


**RALPH CONNOR, HUGH MACLENNAN
AND ALICE MUNRO –
THREE SCOTTISH-CANADIAN AUTHORS**

Introduction

uch has been written about the impact Scottish literature had on 19th century Canadian fiction. John Galt, Walter Scott and Robert Louis Stevenson are often discussed as models for numerous Canadian imitators and it is an issue of debate whether their long-standing influence delayed the development of an authentically Canadian literature.¹

Scott's historical romances were readily accepted by Canadian readers, because of the nostalgic note he struck in the presentation of his characters. Their qualities were thought among the readers of the new colony to be close to their own, so that Scott's fiction tended to be read for gratifying a need for identification and for its assumed realism. Apart from his reception in Canada, Scott inspired Canadian authors to continue historical romances within their own context. Of the English-Canadian authors Major John Richardson made a lasting contribution to this genre.² Two other Lowland Scottish writers, John Galt and Robert Ballantyne, had a crucial impact on the developing school of Canadian realist

and adventure writing, whereas Stevenson's style, his notion of imaginative literature and his psychological studies served as popular models for Canadian writers in the 1890s. Bliss Carman, Gilbert Parker, Marshall Saunders and Agnes Laut are just a handful of Canadian writers from among many more inspired by Stevenson. Parallel to his impact the sentimental idylls of the Lowland Kailyarders began to attract readers' and writers' attention overseas. A Canadian Kailyard modelled on the themes and figures of the Lowland Scottish original could sell very successfully, because the patterns of religion, education and politics presented there still governed the social life of Canadian villages and towns. Names which come to mind here are Ralph Connor, who will be dealt with later, R.L. Richardson and Sarah Jeanette Duncan.

As a primary source of inspiration Scottish literature in Canada has been on the decline since World War I, yet Scottish influence on Canadian letters is no issue of the past. Major Canadian authors of the 19th and 20th century show a continuing attachment to Scottish literary patterns. Only recently Marjory Harper analysed Scottish, Canadian and American prose of the 19th and 20th century focussing on Scottish emigration. Her conclusion that the works demonstrate "not only the characteristic emblems of national identity transplanted by the Victorian Scots, but also the continuing relevance of Scottish emigrant mythology to a modern readership"³ holds true for the prose under scrutiny in the present article. The novels and short stories dealt with

thematize a Scottish identity on Canadian soil (Connor), put forward a Canadian literary identity supported by 'Scottish patterns' (MacLennan) or demonstrate an 'invisible' or hardly recognizable individual 'Scottishness' (Munro). The emphasis will not be on the emulation of set models, but on different voices of a culture in the process of change from Scottish-Canadian to Canadian-Scottish.⁴

Ralph Connor *The Man from Glengarry*
and *Glengarry School Days*

From his two dozen books written over a period of forty years *The Man from Glengarry* (1901) and its sequel *Glengarry School Days* (1902) stand out as the most acclaimed. Of Scottish descent himself Charles W. Gordon (1860-1937), an ordained Presbyterian minister in Calgary, the Banff region and at St. Stephens's, Winnipeg, turned into 'Ralph Connor' in 1898 when his first novel *Black Rock* appeared with the Westminster Publishing Company.⁵

Structurally, the first of the two novels is written in the tradition of romance, adventure tales and "Entwicklungsroman". Thematically, it treats the profound dual role Scots have played in the course of Empire history at home and abroad and which is reflected in their double status as "colonized" and "colonizer".⁶ In his preface Connor points to the second aspect⁷, while the textual corpus has references to a Highland Scottish substratum pointing to the eviction or other forms of enforced emigration of the Glengarry settlers from Scotland

[*The Man*, 14]. Presbyterian religion, customs and Gaelic speech add to the local colour of their land of adoption and its lively portrayal, but the time before the emigration or the reasons for their decision to leave Scotland appear blurred.⁸ Connor's is the literature of the settlement myth dedicated to the generation of the Scottish 'founding fathers' of Canada. Their dislocation from Scotland caused by stronger forces than themselves in the past is not allowed a significant position in Connor's success story of a hardy, resilient race: it is absent, sometimes vaguely felt and substituted by an (imperial) act of establishing roots in the new land.⁹ Connor's 'Glengarry' is primarily Scottish, but without the old painful memories; that the pioneering act is also 'colonial' is no concern of the author. David Craig has reminded us:

In Ontario the culture so drastically reshaped was the native-American... two settlements with Highland names... were established at the expense of Indian villages.... So one people scorned as primitive thrive at the expense of another.¹⁰

Adopting the patterns of an "Entwicklungsroman" the novel parallels the various stages of the protagonist's and Canada's development from their "childhood" in the dense forests of eastern Ontario to their "adulthood" in the new West.¹¹

The first two chapters of the novel introduce the

white ethnics of pre-confederation Canada. Irish, French and above all Highland Scots made their way into the Ontario woodlands between 1800 and 1850, where lumber camps during the winter provided precious raw material. Uncivilized acts of violence among the men seem to have survived from old European conflicts [*The Man*, 17-35], but as soon as the scene moves to Indian Lands, the Highlanders' Ontario settlement, the strife of the past loses significance and the civilizing influence of Christian morals soothes old wounds.¹² Connor's Calvinism is a "gospel of love" and even serves - along with pressures from Irish and French-Canadian settlements in the neighbourhood - to bring together disunited clans from Scotland.¹³ Glengarry is thus advanced in Connor's presentation as "a new Canadian clan" and the ideological foundation is laid for what will follow as the story expands from region to nation and from East to West.¹⁴ Solidly anchored in their faith and safely directed by a fatherly minister, determined, strong and sound in mind and body, Connor's Highland Scottish settlers possess the pioneering qualities required to build a nation.

The image of the wandering and enterprising Scot rising to the top administrative jobs of the British Empire after the Union of 1707 or directing the course of economic and political development in their adopted countries had gained some popularity at the turn of the century. Connor explicitly uses this image within what appears to be a closed tribal world in which Ranald for instance can urge the first Canadian Prime Minister John

Alexander Macdonald - himself of Scottish descent - to give his support to linking the West Canadian resources to the East by the CPR. As Ranald's missionary drive is underscored by "personal moral purity...equality of opportunity through education, social advancement through individual initiative...and social balance and harmony" Presbyterian values are introduced in the text.¹⁵ Content corresponds with form as the process of exploring, settling and developing the Canadian West is narrated by means of a carefully organized text pattern including maps, historical figures, well-arranged chapters and a clear line of plot development. Connor's textual organization does not conflict with a Calvinist thought pattern in concord with the guided settling of the Canadian West. As a nation is carved out of bush and rock with the help of Presbyterian doctrines, so the text is structured to give reason and order to an otherwise chaotic world. In other words, the Calvinist doctrine is a conquering tool which tackles 'bush' and 'text' alike.

If Connor's novel ended here, it would be in line with an older Scottish writing tradition about Canada.¹⁶ But it differs from the fiction of Scottish authors who never settled in Canada for good and whose works resulting from the remote perspective created a 'greater Scotland' transplanted to Canada. In contrast, Connor draws an outline of a 'Scottish Empire' substantially enriched by a 'confederate spirit' in that in the course of the plot's westward movement Scottish culture and Canadian nature [*The Man*, 353] are synthesized and form a unit which comes close to a textual

confederation.¹⁷ The mode of structuring the text reflects the administrative mode of settling the Canadian West as against the haphazard, individual settlement patterns in the U.S. According to Frye the Canadian settler surrounded by a threatening nature and at risk of being cut off from his cultural roots struggles for a preservation of his value system within a homogeneous society.¹⁸ Frye's "garrison mentality" is based on a Scottish frame of thoughts in Connor's *The Man from Glengarry*. Taking violent scenes, a positive hero and the characteristics of an adventure story into consideration the philosophical substance is aesthetically fused into what can be termed a Canadian western. Taken together the major thrust of the text glorifies the contributions of the Scottish Highlanders to the Canadian nation building myth and can consequently be classified as a piece of hagiographic writing.

Glengarry School Days (1902), a sequel to the novel, consists of fifteen sketches, many of them grouped around figures the reader came across in *The Man from Glengarry*. Modelled on the Scottish Kailyard formula this collection is a setback compared with the novel as it almost entirely depicts the inner world of a timeless Scottish community in Ontario. Being parables with a didactic intention these stories were seemingly written with an eye on cashing in on the success of his Scottish counterparts.¹⁹ Connor did not modify their literary recipe: the dominie and the minister at the centre of a static community of simple, God-fearing people, sacrificing mothers, healthy lovable children and stern Calvinist

fathers. Nostalgia ranks high and stifles any realistic attempt, so reducing a Canadian cultural make-up to a negligible minimum.

Hugh MacLennan's Canadian literary nationalism

When I first thought of writing this novel Canada was virtually an uncharacterized country. It seemed to me then that if our literature was to be anything but purely regional, it must be directed to at least two audiences. One was the Canadian public, which took the Canadian scene for granted but never defined its particular essence. The other was the international public, which had never thought about Canada at all, and knew nothing whatever about us.²⁰

This statement by MacLennan made in relation to his first published novel *Barometer Rising* (1941) puts the author's overall literary politics in a nutshell including his Calvinist-based didactic habits. Furthermore, as we will see, it implies the very special - peripheral - angle from which MacLennan was to see his country in connection with "its particular essence" as part of an outsider's definition of Canada.²¹

Nova Scotia (*Each Man's Son*), Halifax (*Barometer Rising*) and Montreal/Quebec (*Two Solitudes*; *The Watch that Ends the Night*) are MacLennan's favourite places.²² This was not always the case with his novels.

In his first two unpublished novels "So All Their

Praises" (1933) and "A Man Should Rejoice" (1937) Nova Scotia stands aside from the European and American centres. Both novels centre on young Canadian protagonists in search of ideological security in a world of upheaval, strife and disintegration prior to World War II. Weimar's and Hitler's Germany are as much the places of hot political debates about the future course as are New York and Lorbeerstein, a socialist model village in Austria and last refuge of a bunch of anarchist and socialist emigrants from Nazi Germany and fascist Italy. Despite the sympathies with communism, an outright hatred of U.S. American big business capitalism and a thinly disguised partisanship, MacLennan's early works lack the formal and ideological criteria to make them socialist realist fiction, instead they disintegrate because of their romantic concepts and defeatist notions. Amidst the welter of philosophizing, political ideas, places, figures and sub-plots, Nova Scotia's nature represents tranquility and a place of refuge, where political sores can be cured. In sum, warts and all, the two novels belong to the political fiction of the 1930s and their socialist visions. That the author did not come to grips with the complexity of his material is confirmed by a publisher's letter of rejection: "Our chief criticism of the book seems to be it does not really get anywhere, though it manages to tell a great deal about the changing world we live in."²³ Finally, the bad reception of the manuscript with American publishers had a decisive bearing on MacLennan's new approach to literature:

...after five years of trying, I spent an evening trying to discover if there was any common denominator in these letters of rejection. There was. In writing the first book with the scene set in Europe it was obvious I was not European - nor again an American - like Hemingway. The result...was that the book had no coherent point of view - coherent, that is, to an American reader. The second novel, with a scene set in the U.S., was equally off-beam. If I was an American ...then what kind of American was I? Suddenly I realized that no matter how hard he may try, few writers can escape their own environment. They are stuck with their country whether they want to be or not... And from this point on I was committed, at least for a time of working life, to the discovery of Canada as a literary scene.²⁴

As a result MacLennan's fiction moved into Canada, using particularly French- and East Canadian material. Consequently, Halifax and Cape Breton/Nova Scotia, where MacLennan was born in 1907 of Scottish Highland descent, turned into metaphors in the author's cultural rhetoric of a Canada in transition from colony to nation.²⁵ Being one of the founding provinces of the Canadian nation and by its nature Highland Scottish, Cape Breton/Nova Scotia has a great significance in MacLennan's design of Canadian

literary nationalism. As a “stepping stone into a new world”, Nova Scotia symbolises a state of ‘betweenness’ in his first published novel *Barometer Rising* (1941).²⁶

1. Charting Nova Scotia

The novel appeared at a time of “resurgent nationalism” in Canada, caused by World War I when for many Canada had come of age and found its new role in the Commonwealth. As Canada’s ties with Britain ceased to be of ultimate importance for the country’s political and cultural development, the literary responses of groups like the Confederation Poets lost their attractiveness. In prose fiction, historical romances and imperial issues seemed to be a matter of the past and though Morley Callaghan had first put his prose into a realistic mode, MacLennan found everything to his advantage for the introduction of his pioneering realistic “national romances” to the Canadian literary scene.²⁷ Time seemed to be ripe for a national prose and MacLennan started by ‘charting’ his home province and from there proceeded to delineating a Canadian identity.

Barometer Rising and *Each Man’s Son*, (1951) both set in Nova Scotia, are complementary novels with a strong emphasis, firstly, on the literary existence and historical importance of Halifax written simultaneously for an American and Canadian readership and, secondly, - from an inside perspective - on the province’s state of mind.²⁸

Barometer Rising is a portrayal of Halifax in those eight days in December 1917 culminating in the notorious Halifax Explosion. The character of the book is made clear from the outset: "It seems necessary to offer more than a conventional statement about the names of the characters in this book, since it is one of the first ever written to use Halifax." And he also qualifies another important feature:

Nova Scotia family names have...been employed; to avoid them would have been too definite a loss. Since there is no great variety in Scottish given names, the combinations are inevitably repetitious.²⁹

A strong Scottish rhythmic undercurrent is maintained throughout the novel, though Halifax's metamorphosis from a British "Warden of the North" to a Canadian city is portrayed through three successive identities: British, Nova Scotian, Canadian.³⁰

At the first stage MacLennan's Halifax bears the characteristics of one of Britain's principal supply bases during the colonial wars in the past and for present operations against Germany during World War I [BR, 33]. "Its original purpose had been entirely military, and so far as England was concerned, Halifax had no further use."³¹ How much MacLennan considered Halifax involved in British affairs is clear from the following passage: "...the inhabitants...they still drank tea with all their meals.... The Citadel itself

flew the Union Jack in all weathers and was rightly considered a symbol and bastion of the British Empire.” [BR, 6].

Parallel to a colonial past and present an alternative pattern is evoked by the multi-cultural legacy from the

...forefathers, from the Loyalists who had come here generations ago from the United States..., from the English..., from the Irish..., from the Highlanders who had lost their clans at Culloden...unreconciled to be Americans or even Canadians...convinced that in being Nova Scotian they possessed a peculiar cause for satisfaction. [BR, 130]

Admittedly, the author creates a Nova Scotian identity from multiple ethnic sources, yet in the following his main focus is on the influential contributions of the Highland Scottish pioneers, represented by old Alec MacKenzie or the younger Angus Murray and Neil Macrae. In particular the latter “seeks to re-establish trust - the clan fealty” in a modern world gone wrong.³² Not only their names are Scottish, but also - by implication or directly referred to - are their family backgrounds [BR, 96, 119, 206] and their speech [BR, 65].

MacLennan’s implication of a transition from colonial to post-colonial requires an appropriate imagery at a decisive turning point of the novel: mist veils Halifax, while a British cruiser sails towards the harbour to drop anchor. From the cruiser’s bridge “only [Halifax’s, U.Z.]

contours were distinguishable.... Underneath the mist was a disconnected, various life..." [BR, 141]. Colonial experience and post-colonial self-confidence place Halifax in an in-between position where old and new meet, where an ambivalent love-hate relationship with the mother country [BR, 33; 143] conflicts with a new awareness of the dominion's own value [BR, 143] and "a sense of identity can be achieved only by understanding and accepting one's past."³³ The carefully constructed equilibrium between colonial and post-colonial discourses is put to an abrupt end by MacLennan's dramatic presentation of the Halifax Explosion. Its symbolism certainly invites a political and national reading, as it implies that a Canadian nation will be born from the constructive energies of the Haligonians.³⁴ Nova Scotian pioneering activities, in particular their Scottish strands, hold the potentials for a Canadian future when the inhabitants of the nearly destroyed city seek a fresh start immediately after the explosion. [BR, 180]. Angus Murray, the alcoholic doctor, eventually commits himself to useful work [BR, 205] for the good of his community and - by implication - Canada:

We're the ones who make Canada what she is today...neither a colony nor an independent nation, neither English nor American.... Canada must therefore remain as she is, non-committal, until the day she becomes the keystone to hold the world together. [BR, 208].

Neil Macrae, the returning soldier, lost son and “post-colonial Canadian” after having set out on a symbolic mapping and exploring of his home town to help build anew from the debris of the old [BR, 178] comes to grips with Canada’s particular state of mind [BR, 200].³⁵ Even the explosion itself contributes to a symbolic reading in that the disaster turns Halifax - for the last time? - into an innocent victim [BR, 201, 217, 218] of uncontrollable forces.³⁶ The “rising wind” at the end [BR, 219] points to Canada’s future mission for the good of the world [BR, 218].³⁷

The transitional nature of place and text already comprises strong references to a future Canada. Textual markers like “snow” and “silence”, culminating in the “silent persistence of the falling snow” [BR, 197] support a Canadian and post-colonial undercurrent towards the end of the novel. “Snow” symbolically covers up an unfriendly past and offers a fresh start, “silence” marks the beginning of a process of re-appropriation of alienated words in whose course the ‘colony’ reaches an understanding of its own language and authentic meaning.³⁸ In more than one way MacLennan’s imagination “came home” in *Barometer Rising* as he found “words for [the Canadian] space-lessness”³⁹ and attempted to end his family’s and generation’s transitional silence about their ancestors’ collective displacement from Scotland.⁴⁰ If “Who am I when I am transported?” is a fundamental question in post-colonial and Canadian literature⁴¹, then MacLennan’s fictional and non-fictional answers bear a specific Nova Scotian connotation from an overall

Scottish discourse. Parallels in respect to the peripheral positions of all three countries/regions in relation to their respective dominant neighbours are drawn elsewhere in MacLennan's work.⁴² The "images of there" merge into "images of here", the physical environment (Halifax) changes from a colonial place to Canadian city, "silence" moves in the direction of "Canada".⁴³ All in all the reader is made the witness of a post-colonial, slow, and tough process of detachment from the imperial centre and Canada's new role as international mediator is modelled on MacLennan's image of the Scots: "The Scotch, who had learned from experience how to live with the English and by temperament were akin to the French, became in time the cement which bound Canada together."⁴⁴

Two similar states of cultural oppositions - Scottish/Gaelic vs. English and Canadian vs. American/British - have been translated into realistic literature, reflected upon from a marginalized perspective and from there been raised to a national level.

2. Inside Nova Scotia

Each Man's Son (1951) continues MacLennan's literary journey into the Scottish culture of his home province. It shifts from the topographical exploration in *Barometer Rising* to a psychological portrait of a fictitious Cape Breton community.⁴⁵ This time the other side of a Scottish legacy is at the centre of the plot: "To Cape Breton the Highlanders... brought with them an ancient

curse, intensified by John Calvin and branded upon their souls by John Knox....” And specifying its nature: “Daniel Ainslie ... did not know... that every day of his life was haunted by a sense of sin, a legacy of the ancient curse.”⁴⁶ In stark contrast to Ralph Connor’s moderate Calvinism of love, *Each Man’s Son* delves into the machinations of a repressive doctrine and its harmful impact on the sexually inhibited doctor, David Ainslie, modelled on MacLennan’s own father, and the beaten prize boxer, Archie MacNeil. It is based on MacLennan’s interpretation of the Calvinist religion “that God was each man’s personal enemy, and that a man committed a sin merely by existing.”⁴⁷ The setting is entirely Nova Scotian, so that the author thought of the text as a folk novel⁴⁸ but it appears spiritually connected with a Scottish past through crucial moments of cultural, here: religious, colonisation:

Our people were poets once, before the damned Lowlanders got to us with their religion. The old Celts knew as well as Christ did that only the sinner can become the saint because only the sinner can understand the need and the allness of love. Then the Lowlanders with their Calvinism made us ashamed of living. [*Each Man’s Son*, 66].

The psychological side of Calvinist moral rigidity is hence underscored by a discourse of power politics and in relation to its colonizing implications.⁴⁹ What had

seemed a coherent peripheral culture in *Barometer Rising*, now reveals its internal divide along the axis of Lowland and Highland sub-cultures and - in relation to them - of historical moments of dislocation.⁵⁰ Resulting from this a sense of defeatism rules the text [*Each Man's Son*, 67] originating from MacLennan's general idea of Canadian history:

I also grew up knowing that for the descendants of the evicted Scotch, those who had made their way here and done so much to build Canada, that old eighteenth century defeat had been an ultimate blessing.... The four ethnic groups which came together to create Confederation - the French, the Loyalists, the Scotch and the Irish - were equally the children of four separate defeats and abandonments.⁵¹

The protagonists' personal defeats in *Each Man's Son* are deeply rooted in a fundamental division between "mind" and "body" caused by Calvinist Scottish culture.⁵² Ainslie, the intellectual, cannot bring himself to a clear acceptance of his sexuality until he discovers at the very end of the novel through his adopted son Alan, that love is a chief component of a full life. Archie MacNeil, the boxer, resorts to physical violence in the face of incomprehensible forces and dies after killing his wife and her lover. Both men, though different in many ways, share the inability to come to terms with their

Calvinist-shaped personalities. Both men in their different ways set out on their own self-exploring journeys, which are denied a fusion. In a symbolic ending, “mind” and “body” stay separate as Ainslie meets Archie for the first time at the moment of the latter’s death. MacLennan’s literary attempt at exorcising the Calvinist blemish on Nova Scotian culture implies a historical continuity both in terms of content and narrative strategies between the old and the new world.⁵³ Hence this particular novel reflects a literary and political conservatism as it proceeds on the hypothesis of a Scottish “cultural schizophrenia” and disregards literary modes in Scotland to overcome what was felt to be an English cultural imperialism.⁵⁴ Indicators which could have signalled an alternative to the implied ‘Jekyll-and-Hyde syndrome’ are absent from the text as for instance a Gaelic counter-discourse is not regarded a potential source of textual resistance.⁵⁵ Instead Archie dies, Ainslie’s promise of change is vague, his wife will never be capable of giving birth. The lingering impact of Calvinism on the reformed Calvinist writer’s mind produces from a post-colonial point of view the paradoxical effect that a colonial legacy and its master text survive and re-surface and leaves “a Highlander lost in the lowlands of the shrewd men.” [*Each Man’s Son*, 113].

Colonial mind and post-colonial body - that is imperial notions of the now dominant Lowland Scottish culture and colonial counter discourses - are juxtaposed without being synthesized. Therefore *Each Man’s Son* fits neatly into “‘second world’ spaces [which] are

characterized by the ambiguity and ambivalence of both oppositional and complicit positions.”⁵⁶

3. ‘Scottish’ French Canada

Two anecdotes in “Scotchman’s Return” precisely describe MacLennan’s basic politics which made him the social documentary writer he was and chiefly provided the themes of his novels. The first concerns his father’s traumatic encounter with a British officer on board a British battlecruiser. The latter’s “arrogant disdain” of the civilian natives and their fledgling airforce hurts the father’s pride as a “Scotch” and Canadian.⁵⁷ The second concerns the author’s encounter with an American tourist during his first trip to Scotland in 1958 whom he overhears making critical remarks about the consequences of Puritanism in the presence of an Edinburgh car dealer. The Canadian’s and Scot’s final mutual affirmation of living next to “difficult neighbours” exposes in essence one of MacLennan’s primary writing impulses.⁵⁸

Apart from emotional references to a Celtic myth⁵⁹, he feels part of⁶⁰, and the assumption of the dialectics of history⁶¹, the essay touches upon fundamental issues which had become the hallmarks of his particular post-colonial way of writing from within a settler community. By drawing an analogy between Scotland’s past and Canada’s present, he issues at once a warning against imperial strategies and uncontrolled capitalist materialism:

There... is the bait... and it is the same bait England offered the Lowland Scotch after she lost the American colonies and had yet to consolidate her second empire in India, Asia, and Africa. The Scotch swallowed it whole, and the long-term results of that ingestion should be remembered by Canadian voters and decision-makers today. After a temporary prosperity, Scotland went into a long decline.... The ablest men left Scotland.... How many Scotsmen gained greatly in living standards because of the total economic and cultural union of the two countries?.... It could be the same in Canada.... But more important is the question of our priceless resources, and the knowledge that we are trustees for them, and the equally clear knowledge that the present American compulsion is to squander them for the sake of an affluence that has already made the United States one of the world's most unhappy lands.⁶²

In order to arrive at this particular image of the Scots MacLennan draws up two Scottish identities. For the Scots in Scotland he draws on notorious events and characteristics of their history which show them on the losing side and simultaneously eschewing hints to their colonizing undertakings in the service of the British Empire. Consequently, MacLennan's selective historiog-

raphy manages to present the Scots as a whole as victims of “betrayals” and “miseries”. As a major part of the Scottish Gaeldom Canadians hold in their “collective consciousness a memory of Scotland’s loss to England. It accounts for our profound distrust of any expression of self-confident rational nationalism.”⁶³

In stark contrast to their ‘home identity’ MacLennan constructs a Scottish ‘exile identity’ reminiscent of Connor’s notions and like his underlining the Highland Scots’ assumed nation-building prowess.⁶⁴ *Two Solitudes* (1945) and - to a lesser extent - *The Watch that ends the Night* (1958) continue the national discourse which he had begun in *Barometer Rising* in that both novels imply a historical analogy between Scotland and French Canada and from there proceed to an assumed spiritual affinity which allies both races.⁶⁵ Without elaborating Cameron refers to the underlying alliance: “Siding with the underdog was easy for a Nova Scotian of Scottish background.”⁶⁶

Canada “pulled from the outside by two cultures” in *Barometer Rising* is now represented as being pulled from the inside by two cultures - French and English.⁶⁷ The author does not pull the punches about his sympathies with the French Canadians and by implication draws a parallel with a Scottish experience grounded in a sense of defeat: “I have simply liked and admired most of my French-speaking compatriots and have believed, rightly or wrongly, that I understood how they felt. After all, I too came from a defeated minority race.”⁶⁸ The historical lesson learnt put them and the other charter

members of Canada - the Irish, the Scots and the Loyalists - in a privileged position for Canadian Confederation. It can therefore be concluded that MacLennan's version of the Canadian founding myth rests with the downtrodden or, in his own words, the "left-over materials in history's workshop."⁶⁹

MacLennan's didactic approach towards the novel as an art form has often been the object of critical response.⁷⁰ An analysis of the alternative/oppositional connotation of his fiction, however, has been largely neglected. Again his choice of place takes a prominent symbolic position. In *Two Solitudes* the setting shifts from the Nova Scotian periphery to the even more troubled periphery of Quebec and Montreal. In contrast to *Barometer Rising*, this novel is not a portrait of a city, yet its cultural outlines are sketched as they are of significance for the novel's political rhetorics. Here is a scene at the end of World War I:

Most of the flags across the street were Union Jacks, but there were also a few Tricolours and Old Glories. He noticed that the crowd here was entirely English. Farther east it would be French. It was the sort of thing you always watched for in Montreal.⁷¹

Being bi-cultural and bi-lingual, but politically and economically dominated by English oligarchies, Montreal stands as a symbol in MacLennan's national epic of instilling an awareness of "an artificial pulling of

the two [French and English] races" inside the country [*Two Solitudes*, 331]. On the whole, the antithetical structure of the novel supports the major thesis of an Anglo-Saxon colonization of French Canada through the narrative device of juxtaposition. French Catholics stand against English Protestants, the Quebec countryside contrasts with Anglo-Canadian urbanism and in all cases French Canadians lose out. This is a climate in which Quebec separatism can evolve as MacLennan makes clear by the creation of the French radical Marius Tallard, whose emotional rejection of English predominance apparently foreshadows the Quebec Separatist Movement in the 1960s.⁷² Yet, "by staying with the crown throughout the [American] Revolution, the French-Canadians made possible the existence of Canada as a nation" and therefore have the historical right to have a say in the development of modern Canada.⁷³ It would be wrong to assume a black-and-white thesis novel, since divisions occur within each ethnic group. Athanase Tallard, the innovative French Canadian entrepreneur splits with his community and, above all, with his faith, but the biggest rift appears on the 'English' side represented by the Scottish-Canadian business man Huntley McQueen and the retired Nova Scotian sailor Captain Yardley.

Hard-nosed, efficient, stern and sometimes brutal, Huntley combines many traits of MacLennan's Scottish types. Ambivalence is their foremost characteristic, because they oscillate between their 'victim identities' surviving through collective consciousness and their

top positions in modern Canada. Scottish-Canadian achievements in MacLennan's writing are suggested to eliminate the loser's stamp on Scottish culture and thus aim at an imaginary revision of the course of British history. The following portrait of the Methuen tycoons includes the pre-eminent features of the Scottish success story in Canada as well as MacLennan's densest description of the Scots on the make:

The Methuens felt themselves as much an integral part of Montreal as the mountain around which the city was built. They had been wealthy for a sufficient number of generations... they incubated their money, increasing it by compound interest and the growth of the Canadian Pacific Railway. They... went to a Presbyterian church every Sunday and contributed regularly to charities and hospitals. They served as governors of schools and universities, sat as trustees on societies founded to promote the arts, joined militia regiments.... No Methuen found it possible to feel inferior to the English in any respect whatever; rather they considered themselves an extension of the British Isles, more vigorous than the English because their blood was Scotch, more moral because they were Presbyterians. Every branch of the family enjoyed a quiet satisfaction whenever visiting Englishmen entered their homes and

remarked in surprise that no one could possibly mistake them for Americans. [*Two Solitudes*, 148; 149].

MacLennan's apparently firm grip on Canadian identity based on solid Scottish patterns of clannishness and perseverance loosens for McQueen's strict Presbyterian vein which ruins Catholic French Athanase. His victimization symbolically disrupts the mythical bond between Scots and French [*Two Solitudes*, 14; 211-217] MacLennan suggests and points to *Each Man's Son* where a similar destructive Presbyterian doctrine colonized the Highlanders' minds. MacLennan's "Scotch...by temperament...akin to the French" are therefore to be sought elsewhere and are found in the lowly orders of Celtic Nova Scotia.⁷⁴ MacLennan's use of "Scotch" primarily, though by no means always, implies a Celtic link absent from Lowland Scots.⁷⁵ How much he thought *Two Solitudes* to be Celtic can be inferred from a letter to the American film director John Ford concerning a film adaptation:

For me it would be more than an honour if you undertook to produce my work in film; it would assure the success of a kind of story that could easily be spoiled, for you profoundly understand the Celtic mind and, by implication, would have no more difficulty than I had in understanding the mind of French Canada.⁷⁶

Captain Yardley, a retired sea captain from Nova Scotia, is juxtaposed with McQueen's rigid Ontario Scottishness. Settling amidst French Canadians in the Quebec countryside he is soon accepted by the locals on the grounds of his egalitarian conduct, "...he was very different from their notion of an English-Canadian. He was friendly, there was nothing high and mighty about him, he was ready to ask them for advice." [*Two Solitudes*, 21]. It's no wonder that solidarity with the French Canadians comes easily to him [*Two Solitudes*, 186] as he never shed his Nova Scotian background [*Two Solitudes*, 300].

With this figure MacLennan moves from a Scottish-Canadian to a Nova Scotian-Canadian focus and on to a Canadian identity. Yardley's liminal space he occupies between Anglo- and French Canada, old and young, makes him the transitional device the author required for a representation of a Canada on her way to national adulthood. It is the novel's symbolic climax when Paul, son of Athanase Tallard, marries Heather, Yardley's granddaughter, "one quarter Nova Scotian" [*Two Solitudes*, 326]. MacLennan's literary synthesis of Canada from a Celtic or "Scotch" substratum in *Barometer Rising* and *Each Man's Son* is complemented by his vision of a kindred French spirit to overcome a "national schizophrenia".⁷⁷

MacLennan's fifth book *The Watch that ends the Night* (1958) is another of his Montreal novels, but this time the city is set against the background of international affairs in the turbulent 1930s (Spanish Civil War,

Nazi Germany, Stalin's Russia) rather than a symbol of national divisions. The plot revolves around a *ménage à trois*: Jerome Martell, a brilliant Montreal doctor, political idealist and womanizer, George Stewart, university teacher, political commentator and I-narrator and his wife Catherine, first wife to Jerome. Several minor figures complete the picture of intellectual Montreal in the 1930s. It is also a novel of loss and quest, a settlers' community's odyssey exemplified by a protagonist's unsettled position within Canadian society. Jerome Martell is another of MacLennan's marginalized and hybridized characters⁷⁸ of Nova Scotian/Maritimes descent. This is what the I-narrator says about him:

I suppose his background was responsible for his indifference to the social shades one learns in Montreal.... He had grown up in Nova Scotia, and this small but senior province is only a part of Canada by reason of a political agreement. [*The Watch*, 157-158].

This egalitarian spirit on the periphery of central Canada which MacLennan repeatedly describes as having survived into modern times makes Nova Scotia a metaphorical starting point for MacLennan's literary exploration of Canada. A canoe trip by young Jerome from the New Brunswick forests through "semi-ghost towns of a colonial past" [*The Watch*, 195] to Moncton railway station symbolically denotes the stages

of Canadian colonization. That the protagonist later works as a committed doctor for the good of his community like some of MacLennan's previous main characters supports the author's choice of the genre of the 'Entwicklungsroman' to overcome the cultural limbo into which he saw his country exist and eventually wither.

We conclude: MacLennan's 'thesis novels' under scrutiny here take their themes and motifs from Canadian contexts. Their driving writing impulse sets them against British and American literature for their awareness of both countries' cultural ascendancy rooted in a translation of Scottish experience with English imperialism. This sense of a "Scotch" sensitivity derives from a reconstruction of a Celtic legacy in Nova Scotia and its proximity to French Canadian otherness in opposition to English dominance.⁷⁹ Unlike Connor's "monothematic" nationalism MacLennan's national epics thus are attempts at transforming moments of cultural subordination into literary markers of a settler community.⁸⁰

Alice Munro - the individualization of the Scottish heritage

In comparison with Connor and MacLennan Alice Munro's fiction differs in two respects: she prefers short stories to collective portraits of ethnic groups (*The Man from Glengarry*) or national epics (*Barometer*

Rising, Two Solitudes) and her narratives centre on female characters.

Her choice of the short story genre implies a downright rejection of epic literature as a medium of the representation of national causes. Instead, she uses her narratives to thematize the effects of dominant discourses on the individual female mind. The stories treated here are character studies of women racked with chauvinist discourses, in particular Scottish Calvinism.

In an interview Alice Munro admits that as she became middle aged she started taking an interest in Scotland and recognized the Scottish influence in her writing.⁸¹ Consequently, Scottish topics, figures and places enter her works in the 1990s. This is particularly the case with "Friend of my Youth" and "Hold me fast, don't let me pass".⁸² Apart from Munro's favourite themes of female quests, broken family ties and mother-daughter relations in sometimes dispirited surroundings both stories signify female returns to Scottish roots. Munro considered this to be a characteristic feature of Canadian culture: "...we never really repudiated what we call the 'old country' the way the Americans did, and the way the Australians to a later extent have."⁸³

Though set in the Ottawa Valley the first of the stories is on the one hand informed by a 'spiritual' return to Scotland in that the doctrines of Calvinist dissenters, the Cameronians, play a crucial part. On the other, metafictional and intertextual strategies support a story-in-a-story of a young female narrator following her mother's narration about her past, but

modifies, comments on and parts with it in the end. Her scepticism is the guiding impulse of the narrative as it moves on three narrative levels. When the daughter retells her mother's past in a Cameronian household and her relationship with Flora, the eldest of two sisters, Flora turns into a Presbyterian angel ["The Friend", 6-8; 13-15; 19]. When commented upon by the daughter-narrator, Flora is made into a "Presbyterian witch" ["The Friend", 20-21] and, finally, on the third level, the reader realizes that the story basically deals with a mother-daughter relationship via different attitudes towards sex ["The Friend", 20-23; 25, 26].

The post-modern complexity of the narrative structure originates from different discourses, shifting, playing with notions of reality, fiction and meta-fiction ["The Friend", 20-23; 24-26], transcending figures and blurring narrative positions. It can be safely assumed that Munro's sceptical narrator responds to James Hogg's novel *The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner* (1824).⁸⁴ Both texts deconstruct central narrative strategies based on a Presbyterian definition of the "sinful [female] body".⁸⁵

Women caught up in this theology find their bodies inscribed into a negative, contradictory discourse: although the body is effaced, it lurks under its effacement as a continuing threat to a spiritual identity.⁸⁶

Munro's narrator thus tries to break away from what

is felt to be a repression of female bodies by male dominated ideologies and their texts. Gender and ethnics are the pre-eminent characteristics of rewriting a colonising Scottish discourse about women, texts and history. In short, male Scottish patterns in "Friend of my Youth" serve to be made over into Canadian post-modern strategies.

"Narratives of Scottish culture... seem to form some kind of connective tissue between" the people in the narrators' past and "their own personal stories."⁸⁷ "Hold me fast, don't let me pass" set entirely in Scotland is such a story. Hazel, a biology teacher from Walley, Ontario, has taken a leave of absence to trace her late husband's past in wartime Scotland and suddenly finds herself on a quest into her own self. Abrupt breaks, flashbacks, and erratic shifts in time and place characterise Munro's style-mix and correspond with her protagonist's travel into the past. Again the quest is two-fold as the psychological side is underpinned by a sub-narrative about particular events of the Scottish past (Flodden, Philiphaugh). While Hazel undergoes a change from being a "meek" ["Hold me fast", 87] wife to being a middle-aged woman drinking whisky and contemplating sex with a near-stranger, she also learns about the evasiveness and unreliability of reconstructed Scottish history and Canadian present. The eponymous line "Hold me fast, don't let me pass" from the Scottish ballad "Tam Lin" about a shape-shifting man captures the symbolic essence of the story.

The story's theme of questioning old relations

personal and cultural does not lead to a full-scale Canadian reading. Its open-endedness outlines a space waiting to be filled. Whereas Connor's and MacLennan's didactic literature help create a Canadian literary (proto-) nationalism on the basis of a sometimes vague 'Scottishness', Munro's short fiction translates the very process of alienation from a Scottish heritage into individual fates. Textual disintegration follows the recognition of a mythologized Scottish past which is broken into narrative crystals for a special form of continuity.⁸⁸ There is no aesthetic approach to the representation of the Scottish pioneering spirit her father Robert Laidlaw pictured in his novel *The MacGregors* (1979), but only "the place as it impinges on the characters".⁸⁹

We conclude with a review of Laidlaw's novel by Timothy Findley exemplifying the transition from his Scottish novel to his daughter's 'Scottish' stories. He writes: "...in [them, U.Z.] through fiction, his daughter makes her break with the past that is implicit in her father's book without destroying that past."⁹⁰

Conclusion

It is a matter of the record that Canada was the first colony or group of colonies which achieved political independence without a violent revolution and without severing its ties with the European motherland.⁹¹

This article has tried to measure the extent to which unsevered links with a “European motherland” bear upon the fiction of Connor, MacLennan and Munro, who are from different social backgrounds and cultural environments, but united by common Scottish ties to which their aesthetic approaches respond differently.

Ralph Connor’s fiction is built around the figure of the enterprising Calvinist Scot and Canadian in the making, with no great concern about his humiliating past, but a clear prospect of a bright future in his land of adoption. In contrast to the Scottish-Canadian thrust of the contents, a Kailyard formula places his fiction in the literary mainstream of the Scottish ‘motherland’. Homely autostereotypes answer as much to a sense of class and cultural displacement as they could be successfully marketed among old settlers and new immigrants socialized in British literary tastes of the day.

Hugh MacLennan’s anti-modern(ist) novels offer two discourses: a “reimagined” Nova Scotia “intrinsically Scottish and Calvinist”⁹², and a deconstructed version in opposition to the Anglo-Scottish/British religious and cultural usurpation of Gaelic Scotland. Translating historical defeat into an attribute of Canadian nationalism causes ambivalence to linger in his fiction; that is, here he comes closest to a settler society’s post-colonial point of view which had not lost its strong affiliation with a particular Nova Scotian identity in his fiction of the 1950s.⁹³ Therefore his being “passionately British” occasionally retreats behind a Nova Scotian imagination of essential Highland ‘Scottishness’.

Alice Munro 'returns' to dislocating moments in the Scottish past relevant to a feminist and post-colonial Canadian present in order to put a critical distance between a hegemonic European master narrative and her attempts at re-writing it for a distinctive Canadian "cultural self-image."⁹⁴ Issues of gender and nationality are often interrelated in Canadian writing and consequently the representation of history comes through personal stories of rites of passage or other representations of family history. 'Scotland' in Munro's fiction distinguishes itself from Connor's and MacLennan's in that it no longer serves as a mythical force from which to reconstruct a literary nationalism, but as a narrative foil against which re-writing a new individual identity is made possible. Stephen Scobie's *Taking the Gate - A Journey through Scotland* is a recent example of post-modern Canadian literature measuring the distance between the two 'motherlands' - Scottish and Canadian - without severing the links.⁹⁵

Dr. Uwe Zagratzki
Osnabrück

Endnotes

¹ Elizabeth Waterston, "The Lowland Tradition in Canadian Literature", in: W. Stanford Reid (ed.), The Scottish Tradition in Canada, Toronto: McClelland and Stewart 1976; 1988, 203-231. Waldemar Zacharasiewicz, "The Rise of Cultural Nationalism in the New World: The Scottish Element and Example", in: Horst W. Drescher et. al. (Hrsg.), Nationalism in Literature - Literarischer Nationalismus, Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang 1989, 315-334; 323.

² Wacousta (1832); The Canadian Brothers; or, The Prophecy Fulfilled (1840).

³ Marjorie Harper, "Adventure or Exile? The Scottish Emigrant in Fiction", in: Scottish Literary Journal 23,1 (May 1996), 21-32; 21.

⁴ As Margaret Laurence's The Diviners has been the object of many analyses, it will not be considered here, though it unquestionably belongs to this group. See Harper, "Adventure", 31, FN 18.

⁵ For a detailed account of his life and work see John Lennox, "Charles W. Gordon ['Ralph Connor'] (1860-1937)", in: Robert Lecker et. al. (eds.), Canadian Writers and their Works, Vol. 3, Oakville: ECW Press 1988, 103-159.

⁶ See Chris Gittings, "Canada and Scotland: Conceptualizing 'Postcolonial' Spaces", in: Essays on Canadian Writing 56 (1995), 134-161, 137.

⁷ "The solid forests of Glengarry have vanished, and with the forests the men who conquered them.... It is part of the purpose of this book to so picture these men and their times that they may not drop quite out of mind." The Man from Glengarry, Toronto: McClelland & Stewart 1993 (New Canadian Library), 9. All quotations from this edition in the text.

⁸ For peculiarities of speech see Ian Pringle, "The Gaelic Substratum in the English of Glengarry County and its Reflection in the Novels of Ralph Connor", in: Canadian Journal of Linguistics 26,1 (1981), 126-140.

⁹ Hunter notes a “gesture of defiance” in the generations of Highland emigrants after Culloden. (James Hunter, A Dance Called America, Edinburgh and London: Mainstream Publishing 1994, 81-85); Cf. K.J. Duncan, “Patterns of Settlement in the East”, in: Reid, The Scottish Tradition, 49-75.

¹⁰ David Craig, On the Crofter’s Trail, London: Jonathan Cape 1990; 1992, 199. See also 119.

¹¹ Two rites of passage signify the awakening of Ranald’s personality and Canada’s identity: Ranald saves the lives of the minister’s wife and her son and later assists in bringing about the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway linking the East and West of Canada.

¹² On the settlement of Glengarry see Pringle, “The Gaelic Substratum”, 129.

¹³ See Lennox, “Charles W. Gordon”, 141.

¹⁴ Roy Daniells, “Glengarry Revisited”, in: Canadian Literature 31 (Winter 1967), 45-53; 47.

¹⁵ See Fraser in Lennox, “Charles W. Gordon”, 129.

¹⁶ John Galt in *Bogle Corbet* (1831) reconstructed a greater (Canadian) Scotland. John Buchan’s Sick Heart River (1941) continues this tradition. On Galt’s and Buchan’s Scottish-Canadian fiction see Uwe Zagratzki, “John Galt and John Buchan - Two Scottish writers in Canada”. Soon to be published in Konrad Groß (ed.), Informal Empire? Cultural Relations Between Canada, The United States and Europe, Kiel: I&F Verlag 1998.

¹⁷ When Ranald is joined by the rueful French-Canadian LeNoir, who had killed his father, this serves as a reminder of Connor’s humanist interpretation of Calvinist doctrine [242-245] as well as a symbolic merging of French and British cultures.

¹⁸ Walter Pache, “‘Recipe for a Canadian Novel’ Kanadische Literatur im landeskundlichen Kontext”, in: Franz Kuna, Heinz Tschachler (Hrsg.), Dialog der Texte: Literatur der Landeskunde, Tübingen: Günter Narr 1986, 505-525; 509; see also Northrop Frye, “Conclusion”, in: Carl F. Klinck (ed.),

Scottish Tradition Vol. 23 1998

Literary History of Canada, Vol. II, Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press 1965; 1976, 333-361; see also Alan R. Turner, "Scottish Settlement of the West", in: Reid, The Scottish Tradition, 76-91.

¹⁹ Well-known Scottish Kailyarders in the last two decades of the 19th century were J.M. Barrie, S.R. Crockett and John Watson.

²⁰ MacLennan quoted from David Staines (ed.), "Introduction", in: The Canadian Imagination, Cambridge/Mass., London: Harvard University Press 1977, 1-22; 4.

²¹ MacLennan's classical training explains the didactic element in his writing. See his "The Future of the Novel as an Art Form", in: Hugh MacLennan, Scotchman's Return and other Essays, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons 1960, 142-158; also: Roger Hyman "Too many Voices, too many Times: Hugh MacLennan's unfulfilled Ambitions" in: Queen's Quarterly 89, 2 (Summer 1982) 313-324, 313.

²² On MacLennan's choice of landscapes and places compare Susanne Bach, "The Geography of Perception in Hugh MacLennan's Maritime Novels", in: Wolfgang Hochbruck, James O. Taylor (eds.), Down East - Critical Essays on Contemporary Maritime Canadian Literature, Trier: WVT 1996, 81-93.; Mari Bordessa, "Hugh MacLennan's Landscapes: Literary Renditions of a Northern Environment", in: Jörn Carlsen, Bengt Streiffert (eds.), Essays in Canadian Literature, Lund: The Nordic Association for Canadian Studies, 1989, 19-30; Paul Goetsch, Das Romanwerk Hugh MacLennans. Eine Studie zum literarischen Nationalismus in Kanada, Hamburg 1961; Paul Goetsch (ed.), Hugh MacLennan, Toronto 1973.

²³ Harcourt, Brace and Co. (September 1935) reject "So all their Praises". (Hugh MacLennan Papers, McGill, Box 6,4).

²⁴ "The Discovery of Canada as a Literary Scene", n.d. (Hugh MacLennan Papers, McGill University, Box 5, 38). See also Elspeth Cameron, Hugh MacLennan - A writer's life, Toronto, Buffalo, London: University of Toronto Press 1981, Chapter 5.

²⁵ The great-grandfather Neil MacLennan had arrived from Applecross, Ross and Cromarty, in Cape Breton in 1832. See Cameron, Hugh MacLennan, 4.

²⁶ Hugh MacLennan, "The Scottish Touch: Cape Breton", Holiday - Canada Issue, (April 1964), pp 86. Also T.D. MacLulich, Hugh MacLennan, Boston: Twayne Publishers 1983, 31.

²⁷ Cameron, Hugh MacLennan, 135-136; Isabel Bassett, "The Transformation of Imperialism: Connor to MacLennan", in: Journal of Canadian Fiction 2,1 (1984), 58-62; 60; MacLulich, Hugh MacLennan, 31-32; T.D. MacLulich, Between Europe and America, Oakville: ECW Press 1988.

²⁸ David Arnason pointed out that Barometer Rising was "the first novel written in Canada, by a Canadian, in which a peculiarly Canadian consciousness manifests itself." ("Canadian Nationalism in Search of a Form: Hugh MacLennan's Barometer Rising", in: Journal of Canadian Fiction, Vol.1,4 (Fall 1972), 68-71; 68).

²⁹ "Foreword" in: Barometer Rising, Toronto: McClelland & Stewart 1991. All quotations from this edition in the text. For a critical analysis of Nova Scotia's Scottish contributions see Ian McKay, "Tartanism Triumphant: The Construction of Scottishness in Nova Scotia, 1933-1954", in: Acadiensis, 21, 2 (1992), 5-47; Ian McKay, The Quest of the Folk, Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press 1994.

³⁰ The quotation refers to a book of the same name by Thomas Radall, Halifax - Warden of the North, 1964.

³¹ MacLennan in "Halifax - my home town", in: "The Star Weekly Magazine" (April 7, 1962) (Hugh MacLennan Papers, University of Calgary, Second Acc. 380/86.2, 9.6).

³² Reshard Gool, "A Political Lesson", in: North Dakota Quarterly, 52,3 (1984), 24-42; 36. Another feature is taken up by Gool there: "If one wanted to press the Calvinist case, one could argue that the portrait Barometer Rising offers of humanity is one of permanent displacement...", 32.

³³ MacLulich, Hugh MacLennan, 35.

³⁴ The vision of Canada as a national community rests with a sense of geography covering all Canadian regions. [BR, 79.]

³⁵ MacLulich, Hugh MacLennan, 35.

³⁶ MacLennan's knowledge of Calvinist doctrines includes a wrathful God punishing evil.

³⁷ On the issue of the "mission" in Canadian literature see Isabel Bassett, "The Transformation of Imperialism", 58-62.

³⁸ Dennis Lee, "Writing in Colonial Space", in: Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, Helen Tiffin (eds.), The post-colonial studies reader, London and New York: Routledge 1995, 397-401.

³⁹ *op. cit.*, 400.

⁴⁰ Cf. MacLennan's "Scotland bled at Culloden, But Canada was enriched", in: "The Montreal Star" (June 23, 1962).

⁴¹ Alan Lawson, "The Discovery of Nationality in Australian and Canadian Literatures", in: Ashcroft, The post-colonial studies reader, 167-169.

⁴² "Scotland's Fate: Canada's Lesson", in: Elspeth Cameron (ed.), The Other Side of Hugh MacLennan, Toronto: Macmillan of Canada 1978, 260-268.

⁴³ Lawson, "The Discovery", 168.

⁴⁴ MacLennan, "Who and what are the Canadians" (c. 1965) (Hugh MacLennan Papers, McGill, Box 5, 21). See also "Scotland bled", *op. cit.*

⁴⁵ MacLennan's intention was to write about a subject which was at once universal and Canadian (see Cameron, Hugh MacLennan, 227). I will focus on the Gaelic/Scottish subtext at the expense of the Greek tragedy patterns in the novel.

⁴⁶ MacLennan in "Author's Note", Each Man's Son, Toronto: New Press Canadian Classics 1991, VIII, IX. All quotations from this edition in the text. Prior to this novel MacLennan had dealt with the Canadian and American variants of Calvinism (The Precipice, 1948).

⁴⁷ Letter by MacLennan to John Gray, 12 August 1950, in: Cameron, Hugh MacLennan, 229.

⁴⁸ MacLulich, Hugh MacLennan, 65.

⁴⁹ Calvinism continued to be on his mind: "There is a dour-

ness in English-speaking Canada that came from the raw Calvinism of the Scotch and the diluted Calvinism of the United Empire Loyalists which has even infected the French Canadians." In: "An English-Speaking Quebecker Looks at Quebec", address to the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons, Montreal, January 22, 1966. (Hugh MacLennan Papers, University of Calgary, 14.4.7-9 Box 4). On Calvinism in the novel see D.J. Dooley, "Each Man's Son: The Daemon of Hope and Imagination", in: Journal of Canadian Studies, 14 (1979/80), 66-75. On psychology see Larry MacDonald, "Psychologism and the Philosophy of Progress: The Recent Fiction of MacLennan, Davies and Atwood", in: Studies in Canadian Literature, 9,2 (1984), 121-143.

⁵⁰ Gittings, "Canada and Scotland", 151. The colonizing character of Lowland Scottish agencies is given evidence by the "Scottish Society of Promulgation of Christianity in the Highlands" in the 18th century.

⁵¹ "Canada and Scotland - An Analogy", in: Maclean's (1972), (Hugh MacLennan Papers, McGill, 14,46). See also "Canada between covers", in: Saturday review of Literature (7 September 1946), 30 in: MacLulich, Hugh MacLennan, 53. It is interesting to note that the English are not included in the Canadian "founding races". MacLennan is ambiguous about this point, see "The Meaning of Canada", in: "Century 1867-1967", The Montreal Star, February 13, 1967, (Hugh MacLennan Papers, University of Calgary, First Acc. 14.4.29) where the English are mentioned. It will concern us again later.

⁵² On the split of "heart" and "head" in Scottish culture see Tom Nairn, The Break-up of Britain, London: NLB 1977. See also Warren Tallman on the novel's Calvinist syndrome, "Wolf in the Snow", in: Eli Mandel (ed.), Contexts of Canadian Criticism, Chicago 1971, 243-245 here from MacLulich, Hugh MacLennan, 76.

⁵³ Here James Hogg's (The Private Confessions and Memoirs of a Justified Sinner, 1824) and Robert Louis Stevenson's

fiction (The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr Hyde, 1886) come to mind as well as the motif of the alter ego or the "doppelgänger".

⁵⁴ Cf. the political fiction by Scottish writers of the 1930s.

⁵⁵ See Gittings, "Canada and Scotland", 143. Dan Ainslie complains about the "general childishness of this whole place." [Each Man's Son, 33].

⁵⁶ Gillian Whitlock, "Outlaws of the Text", in: Ashcroft, The post-colonial studies reader, 349-352. Cf. Hyman, "Too many Voices", 317.

⁵⁷ MacLennan, "Scotchman's Return", 3. In this article MacLennan's father figures as an exemplary Highland "Scotch". The author here makes a striking distinction between "Scots" and "Scotch": "He was neither a Scot nor yet was he Scottish; he never used those genteel appellations.... He was simply Scotch". ["Scotchman's Return", 1].

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁵⁹ He uses terms as "clairvoyance, doomed, exiled, feeling of failure, melancholic" to describe the Celtic pattern. ["Scotchman's Return"].

⁶⁰ See his reiterated use of collective "we".

⁶¹ "Here, of course, was the supreme triumph of the civilization which, in wrecking the clansmen, had made it possible for me to think of Canada as home." *Ibid.*, 11. Some reviewers noticed the focus of the book: "Although the title essay treats warmly of MacLennan's return to the country of his ancestors, the book as a whole is uniquely Canadian in point of view." ("Press", Pittsburgh, Pa., Hugh MacLennan Papers, University of Calgary, First Acc., 14, 10, 1).

⁶² "Scotland's Fate", 267; see also "Canada and Scotland".

⁶³ "Scotland's Fate", 262.

⁶⁴ Cf. "Scotchman's Return".

⁶⁵ See "Who and What are the Canadians". How strong the French-Celtic Scottish alliance seemed to be for MacLennan is repeated in many of his writings: "Canada might have had a chance, with her balance of French and Celts...". Letter to

A.L. Rowse, 4 April 1973 (Hugh MacLennan Papers, University of Calgary, First Acc. 14.3.5.6b). In "Scotland's Fate" he wrote illuminating the proximity of French and Scottish: "Tens of thousands of starving Highlanders emigrated to Canada, my own forbears among them, and now their descendants here number several millions, many of them speaking French." (262).

⁶⁶ Cameron, Hugh MacLennan, 186.

⁶⁷ Arnason, "Canadian Nationalism", 70.

⁶⁸ MacLennan, "The Other Solitude", n.d. (Hugh MacLennan Papers, McGill, 5, 8). See also "Scotland's Fate", 260; 264.

⁶⁹ MacLennan, "Canada: its many faces", offprint from the 1969 world book, an Annual Supplement to the World Book Encyclopaedia. (Hugh MacLennan Papers, University of Calgary, First Acc. 14.7.3).

⁷⁰ Hyman mentions MacLennan's "insistence that art must work to improve society." Hyman, "Too many voices", 316.

⁷¹ Two Solitudes, Toronto: Stoddart Publishing 1993, 206. All quotations from this edition in the text.

⁷² See Two Solitudes, 53, 158, 179, 181, 314. MacLennan writes years later: "The Quebec Separatist Movement reminded me early on of the Scotch Jacobites of the first half of the 18th century." Letter to James Sinclair, 31 January 1983 (Hugh MacLennan Papers, University of Calgary, Second Acc., 380/86.2,5.64).

⁷³ "Who and What are the Canadians", (Hugh MacLennan Papers, McGill, 5.21).

⁷⁴ "Who and What are the Canadians", (Hugh MacLennan Papers, McGill, 5.21).

⁷⁵ MacLennan keeps referring to the Celtic heritage and French history of Cape Breton/Nova Scotia in terms of language, temperament etc. Cf. "The Scottish Touch: Cape Breton", in: Cameron (ed.), The Other Side of Hugh MacLennan, 214-224.

⁷⁶ Oct. 29, 1968 (Hugh MacLennan Papers, University of Calgary, First Acc., 14.1.24.21a).

Scottish Tradition Vol. 23 1998

⁷⁷ Cameron, Hugh MacLennan, 166.

⁷⁸ "I don't know who I am", says Martell, The Watch that ends the Night, Toronto: General Paperbacks 1991, 169; 367. All quotations from this edition in the text. Barbara Pell thinks that the author shows his figures in quest of a new religion after the repudiation of Calvinism. ("Faith and Fiction: Hugh MacLennan's The Watch that ends the Night", in: Canadian Literature 128 (1991), 39-50. On the anti-Presbyterian aspects see William Closson James, "Two Montreal Theodices: Hugh MacLennan's The Watch that ends the Night and A.M. Klein's The Second Scroll", in: Theology and Literature 7,2 (1993), 198-206.

⁷⁹ See also Ian MacKay, "Tartanism Triumphant".

⁸⁰ J. Lee Thompson, John H. Thompson, "Ralph Connor and the Canadian Identity", in: Queen's Quarterly (1972), 159-170; 169.

⁸¹ Chris Gittings, "The Scottish Ancestor: a Conversation with Alice Munro", in: Scotlands 2 (1994), 83-96; 83-84. With regard to her Scottish background she wrote: "My family name was Laidlaw.... [They] were tenant-farmers, shepherds, agricultural labourers, from the Ettrick valley in the Scottish border country. They came to Canada in 1818 and cleared Crown Land...." (Alice Munro Papers, University of Calgary, Acc. 396/87.3.4) or in: "Working for a Living", in: Grand Street 1,1 (1981).

⁸² Here used Alice Munro, Friend of my Youth, Harmondsworth: Penguin Books 1995, 3-26; 74-105. All quotations from this edition in the text.

⁸³ Gittings, "The Scottish Ancestor", 96.

⁸⁴ Munro recognized a direct ancestry between herself and James Hogg. See Gittings, "The Scottish Ancestor", 84.

⁸⁵ Jennie Rubio, "'Escaping her Carapace': Calvinism and the Body in Alice Munro and Elspeth Barker", in: Scotlands 2.1. (1995), 74-87.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 74.

⁸⁷ Gittings, "The Scottish Ancestor", 93.

⁸⁸ See her story "Wilderness Station" contained in Munro's recent anthology Open Secrets (1994), where the history of a Scottish settler's community in Huron county is narrated through various letters from different correspondents resulting in pluralistic perspectives of one incident.

⁸⁹ Gittings, "The Scottish Ancestor", 94. An untitled holograph draft fragment of the story found in the Calgary Archives contains a more detailed Scottish background. (Alice Munro Papers, University of Calgary, No. 396/87.3, 6.4).

⁹⁰ "The Globe and Mail", 19 May 1979 (Alice Munro Papers, University of Calgary, First Acc. 37, 3.14). David Wesley in "Hamilton Spectator" (14 April 1979): "His hopeful and vibrant tone jars with that of his daughter, who often sees the legacy of the society she grew up in as suffocating, sterile and grey. Somewhere, Laidlaw's living breathing Scots turned into the stone-souled people perceived by his daughter." (Alice Munro Papers, University of Calgary, Second Acc. 38, 13.14).

⁹¹ Hugh MacLennan, "The world when we were born" (CBC, 1 July 1967) (Hugh MacLennan Papers, University of Calgary, First Acc., 14.4.48).

⁹² Ian McKay, The Quest, 221; 223.

⁹³ McKay draws a different conclusion. *Ibid.*, 221.

⁹⁴ Stephen Regan, "'The Presence of the Past': Modernism and Postmodernism in Canadian Short Fiction", in: Coral Ann Howells and Lynette Hunter (eds.), Narrative Strategies in Canadian Literature, Milton Keynes, Philadelphia: Open University Press 1991, 108-133. See also on the following.

⁹⁵ Red Deer: Red Deer College Press 1996.