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**To cite this article:** Daniel R. Meister (2020) 'Anglo-Canadian Futurities': Watson Kirkconnell, scientific racism, and cultural pluralism in interwar Canada, *Settler Colonial Studies*, 10:2, 234-256, DOI: [10.1080/2201473X.2020.1726148](https://doi.org/10.1080/2201473X.2020.1726148)

**To link to this article:** <https://doi.org/10.1080/2201473X.2020.1726148>



Published online: 10 Feb 2020.



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## 'Anglo-Canadian Futurities': Watson Kirkconnell, scientific racism, and cultural pluralism in interwar Canada

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### ABSTRACT

This article contributes to the understudied histories of scientific racism and cultural pluralism in Canada by exploring the early life and thought of Watson Kirkconnell. Kirkconnell, a university professor, administrator, and public intellectual, is perhaps best known for his promotion of tolerance through the translation and promotion of European and so-called new Canadian poetry. However, a closer examination of his early writings reveals an adoption and adaption of Anglo-American race science to justify the discrimination of peoples racialized as non-Anglo-Saxon. Though he later assumed a more tolerant stance towards Europeans, it relied on a different interpretation of the same race science and as such continued to exclude those racialized as non-white.

### KEYWORDS

Cultural pluralism;  
multiculturalism; racism;  
scientific racism; whiteness;  
eugenics; Nordicism; Canada;  
Watson Kirkconnell

[W]hatever civil ideals multiculturalism may represent, whiteness still occupies the positions of normalcy and privilege in Canada, and anti-racist activity remains hamstrung until we begin to carry out the historical work that traces its genealogy, or 'the ideological lineage of this belief system,' in an effort to combat the national injunction to forget the brutal elements of our racial history.<sup>1</sup>

American scholarship on immigration has generally conflated race and color, and so has transported a late-twentieth-century understanding of 'difference' into a period whose inhabitants recognized biologically based 'races' rather than culturally based 'ethnicities.' But in the interest of an accurate historical rendering of race in the structure of U.S. culture ... we must listen more carefully to the historical sources ... we must admit of a system of 'difference' in which one might be both white *and* racially distinct from other whites.<sup>2</sup>

As Daniel Coleman argues, an important step in constructing Canada as a tolerant, multicultural nation is the act of forgetting its racist past. Despite the repeated attempts made by the Canadian federal government and others to present multiculturalism as 'an already-achieved ideal',<sup>3</sup> multiculturalism – as an attempt to ensure the harmonious coexistence within one nation of peoples from various cultures – is actually quite a recent development. As Canadian historians of race and immigration have clearly demonstrated, for most of its history Canada has had exclusionary and racist immigration policies and both state and civil society have generally demanded that newcomers assimilate.<sup>4</sup> Examining the first century of Canada's history, the late historian Howard Palmer traced the outlines of three main

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theories of assimilation. The first theory, Anglo-conformity, demanded immigrants adopt the behavior and values of Canadians and was predominant between 1867 and 1920. It then fell into disrepute and was replaced by the 'melting pot' theory, which emerged during the 1920s and suggested that the blending of immigrant cultures would create a new Canadian culture.<sup>5</sup> Palmer argued that a 'third theory of assimilation – "cultural pluralism" or "multiculturalism"' was vying for public acceptance by the 1960s and into the 1970s. This view developed after the Second World War and recommended that some aspects of immigrants' culture be preserved 'within the context of Canadian citizenship and political and economic integration into Canadian society'.<sup>6</sup>

One exception to this general pattern, Palmer noted, was the earliest expressions of 'full blown pluralist ideas' in the 1930s, specifically in the writings of John Murray Gibbon and Watson Kirkconnell. Other scholars have made similar assessments, with one going so far as to argue that Kirkconnell was 'the father of Canadian multiculturalism'.<sup>7</sup> The connection between the early pluralists and the later policy of multiculturalism has not yet been adequately traced.<sup>8</sup> Palmer connected the rise of multiculturalism not to these men's efforts but rather to a variety of national and international factors in the postwar era. Nevertheless, the early pluralists' impact should not be underestimated. Gibbon was responsible for the Canadian Pacific Railway-sponsored folk festivals, which celebrated a variety of European folk cultures, and he also popularized the now-ubiquitous 'mosaic' metaphor. Kirkconnell was recognized as an expert on 'racial diversity' and was well known for his publications, public lectures, and poetry translations. His expertise was in high demand during the Second World War, when the federal government solicited him to author multiple pamphlets, including one entitled *Canadians All*, which was designed to promote national unity. Available in both English and French, nearly 400,000 copies were distributed nationwide and accompanied a radio broadcast of the same name. For both Gibbon and Kirkconnell, however, questions remain as to the origins of their early philosophies of pluralism: both lack a full-length biography, and Kirkconnell in particular has been almost completely forgotten.<sup>9</sup>

Employing a historical biographical approach,<sup>10</sup> this article examines the origins of Kirkconnell's philosophy of cultural pluralism and demonstrates that his earliest works on ethnic and racial diversity were steeped in late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century racial thought and incorporated proposals for the isolation and ultimate elimination of racialized (and supposedly 'unfit') groups. These theories, with some adjustments, marked many of Kirkconnell's later writings, including those endorsed by the state. Thus, whatever its relationship to the later policy of multiculturalism, one of the most significant early philosophies of cultural pluralism was limited by a scientific racism that proclaimed peoples racialized as non-white were inferior to those racialized as white. In short, pluralism in Canada was limited by whiteness.

Understanding how whiteness has functioned historically requires an interrogation of the underlying science that created white as a racial category. Yet the subject of scientific racism is sorely understudied in the Canadian historiography. There is no 'big book' on its history, and Canada does not even appear in the index of the classic text on the retreat of scientific racism, which discusses both Britain and the United States.<sup>11</sup> However, a few works have touched on the subject, such as Angus McLaren's groundbreaking history of eugenics. McLaren argues that Canadian eugenicists were deeply concerned about the threat of racial degeneration, yet presents the history as if all reformers conceived of a

singular 'white race'.<sup>12</sup> But, as historian Barrington Walker argues, we need to 'continue to give our attention to the issue of how the "white race" was created and recreated at different points in history'.<sup>13</sup> Part of this process is recognizing that whiteness was not always monolithic. As sociologist Steve Garner explains, whiteness 'has two simultaneous borders: one between white and Other and the second separating grades of whiteness'.<sup>14</sup>

Examining the American context, Matthew Frye Jacobson divides the history of whiteness into three 'great epochs'. Although some eighteenth century commentators saw whiteness as variegated, their concerns did not make it to the fore on account of the more pressing legal concerns over slavery and blackness. However, this unquestioned whiteness allowed for the massive European migrations of the nineteenth century that filled the nation with peoples whom the framers did not consider desirable. The resulting demographic shift led to a political crisis, a questioning of the underlying racial logic, and ultimately a fracturing of the concept of a unified white race into a hierarchy of white races. The resulting racial regime Jacobson refers to as one of 'Anglo-Saxonist exclusivity'. He demonstrates that this Nordicist or Anglo-Saxonist regime dominated from the 1840s through the 1920s, though the mindset persisted at 'street level' through the 1930s. From the 1920s through the 1960s, whiteness in America was reconsolidated under the umbrella of the Caucasian race; this was the third great epoch. The new perceived racial unity was in response to a number of factors including the passage of a stricter immigration law that limited the influx of supposedly non-Nordic people; increasing African American northward migration; and, later, changes in anthropology and responses to Nazism.<sup>15</sup>

The history of whiteness in Canada has not yet been mapped with this degree of clarity.<sup>16</sup> This is perhaps due to the fact that, while many Canadians wanted to keep the country 'white', the country did not have the same kind of organized national movement, led by racial theorists, to exclude those racialized as members of inferior white races. Nor did Canadians publish the same types of scientific racist tomes as their British and American counterparts. But this does not mean that Anglo-American ideas about race were not percolating in Canada as well. On the contrary, the following examination of Kirkconnell's early life and thought reveals the existence of an unpublished tract of a similarly racist tenor. Situating it in the racial thought and debates of its time, this article demonstrates how one emerging Canadian academic engaged with Anglo-American ideas about race, adapted them to the national context, and later adjusted his interpretation to encompass a nascent pluralism.

In 1941, Thomas Watson Kirkconnell would remember his early years this way:

I was born, a fourth generation Anglo-Canadian, in the little Ontario town of Port Hope. The townspeople were predominately English, with a garnish of Scotch and Irish. When I was entering my teens, my father moved to Lindsay, and there the population was pre-dominantly Irish, with a seasoning of Scotch and English. In other words, my earliest impression of Canada was of a homogenous Anglo-Saxon country, whose settled way of life I did not question.<sup>17</sup>

The 'Anglo-Saxon' as an idealized essence, to which Scots, Irish, and English could aspire, and one upon which a 'settled way of life' depended, was throughout Kirkconnell's life the unquestioned and fundamental precept of his thought and practice.

Kirkconnell was the third of five children born to Thomas and Bertha Kirkconnell (née Watson). The family had modest means: Thomas had been born into a farming family and

against their wishes had become a teacher, later working as the headmaster of the Lindsay Collegiate Institute in Ontario. Prior to marriage, Bertha had worked as a schoolteacher as well but stopped working to raise the children. After Kirkconnell's public schooling, he headed off to Queen's University in 1913 to study for an MA, which he completed in three years instead of the very usual five or longer.<sup>18</sup> The country into which he was born had been shaped by the idea of white racial superiority. Explicitly racist immigration policies were codified with the introduction of the Chinese Immigration Act in 1885, and in 1907–08 the government reached a so-called 'Gentleman's Agreement' with Japan, in order to restrict Japanese immigration 'to a number that could be absorbed by British Columbia "without unduly disturbing" its existing racial balance'.<sup>19</sup> These actions were followed up by the Immigration Act of 1910, which further permitted cabinet to bar the entry of 'immigrants belonging to any race deemed unsuited to the climate or requirements of Canada'.<sup>20</sup> Canadians of European descent continued to support the exclusion of African, Asian, and Indigenous peoples from nation, but during this period Anglo-Canadians in particular were becoming increasingly concerned about members of white races that they deemed inferior.

Eugenics was tightly tied to the development of this racism, for both rested on a basis of biological determinism. Francis Galton coined the term 'eugenics' 1883 but his hereditarian theories predated it.<sup>21</sup> Galton was a cousin to Charles Darwin, accepted his theories, and believed that mental or personality characteristics were equally as heritable as physical characteristics.<sup>22</sup> He noted that by careful selection animals and plants could be bred to have specific physical qualities. Inspired by this idea, he asked: 'Could not the race of men be similarly improved?'<sup>23</sup> He later explained that eugenics had two forms: positive and negative. Positive eugenics encouraged the fitter elements in society to reproduce, while negative eugenics attempted to prevent the unfit from reproducing. Galton initially proposed controlling breeding through state regulation of marriage and, though he eventually abandoned this idea, he long remained interested in compelling people to pursue 'procreatively eugenic' lives.<sup>24</sup> Scientists in Britain and in the United States slowly accepted Galton's ideas, and with time eugenics became an influential global movement. But it was never completely unified nor did it have any explicitly defined goals other than to control the evolutionary process. However, it was adapted by a wide variety of groups to suit their own agendas.

While Kirkconnell made no references to eugenics before heading to university, he afterwards seems to have accepted some of its premises.<sup>25</sup> In an article published in the *Queen's Journal* the year after his graduation, he recalled having discussed 'empirical eugenics' with his boarding-house companions at Queen's. Informed by the subject, he warned:

If we are to produce men and women of the virile type such as shall guarantee the future of our race and nation let us not adopt measures which will develop aesthetes and exquisites at the expense of red blood and sturdy comradeship.<sup>26</sup>

As economic historian Thomas Leonard notes, at bottom, and on a national level, 'eugenics was based on the fear of inferiority'.<sup>27</sup> This fear of inferiority may also have applied on a personal level, as Kirkconnell was often troubled by his own physical fitness. A sickly child, he was unable to begin public school until the age of seven and after graduating from Queen's was found unfit for overseas military service by three successive Medical

Boards. In this way he wound up working as an administrator in the Canadian internment camps during the Great War.<sup>28</sup> While working in Internment Operations, Kirkconnell, long interested in the sciences, began reading in the field of physical anthropology. He continued to read widely on the subjects of eugenics and race science after he was demobilized, and briefly considered a career in anthropology.<sup>29</sup>

Many reformers during this period preached eugenics because they feared the rise of criminality or feeble-mindedness, which they sometimes connected to more vaguely expressed fears about the vitality of the 'race', a term that had varied meanings. Kirkconnell must have realized the ambiguity of the term early in his research and, ever a believer in the power of science, determined to understand it. This initial focus meant that he approached eugenics from an entirely racial standpoint. Race continues to be a contested concept, although the idea of biological races has been long proven to be a mistaken one.<sup>30</sup> Theoretically, the idea that biological races exist is misguided but not necessarily prejudicial; this position is sometimes referred to as racialism. Racism is the belief that races are a biological reality, *and* that these races can be ranked hierarchically; *and/or* that race is a determinant (of intelligence, behavior, culture, relations, etc.). Racialization is thus a process by which the idea of race is projected onto people, relationships, and practices.<sup>31</sup>

One of the works that seems to have influenced Kirkconnell the most was American racial theorist and eugenicist Madison Grant's *The Passing of the Great Race* (1916). Grant's now infamous work sold about 17,000 copies in the United States, significantly shaped the thought of a number of educated and influential Americans, and helped popularize the basic concepts of race science and eugenics. While it was almost completely unoriginal, according to Grant's biographer Jonathan Spiro, it represented the first time someone had brought such anthropological, eugenic, and racial ideas together in one place and 'presented the whole with such esprit, audacity, and clarity'.<sup>32</sup>

The book was also influential in Canada; as early as 1918, William Moore had singled out *The Passing of the Great Race* as contributing to Anglo-Canadians' sense of racial superiority and subsequent prejudice towards French Canadians.<sup>33</sup> Influential figures professed the creed, including federal politicians who helped shape the nation's immigration policy. According to historian Donald Avery, during a 1919 debate on immigration Hume Cronyn (MP for London, ON) cited the writings of Madison Grant as justification for excluding 'strange people who cannot be assimilated'.<sup>34</sup> Historian Patricia Roy found that H.H. Stevens (MP for Vancouver Centre, BC), had read and carefully annotated *The Passing of the Great Race*. And in 1924 Samuel William Jacobs, a Jewish MP (George-Étienne Cartier, QC), utilized its same logic to recommend the admission of Swedish immigrants, arguing that they belonged to 'the Nordic race'.<sup>35</sup>

Grant's work was heavily reliant on earlier theorists such as William Ripley, an American economist who 'dabbled in anthropology' and argued that there were only three main racial groups in Europe: Mediterranean, Alpine, and Teutonic. Against other racial theorists such as Joseph Deniker, Ripley argued that these racial typologies were essential, that race was responsible for 'those peculiarities, mental or bodily, which are transmitted with constancy along the lines of direct physical descent from father to son'.<sup>36</sup> Adapting Ripley's taxonomy, Grant's posited that humanity was divided into three species or subgenera: Caucasian, Mongoloid, and Negroid. Of these, the Caucasians were superior and were further divided into three subspecies, or races, namely the Nordics, Mediterraneans, and

Alpines. As for the appearance of the term 'Nordic', which had previously been referred to as 'Teuton', Grant had borrowed the terms 'Alpine' and 'Mediterranean' from Ripley, but was not comfortable with the term 'Teuton', 'which he felt had been unfairly expropriated by the nationalists of the Second Reich. So he adopted from Deniker the appellation *la race nordique*, anglicising it to "Nordic". As a result, this specific version of scientific racism is sometimes referred to as 'Nordicism'.<sup>37</sup>

Reading the works American and European racial theorists, Kirkconnell began to question what the situation was like in Canada. But when he turned to census data for answers to his questions about race and demography, he was sorely disappointed. As he was completing a correspondence course in journalism at the time, he made this disappointment the subject of his first article. Entitled 'A Sensible Census', it named and lambasted Canadian census officials for not collecting data on racial origins, and for not correlating such data with other statistics on employment, marital status, family size, income, and age.

We know little as to the growth and decay of any of the different races and classes in our country. It is well known that, for citizenship in an Anglo-Saxon democracy, races, and even families differ from one another in civic value. The Slav and the Semite are mentally alien to our institutions and are constitutionally unassimilable; the Anglo-Saxon, by whom our civilization has evolved, finds ... [them] natural and vital to his existence. Surely it is important to find out which type is now waxing.

New Zealand, Australia, and Great Britain had all appointed Birth-Rate Commissions and found that 'their finest Anglo-Saxon stock was, through race suicide, hastening precipitately towards extinction', he alleged. Canadians, 'in a backwater of prudery or indifference' had not even realized the need for 'a racial stock-taking' but needed to quickly recognize the clear signs of a similar 'racial disaster' in their country.<sup>38</sup>

Kirkconnell was convinced of the direness of the Canadian situation even without access to hard data, and he was already single-handedly attempting to arouse public interest in the issue. A year prior he had begun work on a manuscript that would represent the fullest expression of his interest in race and eugenics. He later described 'Anglo-Canadian Futurities' (1920) as a 'study of the racial tendencies of the Anglo-Celtic stock in Canada'.<sup>39</sup> In reality, it was a eugenic tract aimed at rural Ontarians, complete with suggestions for wholesale sterilization of the unfit. The 67-page manuscript was thus a blend of race science and eugenics combined with his sense of Anglo-Saxon superiority, deep antipathy toward French Canadians, and belief in the benefits of a rural lifestyle.

'Futurities' was heavily indebted to Grant's work, opening as it did with a long and global racial history. Kirkconnell, it should be remembered, was of Scottish ancestry, which perhaps contributed to his wide definition of Anglo-Saxon: 'the racial stocks which have inhabited the British Isles during the past 850 years and the scions of these stocks wherever spread by colonization during the past three centuries'. In order to prove the race's 'comparatively homogeneous' nature, he turned to a misleading characterization of contemporary race theory: 'Anthropologists recognize in the post-glacial history of Europe three great, distinct stocks', namely the Mediterranean, Nordic, and Alpine.<sup>40</sup>

As Kirkconnell would soon explain, non-white races were 'much different' from the three European races. For Nordicists, skin color was an obvious signifier of difference; however, this did not mean that differences between the European races were invisible.



Rather, they held that each European race was phenotypically distinct. Anthropometry, or the study of the human body's measurements, was therefore an essential component of this racial theory. Due to the historical context in which it emerged, the field of anthropometry was deeply concerned with degeneration, criminality, and identifying typologies, often races. In addition, it drew from earlier scientific streams from the nineteenth century such as phrenology (the study of human skulls) and physiognomy (the study of facial characteristics), both of which lent themselves to racial and eugenic concerns. Physiognomy was particularly useful as a way of visually identifying specific typologies.<sup>41</sup>

Kirkconnell had discovered these important strands of racial and eugenic thought, and he was particularly taken with the cephalic index, a measurement of the skull, to the point that he purchased a physician's pelvimeter and measured his own head and those of his parents. (Indicating the longevity of his beliefs, Kirkconnell would list these measurements in his published memoirs nearly a half-century later.)<sup>42</sup> In his 1919 diary, he noted having consulted a phrenologist in Montreal and discussed 'anthropometry, phrenology, and applied physiognomistics' with those who called on him while he was convalescing in Britain.<sup>43</sup> And he saw these differences in the world around him. While in England he remarked that 'the Limehouse district near the West India docks seemed to bear out its evil reputation by the frequent presence of ugly-looking Chinese, negroes, and degenerate Cockneys skulking in the background like evil genii of the place'.<sup>44</sup> Accordingly, within the first few pages of 'Futurities' Kirkconnell explained the physical differences between European races. Mediterraneans were long-headed, small, and swarthy, with dark eyes and hair, while Nordics were long-headed, tall, blond, blue-eyed, and had specially evolved nostrils that warmed the cold northern air before it reached their lungs. The Alpine race was physically different from both these races, with its short, wide head, and stocky body 'of Asiatic origin'.<sup>45</sup>

Kirkconnell then discussed the mental characteristics of each of these white races. The Mediterranean was a kindred stock to the Nordic, but due to migration had a distinct 'genius' and excelled in sciences, art, poetry, literature, and philosophy. (Aside from a more narrow definition of genius, synonymous with intelligence, racial theorists also used it in a broader sense. George Stocking Jr. explains that races were 'often thought of as supraindividual entities which had a common "genius" or "soul"').<sup>46</sup> In the modern world, many seemingly diverse peoples were members of the Mediterranean race, including the ruling caste in India ('the upper class Hindoo'), along with Greeks, South Italians, and Spaniards. The Nordic race was, by contrast, energetic and muscular with an 'active and practical' genius for law, organization, and military efficiency. It was this genius, and its related ideals of truth, loyalty, and family life, which had allowed the Nordic race to 'carry civilization to higher syntheses'. But the Alpine race had 'no affinities with the strictly European stocks'. They were generally fierce, coarse, and brutal, a 'backward peasant people' with no civilization. In more recent history, they had established 'the Slav nationalities of the modern world', and represented at least half the populations of Germany, Italy, and France.<sup>47</sup>

It was from these three racial strains that all the modern nationalities of Europe were composed. But Kirkconnell recognized that pure racial groups no longer existed and that instead of being neatly defined by race, national sentiment arose from a common religion, economic interests, geographical conditions, history and traditions, and a uniform theory of government.<sup>48</sup> He concluded that despite these (cultural) commonalities,



'racial qualities of mind still exist in full vigor in the individual and these in the exact proportions of his ethnical inheritance'.<sup>49</sup>

What of the Anglo-Saxon? Kirkconnell argued that the racial constitution of the British Isles was different from every other 'first rate' nation in Europe because the degrading Alpine presence was totally absent. The population of Great Britain had thus independently evolved from a mixture of Mediterranean and Nordic stock into a fixed type, 'the so-called *ANGLO-SAXON* stock of to-day'. Great Britain therefore was one of few racially homogenous nations, along with Denmark and Norway. After outlining the race's history and stressing its greatness, he asked: 'Such the Anglo-Saxon is and has been. But what is his future to be?'

Kirkconnell then turned to a discussion of how races expanded or decayed, focusing on three main elements: food supply, climate, and race suicide.<sup>50</sup> In discussing the first, he explained that all populations existed to the limit of their food supply. Only a limited population could subsist on a given piece of land before it reached its 'saturation point'. Lower civilizations had fewer food supplies, but the genius of the Nordic race allowed for a highly organized, sedentary lifestyle and resulting increased population. As he put it, the 'basis of civilization is the farmer's ever increasing ability to raise more food than he needs, thus permitting him to sell to men engaged in other pursuits'.<sup>51</sup> Here is a very specific interpretation of racial theory: Kirkconnell, a boy from rural Ontario, was influenced by an anti-modernism that stressed the importance of farmers and saw urbanization, the development of 'large, crowded communities engaged in the manufacture of non-edibles', as involving 'great hazards'.<sup>52</sup>

Kirkconnell's discussion of climate was a throwback to sixteenth and seventeenth century natural philosophy, wherein he argued that plants and animals were distributed in zones and each was 'so fitted to its zone by its own physical characters that it cannot go out of that zone without fatal results'. For human races, the northern portion of the temperate zone alone was capable of fostering great intellectual achievements and the Nordic race was particularly suited to the North. If they were to descend south, they would quickly be 'exterminated' by the climate. In making the argument distinctly Canadian, he argued that

the [United Empire] Loyalists who went to Nova Scotia and Ontario proved one of the finest stocks of the country and gave Canada many outstanding statesman. Those of the very same stock who chose the West Indies instead of Canada are now the decadent 'white trash' of the Bahamas and Barbados. They are outside of the natural habitat of their race, and cannot compete in sub-tropical agriculture with other races.<sup>53</sup>

The takeaway message seemed to be that climate would naturally extinguish races that moved beyond their proper zones, suggesting non-white races proved no threat to the Anglo-Saxon world (and questioning the viability of colonization in tropical zones).

The third and most important factor in the expansion or decay of races was something else entirely: race suicide. This term Kirkconnell used to refer to decreased natality that resulted in a population imbalance between the Anglo-Saxons and others, and he argued that race suicide in Canada was the result of indiscriminating charity. This was dangerous when combined with the uncontrolled breeding of the lower stocks, and was marked or aggravated by a decline in civic duty, weakened morality, a weakened work ethic (especially an unwillingness to work on farms), and the presence of unionism. The indictment of unions initially seems strange, but Kirkconnell believed that the vigor

with which a race was employed had a direct effect on their vitality and as such unionism presented a threat to the entire Anglo-Saxon race.<sup>54</sup>

Kirkconnell's eugenic thought was shaped by his understanding of gender, sexuality, and class, and nowhere is this more evident than in his extended discussion of race suicide. He argued that the phenomenon in Canada was essentially due to the voluntary decrease in natality. Factors included the postponement of marriage, a decline in the marriage rate, sterility (due to venereal disease), and a decline in fertility. He also identified Neo-Malthusianism as a major element, a term he used to refer to both Malthus's idea that the population should be artificially limited and to the actual practice of birth control. Kirkconnell argued that Malthus's theory, that global population was soon going to outstrip its food supply, was simply wrong. He sided instead with Herbert Spencer, who reportedly made the case that the pressure of population was what drove human progress and that increased individuation 'produced a functional check on fertility'. As such, a population composed of superior, well-educated stock would naturally not grow too large or outstrip its food supply.<sup>55</sup>

In Kirkconnell's mind the problem with the 'Neo-Malthusian gospel' was not just that it was leading to population decline. Even more fundamentally, it rested on the 'belief that all evils flow from over-population'. The belief might hold up if all citizens were of equal worth, he argued, but this was simply untrue. The end result of birth control was the elimination of the fitter stocks and the unchecked multiplication of the unfit, resulting in a societal imbalance. As such, the decay of the race was really just an amplification of the decay of the family. In an entire chapter dedicated to 'the Minimum Family', he argued that single children were a danger because they were overindulged, selfish, and obsessed with their mothers. Ultimately, this 'arrested development' could lead to 'homosexual offences'.<sup>56</sup> For the Canadian population to maintain its current size, families had to have four children, Kirkconnell argued, and five or six were required for growth. To this he added the openly classist argument that in 'the slums, large families are certainly undesirable. But in affluent households, small families are inexcusable'.<sup>57</sup>

Kirkconnell placed the preponderance of the blame for the declining birthrate (and therefore racial decay) on women, and specifically their failure to accept what he believed was their proper role. 'Unless normal sexual functions are exercised', he wrote,

a woman suffers from both physical and psychical retribution ... A host of ailments spring from this repudiation of vital function; and a medico once told me frankly that if all women were to become normal mothers, gynaecologists would have to go out of business. Their ministrations are only made necessary by the "modern" woman's denial of her sex.

He added that this repression created ill-balanced and insane women, and was also to blame for the 'disgusting misapplication of mother-love to cats and lap-dogs'.<sup>58</sup> However, Kirkconnell also allowed that a mother's mode of life might also contribute to a 'deranged birthrate'. In an undeveloped note in the text, he considered Havelock Ellis's discovery of high instances of pelvic disorders among young female factory workers. Modernity, it would seem, was dysgenic – all the more reason for women to become rural homemakers, he may well have concluded.<sup>59</sup>

As for the idea that birth control would allow for women's greater liberty and development, Kirkconnell admitted this might be true in a few cases, but alleged that the main proponents of birth control were well-off women who wanted to be 'friends' with their

husbands and did not want to be mothers. 'The one great consolation presented by these selfish sexual perverts' he concluded, 'is that they will exterminate themselves in a generation or two and leave the world to those who do not practise high treason against nature'.<sup>60</sup> In another passage, he alleged that the childless woman was 'as great a social parasite as the prostitute. Both will perish, racially, and the earth will inevitably be inherited by the offspring of those who are true to sex and type'.<sup>61</sup> Such overt sexism was not unusual among eugenicists: Galton and Pearson were unabashedly opposed to feminism, while Ellis attempted to balance the demands of both eugenicists and feminists.<sup>62</sup> This manuscript suggests that Kirkconnell, during this period at least, believed that women's role in life was to marry, bear children, and raise them, tasks he believed were best accomplished in a rural setting.<sup>63</sup>

Having explained the racial composition of much of the globe, and the factors that controlled the expansion and decay of races, Kirkconnell turned to the current state of Anglo-Canadians and compared them to two large groups of others: French Canadians and non-Nordic races. Here he brought the theoretical and broad-ranging views into sharp local focus and tried to alert his readers to the fact that the pioneer Anglo-Saxon stock, the very stock that had founded Canada (and especially Ontario), was dying out and being replaced by 'either French-Canadians or inferior immigrants from Cockney England or submerged Europe'. Though this problem was especially pronounced in rural areas, it was also seen in cities where the 'alien immigrant is extremely prolific but the native English-Canadian is found conspicuously wanting'.<sup>64</sup> The reason for the shrinking population, he reiterated, was race suicide through Neo-Malthusianism.

Historian Angus McLaren argues that English Canadian fear of French Canadian fertility gave 'the hereditarian debate in Canada a particular resonance'.<sup>65</sup> Based on Kirkconnell's writing, it is evident that the English-French divide also, in some instances, helped shape the contours of this debate and give it a specific focus. His manuscript was very intentionally entitled '*Anglo-Canadian Futurities*', and it is possible that he independently began this study partly because of his preoccupation with the so-called French problem. Indeed, his family's connection to and relationship with French Canadians was long and strained.<sup>66</sup> In '*Futurities*', however, Kirkconnell tried to avoid vitriol and instead he presented a scientifically informed, albeit contradictory, line of reasoning.

The biggest difference between the English and French in Canada was not race, Kirkconnell declared, but nationality and religion. Unable to specify French Canadians' precise racial origins, he concluded that 'here and there' Nordic traits persisted and as such the French and English Canadians were 'of kindred stock'.<sup>67</sup> The trouble with French Canadians was that, as in the past, they were steadily multiplying. Some people blamed this on a deliberate conspiracy by the Roman-Catholic Church, he wrote, and many moderates had joined the Orange Order out of a desire to stop the 'steady, unmis-takeable annexation of Ontario by Catholic Quebec'. But Kirkconnell did not claim allegiance to the conspiracy theorists, and he argued that French expansion did not justify hostility. Instead, Anglo-Canadians needed to emulate the French model of fecundity lest they hand over their possessions to 'another race'. This was a particularly confusing bout of racialization, as only pages before he had argued that there were no major racial differences between French and English Canadians, except that the French were possibly more racially pure. Whatever their racial origins, Kirkconnell viewed them as a threat to the Anglo-Canadian order that required immediate action.<sup>68</sup>

Aside from French Canadians, there was a second group of others that Anglo-Canadians had to be worried about. Kirkconnell classed them broadly as 'non-Nordic elements', and they included the following identities: 'Austro-Hungarian, Polish, Russian, Bulgars and Rumans, Italians, Romaic, Jewish, Negro, Indian, Hindu, Chinese, and Japanese'. These were all examples of 'racial elements in Canada which have little or no share in the Nordic blood and the Nordic aptitude for our civilization ...' He noted with alarm that 'We had thus in Canada in 1911 practically half a million people of races whose inbred character is foreign to our Anglo-Saxon civilization'.<sup>69</sup>

Repeating an argument he had heard from speakers at Queen's University during his student days, Kirkconnell maintained that Asian peoples were particularly damaging to Anglo-Saxon society because of their inherent immorality.<sup>70</sup> This he attributed to their Alpine nature, and declared: 'to admit them to equality in our civilization is ultimately to corrupt all that we hold most sacred in the moral world'. He later warned:

in the case of the Hindus, the Chinese, and the Japanese we must remember that however successful these people may become in the externals of our civilization, they cannot have, because of the immutable characters of their race, the same moral freezing and boiling points as the white man.

Asians might succeed in the externals of civilization, but other non-European races had no chance of survival due to their biology. He reiterated his claim about climatic zones in a note that read simply: 'Negro – little chance of growth. Our climate is against his survival. He is out of his proper biological zone'.<sup>71</sup>

Kirkconnell believed Jews were a 'single religion but a mixed race' consisting of nearly ninety percent Asiatic and Alpine converts and less than ten percent of 'true Semites'. He feared that Toronto was being flooded by 'a sea of Jewry ... commensal organisms, like bacteria, parasitic on the main productive race and only helping by their assistance in commerce'.<sup>72</sup> It is unsurprising that Kirkconnell adopted or concurred with this stance after immersing himself in the literature of race science and eugenics; many authors, including Ripley and Grant, were anti-Semites. Years later, Kirkconnell publicly supported Jewish people, most notably by sitting on Board of Jewish-Gentile Relationships in Canada, but his personal views remained conflicted at best.<sup>73</sup>

Kirkconnell was against intermarriage between 'widely differing races', as these 'half breeds' would always die out. Therefore, the threat of such unions was not hybridity but rather the failure of the superior race to maintain its numerical superiority. Such intermarrying should be strictly prohibited, Kirkconnell wrote, adding: 'Those who advocate free intermarriage regardless of color are pernicious fools. In our relationship with backward races, we should not permit free immigration or intermarriage'. However, he made it clear that this was a two-way street: neither should Anglo-Saxons ask for similar rights in Japan, China, or any 'other countries of race much different than ours'. Referring specifically to Canada, he maintained that British Columbia was fully 'justified in excluding the Asiatic, but only on condition that we (and other western peoples) do not seek privileges in Asia that we deny to the yellow and brown peoples of the East'.<sup>74</sup>

Having discussed the plight of Anglo-Canadians in relation to French-Canadians and non-Nordics, Kirkconnell remained convinced that both positive and negative eugenic measures were necessary to stem the tide of race suicide that threatened the Anglo-Canadian. Indeed, his intention in writing 'Futurities' was to warn the reader of the dire situation

in which they found themselves. Beyond this, he believed that further positive eugenic measures should be propagated through two social institutions: church and school. Galton had intended eugenics to be a sort of secular, biological religion, and it is notable that Kirkconnell was drawn to the movement during a period of intense religious doubt.<sup>75</sup>

Evaluating the churches, Kirkconnell found that, on the one hand, the Catholic model was 'worthy of all commendation' for recognizing 'a Mary in every mother' and regarding 'parenthood as sacred and marital fraud as reprehensible'. On the other, priestly celibacy had resulted in the extinction of many men of high character.<sup>76</sup> As for the Protestant Churches, they too had sinned by 'confining religion to a simple, abstract scheme of salvation and steadfastly disregarding concrete problems' such as race suicide. Kirkconnell wanted churches to become eugenic organizations, educating the public at large about their racial responsibilities. 'The Protestant Churches of America face a terrible responsibility', he declared, 'that of diagnosing frankly and treating openly certain social ulcers that are eating out the vitals of our civilization'. His understanding of race also meant that mission work could be abandoned; there was no point in Anglo-Saxons sacrificing their lives 'carrying Christianity to races who have no intention of adopting it'.<sup>77</sup> Kirkconnell's statement that Catholics had 'sinned greatly against the race' with their policy of clerical celibacy suggests that, for him – in this period at least – race had replaced the divine.

Much like the churches, schools were also to be guided by eugenic principles. 'The educational systems of this continent have a distinct racial mission to fulfill', Kirkconnell wrote. Displaying a strong deference to the Lockean concept of the *tabula rasa*, he argued that the purpose of education was to supply each child with 'the accumulated knowledge of the race so that he may fit his life into our complex inherited civilization with a minimum danger to himself and the nation in which he lives'. A failure to educate would result in a regression to 'primitive barbarism' both morally and intellectually. The church should partner with the school, he argued, for education without moral safeguards was a 'diabolical misfortune'. In short, Kirkconnell believed that all children should be developed to their full mental and moral capacities in order to transform them into citizens worthy of Anglo-Saxon civilization, that settled way of life.<sup>78</sup>

In the tract's closing reflections, Kirkconnell remarked that the first step in righting the Canadian situation was

Weeding out the possibility of reproduction for stocks bearing serious defects. Criminality, hereditary diseases of the more fatal types, feeble-mindedness, and degeneracy should be made bars to parenthood. Wholesale sterilization of the unfit would be the most effective method, though one likely to meet with furious opposition . . . . Certificates of physical fitness from government medical boards should be made prerequisite for marriage.<sup>79</sup>

The second step was to cultivate 'respect for maternity and pride in good heredity', and to discourage Neo-Malthusism. Other positive measures, none of them original, included making salaries and tax rates commensurate with a worker's family size. On some issues, such as enlightening the public about their racial duties or facilitating eugenic marriages, Kirkconnell confessed that he did not know how best to proceed. Yet he nonetheless remained confident of the ultimate success of this agenda, which remained at the heart of his social and political thought.<sup>80</sup>

Notably absent from the manuscript was any discussion of Indigenous peoples, despite Kirkconnell's interest in Indigenous archaeological sites near Lindsay. In his grand, global history of race, Indigenous peoples were completely erased. In *Victoria County Centennial History*, a local history that Kirkconnell published in 1921, he acknowledged the region's earliest inhabitants but then quickly worked to erase them from the narrative. As theorists of settler colonialism have argued, while a colonial ideology understands "'progress" as characterised by indigenous fixation and permanent subordination, a settler sensibility envisages a particular set of narrative refrains and a specific understanding of history where "progress" is typically understood as a measure of indigenous displacement ... and ultimate erasure'.<sup>81</sup> Kirkconnell's history exhibited the hallmarks of this sensibility, opening as it did with 'a hardy phalanx of Celto-Saxon stock' sweeping away a 'wilderness' and establishing 'a prosperous agricultural civilization after the manner of that race'. It is the story, as one section header put it, of 'A New Domain and a Virile Race'.<sup>82</sup>

Throughout the work, which was replete with thinly veiled eugenic ideas, Kirkconnell argued that through the scientific study of 'physiographical, racial, social, and economic forces' Canadians could 'plan for the evolution of a higher economic and social order'.<sup>83</sup> He also hinted that eugenics could help plan this evolution: 'The most pressing need of the times is a proper medical inspection of all school children', he continued, in order to identify the healthy and the defective. Eighty-five percent of defective students were 'curable by the simplest kind of a surgical operation', but if these defects were left unchecked the children would be left to live useless lives and would go on to plant 'the seeds of incurable disease'.<sup>84</sup>

Kirkconnell had applied a racial and eugenic lens to the issues of the Canadian population, census taking, and the history and organization of a local county, but he was not yet finished analyzing the world from a racial and eugenic perspective. After he completed his local history, he applied his framework to a larger problem: unemployment, in the context of international economics. Early in 1921, Kirkconnell contacted Oxford University to enquire about their Bachelor of Letters program. He was accepted, began in October of 1921, and returned to Lindsay by August of the following year. Despite his background in Classics, he chose to study Economics because of a planned career in journalism.<sup>85</sup> Kirkconnell packed up his 'Futurities' manuscript and took it along with him to Oxford, and attempted to incorporate much of its material in his B.Litt. thesis. More precisely, he attempted to marry his racial understanding of society with a study of political economy.

Given Kirkconnell's interests and the nature of the program, it is unsurprising that the resulting thesis was short on economics but full of racial and eugenic theories.<sup>86</sup> In his estimation, only one-fifth of the book was devoted to 'standard analysis'. Unsurprisingly, his Oxford examiners denied him the degree, arguing that the original thesis, 'though of considerable literary interest and merit, does not show a sufficient amount of independent economic enquiry'.<sup>87</sup> Kirkconnell, dejected and out of money, returned home but continued to fight the university for the degree, in part by locating a publisher for the rejected thesis. The protracted battle was ultimately unsuccessful as the university refused to grant him the B.Litt, though the silver lining was the publication of his thesis as *The International Aspects of Unemployment* in 1923.<sup>88</sup>

The work contained some of his starkest calls for negative eugenics. Specifically, Kirkconnell called for the creation of labor colonies where the excess population of unemployables would be isolated. Attempts would be made to restore those not 'beyond salvage',

who would then re-join national industry under strict supervision. Labor colonies, albeit without involuntary sterilization, were a popular proposed solution during this period, and famed economists had suggested them at various times and as solutions for various problems.<sup>89</sup> However, Kirkconnell believed they were a viable solution because he had concrete experience working in the type of institution he was proposing: internment camps created by the State.

Owing to his belief in heredity, he warned that such segregation served ‘merely to remove a nuisance from the industrial system’. Something more had to be done about the ‘ever-increasing plague of useless and inefficient citizens’, and in Kirkconnell’s mind there was only one solution. These citizens were to

be maintained in life-long segregation ... for the preservation of society; and for the same profound and fundamental reason they should be prevented, through surgical sterilization, from reproducing their worthless kind. [...] No single act by a modern State could so improve its hopes of permanence and advancement in the social scale.<sup>90</sup>

He believed the state should be charged with this vital task, but was also convinced that ‘the plague is international in its activities’.<sup>91</sup> Once concerned only with Canada, and specifically Ontario, he now advocated eugenic measures – regulation, segregation, and sterilization – on an international scale.<sup>92</sup>

Despite the obvious passion with which Kirkconnell relayed his doomsday message of Canada’s racial decay, it seems he never joined a larger network of likeminded individuals in Canada. This is no doubt partly attributable to his life circumstances. In 1922, Kirkconnell moved to Winnipeg to begin work as an English lecturer at Wesley College (later United College, now the University of Winnipeg). This move would have a major impact on the trajectory of his career. Overwhelmed with the move, preparing the book manuscript for publication, and trying to prepare for classes even as the school year began, Kirkconnell had little spare time. Instead of seeking out other Canadian eugenicists, he allowed himself to be drawn into the exciting and emergent literary scene in Winnipeg. This not only connected him with his colleagues but also promised to bolster his reputation as an author and academic.<sup>93</sup> As such, he did not become involved in any eugenic campaigns nor did he weigh in on Manitoba’s heated 1933 sterilization debate.

Yet Kirkconnell continued to privately study eugenics and endorsed sterilization measures well into the 1930s. He kept up a life-long correspondence with race scientist and racist R. Ruggles Gates and in a 1934 letter he affirmed his belief in the ‘ultimate Mendelian explanation for all forms of mental defect’. He continued:

Without going the length of Hitler’s new Castrationary Courts one still feels impressed with the importance of at least some measure of segregation and sterilization. The increase of feeble-mindedness in Canada is admittedly serious.<sup>94</sup>

Gates responded that spreading word of ‘the hereditary basis of mental and other defects is good missionary work, and very necessary if public opinion is to be instructed in these matters’.<sup>95</sup> Despite this admonition, Kirkconnell remained publicly silent on the issue, as he had already begun to back away from the extremes of his previous writings.

Scholars have struggled to explain why in later writings Kirkconnell seemed to repudiate yet simultaneously rely on racial categories.<sup>96</sup> The answer to this paradox is that he held an essentially Nordacist understanding of race for the rest of his life but with one



shift in focus. This shift was triggered by his move to Winnipeg and the experience of grief. Kirkconnell had been woefully unprepared for the culture shock that the move from rural, ethnically homogenous Lindsay to urban, heterogeneous Winnipeg entailed. 'Western Canada was peopled with a very different ethnic mixture from that of the Anglo-Celtic communities of my Ontario youth or the Ottawa Valley Scotch-French symbiosis of my pioneer ancestors', he would later write. 'I found Slavic and Scandinavian names abounding in the class-rolls of college and university ... This was still Canada, but a Canada profoundly different from the little Ontario towns of my boyhood'. No doubt it was, for in 1921 almost half of Winnipeg's residents were immigrants and, as late as the Second World War, one-third had been born in another country. Entering a religious bookstore in Winnipeg in 1922, Kirkconnell was astonished to find copies of the Bible available in over fifty languages.<sup>97</sup> The years between 1922 and 1926, therefore, marked the first time that he came into close and sustained contact with members of the racialized groups that he had been maligning.

While this may have drawn him away from the extremes of his racial and eugenic thought, what pushed him to completely re-evaluate his conception of human diversity was the loss of his wife. In 1924, he and Isabel Peel had married but their bliss was to be short-lived. In the early hours of 16 July 1925, Isabel died of complications following the birth of twin boys. She was not quite 23 years old and the two had been married only eleven months. The grief devastated Kirkconnell, who packed up their possessions and put them into storage, sent the babies to live with Isabel's parents, moved into the men's residence at Wesley, and returned to teaching classes.<sup>98</sup> Kirkconnell's interest in comparative literature, and specifically European poetry, had been rekindled by the move to Winnipeg and so during his free hours he turned to translating poems as a way of dealing the grief. 'As these versions accumulated', he later wrote, 'an audacious design took shape. I would draw on the elegiac resources of all Europe, ancient and modern, and would marshal these poems, in my own translation, as a memorial to my lost wife'. Thus was born *The European Elegies*, a collection of poems translated into English from about fifty European languages, largely completed by April 1926 but not published until 1928.<sup>99</sup>

Immersed in the elegiac poetry of Europe, Kirkconnell was driven his 'bereavement to a profound scrutiny of the fundamental facts of life'.<sup>100</sup> A realization of European poetry's beauty and its expressions of emotion doubtless led him to some difficult questions about racial typologies, such as how members of supposedly unfit racial groups could craft such beautiful expressions of the human experience. He would later claim that the translations taught him 'a profound lesson'.<sup>101</sup> Ostensibly referencing grief, he closed the work's preface with following lines:

The experience which lies behind has been definite, coherent, and profound, but its disclosure is not desired or intended.

Only this I would confess: that the task which was in the beginning an anodyne became an instrument of deliverance and revelation, not in any religious sense normally so conceived, but in the broadest realm of the human spirit.<sup>102</sup>

Kirkconnell never admitted to his former beliefs; this was as close to a confession that he would ever make.<sup>103</sup>

Though of writing *Elegies* led to a reformulation of Kirkconnell's understanding of race, he did not abandon it as a fundamental organizing principle. He retained a belief in the scientific reality of race, the tripartite division of European races, and the influence of race on the individual. However, he jettisoned the notion of racial purity in the modern, 'Occidental' (Western) world and the idea that the mixing of European races was detrimental. He instead adopted its antithesis: the idea that the blending of European races was beneficial. Palmer suggested that Gibbon and Kirkconnell were influenced by 'a liberalism which rejected the assumptions of Anglo-Saxon superiority' but this is simply erroneous. While both were deeply liberal, their liberalism was fully compatible with race-based exclusions. Kirkconnell's move towards pluralism was the result of an emotional experience, which led him to reinterpret racial theory in such a way that it would justify this new stance; liberalism did not lead him towards or away from Nordicism.<sup>104</sup>

The clearest statement of Kirkconnell's reformulated stance came in a 1927 speech to the Canadian Authors Association, in which he argued:

Racial qualities are, of course, real enough. Nordic idealism and sentiment, Slavic intensity, and Mediterranean artistry will work through heredity to shape the character of the individual. But virtually all nations are mongrel mixtures of races. France, Germany, Italy, England, Russia – all of the greatest national groups in modern times are vast mixtures of racial strains ...<sup>105</sup>

Kirkconnell continued to believe that the European racial strains were responsible for an individual's precise psychological makeup, but he now argued that Europeans – even the English – were quite racially heterogeneous and that such 'miscegenation' was beneficial. The belief that all Europeans were hybrids of three white races meant that it was not possible to judge or reject European immigrants on the basis of their nationality. This reworked belief made it possible for him to later embrace and advocate for European immigrant groups (include those he had formerly guarded in internment camps).

However, Kirkconnell remained firmly convinced of the racial inferiority of all people groups racialized as non-white. And though it would take much longer to detail precisely how this racialism and racism shaped his subsequent works, suffice it to say that he never broke free of its grasp. In the later works in which he advocated limited forms of pluralism, whiteness continued to mark the boundaries of his tolerance and he continued to propagate a settler colonial narrative. In several works, including *Canadians All*, Kirkconnell portrayed Canada as predominantly and properly white and discounted the presence of peoples of African, Asian, and Indigenous descent as negligible. The federal government was apparently willing to back his assertion that despite 'a few Indian survivors, a few Asiatic immigrants, and some negroes brought in from Africa', Canadians were 'at least 98 per cent ... transplanted Europeans'. Similarly, despite his advocacy for various European cultural groups, he retained his eugenic concern with the decline of the 'Anglo-Saxon' population in Canada.<sup>106</sup> His case suggests that, as the intellectual history of multiculturalism is more rigorously explored, scholars may well find more continuities than discontinuities between the present doctrine and its often controversial, perhaps even toxic, antecedents.

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## Notes

1. Daniel Coleman, *White Civility: The Literary Project of English Canada* (Toronto: University Press, 2006), 7–8.
2. Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998), 6. Italics in the original.
3. Richard J.F. Day, *Multiculturalism and the History of Canadian Diversity* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), esp. 6 and 20–3.
4. Recent works include Barrington Walker, ed., *The History of Immigration and Racism in Canada: Essential Readings* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 2008); Kelley and Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic*; and David Scott FitzGerald and David Cook-Martin, *Culling the Masses: The Democratic Origins of Racist Immigration Policy in the Americas* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), esp. chapter four.
5. Howard Palmer, 'Reluctant Hosts: Anglo-Canadian Views of Multiculturalism in the Twentieth Century', in *Multiculturalism as state policy: Conference Report*, ed. Canadian Consultative Council on Multiculturalism (Ottawa: Minister of Supply and Services, 1978), 81–118.
6. Palmer, 'Reluctant Hosts', 81.
7. Palmer, 'Reluctant Hosts', 95; and J.R.C. Perkin, "'There Were Giants on the Earth in Those Days": An Assessment of Watson Kirkconnell', in *Canadian Baptists and Christian Higher Education*, ed. George Rawlyk (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988), 109. For similar assessments, see N.F. Dreisziger, 'Watson Kirkconnell and the Cultural Credibility Gap Between Immigrants and the Native-Born in Canada', in *Ethnic Canadians: Cultural and Education*, ed. M.L. Kovacs (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1978), 94; and George Bonavia, 'Bibliographical Access to Ethno-Cultural Material', in *The Bibliographical Society of Canada, Colloquium III* (Toronto, 1979), 80.
8. This connection is more fully explored in Daniel R. Meister, 'The Racial Mosaic: Race, Cultural Pluralism, and Canadian Multiculturalism' (PhD diss., Queen's University, 2019).
9. On Gibbon, see Leighann C. Neilson, 'John Murray Gibbon (1875–1952): The branding of a northern nation', *CHARM Proceedings* (2011): 127–44; and Meister, 'The Racial Mosaic,' esp. chapter four. For Kirkconnell, see Meister, 'The Racial Mosaic,' esp. chapter two; for details regarding the pamphlet *Canadians All* (Ottawa, 1941), see Kirkconnell, *A Slice of Canada ~ Memoirs* (n.p., published for Acadia University by the University of Toronto Press, 1967), 176; and, on the obscurity into which its author has fallen, see Judith Woodsworth, 'Watson Kirkconnell and "The Undoing of Babel": a Little-Known Case in Canadian Translation History', *Meta: Translators' Journal* 45, no. 1 (2000), 17.
10. On this approach, see Daniel R. Meister, 'The Biographical Turn and the Case for Historical Biography', *History Compass* 16, no. 1 (January 2018), doi:10.1111/hic3.12436; and, on its application to Canadian history, see Meister, 'Historical Biography in Canada: Historians, Publishers, and the Public', in *Different Lives: Global Perspectives on Biography in Public Cultures and Societies*, ed. David Veltman and Hans Renders (Leiden and Boston: Brill, forthcoming).
11. Elazar Barkan, *The Retreat of Scientific Racism: Changing Concepts of Race in Britain and the United States Between the World Wars* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992). One of the few works to examine scientific racism in the Canada context is Barrington Walker, 'Following the North Star: Black Canadians, IQ Testing, and Biopolitics in the Work of H.A. Tanser, 1939–2008', in *Contesting Bodies and Nation in Canadian History*, eds. Patrizia Gentile and Jane Nicholas (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013), 49–68.
12. Angus McLaren, *Our Own Master Race: Eugenics in Canada, 1885–1945* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1990), esp. 46, 61–2, 87, and 92–3.
13. Barrington Walker, "'This is the White Man's Day": The Irish, White Racial Identity, and the 1866 Memphis Riots', *Left History* 5, no. 2 (1997): 51.
14. Steve Garner, *Whiteness: An Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2007), 10.
15. Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color*, esp. 6, 13–14, 38–45, 91–3, and 201–2.
16. Some of the few works to address the history of whiteness in Canada include Vic Satzewich, 'Whiteness Limited: Racialization and the Social Construction of "Peripheral Europeans"',

- Histoire Sociale/Social History* 33, no. 66 (2000): 271–89; Carmela Patrias, *Jobs and Justice: Fighting Discrimination in Wartime Canada, 1939–1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012); Andrew Baldwin, Laura Cameron, and Audrey Kobayashi, eds., *Rethinking the Great White North: Race, Nation, and the Historical Geographies of Whiteness in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011); and Timothy J. Stanley, *Contesting White Supremacy: School Segregation, Anti-Racism, and the Making of Chinese Canadians* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011).
17. Kirkconnell, *Twilight of Liberty* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1941), 73.
  18. Maxwell Cohen, 'Kirkconnell – Man of Letters', *Winnipeg Free Press* (12 August 1939), 3. This would be the last degree he earned by attending an academic institution; the B.Litt. for which he studied at Oxford was not granted and all twelve of his doctorates were honorary. See Kirkconnell, *Slice*, chapter two and appendix I; E. S. Craig, letter to Kirkconnell, 17 June 1921; and E. I. Carlyle, letter to Kirkconnell, 23 November 1923, both in Watson Kirkconnell fonds, box 41, folder 18, Esther Clark Wright Archives at Acadia University (cited hereafter in the following style: WK41-18, ECWA).
  19. Ninette Kelley and Michael Trebilcock, *The Making of the Mosaic: A History of Canadian Immigration Policy*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: University Press, 2010), 108; and Donald Avery, *Reluctant Host: Canada's Response to Immigrant Workers, 1896–1994* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1995), 50.
  20. Quoted in Valerie Knowles, *Strangers at Our Gates: Canadian Immigration and Immigration Policy, 1540–2015*, 4th ed. (Toronto: Dundurn, 2016), 111.
  21. Daniel J. Kevles, *In the Name of Eugenics: Genetics and the Uses of Human Heredity* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995), viii.
  22. Jonathan Spiro, *Defending the Master Race: Conservation, Eugenics, and the Legacy of Madison Grant* (Lebanon, NH: University Press of New England, 2009), 118.
  23. Karl Pearson, *The Life, Letters, and Labours of Francis Galton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1914–30), IIIA, 348. Quoted in Kevles, *In the Name of Eugenics*, 3.
  24. Kevles, *In the Name of Eugenics*, 13, 21, 57–76, and 85.
  25. Eugenics has long been an understudied area in Canadian history, and the sole overview remains McLaren, *Our Own Master Race*, as Carolyn Strange and Jennifer A. Stephen note in their 'Eugenics in Canada: A Checkered History, 1850s–1990s', in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of Eugenics*, eds. Alison Bashford and Philippa Levine (Oxford: University Press, 2010), 523–38. But see also Diane B. Paul, John Stenhouse, and Hamish G. Spencer, eds., *Eugenics at the Edges of Empire: New Zealand, Australia, Canada, and South Africa* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).
  26. T.W. Kirkconnell, 'The Rush Defended!', *Queen's Journal* (20 November 1917), 1–2.
  27. Thomas C. Leonard, *Illiberal Reformers: Race, Eugenics & American Economists in the Progressive Era* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), 114.
  28. Kirkconnell, *Slice*, 99; and Thomas Kirkconnell, letter to Watson, 21 January 1917, WK3-12, ECWA. For a comprehensive look at internment in Canada, see Bohdan Kordan, *No Free Man: Canada, the Great War, and the Enemy Alien Experience* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2016); and for Kirkconnell's recollections, see Captain F.W. Kirkconnell [sic], 'When We Locked Up the Fritz: The First Authentic Story of Our Internment Camps', *MacLean's* (1 September 1920), 20–1, 57–63; Kirkconnell, *Kapuskasing: An Historical Sketch* (Kingston: Jackson Press, 1921); and Kirkconnell, *Slice*, 99–106.
  29. Kirkconnell, *Slice*, 30. He also read in the fields of psychology and education.
  30. For an excellent overview, see Colin Kidd, *The Forging of Races: Race and Scripture in the Protestant Atlantic World, 1600–2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 3–18. Some more recent and equally accessible discussions are found in Angela Saini, *Superior: The Return of Race Science* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2019); and Kwame Anthony Appiah, *The Lies That Bind: Rethinking Identity* (New York: Liveright, 2018), chapter four.
  31. Having made this clear, I will not be placing the word race (and attendant concepts like whiteness) in quotation marks.
  32. Madison Grant, *The Passing of the Great Race: The Racial Basis of European History* (New York: Scribner and Sons, 1916); and Spiro, *Defending the Master Race*, 147, 157–8, and 161.

33. William Moore, *The Clash! A Study in Nationalities* (New York: E.P. Dutton and Co., 1918), 60–1 and 64–5.
34. Avery, *Reluctant Host*, 269 n108. A reading of the debate turns up no mention of Grant but does find Cronyn repeating the Nordacist tripartite division of European races as reformulated and popularized by Grant.
35. Patricia E. Roy, *The Oriental Question: Consolidating a White Man's Province, 1914–41* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2003), 32 and 250 n17; and House of Commons, *Debates*, 8 July 1924.
36. William Z. Ripley, *The Races of Europe: A Sociological Study* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, 1899), 1; and Spiro, *Defending the Master Race*, 93. See also Nell Irvin Painter, *The History of White People* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2010), esp. chapter fifteen.
37. Spiro, *Defending the Master Race*, 102–3. Italics in the original.
38. Watson Kirkconnell, 'A Sensible Census', *Lindsay Post* (6 November 1920), 1, 6. Despite its pre-judicial message, the article drew little criticism from the public, which suggests that many of the locals shared the author's views. However, it did elicit a response from the officials named, who quite naturally took umbrage with this assertion of their ineptitude. T.J. Begley, the paper's editor, defended the author and maintained that they sought the seemingly unavailable statistics only to 'prove or disprove the prevalent belief that the native Anglo-Canadian stock is decaying, in spite of temporal prosperity'. He added that the paper's intention in running the article was the 'open discussion of problems which we feel are vital to our national welfare'. T.J. Begley, letter to R. H. Coats, 22 November 1920, WK28-74, ECWA.
39. Kirkconnell, 'Anglo-Canadian Futurities', WK4-23; and Kirkconnell, letter to the Sub-Rector of Lincoln College (Oxford), 15 October 1921, WK41-18, ECWA. In *A Tale of Seven Cities* (1948) he recounted writing his 'first book' during the winter of 1919–20.
40. Kirkconnell, 'Futurities', 1. The manuscript lacks them but for the sake of clarity I have added page numbers: Chapter one of the manuscript begins at page one, and so on.
41. Galton, for one, engaged with the work of Herbert Spencer and was keen to use photography to identify 'the true physiognomy of a race'. Galton, *Inquiries into Human Faculty and its Development* (1883), quoted in Allan Sekula, 'The Body and the Archive', *October* 39 (Winter 1986): 3–64, at 44 (but see esp. 37–54). See also Jenny Edkins, *Face Politics* (New York: Routledge, 2015), 102ff.
42. Kirkconnell, *Slice*, 7 and 30. He had taken updated measurements at the request of his friend R. Ruggles Gates. See Gates, letter to Kirkconnell, 21 September 1957; Kirkconnell, letter to Gates, 24 September 1957; and Kirkconnell, letter to Gates (and enclosed diagram), 29 October 1959, WK34-14, ECWA.
43. Kirkconnell, 'Personal Diary', entries for 2 September and 21 October 1919, WK3-9, ECWA. Kirkconnell was apparently already familiar with phrenology, as he noted that the 'system and technology' of Prof. Young in Montreal were nearly identical to those of a Dr. Katherine Blackford.
44. Kirkconnell, 'Personal Diary', 28 October 1919, WK2-9, ECWA. (Original reads 'Cocknies'.) Here is a clear example of racialization, as Kirkconnell referred to the thoroughly British Cockneys as if they were a separate race. Note also his clinical descriptions of his fellow soldiers' physiques in *ibid.*, entry for 9 September 1919.
45. Kirkconnell, 'Futurities', 1–9.
46. George Stocking Jr., *Race, Culture, and Evolution: Essays in the History of Anthropology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 65.
47. Kirkconnell, 'Futurities', 1–9.
48. Cf. William H. Moore, *The Clash! A Study in Nationalities* (Toronto: J. M. Dent, 1918), 4.
49. Kirkconnell, 'Futurities', 1–6.
50. Here he drew heavily on Charles E. Woodruff, *Expansion of Races* (New York: Rebman, 1909); and H. Clive Barnard, ed., *The Expansion of the Anglo-Saxon Nations: A Short History of the British Empire and the United States* (London: A & C Black, 1920).
51. Kirkconnell, 'Futurities', 12.
52. Kirkconnell, 'Futurities', 12. See also Royce MacGillivray, *The Slopes of the Andes: Four Essays on the Rural Myth in Ontario* (Belleville, ON: Mika Press, 1990); and Marius Turda, *Modernism and Eugenics* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).

53. Kirkconnell, 'Futurities', 13–14. (Original reads 'Barbadoes'.) Climatic arguments had long been used to justify Canada's exclusionary immigration policies. In addition the works already cited, see R. Bruce Shepard, *Deemed Unsuitable* (Toronto: Umbrella Press, 1997); Lisa Marie Jakubowski, *Immigration and the Legalization of Racism* (Halifax: Fernwood, 1997), chapter one; Vilna Bashi, 'Globalized Anti-Blackness: Transnationalizing Western Immigration Law, Policy, and Practice', *Ethnic Racial Studies* 27, no. 4 (July 2004): 584–606; Tammy Duerden Comeau and Anton L. Allahar, 'Forming Canada's Ethnoracial Identity: Psychiatry and the History of Immigration Practices', *Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research* 1, no. 2 (2009): 143–60; and Sarah-Jane Mathieu, *North of the Color Line: Migration and Black Resistance in Canada, 1870–1955* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), chapter one.
54. Kirkconnell, 'Futurities', 16–18.
55. *Ibid.*, 20–30.
56. *Ibid.*, 33–4.
57. Kirkconnell, 'Futurities', 31–6, citation at 36. This chapter drew on Theodore Roosevelt, *The foes of Our Own Household* (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1917). For a glimpse into the family's socioeconomic status, see Kirkconnell, *Slice*, 120.
58. Kirkconnell, 'Futurities', 29–30. The bibliography cited T.A. Coghlan, *The Decline of the Birth-Rate in New South Wales and Other Phenomena of Child Birth: An Essay in Statistics* (Sydney: William Applegate Gullick, 1903); and T.A. Emmett, *Principles and Practice of Gynæcology* (Philadelphia: Henry C. Lea, 1879). See also Kirkconnell, 'Personal Diary', entry for 7 September 1919, WK3–9, ECWA.
59. Kirkconnell, 'Futurities', 22.
60. *Ibid.*, 30.
61. *Ibid.*, 40.
62. McLaren, *Our Own Master Race*, 19–22. It should be noted that, despite McLaren's wording, some feminists were later ardent eugenicists themselves.
63. Kirkconnell, 'Diary', entries for 29 November and 8 December 1913, WK2–9, ECWA.
64. Kirkconnell, 'Futurities', 36–9.
65. McLaren, *Our Own Master Race*, 9–10.
66. Italics added. For some examples, see Kevin Anderson, "'The Cockroaches of Canada': French-Canada, Immigration and Nationalism, Anti-Catholicism in English Canada, 1905–1929', *Journal of Religious History* 39, no. 1 (March 2015): 104–22; and Kirkconnell, *A Canadian Headmaster: A Brief Biography of Thomas Allison Kirkconnell, 1862–1934* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin, and Company, 1935), esp. 11–12, 30, and 68–9.
67. Kirkconnell, 'Futurities', 43. This differed from Grant, who argued that Canada was 'handicapped by the presence of an indigestible mass of French-Canadians' who were 'largely from Brittany and of Alpine origin'. Grant, *Passing of the Great Race*, 53 and 72.
68. Kirkconnell, 'Futurities', 43 and 46. A possible explanation for the conflicting statements is that Kirkconnell was loathe to propose that French Canadians were purely 'Nordic' (and therefore racially equal with 'Anglo-Saxons') but he also was trying to gesture to – and even applaud – their supposed insularity or purity as a community or race.
69. Kirkconnell, 'Futurities', 47.
70. See for example W.G.M., 'The Yellow Peril', *Queen's Journal* (23 October 1913), 1, 5; and 'Q.U.M.A.', *Queen's Journal* (13 December 1915), 1.
71. Kirkconnell, 'Futurities', 47–8.
72. These ideas he sourced from Woodruff, *Expansion of Races*, 226–41 and 381–2. He also cited John Foster Fraser, *The Conquering Jew* (1915).
73. McLaren, *Our Own Master Race*, 78; and Kirkconnell *Slice*, 272–4. Though his early anti-Semitism has gone unnoticed his later stance has been questioned. See Jack Lipinsky, "'The Agony of Israel': Watson Kirkconnell and the Canadian Jewry', *Journal of the Canadian Jewish Historical Society* 6, no. 1 (1982): 57–72. See also 'My Name is Legion', in Kirkconnell, *Centennial Tales and Selected Poems* (Published for Acadia University by the University of Toronto Press, 1965), 78–89, esp. 80.
74. Kirkconnell, 'Futurities', 19.



75. Kirkconnell, *Slice*, 191–6. On eugenics and religion, see Richard A. Soloway, *Demography and Degeneration: Eugenics and the Declining Birthrate in Twentieth-Century Britain* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 80–5; on the racialism of religion, Kidd, *The Forging of Races*, chapter six; and on the role of religion in the Canadian eugenics movement, McLaren, *Our Own Master Race*; Sebastian Normandin, 'Eugenics, McGill, and the Catholic Church in Montreal and Quebec: 1890–1942', *CBMH/BCHM* 15 (1998): 59–86; and Sean Patrick Springer, 'Eugenics in Ontario: Reconsidering Catholicism, the Culture of Government, and Postwar Eugenics in the Canadian Historiography' (MA thesis, Trent University, 2012).
76. Kirkconnell, 'Futurities', 49–51. Cf. Grant, *Passing of the Great Race*, 45–8.
77. Kirkconnell, 'Futurities', 54. See also his note on 'Race Suicide' in WK16–10, ECWA.
78. Kirkconnell, 'Futurities', 54, 57–8. He did not profess belief in recapitulation theory. However, his vision for gendered schooling was expressed in his *Victoria County Centennial History* (Lindsay: Watchman-Warder Press, 1921), 178–80; see also Kirkconnell, *Headmaster*, 134–7.
79. Kirkconnell, 'Futurities', 63.
80. Kirkconnell, 'Futurities', 63. On the eugenic tax scheme, see Pauline M.H. Mazumdar, *Eugenics, Human Genetics and Human Failings: The Eugenics Society, Its Sources and Its Critics in Britain* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 48–9.
81. Lorenzo Veracini, *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 101. On Canada as a settler society, see also Daiva Stasiulis and Radha Jhappan, 'The Fractious Politics of a Settler Society: Canada', in *Unsettling Settler Societies: Articulations of Gender, Race, Ethnicity and Class*, eds. Daiva Stasiulis and Nira Yuval-Davis (London: Sage, 1995), 95–131.
82. Kirkconnell, *Slice*, 31; Kirkconnell, 'Stone Age Annals of Victoria County', *Watchman-Warder* (23 December 1920): 1, 8–9; and Kirkconnell, *Victoria County Centennial History*, 9, 10, and chapter eight, 'Annals of the Red Man'.
83. Kirkconnell, *Victoria County Centennial History*, 5–6.
84. *Ibid.*, 179.
85. Kirkconnell, *Slice*, 134. The degree normally required a two-year stay, but Kirkconnell used his time in Internment Operations to gain a military exemption for one year. Given Kirkconnell's love of British imperialism it is fitting that what enabled him to study at Oxford was an Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire (IODE) overseas scholarship. On the IODE, see Katie Pickles, *Female Imperialism and National Identity: The Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire* (Manchester: University Press, 2002), esp. 116–17.
86. It is conceivable that the idea of completing a B.Litt. seemed plausible to him precisely because of the possibility of using 'Futurities' as the basis for his thesis. Candidates in the program received no 'systematic instruction' and were generally left to their own devices, leading one instructor to decry the university's provision for postgraduate work as 'an unorganized excrescence on our elaborate tutorial and lecturing system'. Robert Currie, "The Arts and Social Studies, 1914–1939", in *The Twentieth Century*, vol. 8 of *The History of the University of Oxford*, ed. Brian Harrison (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 124–5; see also Kirkconnell, *Slice*, 15–21.
87. Kirkconnell, *Slice*, 122; and 'Report of the Examiners', 88, FA 4/11/2/3, Oxford University Archives. The original draft is not extant, but a glimpse at its essential economic thesis is found in his 'Mechanism and Meliorism', *The Challenge* 2, no. 27 (28 September 1923): 227–8. I would like to thank Michael Couchman for obtaining a copy of this article for me.
88. See Kirkconnell, *Slice*, 259; the relevant correspondence in WK41–18, ECWA; and Kirkconnell, *International Aspects of Unemployment* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1923).
89. John Welshman, *Underclass: A History of the Excluded Since 1880*, 2nd ed. (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 15, 17, 26, and 40.
90. Kirkconnell, *International Aspects of Unemployment*, 80.
91. *Ibid.*, 95–6.
92. The book was reviewed by periodicals in Australia, Canada, England, and the United States. What seemingly got the most attention was his expressive style, which some applauded and others deplored. His eugenic proposals were not always commented on. When they



- were, some reviewers approved and others did not, but ultimately these proposals did not raise many eyebrows at home or abroad. See for instance the review by W.A.M. in *Queen's Quarterly* 30 (April-June 1923): 451-4; and the clippings of reviews and the publisher's promotional pamphlet found in WK4-30, ECWA.
93. A glimpse at this milieu is found in Klaus Martens, *Over Canadian Trails: F.P. Grove in New Letters and Documents* (Würzburg, Germany: Königshausen and Neumann, 2007), chapter three; and Denez Xiques, *Margret Laurence: The Making of a Writer* (Toronto: Dundurn, 2005), 107-9. In 1930 he was made a full professor and in 1933 was appointed head of the Classics Department, a position he held until his departure for McMaster in 1940. See Kirkconnell, 'Academic Record' (1938), WK7-7a, ECWA.
  94. Kirkconnell, letter to Gates, 2 January 1934, WK59-8, ECWA. See also Kirkconnell, 'Mendelism and the Cephalic Index', *The American Journal of Physical Anthropology* (October-December 1925): 443-4; and Kirkconnell, 'Research into Canadian Rural Decay', *Eugenics Review* 18 (April 1926-January 1927): 155-6.
  95. Gates, letter to Kirkconnell, 15 January 1934, WK59-8, ECWA (note the religious language). On Gates, see Barkan, *The Retreat of Scientific Racism*, 168-76.
  96. See for instance Terrence Craig, *Racial Attitudes in English-Canadian Fiction, 1905-1980* (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1987), esp. 7-8, 72, and 72 n31; Day, *Multiculturalism and the History of Canadian Diversity*, 161-3 and 238 n8; Susan Bellay, 'Pluralism and Race/Ethnic Relations in Canadian Social Science, 1880-1939' (PhD diss., University of Manitoba, 2001), 394-409; and Carmela Patrias, *Jobs and Justice: Fighting Discrimination in Wartime Canada, 1939-1945* (Toronto: University Press, 2012), 116-20.
  97. Kirkconnell, *Slice*, 259; Kirkconnell, *Twilight of Liberty* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1941), 74; Kirkconnell, *European Elements in Canadian Life: An Address Delivered Before a Meeting of the Canadian Club at Toronto, Canada, on Monday, November 4, 1940* (n.p., n.d. [1940]), 4; Royden K. Loewen and Gerald Friesen, *Immigrants in Prairie Cities: Ethnic Diversity in Twentieth-Century Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 37-8; and Kirkconnell, *Slice*, 297.
  98. The story of that night is told in Kirkconnell, *Slice*, 55-6; and retold at length in Perkin, 'There Were Giants', 5.
  99. Kirkconnell, *The European Elegies* (Ottawa: Graphic Publishers, 1928); and Kirkconnell, *Slice*, 57-8. For a critical evaluation, see Judith Woodsworth, 'The Undoing of Babel'. She notes that the translation work he did without any 'advice or assistance [from] experts in the various foreign languages he tackled', and overall 'the reactions from quite different quarters are quite positive, although they do not constitute nearly as unanimous a chorus of approval as Kirkconnell later claimed'. Regarding the figure of fifty languages, she remarks that some are earlier versions of the same languages and that others can be considered dialects.
  100. Kirkconnell, 'The Epilogue to Dramatis Personae', *Modern Language Notes* 41, no. 4 (April 1926), 218. Here Kirkconnell is supposedly discussing Robert Browning, but the parallel with his own life is suggestive.
  101. Kirkconnell, 'A Scotch-Canadian Discovers Poland', in *The Polish Past in Canada: Contributions to the History of the Poles in Canada and of the Polish-Canadian Relations*, ed. Victor Turek (Toronto: Polish Alliance Press, 1960), 57.
  102. Kirkconnell, *European Elegies*, 11.
  103. *Ibid.*, 12.
  104. Palmer, 'Reluctant Hosts', 95. On the relationship between liberalism, racism, and immigration policy, see FitzGerald and Cook-Martín, *Culling the Masses*, esp. 6-7 and 144.
  105. Kirkconnell, 'Demos and Apollo: An address delivered before the national convention of the CAA, at Ottawa, July, 1927' (typescript), 2, in WK27-18, ECWA. Cf. 'Futurities', 5-6.
  106. See for example Kirkconnell, 'Western Immigration', *Canadian Forum* 8 (July 1928): 706-7; *Canada, Europe, and Hitler* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1939), 12-13; Kirkconnell, *European Elements in Canadian Life*, 6-7; Kirkconnell, *Twilight of Liberty*, 75; and Kirkconnell, 'Leviathan, Behemoth, Kraken', *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, section II, 4th

series, vol. 6 (June 1968), 164. For examples of his concern with the decline of the 'Anglo-Saxon' population, see Kirkconnell, 'Manitoba Symphony', in *Manitoba Essays*, ed. R.C. Lodge (Toronto: Macmillan, 1937), 1–9; Kirkconnell, 'Thoughts for Dominion Day', *The Canadian Thinker* 1, no. 4 (July 1937): 2–4; Kirkconnell, 'The Canadian Amalgam', *Common Ground* (1941): 37–40; and Kirkconnell, 'Canada, A Multi-National State', *Canadian Jewish Yearbook* 2 (1940–41): 97–101.

## Acknowledgements

I would like to thank Alicia Dobbelsteyn, Ian McKay, and Barrington Walker for their feedback on several earlier drafts of this article, as well as the anonymous reviewers from this journal for their incisive critiques, helpful suggestions, and encouraging remarks. I have also benefitted from the comments of a number of editors and anonymous reviewers at other journals where previous versions of this article were rejected over the past five years. This research was supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, for which I am grateful.

## Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

## Funding

This work was supported by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada under Grant 767-2016-1905.

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