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# Canadian Postwar Book Diplomacy and Settler Contradiction

Rehearsed most recently in Nick Mount's *Arrival: The Story of CanLit*, the popular narrative in the cultural and literary history of English Canada is that literary culture "arrived" in the years between the late 1950s and the mid-1970s, propelled by the economic prosperity of this period; a desire for cultural autonomy from the US; and, as many have claimed, the forms of state support for culture that began to trickle from federal and provincial governments in the wake of the 1951 report of the Royal Commission on Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences (the Massey Report). What Mount calls the "CanLit boom" can to some extent be assessed using numbers: between 1963 and 1972, the number of Canadian-authored, English-language literary trade books published in Canada (including new titles and new editions of old titles) increased by 259%, from 355 to 1,275 titles (Broten 31-32). This increase was significantly greater than the worldwide increase in book production, which was 191% for the longer period 1950 to 1980 (Escarpit 3). While the increase in the number of Canadian-authored, English-language literary trade books in this period is irrefutable, the concept of "arrival" implies a developmental narrative that plots both an origin and an end point. Such a developmental narrative, drawing as it does on the narratives of organic cultural growth that were conjured by the new nation-states of Europe in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, has long informed coming-of-age tales of Canadian nationhood.

This essay complicates the narrative of developmental momentum that frames the concept of CanLit's "arrival" in the period between the late 1950s and the mid-1970s. Moving slightly earlier, to the 1950s, it contends that contradiction and disavowal are better analytical terms for understanding the emergence of the institutions that ultimately supported the flourishing of English-Canadian writing during the "CanLit boom." Anna Johnston and Alan Lawson theorize such contradiction in relation to the doubled character of the authority and authenticity that the "settler subject is (con)signed to disavow" (369). If the authority of the settler subject is derived from the "imperial enterprise" (in the case of English Canada, Britain), this authority is troubled by the distance that separates the settler from the Imperium. The settler asserts authority over the "indigene and the land," while "translating desire for the indigene and the land into a desire for native authenticity" (369). This authenticity can only ever be a form of mimicry, even while it helps to render the settler less "like the atavistic inhabitant of the cultural homeland whom he is also reduced to mimicking" (Johnston and Lawson 369). As the Imperium shifted across the Atlantic in the decade that followed the close of the Second World War, the settler nation struggled to locate itself anew in relation to these "origins of authority and authenticity" (Johnston and Lawson 370). The case examined here is the Canadian government's attempts to enter the cultural diplomacy field, and the international order more generally, in the wake of the Second World War, just as the Massey Commission was disseminating its findings. Postwar cultural—and especially book—diplomacy efforts participated in and adopted the rhetoric of the cultural diplomacy practices dominated in this period by the US. These efforts were thus obliged to emphasize the nation's ostensibly robust domestic book industries, a disingenuous narrative that depended upon a cultural nationalism (settler-imperium difference) that appropriated Indigenous "craft" to its origin story. The contradictions of the Canadian book diplomacy efforts of this period are particularly evident in a text that came to dominate the earliest book program of the Department of External Affairs, John D. Robins' *A Pocketful of Canada* (1946), a miscellany of Canadiana curated by the Canadian Council of Education for Citizenship that took as its purpose the creation of a "popular volume which reflects the spirit of Canada" (v).

Despite the common identification of the postwar decades with the "development" of English Canada's national literature, the publishing industry in English Canada was largely controlled from elsewhere well into the period Mount identifies as the "boom." As Paul Litt has shown, the 1951 Massey Report did not lead to any dramatic increases in funding for Canadian-owned publishers, a fact that Litt attributes to the elitist conceptions of "high" art (and the accompanying belief that such art does not require direct state assistance) held by the report's authors. Though the Canada Council (a form of indirect state support for the book recommended by the Massey Report and established in 1957) provided grants to authors and for individual titles, direct state assistance for publishers did not materialize until 1972, when the Council introduced its block grants to publishers who were "actively producing and marketing Canadian books" (Litt, "The State and the Book" 39, 42). In this context, and until at least the early 1970s, book publishing in Canada was largely a non-Canadian affair.

The structure that dominated book publishing until the early 1970s was the agency system. George Parker emphasizes the domination of publishing in English Canada for most of the twentieth century by a "distinctive" agency system that was colonial in its structure. In Parker's account, this system emerged around 1900 as British and American publishing companies, now bound by an 1891 agreement to protect one another's copyrights, sought to carve up the expanding Canadian market. Some British publishers actually set up branches in Toronto (Oxford University Press, Macmillan), but others found Canadian publishers to act as agents for their books (as New York's George Doran did with McClelland & Stewart). Decisions regarding contracts, editing, design, production run, and royalties were thus often made elsewhere. Moreover, the whole purpose of agency publishing was to distribute American and British authors and not to develop Canadian publishing (Parker, "The Agency System" 163-64). This system prevailed until the early 1970s, when at least two factors coalesced to spell its end. First, a growing Canadian market for textbooks beguiled American companies such as McGraw-Hill to cancel their agencies and set up shop in Canada. Second, anti-American cultural nationalism helped to urge federal support for domestically owned publishers, including the Canada Council block grants and later the Canadian Book Publishing Development Program (1979) (Parker, "The Agency System" 166-67). The influence of the agency system meant that in the 1950s, only one-tenth of the books sold in Canada were published in Canada; the majority of book imports came from the US (Parker, "The Agency System" 166). Moreover, this situation did not immediately change with the advent of funding programs such as the Canada Council's block grants. In 1975, Paul Audley, executive director of what was then called the Independent Publishers' Association, estimated that foreign-owned subsidiaries constituted 84% of the book publishing industry in Canada (Parker, "The Agency System" 167).[1] Canadian-owned publishers (who have always published the majority of Canadian-authored titles) thus constituted only a small fraction of the total market for domestic book sales during the period that stretched from 1950 to at least the mid-1970s.[2] The "boom" in Canadian-authored, English-language literary trade books published in Canada between 1963 and 1972 that I refer to above must be understood in this context.

Direct state support for domestically owned publishing was thus, to say the least, tepid during the 1950s and 1960s and into the early 1970s. Indirect sources of support were emerging in this period, however, and a considerable portion of these were directed outward, to the international arena.

## "The Free and Earnest Exchange of Ideas": Internationalism and the Postwar Rhetoric of the Book

In the 1950s, as Western governments, following the lead of the US, yoked the book to a wide range of overlapping political and economic goals—including the combatting of impressive Soviet book donation schemes and the development of economies friendly to American capital investment—they described their strategies using a rhetoric that emphasized what Dan Lacy, writing in the mid-1950s in the American periodical *Library Quarterly*, called the "free and earnest exchange of ideas" (191). During the World Wars, the US developed its government bureaucracies for cultural diplomacy alongside the private partnerships (with groups such as the Ford Foundation) that have always been important to that nation's soft-power initiatives (Barnhisel 12-13). As Greg Barnhisel points out, following the Second World War, the book and a "culturalist" theory of diplomacy—marked by a preference for the "soft" dissemination of messages through reading rooms, exchanges, touring performances, and the like—came to constitute one of the central information technologies of the Cold War of ideas, particularly because US officials were convinced that the book was the most effective medium for reaching European intellectuals hostile to American mass culture and the growing global power associated with it (97, 118, 13-20). Pursued in collaboration with non-governmental organizations and private industry, the post-1948 programs that performed the bulk of the Cold War work of using books as instruments of cultural diplomacy tended to select texts that complemented an ideology of liberal developmentalism that supported the flourishing of American capitalism—books that privileged freedom and individuality and the importance of co-operation between government and industry, for instance (Barnhisel 103-11, 99).[3]

Amanda Laugesen's focus on a particular Cold War book program, Franklin Publications (1952-1978), offers a good illustration of the ways that government and private industry co-operated in American cultural diplomacy projects in this period. Established by the US government but eventually run by publishers and supported by a mix of public and private funding, Franklin Publications nurtured a vision of building book industries and book cultures in developing nations, a mission that flowed from the program's commitment to the following ideas: that (US-style) literacy and education were desirable; that US-style modernity should be embraced throughout the world; and that the US book industry offered the best model for developing nations to follow (3, 6). Laugesen's study provides an important frame for understanding what Sarah Brouillette calls the "developmentalist ethos" of the postwar activities of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), an organization that was deeply influenced in the immediate postwar years by American foreign policy goals. If this ethos privileged "literacy, agricultural development, and rational science" as the keys to bringing impoverished nations up to the standard of living enjoyed in Western, industrialized economies, these forms of development also offered ways of opening new industries and markets to American influence (Brouillette 31, 33, 42-43).

These international contexts were crucial to the increased enthusiasm in postwar Canada for the idea of state-sponsored culture. Drawing on Kevin Dowler's well-known assertion that culture in postwar Canada came to be understood as a form of national defence that could counter both the new hegemony of American cultural and economic power and the very different perceived threat of Soviet communism, Jody Berland argues that the state's increased commitment to the arts during the 1950s and 1960s also developed in a context in which "Canada sought to make a place for itself as a modern sovereign nation equal in status to other nations of the postwar world" (18). This pursuit of status within a new international order led by the US—bolstered by Canadian accomplishments during the Second World War, the new independence of its judiciary from the British Privy Council, and its autonomy in foreign policy decisions—was, as Litt observes, deemed appropriate in "internationalist circles," where there was "general agreement" that now that "Canada was rubbing shoulders on the world stage with older nations with venerable cultural traditions it should do something to match their refinement" (Litt, *The Muses* 17).[4] Though, as I note above, the Massey Report did not lead to significant direct state support for the book, it did contain two recommendations that redounded to the benefit of the literary field: support for the establishment of a National Library and for the idea that diplomatic posts could build their libraries as a means of distributing Canadian books abroad (Litt, "The State and the Book" 39). The Massey commissioners' acknowledgement of the need to make Canada better known to its neighbours via the instrument of the book testifies to the currency in the postwar period of the idea that state support for national culture should be somehow *international* in scope and, indeed, to the idea that the book was an instrument that could be put to work to demonstrate the former settler colony's possession of "venerable cultural traditions"—that is, as signs of its transition from colony to nation.

Yet such apparently seamless development conceals contradiction: while the Massey commissioners invoked the language of contemporary US models of cultural diplomacy, they simultaneously rejected the hegemony of American cultural (and economic) power. For example, the fifth section of the first part of the Massey Report (entitled "Cultural Relations Abroad") offers numerous and often conflicting justifications for the value (drawing on a metaphor from film) of "the projection of Canada abroad." Among these justifications, one finds the nation's responsibility to make a "reasonable contribution to civilized life" and to benefit from such life in other Western democracies, while also increasing "Canadian prestige in other countries"; the need to combat Canada's "too frequent recourse" to American culture and institutions; and the obligation to counter the "false propaganda" of "dictatorships" with the "truth effectively and generously disseminated by every practicable means" (Canada, "Report of the Royal Commission" 253-67). What we see here is that concern regarding excessive American cultural influence is paired quite unselfconsciously with the American-defined cultural diplomacy language of the period.

In Canada, a postwar program to disseminate books internationally was actually developed in 1949, prior to the publication of the Massey Report in 1951. As Janice Cavell notes, the Information Division of the Department of External Affairs assumed the work of the Canadian Information Service (formerly the Wartime Information Board) in 1947. Reticent to have a peacetime government information service and anxious to avoid charges of propagandistic activity, officials increased the staff of the Information Division and granted it the task of distributing information abroad concerning Canada (Cavell 83). In 1949, a modest book presentation program—which came to be known as the Annual (Canadiana) Book Presentation Programme—was established within the Information Division. Under the auspices of the program, the Information Division was authorized to purchase books "about Canada or by Canadians," as well as subscriptions to Canadian periodicals, to offer as donations to libraries outside the US. The aim of the program was to "increase the knowledge and understanding of Canada and of Canadian affairs abroad" and to promote "Canada's cultural ties with other countries" through print that represented "all aspects of Canadian life and affairs including history, geography, politics and government, economics, literature and the arts." The program was initially somewhat haphazard but was narrowed by 1954 to the goal of providing three selected libraries (one in Europe, one in Asia, and one elsewhere) each year with $500 worth of books (approximately 130-150 volumes).[5] In 1956, the Information Division added a Special Book Presentation Programme to its activities, which aimed to "combat the present flood of literature of Soviet origin in the Colombo Plan area" and to "build up intellectual resistance to communism and not, except indirectly, to project knowledge of Canada." Through the latter half of the 1950s, this second undertaking complemented and indeed threatened to supplant the Canadiana program; however, the two were merged in 1959 when it became clear that Canada's meagre efforts—approximately 1,800 books in 1957-1958—could do little to counter the influence of "cheaply produced popular books"—some thirty million of which were sent in 1958 alone—that the Soviet Union was sending to Asia and Africa.[6]

As in the US, the book initiatives undertaken by Canada's federal government were complemented in this decade by the work of a variety of semi- and non-governmental organizations, such as the Canadian Council for Reconstruction through UNESCO (CCRU). Created in 1947 at the urging of the Department of External Affairs, the CCRU gathered some thirty voluntary organizations that committed to tackling the UNESCO-mandated work of raising funds for "educational, scientific, and cultural reconstruction in war-devastated countries throughout the world" (Canada, "Canadian Council" i). During its first two years, the CCRU undertook two book-centric initiatives: the "school-box" project, which entailed the creation and dissemination of some twenty thousand boxes of basic school supplies and reading materials to classrooms in "war-devastated areas," and the establishment in Halifax of the Canadian Book Centre, which collected books to send to libraries in Europe that had lost collections during the war (Canada, "Canadian Council" 4-5, 7-8).

In contrast to the American and American-influenced book initiatives of the postwar years, the Canadian government's cultural diplomacy efforts were poorly funded and lacked coordination and integration with Canadian foreign policy until well into the 1960s (Brooks 7-9). The initial budget for the Canadiana program was $2,000 per year and, during the 1950s, the budget for all book programs combined was never more than $10,000; in the same period, the United States Information Agency was spending about $6,000,000 to send books to Europe and to nations in what was termed the "developing" world. Australia, a better nation for comparison due to its size and comparable history, spent $50,000 in 1959 to distribute books about Australia to schools in Indonesia.[7] Nonetheless, in a period when any effort on the part of the federal government to fund and promote culture was a relative novelty, these dollars mattered.

Moreover, unlike American postwar book programs, Canadian programming did not involve the publishing industry in any significant way. Cavell suggests that in a period when there was little direct state support for book publishers, the book purchasing undertaken by the Department of External Affairs during the period 1949-1963 likely "made a significant contribution to the economic well-being of the Canadian publishing industry" (81). This is quite likely, given that the department supported many Canadian publishers, such as Éditions Beauchemin, McClelland & Stewart, and Ryerson Press; however, some civil servants involved in the work of ordering books for the Canadiana program prioritized price in cases where a book was available from both a domestically owned and a foreign-owned source.[8] Even though a strong domestic publishing industry was implied by Canada's participation in US-dominated postwar cultural diplomacy, support for Canadian-owned publishers was not a formal part of the Canadiana program's initial mission to disseminate books "about Canada or by Canadians," and it certainly did not inform the later Special Book Presentation Programme aimed at nations in the Colombo Plan area.[9]

## Settler Contradiction: Promoting Canada's Publishing Culture Abroad

Canada's Massey commissioners possessed what Litt calls a "blend of elitist, liberal, and romantic ideas" about culture ("The State and the Book" 36). Their thinking, and the thinking of many in the groups that formed a culture lobby around them, also bore a strong antimodernist streak: while they abhorred "purely commercial" (and largely American) mass culture, they saw value in the "folklore, customs, and pastimes that traditionally existed in close relation to a people's social culture." Such "grassroots" popular culture was "vibrant, participatory, and directly relevant to the community life of the individual"; as such, it could combat the effects of mass culture, which "stultified and then manipulated a gullible public" (Litt, *The Muses* 85). A corollary of this elitist antimodernism can be found in UNESCO's first major book industry program, the Collection of Representative Works, which was created in 1948 to support the translation and cross-border dissemination of the world's "classic literature." Sarah Brouillette's account of this program reveals a great deal about the values and goals of the US-led development establishment during the 1950s. Concerned about the global transition from the "age of empire to the age of fragmentation," key UNESCO leaders wanted to cultivate and safeguard a "unified global vision" of "cosmopolitan liberalism," an ideal of "elite aesthetic expression" that could transcend politics while articulating the sovereignty and "local particularity" of each nation (11-12). A collection of global "classics" in translation (mostly into English and French), the Collection of Representative Works aimed to grant what were cast as "less developed cultures" access to the "great classics," while "making the preindustrial arts available to those whose decadence needed to be checked" (Brouillette 29).[10] Brouillette notes the obvious tension underlying this ostensible exchange, which, in its mission to cultivate progress through a harmonization of Western and non-Western cultures, threatened the very values of localism and tradition that it purported to value (29).

While the government of Louis St. Laurent was eager to cast Canada as a nation that was assuming a place among its equals on a world stage increasingly directed by US hegemony, Canada's settler-colonial status placed it in an ambivalent location between the "cosmopolitan liberalism" that UNESCO identified with the Western powers and the attractive "local particularity" of those nations that had yet to be modernized. The initial title selection for the Department of External Affairs' Canadiana program offers a telling demonstration of this point. At the first 1949 meeting of the Information Division committee tasked with overseeing the program, it was agreed that the program would include hardcover books in both English and French on history, economics, cultural subjects, geography, and government. At this meeting, committee member and civil servant Laura Beattie suggested John D. Robins' *A Pocketful of Canada* (1946) and Desmond Pacey's *A Book of Canadian Stories* (1947), both of which remained staples on the Canadiana list through the 1950s (Cavell 84). A project of the Canadian Council of Education for Citizenship, an association formed in 1940 with the encouragement of federal government officials that brought together volunteer groups and provincial departments of education concerned about education for newcomers (Joshee 110), *A Pocketful of Canada* was more or less tailor-made for book diplomacy efforts of the postwar period. H. M. Tory, chair of the Canadian Council of Education for Citizenship (and university administrator), makes the domestic and international aims of the book clear in his introduction; it is meant to "bring to the Canadian at home, and to his friends elsewhere, such an interesting and informative view of the real growing and developing Canada as may be gathered from a study of the written record" (v). The book is a miscellany dominated by short fiction and poetry, some of which is presented in sections with regional themes ("West by North"), but it also includes non-fictional contributions by figures such as Marius Barbeau ("Indian Art and Myth") and Lawren Harris ("Reconstruction through the Arts"), in addition to political and historical essays and documents, such as Lorne Pierce's "The Underlying Principle of Confederation" and excerpts from the Treaty of Paris. The importance of *A Pocketful* to the Canadiana program is clear: in his 1952 purchase requisition, an employee in the Information Division observed that the book was in "considerable demand"; and, in a period when the Department had a budget of only $2,000 per year for the program (about six hundred books), they purchased more copies of *A Pocketful* than any other title—250 copies in 1952 and a further 60 copies in 1953.[11] By the early 1950s, *A Pocketful* was no stranger to international distribution: as Carole Gerson discusses, it was one of the books selected in 1948 by the CCRU for inclusion in the twenty thousand boxes of school supplies that were sent to classrooms in war-ravaged parts of Europe (Gerson 67; Canada, "Canadian Council" 4); its role in this earlier program may have influenced the Department of External Affairs committee tasked with selecting titles.[12]

The overrepresentation of *A Pocketful of Canada* in the government's Canadiana program is partly explained by the fact that, unlike most purchases the Department of External Affairs made for cultural diplomacy purposes, this title was primarily ordered as a paperback, which came at the attractive price of fifty cents a copy. The moderately priced hardcover books favoured by the Department typically cost three to four dollars. Published by William Collins Sons & Company Canada, a subsidiary of the Glasgow-based company that began operating in Toronto during the 1930s, *A Pocketful* was originally issued in cloth-bound hardcovers, but subsequent editions in 1948 and 1952 were paperbacks, the last of which appeared as a White Circle Pocket Edition, a series of cheap reprints of successful British, American, and Canadian titles [see Figure 1]. Launched in 1942 by Collins' Canadian office, the series was modelled after and competed with American firms, such as

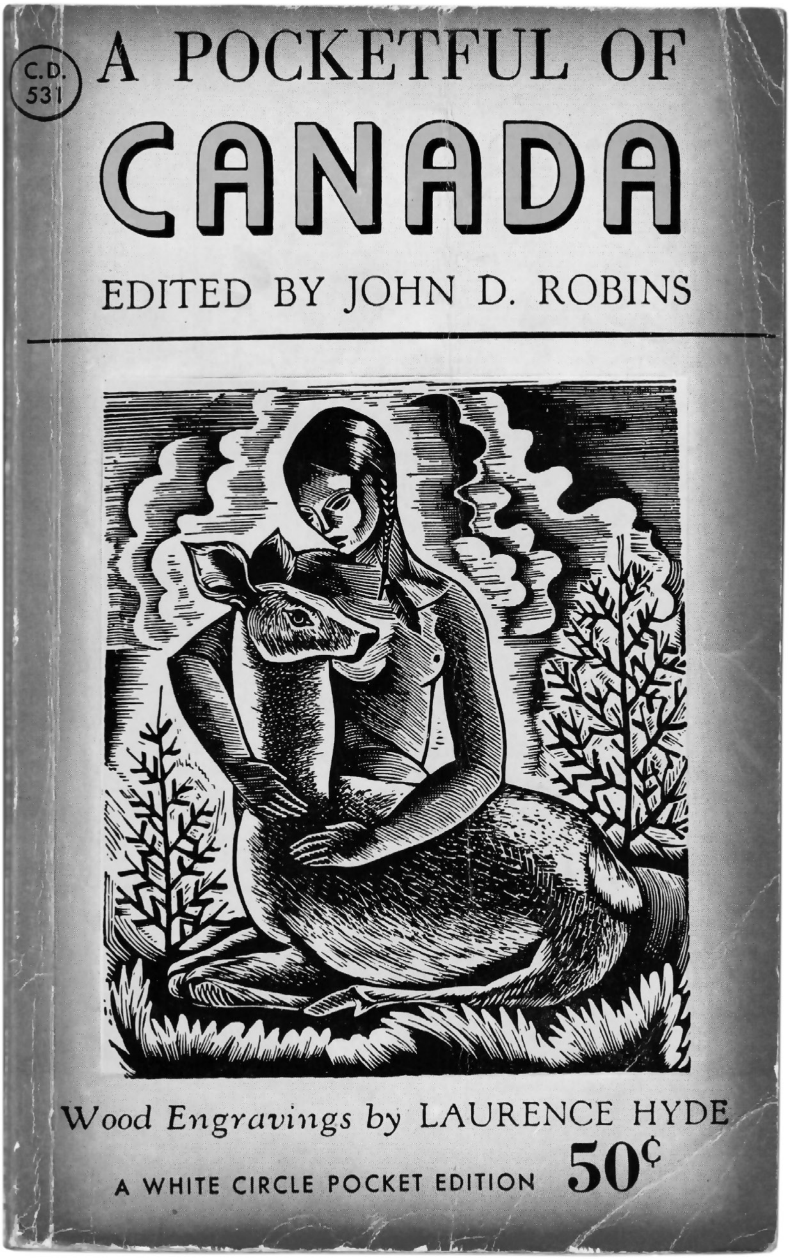
C.D. 531
A POCKETFUL OF
CANADA
EDITED BY JOHN D. ROBINS
Wood Engravings by LAURENCE HYDE
50¢
A WHITE CIRCLE POCKET EDITION

**Figure 1.** *A Pocketful of Canada* (White Circle Pocket Edition, Collins, 1952). Reproduction courtesy of the author's private collection.

Pocket Books and Doubleday, that led the paperback revolution of this period. White Circle Pocket Editions are an early example of mass-market book production—the Toronto branch produced the paperbacks at the rate of eight titles a month—as well as distribution in Canada (Rampure 186; "Margaret Paull"; Brouillette and Michon 405). The president of Collins' Canadian branch, Franklin Appleton, was a "committed nationalist" who used the wartime disruption of the trans-Atlantic book trade to enlarge Collins' Canadian operations, endeavouring through the 1940s to manufacture the majority of the branch's books in Canada (Campbell 58; Gerson 68-69). Indeed, the White Circle series was unique for its inclusion of Canadian-authored books—mostly mysteries and romances, though more literary titles, such as Hugh MacLennan's novel *Two Solitudes*, also occasionally found a place. Nonetheless, the White Circle series, which had to compete on drugstore shelves featuring the American and British selections of Pocket Books and Doubleday, was dominated by popular British writers of genre fiction, such as Peter Cheyney and Edwy Searles Brooks. Consequently, although the Canadian branch of Collins became more autonomous during the Second World War, and was committed to local manufacturing and to including some Canadian authors in its publishing program, as a subsidiary of a British company that made its money on British and American writers, it was representative of the publishing culture of mid-century English Canada, which was dominated by agency publishers and subsidiaries of foreign companies.[13]

*A Pocketful of Canada* is an interesting book to read in the context of its use as an instrument of postwar cultural diplomacy because it enacts, albeit ambivalently, the sort of "exchange" promoted by UNESCO's Collection of Representative Works during the late 1940s and 1950s. Quite literally enclosing the text's print selections is Laurence Hyde's cover illustration, a wood engraving that features a woman embracing a seated deer. Adorned with simple braids but no clothing and placed in proximity to nature (the deer, the forest background), this is a figure marked as Indigenous for non-Indigenous postwar audiences. As Gerson notes, there is a "visual dialogue" between *A Pocketful*'s woodcuts and its photographs (72). If Hyde's woodcuts, which pepper the book's endpapers (in the hardcover edition) and mark off each of the book's sections, represent the values of craftsmanship and simplicity of the era's fine-press work, these images contrast with the book's photographic essay by Donald W. Buchanan, which comprises stills from National Film Board of Canada (NFB) documentaries that narrate the nation's industrial "progress" (Gerson 73).[14] This dialogue demonstrates "the differing conceptions of Canada prevalent during the immediate post-war period" (Gerson 72), but it is also a wonderful material instance of the contradictions that constituted the settler nationalism of this moment. Aligned with an iconography of Indigeneity, the book's woodcuts function as a balm for both the American mass culture the Massey commissioners detested, on one hand, and on the other, the modernization and "progress" the book witnesses and, indeed, celebrates. The woodcuts embody what Lynda Jessup calls a "modernizing antimodernism"—one that "sought social and industrial advancement in a return to the imagined state of aesthetic consciousness that had been lost with overcivilization" (138), or, we might add, the saturation of daily life with American mass culture. At the same time, they draw on what Lorenzo Veracini describes as "settler indigenization"(46)—settler "appropriation of indigenous cultural attributes" as a means of claiming authenticity for the national project (46). The woodcuts thus function in highly ironic ways that situate Canada in ambivalent relation to the liberal cosmopolitan-local culture distinction. All at once, they critique American models of industrial mass production, while easing the transition to an age characterized in Buchanan's visual essay as the "conquest of space" (Robins 174); they appropriate a "local" culture that is not coterminous with settler culture and disavow the foundational violence of the nation; and they mark the destruction of the lifeways and knowledges they purport to value.[15]

Layered upon these contradictions is another, one that was produced by English Canada's positioning in relation to the concept of "civilization" that was attached to the postwar cultural diplomacy efforts led by the US. As I describe above, Canada's Massey commissioners repeated the language of American cultural diplomacy in their 1951 report; their appeal to the nation's responsibility to make a "reasonable contribution to civilized life," as well as its obligation to counter the "false propaganda" of "dictatorships," refers back to the argument, common in the American-led development establishment of the period, that liberal democracy was contingent on the "free and earnest exchange of ideas"—an exchange that rested on the basic assumption that the high literacy rates and modernized book industries of the Western democracies were crucial to their freedoms. Yet this language put English Canadians in an uncomfortable position because it implies that the nation had a robust publishing industry. *A Pocketful of Canada* offers an intriguing exemplification of this problem. Its contents suggest that Canada is a nation rich in the pre-industrial arts, including totem poles (Barbeau's "Indian

Art and Myth," a photograph of Emily Carr's painting *Blunden Harbour*), the wooden cradle of the *habitant* (Adjutor Rivard's "The Cradle"), and the canoe (one of Hyde's engravings, excerpts from Ralph Connor's *Postscript to Adventure* and John D. Robins' *The Incomplete Anglers*). Laurence Hyde's woodcuts and their implication of the high production standards of fine-press work are logically continuous with this theme of "indigenous" handicraft as the basis of nationhood. Yet print and publishing do not stand still, as other arts do; they are the handmaidens of the industrial progress the book takes as a sign of the nation's maturity, as H. M. Tory's introduction makes clear in its prizing of the "ever-increasing accumulation of the written word" as the site for the development of the "spirit of a nation" (v). The cultural nationalist argument here blithely absorbs the appeal to Indigenous authenticity, creating a legitimizing narrative that grants the settler nation two key advantages: it places Canada among the Western leaders of the postwar order, while insisting that its origin is more authentic than crass American mass culture. This nation-story of development, substituting as it does the settler-imperium difference for the settler-indigene difference, is connected to what Johnston and Lawson call the "strategic disavowal of the colonizing act" (365).

With this in mind, it is also important to pause on the contradiction produced by the book's narration of the nation's print progress and the actual history of publishing conditions in Canada. This is a book with small fonts, thin paper, and tiny margins, and as a White Circle paperback—the form in which it most commonly circulated through the Canadiana program—it speaks explicitly to the influence of American mass book production on publishing in Canada and implicitly to the domination of Canadian publishing in this period by British and American companies.[16] In other words, what the book avows in its iconography, its themes, and its arguments, it disavows in its material form.

Desmond Pacey's *A Book of Canadian Stories* (1947), the second book suggested by Laura Beattie at the initial 1949 meeting of the committee tasked with selecting books for the Canadiana program, offers a similar embodiment of the contradictions that Canadian book diplomacy produced in the postwar years. Pacey's short-story anthology was one of the earliest of its kind in Canada (Lecker 14, 190). It is thus not surprising that Pacey devotes space in his introduction to a narrative of the "origins" of English Canadian literature, which he locates not in the "Indian tales" that he includes and then passes over, but in Atlantic Canada, and more particularly in the arrival of the printing press in Nova Scotia in the eighteenth century. Looking to the Loyalists who arrived in that region during the American Revolution, Pacey finds the "real beginnings of literary activity in what is now Canada" (xvi). Key to his narrative are figures such as John Howe (father of Joseph Howe), a Boston editor who arrived in Nova Scotia in 1776 with his printing press. Pacey considers the Howe family significant not merely for their printing and publishing contributions to British North America, but also for Joseph Howe's establishment of "the principle of a free press in Canada" (17). (*A Pocketful of Canada* similarly privileges this contribution, reprinting "On the Freedom of the Press," an excerpt from Howe's speech at his libel trial in 1835.)[17] Yet Pacey's account of "real beginnings" contains a significant error: clearly desiring to link Howe's early *printing* efforts to something closer in identity to *publishing*, Pacey suggests that John Howe was responsible for the establishment of the newspaper the *Novascotian,* and that he passed the newspaper along to his son in 1828, creating the conditions that made the younger Howe a "pioneer in the establishment of a distinctive Canadian culture" (xvi, 17). Contrary to this account, the paper was actually founded in 1824 by George R. Young, and Joseph Howe assumed control in 1827 (Kernaghan). This error demonstrates the fact that English Canadian literary history was, in 1947, building narratives out of a scarcity of scholarship; indeed, what scholarship existed did not tend to notice the economic relations that were important in determining the literary field of the former settler colony.[18] Thus the fact that Pacey's critical framing passes over key legal and economic structures—copyright agreements, the agency system—in his tracing of the "inhibiting factors" that have "held back the growth of Canadian short stories" (xxxvi) is not surprising. A text that attributes the growth of a national literature to the arrival of the printing press and then does not follow the fate of that press and others like it, favouring instead arguments that attend to aesthetic development, *A Book of Canadian Stories* offered to Canada's postwar cultural diplomacy efforts a narrative that celebrates—but does not examine too closely—a strongly rooted tradition of press freedom, printing, and publishing.

## Concluding Thoughts on Book Diplomacy as a Colonizing Practice

While Canada's book diplomacy in the 1950s played a role in the articulation of what Johnston and Lawson call the "settler-imperium" "vector of difference," and if this essay has attended to the ways that this settler cultural nationalism was embedded in the perpetuation of the colonization of Indigenous nations in Canada, it is important to note in conclusion that postwar book diplomacy was imbricated more generally in colonizing—or neocolonial—practices beyond Canada's own borders. The contradictions that these practices produced offer another view of the complexity of settler-colonial nation-making during the two and a half decades that followed the close of the Second World War: while many English Canadian nationalists decried the "colonized" status of their nation's culture during these years, in publications such as A. B. Hodgetts' *What Culture? What Heritage?* (1968) or Robin Mathews and James Steele's *The Struggle for Canadian Universities* (1969), Canadian book diplomacy was working to undermine the nascent book publishing industries of former colonies in Asia, Africa, and the Caribbean.

The colonial practice of "book dumping"—the process by which British and American books were "dumped" into the Canadian market in contravention of copyright agreements—was a significant inhibitor to the establishment of original Canadian publishing during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and was widely condemned by Canadian publishers.[19] Nonetheless, this practice—renamed and cast in a very different ideological light—was central to Canada's non-governmental book programming between the 1950s and the end of the 1970s. The Overseas Book Centre (OBC) offers a case in point. Founded in 1959 by James Robbins Kidd, the postwar (1950-1960) director of the Canadian Association for Adult Education and promoter of adult education in a wide array of the era's national and international cultural organizations, the OBC was committed to the idea that rich nations like Canada could "help education in the Third World through presentation of books" (Richards 26). Managed by Kidd, Harry Campbell (Director of the Toronto Public Library), and Kurt Swinton (President of Encyclopedia Britannica Canada), the OBC's flagship program, "Books for Developing Countries," had a second purpose: to provide a use for surplus books from Toronto libraries and Britannica that would otherwise be "burned or shredded" (Teager 122-23). By 1979, the OBC was shipping four hundred tons of donated books annually to 1,200 recipients in eighty countries (Richards 27). Yet as a 1979 review indicated, this program was plagued not simply by distribution challenges and the problem of the frequent (linguistic, cultural, educational, or other) irrelevance of the donated titles to their recipients, but also by its tendency to choke domestic publishing industries in receiving countries.[20] As I have shown, book donation schemes—especially American and Soviet ones—formed an important part of the cultural diplomacy of the Cold War period. It was not until the early 1970s that UNESCO began to draw attention, through its 1972 Charter of the Book and publications such as Ronald Barker and Robert Escarpit's *The Book Hunger* (1973), to the ways that book donation programs undermined local publishing infrastructures.

Canadian postwar book diplomacy offers a rich site for the analysis of the paradoxes that constitute Canada's settler-colonial nationhood, particularly as its myths of origin congealed in the decades following the Second World War. Supported in important ways by Canada's participation in book diplomacy and donation schemes led and defined by the US (a nation that was attempting to counter the emergent efforts of the Soviet Union in this same domain), the dominant narrative of Canada in the 1950-1975 period is one of national becoming and of the achievement of cultural and political maturity. Subtending this smooth narrative is a set of bumpy contradictions: Canada's international positioning in these years was dependent on American hegemony but critical of its cultural inauthenticity, a condition countered in the Department of External Affairs' Canadiana program through appeals to Indigenous origins and traditions of preindustrial craft that were in turn subjected to modernizing narratives that both drew on their authenticating power and erased their ongoing presence in "modern" Canada. More generally, Canada's participation in the book diplomacy efforts of the postwar years belongs to a larger history of the book in the late twentieth century, a history that is deeply bound up in struggles that pitted American and Western European media corporations against the local interests of the world's decolonizing nations. The ambivalent positioning of former settler colonies such as Canada in this struggle is best illuminated not through metaphors of "arrival" but rather through the analysis of contradiction.

## NOTES

1 Things had changed by the early 1990s. In 1992, Statistics Canada estimated that Canadian-controlled firms accounted for 53% of the market share of book sales in Canada (and 87% market share for trade books) (Lorimer, "Book Publishing" 14-15).

2 The report of the Ontario Royal Commission on Book Publishing notes that, in 1970, foreign-owned firms produced only 27% of all Canadian literature (including fiction, poetry, and criticism) (Ontario 59-62). In a 1996 study, Rowland Lorimer states that Canadian-owned publishers produce nearly 90% of Canadian-authored books ("Book Publishing" 6). For more recent statistics on this question, see Lorimer, *Ultra Libris*, pp. 161-62.

3 American book programs of the 1950s aimed at audiences in Western and Central Europe featured major figures of early and nineteenth-century American literature (Washington, Hawthorne, Melville, Whitman, Dickinson, Twain). Histories of American literature that interpreted these works in relation to the "evolving nation" were also included (Barnhisel 99).

4 Through the 1931 Statute of Westminster, Britain granted Canada full legislative independence, excepting the repeal, amendment, or alteration of the British North America Act. Canada did not immediately take up all of these new powers; it was not until 1949 that Britain's Judicial Committee of the Privy Council ceased to be the nation's highest court (Hillmer).

5 N. A. Robertson, 31 Aug. 1959, "Memorandum for the Minister," RG 25, Vol. 7797, file 12569-2-40, Library and Archives Canada (hereafter LAC). Through the latter half of the 1950s, receiving nations/regions included Japan, India, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Ghana, the West Indies, Spain, Poland, Belgium, Southern Rhodesia, and Iceland.

6 N. A. Robertson, 31 Aug. 1959, "Memorandum for the Minister," RG 25, Vol. 7797, file 12569-2-40, LAC. Book donation programs at the Department of External Affairs continued long after the period examined here; Cavell notes the department's "low-key" approach meant that it went largely unrecognized by influential Canadian commentators, such as Thomas Symons in his 1975 report *To Know Ourselves* (90-91).

7 N. A. Robertson, 31 Aug. 1959, "Memorandum for the Minister," RG 25, Vol. 7797, file 12569-2-40, LAC.

8 Laura Beattie's 1953 memorandum regarding Jean Bruchési's *Le Canada* expressed alarm at the high price ($6.75 for a paperback) of its English-language edition, published in 1952 by the domestically owned Ryerson Press; she suggested that her colleagues should investigate the cost of the book in France because "it is printed there." The department opted to purchase only two copies of the book (probably because the Quebec government ordered two thousand copies), but this order was for the French-language edition published by F. Nathan in Paris and was placed with Paillard, a French publishing house, an arrangement that produced a significant discount. Laura Beattie, "Memorandum for E. H. Norman," 17 Feb. 1953; Paul Malone, Information Division, to Supplies and Properties Division, Department of External Affairs Memorandum, 16 Sept. 1953, Vol. 4433, file 12569-40, RG 25, LAC.

9 In 1959, a decade after the Canadiana program was established, the Canada Council, following up on the Massey commissioners' suggestion that Canadian embassies could build libraries of Canadian books, established its "Projection of Canada Abroad" initiative. More clearly aimed at supporting Canadian publishers than the Canadiana program (though not necessarily successful in accomplishing this end), the Canada Council initiative enabled the block purchase of Canadian-authored books (mostly in French) for distribution by the Department of External Affairs at Canadian missions abroad (The Canada Council 35, 45).

10 For the full list of UNESCO's Collection of Representative Works, see UNESCO, "Literature and Translation." Chapter One of Brouillette's study of UNESCO analyzes the place of Yasunari Kawabata's novel *Snow Country* (translated from Japanese and published by UNESCO in 1956) in the collection.

11 P. C. Dobell, Information Division, "Memorandum for Supplies and Properties Division," 22 Nov. 1952; Bruce Keith, Information Division, "Requisition for Books and Publications," 25 Nov. 1952; Paul Malone, Information Division, to Supplies and Properties

Division, Department of External Affairs Memorandum, 3 June 1953; and Paul Malone, Information Division, to Supplies and Properties Division, Department of External Affairs Memorandum, 20 May 1953, Vol. 4433, file 12569-40, RG 25, LAC.

12 Gerson's essay on *A Pocketful* lays crucial groundwork for any history of the text; I add here a discussion of the book's role in the Canadiana program and in postwar cultural diplomacy more generally, one that teases out important paradoxes that Gerson's essay does not examine.

13 For a useful history of the White Circle series, including a partial bibliography that clearly demonstrates the dominance of British writers, see Sulipa. As Gerson notes, due to the fact that the papers of the Canadian Collins subsidiary were destroyed, the information regarding the print runs for any of the versions of *A Pocketful* is unavailable (67). Gerson's essay provides important details regarding differences among the three editions of *A Pocketful*, as well as a description of the physical book, which is indeed a "pocketful" (the hardback measures seven and a half by four and a half inches, not much bigger than the paperback and much smaller than a standard hardback) (Gerson 68-69).

14 It is important to note that the style of engraving that Hyde used for the images in *A Pocketful* is associated not merely with fine-press work but also with the visual style of Anglo-American leftist publications of the 1930s, including Canadian publications such as *New Frontier* (1936-1937), a magazine that featured Hyde's work. For examples of Hyde's engravings for *New Frontier* see Senechal Carney. Hyde's use of wood engravings for leftist critique is also exemplified in his 1951 "wordless novel," *Southern Cross: A Novel of the South Seas*, which visually narrates American postwar nuclear testing in the South Pacific.

15 On settler "disavowal," see Veracini (75-86). One of these strategies is to disallow the very existence of Indigenous presence and claims; many of the texts collected in *A Pocketful* might be read as exemplifications of this strategy, including the excerpt from L. C. Douthwaite's 1939 *The Royal Canadian Mounted Police.*

16 Grant Campbell documents the unusually high production standards of Collins' Canadian branch during the Second World War. Under Frank Appleton, the firm advocated high-quality production (standards of layout and typography, wide margins, large type, etc.), despite wartime shortages of paper and other materials. Campbell contends that Appleton and other Canadian publishers resented poor British production standards and saw higher standards in Canada as a sign of growing national pride (56-58). Campbell does not discuss an obvious exception to this line of thinking—the White Circle paperbacks. Gerson notes that postwar shortages of paper likely account for the low quality of *A Pocketful* (69).

17 John Howe was in fact one of the earliest printers in the region and in British North America and, with his two eldest sons and his brother-in-law, went on to dominate Halifax printing (Fleming 61, 65). For further information regarding Joseph Howe's 1835 libel case, see Parker, "Joseph Howe."

18 Here I use "determined" in the sense described by Raymond Williams in *Marxism and Literature*, which advocates a concept of determination as "a complex and interrelated process of limits and pressures" located not in an abstracted mode of production but in "the whole social process itself" (87). A notable exception to my point is E. K. Brown's *On Canadian Poetry* (1943), which acknowledges that "economic" factors help to explain the "difficulties" faced by English Canadian writers (6).

19 George Parker notes that during the Depression, for example, American publishers routinely "dumped" remaindered books produced in the US for American readers on the

Canadian market. This contravened Canadian copyright arrangements ("The Agency System" 165; "Trade and Regional" 171).

20 In 1979, the organization shifted from a supply-based to a recipient-led philosophy, moving away from the provision of books and toward the development of both indigenous publishing and educational infrastructure in the nations where it focuses its efforts (Richards 27-28). Based in Ottawa, CODE continues its international development work today (see code.ngo/).

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