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**Britons in the New Dominion: British Canadian Hybridity and Canada as a Refuge
from Sectarianism**

Perhaps the most misunderstood feature of early Canadian political culture and ideology is the concept of the “four founding peoples,” an important facet of Confederation-era nationalism that folded together and “assimilated” English, Scottish, Irish and French identities into a new, compound, Canadian ethnicity. This notion is central to early Canadian semiotics, featuring on flags, coats of arms, floral emblems, coins, stamps, commercial goods, and in many other early nationalist literary representations of Canadian identity. In what follows, I will argue that the ideas related to such representations served to mitigate sectarian tension and create a paradigm of Canadian hybridity that later provided a model for the accommodation of more widely disparate cultural and immigrant groups. Commonly, especially in recent post-colonial accounts of Canadian identity, this assimilationist ideology is configured as a negative form of racialism that exclusively privileges Canadians of British and French ethnicity. Sunera Thobani’s *Exalted Subjects: Studies in the Making of Race and Nation in Canada* (2007), for instance, argues that “people of colour” :

...understood full well the power invested in this institution and sought access to that power, contesting the racialized identity of the nation, both materially and symbolically (93).ⁱ

In contrast, in this presentation I will argue that in the context of mid-Victorian sectarian conflict, the idea of a compound Canadian identity offered a refuge from inherited hostilities, and an escape from the persistent violence and bigotry that marked European relations between English and French, Protestant and Catholic, and Irish and Irish. I will also argue that the adoption of a monarchist and nationalist semiotics of a British hybridity provided a coherent and historical sense of national identity that ensured the preservation of Canadian sovereignty in the face of potential cultural domination and annexation by the United States. As a foundational paradigm, British Canadian hybridity established a model of cultural inclusion, preparing Canadian society for later demographic alteration and, eventually, for the multicultural policies of the Trudeau era.

1. *The Opening of the Field*

New critical and bibliographical approaches to Canadian print culture and genre, and easier access to early Canadian sources online through the Canadian Institute of Historical Microproductions collections on Early Canadiana Online (ECO), have wonderfully expanded access to a wide spectrum of early Canadian print culture that massively documents a wide Canadian nationalist consensus, access previously limited by library shortcomings and the inconvenient microfiche system. In addition, the 2007 publication of the eagerly-anticipated third volume of the *History of the Book in Canada* appeared to complete the decade of planning and corporate research that produced this extensive and authoritative three-volume study of Canadian book history. The History of the Book in Canada project engaged senior scholars from both Anglo and Franco-Canadian institutions, and further dissemination of their findings should greatly advance the informed study of early Canadian popular, ephemeral, and material culture, providing

a richer appreciation of the extensive print culture surviving to document the frequently surprising and progressive political and national sentiments of Victorian Canadians.

The development of “Canadian nationality,” eventually a belief in a Canadian ethnic identity that was racially British, while at the same time distinct from the component parts of Britishness, began much earlier in British North America than is sometimes assumed. Already in the 1830s, loyal Protestants and Orangemen had formed a very successful tactical alliance with the Tory Catholic Bishop Alexander Macdonnell to confront revolutionary republican and American elements led by William Lyon Mackenzie.ⁱⁱ In March 1850, writing about Canadian nationality in the *Journal of Education*, Egerton Ryerson comments:

When a man emigrates to Canada, his home, his interests and his hopes are no longer English, or Scotch, or Irish, or French, or German, but *Canadian*. He respects, he venerates, he loves, he sympathizes with his parentage; but his cares, his interests, his heart, himself, his future, his all, are blended and identified with other objects and with another home (40).

He continues:

We have no strife of foreign wars -- no hostile rivalship of nations; -- our warfare is a domestic, bloodless one – a warfare of virtue against vice, of knowledge against ignorance, of self-dependence against foreign dependence, of public spirit against personal littleness, of the love of Canada as ourselves, instead of self against Canada, of the dignified and generous industry of a Cincinnatus instead of the selfish and protean adventures of an Alcibiades (40).ⁱⁱⁱ

Curiously, Linda Colley neglects any mention of Canadian British sentiment in her important study of British Tory nationalism *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707 – 1837*. Colley's book is perhaps the best recent study to treat the liberal progressive political tendencies that Canadian nationalists associated with romantic and transcendental Tory ideas of a providential "Britishness."^{iv} Middle-class and genteel Victorian Canadians especially were fond of pointing out that their persistent identification of Canadian with British culture preserved for Canada a rootedness in European civilization, protecting both Victorian civility and a chivalric past in which Shakespeare, Chaucer (and, more importantly, Burns) were also in some mystical sense Canadian.^v Generally, this sense of cultural connectedness, guaranteed by the "British connection," is contrasted with the social chaos, violence, and egotistical populism said to characterize American society.

From a multicultural Canadian viewpoint, the most difficult aspect of early Canadian conceptions of nationality is the *essentializing* racialization of national identity. Again, Sunera Thobani provides a rigorous deconstruction of 20th-century Canadian racialism from a postcolonial point of view, and both Smaro Kamboureli and Cynthia Sugars have produced useful anthologies of current academic scholarship and Canadian writing dealing with postcolonial multiculturalism.^{vi} In his scholarly and refreshingly hermeneutic book *White Civility* (2006), Daniel Coleman also ably challenges the racial assumptions of Canadian nationalism, and especially what he calls the "Tartanization" of Nova Scotia, or the construction of Nova Scotian identity as a variety of Scottishness. Nonetheless, the Victorian dream of a mono-ethnic national state was championed by a wide spectrum both of influential and what Gerald Friesen in *Citizens and Nation* (2000) calls "plain" Canadians,^{vii} including political thinkers like Egerton Ryerson, Thomas

D'Arcy McGee, Robert Grant Haliburton, Alexander Morris, George Monroe Grant, and prominent literary Canadians like Alexander McLachlan, Sir Andrew McPhail, Charles Mair, John Talon-Lesperance, William Henry Withrow, Nicholas Flood Davin, Agnes Deans Cameron, Emily Murphy, William Douw Lighthall and Nellie McClung, to name a few of the myriad Canadian poets and authors who contributed British nationalist fiction and poetry to early Canadian journals, magazines, and newspapers.

Writing in 1866 in response to American Fenian mobilization for a planned invasion of Canada, W. A. Stephens, the Catholic Irish-Canadian Collector of Customs in Owen Sound, Ontario, wrote a poem entitled "A Canadian Song," exemplifying the potential for pluralist sentiment that often suffused British Canadian nationalist discourse.^{viii}

Of our young and mighty land,
Now just bursting into prime,
Where the myriads of earth may find a home,
'Neath Briton's western wing, (sic)
In our broad and happy clime,
Where freedom, hope and plenty bid them come.

(346)

A few years earlier, in 1861, Stephens had also published a poem in the Owen Sound *Times*, entitled "The Twelfth of July" in which he sets out "to promote between Orangemen and Catholics a more friendly feeling" (333). He writes:

And let us cast away,--
Unworthy of the day,--

All hate to those
Who differ in their creed:
Let kindness take the lead,
And show by word and deed
We are not foes.

In harmony is seen
The *orange* and the *green*,
In field and bower.
Then let us look above
For motives that may move,
And over all, let love
Exert her power !

(Stephens 344)

Irish Catholic and Protestant amity is a frequent theme in Canadian periodicals of the early post-confederation period, and even during times of increased sectarian feeling, many if not most Irish Canadians celebrated and fostered a sense of commonality. In October 1878, the same year that Montreal mayor Jean Louis Beaudry controversially organized a Catholic mob to attack the traditional, and generally peaceful, Montreal July 12th Orange parade, the Montreal journal *The Canadian Spectator* asked:

Can it be that happier, because more peaceful, times are at hand for us? The Irish Protestant Benevolent Society held its annual picnic on the Shamrock Lacrosse Grounds—had a friendly “tug of war” with the Irish Catholics, and

lived for the day like very brothers. (...) It looks as if the lion and the lamb will lie down together yet, and the signs of the times are cheering.^{ix}

During the later Victorian period Irish Catholic expressions of commitment to British Canadian nationality are very frequent in print, both in culturally nationalist Irish Canadian community journals like *The Harp*, published by Gillies and Callahan in Montreal between 1875 and 1882, and in Catholic Irish-Canadian newspapers like Timothy Anglin's Saint John newspaper *The Morning Freeman*, in which that paper's editor hoped that Dominion status for Ireland would bring her into political and economic concord with the rest of the Empire. Other prominent Irishmen and poets who championed a hybrid British Canadian nationality included John Reade, Joseph Kearney Foran, Carroll Ryan, Thomas O'Hagan, and Robert K. Kernighan.

Although definitions of multiculturalism vary considerably, in his book *Multicultural Odysseys: Navigating the New International Politics of Diversity* (2007), Will Kymlicka provides a sufficiently precise definition of the "Liberal Multicultural" view of the type of ethno-cultural nation state envisioned by early Canadians:

There is nothing 'natural' about such nation states. Very few countries around the world are mono-national (Iceland, Portugal, and the Koreas are the most frequently cited examples). In most countries, this ideal (or illusion) of national homogeneity had to be actively constructed by the state through a range of 'nation-building' policies that encouraged the preferred national identity while suppressing any alternative identities. Public policies were used to promote and consolidate a common national language, national history and mythology, national heroes, national symbols, a national

literature, a national education system, a national media, a national military, in some cases a national religion, and so on.^x

(Kymlicka 62)

From a nineteenth-century European point of view, legitimate or authentic claims to nationhood rested on typological conceptions of unified ethnological and linguistic histories. The development of ethnographic typologies by philological ethnologists, philologists, and geographers was one of the great Victorian scientific projects, and the popular 19th-century enthusiasm for ethnological romance engendered both a popular scholarship and a body of antiquarian fiction and poetry embodying the key semiotic constructs of Victorian British racial ideology. The late-eighteenth-century development of biblical hermeneutics by Friedrich Schleiermacher and Johann Ernesti, and advances in epistemological and empirical studies influenced by post-Lockean and Scottish Enlightenment thinkers, including Lord Monboddo, James Harris, Thomas Reid, Dugald Stewart and James Mill, combined to encourage a new sophistication in the interpretation of comparative philological evidence, especially after the growth European academic interest in Persian, Sanskrit, and other West Asian languages. Following advances in typological analysis of the so-called Indo-Germanic or Indo-Aryan family of languages in the works of Sir William Jones, Rasmus Rask, Wilhelm Schlegel, and other Indo-Germanic philologists in the early nineteenth century, ethnological categories gained a new, if problematic, coherence and concreteness. The gradual development and refinement of notions of racial “types” created a distorted and oversimplified understanding of the component parts of “Britishness,” but also contributed to broader

conceptions of nationality and the bourgeois consensus necessary for social and political progress.

The racial attitudes encouraged by the empiricist rhetoric of the ethnologists and early anthropologists were adopted by Victorian comparative and English philologists, and in works of popular etymologists, philologists, and romantic philological historians. Among the authors who reached wide audiences throughout the English-speaking world were Robert Gordon Latham, Richard Chenevix Trench, Friedrich Max Müller, Walter William Skeat, Baron Bunsen, Thomas Henry Buckle, who with numerous others disseminated new conceptions of British, and British-Canadian raciological thinking. Such works were widely anthologized, and routinely appeared in mid and late-Victorian school readers like John Lovell's *Canadian Series of School Books* (1880), in Canadian off-prints of *The Royal Readers* (1872), and James Campbell's *British American Series of School Books* (1867); and the standard works of Victorian popular science circulated throughout the country.^{xi} At the same time, key sectors of Canadian society, including financial institutions, the Post Office, the police and military, the Women's Christian Temperance Union, the churches, the Boy Scouts movement, the militia, the Navy League, the Orange Institution, The Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire, the Foresters (which was founded by the Orangeman, Freemason and Mohawk, Oronhyatekha), and numerous other male and female organizations adopted the key elements and semiotics of a mono-ethnic yet hybrid Canadian nationality.

British ethnological thought strongly influenced these Canadian self-conceptions, and soon after the American rebellion, loyalist British American historical narratives, later along with propaganda in favour of colonial British American federation, developed

and propagated public consciousness of the British Canadian ethnic “type.” Racially a regional, rather than colonial, Briton, the Stoic and Christian British Canadian was in many features said to resemble, especially in positive traits, related English, Irish, Scots and Norman peoples: although a claim for intensified “nordicity,” evolved through the agency of climate, was proposed to account for the superior virtues of the Canadian branch of the Britons.^{xii} Canadian belief in the common racial character of British Americans encouraged imperial-nationalist enthusiasm for a British “nation” from sea to sea, and such ideas of national identity galvanized resistance to republican and annexationist tendencies in Canadian society. And as late as the Edwardian period, Canadian nationalist sentiment animated the resistance of the Canadian Labour movement to domination by continentalist American trade unions,^{xiii} Tory social democratic, or Liberal Conservative, sentiment lingering well after the formation of the Canadian Commonwealth Federation, whose early founder James Shaver Woodsworth published several works on immigration to Canada in which he develops a more complex model of assimilation to allow for the accommodation of a wider range of Canadian citizens than had been considered in the more demographically British late-Victorian period.^{xiv}

For many early Canadians, confederation was a progressive and inevitable step towards eventual union of colonial Britons in an imperial federation. And Victorian Canadians assumed that our insistence on British identity would guarantee us the “rights of Englishmen” when the halcyon days of a global Albion should arise. The Victorian ethnological description and autopsy of the Canadian demographics constructed out of the remarkably precise Victorian Canadian census reports intersected in terminology and

content with complementary United Empire Loyalist and Orange historical narratives, promoting the development of a mythology of a providential collective Canadian nationality conceived in ethnological terms. Key articulations of the Canadian type and the Canadian context of “Greater Britain” included Robert Grant Haliburton’s “Men of the North” and Alexander Morris’s *Nova Britannia*, while Joseph Howe, Thomas D’Arcy McGee, Nicholas Flood Davin, George Monroe Grant, George Parkin, and numerous other prominent Canadians heralded the new nationality represented in the transatlantic hybridity of the afterwards problematic paradigm of “four founding peoples.”^{xv}

Recent developments in so-called *transnational* studies of Canadian literature and culture in the work of scholars including Richard Cavell, Lee Maracle, and Winfried Siemerling, among others, make the need for a reevaluation of early British Canadian cultural consensus especially acute. The combination of British and monarchist semiotics with Victorian Canadian assimilationist demography resulted in a large population of old-stock Euro-Canadians who until recent times defined their own ethnicity as exclusively Canadian (if associated with a British context), and who self-identified in this way for at least six generations before Trudeau’s cultural policies were articulated. The outcome of abandoning the older paradigm of Canadian identity, according to a critique holding that Canadian nationalism of any kind will simply reinscribe the “essentializing narratives of nation,”^{xvi} is unsettling from the point of view of maintaining Canadian cultural sovereignty and recovering unfairly marginalized early Canadian literature. In his article “Beyond Borders: Reflections on Transnational Canadian Literary Studies,”^{xvii} for instance, and also in his book *The New North American Studies: culture, writing and the politics of re/cognition*, Winfried Siemerling argues that Canadian literature properly

must be considered and judged in a broader, *transnational* American literary and academic context, a critical gesture that *essentially* – to use Habermas’ and Siemerling’s language - subordinates Canadian literature (and Canadian academic literary studies) to American conceptions of the Western canon, abandoning any claim for a separate, unqualified *Canadian* ontology.^{xviii} And in fact, Siemerling concedes that the adoption of transnational critical procedures may result in the American intellectual colonization of the literatures of the Western hemisphere.^{xix}

In his essay “Canadian Cultural Autoimmunity: Derrida and the Essence of Culture” (Mosaic 40/2 June 2007: 279-294), Canadian scholar Garry Sherbert describes the ways in which Canadian cultural policies, especially the Trudeau government’s assertion that Canada has “no official culture,” exemplify in a cultural context Derrida’s notion of “autoimmunity”: “that strange behaviour where a living being, in quasi-suicidal fashion, “itself” works to destroy its own protection, to immunize itself against its ‘own’ immunity” (Borradori 94, quoted in Sherbert 279-80). Recent scholarship of both transatlantic features of Canadian nationality and Canadian Book History and Print culture have increased our understanding of the cultural hermeneutics of early Canadian ideology. The circulation of British ethnological ideas in Canada occurred in speeches and public lectures, newspapers, periodicals, in scholarly publishing, in the religious press, and in Canadian poetry and fiction. Early Canadian historical fiction is a particularly rich genre for texts exemplifying and amplifying Canadian national types who embody such virtues as honesty, tolerance, equality, self-discipline, chivalry, and civility. These positive and pluralist features of early British Canadian nationalism are infrequently remarked. It should be remembered that the compound racial narrative of

early Canada, rooted in an ethnically diverse British history, was central to early Canadian semiotics, and a pluralist narrative of the historical past featured on flags, coats of arms, floral emblems, and in early literary representations of Canadian identity. Early Canadian poetry and fiction frequently embodies the key semiotic constructs of Victorian British racial ideology, and the entwining of the floral emblems the rose, the thistle, the shamrock, the fleur de lys, and the maple leaf is commonplace both in visual representations of Canadian nationality and in patriotic poetry and song.

British ethnologists like Robert Gordon Latham, whose *Ethnology of the British Islands* was a surprising best-seller in 1852, strongly influenced British North American nationalist self-conceptions^{xx} and during the 1850s and early 1860s loyalist British American historical narratives, along with propaganda in favour of colonial British American federation, both defined and propagated the existence of the British Canadian “type.” Racially British, this type was said in many features to resemble related English, Irish, Scots and Norman peoples, although a claim for intensified “nordicity” was proposed to account for the superior virtues of the Canadian branch of the Britons. The mainstream Victorian ethnological interpretation of Canadian demographics intersected with complementary United Empire Loyalist and Orange historical narratives during the period of development of a collective Canadian nationality conceived in ethnological terms. The belief in a common racial character of British Americans contributed imperial-nationalist enthusiasm for a British nation to stretch from sea to sea; and for many Canadians, confederation was a progressive step towards eventual union of all Britons and British subjects in an imperial federation.

In the context of mid-Victorian sectarian conflict elsewhere in the British world, the idea of a compound Canadian identity offered a refuge from inherited hostilities, and an escape from the persistent violence and bigotry that marked relations between English and French, Protestant and Catholic, and Irish and Irish. The resulting perception of a common collective identity encouraged Canadian progressivism and social democratic impulses in Canadian politics and society, and encouraged the standards of bourgeois civility ultimately resulting in the stereotypical “polite Canadian.” And although the narrow definition of Canadian racial nationality tended to exclude non-British Canadians in semiotic and literary representations of Canadian identity, there is a great deal of evidence to support the view that in Victorian Canada Afro-Canadians and First Nations people at least recognized a sharp distinction between British and American justice; and Canadian First Nations people frequently self-identified as “British Indians” (Morris *Treaties of Canada* 50 and *passim*). In 1852, Afro-Canadian abolitionist and editor Mary Ann Shadd published an immigration tract to encourage American blacks to escape from bondage by emigrating to Canada, writing:

There is no legal discrimination whatever affecting coloured emigrants in Canada, nor from any cause whatever are their privileges sought to be abridged [...] The laws regulating elections, and relating to electors, are not similar in the two Canadas, but coloured persons are not affected by them more than others. (...) There is no difference made whatever; and even in the slight matter of taking the census it is impossible to get at the exact number of whites and coloured, as they are not designated as such. (Sugars and Moss 249-50)

This sense of the superiority of British over American justice, and the protection afforded human rights by the Union flag is a commonly-expressed sentiment in abolitionist literature and slave narratives of the 1840s and 1850s, and Simon Schama has movingly portrayed the Progressive Tory influence on the abolitionist movement in his book *Rough Crossings*.^{xxi} Some of the most politically and popularly influential Canadian configurations of early British North American ethnicity included Robert Grant Haliburton's "Men of the North" and Alexander Morris's *Nova Britannia*, while Joseph Howe, Thomas D'Arcy McGee, Nicholas Flood Davin, George Monroe Grant, George Parkin, and numerous other prominent Canadians heralded the new nationality represented in the transatlantic hybridity of "the four founding peoples." As the founder of central Canadian Orangeism Ogle Gowan put it in 1867:

Old issues and party names should be forgotten. French and English, Protestant and Catholic, Whig and Tory, clear grit and conservative were all merged in the "Dominion of Canada". Hereafter old distinctions, divisions and parties should be united under the generic name Canadians. Let this be our future flag.^{xxii}

At present, of course, the central problem in understanding the positive aspects in early Canadian nationalist thought is the intense ambivalence and skepticism about the very concept of the *nation*. As Jonathan Kertzer expresses it in *Worrying the Nation: Imagining a National Literature in English Canada*, nationalism "is the battle cry of minority liberation movements, yet also the banner of imperialism" (Kertzer 8).^{xxiii} In the case of Victorian Canada, nationalism played both roles, enlisting Canadian labour in the projects of one hegemonic empire while preserving Canadian society from another.

In conclusion, my preliminary analysis of a wide field of fiction, poetry, journalism, and academic and popular history by marginalized, liminal, and critically neglected Canadian authors like William Henry Withrow, the two Canadian historians named Alexander Begg, Ethel T. Raymond and Emily Poynton Weaver, among a host of others, all evidence and document the progressive, often proto-feminist, and social democratic impulses associated with assimilationist nationalism in Canada in the pre-multicultural period. The hybridity inherent in early Canadian nationalist identity allowed for the development of the social consciousness of organic pluralism necessary for the later development of the modern multicultural Canadian state.

Notes

ⁱ Sunera Thobani, *Exalted Subjects: Studies in the Making of Race and Nation in Canada* (Toronto: UTP 2007) 93 and *passim*.

ⁱⁱ David A. Wilson "Thomas D'Arcy McGee, the Orange Order & the New Nationality" in *The Orange Order in Canada*, David A. Wilson, ed. (Dublin: Four Courts Press 2007), 106.

ⁱⁱⁱ *Journal of Education* (Toronto, March, 1850) 40.

^{iv} Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (London: Pimlico 2003).

^v See Daniel Coleman, *White Civility: The Literary Project of English Canada* (Toronto: UTP 2006), 3-45, and *passim*.

^{vi} *Making a Difference: Canadian Multicultural Literature*, Smaro Kamboureli, ed (Toronto: OUP 1996); *Home-Work: Post-Colonialism, Pedagogy & Canadian Literature*, Cynthia Sugars, ed (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press 2004).

^{vii} Friesen, Gerald. *Citizens and Nation : an essay on history, communication, and Canada* (Toronto: UTP 2000).

^{viii} W. A. Stephens, *Hamilton: and Other Poems and Lectures*, 2cd. ed. (Toronto: A. Lovell 1871).

^{ix} *The Canadian Spectator*, vol. 1 no. 40, 1.

^x Will Kymlicka, *Multicultural Odysseys: Navigating the New International Politics of Diversity* (Oxford: OUP 2007) 61-86.

^{xi} In some cases, like Sir Daniel Wilson, Sir John William Dawson and Sir William Logan, Canadian scholars themselves began to contribute to collective or popular British conceptions of antiquity and history.

^{xii} The stereotypical Canadian type was often corroborated in popular British travel literature, essays and novels. Mrs Humphrey Ward's *Lady Merton, Colonist* (1910), Sir

Charles Wentworth Dilke's *Greater Britain* (1868), and Sir John Robert Seeley, *The Expansion of England in the Eighteenth Century* (1883).

^{xiii} See Harold A. Logan, *Trade Union Organization in Canada* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 1928), *passim*.

^{xiv} See James Woodsworth, *A Plea for Social Justice: extracts from the speeches of J. S. Woodsworth, M. P. in the House of Commons, 1930-33*, Grace MacInnis, ed. (Ottawa: Labour Publishing Co, [1933?]; and *Strangers Within Our Gates, or, Coming Canadians*, 2nd ed., (Toronto: F. C. Stephenson 1909).

^{xv} W. Stewart Wallace, *The Growth of Canadian National Feeling* (Toronto 1927).

^{xvi} Winferid Siemerling, "Trans-Scan: Globalization, Literary Hemispheric Studies, Citizenship as Project" 6.

^{xvii} Presented at Concordia University Feb. 28, 2008.

^{xviii} Winferid Siemerling, *The New North American Studies: Culture, Writing and the Politics of Re/cognition* (New York: Routledge 2005); Jürgen Habermas, *The Postnational Constellation: Political Essays*. Ed. and trans. Max Pensky (Cambridge, MA: MIT P, 2001).

^{xix} Winferid Siemerling, "Trans-Scan: Globalization, Literary Hemispheric Studies, Citizenship as Project" 5.

^{xx} Robert Gordon Latham, *The Ethnology of the British Islands* (London: Jan Van Voorst 1852).

^{xxi} Simon Schama, *Rough Crossings: Britain, the Slaves and the American Revolution* (Toronto: Viking Canada 2005).

^{xxii} Quoted in David A. Wilson "Thomas D'Arcy McGee, the Orange Order & the New Nationality" in *The Orange Order in Canada*, David A. Wilson, ed. (Dublin: Four Courts Press 2007), 108.

^{xxiii} Jonathan Kertzer, *Worrying the Nation: Imagining a National Literature in English Canada* (Toronto: UTP 1998), 7-8. The problem of the double nature of Canadian nationality in a multicultural regime is highlighted in Kertzer's suggestion that Canada is not a nation, but Quebec is. Multicultural policies have the potentially unfortunate effect of encouraging the romantic appreciation of ethnic nationalism while denying the collective ethnicity of "unhyphenated" or old stock Canadians, who in their efforts at recovering an originary ethnicity often fall into the trap of what Daniel Coleman describes as "tartanization."