility that some "heterosexuals" may have discovered that they preferred same-sex relations and culture. Or as John Costello cites Fredrick Elkin, an American sociologist from the 1940s: "homosexuality is repellant and was consciously repressed in army life"; though he also recalls that there was "continual joking about homosexual practices" in the the army during the war. "[T]here was an apparent total lack of awareness of homosexual attitudes and inclinations [...] This contrast between blindness to the reality and concern with the idea doubtless implies strong tendencies and equally strong repressions." See Costello (1985), 105; from Fredrick Elkin, "The Soldier's Language," *American Journal of Sociology*, 51, March 1946, 412.

138 Is Kinsman perhaps slipping into a more mechanical model of how homophobic ideology works and affects sexual choices? If so, this contrasts sharply with Kinsman's more Foucauldian reading of the paradoxical nature of sexual regulation in his PhD thesis (*op. cit.* , 1989). For instance, the military reminiscences of the homosexual confessional, *Derrière le sang humain : Une étrange confession*, by Robert Pelchat, alias Robert de Vallières, Montréal: Éditions Serge Brousseau, 1956, qualify it as a historical artifact of how wartime Canadian military policies and culture contributed to the formation and expansion of same-sex desires and networks.

It is also worth noting that psychiatry's entry into gender and sexual regulation in the military prepared the ground for its centrality to other areas of social administration. For instance, the Canadian Psychology Association was formed in 1939 "primarily in response to the desire of its members to insure that their expertise was used appropriately and effectively in the war effort [...] [It was] initially put to work on the development of armed forces' manpower selection procedures [...] The valuable contributions made to the war effort by psychologists ultimately assured the recognition of psychology as a useful discipline worthy of financial support." From Mary J. Wright & C. Rogers Myers, eds. *History of Academic Psychology in Canada*. Toronto: C. J. Hogrefe, Inc., 1982, 17.

139 See Maurice Leznoff, *The Homosexual In Urban Society*. M.A. Thesis, McGill University, 1954, 207. One of the most curious, though understandable, aspects of this thesis is its disguising of Montréal as the fictional town of Easton. Accordingly, for instance, "[t]he major area of homosexual activity" is said to be "located at the juncture of Elm and Maple streets in the heart of the down town area" (161). See also the map of "Easton's Gay Centre" (162.a). Leznoff's defensive strategy is not only indicative of the level of homophobia of the 1950s but, as his discussions with Ross Higgins have made clear, Leznoff would not have had the cooperation of his gay subjects without the assurance of such safeguards of anonymity.

140 See Kinsey *et al.*, *op. cit.*, 622, for a similar observation.

141 Sidney Katz, "The Truth About Sex Criminals," *Maclean's Magazine*. July 1, 1947, 12.

142 D'Emilio has summarized the importance of "[t]he sex-segregated nature of the armed forces" to homosexual acculturation within the American services as follows: "Soldiers indulged in buffoonery, aping in exaggerated form the social stereotype of the homosexual, as a means of releasing the sexual tensions of life in the barracks. Such behavior was so common that a towel company used the image of a GI mincing with a towel draped around his waist to advertise its product. Army canteens witnessed men dancing with one another, an activity that in peacetime subjected homosexuals to arrest. Crowded into port cities, men on leave or those waiting to be shipped overseas shared beds in YMCAs and slept in each other's arms in parks or in the aisles of movie theaters that stayed open to house them. Living in close quarters, not knowing whether they would make through the war, and depending on one another for survival, men of whatever sexual persuasion formed intense emotional attachments. In this setting, gay men could find one another without attracting undue attention and perhaps even encounter sympathy and acceptance by their heterosexual fellows (D'Emilio *op. cit.*, 25-6). Bérubé also documents how campy "all-soldier" shows were not only tolerated but encouraged. See Bérubé, *op. cit.*, 1990, especially Chapter 3: "GI Drag: A Gay Refuge," 67-97, and related photographs.

143 For similar reminiscences, see Rick Archbold's interview with Bert [H. F.] Sutcliffe, "Growing Old, Staying Gay," *The Body Politic*. 89, Dec. 1982; and H. F. Sutcliffe, *Herbert Frederick Sutcliffe, MBE, CD: An Autobiography*. Toronto: 1981 (unpublished)

144 Maurice Leznoff's thesis, *op. cit.*, also provides some wartime reminiscences by gay veterans which suggest the ease with which they were able to pass and to network. Army life introduced two of Leznoff's informants to homosexuality (see 81-3 & 113). Both seem to have participated in what Leznoff identifies as a "Covert", as opposed to an "Overt", "Participating Homosexual Group". Certainly, this would have been consistent with the class politics of the academy, as well as simple self-protection, and with many gays' experiences of passing in the military.

Leznoff also refers to the relatively self-explanatory "Solitary Participating Homosexual", "probably the largest category of homosexuals" (146) and "The Restricted Participating" and "The Non-Participating". Though Leznoff's categories are very mechanical, they do seem fairly true to how many gays were defined, defined themselves, and functioned socially in the 1940s and 1950s.

145 My primary source for this observation is from a conversation with Ross Higgins of "Les Archives gaies du Québec." He is also the editor of *Canadian Lesbian and Gay History Network Newsletter / Bulletin du réseau canadien de recherche en histoire*

lesbienne et gaie . (Montréal), and has conducted a number of interviews with gays who were in Montréal during said period. Montréal's wartime gay scene contrasts with Suttcliffe's contention that in Toronto during the same period none of the bars were "exclusively gay and you had to be cautious. You had to feel your way and make sure the guy you were working on was in fact gay." (Archbold *op. cit.*, 28)

146 Kinsman's sources are Ross Higgins's "Notes for a Gay History of Montreal," *Pink Ink* , 2, Aug. 1983, 24; and the latter's "Montreal 1953" in *Pink Ink* , 5, Dec./Jan. 1984.

147 Pierre Hurteau, "Les discours religieux et judiciaire et le crime sexuel: Montréal 1890-1980", *Canadian Lesbian and Gay History Network Newsletter / Bulletin du réseau canadien de recherche en histoire lesbienne et gaie* . IV, 4, nov. 1990, 18. Pierre Hurteau remarks, for instance, how it came to light during a court case that: "Il y avait bien auparavant des adolescents qui se faisaient payer par l'accusé, mais il s'agissait alors presque toujours d'aventures avec la même personne et il n'y avait pas de sollicitation de leur part. La situation est tout à fait différente dans *Le Roi c. Jos. Albert Derome* [Sessions de la paix, 1943 04 30] si on se fie à l'interrogatoire de deux jeunes de 17 ans et 13 ans. Interrogé, le plus jeune répond: Q. 'X., je comprends que c'était votre habitude d'aller avec des hommes, c'est de même que vous gagniez votre vie!' R. 'Oui.' Q. 'Combien d'hommes avec lesquels vous alliez coucher, par jour?' R. 'Un ou deux, pas plus.' (Hurteau 1990, 18)

148 From the same conversation with Ross Higgins (see ednt. 144, above).

149 See Costello, *op. cit.*, for his chapter on "Comrades In Arms", in which several American and British anecdotes testify to the gender fluidity of men in the military during World War II.

150 See [Anon.], "Fait divers / Jeune garçon assassiné sur la montagne," *Le Devoir* . 26 fév. 1945, 2; [Anon.], "La Pendaïson serait trop douce pour lui..." & [Anon.], "L'enquête ajournée," *La Presse* . 26 fév. 1945, 3; [Anon.], "Nine-year-old Boy Slain," *The Montreal Gazette* . Feb. 26, 1945, 13; [Editorial], *The Montreal Gazette* . Feb. 27, 1945, 8; [Anon.], "Many Questioned In Slaying of Boy," *The Montreal Daily Star* . March 3, 1945, 13; [Anon.], "Rumeur infâme," *La Presse* . 6 mars, 1945, 3.

151 A notable exception is [Anon.], "2 fillettes victimes de 2 ignobles individus," *La Presse* . 26 mars, 1945, 3.

152 This term comes from John D'Emilio's appropriation (*op. cit.* , 1 & 33) of its earlier usage by Donald Webster Cory (pseud.), in *The Homosexual in America* . New York: Greenberg, 1951, 13.

153 There is little Canadian gay social history about these phenomena, however Gary Kinsman's research has been invaluable for beginning to map this terrain. See D'Emilio *op. cit.*, especially Parts 1 & 2, for cogent summaries of contemporary developments in the United States.

154 Sirois, *op. cit.*, 45.

155 See Marcel Rioux, *La Question du Québec* . Paris: Éditions Seghers, 1969; especially pp. 90-92.

156 One of the few examples to date of such a reading is Robert Schwartzwald's "Fear of Federasty: Québec's Inverted Fictions," in *Comparative American Identities : Race, Sex And Nationality In The Modern Text* . ed. Hortense J. Spillers. New York & London: Routledge (Essays From The English Institute), 1991.

157 It might even be said that there was an earlier *littératureologie* of such homosexually panicked fictions in English-Canada, especially in the 1920s. See Fredrick Philip Grove's *Settlers of the Marsh* ; or Morley Callaghan's *Strange Fugitive* and many of his stories.

158 Schwartzwald maps and analyses such homo/sexual attractions and anxieties as conforming to "a repressed pederastic model" (*op. cit.*, 186) in *Le Beau risque* ; to "homophobic sexual anxiety" during the neo-nationalist period of the 1960s when an anti-colonial journal like *Parti pris* would characterize conservative and clerical "traitors or sell-outs [...] as passive/seductive men" and "'fédéraste[s]'"(179). He also remarks "homosexuality [...] as an accepted metaphor for national oppression" in more recent Québec popular culture such as Michel Tremblay's plays (180). As his reading of homophobia in Denys Arcand's *Le Déclin de l'empire américain* makes clear we should not presume the aforementioned examples are indicative of a progressive, non-contradictory, historical tolerance towards homosexuality.

159 See Réginald Hamel, "L'Érotisme dans les romans," *Parti pris* . 9-10-11, Summer 1964, 105.

160 Jean Tétreau, *Hertel l'homme et l'œuvre* . Montréal: Pierre Tisseyre, 1986, 73.

161 See also Berthier's nationalist invocation of how "[l]a terre de chez nous pénètre dans les ames, par tous les sens à la fois, dans sa simplicité *virgilienne* ." (36; my *italics*)

162 Hertel did actually take students on such a visit in the fall of 1938 (Tétreau *op. cit.* , 67); a good reminder of Hertel's adage about writing: "On ne raconte jamais que soi-même [...] Celui qui vit en profondeur, s'il raconte, tombe presque toujours dans son autobiographie, réelle ou imaginaire." (Tétreau vi) See also Jean Larose's *Le Mythe de Nelligan* . Montréal: Quinze/prose/exacte, 1981, for a homophobic yet engaging psychoanalytic critique of the French-Canadian embrace of Nelligan as a nationalist hero because of his victimization (and effeminacy). "Dans le cas de l'idéologie social-catholique [...] l'inversion des sens, de l'infériorité en supériorité et de l'impuissance en sainteté, appuie sa dénégation du réel sur une certaine économie des rapports entre <<la mère>> et <<le fils>> -- en l'<<absence>> du <<père>> (69)."

163 This scenario is also reminiscent of Rimbaud's self-exile to Ethiopia as a means, among others, of asserting his homosexuality.

164 See Sedgwick, 1985, *op.cit.*, on these kinds of homosexually panicked triangles.

165 Here is how Cory, *op. cit.* , contextualizes some of the history of the term *gaie* : "I have been told by experts that it came from the French, and that in France as early as the sixteenth century the homosexual was called *gaie* ; significantly enough, the feminine form was used to describe the male. The word made its way to England and America, and was used in print in some of the more pornographic literature soon after the First World War. Psychoanalysts have informed me that their homosexual patients were calling themselves *gay* in the nineteen-twenties, and certainly by the nineteen-thirties it was the most common word in use among homosexuals themselves. It was not

until after Pearl Harbor that it became a magic by-word in practically every corner of the United States where homosexuals might gather" (107-08).

166 From a lesbian identified perspective one might choose to focus upon Adrienne's gender enigmaticness as that of a masculinized female or potential "butch", except that her subversive gender potential is narrativistically limited to her interactions with Edward and André and not with any women.

167 This kind of reading of homosexual panic and its repression can also be related to Parveen Adams's questioning of Freud's failure to reconcile his concept of hysterical identification as being characterized by oscillation with his sexist insistences upon assigning certain forms of fantasies to men and others to women. Adams suggests that "hysterical identification is not a mechanism that fixes or stabilizes positions. Hysterical identification is the mechanism which allows the play of bisexuality both at the level of object choice and at the level of identification." See Parveen Adams, "Per Os(cillation)," *Male Trouble* . eds. Constance Penley & Sharon Willis. Minneapolis & London: University of Minnesota Press, 1993, 23. The same article also appears in *Psychoanalysis and Cultural Theory* . ed. James Donald. London: Macmillan, 1991. In other words, Marchadowski and Adrienne can be read as signs of "hysterical identification" with gay, transvestite, and even bi-sexual options, all of which are superseded in the course of the text by André's and Edward's ultimate heterosexual object choices.

168 See "GFs" 152 and Cohan, *op.cit.*, 213, for references to this gendered, heterosexist, bias against non-domesticated men. Cohan's article refers to this bias as a particularly "fifties" phenomenon when it quite possibly was only more pronounced by post-War gender anxieties.

169 See Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble : Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* . New York: Routledge, 1990; and Cohan, *op.cit.*, 230.

170 The related passage from Barbara Ehrenreich's *The Hearts of Men : American Dreams and the Flight from Commitment* . New York: Anchor Press, 1983, 26, reads as follows: "Since a man couldn't actually become a woman [...] heterosexual failures and overt homosexuals could only be understood as living in a state of constant deception. And this was perhaps the most despicable thing about them: They *looked like* men, but they weren't really men".

171 This drinking motif in the novel and the film treats the stresses of same-sex desire and its repression in ways which are perfectly consistent with the pathologization of the homosexual as chronic alcoholic.

172 See Patrick Anderson, "Notes From My Journal: Baie St. Paul," *Preview* . Issue 10, January 1943; and "Further Notes From Baie St. Paul," *Preview* . Issue 14, July 1943, 7-8. That Anderson's allusions to same-sex desire should be connotative or sub-textual is hardly surprising given the historical context. The only openly gay analysis of homosexuality from the war period in all of North America of which I am aware is Robert Duncan's "The Homosexual in Society," *Politics* . August, 1944.

173 Robert Martin has critiqued the homophobic marginalization of Anderson's *œuvre* and the commensurate valorization and institutionalization of a masculinist Canadian poetical tradition. See his "Sex and Politics in Wartime Canada: The Attack on Patrick Anderson," *Essays on Canadian Writing* . 44, Fall 1991, 110-125, for an analysis of

Anderson's homosexual poetics and John Sutherland's, and others, homophobic reactions to it.

174 This prose piece was published in *The Character Ball: Chapters of Autobiography*. London: Chatto, 1963, 109-28.

175 See Patrick Anderson, "Montreal" and "Dramatic Monologue," *Preview*. 4, June 1942, 3 & 5-7; as well as John Sutherland's attack "The Writing of Patrick Anderson," *First Statement*. 1.19, May 1943, 3-6.

176 Other prose pieces by Anderson from this period which evidence a gay sensibility include "Light," *Preview*. 3, May 1942, 2-3; and "Portrait of a Marine," *Preview*. 23, May 1945, 7-9.

177 Patrick Anderson, "An Explanatory Issue," *Preview*. Sept. 1944, No. 21, 1.

178 John Sutherland, [Editorial] *First Statement*. August 1944, II, 8.

179 See John Sutherland, "On A Story Published In *Preview* Magazine," *First Statement*. Oct. I, 1, 1942, 4-6, which critiques Ruddick's "Vi", *Preview*. 3, May 1942, 4-5.

180 The revolutionary ardour for which Sutherland vilifies Ruddick is so muted that it seems likely that Sutherland was more taken aback by the story's realistic frankness about Vi's sexual proclivities, her rejection of motherhood, her sugar daddy subsidized lifestyle, and an implied abortion. Clearly, such "deviant" behavior would have likely been associated in Sutherland's mind with Anderson's own supposed deviance.

Likewise, in Sutherland's critique of P. K. Page's poems "Fear" and "Prediction Without Crystal" her "heavy, round alliteration" is likened to the fellatio suggestive "full-throated phrasing of Anderson's lines." See "P. K. Page and *Preview*," *First Statement*, I, no. 6, 8.

181 "The New Poets," *First Statement*, I, no. 12, 3.

182 "The Role of the Magazines," *First Statement*, I, no. 15, 1.

183 See Robert Martin, *op. cit.*, for a summary of the subsequent decades of homophobic, anti-modernist, dismissals of Anderson's writing.

184 A phrase which in its own right is appropriated from Louis Hémon's *Maria Chapdelaine*. Paris: Le Temps, 1914.

185 The references to the Baie St. Paul "idiots" are also reminiscent of Hart Crane's poem "The Idiot". See *The Complete Poems and Selected Letters and Prose of Hart Crane*. New York: Anchor Books, Doubleday & Co., 1966, 163. It is known that Anderson was poetically influenced by Crane and, doubtlessly, by his homosexual aesthetic.

186 See "Letters and Comment," *First Statement*. Sept. 1943, II, 2, 1, for an example of how Sutherland responded to some readers' negative comments on the "realism" of stories in *First Statement* by associating vanguard writing with the ability "to depict characters in a realistic environment". So too, his faith that there is one kernel of truth in the well-wrought poem led him to conceive of a vaguely defined "realism" as the means to to discover and fix the "facts" (II, 2).

187 Robert Martin, *op.cit.* , theorizes the marginalization of Anderson and the larger dilemma for women and gay men as being a result of "Canadian nationalism requir[ing] figures of strength and productivity: they could be located in the context of an aggressive male heterosexuality, in an Oedipal psychodrama that played a crucial part in the determination of a Canadian canon [...] The problem seems unlikely to disappear so long as the male body is seen as the nation, and all resistance is imagined as parricide and replication." (121-2)

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CHAPTER III - CLASS FICTIONS - ENDNOTES

1 This is more or less the traditional neo-liberal, *Cité libriste* , narrative about said period, as expressed in an *Ur* text like Pierre-Elliott Trudeau's *La grève de l'amiante* . Montréal: Éditions du Jour, 1970 [1956]. See Jocelyn Létourneau's critique of the ideological, technocratic, contradictions and limitations of Trudeau's and his contemporaries' neo-liberal analyses of Duplessism in "Québec d'après-guerre et mémoire collective de la technocratie," *Cahiers internationaux de Sociologie* . Vol. XC, 1991, 67-87. As for the pan-Canadian tendency to which I refer, I am thinking of the near election of the Canadian Commonwealth Federation (CCF) in Ontario in 1943, the election of the CCF in Saskatchewan in 1944, and the federal Liberals' appropriation of social-democratic ideas and policies during the war and in and after the election campaign of 1945.

2 According to Michael D. Behiels, it is this very overly mechanical ideological dichotimization which caused Trudeau and other neo-liberals to consistently reject the provincial liberal party as a practical political vehicle during the 1950s, and to emphasize *démocratie d'abord* , to the neglect of a number of existing democratic, progressive, groups and institutions and their potential. See *Prelude to Quebec's Quiet Revolution: Liberalism versus Neo-nationalism, 1945-1960* . Montréal: McGill-Queen's University, 1985, especially 254-56.

3 Duplessis is once again understandably one of the most famous masters of this ideologeme. And as Pierre Popovic reminds us: "Le premier ministre entend cependant <<communiste>> dans un sens très large qui, selon le besoin, peut s'étendre à tout individu critique à l'égard du régime." See *La contradiction du poème: poésie et discours social au Québec de 1948 à 1953* . Candiac, Québec: Les Éditions Balzac (Collection L'Univers des discours), 1992, 119.

4 See Stuart M. Jamieson, *Times of Trouble: Labour Unrest and Industrial Conflict in Canada, 1900-1966* . Ottawa: Privy Council Office (Task Force on Labour Relations, Study No. 22), 1971, Chapters V & VI. Or to borrow an applicable post-war citation from Trudeau: "[N]'importe quel cahier de revendications des unions ouvrières a plus fait pour orienter les destinées de notre société en gestation que les innombrables élucubrations de nos penseurs sociaux officiels." (*op. cit.*, 380)

5 See Jamieson, *ibid* .. As Bryan Palmer notes: "As early as 1925, the CTCC [Confédération des Travailleurs Catholiques du Canada] had repudiated its own origins, taking its stand with the workers' movement." See Bryan D. Palmer, *Working-Class Experience: The Rise and Reconstitution of Canadian Labour, 1800-1980* . Toronto, Vancouver: Butterworth & Co., 1983, 225. However, to a certain extent this

overstates the case since given the many conflicts between the more radical unions of the Canadian Labour Congress and the CTCC unions in the late 1930s and 1940s one should not underestimate the extent to which members of the CTCC continued to collaborate with capitalists and repressive State apparatuses. See also Collective, *Québec Labour: The Confederation of National Trade Unions Yesterday and Today*. Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1972, 14-16.

6 Paul-André Linteau *et al.*, *Histoire du Québec contemporain : Le Québec depuis 1930*. Tome II. Montréal: Boréal, 1989, 121.

7 [Anon.], "Hepburn Lays Present Conflict To World-Wide Capitalist Cartels," *The Montreal Gazette*. October 6, 1942, 6.

8 Mackenzie King cited in Léopold Richer, "Le temps du libéralisme économique est clos," *Le Devoir*. le 12 octobre, 1942, 1.

9 As Richer points out (*ibid.*): "Au cours de la guerre de 1914-1918 des hommes publics canadiens ont tenu un langage semblable. Le parti libéral s'est habilement emparé de la partie sociale d'un programme politique qui convenait à notre pays. Au congrès libéral national tenu à Ottawa en 1919, au cours duquel M. Mackenzie King a été choisis chef du parti, les libéraux ont élaboré un programme électoral qui contenait d'excellents projets de réforme et correspondait à de nobles aspirations [...] Toutefois on en restait toujours là. Le peuple ne se fatiguait pas de ne faire tromper." Or as *The Montreal Gazette* remarked concerning King's speech: "the Canadian Government's plans for post-war reconstruction [...] employment for all, adequate nutrition and housing standards, social insurance against misfortunes outside the control of the individual" were "also endorsed at the last convention of the Canadian Manufacturers Association." [Editorial], "Canada's Post-War Plans," *The Montreal Gazette*. October 10, 1942, 8.

10 Jocelyn Létourneau, *op. cit.*, has eloquently argued how Trudeau's and other *rattrapage* discourses are ultimately about the promotion and consolidation of a growing technocratic class's hegemony in Québec. Given Létourneau's primary interest in how the technocratic fractions of the "Quiet Revolution" created, valorized, and promulgated their own heroic history and myths on the basis of the cited manichean sociogram, he does not characterize them as neo-liberal. I do, because I believe that in general they exhibited a general faith in political-economic modernity and social welfarism.

11 This was more a neo-liberal class fantasy than realisable, as the many violent clashes between Québec labour and local, national, and international capital in the 1960s and the 1970s would testify. Witness Pierre Elliott Trudeau's own role, for instance, in crushing the strike of the Lapalme mail drivers.

12 Perhaps I should hardly fault Popovic for something I do too little of myself; however, I think said criticism identifies one of the most important fault lines in his work.

13 Popovic, *op. cit.*, offers an excellent study of this phenomenon for the post-war years of 1948-1953, though much of his textual analyses treats materials from the previous decade. I am particularly beholden to his analyses of the contradictions and ideologemes of Duplessis and to his cogent appropriations of Gérard Boismenu, *Le Duplessisme. Politique économique et rapports de force. 1944-1960*. Montréal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1981; and Gilles Bourque et Jules Duchastel,

Restons traditionnels et progressifs. Pour une nouvelle analyse du discours politique. Le cas du régime Duplessis au Québec. Montréal: Boréal, 1988.

14 Paul-André Linteau *et al.*, *Histoire du Québec contemporain. De la Confédération à la Crise*. Tome I. Montréal: Boréal, 1989, 468, neglect the possibility that there was much division amongst the members of the bourgeoisie. Doubtless this is because they view the common class interests of the bourgeoisie as overriding any differences, but this strikes me as rather facile. For instance, they argue that one of the reasons why the higher echelons of the bourgeoisie withdrew from direct roles in party politics during the early inter-war period was not only because of deference to the development of professional politicians, but because the members of the bourgeoisie could increasingly ill-afford, in an era of growing democratization, education, and unionization, to have their intra-bourgeois struggles openly identified with the public reins of power. Margaret Westley, in *Remembrance of Grandeur: Montreal's Anglo-Protestant Elite, 1900-1950*. Montréal: Libre Expression, 1990, on the other hand, suggests that: "In those days, having a 'conflict of interest' was considered an asset. It meant that a man had valuable inside knowledge that would help get things done." (17)

15 Thus, in spite of Ronald Rudin's reminders that Anglophone Québécois were far from exclusively wealthy Westmounters, there is no getting away from the fact that for most of this century the leaders of the Québec bourgeoisie would continue to be predominantly Anglophone and centered in Montréal. See *The Forgotten Quebecers: A History of English-Speaking Quebec, 1759-1980* Montréal: Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, 1985.

16 One of the most striking examples of this shift in Québec was the growth of the financial sector during the 1920s, including, for example, the Bank of Montreal's take-overs of the Bank of British North America (1918), Merchants Bank (1922) and Molson's Bank (1925); or the Royal Bank's growth from 179 million dollars worth of assets in 1913 to over a billion in 1929. See Linteau, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, Tome I, 303-06.

17 Capital investments from Great Britain would slip from 85% of the market share in 1900 to the point where American investments accounted for 61% in 1930. This, in spite of the fact that as recently as 1900 the Bank of Montreal -- which was the financial nucleus of so much of Québec's Anglo elite -- "had [...] assets and a volume of transaction as important as any bank in the New York money market" (Westley 15). And whereas British investments had tended to be indirect (i.e. bank loans), American investments were usually direct.

18 Henri Bourassa, or Lionel Groulx for that matter, are rarely historicized in terms of class, and I do not pretend to have any earth-shattering perspective on the importance of their class followers and allegiances, but I believe that this factor was of greater importance than has generally been acknowledged. Susan Mann Trofimenkoff might suggest that I have been overly influenced by the "<<garden variety>>" marxism which she seems to regret in Linteau *et al.*; that I, like they, do not see "entre groupes, et classes, et sexes, que les liens de pouvoir et d'exploitation." See Susan Mann Trofimenkoff's review of Volume I of Linteau *et al.* in *Recherches Sociographiques*. XXI, nos. 1-2, janv-août, 1980. My reference to class in this instance is in keeping with the idea that ideologies develop out of and represent class positions even when they are not totally coherent and/or are secondary to ethnic, racial and gender discourses.

19 See Rudin, *op. cit.*, 202-04; and Linteau, *et al.*, *op. cit.*, Tome I, 286-88.

20 For instance, a major reason why unemployment was greater in Québec than elsewhere in Canada during the Depression was because many of Montréal's Anglophone captains of industry and finance could actually maintain their monopolistic profit margins by not reinvesting in plant and by reducing the size of their labour forces (see Westley 240-43 & Linteau *et al.*, *op. cit.*, Tome II, 22).

21 Lloyd Reynolds, *The British Immigrant*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1935, 121. Cited in Rudin, *op. cit.*, 161.

22 "[T]he need to both read and write in English was essential, thus frequently locking out French-speaking candidates. As a result, in 1931 44% of all clerical workers in Quebec were of British origin as opposed to [their standing of] 17% in the total workforce." (Rudin, *op. cit.*, 161-62)

23 Carla Lipsig-Mummé contends that English-speaking immigrant workers and French-Canadians were not in competition for the same jobs prior to WW II, because the Irish tended to dominate pick-and-shovel non-skilled jobs and the English were filling up skilled jobs. This argument strangely presumes that lumpen and recently proletarianized French-Canadians from farming backgrounds weren't in competition for pick-and-shovel jobs. Nor does Lipsig-Mummé's reading address the likelihood that much of the acknowledged contemporary French-Canadian resentment towards European immigrants was a boomerang effect from anger about their limited access to English-speaking dominated jobs. See Carla Lipsig-Mummé, "The English Working Class of Quebec: Fragmentation and Silence," in Gary Caldwell & Eric Waddell, eds., *The English of Quebec: From Majority to Minority Status*. Montréal: IQRC, (Collection: Identité et changements culturels, no. 2), 1982, 182.

24 Marcel Rioux, *Un peuple dans le siècle*. Montréal: Boréal, 1990, 32.

25 I should mention that moral support for Franco in Québec during the Spanish Civil War was legion and obviously relevant to the general left-right political antagonisms. However, I believe there is nothing particularly peculiar about Spanish Civil War politics and players in Québec or Canada which warrants including related material in the thesis.

26 See [Anon.], "L'aspect social de la coopération. Conférence de M. Victor Barbeau. Pour échapper au dilemme de la dictature et de l'individualisme," *Le Devoir*. 10 octobre, 1940, 2.

27 See André-J. Bélanger, *L'Apolitisme des idéologies québécoises; le grand tournant, 1934-1936*. Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1974, 308.

28 See, for instance, Fulton Sheen, *L'Attaque des soviets contre le Vatican* (1944).

29 See Louis Fournier, *Communisme et anticommunisme au Québec, 1920-1950*. Laval, Québec: Éditions coopératives Albert Saint-Martin (Collection <<Luttes Ouvrières>>), 1979, 23-4. The threats to the family were not universally characterized as only communist centred. See Paul Beaulieu's argument, for instance, in favour of a return to family, property, and patriotic values as a response to capitalist alienation and communist atheism and materialism: "Orientations," *La Relève*. 2e série, 3e cahier, novembre 1935. Two of the most important wartime monographs which raise all of these issues from a corporatist perspective are Esdras Minville's *Le Force conquérante de la Coopération*. Montréal: Le Conseil supérieur de

la Coopération, 1943 and *Le Citoyen canadien-français: Notes pour servir à l'enseignement du civisme*. Montréal: Fides, Tome I, 1946.

The issue of language was rarely an explicit factor in much Francophone anti-communist discourse but the supposed threats to religion and the family were necessarily inscribed with it since "[l]a langue française gardienne de la foi" [était] l'un des thèmes classiques de la rhétorique canadienne." See J.-C. Falardeau, "Rôle et importance de l'Église au Canada français," *Esprit*. "Le Canada français", numéro spécial, no. 8-9. août-septembre 1952, 222

See also Yvan Lamonde, "Un aspect de la conjoncture idéologique des années 1929-1940: la philosophie et le milieu universitaire", Institut supérieur des Sciences humaines, Université Laval, février 1970

30 See Alvarez Vaillancourt, "Commerce et Finance, Le corporatisme au moyen âge." *Le Devoir*. 26 octobre, 1940, 10. See the following articles for some exemplary texts of corporatist discourse of the period: E. Delaye, "Reformes de structure du capitalisme (Dossiers de l'Action Populaire)," I & II, le 13 & 14 janv., 1945, 2; 14, 16 & 17; [Anon.], "Institut Pie XI, Le rôle de l'organisation corporative," *Le Devoir*. 18 avril, 1939, 7; R. P. Ferdinand Coiteux, O.F.M., "Propos d'actualité, Capitalisme ou Coopératisme?", *Le Devoir*. 25 nov., 1939, 2; [Anon.], "La Lutte des classes doit être évitée," *La Presse* 27 juillet, 1939, 13; [Anon.], "Requêtes à Ottawa des syndicats catholiques [...] La Lutte au communisme," *La Presse* 16 jan., 1940, 13; [Anon.], "Progrès grandissant des Caisses populaires," *Le Devoir*. 12 mars, 1940, 6; [Collective], "Lettre pastorale collective," *Le Devoir*. 13-17 mai, 1941, 8; Paul Gouin, "La dictature économique 'bloque' le corporatisme dans le Québec," *Le Devoir*. 8 fév., 1943, 6; and Dr. Philippe Hamel, "Les abus du capitalisme. Mort ou rénovation du capitalisme," 8 jan., 1945, 5.

The rhetoric of a work like Richard Arès's *Notre question nationale* Montréal: Éditions de l'Action Nationale, 1943, at times gives the impression that in arguing in favour of French-Canadians developing "une alimentation rationnelle" of individuals within "la famille, l'école et le milieu social" that he is theorizing in favour of a "sélection prudente" of what modern, urban, cosmopolitan Québec culture has to offer (218-21). Instead, his "sélection prudente" is little different from other corporatist and traditionalist positions which were anguishing about how to better prepare the individual French-Canadian to better resist modernity and remain, in spite of their predominantly new urban environment, "<<un être accordé>>" (218) in the traditional sense according to Félix-Antoine Savard or Victor Barbeau.

31 See Maxime Raymond, *Programme provincial du Bloc*. Montréal: Document du Bloc n° 10, 7; and cited in Paul-André Comeau, *Le Bloc Populaire, 1942-1948*. Montréal: Québec/Amérique, 1982, 178. Comeau also refers to a working document created by leaders within the *Bloc* which rejected the political and social programs of corporatism. From Marie-Louis Beaulieu à Maxime Raymond. Québec, le 20 septembre 1943. Archives Maxime Raymond. See Comeau, 178-179 & edn 86, 188

32 Minville, *op. cit.*, 1946, Tome 1, 121.

33 See Comeau, *op. cit.*, "Vous avez dit <<corporatisme>> ?", 175-183

34 See Fournier, *op. cit.*, 150, summarizing R. P. Gustave Sauvé's *Un problème contemporain: le communisme, aspects économiques, religieux et philosophiques* Ottawa, 1933. David Rome remarks how "[w]hen, in 1917, the Communists took over in Russia, *L'Action catholique* felt confirmed in its suspicions of the Jews, little noting that the Bolsheviks set about to destroy Judaism in their lands and in Palestine. From this date, Jews were no longer devil-free-masons; instead they were now devil-

communists " See Rome, "Jews in Anglophone Quebec," in Caldwell & Waddell, *op cit* . 167

35 Morton Weinfeld, "Le Milieu juif contemporain du Québec," in Pierre Anctil & Gary Caldwell, *Juifs et réalités juives au Québec* . Montreal : IQRC, 1984, 72

36 Ira Robinson - Pierre Anctil - Mervin Butovsky eds. *An Everyday Miracle Yiddish Culture in Montreal* . Montreal : Vehicule Press, 1990, 15 . The Communist candidacies of Michael Buhay and the elections of Fred Rose in the Cartier riding certainly contributed to this impression. I would also note that judging from Marcel Fournier's reference to Michael Buhay as "un militant communiste québécois" (14) he was unaware of Buhay's East European origins, since Fournier's general use of the noun "Québécois" designates *pur laine* Québécois and not immigrants or non Francophones

37 Many of the European leftists who would have been perceived as Jews were just as likely to be non-Jewish Ukrainians, Russians, or Finns, while according to Jacques Langlais and David Rome the Jews who were actively involved in left-wing causes represented a small percentage of the Jewish population . See *Jews & French Quebecers : Two Hundred Years of Shared History* . Trans Barbara Young . Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier U P, 1991, 51. Original French edition, *Juifs et Québécois français 200 ans d'histoire commune* . Montréal. Fides, 1986.

38 See Langlais & Rome, *ibid* ., 51.

39 The contradiction between the anti-semitic caricatures of the corrupt, penny pinching, Jewish business man, and the anti-capitalist Jewish Communist, could be reconciled in the popular imagination by the repeated all-encompassing racist trope of the Jew as "le grand incendiaire de l'humanité, celui qui allume les révolutions, les luttes de classes, les schismes, les divisions, les soulèvements, les révoltes, les grèves, etc." According to this "incendiary" racist discourse in which Jews are synecdoches for the Devil and his hell-fires, when Jews were not inciting revolts they were constantly resorting to burning their property for the sake of insurance profits . See the fascist cartoon and accompanying text: "Partout, En Tous Les Pays, La Race Juive Est Incendiaire," *Le Goglu* . 5 aout, 1932, 6.

40 A related sociogram was that English-Canadian culture was more "progressive" than French-Canadian culture. This ethno-linguistic biased perspective may be true concerning the comparative, though still limited, numbers of English-Canadians who joined or supported socialistic parties and movements -- and it has to be remembered that much of the growth of leftism in Canada came from recent European and Slavic immigrants -- but English-Canada was also rife with ultra-conservative forces

41 A comparable questionable case in point is Hubert Guindon's assumption that Québec only achieved modernity with the development of the "nouvelles classes moyennes" of the 1950s and the Quiet Revolution. See "L'évolution de la société canadienne-française," in Marcel Rioux & Yves Martin *La société canadienne-française* . Montréal: HMH, 1971, 137-61.

42 Claude Couture. *La Presse Libérale au Québec entre 1929 et 1935 : analyse de contenu des editoriaux de La Presse , du Soleil et du Canada* . Université de Montréal . Thèse de doctorat, Département d'histoire, 1987, vi-vii. See also his more recent thesis based book: *Le Mythe de la modernisation du Québec : Des Années 1930 à la révolution tranquille* . Éditions du Méridien, 1991. Couture's research has been much inspired by Fernand Dumont's and Fernand Harvey's questioning of the presumed marginality of political-economic liberalism in Québec in the first half of this century.

As he cites them in *Le Mythe* (10): "il faudrait étendre encore plus l'investigation empirique du côté des idéologies libérales [...] Tout un courant de pensée a coloration économique n'a pas cessé de se développer depuis le début du siècle que la prédominance des idéologies conservatrices plus officielles a contribué à masquer" See Fernand Dumont & Fernand Harvey, "La recherche sur la culture," *Recherches sociographiques*. XXVI: 1-2, 1985. See also Victor Teboul's *Le Jour: émergence du libéralisme moderne au Québec*. Montréal: Hurtubise HMH/Cahiers du Québec, 1984, for examples of the wide gamut of liberal, socialist, and reformist contributors and discourses in said newspaper between 1937 and 1940.

43 *La Presse* "tirait la semaine 152.000 exemplaires et le samedi, 180,000 De plus, en 1922, *La Presse* lança son propre poste de radio, CKAC, qui devint rapidement le poste de radio le plus important au Canada français[...] Par ailleurs, *La Presse* étendit son influence au cinéma en projetant ses "actualités filmées" dans plusieurs salles du Québec [...] Bref, le journal était présent, d'une façon ou d'une autre, dans presque toutes les régions du Québec[...]"(Couture, *op. cit.*, 1987, 54)

44 Claude Couture, *op. cit.*., 1987, 23-24. Couture draws the above figures from Esdras Minville's *Montréal Économique*. Montréal: Fides, 1943. See also P.-A. Linteau's *Maisonnette: Comment les promoteurs fabriquent une ville (1883-1918)*. Montréal: Boréal Express, 1981.

45 See also Wallace Clement, "Canada's Social Structure: Capital, Labour, and the State, 1930-1980," in Michael Cross & Gregory S Kealy, *Modern Canada: 1930-1980's*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1984.

46 See Edmond Turcotte, "Le libéralisme en action," *Le Canada*. 2 juin, 1933. This general position on labour persisted in liberal newspapers throughout the war years.

47 Accordingly, "[d]ans les milieux libéraux francophones, on continuait, en fait, à défendre le principe de *l'assistance sociale*, selon lequel la charité privée était la meilleure forme d'aide sociale." (Couture 1991, 65)

48 For my present purposes there is no need to go into details about the history of the ALN. Suffice it to say, as Paul-André Comeau has suggested, that upon its formation in 1933 it offered the first truly political program in the history of Québec politics -- an ideologically populist mix, largely inspired by the École sociale populaire, which while reformist placed much emphasis upon the renewal of rural society to the neglect of the problems of Québec's predominantly urban culture (Comeau, *op. cit.*., 38-9).

49 Comeau credits the Federal Liberal machine for winning the election for Godbout in 1939 (*op. cit.*, 57). I think Comeau relies a little too much however upon Godbout's own immediate subjective perception of the reasons for his success and should have given more credit to populist dissatisfaction with Duplessis's government and the growing currency of neo-liberal values at the end of the Depression.

50 For instance, see Comeau, *op. cit.*., on the *Bloc*'s "La famille libérale," 108-9; "Les modèles socialistes," 253-5.

51 Two others who come to mind, and again they are not homogeneous in terms of their ideological and practical commitments, are Jean Martineau and Michel Chartrand.

52 See André Laurendeau, *L'Action nationale*. novembre 1937, 153.

53 See *ibid.*, novembre 1937, 181-82. and *L'Action nationale*'s special number on corporatism of November 1938.

54 Like their more conservative nationalist confrères, as Denis Monière has summarized the phenomenon, "ce qu'on critique dans le capitalisme ce n'est pas l'exploitation des travailleurs mais la décadence morale qu'elle entraîne []" See Denis Monière, *Le Développement des idéologies au Québec des origines à nos jours* Montréal: Québec/Amérique, 271

55 See André J. Bélanger, *Ruptures et Constantes* Montréal: Hurtubise HMH, 1977, 16-7.

56 Bélanger is citing from Lionel Groulx's <<La bourgeoisie et le national>> dans *L'avenir de notre bourgeoisie*. Montréal: Éditions Bernard Valiquette, 1939, 96-99

57 Or as Gérard Pelletier would put it towards the end of the war. "L'Action catholique sera intégralement l'affaire des laïcs ou elle ne sera pas" See "La responsabilité laïque: mythe ou réalité," *Cahiers de l'Action catholique* avril 1944, no. 44, 350

58 Robert Elie, "Espérance pour les vivants," *La Relève* 3e cahier, 3e série, janvier-février 1937, 79

59 Guy Frégault, "Le travail et l'homme," *La Relève*. 3e cahier, 4e série, mars 1938, 76.

60 Terry Copp, *Classe ouvrière et pauvreté. Les conditions de vie des travailleurs montréalais, 1897-1929*. Montréal: Boréal Express, 1978, 40. It should be noted that Paul-André Linteau, *Histoire de Montréal depuis la confédération*. Montréal: Boréal, 1992, has taken Copp's analysis to task for not nuancing the improvements in the standard of living during the first three decades of the century—be it in terms of infant mortality due to better health care; or the virtual universality of electrical lighting, running water, and toilets in the home (374-75)

61 For instance, Denyse Baillargeon has documented how amongst a cross-section of Montréal Francophone working class families: "Parmi les vingt-six salariés, seulement quatre [travailleurs] n'ont subi aucune perte d'emploi, de salaire ou de temps." See Denyse Baillargeon, *Ménagères au temps de la crise* Montréal: Remue-ménage, 1991, 134-35.

62 In contrast, many privileged people who did not lose their jobs or who had other means of income were actually able to profit from economic deflation (Linteau *et al.* Tome II, 1989, 80).

63 R. P. Lorenzo Gauthier, "Le Syndicalisme doit être catholique et national," *Le Devoir*. 7 octobre, 1942, 6. For similar arguments see [Anon.], "M. Duplessis annonce son intention de combattre la C.I.O. dans Québec," *Le Canada*. 26 janv., 1939, 1.

64 Or as Marcel Pepin, a former head of the CNTU, the secularized, more modern version of the CTCC put it: "The paternalism, elitism and cultivated ignorance of social and economic realities, the belief in hierarchical authority and the dependence on pontifical teachings to solve the day to day problems of French-Canadians were reflected in the union's organizational structures and professed objectives. It was logical from this that the CTCC was instrumental in the first provincial electoral

victories of Maurice Duplessis in 1933 and 1936." See Collective, *Quebec Labour*, *op. cit.* 15) In return the Union Nationale's Minister of Labour, Antonio Barette, could say to a gathering of members of the CCTC in 1944 that "Je n'ai pas craint de dire aux ouvriers qu'il est de leur intérêt de devenir membres d'une union." See [Anon.], "Ne démolissons pas la société, améliorons-la." *La Presse* le 20 oct 1944, 3

65 See Alfred Charpentier, *Les Memoires D'Alfred Charpentier . Cinquante ans d'action ouvrière* Québec Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1971, 192-249

66 One of the earliest instances of this was when the CTCC demanded a national unemployment program. See [Anon.], "M. Duplessis promet aux ouvriers de modifier les Bills 19 et 20," *Le Canada* . 2 fév., 1939, 1. It is important to keep in mind, however, that estimates vary greatly as to the effective size and actual influence of the CTCC. See Palmer, *op. cit.* , 224-225; Pépin, *ibid.* , 14-16; and Gérard Dion, "The Trade Union Movement in Québec," *University of Toronto Quarterly* XXVII, 3, April 1958. Though John Porter remarked that "[s]ize [..] is not the measure of the importance of this nationalist group." See *The Vertical Mosaic: An Analysis of Social Class and Power in Canada* . Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965, 331.

67 See Jean-Paul Lefebvre, "Le textile, 1937," in *En Greve* . Montréal: Editions du Jour, 1963, 23-57

68 See Lefebvre, *ibid.* ; and Charles Lipton, *The Trade Union Movement of Canada, 1827-1959* . Toronto: New Canada Press, 1973 [1967], 260. Before the strike, "[h]ours were 60 per week on the night shift and 64 per week on the day shift [....] An agreement concluded later between the company and the union granted wage increases and the 50-hour week, but no effective union recognition." I would also note that it is Gérard Dion's opinion, in his preface to Charpentier's memoirs (*op. cit.* , 13), that "la première manifestation de militantisme syndical qui a contribué à placer la CTCC au rang d'une authentique centrale vouée à la défense des intérêts des travailleurs n'est pas la grève de l'amiante de 1949, si célèbre soit-elle, mais bien celle du textile de 1937".

69 Lipton, *ibid.* , tries to claim that the CPC's no-strike policy was generally respected (see 268), but there is much evidence to the contrary. See Palmer, *op. cit.* , 236-238. While said policy was consistent with the CPC's commitment to the defeat of the Axis powers in Europe, Asia and the colonies, its local effects were in many ways at cross purposes with its commitment to socialism at home. The CPC may have played an important role in helping to pressure the Godbout and King governments to pass important labour reforms, but its calls for class unity and its no-strike pledges were not liked by many working class people. As a result some serious damage was done to the CPC's influence amongst trade unionists since it was now seen by many as not being engaged enough with contesting class exploitation at home. Furthermore, as with the frequent overestimations of the CTCC's influence and strength, "academic literature" often makes the claim for "'communist domination' in the labour movement" in the 1940s (Palmer, *op. cit.* , 246). But Abella and Palmer suggest that it was ideologically a much more divided field. Moreover, said perception, which was widely fostered by anti-communists of most stripes, was strategically useful for "commie bashing" at the expense of working class interests. See Irving Abella, "The CCL, the CCF and the Communist Party 1940-46," *Nationalism, Communism, and Canadian Labour: The CIO, the Communist party, and the Canadian Congress of Labour, 1935-1956* . Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973.

70) One may even read an implicit threat that Canada's "tolerance" of trade-union demands could change.

71 See Catherine Vance, *Not by Gods but by People: The Story of Bella Hall Gauld* Toronto: Progress Books, 1968, 64-65

72 Tim Buck, *Thirty Years 1922-1952* Toronto: Progress Books, 1952, 29

73 See Andrée Lévesque's "Le CCF au Québec," 71-95, in *Virage à Gauche Interdit: Les communistes, les socialistes et leurs ennemis au Québec, 1929-1939* Montréal: Boréal Express, 1984

74 In the mid-1920s there were supposedly eight Communist groups or cells in Québec with a total of approximately one hundred members (Fournier, *op cit*, 14). By 1939 there were about 1,000 members in the Québec wing of the party, but Francophones only accounted for about one fifth (see Fournier, *op cit*, 47)

75 Or as Robert Sweeny has put it "the fact that the only major industrial region in the country where the Communist Party failed to make any headway in the 1930s was Montreal is an indication of the extent to which a deliberately fostered ethnic identification can mitigate class consciousness." See Robert Sweeny, "A Brief Sketch of the Economic History of English Quebec," Caldwell & Waddell, *op cit*, 85.

76 This "subordination of theory to tactics", as Norman Penner has critiqued it, would do much to undermine the credibility and morale of the CPC and of many of its potential cadres. See *The Canadian Left: A Critical Analysis* Scarborough, Ontario: Prentice-Hall, 1977, 120. Regardless, throughout the 1930s Québec's communists had done much to help and organize the poor and unemployed. See Claude Larivière, *Crise économique et contrôle social: le cas de Montréal, 1929-1937* Montréal: Editions coopératives Albert Saint-Martin, 1977; and M. Pelletier and Y. Vaillancourt, *Les Politiques sociales et les travailleurs. Cahier II Les années 30* Montréal: 1975. As Marcel Fournier points out, the press of the day often identified organized actions of the unemployed with the communist movement (155, *op cit*, ednt 12).

Another example of Communist militancy was the Young Communist League of Canada (YCL), whose first objective prior to the Depression was to infiltrate and to undermine youth groups such as the YMCA or the Scouts because of their roles as sites of bourgeois propaganda. It also became known for preaching "free love" and for its unconventional views on the family, such as defending unmarried couples against bureaucratic discrimination (Fournier 67-8, 74). As of 1929 the YCL had no French-Canadian members and only three per cent were Anglo-Saxons. But by the end of the 1930s it had grown to 1,700 members, almost a third of whom were in Montreal, and it had managed to attract a number of young educated French Canadians. See Ivan Avakumovic, *The Communist Party in Canada, A History* Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1975, 23; Fournier 71. When Duplessis came to power and instituted the highly repressive *Loi du Cadenas* at the end of 1937, it was this youth wing of the CPC which was the most militantly and actively opposed to it. With the advent of the war, however, the YCL was weakened by many formerly unemployed militants distancing themselves from the CPC and opting for economic security. Nevertheless, many others would become militants in factories and trade unions.

What is less well known is that between 1932 and 1939 a CPC inspired organization called *la Solidarité féminine*, the Québec equivalent of the CPC's Women's Labour League, represented a significant "'mouvement de femmes'. Organisation constituée uniquement de femmes, la Solidarité féminine entend en effet, tout en participant aux luttes des chômeurs, se préoccuper tout particulièrement de la situation des femmes qui sont habituellement négligées (situation des filles-mères et des mères nécessiteuses) et les amener à s'impliquer directement dans les luttes." (Fournier 68) Nevertheless, as Dorothy Livesay reminisces: "thousands of women

[] were unable to play an active role in politics, often because their political husbands still regarded them as property -- 'I married her to raise my children' [...] In theory, we were free and equal as comrades on the left. In practice, our right hand was tied to the kitchen sink!" See *Right Hand Left Hand . A True Life of the Thirties* . eds. David Aranson & Kim Todd. Erin, Ontario. Porcépic, 1977, 124. The CPC may have fretted during the 1930s at its inability to attract women but it could also be paternalistic in its dismissal of female issues such as family planning or birth control (Avakumovic, *op. cit* , 248). Consequently, with the advent of World War II *la Solidarité féminine* was disbanded because its women's oriented charitable works were presumed to be no longer necessary. The great irony of this decision given that many women were moving into more skilled, industrialized, jobs is that *la Solidarité féminine* could have been renewed and updated as an even more effective vehicle for militant socialist feminist struggles and changes

77 See Lipton, *op. cit.*, "The 'Hungry Thirties', 1929-1939," 254-266; Robert Comeau & Bernard Dionne, "Le Parti Communiste Canadien au Québec Pendant la Seconde Guerre Mondiale, 1939-1945," *Idéologies au Canada Français, 1940-1976 . Tome III* dir. Fernand Dumont *et al* Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1981, 6-8; and Leo Roback, "Quebec Workers in the Twentieth Century," *Lectures in Canadian Labour and Working-Class History* . St. John's, Nfld.: Committee on Canadian Labour History, 1985, 175.

78 I would also suggest that after having been banned by the Federal government in June of 1940, in keeping with the perceived danger of the Hitler-Stalin Pact and as a warning to the Communists to defuse their militant policies, and after the subsequent two years of clandestine life for its party hierarchy, the CPC's commitment to reform politics was not simply the tactical result of its support for the anti-fascist war. Rather, it was also trying to salvage its viability within an increasingly neo-liberal political-economic climate that threatened to, and eventually would, undermine its effectiveness and its appeal.

79 See *The Worker* . January 31, 1931, 6.

80 Penner, *op. cit.*, citing Fred Rose, *The Worker* , January 19, 1935.

81 See endnote 25 of Comeau & Dionne, *op. cit.* , for bibliographical references concerning the CPC and the Québec national question; especially "Bernard Gauvin, 'Le Parti communiste du Canada et la question canadienne-française, 1921-1938', M. A. (Sc. pol), UQAM, 1978, 197 p., pour son analyse minutieuse de la position chauvine des dirigeants du P.C.C. dans la question nationale québécoise." (37)

82 See Lévesque, *op. cit.* , 72, citing Woodsworth's March 28, 1936. Montreal speech, cited in *The New Commonwealth* , April 4, 1936 (Lévesque's translation).

83 See Lévesque, *op. cit.* , 75, referring to *Outline of the Brief to be presented to the Rowell-Sirois Commission* , Fonds CCF, vol. 152.

84 See Comeau, *op. cit.* , 162-63, citing Marie-Louis Beaulieu à Maxime Raymond, Québec, le 4 octobre 1943. Archives Maxime Raymond; and Pierre Elliott Trudeau, *op. cit.* , 66.

85 The first Duplessis administration rapidly shifts from being described as "near-fascist" to having provided "an object lesson in the nature and aims of Fascism." (Ryerson, *op. cit.*, 185)

86 A telling example of the kind of rhetorical slight-of-hand which Ryerson resorts to in his partizan attempt to discredit the social-democratic CCF is when the narrative shifts from accusing the CCF of "anti-Communist hysteria" to an ostensibly anonymous citation by a spokesperson for the CCF: "A thousand times rather a bloc with pro-fascist defeatists, than united action with the Communists and the left wing of labor (216-17)". Upon closer scrutiny of the text and the sources, it is apparent that rather than citing anyone we have been presented with an imagined discourse, with what, according to a Communist sensibility, CCF politics in Québec amounts to in "practice (217)".

87 See Paul-André Comeau, *op. cit.*, especially 105 108 & 118 120

88 This was not peculiar to Québec. "Le Canada devient ainsi de plus en plus une succursale économique des États-Unis, leur fournissant des matières premières et achetant des produits conçus à l'étranger et assembles en partie au Canada avec une technologie étrangère et des capitaux étrangers." (Linteau *et al* Tome I, 381)

89 See Popovic, *op. cit.*, "Le duplessisme", 117-145. I am not reneging on my agreement with Popovic's readings of the contradictory bi polarities of Duplessis's rhetoric and economic policies. Rather, I am referring to his intention to maintain the class status quo.

90 Though it should also be remembered that in 1944 the UN slipped into power with only 38.2% of the popular vote and with only 48 of 91 seats, a sign, perhaps, of the extent to which Duplessis's classism did not sit well with the majority of the urbanized, proletarianized, working classes.

91 See [Anon.], "Les souhaits de M. Duplessis," *Le Devoir*. 3 janvier, 1939, 10 The immediate, most important, religious source of this discourse was the Catholic Church's *Quadragesimo Anno* encyclical of 1933 For some similar, contemporary, naturalizations of classism see: M. J.-A. Bradette, "Le communisme est l'ennemi de la liberté et de la religion," *Le Canada*. le 28 janv., 1939, 1; [Anon.], "Québec demande à Ottawa de l'aider à combattre le communisme," *La Presse*. 1 mars, 1939, 20 1, [Anon.], "La Page Feminine , La diversité des conditions sociales," *Le Devoir* 19 avril, 1939, 5; and [Editorial], "Doctrine Inadmissible," *La Presse* 19 avril, 1939, 6.

92 See the electoral campaign advertisement, "Femmes Du Québec .," *Le Devoir* 7 août, 1944, 6.

93 For one of the best analyses to date of this vituperative discourse, see Popovic, *op. cit.*, "Le duplessisme," 117-39.

94 I should mention that I don't consider this contradiction to represent "false consciousness" -- the popular, bastardized term for Marx's negative conception of bourgeois ideology's creation of a double inversion in consciousness and reality of the working classes. Rather, I prefer Lukács's characterization of this phenomenon as bourgeois ideology dominating and contaminating the psychological consciousness of the proletariat; or Gramsci's concept that a hegemonic ideology is more than a system of ideas -- it depends upon its ability to inspire attitudes and their related actions. See Georg Lukács, *History and Class Consciousness*. London: Merlin, 1971; and Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. ed. Quentin Hoare & Geoffrey Nowell Smith. London: Lawrence & Wishart. 1971.

95 Said trade unions trumpeted gains of "100,000 new members in the industries of Quebec," and of "wage increases of from 25% to 50% in some industries where, for the first time, wages were equalized with those of Ontario", as signs of the advantages to be won and defended by voting for a liberal or left candidate. See the advertisement: "A Call To Organized Labor," *The Montreal Daily Star* August 7, 1944, 19.

Duplessis would characterize this strategy of the left as follows: "Je n'accuse pas les libéraux d'être communistes [] mais ce qui me paraît étrange, c'est que tous les communistes demandent de voter pour les libéraux. Je défie mes adversaires de citer un seul cas où un communiste a recommandé à ses amis de voter pour l'Union Nationale. Tout ce qui est rouge est dangereux [...] Pensez-y bien le jour du vote avant de voter rouge." Cited by Bernard Saint-Aubin, *Duplessis et son époque*. Montréal: Éditions La Presse, 1979, 256, and in Popovic, *op. cit.*, 134-135.

96 Macdonell's speech is yet another example of the common English-Canadian version of corporatist ideology. See [Anon. Special to The Gazette], "Fear Propaganda Charged To C C F.," *The Montreal Gazette*. August 1, 1944, 9.

97 See [Editorial], "Deluding The People," *The Montreal Daily Star*. August 1, 1944, 10.

98 See Omer Heroux, "Nous Devons être capables de dépasser la loi de la jungle," *Le Devoir* 4 août, 1944, 1.

99 [Editorial], "Mr. Facing Both-Ways," *The Montreal Daily Star*. August 1, 1944, 10.

100 The frequent claims in 1944 and 1945 by trade union, Labour Progressive Party, and *Bloc Populaire Canadien* representatives that salaries were consistently higher in Ontario than in Québec, and its denial by liberals and conservatives in governments and in the press, is another case in point as to the political-economic elites' exploitative attitudes and policies towards Québec's labouring classes. For instance, *Le Montréal Matin* critiqued a "Mme. Georges Garneau of Montreal" for "a grave error in judgment" in her characterizing such salary differences "as a cause of national disunity" to the University Women's Club of Toronto. While there was some truth to the newspaper's argument that "one often forgets that the Province of Ontario is situated close to the heavily industrialized regions of the United States (Detroit and Buffalo for example) and that this permits [...] the development of the automobile industry and other heavy metal industries", which in turn permitted high wages, it was quite fallacious to claim that the workers in heavy industries in Ontario suffered from "regular periods of inactivity" while "[w]ork in Quebec is more regular". Much of Québec, like much of the rest of Canada, was extremely dependent upon irregular, seasonal, work. Moreover, *Le Montréal Matin*, like many other institutional and business defenders of the socio-economic status quo, did not acknowledge that the critics of wage differentials rarely compared similar industries ([Anon.] "Mme. Garneau's Speech," cited and translated in "The French Press," *The Montreal Gazette*. Jan. 5, 1945, 8). A few weeks later *The Gazette*'s editorial page praised Premier Duplessis's refusal of the demand by the president of the CTCC to legislate higher wage rates so as to be on a par with Ontario rates. *The Gazette* did not make the mistake of comparing different industries, but it only implicitly acknowledged that wage rates had risen in recent years due to the necessities of war production, and it totally avoided the fact that most substantial pay increases had been hard won as a result of trade union struggles. Moreover, its defense of lower wages in Québec as "guarding against Quebec industries being put at a competitive disadvantage [...] and against discouraging new industries

from locating" in Quebec flew in the face of its main claim that "average earnings were less only in proportion that [Québec workers] output and skill were less" (See [Editorial], "Duplessis Careful On Quebec Wages." *The Montreal Gazette* Jan 29, 1945, 8).

101 See Omer Heroux, "Il y a quelque chose de pourri dans le royaume de Danemark," *Le Devoir* . 3 août, 1944, 1

102 See Omer Heroux, "Nous devons être capables de dépasser la loi de la jungle," *Le Devoir* . 4 août, 1944, 1.

103 See [Editorial], "Strike Hurts The Little Fellow," *The Montreal Gazette* August 9, 1944, 6.

104 Two related Francophone inter-election articles of note are the editorial, "L'Initiative privée facteur essentiel," *La Presse*. 28 oct. 1944, 22, counselling a supposedly "classless" system of "concertation" in which government should "limiter sa fonction à faire marcher les affaires dans l'intérêt de tous"; and [Anon.], "Danger d'un nouveau gouvernement d'union," *La Presse* . 20 nov. 1944, 11 & 13, in which the honourable Ernest Bertrand is cited as warning French-Canadians against the CCF holding the balance of or taking power because it is a: "parti politique né dans les provinces de l'ouest et composé de gens venus de l'étranger, n'ayant pas notre mentalité et étant socialistes."

105 See [Editorial], "People of Moderate Means in War," *The Gazette* Jan 13, 1945, 8.

106 See Mackenzie King, *Industry and Humanity* . Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1918

107 Richer, *op. cit.* , citing Mackenzie King's speech to the 1942 American Federation of Labour Conference in Toronto.

108 See [Liberal Party Ad.], *Le Devoir* . 9 juin, 1945, 9.

109 See *La Presse* . 1 juin, 1945, 24. Of course, this facet of the Liberal's electoral campaign was an enormous challenge and feat given the discontentment of most French Canadians concerning King's handling of the conscription issue.

110 See, for example, the Progressive Conservative electoral advertisement "Security and Opportunity For Women," *The Montreal Gazette* . May 28, 1945, 2; and the Gazette's Editorial of the same day, entitled "Carry War's Loyalties Into Peace," May 28, 1945, 8.

111 See [Editorial], "A Long Hard Road," *The Montreal Gazette* . June 13, 1945, 8.

112 It is also interesting to note the British bias of the democratic benchmarks which the *Gazette* invokes. See E. P. Thompson's *The Making of the English Working Class* . London: Penguin Books, 1979, for a materialist, historical, understanding of the "steady progress" of democracy.

113 See [Liberal Party Advertisement], *La Presse* , 1 juin, 1945, *op. cit.* .

114 See the LPP advertisement: "For Jobs -- Security and Lasting Peace," *The Montreal Star* . June 9, 1945, 15.

115 Hugh MacLennan put the LPP's and the CCF's electoral chances this way. "The parties of the left have had so little parliamentary experience that the public is at present probably as leery of giving them power as they are of accepting it." See "Comment on Election," *Masses* . no 3, May 1945, 4. Patrick Anderson's anonymous editorial in the same issue, "Art, Science and the Elections," charged MacLennan with being too pessimistic. It is also quite indicative of some of the romantic illusionism of the contemporary left regarding its federal electoral chances.

116 See the Public Informational Association's advertisement, "3 Things For Voters To Remember," *The Montreal Gazette* . May 28, 1945, 6.

117 See the Stevenson & Scott advertisement, "'Tell Me! What Does Free Enterprise Mean?" *The Montreal Gazette* May 28, 1945, 7. For similar examples of this discourse in the *The Montreal Gazette* in the months before the 1945 election, see [Editorial], "Union Labor on the Farm," Jan. 9, 1945, 8; [Editorial], "How Free Should Enterprise Be?" Feb. 2, 1945, 8; the Bank of Nova Scotia's advertisement "Free Enterprise Made Canada's Mines," Feb. 13, 1945, 9; and Merel Sidner's prize-winning Forbes' contest essay, "What Is Free Enterprise?" March 2, 1945, 8. A typical Francophone example is the editorial "On ne peut servir deux maîtres," *La Presse* . 15 fév. 1945, 4.

118 For instance, see Guy S. Cunliffe's positive book review, "Blast At Cartels", *The Montreal Gazette* . March 3, 1945, 9, of Wendell Berge's *Cartels : Challenge to a Free World* . Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1944. A month before in the *Gazette* , Feb. 2, 1945, 8, an editorial borrowed from the Winnipeg Free Press, "C.C.F. and Profits," essentially attacked said political movement by denying the existence of trusts and cartels. In marked contrast, see the syndicated *Li'l Abner* cartoon strip during January and February of 1945 in which the three "most *Highly Respected* gasoline magnates in the World" are characterized as being prepared to resort to cold-blooded murder "to protect our [their] interests". For the cited phrases see *Li'l Abner* , *The Montreal Gazette* . Feb. 2, 1945, 11.

119 See also [Anon.], "La menace communiste extrêmement grave," *Le Devoir* . 4 jan., 1945, 3. For a less conventional attempt to reconcile material and spiritual needs from a Catholic perspective see [Anon.], "Catholicisme et communisme," *Le Devoir* . le 3 fév. 1945, 8: "Le communisme n'est pas faux selon tout lui-même. Le mal absolu n'existe pas. Toute erreur contient une part de vérité."

120 Yet as Marcel Rioux, *op. cit* ., 1990 points out however, "[a]ssez curieusement, c'est au moment où l'idéologie traditionnelle est la plus systématisée et la mieux exposée, par exemple, dans *Le citoyen canadien-français* d'Esdras Minville, [...] qu'elle est la plus éloignée de la réalité vécue et qu'elle devra subir les assauts d'une partie importante de l'intelligentsia québécoise." (45)

A general observation by G. A. Cohen is also pertinent to understanding the class politics of said historical moment: "Class insurgency is more likely to achieve its object when the object has a functional value, a fact which bears on the undialectical question whether it was a systemic need, or, on the supposed contrary, militant struggle, which accounted for the coming of welfare capitalism. A reform essential to capital's survival can also qualify as a 'victory of the political economy of labour over the political economy of property'. There is victory when capitalism is able to sustain itself only under the modification the reform imposes on it." *Karl Marx's Theory of History: A Defence* . Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978 [1980], 298-96.

121 According to Chantal Hébert in *Le Burlesque québécois et américain*. Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1989. "[d]e 1930 à 1950, c'est l'âge d'or" of the burlesque in Québec. More specifically, she characterizes "les années comprises entre 1920 et 1945 [...] comme les plus représentatives des périodes d'implantation, de consolidation et d'expansion de ce genre de théâtre. C'est à ce moment là que le burlesque a connu sa plus grande popularité." (3)

122 Though I cannot afford to address their works here, it should also be noted that urban, class critiques, especially during the Depression, were evident in songs by popular performing and recording artists such as the famous "la Bolduc", Ovide L'Égare and Paul Hébert: "Pendant qu'les riches dépensent / Nous autres on crève de faim" (from "Y'a pas d'ouvrage", Auteur-Interprète. Paul Hébert, VIC 5132, 2 faces, 78 t. / m.. The complete lyrics cited in Chantal Hébert's *Le burlesque au Québec, un divertissement populaire*. Preface d'Yvon Deschamps. Montréal: Hurtubise HMH, (Collection <<Cahiers du Québec>>), 1981, 289-90. See also Gilles Potvin, Helmut Kallmann & Kenneth Winters. *Encyclopédie de la musique au Canada*. Montréal: Fides, 1983, for more information on these and other popular singers and recording artists. For relevant radio material, including scripts, see Pierre Page et al. *Repertoire des œuvres de la littérature radiophonique québécoise, 1930-1970*. Montréal: Fides (Archives Québécoises de la radio et de la télévision); Pierre Page, *Le Comique et l'humour à la radio québécoise. Aperçus historiques et textes choisis, 1930-1970, vol. I*. Montréal: Fides, 1976; and Renée Legris et al., *Propagande de guerre et nationalismes dans le radio-feuilleton, 1939-1955*. Montréal: Fides, 1981.

123 These local products, as Chantal Hébert has discovered, were dominated by "demande en mariage" plots. A typical matinée or evening at the height of burlesque's popularity in the 1930s consisted of films, musical entertainments, "lignes des danseuses", variety numbers, a major piece of comedy, and several short ad libbed comic numbers.

124 See Philippe Laframboise. *La Poutine*. Montréal: Éditions Héritage, 1978, 95.

125 Interestingly, as Chantal Hébert observes, "[n]ous n'avons pas retrouvé de condamnation spécifique de la part du clergé à l'endroit du burlesque" (1981, 97, ednt. 3). However, it is clear that the many condemnations of dance, cinema and theatre by the clergy included the burlesque as an *unsaid*. See also Hébert, *op. cit.*, 1981, 101, ednt. 49 for definitions of "sex shows"; as well as Jean Laflamme & Rémi Tourangeau. *L'église et le théâtre au Québec*. Montréal: Fides, 1979.

126 André Belleau has argued that: "On est dans le carnaval ou il n'y a pas de carnaval. Si bien que les textes rabelaisiens sont exempts de satire. Même dans les épisodes qui semblent les plus satiriques, Rabelais n'isole jamais quelqu'un pour s'en moquer. [Plutôt,] participation à l'hilarité générale témoigne de la dimension carnavalesque du texte." See *Notre Rabelais*. Montréal: Boréal, 1990, 32. This argument strikes me as too narrow a definition of satire and implicitly misrepresents Rabelais's rather satiric portrayal of a character like Tappecoue. See Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*. Trans. Helen Iswolsky. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT, 1968, 267.

127 "Tizoune C'est Le Coq", a comedy in one act, was created by Damase Dubuisson and according to Chantal Hébert first played at the *Monument National* in January 1930. See Hébert, *op. cit.*, 1981, Appendix D, 232-47, for the full script.

128 This is strongly reinforced by the class resistive asides by Juliette and Tizoune, as when Juliette mutters "Laisse faire toé, tu vas me payer ça" in response to one of Fatty's advances (Hébert, *op. cit.*, 1981, 236).

129 See "Tizoune est flirt" in Hébert, *op cit.*, 1989, 277-92, for an even more sexist, though less class conscious, portrayal of Tizoune's sexual prowess and cuckoldry of "les bourgeois"

130 My appropriation of Monière is not meant to imply that French-Canadians could have successfully willed themselves into a stronger, more aggressive, socio-economic position, or that all petty-bourgeois types had exactly the same interests or attitudes. but that the former possibility was certainly inhibited by most petty-bourgeois' conservative material interests and their class conscious ideological consequences. See Esdras Minville's *La force conquérante de la coopération*. Le Conseil Supérieur de la Coopération, Congrès, 1943; and *Le Citoyen canadien-français*, *op. cit.*, 107-129, for interesting analyses of the socio-economic contradictions of a movement like "achat chez nous" and the supposedly comparative superiority of corporatism.

What may have been most needed to develop and ensure the survival of Québec as a nation was a stronger Francophone bourgeoisie (see Monière, *op. cit.*, 1977, 267-69). In some ways, the statist Liberal party project of the Lesage years, which was continued by successive Union Nationale and Parti Québécois governments, is a case in point. It can also be argued that such state driven *ratrappage* was ultimately possible because of the very socio-economic decline of the Anglophone elite in Quebec and the consequent rise of the Francophone business and professional classes.

131 This socio-political position can be related to Maurice Séguin's neo-nationalist interpretation of the decapitation of New France's elite and Québec's consequent economic inferiority as a result of the conquest of 1760. See "La Conquête et la vie économique des Canadiens," *L'Action nationale*. 1946, reprinted in R. Comeau, ed., *Économie québécoise*. Montréal: Presses de l'Université de Québec, 1969, 345-61. As is well known, this position would come to be identified with the "Montreal School" of historians which included Guy Frégault and Michel Brunet.

132 When Berthier is asked how to "le déraciner" he replies: "[p]ar le retour au simple. Une simplicité franche de vie et de pensée." (129) Of course this discourse was also perfectly consistent with contemporary ideology about *colonisation* as the best socio-economic solution to Québec's problems and with the growing tendency to view French-Canadians as a historically homogeneous *classe-ethnie*.

133 After all, in the historical moment of the novel's production only 31% of the population of Québec had more than seven years of scholarship and of these only 4.4% had more than twelve. My source is the *Recensement fédéral du gouvernement canadien*, 1941. The gravity of this situation becomes that much more horrific when we consider that the cited figures are for the overall population. This means that disadvantaged people would obviously have made up huge percentages of those with less scholarship and that those with more would have come almost exclusively from the privileged classes.

At one point in the novel, Père Berthier counsels Pierre as to the merits of Jean Narrache's poetic renditions of the urban "tristesses du peuple," but only insofar as they inspire "tant de pitié." (28) There is no mention made of such pity leading to social action, but at the level of the narrative's structure it does immediately slide into a highly poetic, compact, motif about Montréal and Westmount as foreboding, alien, places (28-9).

134 Ironically, just a few years later, Hertel would feel "suffocated by religious orthodoxy, cultural stagnation, and the social and political conservatism then prevalent in Québec" and leave Montréal for Paris in 1947. See Richard Giguère, "François Hertel (Rodolphe Dubé)," *The Dictionary of Literary Biography*. Vol. 68. Canadian

Writers, 1920-1959 First Series ed W H New Detroit Gale Research Co., 1988. See also Jean Tetreau, *Hertel L'Homme et l'œuvre* Montreal Tisseyere, 1986.

135 André Belleau, on the contrary, refers to *Ils posséderont la terre* as "staccato par thèmes courts, secs, dépourvus d'harmoniques. Rien n'est développé [Et] le signifiant ne se met pas à parler comme Joyce pour autant ." (see *Le Romancier fictif Essai sur la représentation de l'écrivain dans le roman québécois* Sillery, Québec Les Presses de l'Université du Québec, 1980, 84).

136 Roland Barthes, *S/Z* New York: The Noonday Press, 1974, 5

137 The one major exception is Madame Genier whom, we learn, has had an abortion which has adversely affected her health.

138 From the time Charbonneau commenced writing *Ils posséderont la terre* in 1936 to the time he completed it in 1941 he lived and worked as a middle class journalist for *La Patrie*, *Le Droit*, and *Le Canada*.

139 Raymond Williams, *The Country and The City* New York: Oxford University Press, 1973, 117.

140 See Robert Charbonneau, *Connaissance de personnage* Montreal Editions de l'Arbre, 1944 [première partie].

141 For instance, see Eli Mandel's "Introduction," *Earth and High Heaven* Toronto. McClelland & Stewart, 1967 [1960]; or Marilyn Rose's, "Gwethalyn Graham," *The Oxford Companion to Canadian Literature*. ed. William Toye Toronto. Oxford University Press, 1983, 314-15. Though to her credit, Rose refers to the "upper class anti-Semitism" of the Drake family.

142 The character of "le Survenant" can be read as a similar example of this phenomenon, though his vagabondage is presumably a matter of choice, of alienation from his class position, as opposed to a result of market forces.

143 This statement should not be read as a denial of the actual historical dangers of secretive abortions for all women, but as making a distinction between women who could afford to pay for "medical" treatment and those whose class positions put them at the mercy of unsanitary conditions and "butchers". Nor should it be read as expressing a naïve faith in the skill or goodwill of licenced medical doctors.

144 One could argue that this analogically prepares us for his later conversion from his ethnic chauvinism (247).

145 This binary, essentialist, opposition between Anglophones' business savvy and French-Canadians' lack of it is also evident in Captain Yardley's success as a gentleman farmer and a neighboring French-Canadian subsistence farmer's absolute distrust of banks (see 96).

146 Or as another hybrid narrative passage on Athanase's thoughts about the English puts it: "Dollars grew on them like barnacles, and their instinct for money was a trait no French-Canadian seemed able to acquire."(17)

147 Another part of this ideologeme of the incontrovertible otherness of these "separate" groups, revolves around "Father Emile Beaubien". He is introduced at the beginning of the narrative proper and is one of the crucial signs of the pseudoidea of French-Canadians as a rather feudal, Church dominated, people. This is strikingly symbolized by Beaubien having engineered the building in his small village of a new church which "was larger even than the largest Protestant church in Montreal where millionaires were among the parishoners."⁽⁵⁾ Variations on the related *protonarrative* pit Beaubien and his religious flock against Athanase Tallard's individualism, a proposed Anglo financed power dam, Marius's conscription, and Athanase's and Paul's conversion to Protestantism. Such scenarios were consistent with much of Québec's clerico-nationalist culture prior to WW II, but they assume an overtotalizing homogeneity. The major exception is that Athanase's family is said to be respected by the villagers for its place "in the outside world", its lack of "prolific[ness]," and even its "anti-clericalism"⁽⁷⁻⁸⁾ is supposedly tolerated. But Athanase's failure to moderate between his people and English-Canadians during the conscription crisis, his lack of business acumen, and his re-conversion back to Catholicism on his death-bed -- like Marius's Catholic, quasi-fascistic, nationalism -- reinforce the Anglophone fantasy of French-Canadians as a homogenous collectivity that is not willing or able to change. This ideologeme was being radically challenged by the end of World War II but, unlike Gabrielle Roy's *Bonheur d'occasion* or Germaine Guèvremont's *Le Survenant*, one would never know it from reading *Two Solitudes*.

148 John Yardley sympathizes with the sentiment but he admits he can't identify with it: "Guess I'd feel the same way if I was you. Only I'm not, so I don't." (64)

149 I am thinking of novels like Roger Viau's *Au Milieu, la Montagne*. Montréal: Beauchemin, 1951; Jean-Jules Richard's *Le feu dans l'amiante*. Montréal: Réédition-Québec, 1971 [1956]; and Pierre Gélinas's *Les Vivants, les morts et les autres*. Montréal: Cercle du livre de France, 1959.

150 It is interesting to contrast the relative antisepticness and euphemisms of MacLennan's rendition of the city center "side street" where Paul and his mother live after the death of Athanase Tallard (247-48) with the more naturalistic, more ghetto-like, St. Lawrence-St. George district of an anonymous social worker's prose piece "The Heart of a City," in *En Masse*. March 1945, 2-5

151 See Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. London: Allen & Unwin, 1976 [1904].

152 Jean-Charles Falardeau, *Imaginaire social et littérature*. Montréal: Hurtubise HMH, 1974, 39-40.

153 Denis Monière, *op. cit.*, 1977, 311.

154 Claude Racine, *L'anticléricisme dans le roman québécois, 1940-1965*. Montréal: Hurtubise (Les Cahiers du Québec), 1972, 103.

155 See Marc Gagné, *Visages de Gabrielle Roy*. Montréal: Beauchemin, 1973. See also Albert Le Grand, "Gabrielle Roy ou l'être partagé," *Études françaises*. I, no. 2, juin 1965; André Brochu, "Thèmes et structures de *Bonheur d'occasion*," *Écrits du Canada français*. XXII, 1966; Ben-Zion Shek, *Social Realism in the French-Canadian Novel*. Montréal: Harvest House, 1977; Shek, "De quelques influences possibles sur la vision du monde de Gabrielle Roy: George Wilkison et Henri Girard," *Voix & Images*. 42, printemps 1989; Anthony Purdy, "On the Outside Looking In: The Political Economy of

Everyday Life in Gabrielle Roy's *Bonheur d'occasion*," *A Certain Difficulty of Being: Essays on the Quebec Novel*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990; and Roxanne Rimstead, "Visits and Homecomings: Notes Toward Discovering the Psycho-Social Place(s) of Poverty," *Textual Studies in Canada* 5. "The Aux Canadas Issue: Reading, Writing, and Translation," 1994; for a variety of readings of *Bonheur d'occasion's* classed contestatory potential.

156 See Marie-José des Rivières, "Une analyse idéologique de *Bonheur d'occasion*," *Littérature et Idéologies: la dynamique des fictions*. Québec: Université Laval, novembre 1978, 73-87.

157 See Albert Le Grand, "Gabrielle Roy ou l'Être partagé," *Études françaises*, I, 2, juin 1965, 39-65. Georges-André Vachon echoes this reading, seeing Roy's first two novels as being fundamentally social and *la Montagne secrète* as the description of a purely religious experience. See "l'Espace politique et social dans le roman québécois," *Recherches sociographiques*, VII, 3, septembre-décembre 1966, 259-79.

158 The only other similar example is Léon Boisvert. For instance, his fear of conscription is at first linked to cowardice, and then to his fear of losing "son petit emploi, cette première bonne fortune qu'il avait cherchée avec un réel courage pendant des années" (216) with its chances for his personal advancement. In fact, the emphasis upon his and Lévesque's personal profiteering in contrast with soldiers who run the greater risks (see 339) is indicative of *Bonheur d'occasion's* emphasis upon class, as opposed to ethnic, tensions as explaining resistance to military service. Or as Boisvert explains his resentment at being expected to join the armed forces to Emmanuel: "Toi, dit-il, t'as eu de la chance. Si tu veux faire le héros, c'est ton affaire. Chacun sa business. Mais, nous autres, qu'est-ce qu'on a eu de la société? Regarde-moi, regarde Alphonse. Qu'est-ce qu'a nous a donné à nous autres, la société? Rien. . . . Trouves-tu ça beau, toi? Moi, je trouve ça laite, ben laite (50)."

159 As Ben-Zion Shek has remarked two explicit references to class exploitation were deleted between the first and second editions of the novel (see 1977, 82-3); while Shek's more recent article, "De quelques influences [...]" (1989), does more to historicize two of the more personal radical and idealist, socialist and aesthetic, influences upon Roy on the eve and at the beginning of the war.

160 Patricia Smart's feminist reading convincingly situates the primary social conflict of the narrative between "la Mère symbolique qui tient toute la structure en place" (209) and "le visage du Père caché, masqué par l'imposant édifice capitaliste" (see *Écrire dans la maison du père: L'émergence du féminin dans la tradition littéraire du Québec*. Montréal: Québec/Amérique, 1988, 233). My focus upon the class idealism of the text -- which, I might add, is almost exclusively male-identified -- is in no way meant to detract from the contemporary radicalness of its portrayal of the oppression of women and their sex-gendered forms of resistance.

161 See Carole Melançon, "Évolution de la réception de *Bonheur d'occasion* de 1945 à 1983 au Canada français," *Études littéraires*, XVIII, 3, hiver 1984, 461. See also her *Bibliographie descriptive et critique de la réception canadienne de Bonheur d'occasion (1945-1983)*, Mémoire de maîtrise, Université de Sherbrooke, 1984.

162 As Rose-Anna and the *histoire* recall the death of her son Daniel:

Il ne souffre plus, dit Rose-Anna simplement.

Mais elle se reprochait ce rappel de l'enfant qui venait de mourir. Azarius, il n'était pas allé comme elle au fond de la douleur pour comprendre que la mort et

la naissance y ont presque le même sens tragique [...] Daniel lui paraissait échappé au sort humain, échappé à cette part de malheur qu'elle lui avait léguée (330-31).

163 Of course, it was also common practice for female workers who were living at home to hand over all if not most of their pay cheque to the patriarchs of the family.

164 As Shek reminds us, said idealism may also be consistent with Henri Girard's influence upon Roy: Girard: "Je n'entends pas que l'art se mêle des choses de la politique" (Shek, *op. cit.*, 1989, 450). It is certainly consistent, as Antoine Sirois remarks, with the fact that Roy "rejette la violence et refuse de s'embrigader dans un mouvement". See "*Bonheur d'occasion*," *Dictionnaire des œuvres littéraires du Québec*, III, 1940 à 1959. dir. Maurice Lemire. Montréal: Fides, 1982, 132.

165 For a contrary example see the prominence of the trade-union struggle dramatized in Lemelin's *Les Plouffe*. Montréal: La Presse, 1973 [1948], especially pages 224-233. The references in *Les Plouffe* to a Dominion Textile strike, presumably of 1937, as an inspiration for the novel's typographers' strike against a Church run press are, in a small way, indicative of the larger social importance and popularity of such working class struggles during said historical moment.

I would also add that Ben-Zion Shek seems to find Lemelin's satiric critique of the *ancien régime* as embodied by the Church as being less contradictory than I do (see Shek, *op. cit.*, 1977, 122-23, 152). However, this seeming critical difference is little difference at all insofar as we agree that "Lemelin [...] prefers social satire to social criticism" (154).

166 See Jean-Charles Falardeau, "Parlant de la ville," [Préface]. Roger Lemelin, *Au Pied de la pente douce*. Montréal: La Presse (Collection Nos Classiques), 1975 [1944], 17.

167 See Belleau, *op. cit.*, 84-85, for some pithy observations on Charbonneau's narrative strategies in said novel.

168 Though there are a number of sketches and biographical prose pieces in *Preview* by Anderson, other than those which I've already mentioned, which address issues of class and class types, they are so limited in scope and interest that they hardly warrant more than the following bibliographical acknowledgements: "The Americans," no. 15, Aug. 1943, 7-11; "Danny - Nova Scotia," no. 16, Oct. 1943, 1-7; "Portrait of a Marine," no. 23, May 1945, 7-9. For a greater sense of Anderson's wartime socialistic perspectives see his editing of and contributions to the four issues of the little magazine *En Masse*, published by the Cultural Committee of the St. Lawrence-St. George Club of the Labor-Progressive Party, in 1945. See the National Archives, MS collection MG, 30 D 177, File Dossier *En Masse*.

169 For obvious methodological reasons, unlike André Belleau I do not look at the progression of the figure of Denis Boucher in Lemelin's first three novels from his ambitions as a struggling writer to a failed one. However, I do find that Belleau's analyses of Denis, and especially of the semes of energy, power, and modern individuality associated with the act of writing fiction in *Au Pied*, are consistent with my reading of the bourgeois cultural work of *Au Pied*'s signs of writing. That Denis is less and less of a writer and more and more of an actor (in the sense of active: "comme si AGIR et ÉCRIRE s'avéraient antinomiques" (Belleau 1980, 63)) in the course of the subsequent novels is perfectly consistent with Lemelin's and other contemporary writers' transition from an idealistic bourgeois euphoria about literature's personal

and social potential during the war and the more sober reality of the post-war period when other kinds of more "practical", non-literary, actions (i.e. in business, medicine, science) would more likely lead to bourgeois success.

170 For instance, as Elspeth Cameron notes, as of the publication of *Barometer Rising* "MacLennan was *primarily* concerned with 'marketing' his work 'for an American public (see Elspeth Cameron, "Will the Real Hugh MacLennan Please Stand Up: A Reassessment," *Hugh MacLennan*. ed. Frank M. Tierney. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1994, 26)." She cites from MacLennan's letter to George Barrett, Oct. 20, 1941.

171 This reading would seem to be borne out by Denis's appearances as a strident, aspiring, failure in Lemelin's subsequent novels.

172 From another biographical perspective Paul's class heterogeneity and anti-class conscious heroism and aesthetic obviously fit well with the now conventional reading of MacLennan as a "Red Tory" (Cameron, *op. cit.*, 30). But they also whittle away at the historical time frame of that other convention of MacLennan's "left-wing sympathies" (Cameron 30) lasting until the early 1950s. Accordingly, I do not read the anti-Welfare State and anti-revolutionary discourses of the likes of MacLennan's 1969 essay, "Reflections on Two Decades," as the subject-position of an older man's more conservative hindsight, but as a testimony, as he puts it, to "what has always worried me: the disastrous rise in the price of personal freedom," to his having long believed that "[a] genuine revolution [...] happens by some mysterious alchemy." See *The Other Side of Hugh MacLennan: Selected Essays Old and New*. ed. Elspeth Cameron. Toronto: Macmillan, 1978, 248 & 253.

173 See "The Dodo and the Cruising Auk: Class in Canadian Literature," *Canadian Criticism*. ed. Eli Mandel. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press (Patterns of Literary Criticism), 1971, 217; originally published in *Canadian Literature*. 18, Autumn 1963.

174 As much as McDougall chastizes MacLennan, Callaghan, F. R. Scott, Robertson Davies *et al.* for their lack of attention to class, his critique should not be taken as a call for more class conscious Canadian literature. Instead, he argues "[i]t is [...] turbulence that is needed -- the kind of turbulence that encompasses the whole of the social mosaic and in the end makes possible within it that freedom of choice and of movement for the individual which, from a secular point of view, is the best means open to us of enabling him to realize the creative potential within him (230)." Ironically, at least the way I understand the latter credo, it is little different from MacLennan's aesthetic or its embodiment by Paul Tallard.

175 See Patrick Anderson's "The Problem of the Middle-Class Intellectual," *En Masse*. March 1945, 7-8, for an interesting, though too facile, leftist-oriented critique of contemporary artistic intellectuals potentially "reactionary" "romantic retreat to subjectivity" and "Utopian dreams".

* * * * *

CONCLUSION - ENDNOTES

1 I would add that there are female-female-male triangles in *La Fin de la joie* by Jacqueline Mabit, but they do not predominate.

2 It might even be said that there was an earlier *littératureologie* of such homosexually panicked fictions in English-Canada, especially in the 1920s. See Fredrick Philip Grove's *Settlers of the Marsh* ; or Morley Callaghan's *Strange Fugitive* and many of his stories.

3 See Derek Sanderson's *Dark Passions Subdue* ; Mordecai Richler's *A Choice of Enemies* ; or Hugh MacLennan's *The Watch That Ends The Night* for diverse examples of homosexually panicked English-Canadian fiction set in Québec.

4 The one text I would leave out of this paradigm is Hébert's "Le Torrent," which is so non-referential in terms of class that little more can be said of it other than remarking that the site of the *collège* signifies potential class betterment via education.

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Appendix 1

(La Presse . 14 oct 1944. [Week-End Magazine], 24. "EFs" 59-61)



Pas de vente, Madame!



Appendix 2
 (Auger & Lamothe, *op. cit.*, 21; "GFs" 158-59)



Portez votre insigne
 de Commandant.
 Ce symbole atteste
 que vous avez accompli
 votre obligation
 de la Victoire.

N AYONS pas peur des mots. Pour l'ennemi le mal est un élément de la guerre totale comme le massacre des civils et l'anéantissement des villes ouvertes. En Pologne la Gestapo enlève les jeunes filles de la rue, les arrache au toit paternel et les expédie au front pour les jeter à la soldatesque allemande. Cela vous donne la nausée? Oui, sans doute, et votre sang coule plus vite dans vos veines. Car ces femmes et ces enfants, ce pourraient être vos femmes et vos enfants. L'ennemi n'épargne rien. Craquez bien cette pensée dans votre esprit. Nous sommes engagés dans un combat sans pitié. Sont nous sortirez vaincus si nous manquons de

courage et vainqueurs si nous y mettons le prix. Le prix de la victoire? C'est le sacrifice suprême de nos soldats, l'esprit de renoncement des civils, la mobilisation de tout ce que nous possédons d'énergie et de richesse. Mais le coût de la défaite, songez-y bien, vous le paierez jusqu'à la fin de vos jours.
 Les Obligations de la Victoire, tout comme vos billets de banque sont garanties par les richesses et le crédit du Canada. Or rien ne vaut la signature du Pays au bas d'une reconnaissance de dette. Les Obligations de la Victoire rapportent de bons intérêts et, en cas de besoin, elles se négocient le plus facilement du monde.

LE CANADA A BESOIN DE
 \$750,000,000

MODE D'ACHAT

Les Obligations de la Victoire sont garanties par les richesses et le crédit du Canada. Elles se négocient le plus facilement du monde.

Les Obligations de la Victoire sont garanties par les richesses et le crédit du Canada. Elles se négocient le plus facilement du monde.

Les Obligations de la Victoire sont garanties par les richesses et le crédit du Canada. Elles se négocient le plus facilement du monde.

Émissions de la Victoire—Quartiers généraux du Québec, 231, avenue Notre-Dame, Tél. 56-3711.
 Émissions de la Victoire—Quartiers généraux de l'Île de Montréal, 235, avenue St-Jacques, Tél. 56-3743.

PLUS RIEN N'IMPORTE, SAUF LA VICTOIRE

ACHETEZ DES

OBLIGATIONS DE LA VICTOIRE

NOUVELLE ÉMISSION LE COMITÉ NATIONAL DES FINANCES DE LA VICTOIRE

Appendix 3

(Auger & Lamothe, *op. cit.*, 32, see "GFs" 159-60)

BEAUCOUP DÉPEND DE

Tous!

Les hommes traversent une période pénible en ce moment. Les uns, sur le front de bataille, font face à l'ennemi, d'autres, sur le front domestique, pourvoient à la production.

Actuellement, les vôtres font sans doute plus d'heures de travail. Que ce soit dans un bureau ou dans une usine, ils travaillent sous une plus forte tension, car ils s'efforcent de faire parvenir l'équipement essentiel à nos forces combattantes avant qu'il ne soit trop tard.

C'est à vous de les garder heureux et bien en forme. Les hommes produisent plus quand ils ont la tête tranquille, quand ils n'ont pas de soucis domestiques. Si vous endossez les responsabilités du ménage pour donner du repos à vos hommes, vous aidez vraiment à gagner la guerre.

Votre mari est peut-être irritable quand il rentre fatigué de son travail. Il lui faut peut-être quitter la maison pendant plusieurs semaines de suite, ou même plus longtemps. Dans ce cas, soyez douce et patiente avec lui.

Rappelez-vous que nous sommes dans une période critique. Plus chacun de nous aidera, plus vite nous retrouverons les jours heureux du temps de paix. Faites donc gaiement votre part pour votre pays. Gardez votre mari heureux et bien en forme pour son travail.

Ce message est publié par le Ministère des Munitions et Approvisionnement du Canada.

"IL NE FAUT PAS QUE DES BRAVES MEURENT PAR MA FAUTE"

Appendix 4

(Auger & Lamothe, *op. cit.*, 141; see "GFs" 160-62)

"Moi, dans un
concours de beauté? Allons,
ne faites pas les sottises, dis-je!"



Mais la belle "Miss travailleuse de guerre", Dorothy Linham,
fut enfin persuadée. Elle prit part au concours
... et le gagna. Voici comment!

Jamais je n'aurais songé à prendre part à un concours de beauté... mais les jeunes filles de l'atelier me poussaient. Je n'en ai guère bien. L'année un peu, leur dis-je, qui songerait à m'accorder un second record de puis que je n'ai plus de temps à perdre et que tout mon stratagème de beauté se limite au savon et à l'eau? J'ai d'ailleurs un autre concours sur, à mon banc d'inspection... il s'agit de battre l'Ass!

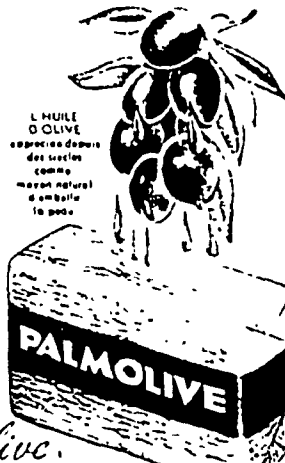
Mais mes collègues insistent tellement que pour avoir la paix, je pris part au concours. Le résultat me ravissa. Miss - Miss travailleuse de guerre - je n'en reçois pas!

Il faut donc croire que ma routine fondamentale de beauté n'est pas si mal. Et c'est très intéressant plus que jamais. C'est l'affaire de deux minutes, deux fois par jour. Je me rase le visage, le cou et les épaules avec la mousse crémeuse du Palmolive - je me rince à l'eau, chaude puis froide - et c'est tout! L'après-midi, j'ai la peau douce comme de la soie. Je dois certainement une grande dette de reconnaissance à ce mélange d'huile d'olive et de palme du Palmolive car si sensible que soit ma peau, je n'éprouve jamais la moindre irritation.

Tout ce à dire que pour mon bien-être est toujours ce nouveau Palmolive amélioré. Quel soulagement après une dure journée de travail que la caresse de sa mousse soignée qui débarrasse la peau de ses impuretés pour la laisser fraîche et ravivée! Et moi-même, ce que j'aime le parfum Palmolive - si subtil... exquis!

MAINTENANT PLUS QUE JAMAIS JE

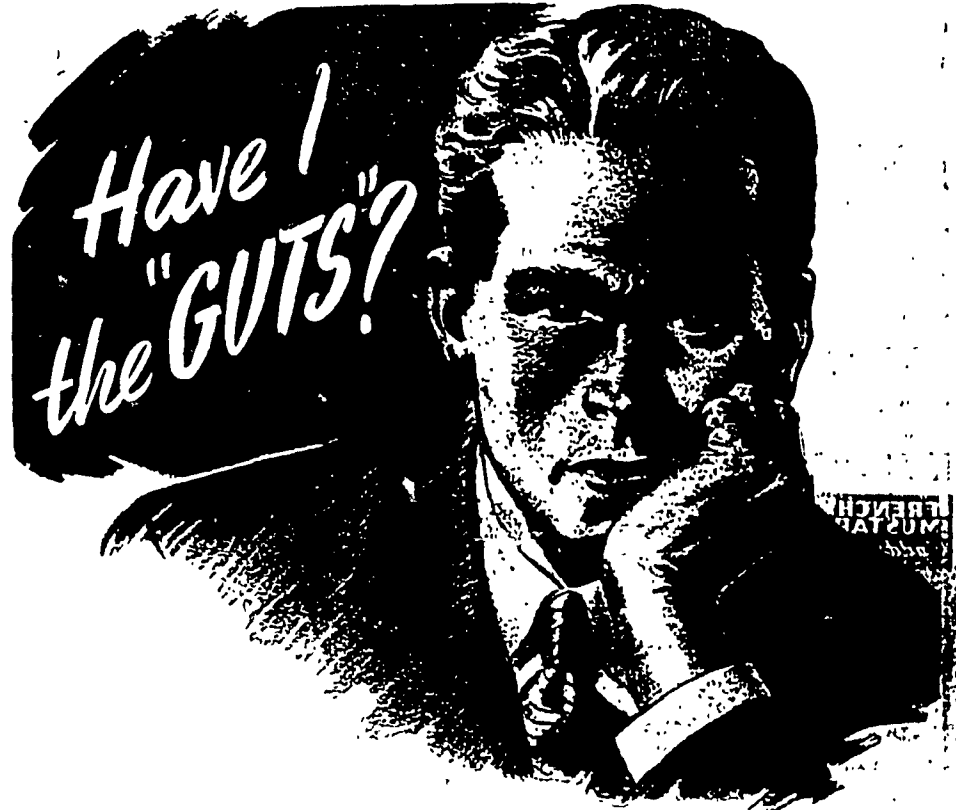
COMPTE SUR LE *Palmolive*.



L'HUILE
D'OLIVE
essencie depuis
des siècles
comme
savon naturel
d'entretien
la peau.

Appendix 5

(The Montreal Daily Star . July 25, 1944, 17; see "GFs" 165)



... ask yourself this Question



One look in your mirror will give you the answer. Am I man enough to be one of those who let the other fellow face all the danger, take all the risks? Look in the mirror, straight in the eye and ask yourself that one question — "Have I the guts?" The guts to wear the Overseas Badge on my sleeve — the guts to let my fellow countrymen know I will need more of them — the guts to make you fighting fit — the guts to see the job through to the end — the guts to see it through. Canada's Army needs you. 2,000,000 men need you for overseas service.

VOLUNTEER TO-DAY

Appendix 6

(Le Devoir . 26 juin. 1940, 2; see "GFs" 165-66)


L'UNIFORME QUE PORTAIT L'OFFICIER D'ARTILLERIE EN 1850



LA BIÈRE QUE VOTRE ARRIÈRE-GRAND-PÈRE BUVAIT

Appendix 7

(The Canadian Forum . October 1942, XXII, 261; see "GFs" 166-68)



**Get Ready to Buy
The New VICTORY BONDS**

WORK. SAVE... LEND

**CANADIANS
Rally to the call**

THE LAND you love at the feet of the Nazi. Your soul revolts at the very thought of it. Perhaps you refuse to believe it possible. Yet that does not alter the fact we *could* lose this war. To realize it is the first sure step to victory.

In this crucial hour Canada needs all loyal sons and daughters to rally to her aid. The countless courage of her fighting men, the skill of her workers, the ingenuity of her resources, alone, will not suffice. On you and on every citizen man or woman she lays a definite responsibility.

Your country does not ask too much — to work, to save and to put every dollar you can into Victory Bonds. Is this too high a price to pay in your allegiance to the fairest land on earth — too high a cost for the priceless heritage of freedom she has given you? Is it too much to ask that you help provide our fighting men with the arms and munitions which valour is of no avail? There is only one answer.

You will be laying up for yourself the best of all investments — VICTORY BONDS are backed by all the resources of the Dominion of Canada, they yield a fair rate of interest, you can borrow against them, and they are readily available when you need the cash.

Appendix 8

(Maclean's . Sept. 1, 1939; see "GFs" 237-39)



Maclean's, Mar 1, 1942

Appendix 9

(Le Devoir . 16 oct 1942, 7; see "CFs" 310-12)

La LIBERTÉ D'ASSOCIATION



Que deviendrait-il si nous perdions la guerre? Qu'est devenu l'ouvrier en pays ennemi? On l'expédie dans les usines allemandes. S'il se révolte, on le tue. S'il refuse de mettre ses habiletés au service de ceux qui ont bâillonné sa patrie, on le renvoie de travailler ses parents ou son père dans les camps de concentration.

Certes, l'ouvrier des nations conquises est libre de s'associer à ses nombreux maîtres! L'atelier fermé, le syndicat, le droit de régler menter les heures de travail, la convention collective? Vous voulez dire. L'ouvrier ne talbe pas de corps extenués dans l'État. L'ouvrier qui appartient à un peuple mince est un soldat. S'il arrive en retard tous les soirs au travail, on le fusille comme subalterne. S'il commet une erreur, on le fusille ou l'empê-

traine. Voilà la liberté de l'ouvrier dans les pays qui ont perdu la guerre!

La Patrie s'adresse à vous, ouvrier en attendant, pour obtenir le sort de la guerre. L'heure est grave. Toute une liberté en jeu. Les échanges de batailles, tout votre avenir est suspendu au monde ou à la faillite de la grande offensive qui se prépare! Pour vos enfants et pour ceux qui vous aiment, répondez à l'appel.

Les Obligations de la Victoire, tout comme vos billets de banque, sont garanties par les richesses et le crédit du Canada. On s'en a fié la signature du Pays en lieu d'une reconnaissance de dette. Les Obligations de la Victoire sont représentées de bons intérêts, exemptes de taxes, et, en cas de besoin, elles se négocient le plus facilement du monde.



Le nombre de Trésors de la Patrie...
 le Pays. Amassons le nombre qui nous...
 Pour l'avenir qui nous...
 à nos heures où il est...
 nous attend. Restez donc...

Prêtez donc au Pays,

Appendix 10

(La Presse . 21 mai 1945, 9; see "CFs" 327)



Malgré la guerre, KING a porté le Canada AU SOMMET

L'ELOQUENCE DES CHIFFRES

1945	REVENU NATIONAL	1943	
\$ 4,951,962,000		\$ 6,800,000,000	
1945	SALAIRES ET BONS	1943	
\$ 2,604,919,000		\$ 7,090,000,000	
1945	ACTIF PRODUIT DU DOUVRE	1943	
\$ 444,761,932		\$ 4,182,849,101	
1945	TOTAL DES DEPOTS EN BANQUE	1943	
\$ 3,090,899,111		\$ 4,982,536,709	
1945	DEPOTS BANCAIRES	1943	
\$ 2,417,192,701		\$ 3,176,715,131	
1945	ASSURANCE VIE EN VIGUEUR	1943	
\$ 4,704,547,547		\$ 8,534,125,279	
1945	PRODUCTION INDUSTRIELLE	1943	
\$ 3,474,761,524		\$ 7,533,794,972	
1945	COMMERCE EXTÉRIEUR	1943	
\$ 1,675,911,636		\$ 4,716,952,167	
1945	EXPORTATIONS DE FARINE DE BLÉ	1943	
\$ 16,178,371		\$ 64,273,692	
1945	EXPORTATIONS DE BACON	1943	
\$ 72,650,044		\$ 116,121,532	
1945	EXPORTATIONS DE SOUFRE	1943	
\$ 2,971,745		\$ 3,819,800	
1945	EXPORTATIONS DE FROMAGE	1943	
\$ 12,348,630		\$ 26,211,113	
1945	FORCES ARMÉES	1944	
10,710		766,200	
1945	EMPLOYES INDUSTRIELS	1944	
1,114		1,152,001	
1945	MARINE CANADIENNE	1944	

KING a conduit l'effort de guerre depuis cinq ans. Sous sa direction, le Canada est devenu un grand pays, c'est la troisième puissance navale, la quatrième puissance aérienne, industrielle, agricole et exportatrice du monde.

KING a su maintenir la stabilité économique et financière du Canada. On lui doit les immenses progrès que notre pays a réalisés depuis 25 ans. La production de nos usines, de notre agriculture, de nos mines et de nos forêts fait l'honneur de l'œuvre.

A une époque critique, où des nations plus puissantes que la nôtre voient leur

système économique gravement compromis, le Canada, au contraire, sort de la tourmente plus prospère et mieux organisé. Un avenir magnifique s'ouvre devant nous, pourvu que nous suivions le chemin que nous a tracé notre chef, William Lyon Mackenzie King.

KING s'est dévoué pour l'avenir de notre pays. Tout Canadien est en mesure de partager sa vie, grâce à une bonne législation et à l'excellente attraction financière du Pays.

Que chacun se dise donc:

"Hier, Mackenzie King m'a bien servi et demain, je pourrai compter sur lui."

SON PASSÉ GARANTIT VOTRE AVENIR