

CONTESTING BODIES AND NATION IN CANADIAN HISTORY

From fur coats to nude paintings, from sports to beauty contests, the body has been central to the literal and figurative fashioning of ourselves as individuals and as a nation. In this first collection on the history of the body in Canada, an interdisciplinary group of scholars explores the multiple ways the body has served as a site of contestation in Canadian history in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

Showcasing a variety of methodological approaches, *Contesting Bodies and Nation in Canadian History* includes essays on many themes that engage with the larger historical relationship between the body and nation: medicine and health, fashion and consumer culture, citizenship and work, and more. The contributors reflect on the intersections of bodies with the concept of nationhood, as well as how understandings of the body are historically contingent. This volume is enriched by a critical introductory chapter on the history of bodies and the development of the body as a category of analysis.

(Studies in Gender and History)

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STUDIES IN GENDER AND HISTORY

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Contesting Bodies and Nation in Canadian History

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*For Myra for her inspiration and tenacity
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Abbreviations

ACD	Association of Canadian Distillers
ANRL	American Nudist Research Library, Kissimmee, Florida
AO	Archives of Ontario
ARF	Addiction Research Foundation
BAC	Brewers Association of Canada
BBG	Board of Broadcast Governors
BCTF	British Columbia Teacher's Federation
<i>BCWN</i>	<i>B.C. Workers' News</i>
BESCO	British Empire Steel Company
BL	Bertha Lawrence Fonds
CBC	Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
CBC RA	CBC Broadcasting Centre, Radio Archives
<i>CD</i>	<i>Canadian Doctor</i>
CEA	City of Edmonton Archives
CEA	Canadian Education Association
<i>CJPH</i>	<i>Canadian Journal of Public Health</i>
CMA	Canadian Medical Association
<i>CMAJ</i>	<i>Canadian Medical Association Journal</i>
CNE	Canadian National Exhibition
CPC	Communist Party of Canada
<i>CPHJ</i>	<i>Canadian Public Health Journal</i>
CRTC	Canadian Radio Television Commission
CSA	Canadian Sunbathing Association
<i>CT</i>	<i>Canadian Tribune</i>
CVA	City of Vancouver Archives
DBS	Dominion Bureau of Statistics

DCD	Dance Collection Danse Archives
DEW	Distant Early Warning
ECSA	Eastern Division of the Canadian Sunbathing Association
<i>FWDTJ</i>	<i>Fort William Daily Times Journal</i>
HBC	Hudson's Bay Company
IPA	Labatt's India Pale Ale
LAC	Library and Archives Canada
MAAA	Montreal Amateur Athletic Association
MADD	Mothers Against Drunk Driving
MACLC	Ministerial Advisory Committee on Liquor Control
MLDA	minimum legal drinking age
MLC	Montreal Lacrosse Club
MLCC	Manitoba Liquor Control Commission
MSSC	Montreal Snow Shoe Club
<i>NAM</i>	<i>National Affairs Monthly</i>
NCO	non-Commissioned Officer
NWMP	North West Mounted Police
OMA	Ontario Medical Association
OSSTF	Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation
<i>PA</i>	<i>People's Advocate/ Advocate/ People/ Pacific Advocate</i>
<i>PHJ</i>	<i>Public Health Journal</i>
PRIDE	Please Reduce Impaired Driving Everywhere
<i>PT</i>	<i>Pacific Tribune</i>
RCAF	Royal Canadian Air Force
RCMP	Royal Canadian Mounted Police
RCSWC	Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada
RNWMP	Royal North West Mounted Police
Smith Portfolio	Lois Smith Portfolio
<i>SN</i>	<i>Saturday Night</i>
TDSBA	Toronto District School Board Sesquicentennial Museum and Archives
TUTS	Theatre Under the Stars
UGGR	Underground Railroad
U.N.	United Nations
UNA	United Nations Association
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
WABCO	Wartime Alcoholic Beverages Control Order

CONTESTING BODIES AND NATION IN CANADIAN HISTORY

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Introduction: Contesting Bodies, Nation, and Canadian History

JANE NICHOLAS AND PATRIZIA GENTILE

The body as a signifier or metaphor of the nation has been used by twentieth-century historians to represent connections between people and the project of nation building.¹ The birth of the nation and the fathering of Confederation, for example, function as figurative language that implicitly uses the (White, female, heterosexual) body to describe the origins of the nation.² Such significations, however, perpetuate “the body” – uniform, whole, uncontested – as a central organizing fiction of the nation. On many levels, bodies figure nation; we aim, instead, to “re-figure” both categories as contested. As Carolyn Hamilton, Verne Harris, and Graeme Reid remind us, “The word ‘figure’ enfolds multiple meanings – as a verb: to appear, be mentioned, represent, be a symbol of, imagine, pattern, calculate, understand, determine, consider.”³ As a noun, “figure” explicitly calls upon the body, by way of shape, performance, and motion. Together, the multiplicity of “figure” encapsulates the complicated relations of bodies and of the confluence of bodies and nation.

In re-figuring the body itself as a contested category intersecting with questions of the nation, we propose “the contested body” as a category of analysis. Renowned French body historians, Alain Corbin, Jean-Jacques Courtine, and Georges Vigarello argue that bodies are literally at the “frontier” of cultural relations since bodies are at its epicentre.⁴ Thinking critically about the body as contested is an approach that foregrounds the body as a contested space and pulls in other categories of analysis to refract the means, practices, and performances in the perpetual figuring of the body. As such, this collection of essays aims to position the contested body as another category of analysis towards understanding both Canadian history and the nation. As contested spaces, bodies are constructed historically and inscribed with political, social, and cultural

meanings. In turn, these meanings shape historical conceptualizations of nation, gender, race, class, age, and sexuality. Questioning definitions of the body in relation to the nation also lends itself to deeper probing of the embodiment of history. Despite some dominant conceptions of history that seem to render the body invisible, bodies are a product of, and part of, the process of history.⁵ In 1995, Susan Leigh Foster suggested the idea of “choreographing history” as a way of understanding the means by which bodies produce history – at a specific moment in time and by the process of researching and writing.⁶ Indeed, as scholars we also have bodies. The ways bodies embody history are profound: from the intimate – scars that bear witness to the personal histories etched into flesh – to the continuing acts of colonization in Canada, where individual bodies bear the weight of an ongoing history of violence and patriarchy by way of poverty, sexual abuse, suicide, murder, and limited access to education and health care – bodies are at once produced, marked, and shaped by history as they render new ones.⁷ And writing the history of the body necessarily brings bodies into contact, even if such contact is profoundly mediated by documents. Whose bodies gain recognition in the production of history forms part of the contestation we seek to highlight, and the embodiment of history – and the recognition of that embodiment – is always figured by the politics of race, gender, sexuality, ability, social class, age, and even body size.⁸

The historical approach to “reading” the contested body opens a myriad of possibilities on how best to revisit, research, and write Canadian history – a central concern of this collection. What we hope to highlight with this volume is that the body, still often unacknowledged as a basis for community and citizenship, exists in a state of competing and fractured communities. Bodies and nations must be studied in combination in order to explore the nuances of Canadian history, including the long-standing mythology of a monolithic national community often read as White, heterosexual, and middle class, a theme challenged explicitly in this volume by Barrington Walker and Kathryn Harvey. In short, our collective vision here is twofold: the essays that follow demand not only that we rethink bodies and embodiment in Canadian history, but also the connection of bodies to the nation in all of its competing forms. As such, both bodies and nations are positioned in perpetual *contest and contestation*.

Framing the Contested Body and Nation

In her 2007 historiographical essay, Canadian historian Lisa Helps argues, “Bodies can offer new ways into seemingly old problems.”⁹ Helps

offers an expansive list of the many treatments of the body or embodiment employed by historians such as Steven Maynard, Gary Kinsman, Mona Gleason, Karen Dubinsky, Cecilia Morgan, James Opp, Helen Lenskyj, Franca Iacovetta, Cynthia Comacchio, Wendy Mitchinson, and Mary-Ellen Kelm.¹⁰ Few of the historical narratives cited by Helps, however, focus primarily on the body or embodiment. The current interest in intersections between bodies and topics such as rape, medicine, sexuality, disease and health, and death now leads many social historians to relabel earlier monographs and essays as historical explorations of the body. The scholars listed above, for example, with the exception of Mitchinson and Gleason, do not locate themselves necessarily in the literature called “body history.” The general absence in the Canadian context of a cohesive field of body history in which the body or embodiment (representations of the body) feature as primary categories of analysis leads us to question why the body is often treated in Canadian history as incidental or in an ahistorical fashion. We hope that the essays in this collection demonstrate the significant contributions of this approach in illuminating the Canadian past and contribute to the growing international literature on the history of the body.¹¹ Our goal is to inspire historical analyses that consider the contested body as a fundamental category of analysis.

This collection of essays is unique in weaving together interdisciplinary approaches that discuss facets of the history of the body and nation in Canada in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It builds on significant scholarship developed internationally over the past twenty-five years or so, and certainly, we are not the first to undertake a project of methodological repositioning of the body or questioning the connection with nation. In her 1999 article entitled “The Body as Method? Reflections on the Place of the Body in Gender History,” Kathleen Canning considers “the methodological implications of placing bodies at the heart of historical investigations.”¹² Canning’s own work at the time of her writing focused on citizenship and the crisis of nation in Germany after the First World War. In particular, she used the concept of embodiment as opposed to the materiality of the body to explicate ideals of citizenship and the nation. Canning stressed the methodological worth of invoking the ways in which women’s bodies in the context of the writing of the Weimar constitution were often representations of specific understandings of motherhood, marital status, and wartime service.¹³ Our collective project offers a close look at Canadian history where invocations of the body in the service of body history have remained more limited.

Significantly, while all of the essays here address the contested body, they do so from a wide array of theoretical and methodological positions. The contested body does not advance a shared understanding of the body and embodiment or advocate a singular approach to its study. Rather, the essays that follow are marked by theoretical and methodological differences that range from empiricism to post-structuralism, from oral history to visual culture and textual readings. The origins of body history can be traced to interdisciplinary influences and, consistent with developments in the wider field of the history of the body, this collection draws from a range of disciplines, including sociology, art history, literary criticism, and even the burgeoning subfield of animal studies. What these interdisciplinary perspectives and mixed methodologies reveal is that differences in actual bodies demand differences in theoretical and disciplinary perspectives on the body and that questions of theory and methodology are inseparable from questions about the past and attempts at its recovery.

Defining “the body” for historical study often proves a difficult task. As many of the essays in this collection reveal, “the body” is an ever-moving target. Our experience as editors of this diverse set of essays suggests to us that the body is simply a starting point for historical investigations, but that point is, in itself, often multiple and murky. An elasticity in the definition of “the body” underscores body history in general. As Bryan Turner pointed out, in 1996, the body is “at once the solid, the most elusive, illusory, concrete, metaphysical, ever present and ever distant thing – a site, an instrument, an environment, a singularity and a multiplicity.”¹⁴ Three central points suture together the essays in this collection: a particular definition of the body, an intersection with nation, and the theme of contestation. First, body history is defined by an explicit examination of the sets of discursive practices and performances interlaced with cultural texts and modes of representation. It is also about the interpretation of the material substance of bodies – the flesh, cells, blood, and bones – that are not simply neutral, pre-given, biological facts; that is, the materiality of the body is never entirely distant from the culturally and historically contingent factors that render contested interpretations. As Donna Haraway argues, facts “are rooted in specific histories, practices, languages and peoples.” And historical questions about the so-called facts of the body have addressed the complicated histories of how social, moral, and cultural concerns became embodied as truths about biology and sexuality.¹⁵ Second, in this volume, our definition of body history is complicated further by the recognition that bodies are

themselves individuated and consolidated through multiple practices and performances that make them complicated territory for delineating the personal and private from the shared sets of identification that form the national body. As such, the essays that form this collection are especially interested in how body history can speak to issues of nationhood and citizenship. Third, these essays reveal some of the complicated facets of the constantly contested nature of these relationships. As Roy Porter suggested in 2001, “The history of the body must give way to histories of bodies – especially in studying women’s bodies.”¹⁶ Body history ultimately questions the body itself.

Our definition is clearly indebted to the work of feminist and queer theorist Judith Butler. *Gender Trouble*, Butler’s 1990 landmark work, destabilizes biological and cultural foundations of the body – routinely seen as natural, a priori, and thus without culture or history. Butler called on scholars to rethink the long-standing sex/gender, nature/culture divide, the categories of gender and sexuality that constitute the body, the nature of performance and signification of corporeality, and the body itself. She writes,

Acts, gestures, and desire produce the effect of an internal core or substance, but produce this *on the surface* of the body, through the play of signifying absences that suggest, but never reveal, the organizing principle of identity as a cause. Such acts, gestures, enactments, generally construed, are *performative* in the sense that the essence or identity that they otherwise purport to express are *fabrications* manufactured and sustained through corporeal signs and other discursive means. That the gendered body is performative suggests that it has no ontological status apart from the various acts which constitute its reality. This also suggests that if the reality is fabricated as an interior essence, that very interiority is an effect and function of a decidedly public and social discourse, the public regulation of fantasy through the surface politics of the body, the gender border control that differentiates inner from outer, and so institutes the “integrity” of the subject.¹⁷

Butler’s work (also used by a number of our contributors) ultimately sought to question further the epistemological foundations of the body’s alleged material fixedness and its representations. As evidenced in the quotation above, Butler’s work also suggests a public and political role in constituting the body, and here we build from this assertion to figure our own questions on the category of the contested body and the nation. Our collective interest in this volume as body history scholars is shaped

by these questions: How might we use the contested body as an analytical category, as a question rather than an unexplored unit, to examine the surfaces, fabrications, and performances of Canadian bodies? What about the contests over “the body” in general and Canadian bodies in particular? And how do those contests function to define questions of nation, citizenship, and inclusion into the national body?

The essays presented here explore the place of bodies within a specific national framework, but also they seek to de-centre the singularity of the nation. As much as bodies are in contest in this collection, so too, is the category of nation, and what unites these essays is their focus on contestations between those categories. In proposing to destabilize the nation, our project builds on recent literature that questions the discursive formulation of Canada as a nation and its implications in regard to race, gender, and historical practice.¹⁸ Our goal in highlighting the plurality of nation is to recognize that Canada does not exist in some stable, transhistorical form, but that it is, like bodies, constantly figured and re-figured over time and place. If the nation is an imagined space, it is only imagined unequally by those within the borders.

In this collection, the authors consider the intersections of bodies and nations, but despite the breadth of interpretations and analyses offered here, there is still much to be done. To date, the history of the body remains a fractured, interdisciplinary field in Canada, and there have been few strictly Canadian attempts to draw together the literature in special editions of journals or collected editions such as this one.¹⁹ However, French cultural historians such as Jacques Le Goff, Georges Vigarello, Alain Corbin, and Jean-Jacques Courtine, to name only a few, have focused for decades on the body as a category of historical inquiry, publishing numerous monographs and essays comprising *l'histoire du corps*.²⁰ Our goal here is not to define what the limits of the field should be, or the proper method of inquiry, but to challenge existing boundaries of the scholarship by focusing on the contests in and between bodies and nations and in the conceptualization of those categories themselves.

Our use of the term *bodies* in the plural is a deliberate attempt to embrace the fractures of the field as the scholarship develops internationally and nationally with significant influence from other disciplines. We make no claim to staking out definitive territory on the body in Canada, but aim to recognize the lacunae by marking out territory within the gap rather than filling the absence entirely. As Carolyn Steedman argues, “The practice of historical inquiry and historical writing is a recognition of temporariness and impermanence.”²¹ We acknowledge the significant

and persistent gaps in body history presented here with respect to immigration, disability, non-idealized or extraordinary bodies, transsexualism, and many other forms of bodies.²² Further, while Harvey's essay touches on the issues of actually performing historical research, there remains an absence regarding the difficulties of archiving documents and artefacts poignant for body history.²³ How are the procedures and practices of archiving in contest with the ephemerality of the figuring of bodies? The motivation behind this collection is that these essays will spark future works that will address some existing gaps and expose others not yet even identified.

Canadian Historiographies on the Body

Mapping the historiography of the body on which the scholars in this collection build reveals a confluence of interests from varied locations, although a few specific influences, namely, second-wave feminism and the work of the late twentieth-century post-structuralist theorist Michel Foucault, loom large.²⁴ Indeed, grappling with the development of the history of the body at times seems like wrestling a multiheaded beast, since the literature veers off in many directions. Even without explicit citation, this volume is indebted to many of the scholars who pioneered questions about the body, including Bryan Turner, Mary Douglas, Pierre Bourdieu, Londa Schiebinger, Georges Vigarello, and Sandra Lee Bartky.

Most scholarship traces the origins of the field to the mid-1980s, when a wide-reaching "crisis" in the social sciences and humanities ushered in diverse changes and ignited contentious debates, although bodies also were of interest to historians from the 1960s onwards, even if peripherally in New Social History, especially that defined by a feminist perspective. As a contemporary field, however, the history of the body is indebted, in part, to the rise of post-structuralism and the increasing focus on representations and performativity. This is largely due to the willingness of cultural historians to cross the chasm that seems to divide historical methodology and late twentieth-century cultural theory. The history of the body or body history eventually grew into a significant subfield, even if it remains difficult to define precisely. In the Canadian context, the constellation of influences in body history (social history, women's and gender history, and post-structuralism) overlapped with the key debates in Canadian historiography of the 1990s.

When scholars in the 1970s and 1980s began to question class and gender dynamics, underscoring the fiction of a cohesive Canadian identity,

debates on the fracturing of the nation resulted. By the 1990s, the most contentious debates within the Canadian historical community often pivoted around questions related to political and constitutional issues and the role of the historian in these debates. Michael Bliss argued in his now (in)famous 1992 essay that the fracturing of Canadian history was connected intimately to the perceived “withering of a sense of community in Canada” that was itself part and parcel of the wider political and constitutional crises of the moment. Moreover, Bliss lamented what he saw as concern by a new and upcoming generation of historians with “more ‘private history’ and less political history.”²⁵ Jack Granatstein’s short book *Who Killed Canadian History?* reiterated some of Bliss’s arguments and added new ones.²⁶ Labour and women’s historians responded to the critique, arguing the significance of their work in both adding to and, importantly, fracturing the assumptions of “the national history.”²⁷ One repeated point in the discussion, the dismissal of the “housemaid’s knee,” was revealing, however, in that ridicule from some national historians seemed to point directly at working-class women’s bodies, as if they were somehow trivial to the country’s history.²⁸ Moreover, these debates affected how history and historical practice were defined, and body history, as a then-emerging field, was influenced by these debates. Our contention is that far from being “non-national” categories – gender, class, and race, in addition to sexuality, age, and health – in fact, shape and define the nation as well as ideas of what the nation is and who is reflected within its often-singular representation.²⁹

Developments in medical history advanced new trajectories of historical interrogation beyond the national question. Emerging from feminist critiques of the Western medical model, the anti-psychiatry movement, and later, post-structuralism’s questioning of the discourses of medicine, sexuality, governmentality, biopolitics, and the disciplining of the body, medical histories grappled with notions of disease, illness, and health, as well as competing conceptions of the body in different time periods and cultures.³⁰ Wendy Mitchinson’s pivotal 1991 work, *The Nature of Their Bodies*, revealed how nineteenth-century women’s bodies were socially constructed in opposition to men’s and thought of as being in perpetual crisis. Debunking the “nature” of women’s biology, Mitchinson showed how biology, culture, and gender were intimately interwoven. In her subsequent book, *Giving Birth in Canada*, Mitchinson again explored the intersection of culture, women’s bodies, and medical practice. Her work documented how medical interventions into the process of pregnancy and childbirth created a culture of surveillance over and discipline of

the parturient body. Importantly, Mitchinson's work on the female body never accepted women as passive victims of medicine, and in her writings, the body emerges as a site of active or passive resistance and agency. In this volume, Mitchinson continues her groundbreaking work, this time focusing on the history of childhood obesity in Canada.³¹

In 1994, Linda Nicholson argued that gender went "all the way down" to the body, which stood as an important reminder of the social and cultural constructions of biology.³² In Canada, work on gender and the body by other scholars demonstrated the complicated relationship between the socially constructed body and greater discourses and institutions of social mediation: medicine, religion, colonialism, the law, and education. As James Opp's study, *The Lord for the Body*, aptly revealed, gender and religion were important categories in defining the nation and the body.³³ Work by Mona Gleason and Tamara Myers suggested how the bodies of boys and girls within medical, educational, and judicial institutions were sites of competing discourses and both acted upon by powerful agents and sites of agency themselves.³⁴ That such institutions and discourses were central to the project of nation building is also significant, especially in relation to children's bodies. As Mona Gleason argued, "Children's bodies represented an important, and largely unexplored, site upon which the sometimes competing interests of adults and children were negotiated and mediated."³⁵ The child body itself is a contested site where parents, medical "experts," and children themselves negotiate childhood and subjectivity.

Within the imaginary boundaries of the Canadian nation, competing, if not contradicting, conceptions of the body existed in relation to health, disease, and reproduction. Mary Ellen Kelm, Patricia Jasen, Maureen Lux, and Kristin Burnett each explore the epistemological differences that deeply affected Indigenous communities under the Canadian colonial project.³⁶ Bodies were the prime target of colonialism, and as Kelm argued, were culturally constructed in light of this ongoing project. In questioning the rationalization of ill health among communities in British Columbia, Kelm highlighted how different Indigenous conceptions of bodies, health, and medicine continually disrupted White, Western notions, providing a measure of agency to those communities. The collected essays in *Contact Zones* explored the ways in which women's bodies in the contact zone were an essential part of Canada's history of colonialism. By centring the focus on women's bodies, Myra Rutherdale and Katie Pickles argued that "we have revealed a new way of understanding the ways that colonial practices are carried out in day-to-day lived experi-

ences in colonial contexts.”³⁷ Collectively, these works set the stage for exciting new directions into body history and the fruitful analysis that “bodies” can offer in the telling of Canadian history.

Part One: Contested Meaning(s) of Bodies and Nations

The essays in this volume appear in thematic categories and are further organized into sections. The first two essays in the section “Exploring the Writing of the History of the Body” grapple with significant issues of how to research and write the history of bodies. One question at the heart of writing the history of the body is: how has the body become an object of historical research and inquiry? If the concept of the body is an invention of the twentieth century, as purported by Courtine, then this is attributable largely to the introduction of various theoretical frameworks including the introduction of psychoanalysis by Sigmund Freud to Foucault’s work on post-structuralism.³⁸ These theorists introduced the possibility of the material as constructed and always unstable. Cultural historians who study the body draw on these theories since they allow us to focus on senses and epistemology as legitimate sites of analytical entry. The two essays in this section underline the problems and challenges with using such sites and pose possible historiographical movement towards resolving them.

Kathryn Harvey asks probing questions concerning the current shape of historical research and common historiographical narratives. Harvey uses the metaphor of suturing to question the narrative structure of Canadian history as disembodied. She argues that this narrative is disembodied since it consistently reifies colonialism and violence. In this self-reflexive essay, Harvey reaffirms the theme of materiality (also explored in Toews’s essay) and subtly questions how history continuously reinscribes present-day bodies. In particular, these opening essays provide a platform for ongoing debate on body historiography and historical practice in Canada.

In his earlier work on murder trials of African-Canadian women, Barrington Walker argued that African-Canadian women’s bodies were themselves a site of struggle and that competing discourses of Black masculinity inscribed themselves on the bodies of Black women.³⁹ For the essay in this volume, Walker draws on Foucault’s notion of biopolitics to show the discursive construction of the racialized body through an exploration of the genealogy of H.A. Tanser’s research on Blacks in southern Ontario in relation to the persistent, nationally held mythology

around the Underground Railroad. In particular, Walker addresses how the contemporary narrative of this Canadian myth continues to exploit and erase discourses and lived experiences of Blacks in Canada. Walker explores and explodes the enduring romanticized discourse of the Underground Railroad using Tanser's ideas as they connect with biopolitics and the pseudoscience of racially driven educational psychology (namely, IQ testing) to produce a particular racialized body.

A number of essays in this volume explore how race and gender delineated hierarchical claims to citizenship. The second section, "Defining (Canadian) Bodies: Race and Colonialism," explicitly documents how racialized bodies mediated not only citizenship, but also confronted the view of the Canadian nation as implicated in a colonial project designed to institutionalize Whiteness as a gendered and racialized corporeal legacy. Discourses about the body, especially those that emphasized muscularity, manliness, and bravery as central to the survival of the nation (both in domestic and international arenas), played a part in ensuring that activities from sporting events to armed conflict reflected these constructed and contested notions on the very bodies of the men and women participating. The racialized and gendered hierarchies at the core of imperialism, colonialism, and White-settler society helped to mitigate the making of White and Christian citizens. In her work on gender, racism, commodity culture, and imperialism, Anne McClintock locates this meaning making as a ritualized practice used by European colonizers as both a fetishizing process and a way to legitimize the imperial project itself.⁴⁰ This discursive process involved showing systemically how the colonizer's body (whether in the form of a French woman, a lacrosse player, or soldier) used social and political tools such as cultural appropriation, performance, and language to materially "make" bodies "Canadian."

Gillian Poulter's essay on Victorian Montreal contributes to understanding the relationship among race, colonization, bodily performance, and clothing. Invoking Judith Butler's idea of performativity, Poulter argues that White settlers' adoption and performance of Indigenous sports, specifically, snowshoeing, lacrosse, and tobogganing, defined and provided a racialized embodiment of the Canadian nation. Poulter's work also extends much needed corporeal analysis into the history of athleticism and Canadian sport, but does so as a way of documenting how colonialists performed indigeneity – how they appropriated a colonial landscape and racialized bodies to create their own nation.⁴¹ Deeply inscribed into the very bodies of colonizers and Indigenous peoples in Canada, we must acknowledge the colonial project as having a corporeal legacy.

Amy Shaw's chapter in this section engages with the production and performance of masculinity and femininity as well as imperialism and nation. In the early years of body history, work on gender and sexuality tended to focus on femininity and the construction of the female body in relation to what seemed to be a persistently normative male body. Shaw's essay on Canadian soldiers' bodies during the Boer War studies the connections between military manliness and the male body in the context of an imperial contest that subtly challenged the long-standing Cartesian mind/body split so integral to some nineteenth-century masculinities. Shaw reveals that exploring constructions of masculinity during the Second Anglo-Boer War can illuminate important facets of imperialism and citizenship written onto the bodies of young, Canadian soldiers.

Part Two: (Re)fashioning the Body

Consumerism has been one of the great markers of nation building and modernity. The section "Fashion, Clothing, and Bodies" aims to illustrate how consumerism and fashion are in a continuous conversation with notions of the nation and bodies as contested. Consumer culture and the rise of "mass markets" were far from homogeneous phenomena. In her book on beauty, race, and the cosmetic industry from the late nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century in the United States, Kathy Peiss reminds us that "the term 'mass market' implies both a standardized product and a standardized consumer, but in fact it conceals important difference along racial lines."⁴² The mass production of goods made fashion accessible to certain sectors of Canadian society but the messages and social codes these widely available goods helped to define shaped social relations of race, gender, and class. In the period from the 1920s to the 1960s, fashion (and make-up) was synonymous with the female body; to be feminine was, by definition, to be fashionable. Women were both the consumers of fashion and its material subject. Clothing, who wore it, how they wore it, in what context, became a way to differentiate oneself based on race and class, thereby reinforcing racialized and gendered hierarchies at the centre of nation building.

Both Myra Rutherdale and George Colpitts demonstrate how mass consumption, advertising, and mass production altered bodies in a variety of ways – shaping their actual materiality as well as the way they were dressed, stylized, cared for, and of course, seen. Far from being a new area of research, scholars such as Donica Belisle, Cheryl KrasnickWarsh, and Keith Walden explore the nexus of bodies and goods in their stud-

ies.⁴³ Here, however, Rutherford shows how discourses of hygiene along with fashion led to hybridization, which, in turn, reveals how colonization plays a major role in the racialization of embodiment, especially in regard to Indigenous populations. Using a number of examples, Rutherford analyses the cultural negotiations of Indigenous bodies in relation to constructions of spaces. She focuses on the “the North” and “the South,” discourses of hygiene, and how colonization shaped seemingly neutral practices of bodily care, comportment, and attire with specific racial discourses.

A number of the essays consider aspects of the culture of consumption and the connections between bodies and goods inspired by the recent cultural turn. Colpitts focuses on consumerism, gender, and class, as well as the intersection of human and animal bodies in shaping particular meanings of Canadian modernity. Colpitts argues that women’s bodies not only were remade by modern practices of consumption, but also they were refashioned by animal bodies through changing practices of fur processing – what he terms “trickster transformations” of “second skins.” As Colpitts shows, the impulse to consume wove together industrial changes, women’s bodies, class relations, and individual consumer practices into the wider web of Canadian modernity. Like Poulter and Rutherford, Colpitts demonstrates how consumer goods refashioned bodies with implications for the nation. In this case, fur coats suggested a rather rapid shift in Canadian women’s place within the nation, but one still structured by paternalism and traditional women’s roles. The fur coat also connected Canadian women in local contexts to an international sphere of fashion and design.

In his work on the Toronto Industrial Exhibition, Keith Walden analysed the multifaceted ways that bodies and goods came together in fair-ground displays. Illustrating how “the meaning of goods was inextricably bound to the meaning of bodies,” Walden’s analysis focused both on the material displays as well as how they entwined in a wider politics of looking.⁴⁴ The “Contesting Representations of the Body/Sexuality” section highlights how the visual representation of bodies played a critical part in understanding sexuality as imbued with questions of modernity, morality, and social regulation. The essays in this section showcase how bodies in ads, art, and dance are particularly vulnerable to normative prescriptions of sexuality. In these examples, the point of analytical entry is the body, not sexuality since it is the representation of the body that is the prime focus of the eliciting femininity or masculinity, morality, and heterosexuality. Transgression is not acceptable precisely because these

bodies must speak to normative and national ideals of heterosexual hegemony. Various essays in this collection shed light on how bodies read and interpreted by their contemporaries marked out differences visually. This theme receives explicit attention in the multidisciplinary essays by Pandora Sypererek and Allana Lindgren. In her essay on censorship and interwar Canadian nudes, art historian Sypererek explains why certain paintings of nude women, but especially those by Lilius Torrance Newton, received vigilant scrutiny by Canadian moral crusaders and by some allegedly progressive members of the Canadian art community. Sypererek concludes that certain paintings offended gendered codes, revealing fault lines of sexuality, nationality, and female respectability. The creation and transgression of changing gendered codes across the twentieth century is also a theme that reverberates through the essays by Lindgren and Cheryl Krasnick Warsh and Greg Marquis. A historian of dance, Lindgren offers a careful analysis of how dancers' bodies legitimized this art form in Canada after the Second World War. Embodying popular narratives of proper sexuality, gender, race, and citizenship, dancers' bodies conveyed dominant postwar ideologies that reinforced White and heterosexual Canadian-ness while attempting to make ballet part of the Canadian mainstream. As Lindgren aptly reveals, Canadians needed encouragement to consider ballet as part of the cultural landscape.

Warsh and Marquis, in their chapter on alcohol advertisements, explore how bodies and goods fit within Canadian society and culture. Canadians' relationship with alcohol has been particularly fraught, and in attempting to overcome this anxiety (and sell their product), advertisers deployed representations of bodies in particular ways. In examining a wide range of advertisements, Warsh and Marquis uncover how the gendered inscriptions of both bodies and goods inflected each other. Warsh and Marquis's essay also reflects the recent visual turn in the historiography.

Arguably, beauty pageants are one of the best examples through which to illustrate the connection between bodies and nation. The bodies of beauty contestants and the winners of the contests (whether it be Miss Donut or Miss Canada) are the sites of political and cultural inscriptions of citizenship, gender, race, and nation.⁴⁵ The essays in the section entitled "Bodies in Contests" play with the notion of contestation not only because it deals specifically with beauty contests but also because the beauty pageants in question were not major national events. Beauty contests that did not reach national or international prominence forced both the organizers and the contestants to exaggerate the reasons why

the bodies in contest fit with shared ideals of citizenship and nation – indeed, why these bodies could be included in the “imaginary nation.”⁴⁶ Sarah Banet-Weiser points to the impossible task of assimilating difference at the heart of beauty pageants since “despite efforts to uphold a universal standard of beauty for all women, the representation of women who have been historically excluded from this standard renders beauty itself an unstable category of experience.”⁴⁷ The fact that in pageants, the bodies in contest (literally) are female bodies solidifies the artificial racial and gendered hierarchies imposed by beauty pageants.

Mary-Ann Shantz uncovers (pun intended) the history of beauty pageants at nudist resorts in postwar Canada. The nude body – both in representation and live performances – gave many Canadians an avenue to express concern over those bodies as well as related cultural, social, and political changes. From the Ontario Medical Association to the Art Gallery of Toronto to the Canadian Sunbathing Association, these diverse groups tapped into representations of female nudity for a variety of purposes. Echoing a theme similar to Helen Smith and Pamela Wake-wich’s notion of the body surface, Shantz argues that nudist pageants appealed to a sense of “embodied citizenship” thereby establishing nudist practices themselves as good, wholesome, and legitimate. As such, these particular pageants allowed nudists a space for moral contestation, particularly around notions of the obscene – a theme touched upon by Syperrek in this volume.

By mid-twentieth century, Canadian nationalism was contested again, this time centred on the place of francophones and immigrants in the nation. Beauty contests were used extensively by municipal, provincial, and federal governments and by many different types of organizations to promote ideals of race, ethnicity, and Whiteness as the Canadian nation struggled to define its place in the international community as cohesive yet accepting of diversity. Tarah Brookfield’s essay on the Miss United Nations pageant, organized in the 1960s by Edmonton’s United Nations Association, reveals a particular mix of identity formation for both individuals and groups based on local, national, and international discourses. The contestants’ bodies of the Miss United Nations pageant effectively solidified Canada’s message as a “tolerant” home for multicultural communities and projected an image of a unified nation extolling the values of a youthful White nation to the global community. Taken together, the chapters authored by Shantz and Brookfield document the remarkable flexibility of the beauty contest format in defining beauty, the female body, and women’s public roles in postwar Canada.

Part Three: Regulating Bodies

For all its “natural” and ahistorical characteristics, the modern body seems to have been an almost constant source of distress. The section “Transformations, Medicalization, and the Healthy Body” continues an established approach in body history in which notions of health and disease are used to invoke the contested state of bodies; however, this area of historical inquiry is far from exhausted. Of particular significance is how this scholarship enables historians to make clear links between the state of bodies, specifically, women’s and children’s bodies, and the state of the nation. In other words, healthy or diseased bodies (however these terms are defined) are often used as metaphors to invoke ideals of the nation as weak or robust, dying or thriving. The state’s investment in the health of its citizens and the productive bodies that comprise the labour force has often translated into medicalized discourses that focuses on diseased bodies in whatever form they may take including obese bodies or the bodies of people living with disabilities. The result has often been an onslaught of regulations, systems of surveillance, and medical “advice” desperate to control bodies.⁴⁸

Wendy Mitchinson investigates how fat bodies, especially those of children, garnered medical attention from Canadian doctors over the course of the twentieth century. In exploring the discourse about children’s bodies, Mitchinson argues that the nation was particularly concerned and invested in the idea of a healthy body weight as children “represent a strong future for a nation; unhealthy children threaten it.” Although Mitchinson reveals that, for most of the twentieth century, malnutrition was a far more pressing issue, it remained connected to obesity, which continued to spark concerns over whether or not successive generations of Canadians would be able to embrace their role as “full contributing citizens.” Trying to define and establish normative categories for bodies proved to be a difficult task with respect to a host of categories, including weight, health, and sexuality. As Foucault’s work reveals, power is always exercised, not held. As such, establishing normative codes for bodies meant both establishing non-normative bodies (for example, “the fat body”) as well as allowing for expressions of transgression and resistance.

The themes of medicalization, discourses of health, and defining normative bodies run through a number of the essays in this volume. Valerie Minnett draws attention to a public health campaign called *Mediscope* initiated by the Ontario Medical Association that introduced viewers to the interiority of the body. Minnett examines the medical model, Lehra,

and how the exhibition of her reveals the intersections among medicine, public health campaigns, education, and gender. By historicizing *Mediscope*, Minnett showcases the medical gaze and the construction of expert knowledge in Canada mediated through the mechanized transparent body of Lehra, the model of a twenty-eight-year-old German woman. Like Mitchinson's piece on the medical community and children's bodies, Minnett explains how representations of women's bodies became a central vehicle through which medical discourses formed, manipulated, and inscribed knowledge for the Canadian masses.

Continuing the theme of health, women's bodies, and the nation, Helen Smith and Pamela Wakewich use anthropologist Terence Turner's idea of "the social skin," conceptualized as a literal and metaphorical surface through and upon which culture and self are negotiated. Smith and Wakewich insist that we rethink long-standing dichotomous categories like representation/lived experience, public (society)/private (the home), and prescribed norms/subjectivity. Focusing on the body of female war plant workers in Fort William, Ontario, the authors suggest that women's "body work" reflects a deep permeability in relation to spaces (home, the local, nation) and discourses of health and family. This essay explores the connections and disjunctures in representations of the body and the actuality of embodiment.

"Re/Producing Productive Bodies" is a theme of growing scholarly interest among body scholars. The driving question for them focuses on how embodiment is a historically defined process that shapes both the discourse and materiality of flesh. Cynthia Comacchio's article, for example, on human machinery in early twentieth-century Canada reveals how machine metaphors sutured together science, medicine, public health campaigns, and workers' bodies. Industrial capitalism and metaphors of the body as a machine shaped discourses (industrial, scientific, and medical) on how the body becomes envisioned as a productive body.⁴⁹ This section examines the experience of capitalist, social, and cultural demands on bodies by tracing the struggle these bodies endure as they exert agency in a highly regulated framework.

Bodies as produced *and* productive forms a secondary theme in Smith and Wakewich's essay but this is a particularly salient theme in the chapters by Anne Frances Toews, Kristina Llewellyn, and Bonnie Reilly Schmidt. Anne Toews reminds us that discourses of the body and the processes of embodiment literally have an effect on the flesh. In her study of working-class bodies and the Canadian Communist Press, Toews writes, "It was through and to working-class bodies that the CPC

delivered both its negative critique of capitalism and the positive promise of socialism, demonstrating its recognition that the impulse to action – be it revolutionary or reactionary – is inseparable from the living flesh in which it is contained.” Toews argues that resisting the physical impact of industrial capitalism bent on maximizing and exploiting the productive bodies of workers included the detailed retelling in the Communist press of how work distorts and reshapes.

Llewellyn’s chapter documents the central role that heteronormativity played in the reading of female teachers’ bodies to facilitate notions of postwar democracy and citizenship. As her oral histories reveal, female teachers performed their bodies in controlled and careful ways because of the significance attached to their bodies as examples for the next generation of Canadian students, underscoring an important aspect of re/producing national bodies. Llewellyn’s analysis, informed by Judith Butler, unveils the interplay of adult and child bodies, nationalism, domestic containment, and the complicated relationship between the public and the private.

Like Llewellyn, Schmidt asks us to rethink the connections between gender and citizenship, on the one hand, and the individual body and the national one, on the other. Schmidt argues that women’s bodies, metaphorically and materially, have challenged the masculine norms of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police and its place in the national narrative.⁵⁰ Her essay reveals how deeply ingrained constructions of sexual difference continued to shape women’s lives into the 1970s.

Conclusion

The significance of this collection lies in its effort to speak to the historical study of bodies and nations and its documentation of the diverse manner in which historians approach such topics and interpret evidence related to bodies and their ongoing contestations. In proposing the contested body as an analytical category, we aim to uncover the many points and multiple ways that the body has been historically produced through complicated negotiations – sometimes obvious and sometimes subtle – but always political. In re-figuring the body and its relationship to nation, ultimately we call into question the stability of both and, in the scholarship that follows, point to ways that bodies have been contested, figured, and re-figured over the course of Canadian history. In her recent book on companion animals, Haraway writes, “It is a writing that I must do, because it’s about a legacy, an inheritance of the flesh.

To come to accept the body's unmaking, I need to remember its becoming, I need to recognize all the members, animate and inanimate, that make up the knot of a particular life."⁵¹ Haraway's words reflect what we collectively offer here – analyses of makings and unmakings, becomings and unbecomings, particular lives at particular moments, and a shared sense of the need to write about an inheritance – national, personal, political, and evolving. Overall, however, this collection represents what we hope is the first of more collections devoted to scholarship on the history of bodies in Canada.

Notes

- 1 For example, "It was a vision of Canada controlling her own destiny, retaining a free association with the mother country but standing on her own feet and embarking on a bold course of territorial and economic expansion and on the continental destiny that now lay before her." Edgar McInnis, *Canada: A Political and Social History* (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1982), 361.
- 2 For an excellent analysis on the symbolism of women's bodies in the service of Canadian nationalism, see Christina Burr, "Gender, Sexuality, and Nationalism in J.W. Bengough's Verses and Political Cartoons," *Canadian Historical Review* 83, no. 4 (2002), 505–54.
- 3 Carolyn Hamilton, Verne Harris, and Graeme Reid, Introduction, in *Refiguring the Archive*, ed. Carolyn Hamilton, Verne Harris, Jane Taylor, Michele Pickover, Graeme Reid, and Razia Saleh (Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic, 2002), 7.
- 4 The concept of the body as frontier is explained further in the following quote: "L'originalité ultime de cette expérience est d'être à la croisée de l'enveloppe individualisée et de l'expérience sociale, de la référence subjective et de la norme collective. C'est bien parce qu'il est 'point frontière' que le corps est au Coeur de la dynamique culturelle." See A. Corbin, J.J. Courtine, and G. Vigarello, *Histoire du corps: De la Renaissance aux Lumières*, vol. 1 (Paris: Seuil, 2005), 10–11.
- 5 On the disembodiment of history and its associated gender politics in the development of "professional" history, see Bonnie G. Smith, *The Gender of History: Men, Women and Historical Practice* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000).
- 6 Susan Leigh Foster, "Choreographing History," in *Choreographing History*, ed. Susan Leigh Foster (Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press, 1995), 10–11.

- 7 For powerful first-person accounts of these two facets merging, see Jarvis Jay Masters, "Scars," in *The Body Reader: Essential Social and Cultural Readings*, ed. Mary Kosut and Lisa Jean Moore (New York: New York University Press, 2010), 329–31, and Emma LaRocque, "My Hometown Northern Canada South Africa," in *Making Space for Indigenous Feminism*, ed. Joyce Green (Black Point, NS: Fernwood, 2007), 216–20.
- 8 Recent scholarship on children's bodies and in fat studies highlights the importance of considering size. For two examples from the Canadian scholarship, see Mona Gleason, "Size Matters: Medical Experts, Educators, and the Provision of Health Services to Children in Early to Mid-Twentieth-Century English Canada," in *Healing the World's Children: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Child Health in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Cynthia Comacchio, Janet Golden, and George Weisz (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008), 176–202, and Jenny Ellison, "'Stop Postponing Your Life until You Lose Weight and Start Living Now': Vancouver's Large as Life Action Group, 1979–1985," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 18, no. 1 (2007), 241–65.
- 9 Lisa Helps, "Body, Power, Desire: Mapping Canadian Body History," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 41, no. 1 (2007), 127.
- 10 Ibid.
- 11 The literature is far too vast to list here, but we will take this opportunity to highlight some of the international edited collections that take body history as its primary subject. See Catherine Gallagher and Thomas Laqueur, eds., *The Making of the Modern Body: Sexuality and Society in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1987); Jennifer Terry and Jacqueline L. Urla, eds., *Deviant Bodies: Critical Perspectives on Difference in Science and Popular Culture* (Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press, 1995); Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton, eds., *Bodies in Contact: Rethinking Colonial Encounters in World History* (Chapel Hill, NC: Duke University Press, 2005); Alain Corbin, Jean-Jacques Courtine, and Georges Vigarello, eds., *Histoire du corps*, 3 vols. (Paris: Seuil, 2005). Many of the developments in the history of the body are indebted to feminist theory. For overviews, see Janet Price and Margrit Shildrick, eds., *Feminist Theory and the Body: A Reader* (New York: Routledge, 1999); Londa Schiebinger, *Feminism and the Body* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); and Judith Lorber and Lisa Jean Moore, *Gendered Bodies: Feminist Perspectives*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).
- 12 Kathleen Canning, "The Body as Method? Reflections on the Body in Gender History," *Gender and History* 11, no. 3 (1999), 499. See also the often-cited 1995 essay by Caroline Walker Bynum, "Why All the Fuss about the

- Body? A Medievalist's Perspective," *Critical Inquiry* 22, no. 1 (1995), 1–33. Bynum's essay underscored persistent issues in doing body history, and it has become a must read for understanding the uses of bodies as categories of analysis.
- 13 Canning, "Body as Method?" 508.
 - 14 Bryan S. Turner, *The Body and Society*, 2nd ed. (London: Sage, 1996), 43.
 - 15 Donna Haraway, *Modest_witness@secondmillenium.femaleman_meetsoncomouse: Feminism and Technoscience* (London: Routledge, 1997), 217; Elizabeth Grosz, *Volatile Bodies: Towards a Corporeal Feminism* (Indianapolis, IN: Indiana University Press, 1994); and Anne Fausto-Sterling, *Sexing the Body: Gender Politics and the Construction of Sexuality* (New York: Basic Books, 2000).
 - 16 Roy Porter, "The History of the Body Reconsidered," in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, 2nd ed., ed. Peter Burke (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001), 237.
 - 17 Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Routledge 1999 [1990]), 185; original emphasis. Perhaps unsurprisingly given the radical nature of her critique, the book generated an avalanche of accolades and criticisms, including one pithy comment from a sceptical critic who queried, "What about the materiality of the body, Judy?" For her response, see Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of Sex* (London: Routledge, 1993), ix. The idea of seeing discourse and materiality as mutually exclusive has also been challenged by a number of scholars who note that understanding the body as a site of continuous interpretation and construction does not render the body a fiction. See Fausto-Sterling, *Sexing the Body*, Introduction.
 - 18 For excellent examples, see Franca Iacovetta, *Gatekeepers: Reshaping Immigrant Lives in Cold War Canada* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2006); Daniel Coleman, *White Civility: The Literary Project of English Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006); Adele Perry, "Nation, Empire and the Writing of History in Canada in English," in *Contesting Clio's Craft: New Directions and Debates in Canadian History*, ed. Christopher Dummitt and Michael Dawson (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008), 123–40.
 - 19 We note the important exception of the anthology by Katie Pickles and Myra Rutherdale, eds., *Contact Zones: Aboriginal and Settler Women in Canada's Colonial Past* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2006).
 - 20 Space restrictions prohibit us from offering an exhaustive list of French body historians but for an introduction on this extensive literature, see Jacques Le Goff and Nicolas Truong, *Une histoire du corps au Moyen-Âge* (Paris: Liana Lévi, 2003), and A. Corbin, J.J. Courtine, and G. Vigarello, eds., *Histoire du corps* (Paris: Seuil, 2005).

- 21 Carolyn Steedman, "La théorie qui n'en pas une, or Why Clio Doesn't Care," in *Feminists Revision History*, ed. Ann-Louise Shapiro (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1994), 83.
- 22 For more on the immigrant body and nation, see, e.g., Alison Bashford, "Quarantine and the Imagining of the Australian Nation," *Health* 2, no. 4 (1998): 387–402. For more on freakish bodies, see, e.g., the collection edited by Rosemarie Garland Thomson, *Freakery: Cultural Spectacles of the Extraordinary Body* (New York: New York University Press, 1996), and her monograph, *Extraordinary Bodies: Figuring Physical Disability in American Culture and Literature* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996), as well as Thomas Richard Fahy, *Freak Shows and the Modern American Imagination: Constructing the Damaged Body from Willa Cather to Truman Capote* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006). On transgenderism and transsexuality and the productive body, see Dan Irving, "Normalized Transgressions: Legitimizing the Transsexual Body as Productive," *Radical History Review*, no. 100 (Winter 2008), 38–60.
- 23 On archiving – in a wider and institutional sense – and the criminal body, see Allan Sekula, "The Body and the Archive," *October* 39 (Winter 1986), 3–64.
- 24 See Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage, 1995), for more on disciplined and docile bodies.
- 25 Michael Bliss, "Privatizing the Mind: The Sundering of Canadian History, the Sundering of Canada," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 26, no. 4 (1992), 5.
- 26 Ibid. and Jack Granatstein, *Who Killed Canadian History?* (Toronto: Harper-Collins, 1998), esp. chapter 3.
- 27 See Gregory Kealey, "Class in English Canadian History Writing: Neither Privatizing, Nor Sundering," and Linda Kealey et al., "Teaching Canadian History in the 1990s: What 'National History' Are We Lamenting?" *Journal of Canadian Studies* 27, no. 2 (1992), 123–31.
- 28 Significantly, the derision of the female body highlighted the largely ahistorical nature of Bliss's and Granatstein's arguments, which sought to galvanize a particular way of envisioning and practising history. For a longer look at construction of this type of history and wider attempts to situate it as universal, see Smith, *The Gender of History*.
- 29 The term "non-national categories" comes from Bliss, "Privatizing the Mind," 6.
- 30 See, e.g., Linda Gordon, *Women's Bodies, Women's Lives* (New York: Viking, 1976), and Thomas Szasz, *The Therapeutic State: Psychiatry in the Mirror of Current Events* (New York: Prometheus, 1984).
- 31 The obesity epidemic routinely makes national headlines especially over the rising rate of obesity in children, and the study of obesity and fat is growing

- exponentially. For more on this topic, see Peter Stearns, *Fat History: Bodies and Beauty in the Modern West* (New York: New York University Press, 1997); Jana Evans Braziel and Kathleen LeBesco, eds., *Bodies Out of Bounds: Fatness and Transgression* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2001); Ester Rothblum and Sondra Solovay, eds., *Fat Studies Reader* (New York: New York University Press, 2009; and Mitchinson, this volume). For an important treatment of diet, weight control, and class with some Canadian references, see Keith Walden, "The Road to Fat City: An Interpretation of the Development of Weight Consciousness in Western Society," *Historical Reflections* 12, no. 3 (1985), 331–73.
- 32 Linda Nicholson, "Interpreting Gender," *Signs* 20 (1994), 83. See also Joan Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *American Historical Review* 91, no. 5 (1986), 1053–75. For some excellent examples, see Londa Schiebinger, *The Mind Has No Sex? Women in the Origins of Modern Science* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1991); Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992); Emily Martin, *The Woman in the Body: A Cultural Analysis of Reproduction* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2001); Fausto-Sterling, *Sexing the Body*.
- 33 James Opp, *The Lord for the Body: Religion, Medicine, and Protestant Faith Healing in Canada, 1880–1930* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005).
- 34 Mona Gleason, "Lost Voices, Lost Bodies? Doctors and the Embodiment of Children and Youth in English Canada from 1900 to 1940," in *Lost Kids: Vulnerable Children and Youth in Twentieth-Century Canada and the United States*, ed. Mona Gleason, Tamara Myers, Leslie Paris, and Veronica Strong-Boag (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009); Mona Gleason, "Disciplining the Student Body: Schooling and the Construction of Canadian Children's Bodies, 1930 to 1960," *History of Education Quarterly* 41, no. 2 (2001), 189–215; Tamara Myers, "Embodying Delinquency: Boys' Bodies, Sexuality, and Juvenile Justice History in Early-Twentieth-Century Quebec," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 14, no. 4 (2005), 383–414; Tamara Myers, *Caught: Montreal's Modern Girls and the Law, 1869–1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006). For further work on the body and the judicial system but in regard to adult bodies and the death penalty, see Carolyn Strange, "The Undercurrents of Penal Culture: Punishment of the Body in Mid-Twentieth-Century Canada," *Law and History Review* 19, no. 2 (2001), 343–85.
- 35 Mona Gleason, "Embodied Negotiations: Children's Bodies and Historical Change in Canada, 1930 to 1960," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 34, no. 1 (1999), 112–38.

- 36 Mary Ellen Kelm, *Colonizing Bodies: Aboriginal Health and Healing in British Columbia, 1900–1950* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1998); Patricia Jasen, “Race, Culture and the Colonization of Childbirth in Northern Canada,” *Social History of Medicine* 10, no. 3 (1997), 383–400; Maureen Lux, *Medicine That Walks: Disease, Medicine, and Canadian Plains Native People, 1880–1940* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001); and Kristin Burnett, *Taking Medicine: Women’s Healing Work and Contact in Southern Alberta, 1880–1930* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010). For another important treatment on bodies and the imperial project, see Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995).
- 37 Pickles and Rutherford, Introduction, in *Contact Zones*, 3.
- 38 Jean-Jacques Courtine, Introduction, in *Histoire du corps: Le mutations du regard*, vol. 3, 7.
- 39 Barrington Walker, “Killing the Black Female Body: Black Womanhood, Black Patriarchy, and Spousal Murder in Two Ontario Criminal Trials, 1892–1894,” in *Sisters or Strangers? Immigrant, Ethnic, and Racialized Women in Canadian History*, ed., Marlene Epp, Franca Iacovetta, and Frances Swyripa (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 90.
- 40 McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 26.
- 41 On bodies and sport in Canada, see Chapter 5 of Colin D. Howell’s *Blood, Sweat and Cheers: Sport and the Making of Modern Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001).
- 42 See Kathy Peiss, *Hope in a Jar: The Making of America’s Beauty Culture* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 1998), 203. On the production of beautiful and normative female bodies in twentieth-century America, see also Joan Jacobs Brumberg, *The Body Project: An Intimate History of American Girls* (New York: Vintage, 1998.)
- 43 See Donica Belisle, *Retail Nation: Department Stores and the Making of Modern Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2011); Cheryl Krasnick Warsh, “Smoke and Mirrors: Gender Representation in North American Tobacco and Alcohol Advertisement before 1950,” *Histoire sociale/Social History* 31, no. 62 (1998), 183–222; Keith Walden “Speaking Modern: Language, Culture, and Hegemony in Grocery Window Displays, 1887–1920,” *Canadian Historical Review* 70, no. 3 (Sept. 1989), 285–310.
- 44 Keith Walden, *Becoming Modern in Toronto: The Industrial Exhibition and the Shaping of a Late Victorian Culture* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 121.
- 45 For an example of Miss America, see Sarah Banet-Weiser, *The Most Beautiful Girl in the World* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1999). For Canada, see Patrizia Gentile, “Queen of the Maple Leaf: Beauty Contests in

Twentieth-Century Canada,” doctoral dissertation, Queen’s University, 2006, and Jane Nicholas, “Gendering the Jubilee: Gender and Modernity in the Diamond Jubilee of Confederation Celebrations, 1927,” *Canadian Historical Review* 90, no. 2 (2009), 247–74.

- 46 See Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 1991).
- 47 Banet-Weiser, *Most Beautiful Girl in the World*, 9.
- 48 For more, see Cynthia Commachio, *Nations Are Built of Babies* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1993).
- 49 Cynthia Comacchio, “Mechanomorphosis: Science, Management, and ‘Human Machinery’ in Industrial Canada, 1900-45,” *Labour/Le Travail* 41 (Spring 1998), 38–9.
- 50 Michael Dawson focuses on the RCMP, nation building, and masculinity in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Canada in his book, *The Mountie: From Dime Novel to Disney* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 1998).
- 51 Donna Haraway, *When Species Meet* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 162. We note that Haraway’s argument here is in regard to the life, body, and passing of her father.

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PART ONE

Contested Meaning(s) of Bodies and Nations