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**LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ
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**Ethnic Discourse in CBC-Radio Drama
and
Government Immigration Policies**

Heather Angela Rosenthal

A Thesis

in

The Department

of

Sociology and Anthropology

**Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Arts at
Concordia University
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June 1987

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ABSTRACT

Ethnic Discourse in CBC Radio Drama and Government Immigration Policies

Heather Angela Rosenthal

This thesis examines the way in which different segments of society have developed a discourse around ethnicity. The work takes as its theoretical framework Berger and Luckmann's thesis that reality is socially constructed and therefore that different segments of society construct their own reality, in this case a reality pertaining to ethnicity. This reality is transmitted through discourse.

Two different discourses, literary and state discourse, were examined for the way in which they portray five ethnic groups in Canadian society. Government immigration acts and orders-in-council as well as other secondary sources were consulted to establish state discourse. CBC radio drama provided the source for the examination of literary discourse on ethnicity. The period 1944 to 1961 was chosen as it was the golden age of CBC radio drama and it was a time in which Canadian immigration policies underwent much change.

The two discourses are compared following an analysis of ten plays produced by Rupert Caplan to ascertain whether literary discourse is the same as state discourse during this period. In other words, did the CBC, an organ of the state, present the same view of ethnic groups as the state?

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Introduction

This thesis is about the way in which different segments of society develop a discourse around issues which are pertinent to them. The discourse we are particularly concerned with is that which evolves around ethnicity.

The concept of ethnicity has a history imbedded in various discourses, the discourse of the social sciences, the discourse of state policies, particularly with reference to immigration and labour force policies as well as policies built around the recognition of cultural groups, discourse in the arts and media and the popular discourse of the day.

Before discussing the concept of ethnicity in some of its manifestations, it is necessary to define it in order to compare variations on the concept used in different discourses. For the purpose of this thesis, the concept as defined in the social sciences will be taken as a benchmark.

Isajiw has discovered thirteen definitions of ethnicity in sociological and anthropological studies dealing with the phenomenon. According to him, ethnicity refers to an involuntary group of people who share the same culture or to descendants of such people who identify themselves and/or are identified by others as belonging to the same involuntary group (1970:24).

Here, Isajiw offers an objective and subjective

definition of ethnicity. For other social scientists such as Gordon (1964) ethnicity is subjective, imposed by insiders or members of the group themselves. The ethnic group is then defined as "a group with a shared feeling of peoplehood ..." (Gordon, 1964). These are the members of the in-group as defined by Allport (1954). For Horton and Lunt (1968), however, ethnicity is objective, imposed by outsiders or for Allport (1954) the out-group.

An ethnic group is a number of people with a common cultural heritage which sets them apart from others in a variety of social relationships (Horton and Lunt, 1968).

According to Stymiest (1975) the objectivists focus on heritage rather than identification.

In summary and for the purposes of this thesis, ethnicity refers to membership in an ethnic group, either by identifying oneself with an ethnic group or by being identified by others, with a specific ethnic group. An ethnic group is associated with various attributes held in common such as 1) common ancestral origin; 2) cultural traits and values; 3) religion; 4) race; 5) language. Insofar as social scientists (or popular discourse) use these attributes as indicators of ethnicity, the phenomenon is then objectified.

Canadian society, like all other societies, is not homogeneous but made up of many different ethnic groups. The generally accepted belief is that these groups all contribute to society and all should expect to benefit equally

from the opportunities offered. However, this is not always the case and many groups are still discriminated against and prevented from advancing up the economic ladder. It is, therefore, important for the overall well-being of all Canadians that different issues around ethnicity be explored, so as to expose where weaknesses exist. Studies must be undertaken to discover how ethnic groups are represented; how they are portrayed to other groups. The manner in which a discourse develops around the fact of cultural variations in a society profoundly influences people's perceptions of themselves, and, thus, their behaviour. As noted by Singer:

It is by now a sociological axiom that the way in which members of minority groups learn to perceive themselves and the way in which they are perceived by members of the larger society affects their self-images and future development (1983:227).

It would appear that if the needs of ethnic groups are ignored, or if groups are discriminated against, society becomes divided and hostilities break out as different groups fight for their rights. For "once such images become established and maintained in the larger society, they become self-fulfilling prophecies, (Singer, 1983:117)".

This thesis takes as its base that body of sociological research related to the fields of sociology of knowledge and the sociology of culture. The work of Berger

and Luckmann (1966) and Raymond Williams (1981), the British literary and drama critic whose writing incorporates a sociological perspective, were the principal theoretical sources adopted for the research reported here.

Given that reality is socially constructed, as Berger and Luckmann (1966) have maintained, then ethnicity, too, is socially constructed and transmitted through discourse. Raymond Williams (1981) examines the social construction of reality within the domain of culture. He proposes not simply a study of the cultural product itself but instead a study of the social processes involved in the production of a cultural product. By proposing that in examining a cultural product we also look at the institutions and the artistic formations which are responsible for the products, he is following the thesis of Berger and Luckmann. The reality is the cultural product and the social construction of this reality involves the institutions and the artistic formations.

Two different types of discourse through which ethnicity is created, developed and transmitted in Canada will be examined; political or state discourse and literary discourse. Given that discourse is the means through which socially constructed knowledge is communicated, then the concern of Berger and Luckmann and Williams with the social processes through which knowledge is constructed is most appropriate here.

As we have seen, ethnicity is a social construct, a reality created by man to deal with different groups. Man

presents this reality in different ways. In other words, there are different types of discourse surrounding ethnicity. This thesis then looks at ideas or discourse on ethnicity in Canada from a sociology of knowledge perspective. In the seventeenth century, Europeans became aware, following worldwide travel and exploration, of the fact that there are many different peoples in the world with varying ways of life. Indeed, the very meaning of the word "culture" in English changes to meet these new experiences (Williams, 1983:87-93). The concepts of race and ethnic groups emerged to assimilate this new information. Race refers to physical characteristics only. If seen in biological, genetic terms, race can be said to refer to common ancestral origin (Isajiw, 1970). Ethnicity is a broader concept which can include race but also can include language, religion, common culture, customs, etc.

The emergence of these two concepts is in accordance with Berger and Luckmann's position. It would appear that the reality of ethnicity as it is now perceived did not exist before widespread and continuous contacts increased among various peoples. In this sense, "ethnicity", as used in Canada is a social construction of reality effected in order to deal with the phenomenon of different groups existing together in one nation-state.

From the sociology of knowledge perspective, taking ethnicity as a socially constructed idea or concept, we can next examine how this idea has been shaped by the existing ideology and social structure. As Canada was part of the

British Empire, an examination of ethnicity in Canada must necessarily find its roots in Europe.

In his article on race and the sociology of knowledge, Lieberman states,

Scientific and popular ideas influenced each other and both served the cause of justifying ideologically European colonialism, slavery, nationalism and imperialism (1970:569).

In the case of Canada, the country had been a colony of England. Before and after Confederation the social structure of the country was such that transplanted British were still in control as leaders of government and owners of the means of production. The existing ideology was still imperialism and colonialism - supported by the theory of manifest destiny and the protestant work ethic. Canada was culturally dependent first on France and then on England, which were the main sources of ideas as well as being economically and politically bound. The ideas which were prevalent in English Canada emanated from England.

This led to an approach to race and ethnic groups which continued to have its effect in Canada until the 1960's when a new liberalism took hold.

As we have stated before, different types of discourse are mutually interdependent and interwoven. They overlap and influence each other to varying extents. Literary discourse on ethnicity in this thesis refers to CBC radio-drama which was broadcast in Canada from 1944 to 1961.

During this period, radio was an important communication medium throughout the country. The war years witnessed a rapid increase in the number of households with radios. In fact, in 1941, 74% of households had a radio; in 1947 - 90%; 1949 - 93%; and 1954 - 96%. (Statistics Canada). Radio was also an important unifying force for the country and had extensive powers of influence. As Marshall McLuhan aptly states,

All media work us over completely. They are so persuasive in their personal, political, economic, aesthetic, psychological, moral, ethical and social consequences that they leave no part of us untouched, unaffected, unaltered. The medium is the message. Any understanding of social and cultural change is impossible without a knowledge of the way media work as environments (1967:26).

Porter (1965) has argued that in highly differentiated societies such as Canada, the mass media play a central role in acting as the custodians of values and the interpreters of social experience for groups which are otherwise fragmented by barriers of class, religion, ethnicity and language. The media are concentrated in the hands of a few and the media elite coincides with or overlays the economic elite of the country. Wallace Clement, in his study "The Canadian Corporate Elite" found that 49% of the media elite were also members of the economic elite and that consequently the mass media served the interests of the ruling

class (Hannigan, 1983:55).

Radio in Canada was regulated by the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Act passed in parliament on May 26, 1932 providing for the creation of the Canada Radio Broadcasting Commission, the forerunner to the CBC. On November 2, 1936, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation was formed.

According to Osler,

... the broadcast industry since its inception early in this century not only has been heavily regulated, but also has been an important object of direct federal investment (the latter most significantly in the crown-owned Canadian Broadcasting Corporation)...
1983:101)

While the CBC is to a degree independent of the government, it is responsible to a licensing authority, the Canadian Radio-Television and Telecommunication Commission, and it must report to the Ministry of Culture and Communications. Most CBC operating funds are from the Public Treasury and the remainder is from commercial revenue. Just as discourse in society is interconnected, so also are other social processes such as mass communications and the production of culture. Raymond Williams examines the way in which culture is constructed in society. Within the sphere of culture which has its forms in cultural products, discourse is created as a transmission device. In effect, this research focuses on how ethnicity is presented in

cultural products. The cultural product with which we are concerned is the very popular radio-drama which was broadcast by the CBC weekly. For Raymond Williams (1981), a cultural product is not autonomous and can not exist in a vacuum. Before looking at these cultural products, it is useful to examine Williams's position on the sociology of culture for, according to him, culture itself is firmly entrenched in society. Any study of culture must include "the social processes of all cultural production" which are institutions such as the CBC, the custodian of cultural discourse; formations which comprise the creators of the discourse, such as playwrights and producers; the social relations of specific means of production; the way in which 'culture' and 'cultural production' are socially identified and distinguished; the processes of social and cultural reproduction; general and specific problems of cultural organization and finally, the specific artistic forms themselves which, in our case, are the plays, the carriers of the discourse.

For Williams, this position entails a more rigorous examination of the social relations of culture than either the popularized Marxist or the liberal - positivist position. The Marxist position is that art is a mere reflection of the socio-economic structure of the society which produces it. The liberal view is that the universal source of cultural products is individual expression, precisely the view that culture is autonomous and need only be analyzed in and of itself, with perhaps some reflection on

the author, but with no regard to social processes (Williams, 1981:34).

As regards the institutions which Williams mentions, these are recognizable social institutions. In the later stages of history in a modern capitalist economy, the cultural institutions of press and publishing, cinema, radio, television and the record industry "are no longer marginal or minor" (Williams, 1981:54). These cultural institutions are placed by Williams in three categories: modern patronal, intermediate and governmental. Modern patronal are the most common in advanced capitalist societies. In this case arts which are not financially profitable are supported by foundations or organizations of subscribers. The intermediate institutions are those which are wholly or significantly financed by public revenue, such as the Canada Council or other federal, provincial and municipal programmes or those institutions which depend on some form of public financing but direct their own production. In Canada and in the case which concerns this paper, the CBC is of the latter type. The third type of institution which is governmental is when cultural producers are wholly subordinated to state policy. In the modern patronal and intermediate institutions, the producers are also, to a certain extent, subject to general policy guidelines outlined by the state. Our concern is to discover whether these CBC producers and playwrights do in fact, adhere to general policy guidelines toward ethnic groups established by the state. For Williams the means of

production are particularly important in the production of culture. He states, "Specific economic conditions are a further decisive factor in the new reproductive technologies" (Williams, 1981:116). These technologies are radio, television and cinema, and in these fields there is an integration of the cultural production and the ownership of the means of production. In the case of CBC radio, this would include the government of the day, where there could be an economic and also a political determinant. The dominant group is important to consider - is it in their interest that some cultural work be produced? Williams points out, however, that the dominant groups do not exert total control over the cultural product for other factors also have input.

It is useful to note that the CBC has been controlled by the same elite who controlled the economy and the political scene, and, therefore, some influence may have been exerted by this dominant group over the discourses on ethnicity in the radio-drama.

In studying state discourse on ethnicity, we undertook an historical analysis of government policies directed towards different ethnic groups, particularly immigration policies. This was accomplished through an examination of Immigration Acts and secondary sources, principally studies by historians and social scientists on the topic. We are concerned with the period from the mid-nineteenth century and Confederation until the late 1950's.

The examination of literary discourse centered on

ethnicity as presented by a state agency, the CBC, in radio-drama. In order to probe the discourse on ethnicity as found in radio-drama, an analysis was made of the scripts of ten plays written for and produced by the CBC. These plays were subject to thematic and content analyses in order to reveal the ongoing discourse on ethnicity present in each. The plays were selected from the archives of the Concordia Centre for Broadcasting Studies. These archives contain, among other items, CNR/CRBC/CBC English language radio-drama scripts produced between 1925 and 1985.

Assuming the thesis of the social construction of reality, the object of this research is twofold: to demonstrate the existence of variations in the way in which the concept of ethnicity is constructed and presented; and, in so far as the field of literary discourse selected is a product of a state agency (the CBC), to raise the possibility that artists and artistic formations producing for state agencies may produce, in particular historical circumstances, a discourse which runs counter to government policies.

It might be expected that the CBC, as a state agency, would be a promulgator of the official discourse and it may well be in several of its broadcasting activities. However, in the field of drama, the productive process is complex, involving not only the organization itself as a large scale state bureaucracy, but also artists, producers and directors. This latter set of people, creators of

discourse, may well be rooted in different social networks than organizational administrators and policy makers, and may, therefore, carry opposing ideological orientations. Recent studies in this field suggest as much (Zinman, Jackson, 1984). Raymond Williams (1981) is especially instructive in this respect.

An analysis of any cultural product should, according to Raymond Williams (1981), involve a study of social relations involved, for culture is firmly positioned in society and cannot be considered as a separate entity. It is connected to the world around it.

In the next chapter we will look at the research objectives and methods of analysis of the plays. In chapter III we examine state discourse on ethnicity, giving a brief overview of early immigration policies and then concentrating on the period from the First World War until the early 1960's as backdrop to the plays which were produced between 1944 and 1961. In chapter IV literary discourse on ethnicity is examined and the ten plays are presented and analyzed. In chapter V the plays are compared and conclusions are drawn.

Research Objectives and Methods of Analysis

The central hypothesis of this thesis focusses on possible variations in discourse, variations which occur between state and literary discourse on ethnicity. Empirically, the possibility of whether variations do exist between the official state discourse as presented in immigration policies and literary discourse as found in CBC drama is considered. This would run contrary to the crude Marxian hypothesis as noted earlier on ideology and is discussed by Raymond Williams. In examining how ethnicity as a concept is formed into a social reality and how it is transmitted through discourse, we have also considered Berger and Luckmann's thesis on the social construction of reality.

The research question for this thesis asks how discourse on ethnicity is dealt with at the state level in a given historical period, how it is dealt with in the same period at a literary level by an agency of the state and whether the literary discourse is synonymous with the state discourse. Szasz claims:

Every age and civilization has its characteristic ideology and institutions which both shape and reflect the essential meanings with which men endow their lives (1974:1).

In other words, do plays which are produced by a state agency reflect the same attitudes towards ethnic groups as the state itself holds? To answer this question a final

decision was made regarding each play as to whether it presented a sustaining or an alternative position with respect to state discourse on ethnicity. Adapting a set of categories from Raymond Williams (1981:70) a play categorized as sustaining is one in which the discourse on ethnicity sustains or supports state discourse. A play categorized as alternative is one in which an alternative view of ethnicity is presented. From a sociology of knowledge perspective, we are interested in the extent to which ideas are shaped by existing ideology, social structure and social problems.

Berger and Luckmann (1966:3) state that as a man confronts the world or reality about him, he is concerned with the analysis of the social construction of reality, in order to make sense of his reality. "Reality is socially constructed and the sociology of knowledge must analyze the processes in which this occurs". (Berger and Luckmann, 1966:1).

According to Johnson,

Reality construction is a term used by Berger and Luckmann to describe the process whereby people continuously create, through their actions and interactions, a shared reality that is experienced as objectively factual and subjectively meaningful (1981:59).

All our knowledge of objective facts is influenced by the social processes to which we are bound.

According to Holzner, "Each person in his social setting approaches the environment in which he moves with a limited and a specific repertory of frames of reference or orientations" (1968:15). Similarly, Johnson points out that, "Even though society and social institutions may seem to be objectively real, their reality is based on subjective definitions created in the process of interaction" (1981:61).

Reality is socially constructed and each person constructs his or her own reality - in other words, there are different modes of constructing reality and also different reasons for doing so. For example, Szasz (1974) and Foucault (1967) in studies on madness show how some people have their own reasons for socially constructing the concept of madness.

Theodorson and Theodorson elaborate on this position defining social reality as "the reality or conception of what actually exists, that is established and maintained by the consensus of the group. A stable world-view with regard to existence of phenomena requires the validation of other people" (1969:393). And, in a similar vein to Berger and Luckmann, Smith maintains "The construction of social phenomena in their familiar and recognizable forms, as they appear to us, is in large part a product of the reporting and accounting procedures of formal organizations, which in various ways provide for how the society is governed" (1974:257).

Accepting the proposition that reality is

socially constructed by each person in a social context, the issue in this research was how this reality is transmitted and maintained in society. It is our contention that this reality is transmitted through discourse, both written and spoken, which is a process of interaction among people. To refer back to Holzner, discourse is the expression of "a specific repertory of frames of reference or orientation" (1968:15).

According to the Oxford English Dictionary (1933) discourse is a spoken or written treatment of a subject in which it is handled or discussed at length. Theodorson and Theodorson state:

The universe of discourse is the shared symbols of communication and conceptions of reality that are peculiar to a group or society. Words, phrases and ideas have special meaning within a group that make interaction more efficient and give the members a sense of identity and belonging. Outsiders or new members must learn the language and assumptions of the culture or sub-culture before they can understand the subtleties of communication or feel secure as members (1969:449).

By involving themselves in discourse, people give meaning to their experiences, bring order to and legitimize social forms. Through their creative activity, humans create society and social reality. Discourse interprets

and promulgates this social reality. The social reality confronts the individual as an external subjective reality. Individuals internalize the reality so it becomes part of their consciousness.

This process is based on the assumption that people do have control of their reality. They can create different types of discourse to deal with or interpret their reality. This is in contrast to coercion theory or determinism where humans are coerced by social forces over which they have no control. In principle, humans can change power structures in their societies and interrelating through discourse could be a way of effecting these changes.

Pratt Fairchild defines the universe of discourse as "the totality of concepts, ideas, meanings, and points of view which are shared in common by members of a specific group" (1964:95). For the purposes of this research these ideas, concepts and meanings refer to ways of discussing, evaluating and appraising the phenomenon ethnicity as constructed by members of particular groups. Specifically, the concern here is with discourse on ethnicity as created by the State, in the domain of public policy and the CBC as a producer of literary discourse.

Discourse is the spoken or written word. A word is associated with different ideas and images for different users, depending on their background and interests. The word "ethnicity", therefore, means different things to different people, and in the creation and promulgation of discourse it is handled and applied in different ways. The

term 'linguistic occurrence' (Landesman 1972:121) refers to the fact that we often apply the same word to different things: in other words, ethnicity may denote certain things to one group of people and a completely different set of notions to another group. It is through discourse that these meanings are transmitted. In other words, a discourse is constituted to achieve a certain effect. As Eagleton states:

Discourses produce effects, shape forms of consciousness and unconsciousness which are closely related to the maintenance or transformation of our existing systems of power (1983:210).

Discourse at the state level is developed by politicians and those in power with the purpose of imposing a certain world-view on the population. The way this discourse is transmitted and, to some degree, imposed is through Acts of Parliament, Orders in Council and more subtly perhaps, through government bodies or organizations under partial state control, such as the CBC. These Acts of Parliament and Orders in Council may be seen as the products of discursive practices (Giddens, Foucault, Eagleton) which refer to the processes through which discourse is created.

With respect to CBC radio-drama, the plays are the products of discursive practices involving artistic formations (groupings of writers, performers, and producers-/directors) (Williams, 1981:57-86) as the creators and the

bureaucracy as the custodian of discourse (Williams, 1981:57-86). In so far as the plays are the end product of these practices and the carriers of a particular discourse, the decision was made to use selected plays as the empirical point of reference for a probe of CBC discourse on ethnicity.

The themes of the selected plays were examined in order to conclude whether the creators of the discourse were trying to redefine ethnic reality or whether they were reflecting the views or the opinions expressed in the state discourse on ethnicity. In other words, a thematic analysis was used in order to determine whether the plays revealed a sustaining or alternative perspective on ethnicity.

At the level of the text, discourse refers to the evaluative, appraisive and persuasive devices used by the playwrights to obtain certain effects. These devices or techniques structure the content of the play to create a desired effect.

The analysis of the plays will be based on a structuralist theory of literature. Structuralism itself is a holistic integrative way of looking at the world. Structural analysis of literature is based on the premise that there is a system to the text and the analysis seeks to establish a link between the system established in the text, in this case the plays, and the culture or society of which they are a part. This analysis is based on Lévi-Strauss' analysis of myths. In Lévi-Strauss' view, a myth is a message in code from a culture to its members. As

long as the culture remains homogeneous, a particular myth will continue to be valid and new versions of the myth will be aspects of the same message (Lévi-Strauss, 1972).

In the same way, applied to the plays, each play carries a different aspect of the same message which can be termed also as discourse, a new and different aspect on the discourse concerning ethnicity. As long as the culture, which in this case is English-Canadian society, remains homogeneous, the message concerning ethnicity will not change. It may vary from play to play, but the overall themes can be found to be repeated in different plays and in other areas of literature or literary discourse. All the structural possibilities found in the ten plays can be listed to derive the structure of the master play.

The analysis involves a reduction of the narrative, or in this case, the play's dialogue, into relational units. These units are examined for themes to see how the themes interrelate; in other words, the plays are a system composed of interrelated parts (Jackson, 1981). The themes examined in these ten plays will be those concerning ethnicity, ethnic groups and race relations which are social relations built upon meanings socially assigned to national origins or racial origins, such as blacks.

Next to be examined is the arrangement of the relational units to break the code of the message. The basic unit of analysis is the "unit of dialogue" (Jackson, 1981) which can be defined as the combination of statements by two or more characters. Each unit of dialogue is reproduced

on an index card and the cards are then arranged in themes. The relational units of dialogue which are contained on the cards are placed sequentially along a horizontal axis and thematically along a vertical axis. In other words, examining the units horizontally will give the story of the play and examining them vertically will show the major themes. This method of analysis then enables the reader to obtain a holistic view of the play and to observe how the major themes interrelate.

We will now examine state discourse on ethnicity.

Examination of State Discourse on Ethnicity

To probe the state's discourse on ethnicity we examined state policies towards ethnic groups. This was accomplished by examining immigration legislation, orders in council and secondary sources commenting on immigration policy. While policies toward immigrants in general were examined, we also looked at how these policies were applied to the five ethnic groups we had selected to study: Germans, Italians, French Canadians, Jews and Blacks. It was noted that immigration policies excluded or included certain groups at different times. How this affected our five groups was examined. Following the analysis of state policies, it was necessary to determine to what extent state discourse was reflected in the selected radio-dramas; that is, whether CBC radio-drama sustained or presented alternatives to state policies on ethnicity.

While different groups have been settling Canada from as far back as 40,000 B.C., when the early ancestors of the Indian peoples first migrated from Asia, it was not until the nineteenth century that people began to arrive in large numbers. For example, 110,000 Irish arrived in 1847 alone, and the two "founding races", the British and the French, began to exert their influence to control immigration policies. From the outset, after Confederation, there was no overall general immigration policy. Successive governments relied mostly on introducing series of regulations to develop policy rather than statutes or acts. The flexibility of regulating over legislation is obvious. Regu-

lations can be brought into force rapidly, corresponding to the country's needs as defined by the government of the day and public opinion. Nevertheless, since Confederation, there have been three major immigration acts and two connected acts, the Chinese Immigration Act of 1923 and the Immigration Appeal Board Act in 1952.

After 1867, the first Immigration Act came into force in 1869, limiting the number of passengers a ship could carry. The period from 1845 to 1924 is often referred to as the time of the "Open Door" policy, when most groups could enter Canada without controls. (Anderson, 1978). British and English-stock American immigrants particularly were readily accorded high occupational status and social status in the country.

The English and the French, more particularly the English, would strive to maintain a balance of power between themselves and control the ethnic make-up of the country so that they would be able to preserve their power and would not be out-numbered by other groups. This situation would not change until after the mass immigration from Eastern Europe following the Second World War. These new immigrants, by their large numbers, were able to change the face of the country and were a major factor in the Diefenbaker Conservative Party victories of the fifties. By the sixties they were known as the Third Force, thereby destroying the concept of Canada as British or as an exclusive partnership between the British and the French, (The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1967:155-169).

English Canada, specifically an elite of British origin, controlled the means of production as well as the political arena after Confederation. In addition, as is pointed out by Anderson and Frideres, they were supported in their actions by two belief systems, manifest destiny and the Protestant ethic:

Manifest Destiny, the idea of a White man's burden, and the Hamlite Rationalization, in disguised forms, continue to shape White Canadians' values and policies. Manifest Destiny and Hamlite Rationalization have done much to stimulate the modern-day myth that non-White peoples are generally incapable of self-government (1981:212).

These two views of one's place in the world, combined with the drive for profit, stimulated British Canadians to allow and encourage migration of only those who would be most useful for the labour market, working hard themselves and having large families of future hardworking generations. In the main, immigration policy was determined by English Canadian immigration ministers such as Sifton whose attitude was summed up in his statement:

I think a stalwart peasant in a sheep-skin coat, born on the soil, whose forbearers have been farmers for ten generations, with a stout wife and half-a-dozen children, is good quality (1922:16).

Immigrants were carefully selected, based on their presumed ability to adapt to the Canadian environment and the hardships to be experienced on the Canadian frontier. British Canadians, from their position of superiority, judged who, among the different groups, would be most suitable. Sifton, under Laurier's administration of 1896-1911, proposed that immigration priority should be granted to agriculturalists to farm Western Canada. The connection between this proposal and Canada's national economic policy to link western provinces with central Canadian manufacturing is clear enough. The Canadian Immigration Acts of 1906 and 1910 proposed rejecting "undesirable elements" on the grounds of medical problems, pauperism and moral turpitude. The Act of 1910 more specifically defined classes and added race as a classification factor for immigration into Canada. According to Section 38 of the 1910 Immigration Act:

The Governor in Council may, by proclamation or order whenever he deems it necessary or expedient - (Paragraph C) prohibit for a stated period or permanently, the landing in Canada or the landing at any specified port of entry in Canada, of immigrants belonging to any race deemed unsuited to the climate or requirements of Canada, or of immigrants of any specified class, occupation or character.

This was later expanded in Section 13 of the 1919 Act and

gave powers to exclude people on the basis of "their peculiar customs, habits, modes of life and methods of holding property, and because of their probable inability to become readily assimilated or to assume the duties and responsibilities of Canadian citizenship within a reasonable time after their entry."

Until 1914 Canadian immigration policy served the needs of a capitalist labour market. Thousands of immigrant workers were encouraged to enter the country to meet the labour needs of commercial agriculture, railroad construction, lumbering and mining. These immigrants often worked in terrible conditions, living in camps, with low wages and high accident rates. Little action was taken to improve their lot. Their labour was exploited and they remained in the lower echelons of society.

While many Eastern and Southern European immigrants were allowed into the country to form firstly a settler-farmer class and then an industrial proletariat, Anglo-Canadian politicians and industrialists soon became threatened even by their increasing numbers and seeming threat to the stability of Canadian society. For example, a private members bill was introduced in 1910 by E.L. Lewis to restrict immigration from the area of Europe south of 44° latitude and east of the 20° east longitude in order to prevent Canada from becoming "a nation of organ grinders and banana sellers" (Debates 1909-10:3134).

Finally, the suspicion directed at immigrants by the Anglo-Canadian sector culminated at the onset of the

1914-18 War, with the War Measures Act of August 1914 to deal with enemy aliens. A system of police and military registration was established and there was the possibility of arrest, detention and deportation. Enemy aliens soon became the subject of intense Anglo-Canadian hostility. By the spring of 1918, demands were being made on government to place all foreign workers under supervision.

With the rise of the Bolsheviks in the Soviet Union, there was a fear amongst the British and French Canadians alike that immigrant workers were becoming in turn increasingly militant in their demands for unions and better working conditions. The Borden government in 1918 developed a series of coercive measures with two Orders-in-Council PD 2381 and PC 2384 to suppress the foreign language press and outlaw certain socialist and anarchist organizations. Bolsheviks, Germans and Austro-Hungarians were now added to the list of undesirables. Germans, Ukrainians, Russians and Finns, previously viewed as hardworking and stalwart peasants, were now seen as a threat to Canadian society and were either barred or had stringent entrance requirements imposed upon them after 1919, as were Asians.

In 1923 the Chinese Immigration Act was passed which prohibited the entry of almost all Chinese. Prior to 1923 Chinese coming into Canada were subjected to a head tax applied exclusively to them. While the government at this time was actively looking for immigrants in Britain, the U.S. and Northern Europe, a racist exclusion policy was

applied to the Chinese, even though labour was in short supply. (In retrospect it is interesting to note that the Canadian government is now aggressively seeking Hong Kong Chinese entrepreneurs with money to invest.) A closed-door policy towards Asians was, in fact, mostly maintained until 1967.

In the 1920's many Canadians saw better opportunities in the South, in the U.S. and many flocked there. At the same time, fewer immigrants arrived from the U.K. and the U.S. In 1922 there was an overall total of 64,224 immigrants in contrast to the 400,870 in 1912 (Anderson, 1978:110). Therefore, in 1924 the government made an agreement with CP Railway and CN Railways to bring in new immigrants. In six years, 369,905 continental European immigrants arrived (Avery, 1979:51). However, even though the agreement with the railway companies encouraged new immigrants, the Depression itself and the increasing lack of jobs again intensified Canadian dislike for foreign workers. By 1931 the Railway agreement was cancelled and only farmers with capital were allowed to enter. Canada had closed its doors to immigrants and the social and political rights of non-British immigrants already in the country were in jeopardy.

The reason the rights of non-British immigrants were in jeopardy can be traced to Section 15 of the 1919 Immigration Act, whereby whenever "any person other than a Canadian citizen advocates the overthrow by force of constituted law and authority he could be deported".

Section 13 of the 1919 Immigration Act was invoked at one time or another to exclude U.S. or Caribbean blacks, Germans, Austrians, Hungarians, Bulgarians and Turks and also Doukhobors, Mennonites and Hutterites, because of "their peculiar customs; habits, modes of life and methods of holding property".

These measures, reflecting Anglo-Canadian attitudes, made certain that few groups escaped at one time or another. An Order-in-Council PC 695 on March 21, 1931 ensured that only four categories of people were allowed into Canada:

- 1) British subjects from the United Kingdom, Ireland, New Zealand, Australia, the Union of South Africa and Newfoundland, who possessed sufficient means to maintain themselves until employment was secured.
- 2) United States citizens, similarly possessed of means of maintenance.
- 3) Wives, unmarried children under 18 or fiancées of men resident in Canada.
- 4) Agriculturalists with sufficient means to farm in Canada.

In the 1930's immigration was drastically reduced as the effects of the Depression were felt. By 1935 only 11,277 new immigrants arrived. At this time fascism sprang up in North America and the Western World. According to Betcherman fascism "owed its existence to the Depression which hit this country with particular severity" (1975:2).

Betcherman also states that fascism in Canada drew its strength from a prevalent anti-semitism. At that time as Hannah Arendt pointed out "... racism, although a state doctrine only in Germany, had been a powerful trend in public opinion everywhere" (1966:158).

A fear of communism following the Russian revolution abounded and fascism seemed to have provided a good alternative. In Québec the National Social Christian Party was founded by Adrien Arcand in Montréal in 1934. The fascist stand on the Jews possibly influenced Mackenzie King's Liberal party to accept only 1,900 Jews into Canada in 1939, 8,000 for 1938-39 whereas 65,000 were admitted into England.

With the outbreak of war in 1939 immigration declined even further with a low of 7,576 immigrants in 1942. Again certain aliens, Germans, Italians, were required to register with the Registrar of Enemy Aliens. With the entry of Japan into the war, the Canadian government took swift action against the Japanese community. On February 26, 1942 the federal government ordered the evacuation of all male nationals between the ages of 18 and 45. Within nine months 22,000 people had been evacuated, not all were Japanese nationals, many were Canadians of Japanese descent. These people lost land and belongings and were forced away from their homelands on the West Coast. After the war was over, almost 4,000 sailed to Japan even though two-thirds were Canadian citizens and more than half Canadian-born (Forrest E. LaViolette, 1948:272-3).

After 1945 the Canadian government again gave its attention to immigration. There were requirements in the Canadian economy for farm workers, domestic workers and textile labour. An Order-in-Council (PC 3112) in July 1946 allowed for the entry of 4,500 ex-members of the Polish armed services. Between 1947 and 1952 some 166,000 displaced persons entered the country through an arrangement with the International Refugee Organization (Richmond, 1967:7). Arrangements were made with the Netherlands to provide farm workers in 1948 (Anderson, 1978:112). The ban on former enemy aliens was lifted by 1948, enabling immigrants to come from Italy and later, Germany.

Even though following the war the government's general policy was to encourage immigration, Mackenzie King, Prime Minister, made it clear in a speech on May 1, 1947, that "....Canada is perfectly within her rights in selecting the persons whom we regard as desirable future citizens". However, he still felt that mass immigration from Asia should be avoided as this would "make a fundamental alteration in the character of our population."

Immigration after the war years increased rapidly and from 1946 to 1977 about 4½ million people immigrated to Canada, whereas between 1914 and 1945 under 2 million had entered. New legislation made it easier for most groups to come. The Chinese Exclusion Act was repealed in 1947. New regulations enabled the admission of 10,000 displaced persons from Europe. French and Irish citizens were now admissible on the same terms as the British and the Ameri-

cans. Legislation at the end of 1949 created a new Department of Citizenship and Immigration. 1950 saw the exemption of all German sponsorable classes from the enemy aliens prohibition.

In the June 1950 regulations, relatives of any degree could enter the country when sponsored by residents of Canada. Agriculturalists, entrepreneurs, professionals, domestics and nurses' aides were also welcomed, as were other workers specifically nominated by Canadian employers and workers approved by the immigration settlement service or for placement by the Department of Labour. Blacks, however, were still inadmissible unless they were in the preferred classes or were spouses or minor children of Canadian residents. Agreements were made with India, Pakistan and Ceylon in 1951 to allow a limited amount of immigration.

A new Immigration Act was passed in 1951. It was still considered to be racist and discriminating, still limiting or prohibiting entry due to "ethnic group peculiar customs, unsuitability, having regard to the climatic conditions ... probable inability to become readily assimilated ..." The subsequent amendments in 1962 still allowed a wider range of sponsored relatives for Europeans immigrants as compared to non-European immigrants. It was not until 1957 that new immigration regulations introduced a fairer system of admission and assessment, based on a point system, taking into consideration the education, training and skills of the applicant.

According to Hawkins,

Since 1966 ... Canadian immigration policy has had a firm manpower orientation. A recent annual report of the Department of Manpower and Immigration declared that 'the prime objective of immigration policies and programmes is to encourage and facilitate the movement to Canada of those who have skills and talents in strong, general or specific demand in this country' (1972-71).

It is interesting to examine how state policy governing immigration affected the five ethnic groups dealt with in this study. Blacks have lived in Canada since 1628 (Winks, 1971:IX). Those who were slaves gained their freedom in 1834 along with all others in the British Empire. Blacks have been largely ignored by historians, however, and also by the politicians who still felt the need to exclude other black immigrants in the 1910 Immigration Act as being of a race deemed unsuited to the climate of Canada. As one departmental secretary, L.W. Poitier claimed to have observed, "After some years in Canada (Negroes) do not readily take to our climate on account of the rather severe winter" (Troper, 1972:171). Nor were they regarded as admissable in subsequent acts or regulations until the point system was introduced in 1967 and discrimination on the basis of race or nationality was

eliminated for all classes of immigrants.

Only the regulation of June 1950 enabled some Caribbean black women to enter as domestics and nurses' aides. Most Canadians were unaware of the pockets of blacks on the East and West Coasts, particularly in Nova Scotia. Blacks, therefore, were in the main excluded from Canada and considered to be of a lesser stock unsuitable for the country. Racism was exercised at the government level in excluding them. They were regarded as someone else's problem: i.e., a Caribbean or an American problem not at Canadian one.

Before and during the 19th century over half the immigrants to Canada of ethnic origin other than British or French were German. By 1901 residents of German origin were second in number only to the British in Ontario and Manitoba, and they were the third largest group in P.E.I., Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Saskatchewan and Alberta (The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1967). Germans, until the First World War, were regarded as a positive group, hard working and desirable by Canadian Immigration. However, at the onset of the First World War they began to be considered as enemy aliens under the 1914 War Measures Act. In the post-war period, Germans were still regarded with suspicion as Anglo-Canadian governments with strong anti-German feelings suppressed the German language press. German schools and churches were closed.

Between the Wars, about 6,500 German Mennonites in fact left Canada for Mexico (The Royal Commission on

Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1967). During the Second World War, again Germans were required to register as aliens. The ban on the entry of former enemy aliens was not lifted until 1948. Government policy from the First World War to the Second World War reflected an anti-German feeling, regarding Germans as enemy aliens and suspicious foreigners, at least until 1948. Public discourse viewed them as such probably for a lot longer.

Italians as a group came to Canada as labourers for railways construction, mining and labour. They came not as immigrants, but intending to return home. More than three quarters of Italians who arrived in Canada before 1919 returned home, for they were recruited, not as families like Northern European groups, but as individual labourers. (Pivato, 1986:81). They were not regarded as desirable and, in fact, there were no Canadian Immigration offices in Italy.

Between the wars general Canadian restrictions on immigration, for example the Order-in-Council of 1931, effectively banning all immigration except for agriculturalists, Britons and Americans, and the Fascist government of Italy itself, prevented Italians from immigrating. Then, with the start of World War II, Italians became enemy aliens and were required to register as such until 1948. Here, again, Italians were not viewed by Canadian government as the desirable "stalwart peasants" with which one could populate the country. They were recruited as sojourning labourers before and after the First World War

and treated as enemy aliens during the Second World War. They were Southern Europeans, not regarded as the best stock.

Jews had always been treated separately by Canadian immigration authorities and were required to meet special conditions (The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1967). Jews, along with Blacks, always came last on the list of preferred immigrants (Abella and Troper, 1983:5). They had always been viewed as "city dwellers" and as unable to adapt to farm living. However, one significant development was a decision to allow in several thousand Jewish refugees from Rumania on compassionate grounds in 1923. By 1931 they represented only 1.51 percent of Canada's population (The Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, 1967).

Although, routinely and in theory, Jews were allowed to enter if they met the requirements of the railway settlement schemes, this was ended in 1938 by Blair, Deputy Minister in charge of the Immigration Branch, who undertook responsibility for screening Jewish applications himself. This meant that at a time when many Jews were trying to come to Canada, their chances of doing so were nil or at least greatly reduced. On the eve of the Second World War, Mackenzie King felt that allowing Jewish refugees into Canada would create problems within the country, especially in Québec where anti-semitism was at its most rampant (Palmer, 1975:79 and Abella and Troper, 1983:17). Public opinion agreed, as was shown by a Gallup Poll in 1946 which

asked the public if there were any nationalities they would like to keep out of Canada; Jews came second behind the Japanese (Abella and Troper, 1983:231).

Three years after the camps had been liberated, almost no Jewish refugees had entered Canada. Even with new government regulations to accept displaced persons approved in June 1947, most of those approved for entry were labourers and domestics. Jews were not accepted in these categories. On April 29, 1947 an Order-in-Council, PC 1647, approved the admission of 1,000 Jewish children up to the age 18. Canadian Jewish organizations struggled in the post-war period to get any Jews admitted at all. Some were admitted as needleworkers and furriers. There was prejudice against them at all levels of government, including the Prime Minister as we have seen. When Canada was finally ready to allow more Jews in, Palestine was being formed and Jews were encouraged to go there. However, in 1948, Canada passed a new Immigration Act which opened the door more, although there was no longer any pressure or urgency for Jews to enter Canada.

As was traced in the earlier discussion, immigration regulations opened up very slightly during the fifties with preference still being given to British, Irish, French and Americans.. With the governments of Canada being so anti-semitic and the country as a whole supporting this, it is interesting to see whether these attitudes towards Jews are repeated in the plays.

French Canadians, as a group, have always been treated

somewhat differently historically from other ethnic groups by Anglo-Canadians. Although technically equal in status, as the other founding group of the country, they have been treated as second class citizens with limited language rights. The fact that Canada was part of the British Empire always gave the English the upper hand, even though at Confederation the French were one of the two charter groups, founding members of the new nation. Industry and trade were always administered by the Anglophones. Census of Canada figures for 1931, '51 and '61 show the British as very heavily over-represented in professional and financial occupations and the French overly represented in the primary and unskilled and agricultural positions (Porter, 1965:94).

In general, Québec's Roman Catholic controlled education system did not equip Francophones for the contemporary commercial and industrial world, except as labourers, small entrepreneurs, and the classic professors. The Church, a powerful influence in Québec, did not encourage the Protestant values of commercialism and finance. With high fertility rates and limited farming land, plus the unavoidable move towards industrialization with Québec's plentiful resources, Québécois were destined to move off the farm and into the position of an industrial proletariat (Porter, 1965:95). In 1951 about one quarter of the French Canadians lived outside of Québec and in relation to the British they were no better off than in Québec as regards to their heavy representation in primary and unskilled jobs

(Census of Canada 1951, Vol. IV, Table 13).

As we have seen, French Canadians have mostly been a rural group. They are also very religious - in 1961, 96% of them were nominally Roman Catholic (Anderson and Frideres, 1981:86). The Church-controlled French primary and secondary education had long exerted an influence over French Canadian life. The Church's idea of a patriarchal primarily rural society seems to have retarded industrial and technological development in French Canada.

The Anglophone view of French Canada is, in the main, that the Church was responsible for their being lower on the economic ladder than themselves. Francophones, however, dispute this and maintain that discrimination by the Anglophone financial and political establishment towards them has been largely responsible for their status.

Although since Confederation they had been officially acknowledged as equals, the French Canadian always felt pitted against the British influence in Canada. As successive immigration acts favoured British and American immigrants, the Francophones rightly feared that by immigration alone they would eventually be overrun. It was only in 1948 that preference in immigration was also given to the French and the Irish.

It was not until the Quiet Revolution in Quebec and the later election of René Lévesque in 1976 that English Canada was to take the demands of French Canadians more seriously and the situation in Canada between English and French changed considerably (Anderson and Frideres,

1981:88).

In examining the plays it will be interesting to note how French Canadians are treated by an institution, such as the CBC, which in the 1940's and 50's was still largely in the hands of an Anglophone establishment.

As we have seen, ethnicity at the state level is dealt with in terms of immigration and the state's official attitude towards immigration through its immigration policy. Hawkins (1972) uses the term "Immigration Management". Immigration in Canada, particularly since Confederation, has been managed at the state level by a succession of Anglo-Canadian governments. This is particularly true until 1967 and the radical change in immigration policy was due in part to the influence of the so-called Third Force who provided an equalizing balance in governments previously controlled by Anglo-Canadians. These Anglo-Canadians created a discourse on immigration which was influenced by their Calvinist and Protestant feelings of superiority and the feeling that God and the Empire were on their side in their attempt to keep Canada white and pure.

The discourse revolved around issues of suitability to immigrate to Canada, who would fit in and not pollute the country, who would work hard and adapt. Federal government policy toward ethnics until 1952 was, according to Anderson and Frideres such that "Canada had a non-white exclusion clause built into its immigration policy Canada seems to have been more concerned with exclusion (and which groups to exclude) than about setting criteria for those

people entering our system" (1981:227).

Although the discourse took these points into consideration, economic needs and the requirements of industry and agriculture also played their part in influencing the overall approach to immigration. Wealthy industrialists also had their say in admitting increasing numbers of immigrants to work for them.

The government of Canada dealt with ethnicity in terms of manpower, and in terms of suitability and desirability. They gave little thought in their policies to studying how the immigrants actually fared once they arrived and immigrants were left largely to fend for themselves. As Hawkins points out, although there were occasional schemes designed to encourage immigrants to settle in particular areas, immigration officials until recently believed that immigrants must be free to settle where they choose (1972:64).

Examination of Literary Discourse on Ethnicity

Including Presentation and Analysis of Ten Plays

Ethnicity as a theme has been very important in Canadian literature as a whole, which, as John Moss points out "might be expected in a country whose population, with the exception of its native people, has come from abroad within the last few generations" (1974:8). Moss sees Canadian literature in terms of different types of exile- "Countless stories of exile". He speaks of four different types of exile, immigrant exile being one of them. He sees, as well, the immigrant as "an exile in an alien land", trying to adapt and learning the laws and language of his adopted country, not to assimilate, but rather "to protect his alien status" (Moss, 1974:83,92). For Moss these attitudes are constantly reflected in Canadian fiction.

Margaret Atwood also treats themes around ethnicity in Canadian literature, going so far as to state that in the typical Canadian plot, there is no other role for an ethnic to jump into if he does reject his own ethnicity; in other words, there is no real Canadian identity. Atwood sees the immigrant in literature as very likely to fail. "The Canadian experience for immigrants seems programmed for failure" (Atwood, 1972:158). This is unlike the American counterpart where, once the mantle of tradition and old values has been discarded to espouse the American democracy, the immigrant can work his way to success. In this respect, literary discourse can be seen to overlap with

social science discourse. Social scientists have long been making comparisons between the Canadian and the American immigrant experience, the melting pot of the States versus the multicultural mosaic of Canada where the immigrant does not need to assimilate and reject old values and traditions. Porter in The Vertical Mosaic, for example, also sees, like Atwood, immigrants programmed for failure. For him certain ethnic groups remain permanently fixed in their position at the bottom of the social hierarchy.

In contrast, according to Ronald Sutherland, "the problem of race and ethnic relations has never been a major concern of Canadian literature" (1971:29), whereas it has occupied writers in the United States. Sutherland paints a portrait of smooth sailing between ethnic groups saying that "in Canada all has gone relatively well." Social science and state discourse would not allow this statement to pass by uncommented. For Sutherland, for example, "there are not enough Negroes to create a real disturbance" (1971:30). Sutherland takes the position that the one important aspect of ethnicity in Canadian literature is the racism expressed between the two so-called "founding races", the Anglophone and the Francophone Canadians. He speaks of the exaggerated pride expressed by English Canada, in their English roots. This feeling of superiority he traces in his book The New Hero to the "distinctive Calvinist-Jansenist rationale of Canada" (1977:5). The same feeling of superiority can also be traced in French Canadian literature, according to Sutherland who

cites, for example, Lionel Groulx's L'Appel de la Race.

For Sutherland then, racism does appear in Canadian literature but it is mostly expressed between the two "founding races". In literature where other ethnic groups are described, such as Jewish characters in French Canadian novels, Sutherland claims that "the Jewish figure operates as a symbol with which the French-Canadian can identify, and that in effect, the authors are more or less vicariously exploring the situation of the French-speaking Canadian in North America" (1971:51). For this author, the problem of ethnic relations "has never been a basic theme of Canadian literature" (1971:58). He feels that Canada is moving away from the limitations of Lionel Groulx and Susanna Moodie.

Based on a review of the literature, the assumption is made that literary discourse itself does not exist autonomously but is part of a larger social process. We have examined Raymond Williams' sociology of culture in general and how it pertains to radio-drama and the CBC. We now proceed to a discussion of the selection of the plays studied and the presentation and analysis of the ten plays themselves.

The radio-drama selected for study comprises ten plays, all produced in Montréal between 1944 and 1961. The plays were selected from the archives of the Concordia Centre for Broadcasting Studies and are part of the collection of CBC English-language radio-drama scripts produced from 1925 to 1961. The period referred to as the

"Golden Age of CBC Drama" actually began in January 1944 and was dominated by the work of four producers: Andrew Allan, Esse W. Ljungh, J. Frank Willis and Rupert Caplan. Here we examine ten plays dealing with ethnic groups, produced by Rupert Caplan.

Rupert Caplan was born in Montréal in 1896. He became interested in the theatre from an early age, and after high school started doing Little Theatre work. He went to New York in 1923 as one of the original group of the Provincetown Theatre, later performing under the direction of Eugene O'Neill. He subsequently returned to Canada to take over as director of the Ottawa Theatre, the Montréal Repertory Theatre and the Montréal Theatre League.

He began his radio career under Tyrone Guthrie, a noted British drama director, for the purpose of acting in fourteen plays in the "Romance of Canada series" in 1931. A repertory group was created and formed the nucleus of talent in Montréal for the CRBC in 1932 and later, the CBC Drama Department. Tyrone Guthrie had been acquired from the National Theatre in London by the Canadian National Railways Radio Department (CNR) as part of its mandate to promote a national culture (Weir, 1965). He helped construct the excellent radio-drama facility in Montréal.

Rupert Caplan, influenced by Tyrone Guthrie, worked freelance for radio for nine years, acting and producing countless shows. He joined the CBC in 1940 as a senior producer, having taken over from Guthrie after his departure, to direct the last eight plays in the "Romance of

Canada" series. On October 1st, 1943, he was appointed supervisor of production for the CBC, based in Montréal. He was also responsible for the Federal Government War Programmes.

The plays produced by Rupert Caplan have been briefly analyzed for content by the Centre and it was from this list that a selection was made. No generalizations can be made from these ten to all the plays produced. A proper sample, given some 3,000 plays, would have been impossible to handle; given the resources available. However, two plays were selected for each ethnic group, giving at least a picture of discourse built around five ethnic groups, as broadcast from Montréal in the 1940's and 50's.

We now turn to the analysis of the plays themselves.

Ti-Jean and the Devil

By Alan Millar - June 21, 1961

This play is a re-write of an old French Canadian folktale. The folktale itself is based on the Dr. Faustus legend, which is found in many medieval folktales. The archetype, based on the act of selling one's soul to the devil for power and knowledge still appears in modern literature and drama. However, the selection of this play for English network broadcasting could be seen to reinforce English-Canadian listeners' stereotypes of French Canadians.

There is a narrator called Téléphore Côté who sets the scenes, tells the story and also analyses it, giving his own comments. In the background throughout the play we hear the fiddle playing French Canadian music. It takes place in the Beauce in farming country and is about a young man, Ti-Jean, the son of farmers, whose ambition is not to be a farmer, but to be a violoneux and play at the village barn dance every Saturday night. He is unable to realize his ambition, however, as he cannot play and tap his feet at the same time, no matter how hard he practices. One night he is visited by the Devil who promises to help him realize his dream if afterwards Ti-Jean will come and play for him. Ti-Jean is only too happy to oblige. The Devil helps him to tap his feet and fiddle at the same time and he goes off to the barn. He spends the whole night, Saturday, through to Sunday morning playing and the villagers cannot stop dancing. When they miss their mass

early on Sunday, the village priest goes along to the bar to get them, and save them from what he at once recognizes to be the Devil's work. He saves the day by raising his crucifix in Ti-Jean's direction and praying to God to banish Satan from their midst. There is a flash of lightning and all that is left of Ti-Jean are burnt hoof marks on the floor, proving it to be the work of the Devil. The village priest and Catholicism came to the rescue and saved everybody.

This play is about French Canadians and was produced on the English network. It is, therefore, interesting to see how the French Canadians are portrayed and what themes are explored in the story line. The major theme appears to be based on religion, how humans can be enticed by the devil to do his work. Evil prevails until Goodness, in the form of the local priest, takes command and banishes the Evil, in the form of Ti-Jean, to Hell forever. The secondary theme in this play is family and village relations. We see the importance of the family with Ti-Jean and his parents, the importance the villagers have for one another and finally, how all this fits into a hierarchy with the village priest at the head of the society.

French Canadians, all the characters in the play, are portrayed as somewhat simple. The story-teller states that the town in which the story takes place is located

... Well, if you travel by train (as old Joseph Baillargeon used to say) it is about two dollars eighty-five cents

below Québec City ... (Millar, 1961:1).

The language of the play is interspersed with French words. We learn that poor Joe was a good "Violoneux" and a wonderful "raconteur". This sets the scene with French-Canadians who do not speak very good English. Religion plays a big part in the play and religious references often appear in people's speeches.

Poor Joe, he is with the Saints now,
since twenty years.... (Millar,
1961:2).

and also

As you may know, M'sieu', in the old times, the violon was regarded as "l'instrument du diable" - the instrument of the devil. And although, obviously, I do not believe that myself, there are many "légendes" to prove it. (Millar, 1961:2).

Religion plays a large part in everyone's lives. Monique, Ti-Jean's mother says,

... And he will yet be a good farmer,
you will see ... I will pray for him
.... (Millar, 1961:4).

The villagers enjoy their Saturday night dancing, but when Ti-Jean began to play so well, they could not stop dancing, even dancing past midnight when

"they" should all have been home in their beds. For, as everyone knows, it

is wrong to dance on Sunday, even if it
is only for one second after midnight.

It is a sin" (Millar, 1961:14-15).

As we see, religion has a strong hold over the people.

Ti-Jean's parents were farming people, his father, Onésime, was "a man proud of his ancestors and of the farm they left to him" (Millar, 1961:2-3).

The play has a slightly ridiculous note to it in that Ti-Jean is desperate to play the violin at the Saturday night barn dance, but he cannot because he cannot fiddle and tap his feet at the same time and as the narrator says,

... in the country, no fiddler is regarded seriously as a 'violoneux' unless he can do like that ... (Millar, 1961:6).

We hear also that Old Victor, the expert Violoneux has to "loosen his fingers" with a "good bottle of 'Caribou', sometimes two..." (Millar, 1961:6).

In this play, then, which was produced in June 1961 we see the French Canadians as simple, country folk, farmers, still with their religious beliefs very intact and strong. They are unable to save themselves, and the village priest must step in and save his parishioners who were moaning and groaning "as if their souls were in pain" (Millar, 1961:20). Religion comes to their rescue. Within the narrow context of stereotyping, this play cannot be said to be alternative and is sustaining of an anglophone view of French Canadians.

The Wedding

By Geneviève Barré and Beatrice McIver

October 3, 1946

This play takes place in a village in Québec and is about French Canadians. We see the villagers scandalized that one of their number, Germaine, no longer goes to mass. They complain to the priest. "She is giving a bad example ... it is bad for the children" (Barré, McIver, 1946:3).

They are very concerned about her until the priest sends them off, saying: "...be gone... the lot of you ... I am the pastor of souls here, not you" (Barré, McIver, 1946:3).

Through the priest we learn the story of Germaine, some of it is narrated by him to his assistant, Father Mignault and some of the story is enacted in flashbacks. It appears that Germaine is living out a fantasy that she and her boyfriend André are living together and they are not married. This is why she cannot go to Mass, because she has sinned. André had died of a heart attack twenty-five years previously and Germaine has never married. The village priest resolves this problem by carrying out a wedding ceremony for Germaine and pretending that André is actually at the wedding ceremony too. This solves the situation all around for it means that Germaine, who is obviously going out of her mind, can feel married and then goes to Mass because she feels she is no longer a sinner in living with her boyfriend. The villagers are happy because they do not have a sinner in their midst, one who does not go to mass. The priest has saved the day.

This play resembles the other play about French Canadians in that it takes place in a village and the theme involves a sin which is dealt with by the village priest. The people are very simple and unsophisticated, like children. The priest says to Germaine: "My dear child, I haven't come to scold you" (Barré, McIver, 1946:1). They are completely ruled by their religion to the point of persecuting a lady who is going out of her mind, just because she is not going to Mass regularly. We hear the angry voices of the villagers and the women complaining to the priest.

Did you speak to her, Father, did she tell you why she doesn't go to Mass anymore? (Barré, McIver, 1946:3).

A secondary theme in this play is male/female relations. Germaine is in love with André for many years and she promises God in her prayers as a small child that she will look after him,

Petit Jésus ... I promised Mamère I would look after André. I now promise you ... It doesn't matter how nasty he is, I will always be good to him ... protect him ... I promise you (Barré, McIver, 1946:6).

The relationship develops in a very traditional manner. As a small child, she looks after him. When they are older we see them sitting in the evening by the river on André's vacation from college in Montréal. Typically, he prefers

the girl he left behind, not those in Montréal.

Germaine: You know many young girls too, I suppose. What are they like?

André: I wouldn't tell you, Germaine, just in case you tried to change (Barré, McIver, 1946:7).

Next we see temptation put in André's way in the form of the sophisticated anglophone Kitty. She encourages him to dance and this ultimately leads to his last and final heart attack. She could be symbolic of the city life which traditionally French Canadians are supposed to reject, if they listen to their priests. Here André ignored the warnings and died. But on his deathbed he makes his declaration of love for Germaine. She remains faithful to his memory until the priest finally actually performs the marriage ceremony for her. Her faithfulness has won her man, even though he is actually long dead. Germaine then is a very religious, pious, good French Canadian girl.

This play then deals with a religious theme, a sin of two people, one alive, one dead, living together in a Québec village. It deals with the relationship between these two when the man was alive and shows the problem his death creates. The village priest solves the problem.

As in the previous play dealing with French Canadians, this play portrays them in a stereotypical way as simple, very religious, farming people. This is then sustaining of

the state's view of French Canadians which continued until the Quiet Revolution of the Sixties and Seventies.

Legacy of Hate

By Eric Cameron - February 22, 1961

This play takes place in Sicily. Stefano, the hero, has returned to Sicily to visit his family. He has been in Canada for three years. His father, Gaspare, tries to persuade him to settle a vendetta on his behalf, but Stefano is reluctant. His father cannot settle it himself as he has been crippled by a broken back. At a party being held to welcome Stefano back, people see the gun his father has given him, but they swear they will say nothing - the traditional Sicilian silence. After the party, Stefano tells Maria, his sister, that his father's old enemy Luigi Ferranta is being released from prison. She realizes that he will try to kill Luigi. They discuss the code of honour in Sicily and Maria even volunteers to kill Luigi herself as he is a man who betrayed their family and fellow partisans to the Fascists during the war, which led to their deaths. Maria and Stefano have a discussion and argument about Canada versus Sicily and the old ways versus the new ways. Stefano is very confused as he can see both sides of the coin. Pietra, his girlfriend, doesn't want him to kill Luigi as that would mean possibly the end of their plans to return to Canada.

Stefano finally goes to see Luigi. He finds a blind old man who unexpectedly also has a son to protect him. Luigi tells Stefano the true story of what happened and then they go off to confront Gaspare with the truth. Gaspare, realizing that his son had discovered his lies,

tried to commit suicide. Apparently Gaspare had insisted on leading the men into attacking some trucks which turned out to be an ambush. One of the trucks backed over Gaspare and broke his back and Luigi tried to save him, but he was captured. When he was tortured he did give the names of the others and Gaspare's wife and sons died in the Fascist raids and reprisals. So he sought to blame Luigi for it. At the end of the play the two men become reconciled and the play finishes on a hopeful note with Stefano promising Pietra more happiness in Canada.

This play concerns the Italian immigrant to Canada. It reveals how life in the old country is completely opposite to life in the new country. Set in the old country, we are made aware of the differences between it and Canada by the observations and actions of the local inhabitants, as well as those of Stefano, who is the returning immigrant. These differences can be termed as binary opposites. One of the first differences noted is the climate, cold versus warm.

Gaspare: ... Tell me ... has that cold Canadian climate frozen your blood? (Cameron, 1961:2).

but Stefano comes to realize that his father wants him to kill a man in cold blood.

Another theme is the different values that Stefano has learned in Canada. His father says: "...it's time you put aside those notions you picked up in Canada..." (Cameron, 1961:2).

Stefano stresses that he is now a different man, but

his father points out: "... You have to earn the right to be called a man in this country..." (Cameron, 1961:2), implying that North American men are cowards or are not real men.

We hear about the poverty in Sicily in opposition to the wealth in Canada.

Stefano: ... Making a decent living is next to impossible (Cameron, 1961:2),

but later he tells Pietra

Stefano: But I know that you and I will find less poverty and pain, more hope and happiness (Cameron, 1961:32).

From Stefano, we hear how old-fashioned it is in Sicily.

"You people here are living in a world where the clocks are a hundred years behind the times" (Cameron, 1961:18).

He compares Sicily to Canada: "I've learned there are better ways of fighting for what's right, and more important things to fight for, too" (Cameron, 1961:12).

He has new values of the new world now, not the old values which include seeking revenge.

As in the other play about Italians, the protagonist, Stefano, has gone home to marry a bride from his home village. As in the other play endogamy again prevails, the immigrant marries within his group.

Another theme which is discussed is that of immigrant exploitation. Often it has been seen that the worst exploiters of immigrant are their own people who have already settled in Canada. They speak the same language

and the newcomers at first are easily duped into putting their trust in them because it is not usually expected that one's own people would betray one. However, as Stefano points out to Pietra:

Some of our own people over there take advantage of our ignorance and lack of skills. They grow rich by providing jobs for us at lower rates than others get for the same work, and some of their foremen also demand a portion of your pay to keep you on the job (Cameron, 1961:18).

This exploitation in the new country is in direct opposition to the caring of the families in Sicily for each other. It is symbolic of the big bad world of North American where the streets are not paved with gold as some of the immigrants might think.

Apart from the binary opposites we have mentioned, it should not be forgotten that the whole plot of the play displays a Canadian stereotypical view of Italians; that they all come from Sicily and that they are all involved in some type of Mafia activity - only those who have been subjected to the influence of Canadian society and values, Stefano (and Pietra, because she is the stereotypical woman following her man) can escape this view of life. The villagers who discover Stefano's plan to kill Luigi swear to observe the silence, the omerta of the Mafia; this is also part of the stereotype image of Italians.

The Return of the "Name"

By Jack Blacklock - August 16, 1961

This play concerns the return of a young Italian Canadian singer, Johnny Pasco, to his parents' home. He had made good as a singer, even appearing on the Ed Sullivan show. There is rumor that he now isn't doing so well. In conversations with the grocer, and then the Mother, and the Father, it shows that he is worried. Johnny isn't doing so well and they may have to move from the fine house he bought them. Johnny returns with his manager, Nick. He meets Maria, the "kid next door", who grew up into a beautiful girl. His manager tells him he is finished as an entertainer and then leaves. His Mother tells him that she knows and his Father knows that he is not doing so well now. She mentions that the Father would like to go back to work. They aren't happy where they are living.

Mama: Your Papa ... Gino, it has been a very nice life here, but ... Papá ... you know how it is ... he likes to work. Besides, he misses his old friends ... Papa, he thinks maybe he open up the shop again (Blacklock, 1961:14).

The parents want Johnny to come home for good and get a job in Mr. Grimaldi's business. However Johnny phones a club manager to get a job, but the manager tells him that he can't use him. "Because you're dead, that's why ... washed up" (Blacklock, 1961:18).

When Johnny starts to talk with Maria, she persuades him to go for a job with her uncle "selling spaghetti sauce" (Blacklock, 1961:23). He says he'll think about it until Max the club manager offers him a job as an opening act to introduce the shows and tell a few jokes. Although Johnny feels it is a come-down, he accepts it optimistically,

Johnny: I'll make it ... one out of
every hundred do ... one out
of every hundred do
(Blacklock, 1961:26).

This play deals with immigrants, the older generation who are traditional and stay close to their neighbourhood and at the bottom of the social ladder in opposition to the younger generation who is born here and who has the ambition to make good.

Johnny: Mama, you can't turn back the
clock. That was how we lived
in the old days ... things
are different. Can't you see
that? (Blacklock, 1961:14).

The young man's name is Gino, but his stage name is Johnny, Italian in opposition to English, the New World versus the Old. His parents are very poor, the binary opposite to himself, he becomes rich and is able to buy them a big house. They are poor, he is rich. Their house was always on the wrong side of the tracks, now Johnny has bought them a fancy one on the right side of town.

However, now the parents are unhappy. The message is that before, living the simple life as poor immigrants they were happy. Now, provided with modern conveniences of North America, they are unhappy. This is a theme which is very common in literature about immigrants, they have a lot of difficulty adapting to the new ways of the new country. The old don't adapt, but the young do.

As Margaret Atwood noted about Canadian and American novels.

...there is usually a tension between the cultural values of the 'old' society and that of the new one, with members of the first generation often electing to stick with the old values and members of the second wishing to abandon them in favour of the new

(Atwood, 1972:149).

As we have seen in this play, this statement about novels also holds true for other forms of literature, such as radio-drama.

The end result of Johnny's attempt to leave his roots and pursue success is failure and this is also documented as characteristic of Canadian novels by Atwood. He fails in the attempt although optimistically he is ready at the end to give it another try.

Johnny: It was all a big, crazy hair-brained day-dream ... a balloon that burst 'Poof'

right in my face ...

(Blacklock, 1961:21).

This play also deals with stereotypes, the characters are stereotypes of Italians, with Italian names, mama, papa, Gino and Maria; Italian ways of speaking, "Papa, he thinks maybe he open up the shop again" (Blacklock, 1961:14); Italian foods, such as tomatoes (although we are informed by Papa that Johnny or Gino does not eat tomatoes, perhaps he has developed Hollywood tastes), spaghetti sauce, scallopini.

Another theme which is in this play is that of the innocent and unviolated girl at home, from the ethnic group, whom the protagonist eventually seeks to marry versus the fast-living, spoiled American girls. Here we see Johnny falling in love with Maria - "Little Maria Brown-eyes" (Blacklock, 1961:24).

Johnny: One thing I did find out in those two years riding the skies ... all these sophisticated girls, they're mighty pretty to look at ... but you get tired of them fast
(Blacklock, 1961:23).

He tells Maria he is glad she hasn't changed. She is still the girl he used to know. This theme of comparing women and marrying a girl from one's group is repeated in the other Italian play analyzed. Endogamy is preferred.

Even though government policy allowed Italians to

enter, there remained a certain amount of negative discourse regarding stereotyping. The ethnic discourse in these two plays, which concern Italians, is supportive of state policy at the time to admit Italians to Canada.

However, from the point of view of the general public, these two plays may well be seen as presenting an alternative discourse as they show the Italian Canadians in a favourable light.

Fantasy with a Southern Exposure**By Mac Shoub - February 7, 1946**

Philip is a young black man who returns home to the Southern States after the war. He appears to have lost his memory and has assumed the identity of a white man. The white man's name is on a bracelet he is wearing; Philip Adams. He goes to see Philip's wife who says her husband was killed in the war. Philip tells her he is wearing the bracelet, papers, dog tag and uniform of her husband. She accuses him of murdering her husband. He next goes to see a white "Doctor of the Mind" (Shoub, 1946:3), who really doesn't want to see him as he's black. He does eventually agree and reminds Philip "there's always that black skin, boy, you can't ever forget that (Shoub, 1946:6). Also Philip himself says that he saw a couple of ladies who "let me know that a black man's still a black man around here" (Shoub, 1946:5).

The doctor thinks Philip is better off dead than living in this fear and recommends gas. He tries to commit suicide in a rooming house. Even the landlady doesn't want to let him in as she doesn't want to be seen having blacks in her house, but like the doctor before her, she succumbs when payment is mentioned. In the next scene he is seemingly in a hospital being taken care of kindly by an orderly. A Mr. Dee welcomes him. He also meets Ella, the wife of Philip Adams again and an elderly black man with a twisted neck who has been hung for raping a white woman. The woman's name is Shibboleth, (dictionary definition

(OED) a custom, habit, mode of dress, etc., which distinguishes a particular class or set of persons). It seems Philip himself has died from suicide. Ella invites him to sing a spiritual. She is the voice of the whites, telling the blacks how nice the whites have been to them, allowing them to work in their factories. The elderly man reminds Philip of the 14 hours blacks work in the fields, how they're dying of rickets, getting old before their time. Dee comes back and sends them off. He tells Philip he is dying. Philip is a symbol of the black man poorly treated who tried to put himself in a white man's skin by taking a white man's papers, out of fear of being black, because of the way they are treated in the South. He came home from the war having fought alongside whites, but is still treated badly by them. The woman, as Dee said, is symbolic of prejudice, bigotry, hatred and she is also on the way to extinction. So the black who is afraid of whites is on his way out as is the white who instills fear in the black. Dee tells him, Philip, to get off his knees, stand up to the world, break down the fear, to let in the air and open the window.

The play ends on a note of hope.

There is an end to this tale of wishful thinking. There is yet time for fine, impassioned speeches, but it is not for us to make them. It is left for you who turn away from the color of a skin or the sound of a name. There is an

end ... but it is still to be written

(Shoub, 1946:18).

The theme of this play is black-white relations, but the hero of the play is black and we experience more through his eyes than in Storm Signal. The play takes place in the Southern States so it is situated again outside of Canada, possibly indicating that this kind of thing could not happen here. Philip is the only black in the play and the play revolves around his interactions with whites and how they treat him. He speaks of being afraid of whites:

Philip: Suddenly I was afraid again.
 Afraid the way I'd been
 afraid all my days. Some-
 thing I'd grown up with
 (Shoub, 1946:1).

The women he runs into on the pavement turn their backs on him:

Philip: like I was a piece of
 dirt happened to be in the
 wrong place (Shoub, 1946:1).

Black has always been associated with dirt and white with clean. Later in the text Ella tells him "take your dirty foot away" (Shoub, 1946:3).

The women have a stereotypical attitude towards him, which is still in effect today, thirty years later.

Woman: Hunh. These niggers! Never
 know their places.

2nd Woman: If I had my way I'd ship 'em
all back to Africa.

1st Woman: Shippin' 'em is too good!
I'd make 'em swim all the way
(Shoub, 1946:1).

With a flashback to his younger days we see a young boy
whispering to a young Philip:

Young boy: Git off'n the sidewalk, boy!

Philip: Wat fer?

A Young Boy: Let the white folk pass, boy!

Philip: Why? Plenty room.

A Young Boy: Don' ever ask why. Jes' let
'em pass, boy, if you know
what's good for you. Take
off your hat an' let 'em pass
(Shoub, 1946:1).

Philip is a soldier who has been fighting in a white
man's war. When he knocks at Ella's door he is wearing a
soldier's uniform. She is as afraid of him as he is of
whites. As Philip has been in the army he has presumably
been experiencing better treatment than he has been used to
in civilian life and this is why he initially approaches
the women in the street and Ella with no fear. Philip
fights the war and assumes he's equal to the whites he
fought along side. However,

Philip: Then I meet coupla ladies who
let me know that a black
man's still a black man

around here. Then I'm afraid
again with the old black fear
(Shoub, 1946:5).

There is a contrast between what he has recently been
used to and what he grew up with. The whites, in this play,
call Philip "nigger" throughout. When he knocks at Ella's
door, he hears her say,

Ella: A nigger don' belong in a
 white woman's apartment
(Shoub:1946:2).

This is a continuation of the old tradition whereby black
men were not allowed to approach white women, although
their own women were frequently taken advantage of by white
men.

In this play, as in the Storm Signal, blacks are in
some way associated with violence. Ella calls out to
Philip,

"Murderer. You killed him! Dirty
murdering nigger!" (Shoub, 1946:3)

He also tried to commit suicide, self-inflicted violence.
The psychiatrist says that Philip "probably killed him and
robbed him" (Shoub, 1946:3). Peaton assumes the worst of
the black man.

The play brings out in three dialogues the idea that
Philip as a black, is not allowed to set foot in a white
man's domain. Ella refuses to let him in and keeps the
chain on the door. The Doctor of the Mind, Frank Peaton,
also does not normally allow blacks in.

Peaton: I want you to understand I don't make a practice of allowing neegrabs in my office (Shoub, 1946:3).

The landlady at the rooming house says ... "a nigger, no fear, not in this house (Shoub, 1946:7).

We find references to dirt where the black man is concerned,

Peaton: ... Not that I'd dirty my hands on a nigger under any other circumstances (Shoub, 1946:4).

Also: Turn around and start marchin' your dirty feet outa here.

Peaton regards Philip as sly,

Peaton: Just like your kind to go sneakin' around, why'nt you walk in like a man? (Shoub, 1946:4).

Note also the reference to Philip not being a man. This is also found in the other play, Storm Signal.

He talks to Philip as if he is his superior and orders him around,

Peaton: You're supposed to answer when a white man talks to you (Shoub, 1946:4).

He makes a reference to the way in which blacks are treated by the law,

by the law,

Peaton: They hang you for stealing
(Shoub, 1946:5).

He is automatically suspicious that Philip has stolen the bracelet. Peaton reminds Philip that there is "always that black skin, boy, you can't ever forget that (Shoub, 1946:6). He says that he thinks Philip is frightened of the white man, so ashamed of that black skin of yours that you tried to affect an identification with the white folk by assuming a white man's identity (Shoub, 1946:6).

Philip also shows that he is not that strong in the face of all the competition from whites to get God's attention, "... Too much noise for one black voice to creep through" (Shoub, 1946:7). He was going to the police "until I remember the law was white" (Shoub, 1946:7).

The treatment Philip receives from the landladies is similar to that he receives from all the other characters.

3rd Landlady: Smell up my house with the likes of him? I gotta be crazy first.

The Above Voices: This is a respectable house.
I got white people livin' here. Beat it.
No niggers!
Whattya think this is, a stable?
(Shoub, 1946:8)

Philip: Me mam?
 Ella: You all your people.
 Philip: Ain't got the right party,
 mam. Never been near a woman,
 special a white woman.
 Taught me that lesson good.
 (Shoub, 1946:12)

The next person to visit Philip is an elderly man who has been hung on account of a white woman.

Man: All accounta her. Accounta she so beautiful this pore neegrah cain't bear no white thing beein' so beautiful, so he wait there one dark night, he wait there an' spoil this beautiful thing.

The girl's name is Shibboleth. The elderly black man says of it:

Man: It mean like a sign fer you to recognize sutting things.

Philip: Sign?

Man: Sure, like anytime a white gal is wronged, why it jes gotta be a neegrah done it, thass all. Ain't no matter if'n there hain't a collud boy inside ten miles of where it happen, why sure 'nuff they'll find one. Yessir,

They'll sure find one an'
string 'im up 'cause that's
the sign of the neegrah
(Shoub, 1946:13-14).

In the next exchange, Philip is reading and Ella tells him

Ella ... Ain't no black fellow
supposed to read. Ain't good
for them. Gives them ideas.

He is encouraged, though, by the elderly black man.

Ella ... Ain't no good for him to
know too much.

Philip: It's good enough for the white man.

Ella: That's different.

Always there is the contrast of what is good for the white
man is not necessarily good for the black. Stereotypically
Ella gives Philip a command:

Ella: ... Forget about the learnin'
an' sing us a spiritual
(Shoub, 1946:14).

Ella even feels blacks have their own God. In this section
also the elderly man shows the black's attitude towards
spirituals.

Ella: Sure. Git rid of yer
worries. Sing 'em away.
Other folks they go to
lawyers, they gits themselves
a doctor, buy some new shoes,
cry a little, talk a little

.... but we, we gotta sing
 our troubles away. Thass
 good 'nuff for us. (Shoub,
 1946:15)

The elderly man is like the black man's conscience, how he sees himself and how whites see him.

Man: We is created in God's image, they say. How come God, that one of your images treats another of your images like he does? How come the air is sweet 'n good fer white folk 'n dark 'n bitter fer black ones? How come you waste Your time on a folk whats good on'y fer shinin' shoes 'n makin' beds 'n sweepin' dirt 'n cleanin' floors 'n doffin' his hat? Whatsa matter, Mister God, ain't You seen what's goin' on! (Shoub, 1946:15).

Philip then notes that black does have some positive connotations - it is not always negative.

At the end of the play, Dee the head, tells Philip that Ella represents many things, all rotten, prejudice, bigotry, hatred. He says she's on her way out and encourages Philip to lay aside his fears and go out and fight. He exhorts him to "break down the fear" and "get up off your knees". The play ends on a call to prejudiced people to change their way of thinking and thus would be

classified as being alternative.

This play deals with black-white relations: how blacks fear whites, how whites fear blacks. We see the stereotypical characteristics of the black male, as the whites see him and as, in the case of the fear, he actually behaves. The whites assume he is dirty, sneaky, dishonest, violent and not a real man. For Philip the whole play is the opposite of how he has been used to being treated in the war, in the military. Here he was treated equally but in this town he is not treated as equal at all.

A major sub-theme in this play is relations between black men and white women, always taboo. Also discussed is how blacks work and slave for whites. The play is describing the status quo for this is the way people treated the blacks at the time the play was written. After the Second World War in the States, blacks had the problems described in the play in that they had fought the white man's war on equal terms, but still were not given equal rights and recognition at home. In fact, after the War blacks began to demand more rights. However, even after the Vietnam War, U.S. blacks felt bitter as they still met with some discrimination at home. The play ends on a hopeful note in calling for change, providing an alternative vision.

A black man with no identity, symbolizes his whole race in his struggle to overcome fear and prejudice. He finally commits suicide.

Storm Signal

By Cicely Howland - February 20, 1947

This play takes place on an Island in the West Indies in a guest house owned by Tim and Ann Foster. They have three guests staying with them, an American couple and a Canadian doctor. The American man, Bert Wilson is described by the playwright as a "nice young American, keen and progressive-minded", his wife Helen is "a fresh natural American girl" (Howland, 1947:1). The Canadian, a man, is "a sound, democratic Canadian, about 45, not very complex" (Howland, 1947:2). As we note, already the characters are stereotyped. The black servant, Martha, is "a coloured woman of about 40, with seriousness and natural dignity, not in the least servile" (Howland, 1947:2). Also in the play is Isiah, a black man, who is described by Bert as "utterly gentle" and "confused and terrified by Mrs. Foster" (Howland, 1947:3).

The first part of the play is an after-dinner discussion between the guests about the Fosters when we learn that Mrs. Foster tells Isiah that "he and his kind are worthless" (Howland, 1947:3).

We also learn that Mrs. Foster is from the Southern States and her husband is not. When Mrs. Foster and Mr. Foster make their appearance we learn that she is "a very feminine, at moments, quite charming, person somewhere between 30-40, but made fundamentally unhealthy by her distorted beliefs and prejudices" (Howland, 1947:4). The guests play cards and talk. At one point the playwright notes of Mrs.

Foster, "she speaks of 'niggers' and white people quite naturally" (Howland, 1947:5). Then the group discusses blacks with Mrs. Foster showing herself to be a blatant racist, while the others all come to the defense of the blacks, including her husband. They all say goodnight after this with the American couple going for a walk, Dr. Shepherd and Mr. Foster staying to chat and Mrs. Foster going to bed. A storm is rising. The next day the storm continues and Isiah asks to go home which Mr. Foster agrees to, as he knows Isiah wants to be with his family during the storm. The storm makes everyone on edge. They hear a loud crash and it turns out to be a coconut palm tree falling. Mrs. Foster decides to send Isiah to remove it, but discovers to her anger that he has gone home. There follows a fight between her and Martha, and Mr. Foster takes Martha's side. Mr. and Mrs. Foster then go off for a walk. Then they attend to supper. Later, we see Mrs. Foster interacting with Isiah, giving him orders and generally insulting him. Then Martha joins in to support Isiah, Mrs. Foster ends up hitting Isiah and Martha tells her to stop tormenting him. Then we hear a heavy blow and a scream from Mrs. Foster. Martha hits her with a poker and tells Mr. Foster. Mr. Foster decides to make the murder look like an accident and takes his wife's body outside to make it appear she was hit by the downed tree. He proposes not turning Martha in to the police. The others support him. The rain stops and the play ends on a note of hope as everything takes on new life and everything

is green again.

The main theme dealt with in this play is black/white relations. There are positive white-black relations and negative black-white relations. The one woman who shows herself racist is from the Southern states. She is not Canadian and this in itself conforms with people's stereotypical ideas of where racists live, even though racism was practiced throughout the rest of North America. Although this play takes place in the Caribbean, the woman racist is not even from there. This may also fit in with the way Canadian listeners liked to picture the Caribbean as non-racist because it was British like Canada itself was in 1947, when this play was performed.

While the play itself is a plea for better white-black relations, the blacks themselves are at first presented in a stereotypical way. Martha, the maid, is a typical strong black woman "not in the least servile". But Isiah, the black male, traditionally viewed by whites as weaker than the woman, is described as "a bit simple" and "just confused and terrified". Bert says "Maria tells me there are dozens of small brothers and sisters running around naked and half-starved" (Howland:1947:3). This view of Isiah's family seems condescending and colonial, lots of little natives running around naked.

In this play, although the majority of the characters come to the support of the blacks, the blacks are still in the position of servants, as in the old days, masters are white and servants are black. The dominant class, the

whites, represented by Ann Foster are, however, challenged in their view of blacks by the members of the same dominant class. Even in this play, the blacks are not completely fighting their own cause. They are treated like children as the whites take matters into their own hands, although Martha does act by murdering her employer. The opposites here are adults (whites) and children (blacks). The blacks are treated by Mrs. Foster as children, "Let him go without his dinner. That'll teach him" also "Niggers are, at best, children" (Howland, 1947:7).

Even the non-racist whites treat the blacks as children who need their aid.

Mr. Foster: I won't let you insult and browbeat these helpless people (Howland, 1947:13).

Again, this attitude, while obviously better than Mrs. Foster's, is still condescending. We, as an audience, are also made to feel sorry for the blacks on the island.

Shepherd: ... The local population must find it pretty hard to make a living from this dry thin soil.

Mr. Foster: They're very poor, yes ... They work very hard (Howland, 1947:6).

Later in another conversation between Shepherd and Mr. Foster.

Shepherd: Why don't they move? ...

Mr. Foster: They'd have to acquire property. They have no money. But that's not the main reason. People love what they possess and understand, even if it's bad ... even if it treats them badly (Howland, 1947:9).

In this conversation we feel pity towards the blacks, but again also superior towards a group who, although they know it's bad, stay on anyway.

The main theme in this play is then black-white relations. The black and white are opposites. The prejudice and compassion shown could also be said to be opposites. Reference is made to the North and the South, once again at war. Those from the South (Ann Foster) being racist, those from the North (Bert, Helen, Shepherd) non-racist. The husband and wife, in their views are also opposites. Lastly, in terms of age, we see the younger generation (Bert, Helen, Shepherd) with liberal views of blacks versus the older generation (Ann Foster) as conservative.

The play could be classified as alternative in that it carries a call for violence as an answer to race problems. Violence, such as the murder which the whites help to cover up, is not usually condoned. However, in this play the scene is set right from the outset to make the listener feel that the violence is justified. Throughout, the

strength of Mr. Foster, the main supporter of the murder, is stressed. We hear how angelic-like he is, how he is "a pretty wonderful person" (Howland, 1947:4), "a man with great inner resources" (Howland, 1947:16). These qualities encourage the listener to respect him so that even when he does something which is beyond the law, covering up a murder, the audience still respects him.

Again in this play there is a purging at the end of the evil, Mrs. Foster, and good prevails.

Miracle by the River

By Ray Darby - March 15, 1945

This play has a narrator who is a journalist observing the events. The events are not clear and he is trying to piece them together to figure out what happened to the Jewish prisoner, Isaac, who is badly disfigured and the little injured boy he found as they were both fleeing from the Nazis. The narrator begins the play by describing the camp ironically,

... a camp that specialized in plain and fancy forms of punishment for those born with the ungodly chemical of Jewish blood in their veins (Darby, 1945, 2).

Isaac was used as a special demonstration prisoner because he had been badly disfigured. He was used as an example and a warning for other prisoners not to misbehave. When the other prisoners see his disfigured face they are shocked.

Soon Isaac escapes from the camp and starts to head for the Swiss border. On his flight he comes across a little boy whom he picks up and carries with him. The boy is also fleeing from the Nazis. Isaac and he eventually reach the river and attempt to cross it to freedom. At the end of the play it seems as if they are drowned in their attempt and the narrator tells how he questioned an old Swiss boatman to see if he had noticed them crossing the Rhine. He said that he had seen a fine tall man and a boy

holding hands as they walked along, but they did not look like escaped prisoners, "They looked ... almost as mortals would look who had glimpsed Heaven" (Darby, 1945:17).

So the story ends on a note of mystery as we do not know whether the boatman saw two ghosts or whether he saw someone else. The river itself is symbolic of the river between life and death. Happiness is on the other side which is why the two people the boatman saw were smiling. They were serene and at peace in death. These points are not cleared up by the playwright at the end. In any case the Jewish man helped the little boy to find a happier place.

The dominant theme of this play is war and its effect on people, especially the Jews, who are represented by Isaac. The war brought oppression and cruelty as witnessed by Isaac's imprisonment and disfigured face and out of this oppression we see that some good comes, a miracle is performed, either the Jewish prisoner and his small charge are released from their agony into a happy death or they do actually escape to the other side of the river and their happiness makes Isaac's face appear good looking to the boatman who saw them.

In terms of opposites again this play deals with war and peace, good and evil. We also see how the Jews, represented by Isaac, are downtrodden and oppressed and how they then rise out of this situation. As the narrator points out,

Narrator: ... the spark of independence still burned

in his mistreated body ... (Darby, 1945:3).

This play offers an alternative vision in that the Jew, instead of going meekly to the slaughter, acts defiantly.

Commandant: ... This man felt that our rules were made for others ... but not for him (Darby, 1945:3).

Isaac defied the commandant and was disfigured for it, but he went one step further and escaped from the camp. He became a hero because in saving himself he also saved a little boy. This heroic act is reminiscent of how the Jew was portrayed in the play 'O Day of Joy and Gladness'- both Jews fought back at a time when many could not in Europe and were led to their deaths in the camps.

In the commandant's treatment and attitude towards the Jews we see a stereotype treating them cruelly and with disdain,

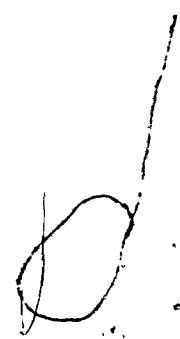
Man: But sir ... there is one who is dying.

Commandant: Then let her die (Darby, 1945:2).

Also in another conversation

Man: If we just had some water ... only a little

Commandant: Listen Jew! From this point on, you will ask for nothing! Is that clear? You will take what you get, and be thankful. You will ask for



nothing! (Darby, 1945:2).

He speaks of them as worse than animals.

... You are fortunate to have the comforts afforded an animal as useful as the sheep..." (Darby, 1945:2).

Through the eyes of the little boy we see a different picture of the Jew,

Boy: ... You must be very handsome.

Boy: ... Good people always have beautiful faces...

Isaac: If the world only had your philosophy (Darby, 1945:8).

Through the narrator the playwright is able to present a comment on the events of the play and on the Jews. He presents the camp in an ironic way, almost for shock value, for example a "camp that specialized in plain and fancy forms of punishment for those born with the ungodly chemical of Jewish blood in the vein" (Darby, 1945:2).

When he spoke with the guard, the narrator was also somewhat ironic,

Narrator: The guard who told me the story was quite amused. He seemed to see some significance in this nightmare journey ... this bewildering hunt through the storm for a phantom that always kept just out of sight. He spoke to me of the 'wandering Jew' and laughed ... The children of Israel, he said, ... doomed

to wander from place to place, never finding rest, never finding solace ... never finding home. And Isaac was the personification of that helpless, driven race. The guard didn't wonder, as I did, what Isaac actually did and thought during the chase (Darby, 1945:9).

This narrator is showing himself to be sensitive and sympathetic towards Isaac, symbolic of all Jews who were at that time still wandering and not settled in a homeland.

At this time in Canada, however, public opinion, in Québec especially and federal government policies, was still concerned with the importance of keeping Jews from finding a homeland in Canada and immigrating here. In this sense, this play at this level can be said to be alternative.

"O Day of Joy and Gladness"

By Mac Shoub

September 29, 1944

In this fantasy play a soldier returning from the war, Maxie Myers, is on a train with fellow soldiers and feels at first that he is returning home from the war because he has been injured. We see him playing cards with friends. At first Maxie says they have to pass through a rehabilitation centre before they actually go to their own homes. At a certain point, the train stops and a man in a white uniform calls Maxie's name, Maxie Myers, and tells Maxie this is where he is to leave the train. At first the playwright does not identify Maxie as a Jew. We only know his first name, whereas his friend we only know by the name of Jackson, a Gentile name. Here there is an echo of the concentration camp, the Jew goes but the Gentile, Jackson, stays on. From this point he is taken by truck to his destination where he is told to check in. At the entrance he starts talking to another man, the Yank, who when Maxie gives his name says "Jewish?" Maxie quickly replies, "So what?", and the Yank then says "Touchy, eh? Relax, fellah, there's none of that here" (Shoub, 1944:8).

From this point on we realize that in fact Maxie has died and is in heaven or "after life". He and the Yank carry on a discussion about their lives and Maxie reveals what it was like growing up Jewish, and why he felt motivated to join the war. Maxie says the reason he joined up was different, he had a special reason.

Maxie: ... when Adolf started making fertilizer out of my people I got the chance to do something I never thought I'd do. Fight back ... (Shoub, 1944,12).

Maxie felt that the Jews were always blamed for everything, corruption, famine, floods and that now he was being given an opportunity to fight this. This is an example of the "new" kind of Jew who was emerging at that time historically in 1944-45, the ones who were beginning to fight back, culminating with the struggle against the British to obtain their own State. Also, Jews in the Warsaw Ghetto had fought against the Germans. Traditionally, Jews were not seen in a soldiering role. So this play in this sense can be said to be alternative in that it offers a different vision of Jews.

Maxie described the differences he noticed as a child between himself and others. At first he felt the same, but then he noticed a crucifix in his friend's home and as a child he began to wonder. His mother tried to protect him, but his father gave him the facts as he saw them. Mother: Your're tired, darling, come to bed (Shoub, 1944:14).

Father: ... You are a Jew and for that you will be hated. You will be hated and despised for something that happened

so very long ago the beginnings are almost lost (Shoub, 1944:15).

The father exhorts Maxie to change.

Father: ... Don't cry any more. It is time we stopped crying. Yes, it is time we stopped (Shoub, 1944:15).

Maxie describes how he was treated by the other children; how they yelled "Dirty Jew" (Shoub, 1944:14) at him. He expresses a hope that things are changing and that his son would not experience the same hostility. The Yank feels there are changes.

Yank: Things are changing. What's happened in the world lately is educating people (Shoub, 1944:16).

Maxie hopes that his son will never have to feel badly when he is filling out an application form and is faced with the word 'Religion'. He hopes that things will change for his son as "they" said it would change.

Maxie: ... They said it in blood in the Warsaw Ghetto, in the lime kilns in Occupied Russia (Shoub, 1944:17).

Ironically, Maxie then apologizes for running away with himself and says; "I don't want you to think I'm prejudiced" and "It's my cross and I shouldn't pawn it off

on you" (Shoub, 1944:17). These are words and expressions which are most usually associated with a Christian attitude towards Jews and the playwright has made the Jewish character say them. The Yank assures him that he need not worry as "it's different here" (Shoub, 1944:17). This is one of the central themes of the play, that religion in death does not matter, we are all equal at that point.

Death comes on a "day of Joy and Gladness". The Yank points out that he now understands the sentence, "Thy will be done on Earth as it is in Heaven" (Shoub, 1944:21); in other words, that there will eventually be a paradise on earth and all men will be equal. The final sentence of the play throws in the final irony, the man in charge of this paradise ensuring that everyone, including Jews, are treated equally, got there himself by crucifixion, in other words, Christ, who traditionally himself was killed by the Jews.

This play's theme is life and death and how they differ for Jews and non-Jews. Spanning three generations for the Jews, we see the parents who are accepting the treatment they receive as Jews and behave passively. As Maxie's father states,

Mr. Myers: ... please God, we will
 awaken one morning and this
 horrible thing will be gone
 ... (Shoub, 1944:15).

Then we have Maxie's generation who take up their weapons to fight against the injustices committed against Jews.

This generation is killed in the fight, fought because they were "promised tolerance and a better world" (Shoub, 1944:21). They, in the form of Maxie, leave their sons to collect, as their pay-off was death. In some ways the play contains a mixed message, the Jews who didn't fight in Europe were killed and those who did, like Maxie, were also killed. At least in the end, they find equality and happiness in death.

The two plays about the Jews present an alternative view of them as an ethnic group, as they present them favourably at a time when state policy certainly discriminated against them.

Only the Tears Have Spoken

By Mac Shoub - May 17, 1945

This play deals with a German family at war end. The mother has been killed in the bombing. The father has lived out the war with his daughter, a war widow and recently, with a young Jewish boy she has taken in. The son returns home, a German soldier. The dialogue deals with the differences between father and son. Finally, the son also argues with his sister over the little Jewish boy whom he would like to shoot. The play ends with the son being shot by his sister as he is not wanted there, and the father and daughter have replaced him with the little Jewish boy.

This play, from a structural viewpoint, deals with the opposites of the home front and the war front and the differences between them, the two sides of Germany. The father represents the home front and the son the war front. On the home front the Germans did not support their armies always.

Father: Yes? And what would you have achieved? Another number in your concentration camps? Another grave? So what?

(Shoub, 1945:3).

and later "... We should have cried out against you ..."

(Shoub, 1945:2).

The son is shown to be a stereotypical Nazi, hating all other groups, even his family, following orders, ques-

tioning like the Gestapo, killing in cold blood. The father on the contrary, is the unsterotypical German, he hates the war, Nazism and killing. He despises the German Army.

Father: What does a German understand about respect? Besides it is time you forgot this soldier business. That's finished. We'll have no more of it. We've had enough ... (Shoub, 1945:2).

The old man still has hopes for the future and is not cynical like his son. This is a reversal of roles for usually the old are cynical and bitter and the young are those who hope for the future. The opposites of young and old are in this way represented in the play. However, they are reversed. The father has hope for the future.

Father: ... Now is a time for building and happiness (Shoub, 1945:22).

He had hopes for his own son's return, and makes a reference to the prodigal son, unfortunately his son does not live up to his expectations of a prodigal son returning. He gives his son some cigarettes.

Father: Keep the pack. We have no fatted calf for you ... so keep the pack (Shoub, 1945:2).

In this play unexpectedly, the father despises his son, rather than looking up to him as a returning soldier.

Father: His first day home and
already he's making trouble.
You empty-headed Nazi!
(Shoub, 1945:8).

The son reflects the side of Germany which supported Hitler and the daughter, of the same generation, and the father represent the opposites, those who were against Germany and Hitler.

Willie: ... You are my people and yet
we live in different worlds
... (Shoub, 1945:13).

He wants to know whether he should tell his children about Hitler but the father tells him to tell the other story.

Father: ... Tell about the Jews. About
the Greeks. About the Poles.
About the murder camps. About the
burning books ... (Shoub,
1945:14).

The father describes the people of Germany as they are stereotypically considered to be,

Father: There are many kinds of
people in Germany today,
Anna. But for all these
people there is a common
bond. They cannot or will

not think. They beg to be led. And they have never cared where or how they were being led ... (Shoub, 1945:15).

He notes that even at the end of the war they are all sitting in Germany, waiting to be led. He says that a million people like him in Germany deserve to die for allowing the war to happen.

For the old man and the daughter, the little boy represents the future, a chance they have been given to change and to do some good in the future.

Anna: ... He is a new world, my Eric, and no harm shall come to him (Shoub, 1945:21).

With the shooting of Willie, the play ends on a purged note. Good, in the forms of Eric and peace, has taken over from evil represented in the son, Willie.

Father: ... There on the floor is your world, diseased. Dead ... the whole world lies dead in a stinking heap ... (Shoub, 1945:22).

The play then depicts Germans as good and evil. The good Germans triumph as they are responsible for the death of evil. There are some good Germans, who take in Jewish children. We see the German family split in two, generationally father and son and sibling-wise, brother and

sister. The Jewish boy is the symbol of the oppressed nations of Europe and all that is good.

This play presents an alternative vision of Germans immediately after World War II when state policy and public opinion viewed them unfavourably.

The Great Spy Scare

By H. Shirley Fowke - August 30, 1961

This play takes place in Québec so it is a first hand experience of French Quebecers relating to another ethnic group, two Germans. This play was broadcast in 1961 which is after the rise in power of the third group out West, particularly when Diefenbaker came to power. Sixteen years after the war ended, attitudes towards Germans are beginning to change, there are some Germans who are good after all. The play itself is set in the wartime period in the Laurentians, in a small Québec village, which sees most of its business in the summertime. It opens with the German professor bemoaning to an old friend, a French Canadian that "zis year ze people do not zeem so kint" (Fowke, 1961:2). He feels it is because he is German.

Professor: Because I am Cherman and zis
country is at var vis
Chermany" (Fowke, 1961:2).

He feels that people in the village are now suspicious of him and his sister with whom he shares his "fine great cottage". Casimir, his French Canadian friend denies that there has been a change in attitude but as the plot develops we see him proven wrong. Casimir defends Professor Adalbert against the suspicions of the other characters in the play who suspect that at night time the Professor is sending signals to German submarines, via flashing lights. Wishing to get the locals out of the way while he does this, he threatens to report any fishermen

who take lobsters out of the water out of season, against government regulations. Meanwhile, the locals note that his sister returns the lobsters they give her to the river for she says that lobsters mate for life and are not to be parted from one another. The locals one night go out in a small boat to watch the Germans' house, to see whether they are signalling messages. When they do see the flashing lights, news travels around the town and villagers demand the arrest of the German couple. That night, when the police chief goes himself to check out the situation, they approach the house and inside they see the French Canadian housekeeper on a rocking chair in the kitchen and each time her head passes the light it looks as if a light is flashing on and off from the outside! So there is no spying after all. The play ends with the housekeeper and her fiancé Arcade looking at a gift for the Professor's sister of twelve lobsters which she can take to the river and set free.

The opposites in this play are the Germans and Germany, who are involved in the war; i.e., the 'bad' Germans, and the Germans who are living in Canada, Professor Adalbert and his sister who are the good Germans. Casimir: You are not our enemy, m'sieu! (Fowke, 1961:2). They are good people as is shown by the incident with the lobsters. Professor Adalbert's sister, Marie, cannot bear to kill and eat lobsters. She returns them to the river to save their lives. While the Germans in Germany are killing people, the Germans in Canada cannot even bear to kill

lobsters for eating. Professor Adalbert even threatens to report any townspeople who fish out of season.

Another opposite is the sophistication and knowledge of the immigrant Germans, one a professor, a marine biologist and the simple French Canadian local people, who speak with broken English interspersed with French words and phrases.

Casimir: Bien, comme tous les jours
 Professor Adalbert, I have
 been in Montréal three weeks
 or so to pay some visits
 there. And you, the world
 goes also well with you?

(Fowke, 1961:1).

The French Canadians are also employed by the sophisticated foreigners, for example, Madeline, Arcard's fiancée, is cook for the Professor. The French Canadians themselves look up to and respect the Germans.

Arcade: These Germans they are
 clever. They have perhaps
 been planning to deceive us

(Fowke, 1961:6).

As the people in the crowd say,

The police they will find nothing. The
 professor he is much too smart for them

(Fowke, 1961:17).

The French Canadians in the play act in a stereotypical way in that they attribute intelligence to the outsiders, while

putting themselves down. They naively wish to take matters into their own hands and drive the Professor and his sister out of town.

Another opposite is the way in which the German Professor and his sister used to be treated, they were used to people being warm and friendly towards them.

Adalbert: ... Ze people zey are looking at me now no longer vis ze eyes of ozzer years...." (Fowke, 1961:2).

and also -

Adalbert: Zis year ze people do not seem so kint (Fowke, 1961:2).

It is the war which has caused this change in attitude.

Madeline:People, they say, are cold to them and look at them with hatred in their eyes. They cannot understand this terrible transformation It is the war, of course (Fowke, 1961:16).

This play then deals with two Germans as representatives of an ethnic group in Canada, in French Canada. As representatives of a wartime enemy, they are, in contrast, quite peaceful by nature; nature lovers, opposites to the Germans in Europe at that time, who deal out torture and death, according to the police officer, Ferricault. These Germans are not the stereotypes the French Canadians have

heard about, they are the opposite. They save lives of even the lobsters instead of taking life like their fellow compatriots. The play is a reversal of expectations, the opposite of what we might believe. These Germans are not spies at all but are instead good, kind people, liked by all and friendly to all. This play, as noted, could have been prompted by the political situation in Canada in 1961 when the Germans and Ukrainians and other Eastern Europeans were enjoying an upswing in influence out West. At that time, this play presented a sustaining view of Germans.

Comparison of Plays and Conclusions

These plays concern five ethnic groups, including French Canadians, as seen from an Anglophone perspective, since the plays were broadcast in English. Some of the plays take place in Canada and some take place outside of Canada. One of the German plays takes place in Québec so that we see an interaction between Canadians and Germans. The other German play takes place in Germany after the Second World War and portrays two types of Germans, the Nazis and those who were not in agreement with the policies of Hitler, those who stayed behind in the German cities and suffered the War like civilians in all countries. Of the two Italian plays, one takes place in Canada, giving us a view of the immigrant family made good. The son is very well known as a singer and has managed to succeed in his new land; or at least in his parents' new land for he was actually born here. In the second Italian play we see an immigrant to Canada who has gone home and has had to deal with the old ways back in the old country which is Sicily.

As regards the two Black plays both of these take place outside of Canada, one in the Caribbean and the other in the States. This is in a way a distancing of Canadians from the problem of race relations which is a more sensitive zone than relations between other ethnic groups in Canada. Canadians have not wanted to admit there was ever a problem of race relations in this country. These plays somehow underline this attitude by being set elsewhere. The Jewish plays take place in Germany and in Canada. One

Jewish play performed in 1945 puts the Jew in a familiar setting for that era in a concentration camp and then escaping from this. At that time the camps in Europe were being discovered, towards the end of the War and the subject was topical. The other Jewish play, also performed in 1945, deals with a slightly different subject in that it shows a Jewish soldier who fought back. We meet the hero, Maxie, in death where we soon learn that in death all are equal and religion does not count. In both Jewish plays the hero fights back. This theme is also repeated in the plays about Blacks in the States where the hero, Philip, commits suicide and goes to heaven. There he is treated kindly by whites and as an equal for the first time in his life. As regards the two French Canadian plays, these are set in Québec. They both deal with French Canadians living a rural lifestyle.

On analyzing the plays it is useful to compare each pair of plays and see whether there are recurring themes and similarities in the way the ethnic group is presented in each play. In taking first the two plays dealing with Blacks we see a mutual fear: in both plays the whites, or some of them, fear the Blacks and the Blacks, such as Isiah and Philip, fear the whites. This fear, as expected, does not appear with the other ethnic groups except the Jews in the concentration camp.

We also see how the whites attribute certain characteristics to the Blacks. In Storm Signal, Isiah is regarded by Mrs. Foster as malicious and of Philip it is

assumed that he is violent. Isiah is accused of being cunning and Philip of being sneaky. Also in both plays we see Isiah accused of animal like behaviour and Philip is told he belongs in a stable. Both men are accused of being dirty and having dirty habits. They are treated like children; Philip is, as is common in the States, constantly called boy and is always addressed condescendingly. Mrs. Foster always addresses the servants Isiah and Martha in the same way. In both these plays there is violence, one is an act of violence which the playwright justifies and which the audience must be sympathetic with. The other violence concerns an assumption about Philip that because he is black he must have committed a murder but there is also the violence he does to himself by gassing.

In both these plays we see some of the characters acting as racists and treating the Blacks in a stereotypical way. However, the playwrights in both plays give the Blacks the opportunity to rise out of their situation. In Storm Signal, we see Martha taking justice into her own hands and murdering Mrs. Foster, an act of violence which is supported by the other whites. In the other play about Blacks, Philip commits suicide as his way out but in death we see that his blackness is no longer relevant and he is treated kindly by the orderlies in heaven. Interestingly, in this play the black man has adopted the name of a white man and he really has no name of his own. This symbolizes the black man with no identity, who in the days of the slave trade, took his master's name, it being assumed he

had no name of his own.

In the two plays about Jews, we see the Jews in non-traditional roles, both times the Jews fight back so the plays themselves have an optimistic note, that there is a way out. In each play there is interaction with people who do not like Jews such as the commandant in the concentration camp and the children Maxie plays with who call him "Dirty Jew". However, later in both plays the Jews, Maxie and Isaac, come into contact with people who are more humane, Maxie meets Jackson, a fellow soldier on the train, and Isaac meets a little boy as he is fleeing the camp. Ironically, although Isaac is horribly disfigured, the little boy believes that he is a handsome man as "good people always have beautiful faces" (Darby, 1945:8). Isaac is not treated by the little boy as a Jew with terrible features but as a beautiful human being. In one play we see the commandant treating the Jews as animals but this does not occur in the other play. In these two plays, perhaps to give some authenticity, some Yiddish is used.

In the two plays which deal with Germans, we see good Germans and bad Germans. One of the plays was presented in May 1945 at war end and is an examination of how war has affected an ordinary German family. The play is interesting in that it does show that the ordinary German family suffered as much as the ordinary British family during the war, losing a member of their family during the bombing raids and another at the front. However, we do see that one of their number is a typical, cruel Nazi, presented

stereotypically, hating Jews, Greeks and other minority groups. In the other play, which takes place fifteen years after the war has ended, we see only good Germans, so good that they cannot even bear to eat lobster and throw them back in the water.

In this play we see the interrelation between French Canadians and the Germans in a Québec village. The play which is set in wartime shows well how the French Canadians have become suspicious of the Germans in their midst. But perhaps because of the political situation in Canada when the play was produced in 1961, we are made to understand that some Germans can be exceptions, even during wartime. In the play which takes place in Canada we see the German professor speaking with a broken English accent interspersed with French words. In the play by Mac Shoub, the language is not made to sound German and all the characters speak with normal English.

The two Italian plays deal with Italians in two different settings, one in Sicily and one in Canada. The play set in Sicily deals with Italians in stereotype in that the local Sicilians are all portrayed as supporting vendetta killings. Italians in Canada have been fighting this image for many years; the general population in reading any newspaper can assume that all Italians are members of the Mafia. In this play everybody is part of it except the young man, Stefano, who has been in Canada for three years. The message is that he has been changed by his contact with Canadian society.

The other play also deals with Italians as stereotypes to a certain extent in that the young hero, Johnny Pasco, is a singer with a voice that he inherited from his grandfather who could sing opera. We hear that Johnny (message: unlike most Italians) doesn't like tomatoes but his mother makes a good scallopini. The food and the names and some of the characteristics such as the operatic grandfather are typical of a stereotyped Italian. In this play, however, we do see also characteristics which can be applied to any ethnic group new in Canada: they prefer their own neighbourhood where all their friends live, not the big fancy houses that new money can buy them; they prefer their old jobs, not the luxury of not having to work; they intermarry, preferring the traditional women of their own group to the new, modern Canadian-born girls. However, the change comes in the second generation as they are born in Canada and have Canadian customs and ways. These are all generalities about ethnic groups, some of them are true but they are not true obviously for all the people all the time. In the same way, in the other play, we have a comparison between old and new, the old ways of the old country versus the new ways of the new country, Canada. In both plays the old is represented by the elderly parents and the new by the children. In the play in Sicily the contrast is greater between old and new, and we see the old country in action. Both plays recall Margaret Atwood's statement about the tension between old and new values in immigrants. In both plays we see the

hero courting an Italian girl, one of his 'own kind', girls who are portrayed as pure and good as opposed to the types of girls there are in Canada, sophisticated but empty.

Finally, we come to the two plays on French Canadians. These two plays take place sixteen years apart, 1945 and 1961, and both treat French Canadians in the same way. There was little change in that period in how the French were treated in English Canada and these two plays can be said to reflect the general anglophone view of the French. They do not deal with interrelations between English and French except at one point where André in The Wedding becomes infatuated with an English girl who seems so much more sophisticated to him and eventually leads him (tempts him) to his death by heart attack. The French were always considered as farming people and their own church encouraged this rather than a migration to the city. These two plays portrays them as simple, rural people who like a little drop of caribou occasionally.

Religion plays the major role in both plays, with the village priest being the key to the problem in both cases. The people themselves in each case call in the priest to solve their problems and save them from damnation. The women are always shown to be even more simple than the men, with their main roles as mothers and nurturers. At least in these two plays we do not see them as nuns at all, which is the other role for French Canadian women. The two plays both deal with sin, as seen by the Catholic church, the sin of living together without marriage, the sin of not

attending mass, the sin of dancing on a Sunday, and it shows the French Canadian villagers to be very preoccupied by this sin. It is very important for them to ensure they do not sin, as it is defined by their Church.

As we have seen, while each play introduces new material on each ethnic group, there are similarities in each pair of plays. There are also some recurring themes in all the plays such as the general stereotyping of ethnic groups. It is interesting to note whether these stereotypes are encouraged by the playwrights or in fact discouraged, in other words, whether they offer alternative visions of the group or sustaining visions.

As we stated in our method of analysis, these two terms are a variation on Raymond Williams' discussion of social formations (1981:68-71). Sustaining refers to the acceptance or reproduction of existing modes of discourse about an ethnic group and alternative refers to the development of an alternative mode of discourse about the group. From the ten plays selected we see that seven of them offer different ways of looking at the ethnic group, different that is from the usual stereotypes associated with these particular groups, or they offer ways out from their situation which are unexpected or alternative. In the play about Blacks, Storm Signal, Martha kills the white racist woman and this act receives the approval of the other white characters in the play. This is unexpected and an alternative vision for Blacks. The condoning of violence as a means to an end heralded the later position assumed by

segments of the Black protest movement and is certainly an alternative vision not reflected in state policies at that time. In the other play on Blacks the alternative vision discussed is death and that after death we are all equal and colour does not matter.

Similarly, in the play about Jews, Maxie, the Jewish soldier, dies and finds that in death old stereotypes about Jews are forgotten and again we are equal in death. In the other play about Jews, Isaac again is not presented in a stereotypical way as peaceful but is a fighter, like Maxie and he appears to die at the end. He seems happy in his death as if all the old fear and prejudices can no longer touch him. These two plays present alternative visions of Jews. Usually they were not shown as fighters but as meek lambs being led to their slaughter.

In the two plays on Germans we are again presented with two alternative visions to the usual stereotypes. In the play which takes place in Québec, we see two extremely peace-loving Germans, a complete alternative vision to the bellicose Germans, people had become used to seeing in films about the War. At the beginning, however, they are viewed suspiciously as spies by the French Canadian villagers, but it soon turns out that they are a very gentle couple. In the other play we see two types of Germans. Just after the War when this play was presented the playwright might have had a very difficult time presenting a play with only good Germans in the cast. Here we see the stereotype of the evil Nazi but in contrast we

are presented with his peaceloving family, an alternative vision of Germans.

In one of the two plays about Italians, we see that there are stereotypical Italians in Sicily. The characters confirm commonly held views that all Italians are members of or at least silently support the methods of the Mafia. The playwright, however, then offers an alternative vision in that the one Italian who had been in Canada for three years is different. The message seems to be that "our" Italians are different, because they have absorbed the different values of Canada. He does not want to be a part of the revenge and in the end he avoids his father's way of handling the problem. The new Canadian ways win out over the old Italian ways.

In the other play about Italians, we have a play which is more about immigrants in some ways than about Italians. Some stereotypical attributes are present such as the opera singing and the food, which identify the people as Italians and possibly also their accents as they seem to be speaking in broken English. Other than this the play presents stereotypical immigrant situations, probably as other Canadians might see them. The parents prefer the old ways and the old neighbourhood while the son prefers the new ways of the new world. In some ways this play can be said to be showing stereotyped immigrants but it is also presenting fact as social science research in immigrant groups has show. First generation immigrants tend to stay together in the same neighbourhood, intermarry and carry on

life much as it was in the "old country". The youth tries to break away from these customs. Therefore, this play cannot be said to offer an alternative vision or a different way of looking at Italians or immigrants. It is more sustaining as it describes a situation in an immigrant family, a "typical" immigrant family.

The two plays about Italians can also be said to be sustaining of government policy towards this group, for at the time they were broadcast in 1961, Canadian government policies towards Italian immigration were favourable.

Finally, our analysis brings us to the two plays on French Canadians. These two plays seem to be totally sustaining of the Anglophone view of French Canadians. The characters in the plays are negatively stereotyped, in the way in which the French are always thought of in English Canada. These plays show them as religious, giving religion the central part in their lives; they are simple, superstitious country folk, with simple pleasures and lifestyles. Even though the plays are separated by sixteen years they both carry the same messages and themes. They offer no alternative vision for this group.

In referring back to our original discussion on discourse, ethnic discourse is carried out in these plays through presenting the ethnic groups in a stereotyped way which thus perpetuates the view of them in the public eye. The playwright, as an agent of the State controlled and operated agency, the CBC, is responsible for promoting this view of ethnic groups or offering an alternative view of

them. As we have noted, in most of the examples we have chosen, the playwrights have chosen to offer alternative visions, an individualistic view of each group or an indication of what the group could do to break away from their situation.

In the majority of the plays the playwright either shows by direct action or gives the characters the opportunity to discuss the way in which his particular group has been viewed and treated by the rest of society. We see Maxie, Philip, the whites in Storm Signal, the Italians in both plays and also the Germans in both plays discussing how they or other groups are viewed poorly by society. The discourse directly concerns the problems met by the ethnic groups. Then, we see how in these eight plays the playwright offers a new form of discourse, an alternative vision for the groups. He or she is taking an independent stand in some cases against the State and treating the ethnic group more favourably than perhaps the Canadian state is doing at that time.

Although the ethnic discourse in these plays is designed to view the groups favourably (with the exception as discussed of the French Canadians), we witness in the State discourse that in fact the State itself does not act favourably towards groups such as the Blacks, the Germans, and the Jews until long after the period in which these plays are produced. Jews, but more particularly Blacks, had difficulty entering the country due to State policy. This situation was to continue for Blacks until the

Sixties. It is interesting to note then that the opinions expressed in the plays must be those of a minority in Canada which included the playwrights and obviously, as we showed in our discussion on state discourse, did not include public opinion or the opinion of the governments of the day. Although the intended effect of the plays might be to promote favourable discourse about the different groups, this was not necessarily successful if governments and public opinion remained against the ethnic group in question. If the stereotypes are presented negatively or with no alternative vision, the playwright must have in mind the perpetuation of the image of the ethnic group, such as the plays about the French Canadians. At the time these plays were produced the Parti Québécois had still to make its mark on Canada and Québec. The intended or unintended effect of this type of play could be to keep this group in the place it had always maintained in Canadian society.

The examination of the two types of discourses and the analysis of the plays in this thesis has shown that literary discourse as presented by an organ of the state, the CBC, is not necessarily the same as state discourse in an advanced capitalist society such as Canada. The playwrights can and do present an alternative vision for ethnic groups. This shows that the media in advanced capitalist societies is far from being controlled by the state, even when the media agency, in this case the CBC, is an agency of the state. At a time when the government was practicing

a policy of restricted immigration for such groups as the Jews, the Blacks, the Italians and the Germans, the CBC an agency of the states was still producing plays which presented these groups in a favourable light. In other words, literary discourse is not always the same as state discourse. As Raymond Williams shows those involved in producing these plays are not just the agents of the state; they are the actors who agree to the roles, the playwrights who write the plays, the producers who select them, and the agency under whose authority the plays are presented. These artistic creators are acting autonomously, independently of the state.

However, interestingly, although the playwrights did present an alternative vision for four of the groups examined, they still, until the early Sixties, presented a sustaining view of French Canadians. It would be interesting to research how French Canadians are represented in the English media following the Quiet Revolution.

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